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THE DECLINE

OF

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BY

GEORGE LONG.

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PREFACE.

THIS volume contains the History of Caesar's Gallic campaigns, and of the contemporaneous events at Rome. With the exception of Cicero's orations and letters, the Commentaries on the Gallic and the Civil wars, and we may add the books on the Alexandrine, African and Spanish wars, are the only extant contemporary history of the Republic. The value of Caesar's military histories is well known to those who have studied them, but those who have read them carefully are very few. Parts of the Gallic war and of the Civil war are read by boys, and if the teacher does his duty, the pupil may learn some Latin and something else too.

It is strange that one of the best Roman writers, perhaps the best of all Roman writers, is generally read only by schoolboys and to a small extent. One reason may be that the language is supposed to be so simple and easy that older students will be better employed on other writers, and that a military history is not so instructive as other antient books. But Thucydides is a political and military history, and it is read most diligently, and it is worth the labour. The scene of Caesar's campaigns is so near to us and the events resemble so much those of more recent times that perhaps the matter seems common and familiar, and we care less for it than for that which is more remote both in time and place. But there

is no country in Europe the history of which is so closely connected with that of our own country as the history of France, and no history is more instructive to Englishmen than French history; which ought to be a sufficient reason for studying the book from which we learn most about the antient nations of Gallia.

This country has undergone many changes and revolutions since Caesar's time. The history of the Galli may be traced much farther back than the date of Caesar's first appearance in Gallia, but the history of France as a political community begins with Caesar's Commentaries. The country was conquered by the Romans and received from them a new language, a social organization, a system of law and many useful improvements. France still contains some of the noblest monuments of Roman architecture and innumerable traces of the skill of the Romans in the magnificent works which supplied the towns with water. The invasion of the Franks subjected a large part of this country to foreign invaders, and the effects of the conquest remain to the present day, particularly in the northern and eastern parts of Caesar's Gallia. But notwithstanding invasions, conquests and the mixture of races, a large part of the population of France retain the characteristics of the nations which Caesar brought under Roman dominion. The Gaul sticks to his native soil and is most tenacious of national habits, though he is also, as Caesar says, ingenious and capable of learning from others. His impetuous temper and want of reflection have made him in all ages the prey of greedy and cunning men, and he has paid dearly for his want of prudence and his political ignorance. In fact the elements which compose French society have not yet attained a condition of stability and never will so long as the nation remains so ignorant. The mass of the people in other countries are ignorant also, but ignorance combined with the excitability of the Gallic temperament, and the numerous civil disorders and revolutions which have agitated the country,

make the prospect of permanent tranquillity very uncertain. The French are still disturbed by their own passions, and the love of military glory, and so they are liable to be misled by adventurers and sacrificed to the cupidity of governors, who draw from an industrious people the fruits of their hard labour and squander the money in luxury and expensive wars. Gallia was the country of revolutions in Caesar's time, and so it is still.

There are many editions of Caesar and many Commentaries on his writings. The latest and in some respects the best Commentary on the Gallic war is the "Histoire de César" (vol. ii.) written, as the publisher informs us, by the Emperor Napoleon III., who has also put his name at the end of the book and dated it from the Tuilleries (March 20, 1866). The volume contains both the history of the Gallic campaigns and the contemporary events at Rome. The history of the war is written after Caesar in a plain, simple and clear style, and the remarks and notes are useful for the explanation of Caesar's text. The work is accompanied by a very cheap atlas of thirty-two plates, well engraved, which will assist a reader who wishes to understand Caesar's campaigns. The author had the means of doing what no other person could have done. Excavations were made on the sites of Caesar's battle-fields and sieges, and excellent officers, among whom was Stoffel, furnished the author with valuable information. But the aid which he received diminishes in no degree the merit of the author's design, which may be assumed to be his own; and he has produced a book which will be a lasting memorial of his reign.

The work of Goeler (Cäsar's Gallischer Krieg, 1858) is also very useful, and I have often referred to it. I have not always agreed with the opinions and conclusions either of the author of the "Histoire" or of the German soldier; and I do not expect that those who have studied Caesar will always agree with me. The matter contained in the eight books of

the Gallic war is so varied and extensive that no man who handles it can avoid error. I have spared no pains, and I have done my best to make the history of the conquest of Gallia intelligible to any person who will read carefully and consult good maps.

Cicero's letters, the letters written by him to Atticus, and the collection¹ of letters written by him to other persons and by other persons to him, form a valuable part of the evidence for the facts stated in this volume. Those who would form a just estimate of Cicero's character will find these letters both instructive and entertaining. They are often very difficult to understand in the original and I do not know that there is any translation which is completely sufficient. There is an English translation with notes by William Melmoth of the "Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero to several of his Friends;" and an English translation of the sixteen books of letters to Titus Pomponius Atticus by William Heberden. There is also a French translation with notes of the letters to Atticus (1773), by the Abbé Mongault. I have not seen the German translation which Wieland began. It was finished and published after his death.

G. L.

¹ They are entitled "Ad Familiares," or "Ad Diversos," and I have often referred to them under both titles.

ROMAN CONSULS

FROM B.C. 57 TO B.C. 49.

(CLINTON'S FASTI.)

B.C.

- 57. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.
Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos.
- 56. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.
L. Marcius Philippus.
- 55. Cn. Pompeius Magnus II.
M. Licinius Crassus II.
- 54. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
Appius Claudius Pulcher.
- 53. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
M. Valerius Messalla.

B.C.

- 52. Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. sole consul.
Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio.
The colleague of Pompeius during the last five months of the year.
- 51. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus.
M. Claudius Marcellus ¹.
- 50. L. Aemilius Paullus.
C. Claudius Marcellus
- 49. C. Claudius Marcellus.
L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

¹ M. Claudius Marcellus, consul 51, and C. Claudius Marcellus, consul 49, were brothers, and the cousins of C. Claudius Marcellus, consul 50.

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¹ Florus has written the history of the first seven years' campaign in a single chapter, which is worthy of this wretched compiler and rhetorician.

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Livy, Epit. 105; *Caesar, B. G.* v. 1—23; *Dion Cassius*, 40, c. 1—4; *Cicero, ad Q. Fratrem*, ii. 15; *Ad Fam.* vii. 5—9. PAGE

Caesar does not leave Gallia for Italy before the commencement of B.C. 54—His preparation of a fleet for a second invasion of Britannia—Caesar crosses the Alps, and visits Illyricum—He is in Gallia Cisalpina to the end of May of the unreformed calendar—Quintus Cicero joins Caesar, to whom M. Cicero recommends the lawyer Trebatius—Correspondence between Caesar and M. Cicero in B.C. 54—Caesar joins his troops in the country of the Belgae, and orders all the vessels to assemble at Portus Itius or Itium—Caesar makes an expedition to the country of the Treviri, and settles their disputes—He returns to Itius and finds his ships ready—Dumnorix intrigues with the Gallic chiefs, and attempts to go home without Caesar's permission—He is overtaken and killed by Caesar's orders—Computation of the time between Caesar's leaving North Italy and landing in Britain—Caesar's activity—The voyage to Britain and the landing—Caesar takes a strong place belonging to the Britons—Conjecture about the site of this place—The Roman ships are damaged by a storm—The loss is repaired, the ships are hauled upon the land, and connected with the camp by one line of defence—Caesar advances into the interior, where he finds a large force under Cassivellaunus—The narrative is interrupted by three chapters of the description of Britannia—The fights between Caesar and the natives—He reaches the Thamesis (Thames) and crosses the river into the territory of Cassivellaunus—Cassivellaunus watches the march of the Roman army with his *essedarii*—The position of the British people named Trinobantes—The British tribes which submit to Caesar—He takes the town (*oppidum*) of Cassivellaunus—The four kings of Kent (*Cantium*), on the suggestion of Cassivellaunus, attack Caesar's camp and are repulsed—Cassivellaunus sends ambassadors to treat about submission—Caesar receives hostages and fixes an annual tribute—He returns to the coast with his hostages, and takes his men back to Gallia in two divisions—The letters sent by Caesar and Quintus Cicero from Britain to M. Cicero—The probable conclusion from these letters about the time of Caesar's landing in Britain and the time of his return to Gallia 198

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THE WINTER OF B.C. 54.

Livy, Epit. 106; *Caesar, B. G.* v. 24—58; *Dion Cassius*, 40, c. 4—11, and 31.

A meeting of the Gallic States held by Caesar at Samarobriva—The distribution of Caesar's troops in winter quarters—The number of Caesar's legions—Tasgetius, whom Caesar had made King of the Carnutes, is murdered—Soon after the arrival of Sabinus and Cotta at their winter quarters among the Eburones an insurrection breaks out under Ambiorix and Cativolcus, kings of the Eburones—The interview between two men on the side of the Romans and Ambiorix, who tells them that all the Galli are rising against the Romans and advises them to retreat—Sabinus and Cotta are perplexed at the report of the two men—The debate on the question whether the Romans should stay in their camp and resist any attack, or attempt a retreat, Ambiorix having promised to allow them a safe passage—After much contention it is decided that they will leave the camp and try to reach the nearest winter quarters—The site of the camp of Sabinus and Cotta—The Romans leave the camp at daybreak, and enter a long defile, where the enemy fall upon them—They resist a long time, and finally the greater part are massacred—The remainder retreat to the camp and resist to nightfall when they kill one another—A few of the Romans make their way through the forests to the winter quarters of Labienus and report the disaster—Caesar's judgment on Sabinus—He expresses neither indignation nor sorrow at the loss which he had sustained—Ambiorix stirs up the Aduatuci and Nervii, and persuades them to attack the quarters of Q. Cicero—The confederates attack Cicero's camp, but are repelled—Cicero writes letters to Caesar, but the letter-carriers are intercepted—He strengthens his camp, and resists the attacks of the enemy—A conference between Cicero and the chiefs of the enemy, who inform him of the death of Sabinus, and offer him a free passage if he will leave the country—Cicero refuses the proposal, and the enemy surround the Roman camp with a rampart and ditch—The brave resistance of the Romans—Cicero succeeds in sending a message to Caesar, who immediately sets out with two legions to relieve him—Caesar by forced marches reaches the country of the Nervii—Conjecture about the site of Cicero's camp—Caesar sends a letter to Cicero by a Gallic horseman, and announces his approach by the burning of the houses of the natives—The enemy give up the blockade of Cicero's camp, and go to meet Caesar with about sixty thousand men—Caesar makes a camp of small dimensions to induce the enemy to believe that his force is still less than it was—The enemy are deceived, and attack the camp—The Romans sally out, and put the enemy to flight—On the same day Caesar arrives at the camp of Cicero—He commends Cicero and his men for their brave defence—The news of Caesar's victory is carried to Labienus with wonderful speed—The Treviri, who were intending to attack Labienus, retire to their own country—Caesar stays near Samarobriva with three legions, and remains all the winter in Gallia—He receives continually intelligence of the Galli intending to rise—By various means he keeps a great part of the country in obedience—The Senones attempt to put to death Cavarinus, whom Caesar had set over them as king—Cavarinus escapes from his subjects—The Senones send commissioners to Caesar to explain their behaviour, but when he summons the Senate they refuse to come—With the exception of the Aedui and the Remi, there is hardly a single people whom Caesar does not suspect—Indutiomarus, the

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B.C. 53.

Livy, Epit. 107; *Caesar, B. G.* vi.; *Dion Cassius*, 40, c. 32.

Caesar prepares for his sixth campaign—He raises fresh troops in North Italy, and Cn. Pompeius sends him one legion—His whole force is now ten legions—The Treviri make an alliance with some Germans and with Ambiorix—Caesar during the winter enters the territory of the Nervii, and compels them to submit—In spring the States of Gallia are summoned to meet, and all come except the Senones, Carnutes, and Treviri—Caesar transfers the place of meeting from Samarobriva to Lutetia (Paris), the chief town of the Parisii—He suddenly enters the country of the Senones, who are compelled to submit—The submission of the Carnutes—Caesar now turns against the Treviri and Ambiorix—He sends the baggage of the whole army and two legions to Labienus, who was in the country of the Treviri—With five legions Caesar falls on the Menapii, the only people who had never sent deputies to him about peace—He burns the houses and villages of the Menapii, who sue for peace—Caesar takes hostages from the Menapii, and leaves Commius, king of the Atrebates, to look after the Menapii—Caesar sets out for the country of the Treviri—The Treviri prepare to attack Labienus, who had wintered in their country—Labienus deceives the Treviri by pretending to retreat before them—The Treviri attack the Romans and are defeated—The Treviri again acknowledge the Roman supremacy—Caesar resolves to cross the Rhine a second time—He makes a bridge a little higher up than the first bridge and crosses the Rhine—The Ubii protest to Caesar that they had given no help to the Treviri—Caesar finds that the help had been sent by the Suevi, and he makes inquiry about them—He learns that the Suevi had retired to the remotest part of their territory—Caesar's reasons for not following them—He destroys part of the bridge over the Rhine, and leaves twelve cohorts to protect it—Caesar marches through the great forest

Arduenna against Ambiorix and the Eburones—The extent of this forest—Caesar's cavalry surprise Ambiorix in a forest, but he escapes—The flight of the Eburones from the Romans—Cativolcus, king of one-half of the Eburones, an old man, poisons himself with yew—Caesar divides his force into three parts, and takes all the baggage to Aduatuca—Q. Cicero is left there with the fourteenth legion and two hundred horsemen—Caesar with nine legions in three divisions advances towards the sea, to the parts adjacent to the Aduatuci and to the Scaldis (Schelde)—He promises to return to Aduatuca on the seventh day—Caesar's purpose was to destroy the Eburones: and we hear no more of them—The difficulties of the Roman troops in the country of the Eburones—Caesar invites the neighbouring peoples to plunder them—The news of the invitation reaches the Sigambri, who cross the Rhine, and plunder the Eburones—One of the Eburones being made a prisoner suggests to the Sigambri an attack on Aduatuca—On the seventh day Caesar had not returned, and Q. Cicero, moved by the clamour of his men, sends five cohorts and about three hundred veteran soldiers to cut the nearest corn—A great number of camp servants and beasts of burden are also allowed to go—The German horsemen arrive at this time, and attempt to break into the camp—The traders, who are outside the camp, have no time to escape—The alarm and confusion within the camp—The foragers returning see the danger, but the officers are stupified by the sudden surprise—The veterans break through the enemy, and reach the camp without loss; and the camp servants and horsemen follow them, and are also saved—Two cohorts out of the five are destroyed by the Germans, who retreat across the Rhine with their booty—Caesar returns to the camp—His narrative contains no direct censure of Cicero or his men, but it is a severe condemnation of both—Caesar's remarks on Fortune—He again sets out to vex the enemy—He burns the villages and wastes the country—Ambiorix is hunted, but he escapes in the forests—Caesar leads his troops to Durocortorum (Reims), and inquires into the conspiracy of the Senones and Carnutes—Acco, the chief mover in the rebellion, is whipped to death—The legions are placed in winter quarters, and Caesar goes to North Italy—Modern warfare compared with Caesar's warfare 236

CHAPTER XV.

M. CRASSUS.

B.C. 54, 53.

Livy, Epit. 106; *Dion Cassius*, 40, c. 12—27; *Plutarch, Crassus*; *Strabo*, p. 514; *Justinus*, 41, c. 1; 42, c. 4; *Josephus, Antiq.* xiv. 7. 1, *B. J.* i. 8. 8.

In B.C. 54 M. Crassus begins his attack on the Parthians—He crosses the Euphrates, plunders part of Mesopotamia, takes some towns, and

returns to spend the winter in Syria—He does nothing in the winter to strengthen his force, or to exercise his men for the next campaign—Strabo's remarks on the country of the Parthians; and those of Dion Cassius on their mode of war—During the winter Crassus is busy with getting money—He plunders a Syrian temple, and takes from the temple at Jerusalem all the gold which Pompeius had left—His almost incredible greediness—The gold in Jerusalem was the gift of Jews who were in foreign countries—The message of the Parthian Orodes to Crassus—Some of the Roman soldiers who were in garrison in Mesopotamia and had escaped from Surenas, the general of Orodes, bring reports of the great numbers of the enemy—The chief officers advise Crassus to hold a council of war, and the soothsayers declare the signs to be unfavourable, but Crassus pays no attention to them—The Armenian king Artavasdes visits Crassus—The Romans cross the Euphrates in a hurricane—The dangerous hurricanes on this river—The force of Crassus—The advice of the Quaestor Cassius to Crassus—Crassus is deceived by an Arab chief, who advises him to meet Surenas and not to march to Seleuceia, as he intended—The wealth and pomp of Surenas—The scouts announce the approach of the Parthian army, and Crassus prepares for battle—He crosses the river Balissus (Belik), and is attacked by the Parthian mounted bowmen—Publius, the son of Crassus, attempts to force the enemy to a battle—He has some Gallic horsemen—Publius being wounded orders his shield-bearer to kill him—The destruction of the troops of Publius—The Parthians again attack Crassus and show him his son's head on a spear—The Parthians retire when the darkness comes and the Romans pass the night among their dead and wounded—The Romans leave their camp and move slowly—The place of the defeat is not far from Carrhae—The Parthians do not pursue the Romans by night—They massacre those who were left in the camp—Crassus reaches Carrhae and leaves it by night with his troops—He is deceived by a Greek guide, overtaken by the Parthians and killed—The reported loss of the Romans—The head and hand of Crassus are sent to the Parthian king—The mock triumph of the Parthians at Seleuceia—The reconciliation of Orodes and the Armenian king, who marries his sister to Pacorus, the son of Orodes—Banquets on this occasion and Greek plays—Orodes settles the Roman prisoners in Antiocheia Margiana 254

CHAPTER XVI.

ROME.

B.C. 54, 53.

Livy, Epit. 106; *Dion Cassius*, 39, c. 59—65; *Strabo*, p. 609; *Cicero's Letters*; *Cicero, Pro Plancio, and Pro Rabirio Postumo.*

Cicero finishes his treatise *De Oratore*—His poem in three books on his own times, and his treatise *De Re Publica*—The copying of Latin and

Greek books—Cicero withdraws from public affairs; his complaints—The contest for the consulship—Oppius and Cicero buy ground at Rome on Caesar's account for a new Forum—Caesar's way of getting money—The month of February at Rome—Canvassing and bribery active at Rome—Cicero is busy in the courts during a very hot July—He defends P. Vatinius, whom he had formerly abused—The trial of M. Aemilius Scaurus on the charge of Repetundae—Cicero is one of his advocates—Cicero's defence of his friend Cn. Plancius who was prosecuted for bribery—The Lex Licinia de Sodalitiis, and the purpose of this Lex—Wunder's opinion about this Lex—Cicero says that the Roman people like the voting by ballot—Remarks on this mode of voting at elections—The peroration of Cicero's speech for Plancius—Cicero writes a long news-letter to his brother Quintus—The return of Gabinius to Rome—He receives notice of a prosecution for Majestas—He is acquitted—Gabinius is tried again on the charge of Repetundae—Cicero is reconciled to Gabinius and defends him—Gabinius is convicted and goes into exile—The trial of C. Rabirius Postumus, a loan contractor and money lender—Rabirius had accompanied Gabinius to Egypt to look after his debtor king Ptolemaeus—The nature of the charge against Rabirius—Caesar's liberality to Rabirius, whom Cicero defends—The long delayed triumph of C. Pomptinus for his victory over the Allobroges—The death of Julia, the daughter of Caesar, and the wife of Cn. Pompeius—Caesar's marriage proposals—The Roman Interregnum and Interreges—At the end of B.C. 53 neither praetors nor consuls had been elected for the following year—Cicero supports Milo in his canvas for the consulship—M. Antonius, the grandson of the great orator, who was in Gallia with Caesar, comes to Rome with letters from Caesar to Cicero—Antonius is a candidate for a quaestorship, and Cicero helps him—Antonius returns to Caesar—The death of Crassus' son Publius makes a vacancy in the college of augurs—Cicero is elected an augur, and consecrated by Hortensius	269
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CHAPTER XVII.

THE REVOLT OF GALLIA.

B.C. 52.

Livy, Epit. 107; *Caesar, B. G.* vii. 1—34; *Dion Cassius*, 40, c. 33, 34.

The death of P. Clodius—Troops are raised in Italy by order of the Senate—Caesar also raises troops—The troubled state of Italy is reported in Gallia, and the Galli resolve to revolt—Massacre of the Romans at Genabum (Orléans)—The importance of the position of Genabum—Vercingetorix, an Arvernian, heads the revolt: he is elected commander-in-chief

of the Galli : his activity and severity—Lucterius invades the country of the Ruteni : the Bituriges join the Arverni—Caesar leaves Gallia Cisalpina and crosses the Alps—Lucterius brings over the Ruteni to the Arverni—Caesar provides for the defence of the Provincia, and crosses the Cévennes which are covered with snow six feet deep—He terrifies the Arverni, and Vercingetorix returns from the country of the Bituriges—Caesar leaves Decimus Brutus in the country of the Arverni, and again crosses the Cévennes and arrives at Vienna (Vienne) on the Rhone—He travels day and night and reaches the Lingones, among whom two legions were wintering—He collects all his legions at Agendicum (Sens), and thus accomplishes his purpose of uniting his forces after having drawn Vercingetorix southwards—Caesar leaves two legions at Agendicum, and advances to Vellaunodunum, which surrenders—He appears before Genabum, enters the town, plunders it, and sets it on fire—Vercingetorix advances to meet Caesar, who takes Noviodunum of the Bituriges—Caesar's German horsemen defeat the Gallic cavalry—Caesar continues his march to Avaricum (Bourges) the chief town of the Bituriges—Vercingetorix persuades the Bituriges and other peoples to burn their towns—At the entreaty of the Bituriges Avaricum is spared contrary to the judgment of Vercingetorix, and it is determined to defend the town—The position of Avaricum and of Caesar's camp—His works before the town, and the sufferings of his men—He leaves the town to attack the enemy's camp which Vercingetorix had left—Caesar will not attack the enemy in his strong position, and returns to Avaricum to continue the siege—Vercingetorix is charged by his army with treachery for leaving them without a general—His defence is accepted by his men—The deception which he practises—The sources of Caesar's information—The ingenuity of the Galli in defending Avaricum—The Bituriges are skilled in mining—Description of the way in which Gallic town walls were constructed—The defenders of Avaricum fire the wood in the Roman embankment—Caesar's record of the courage of the Galli—The enemy prepare to leave the town in the night, but are prevented by the cries of the women which are heard by the besiegers—Caesar makes a sudden assault and takes Avaricum—All the people within the town are massacred to the number of near forty thousand—Vercingetorix comforts his men after the capture of Avaricum, and advises them to fortify their camps in Roman fashion—The influence of Vercingetorix increases after the capture of Avaricum, which was defended contrary to his advice—He repairs his losses—Caesar finds great stores in Avaricum—The civil troubles among the Aedui—Caesar goes to Decetia on the Loire and settles the disputes by delivering judgment in favour of Convictolitanis—He divides his forces into two parts—Labienus with four legions is ordered to march against the Senones and Parisii—With the other six legions Caesar marches southwards into the country of the Arverni .

CHAPTER XVIII.

GERGOVIA.

B.C. 52.

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Livy, Epit. 107 ; *Caesar, B. G.*, vii. 35—56 ; *Dion Cassius*, 40, c. 35—38.

Caesar marches south on the east bank of the Elaver (Allier)—Vercingetorix marches on the west bank in the same direction, after breaking down the bridges over the river—Caesar crosses the Elaver by a stratagem, and Vercingetorix hurries to Gergovia—Position and description of Gergovia—The camp of Vercingetorix on the hill of Gergovia—Caesar seizes a strong position—His two camps—The treachery of the Aeduan Convictolitanis, who is bribed to desert Caesar—Convictolitanis gains Litavicus, who has the command of ten thousand Aedui, who were going to Gergovia to Caesar—Litavicus deceives the men by lying, and persuades them to join the Arverni—Caesar is informed of the defection, and sets out soon after midnight with a large force to meet the insurgents—He meets the ten thousand Aedui, terrifies them into submission, and returns to his camp, which had been attacked in his absence—The rapidity of his march to meet the Aedui, and his rapid march back to his camp—The Aedui fall on the Romans in their country, whom they rob and massacre—On hearing of the ten thousand being in Caesar's power, they change their behaviour, and send commissioners to Caesar to clear themselves of blame—Caesar's prudence and foresight: he says that he does not condemn the state for the folly of a few—The reasons of his policy—Caesar's design on Gergovia, and the plan for the execution—He seizes three of the enemy's camps on the hill side—Part of the force disobey his orders, and attempt to break into the town of Gergovia, which is on the summit of the hill—His men are driven down the hill with great loss—He rebukes his men for not following his orders, tells them that he requires obedience as well as courage, and that he is the judge of the means to victory—He twice offers Vercingetorix battle in the plain, and the offer not being accepted he leaves Gergovia and crosses the Elaver—The author of the "Histoire" condemns Caesar—The answer to his censure—Caesar allows two of the chief men of the Aedui to leave him on the pretence of confirming the fidelity of their countrymen to the Romans, though he suspects that they will hasten the revolt—The reasons for his conduct—The Aedui plunder and destroy Caesar's stores at Noviodunum (Nevers)—Caesar reaches the Loire, which is swollen by the melted snows—His reasons for crossing the river, which he passes in safety—He supplies his men with corn and cattle in the country of the Aedui, and joins Labienus—He is now ready to resist the combination of the Galli, which he had foreseen—Caesar's conduct during the difficult campaign of 52

CHAPTER XIX.

ALESIA

B.C. 52.

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Livy, Epit. 108; *Caesar, B. G.*, 57—90; *Dion Cassius*, 40, c. 39—41; *Plutarch, Caesar*.

Labiennus advances from Agendicum (Sens) against Lutetia (Paris)—His march along the left bank of the Yonne and the Seine—The enemy collect their forces under Camulogenus, who determines to stop Labienus at a marsh—Labienus, being unable to pass the marsh, retreats to Melodunum (Melun), where he crosses the Seine on boats—He leads his forces along the right bank of the river to Lutetia, which is burnt by order of Camulogenus—Opinion of the author of the “*Histoire*” on the position of the marsh where Labienus was stopped—The news spreads that Caesar had retired from Gergovia, and that Gallia is rising—Labienus is threatened by the Galli on the north and on the south, and determines to leave his position on the north bank of the Seine opposite to the island of Lutetia—He crosses to the south side of the Seine in the night by a skilful stratagem, defeats Camulogenus, retreats to Agendicum, and joins Caesar—The defection of the Aedui is a signal for the general rising of the Galli—Vercingetorix is elected commander-in-chief of the united Gallic forces—His declaration as to the way of conducting the war against Caesar—The danger to the Provincia: men are raised there by L. Caesar, a kinsman of C. Caesar—Caesar gets cavalry and light infantry from the Germans east of the Rhine—The number of his legions—Caesar marches from the Loire to the country of the Lingones in order to reach the Provincia—Vercingetorix opposes Caesar’s march, and is totally defeated—Caesar follows Vercingetorix, who takes refuge in Alesia (Alise), a town of the Mandubii—He sees on his arrival that the place can only be taken by blockade—The site of Alesia, and the site of the battle field where Vercingetorix was defeated—Caesar’s description of Alesia corresponds to the site of Alise—The camps of Caesar round Alesia—The cavalry fight on the plain of Les Laumes, and the superiority of Caesar’s German cavalry—Vercingetorix sends off his cavalry with instructions to summon the Gallic nations to his relief—He takes possession of all the provisions in Alesia—Caesar forms his countervallation: description of his works—The line of circumvallation is fourteen Roman miles in circuit—The Gallic States summon a large force for the relief of Alesia—The force is estimated at 240,000 men—The commanders who are appointed—Want of food in Alesia—Critognatus, an Arvernian, recommends resistance, and eating those who are too young or too old to fight—The Mandubii, with their wives and children, are turned out of their own town by Vercingetorix—They intreat the Romans to be taken as slaves and fed, but Caesar refuses to receive them—The confederate Galli arrive in front of Alesia—The cavalry fight between the relieving army

and Caesar's cavalry—The victory is determined in favour of Caesar by his German cavalry—The Galli of the relieving army attempt to assault the Roman lines just after midnight—Vercingetorix leads his men out of Alesia to attack the Roman lines from the inside—No part of the Roman lines is forced—The attack made by a detachment of the relieving army on the north-west side of the Roman lines at Mont Réa—Other parts of the outer and inner lines are attacked at the same time—Caesar's position on the north-west side of the hill of Flavigny—Labienus is ordered to support the troops at Réa, and is instructed to sally out if he cannot resist the enemy—The Galli assault Caesar's position on the hill of Flavigny, but are repulsed—Caesar hurries towards the camp on Réa, being informed by Labienus of his intention to sally out on the enemy—Caesar is followed by part of the cavalry, and he sends part round the external lines to attack the enemy on the rear—Conspicuous by his scarlet cloak he is seen approaching by the Galli and the Romans—On both sides there are loud shouts—The sally is made: the cavalry appear on the rear of the Galli, who turn their backs, and the victory is won—The surrender of Vercingetorix to Caesar—The veracity of Caesar is justified by the evidence of the localities—He puts his troops in winter quarters—When Caesar's despatches reach Rome, a thanksgiving of twenty days is proclaimed . 326

CHAPTER XX.

MILO AND CLODIUS.

B.C. 52.

Livy, Epit. 107; *Asconius in Orationem Pro Milone, ed. Orelli*, p. 40—55; *Cicero's speech for Milo*; *Dion Cassius*, 40, c. 44—57.

Clodius and Milo meet on the twentieth of January on the Appian road, and Clodius is killed by Milo's men—The body of Clodius is carried to Rome, to his house, and finally to the Curia Hostilia, which is burnt with the body—The mob break into the house of the Interrex Lepidus—Milo returns to Rome—Great disturbance in the city—The Senate issue the usual commission for the protection of the State—Pompeius is empowered to raise troops in Italy—Pompeius is afraid, or pretends to be afraid, of Milo—The historian Sallustius and Milo's wife Fausta—Pompeius' supposed fear of Milo—The nephews of P. Clodius demand the slaves of Milo and Fausta to get evidence from them—Pompeius is appointed sole consul—He promulgates two bills, one *de vi*, the other about bribery at elections—The new regulations about trials—The reference of Asconius to the journals of the Senate (*acta*)—Milo is falsely charged with having a dagger in the Senate—Some of the tribunes keep up the popular excitement

against Milo—The quaesitor L. Domitius allows Appius to take and examine some of Milo's slaves—Some of the slaves of P. Clodius are put to the torture to extract evidence from them—The trial of Milo—Cicero speaks in Milo's defence under great trepidation—The nature of Cicero's defence—Milo is convicted and goes to Massilia (Marseille)—The sale of his property—The suspicion against Cicero of buying some of Milo's property—Cicero's explanation of this transaction—The opinion of some modern writers on this matter—Cicero's extant speech for Milo—The trials which followed Milo's trial—Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius, escapes trial—On the first of August Scipio becomes the colleague of Pompeius in the consulship—The law which requires candidates for a magistracy to be present at the Comitia—Caesar is excepted from the law—After the tenth of December the tribunes Pompeius Rufus, and Munatius Plancus are tried for burning the Curia Hostilia and convicted—Cicero prosecutes Plancus and rejoices over his conviction—M. Cato an unsuccessful candidate for the consulship—Cato will not shake hands with the Roman electors—The gold which is said to have disappeared from the seat of Jupiter Capitolinus 352

CHAPTER XXI.

THE STATE OF GALLIA.

B.C. 51.

Livy, Epit. 108; *B. G.* viii. 1—48.

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CAESAR AND THE SENATE.

B.C. 51.

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APPENDIX I.

ON THE TWO INVASIONS OF BRITANNIA.

MUCH has been written on Caesar's expeditions to Britain, and there is still great difference of opinion on the matter. I have endeavoured to give the meaning of Caesar's text (chaps. ix. xii.), and I will now state what are the difficulties in his narrative.

The problem is to determine from what place on the French coast Caesar sailed, and at what part of the English coast he landed. If names of places were the same now as they were in Caesar's time, of course there would be no occasion for this inquiry, if he had named the place of embarkation and the place of landing. But he has only given a name to the place of embarkation, and it is not certain what modern position corresponds to it; and he has not given a name to his landing-place. We must therefore attempt to solve the problem from his narrative, and from a consideration of the tides and stream in the English Channel. Every solution of the problem ought to be consistent with Caesar's text, and also consistent with the state of the tide and the direction of the Channel stream at the times of embarkation, anchoring, and landing. A solution which fails in any one of these conditions is not satisfactory, if we assume that Caesar's narrative is true.

The only contemporary evidence is the Commentaries. The statements of compilers, if they contain only what is in Caesar, add nothing to the evidence: if they contradict Caesar, we cannot accept the statements; and if the compilers tell us any thing which is not in Caesar, it cannot be accepted absolutely. Strabo, Plutarch, Appian, and Dion must have had some authority for what they have written, but we do not

know what authorities they had except Caesar himself. Dion certainly used the Commentaries, but he has often perverted the meaning, and he has added circumstances which are false and manifestly his own invention. I have given in this volume sufficient proofs of Dion's carelessness, ignorance, and incapacity. Yet some writers who have discussed Caesar's British expeditions use Caesar, Plutarch, Dion, Florus as if they were all of nearly equal value with the Commentaries as evidence of a fact, and as if we may trust any of them for a fact which is found nowhere else. Even the adventure of Scaeva (Valerius, iii. 2. 23) is used as evidence in the matter of the landing. The story may be true, though Caesar says nothing of him. Lucan (vi. 144, x. 544) has preserved the centurion's name¹. We have in Polyænus (p. 210) a story about Caesar having an elephant with him which is certainly false, though we may suppose that a writer on military stratagems found this statement somewhere. It is probable that much was written in the imperial period about Caesar's expeditions, and that most of it was as worthless as the great mass of writings of that age².

The first question is, from what port did Caesar sail? The majority of opinions is now on the side of Boulogne: a few still maintain that he sailed from Wissant. If we take the evidence of the name, it is in favour of Wissant, a word which resembles in some degree Caesar's Itius or Itium; but it is not certain whether Caesar wrote Itium or Iccium. Wissant was a usual place of embarkation and landing between France and England for many centuries, from A.D. 566 to A.D. 1327, as the learned Dufresne (Ducange) proves in his dissertation *De Portu Iccio*, translated into Latin by Gibson,

¹ Scaeva's exploits in the civil war are recorded by Caesar (B. C. iii. 53), by Suetonius (Caesar, 68), by Florus (iv. 2. 40), and by Valerius Maximus (iii. 2. 23) also in the same chapter in which he speaks of Scaeva's great deeds in Britain, where he was so roughly handled, according to the story, that it is a wonder that he ever fought again.

² There were traditions about Caesar's invasion of Britain, which would be the foundation of stories. Aper says in the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* of Tacitus (c. 17), "Nam ipse ego in Britannia vidi senem qui se fateretur ei pugnae interfuisse qua Caesarem inferentem arma Britannis arcere litoribus et pellere adgressi sunt." I wish Aper had told us in what year he was in Britain.

Oxford, 1694. Dufresne also proves from two chroniclers, Gulielmus Gemeticensis and Gulielmus Pictavensis, that one of them names the port Witsand, and the other names it Itium, and both writers are speaking of the same voyage of Alured to England. We have therefore proof, that whether Wissant was used by Caesar or not, it was a well-frequented port many centuries after his time, and that one writer has named it Itium. Wissant is now sanded up, and it is very difficult to form an opinion of the capabilities of this port nineteen hundred years ago. Boulogne was used as a port in and after the time of the Emperor Claudius, and the Gallic name was Gesoriacum, a word which contains one of the usual Gallo-Roman terminations—*acum*. The place afterwards received the Roman name Bononia. Now if it was named Gesoriacum in Caesar's time, why did he name it Itium? It is not easy to answer this question. Some critics indeed find the name Iccius, which they assume to be the true name, in the village of Isques, "which stood in ancient times at the head of the estuary of the Liane, the river of Boulogne, and thus Isques would naturally give its name to the port below." As Napoleon placed himself at Isques when he was preparing the invasion of England, "what more probable than that Caesar also should have pitched the Praetorian tent at Isques, and then have spoken of the port below as Portus Iccius?" (Lewin, *Invasion of Britain by Julius Caesar*, p. 24.) Mr. Lewin does not say that the port was named Iccius by the Galli, but that Caesar spoke of it as Portus Iccius; nor does Mr. Lewin say what the Gallic name was. If in Caesar's time it was named Gesoriacum, we may assume that Caesar would have named it so. If it had then no name, which is not probable, Mr. Lewin allows us to infer that he affirms that Caesar gave it the name Iccius. Whether it had no name or was named Iccius, when did it take the name Gesoriacum?

The question between Wissant and Boulogne cannot be decided by assuming or even proving, if it were possible, that Boulogne was the better port in Caesar's time. Caesar sailed from some French port on the English Channel, which he names the most convenient, and the passage was the

shortest. The passage to Britain is shorter from Wissant than from Boulogne. Caesar estimates the passage from Itium at thirty Roman miles, but this estimate exceeds the distance from Wissant to the nearest part of the English coast, and it is about the true distance from Boulogne to the same part of the English coast. The conclusion is that it will never be settled whether Caesar sailed from Wissant or from Boulogne.

As to Caesar's landing-place, I have said (p. 166) that if his ships anchored off Dover and he continued his course from Dover in the direction in which he moved thither, after sailing seven miles farther he would come to the open shore about Deal. But it is said that he could not continue his voyage in this northern direction, because on that day from half-past eleven to half-past six the stream was flowing down the Channel, and he must therefore have gone towards Hythe, and landed about those parts. If we ask whether he could not have gone up the Channel with a fair wind, the answer now is that he could not. Caesar was at anchor from about half-past eight A.M. to about three or half-past three P.M., when the tide had been rising some time. He then set sail, and he had the wind as he says. If he did not go forward, his statement is false.

Mr. Lewin says that Caesar sailed from Boulogne and came to anchor off Dover, where he remained until three in the afternoon of the 27th of August. Then having the wind and the tide in his favour, he sailed to the west, and "rounding the precipitous cliffs which had so long defied him, came to the creek of Limne" (p. 41). The map in the book does not represent Caesar as sailing to Dover, but as moving in a direct line from Boulogne towards Folkstone, and when he was some miles short of Folkstone, turning due west to Limne. But it is a common thing for a book and a map not to agree. As the stream would be running to the west of Dover at three P.M. on the 27th of August, Mr. Lewin concludes that Caesar sailed from Dover in the same direction as the stream, and went towards Romney Marsh. He remarks (p. 38, note) that the place of debarkation depends altogether on the direction of the tide at three P.M. on the 27th of August, B.C. 55; which is not true, for the wind also must be taken into the account.

However, notwithstanding this remark, he does take the wind into the account, and in this way. If Caesar, he says, had the wind in his favour on the voyage from Boulogne to Dover, it must have been south or west; and if the wind continued in that quarter and Caesar sailed before it, he must have steered to the east. But, if the wind was south, "it would have been favourable to a movement either to the east or west from a point opposite to Dover" (p. 39). Having admitted so much, Mr. Lewin sees that it will be better for his theory to suppose that the wind was not from the south or west when Caesar set sail at three in the afternoon, and accordingly he supposes that the wind had changed, and he further supposes that this change is implied in the Latin word "nactus." But this is not a certain conclusion (see B. G. v. 9, and other passages).

It is difficult to say whether this inference from the word "nactus" is even probable. I think that it is not probable unless Caesar had already determined to sail to Limne, and that when he saw the stream setting in that direction and the wind also, he took advantage of both. But Caesar could know nothing of the stream, for he now felt it for the first time, but there was something else that he could understand better. He saw that the tide had been rising for some hours, for "aestus" ought to be translated "tide" and not "stream," and at the time when he was ready to sail, he had also, as he says, the wind favourable, which means favourable for his purpose, whatever it was; and he went on his course, and therefore northward, as he means by the word "progressus."

This interpretation is more consistent with the text than Mr. Lewin's. If the objection is made that it was impossible to sail northward against the stream, then the certain conclusion is that if Caesar's anchorage was off Dover, his narrative is not true. If Mr. Lewin's interpretation is true, it contradicts Caesar's text, and as long as the word "progressus" stands, we cannot reconcile Caesar's statement with Mr. Lewin's conclusion.

On the second voyage the wind dropped in the night, and Caesar's ships drifted from their course up the Channel. Mr. Lewin (p. 81) supposes that they were carried beyond or at least up to the South Foreland, and when the tide turned west

“by dint of rowing with the current in their favour the whole fleet gained the familiar level shore just opposite Limne” (p. 81)³.

Mr. Lewin does not explain Caesar's statement that in the early morning after the night voyage he saw Britannia on the left hand “left behind” (*relicta*); a statement which cannot be reconciled with the supposition of his being no farther north than the South Foreland, and can only be explained by the assumption that he had been carried as far as the North Foreland, and so had left Britannia behind. Here are two instances in which Mr. Lewin's theory of the voyages directly contradicts Caesar's text.

Mr. Lewin (p. 44) thus explains the words “*planum*,” “*apertum*,” and “*molle*” (B. G. iv. 23; v. 9), by which words Caesar describes the nature of his landing-place: “Caesar had reached the creek of Limne, and on the western side of it was the shore where the debarkation was to be made; it was ‘*planum*’ or flat, as he describes it, for there was not a single elevation in the whole marsh, and it was also ‘*apertum*’ or open, for the heights to the north were at least a mile distant. The sea-beach was also ‘*molle*’ or soft, not with mud or ooze, but it consisted of shingle, than which nothing can be more favourable to the security of vessels.”

Mr. Lewin supposes Romney Marsh to have been then as it is now or nearly so, but there was a creek, as he says, at Limne, and Caesar landed on the shore west of this creek. It is certain that there was a port of some kind at Limne during the Roman occupation of Britain; but that is all that we know from direct evidence. He explains the word “*apertum*” by affirming without any evidence that the heights to the north were at least a mile distant; but even if this could be proved, it would not justify the statement that the shore was open (*apertum*). The true conclusion would be that the shore was not open, and that the Romans could not look into the interior of the island.

³ He says (p. 81) that the sun rose at four A.M., and he supposes (p. 79) that Caesar sailed on the eighteenth of July at full moon (p. 84); or as he says in another place (p. 85), “we may infer with the highest probability that Caesar sailed from Boulogne either on the very 18th of July, B.C. 54, or at all events within a day or two either before or after it.”

When we are endeavouring to support an opinion, all of us are blind to some objections. If any person can read Caesar without a preconceived opinion, and if he wishes to find the truth, let him say after reading the description of the landing (B. G. iv. 24—26), whether Caesar landed near a creek or on an open sea-shore. I think that the description of the landing shows that it could not have been made near a creek. Mr. Lewin is obscure. Perhaps he means that on reaching this creek Caesar landed on the shore immediately west of the creek.

The title of Mr. Appach's book is "Caius Julius Caesar's British Expeditions from Boulogne to the Bay of Apuldore, and the subsequent formation geologically of Romney Marsh, 1868." Mr. Appach began his inquiries by assuming that in Caesar's time "the sea filled the whole of the Bay of Apuldore, and on testing this assumption with the Commentaries, I found it," he says, "in every respect consistent with the narrative." Mr. Appach's theory therefore requires the establishment of the fact that Romney Marsh has been formed since Caesar's time, and he attempts to prove this fact by a careful examination of the marsh, of the manner in which it has grown, and in which it was finally shut in and made what it is. Few readers will take the pains to examine his argument, and very few will be able to say whether he has proved his case. If he has not done this, his theory about Caesar's landing cannot be accepted; and if it be admitted that he has proved the recent formation of Romney Marsh, his theory must still be tested by its conformity to Caesar's text. There can be no doubt at all that in Caesar's time and long after Romney Marsh did not exist as it now is; and it may be granted that the sea filled up the Bay of Apuldore; but we cannot grant that this sea was navigable by the Roman ships, and of course it cannot be proved that it was navigable. It may however be assumed as an hypothesis, and if this assumption is the only thing requisite to explain Caesar's two voyages, and no other explanation can be given, the assumption may be allowed.

Mr. Appach (p. 42) concludes from the fact of Limne or Lypne being the ancient Portus Lemanis, and being long used by the Romans, that the Bay of Apuldore was not at that time completely closed by the growth of the marsh and shingle: and

this conclusion is just. He also affirms (p. 47) that the coast from Sandgate to the west of Hythe being sheltered from the "force of the sea and stream in the Channel must therefore have been the principal British port on this part of the coast in the time of Caesar" (p. 48).

He maintains that Caesar's first voyage was from Boulogne (p. 8—11); and he concludes (p. 11) that in B.C. 55 "the cliffs [along the French coast at Boulogne] extended farther seaward than they do now, and there was no blown sand or much less than at present. The salient portions of the coast therefore, such as Cape Alprech, were then comparatively more prominent than they now are. With these exceptions, the French coast presented much the same appearance in the time of Caesar as it does at the present day." He says in his preface that "Boulogne as it must have been in ancient days, completely answers the description which Caesar gives of the port from which he sailed." But Caesar gives no description of the port from which he sailed, except that he says "that he had found it the most convenient for the voyage to Britain, a passage of thirty miles from the continent (B. G. v. 2).

Mr. Appach (p. 59) supposes that in the first voyage Caesar sailed from Boulogne to Hythe, and he applies the words (B. G. iv. 23) "in omnibus collibus" to the appearance of the heights about Hythe, where he says Caesar "would have seen no less than five separate and distinct hills lying nearly in a line from east to west." He further says, "In fine, if full force be given to Caesar's expressions, his description alone, independently of any other considerations, is sufficient to identify Hythe as the place at which he arrived on first reaching the shores of Britain" (p. 70). Caesar often uses "collis" as we use the word "hill;" for instance (B. G. vii. 69), when he is describing the flat-topped heights which surround the hill on which Alesia stood. But I understand "in omnibus collibus" (B. G. iv. 23) to mean simply "on all the heights," and I do not suppose that the notion of "separate and distinct hills" is a correct interpretation. When Caesar further says (iv. 23) that the place was hemmed in by heights (montibus⁴) so close to the sea that a missile

⁴ Mr. Appach says, (p. 69) "Here it will be observed that in the first sentence

could be easily thrown upon the shore from the parts above, I think that his description does not correspond at all to the heights about Hythe. This is a matter of fact, of which any person can judge who has seen this part of the Kentish coast.

When Caesar saw all the heights covered with armed men, he could not land at Hythe, and "he must needs go either to Deal or Bonnington, at both of which places he knew from Volusenus' report that the ground was practicable for his intended operations" (p. 71). This assertion is much more than Caesar's words will justify (B. G. iv. 21).

Mr. Appach assumes (p. 71) that the officers assembled (B. G. iv. 23) in Caesar's ship about 9.30. A.M. "The tide was falling, the stream was running up channel at about $2\frac{3}{8}$ miles an hour, and the wind was about N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.; a state of circumstances which was of course evident to the Romans as they lay at anchor." I do not see how we can infer from Caesar's words at what time he assembled his officers. Perhaps the correct conclusion would be that it was later than Mr. Appach supposes. Caesar, as he truly observes, was ignorant of the turn of the stream in the Channel, and as far as he could tell, therefore, it was utterly impossible to go to Bonnington. He could sail, as Mr. Appach says, as far as the South Foreland with ease; "and then they could row the rest of the distance with the aid of the stream, if they kept well under the shelter of the cliff." Mr. Appach then assumes that "Caesar gave orders for a landing at Deal, but when the stream turned down channel at 11.32 A.M. these arrangements had to be altered. The wind still remaining N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N., the ships might possibly be able to sail to

Caesar uses the word *all* (in *omnibus collibus*), and applies it to hills in the plural; and that in the second sentence he again speaks of the mountains (*montibus*) in the plural, thus pointedly implying, if not in fact asserting that there were more than two hills, in which case the expression *both* or *on each side*, instead of *all*, would be more appropriate." I do not understand the latter part of the sentence, in which he suggests that Caesar might have written better. The use of Roman plural nouns, "*colles*," "*montes*," "*fossae*," "*fumi*," and other plurals, may be learned from Caesar and other Roman writers. The plurals are often used to indicate all or many or various parts of the same thing. "*Fossae*" often signifies every part of a "*fossa*" which surrounds a camp, and "*fumi*" all the flames in every part of a wide conflagration (B. G. v. 48; iii. 18).

the South Foreland, but it would be quite impossible to row from that point to Deal against the stream. He must row with it, and therefore go to Bonnington, which he would be able to reach by keeping under the shelter of the high ground between Hythe and Aldington Knoll. Fresh orders were given accordingly a little after 11.32 A.M." Mr. Appach adds that all the ships "joined before 2.18 P.M., a little after the wind had changed to E.N.E."

Mr. Appach in his details of the first voyage, Section xxiv., makes the wind change several times, and here he makes it change again. This section on the voyage is very ingenious. The changes of the wind are assumed, I suppose, as necessary to explain the time occupied in the transit, and to make the voyage conformable to the tides and stream in the Channel. The last change of the wind to E.N.E. is very useful for the voyage from Hythe to Bonnington, where Caesar brought up his ships "on an open and flat coast," the flat ground to the west of Aldington Knoll, a distance of about seven Roman miles from Hythe. From Aldington Knoll, as Mr. Appach observes, westward to the end of the promontory of Apuldore, "the ground is perfectly open and so nearly level that it is almost impossible in many places to distinguish the line of junction of the upland with the marsh" (p. 73). Mr. Appach also observes, that his explanation of the voyage from Hythe to Bonnington is consistent with Caesar's word "progressus" (B. G. iv.23).

In the second voyage (Section xxxvi.) Mr. Appach states that on the morning of the day after the evening on which Caesar set sail, his fleet was off the South Foreland (p. 106). "It was now daylight, as the sun rose at 4.13 A.M., and Caesar saw that he had left Britain behind." The author then explains how the fleet reached the former landing-place "at 11.54 A.M., or a little before noon, as Caesar says that it did."

If Caesar was off the South Foreland, he might have said that he had left his former landing-place behind, but he could not say that he had left Britain behind, for it was right in front of him. Caesar's position at daybreak must have been farther north to enable him to say that he had left Britain behind; and such a more northern position would

make his remark consistent with his notion of the figure of the island (chapter xi. of this volume, p. 193).

Mr. Appach thus explains Caesar's words (B. G. v. 8), "orta luce sub sinistra Britanniam relictam conspexit:" "The words 'on the left' are an unmeaning expression, if the configuration of the coast had been the same in his day as it is at the present time, for Britain could not by any possibility have been in any other position. The expression, however, is peculiarly appropriate if the sea then filled the Bay of Apuldore; for Caesar sailing, as he thought, from Boulogne to Kennardington (a little east of Apuldore), of course expected to see Britain on his right when daylight appeared, and being very much surprised to find it on his left, naturally mentioned the circumstance in his narrative" (p. 103).

To this I reply that there is no reason for supposing that "sub sinistra" is not a genuine part of Caesar's text, and if it is, the words cannot be unmeaning, for Caesar's words always mean something. Nor, as I think, does the meaning of these words depend in any degree on the fact whether the configuration of the coast is the same that it was in Caesar's time or different. The words express a fact, that Caesar had left the island behind: he had been carried so far that he could see no part of the island except what he saw on his left; and he uses the word "left" to express this fact. This passage presents an insuperable difficulty to all those who conduct Caesar's fleet to Hythe or any place west of Hythe.

There is still another passage in Caesar which is worth notice. On the first voyage eighteen ships with cavalry on board sailed from what Caesar names the upper port on the French coast (B. G. iv. 28). They sailed on the fourth day after Caesar's landing in Britain, and came near enough to be seen from the Roman camp. But a furious storm rose so suddenly that not a single vessel could keep its course: some were carried back to the place from which they came, and others with great risk of loss were driven to the lower part of the island which is nearer towards sunset. The "lower part" is the south (B. G. v. 13). The probable conclusion from this passage is, that the Roman camp was on what Caesar might call the upper (superior) or north part of the Kentish coast.

I have given the purport of these two essays as correctly as I can; but it is not easy to give another man's meaning in fewer words than he has used himself. Mr. Appach's work is a book of 143 pages. It is the most laborious attempt that I have seen to explain the Roman invasions of Britain, and it is a work of real value.

I still retain the opinion which I have stated (chapters ix. xii.), that Caesar landed at Deal; and I have nothing to add to the Note on Caesar's British expeditions in my second edition of the Commentaries on the Gallic War, 1860. I have already stated the objection made to this theory, and the objection cannot be answered, if it is true that under the circumstances Caesar on his first voyage could not sail from Dover to Deal. I have collected information from various persons who are acquainted with the tides at Dover, who think that Caesar under the circumstances could reach Deal, if he had a fair wind. Lieutenant Burstal, to whom I submitted many years ago the facts contained in Caesar's text without any remarks of my own, says "it is very possible that there was sufficient wind for Caesar to make good head-way against the stream, as at that period of the moon, four days before the full, the stream would not exceed $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile an hour." As to the second voyage Lieutenant Burstal observes, "It is probable that the stream would not carry Caesar farther to the east than this position (some miles off the North Foreland), from which the indraught towards the Thames and w.s.w. direction of the Gull stream materially assisted him in his progress towards Deal."

I have now done with this subject. If any man can prove by experiment that the voyage from Dover to Deal can be made under the circumstances in which Caesar was, he will settle a long-disputed question.

APPENDIX II

CAESAR'S PROVINCES.

HIRTIVS remarks (p. 385) that in B.C. 51 Caesar knew that it was well known to all the Galli that there remained only one year more of his provincial government. If this was so, his government terminated at the latest at the end of B.C. 50. But if his first term of five years began on the first of January, B.C. 58, it terminated at the end of B.C. 54; and his second term of five years would terminate at the end of B.C. 49. Hirtius also says (B. G. viii. 50), when he is speaking of Caesar going to Italy in B.C. 50, that one object of his visit was to recommend himself to the electors of Cisalpine Gallia for his election to the consulship in the following year (B.C. 49). L. Lentulus and C. Marcellus were already elected consuls for 49. It appears then from this second passage that Hirtius supposed that Caesar would hold his provincial government to the end of B.C. 49, or if it really ended with B.C. 50, he would be a candidate in B.C. 49 as a private person. But he knew that Caesar did not intend to part with his troops before his second election, and his narrative proves it; for he says, when Caesar gave up two legions in obedience to the *Senatusconsultum*, he sent into Italy the thirteenth legion to take the place of the fifteenth, one of the two legions which he had given up. He then placed his troops in winter-quarters at the end of B.C. 50, four legions in North Gallia, and the other four among the Aedui to secure the tranquillity of the country. The eight legions were under the command of his two *legati*, C. Trebonius and C. Fabius, and therefore under Caesar's orders. Caesar then went to Italy.

Perhaps it is not easy to reconcile the two passages in Hir-

tius, but the meaning of the first passage may be that Caesar would have no time for a campaign in Gallia in B.C. 49, for he would be in Cisalpine Gallia and communicating with his friends at Rome about his election in that year.

If the beginning and end of his first five years' commission were not clearly defined, it is not likely that the termination of his second five years was left uncertain in the Lex Trebonia, for Caesar well knew that he had enemies at Rome who wished to deprive him of his provincial government, and his friends at Rome, who secured for him his second term of five years, were able to make the Lex Trebonia so clear that there should be no doubt. I think it is certain that the first term of five years was reckoned from the beginning of B.C. 58. Caesar, we may assume, could have left Rome for Gallia on the first of January, B.C. 58, and though he did not go thither till about three months later; there was a reason for it. He was waiting till the affair of Cicero was decided (vol. iii. p. 457).

There was so much irregularity at this time that we hardly know what were the rules which determined the ordinary duration of a provincial government, or perhaps we may say more correctly, the time at which a man's provincial government began. Cicero, when he was in Cilicia (Ad Att. v. 16. 4), says of Bibulus, who was sent to Syria, that he was not thinking even then of entering his province, and it was said that he did this because he wished to leave it later; which evidently means that his term of office would be reckoned from the day when he entered his province. Cicero entered his province of Cilicia on the thirty-first of July, B.C. 51, and he intended to leave it on the thirtieth of July, B.C. 50, and so complete his proconsular year (Ad Att. v. 21. 9). But both Bibulus and Cicero were sent out as governors under a new regulation, and were not entering on a provincial government immediately after a consulship.

The author of the "Histoire de César" (ii. 472) says that in his opinion, A. W. Zumpt (Studia Romanâ, Berlin, 1859) is the only person who has cleared up this question, and accordingly he says that he borrows most of Zumpt's arguments.

He states that the month of March was usually the time when the consuls who had last gone out of office took pos-

session of their provincial governments; and it is therefore probable that the law of Vatinius, which gave Caesar his Cisalpine province for five years, was enacted in the last days of February B.C. 59, and that Caesar's proconsulship must be dated from the day when this law was enacted; but that nothing would have prevented Caesar "from abridging the time of his consular office before the expiration of it, and seizing the military command or the imperium, as Crassus did in B.C. 55, who set out for Syria without waiting for the end of his consulship." He then says, if we suppose, which is not impossible, that the whole year of Caesar's consulship was comprised in his proconsulship, the first term of five years would terminate at the end of B.C. 55, and consequently the second at the end of B.C. 50. He adds, "Such was the system of the Senate, who were naturally much disposed to shorten the duration of the proconsulship of the Gallic provinces."

I think that this explanation cannot be accepted. The supposition that the whole year of Caesar's consulship was comprised in his proconsulship appears to me a most absurd conjecture. That the Senate were naturally much disposed to shorten Caesar's term, if they could, is true, for the evidence proves it. The author of the "Histoire" has a note which is founded on his own experience: he says, "In all ages it has been seen that assemblies (*assemblées*: he means of course such bodies as the Roman Senate and the English Parliament) attempt to diminish the duration of the powers given by the people to a man who did not sympathize with them. This is an example: the constitution of 1848 declared that the President of the French Republic should be named for four years. Prince Louis Napoleon was elected on the 10th of December, 1848, and proclaimed on the 20th of the same month. His powers would properly have ended on the 20th of December, 1852. Now the Constituent Assembly, who foresaw the election of Prince Louis Napoleon, fixed the limit of the presidency on the second Monday of May 1852, thus taking from him seven months."

Dion (40, c. 59), when he is speaking of the attempt of the consul M. Marcellus in B.C. 51 to supersede Caesar before the proper time, remarks that Caesar's term ended in the next

year, B.C. 50. Appian (B. C. ii. 27) states that C. Claudius, one of the consuls of B.C. 50, proposed in that year, but it is not said at what time of the year, to supersede Caesar, for his time was near an end; an expression which probably means that Appian understood the close of B.C. 50 to be the limit of Caesar's proconsular government. In a letter to Atticus (vii. 7. 6) written at the end of B.C. 50, Cicero says, "Should we then allow a man in his absence to be a candidate for the consulship, when he retains his army, though the day fixed by the law is past?" Here he affirms indirectly that the legal authority of Caesar was terminated, but it is not certain what he means by the law, though perhaps he means the law which gave him a second term of five years. In another letter (Ad Att. vii. 9. 4) Cicero supposes himself to say to Caesar, "You have held a province for ten years, a term given to you not by the Senate, but by yourself through violence and a faction. The time is past, not the time fixed by law, but by your own pleasure. But suppose that it was granted by law: a decree has been made for the purpose of superseding you. You put a difficulty in the way, and you say, Have respect to my claims. I reply, Have respect to our wishes. Would you keep your army longer than the term for which the people granted it, and against the will of the Senate? You must fight it out then, he would reply, unless you allow it." These two passages do not seem to enable us to determine the question between Caesar and the Senate. The real question was whether Caesar should be a candidate for the consulship without coming to Rome, and as this had been allowed by a law which was supported by Pompeius and Cicero, it seems to be implied that he should keep his army and his provinces at least until he was elected. It is certain that he did not intend to give them up until he had secured the consulship; and it appears that his enemies attempted to strip him of his power even before his term expired according to their own reckoning. The Epitome of Livy (108), an authority of no great value, states that Caesar was entitled under a law to hold his provinces to the time of his consulship. This law seems to be the law which allowed him to be a candidate for the consulship without coming to Rome; and the statement in the Epitome

may be true. Caesar certainly did not intend to give up his provinces until he had the consular power in his hands. Cicero (*Ad Att.* vii. 7. 6) admits that when Caesar was empowered to be a candidate for the consulship without appearing at Rome, the power of keeping his army was also allowed, not directly, I suppose, for he does not say that, but he means the power of keeping his army was a necessary consequence of or involved in the permission to be a candidate in his absence.

APPENDIX III.

CATO AND MARCIA.

DRUMANN (Porcii, 198) says of Marcia, the second wife of Cato Uticensis, "she bare several children, and then after B.C. 56, in which year she reconciled Cato with Munatius Rufus, and with the consent of Cato, she lived with Hortensius, after whose death in the year 50 she returned into her former condition." He should have said that she lived with Hortensius as his wife, and that Cato married her again as a widow, as Plutarch says (Cato, c. 52). The death of Hortensius made the vacancy in the College of Augurs which was filled by the election of M. Antonius.

It is not easy to see how Drumann understood this transaction about Marcia, nor will his readers easily understand what he has written. Perhaps he viewed the affair as an instance of a man lending his wife or granting a lease of her for the life of the grantee. So Cato would have the reversion of her, which would become an estate in possession when the estate of Hortensius was determined by his death. It is wonderful that this matter has been so much misunderstood.

Plutarch (Cato, cc. 25, 52) has told the story on the authority of Thræsea, who used as his authority Munatius Rufus, an intimate friend of Cato who accompanied him to Cyprus in B.C. 58 (p. 81). Q. Hortensius wishing to be more intimately connected with Cato asked for Cato's daughter Porcia as a wife, though Porcia was then the wife of Bibulus and had brought him two sons. Hortensius said "that according to men's opinions such a thing was strange, but that according to

nature it was good and for the advantage of states that a woman who was in her youth and perfection should neither be idle and check her procreative power, nor yet should by breeding more children than enough cause trouble to her husband and impoverish him, when he wanted no more children; but that if there was a community of offspring among worthy men, it would make virtue abundant and widely diffused among families, and would mingle the State with itself by these family relationships. If Bibulus, he said, was greatly attached to his wife, he would return her as soon as she had borne a child, and he had become more closely united with Bibulus and Cato by a community of children." It is plain from the story that it was quite possible for Bibulus to part with his wife and for Hortensius then to marry her, for in whatever form Porcia had been married to Bibulus, a divorce was possible according to Roman usages, and then Porcia could marry Hortensius.

Cato replied that he loved and esteemed Hortensius, but he thought it strange that he should propose to marry Porcia, who was the wife of another man. Upon this Hortensius asked for Cato's wife Marcia, who was still young enough to have children, and Cato had children enough. It was said, as Plutarch adds, that Marcia was then with child. Cato seeing the eagerness of Hortensius did not refuse, but he said that L. Marcius Philippus, the father of Marcia, must consent. Philippus did consent, and he gave Marcia in marriage to Hortensius in the presence of Cato, and Cato joined in giving her away. Now it is an elementary principle of Roman law that a woman could not have two husbands at the same time, nor a man two wives. Marcia therefore was divorced, and then she was married, as Plutarch says, to Hortensius. If she was with child at the time, the child would be Cato's, as we see in the case of Octavius, afterwards the Emperor Augustus, who married Livia when she was with child by her husband Tiberius Claudius Nero. Nero surrendered Livia to Octavius, who married her, and on the birth of the child sent it to Nero, the former husband of Livia. Octavius, who was a very methodical man and kept a journal, made an entry in it that he sent to the father the child that Livia, then his own wife,

had produced (Dion, 48, c. 44). The object of Hortensius was to have legitimate children by Marcia, who must therefore have become his wife, for a Roman could not have children who should be in his power, as the phrase was, unless the woman was capable of becoming his wife, and therefore, as it has been stated, Marcia was divorced before she could marry Hortensius.

Strabo (p. 515) says it is reported that it is the custom among the Tapyri for husbands to give up their wives to other men when they have had two or three children from them: as in our time according to an old Roman custom Cato gave up his wife Marcia to Hortensius who asked for her. It is not certain whether Strabo understood the real nature of the transaction; but perhaps he did.

When Hortensius died, Cato, who wanted a person to look after his household and daughters, took Marcia again, who was a widow with a large estate, which Hortensius had left to her. This was the ground on which Caesar in his discourse against Cato (*Anticato*, or *Anticatones*, for there were two books) charged Cato with covetousness and making a traffic of his marriage, "for why should he give up his wife," said Caesar, "if he still wanted one, or why should he take her back, if he did not want one, if it was not that from the first the woman was put as a bait in the way of Hortensius, and Cato gave her up when she was young that he might have her back when she was rich?" Plutarch replies that "to accuse Cato of filthy lucre is like upbraiding Hercules with cowardice: but whether the matter of the marriage was not well in other respects is a thing for inquiry. However Cato did espouse Marcia, and entrusting to her his family and daughters hurried after Pompeius" (c. 52).

END OF VOL. IV.

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