

## APPENDIX VI

*On the Roman Calendar*

Before the reform of the Roman Calendar by Julius Caesar, March, May, July, and October had as now 31 days each, and February 28; but the other seven months had only 29 days, thus making up a lunar year of 355 days. To bring this into harmony with the solar year, an intercalated month, consisting alternately of 27 and 28 days, was inserted in alternate years after the 23rd February, which in these intercalary years had only 23 days. Thus the quadrennial cycle would consist of 1,465 days; for  $355 \times 4 [= 1,420] + 55$  (i. e. two intercalary months) - 10 (five days twice deducted from February) = 1,465. This gives four days too many, but the cycles which it is alleged corrected this error (Liv. i. 19. 6; Macrob. i. 13. 13) appear to have been nothing more than suggestions of reforming pontiffs never carried into effect.

In 191 B.C. the 'Lex Acilia' appears to have empowered the pontiffs to deal with intercalation at their own discretion (Censor. xx. 6); but this only made matters worse, as great irregularity prevailed. The pontiffes are said to have used intercalation to suit the interests of magistrates or governors who were anxious to shorten or prolong their term of office (ep. 34. 5 n.). Particularly in the years after 57 B.C. intercalation was rare, indeed it would seem to have taken place only twice before 46 B.C. While the ancients ascribe this to the caprice of the pontiffs in general, Holzapfel (Rom. Chron. p. 335) suggests that the long absence of the *pontifex maximus*, Caesar, may be the reason. In any case it seems probable that there were only five regular intercalations in the twenty years (65-45 B.C.), probably in 63, 61, 59, 54, and 52 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Thus when Caesar enlisted the services of the Peripatetic Sosigenes to correct the calendar, there was an error of some 90 days. Consequently the year of transition, 46 B.C. (708 A.U.C.), called sometimes the year of confusion, but more justly the last year of confusion, began on October 13, 47 B.C., of the corrected calendar, and numbered 445 days. Caesar inserted, besides the ordinary intercalary month, 67 other days, viz. two intercalary months of 29 and 28 days, and 10 extra days between November and December. The total, 445, is made up of  $355 - 5$  deducted from February +  $(28 + 29 + 28 + 10)$ . Holzapfel and Groebe (*inf.*) hold, probably wrongly, that even in 45 B.C. a discrepancy of one day remained on January 1, but from March 1, 45, in any case, the nominal and real dates coincide.

<sup>1</sup> Rice Holmes may well be right in preferring 55 B.C. (i. 343, 344).

From 45 B.C. the Julian system prevailed, by which the ordinary year was one of 365 days, but in every fourth year a day was inserted after the vi. Kal. Mart. The extra day was called 'bis vi. Kal. Mart.', whence the term bissextile for leap year. The Julian year of 365 days 6 hours exceeded the true solar year by about 11 minutes. Hence in 1582 a further correction had to be made by Pope Gregory XIII, whose calendar is now accepted throughout western Europe, though not in Russia (cf. Smith i. 346).

Appended is a table of days on which the first of January of the unreformed calendar fell according to one reckoned back (in the main by Groebe) on the Julian system to 65 B.C. (cf. Holzapfel, *op. cit.* and Groebe in Drumann iii<sup>2</sup>. 755 f.; Rice Holmes i. 339-43).

65 B. C. 13 Dec. 66.	58 B. C. 31 Dec. 59.	51 B. C. 3 Dec. 52.
64 B. C. 24 Dec. 65.	57 B. C. 21 Dec. 58.	50 B. C. 23 Nov. 51.
63 B. C. 14 Dec. 64.	56 B. C. 10 Dec. 57.	49 B. C. 13 Nov. 50.
62 B. C. 27 Dec. 63.	55 B. C. 30 Nov. 56.	48 B. C. 2 Nov. 49.
61 B. C. 17 Dec. 62.	54 B. C. 20 Nov. 55.	47 B. C. 23 Oct. 48.
60 B. C. 28 Dec. 61.	53 B. C. 1 Dec. 54.	46 B. C. 13 Oct. 47.
59 B. C. 18 Dec. 60.	52 B. C. 20 Nov. 53.	45 B. C. 1 Jan. 45.

## APPENDIX VII

*On Caesar's Powers and Honours, 49-44 B.C.*

§ 1. There can be no real doubt that the form which Caesar chose to express the absolute power held by him in the Roman world was the dictatorship. The consulate, at any rate after 48 B.C., was treated as a mere honour.<sup>1</sup> But in Caesar's attitude to the dictatorship there is a regular progress away from republican usage and towards undisguised absolutism. This change and his treatment of the consulate may best be illustrated by a chronological table of Caesar's offices 49-44 B.C. (cf. Rice Holmes iii. 564-7).

1. 49 B.C. Caesar nominated dictator under a law carried by the praetor, M. Lepidus. He had no 'magister equitum', either because he held office 'comitiorum habendorum caussa' (cf. ep. 52. 3 n. = ad Att. ix. 9. 3; Caes. B. C. iii. 1) or in virtue of some special provision in the law. Caesar heard of his nomination at Massilia (B. C. ii. 21) towards the end of October, and may well have taken office at once (Groebe in Drumann iii<sup>2</sup>. 735-7), though he only exercised its powers for the eleven days (Caes. B. C. iii. 2) he remained in Rome (Dec. 49) before setting out for Brundisium. The only notable irregularity about this dictatorship was the nomination by a praetor.

2. 48 B.C. Second consulship, held regularly except that Caesar was absent from Rome throughout its duration, as he entered upon it at Brundisium (App. ii. 48; Dio Cass. xli. 39).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Suet. Jul. 76 'Tertium et quartum consulatum titulo tenus gessit contentus dictaturae potestate.'



After the news of Pompey's death reached Rome (Oct.-Nov.), the senate and people voted to Caesar among other honours (1) the consulship for five years (Dio Cass. xlii. 20), (2) the dictatorship. Of the consulate he made no use<sup>1</sup>, but thenceforth held the dictatorship continuously. Caesar was no doubt not elected dictator (Plut. Caes. 51), but nominated (Plut. Anton. 8; Dio xlii. 20, &c.) by the other consul, P. Servilius Isauricus. Servilius seems also to have named M. Antonium master of the horse, doubtless by Caesar's wish (Dio Cass. xlii. 21, *Introd.* pt. iv, § 5). Caesar is said to have entered on office at once (Dio Cass. l. c.), i. e. as soon as he heard of his nomination. Now Pompey was killed on September 28 (*Introd.* iv, § 3), so the news of his death might reach Rome by the middle of October, and that of Caesar's appointment get to Alexandria about the end of the month. Dio Cassius (xlii. 20, 55) and Plutarch (Caes. 51) regard this dictatorship as lasting for a year, but the evidence of coins inscribed 'Cos. tert. Dict. iter.' shows that it was conferred for an indefinite period, probably 'rei publicae constituendae causa'; cf. Mommsen in C. I. L. i<sup>2</sup>, p. 41. Doubtless Caesar held it till the decennial dictatorship was granted him (*inf.*).

3. 46 B. C. Caesar's third consulship<sup>2</sup>, to which he seems to have been regularly elected with M. Aemilius Lepidus as colleague (Faust. Capit.; C. I. L. i<sup>2</sup>. 940, 941; Dio Cass. xliii. 1).

Third dictatorship, decreed to him when the news of the battle of Thapsus reached Rome (April-May). Caesar was nominated by his colleague Lepidus, who, contrary to all precedent, being already consul, named himself master of the horse<sup>3</sup> (Dio Cass. xliii. 33). This dictatorship, which was probably 'rei publicae constituendae causa', was decreed for ten years (Dio Cass. xliii. 14). But this dictatorship was regarded as in some sense annual: hence Caesar is styled 'dict. quart.' as well as 'dict. tert.' Mommsen (C. I. L. i<sup>2</sup>. 42) follows the 'Fasti' in dating Caesar's third dictatorship from January 1, 45, but it is far more probable that it began at once (cf. Ganter, *Zeit. Numism.* xix (1895), p. 192). In any case, the grant of the dictatorship for so long a period made it impossible to regard the office, like that of Sulla, as a merely temporary instrument to be used for the re-establishment of the constitution.

4. 45 B. C. Fourth consulship without a colleague.

This Caesar resigned on returning to Rome from Spain early in October (C. I. L. i<sup>2</sup>, p. 158), whereupon Q. Fabius and C. Trebonius were elected 'consules suffecti' (Vell. Pat. ii. 56, &c.). When the news of the battle of Munda reached Rome (April 20; cf. Dio Cass. xliii. 40) the consulship for ten years was decreed to Caesar (Dio Cass. xliii. 43; Suet. *Iul.* 76), but perhaps not accepted by him (App. B. C. ii. 106).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 449 n.

<sup>2</sup> Suetonius (*Iul.* 76) is wrong in supposing that Caesar held the consulship in 47 B. C.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly, however, Caesar himself named Lepidus, when he returned from Spain (cf. Groebe in *Drumann*, i<sup>2</sup>, 406).

5. 44 B. C. Fifth consulship (cf. *Introd.* pt. iv, § 11 *ad fin.*). Perpetual dictatorship. Since on one coin Caesar is styled 'cos. quinq. dict. quart.' (Babelon, *Jul.* 30) and on others 'cos. v. dict. perpetuo' (C. I. L. i<sup>2</sup>, p. 42; cf. p. 28) and Caesar is still 'dict. quart.' at his ovation on January 26, it would appear that the perpetual dictatorship was granted to Caesar after January 26, 44 B. C.; on the other hand the decree must be earlier than the Lupercalia (Feb. 15); cf. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 34. 87 'At etiam adscribi iussit in fastis ad Lupercalia C. Caesari dictatori perpetuo, M. Antonium consulem populi iussu regnum detulisse; Caesarem uti noluisse'. It is curious that the masters of the horse were to be changed every year (C. I. L. i<sup>2</sup>, p. 42). This perpetual dictatorship is almost a contradiction in terms. It was regarded as the final repudiation of constitutional government (Plut. Caes. 57). Hence the rejoicings at Antony's abolition of this autocratic office (*Phil.* i. 1. 3 f.).

§ 2. Caesar was within his rights as dictator in treating the appointment of other magistrates, except those of the plebs, and the exercise of their functions as subject to his discretion. But here, too, his capricious disregard of established usage gave great offence.

In 47 B. C. no curule magistrates were elected except for the last two or three months (Dio Cass. xlii. 27, 55; Suet. *Iul.* 76; cf. C. I. L. i. 735; C. I. L. i<sup>2</sup>. 939).

For 46 B. C. the usual magistrates were apparently elected (Dio Cass. xlii. 51), but on his departure for Spain Caesar is said to have appointed prefects to govern Rome in his absence, instead of leaving it to the ordinary magistrates (Dio Cass. xliii. 28; Suet. *Iul.* 76). Most probably, however, this was not done till the beginning of 45 B. C., when Caesar himself and Lepidus, his master of the horse, were the only non-plebeian magistrates (Mommsen, *Staats.* i<sup>2</sup>. 668. 2).

Towards the end of 45 B. C. the usual magistrates were elected for its last few months (Dio Cass. xliii. 46, &c.).

Lastly, in view of his approaching departure for Parthia, Caesar seems to have received the right to name half the magistrates (cf. Suet. *Iul.* 41; Dio xliii. 51) for two years—a power which had apparently been offered him already in 46 B. C. (Dio xliii. 14)—and though this did not apply to the consulate, consuls too were designated for two years in advance (Drumann<sup>3</sup> iii. 612-15).

§ 3. Caesar, like the early emperors, accumulated offices, titles, and honours. Of these the most important were:

1. The *tribunicia potestas* was granted to him for life in 48 B. C.<sup>1</sup> (Dio Cass. xlii. 20). The chief privileges included in it were:

<sup>1</sup> This rests solely on the authority of Dio, and has been questioned, especially as Dio records separately in 44 B. C. the grant of the right of sitting on the tribunes' bench and that of inviolability (xlv. 4 and 5); cf. Rice Holmes, iii. 514-16. No doubt inviolability was the most important privilege, but the early grant of *tribunicia potestas* for life to Augustus (36 B. C.; cf. Mon. Anc. 10; Dio xlix. 15) supports his grant to Caesar.



- (1) *Ius auxilii ferendi*.
- (2) *Ius intercedendi*.
- (3) *Ius agendi cum plebe*.
- (4) *Ius senatum consulendi* (ep. 17. 3 n., 18. 2 = ad Fam. i. 1. 3, 2. 2).
- (5) Personal inviolability.<sup>1</sup>

2. In 46 B. C., after the victory of Thapsus, Caesar was made 'prae-fectus moribus' for three years (ep. 68. 5 n. = ad Fam. ix. 15. 5). Mommsen (Staats. ii<sup>2</sup>. 705) wrongly disputes this, thinking the evidence insufficient, but cf. Rice Holmes iii. 276, n. 3.

3. The title 'Imperator' was conferred on him apparently in 45 B. C. (Dio Cass. xliii. 44). Though the senate granted the title as a 'praenomen' (Suet. Iul. 76), and Augustus claimed to inherit it (Dio lii. 40; Mommsen, Staats. ii. 744), Caesar himself only used it as a 'cognomen' (Mommsen, Staats. ii. 767, n. 1). He, however, definitely broke with the republican practice by which it was conferred on a general after a victory, laid aside after his triumph, and if recorded among his titles, has a number appended to it. Caesar used it without appended number as a permanent title, indicating that supreme military and civil authority (*imperium*) enjoyed by consuls and proconsuls outside the 'pomerium' (Mommsen R. H. v. 330 f.).

In this accumulation of powers and honours Caesar might seem to have anticipated the Principate. But whereas the various powers accumulated by Augustus serve partly to define and partly to conceal the extent of his authority, those showered on Caesar by a subservient senate—to which we may add the right to have his portrait placed upon the coins (first done in 45 B. C.), the triumphal robe, the laurel wreath, and the sceptre of the victorious imperator (Dio Cass. xliii. 43), and even the worship appropriate to a deity (Cic. Phil. ii. 43. 110; Suet. Iul. 76)—serve to emphasize the autocracy embodied in the permanent dictatorship. And that Caesar hoped at least to convert his own personal autocracy into a hereditary monarchy is clearly indicated by the events and rumours of the last few months of his life (cf. Introduct. pt. iv, § 12; E. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie*, pp. 444 f., 508 f.; and Rice Holmes iii. 330-9).

## APPENDIX VIII

*On Caesar's Measures, 49-44 B. C.*

§ 1. Any attempt to represent Caesar's measures as a complete and rounded scheme of legislation is foredoomed to failure for two reasons:

1. They were of necessity sketchy and incomplete, since during the five years in question Caesar had to fight five severe and exacting

<sup>1</sup> Liv. ep. 116, App. B. C. ii. 106, &c., Dio Cass. xliv. 5, say that Caesar was declared inviolable in 44 B. C. Perhaps this was an extension of the usual and official inviolability of the tribune to all times and places (Zumpt, S. R. 278).

campaigns, so that for not one quarter of the time was he free to attend to civil business in Rome.

2. For the greater part of them we have to depend on late and rather untrustworthy compilers, Dio Cassius, Appian, Suetonius, and the epitome of Livy. Only for a few have we contemporary authority, in Caesar's own brief but pregnant accounts, in Cicero's scattered and often baffling notices, or in inscriptions.

Nevertheless, it seems better to attempt at least a reasoned catalogue or subject index of Caesar's principal measures, since a mere chronological list of laws throws but little light on the nature of his work, and omits perforce all notice of schemes attributed to him which were never embodied in actual law. Where possible, however, the dates of the measures carried will be appended.

§ 2. Much of Caesar's legislation, especially in the earlier years (49 and 47 B. C.), was essentially of a temporary and makeshift character. It was designed to meet the financial crisis caused by the war, to remedy injustice caused by the partisan legislation of his opponents, or to provide his followers with some part of the honours and rewards which they demanded for their services.

1. (49 B. C.) A law, or perhaps a number of special decrees restoring exiles, proposed apparently by the praetors and tribunes (Caes. B. C. iii. 1), among whom Antony was prominent (Cic. Phil. ii. 23. 56). Caesar justifies the enactment on the plea that the proceedings under the 'Leges Pompeiae' of 52 B. C. for *ambitus* had been irregular, and speaks as if few exiles had been recalled; Appian (B. C. ii. 48) and Dio Cassius (xli. 36) declare that all who had been exiled under those laws were recalled except Milo (cf. ad Att. x. 4. 8 and ep. 67. 11 n. = ad Fam. vi. 6. 11). Clearly, however, Sextus Clodius was not recalled till a later date (ep. 82. 3 = ad Att. xiv. 13 B. 3).

2. (49 B. C.) A law, perhaps carried by Antony, admitting the children of those proscribed by Sulla, among whom was Pansa, to curule offices (Dio xli. 18; Plut. Caes. 37; cf. ep. 8. 3 n. = ad Att. ii. 1. 3).

3. (49 B. C.) A law or edict on debt. Dio Cassius speaks of a law (xli. 38), but the language of Caesar himself (B. C. iii. 1 *constituit*), Suetonius (Iul. 42 *decrevit*), Appian (ii. 48), and Plutarch (Caes. 37), seems rather to imply an edict. It made some concessions to debtors without alarming creditors, and thus relieved the economic crisis caused by insolvency and the scarcity of money. Public valuers were appointed to ascertain what had been the worth of land and other property before the war. Creditors were obliged to take land at the value thus estimated in payment of their claims (Caes. B. C. iii. 1), and also to deduct sums already received as interest, whereby they lost about a quarter of the total sum claimed (Suet. Iul. 42). The last provision may belong to 47 B. C.

4. (47 B. C.) Remission for one year of the rents due from the cheaper houses in Rome and Italy (Dio Cass. xlii. 51).

5. (47 B. C.) Increase of the number of praetors to ten, and of the three chief priestly colleges by one member each (Dio Cass. l. c.), the



object of this increase, as also of the filling up of the vacancies in the senate, being to satisfy with empty honours the ambitions of Caesar's partisans. Possibly this augmentation of the sacred colleges was embodied in a law which also provided that candidates need not canvass in person (cf. ep. ad Brut. i. 5. 3).

6. (45 B. C.) Creation of new patrician families (e.g. the Octavii, Suet. Aug. 2) under a 'Lex Cassia' (Tac. Ann. xi. 25; Dio xliii. 47).

§ 3. Of Caesar's more constructive and permanent measures one or two went on old lines and shared the failure of their predecessors, but most were well designed to alleviate the evils of the day. Perhaps the only absolute failure was the 'Lex Iulia Sumptuaria' (46 B. C.), which attempted to restrict the use of litters and the wearing of purple dresses and pearls, and the buying of certain dainties for the table (Suet. Iul. 43; ep. 68. 5 n. = ad Fam. ix. 15. 5). The law, though great efforts were made to enforce it, was no more successful than earlier or later sumptuary legislation (Aul. Gell. ii. 24; Tac. Ann. iii. 55). More effective, perhaps, were Caesar's efforts to improve the administration of justice by raising the standard of juries and increasing the severity of penalties.

1. The 'Lex Iulia Iudiciaria' (46 B. C.) provided that juries should be taken exclusively from among the senate and equestrian order, excluding the third and least distinguished class, the 'tribuni aerarii' (Phil. i. 8. 19; Suet. Iul. 41; cf. ep. 6. 3 n. = ad Att. i. 16. 3).

2. 'Leges Iuliae de vi et de maiestate' (46 B. C.?) provided that offenders should forfeit half their property (or if parricides the whole), besides being exiled by the *interdictio aquae et ignis*. As these offences were tried before a *quaestio perpetua*, appeal to the people was *ipso facto* excluded (Phil. i. 9. 23; Suet. Iul. 42); cf. Strachan-Davidson, Problems ii. 48.

§ 4. More characteristic and original were the measures intended to mitigate the twin evils, the concentration of a pauper proletariat in Rome, and the desolation of the country districts of Italy. In earlier days Caesar had courted the populace, and even now he gave them liberal largesses and splendid spectacles. But (1) by law or edict (49 B. C.?) he now dissolved all guilds and clubs recently instituted (Suet. Iul. 42), thus putting an end to the disorders caused by the 'Lex Clodia' of 58 B. C. (ep. 19. 5 n. = ad Q. F. ii. 3. 5). An exemption from this decree was granted to the Jews (Joseph. Ant. xiv. 10. 8, &c.). (2) He restricted the right (also given by Clodius) of receiving a gratuitous monthly dole of corn, which had been enjoyed by 320,000 citizens, to 150,000 of the poor, and provided that this number should be kept up but not exceeded (Suet. Iul. 41, &c.).

Thus Caesar took strong measures to reduce disorder and pauperism in Rome. Further, his large building operations, the 'basilica Iulia', 'forum Iulium', &c., would furnish temporary employment, and his great schemes of colonization (cf. *inf.*) would provide an outlet for the surplus population of the capital.

For restoring the prosperity and staying the depopulation of the

country districts Caesar trusted mainly to assignations of land on a large scale. In Zumpt's opinion (Comm. Epig. i. 300 f.) he merely revived his agrarian laws of 59 B. C. (cf. Intro. pt. i, § 17) with two alterations, viz.: (1) that their execution was now entrusted, not to the *vigintiviri*, but to Caesar's legates (cf. ep. 74 = ad Fam. xiii. 4); (2) their operation was extended to lands outside Italy. However that may be, it appears that none but soldiers received lands in Italy (Suet. Iul. 38; Zumpt, i. 302), and no doubt to satisfy his veterans was an essential feature in Caesar's scheme. But in the large allotments made (46-45 B. C.) care was taken to avoid disturbing existing owners and occupiers (Suet. l. c., quoted in ep. 63. 1 n.), and efforts were made to revive decaying towns and districts. Smaller measures were (1) the law providing that a third of the herdsmen employed on any of the great grazing estates must be of free birth (Suet. Iul. 42); (2) a law probably passed in 47 B. C., but possibly forming part of that on debt passed in 49 (ep. 88. 2 n. = ad Fam. xi. 28. 2), compelling capitalists to invest their cash (apparently any sum over 15,000 drachmas, Dio xli. 38) in Italian land, and thus encouraging improved agriculture. This measure remained in force (Tac. Ann. vi. 16) and was imitated by some of the better emperors (e.g. Trajan; cf. Plin. ep. vi. 19. 4). To these measures we may add unfulfilled plans for a new road across the Apennines, and for the draining of the Fucine lake and the Pomptine marshes (Suet. Iul. 44).

§ 5. The greatest boon conferred by Caesar on the provinces was the absolute subordination of all governors and generals to his own paramount authority, and his stern repression of the abuses prevalent under the Republic. He had already, as consul (59 B. C.), passed a comprehensive statute 'de Repetundis' (ep. 29. 3 n. = ad Att. v. 16. 3); he now carried several useful minor enactments.

1. The 'Lex Iulia de Provinciis' (46 B. C.) provided that no praetorian province should be held by the same governor for more than one year, no consular province for more than two (Cic. Phil. i. 8. 19, v. 3. 7; Dio Cass. xliii. 25). Caesar had in 48 B. C. (Dio Cass. xlii. 20) been given the right to assign the praetorian provinces as he would, while the consular provinces were still nominally at the disposal of the senate.

2. The 'Lex Iulia de Liberis Legationibus' (46 B. C.) limited the duration of these posts probably to one year, as Cicero had done in 63 B. C. (ep. 10. 3 n. = ad Att. ii. 18. 3).

3. A law prohibiting sons of senators leaving Italy, except when on a governor's staff, and preventing other Romans of military age (twenty to forty) residing abroad more than three years except on military service (Suet. Iul. 42).

4. Caesar also abolished (48 B. C.) the oppressive system of tithes and middlemen in the province of Asia (App. B. C. v. 4; Dio Cass. xlii. 6), and probably in Sicily. While thus lightening the burden of Asia by one third, he reimposed on Italy the harbour dues abolished in 60 B. C. (ep. 9. 2 n. = ad Att. ii. 16. 2).

5. Caesar made use of transmarine colonization on a large scale.



We are assured (Suet. Iul. 42) that 80,000 colonists were planted in these settlements. He not only revived the scheme of C. Gracchus for the colonization of Carthage and Corinth (Dio Cass. xliii. 50), but further established new settlements in Africa, at Curubis and Clupea, in Numidia at Cirta (Mommsen, G. S. v. 470 f.), and in Epirus at Buthrotum (ep. 81. 1 n.). Unlike Augustus, he even founded colonies in Bithynia and Pontus, at Apamea on the Propontis, and at Heraclea and Sinope on the Euxine (Strabo 542, 546). But naturally his chief field was the Latinized West. In southern Gaul he colonized Arelate (Arles) and resettled Narbo with veterans. In Spain he recolonized the wasted cities of Hispalis (Seville) and Corduba (Cordova), planted new colonies at Nova Carthago (Carthage), Tarraco (Tarragona), and Urso (Osuna; cf. § 6), and sent new settlers to Emporiae (Ampurias; cf. Liv. xxxiv. 9. 3), as well as to other less known places (E. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie*, 483 f.; Rice Holmes iii. 321, 322).

§ 6. As has been already seen in the Appendix on Caesar's powers, the Gordian knot of the republican constitution was cut rather than untied. Caesar made it clear that senate, magistrates, and assembly were absolutely subordinate to his own authority. For his arbitrary treatment of the magistracies he had as dictator some justification (cf. App. vii. § 2), but his dealings with the senate were equally high-handed. In 47-46 B.C. he had filled up vacancies with his own followers, including even centurions; in 45 he increased its number to 900 and admitted even sons of freedmen and 'semi-barbarous Gauls' (Dio Cass. xliii. 47; Suet. Iul. 41, 76, 80). Nor did Caesar give the senate a place beside himself in the government, as did Augustus and Tiberius; on the contrary, he treated it with ill-disguised contempt (Suet. Iul. 78; cf. ep. 68. 4 = ad Fam. ix. 15. 4).

The large increase in the number of magistrates made in 45 B.C.<sup>1</sup> may, in the case of the quaestors, be connected with the increase of the senate, and in the case of the praetors with the number of praetorian provinces, but more generally it shows Caesar's intention that they should be departmental officials with definite circumscribed duties. In fine Caesar aimed at the municipalization of the old republican constitution.

Caesar's autocracy was plainly irreconcilable with the Graeco-Roman ideal of the free self-governing city state. But the independent city state had become an anachronism before his time. And so far as was possible under a central despotism, Caesar was for the fullest development of local self-government. He reorganized the municipalities of Cisalpine Gaul and Italy, assimilating them to the old Roman pattern. This reorganization, begun by the grant of the franchise to the Transpadane Gauls in March 49 B.C. (Dio Cass. xli. 36) by a 'Lex Roscia' and the consequent regulation of the jurisdiction of the municipal magistrates

<sup>1</sup> The quaestors were increased to forty, the praetors first to fourteen and then to sixteen, the aediles to six (Dio Cass. xliii. 47), the minor magistrates apparently to twenty-six (Suet. Iul. 41).

in Cisalpine Gaul ('Lex Rubria'; cf. C. I. L. i. 205), was completed by the 'Lex Iulia Municipalis', 45 B.C.<sup>1</sup> (C. I. L. i. 206), regulating the qualifications and duties of local magistrates and senators. Probably Caesar in this law only laid down principles which were to be embodied in the charters granted to particular communities, for instance to that founded by his own command at Urso in Spain (Eph. ep. ii. 221 f., iii. 87 f.). But Caesar did more than outline a scheme for the local government of Italy. He also began the process of spreading similar institutions in the Latinized west. His colonies in Gallia Narbonensis and Spain have been noticed above; here we must add the gift of citizenship to the people of Gades (49 B.C.; Liv. ep. 110) and of Latin rights, the natural stepping-stone to full citizenship, to many communities in Sicily (ep. 81. 1 n. = ad Att. xiv. 12. 1) and in Gallia Narbonensis.

Lastly, the eminently practical character of Caesar's genius, shown already in his reform of the Calendar (App. vi) and the issue of an imperial gold coinage, would, if his life had been spared, have been given fuller scope, in a survey and census of the empire, and in the codification of Roman law, while his interest in literature led him to commission M. Varro to form two great libraries, Greek and Latin, in Rome (Suet. Iul. 44).

<sup>1</sup> For the view that the legislation contained in the 'Tabulae Heracleenses' is due to Caesar and the last part is a 'Lex Iulia municipalis' cf. Hardy, J. R. S. iv. 65-110; J. P. xxxv. 32 f. = Problems 238-225; Rice Holmes iii. 163 f.