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Gardthausen's *Augustus Augustus und seine Zeit*, Gardthausen von V.. (1) Erster Theil, Dritter Band; (2) Zweiter Theil, Dritter Band. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. (1) Pp. 1035–1378, with map and 32 illustrations; (2) pp. 651–910, with 9 illustrations. Price M. 15.

F. T. R.

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and his followers exercised on subsequent history, exceedingly obscure.

P. 154. The ancient authorities make the most bewildering statements about the interference of Latins and allies in the course of Roman politics. Mr. Greenidge is conscious of the entanglement, but nowhere is it fully faced.

P. 158. 'The functions of the commissioners were paralyzed' (by the withdrawal of the *iudicatio*). So thought Appian; but would an idle commission have continued to exist for ten or eleven years longer? It is probable that before the powers of the *tresviri* were curtailed sufficient land had been delimited to allow the allotment to proceed.

P. 160. To me it is surprising that any modern historian can seriously entertain the idea that Scipio was assassinated. Such charges were recklessly fabricated, and in this case the evidence is worthless. Cicero quotes three persons who believed in Carbo's guilt, but when he speaks in his own person we have only the vaguest hints, pointing to Scipio's relatives. Had there been any reason to believe in murder, the aristocrats would not have failed to press it against the democrats, whatever the 'official' version in the funeral *laudatio* might be. Mr. Greenidge accepts Appian's statement that a public funeral was not given to Scipio for fear of disturbance. He does not quote the words which Cicero places in the mouth of Laelius, the supposed author of the *laudatio*: 'quam civitati carus fuerit, maerore funeris indicatum est' (*Lael.* § 11). And if Cicero is correct in his description of the popular enthusiasm with which Scipio was greeted on the day before his death, there can have been no reason to fear disturbance at the funeral.

P. 213. Mention might have been made

of the probability that some ancient writers have to some extent confused the *lex iudiciaria* of Gracchus with that of Drusus.

P. 225. 'The existing village' is a phrase hardly applicable to Capua. It was a great and flourishing town, though politically, as Cicero says, it was an *inane nomen* and possessed only *imago reipublicae*.

P. 239. The author assumes the truth of the ancient reports that the elder Drusus was chief actor in a great political farce, concocted by him in collusion with the senate. If that be so it is hard to imagine how he could have reaped 'a harvest of mental and moral satisfaction at the opportunities of self-fulfilment which chance had thrown in his way.' The great enigma of Drusus' career is not set forth in a satisfying manner.

Pp. 242, 417. The idea that Drusus proposed to relieve Latins from a punishment to which Roman soldiers remained subject does not appear to be probable.

P. 243. The interpretation of Plut. *C. Gr.* c. 8, *καλὸν ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πολιτείας τοὺς Λατίνους* to mean merely 'an invitation to the Latins to share in the citizen colonies' is to me unacceptable. There is nothing in the context to shew that the invitation formed part of the colonial law, and in the following chapter the same privilege is described by *ἰσοψηφία*, with which we must compare '*ἰσοψήφους ποιοῦν τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας*,' referred to the '*συμμαχικὸς νόμος*' (in c. 5). The information about this law is notoriously obscure, and there are some other places in which I cannot follow Mr. Greenidge's views concerning it.

P. 288. The passage of Cic. *Brut.* § 136 about the *lex Thoria* is given without any mention of the different interpretations which it has received.

J. S. REID.

GARDTHAUSEN'S *AUGUSTUS*.

Augustus und seine Zeit, von V. Gardthausen. (1) Erster Theil, Dritter Band; (2) Zweiter Theil, Dritter Band. Leipzig: Teubner, 1904. (1) Pp. 1035-1378, with map and 32 illustrations; (2) pp. 651-910, with 9 illustrations. Price M. 15.

We heartily congratulate Mr. Gardthausen upon the completion of a work whose publication has spread over several years and

whose preparation must have cost long and arduous labour. Its solid and weighty character is known to all readers of the earlier volumes. If it is not quite a cyclopaedia of the Augustan age, it is not far from having that position. Religion is not discussed in any connected way. Literature, for which a section was originally destined, is abandoned by the author without much regret. Considerations of space have

pushed out, more to his sorrow, the subject of art; but a good deal of this section is written and the author hopes that it may appear elsewhere. On the other hand, sections on Philosophy and Law have been contributed by friends, R. Hirzel and R. Helssig respectively.

Of the two parts of the *Augustus* now before us the second contains the notes to the first, as well as a useful table of the journeys of the emperor. The first part is chiefly made up of Books x-xiii, whose subjects are The Sons of Livia; The Sons of Julia; Rhine, Danube, and Elbe; The Last Years of Augustus. Book xiii contains one of the best accounts we have seen of the Monumentum Ancyranum and the recent literature about it. We wish for completeness' sake that the author had found it possible to insert the text of the Monumentum: it would not have filled many pages. As with the earlier instalments, so here, the method of laying out the work is sometimes a trifle hard to follow: two sets of notes, one at the foot of the page, one in a separate volume, are a little embarrassing; and, if each volume of notes be bound up with the corresponding text, which seems a natural arrangement, then the index will be found, not where it should be, at the end of the bound volume, but near the middle.

The text-volume before us ends with a summary of Gardthausen's conclusions about Augustus. This seems to be inspired with a less favourable judgment than that which we had gathered from the body of the work. The screen of make-belief is thrust aside with a more decided hand, and the reality of One-Man-Power is laid bare. Here at least Gardthausen will hear nothing of the dyarchy (or, as he prefers to call it, the diarchy) being a reality. Both in praise

and dispraise Gardthausen, like his hero, avoids superlatives; but he goes to facts and lets them speak. The principate, or reign, or usurpation—whatever name we prefer—was a long one; and we are therefore able to judge it by results, distant indeed, yet falling within its own years. There was time for everything to come out. We are not confined, as in dealing with so many other kings or statesmen, to a few years or to single actions, which might produce consequences quite opposed to what the statesman intended. Augustus had time to try and re-try and modify. Indeed, as Mommsen said, he actually did modify many early plans or arrangements. If, therefore, certain results were not attained, it was because they were either impossible or not such as he wished for. He had opportunity to find his way by degrees, if he did not see it at once, to anything which he chose, within the bounds of the possible. It is exactly on this view of Augustus' peculiar openness to criticism that Gardthausen goes in saying 'Never did Augustus, in the course of his whole long government, make even an attempt to give the senate a real independence. So we come to the conclusion that a dependent senate was what corresponded to his real intentions.'

We must add a word of gratitude for the readableness of Gardthausen's book. We know something of what the style of German history-writing has been, and we welcome its present stage. We fancy that the skill and brightness which German or Austrian novels have acquired of late years has not been without effect upon the interpreting, the grouping, and above all the wording in modern German history.

F. T. R.

CHROUST'S *MONUMENTA PALAEOGRAPHICA* XIII—XVI.

Monumenta Palaeographica: Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters. Erste Abtheilung: Schrifttafeln in lateinischer und deutscher Sprache. Unter Mitwirkung von Fachgenossen herausgegeben von Dr. ANTON CHROUST, Professor an der kgl. Universität Würzburg. Lieferungen xiii-xvi [40 plates]. München: F. Bruckmann, 1904. Each part M. 20.

THESE four parts of Prof. Chroust's great work complete the second volume of the

first series, for those, at any rate, who wish to bind up the plates in the order in which they appear. It will obviously be wise, however, to wait until the series is complete, and then to arrange the whole set of 240 plates either chronologically or topographically, according as the owner of them wishes to study the history of Latin palaeography in Germany as a whole, or to examine the local varieties of hand in the principal centres, such as Salzburg, Würzburg, or St. Gall. Certainly the four parts now