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## Roman Indifference to Provincial Affairs

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Q; lxxv. 1 ficus Q, 4 ficus Q; lxxvi. 4 numis (mm?) sophos Q, 5 querere Q, 7 partae E, 10 punicata Q; lxxvii. 2 es E: est Q; lxxix. om. Q, 1 maxima F; lxxx. 10 chorybate tholus E, 15 amat Q, 17 Si E; lxxxi. 2 lycis F, lictis Q, 3 effuso QF; lxxxvi. 9 deorum E, 10 semper inane Q, 13 at c. et p. Q; lxxxviii. 7 Sancta romanam Q, Sancta romana F, 8 rogo Q, vita E; lxxxix. 1 manneia E (*in lemm.* DE MANNEIA EA); lxxxvi. 7 iliacam Q: miliacam E, 12 ut inq. QF; lxxxviii. 3 Spice Q, marmore

saxa Q, 9 pervenerit QF; xc. 3 Omnis et QF; xciii. 1 amicus Q, 6 raros Q; xevi. 1 Si non est mol. tu (*ut vid.*) quod Q, 2 mamaterno Q; ci. 3-12 om. Q; civ. 8 in sontes QF, 11 Qui E, 20 venerit Q; cvi. 3 Dilutibilis EA; cviii. 9 te serius F: vel serius Q; cix. 8 nisa *ut vid.* Q; cxi. 3 quid Q; cxiii. 1 quond. pu. Q, 5 lopilio Q; cxiv. 5 Et stigas sed dum fueras Q; cxv. 1 invidere Q, 2 Toto Q; cxvi. 1 cinerem Q, 15 a. nido nomen QF; cxviii. 2 deciliane QF.

W. M. LINDSAY.

## ROMAN INDIFFERENCE TO PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS.

IN our present-day discussions of colonial affairs, one frequently hears the statement made by keen observers that the most serious obstacle which the development of a just and intelligent colonial system finds in its way is the absolute lack of real interest in their own colonies shown by the vast majority of citizens of the home country. There seems to me to be a great deal of truth in this view of the case, but it is quite outside my purpose to discuss it here. It occurred to me, however, that it might be worth finding out how much interest the Romans under the Republic felt in the news which came to them from day to day from their provinces. The Gallic campaigns of Caesar and the contemporaneous letters of Cicero seemed to offer a fairly satisfactory basis for an investigation of the point in question, and, although the result is largely negative, it may not be of less value on that account. Caesar's stay in Gaul extended from March, 58 to January, 49 B.C., and about 250 of Cicero's letters written during this period are extant. Within these nine years occurred the campaigns against the Helvetii, against Ariovistus, the Belgae, the Veneti, the expeditions to Britain, and the uprising under Vercingetorix. On a priori grounds one would feel sure that the picturesqueness of the movement of 350,000 Helvetii in search of a new country, the novelty of the island campaign against the Veneti, and the audacious invasion of the Ultima Thule of the world would appeal strongly to the Roman imagination. At all events, one would expect that the opening up of Germany by the defeat of Ariovistus, and the dramatic death struggle of the Gauls under Vercingetorix, would open the eyes of the Romans to the tremendous significance of the movement in the north, and that

these events with their future meaning for western Europe and for Rome itself would occupy a large place in the thoughts of serious minded men. But, if we can base an opinion on the Correspondence of Cicero during this period, this was not the case, if we except some show of interest in the effect which events in the north might have on the political fortunes of Caesar and the democratic party. Doubtless, the stories of valiant deeds and perilous adventures (fam. 8. 1. 4) served to while away the time of the 'subrostrani' of the forum, and to make a dinner party successful on the Palatine, but the whole matter was not of significance enough to find an important place in the letters of Cicero, which are so full of references to great and small questions of domestic politics.

If we except references to the political question involved in Caesar's retention of his proconsular office, of the 250 letters mentioned, less than a dozen contain any real mention of matters in Gaul, Germany, or Britain. These are, in their chronological order: fam. 7. 7. 1; Att. 4. 17. 6; Q. fr. 2. 15. 4-5; 3. 1. 10; Att. 4. 18. 5; fam. 7. 10; 7. 13. 1-2; Att. 5. 2. 3; Caelius fam. 8. 1. 2 and 4; Att. 5. 11. 2. A glance at these passages shows one that the interest in almost every case is a purely personal one, conditioned on the fact that Cicero's brother Quintus and his protégé Trebatius were serving under Caesar. So, for instance, the failure to find gold and silver in Britain (fam. 7. 7. 1; Att. 4. 17. 6) is a matter of interest simply because it will lessen his friend's chance to get rich.

It may be urged that Cicero does not fairly represent his contemporaries in the matter under consideration. That may be the case. It is true that he twice declined

a provincial government, and that he wrote (fam. 2. 12. 2) to his friend Caelius from Cilicia, *omnis peregrinatio...obscura et sordida est*, but, since he was a man of wide interests, and of great political foresight, and showed a stricter sense of justice toward provincials themselves in his own government of a province, than Roman governors ordinarily showed, he would certainly seem to represent his countrymen fairly in this matter. The indifference which Cicero shows towards provincial affairs is quite in harmony with the attitude of those who secured provincial legislation before his day. Of the two men in previous generations who did most to improve the condition of the provinces, C. Gracchus and Sulla, Gracchus was inspired solely by a partisan motive,

while Sulla's primary purpose was to increase the receipts from taxes and systematise their payment. To the cultivated Roman of the day Gaul, Germany, Asia, or Africa had no importance in and for themselves. They gained their significance only through the influence they might exert on the fortunes of political parties or individuals, or through their value in filling the purse of the state or the governor. As for the attitude of the average citizen toward the provinces, his primary motive was a desire for trade, overpowered now and then by a thirst for revenge, when Roman arms had been defeated or Roman dignity offended.

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### ON CICERO, *CATO MAIOR*, § 28.

MR. CHARLES KNAPP's contribution, in the May issue of the *Classical Review*, on this passage was as welcome as it was unexpected. While fully alive to the qualifying force of the *omnino* clause, I must admit that the restricted and literal application of *languescat* had escaped me. Mr. Knapp has successfully shewn that *languescat*, as used in this passage, is compatible with the retention of *splendescit*. There remains, however, a second difficulty—one which presented itself on my first examination of the passage but which, unfortunately, I omitted to specify in my query. Is the retention of *splendescit* compatible with actual fact? As the text stands, Cato maintains that the characteristic (illud) full clear ring or resonance of tone actually (etiam) acquires increased brilliancy in old age. This is not true in regard to 'old age' as we understand the term. It was not so in the case, for instance, of Mr. Bright or of Mr. Gladstone. Is it perhaps true in the Roman conception of the term? According to Varro (*apud* Censorinum) 'senex' was applied to those between the ages of 40 and 60. But that a man of, say, 45 was 'senex' only in name and not in nature, as the Romans themselves understood it, is I think perfectly clear. When Horace (*Sat.* 2, l. vv. 33, 34) speaks of Lucilius as 'senis' it has

been understood that the use of the word was in this case complimentary (Gesner's edition (1826) on this passage: 'Lucilius saeculo senex erat, non aetate: neque enim supergressus est quadragesimum sextum aetatis annum.') Livy, 29, 3 says of Hannibal, then under 50, 'et fama senescere et viribus.' According to the philosophers, 35 or 40–50 constituted the *aetas virilis*; 50–65, *senectus prima*: and, 65—death, *senectus ultima*. Then again, the parenthetical clause *quod equidem . . . annos*, in which Cato refers to his own age (84) at the time of the supposed dialogue, is directly confirmative of the *omnino* clause and would therefore seem opposed to any exception in favour of a young old age. The whole tenor of the dialogue and the express purpose with which it was written (§ 2) lead us to conclude that *senectus* embraces a period commencing not earlier than the 60th year of a man's life. In view of this conception of 'old age' I still find, even after Mr. Knapp's careful commentary, that the passage is unsatisfactory owing to the retention of the one word *splendescit*.

Cicero, *Cato Maior*, § 1. What authority, if any, is there for the general explanation of 'ille vir' as a reference to the poet Ennius?

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