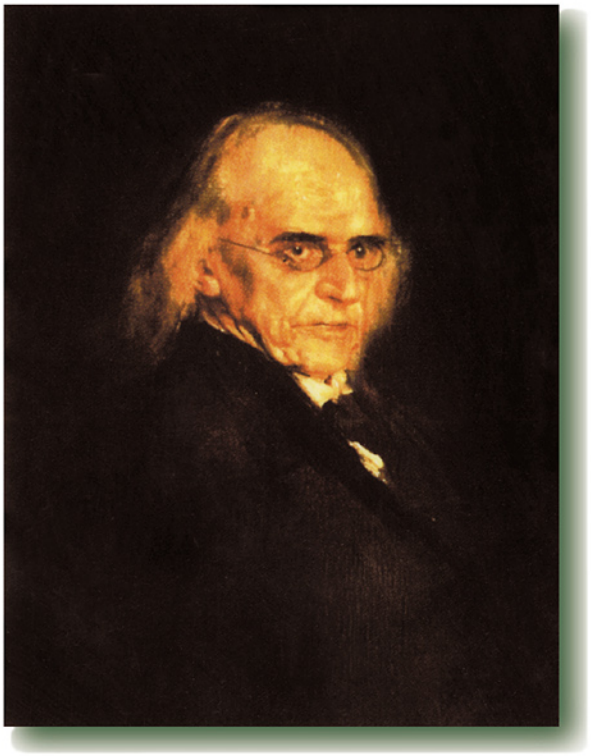
A HISTORY of ROME under the EMPERORS



Theodor Mommsen

A HISTORY OF ROME UNDER THE EMPERORS

Theodor Mommsen (1818–1903) was one of the greatest of Roman historians and the only one ever to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. His fame rests on his *History of Rome*, but the volumes that would have concluded it were never completed. *A History of Rome under the Emperors* takes the place of that great lost work, representing Mommsen's view of the 'missing' period.

In 1980, Alexander Demandt discovered in a second-hand bookshop a full and detailed handwritten transcript of the lectures on the Roman Empire given by Mommsen between 1863 and 1886, and written down by two of his students. The transcript has been edited to provide an authoritative reconstruction of the book Mommsen never wrote, the history of the Roman Empire.

The book caused a sensation when it was published in Germany in 1992 and was front-page news in many newspapers. Now available in paperback in English, it provides an authoritative survey of four centuries of Roman history, and a unique window on German thought in the last century.

A HISTORY OF ROME UNDER THE EMPERORS

Theodor Mommsen

Based on the lecture notes of Sebastian and Paul Hensel, 1882–6

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English translation by Clare Krojzl

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CONTENTS

MAPS

Map 1 The Roman Empire in the first and second centuries AD

INTRODUCTION

by Alexander Demandt

In 1902, only months before his death, Theodor Mommsen was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. [1] This was the first time the honour was ever bestowed on a German, as indeed it was the first, and so far only, time it has been awarded to a historian. [2] Furthermore, it was awarded for a historical work which at that point had already existed for almost fifty years and was in fact never completed. Mommsen's *History of Rome* remains a torso.

Mommsen recounts the genesis of the work, now in its sixteenth German edition, in a letter of 19 March 1877 to Gustav Freytag. [3] It states how Mommsen, having been dismissed from his professorial chair at Leipzig for his 'revolutionary' views, began work on it in 1849 at the suggestion of the publishers Karl Reimer and Salomon Hirzel, [4] who had been impressed by a lecture of his on the Gracchi. According to a letter by him to Wilhelm Henzen, [5] dated 1850, Mommsen accepted this proposal 'partly for my livelihood, and partly because the work greatly appeals to me'. The first three volumes (books 1–5), written in Leipzig and Zurich, were published between 1854 and 1856. These give an account of the history of Rome up to the victory of Caesar at Thapsus in Africa on 6 April 46 BC, i.e. up to the transition from the Republic to the principate. But the rest is missing.

1. WHY NO VOLUME IV?

An account of imperial history up to the collapse of the Empire in the period of the great migrations (books 6 and 7) was, however, envisaged. At any rate Mommsen still gave a promise to that effect in his Introduction to volume V, which he retained in all the reprints made during his lifetime. Educated society waited impatiently. When Jacob Burckhardt, looking forward to seeing how Cicero, whom Mommsen had attacked, would be defended, wrote to Wilhelm Henzen on 10 May 1857, he added: 'I would be even more keen, however, to read Mommsen's continuation, the age of the Emperors, and I suppose that we shall be kept waiting for this for some time to come.' [6] Mommsen raised public expectations further on several other occasions. Short of money, as he so often was, he sought in 1866 to have his lectures on the age of the emperors published in England and France. [7] On 12 July 1869 he complained to Degenkolb that he would not immediately be able to submit an account of the 'great age' of Diocletian and Constantine. [8] In 1874 he considered accepting a second offer of a Chair at Leipzig, partly in the hope that he would be able to complete his *History* there. [9] And on his sixtieth birthday in 1877 he distributed a hundred copies of a leaflet containing two essays [10] bearing the ironic title page 'A History of Rome by Theodor Mommsen:

Volume Four'. Beneath was the motto to Goethe's *Epistles:* 'Gladly would I have continued writing, but it was left unfinished.' [11] The two essays were clearly intended either as contributions to or as first drafts for Volume IV, as were the articles on Caesar's military system, [12] and on the agricultural and monetary economies under the Roman emperors.

Following Mommsen's decision, at the end of 1883, to make another attempt at the *History of Rome,* [13] an understandable rumour circulated that he was working on volume IV. Contemporary correspondence reflects the suspense this evoked. [14] In February 1884 Dilthey [15] informed Count Yorck:

> Mommsen is indeed now writing the imperial history. But he is weary and quite travel-worn from treading the highroads of philology, epigraphy and party politics. And it is hard to imagine how anyone could write about the age of early Christianity without any religious feeling, or indeed without any spiritual yearning for the invisible Kingdom. I do not regard him as capable of writing an account even of the early history of the Germanic tribes.

Count Yorck's reply of the 3 March [16] reads: 'Mommsen really is writing on imperial history and is reading—critical studies of early Christianity!' There were many similar voices. 'I am in a position to disclose', wrote Theodor Storm to Gottfried Keller on 8 June 1884, 'that he is now writing the imperial history.' [17] On 12 October 1884 Storm wrote to his old friend Mommsen in person: 'So I look forward with pleasure to volume I of your imperial history, in which I will be taken along by you again after my own fashion.' [18]

There is nothing to suggest that the academic world was in error in this. On 4 February 1884 Mommsen sent Wilamowitz a draft outline which also included the internal history of the age of the emperors, arranged by dynasties. [19] In his reply of 11 February 1884, Wilamowitz enclosed suggested additions to book 6, [20] marking his comments on Achaea: 'M. History of Rome IV' [21] At that juncture, therefore, Mommsen's intention was to complete volume IV, and it was only as work progressed that he decided to leave out imperial history for the time being, along with the description of Italy. The fact that he continued to refer to his history of the Roman 'provinces from Caesar to Diocletian' by the title of the series, as 'History of Rome volume V [book 8]', shows that despite this change of plan he still intended to complete volume IV, i.e. books 6 and 7. This is confirmed by his undated letter no. 176 to Wilamowitz. [22] Eduard Norden's [23] remark: 'After 1877 there are no traces of further work on volume IV' was no more than 'a family myth intended for public consumption'. [24] Mommsen never gave up his plan, and its fulfilment continued to be awaited. Even the speech made when he received the Nobel Prize [25] still expresses the hope that the *History of Rome* would see completion.

When Mommsen died on 1 November 1903 volume IV had still not been written. His *History of the Emperors* thus ranks alongside Kant's *System of Pure Philosophy,* Goethe's *Nausicaa* and Nietzsche's *The Will to Power* as one of the unwritten books of German literature.

Others tried to fill the breach. Gustav Friedrich Hertzberg's *Geschichte des römischen Kaiserreiches* of 1880 (based on Duruy), Hermann Schiller's *Geschichte der römischen*

Kaiserzeit I/II of 1883 and Alfred von Domaszewski's *Geschichte der römischen Kaiser* of 1909 were all advertised as substitutes for Mommsen's work (in the last case by its publisher), but were not acknowledged as such by the reading public. Victor Gardthausen justified his work on *Augustus und seine Zeit* (1891–) on the grounds that Mommsen's account was missing. The age of the emperors has since been treated either within the context of a general history of Rome, [26] or in terms of particular perspectives [27] or periods. [28] There is still no original general narrative in German based on the primary sources.

The reasons for this are easier to understand nowadays than they were in Mommsen's day, when it was still feasible to control what has since become a vast specialist literature. Why, then, did Mommsen stop writing?

> This poses one of the best-known riddles ever to arise in the history of our discipline—a problem for which to this day solutions are proposed by those who know something about it and those who don't: why did Mommsen not write volume IV, the book intended to contain a history of the Roman emperors? [29]

On different occasions Mommsen himself identified particular factors that prevented him from continuing. They are of several different kinds. One of the objective factors lay in the source material. Narrative authors reported mostly about the Emperor and his court—matters which scarcely interested Mommsen, but which he would have been obliged to record. James Bryce, the historian of America, [30] wrote in 1919:

> As to Mommsen, I asked him in Berlin in 1898 why he did not continue his *History of Rome* down to Constantine or Theodosius; but he raised his eyebrows and said 'What authorities are there beyond the Court tittle-tattle?' For his book on *The Provinces of the Roman Empire* he had at least materials in the inscriptions and in antiquities, and it is a very valuable book, though doubtless dry. [31]

The crucial epigraphical material was only gradually being collated and this is probably what is meant when Ferrero (1909) refers to another complaint by Mommsen about the nature of the sources on the age of the emperors. A letter to Otto Jahn of 1 May 1861 states:

> I can and will honour my obligations towards C.I.L.; for its sake I have, for the time being, and who knows whether for good, abandoned work on my *History*, so I suppose that people can trust me not to let this undertaking collapse irresponsibly… [32]

and in May 1883 Mommsen wrote to von Gossler, a government minister:

> The completion of my *History* has constantly weighed upon my mind and soul; I have interrupted work on it…having realized that in conjunction with what for me would be required to do it, I could not complete that undertaking as well as

my work on the inscriptions.

He said the same to Schmidt-Ott. [33] The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, his 'old original sin', [34] exerted a more powerful attraction on Mommsen than an account of the age of the emperors. One might question, as Wucher does, [35] whether it was in fact completely impossible to write the *History* without first doing the work on the epigraphical sources.

In addition to the problem of sources, the presentation of the material also posed difficulties. It is hard to find a coherent story line. Mommsen missed in the age of the emperors that sense of development characteristic of the history of the Republic: 'The institutions can be grasped to some degree, but the direction could not be seen even in antiquity, and we shall never guess it.' [36]

A somewhat jocular remark, passed on to us by the later President of Columbia University, Nicholas Murray Butler, brings us to the sphere of more subjective reasons. During a stay in Berlin in 1884/5, he overheard Mommsen say during a party at the home of Eduard Zeller:

> that the reason, why he had never continued his *Römische Geschichte* through the imperial period was, that he had never been able to make up his mind, as to what it was that brought about the collapse of the Roman Empire and the downfall of Roman civilization. [37]

Another factor, confirmed by Mommsen himself, was more serious: the ebbing of that emotional commitment without which he simply could not write history. In April 1882 he wrote from a villa at Naples to his daughter Marie, the wife of Wilamowitz:

> I too should like to move into such a villa—and soon, not merely as a preparation for death, which I don't suppose needs any help from us, but to see if I can't find my way back to my young years, or rather younger years, since I was never all that young. I am obsessed with the idea, like a dream that refuses to go away, of moving here for six to eight months and trying to see if I can still write something that people would want to read; actually I don't believe I could—not that I feel enfeebled by age, but the sacred self-deception of youth is gone. I now know, alas, how little I know, and the divine arrogance has deserted me. The divine bloody-mindedness in which I would still be able to achieve something is a poor substitute. [38]

A letter to his son-in-law Wilamowitz, dated 2 December 1883, is couched in similar terms: 'What I lack is simply the lack of affectation or impudence of the young person who will have his say on everything and challenge everything, thereby eminently qualifying himself to be a historian.' [39] He wrote the same thing in different words before the reprint of the Italian translation appeared: 'Non ho più come da giovane, il coraggio dell'errrare.' [40]

These remarks are rooted in Mommsen's notion of the nature and role of historiography as, in his own words, 'political education' in the 'service of national-liberal propaganda', which passes 'its last judgement on the dead *cum ira et studio*'. [41]

The cool public response to volume V demonstrates that this was precisely what people wanted. Although the young Max Weber was most taken with it when he wrote 'He is still the same old [Mommsen]' [42] (i.e. the young Mommsen), volume V brought Mommsen no more than a *succès d'estime*, the recognition of respect. [43] Following publication of this volume, Mommsen nevertheless received 'countless inquiries after volume IV'. His reply was: 'I no longer have the passion to write an account of the death of Caesar.' [44] Mommsen feared that he would not be able to provide his readers what they expected of him. In 1894, however, he asserted that the public ('rabble') did not deserve any exertion on their behalf. [45]

In 1889 he wrote: 'I do not know whether any will or strength will remain after all this compulsory work for *RG [History of Rome]* IV; the public do not deserve any exertion on their behalf, and I prefer research to writing.' [46]

This brings us to a fourth group of factors. Time and again, Mommsen referred deprecatingly to the 'leaden dreariness' and 'empty desert' of the age of the emperors, [47] those 'centuries of a decaying culture', the 'stagnation of intellectual and the brutalization of moral life'. [48]

The sole dynamic element, Christianity, was so alien to him as a *homo minime ecclesiasticus*, [49] for all he was a pastor's son, that in his youth he preferred to be called Jens, rather than Theodor. [50] This marks a fifth self-professed factor. 'He has as good as confessed he would probably have completed his *History of Rome* if he had made Harnack's acquaintance sooner.' [51]

And it was indeed Harnack [52] who provoked Mommsen to his final judgement on the age of the emperors. At an education conference in Berlin in June 1900, [53] Harnack had recommended that more attention be paid to this period of history. For Harnack this was the age of early Christianity and the Church fathers. Mommsen said in reply:

> We have every reason to be grateful for the suggestion that we should pay more attention to the history of imperial Rome in teaching than has been the case hitherto. I too am in favour of this in general, but in specifics I believe that provisions and qualifications are called for. In general, the teaching of this field is in part impracticable and in part dangerous, since the tradition consists too much in court tittle-tattle or even worse things. In my view, teaching would specifically have to focus first on the Caesarian-Augustan period, which the Republican age leads into (and it has already been stressed that treatment of the latter would need to be substantially curtailed), and second on the age of Constantine. I regard what lies in between as unsuitable for fruitful treatment in schools.

The minutes later record:

> Dr Mommsen: In fact this matter can only be discussed in a more private forum. Mr Harnack would have my wholehearted support, were it possible to write a history of mankind under the Roman Emperors. What civilization as a whole achieved at that time—universal peace for one thing, and the generally fortunate circumstances of the population under the better emperors, notwithstanding any abuses—all this is something we still have to look up to today. The age in which

> a bathhouse stood next to every barracks—as Mr Harnack has pointed out—is yet to be achieved by us, as is much else that existed then. This is reality, not an ideal. But if the question is put: what was the best period of the age of the emperors as a whole, the ancient Romans themselves answer: the first ten years of Nero's rule. [54] Now, try representing, in a manner possible for a teacher and comprehensible to the children, that the first ten years of Nero's rule were the best period, and one of the most fortunate epochs in human history! Is this possible? Of course it would be, if every teacher could be equipped with the ability required to extract the kernel concealed inside the shell of sordid court gossip. I have been studying this period ever since I have been able to think. I have not succeeded in extracting this kernel, and if I were a teacher I would refuse the task of teaching the history of the emperors in general. Much as I regret having to water down Mr Harnack's wine, I have to say I cannot accept this.

Objections to a treatment of the age of the emperors that could only be developed in a more 'private forum' presumably concern the scandals and sexual anecdotes reported by Suetonius, Martial, Juvenal and other authors—the degenerate court tittle-tattle that Mommsen maintained would have to be weeded out. Was this the true reason why Mommsen omitted to write an account of the age of the emperors?

'Questo quasi classico tema perchè il Mommsen non scrisse la storia dell' impero' [55] continues to vex scholars. Mommsen's own testimony is given various emphases and has been enriched by a variety of additional suppositions. One immediate line of approach is offered by the fire at Mommsen's home on 12 July 1880 (see pp. 22f.), but this view has not been taken very seriously. Other hypotheses are considered. Neumann, [56] Hirschfeld [57] and Hartmann [58] stressed the absence of inscriptions. Thus Fowler [59] and Eduard Norden [60] thought that 'volume IV was left unwritten because the time was not yet ripe for it.' Wilhelm Weber [61] was more definite: Mommsen 'gave up in face of the weight of problems', while Hermann Bengtson [62] was convinced that the picture Mommsen had elaborated of the principate in his *Constitutional Law (Staatsrecht)* 'if applied to a history of the Roman emperors, would inevitably have led to an untenable perception of the imperial system'.

Wilamowitz [63] emphasized that Mommsen had not in fact written his *History of Rome* of his own volition, but purely in response to external pressure. He claimed that Caesar was all that he felt deeply about; no artistically defensible continuation beyond the climax marked by Caesar's absolute rule was possible. Similarly, Eduard Meyer [64] writes: 'The decisive reason why he failed to continue the work and never wrote volume IV: no route leads from Caesar to Augustus.' This view elaborated by Ferrero as early as 1909, was endorsed by Albert Wucher, [65] Alfred von Klement, [66] Hans Ulrich Instinsky [67] and Zwi Yavetz. [68] Dieter Timpe [69] drew attention to the analogy between the Italy of 46 BC and Mommsen's own time, asserting 'that the ingenious character of the work also determined its internal boundaries, and made it difficult…to bridge the gap to the age of the emperors'. Lothar Wickert, [70] on the other hand, thinks that it was Mommsen's fear of a publishing flop that inhibited completion, suggesting as an objective reason for this the difficulty of combining the history of the emperors and the history of the Empire into a

single whole.

> Volume IV might have been relished by the connoisseur, and would, needless to say, have been impeccable in terms of scholarship; but set beside volume V, and detached from it in terms of subject-matter, the period would have struck the reader as a decline, or at least as stagnation at a level which seemed to have been successfully surpassed—the abandonment of true progress. [71]

Wickert offers Mommsen's ebbing emotional commitment as a subjective factor. Arnaldo Momigliano [72] suggested that Mommsen had already dealt with what for him was essential in the imperial period in his accounts of constitutional law and the provinces.

Other authors stressed the history of the scholarship of the discipline itself, the development of the historiography from a literary genre in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to the empirical research of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With reference to Mommsen, this development has been greeted as a progressive step by Fueter [73] and Heuss, [74] and regretted as a retrograde one by Toynbee [75] and Collingwood. [76] In his lecture on Mommsen held at Berlin in 1982, Joachim Fest too expressed his support for the latter view. In broad terms, however, although such a shift of emphasis is discernible within historiography, it can offer no explanation for the question at issue here, since it leaves it open why Mommsen, unlike historians such as Burckhardt and Gregorovius, committed himself to turning history into a scholarly discipline.

Attempts at ideological or political explanations have also proved popular. In a letter to Wilamowitz of 1 December 1917, Adolf Erman repeats the view, allegedly propounded by Paul de Lagarde, that Mommsen ceased work because of his negative relationship to Christianity. [77] Grant [78] and Bammel [79] held similar views. Instinsky [80] pointed to the conflict between the universal imperialism of Rome and Mommsen's belief in nation-states. According to Srbik, [81] the age of the emperors was alien to Mommsen's 'liberal republican sentiment'. Similarly, Wucher [82] thought that Mommsen, as a liberal, was unable to relate to the imperial system. Clearly, 'the age of the emperors had no place in the heart of this republican.' This view was endorsed by Heinz Gollwitzer [83] and Karl Christ. [84] It can be challenged, however, not only on the strength of the relatively liberal character of the Roman Empire, which Mommsen [85] explicitly acknowledged, but also in view of Mommsen's support for the Hohenzollern monarchy, as repeatedly demonstrated in his addresses on the occasion of the Kaiser's birthday. As late as 1902 he was still defending the German imperial monarchy. [86]

Anglophone scholars believed that Mommsen suffered from the 'agonizing political neurosis' that the present era was witnessing late antiquity over again, and that he therefore wanted to spare his contemporaries this 'terrifying funeral epitaph', as Highet [87] and Lasky [88] phrased it. Mommsen did, indeed, frequently draw such parallels, [89] but if anything it might have offered a potential, indeed welcome, incentive to write a *History of Rome under the Emperors* from a National-Liberal point of view.

From a Marxist perspective, Mashkin asserts in his 'Foreword' to the Russian edition of Mommsen's volume V [90] that it was disenchantment with the Prussian German

Empire that deterred Mommsen from writing on Rome under the Emperors. This view is repeated by Johannes Irmscher. [91] Similarly, Jürgen Kuczynski [92] maintains that Mommsen considered it beneath his dignity to write an account of imperial history, including the 'loathsome degeneration' of that system of exploitation. Instead he preferred to write about the 'oppressed peoples' of the progressive provinces. Kuczynski overlooks the fact that in Mommsen's view the advance of the provinces occurred not in spite of, but because of, Roman rule.

The diversity of opinion allows no definitive conclusion; it is not even possible to put forward a reliable order of preference among the factors mentioned that prevented Mommsen from writing volume IV. They may all have contributed to a greater or lesser extent. The emphases placed on them generally reveal more about the respective authors than about Mommsen himself. The fact that research intentions tend to change in the course of a lengthy scholarly career hardly requires any explanation in itself, and unfulfilled objectives can be found in the biographies of numerous historians; one need only look at the monumental projects of the young Ranke. [93]

Some of the assertions referred to above can be refuted. Two facts, for example, contradict Mommsen's alleged aversion to the age of the emperors. The first is Mommsen's stupendous research work, devoted overwhelmingly to the imperial period, including the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, the constitutional and criminal law, his editions of the law codes and the *Auctores Antiquissimi*. The second is Mommsen's teaching responsibilities at Berlin University. [94] The lecture timetables show that for twenty semesters his classes—apart from reading classes—between 1861 and 1887 deal almost exclusively with the history of Rome under the Emperors (SS=Summer Semester; WS=Winter Semester):

1	SS 1863	History of the early Imperial Age
2	WS 1863/4	History of the early Imperial Age (see p. 20, lecture note 1)
3	SS 1866	History of Rome under the Emperors (see p. 20, lecture note 2)
4	WS 1868/9	History of Rome under the Emperors (see p. 20, lecture notes 3 and 4)
5	SS 1869	Constitution and History of Rome under Diocletian and his Successors
6	WS 1870/1	History of Rome under the Emperors from Augustus on (see p. 20, lecture note 5)
7	SS 1871	On the History and Political System of Rome under Diocletian and his Successors
8	WS 1872/3	History of Rome under the Emperors (see pp. 20f., lecture note 6)
9	WS 1974/5	History of Rome under the Emperors
10	SS 1875	On the Political System and History of Rome under Diocletian and his Successors
11	SS	On the Political System and History of Rome After Diocletian

	1877	
12	WS 1877/8	History of Rome under the Emperors (see p. 21, lecture note 7)
13	SS 1879	History of Rome from Diocletian on (possibly cancelled: see Mommsen to his wife, 28 April 1879, in Wickert IV 1980, p. 229)
14	WS 1882/3	History of Rome under the Emperors (see p. 21, lecture notes 8, 9 and 10)
15	SS 1883	History of Rome under the Emperors; continuation of lectures given in the previous semester (see p. 21, lecture notes 11, 12)
16	SS 1884	History and Constitution of Rome in the Fourth Century
17	WS 1884/5	History and Constitution of Rome in the Fourth Century
18	SS 1885	History and Constitution of Rome in the Fourth Century
19	WS 1885/6	History and Constitution of Rome in the Fourth Century (see p. 21, lecture note 13)
20	SS 1886	History and Constitution of Rome in the Fourth Century (this series of lectures took place, even though Mommsen had been excused from lecturing at his own request as of 20 August 1885: Wickert IV 1980, p. 230. See p. 21, lecture note 13)

Half of these lectures were devoted to late antiquity. Mommsen told both Sir William Ramsay and Mgr. Duchesne that if he could live his life over again he would devote it to late antiquity, [95] even though he saw nothing in it beyond overthrow, failure, decadence and protracted death-throes. [96] This reveals that his relationship with the history of the emperors was characterized less by dislike than by a kind of Tacitean love-hate that combined emotional aversion with intellectual attraction. The reverse applied to the Republic. 'I do not lecture on the history of the Roman Republic,' wrote Mommsen to Wattenbach [97] in 1864, and the Republic was indeed not one of the subjects he lectured on at the Friedrich Wilhelm University. One might conclude from this that one of the reasons why Mommsen did not publish on the age of the emperors was in order to be able to continue lecturing on it. Mommsen's rhetorical achievement in the lecture room has been disputed by Dove, [98] although there are also positive voices (see below).

The question whether it would be desirable to have volume IV is as much discussed as why it is missing. On 15 October 1897 Treitschke wrote to his wife: 'What a pity that Mommsen has not committed himself to write about this age of powerful, and still almost entirely unknown, spiritual conflict.' [99] In 1891 a group of Mommsen's admirers from various faculties made a fervent plea to him 'that volume IV of the *History of Rome* might yet be added to your other contributions'. In 1899 the press reported Mommsen's intention to do just this, and Mommsen once again received begging letters on the subject. [100] C.Bardt wrote of volume IV as 'eagerly awaited'; [101] Guglielmo Ferrero (1909) repeated the view of his teacher in Bologna 'that the world is united in its wish to

see the final completion of this monumental work'. Giorgio Bolognini [102] spoke of a *deplorevole lacuna*. Karl Johannes Neumann [103] lamented that the 'showpieces' of the individual characteristics of emperors remained unwritten. George Peabody Gooch [104] held that the unparalleled merit of the *Constitutional Law* and of volume V on the provinces made it all the more regrettable that Mommsen had never added the crowning piece of his *History of Rome:*

> In Volume IV we should have had a wonderful portrait gallery of the Emperors, a masterful account of Roman law throughout the Empire, a masterly exposition of the place of Roman law in the imperial system, a brilliant picture of the growth and persecutions of Christianity.

Similarly, Hans Ulrich Instinsky [105] held that Mommsen, with his volume on the age of the emperors, would have 'infinitely surpassed all other existing literature on the subject, both in terms of material and as a literary achievement'. Most recently, A.G.Quattrini, in his 'Foreword' to the Italian edition of volume V of the *History of Rome* (dall'Oglio, Milan, no date) has said of the absence of volume IV: 'questa perdita è sensibilissima' ('This is a most serious loss').

This view stands in stark contrast to that of Count Yorck. [106] He wrote to Dilthey on 18 June 1884:

> Since that deplorable last open letter of his, Mommsen stands condemned as an impossible historian. Anything he writes now, aside from historical-philological groundwork, is in my opinion of no matter. He may shift a date here and there, or pinpoint his facts better than has been done before, but his judgements will always be bizarre—I'm tempted to say because of his lack of honesty. In historical writing, however, a sound account depends on a sound judgement.

Similar scepticism, albeit with a different emphasis, occurs in Wilamowitz, who from 1882 to 1893 repeatedly urged his father-in-law to write the volume. On 2 December 1883, for example, he wrote:

> I also hope to be able to contribute a little to your repeated fresh resolutions, since they have to be constantly renewed, to carry on with the work. I should like to reawaken your desire…. Just as I used to read your *Republic* at night as a sixth former when I should already have switched the lights out, I would gladly have given a few of my own years for the *Emperors*. Surely you will believe that even now, with my grey hairs, I would happily do the same. [107]

Wilamowitz later changed his mind. [108] On Mommsen's eightieth birthday in 1897 he claims to have congratulated Mommsen for not having written the book, [109] since all the essentials were already contained in either the *Constitutional Law* or volume V. This renunciation marked a 'triumph of the true erudition of the scholar…over the enticements of outward authorial success'. [110] Wilamowitz reports in 1918 having once seen notes for the 1870 lectures on the age of the emperors, describing Mommsen's account as so inadequate that it must seem ill-advised to publish it. This view was also an element in

Wilamowitz's advice to the Prussian Academy in 1928 against purchasing another set of notes of Mommsen's lectures on the age of the emperors, which had been offered by an unnamed Italian. Wilamowitz held that publication of it would be 'embarrassing', and would go against his sense of family duty. [111] The first of these texts seems to have disappeared; the second was rediscovered in Göttingen in 1991 by Uwe Walter (see p. 20, lecture notes 4 and 5).

Wilhelm Weber [112] believed that the imperial history would have become a 'foreign body' in the corpus of Mommsen's work, and that Mommsen had admitted as much himself: 'he renounced it as a result of a wisdom that, by its own greatness, recognized and set its own boundaries.' Weber held that Mommsen immersed himself to such an extent in questions of detail that he 'was no longer able to incorporate the overall picture of great events into his thinking processes. He still lacked an overall view of the location and significance of the age of the emperors in world history,' and therefore 'he gave up in face of the weight of problems'. [113] Wucher expressed a similar view, holding that Mommsen should invoke 'not only our understanding, our approval, but also be assured of our gratitude' for refraining from publishing volume IV, asserting that this was a mark of Mommsen's greatness. Wucher bases his judgement on a hypothetical construction of how Mommsen's picture of the age of the emperors might have looked, declaring 'that volume IV would have been a pamphlet, all gloom and despondency'. [114] Alfred Heuss [115] voiced similar views: Mommsen '(fort left unfilled the gap left by volume IV'. Heuss goes on to repeat Wickert's view that volume IV was in fact superfluous: some other authors might have fulfilled the task inadequately, none satisfactorily. [116]

2. THE HENSEL LECTURE NOTES

It is difficult to give a reliable answer, on the basis of volume V and Mommsen's numerous other statements about the emperors, to the question of what kind of picture of the age of the emperors would have emerged had Mommsen published books 6 and 7 in his volume IV. It is not even clear how the subject-matter would have been distributed between books 6 and 7. Wucher assumed a division into the principate and dominate. [117] In his preface to volume V, Mommsen himself envisaged that book 6 would include the 'struggle of the Republicans against the monarchy instituted by Caesar, and its final establishment'; and for book 7 the specific nature of monarchical rule, and the fluctuations of the monarchy, as well as the general circumstances of government caused by the personalities of individual rulers'. This is also the view of Karl Johannes Neumann. [118]

It would be helpful to have Mommsen's drafts for his lectures, but these are no longer extant. Fragments of writing on the age of the emperors found by Hirschfeld among Mommsen's estate [119] seem to have been lost (see below). Some lecture notes taken by students, on the other hand, have survived, [120] but they are so full of gaps and errors resulting from mishearing and misunderstanding that publication has been out of the question. They deal, moreover, solely with the early principate and not the late Empire.

Any account of the fourth century has hitherto been entirely missing, but this has been redressed by a stroke of luck. [121] In 1980, in Kistner's second-hand bookshop in

Nuremberg, I chanced upon the sole complete transcript known to date of Mommsen's lecture course on the age of the emperors, including late antiquity.

Part I consists of three notebooks (perhaps out of an original four; see below) labelled: *History of the Roman Emperors W 1882/83 S. Prof. Mommsen*. On the bottom right-hand corner of the cover is written: 'Paul Hensel, Westend bei Berlin, Ahornallee 40'. They contain the history of Rome from Caesar's war in Africa, regarded by Mommsen as the 'beginning of the monarchy and the end of the Republic' [MH.I, 1] up to the Batavian revolt of AD 69/70, and consequently also the period from 46 to 30 BC, which Wilamowitz [122] maintained that Mommsen had never attempted to narrate.

Part II is bound, and bears the book stamp of Paul Hensel. The text, however, is in a different hand (that of Sebastian Hensel; see below) to that of Part I. On 367 pages it contains the period from Vespasian to Carus—AD 69 to 284. The title on the spine reads: *Mommsen, History of Rome under the Emperors Part II*. That this constituted the 1883 lecture course only emerges from the story of how the lecture notes came to be written (see below). Four cartoon drawings precede the text; it is also interrupted by an autobiographical insert containing a humorous account of a journey and a caricature in ink of Hensel on a trip from Berlin via Halle and Kyffhäuser to Frankenhausen. Hensel travels in a chamber-pot on wheels, drawn by a donkey.

Part III is likewise bound in book form. The title on the spine reads: *Mommsen, Diocletian to Honorius*. The inside cover again bears Paul Hensel's book stamp. The handwriting is the same as for Part II (i.e. that of Sebastian Hensel: see below), and it contains three cartoons. The first shows a photomontage of Paul Hensel wearing a laurel wreath. Underneath are two lines from a postcard which Mommsen wrote to Friedrich Leo in Rostock on 24 March 1886 (see below for text). The second cartoon, in watercolours, shows Mommsen from behind walking in a chestnut grove accompanied by the text:

> Thus far from the notebook of Ludo Hartmann, from whom I learned quite by chance that Mommsen was lecturing. From here onwards my own transcript. It was really nice, though, to go to the lectures in the bracing morning air through the delightful avenue of chestnuts behind the University, and to see the old man walking along with his notes under his arm. (MH.III, 31)

The third caricatures Paul Hensel as a member of a student fraternity: 'Thank God! The da-damned le-lectures are over, and now we can go to Hei-Hei-Heidelberg' (MH.III, 242).

An entry towards the end of the lecture notes (MH.III, 209), '23 July 86', reveals the year. The lecture schedule (for the summer semester of 1886) reports a course in 'History and Constitution of Fourth Century Rome, Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays 8–9 *privatim*, 28 April to 15 August'. My original assumption that the beginning of the text corresponds with the beginning of the summer semester [123] was precipitate (see below).

It was no easy matter to reconstruct the genesis of these lecture notes. The first clue was in the name on the notebooks, Paul Hensel (1860–1930), who was later Professor of Philosophy at Erlangen. He was a student of Wilhelm Windelband and like him a neo-

Kantian. The name Hensel leads us to a piece of Berlin family history. To understand it we must distinguish between three generations of Hensels: the philosopher Paul, his father Sebastian and Sebastian's father Wilhelm Hensel.

Sebastian Hensel was the only son of Wilhelm Hensel, the Prussian court painter, [124] and Fanny Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, the composer's sister. In the section of his *Rambles through the Mark Brandenburg* entitled 'Spreeland', Theodor Fontane describes Wilhelm Hensel's life. He had taken part in the wars against Napoleon; in the 1848 revolution he supported his patrons. His fame derives from pencil drawings of famous contemporaries, now housed in the copperplate engraving room of the State Museum of the *Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Prussian Cultural Heritage) in Dahlem. Among those portrayed, apart from Goethe, Hegel, Humboldt, Schinkel, etc., were the great historians of the time, including Boeckh, Droysen and Ranke, but not Mommsen. There may have been political reasons for this: perhaps Mommsen was too liberal, after all. Wilhelm Hensel also drew his son Sebastian several times. These drawings were sold by the Hensel family in 1956, and it was at this time, according to verbal information provided by Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel, Paul's daughter, that transcripts of Mommsen's lecture notes also found their way to the second-hand bookshop in Nuremberg mentioned above, where they then lay dormant for a quarter of a century. One of the proprietors is related to the Hensel family by marriage.

Sebastian Hensel, whom we have to thank for Parts II and III, wrote an autobiography which was published posthumously by his son in 1903. He was a farmer in East Prussia, but moved to Berlin in 1872 because his wife could not stand the climate. There, he took over management of the Kaiserhof Hotel, which burned down only days after opening. From 1880 to 1888 Sebastian was Director of the German Building Company. Embittered by the building scandals and large-scale corruption of the 1870s, Sebastian sought refuge in three 'oases': in the family history of the Mendelssohns, published in 1879 and reprinted many times; in painting; and with Mommsen. On this, he writes:

> And a third oasis were the lectures by Mommsen on the history of Rome under the emperors, which I attended for two winter semesters and one summer semester, [125] and which were a single, immense source of enjoyment. I had made Mommsen's acquaintance at the home of Delbrück, [126] and, as luck would have it, found favour with him through a witty remark. I was standing with Mrs Delbrück by a mantlepiece on which were placed many wineglasses, including a few fine cut-glass rummers [a large drinking glass, called *Römer* in German, hence a pun on 'Romans']. As he joined us, Mommsen knocked one of these wineglasses off with a careless movement of his arm. He apologized profusely, but I remarked: 'Professor, we owe you so many complete Romans, that we shan't begrudge you one broken one…'
>
> It had always seemed a pity to me that Mommsen had not written the history of Rome under the emperors; his history of Rome had ever been one of my favourite books. It was all the more fortunate, therefore, in the winter semester of 1882/3, that he lectured on the history of the emperors, and moreover from eight till nine in the morning, enabling me to attend before I had to be at my office. All I had to do was get up rather early, but the pleasure of these classes was beyond comparison. My seat was right at the front by the lecture podium,

> enabling me to hear splendidly, and above all to have a close view of him and his expressive face. Standing up there, passing judgement on some great imperial transgressor or other, the impression he gave was sometimes demonic, and quite overpowering. Sometimes he would allow his temperament to carry him away, too, and he said more and went further than he had meant to. On one occasion, for example, talking himself into a frenzy about Constantine the Great, he plucked the poor man to pieces so thoroughly that not one hair remained on his head. Then he returned to the subject in the next lecture, covering the plucked scalp [sc. of Constantine] with a scanty wig of meagre praise. For all that, the judgements of Mommsen and Treitschke, however clouded with hatred and passion, are a thousand times more appealing to me than Ranke's frosty, colourless, so-called objectivity….
>
> One thing only struck me as a significant omission: throughout the entire course of lectures, Mommsen made not one single reference to Christianity.[127]
>
> When volume V of his *History* appeared in print, however, I was disappointed: for anyone who had attended his lectures it gave a colourless impression. It was like holding a copperplate up to the painting from which it had been copied.[128]

Sebastian Hensel had five children; Paul was the third. He was frequently ill, was apprenticed as a bookdealer, but was then able to retake his school-leaving examination. Before enrolling on a philosophy course[129] he read history, and is listed on the roll of Berlin's Friedrich Wilhelm University from 1881 to 1883. A letter of 25 October 1882 from Paul to Mommsen's student[130] Christian Hülsen, the archaeologist, dates from this period:

> What perhaps will interest you is the news that Mommsen is lecturing on the Roman emperors, and that Papa has managed to obtain permission to attend these lectures, so that father and son now sit side by side in the lecture hall, taking in the pearls of wisdom. To be honest, I am impressed: this is a course of four hours a week from eight to nine in the morning, and I doubt whether at father's age I would still have the flexibility to tear myself away from the arms of Morpheus at half past six every morning in order to attend lectures.

An unpublished letter from Sebastian Hensel to Mommsen[131] bears the same date:

Westend Ahorn Alice 40
25 October '82

Respected Professor,

I enclose herewith the receipt from the University Registry quaestor, and humbly request that I might be assigned the best possible seat for your lectures. It would be most welcome if I could sit beside my son Paul.

Most respectfully,
Your devoted servant,

S.Hensel

Following the lectures, Hensel presented Mommsen with a copy of the third edition of his *History of the Mendelssohn Family* (published in 1882; 1st edn 1879, 2nd edn 1880), with the following accompanying note:

Berlin, 27 March ’83

Respected Professor,

Permit me to lay this small token at your feet; it was my earnest wish to give you something of mine, in return for the many priceless things of yours that you have given me in the course of the semester. This too, in its way, is a small piece of history, and, albeit not so magnificent as the history you treated, on the whole more agreeable. I beg you to be so kind as to accept it.

Might I also take this occasion to ask you to reserve another place for me for the coming semester? I assume that you will again be lecturing from eight to nine. If (?) in the same lecture-room, I would prefer seat no. 5 or 6, or, should these already be allocated, 2–4.

Thanking you most warmly in advance, and looking forward to the fresh delights that await me,

Your devoted servant,
S.Hensel

Mommsen’s lectures made a lasting impression on Paul Hensel. ‘I draw on my memory of these lectures even today,’ he would say again and again.[132] ‘But even as a boy I [i.e. Paul] was interested in all things Roman, which is why it occurred to my father to give me the history of Caesar written by Emperor Napoleon III as a Christmas present. “Do you think this work is suitable for my son Paul?” he asked Mommsen. Back came the stunning reply: “How old is your Paul now? Sixteen? He’s beyond that!”

This encounter must have taken place in 1876–7.

This story told to Glockner is confirmed by another reference to Paul’s youth. In another letter to Hülsen, likewise from (Berlin-) Westend, dated 8 December 1882, he writes:

> Everything we expected of the lectures is certainly being provided by Mommsen as fully as possible. It is quite remarkable how, under his animating hand, all the *facta*, with which one is to some extent already familiar, are given shape and are transformed and come to life. It is like the recreation of a lost world, and in my entire student career I have never experienced anything so compelling as this course of lectures. My studies in Berlin will come to an end in the summer. I am planning to take up an appointment as a private tutor in Wiesbaden, and undertake and complete a major piece of work there in peace and quiet.

In a footnote, the editor of the letters, Paul Hensel's second wife Elisabeth, noted in 1947: 'An exact transcript of this course of lectures, i.e. the equivalent of volume IV of Mommsen's *History of Rome*, is in the possession of the editor.' It would seem that no scholar of antiquities read this passage, or these transcripts would have come to light sooner.[133]

This, then, clarifies the genesis of the lecture notes. When Paul was no longer living in Berlin (after 1 October 1885 he worked as a trainee at the library in Freiburg, passed his habilitation examination [postdoctoral qualification for teaching at German universities] in Strasburg under Windelband, and later taught philosophy at Erlangen),[134] his father completed the fair version of Parts II and III on behalf of his absent son. This is confirmed by the illustrations in Part II. The flyleaf shows a dolphin with the head of Paul Hensel and a tail-fin ending in a maple leaf, an allusion to the *Ahornallee:* Maple Avenue. Above in capital letters is: *In usum Delphini*. Beneath is a quotation in Latin handwriting: 'All Cato's writings were in the first instance intended for his son, and he wrote his history for the latter in his own hand in large, legible (?) letters. Mommsen, *History of Rome [RG]* vol. I, p. 869.'[135] The question mark was Sebastian Hensel's own and expresses his entirely unfounded reservations as to the legibility of his own handwriting.

The following illustration is a photomontage. The Goethe-Schiller Memorial in Weimar has acquired two new heads, those of Sebastian and Paul, with the blue, white and red sash and the cap of the Corps Westfalia [a student fraternity at Heidelberg University] in Heidelberg. In Stuttgart in 1851 Sebastian had accepted a challenge to a duel from a Polish fellow student, fulfilling this obligation as a Heidelberg Westfalian.[136] The inscription on the base is a free rendition of Schiller's *Don Carlos* (I 9): 'Arm in Arm mit dir, so fordr' ich mein Jahrhundert in die Schranken' ('Arm in arm with thee, I throw down the gauntlet to my century') in the most delightful 'pidgin' Latin: 'Arma in Armis cum tibi Saeculum meum in scrinia voco.' The third sheet, a watercolour, shows Sebastian standing in the presence of Mommsen as a Sphinx, taking down his words. On sheet four, likewise in watercolour, Sebastian dedicates his lecture notes to his son Paul, depicted as the Colossus of Memnon.

Prior to the 1885/6 winter semester, Hensel wrote to Mommsen again:

Berlin, 9 September '85

Respected Professor,

My son tells me you will be lecturing on the history of the fourth-century emperors during the coming winter semester.

If this is so, and the timetable is the same as previously, from eight to nine in the morning, I should very much like to be able to attend again.

Would you be so kind as to arrange the necessary formalities for me, and allocate me a good seat?

In happy anticipation of your most enjoyable classes,

Your devoted
S.Hensel

Residence: Westend, Ahornallee 40

Evidently Mommsen did not reply immediately, so that Sebastian Hensel repeated his request on 2 November 1885, after the semester had already begun on 16 October:

Respected Professor,

Some considerable time ago I applied to you with a request for you to arrange for me permission to attend your course of lectures on the history of the fourth-century Roman emperors, and to be so kind as to allocate me a place at the front.

Since I fear that my letter may have gone astray during your absence, I repeat my request, in the event that the lectures are held from eight to nine in the mornings. At any other time, greatly to my regret, it would not be possible for me to attend the course.

Yours truly,
S.Hensel
Westend Ahorn Allee 40

It emerges from these letters that the text of Part III [MH.III], on late antiquity, began not with the summer semester of 1886, but already with the winter semester of 1885/6, and, like the anonymous Wickert text of 1882/3 [‘AW’], comprises not one, but two semesters. This cannot be discerned either from the title on the lecture programme (see p. 10 above), or from the text of the lecture notes, which contain no sign of a break, but it is confirmed by two other indicators. First, the fact (which can be clearly seen from the letters and from the quoted remark about Ludo Moritz Hartmann [MH.III, 31]) that Hensel had missed the beginning of the lecture course. Second, the text of a postcard, cut up and pasted into Part III, sent by Mommsen after the end of the semester on 15 March, to Friedrich Leo in Rostock on 24 March 1886. In microscopically small handwriting, he writes: ‘I suppose you are feeling better, and I am glad. Your father-in-law is attending my lectures with a zeal I wish I could find among younger people. Yours, M.’ Leo’s father-in-law was none other than Sebastian Hensel: Leo was married to his daughter Cécile. Urged by Mommsen, Leo had agreed to edit Venantius Fortunatus for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. The evening before his marriage to Cécile Hensel, Paul’s sister, Leo received a parcel of proofs with the request to send them back corrected by return of post. Doubtless Leo did not permit his marriage to keep him from philology.[137]

As far as is currently known, the following transcripts of Mommsen’s lectures on the age of the emperors either existed or exist today:

1. WS 1863/4: Early imperial history; notes taken by Ettore De Ruggiero. Santo Mazzarino commented (1980, p. 167): ‘ho trovato appunti, redatti in italiano, dal De Ruggiero, di lezioni del Mommsen “sugli imperadori romani” (piu’ precisamente: sul principato da Tiberio a Traiano) tenute nel semestre 1863/4.’ (‘I have found De Ruggiero’s notes, translated into Italian, of Mommsen’s lectures on the Roman emperors (more precisely: on the principate from Tiberius to Trajan) held in the 1863/4 semester.’) These notes, however, were not thought to be ‘estremamente curati’ (particularly accurate) (see Mazzarino 174, pp. 23ff.).

2. SS 1866: History of the Roman emperors. Anonymous lecture notes headed ‘The Constitution of the Roman Empire from Aurelian to Constantine’, dated 25 July 1866 to 1 August 1866, nineteen pages. In the possession of the Max Planck Gymnasium, Göttingen (=AG).

3. WS 1868/9: History of the Roman emperors, notes taken down by G.Hertlein, 270pp., from Caesar to Vespasian. In 1960 in the possession of Emlein, a secondary-school teacher in Heidelberg (Ehrenberg 1960/5, p. 616).

4. WS 1868/9: History of the Roman emperors, notes taken down by the law student Gustav Adolf Krauseneck. Endorsed by Wilamowitz in 1928 (Calder 1985; see above), 205pp. in the possession of the Ancient History Department of the University of Göttingen (=MK).

5. WS 1870/1: from Caesar up to at least Septimius Severus (Wilamowitz 1918/1972, pp. 30f. Wilamowitz refers to the year 1870, but according to the lecture list Mommsen did not lecture in summer 1870). Lost.

6. WS 1872/3: History of the Roman emperors, notes taken down by L.Schemann (author of *Paul de Lagarde. Ein Lebens- und Erinnerungsbild*, 2nd edn 1920). From Caesar to Vespasian. Sections of this were published by Wickert (IV 1980, pp. 341–8). In the possession of Freiburg University Library. Schemann’s daughter Bertha[138] commented:

> In Berlin the first ‘great man’ came into Ludwig Schemann’s orbit: Theodor Mommsen. At that time, he was giving a course of lectures on his history of the Roman emperors. The student took notes with enthusiasm, and throughout his life he proudly kept his fair and accurately copied lecture notebook as a substitute for volume IV of the *History of Rome*, which, as the reader will be aware, was never published. He also kept his own doctoral thesis, corrected in Mommsen’s own hand, on the Roman legions in the Second Punic War.

7. WS 1877/8: History of the Roman emperors, notes taken down by C.Berliner, 252pp. From Caesar to Vespasian. In the possession of Viktor Ehrenberg (Ehrenberg, 1960/5, p. 616, with excerpts, some containing bizarre mishearings).

8. WS 1882/3: History of the Roman emperors, notes taken down by O.Bremer, 60pp. Caesar to Vespasian. Part of the estate of L.Wickert (Ehrenberg 1960/5, p. 616).

9. WS 1882/3: History of the Roman emperors, notes taken down by Paul Hensel, three notebooks containing 64, 63 and 68pp. respectively. From Caesar to Vespasian. In the possession of Demandt (=MH.I; see above).

10. WS 1882/3: History of the Roman emperors, and (from p. 184 on) SS 1883, History of the Roman emperors, a continuation of lectures held the previous semester, anonymous, 343pp.; from Caesar to Diocletian; part of the estate of Wickert (=AW).

11. SS 1883 (29 April to 2 August): History of the Roman emperors; continuation of lectures held the previous semester; notes taken down by the archaeologist Erich Pernice (1864–1945) according to Ehrenberg 1960/5, p. 616; the name of the writer does not appear in this copy; Vespasian to Diocletian, 275pp. In the possession of the German Archeological Institute in Rome, shelfmark M 428 m Mag. (=MP).

12. SS 1883: History of the Roman emperors; continuation of lectures held in previous

semester; notes taken down by Sebastian Hensel, 367pp.; from Vespasian to Diocletian. In the possession of Demandt (=MH.II; see above).

13. WS 1885/6 and SS 1886: History and constitution of Rome in the fourth century; notes taken down by Sebastian Hensel, 241pp.; from Diocletian to Alaric.[139] In the possession of Demandt (=MH.III; see above).

3. THE BERLIN ACADEMY FRAGMENT

The discovery of Hensel's lecture notes warrants the assumption that Mommsen's drafts for his lecture course might also have survived, but a search for these has proved fruitless. The archives of the Academy of Sciences in former East Berlin did not have them either, although it does house the manuscript for volume V of the *History of Rome*. When I examined it on 5 March 1991 to find material for my footnotes, I discovered a supplementary file marked 47/1, entitled 'A Further MS on the History of Rome'. This consists of eighty-nine pages which were later numbered, mostly folded sheets of exercise-book size, with broad margins partially filled with writing, recognizable as drafts by the numerous crossings-out and corrections. The edges, charred all around, prove that, like other Mommseniana in the Archive, the bundle is a survivor of the fire at Mommsen's house on 12 July 1880.

On the 18th of that month, Nietzsche wrote from Marienbad to Peter Gast (whose real name was Heinrich Köselitz):

> Have you read about the fire at Mommsen's house? And that his excerpts were destroyed, possibly the mightiest preparatory research done by any scholar of our time? It is said he went back into the flames again and again, until finally physical force had to be used to restrain him, by then covered with burns. Undertakings such as that of Mommsen must be very rare, since a prodigious memory rarely coincides either with a corresponding incisiveness in evaluating, or with the ability to impose order on and organize such material—indeed, they generally tend to work against each another.
>
> When I heard the story, it made my stomach turn, and even now I am physically pained to think of it. Is it sympathy? But what is Mommsen to me? I am not at all well disposed towards him.

Reports of the fire at the home of the 'esteemed fellow citizen' Mommsen at no. 6 Marchstrasse in the Berlin borough of Charlottenburg appeared on 12 July 1880 in the evening edition of the *Vossische Zeitung*, on 13 July in a supplement to the *National-Zeitung*, again in the morning and evening editions of the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Neue Preussische Zeitung* and *Germania*, and on 14 July yet again in the morning edition of the *Vossische Zeitung*. According to these reports, Mommsen had been working on 12 July until two o'clock in the morning on the second floor of his home. A gas explosion caused a fire to break out that was noticed at three o'clock by workers at a porcelain factory. The voluntary Charlottenburg and gymnasts' fire brigades worked to douse the flames with manual extinguishers. Mommsen himself had to be restrained by the police from making further salvage attempts and was then carried away from the scene of the

fire by those who were with him after sustaining burns to his left hand and face. A number of postdoctoral assistants searched through the charred remains that afternoon. According to the press, some 40,000 books, most of which had been stored on the landings, had been lost in the fire, including manuscripts from the Berlin and Vienna Libraries, the Palatine Library at Heidelberg and, it is said, even from the Vatican, as well as 'all Mommsen's manuscripts and *collectanea*', some 'on the history of Rome as constitutional science', and some 'more recent work still in the conceptual stage'. One of the unfortunate losses specified was an important manuscript of Jordanes.[140]

Neither the newspaper reports nor Mommsen himself referred to the loss of the *History of the Roman Emperors*. However, a tradition deriving from Alfred von Klement and Hermann Glockner does.[141] It refers to that 'part of the *History of Rome* that was intended to form volume IV, but was never published, since the half-finished manuscript was burned: the age of the "Roman Emperors"'. Since this tradition remains unsubstantiated, I have not listed it among the reasons why volume IV is missing.[142]

A preliminary examination of file no. 47/1,[143] which has been superbly restored by the State Archives in Dresden, shows that it contains (among other things) notes on the history of the Roman Republic, a framework for the history of the Roman constitution dated 'Zurich 1852', and a draft for the beginning of volume IV of the *History of Rome* for which Mommsen had allocated books 6 and 7—as he writes in 1885 in the 'Introduction' to volume V, which comprises book 8, having included books 1 to 5 in the first three volumes. The text comprises three double sheets, twelve pages, of which two have not been used. It begins with the heading: 'Book Six: Consolidation of the Monarchy. Chapter One: Pompeian Rebellions and the Conspiracy of the Aristocracy'.

There follow four pages of text, intended as an introduction to the history of the emperors. This contains a general description of the era. There then follows a ten-page account of the unrest in Syria in 46 and 45 BC, and of Caesar's war with Pompey's sons in Spain up to the battle of Munda on 17 March 45 BC. Mommsen had ended his volume III (book 5) with the battle of Thapsus on 6 April 46 BC. This is where our account begins.

These pages presumably represent the material referred to by Hirschfeld (see note 119). They show that even before 1880 Mommsen had already made the attempt to write the history of the emperors. It is unlikely that he had committed to paper more than the extant ten pages, since the last two sides of the fourth sheet are blank. It cannot be ruled out, however, that other material was destroyed by the fire. We do not know when the text was written, but a reference to the Erfurt Union of March 1850 elsewhere, and the Swiss usage of referring to Pompey as a 'division commander' rather than a 'general', would suggest Mommsen's period of residence in Zurich.

4. MOMMSEN'S PICTURE OF THE AGE OF THE EMPERORS

Hansel's lecture notes enable both a more accurate understanding of Mommsen's view of the age of the emperors and its more precise location than hitherto within the history of the discipline.[144] On the one hand, they show the extent to which Mommsen shaped the pictures subsequently elaborated by his students Otto Seeck (1895–), Ludo Moritz

Hartmann (1903/10; 1908/21), Alfred von Domaszewski (1909), Hermann Dessau (1924/30) and Ernst Kornemann (1930).[145] On the other hand, they also reveal the extent of Mommsen's indebtedness to Edward Gibbon.[146] In his introduction to volume V of the *History of Rome,* Mommsen expresses his hope for an account of the age of Diocletian as a 'separate narrative and in the context of a different world, an independent historical work with a precise understanding of detail, but written with the great spirit and wider sense of vision of Gibbon' (*History of Rome [RG]* V, p. 5). On 27 October 1883 Wilamowitz wrote to Mommsen: 'You will have no need of moonlight or devastation to spur you on to a new "history of the fall and decline *[sic]* of the Roman Empire": but even without sentimentality Rome would be the best location from which to dare to compete with Gibbon.'[147]

In his 1886 lectures [MH.III, 3], Mommsen declared Gibbon's *History* to be the 'most significant work ever written on Roman history'. Already thirty years earlier he had waved aside requests for volume IV by alluding to Gibbon.[148] In 1894 he was invited to London to mark the centenary of Gibbon's death. He declined.[149]

Despite his sympathy for Gibbon's enlightenment approach, Mommsen still evaluated the characters he described in his own terms; that was only to be expected. As in the *History of Rome,* prominent personalities are tersely characterized. Mommsen shows how the dissimilar pair, Caesar and Augustus, is mirrored in Diocletian and Constantine; on both occasions he opts against the illustrious heir, against Augustus and Constantine. He evaluates the tragic role of figures such as Caesar and Diocletian more highly [MH.III, 68]—tragic not merely because they both failed, but rather because they fell under the shadows of their heirs. In each case, Mommsen pleads for real reformers who were unjustly misunderstood. At the same time he finds words of acknowledgement for Augustus and Constantine.

Surprising is his negative assessment of Trajan, revoked in 1885 [*RG* V, pp. 397ff.], to whom he attributes a 'boundless lust for conquest' [MH.II, 295] and the pursuit of 'vainglory' [MH.II, 298], and of Hadrian, who is said to have possessed a 'repellent manner and a venomous, envious and malicious nature' [MH.II, 299], in contrast to his inordinately positive evaluation of Septimius Severus, which he did not repeat in 1885 (*RG* V, p. 172): the 'shrewd statesman' [MH.II, 306] who was 'perhaps the most vigorous of all the emperors' [MH.II, 116]. In the summer 1883 lectures Mommsen particularly praised the British campaign as 'perhaps the most patriotic and sensible undertaking of the age of the emperors' [MH.II, 117], since Septimius Severus was seeking to achieve what Caesar had achieved for Gaul. This is hardly a reasonable appraisal, since the Romanization of Britain had few permanent results. In 1882 Mommsen described the conquest of Britain as 'detrimental' [MH.I, 72], and at the beginning of 1883 as 'of no benefit to the Empire' [MH.I, 175]. The evaluation of Septimius Severus is repeated in the Introduction to volume V of the *History of Rome,* where the reign of this ruler is described as the high point of the age of the emperors (*RG* V, pp. 4f.).

The anticipated avoidance of court gossip[150] proves an unfulfilled promise: although the domestic and private affairs of the imperial household are not reported quite as extensively as in the 1868/9 lectures [MK], adequate justice is done to them. 'We are obliged to concern ourselves with these domestic details: they were of considerable

political importance' [MH.I, 98]. From Nero on, however, a narrative history of individual emperors is replaced by an account of the various 'theatres of war', similar to the geographical arrangement of volume V of the *History of Rome*.

As was to be expected, there is a repetition of the contradictory assessment of the principate as a whole, which is characterized as a 'republic with a monarch at its head' [MH.I, 32], 'a form of monarchy' [MH.I, 93], although not 'a straightforward monarchy' [MH.II, 331], but a 'constitutional monarchy' [MH.I, 119; II, 355] or a 'dyarchy' [MH.I, 49], even though the Senate was not on an equal footing with the Emperor [as is asserted at MH.I, 94], since the discretionary power of the Emperor even in terms of *imperium legitimum* 'was tantamount to autocracy' [MH.I, 37] and 'virtually unlimited' [MH.I, 42]. 'The principle behind the principate was a highly personal style of government' [MH.II, 350], and yet the princeps was nothing more than 'an administrative official…with a monopoly of power' [MH.II, 331; see *Collected Works [Ges. Schr.]* IV, p. 160]. How can these views be reconciled?

Similar incongruities emerge when Mommsen speaks of the 'democratic mission' of Caesar the monarch and his successors [MH.I, 39] and at the same time describes both the Republic and the principate as 'aristocracies' [MH.II, 1], or denounces the tedium and vacuousness of the age of the emperors, even stating that the 'age of politics' ended with Augustus [MH.I, 31], and nevertheless applauds the 'progress' [MH.II, 2] and peace (see below) made under the rule of the emperors. The aristocracy of this age strikes him as markedly superior to that of the Republican age, the 'change that occurred during the age of the emperors', Mommsen asserts with regard to urbanization, having been 'decidedly for the better' [MH.II, 1, 104]. And yet we also read: 'The monarchical order of the principate was incompatible with an unforced love of the Fatherland' [MH.II, 99]. Mommsen's picture of history is dominated by political concerns: he is less interested in civilizing, cultural and religious aspects. There is no account of the *Pax Romana*. He describes only what he repeatedly calls the 'theatres of war'.

The importance which Mommsen attaches to fiscal questions is striking. He plagues his students to a hardly imaginable degree with monetary policy and taxation, currency parities and coinage issues in all their numerical detail. Court and civil administration, the army and building projects are all treated under the heading of 'Revenues and Expenditure', whose prominence is explicitly emphasized. The highly organized taxation system explains Mommsen's positive evaluation of late Roman bureaucracy, Diocletian's 'administrative and constitutional state' [MH.II, 354]—in contrast to Max Weber's negative assessment. The *Historia Augusta*, of which Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.* VII, pp. 303f.) wrote 'that these biographies represent the most worthless drivel we have from antiquity', are copiously cited as a source.

Among the manifest errors in the section on the principate, it is surprising that Mommsen promotes Augustus to the role of creator of the Roman fleet [MH.I, 63]; that he denies that chariot racing was held outside Rome [MH.I, 70]; denies the Messianic idea to the ancient Jews (AW.174=MH.I, 231]; denies the existence of communal customs dues [MH.II, 94]; ignores the educational policy of the emperors [MH.II, 102]; associates the first reference to the Goths with Caracalla [MH.II, 272], and does not accept that the *limes* in Upper Germany Raetia was a Roman military frontier [MH.II, 128] (he himself was to make a substantial contribution to its investigation only a short

while later). His line of argument is characteristic: such a long frontier could not be defended and would consequently have been militarily nonsensical, and that could not be attributed to the Roman emperors. The erroneous evaluation of senatorial functions [MH.II, 355ff.] derives from Mommsen's dyarchy thesis.

In the section on the dominate, Mommsen is in error in ascribing a pro-Arian majority to the Council of Nicaea in 325 [MH.III, 144], in denying the ability of the Alamanni to conquer Roman cities [MH.III, 165], in associating the first reference to Paris with Julian [MH.III, 173f.], in dating the first tamed camels to the reign of Valentinian [MH.III, 201f.], in describing Valentinian as an Arian [MH.III, 203], and in believing the Ulfilas Bible to be the oldest of all translations of the Bible from the Greek [MH.III, 213]. A remark which Mommsen made twice, that eastern Rome collapsed as a result of the Persian Wars [MH.III, 151, 222], is obscure. In those passages where the lectures correspond to volume V of the *History of Rome*, it is worth considering which of the corrections to the latter are the result of advice given by Wilamowitz.

It would seem that the moment Mommsen started lecturing to students he regained the 'sacred hallucination of youth', the *corraggio* dell'errare.[151] His statement that there can be nothing more frivolous in the world than giving lectures',[152] confirms that in mature years Mommsen felt fewer scruples at the lectern than at his writing desk. Accordingly, the picture that emerges from our text is of a more ebullient, and as it were more youthful, Mommsen than in his published material of the same period. The restraint of volume V is not retained throughout the lectures. On the other hand, Mommsen here anticipates some of his later insights, such as that the basic meaning of the *consistorium* was architectural [MH.III, 49], that the establishment of the office of *magister militum praesentalis* was at the end of Constantine's reign and of regional ones was under Constantius II,[153] and the Roman background of Ulfila, generally regarded as a half-Goth [MH.III, 212]. In some particulars, even the most recent research still has something to learn from Mommsen's interpretation of public offices in late antiquity, a field where his juristic sensibility is superior to that of modern authors, for instance in his remarks on the origin of the separation of administrative and judicial functions.

A final noteworthy feature is Mommsen's observations on Christianity,[154] which he in no way overlooked as Sebastian Hensel (see above) claimed. Mommsen [MH.I, 232ff.] saw Judaism in terms of nationality and ritual and Christianity in terms of the idea and practice of humanity. The God of wrath had become a God of love. There are, however, some very critical comments: Christianity was 'a plebeian religion and so, too, therefore, was its style' [MH.III, 104]; the Christian faith was a 'charcoal-burners' faith', but one for 'counts and barons' too, and hence made its mark on history [MH.III, 109]. Mommsen deplores its effects on art and the state. The Church seemed to him to be a 'state within a state', its hierarchy a 'principle that threatened the state, subversive to the utmost degree', [MH.III, 107] and the bishops an 'alternative government', or even counter-government [MH.III, 142]. Mommsen did not use the term *Pfaffengeschmeiss* (clerical scum) merely for astrologers and the priests of Isis under Tiberius. Polytheism and Christianity are dealt with in the same terms. But what Mommsen rejects is the enlightened 'indifference' of those such as Marcus Aurelius: 'Nothing can be accomplished by this' [MH.III, 63, 203]. In his view, religion should be exploited by politicians as a tool: what mattered was whether it was useful. For Mommsen, paganism

had become ineffective. He therefore criticized Julian, whom he otherwise held in such high esteem: Julian had tried ‘to set back the world clock’ [MH.III, 58], and ought to have known that the old religion was a thing of the past [MH.III, 179]. Not surprisingly, Mommsen is hostile to the impending victory of the Church over the State: many of the ‘finest people of the age’ responded to both Christianity and Mithraism ‘with the educated disdain of men of the world’ [MH.III, 157]. This brings him back to the conflict between (in Hegelian terms) the higher law of history and individual character, which was crucial in his judgement.

Essentially, Mommsen’s interest in late antiquity coincided with his interest in Roman history in general: it is linked to his own time on the one hand through historical descent and on the other through structural similarities. The former appears in the concluding remarks to volume II of his *History of Rome*, from which the conclusion to the lectures differs only in wording. Mommsen observed the history of the Goths, Vandals and Franks from the perspective of *Verschmelzung* (ethnic assimilation) [MH.III, 239]. Sebastian Hensel wrote in 1886: ‘final lecture, 30th July: numerous faces never seen before appear, who will testify that they have conscientiously scived throughout the course’.

Despite his emphasis on continuity in the lives of nations, Mommsen realized that the Roman state and ancient civilization had run their course by the fifth century. The remark made by Mommsen above (p. 4), reported by Butler, that he had never understood the reason for the fall of the Empire, had naturally been intended ironically. Mommsen had made quite specific statements on this subject,[155] which he developed in the lectures.

Mommsen regarded the imperial age as an appendix to the Republic. In his view, the Romans had already dug their own grave in the second century BC, on the one hand with the ruin of the agrarian middle class, and on the other through Roman subjugation of foreign peoples, with whom, as he saw it, real assimilation was not feasible. ‘The age of the Roman emperors shows us the Roman people up to the point of utmost senility, until it finally disintegrates: it was not the barbarians who overthrew Rome’, as he put in in 1872/3.[156] At the beginning of the great migrations, when the legions were manned with Germanic soldiers, the Empire was faced on a wider scale with what befell Italy at the end of the Antonine era, when military service was abandoned to the provincials, particularly those of the Danube lands: ‘when a country…renders itself defenceless and leaves its protection to others, it is bound to be subjugated’ [MH.II, 268]. Without the army, the Empire is unable to sustain itself: ‘The true reasons for Rome’s subsequent misfortunes are to be sought in the decline of military discipline’ [MH.II, 311].

The age of the emperors represented the ‘total political, military, economic and moral bankruptcy of civilization at that time’.[157] Orientalization, barbarization, imperialism and pacifism—all this was an outrage to Mommsen, the liberal nationalist, and sufficient explanation for collapse. But his judgement is ambivalent. In 1868 he declared to his students [MK.110]: ‘In both the military and administrative respects, the transition from Republic to monarchy can only be regarded as a step forward.’

On the one hand, therefore, the ethnic and tribal constitution of the late Roman world is one of his most important categories of judgement, speaking positively as he does of their national unity, their national interests and their national policy. On the other hand, Mommsen is more than sympathetic to the expansionist policy of Rome when he

approves the 'service of civilization' or 'cultural historical mission' of Roman arms [MH.II, 204ff., 237], Augustus's attempt to reach the Elbe frontier, or the campaign of Septimius Severus in Scotland [MH.II, 117; compare *RA*, p. 106]. The pacific policy of the emperors is criticized as 'stagnation' [MH.I, 102, 129; II, 112, 115; cf. *RA*, p. 106]. What triggered the disintegration of the Empire in Mommsen's view was on the one hand its alleged financial ruination [MH.II, 105], and on the other 'the military monarchy in the inexorable momentum of its process of self-destruction', which 'reduced its subjects to the level of clones'.[158] It is precisely to peace that Mommsen ascribes the Empire's waning vitality:[159] 'Far from being military-minded, the age of the emperors was perhaps the most pacific and peace-loving era the world has ever seen across such a broad span of space and time' [MH.II, 63]. Similarly: 'Where the Republic was war, the Empire was peace' [MH.I, 135]. The policy of peace at any price was a flawed one for the state: on the whole, governments that take vigorous action tend to be the best' [MH.I, 191]. Mommsen commended a robust, courageous policy of expansion and occupation where the circumstances permitted it [MH.III, 94]—in contrast to a Trajan, who fought too much, or a Hadrian or Pius, who fought too little [MH.II, 299, 301].

Mommsen frequently sees parallels between later Roman history and that of his own time. He compares the disquieting extent of the great landholdings of the emperors to that of London landed property magnates [MH.II, 86], On the other hand, it was the absence of national debt which, in his view, distinguished the fiscal policy of the principate from that of modern states [MH.II, 90]. Government supervision of towns seemed as beneficial to him as the demise of the Free Imperial Cities of Germany, 'with their short-sighted and narrow-minded parish-pump politics' [MH.II, 105]; the life of Romans in Gaul and Britain reminds him of that of the English in India [MH.II, 150], Rome's confrontations with Saharan nomads of those of the French Maréchal Bugeaud [MH.II, 203]. He also thought he recognized the petty rule-bound thinking of Constantius II in his own time [MH.III, 153]. His assessment of Napoleon [MH.II, 159] comes as a surprise. So, too, in the wake of the Charlottenburg defamation case brought against him by Bismarck in 1882, does his positive reference to the Chancellor [MH.III, 41], although his side-swipe at what he calls *Minister-Absolutismus*[160] is clearly a veiled comparison of Stilicho and Bismarck. A *tout comme chez nous* [MH.III, 136] can often be read between the lines. Wucher is correct in assuming that the 'intimate relationship between history and the present would undoubtedly also have been confirmed in the age of the Emperors'.[161]

Mommsen's hypothesis regarding a basic affinity between the Romans and the Germans, and of the essentially alien character of the Celts to both [MH.II, 169, 183f., 285], is contradicted by the Germanic-Celtic coalition against Rome during the Civilis rebellion. His analysis seems to have been determined by the power-politics of 1870/1, when Germany was hoping to win the sympathy of Italy in the war against France. Mommsen applies the same principle when he likens the arduous Romanization of the rural population in Gaul to the experiences of the French in Alsace, or of the Prussians in Pozen and Upper Silesia [MH.II, 160]. Prussia's German 'client-states' are used as a model for the barbarian chieftains allied to Rome [MH.II, 20].

There was no doubt in Mommsen's mind about the identity of the Germanic peoples with the modern Germans. Although he did distance himself from the adulation of the ancient Germans prevalent at that time right across the political spectrum, in contrast to

such writers as Freytag, Dahn, Gregorovius, Engels and Treitschke, this simply reflected his ambivalent view of the Germans and their political ability. The rule of Augustus was the 'first occasion on which our own Fatherland stepped on to the stage of world history' [MH.I, 79]; Arminius witnessed the beginning of a German national sentiment: 'This was the first time one could speak of German concord and German discord' [MH.I, 133]. Mommsen saw the late formation of the Alamannic federation as an attempt to bring about German unity. 'This was, if I may say so, the first manifestation of the notion of German unity and, even in this extremely incomplete form, it was already enough to make an impact on world history' [MH.II, 141]. By the same token, however, the 'peculiar curse' of the Germans,[162] domestic discord, also first made its presence felt in the age of the emperors: 'as so often in history, …Germans fought and won against Germans' [MH.III, 155]. In his 1886 lectures he expounded what he had described in 1877[163] as the 'peculiar curse' of the German nation, the extreme contradictions in their political views that aroused in him 'blazing fury' and 'burning shame'. He set a 'peculiar blessing' against this 'peculiar curse', referring, in 1877, to such individuals as Frederick the Great.

5. EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

On 15 December 1884 Julius Wellhausen wrote to Mommsen: 'The world may be less interested in Roman emperors than in Theodor Mommsen, and less in history than in your view of it.'[164] These words are even truer today, and are the primary reason for deciding to produce this edition. Even Wilamowitz[165] thought that the principal interest in publication of the lecture notes revolved around the insight they would provide into Mommsen's own 'historical development…. If publication is to take place, then so too must a meticulous examination and editing; and even the quotations will have to be checked'. This would require an 'expert and diplomatic individual'.

I do not suppose that this book will acquire a significance comparable with other posthumously published lecture notes—such as Hegel's *Philosophy of History* (1837) or *Philosophy of Law* (1983), Niebuhr's *History of Rome* (1844), Boeckh's *Encyclopaedia and Methodology of the Philological Sciences* (1877), Treitschke's *Politics* (1897), Burckhardt's *Observations on World History* (1905), Max Weber's *History of Economics* (1923), Kant's *Ethics* (1924) or Droysen's *Historik* (1937). These works were published and read largely for their contents, whereas Mommsen's lectures on the history of the emperors will probably only reach a readership interested in the history of the discipline. The book is intended to enrich our picture of Mommsen, regarded by A.J.Toynbee as the greatest historian of all time after Edward Gibbon.[166]

With all due respect to Elisabeth Hensel and Ludwig Schemann, it goes without saying that the lecture notes cannot claim to represent volume IV of the *History of Rome*, although they may, if we wish, be regarded as a substitute for it. The fact that in his will Mommsen prohibited the publication of his lecture notes[167] is as little binding on posterity as the last will of Jacob Burckhardt, requesting that his papers, including his *Observations on World History*, be pulped.[168] Fortunately for us, Augustus had already failed to respect Virgil's will: *iusserat haec rapidis aboleri carmina flammis,*[169] althou gh

Momm sen [MH.I, 112] was of the opinion that Virgil would have done well to burn his *Aeneid* himself.

The high quality of the Hensel lecture notes clearly emerges when the text is compared with available parallel texts, particularly comparing no.9 [MH.I] with no. 10 [AW], and no. 11 [MP] with no. 12 [MH.II]. MH.I gives the impression of having been taken down by Paul Hensel in the lecture room, whereas the bound manuscripts MH.II and III are, as Sebastian Hensel points out, re-written down to the last detail [MH.III, 209]. In every section the handwriting is fair and legible, and proper names and citations in ancient languages for the most part correct. The editorial principle has been to alter the given wording as little as possible, while on the other hand creating a readable account. Since the text was not authorized by Mommsen, but partly taken down by others in the lecture room and partly re-written at a desk, the editors are free of any obligation to repeat it word for word. The aim has been to reconstruct what Mommsen actually said, rather than to edit what Hensel wrote. Should Hensel's text find sufficient interest, a textual scholar might like to edit the verbatim text with an *apparatus criticus* at some later date. Since our prime aim is to make the history of the emperors accessible to readers, we have sought a form that need not fear any *ex Elysio* criticism from Mommsen.

Work on the three parts proceeded differently, depending on the manner in which they were recorded. MH.I contains a number of misheard and misspelt words that garble the text, notably proper names and specialist terminology (e.g. *Cistophorus*, a type of coin, is written down as *Christophorus*), and which clearly did not originate with Mommsen. Similarly, the occurrence of abbreviations and key words, incomplete sentences, incorrect German word order, unnecessary changes of tense and numerous repetitions may be ascribed to pressure of time when taking lecture notes. A predeliction for words such as *freilich, allerdings, namentlich* and *auch* (of course, nevertheless, specifically and also), as well as the conspicuous frequency of *Es* ('It') as the opening word of a sentence, are equally unlikely to be authentic. In these cases, therefore, the text required selective but careful improvement. The length of sentences, punctuation and spelling have been standardized, the text divided into sections and given headings. Similarly a number of dates have been inserted, personal names given in full and modern equivalents given for ancient place names. Mommsen dates events 'From the Foundation of the City' (*ab urbe condita*, 753 BC), rather than BC/AD; in this edition all dates are given as BC or AD, as more familiar to the reader. Greek terms, sometimes given in Greek, sometimes in Latin script in the original, have been Latinized.

The anonymous Wickert manuscript [AW, see p. 21, no. 10], a parallel set of lecture notes, provided a welcome cross-reference; my thanks are due to the owner's generosity in letting me use it. This text contains fewer errors, and is superior in style, but considerably shorter. The textual comparison below should serve to illustrate this.

[AW. 37] The earlier judicial system recognized no appeals, only cassation. Augustus introduced appeals, but jury verdicts seem to have been excluded. Appeals could be made to the Emperor, or to consuls and the Senate. The death penalty was reintroduced, with power over life and death in the hands of the Emperor, the Senate or the consuls. Discretionary powers were likewise conferred on Augustus, such as during the rule of Sulla and the Triumvirate. Use of these discret. powers, however, seems to have been confined to matters in which the people were in agreement with the Emperor. Initially,

each pro consul was allocated a specific area of jurisdiction; Augustus was given the proconsulate for the whole Empire.

[MH.I, 41f.] The former system had recognized only that a tribune of the Plebs could set aside a previously Pronounced sentence. An appeals procedure,[155] whereby a higher authority was empowered to replace an earlier sentence with another legally binding judgment, was completely unknown. The procedure of appeal to higher authorities—to consuls, the Senate, and ultimately the *princeps* himself—was instituted by Augustus and can be demonstrated for all categories of legal proceedings with the exception of jury courts. This was particularly important for criminal proceedings, which had been tightened up considerably with the reintroduction of the death penalty. Life—and death-decisions were in the hands of consuls, the Senate and the Emperor. No basis whatsoever for this can be discerned in the titular powers of the *princeps*. This undoubtedly also applies to the way in which other spheres of authority were exercised in practice, which we cannot go into here.

The transfer of power to the Emperor in the *lex regia* ends with the clause that he was empowered to do whatever he saw fit in the interests of the state. This discretionary power is virtually unlimited, like that of Sulla and the triumvirs, and it is possible to give specific instances of this. When, for example, in 27 BC, bribes were becoming all too conspicuous in the elections to magistracies, Augustus simply declared the elections void and appointed new magistrates on the strength of his own plenitude of powers. Nevertheless, this was an extreme, reluctantly and rarely used power. Effort was made to avoid using it, resorting to it only when the voice of the best elements in the population favoured extraordinary measures.

Despite this, one has to concede that the sum of legal powers united in the *princeps* bordered on totalitarianism. This category most particularly included the proconsular authority that extended across the entire Empire, which would have been quite unknown in the Republic in peacetime, and was not even achieved with the far-reaching powers of Pompey against the pirates.

Wickert's Anonymous [AW] evidently did more thinking and less writing. He also passes on numerous additional passages which I have inserted into the Hensel text. Most of them are so minor that explicit references to the source would have disfigured the printed text; only the most important have been indicated. The final quarter of the winter 1882/3 course is only available in the AW manuscript: there must originally have been a fourth notebook in addition to the three extant ones of Paul Hensel. Frequent agreement in wording between the two confirms the carefully preserved *ipsissima verba* of Mommsen.

Erich Pernice's [MP] lecture notes of the summer 1883 course, the History of Rome under the Emperors II, are scant. They have provided some extra passages, which are supplied in the Notes. Page numbering corresponds to the original text preserved in the German Archaeological Institute in Rome (see p. 21, no. 11). To complete the picture, some further material from Mommsen's 1866 lectures (Göttingen Anonymous) and 1868/9 (Mommsen-Krauseneck, lecture notes nos. 2 and 4: see p. 20) has been included in the notes. One longer passage [MH.II, 315–42] derives from Kurt Hensel, Sebastian's second son, later a mathematician at Marburg. Kurt stood in for his father when the latter was on a visit to his family in the Harz mountains.[170] The following letter, now in the

East Berlin State Library, shows the nature of Kurt's later relationship with Mommsen:

Berlin W.
Kurfürstendamm 36
1 July 1901

Respected Professor,

Frau von Willamowitz *[sic]* has informed me that you would be interested in sitting for a photographer on Tuesday the 2nd inst., and that you would prefer me not to call for you. Would you please be so kind as to be at the premises of Noack the court photographer, 45 Unter den Linden, 3rd floor (the second building from the Friedrichstrasse direction) at ten o'clock on Tuesday? I shall be there half an hour earlier and make all the necessary arrangements to ensure the minimum inconvenience to yourself.

With humblest regards,
Your devoted,
D.Kurt Hensel

MH.II required fewer improvements, although even here it was necessary to correct some errors made by the person taking the notes. Wherever these are likely to derive from Mommsen himself, this has been indicated in the Notes. The Notes also occasionally refer to subsequent advances in research, but it would have overloaded this edition to bring Mommsen's account up to date in every detail. Not even Mommsen himself did this for the later editions of his *History of Rome:* he had the text of the second edition reprinted again and again, without changes. As far as possible the sources used by Mommsen have been traced and indicated in the Notes. This was not always an easy task, particularly with the inscriptions, over which Mommsen had greater command than any other ancient historian. Word-for-word quotations from Mommsen's memory have been supplemented with the correct original form where appropriate. Mommsen's prodigious knowledge of original sources enabled him largely to dispense with secondary ones. He cites Bergk, Bethmann Hollweg, Jacob Burckhardt, Albert Duncker, Gibbon, Henzen, Hertzberg, Hirschfeld, Hübner, Imhoof-Blumer, Kiepert, Marquardt, Missong, Nitzsch, Ranke, Richter, Seeck, Tillemont and Wilmanns. Since it has not always been possible to refer to the works used by Mommsen in the editions available to him, apparent anachronisms occur where later editions are used here.

The original pagination given for each of the three sections [MH.I, II and III, and AW] is intended to assist future editors in checking the editorial method. The title, RK *(History of the Roman Emperors)* was repeatedly used by Mommsen himself for his lectures (see pp. 9f.).

As already requested by Wilamowitz in 1928, the Hensel lecture notes will be donated to the State Library in Berlin. As regards Wickert's Anonymous (AW), the will of the present owner stipulates that after the death of his wife it should pass to his son, Dr Konrad Wickert, in Erlangen.

I am grateful to my wife for deciphering a text that is in parts scarcely legible, being

written in a private shorthand, and for providing a preliminary typescript. Other help was provided by Geza Alföldy, Horst Blanck, Jochen Bleicken, Manfred Clauss, Werner Eck, Karin Fischer, Stefan Gläser, Werner Hermann, Sven Kellerhoff, Martin König, Hartmut Leppin, Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel, Burghard Nickel, Helena Oechsner, Annette Pohlke, Werner Portmann, Maria R.Alföldi, Sven Rugullis, Heinrich Schlange-Schöningen and Uwe Walter; the project was facilitated by financial support from the Fritz Thyssen Foundation. I should like to thank them all.

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Lindheim, Whitsun 1992
Alexander Demandt

MOMMSEN, ROME AND THE GERMAN *KAISERREICH*

by Thomas Wiedemann

The nature and extent of imperial power; the sources of its legitimacy and authority; and its relationship to the power exercised by local rulers and communities—in the years when Theodor Mommsen grew up these were not just academic questions about long-dead Roman emperors, but questions about what Germany was and what it was likely to become. The 'Holy Roman Empire' of Charlemagne, refounded by the Saxon Ottonian dynasty in the tenth century, had survived as the 'Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation' until 6 August 1806, when the Emperor Francis II resigned the imperial title (he had styled himself Emperor of Austria since 1804, when Napoleon had crowned himself Emperor of France). It had been replaced first by a federation under French control, the Rheinbund, and then in 1815, after Napoleon's overthrow, by a looser federation of thirty-nine territorial states.

From the beginning, the new German League was perceived as providing only an interim solution to the question of what sort of political framework Germany should have. During the short period of French hegemony, the rulers of some of the larger German states had adopted French administrative practices in order to impose uniformity on their territories. In many cases these states were artificial creations of the Napoleonic period (particularly of the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*, the statute of 1803 which abolished 112 ecclesiastical, civic and minor secular territories). Thus the population of Baden increased almost tenfold, of Württemberg almost ninefold and of Prussia more than fourfold. They had effectively become completely new states, incorporating formerly independent territories and imperial cities which had their own traditions and identities, and often different religious affiliations as well. The loyalty of the population to their new princes had to be earned through reforms such as the abolition of surviving feudal rights, the equal protection—and control—by the state of all religious denominations, and government by state officials who in theory would treat everyone equally before the law. Another requirement was for a new universal educational system, made doubly necessary by the need for conscription during the Napoleonic wars and, in the Catholic half of Germany, by the destruction of the traditional Church-based educational system as a result of the secularization of Church property at the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*.

It was Prussia that led the way in transforming a collection of separate territories that happened to be ruled by one dynasty—the Hohenzollerns—into a unitary bureaucratic state. One of the most important elements in that transformation was the creation of a new educational system by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), who chose to put the study of ancient Greece at the centre of the syllabus to be taught in the *Gymnasium*, the elite secondary school in which future officers and civil servants received their education.

The enthusiasm for classical Greece which Humboldt showed had already been developing in the late eighteenth century; but by making it the focus of education in the new Prussian state, Humboldt invested it with the symbolic function of a standard of values which, precisely because it had no apparent relevance to the political problems of the early nineteenth century, could inspire equally Prussia's Protestant and Catholic subjects, aristocratic landowners and burghers, officers and industrialists. The very success of Greek studies in Prussia made it a symbol of pride in the new state, a pride which could be shared by social groups which otherwise had very different political and economic interests (as the nineteenth century progressed, other disciplines perceived as academic and therefore as above sectional interests came to play a similar role in Germany, particularly chemistry and medicine). But the emphasis on ancient Greece had another effect too. It drew attention away from Rome, and therefore weakened the symbolic value of 'Rome' as the source of legitimacy for the Holy Roman Empire, which Prussia was seeking to replace in the loyalties of its subjects. The downgrading of Rome also served the interests of the other new German states, whose claim to 'sovereignty' was based on the proposition that the Holy Roman Empire had not functioned as a proper state at all (at any rate since the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648), but as a tool of Habsburg dynastic interests which had actually interfered with the legitimate assertion of German rights by Prussia and her allies. Because of the academic authority of the Prussian university system created by Humboldt, this Prussian view of German history, perfected by the Berlin Professor of History Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–96), was generally accepted until recently. It was accompanied by an emphasis on the 'northern' origins of the Germans developed by romantic nationalists (and most notoriously reflected in the operas of Richard Wagner); both served the same function of denying the validity of Germany's past 'Roman' Empire as a basis for her future. It is no paradox that one of the memorials to the struggle against Napoleon's French Empire, some kilometres east of Regensburg, should have been called the 'Valhalla', but built in the form of the Athenian Acropolis.

Mommsen's interest in Rome rather than Greece was therefore exceptional (if not unique) amongst nineteenth-century German scholars of antiquity. The Greek world only interested him where it impinged on the Roman—with the Greek-speaking communities of South Italy and Sicily, and more crucially with the Byzantine world up to the sixth-century, which interested Mommsen not so much because it was Greek, as because it continued to be Roman. The most important of the factors which explain why Mommsen was different was that he came from Schleswig-Holstein, whose dukes were also the kings of Denmark. He was born at Garding in Schleswig on 30 November 1817; soon after, his father Jens Mommsen (1783–1851) was appointed assistant pastor at Oldesloe, a spa in Holstein 45 kilometres north-east of Hamburg. His father apparently had a bad preaching voice (the son too was notoriously a bad lecturer), and there was no money to send the sons to school. Education at home meant that Theodor, like his brothers Tycho (1819–1900, later headmaster of a *Gymnasium* at Frankfurt) and August (1821–1913), became a voracious reader with an astonishing self-imposed capacity for work; but it also meant that the books he read were not the Greek texts studied in Humboldt's *Gymnasien* (which in any case did not reach Schleswig-Holstein until the middle of the century), but the Latin texts which throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had constituted

the syllabus for the 'Humanities' throughout Europe—including amongst historical writers texts which were to find no place on nineteenth-century 'Classics' syllabuses, such as the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, Justin's *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus and the *Historia Augusta*. For Mommsen, Late Antiquity was as much a part of Roman history as the early Republic eulogized by Livy. His first attempts at German poetry, too, were classically inspired epigrams, unaffected by the romanticism that had been fashionable for a generation.

Mommsen's fluency in Latin was reinforced by another effect of his upbringing in Schleswig-Holstein: Latin was no more artificial as a learned language than High German. His parents spoke dialect at home (cf. his references to the use of Low German on tombstones at MH.II, 176), and a sense of local tradition was strong in the family. As elsewhere in Scandinavia, this was an area where family names had only replaced patronymics in the eighteenth century (in the case of the Mommsens, the names had been alternately 'Momme' and 'Jens'): if the historian was usually called 'Jens' by his family, this was because it had been traditional in the family, and did not imply any rejection of the Christian symbolism of the name 'Theodor'. When Mommsen abandoned the Lutheran Christianity of his ancestors, it was because of his commitment to political radicalism, not out of any feeling that God had not given his father sufficient earthly reward for his loyalty. What Mommsen did inherit from his father was a deep suspicion of Catholicism, which he did not see as in any way connected with the Rome he admired or the Latin he wrote so fluently.

Mommsen was also a fluent reader of English. The political links with Britain via Hanover, and the commercial links via Hamburg, made English the medium through which liberal ideas influenced north-west Germany. Mommsen's mother, Sophie Krumbhaar (1792–1855), came from Altona, a suburb of Hamburg although within the Duchy of Holstein. Between October 1834 and April 1838, Mommsen and his brother Tycho were sent for their only formal schooling to the *Gymnasium Christianeum* at Altona, founded by the Danish King Christian VI in 1738, and which after the incorporation of Kiel in the Danish realm in 1773 functioned as a feeder college for the university at Kiel. It was here that Mommsen was first confronted with literary romanticism, and systematically read both German and non-German writers such as Goethe and Heine, Shakespeare and Cervantes. Heine and the other writers of the 'Young Germany' movement drew his attention to the existence of a shared literary culture that united German-speakers far beyond the borders of Schleswig-Holstein, and to the association of that pan-German aspiration with a demand for political liberalism that could not be satisfied by the political institutions of the post-Napoleonic German League. These issues, both literary and political, were debated at meetings of the *Gymnasium's* student society, in which the Mommsen brothers played a leading role. These were the years in which Mommsen became a radical liberal, veering towards atheism and republicanism. But the atmosphere of Altona steered him away from a romantic or racialist variety of nationalism: there is no evidence that he was interested in Nordic mythology (though he read the *Nibelungenlied*, with its resonances of the post-Roman world), and his reading of English historians made him see political freedom as a universal right rather than the product of a specifically Germanic tradition (he was particularly interested in *England and the English* by the liberal politician and diplomat

Sir Henry Bulwer (1801–72), who had played an active role in securing the independence of both Greece and Belgium). In Hamburg and Altona, there were opportunities to meet foreigners, not just to read their books; Mommsen augmented his allowance by giving language lessons to English merchants (his star pupil was a Mr Pow). Nor, for the time being, did his growing identification with liberalism and German nationalism exclude a feeling of loyalty for his Danish sovereign. Mommsen was shocked by the irreverance with which Hamburg society received a false rumour of the death of King Frederick VI in 1836. The self-satisfied snobbery of Hamburg's elite alienated Mommsen from rather than attracted him to the idea of municipal self-government (cf. MH.II, 105).

That was to change during Mommsen's five years as a student at the University of Kiel, where he matriculated in May 1838. In the spring of 1843 he passed the State Examination allowing him to practise law with a dissertation on Roman guilds; the dissertation which he submitted for his doctoral examination in November was on another aspect of Roman administrative law, minor Roman officials. Given Mommsen's family background, the obvious career for him would have been as a clergyman; but his background had also given him enough experience of clerical poverty—he was to remain concerned about his own income throughout his life, and his unusual interest in the fiscal institutions of the Roman Empire ought to be seen in that context as well as in that of nineteenth-century economic theory in general—and in any case he had lost his faith in Lutheran Christianity. Of the other professions, teaching was not much more attractive, though after graduating from Kiel he found he had no alternative but to earn a living for a year teaching at his maternal aunts' girls' boarding school at Altona. Mommsen wanted something more political: he studied law, not (like his brothers Tycho and August) classical philology, and he will have expected to follow an administrative career as a civil servant in his native Schleswig-Holstein. Not that Mommsen was uninterested in classical philology: he formed a firm and lasting friendship at Kiel with the classicist Otto Jahn, a junior university teacher only four years older than he was. Not only did Jahn introduce him to the kinds of things that were happening in Prussian classical scholarship, but he also introduced him to the elite society of Kiel who frequented his father's house—the leaders of liberal politics in Holstein. Nevertheless, Mommsen still made it explicit in his doctoral dissertation that he saw himself as a lawyer, not a classicist, and that he associated Latin with the law, Greek with classical scholarship ('Res graecae philologorum sunt, latinae iurisconsultorum': p. 139).

But any hopes Mommsen had of an administrative career fell casualty to the unresolved consequences of the destruction of the Holy Roman Empire. Holstein had been part of that Empire, subject like every other imperial territory to the Diet at Regensburg. As Duke of Holstein, the King of Denmark had maintained a permanent legation at Regensburg, directed from a Chancellery at Copenhagen; and since imperial business constituted the major portion of Danish foreign policy, most aspects of Danish foreign policy came to be entrusted to this 'German Chancellery' staffed by German-speakers, many of them not from Holstein at all. Not only did German- and Danish-speakers live side by side in Copenhagen, they governed the constituent territories of the Danish monarchy side by side. This was a system that could not survive the fall of the Empire. To protect the unity of their domains against potential threats from the centrally administered states which were developing south of their borders, the Danish kings too

sought to impose uniformity, a uniformity which naturally had to be based on the Danish language. In 1817, Danish was made a compulsory school subject in Schleswig-Holstein. In 1840, Danish replaced German as the administrative language of northern parts of Schleswig. This was justified in so far as most of the local population were Danish speakers; but it made it clear to both Danes and Germans that the principle of basing states on linguistic communities necessarily implied the separation of German- and Danish-speaking parts of Schleswig, and thus the destruction of Schleswig-Holstein as a single territorial entity which had been united under its own parliament for centuries. It also underlined the contradiction of nationalism as a political creed by bringing German and Danish liberals into direct conflict: the Danish liberal movement supported the Copenhagen government so long as it excluded German-speakers (and dissolved the 'German Chancellery'), while liberals in Holstein—and increasingly throughout Germany—defended the 'Germanness' of the duchy. Symbolic for the German side was the so-called 'Ripener Freiheitsbrief' of 1460, in which the estates of Schleswig and Holstein had sworn to remain undivided forever ('dat se bliwen ewige tosamende ungedelt'). In the context of the fifteenth century, their concern had actually been that the duchy should not be partitioned between different heirs to the Danish crown; but Holstein liberals (particularly the anglophile F.C.Dahlmann, one of the seven Göttingen professors who were dismissed in 1838) reinterpreted it as the charter of a unified Schleswig-Holstein state, distinct from Denmark.

The development of a unified Danish state, no matter how liberal its principles, necessarily resulted in the exclusion of German-speakers, and undermined their loyalty to even the most tenuous link with the Danish crown. German national consciousness had been greatly strengthened by the hostility of the French government of Thiers, which almost led to a European war in 1840 (cf. MH.II, 184). After 1840, German-speakers in Schleswig-Holstein increasingly saw their future exclusively in terms of being part of a new German *Reich*. The crisis passed the point of no return on 4 December 1846, when the Schleswig estates dissolved themselves rather than carry out the policies of the government in Copenhagen. By the time he completed his university studies, it was no longer possible for Mommsen to think that he could both serve the King of Denmark and be a German liberal.

So Mommsen was not given an appointment in the Danish administration of his native duchy on graduation; instead, he won a Danish government scholarship to study the antiquities of Italy, setting sail from Hamburg in September 1844. His primary aim was to find and collate as many unpublished Latin inscriptions as possible; this was a project that had been suggested to him by Otto Jahn, who had put him in touch with the Berlin professor August Boeckh (1785–1867), who had been producing a similar corpus of Greek inscriptions. Mommsen later said that the most important result of his Italian sojourn had been that he had learnt to be an epigrapher from the man who knew more about Roman inscriptions than anyone else at the time, Count Bartolomeo Borghesi of San Marino (1781–1860). When he returned from Italy in the spring of 1847 via Vienna, Leipzig and Berlin, it was clear that his future was to be an academic Roman historian rather than a lawyer or civil servant.

The Italian journey brought Mommsen a wealth of experiences that went far beyond the merely scholarly. Paris in particular impressed him as the capital of a world Empire,

and became Mommsen's model for understanding Rome. In his lectures forty years later, he still referred to what he had seen in the Père Lachaise cemetary, or to the Algerian victory parade of Marshal Bugeaud (MH.II, 9f., 200, 203). He travelled by train for the first time (from Rouen to Paris); and one indelible experience was an attempt by a fanatical Irishman to convert him to Catholicism during the voyage from Marseille to Genoa (this experience is likely to have been a major factor in explaining Mommsen's prejudices not just against Irish Catholics, but also against the Celts in general and Druids in particular: cf. MH.II, 111f., 164–70, and the vivid description of the Celtic character in his *History of Rome*, bk. 2 ch. 4, I, 325f.).

During his absence the question of the future of Schleswig-Holstein had become a major plank of the German liberal movement. In 1848, revolutionary pressure forced the German states to summon a parliament to Frankfurt in order to re-establish a unified German Empire and decide on both its boundaries and its constitution. The refusal of both Habsburg and Hohenzollern to play the role of constitutional emperor was to lead to the collapse of the liberal movement in the following year; but in the spring of 1848, the Frankfurt parliament gave support and legitimacy to resistance to Denmark's decision to incorporate Schleswig. An armed uprising followed. Mommsen participated in the struggle in the best way he could, helping to edit the *Schleswig-holsteinische Zeitung*, the journal of the revolutionary provisional government in Kiel. But although Prussian troops occupied the duchies, and much of Jutland, in May 1848, Britain and Russia were not prepared to see Prussia control the Sound between the North Sea and the Baltic, and in August they forced Prussia to restore the duchies to Denmark. Like the liberal cause in Frankfurt, the German cause in Schleswig-Holstein seemed lost: the 'London protocol' of 8 May 1852 imposed the Danish law of succession on the duchies, thus giving their integration into Denmark the stamp of international approval. As a solution imposed by outsiders, this could only be temporary; and in 1863 the promulgation of a new unitary constitution for all Danish territories again provoked resistance among German speakers, this time leading to the combined intervention of Prussia and Austria in the war of 1864 and thus to the full integration of the duchies into Prussia after the Austro-Prussian War of 1866.

But Mommsen had already left Holstein long before that. In August 1848, he had been offered a post as supernumerary professor ('Extraordinarus') in Roman law at Leipzig; this at last guaranteed him a regular income, and he was obliged to accept (the offer had been engineered by his old friend Otto Jahn, who was now Professor of Classics there). During his time in Italy Mommsen had become clearer about the need for what was to become the greatest scholarly project of his life, a corpus of all surviving Latin inscriptions from every part of the Roman Empire—the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)*. But such a project could only be undertaken under the auspices of a major research institution, and for Mommsen this meant the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin, which had supported Boeckh. The Academy had already agreed to support a preliminary project of this sort by A.W.Zumpt, a Berlin *Gymnasium*-teacher; several years of sometimes bitter political infighting followed during which Zumpt resisted Mommsen's attempt to have the project taken away from him on the grounds that Mommsen was too junior and academically unproven. But Mommsen rapidly established his scholarly authority with a series of publications largely resulting from his studies in Italy: on

southern Italic dialects (*Die Unteritalischen Dialekte*, 1850), Roman coinage (*Ueber das römische Münzwesen*, 1850), a fourth-century AD list of religious festivals (*Ueber den Chronographen von 354*, 1850), and in particular an edition of over 7,000 Latin inscriptions from southern Italy which secured his reputation as the world's leading expert on Latin epigraphy (*Inscriptiones Regni Neapolitani Latinae*, 1852).

What these apparently disparate themes had in common was that through comparative linguistics, numismatics and epigraphy, Mommsen was trying to create a body of material which had the status of archival evidence and which would serve as a control on the narratives of historical writers such as Livy and Appian. These narratives had already been subjected to scrutiny by earlier scholars, of whom the most significant was Georg Barthold Niebuhr (1776–1831; first a Danish, then a Prussian civil servant before becoming Professor of History at Bonn). But Niebuhr's method had been to apply the principles of 'Source Criticism' to unravel contradictions in the traditional account, and then to explain them by applying models developed in the light of his own experience, e.g. of conscription in a peasant society. Mommsen's work sought to establish entirely new categories of evidence for the use of the historian. Thus in bk. 1 ch. 2 (vol. I, p. 14) of his *History of Rome* he says that comparative philology can recover evidence about the social structure of prehistoric Italy 'as in an archive'. His words have reminded some scholars of the emphasis on the superiority of archival over narrative sources which is associated with the great historian Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), who argued that the accounts of early modern history he himself had uncovered in archives at Venice and elsewhere between 1827 and 1837 were much more objective and reliable than those composed by contemporary historians. But in fact there is little evidence that Mommsen was influenced by Ranke: rather, Mommsen's interest in documents arose from another source, his wish as a Roman lawyer to base his judgements on documentary evidence. When Mommsen used the religious festivals of a later period as evidence for archaic Rome, he argued that they served as documents, 'eine Urkunde' (bk. 1 ch. 12=vol. I, p. 161).

It was therefore much less surprising than it has seemed to some that at a time when he was producing these detailed scholarly studies, Mommsen should also have accepted a proposal from the Leipzig publishers Karl Reimer and Salomon Hirzel to write a two-volume Roman history aimed at a wide and non-specialist readership. Of course such a history represented a rival claim on Mommsen's time, but on the other hand collecting documentary evidence was more than an end in itself; it formed the basis for analysis and judgement. In any case Mommsen's *Corpus* project had not at this stage overcome the resistance of Zumpt, and as always Mommsen felt that he needed more money.

Reimer and Hirzel had heard Mommsen give a public lecture on agrarian reform in the period of the Gracchi. They realized that Mommsen would be able to produce a work that combined knowledge of the latest evidence recovered from antiquity with the ability to relate that evidence to the current concerns of a liberal German readership. They explicitly drew his attention to the liberal *History of England* written by T.B.Macaulay (1800–59), the first two volumes of which had just appeared in 1848. There can be no question that some of the themes Mommsen pursued in his *History of Rome*—and later—were inspired by Macaulay. Macaulay's programmatic statement that 'It will be my endeavour to relate the history of the people as well as the history of the government…to

portray the manners of successive generations' (vol. I p. 3) could equally have been written by Mommsen. Mommsen's unremitting hostility to ancient slavery and its effect on Roman society can be traced back to Macaulay, whose father Zachary (1768–1838) had been a leading opponent of the slave-trade. It is less clear whether Macaulay also influenced key elements in Mommsen's interpretation of the Roman constitution, but he certainly expressed similar views: 'The Roman Emperors were Republican magistrates, named by the Senate. None of them pretended to rule by right of birth' (vol. I p. 70).

Mommsen had to pay the price for his active support of the liberal cause. In 1851 he was dismissed from his post at Leipzig for having helped to organize a rally of the liberal-constitutionalist 'Deutscher Verein' on 4 May 1849 which had been taken over by a more radical revolutionary group. In the following spring, he was appointed Professor of Roman Law by the liberal Swiss canton of Zurich; but he was not happy in Zurich, and as an outsider his experience of the closed merchant-aristocracy that ruled the city-state, liberal though their principles may have been, was no more positive than that of Hamburg earlier. He did his best to conform to Swiss national pride, with a volume on Switzerland under the Romans (*Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*, 1853) and a corpus of all 350 Latin inscriptions found in Switzerland (*Inscriptiones Confoederationis Helveticae Latinae*, 1854). He also married Marie Reimer, the daughter of his Leipzig publisher, who was to bear him sixteen children.

The three volumes of the *History of Rome* were largely written during Mommsen's two years in Zurich. Volume I appeared in June 1854, volume II in December 1855 and volume III in the following spring. By then, the Mommsens had left Zurich. In 1854, he had been appointed to a Chair in Roman Law at Breslau in Prussia; in the same year he achieved his aim of being put in charge of editing all known Latin inscriptions by the Berlin Academy of Sciences, though arguments about funding continued for several years thereafter. In spring 1858 he was able to move to Berlin to devote himself to work on the *Corpus*.

The Academy was to be the centre of his activities for the rest of his life, though from 1861 he also held a professorship at the University of Berlin (invitations to Chairs elsewhere, including Strasburg—refounded as a German prestige university in 1871—were declined because Mommsen needed to be at the centre of power). From 1873 to 1895, he was the Academy's Permanent Secretary. The full story of how Mommsen exercised his patronage as Secretary of the Academy remains to be told; but it is clear that he gave his support to a wide range of historical projects, including the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, a vast series of sources for medieval German history. He himself edited several volumes of late antique texts, including Jordanes and Cassiodorus, illustrating what was then known as the 'Age of Migrations' for the *MGH* series of the earliest authors, *Auctores Antiquissimi*. In the case of both *MGH* and *CIL*, the speed of production (and sometimes the use of inexperienced graduate assistants) resulted in misunderstandings and errors of transcription; unfortunately the authority enjoyed by both projects means that some of these errors remain unquestioned even today. Another project which Mommsen supported, or more precisely seized control of, as Secretary of the Academy was the study of the Roman *limes* in south-western Germany; by setting up a *Reichslimesforschungskommission* under Friedrich Schmidt-Ott (1860–1956) in 1892, Mommsen effectively took the study of the *limes* out of the hands of local South German

archaeologists and transferred it to Berlin. He was also in a position to control appointments in ancient history at Prussian universities through the advice he gave the Prussian government councillor responsible for university appointments (Leiter der I.Unterrichtsabteilung), Friedrich Althoff (1839–1908). As other parts of Germany increasingly came under Prussian influence, Mommsen could arrange for his own pupils to be given university appointments throughout Germany, and even in German-speaking universities in all parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Roman historians who disagreed with Mommsen, like Karl Julius Beloch (1854–1929), had to emigrate.

If Mommsen had no more reservations about the hegemony of Prussia over the Germany that emerged from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 than he had over Roman hegemony over Italy, he was not so happy about its federal constitution. His analysis of the Roman constitution, the *Römisches Staatsrecht* which appeared between 1871 and 1888, reflects his strong belief in the undivided sovereignty which he saw instantiated in the Roman concept of *imperium*. The order he follows in the *Staatsrecht* is revealing: in volume I he describes the essential powers of Roman magistracy (‘Wesen der Magistratur’) in general, then in volume II he describes how that ‘Wesen’ manifested itself, or was exemplified, in particular magistracies. It is striking that the institutions which we would have expected a liberal like Mommsen to be particularly sympathetic to, the Senate and the popular assemblies, are dealt with much more cursorily, and that Mommsen denies them independent authority: their function is rather to assist the work of the magistrates by giving assent and legitimacy to their actions. The emphasis is on *imperium,* undivided sovereignty. His own political experiences in 1848 and since had persuaded Mommsen that sovereignty had to be indivisible, that institutions which might reflect conflicts of interest between social classes or geographical regions would result at best in inaction and at worst in disaster. The history of the Roman Republic showed what a state could achieve if its sovereignty was undivided, but exercised by a plurality of magistrates.

What then of Rome under the emperors? Mommsen did not see his liberal, constitutional ideal state as excluding rule by one man, as is shown by his admiration for Napoleon III as a new Caesar in the 1850s. Rather, the problem for Mommsen was that history was essentially an account of the development of constitutional law, but from Augustus on politics at Rome were rarely expressed in terms of arguments about constitutional issues. The Hensels’ transcripts of Mommsen’s lectures on the imperial period illustrate how important constitutional issues continued to be for Mommsen. Of course the question of the geographical limits of the German *Kaiserreich* had been solved in 1870/1, with the exclusion of Austria; but there were still unanswered questions about the relationship between the centre and the provinces. The political concerns of the Wilhelmine age are apparent in Mommsen’s lectures, as one would expect from someone who was a member of the Prussian parliament from 1873 to 1879 and of the *Reichstag* from 1881 to 1884: they include the role of (the German) language as a way of assimilating (Polish-speaking) allophones into a newly unified state (MH.II, 3f. and 15), the introduction of a common currency in 1873 (MH.II, 21) and most strikingly the danger of an unsuitable monarch in a system of hereditary succession. Mommsen’s private comments about Kaiser Wilhelm II show what he thought of him, and the Kaiser’s support of colonial adventures, alienation of Britain and responsibility for the

Great War was to confirm that Mommsen's anxieties were not exaggerated.

But these contemporary political issues could not provide Mommsen with a theme to enable him to integrate all the things he had to say about the Roman world under the emperors, as they had thirty years earlier for the history of the Republic. The imperial period simply did not contain enough 'constitutional history'. Very considerable sections of the Hensel transcripts consist of analyses of particular problems which are effectively separate digressions—on coinage, tax reforms, the inscriptions of Lyon, the *limes*. In one respect, these analyses illustrate how much new material had been brought to light in the previous thirty years, largely as a result of Mommsen's own research. But they also show how the sheer quantity of new material had led to a much greater level of specialization than was necessary in the mid-century. It has been pointed out that Mommsen's view of modern scholarship as highly co-ordinated team-work meant that his pupils were world experts in limited areas, but found it hard to synthesize. The same seems to have applied to Mommsen himself: in the thirty years since he had written volumes I–III of the *History of Rome,* he and his followers had produced so much detailed research that he was no longer in a position to produce a coherent account. After he had retired both from parliamentary politics and from some of his university duties in 1883, Mommsen had more time to return to the *History of Rome*. Volume V, on the Roman provinces, appeared in 1885, and here the emphasis on detailed research as opposed to an all-embracing story-line was not such a drawback; but the Hensel transcripts show how far Mommsen was from being able to combine (e.g.) domestic politics and the story of military activity in frontier regions. That the shortcomings of Mommsen's account of imperial history were recognized by Mommsen himself has been mentioned above; and Wilamowitz refused to have the text published posthumously, as unworthy of his father-in-law. Only in recent years has the fashion for 'deconstructing' narratives found this fragmentary nature of Mommsen's account of Rome under the emperors particularly interesting: the 1990s were an appropriate time for the *Kaisergeschichte* to be rediscovered.

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Thomas Wiedemann
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ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography contains only works used repeatedly, and abbreviated in the Notes. Others appear *suo loco* only. Standard abbreviations are used for classical authors and texts: the reader may consult e.g. the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* for these.

AA:	*Auctores Antiquissımi.*
AE:	*L'Année Epigraphıque,* 1928–.
AF:	Berlin Academy Fragment of Mommsen for *History of Rome* IV.
AG:	Göttingen Anonymous; see p. 20, lecture note 2.
ANRW:	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt,* ed. Temporini, H. and Haase, W. 1972–.
a.u.c.:	*ab urbe condita.*
AW:	Wickert's Anonymous, quoted by MS pages; see p. 21, lecture note 10.

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BJ:	*Bonner Jahrbücher* 1895–.

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BMC:	British Museum Catalogue=*A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum,* 1873–.

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CIL:	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,* 1863–.

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C.Th.:	*Codex Theodosianus,* ed. Krüger, P., Meyer, P.M., Mommsen, T., 1904–5.

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FHG: *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* ed. Müller, C., 1853–84.

FIRA: *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani,* Riccobono, S. et al. (eds), 1941–.

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MGH: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*
MH: Mommsen-Hensel, see Introduction, pp. 13ff.
MK: Mommsen-Krauseneck, see p. 20, lecture note 4.

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MP:	Mommsen-Pernice, see p. 21, lecture note 11.
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PL:	Migne, *Patrologia Latina*.
PLRE:	Jones, A.H.M., Martindale, J.R., and Morris, J. (eds), *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* I 1971, II 1980.
RAC:	Klausel, T. (ed.), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* 1950–.
RE:	*Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 1893–.
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SHA:	Scriptores Historiae Augustae.
SQAW:	*Schriften und Quellen der Alten Welt*, ed. German Academy of Sciences, East Berlin, 1956–.

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VC:	*Vita Constantini*, Eusebius.

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VS:	*Vitae Sophistarum*, Eunapius.

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THE BERLIN ACADEMY FRAGMENT

The text which follows is Mommsen's manuscript draft for volume IV of his *History of Rome*, now in the archives of the Academy of Sciences in former East Berlin (Mommsen Legacy 47/1). Words abbreviated by Mommsen have been printed in full. Asterisks ** frame Mommsen's own marginal notes. Dots… indicate illegible or destroyed/lost words. Pointed brackets < > contain the editors' reconstructions of words by Mommsen which are missing, generally as a result of burning. Notes and italic text in pointed brackets are the editors'. Parentheses ( ) are Mommsen's own. Sections of text crossed out by the author have been omitted. Minor errors of syntax arising out of later insertions or erasures have been corrected. Because of the way in which the folded sheets have been opened up, the archive's page numbering does not accord with the order in which Mommsen wrote; it is that sequence which has been reconstructed here.

<p. 6 right>

Book 6

Consolidation of the Monarchy

Chapter 1

Pompeian rebellions and Conspiracy of the Aristocracy

The edifice which had been under construction for half a millennium lay in ruins. The Republican constitution had been replaced by a monarchy, government by a closed circle of notable families with rule by one bold commander, the civic order by military organization, and Senate-appointed governors by the adjutants of the new monarch. A new era began, not merely in political regulations and principles, but also in men's attitudes, in social patterns, and in literature and language. Hitherto, the churning whirlpool of the capital's ruling clique had drawn all vigour and talent towards itself, whether to obtain entry to the circle of lords and masters by trickery or force, or to change or overthrow the existing form of government; but with the abolition of the parliamentary regime political life as such came to an end. Ambition no longer had any purpose, since the crown can be considered such only by a fool or genius, not by men of talent, * while to be the minister of a ruler is the aspiration of the political parvenu <?> or scheme-r, but never of the truly free <?> man.* People lowered their aims and aspirations; they no longer sought public activity, but peace; not power and honour, but a tranquil and <sated> enjoyment of life; not that which men leave after them, but solely the present.

There is little that makes the picture of that age bearable, occasionally even agreeable, to the observer <p. 7 left>. Rulers and ruled alike grew complacent. There seemed to be virtually nothing to be gained by expanding frontiers; on the contrary, a feeling that the Empire had already outgrown itself prevailed throughout the nation, and the inclination was rather towards gradual retrenchment. Just as the rulers laid aside their arms, so, too, men of talent laid down their slates and pens. The sober pursuit of scholarship and literature did not lack genius, even less education, so much as inspiration: and the most

inspired literary work dating from this epoch is a debauched romance.[1] * The attempt to advance civilization was abandoned: and it stagnated on the level it had attained at the onset of the era.

Yet with each succeeding generation, the sense contemporaries had of being mere imitators of superior generations grew ever more immediate. Keen…was the endeavour—and this was <the least> agreeable, but by far the most lasting trend of this epoch—to exploit, <to commercial>ize and popularize the products of earlier scholarship and education. This was the age in which Graeco-Roman civilization, as it had evolved up to that point in Rome and Italy, became the property of the entire Roman Empire. But its <creat>ive energy was spent, and * people contented themselves with a tolerable existence.

Instead of being the obligation of a citizen, the administration of the affairs of state became simply a means of obtaining a livelihood. Bureaucracy, that mortal enemy of civil liberty, was gradually brought into play—until, beneath the branches of that poisonous tree which cast their shadows so widely, first the final stirrings of liberty, and finally the last vestiges of a comfortable and worthwhile life, expired in the lowest as in the highest circles. Military rule lapsed into despotism, and the world indeed became a vale of tears, a swift escape from which was an enviable lot, and where all that mattered was to escape into a dream-world until the moment of true salvation, to escape into a paradise beyond the clouds, bedecked with all the fantastic colours that are born of longing.

<p. 7 right> If, then, this new age began with Caesar, it was nevertheless quite impossible to make a rapid transition from the old to the new state of affairs. The gulf separating the two ages was too wide, the turmoil accompanying the crisis too tempestuous. A remarkable, though explicable, phenomenon is that the creativity of the former age was much more alive in the generation that ushered the new age in, chiefly in the person of Caesar himself, than the rigidity and complacency of the new. This makes it all the easier to understand why, during the first phase of the new epoch, there were frequent attempts to return to the past, and why traditional groupings which had been eliminated for good by the founding of the monarchy nevertheless attempted to renew the war against it through conspiracies and rebellions. If such efforts came solely from the aristocracy, while democratic forces willingly and unconditionally submitted to the new leadership, this can be explained by the simple fact that democracy, as understood at Rome, was none other than an attempt to replace a parliamentary with a demagogical regime. Consequently the autocracy of the Roman Pericles fulfilled its aims entirely, in so far as it could be theoretically conceptualized and politically feasible at all <?>. The idea that the parliamentarianism of aristocratic coteries, as expressed in the Roman Senate, could be replaced with some other system of parliamentary rule, never occurred to Roman democrats. Nor could it, since the economic development of the country <p. 6 left> had destroyed the middle classes, reducing the choice to one between a regime of the upper classes and a regime of the proletariat, the latter being represented by the urban *plebs* and by the military. On the other hand the *nobili* of Rome, and to some extent the major banking circles who had been hard hit by Caesar's administrative reforms, had no intention of taking the outcome of Pharsalus and Thapsus lying down. Although their leaders, the Lentuli, Domitii, Marcelli and above all Cato, had fallen together in the civil

war, or else had finally left the political arena, the bulk of the aristocracy, in particular the younger generation, had been spared through the clemency of the victor, and secretly nurtured hopes for a complete restoration.

Added to this turmoil was another ingredient for future civil crises. Where there are no political challengers to the development of a monarchical system, hereditary succession becomes inevitable. Ever since they had first been called to life by C.Gracchus, the architects of Roman demagogy had instinctively perpetuated themselves as potential monarchs through their emphasis on heredity, for which the story of the Gracchi and of Marius (even after the death of Caesar an imposter appeared claiming to be Marius' son * Liv. <epit.> 116)* showed sufficient proof; so that the death of Pompey by no means spelled the end of the Pompeian party. For <?> his sons Gnaeus and Sextus immediately and openly presented themselves as the heirs to his hopes and aspirations. Despite its victories over the constitutional party and over Pompey the Great, therefore, the new monarchy was forced to confront the dangers inherent in this fresh <?> campaign <on two fronts>—against the supporters of the old regime on the one hand, and <the personal supporters of the Pompeians> on the other.

<p. 8 right> Military insurrections marked the beginning. The sheer magnitude of the Empire, which required relatively meagre military forces to be spread out over an area extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Euphrates, made such insurrections generally difficult to avert; and the vast number of veteran soldiers and officers who had served under Pompey during his career of more than thirty years as a general and who supported him enthusiastically, as an officer as capable of leading a division as he was in his capacity as commander-in-chief, made attempts of this kind practically inevitable. This was exacerbated by the fact that Caesar, with his customary self-assurance <?>, had contented himself with disbanding the legions which had served under Pompey, whereas of the less battle-seasoned ones, two in nearer Spain and several of the Pharsalian legions in the East were kept in more or less the same formations.

And so the first attempted insurrections indeed broke out in connection with these legions, even before Caesar had occupied the last province still in the hands of the constitutional party after the Battle of Thapsus. * Dio 47,26.27; App. <civ.> 3,77;4,58; Liv. <epit.> 114; Jo. <i.e. Jos.*ant.*> 14,11; bJ <i.e. *bellum Judaicum*> 1,10; <Cic.> *pro Deiot.* 9,25 * When, in the first months of 708 <46 BC>, wildly exaggerated rumours about Caesar's predicament in Africa, dangerous as it indeed was, reached the East, Q.Caecilius Bassus, a former officer under Pompey then lying low <p. 9 left> in Tyre, exploited the situation. Producing a forged letter from Scipio, commander-in-chief in Africa, purporting to report the defeat and death of Caesar and the appointment of Bassus as legitimate governor of Syria on Scipio's behalf, he first took control of the city of Tyre, and was soon able to persuade most of the soldiers in the sole legion stationed in Syria to join him. * only 1 legion: <Cic.> *ad fam.* 12,11; 12; App. <*Civ.*> 3,77 (1 additional legion <?>) two Strab. 16,752; several? *b. Alex.* 66 *

Sextus Caesar, the governor of Syria appointed by Caesar, was a frivolous young individual with nothing to recommend him beyond the fact that his father was a cousin of Caesar. Unable to respond, he was slain by his own men. Even after learning of the victory at Thapsus, however, Bassus did not lose heart * Strab. 16,752 *. He cultivated a close relationship with the tribes of Mt Libanus and of the Syrian desert, with Ptolemy,

the son of Mennaeus, ruler of Chalcis by Libanus, with the Arab sheikhs Iamblichus of Emesa, Alchaedamnus in the eastern desert and others, made an alliance with the Parthians, and then entrenched himself at Apamaea on the upper Orontes, where his oriental allies protected his rear * and where he could be reduced neither by force nor famine, given the incomparable location of the town on an exceptionally fertile, easily defensible peninsula of the Orontes. * He resolutely awaited attack, and when Caesar's new governor C.Antistius Vetus appeared, he took shelter in his stronghold and held out until Pacorus, son of the Parthian king, appeared, * <Cic.> *ad. Att.* 14,9 * and forced Caesar's commander to lift the siege with heavy losses (December 709=45 BC). Caesar felt compelled to send a strong force of three legions against him under C.Statius Murcus. But he, too, exerted himself in vain, and even after he had summoned his comrade in Pontus, Q.Marcius Crispus, to his assistance, Bassus's resistance to their combined force of six legions continued unabated.

<p. 9 right> The state of affairs in southern Spain was even more grave * <Cic.> *ad fam.* 12, 18,1 * where it was not just an obscure officer, who was not even of senatorial rank, but Pompey's two sons and the war-seasoned Labienus who had put themselves at the head of the insurrection. Here, too, it was not the military aristocracy who fomented the conspiracy, but a respectable provincial, the Cordoban T.Quinctius Scapula. * *b. Hisp.* 33; <*Cic.ad*> *fam.* 9,13; Dio 43, 29 (cf. Annius Scapula, *b.Alex.* 55) * Not without reason, the two legions and the township which had rebelled against Caesar in 706 (48 BC) feared that their punishment had merely been deferred; the Pompeian conspiracies among the army that had already led to a renewed, if only temporary, uprising in favour of the former general, had only been appeased, not suppressed. During the course of the year 707 (47 BC) the conspirators established contact with the government at Utica and demanded that one of their former generals, Afranius or Petraeus, be sent to Spain * Liv. <*epit.*> 113 *; since both declined, they chose Pompey's elder son instead.

Gnaeus Pompeius was then around 30 years old and had commanded the Egyptian squadron with distinction in the previous civil war; he was, incidentally, also an uncouth, ill-mannered man * <Cic.> *ad.fam.* 15,19 *, who attributed earlier defeats to his side's excessive forbearance and was now eager to seize the opportunity to exercise what he called 'energy' in the unfortunate province. In the meantime, however, he was delayed for some considerable time on the Balearic Islands, partly by the siege of Ebusus * <Cic.> *ad. Att.* 12,2 *, and partly by illness. Since, following the catastrophe of Thapsus (6 April 708=46 BC), Caesar had meanwhile sent the fleet from Sardinia to Spain under C.Didius (June 708) to put down the unrest there * Dio 43,28; *b.Afr.* fin.<98>*, the conspirators decided to strike without waiting for Pompey's arrival.

<p. 8 left> The two former Pompeian legions joined <?> them, but the equestrians T.Scapula and Q.Aponius assumed supreme command. Trebonius, Caesar's governor in nearer Spain, was forced to leave his province with the remaining troops * date. <=for the date, cf.}: *bell.*> *Hisp.*, 1 *, and when shortly afterwards Cn. Pompeius landed near <sc New> Carthage in nearer Spain and laid siege to the city, Baetica * <Coins> Riccio, Pomp. 12,15[2] * greeted the new commander-in-chief already fully armed. Those who had escaped the African catastrophe made their way there: Labienus, Attius Varus, Pompey's second son Sextus, <and> Arabio, son of Massinissa the chieftain of Cirta * cf. Dio 43,26;[3] * Q.Fabius Maximus and Q.Pedius, sent to Spain with an army by Caesar to

suppress the rebellion, found themselves fully occupied with the defence of nearer Spain, and had to abandon any offensive action. Equipment <i.e. for the Pompeians> was vigorously and remorselessly demanded voluntarily or by force, and slaves fit for military service were first manumitted and then enlisted. Four legions—the two Varronian ones, one formed from the conspirators from the further province and one from the remnants of the African army * <*bell.*> *Hisp.* 7;34 *—were reliable and accustomed to arms, while another, levied from natives from the province or former slaves, was impressive in terms of numbers. * Some three thousand men of equestrian rank were numbered among the army of insurgents, some Roman, some provincial (<*b.*> *Hisp.* 31). A fleet was also raised, under the command of Varus.*

In the late autumn of 708 <46 BC>—the year of 445 days—Caesar felt compelled to travel to Spain in person to stem the ever-swelling tide. His arrival in camp at Obulco (Porcuna, between Cordoba and Jaen) * Strabo 3,160 * and a successful naval action against Pompeius' fleet by Didius at Carteia (in the Bay of Gibraltar) * <? outline map> 2,1,346 *, kept Pompeius to the inland areas of Baetica. Caesar marched directly on the capital of <p. 10 right> Baetica, Corduba, where Sextus Pompeius was commander-in-chief, forcing the enemy to raise their siege of Ulia (Montemayor, between Corboba and Antequera) when they had almost achieved their objective. But Pompey refused to give Caesar the battle he wanted. In order to force one, Caesar attacked the town of Ategua under the noses of the enemy army, taking it only after extremely stiff resistance (10 July 709=45 BC). The morale, especially of the provincials, declined; Pompeius' acts of terror—mass executions of Caesar's supporters in those towns threatened by him, and draconian penalties against those who deserted or switched sides * (he relied on the Lusitanian barbarians against the Romans and provincials) Val. Max. 9,2,4 *—encouraged rather than prevented this <i.e. desertion>. He <i.e. Pompeius> gradually lost territory through a slow retreat. He had already been pushed back from the Baetis Valley to the heights of the Sierra Nevada; when at last even Urso (Osuna) was threatened by the enemy, he decided to march out from Munda (Monda, 6 leagues from Malaga) and to offer battle before daybreak on the far side of the town on the assumption that Caesar would be less likely to venture an attack against him with his strong position on a hill defended in front by a marshy brook, since Caesar's army was no longer what it had once been now that he had already celebrated his triumph and had discharged most of the veterans from the war in Gaul. The cavalry and the light-armed troops (most of whom had been levied in Africa), in which Caesar was infinitely superior, were not much use on this terrain, while the legions were no match for the enemy, either in numbers or in combat experience. Caesar had little more than mostly untested legions * <*bell.*> *Hisp.* 28 *. In spite of all this, however, Caesar dared to cross the marshy brook and launch an attack on the hill from the plain below. It was a terrible battle * the core of the Pompeian legions had…* In all of the fifty-two battles, Caesar…<rest burnt>.

<p. 11 left> The small troop of volunteers from the tenth legion who were positioned on the right flank finally gained the upper hand. The opponents withdrew troops from their right wing in order to support their reeling left, and Caesar's superior cavalry took advantage of this to attack the enemies' weakened right[4] flank. The general himself paid with <i.e. risked> his own life; seeing his soldiers falter, he sent his horse away * Frontin. 2,8,13 *, and, shouting to his men whether they wanted to hand their old general over to

that boy * Plut.*Caes.* 56 *, he threw himself at the enemy spears on foot, followed by his officers.

* An attack on the Pompeian camp carried out by Caesar's light-armed African troops contributed to his victory: particularly because the soldiers, when they saw the reinforcements sent to the camp withdraw, assumed that a general flight had begun. Flor.<4, 2>, Dio <43, 38>. *Il est un moment dans les combats, ou la plus petite manoeuvre décide; c'est la goutte d'eau, qui fait le trop-plein.* <'There is a moment in combat when the smallest manoeuvre can be decisive; it is the drop of water that causes the overflow.'> Napoleon 204 *

Victory was at last won, but with casualties compared to which the losses at Pharsalus and Thapsus had been slight; over a thousand men were dead; as with every victory won by Caesar, this one too was decisive; the core of officers and men, among them Labienus and Varus, had fallen on the battlefield, while the resistance which Munda, into which the remnants of the army had fled, Corduba, which was set ablaze by deserters when the city surrendered, * Hispalis, where the Caesarian garrison, which had already been let into the city, was then attacked again and cut down by a band of Lusitanians *, and some other cities still dared to put up, was hopeless and soon crushed. Scapula took his own life in Cordoba. The two brothers escaped, however—Gnaeus severely injured from the battle-field, and Sextus from Corduba. They wandered around Spain as fugitives, the elder first deprived of his fleet by the fleet commander Didius and then, when he continued his flight on land with a Lusitanian escort, caught up with by Didius' men and killed at Lauro (not far from Valencia). The Lusitanians nevertheless managed to avenge themselves on the fleet commander soon afterwards, appearing in force to burn his ships and cut him and his men down. The younger brother led the life of a vagrant bandit in the Pyrenees. * App. <*civ.*> 2,105 * <pp. 11 right and 10 left are blank>.

A HISTORY OF ROME UNDER THE EMPERORS I FROM AUGUSTUS TO VESPASIAN

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From Paul Hensel’s lecture notes, supplemented from Wickert’s Anonymous [AW]