









# Augustus : Leader and Party

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## Introduction

- I. The Political Dynasty
- II. Caesar the Dictator
- III. The Caesarian Party
- IV. Caesar's New Senators
- V. The Consul Antonius
- VI. Caesar's Heir
- VII. The First March on Rome
- VIII. The Senate's Struggle
- IX. Political Catchword
- X. The Senate against Antonius
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- XV. The Rise of Octavianus
- XVI. Antonius in the East
- XVII. Tota Italia.

MS. Eng. d. 2099

D. R. S. S. S. 1970

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D. R. Syme 1970

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and simple development of theme would scarcely  
have retained their hold upon a generation  
that had lost ~~Latin~~ <sup>illusions</sup> and took  
no pains to conceal their disapproval. But a  
~~Direct~~ <sup>Direct</sup>, not only hard and forcible manner  
of speech, would be well suited to the  
tastes of a shifting age. Some at least of  
the merits of the plain style, which could claim  
to be traditional and Roman, might be  
preserved and blended by a complete  
change of taste, by a revision to Asiaticism  
or by the rise of a new romanticism. Pollis,  
after his struggle, abandoning public life,  
returned to the habits of a quiet life  
in the circle of Calves and Cabbles and in  
speeches and poetry reproduced some of his  
Republican vigour and independence, little of  
his youth. His style was dry and terse,  
carrying evidence of rhythm to the extremity of  
abruptness and so archaic that one could  
have fancied him born <sup>a century</sup> ~~centuries~~ earlier. (16)  
Pollis and Monville were indeed the greatest orators  
of the new age. Monville, his rival,  
displayed <sup>cultivated</sup> ~~afternoon~~ and gentle <sup>eloquence</sup> ~~speech~~  
well suited to a period of political calm.  
The requisites of his antiseptic fashion of eloquence  
were plainly to be seen. Oratory would  
degenerate into the private grammar of  
school: in public, the official panegyric.  
Freedom of speech could never return.



the most  
learned of  
the Romans,  
his great  
knowledge  
and  
experience  
of  
many  
years

existence, were susceptible of such an appeal  
might well be expected. Varro, though notaverse  
from an interest in Pythagoreanism, or in any other  
belief or practice, was sustained by an  
insatiable curiosity and tireless industry. Long  
ago he had ~~devoted himself~~ devoted politics,  
saw for a brief interval of legal service to  
Pompeius in Spain, and devoted his energies  
to scholarship, taking on his subject all  
antiquities, human and divine. <sup>(17)</sup> Caesar had  
~~appointed him to the office of~~ <sup>appointed him to the office of</sup> ~~worked~~  
his help for the edition of ~~public~~ public  
libraries. <sup>(18)</sup> Cicerus, from the proconsulship,  
brought his own stores of learned books were  
plundered, ~~there did not~~ his indefatigable  
scholar was not deterred. At his age of  
eighty, <sup>as he said,</sup> ~~Discommodities,~~ <sup>but</sup> it was time to  
gather his baggage for the last journey. <sup>(19)</sup>  
He proceeded to ~~compose~~ <sup>compose</sup> a monumental  
work <sup>on</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>theory and practice of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~argumentation~~ <sup>argumentation</sup>, of which  
not a line remains with certainty. ~~He~~ <sup>He</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~company~~ <sup>company</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~his~~ <sup>his</sup> ~~friends~~ <sup>friends</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~relatives~~ <sup>relatives</sup>, he possessed  
ample knowledge. ~~(19.1.1)~~

Though he was ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~most~~ <sup>most</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~various~~ <sup>various</sup> ~~compilations~~ <sup>compilations</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~Varro~~ <sup>Varro</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~most~~ <sup>most</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~ancient~~ <sup>ancient</sup> ~~works~~ <sup>works</sup>, he had

gathered the materials for history rather than  
written any history of note or permanence. That

was the ambition of another man from the Sabine  
country, ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> ~~diverse~~ <sup>diverse</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~character~~ <sup>character</sup>, ~~attainments~~ <sup>attainments</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~politics~~ <sup>politics</sup>,  
G. Sallustianus Crispus. From the Despatches of the Triumvirate,

the most learned of the Romans, the parent of knowledge and propagator of many errors

existence, were susceptible of such an appeal might well be entitled. Varro, though not avowed from an interest in Pythagoreanism, & in any other belief or practice, was sustained by an insatiable curiosity and devoted industry. Long ago he had devoted himself devoted politics, saw for a brief interval of legal service to Pompeius in Spain, and devoted his energies

to antiquities, human and divine (17). Caesar had ~~appointed him to the superintendence of~~ worked his help for the collection of ~~public~~ public libraries (18). Begging for the preservation, though his own stores of learned books were plentiful, ~~he did not~~ his indefatigable scholar was at ~~Bellevue~~. At his age of eighty, <sup>as he said,</sup> ~~Discerning~~, but it was time to gather his baggage for the last journey (19). he proceeded to ~~compose~~ <sup>on</sup> a monumental work of <sup>theory and practice of</sup> his <sup>argumentation</sup>, of which ~~not~~ <sup>it</sup> was a landmark with ~~completeness~~ <sup>circumstances</sup>.

His friends and relatives, he possessed ample knowledge. ~~(17, 18, 19)~~ Though there are to be found many ~~of his~~ <sup>various</sup> compilations of

Varro ~~was to be found~~ ~~in his~~ ~~historical~~ as

well as antiquarian works, he had

gathered his materials for history rather than

written any history of note or permanence. That

was the ambition of another man from the Sabine

country, ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> ~~disseminator~~ in character, abundant and political,

8. Sallustian Crispus. From the Disposition of the Trinitarian,

The aged Varro, the most learned of the Romans, the parent of knowledge and propagator of many errors...





Even Sulla could not abolish his own example.

*(RR 17)*

Even Sulla could not abolish his own example.

*(RR 17)*

The foundations of the new order were cemented with the blood of citizens and buttressed with a despotism that made men recall the Dictatorship of Caesar as an age of gold.

*(RR 196)*



Caesar lay dead, stricken by twenty-three wounds.  
(*RR 97*)

Caesar lay dead in the Senate House, bleeding  
from twenty-three wounds.  
(original MS)

The greatest of the Roman historians began his *Annals* with the accession to the Principate of Tiberius, stepson and son by adoption of Augustus, consort in his powers. Not until that day was the funeral of the Free State consummated in solemn and legal ceremony. The corpse had long been dead.

(RR 1)

In the beginning kings ruled at Rome, and in the end, as was fated, it came round to monarchy again.

(RR 9)

‘Quo, quo scelesti ruitis?’ Another, yet another, criminal war between citizens was being forced by mad ambition upon the Roman People. In this atmosphere of terror and alarm Octavianus resolved to secure national sanction for his arbitrary power and a national mandate to save Rome from the menace of the East.

*(RR 284)*



It might not have happened: the armed confrontation of the angry dynasts at Brundisium portended a renewal of warfare, proscriptions and the desolation of Italy, with a victor certain to be worse than his defeated adversary and destined to follow him before long to destruction, while Rome and the Roman People perished, while a world-empire as great as that of Alexander, torn asunder by the generals struggling for the inheritance, broke up into separate kingdoms and rival dynasties.

*(RR 217)*

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utrasque impias preces, utraque detestanda vota inter duos, quorum bello solum id scires, deteriorem fore qui vicisset.

(Tacitus, *Histories* 1.50)

It is evident that *res publica constituta* or *libertas restituta* lend themselves as crown and consecration to any process of violence and usurpation.

(RR 160)



Such was the situation towards the end of March [43 BC]. The efforts of diplomacy, honest or partisan, were alike exhausted. The arbitrament now rested with the sword.

*(RR 173)*

Such was the situation towards the end of March [43 BC]. The efforts of diplomacy, honest or partisan, were alike exhausted. The arbitrament now rested with the sword.

*(RR 173)*

There is no king, be his cause never so spotless, if it come to the arbitrement of swords, can try it out with all unspotted soldiers.

*(Henry V iv. 1. 156–7)*

A fabricated concatenation of unrealized intentions may be logical, artistic and persuasive, but it is not history.

*(RR 271)*

A fabricated concatenation of unrealized intentions may be logical, artistic and persuasive, but it is not history.

*(RR 271, of Antony)*

No statement of unrealized intentions is a safe guide to history, for it is unverifiable and therefore the most attractive form of misrepresentation.

*(RR 53, of Caesar's 'last plans')*

~~As with Julius Caesar, so with Antonius,~~ a fabricated concatenation of unrealized intentions may be logical, artistic and persuasive, but it is not history.

*(RR 271)*

No statement of unrealized intentions is a safe guide to history, for it is unverifiable and therefore the most attractive form of misrepresentation.

*(RR 53, of Caesar's 'last plans')*



It has not been composed in tranquillity.

(*RR ix*)

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*(RR ix)*

The situation and the phraseology recur in the history of war and politics whenever there is a public opinion worth persuading or deceiving.

*(RR 271)*

It has not been composed in tranquillity.

*(RR ix)*

The situation and the phraseology recur in the history of war and politics whenever there is a public opinion worth persuading or deceiving.

*(RR 271)*

When an official document records voluntary manifestations of popular sentiment under a despotic government, a certain suspension of disbelief may safely be recommended.

*(RR 284)*

# Ronald Syme by David Levine

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