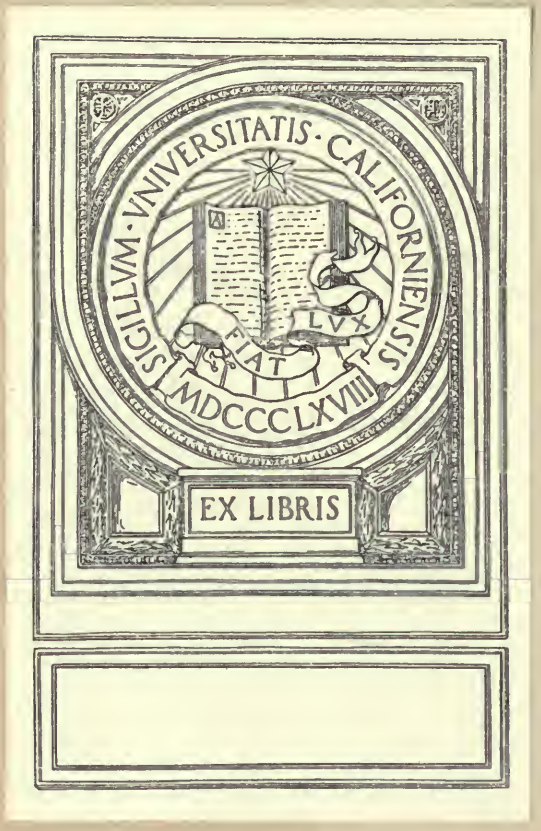
PORTRAITVRES OF IVLIVS CÆSAR

BY

FRANK·J·SCOTT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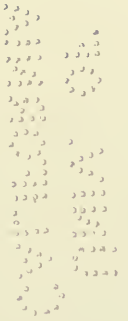
PORTRAITURES

OF

JULIUS CÆSAR



PORTRAITURES

OF

JULIUS CÆSAR

A MONOGRAPH

BY

FRANK JESUP SCOTT

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
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1903

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith
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To my Wife, whose hearty interest in this work has made it a happy joint labour:

And to Sculptors of the Present and the Future, who may study to embody the living expression, spirit, and genius of Julius Cæsar, this Monograph is respectfully inscribed by the Author.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FULL-PAGE PLATES AND INSET-ENGRAVINGS

ERRATA

Page 85, fourth line from bottom. The plates (Pl. IX and Pl. XIV) *facing pages* 19 *and* 83 should read *facing pages* 54 *and* 84.

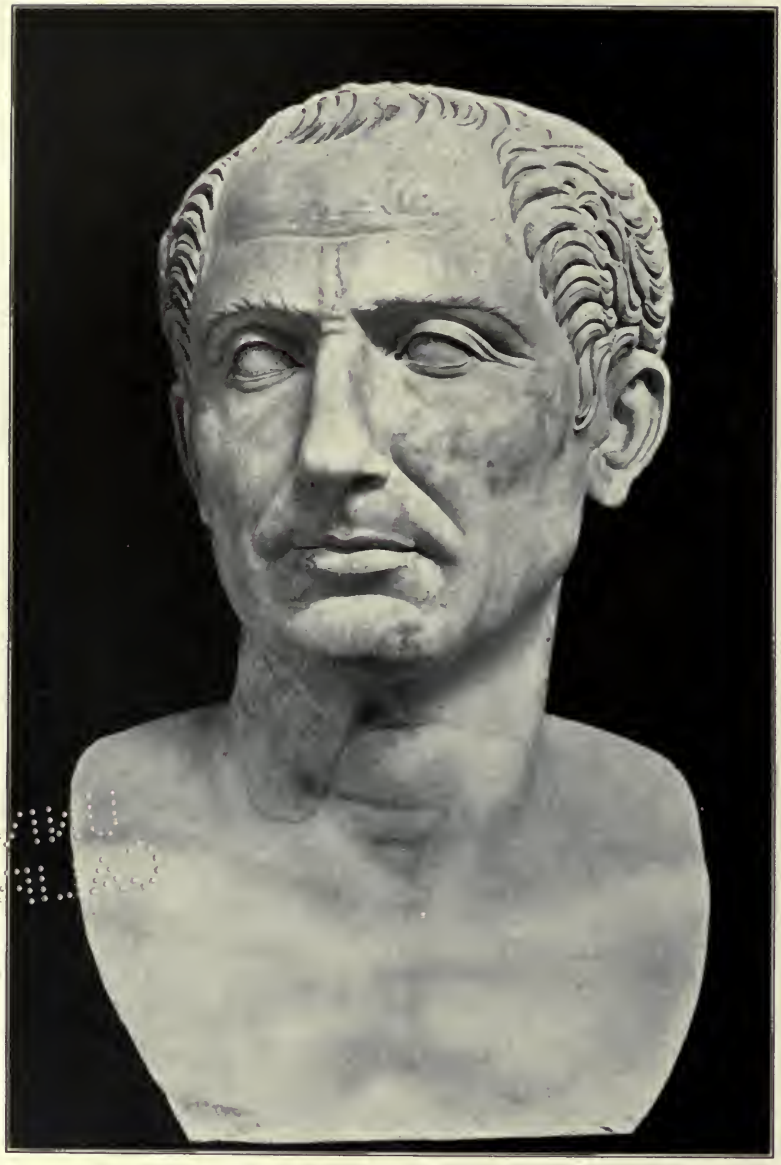
Page 89, second line of "No. 6." Plate XVI *opposite* should read *facing page* 90.

Page 107, fourth line from bottom. *Plate XIX* should read *Plate XVIII.*

Page 108, last line of first paragraph, (*our No.* 63) should read (*our No.* 65).

Page 112, fifth line from bottom, *page plate opposite* should read *page plate XIX.*

Page 121, line 2, for Plate No. *XXI* read Plate No. *XXII.*



Colossal Bust of Julius Cæsar, of the Museum of Naples

PORTRAITURES OF JULIUS CÆSAR

CHAPTER I

Introductory: Data of Judgment of Portraits

One needs make no apology for admiration of great men, whether they lived thousands of years ago, or now influence the affairs of living nations. A man who made so great a mark upon ages far remote that the recorded facts of his career still reverberate through the halls of knowledge, and take on greater sound and significance the more they are known, is the man we may be very sure is worth studying. Reading the biographies of such men has a perpetual fascination for us, so that neither the narrowness of provincial conceit, nor — what is very like it — of national pride, can smother or much abate our appreciation; though the great ones be of nations or races quite alien to our own, and thousands of years in their ashes. Confucius, Moses, Rameses, Homer, Gautama, Solon, Plato, Archimedes, Alexander the Great, Demosthenes, Julius Cæsar, Christ, Charlemagne, Michael Angelo, Columbus, Francis Bacon, Shakespeare, Peter the Great, Martin Luther, Newton, Voltaire, Franklin, Washington, Mirabeau, Napoleon, Garibaldi, Thiers, Victor Hugo,

Bismarck, Darwin, Lincoln, and a thousand others perhaps equally illustrious, scattered through all periods of historic time, derive very little additional interest from their nearness to, or remoteness from, our own time. Each has his special halo, and in general it beams with so wide a light that it must be a blinded mind that does not see in each life named something that has influenced the human race on every side with an undying influence. Curiosity prompts every wide-awake mind to know more and more of such men. How they lived, moved, and worked in their own times, what they did, how they did it, how they looked, what people about them said of them, if they were powerful or conspicuous; or how, if unknown and unappreciated in their lives, their influence became great only as the intelligence of succeeding ages enabled men to understand them, — all these things make the biographies of great men at once the most fascinating and the most instructive of reading. If the historical biographies concerning the great things they did contain also facts and incidents from which we learn their merely personal and commonplace peculiarities and habits, these give a greatly added zest to our interest. Even their faults and their foibles to some minds furnish the most piquant part of the biography; since they satisfy the vanity of the humblest reader by leaving in his mind the assurance that every great man was in some way just like himself.

In ancient times sculptures in stone and casts in bronze were the most approved means to preserve the

likenesses of men of distinction. Those fine arts only reached great perfection in portraiture in the prosperous era of Greece, though some approximation to good sculptural portraiture is found in previous Assyrian and Egyptian civilization. How early painting may have been used with skill and power to accurately portray distinguished people it is hard to determine, since the lesser durability and resistance of paint on plaster walls, or on wood and canvas, leaves us only guess-work as to what may have been done earlier than that era of the Roman Empire when the paintings of Pompeii and Herculaneum were buried; that is to say, painting as it was practised in the reigns of the first Roman emperors. Those paintings, preserved through eighteen hundred years without blemish, prove that in the delineation of graces of form, and plays of the imagination concerning the gods and goddesses of their mythology, as well as in the technique of painting, the artists of that day had little to learn from later times. But in portraits of their contemporaries, no matter how famous, those painters have left us but the smallest evidences of their skill; so that we may fairly infer that the art of sculpture which developed so marvellously in Greece many centuries before, and immortalized in stone so many of her citizens whose deeds were also commemorated in her literature, was the only art by which life-like portraits have been preserved.

Long before, in India, Assyria, Persia, and Egypt, it is true that profile portraits were cut with exquisite art in gems, and by the Etruscans before Rome was; but

these can rarely be so perfect as portraits of larger size. Yet, in connection with the preserved coins of all ages, they furnish a vast mass of histrionic study in modern museums.

It was perhaps about a thousand years after Christ that out of the barbarism of the feudal ages the nebulæ of the fine arts began to glow here and there in the cities of Europe. Religious subjects claimed right of way, but, in a few centuries after, the pencils that were particularly deft in the delineation of holy virgins, saints, and muscular deities, were not less perfect in portraiture; so that in the fifteenth century the very highest level of perfection was reached in Italy. Whoever had great rank, money, or other cause of celebrity, had no reason to be omitted from such immortality as the painters and sculptors of Italy could make for them. The arts of engraving followed; then printing. At last, in our own age, the Daguerrian and photographic arts enable all men women and children to be kept in remembrance so long as they are esteemed enough to have their pictures preserved from fire and the waste-basket. Many have an ephemeral life in albums and newspapers; a smaller number in good magazines; a still smaller number in books that may be permanent; and of the latter a selected few become the survivals of the fittest, and candidates for positions among the immortals. Each century sees a dropping out of a considerable part, so that the names which remain on the roll of fame two thousand years after they lived do not require the folios of

the modern biographical dictionary to contain them. It will be a puzzle to the antiquarians of two thousand years hence, recovering beautifully executed heads in marble or bronze of very interesting looking men, to decide whether they were nobodies in history, or if they may represent some of the names whose work has been immortalized in literature. In the days when Greece was the light of the world, all of her great men were done in marble, and well done. In Rome, afterwards, they were as generally done, but, I think, not quite so well done. As Rome overgrew Greece all the fine arts became its glory also. For a few centuries before and after Julius Cæsar, nearly every citizen who acquired reputation or notoriety in Rome was likely to be well or badly portraited by some sculptor. Those who were very prominent in public affairs, especially if they were rich, were likely to find good artists; but this general rule was as likely to have had exceptions then as now. Distinguished sculptors sometimes make bad work in portraiture; and some periods do not develop great artists. Of most Greek and Roman celebrities there remain many good likenesses, while of Chinese, Indian, Egyptian, and Assyrian few, very few, portraitures are found, though great men doubtless existed in as great proportion among those nations as among those who learned to crystallize them in stone or to embalm them in literature.

Julius Cæsar, born one hundred years before Christ, is distinguished apart from all the other great names of antiquity in being recognized as standing on the dividing

line between the antique and the modern world. Anthony Trollope declares that his *Commentaries* are the beginning of modern history. He may be said, figuratively, to have set his heel on the old forms of government, and to have blazed the way for something new and untried, based on popular suffrage, guarded by a sufficient central power. He is among those extraordinary men of all time who not only came into life on a high plane, but was endowed to adorn that level. He was born great, educated to be great, had lofty ambitions to be useful to his country, as well as to be powerful in it, and worked with unflagging resolution to effect reforms in many ways. His personal presence seems to have been one to attract attention, to make friends, and to make enemies. He was early so conspicuous in Rome that before he had attained middle age he had filled every grade of Roman civil service, and had been elected to the highest religious office. Naturally we might expect such a man to be produced in marble by the sculptors even before his military career began. Afterwards, when military glory the most remarkable had placed him at the summit of human power, we know by the literature of his day, as we shall show further on, that his statues were set up in nearly every city on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Though himself never either king or emperor in Rome, his name became more illustrious in its history than that of any king, consul, or general who preceded him, and greater than any of the long line of historic emperors who followed him. Two thousand years have passed since he was the world's

greatest actor, and at the end of those twenty centuries he grows greater and not less, as the erudition of impartial historians of our own time, delving more exhaustively than ever before into the literary records of his period, reveal that his life was like a broad beam of light thrown across the murky atmosphere of a semi-barbarous world. They show him to have been the greatest executive reformer of all Roman history, as Christ was soon after the greatest moral reformer for all mankind. In the opinion of Mommsen, the Nestor of living German historians, he was the greatest man of all history. This opinion is shared by most distinguished English and French historians of our time.

What more natural than to expect that the city in which this man was born, lived, and became head of all things, would even at the end of two thousand years have busts and statues of him, which, like those that have come down to us of Demosthenes and Seneca, would give us a similar assurance, an instinctive sense,of life-likeness. It is not so. Spending a second winter in Rome in 1896–7, visiting again its multitudinous art collections, I kept an eye out particularly for antique originals of Julius Cæsar. At the same time I frequented the art sales-rooms to find a reduced bronze copy of some authentic original. I found none. Several shop-worn, life-size marble heads were found, which the salesmen were ready to offer for his. On inquiry as to where the originals were to be seen, information was lacking. It seemed a habit of mind among some dealers in copies of antique

heads to consider certain busts of Roman emperors a sort of interchangeable stock from which the one desired might be produced, provided the purchaser had no clear conception of the features of the one inquired for. This uncertainty among dealers in Rome concerning authentic busts of the great Julius piqued and stimulated curiosity. There floated in my memory reminiscences of engravings of Cæsar that I had seen many years before, and a more vivid remembrance of a few busts and statues recently seen. Of the busts, that of the British Museum was one, and the colossal marble head of the Naples Museum was the other. The statues were two on the floor of the gallery of the Roman emperors of the Louvre, Paris, (utterly dissimilar) and the statue of the Court of the Conservatori of the Capitoline Hill, Rome. From seeing either one of these, I would not, at first sight, conclude that the others were of the same man, though the Naples bust and the Roman statue, when studied, soon assert identity of original. I had seen those busts and statues of him before my interest and curiosity had been fully aroused. After discovering the nebulous condition of knowledge of this subject, even in Rome, I determined to see all his busts and statues again, to make a critical study and comparison among them, and to obtain photographs, drawings, or casts of every marble or bronze that could be found assuming to be of him. To do this intelligently, one must necessarily become acquainted with the writings of the archæologists and iconographists who have studied and verified antiques. Running down and examining

the authorities concerning antique portraitures of Julius Cæsar now in existence, I found the study classified for me by the able researches of a very recent writer, Professor J. J. Bernoulli of the University of Basle. His work, *Römische Ikonographie*,[1] published in 1882, is, as near as may be, the condensation of previous lore on its various subjects; and the source from which more recent writers have drawn to enliven our knowledge of Julius Cæsar portraiture. In that work he has listed sixty statues and busts, antiques, or reasonably supposed antiques, with terse notes upon them; but has given plates or cuts of but eleven: — those previously best known. Of course word descriptions are of little value to give true impressions either of living persons or of works of art. Forty-nine of his numbers have no pictorial representation, either in his work, or elsewhere. In the beginning of my interest in the subject I had no expectation to do more than collect photographs or casts for the most complete collection possible of my subject; but as the search progressed, additional heads came to light that were not in Bernoulli's list, some exceedingly interesting; and at last I found myself in possession of more materials than my most worthy masters and predecessors.

When those in the museums of the Vatican were compared with the heads previously seen, a feeling of astonishment came over me that physiognomies so dissimilar had been conceded by competent authorities to be of the same person. Busts with faces even less closely related to those first seen were

[1] In German. Published by Verlag von W. Spemann, Stuttgart. 3 volumes.

found in other collections in Rome; some more nearly related were afterwards seen in Florence, Pisa, Parma, Turin; and at last in every great capital in Europe. The incredulity which had taken root in my mind as to the certainty that any of them were portraits of Julius Cæsar, wore slowly away. Faith and ideals which had been shaken and confused revived, and became more and more clear. Ideals of the real presence of the man began to shape themselves out of the aggregate of the imperfect marbles preserved. The spirit of inquiry, a rage of curiosity, which had been aroused, opened the vistas of knowledge. The study became an engrossing hobby that lent zest to travel, and finally bore me during four years to all the great museums of Europe, and into many private art collections, to search for, and to compare all the materials that have come down to us, antique, mediæval, or renaissance, which may throw light on the features and head of Julius Cæsar. With ample time to visit art collections where his effigy is catalogued among the antiques, I found the study of them to be increasingly interesting, by reason of the ever varying differences in features and expression. It became more and more instructive in opening my mind to see the resemblances, the common individuality, between many of the heads where at first view I had remarked only the dissimilarities. The researches of Italian archæologists have not absolutely identified any statue or bust of Cæsar as of his life-time, or the work of any sculptor who worked in Rome while he was a living presence there. Yet tradition dimly lights the way, and circumstantial evidences multiply, to inspire conviction that the great

Coins with Cæsar's Head, in the Museum of Naples

Italian art writers have not erred in fixing upon certain antique statues and busts as having been executed in Cæsar's time as portraits of him; and others as probable studies executed after other antiques of him which are not now in existence.

Many of the coins issued near the end of his dictatorship have the assumed effigy of his head in profile upon them. These are not traditions, but hard facts. While some of these effigies are simply symbolical of one or another of the offices he held, others are evidently very clumsy attempts to portray Cæsar's profile, — some of them being caricatures of it. Scholarly Italians, and antiquarians of other countries who have made a study of old coins, have settled upon those which may be considered genuine, and of Cæsar's own issue. But as to which of these profiles may be worst or best, we may have opinions, and such general agreement as may carry weight, but we have no certainties.

It must be borne in mind that neither coins, medals, statues, or busts, came down to us in carefully guarded museums during the sixteen hundred years after Cæsar, and preceding the modern museum. The coins have been revealed by the plough, by excavations in scores of old Roman cities, in hiding-places of old walls, in sewers and wells, in river-beds, and in beach sands, washed to light by the waves of the sea. They have been preserved in the hoards of antiquarians, and in the cabinets of the wealthy. At last they are mostly gathered into the public museums of the great capitals. All the shores of the Mediterranean, and the soils of the countries bordering upon it, still continue to yield up coin souvenirs of

the notable men of old Rome. By the kindness of Signor Jules Petra, director of the Museum of Naples, of M. Babelon, director of the department of coins and medals of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, and of the very courteous keepers of the coins and gems of the British Museum, London, I am able to present the accompanying photogravures of the most valuable (as likenesses) of the antique coins bearing his effigy. The photographs are taken from plaster casts ordered for me by the directors of the museums respectively, from which a much clearer relief can be obtained than from the originals. The latter are so dark, discoloured, and corroded by time that the photographer cannot make satisfactory work from them.

The coins bearing Julius Cæsar's profile, or caricatures of it, ordered when he was perpetual dictator, and issued just before or soon after his death, have been considered the most fundamental data for knowing his features. I do not think them so. They are too widely different one from another, and too bad as art works to count for much in portraiture. But they cannot be ignored, and must be studied and compared; not only with each other, but with every statue, bust, or head that bears proof of having been intended for him, and of sufficient antiquity to indicate it to be of the Cæsarean era, or a study from antiques of that time. Among all these the diversities of feature and expression range widely apart; but the careful study of many able and cautious Italian scholars and iconographists during the last four centuries has brought a large agreement upon points of resemblance. Fortified by ample descriptions of Cæsar in Roman literature of his time, these agreements combine to

PLATE III

PARIS COINS

show clearly to the modern student, however sceptical he may be in the beginning, that Cæsar's lineaments are surely known, however shamefully some of the coins and busts may caricature him. The coins are a motley shabby lot. But we must remember that they were issued in a revolutionary period, at the very close of his life, after an absence from Rome of nine years in Gaul, succeeded by five years of hasty visits to the capital, in interludes between adventurous campaigns far from it. These short returns assuredly allowed him no time to pose for die-cutters or sculptors. Money had to be issued quickly and copiously, without reference to the artistic merit of the dies, or the resemblance of the profiles to Cæsar. Some of the effigies on his coins were designed to typify his pontifical office,— the head drapery being more important in the workman's eyes than the features under it. Some aimed to represent Cæsar's profile, but made apprentice work of it. Others contented themselves with wild approximations, seemingly without care for accuracy. A few are caricatures: as if the artists were in sympathy with his enemies, and in his absence took malicious pleasure in using the graver to belittle the conqueror. It was not a period of artistic excellence of any kind. The gravers' and the sculptors' arts had come to the highest perfection before Cæsar's time, and reached it again after it, in the reigns of the emperors Augustus and Hadrian. But the whole revolutionary period preceding, during, and after his time, was not an era of good art work.

When we think of the strain on body and mind endured by Cæsar during the last fourteen years of his

life, it is easy to realize that the handsome young "ladies' man" and politician, the stately senator, orator, jurist, governor, and consul, all of which positions he had filled before leaving Rome, had come back at the end of his nine years of explorations and campaigning in Gaul much aged, and marked by lines of care. Still more must he have been worn by the anxieties of the Civil War which followed, with its four years of incessant struggles under the burning sun of Greece, Egypt, Syria, Carthage, Spain. A thin-cheeked, bony-faced, lean-necked man is shown in the profiles which the engravers who caught sight of him in the few days he remained at the capital, have produced on the coin dies. Some of them emphasized the sinewy but not large neck, the angular underjaw, and the hollow cheek; others, the rather prominent nose, and the strongly marked but not large chin. A full, high, intellectual forehead, and a long head, are common to many of the profiles, which do not resemble each other otherwise; while on some he is shown with a characterless profile and an insignificant head. The large, mobile mouth had little chance of being expressed on the profiles of small coins; so that concerning this most expressive of all the features, the coins suggest little of value, and we are forced to rely for this feature on descriptions of his person by contemporaries, and on the statues and busts conceded to be of him. By comparison of all the coins of his time bearing his profile, or the symbols of his offices, one soon learns to put aside some of them as too bad to warrant further attention, and to see in the others certain

repeated peculiarities that furnish our human instinct and reason some data for conclusions. In connection with literary descriptions and allusions to him in his day, and with the busts and statues identified as of him, we are led to clearer and clearer views of which of them may be good, or partly good, and which of them must be bad, or very bad.

When all the preserved coins and gems, and the statues and busts bearing evidence of being of Cæsar's era, and intended to represent him, had been studied and compared by acute Italian iconographists of past centuries, they settled easily on the points of physiognomy which identified him. As botanists learn to classify into one family trees and plants that do not at first glance bear strong likeness, by generic traits simple to their minds, so have iconographists learned to class together as Julius Cæsars a variety of types, in which they see unity in variety. To have such a sense of Cæsar's personality one must be familiar with his life, with the coins, gems, statues, and busts of him, and with all that his contemporaries said concerning his personal appearance.

From what I have said of the coins it is plain that *from them alone* no satisfactory ideal of the head and face of Julius Cæsar can be realized. We therefore look to the statues and busts preserved, supposed to be of his life-time, or soon after, to form a better conception. At first we are baffled by the uncertain antiquity of most of those which personate him in the great museums, and confused by the diversity of types we discover; those

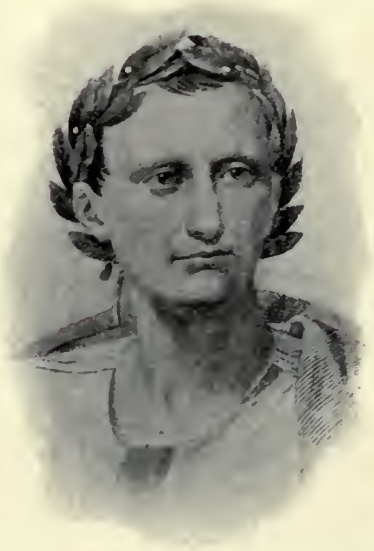
which personate him in one museum differing so much from some which do the same duty in another museum. But when all are seen and studied, notwithstanding their differences, we find a relationship so clearly indicated by their traits that it is reasonable to conclude that they are more or less good or bad portraits of the same person. Is it Julius Cæsar? Collateral facts, circumstantial evidence, aid in proving the truth of an affirmative answer to that question. Certain great marbles, like the colossal head of the Naples Museum, and the Conservatori statue of Rome, are of a size and elaborateness of finish that indicate a person of commanding position. On the statue last mentioned the dress is that of an emperor, or at least of an imperator. Now Augustus, and emperors after him, and the men of great prominence in Julius's own time, are so well known by their faces on medals and coins, or by their statues and busts, that it becomes evident at once to careful students that the two great works named must be other than they; and can represent only that man of commanding prominence who filled the whole round of public station and imperial honours in the interval of history between the so-called republic and the empire: — which only Julius Cæsar did fill. Other statues and busts in considerable numbers have a traditional attribution to the dictator, and prove their right to it partly by similarity to the Naples bust and the Conservatori statue, partly by a certain ideal composite Cæsar that the coins suggest, and partly by a correspondence with the Latin descriptions of him written

in his time. Thus the personal identity of the busts and statues grows clearer as one studies them all.

During the past three centuries the great nations of Europe have been collecting from Italy antique statues and busts for their museums; and their rich citizens have bought for their private collections. A comparison of those assuming to be Julius Cæsars remaining in Italy with the ones transplanted into northern countries shows that those still found in Italian cities embrace all the valuable types, and (excepting only the one in the British Museum) the finest examples of each. Nearly all the antique museums of the North European nations contain some catalogued Julius Cæsar, each one of which may have value in this study. Buried in private collections there may be others that the world of to-day has not heard of. Nor is there reason to doubt that antique bronzes and marbles of this king of men may yet be exhumed somewhere and some time from the buried ruins of cities, villas, and tombs around the Mediterranean. Three among the most life-like heads of Cæsar now known have been brought to light within a century. Each of those we now know, or which may yet be discovered, contributes, or may contribute, something to the variety that gives zest to the study.

Classical students, versed in the great deeds of Cæsar's life, will need no spur to their curiosity in comparing faces of busts and statues which few of them have seen. But another class of readers, of high intelligence in current matters, and less in ancient history, may be content

that I have prepared "A Brief of Cæsar's Life" to epitomize the marvellous events of his career. It forms the next chapter, and precedes the essential subject-matter of the book. If it is threshing over old straw for the former class, it may be a sheaf of fresh grain to the latter, and may serve to quicken for both the interest they will take in the various types of portraitures here collected for them.



IDEAL HEAD OF CÆSAR BY THE FRENCH PAINTER INGRES

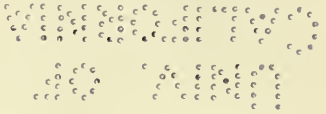


PLATE IV

Julius Cæsar : No. 107, Chiaramonti Gallery, Vatican, Rome

CHAPTER II

A Brief of Cæsar's Life

Caius Julius Cæsar was born one hundred years before the birth of Christ,[1] and was reared in a period when the Roman Republic, so called, had degenerated into a condition of chronic civil war.

Dean Merivale declares that Cæsar's is the greatest name in history. Mommsen, the German historian, sums him up as the perfect man. Froude reveals him in a nobler light than previous history has shown, and can hardly permit himself to see a fault. Anthony Trollope declares Cæsar's *Commentaries* to be the beginning of authentic history. His initiative and his acts influenced the course of history in his own time, and through subsequent centuries more radically, on a wider field, and among a greater number of peoples, than the doings of any man who lived before him, or who has lived since.

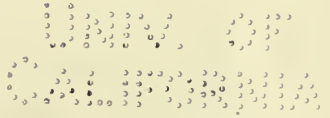
Well born, well educated, rich, attached to a noble mother who was one of the most cultivated and intellectual women of her time, renowned in Rome for the charm of her conversation and the simplicity of her living, the auguries of nature and station were all in his favour. At eighteen, his

[1] Mommsen makes it out one hundred and two years B.C., which would show the incidents of his early life more probable and natural.

father having died, he married the daughter of the then Consul, Cinna, leader of the popular party, lived with her at his mother's home while she lived, and after her death remained at that mother's home until after he was first consul.

It was not a prosperous age. Though Cicero, Cæsar, and a few others have left a record upon the time as orators and literary men of a high order, it was generally an age of horrors: — of revolution and anarchy. Battles and butcheries in the streets of Rome, in the constant struggles between the patricians and the common people, organized in Cæsar's boyhood under the protection of the people's favourite general, Marius, on one side, and afterwards by the Dictator Sylla, the patrician leader on the other side, left no atrocity of passion and butchery, or of cold-blooded murders, assassinations and confiscations, unfamiliar to the citizens of Rome and to the people of Italy. The horrors of the French revolution only, parallel this epoch of history. Cicero and Cæsar lived in it at its worst, and though not participants in the bloody deeds of their contemporaries, they were witnesses of them; and each in his own way was ambitious to be a leader, and to bring about an improved administration of government, and respect for law.

Magnificent in the surroundings of their daily lives, the gilded youth of that day were invited by all the sirens of love and fashion, and by the worship of Bacchus, to lives of ignominy and shame; to bacchanalian carnivals, and daily debauch. To assassinate, and to employ assassins, was a patrician privilege. It is recorded of Cæsar from his early



HEAD OF MARIUS : CHIARAMONTI GALLERY, VATICAN, ROME

youth that he was extremely temperate, and of a dignity of character that placed him above low associates of his class. Stories to the contrary are regarded by Froude[1] as the campaign lies of his patrician enemies, who sought to cast on his more elevated life the stains of their own vices, and to magnify his real deflections in the mirror of their own degradation.

The patricians were an educated class. Literary men from their ranks, or below, had them only for their patrons. Their opinions and their tastes had to be pandered to by writers hoping for readers. In Cæsar's time, and for generations afterward, literature descriptive of him and his time was coloured by the stories, false or true, which such writers and readers were pleased to write, to hear, and to circulate.

Early in life it was Cæsar's ambition to become a leader in some way, or in all ways. He was first ambitious to be an orator, a lawyer, and a statesman. Though six years younger than Cicero, they were friends in youth, and Cæsar was doubtless emulous of the dawning success of the former as an orator. As a youth he entered into the civil struggles of party politics in Rome. Leadership was instinct in him, and statesmanship was his forte. Step by step, by every device of intelligence, self-control, suavity, and prudence, or by bold and timely extravagance and audacity, he rose to one position after another in the progressive grades of Roman civil service. His life is a

[1] *Cæsar: A Sketch:* by James Anthony Froude. 1 vol. Longmans, Green, & Co. London, 1896.

romance of worked-for success from beginning to end. By favour only once, and that probably through his mother's influence with his uncle-in-law, the aged Marius, he was made a priest of Jupiter: — a member of the sacred college with an income attached — when he was but a boy of sixteen or seventeen. At twenty, refusing to put away his wife at the command of Sylla, the patrician general who crushed the popular party, a price was put on his head by that dictator, and he hid in the hills and swamps around Rome for a year. Influences were brought to bear to induce Sylla to lift the ban. He did so, with the remark to Cæsar's friends, "Take him, since you will have it so, but I warn you that in this loose-girt youth there are many Mariuses." Quickly after his return to Rome, still fearing Sylla's assassins, he embarked in the service of Thermus who had been deputed to clear the Greek seas of pirates. He was sent to the king of Bithynia (south of the Bosphorus) to procure additional vessels. He was quickly successful. Not long after he is heard of as having won the oak wreath of Rome for distinguished valour at the storming of Mitylene on an island in the Grecian Sea. He must at this time have been about twenty-four years old. After this he is said to have had a short period of very gay life at the court, not far from Constantinople, of King Nicomedes, of Bithynia. Soon after Sylla's death he returned to Rome, and the family property which had been confiscated by that dictator, was restored. Cæsar again took an active part in politics. He undertook to prosecute Dolabellà for embezzlement in the governorship of a province from which the latter had just returned. Wealth,

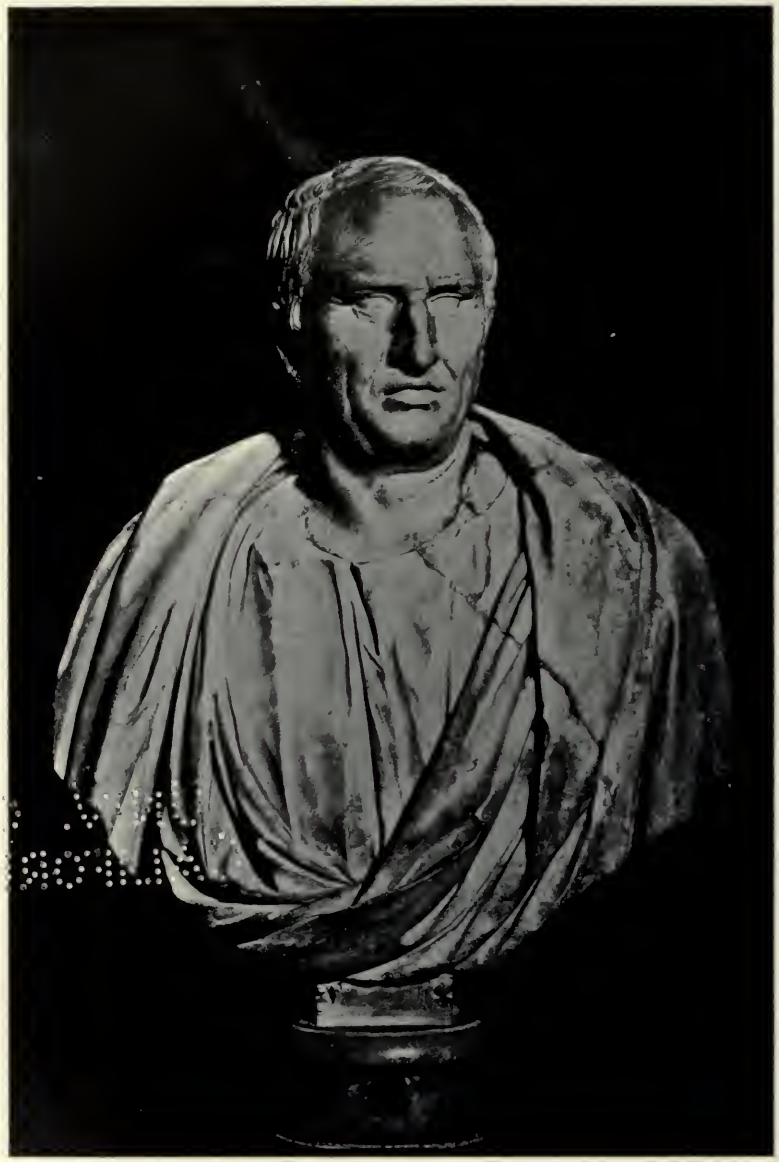
Bust of Sylla, of the Vatican Museum

and experienced lawyers on the other side, were too much for him. He was beaten, and seems to have devoted the next two years of his life to study with one Apollonius Molo, a famous professor of rhetoric and oratory on the island of Rhodes. On the voyage thither he was taken by pirates, and held for an enormous ransom; the style in which he travelled giving them reason to believe him very rich. He seemed already well known on the Asiatic shore north of Rhodes, as the cities there quickly contributed to raise the sum required. As soon as set free upon the main-land, he chartered vessels, hired fighting men, and returned so quickly to the pirates' island that he found them carousing over the ransom money. He took them prisoners and regained it. Having playfully remarked to them, while he was joining in their games as a prisoner, that he would yet have them all hanged, they were taken to the nearest court on the main-land for a regular trial, and were convicted and hanged. He then went on to the school of Molo, and is supposed to have remained there two years. At the age of twenty-five or twenty-six he returned to Rome, and was soon elected military Tribune. This gave him an official position as a speaker in public places. Cicero, who had previously been an intimate acquaintance, describes him after his return as an orator of graceful diction, and persuasive force of reasoning, devoid of the flowers of rhetoric. Few records are left of this period of his life, which seems to have been fairly divided between the pleasures of society, the practice of law, and efforts of statesmanship, with a steady growth of influence among the people. At the age of about thirty-two he was

made Quæstor. This gave him a seat in the Senate. The following year he was Ædile. Up to his thirty-third year he seems to have had steadily in mind the procurement of laws designed to broaden the basis of citizenship in Italy; had become the recognized leader of the popular party, and an uncompromising opponent of the excessive prerogatives and immunities of the patricians.

B.C. 68.

About this time Pompey was pacifying Spain, and Crassus was making head against a formidable rising of slaves in Italy under Spartacus, which for a short time threatened to overwhelm Rome. Cæsar had not a military training, and seems not to have had an inclination for a military life; nor was he yet imagined to have military genius. The great wars in which Pompey had been engaged in Asia, Egypt, and Spain, with unvarying success, and unstained reputation, made him the hero of the time. Cæsar was ripening as a statesman and a jurist, while Pompey was towering above him with all the glory of military honours. Cæsar, far from joining the Senate party to keep him down, or instigating the popular party to suspect his honesty, his patriotism, or his ambition, joined with Cicero and Crassus to obtain for Pompey the supreme command of the Roman army and navy for the purpose of ridding the Mediterranean of the pirates who had become masters of that great sea, and levied tribute on towns and villas on all its coasts. Pompey was given the power, and made short work of them. He then returned to Rome, but having no ability or tact in the affairs of civil government, he fell under the influence



Bust of Cicero, of the Capitoline, Rome

of Cicero, Crassus, and Cæsar. The intelligence of the latter in the Senate and in the Tribune was yearly becoming more evident and commanding. Cicero grew uneasy at his growing power, but was of too vacillating and treacherous a mind to become either a square opponent, or a true friend; and he threw his sympathies to the side of the patricians. Cæsar moved forward steadily on his own lines, and united Crassus and Pompey to act with him. He began prosecutions of the officers who had been enriched by serving Sylla in his systematic assassinations of Italians of democratic sympathies, and the confiscation of their properties. He succeeded in convicting many of them, and in restoring the confiscated homes and estates to their former owners.

In his thirty-seventh year there became vacant, by the death of an old man, the office of Pontifex Maximus, or Pope of the then Roman religion. This office was elective, and was richly endowed. Two candidates were put up by the patricians, both backed by great wealth. Cæsar came in at the eleventh hour as the popular candidate. On a count of the votes, those for him exceeded the votes for the two other candidates. About this time the great Catiline conspiracy filled Rome with fear. Cæsar aided Cicero to expose it. But in the Senate he opposed in a masterly speech the unlawful decree of that body to put the conspirators to death without trial. Through Cato's influence he failed, and came near being assassinated in the Senate chamber by the young patricians for his effort. He was then a Prætor, a judicial posi- B.C. 63.

tion, giving him considerable civil power. Not having accomplished his assassination, the Cato party feared what he might do as Prætor to condemn their illegal act, and got a decree through the Senate to degrade him from that office, and forbidding him to exercise its functions. He quietly obeyed the decree, and reminded his indignant friends that obedience to law is the first duty of the citizen. The Senate, not long after, recognizing the weakness of its position, repealed the decree.

At the expiration of his year as Prætor the softened Senate, with the friendly assistance of Pompey, Cicero, and Crassus, appointed Cæsar Proprætor or Governor of Spain. There, for nearly two years, he was Governor, Chief-Justice, and General in one. For the first time he found himself in the command of an army. He is said to have handled it efficiently, pushing the Roman posts to the Atlantic coast, and afterward reorganizing the administration of justice, and the collection of taxes and revenue so as to satisfy the Spanish people, and to add to the revenue of the Roman government. His genius for civic administration had here its first full illustration.

B.C. 61. Age 39.

At the end of his term as Governor of Spain he was entitled either to a public triumph, or to be candidate for the consulship the coming year. He was now forty-one years of age. He relinquished the former, and stood for the latter. In Rome his administration in Spain had added to his reputation. He was elected almost unanimously, and during the one year of his consulship enacted into law most of the reforms for which he had

B.C. 59.

been working for twenty years. Among the solid achievements of the year was the compilation of laws known among jurists for nearly two thousand years as the Code Julian; and the extension of representation to Italian cities outside of the city of Rome. Also the first law known requiring the daily publication of the doings of the Senate. On the expiry of his consulate he was entitled to appointment as Proconsul, or Governor, of one or another of the great provinces subject to Rome. But his vigorous forward movements in law-making, while with the consular spur he could urge his measures through, had thrown the old Senate into new spasms of fury against the daring man. They had concluded to clip his wings in the future, by assigning him to the Department of Woods and Forests:— least of all in power and importance. He remained silent for a while; then appealed from the Senate to the Assembly of the people to assign him to a province where he might be most useful; he himself indicating Cisalpine-Gaul, (the valley of the Po, and southern France) and Illyria as his preference. It was given him for five years, by the popular Assembly. His appointment was then confirmed by the Senate.

Cæsar spent many months preparing an army of soldiers and mechanics outside the walls of Rome. Not a large army, but, as events proved, one prepared to meet every emergency of war with axe and spade and mechanical skill, as well as with sword and spear. At the age of forty-two he began that military career which has no equal in all history for the variety of tests of genius which he passed through, and for its unvarying success. B.C. 58.

One must read his own simple record in *The Commentaries*, and know the breadth of unknown country that he covered with his operations during those years, to realize the many-sided genius of the man.

At the end of his first campaign, beginning near the west border of Switzerland, at Geneva, and ending south of Dijon in France, he had succeeded in turning back and partly destroying an emigrating body of Swiss, numbering upward of three hundred thousand, including sixty thousand fighting men, with his own little army of not more than fifteen thousand to twenty thousand. At the end of the campaign it began to be suspected in Rome that he had military talent; and the patricians were pleased to think that he might soon be killed. At the end of the next summer's campaign in central and eastern France, Rome was electrified by the dash, vigour, and scope of his military activity. Still the patricians were complacent with hope that in Gaul they were well rid of him. The third year's campaign showed Cæsar as the greatest explorer and the most daring leader of small forces against great odds then known in history. The fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh campaigns followed in successive years, in which we see him like an electric streak passing from one cloud to another; now bridging the Rhine with a quickness that inspired wonder and terror among the Germans; now surprising the Belgians in the depths of their forests; anon across the channel and battling with the Britons; then on the shores of the Bay of Biscay near the mouth of the Loire, building oar-manned fleets to fight the

defiant maritime people of that coast; then again in southwest France, in northeast France: — everywhere surrounded by overwhelming odds of brave and active enemies, yet closing the campaigns generally so early in the fall, that he returned to hold court and conduct the civil administration of his provinces of northern Italy and Illyria during the winter!

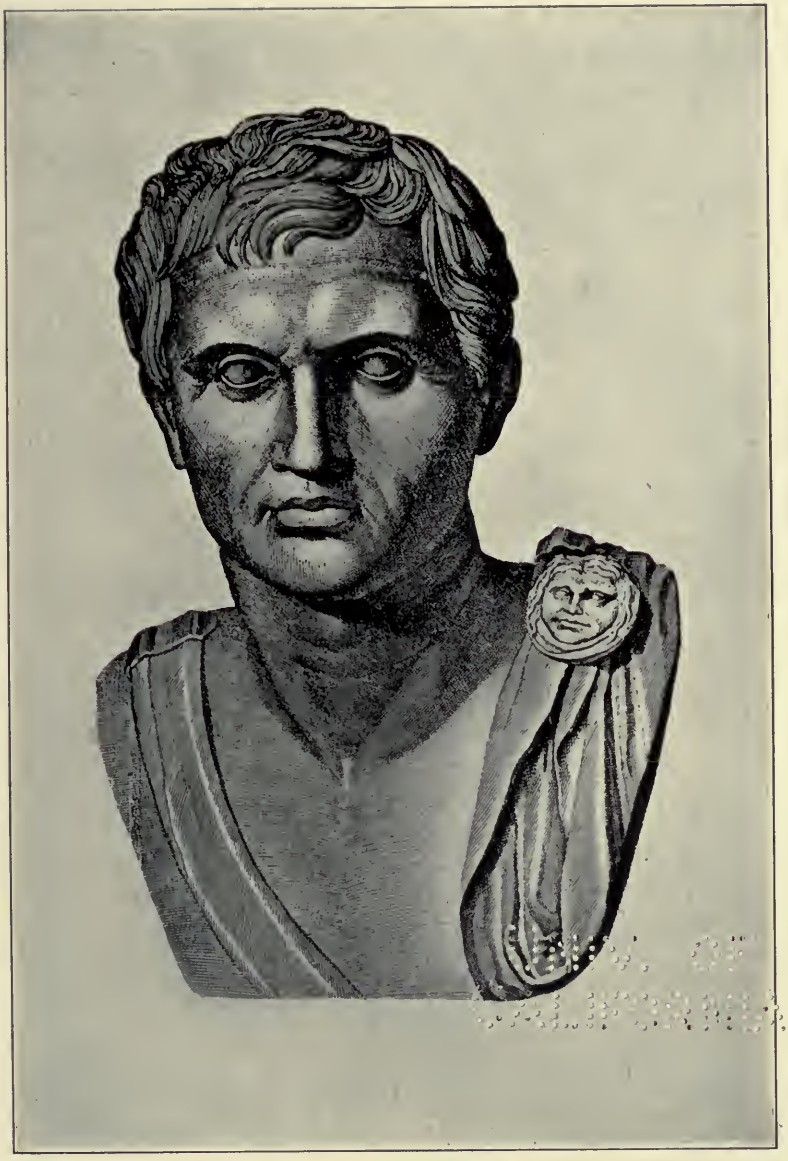
The terse narratives of the campaigns, known as *Cæsar's Commentaries*, which have become history, and "the beginning of modern history," as Anthony Trollope puts it, read like exaggerations of fiction, though undoubted hard facts. The patrician politicians of Rome were disappointed that Julius did not get himself killed. They once had a message conveyed to the German king, Ariovistus, who was opposed to him west of the Rhine, that the death of Cæsar would be no sorrow to them. But as the people were enthusiastic over the growing romance of his career, the Senate must needs vote him thanks, and compliments, and a public triumph. It even exuded with adulation, and postponed the always impending assassination.

Before his five years' appointment as Governor of Cisalpine-Gaul and Illyria was ended, Cæsar had called a council at the city of Lucca, within his own province, of the ablest men of Italy, to consider the means to insure some stability in the administration of public affairs at the capitol. The assembly was like another Senate. Two hundred of the leading men of the state, including a considerable number of Senators, formed an

agreement by which Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar were to be supported, and to support each other. Pompey was to maintain order in Rome. Crassus was to keep the Senate and the popular leaders from getting at each other's throats. Cæsar was to have five years' extension of his governorship of Gaul and Illyria, and to be given the first consulship again at the expiry of his second term. To Pompey, was to be given the governorship of Spain, and to Crassus, Syria; both of which appointments would precede, by several years, the expiry of Cæsar's second term. Pompey before this time had married Cæsar's daughter. Thus united, no patrician intrigues or plebeian violence could endanger the internal peace of Rome.

Cæsar was thus left free to complete his conquests in Gaul and Britain. It has already been noticed how each succeeding campaign seemed more remarkable than the preceding. The erratic celerity of his movements made him seem ubiquitous; and it would have been strange if the Gauls had not at last deemed him a supernatural being.

While thus making history on the outside margin of the then known world he was becoming a stranger to Rome. The patricians never ceased to misjudge, underrate, and undermine him. During the latter half of his second term as Proconsul of Gaul, Cicero, acting with the patrician Senate, was meditating how to neutralize the effect of Cæsar's growing fame. Pompey was jealous or envious, and drew away from the alliance. Crassus had been killed, and his Roman army annihilated in Syria. All rival interests were uneasy about the promise made to Cæsar that he should be



HEAD OF POMPEY, FROM THE STATUE IN THE SPADA PALACE, ROME

a candidate for first consul in Rome at the end of his proconsulate term. Cato and Cicero schemed to cheat him out of it. As the last year of his proconsulship drew near, combinations were made against him in Rome, which aimed first to deprive him of the army of Gaul, and then to a violation of the promise of the consulship. Cæsar was well advised of the plotting, and expostulated patiently for a year with his false friends and open enemies, on the injustice of trying to strike him down after he had been for nine years absent from the capital, adding territory to the domains of Rome, and revenue to its treasury. At last, seeing clearly that it was the plan of his enemies to give his army into the command of another general before his appointed term was ended, and to force him to come to Rome defenceless, where his life would be at the mercy of any hired assassin, he resolved to defend his rights in his own province, and to hold the army to protect himself while appealing to the people for the promised consulship. Cicero and the Senate were too cowardly and too vacillating to carry out their intent; so that Cæsar was not forced to violate any order of the Senate, or do any unlawful act until, finding that his friends were driven from Rome, that Pompey was determined to prevent his coming to Rome to claim the consulship, he did at last cross the Rubicon with his army.

The Rubicon, flowing into the Adriatic about ten miles south of Ravenna, was the southern boundary of his province on that coast. To lead his army beyond that boundary was certainly an illegal act. It caused a

fright in Rome among the patricians. Pompey, the Senators (among them Cicero) and great numbers of rich patricians, hurried pell-mell out of the city and crowded the roads to Brindisi. The great Pompey, and the Senators, instead of organizing for a resolute holding of the capital, acted more like guilty men evading justice. It was a common sentiment of the injustice and the indefensible nature of their plots against Cæsar that made cowards of them all. The latter, on the other hand, was strong in the consciousness that he was acting within the limit of his equitable rights. Cæsar sent emissaries to Pompey and Cicero, urging them to reflect that he wanted nothing except what had long been promised by them, and by the Senate. But so accustomed had the higher classes in Rome become to bloody revenges and reprisals that they could believe nothing good of Cæsar. They had compromised themselves at every step of his career by their opposition and reviling, to such a degree, that they could not comprehend an altitude of spirit that absolutely overlooked them.

Finding all his advances to prevent civil war were misconstrued and evaded, he quickened his march toward Rome. The Pompean forces in the mountains were captured, the officers set free, their baggage sent after them, and their soldiers joined Cæsar's. Towns opened their gates and welcomed him as he advanced. Pompey, fleeing toward Brindisi, sent an order to the Consuls to go back to Rome and bring away the public treasure. But they had no escort of soldiers, and feared to be taken themselves.

When the kindly feeling of Italy toward him became evident, Cæsar sent a last messenger to the Senators to impress upon them that he wanted peace and not civil war; and to Cicero he sent word that he would willingly live under Pompey's rule if he could have guaranty of his personal safety. No response came from the other side.

Cæsar now feeling sure that Pompey was about to embark from Brindisi, with command of all the Roman fleets, to organize armies in Macedonia to return with, turned away from Rome and hastened southward to intercept him. The Senators and a part of the patrician army had already passed over to the Grecian side of the Adriatic. Pompey and twelve thousand soldiers were waiting at Brindisi the return of the transports. Cæsar tried to prevent their embarkation, but Pompey with command of the sea succeeded in escaping with his whole army. Cæsar gave his opponent the credit of a plan of future campaign such as he himself conceived. Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and North Africa were all under command of Pompey's generals. Italy drew its main food supplies from those countries. It could be starved into revolt against Cæsar if Pompey's armies held possession of them. He sent energetic officers to the two islands, and easily secured them. But a similar effort in Nubia (Carthage) resulted in the defeat of his lieutenant. To Spain, where Pompey's forces were formidable, he decided to go himself, and leave Pompey and his friends unmolested for a time on the east coast of the Adriatic. Cæsar then went back to Rome, which he had

March B.C. 49. Age 51.

not seen for nearly ten years. He convened the remaining Senators, and addressed them on the engagements that had been made by the Senate, and the Tribunes, to name him for election to the consulship on the expiry of his ten years' service in Gaul. The Senators seemed to consider it a weakness that he should appeal to their sense of justice in the matter, and grew stiff-lipped toward him. He had only the option to declare, that since they would not keep their promises to him, and govern with him, he would be obliged to govern without them; and quickly organized the civil and military measures necessary to the peace of the capital, and the control of the provinces. The public treasury, which Pompey and the senatorial party had fled too hastily to take with them, was under the control of the Cæsar government. After a few weeks in Rome he left the capital in charge of Aurelius Lepidus, a noble Roman, as Governor, and embarked suddenly for Marseilles with a small army, to organize for the Spanish campaign. That city closed its gates against him. Its commanding officers were appointees of Pompey and the Senate's Consuls. The city had to be besieged on the land side, and boats built to fight the Pompean fleet in the harbour. In thirty days his fleet was built and victorious at the harbour's mouth, and the blockade was made effective. Cæsar then rushed to Spain, having previously seized the passes of the Pyrenees. But an effective army larger than his own was ready to meet him. In this campaign all his mental resource was taxed by the accidents and obstacles of nature; but in forty days after the armies first confronted each

other near Lérida, all the opposing force were prisoners, or incorporated into his own army. He pushed on to Cordova and captured his opponent's treasure and stores, and then convened the chief men of the country to confer with him. Spain secured, he returned to Rome.

In his absence Lepidus had procured for Cæsar the position of Dictator, a title several times before conferred by the republic in great national emergencies. The popular department of the republic elected him, but without concurrence of Consuls or Senate. Elected irregularly by popular voice, he seemed to take no heed of friendships or enmities in the measures he boldly entered upon to promote a return to the normal conditions of a healthy peace at Rome. Usury was checked, but not by a cancellation of debts. Debtors were relieved of the portion of their debts which it had become impossible for them to pay, but not more. Laws to enforce equitable arbitration were enacted, and rapidly carried into effect, and the surplus of urban population was encouraged by grants of unused land to become yeomen in the country. After a short period of rapid legislative or dictatorial reforms, every one of which was a new proof of his singular instinct for broad statesmanship rather than partisan measures, he resigned his dictatorship, and was elected Consul, together with Servilius, his friend, with the usual legal forms, and for the very term which had been promised to him. He was now the lawfully elected and confirmed executive of the government. There is nothing in his acts to show that he had aspired to be more.

The Roman Empire on the west having been brought under Cæsar's government, he was now free to carry on war against Pompey and the refugee consuls and senators, who still assumed to be the government. He was almost powerless at sea. Yet, on the 4th of January, in the fifty-second year of his age, he succeeded in embarking at Brindisi with sixteen to twenty thousand men. Evading Pompey's admiral, he crossed the Adriatic Sea, landed without trouble, and fortified a position on the west coast of Epirus, east of Brindisi. Pompey, with three times his force, in numbers, occupied a strong position north, near Dyrachium (now Durazzo) on the coast, where his fleet could assure full food supplies for his army, and luxuries for all the wealthy patrician refugees. Mark Antony, who was to elude Pompey's fleet with the other half of Cæsar's army, was a long time detained in Brindisi. At last he succeeded in crossing, but was obliged to land north of Pompey's position, so that the latter with his whole army was between the two small armies of Cæsar, and ought to have crushed one or the other. He was too slow. Before he moved, Cæsar with his entire force marched around Dyrachium and joined Antony! United, they were only about half the number of Pompey's army, but they drew besieging lines around it! It placed Pompey's generalship in a ridiculous light in the minds of Greeks and Romans, but was of no use otherwise. Through treachery a weak point in the besieger's lines was revealed to Pompey, who made a sally so vigorous that it inflicted great loss to Cæsar's army, and was a

B.C. 48
Age 52.

partial victory. The latter soon reoccupied his broken line, but not long. Seeing that Pompey with absolute command of the sea had the advantage in the defensive, Cæsar skilfully retreated inland to the fertile fields of Thessaly, where he could better provide for his army; expecting that Pompey would follow, and somewhere be brought to battle. He did so, but it was August before it was brought on. The celebrated battle of Pharsalia was the result. An easy victory for Cæsar, and a total and disgraceful rout of the patrician forces.

After the battle the victor hurried back to Rome to organize order in the capital, and an army to crush the gathering senatorial forces which had fled to Egypt. Poor Pompey had been treacherously beheaded in the bay of Alexandria by order of Ptolemy, father of Cleopatra, whom he himself had made King of Egypt. Cæsar made good his landing in Alexandria. But Ptolemy, acting with the senatorial forces, shut him in a part of the city including the outer harbour. As in a hundred other most perilous positions into which his boldness led him, he extricated himself with all the wariness of a Fabius, and with the unexpected blows of a Napoleon. With the aid of a relieving army which he had ordered from Syria, he succeeded in drawing the whole opposing force to Cairo, and there defeated it. Egypt was at his feet. Cleopatra and her brother were left on the throne as vassals of Rome. The diminishing numbers of the senatorial oligarchy under the sons of Pompey in command of the old Roman fleets, and Scipio and Cato on

land, escaped to Carthage. Cæsar paid no immediate attention to them. A formidable rising against the Romans in Syria, and the defeat of one of his generals, touched his Roman pride. Without returning to Rome, where his friends begged his return, and where there was sad need of his orderly mind and commanding will, he hastened with but fragments of an army to the assistance of his beaten general. Visiting hurriedly the coast towns in Palestine and Syria, his presence alone quieted the elements of revolt. He called into his confidence the leading citizens of each city he visited, found what Roman troops might be collected, what allies might be called on for others; and as he went from city to city toward the wily Pharnaces, King of the Syrians, he created an army as he went. Not long after that King could have heard of Cæsar's success in Egypt the ubiquitous man was confronting him with a Roman army south of Trebizond, on the head waters of the Euphrates in Armenia! The Syrian King sent Cæsar a golden crown, and dallied with palaver. The latter replied by seizing a strong offensive position. Pharnaces, convinced that it meant "submit or fight," boldly anticipated attack by attacking; and was crushingly defeated. Cæsar was thus enabled to leave Syria in the hands of a general, and to return at once to Rome *viâ* the Black Sea and the Bosphorus. He must have arrived not a long time after the news of his decisive success in Egypt had reached Rome; and the further news that he was again lost to their knowledge in the far east, near the shadows of Ararat.

He was needed in Rome. Disorders of all kinds were rife, his own retired soldiers contributing. The violent were hungry to seize what they had not earned. The lazy voters of Rome, the successors of the self-vaunted Roman citizen of better days, long accustomed to be fed out of the public crib by the patricians who thus bribed their votes, demanded some special favour from Cæsar for their support. Both classes were ready to welcome with enthusiasm a devil, or a human "God," if either would bring free bread, and the gay brutalities and debaucheries of a conqueror's triumph. Cæsar paid little heed to any faction; but he let the people know that order is heaven's first law; that debts must be paid, and law enforced, where Cæsar was. Thus, after three campaigns in one season, in so widely separated countries as Greece, Egypt, and Armenia, only a few months of the year were left to quell anarchy and enforce order in Rome. In his absence the obsequious Senate had made him a second time Dictator. But before the year was ended it was known that Scipio, Cato, and Labienus, the latter once Cæsar's ablest general in Gaul, were organizing a formidable army in Nubia (now Tunisia), with Carthage as a centre, and Pompey's sons and Scipio, still commanding Roman fleets on the Mediterranean. The migratory Roman Senate were holding sessions in the city of Utica, west of Carthage, which, by their presence, they assumed to make the capital of "the Roman republic."

At mid-winter, B.C. 47, in his fifty-third year, Cæsar left Rome with such legions as he could command, evaded the Pompean fleets, and landed at Ruspinum, a point in Tunisia

south of Cape Bon, with a force hardly one-third in number of those he went to crush. He at once fortified a position open to the sea. Here he studied the situation of his opponents, and awaited reinforcements. His quietness emboldened Scipio, Cato, and Labienus. They began to hope that he was in their power. But the resources of the empire were now at his command. A fleet had been constructed that overawed Pompey's. Reinforcements, long delayed, came at last. By aid of the fleet he transferred his army to Thapsus, a point on the coast further south, to which he drew the enemy, and invited attack. It came on in Oriental fashion, elephants being employed to bear down on the Roman lines. The method of their use had been studied by Cæsar and provided against. They were turned back, so that their huge bulk and numbers went crashing through the army they had been trained to serve. The rout was like that of Pharsalia. The patricians again became fugitives from justice; flying from a clement conqueror who had never intended to cut off their heads, or confiscate their properties, or deny their part in the government; but only wanted them to return home and help him to build up a better Rome. Those who could, fled to Spain, where they gained a temporary foothold and power.

Cæsar returned to Italy in the month of September, B.C. 47. In his absence serious disorders had been frequent. Senate, Tribune, and citizens alike, felt by this time that the turbulent elements of bloody civil war were boiling everywhere beneath the surface, and that only a steady

power like that of Cæsar's could prevent national perdition. He was again Dictator, this time appointed for life, by the joint action of the Senate and the Tribune. But he desired some special authorization for work not usually expected of Consuls or Dictators — the power to influence the public morals; and he was appointed Inspector of Public Morals. He set to work to purify the courts, and to elevate the standard of life among the common people. At last, supreme in Rome, in the crater of the slumbering volcano of civil war, in the midst of the pestilential vapours of depraved lives and murderous ambitions, his was no gay triumph. It was a stern call to work, in the midst of a moral pestilence. He found a Senate, inert, complaisant, treacherous; the leaders gone, the sedimentary mediocrity left. He caused those stained with any crime to be expelled; called into its body eminent citizens from some of the provinces of the Roman dominion, and continued to treat the Senators with the consideration due to the highest deliberative body.

And still he found time to order a radical revision of the system of marking time. The twelve lunar months had been the year, with the result that each moon year was twenty-nine days shorter than the solar year. Up to that time the confusion of the seasons had been rectified from time to time like an over fast clock, by setting back the hands: — by public edict of the high priests ordering a fresh start! Cæsar had met in Egypt a great astronomer, Sosigenes, by whose help sun time was inaugurated forty-six years before the birth of Christ. It was by vir-

tue of his office of Pontifex Maximus that he was authorized to proclaim this great change. It is our present calendar system, still known by Cæsar's name, as the Julian-Calendar time. Thus in the fifty-third and fifty-fourth years of his life Cæsar's time continued to be divided between daring military adventures that seem the prerogative of youth, and the broadest statesmanship of the ripest years. Priest, (whatever that may have meant) ladies'-man, orator, lawyer, writer, Tribune, Quæstor, Prætor, Pontifex Maximus, Judge, Consul — one or another he had been all his mature life before receiving his appointment as Proconsul or Governor of Transalpine Gaul and Illyria — before his military career began! Never before, or since, has there been such a combination of all the powers of the human mind developed on such a stage.

The remainder of the year B.C. 47, and the following year B.C. 46, having mostly been devoted to the duties of government in Rome, the province of Spain again became the theatre of an ominous gathering of all the odds and ends of the patrician malcontents and Mediterranean desperadoes; with Cæsar's old general Labienus at their head.

B.C. 45. Age 55. At the beginning of the year B.C. 45, while snows were deep on the mountains of south Spain, Cæsar landed an army, probably at Malaga, and found his way to the strongholds of Labienus, in the valley of the Guadalquivir near Cordoba. Nature, and a more vigilant opponent than he had met since his campaigns in Gaul, conspired to test all his powers of mind and body. Seven years in Cæsar's confidence in Gaul, Labienus was familiar

with every form of Cæsar's military genius, and had always been regarded by him as the ablest of his generals. It was the hardest on Cæsar personally of all his campaigns; and though it resulted as usual in the total defeat of the last military stand of his enemies at the battle of Munda, it could not but have strained the vital forces of his life. Fourteen years of such campaigning, after a man is middle aged, is a strain on human vitality that few can endure, or recover from when endured. Contemporary writers state that his health in his last years was impaired, and suggestions were made that his constitution was weak. The latter opinion is absurd; for no man could have had a weak constitution who endured what he endured, and did what he did.

Cæsar remained all summer in Spain, restoring uniform laws and better government, and returned to Rome to continue the same work of statesmanship there. His first act was to issue a general amnesty for political offences against himself. He carried the spirit of clemency toward his enemies to a degree that suggests the birth in his mind of some of the ethical truths which the disciples of Christ enunciated among the Romans nearly a century later. There seems to have been no reform which his experienced and judicial mind regarded as feasible, to build up a better character in the Roman people, which he did not have grafted into the laws, and then execute so far as it was in his power to do so. Corinth, Carthage, and other desolated cities were repopulated by Italians, attracted thither by Cæsar's measures.

The waste farm lands began to be populated anew by his encouragement to their peaceful possession. The provinces were gratified to be granted representation in the Roman Senate, and some home government in their own provincial assemblies. Costly amusements for the citizens of Rome were continued; but this was only a necessity of the time, to keep a mass of citizens pleased and quiescent, who were a dangerous source of interruption while he was laying broad and deep the foundations for a better city and a better state. All practicable reforms were being initiated, and put upon trial. Ripe in wisdom, satiated with military successes, supreme in power, it seemed that twenty years of life should have been left him to crystallize reforms, and to carry his name down to posterity as the greatest and wisest of men. But it was not to be. Assassination and murder stole the livery of patriotism to do their work. Nowadays we think of these horrid crimes as the offspring of dens of vice and want. But in Rome it was the patrician class, the stilted Roman Senators, who made of their Senate chamber a den of infamy, and within its stately walls concocted that plan for the assassination of Cæsar which has no counterpart in all the annals of history. When the young tragedian, J. Wilkes Booth, in crazy imitation of Brutus, assassinated Abraham Lincoln, with his "sic semper tyrannis" flung to the air, the absolute craziness of his mind threw a veil of charity over the horrid act. But a conspiracy of sixty senators, with Cicero in the background to applaud if done, and to wash his hands of, if not successful, is an event that

the world has seen but once. The very men who had sustained his acts, who had voted him all his honours with effusive warmth, who, with Cicero as their spokesman, only a short time before had offered their own bodies as a bulwark against any harm to him, some of them his most trusted friends,[1] named in his will as his executors, and recipients of recent appointments, were all joined together to assassinate him, and to urge his coming to the Senate for important business in order to accomplish their horrid work. There they surrounded him in deferential politeness, with daggers under their togas, and pleasant words on their lips, until the signal was given. Then, powerless in their midst, they rushed upon him, pierced him with twenty-six dagger thrusts, and he wrapped his toga about him and sank in death.

Thus in the fifty-sixth year of his life he perished, at the culmination of an extraordinarily eventful career.

It is comforting to know that the common people of Rome quickly judged and condemned the assassins; and that every one of them within a few years died such deaths as their atrocious act merited. It is not so pleasant to know that, until our century, historians have reflected the apologies of the patricians for the acts of the murderers, and have given the colour of patriotism to a deed not a whit more justifiable than Booth's assassination of the good Lincoln.

It is one of the saddest denouements in all history that a man thus gifted with all the qualities that appeal to the imaginations and ambitions of youth, with the tem-

[1] Marcus and Decimus Brutus.

perance of a philosopher, the logical thoughtfulness of a mathematician, the electric energy of a Napoleon, and the kindly and statesmanlike common sense of Lincoln, should have been cut off at a time when the depraved Romans most needed his strong hand, his wise head, and the conciliatory spirit which was the glory of his nature.

Latin literature contemporaneous with Cæsar, and still more, the echoes of it that came after, is permeated with stories concerning him that were designed to cloud the honour of his common life. Witty patrician writers, and the debauched dandies of his time, found him a shining mark for their vulgar wit. Cæsar as a society man was recognized as a peculiar favourite among ladies. With such a mother as his, and living with her, and known for his general temperance, it is easy to see, that while he was the greatest favourite with cultivated and refined, and doubtless beautiful women, the vulgar dandies found no favour in so high a circle. Envy would prompt, and their own debauched lives would suggest, to impute to him their own tastes and their own vices. One hundred and fifty years after his death, Suetonius made volumes of the preserved gossip and traditions of the most notable men of the Cæsarean era. Malicious stories, "campaign lies," concerning Julius Cæsar, that floated in Rome among his enemies, during his political struggles, multiplied while he lived, and took root in tradition after he died. Those sallies of wit and malice, and vulgar insinuations, have come down to us as biographical facts. Froude analyzes and rejects most of them as improbable, or untrue; out of harmony with conceded facts of his habits and his life. They are a

part of that unclean gossip which never dies while men and women live whose vulgarity of mind cannot conceive of mental and physical charms above the level of the vulgar; and who are particularly pleased to have evidence that those who are far above them are of the same unclean clay as themselves.

Cæsar has figured in literature as the typical destroyer of republics. Nothing could be more false; because in his time there was no real republic to destroy. A patrician oligarchy, hereditary, with human slavery for its corner-stone, called itself a republic, and was in fact the inheritor of the power and plunder of a republic which it had smothered before Cæsar's day. The robbery of conquered and subject states supplied a part of the regular income of the dominant class, and the state's treasury, as much as piracy on the seas makes an income for pirates. Julius Cæsar made a brave effort, almost alone, to shape legislation so as to undermine the pernicious prerogatives of that class, and to build up a broader Roman citizenship. Between the barbarities inherent in the feudal system, and an intelligent democracy, monarchy, dominating the smaller feudal lords, has always come in to make constitutional government possible. Four hundred feudal lords in the Roman Senate had to be welded with the larger mass into a government that would protect greater interests than their private interests. Cæsar felt in himself the power to do something in that direction, and did it. To what extent he might have succeeded, if twenty years more had been spared him, can only be conjectured. The fact stands out, that, whenever he had power

to do it, he laid the foundation in laws to make a fairer government and a better people. If he was planning to make power hereditary in his own family, it was with an honest purpose and belief that the government of one head is rarely so mischievous as that of a passionate and ignorant city populace, or that of an octupus-like oligarchy which he dethroned. It was almost as true of Rome during the early lives of Cicero and Cæsar as in the reign of Nero, what Sienkiewicz in *Quo Vadis* has written: "Rome ruled the world, but was also its ulcer. The odour of a corpse was rising from it. Over its decaying life the shadow of death was descending." Such was the so-called Roman Republic that Cæsar was born in; which was in a state of chronic corruption and dissolution before he was born, which all the energies of his life were exercised to arrest, which was dead before he died, and which sealed with foul murder its own annihilation while placing the halo of a martyr on its best citizen.

Was not Cæsar unscrupulously ambitious? The belief is general that he was. I think the judgment unjust, and mostly unfounded; or at least sadly exaggerated. That he believed in himself, and the usefulness to his country of his own projects, and backed his confidence with an energy of persuasive force that enabled him at times to overcome all opposition, is true enough. But that he was scrupulous to obtain his ends in a lawful way is also true. That he had unbounded ambition to distinguish himself, and to reach power in the state, is unquestioned. But that can be said of some of the best and most useful of great men: alike of Martin Luther, William of Orange, and Peter the

Great, of Lord Chatham and Wilberforce, of Cavour, Bismarck and Thiers, of Lincoln and Gladstone. The object for which men seek wealth or power, *as shown by the way they use it when obtained*, will generally prove whether they be high-minded or low-minded, scrupulous or unscrupulous. For it is admissible to use one's superior and dominating personal power to achieve good for an entire people; while to use the same power for one's own personal or family gain might be only blank selfishness or tyranny. Herein lies the difference between Cæsar's life, from beginning to end, and the lives of the Napoleons —I and III. Cæsar never sought power by the slaughter of his fellow Romans, nor by successive perjuries, nor by the unlawful seizure and banishment of his political opponents, or by violent and unlawful assumption of all power in his own person, and the perpetuation of it in his own family. Audacious, as the events of his life illustrated more and more as he grew old, it was a boldness always governed and guided by respect for every form of law that was just and respectable. He aimed to re-build the "republic" of Rome without destroying it; beginning by lawful efforts to remove its tumors and its barnacles, then by adding great domains to its territory; then, finding no help among the leaders to secure and maintain justice and fair laws, he took the responsibility which all others shirked, and did his best, alone, to organize a good government. Assassination was the reward in store for him; as Froude remarks, it had long been for all useful and distinguished Romans. From first to last he seemed ever scrupulous to achieve

his work within the law; and not till goaded into it, not till he had exhausted every effort to induce his opponents to keep their promises to him and to the country, did he step into the breach between anarchy and law to do what the Senate refused its aid in doing — to maintain a government for his country.

It is assumed to be a slur on his character as a man that he went deeply into debt before he reached middle age, in order to give splendid fêtes to the people of Rome, and to attract to himself popularity, and their suffrages. But do we hear that the money lenders of that time loaned him vast sums without security? Do we not hear that his own family were rich, that he was the acknowledged head of that family, that as Pontifex Maximus he had a considerable revenue, and therefore had, besides what landed estate he pledged to borrow money, an income to pledge, and a rising power to protect his creditors by a genius for governmental leadership on which they leaned for additional security? Personal power to plan great things, and to execute them, is always an element of credit with capitalists. We do not hear that Cæsar afterward failed to pay all his debts, or that he is accused of breaking promises, or of deceitfulness, or unfaithfulness to friends, or that he ever slacked or wavered in devoting all his time to the improvement of the Roman people, and the extension of their power. He does not by treachery and perjury make himself dictator and emperor, like the Corsican who assumed to wear his mantle. Lying and perjury were not faults of Cæsar. But it may be asked, How did he keep his great creditor's confidence,

so that we find him, after the return from his governorship of Spain, stronger than before? First, I think it safe to assume that governors of provinces like Spain were paid by a lawful commission on the revenues collected. As his administration was distinguished by an increase of revenue turned over to the Roman government, we can see here the beginning of his recovery from a heavy burden of debt. As first consul in Rome for one year following, it does not seem that he could have had any time to think of his own private fortune; so busy was he from first to last in clinching his reformatory projects. But when his wars and conquests in Gaul began, the vastness and wealth of his field of operations, and the laws of war of that period, placed in his hands great opportunities for the acquirement of wealth. Prisoners of war sold as slaves, estates confiscated, ransoms exacted, taxes levied — all joined to swell revenues which may have been scrupulously accounted for to the Roman government; while his own lawful commissions, and those of his generals and soldiers, would form a steady stream of wealth to them privately. Thus we account for the fact that after a few years in Gaul he was a generous lender to his friends. But this is no cause of inference that he practised any unlawful or unscrupulous power, as laws then were, and as public opinion then was.

In English speaking communities fair judgments of Cæsar's character are recurrently neutralized by the play of *Julius Cæsar*. The constant misconception of him which his rivals and beaten enemies, the Senate party in Rome, infused into Roman literature, reverberate through

the sonorous speeches or the light inuendo of the Shakespearean *dramatis personæ*. Even supposing the play to have originated in Lord Bacon's erudite mind, it would be natural enough to presume that he would take the "concurrent weight of testimony" of Cæsar's enemies as to his character; the more so as it furnished, perhaps, the best material to make the play effective. One gets an idea of a pompous, strutting Cæsar, from that play. He was quite the contrary. The speech of Mark Antony over his dead body does his memory most eloquent justice; but it does not counteract certain false impressions.

More than from the play itself, which is perhaps unsurpassed by any other in the exhibition of the great genius of the author, men are misled concerning the personality of Cæsar by the manner in which some English actors of great prominence distort and vulgarize its scenes and incidents. The writer, in the summer of 1900, witnessed a performance of the play in the Queen's Theatre, London. The star actor of the company personated Mark Antony. In the scene over the dead body of Cæsar, in which he appeals to the people in the Forum in that unrivalled oration which the genius of Bacon or Shakespeare has put in his mouth, — a scene among the most sad, thrilling and woful in all history, — the silence natural in the presence of an awful tragedy is represented on the stage like a market-place tumult and a vulgar riot. Mark Antony develops into a Jack-in-the-box, jumping about from one place to another as if to incite or to appease a Kilkenny mob. Now the especial friends of Cæsar in Rome were the

middle classes. The solemnity of the occasion — the gathering in love to rear a funeral pile to burn the body of their dear friend, leader or master — had drawn all the people to the Forum. Had not only drawn them, but, by all concurrent testimony, had drawn them together in a spirit of love and reverence for the dead leader, and horror at the manner of his taking off. In the presence of that still bleeding corpse they would naturally give ear to the burning words of Mark Antony's eulogy of their dead friend with awed silence; as in the presence of a great horror. A mysterious uncertainty as to what would come next hung over them like a pall. Those who remember the stern, taciturn throngs who gathered almost speechless as they looked into each other's faces the morning the news of Abraham Lincoln's assassination was posted in the towns and villages of the United States will know instinctively the unnaturalness, not to say vulgarity and contemptibleness, of representing such an event as Cæsar's funeral in the Forum with the confusion, tumult and noisy brutality of a London or an Irish mob.

Justice to the play, as well as to the great subject of it, demands not simply a change, but a complete revolution of ideas concerning the personation of Julius Cæsar, to insure a truthful and a dignified presentation of the incidents of the great tragedy. The spirits of Salvini and Ristori may well be invoked.

CHAPTER III

Ancient Statues known in the Time of Augustus, and Busts Surmised

Bernoulli, in his great work on Roman Iconography, Vol. 1 (alluded to on page 9), when treating the subject of Julius Cæsar portraitures, remarks: "In ancient times there must have been erected many statues in honour of Julius Cæsar, during the short time of his supreme power. It was even resolved or decreed to erect his statue in every temple of Rome, and in every city of the empire. But it is quite certain that owing to his assassination soon after, but few of them could have been completed. As the character and the place of erection of these statues are possibly of importance in connection with the identification of existing statues, of which, though there be no proof, we may hope to gather evidence, we may enumerate the following: —

"After Cæsar's return from Africa (46 B.C.) among other honours decreed to him, a bronze statue was ordered for the capitol, with a globe under the feet, and with the inscription, To the Demi-god. He himself forbade this inscription.

"The following year during his absence in Spain they

JULIUS CÆSAR: STATUE OF THE CAPITOLINE, ROME

added: A statue of ivory, which should have been erected on a state carriage, adorned with paintings of the gods, for use in the circensian games.

"Another statue was in the temple of Quirinus, with the superscription: To the invincible God.

"A third (perhaps the same as the one decreed the year before) also on the capitol under the kings, where the one of Brutus the elder stood.

"Soon many more were added, among which two on the platform with wreaths of oak leaves and grass, the one to indicate him as the saviour of his fellow-citizens, the other the saviour of the town. One of them was the one upon which a tribune of the people set a diadem, to make the republicans suspect and hate him. A short time after Cæsar's death there seemed to have been erected a third one, by Mark Antony, with the inscription: *Parente optime merito* — which roused Cicero's anger.

"Again, in the time of his dictatorship, an armour-clad statue was erected in the Forum which he founded (most likely an equestrian statue) identical with the Equinis Cæsaris of gilded bronze in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix. Statius asserts that the horse belonged originally to a statue of Alexander; but according to Sueton and Plineus it was more a representation of the abnormal hoof formation of a pet horse of the dictator.

"In the temple of Venus, Augustus erected a bronze statue in his honour, with a star over the head as indicative of his transposition among the gods.

"In the temple which already, during his life-time, had been decreed to Cæsar, in common with Clementia, stood both statues touching their hands — Cæsar as Jupiter Julius, doubtless of heroic size.

"Also, in the chapel of the Forum especially dedicated to Julius, which Octavius (Augustus) had erected on the spot where his body was burned, there must certainly have been a statue of heroic size.

"In the construction of the Pantheon Agrippa put Cæsar's statue in the inner part of the cupola; his own, and one of Augustus, in the entrance hall.

"On the bank of the Tiber stood a statue of C. Cæsar (it must mean Julius Cæsar) which on the appearance of Vespasian is said to have turned from west to east.

"On the Isle of Chilos an inscription has been found of the year 47 B.C., which dedicates a statue of Cæsar to the gods.

"Under the temples which had been erected to Cæsar in the provinces, those of Ephesus and Nikæa were the most showy in the time of Augustus.

"Cleopatra built a chapel in Alexandria with a right of asylum in memory of Cæsar.

"Christodor mentions a statue of Cæsar with Ægis and lightning at Zeuxipos near Constantinople; also called a Jupiter Julius."

Such are the statues which Bernoulli's erudition has listed for us, mentioned or described by one or another Latin author during the century and a half following Cæsar's time. That busts in great number, as well as

statues of lesser importance, or less conspicuously placed, but not perhaps of inferior portraiture, must have sprung into existence in great numbers in sculptors' studios during the short period of his absolute supremacy, cannot be doubted. That his assassination put a stop for a time to further work upon them is probable. But as his assassins were speedily under the ban of popular execration, as his body was burned in the Forum with stately funeral ceremonies, and with the worshipful tumult of a deeply felt public mourning, while the city remained in the possession of his friend, Mark Antony, it is not to be supposed that the statues and busts of him then completed, or the models and the sculptural work already in hand in sculptors' studios, were lost. On the contrary, his death made them only the more valuable, and the more to be cherished. The period of struggles between the senatorial assassins, with Cicero waiting in their shadow, and the rival forces of Mark Antony and the young Octavius (Augustus), lasted less than two years. When that was ended by the triumph of the latter, there was no further danger that the homage of sculptors to the dead Cæsar could in any way injure them, if they completed the works in their studios. There was hope, on the other hand, that commissions for statuary work, given while Cæsar was alive, might yet be paid for, and that busts of the "Divine Julius" would soon be in great demand. Fourteen years after his death Cæsar's adopted son, Octavius, then the Emperor Augustus, was at the head of the government of all the empire of Rome.

That statues of Julius, and busts of all sizes and materials, multiplied during his long reign, is more than probable. It is interesting to conjecture the material which Italian sculptors then had, for arriving at life-like portraitures. The coins, numerous enough, and then fresh from the mint, stood for something. Those which have come down to us are mostly the bronze, copper, and silver ones, which were generally bungling specimens of effigy work. A few gold ones, the real antiquity of which is not quite assured, are in some museums; but I have seen none which have better heads than a few of those on the cheaper coins. That there were better, both on gold coins and medallions, I do not doubt. But gold is not a metal to hold its impressions well, like silver and bronze, and when defaced by wear was likelier to go to the melting pot for recoining, or for mechanical uses. If recovered in good preservation during the Middle Ages, the fact of having Julius Cæsar's head on one side would not then, as now, have saved them from sale as gold only. I have already indicated little confidence in the perfectness, as profiles, of any one of the coin effigies. If, in the Cæsarean days, there were better ones, they would doubtless have continued to influence, in some degree, the busts of bronze and marble modelled after his death.

But I believe that busts had been made of Julius Cæsar before the years when his head was subjected to all sorts of caricatures on coins. A boy who could have been chosen at the age of sixteen for the office of high priest of Jupiter, must have had something very

promising written on his front. When we find almost every after-year of his life marked by singular instinct of leadership, and striking adventures, when we know that he rose step by step through every important elective office in the Roman civil service, until at the age of forty-one he was elected First-Consul, then the highest position in the republic, we have reason to believe that he was prominent enough, and popular enough, to be the subject for busts at that time. Italy was then, as now, a land of sculpture. Statues and busts, in some degree, then took the place of paintings, engravings, photographs and books, in perpetuating the memory of great or conspicuous men. Cæsar's year as consul was a memorable one from a statesman's point of view; and he was more completely head of the Roman Empire in that one year than when, ten years later, he had crossed the Rubicon with his army, to be made successively Dictator, First-Consul, and at last Dictator Perpetual.

The Senate, made up largely of patrician debauchees, Cæsar had always held in contempt for its corruptness, and its uselessness. Outside of it he strove to curb its powers; and in it to lessen its license by his own dignity of speech and bearing. It feared him, and never except through fear honoured him. No souvenirs in his honour so permanent and conspicuous as statues were likely to have been ordered by them until after he became Consul the second time; but busts must surely have been made of him when he was First-Consul. They would then have been the natural embellishment of some of the public

buildings. One in his own palace would have been natural. He had wealthy friends who were likely to order copies of any really good bust of him. The middle classes of Rome who had supported him with their votes by remarkable majorities during all the years in which he had been promoted by their suffrages, would naturally have created some demand for good copies in marble, bronze, and plaster. Thus, before his military career began, we have reason to believe that good busts of him had been made: — when he was in the prime of life, when he had not lost his hair, or his best looks. In those years there would have been no thought of flattery by giving him poses, or plumping him to make him look the conventional Imperator, or Emperor, or a demi-God. His friends would then have required the most life-like of sculptural work. Bad portraits would not have been saleable. The original was on the streets, in the assemblies, to be seen of all men. Nothing remains that quite fills our ideals of what Cæsar may have been at that time. No bust or statue quite conveys the impression of that stately and superior personal presence that all his contemporaries agree in ascribing to him. But the works that most nearly represent that period of his life, I imagine, are the bust No. 107 in the Chiaramonti gallery of the Vatican (our No. 6, Chap. VI) and the Pisa bust, of which both the noses are wholly or partly restorations.

After the consulship came a complete change in his life; his marvellous military career — nine years away from Rome — in Gaul, Belgium, and Britain. His dis-

coveries, his conquests, the surprising victories in strange countries with all odds against him, his own narratives published in Rome, as remarkable for their terse simplicity and truthfulness as his campaigns were for all the elements of military daring, all conspired to keep him in remembrance in Rome; also to make him more feared and hated than ever by the patrician Senate. Absence was also a cure for love with the populace. New leaders in Rome were glad to have the old leader away: — inferior and violent men, who nevertheless occupied the public mind completely with the new excitements of their personal struggles. During that period it is not supposed that either Senate or Tribune ordered statues or busts of Cæsar. The former wished him dead, and the new popular leaders had no interest in keeping too much alive memories of an old leader. Yet, when we remember that every autumn or winter Cæsar returned from Gaul to hold court in his capitol in the valley of the Po, and to administer all the civil as well as the military government of northern Italy and Illyria, in addition to the vast new conquests, we must realize that he was the conspicuous head of a great sub-empire. In his provincial capitol he was supreme as Governor, with unlimited power; and supreme in another sense — by reason of his own accomplishments. It is hardly to be supposed that he had not an environment of artistic and literary men. The latter were welcomed even in his camps in northern Gaul. The former could hardly have been absent from his winter capitol. They could

not have been without enthusiasm to portray the lineaments of a man who had already illustrated every phase of intellectual greatness. Busts must have been executed of him at this time, and, I think, of the type represented by the bust in the Vatican already mentioned. The Tresoria bust of Florence (our No. 28) and the Cologne bust are, I think, other examples. These, if not all antiques, may be copies of, or studies from those of his own time. The fact that this type, to this day, are principally found in, or obtained from northern Italy, is slightly significant.

During the six campaigns in the four years after crossing the Rubicon, in Spain, Greece, Egypt, Syria, Carthage, and again in Spain, he was lawful head of the Roman Empire. It would be reasonable to suppose that in Greece, Syria, and Egypt, as well as in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, every sculptor would have been ambitious to make popular busts of the hero who was in all men's minds. While he was engaged away from Rome the Senate and the Tribune ordered statues in his honour, as shown in the beginning of this chapter. Busts were not stately enough to be ordered by the public bodies. But that artists' studios were full of studies and models of Cæsar's head after the battle of Pharsalia, there can be no doubt; nor that they afterward became finished works in marble and bronze, and competed for popular favour.

Bernoulli seems to believe that the colossal bust of Naples (Pl. 1, Chap. I) and the Conservatori statue of Rome at the head of this chapter were works of Augustus's time. Both bear evidence of the influence over sculptors

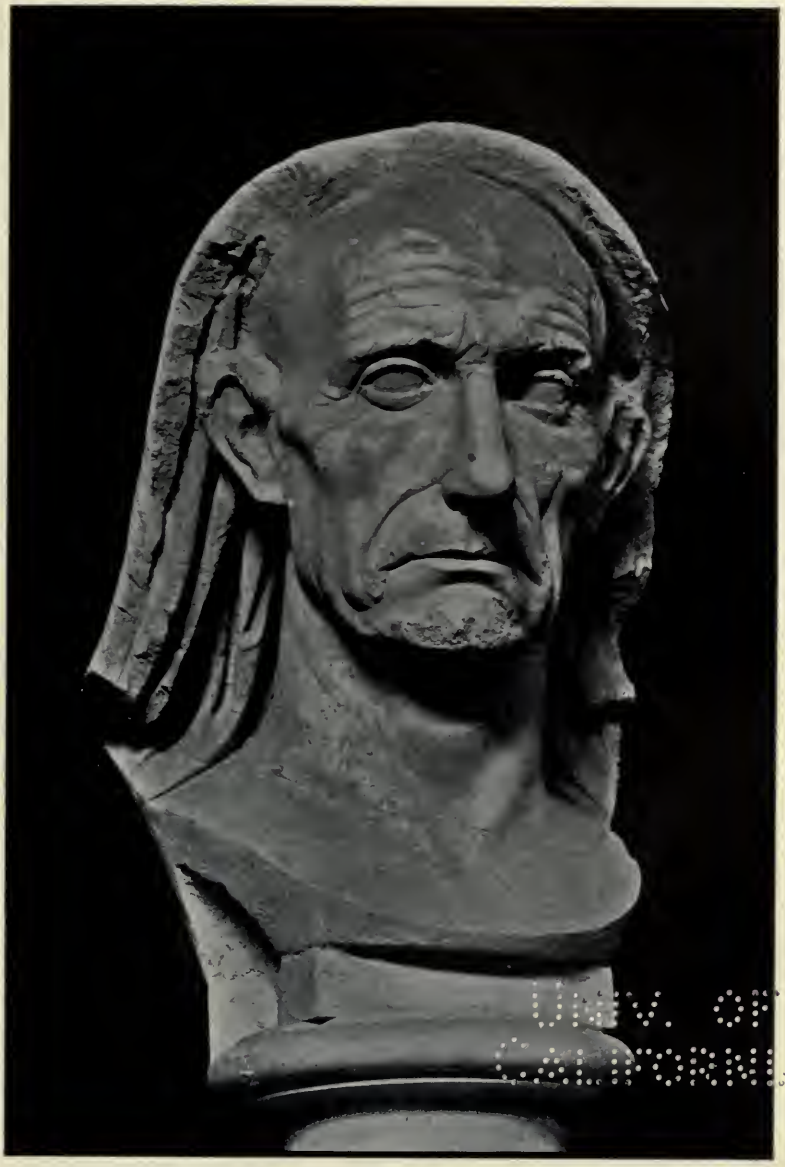
to make them show the divine Julius with a beaming repose and serenity, supposed to be god-like, rather than to represent the thin cheeks and the expressive lines of thought and character which would have brought us nearer to the real man. Therefore, however much we value the Naples bust and the Conservatori statue, as the ripe and careful studies of artists who had everything before them that had previously been done in sculptural portraiture, their sculptors were just enough warped by the necessity of making an imperial presence, and a god-like repose, to induce them to subordinate striking facial peculiarities to that object. For this reason I would surmise that the busts made of him when he was First-Consul, or while he was Governor of Cisalpine Gaul, were better than subsequent ones. Are there any preserved? If so, which ones are they? We can only conjecture. We have only circumstantial evidence. That evidence I seek to show in this monograph. At the end of two thousand years we still await new discoveries to confirm or correct our present judgments.

CHAPTER IV

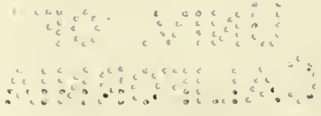
Why Antique Busts of Julius Cæsar are Rare

Before entering on a comparison of the statues and busts of Cæsar which I have been able to study and illustrate, it may not be out of place to suggest some of the reasons why these mementos of him, once so numerous, are now among the rarest of Roman antique portraitures. Of Augustus, his nephew and successor, the busts and statues representing him in youth, in mid-life, and in later years, are innumerable. Each of the emperors following are found abundantly in marbles and bronzes of excellent workmanship. Nero, Caligula, and the like, were lively patrons of art in statues of themselves. Even the philosopher Seneca seems to have been so great a favourite of the sculptors of Nero's time that there is no Roman who has been so picturesquely brought down to the eyes of modern times. Statues and busts of Julius Cæsar must have been far more numerous in Augustus's time than those of any other Roman; yet those identified as of his own time are now few compared with the pieces which are known to have personated the later Emperors.

May not the reasons, in part, for the rarity of authentic Julius Cæsar busts be these: that during the decline of Rome, which commenced a few centuries only after Julius's



HEAD OF JULIUS CÆSAR AS PONTIFEX MAXIMUS: MUSEUM CHIARAMONTI, VATICAN, ROME



death, hordes of the northern nations who sacked Rome had traditional memories of the redoubtable conqueror who had humbled them and their kings, burned their towns, destroyed their armies, and made their little nations the vassals of Rome? Why should not their leaders delight to hurl his statues from their bases, and break them in pieces: — his more than all others? More easily still, the marble busts could be visited with indignities, and when not smashed, would at least have their noses knocked off. The bronzes could be at once utilized by breaking up and selling the metal, or might be carried back, as trophies, to the homes of the northern conquerors, to be lost in succeeding ages. Imagine such inroads made on Italian cities century after century for a thousand years! How few of all its art treasures in temples, palaces, public places, and villas, could survive those ages in which Italy became a camping ground for the armed hordes of the north. The absence of noses, in nearly all recovered Roman heads in marble, is only an illustration of the universal instinct of animal man to smash something, when it risks him nothing. The nose is certainly the easiest part to abuse in passing. Toward Julius Cæsar's statues and busts, the earliest vandalism may have been particularly directed; and toward all others, destructiveness was afterwards but play.

Again, after the northern invasions were well over, when a bloody and mouldy pall had fallen on Italy, when its ruined palaces became quarries for building ever poorer and poorer houses, when marble statues were burned to

make quicklime for mortar, and bronzes were hunted for bell metal, it seems but natural that what the northern barbarians left undestroyed, the equally barbarous and humbled Italians continued to destroy. The remains of a pagan civilization became marks for Christian barbarism to strike at. The Roman hierarchy were efficient agents in destroying images of the earlier Roman rulers who had fed wild beasts in the arenas with the bodies of Christians. They did not stop to think, or care to know, that our Julius was not one who persecuted for opinions, and that his life ended in martyrdom, because he was a reformer, three quarters of a century before the death of Christ. In connection with the retaliatory destruction by the Christian hierarchy of Rome, in the early centuries, of the memorials of rulers who had persecuted the Christians, it is interesting to note that the office of Pontifex Maximus, or Pope of Rome, was the name of the highest ecclesiastical office of the Pagan church for centuries before Christ; and that one of the most interesting supposed antiques of Julius Cæsar in the Vatican is the one opposite the head of this chapter, representing him in the old Roman headdress of Pontifex Maximus; which position he held for nearly twenty years. The pontificate was then conferred by a popular vote of the free citizens of Rome.

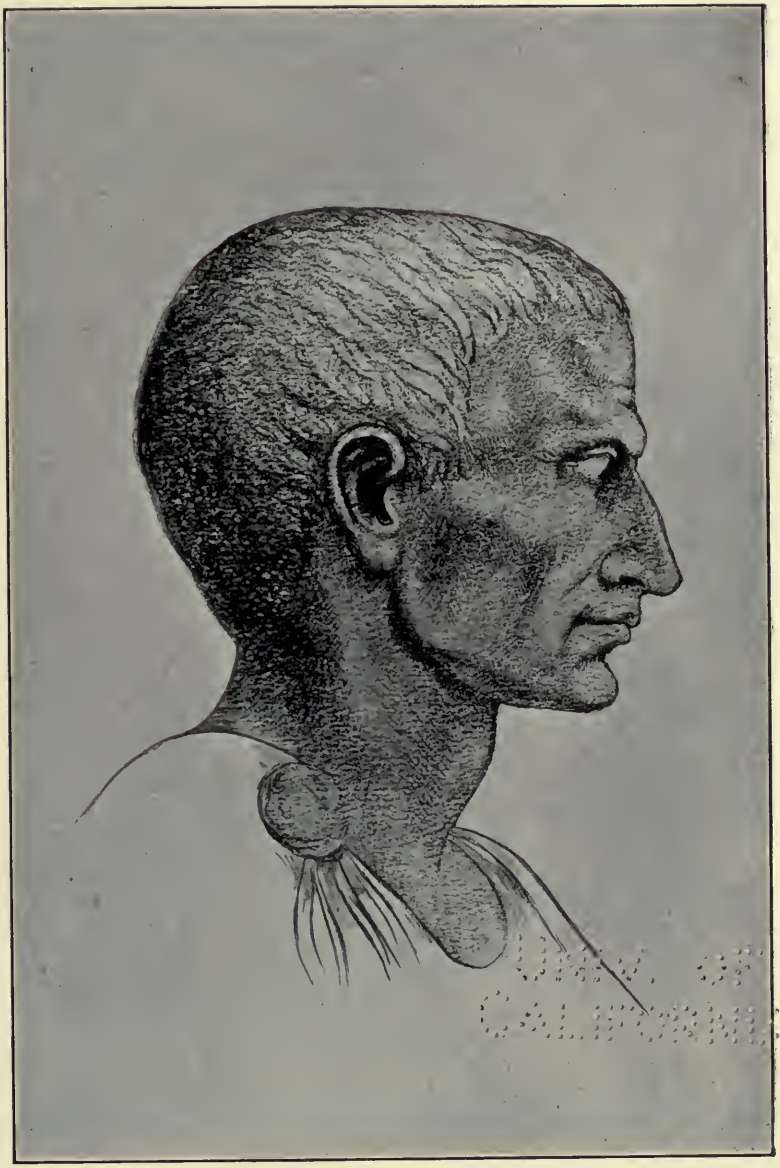
In Asia Minor and Constantinople, in Greece, in all the cities on both sides of the Bosphorus, and in Egypt and Carthage, a final cause of the disappearance of busts and statues of the Romans was the overrunning of all those great countries by the wave of Mahomedanism. It

is a tenet of that faith to abjure images of men and women as a kind of idolatry, and not to tolerate them. The Moslems met and turned back all Europe in arms against them during the crusades; first on the fields of Syria, and then across the Bosphorus through Macedonia and the Balkan States to Belgrade on the east, and through Spain to the plain of Tours in France on the west. They occupied the whole of northern Africa. Now, Cæsar had been almost as well known in Syria and Macedonia, in Egypt, Carthage, and Spain, as in Italy; and doubtless his busts graced the homes of hundreds of his friends and admirers in their cities and villas. But that was about a thousand years before the Moslem wave overwhelmed the remains of the Roman Empire; time enough for the disappearance or destruction of a considerable part of such souvenirs. Moslem fanaticism concerning human images, it is easy to believe, would be pretty sure to destroy the remainder. Thus it is to Italy, the only Mediterranean country not overrun in part by the Mahomedans, that the main part of the antique souvenirs of Cæsar that still exist, are to be credited. There is always hope that more may yet be discovered in some of the countries surrounding the historic sea.

CHAPTER V

Portraits from Life, or Posthumous Works

Whether a bust or a statue is made from life, or is a composite work made after death from portraits made during the life, modified and influenced by information to be gained from acquaintances of the subject, and from the literature of his time, is not so vital a difference as to insure the supreme value of the former, or to prove the inferior value of the latter. Commonplace artists make poor likenesses from life, and great artists sometimes make life-like portraits of deceased persons whom they have never seen. The best statuary and painted portraits of Napoleon I have been made since his death. The medallions of him that may be seen in great variety in the *Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, taken in the years 1796 to 1813, and from his twenty-eighth to his forty-fifth year, vary almost as curiously from each other, as the Cæsar heads on preserved Cæsarean coins. But with this difference: that the French medallions are mostly large, executed by accomplished artists, and are perfectly preserved; while the Roman coins were inferior art-work to begin with, and are on small coins, worn and corroded by time. But if better portraits of Napoleon have been made since his death than any



Colossal Bust of Julius Cæsar, executed in the Reign of Louis XIV, and exhibited in the Paris Exposition of 1900

made in his life-time, it is because sculptors and painters were enlightened by all previous work. Canova, greatest of modern sculptors in rivalling the glories of Greek antiques, for whom Napoleon sat, made a statue and a bust of him inferior to several that have been made since. He was too near. He was not under the necessity to mould character, and was hampered, as well as aided, by the form in the flesh before him. If the sculptor, in modelling the head of a deceased person, has a death-mask to guide him, as to the unchangeable bones, then previous portraits, the biography of his subject, and his own genius, if he have genius, will supply the rest. Thorwaldsen, with all previous work before him, made one of the noblest of all portraits of Napoleon. A copy of this may be seen in the Bust Gallery of the Crystal Palace of Sydenham, near London, as well as in the Thorwaldsen Museum of Copenhagen. Another similarly noble posthumous work is No. 50 of the Metropolitan Museum of New York, in bronze, by Launt Thompson. The play of the muscles which express the soul in action, or its perfect repose, can never be reproduced by a sculptor who has not the genius to mould in clay his ideals of character, with all the technical skill necessary to realize his ideals. He must dramatize his subject.

Though we have no certainty that any existing busts or statues of Julius Cæsar were executed in his life-time, or certainty to the contrary, we have such a mass of corroborative evidence as to all his peculiarities, through coins, bronzes, statues, busts, and descriptions of him by

his intimates, that there can be no very wide divergence of intelligent opinion about what must, and what cannot, in whole or in part, resemble him.

If any artist of his time gave him a small, mean head, we would know instinctively that that was a poor work. If a portraiture fails to express his kindly placidity of temper we would know that it was not quite good of him. If it failed to express an imperturbable consciousness of power it could not be good. If it failed to reveal under its placidity a vein of fearless audacity, curbed by calm powers of reasoning, it would not be a complete success. Thus we have a key to separate the bad from the better, and the better from the best. But even the best may not be as good as the best ought to be. If, of many mediocre sculptors, each makes a realistic success of a part of the man, these parts may be the materials which the greater artists may utilize and put a soul into. Artists, instinct with the genius to study, to comprehend and to reproduce on canvas or in marble a great character, to express the soul of the man at his best, as well as his features, are rare in any age. There is no evidence that there were any such in Julius Cæsar's time. In the long reign of Augustus, and under the luxurious and murderous emperors after him, sculptural art was in greater demand, and the demand produced a supply. Such work improved under Augustus. The statues of Julius then made, to which subsequent writers allude, as shown in Bernoulli's list in Chapter III, ought to have been fairly good. The statue in the court of the Con-

servatori of Rome (Plates IX, XIII, and XIV), and the colossal bust of the Naples Museum (Plate I), are credited to that period. If the reader will study them he will hardly fail to recognize the expression of a great and well-balanced man. But he will not see any decided evidence of self-esteem, of audacity, or of electric energy. The characteristics of the man are but partially expressed. The flesh is flattered, but some of his most remarkable characteristics are lacking. There are other heads, just as surely of Julius, which go to another extreme; viz., the half life-size marble of the antique museum of Parma (Plate XXI), the bronze life-size head of the *Cabinet des Médailles* of Paris (Plates XXIX and XXX), and the miniature bronze of the *Muséo et Bibliothéka Nationale* of Madrid (Fig. 44). In these one sees Cæsar militant only. The suave gentleman, the sweet-mannered friend, the philosopher, are not visible. The Parma bust is the embodiment of intensity of thought and will power; the Paris bronze is expressive of nervous tension, as of a critical moment of a battle; the little Madrid bronze is the audacious spirit dominating, as if it were the whole man. None of these suggest a calm and stately orator, or a far-seeing statesman. Now, if the reader will turn to the British Museum marble bust, with its singularly thin face, its large beautiful mouth, its mingled expression of benevolence and will, still another phase of character is illustrated. The Naples bust, the Conservatori statue in Rome, Nos. 107 and 282 of the Vatican, and the British Museum bust, all show the genial statesman. Others, like the Tresoria bust,

Florence (Plate XIX), and the Cologne bust (Plate XXVI), are typical, long-headed Hamlet-Cæsars. A careful study of these busts will finally carry conviction that they are all made for the same man. If some of them have been made centuries since he lived, we can but surmise that the study of older works then existing were instructive to their sculptors, and that valuable antique heads of Cæsar then existing do not now exist.

The busts of Cæsar made during the Renaissance, when traditional antique busts of him were accessible in Rome, have the value that such facilities for their study entitle them to; but to no more consideration than works of our own time, or future work, now that photographs and casts of all preserved portraitures are accessible.

While visiting the studio of the American sculptor, Weeks, in Florence, I was shown his original, in plaster, for the colossal bust of Abraham Lincoln, executed for the Capitol, Washington. It is a noble portraiture. I mentioned the resemblance of cheeks, mouth, and chin, to those of our traditional Julius Cæsar. The sculptor told me that I was not the first to make the remark. Now let us suppose that the life and character of Abraham Lincoln had been well described by the writers of his time, and his features and expression as well, but that there existed no authentic portraits of him. Surely it would not have been in the power of the human mind to conceive just what forms of bones, muscles, and flesh would have combined to make the features and expression of Abraham Lincoln. But if daguerrotypes or photographs

had not been known, and some quite indifferent paintings or sculptures of his head existed, each having a possibility of being correct in one part or another, artists of genius studying them would exercise their judgments as to what was imperfect, or out of anatomical harmony, or lacking in the expression of that many-sided and beautiful character; and they would model Lincoln's, whose rough features should not be smoothed away, and might even be emphasized, but whose expression as a whole would realize the real presence of the man better than the pictures from which they were derived. But this illustration would do injustice to the sources of light as to Cæsar's face. We know that statues and busts of his own time were once abundant in Roman cities; and the miserable coins still exist. Our trouble is that most of the originals are gone, and that we now have principally only studies based on those originals. During three hundred years after his death there was no lack of the latter. After a thousand more years of destruction and decay had swept most of them away, a fashion set in to find Greek and Roman antique marbles. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries copies and forgeries multiplied. Now we are not always sure which are originals, which copies, and which forgeries. Beautiful ideal studies have been made of Julius Cæsar, as well as ugly ones, lacking sometimes the idiosyncrasies of his face and head as fixed in the minds of iconographists. Only by familiarity with the history of the man and his time, with contemporary literature concerning his personality, with the coins, and

with all accessible busts, statues, and gems that assume to be portraitures of him, and with the mediæval and modern composite studies from them, will we be qualified to judge what is good, better, and best; whether antique or modern work, originals or composites.

The engraving facing the head of this chapter is of a colossal bust made in Louis XIV's reign, and is a valuable modern ideal addition to the Cæsar heads: heretofore, so far as the author knows, unnoticed.

The engraving below is from a *carte-de-visite* photograph I found in a shop at Blois, marked Julius Cæsar. I think it is copied from a famous French painting I have somewhere seen, but cannot recall where or by whom. It is a fine idealization.

A Shelf of Famous Julius Cæsar Busts in Author's Studio

CHAPTER VI

A Procession of Portraits

The opposite plate is a view of plaster casts of notable Cæsar busts arranged on a shelf in my studio. The engraved numbers on the plate are described below, to indicate the locality and character of the originals, which are subsequently described in sequence under other numbers.

No. 1. Madrid: small bronze in the *Bibliotheka Nacional*, department *Archiologico:* our number 61.

No. 2. Museum of Douai, north France: antique bronze: our number 52.

No. 3. Besançon bronze: our number 56.

No. 4. Rome, Vatican, Chiaramonti Gallery, No. 107: marble: our number 6.

No. 5. Naples Museum: diminutive bronze copy of colossal marble bust: our number 1.

No. 6. Florence, Tresoria, Pitti Palace: marble: our number 28.

No. 7. Paris, *Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale:* black bronze, small life-size: our number 50.

No. 8. Rome, Ludivisi Collection: bronze, small life-size: our number 13.

No. 9. Berlin, Royal Museum: head of the Toga Statue: marble: our number 39.

No. 10. London, British Museum: marble: our number 64.

No. 11. Rome, Vatican, Hall of Busts, No. 282: marble: our number 5.

No. 12. Rome, Vatican, Chiaramonti Gallery, No. 135: marble: our number 8.

No. 13. Dresden, Albertinum Gallery: marble, life-size: our number 41.

No. 14. Parma, Museum of Antiquities: marble, half life-size: our number 31.

No. 15. Berlin, Royal Museum: basalt, small life-size: our number 40.

No. 16. A study of Cæsar going to his assassination, by the author: not intended to be in the engraving.

The plate tells, in clearer language than words can, of those points of resemblance in various supposed antique busts that are admitted to be of Cæsar; which busts, when seen separately, in the museums of different cities, and with intervals of time between the observation of one and another, leave the judgment confused and uncertain as to the probability of all being intended for him. It embraces in one glance of the eye some of the most notable busts known. All being casts from the originals, and photographed from the casts under the same light, they epitomize the resemblances which lead iconographists to know them for Julius Cæsar, and the differences which raise doubts as to the fact. One has but to note the cheeks, mouth, and chin, to recognize a common individuality. Most of the noses of the originals have been

knocked off and restored, so whatever the resemblances or differences may have been originally, that feature now gives little light. In foreheads and eyes the common type is marked enough until we come to No. 8, a copy of the Ludivisi bronze, which I reject altogether as a portrait of Julius Cæsar, and include simply to show its vulgar variation from the accepted type. Again, when we get to Nos. 10 and 11, another style of forehead appears, while the features below are quite harmonious with the first numbers. The eyes are very close under the eyebrows in all of them, though not deep-set.

The notable heads of which I have not obtained cast copies are: the head of the Capitoline statue, and two in the Torlonia collection of Rome; the Campo Santo head of Pisa; the bronze bust of the Uffizi, Florence; the Berlin Museum bust; and those of the Hermitage, St. Petersburg — the latter not known to be antique. But I have plates of nearly all of these in the pages following, taken from the best procurable photographs.

For nearly two years of the writer's search for Julius Cæsars he was impressed with the need of classifying into types the busts and statues found; the forms and expressions varied so widely. There was to be the placid or conventional-imperial type, of which the Naples bust, and the Conservatori statue in Rome, are examples. Then the executive type, as illustrated by the Parma bust, Plate XXI, and the bronze (Fig. 15) of the Uffizi Museum at Florence. A third was the thinker type, rendered with singular subtileness by the sculptor of the life-size marble

head in the "Tresoria," Pitti Palace, Florence, Plate XIX. After marshalling certain of the busts and statues into these three groups, all others were to be assembled under the head of miscellaneous. But the more I saw, studied, and compared, the greater became the difficulty of drawing the line between the types. They were found to blend into each other with so many expressions in common, though of opposite types, and to have quite differing characters, though of the same type, that I gave up the thought of separating the family, and now present them in the order of their present localities, leaving the reader to make his own classifications.

If I have failed to find some Cæsars, antique or mediæval, in private collections, I hope, if this book be seen by the owners, they will kindly inform me of them, with such information of their history as they can furnish, accompanied with photographs. It seems possible that Italy still holds marbles or bronzes of Cæsar that are hid in little-known provincial mansions, and others that may yet be discovered out of the soil of excavations. At this writing, the old Forum of Rome is yielding up historical works from the depths beneath the deepest former explorations; and there is always hope that busts of our great subject may be added from other work that is being prosecuted by the Italian government. Wealthy travellers in former times purchased antiques of this kind which are now concealed from the knowledge of students in the country homes of England and other countries. My own searches have resulted in finding some not noticed in any previous publication, a few of which may be claimed as antiques.

Bernoulli, having made by far the most complete preceding collection, I have added his list numbers after my own, in brackets, for convenience of reference and comparison. Where no such bracketed numbers are shown, my numbers refer to works not known or not considered by him, or other preceding authority. Following thus the example of Bernoulli in numbering my own collection, the reader may need to be cautioned against confounding subject numbers (which follow consecutively in Chapter VI) with the page-plate numbers marked with Roman numerals, or with the numerically figured engravings forming illustrative insets: — these numbers being quite independent of the subject numbers.

Our illustrations will begin with Italy.

ITALY

NAPLES

No. 1. [B. 1]. The marble colossal Julius Cæsar head of the gallery of Roman busts in the great Museum of Naples. For full-face portrait, see engraving, Plate 1, Chapter I. This vignette is a profile of the same. Professor Jules Petra, Director of the Museum, informed me that it is the only antique of Julius Cæsar in that great collection; that it is from the Farnese collection, but that its anterior history is unknown. It seems by most authorities to be considered the most valuable one portraiture of him now known. I do not think so; believing No. 107 of the Chiaramonti Gallery, Vatican, nearer to life. Bernoulli aptly describes it, "A striking physiognomy, of mild but commanding seriousness." Occupying a position in a good light, it is remarkable that it has been little used by artists to produce smaller copies in bronze and marble; and when used, misused. I found no correct reduction from it in bronze; but incorrect ones are

Fig. 1

numerous. The mild strength of the face, and the large well-formed head, would do no discredit to any great man. But to one who looks for some expression of audacity, of a born leader of men, it is disappointing. The orator, the politician, the statesman, the suave, well-bred, and kindly gentleman — all these it is easy to imagine, as possibilities, in this great bust. But we cannot reconcile it with the military Cæsar. The bust has no history back of the fifteenth century, when it belonged to the Farnese collection in Rome. Only the head and neck are antique. The supporting bust was made for it in the century named. It is supposed by some antiquarians that the head once belonged to a colossal statue. The marble, the workmanship, and the high finish of this head indicate the most elaborate effort by the sculptor to make a great work. S. Baring-Gould[1] speaks disparagingly of it; hastily and carelessly, I think. Visconti and Bernoulli, the highest authorities, do not.

The statue of Cæsar, in the museum, opposite the above bust, is a clumsy modern work by Albacini, of which the head is a copy of the colossal bust, and not a good copy.

There are twelve busts of Roman Emperors in a room adjoining the Hall of Busts of the Naples Museum, one of which is intended for Julius Cæsar. These are a "job-lot" ordered and executed in the fifteenth century; mostly bold and careless in modelling. The one of Julius Cæsar does not seem to me of sufficient value to number or picture in this collection.

[1] Author of *The Tragedy of the Cæsars.*

There is a cameo in the Cameo room, case No. 52, marked interrogatively, "Cicero?" This seems to me to be an excellent Julius Cæsar, and quite distinct in expression from the well-known busts of Cicero. It is not noticed in Bernoulli.

ROME

It is impossible to learn the history of any busts and statues of Julius Cæsar in Rome back of four hundred years ago. An Italian writer, Aldroandi, in 1556, makes the earliest known reference to the statues, busts, and heads of Cæsar in the city at that time. It is as follows: —

One in Palazzo Casali,

Two in Palazzo Ceci,

One in Palazzo Gaddi,

One in Bindo Altoviti,

One in Casa Mario Maccaroni,

One in Palazzo Farnese,

One in Palazzo Angelo de Massimo,

One in Palazzo Alexandri Ruffini (now Conservatori statue of Rome),

One in Casa or Palazzo Valerio della Valle.

It is, of course, not certain that these were all, but it is likely they were the most noted. What there may have been in other cities, and in old palaces and family mansions throughout Italy, is a mere matter of conjecture. Those which were then in Rome have changed ownership, and have since been known by the palaces where they were first catalogued. The Vatican naturally has the best variety, but it needs an Italian student who can pore into the dusty

HEAD OF THE CAPITOLINE STATUE OF JULIUS CÆSAR: ROME, FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDERSON

catalogues and Latin records of the past, to obtain even a ray of light on their history. This work pretends to no such erudition, but seeks only to illustrate pictorially, and to discuss, those which are open to examination.

No. 2. [B. 2]. The marble statue, heroic size, located in the Court of the Conservatori, on Capitoline Hill. It is said to have been found in the Forum of Cæsar. It was in possession of Bishop Rufini of Melfi about 1562, and from there came to its present place, presumably in the sixteenth century. (See Plates IX, XIII, XIV, and Fig. 2.)

By reason of the belief that it came from Cæsar's Forum, and was executed near to his life-time, and the fact that it is of heroic size and good workmanship, and that the head was found in good preservation — altogether give it a weight of authority as a genuine antique portraiture of Cæsar that no other statue possesses. The nose is the only important part of the head that is a restoration; so that the latter, on the whole, must be the expression of the sculptor's intelligence of the subject. But the discoloration of parts of the marble injures the expression. So long as it remains in its present position it must be quite disap-

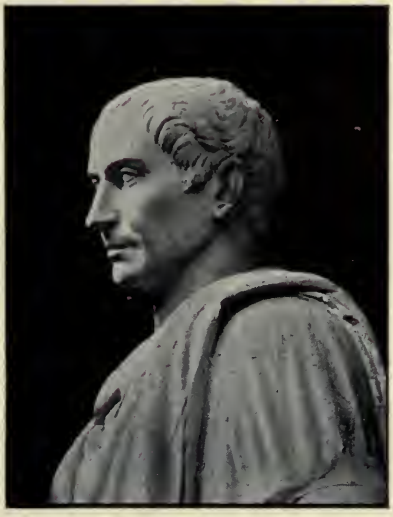


Fig. 2

pointing to those who look at it for the first time. Placed against the back wall of a rather dark arcade, the head reaches up into the twilight under the floor above. One must look up to it from below. This gives no correct idea of the form of the head. One can neither see it in profile, nor have a point of view for a good perspective, as the piers of the arcade are in the way. Added to these impressions incident to the dark place into which the head rises, is the fact that dust and time-stains upon parts of the face confuse the true lights and shadows. These are reasons enough why the most notable statue of Julius Cæsar takes so badly in photograph that these are even more unsatisfactory than one's own view of it. The distinguished director of this museum, Signor Castellani, when I complained of its unfortunate position, seemed to consider it a sufficient reason for perpetuating its bad placement, to say, "Sir, it has been there for centuries!" Were it placed where full light might fall upon it (protected from the elements), and also cleaned of stains, the statue would have greater interest to the intelligent student.

This work being a collection of portraitures of Julius Cæsar's head, without reference to the statuary treatment of his person or his dress, the author goes a little outside of its scope to remark that the pose of the body is very graceful for a figure so massive; much more massive than he believes Cæsar's to have been. Bernoulli believes it to be a work of the first period of the Emperors. That ought to mean during the reign of Augustus. It gives me the impression of a compromise in the sculptor's mind between the massiveness

JULIUS CÆSAR: STATUE OF THE CAPITOLINE, ROME

of face and figure which a Roman who had been proclaimed one of the gods, and the posthumous head of the imperial line, was entitled to have, rather than the thin, keenly intellectual face which Cæsar's was. The mouth is not wide enough; not as wide as on the Naples bust, nor as on others of the greatest repute, nor as the literary descriptions of him; which allude to that feature as especially large and full. The high broad forehead, and the large long head, are very like the Naples bust. On the whole, the expression is pleasing and strong. It makes a pair with the Naples head, as if it were by the same sculptor. The two form a type. There are no others which closely resemble them. They do not give me the impression of studies from life, or as being the work of an artist who studied so much Cæsar as he was, as to make a statue that would meet the expectation of the Roman people and the imperial family. He may not even have been required to satisfy the eyes of critical and competent friends of Cæsar, but only to execute the commission of a municipality, or of some imperial officer who ordered it.

There is a facsimile plaster cast of this statue in the Court of the *École des Beaux Arts* in Paris, and a copy in Caen stone, believed to be a correct copy of the cast, on the south side of the central walk of the *Jardin de Tuileries*. It faces eastward toward the old palace, and gives the best impression that can be obtained of the original in Rome. The plates facing pages 19 and 83 were taken from a photograph by Giraudin, Paris, of the Beaux-Arts copy. It must be remembered that the nose, not being wholly the original one of the statue, has no authority to settle conflicting

opinions concerning that feature. The plate of the head only, facing page 82, opposite the heading "Rome," is from the best photograph I have been able to find taken directly from the original statue.

No. 3. [B. 3]. In the entrance corridor on the second floor of the Conservatori Museum is a bust (Fig. 3) that is not named in the catalogue, or numbered on the marble, but is recognized by Bernoulli as a Julius Cæsar, and supposed by him to be a modern or mediæval piece. It is a very striking head; similar in expression to the head of the statue in Berlin, and the Dresden bust (Fig. 29) in the Albertinum Museum. It will be seen from the vignette copy of my sketch of the profile, that the nose is more projecting at the top than the other busts; even more so than on the Parma bust or the Berlin statue. As this and the Dresden bust above alluded to are both considered modern by Bernoulli, but were known long before the Parma bust was discovered, it piques curiosity to know from what they were originally studied! There is no doubt in my mind that the sculptors in both cases were earnest in trying to give the expression of mental power and will to Cæsar's face, and that the heads from

Fig. 3

which they derived their ideals did not include either the Conservatori statue, the Naples bust, or the Vatican busts. There must have existed some high-nose antique of Cæsar which the sculptor of this bust had in mind. He probably exaggerated the feature; but the high-bridge form of nose on some of the coins, as well as in early busts, give reason to doubt the absolute correctness of that Latin author who writes that Cæsar's nose was straight. The front view of this No. 3 is majestic and forceful like the Dresden bust (Fig. 29), but the forehead is narrow, and not high, so that on the whole the bust impresses one as a failure, though it has strong points.

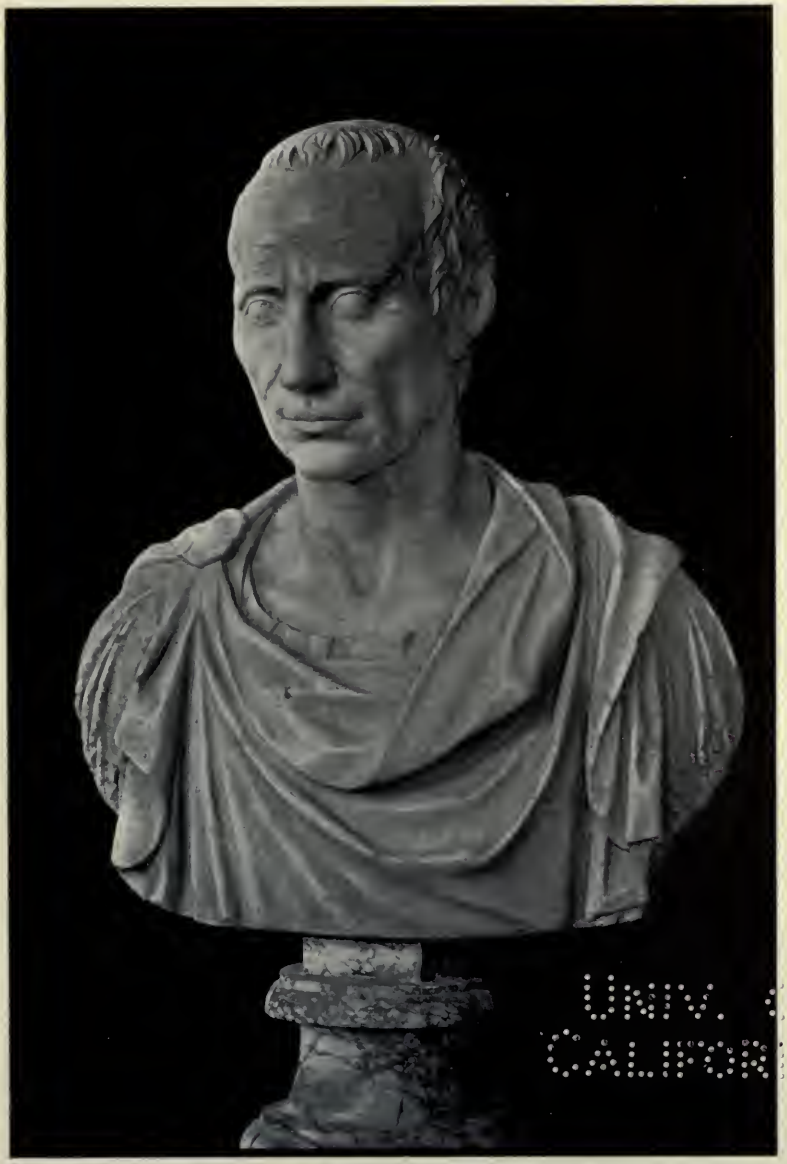
No. 4. [B. 4]. This very clumsy portraiture, marked Julius Cæsar (Fig. 4), occupies a conspicuous place in the Hall of the Emperors of the Capitoline Museum. The head and neck are of marble, and are assumed to be antique. It seems to me to have been worked up from one of the coin heads. It must have had a bold nose originally, but having lost the lower half, the part restored is absurdly shortened, making an equally absurd length of upper lip, thus probably destroying the original expression of the face. As it stands it is one of the

Fig. 4

poorest Julius Cæsars in Rome, and unfortunately one of the most conspicuously exhibited. It ought not to have a place among good busts, but being so honoured in the Hall of the Emperors, I call attention to it as a misleading work.

No. 5. [B. 5]. In the Bust room of the Vatican, numbered 282. See Plate XV and Fig. 5. A life-size marble head of a type quite different from all the preceding. The forehead is higher, sloping backward; very different in facial angle from the rather vertical lines of the Naples bust and the Conservatori statue, but resembling the British Museum bust. It is quite inferior as art work, in every way, to the latter; still more inferior to No. 107 of the Chiaramonti Gallery next described. The parallel, wide-apart, vertical wrinkles over the nose are not thus parallel on other busts of him, and are not the natural direction of those wrinkles on the foreheads of intense thinkers, or executive men. The entire nose is a restoration, but well done. The mouth, not broad, but full-lipped and kindly, the eyes large, and close under the eyebrows, the high cheek bones and the flat cheek, are generally characteristic. The back head is too small for a man of Cæsar's extraordinary forcefulness. The

Fig. 5



JULIUS CÆSAR : BUST NO. 282, OF THE "HALL OF BUSTS," VATICAN, ROME

bust gives me the impression of a careless "free hand copy" of something like the British Museum bust, indicating rather a low order of skill and conscientiousness in the sculptor. I cannot but think it a mediæval work, with small claim to occupy a high rank among antique busts, such as its position in the Vatican might be supposed to indicate. Americans of the United States, familiar with a past generation of statesmen, may recognize in the profile of this face some resemblance to the great orator and political leader, Henry Clay.

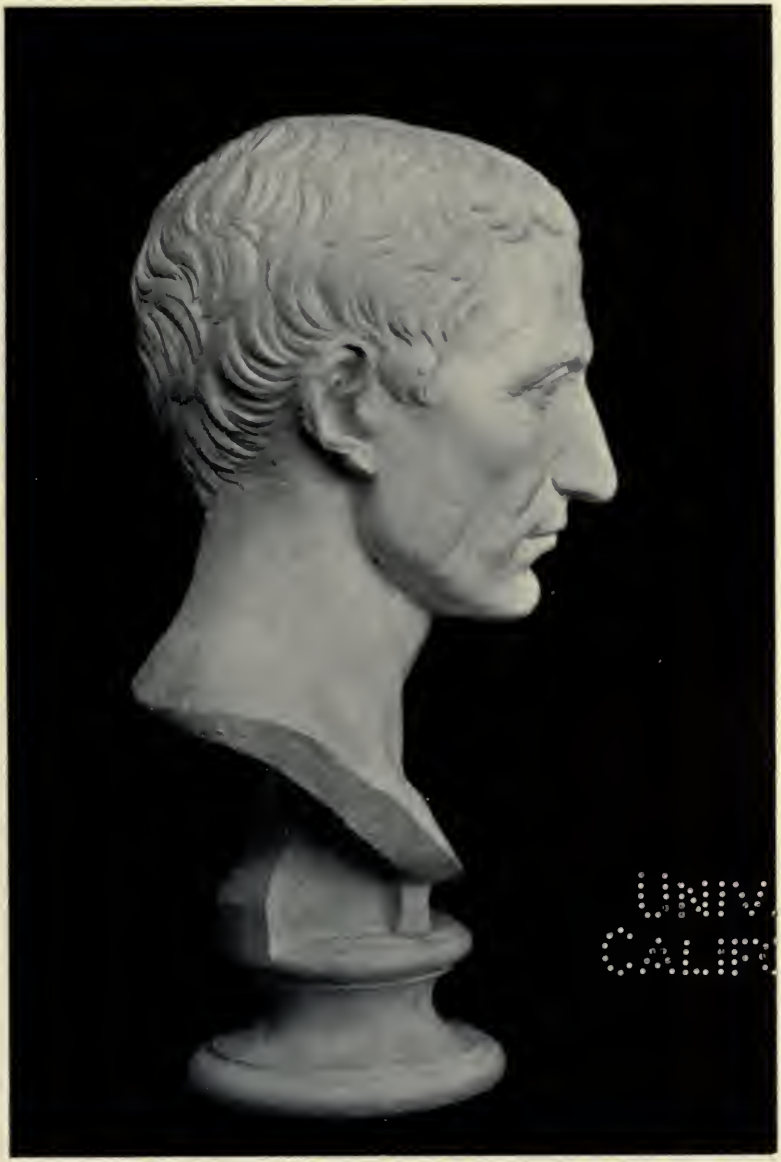
No. 6. [B. 6]. Vatican, Chiaramonti Museum, No. 107. See Plate IV, page 19, and Plate XVI, opposite. An elegant and harmonious life-size head, of a type differing essentially from the preceding, and superior in all respects. The head, while equally high over the ears, is stronger at the back, and more vertical at the forehead; in both of which parts it is more allied to others of the best types. The lower two-thirds of the nose is a restoration, and, I think, quite too pointed. The profile vignette is taken from a cast of the bust made for me by special permission by Malpieri in Rome. The photograph hardly does justice to the fine modelling of every part. The chin and lower jaw are stronger features than in No. 5. The mouth seems to me to be more successful in rendering Cæsar's habitual kindliness of disposition than the expression of dominating force of will, shown by the Parma bust, and some others. While this belongs clearly to the type of which the Pisa, the Parma, and the Tresoria bust

of Florence belong, the face is perceptibly longer, and in so much a higher type, and, I think, more correct portraiture. There is a gross fault in the cut at the top of the forehead, made apparently to emphasize the hair line, which breaks the upward rise of the brow. I do not think it was thus originally.

I consider this marble the finest one head known, to represent Cæsar the thinker, jurist, statesman, gentleman. One fails to see in it the evidence, even latent, of his military dash, his audacity, his energy. Comparing it with the British Museum bust, I consider it a much more careful piece of sculptural portraiture, equally fine in the bringing out of Cæsar's character, and more likely to be an actual work from life than any other I have seen.

No. 7. [B. 7]. Also in the Chiaramonti Gallery, No. 527. Apparently a copy from memory of No. 282 in the Bust room, and inferior. It is cut from a piece of Carrara marble, only large enough to make a head and neck; which would go to prove, were other evidence wanting, that it is not an antique, as no artist in the Cæsarian age would have been so disrespectful as to skimp on stone for a bust of Julius Cæsar. As it is a sort of composition from Nos. 5 and 6, and inferior to them, I have not thought it of enough value to illustrate.

No. 8. [B. 8]. Vatican, Chiaramonti Gallery, No. 135. This deeply furrowed, strange bust has been supposed to represent Cæsar as Pontifex Maximus. See plate fac-



JULIUS CÆSAR: NO. 107, OF THE CHIARAMONTI GALLERY, VATICAN, ROME

ing Chapter IV. It is a curious study; and by its appearance of too great age suggests doubts if it were designed for him. But the Italian experts have put it in the great Vatican collection, and there catalogued it Julius Cæsar. As it represents a person apparently between seventy and eighty, one would naturally think it not intended for a man who died at fifty-six. Yet it is so stamped with Cæsar's facial peculiarities, and with a certain majesty of expression that must have been, on occasion, natural to him, that one is piqued to give it careful study. Examination reveals causes of the aged look that may not be thought of on the first glance. Time, wear, and accident have each made their impression on the marble, and slightly changed the features. The nose is all a restoration, and has a smooth massiveness that is out of harmony by its smoothness and younger look with the rough and aged lines of all the rest of the face. The original may have given a slightly different expression. On the chin the marble has scaled badly. This adds to the aged look. The mouth is broad and strong, and the lips thinner than Cæsar's should have been at fifty-six, but as they might have become with age. Our Dresden bust (Fig. 29) is similar in the thinness of the lips, but that being modern may have had its prototype in this. Then the lips have both been chipped a little, so that we cannot tell just what their lines were originally. A piece is gone from the left eyebrow, and a smaller one from the right. The shape of the forehead and other parts of the head conform to the average of the best types, though the head

is not so thick laterally as most of them. There is a curious dent, as of a gash, leaving a deep scar, on the right of the top of the forehead. The cheeks at once recall Cæsar, but curiously exaggerated in hollowness and depth of wrinkles.

There is no doubt that the singularly massive, straight, over-long nose adds something of solemnity to the visage; and as no part of it is the original, it is quite impossible to imagine what effect another nose and the other features unmarred, as they came from the sculptor, might make in the expression. It would be too old for the real Cæsar in any case, but not too old for some sculptors idealization long after his death, of the office and the man combined.

The technical execution of this bust is impressive with the conviction that it came from some master modeller's hand. It suggests Michael Angelo. In its bold and deep strokes to mark the anatomy of a singularly forceful face, and that face what Cæsar's might have been in old age, had he lived to old age, there is evidence that the sculptor was feeling his way in clay with a free hand to produce a strong characterization. I do not believe it was designed by its author to be slavishly duplicated in marble, but only to serve as a study. It may have been reproduced in plaster for the purpose. But working from the plaster cast, such a master need not, and would not, in marble, have reproduced the excessive furrows of age, nor would he have failed to correct the anatomical exaggerations. An experimental study by a great sculptor, has, I think, been copied literally in later times in marble as a speculation; and it must be considered but a powerful exaggeration of the muscular

anatomy, and by consequence, of the age, of Julius Cæsar's face.

There are several inferior busts elsewhere that resemble this, which are supposed by Italian iconographists to be imitations of it. I have a suspicion that there may have been a death-mask of Julius Cæsar that was their prototype. Mark Antony and Cæsar's wife had the body in their possession two days before the public funeral. Only a few hours would be needed to make the mask. The uncertainties of the moment for all the actors in the great catastrophe might have made a secret of the mask. It might have come to light, not for plaster copies, but to be duplicated by the eye, or from memory, by marble workers. These thoughts were suggested by a bust found in the Museum of Antiquities of Turin. See pages 120–122. It is shown for Julius Cæsar; is of marble, life-size; but all of the head back of the middle line, vertically, is carelessly made, small, and out of proportion, as if of no importance; while the face itself at once gives the impression of a death-mask. The compressed, receding lips, hollow cheeks, shrunken chin, all remind one of death. The question came instantly to the writer's mind at the first sight of it, — Are not all the busts of this type the outgrowth of studies from a death-mask, or copies of it?

No. 9. [B. 9]. Vatican, Braccio Nueve, No. 4. This is a marble bust, about life-size, placed on a bracket so high that neither sketch nor photograph can be made to show it fairly. The marble also is so mildewed on the face

as to affect the expression. Below the neck it is porphyry. The head is long from front to back. The nose (restored) straight and strong, the mouth wide and full, the chin deeper and broader than usual. Face and neck in front view are massive, giving the effect of a proportionally narrow and inferior forehead as seen from below. It seems to me an inharmonious bust of the Renaissance, similar in form and expression to our No. 3 of the Conservatori. But the bad angle of view and the bad light upon it, together with the mildew stains, make it impossible to judge intelligently. I think it interesting enough to have a better place.

Fig. 6

No. 10. [B. 10]. Villa Borghese, vestibule, S. E. corner, upon a bracket. Its height prevents making a good sketch or photograph of it. Bernoulli mentions its resemblance to the Ludivisi bronze. I failed to see any. It seems to me a much better head.

No. 11. Villa Borghese, vestibule, high up in an

oval niche. One of four (all marked XXXI) facing out from the palace, and described in the villa catalogue as Roman Emperors of the time of Septimus Severus; which may mean that the busts were made in the time of that Emperor. Figure 6 is from our photograph of it. Whether this is for Julius Cæsar is uncertain. The head is very like his. The nose is too short and looks as if it may be in part a restoration. It is numbered with the Cæsars in order to draw further study to it.

No. 12. Villa Borghese, main entrance hall. Marble bust, heroic size, in oval recess, over door leading into east room (Fig. 7). Below the neck it is of porphyry. One of four busts of Roman Emperors high up around the room, all marked LIII; this one evidently intended to personate Julius Cæsar. It is a strong characterization. Even from a photographer's ladder the view is quite too much from below to do it justice. It is presumed to be a Renaissance work. The photographer was employed to take a nearly profile view of it, which is much more interesting, but on delivery of his work it was found that he had taken another bust by mistake.

Fig. 7

No. 13. [B. 11]. Ludivisi collection, No. 67 on the

ground floor of new Piambino Palace, now the palace of the ex-queen Margherita. This is an antique bronze head and neck which came into the possession of the Ludivisi family in 1622 from the Villa Ceci. It seems to be a famous bust among iconographists. The antique bronze is set into a modern verd-antique marble bust. Bernoulli thinks it looks too old for Cæsar. Helbig, in his *Guide to the Public Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome*, describes it under the title of "Bronze Head of an Ancient Roman," and says in conclusion of the description, "The identification with the elder Scipio Africanus, or Julius Cæsar, is as baseless as the doubt that has been thrown on the antiquity of the head." Salesmen of art works in Rome presume upon the credulity of buyers who want a Julius Cæsar, to inform them that this bronze is an admirable piece of modelling, and the best bust of Cæsar. There is no bust of him so much sold in Rome as this very bad one. Yet Helbig denounces it as no Cæsar, and Bernoulli hints a doubt. If made to personate Cæsar, I venture to denounce it as an abortion. The low, deformed forehead appears as if the skull had been broken up; the mouth is too narrow; the

Fig. 8

cheeks are out of shape; and the face wears an expression of sullen discontent quite unlike the expression of Cæsar's complaisant nature. Only the nose is cast in a mould to suggest him. Salesmen call attention to the boldness of the modelling, its admirable superiority to modern work, etc. The disinterested observer can tell the reader that it happens to be that antique, labelled Cæsar, of which facsimile plaster casts are in possession of workers in marble and bronze, who have only to copy them by the usual mechanical process, to find a good sale of them to the provincial museums and public libraries of the world. On the other hand, a really valuable model, such as the Naples bust, is too large to copy for general sale, and has not, so far as the writer could learn, ever been *accurately* reduced in marble or bronze. No. 107 of the Chiaramonti Gallery, in the Vatican, can only be copied by special permission for each copy. The Tresoria bust of Florence seems almost unknown. Copies are not furnished of the Pisa bust. The half life-size marble of Parma, the director told me, had never been copied until I obtained permission to have a copy. Yet these, so far as I can judge, are the best five marble busts of Julius Cæsar. It is easier for sellers to push things already in stock, and "introduced to the trade," than to introduce others of more merit. Thus copies of this Ludivisi bronze misrepresentation of Julius Cæsar are going around the earth. Fig. 8 is from a photograph of the original.

No. 14. Piambino or Margherita Palace. On the left side of the vaulted carriage entrance is a noble bust, not

honoured with a place in the locked-up antiques, among which is the bronze last described. Placed in a niche so high that it cannot be well seen, and in a very bad light, where it can neither be fully judged, sketched, nor photographed from the pavement below, it piques curiosity. The owners of the property were unamiable in refusing to permit a photographer's ladder to be used in the court. Since my stay in Rome, the property has come into the possession of the noble ex-queen Margherita, under whose kindly courtesy it is not likely that such refusals will be continued. It is also reported that "the locked-up antiques" of the Ludivisi collection are soon to be a part of an Italian National Museum.

By reason of the refusal above mentioned I cannot accompany this description with an engraving. Signor Rocci, maître domo of the property in 1899, informed me that it is one of the ancient marbles of the Ludivisi, or the Boncompagni family; but whether ancient by a few centuries, or by tens of centuries, he could not say. The origin of such busts it is for Italian students to investigate. So far as it can be judged from below, it seems one of the best of the Renaissance works.

No. 15. [B. 18]. Casali Palace. Bernoulli mentions a life-size marble bust in this palace as "a good antique repetition in marble of the Ludivisi bronze"—our No. 13. In another place he writes of that bronze, and the bronze in the Uffizi Museum, Florence, as being imitations of the Casali marble head. I regret not being permitted to

visit the Casali Palace, and not to find either engraving or photograph of the bust. I heard doubts expressed whether it is now in Italy. Is not the bust in the Edinburgh Museum of Antiquities, our No. 81, probably this same Cassali bust?

No. 16. [B. 12]. Torlonia collection. To this I was denied access. Bernoulli mentions No. 416 as a genuine Cæsar, but his description without an engraving does not enlighten us much. I saw a life-size marble bust of Julius Cæsar which I supposed might be modern, in the arcade of the ground court of the Torlonia Palace on the Corso. It seemed to me to be an excellent and interesting portraiture, but whether it is, or is not, the one Bernoulli mentions as an antique I did not learn. In default of the privilege of examining, sketching, or photographing it, an illustration is lacking. It is to be hoped that the good Cæsars of the Torlonia collection may ere long be released from their hiding.

No. 17. [B. 14]. Museo Spada. This palace is credited by Bernoulli with an antique bust of Cæsar. I was taken through the museum by the custodian, and by him repeatedly assured that there was no bust of Julius Cæsar in that collection. The inference is that it has been sold out of Italy. Whenever rediscovered its portrait may grace this number.

No. 18. Corsini Gallery. The plate No. XVII is from a photograph kindly procured for me while this work is

going through the press, by my friend, Monsignor D. J. O'Connell of Rome. The bust is supposed to be of marble, life-size. Bernoulli does not mention it. It was not in public view, I think, while I was, presumably, finding all the Cæsars supposed to be in this gallery. Perhaps Italian iconographists have assured themselves that it is not antique, and therefore not of the class to be catalogued in public galleries as precious. But the line of division between all these portraitures is too shadowy to allow pedantry concerning the degrees of their antiquity to be authoritative to open-minded seekers for the semblance of our Julius. This bust is, therefore, welcome in the family gallery. It is to some extent unique, yet allied to the Pisa type.

I am not able to offer a line of its history, or opinions of learned Italians concerning it. Like the Tresoria bust of the Pitti Palace, Florence (our No. 28), it seems to have been held aside from the public galleries and uncatalogued.

In the entrance corridor of the Corsini Gallery, No. 8, on the left side, is a head marked "Portrait of a Roman of the time of the Republic." I introduce this sketch (Fig. 9) with some sense of humour in the intrusion of it into the Cæsar family, but also with some feeling that if the experts have labelled it justly as to its age, there are traits in it so familiar in the Cæsar faces known that the family resemblance entitles it to be illustrated. It is a marble head and neck a little less than life-size, so strikingly individualized,

Bust of Julius Cæsar, in the Corsini Gallery, Rome

and so well modelled, that we feel it to be a real character, a strong character, and a notable man. The marble bears circumstantial evidence of great age, long exposure to the air, and earth contact. It was discovered minus the end of its nose, and with eyebrows slightly crumbled, but otherwise intact. It seems a man of fifty. The nose is too large for Cæsar's, but the lower one-third of it is a restoration that could be bettered; the forehead is too narrow, the fulness of his head is wanting. Still it resembles him. A Roman friend remarked of it, "It is a lawyerly face."

Fig. 9

In the same gallery is a half life-size marble bust, numbered 501, from the Torlonia collection ("Racolta Torlonia"), on a window-sill, which impressed me as a Renaissance study based on the marble statue or bust now in the Berlin Museum. It is a strong face to represent Julius Cæsar, but has no quality of expression not found in other busts.

No. 19. [B. 13]. Doria Gallery (our Fig. 10). Bernoulli mentions this as a beautiful head. It is life-size, of dark

Fig. 10

gray marble with light veinings, undoubtedly a mediæval work by some artist who had opportunities to study coins and traditional busts of Cæsar. The vignette, from a hasty sketch of my own, indicates its profile, and its variation from standard types. Respect for Bernoulli's opinion, and his inclusion of it with the numbered Cæsars, induces me to give it a place in this collection.

In the Statuary room of the Doria Gallery, on the west window still farthest from the entrance, is a half life-size marble bust which shows a blending of the faces of Julius and Augustus Cæsar, say for thirty years of age. The narrow mouth represents the latter, other features, the former. Busts of Augustus were made so numerously during his long reign and since, and those of the young Augustus, beautifully flattered, have become so popular, that it may be fairly conjectured that studies for the young Julius may have fallen into the catalogue of Augustuses.

Nos. 20, 21. [B. 16, 17]. Villa Mattei — Hoffmann. Formerly there were in this palace collection two statues (figured in Clarac, plate 910 [1]) to which I could not get access, and of which I could find no photographs. The outline

[1] Comte Frederick de Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture Antique et Moderne*, Imprimerie Nationale, 1850, 6 Vols. text, and 6 Vols. plates, folio. A superb illustrated work, paid for by the French government.

engravings in Clarac would enable one to identify the forms and costumes, but are of no value to give a clear idea of the portraitures. As statues, the engravings give them a noble air, and I greatly regret their retirement from public study. Whether the two heads as portraitures have value could be readily determined by photographs —if in a good light.

No. 22. Villa Mattei — Hoffman. In the open garden near the house is a striking life-size bust of Cæsar, supposed to be mediæval or Renaissance work. Probably modelled in Rome at a period when valuable busts of Cæsar, now in part scattered over Europe, were to be seen in the collections of the great Italian families of Rome. The sculptor has made a composite ideal that is interesting. The profile (Fig. 11) from my sketch does not give the most Cæsarean expression of the bust. A three-quarter view on the opposite side would represent it better. The bust stands on a pedestal covered with old Roman inscriptions, but not supposed to have any connection with it. The nose has been badly broken, but the original pieces seem to have been restored so that the head is practically as the sculptor

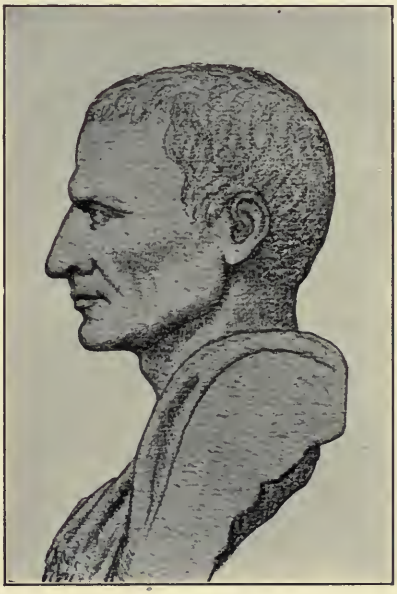


Fig. 11

made it. That this bust has not been noticed before is due simply to the fact that only supposed antiques have been considered of value.

No. 23. Palazzo Borghese — in the city.[1] This fine marble bust occupies a very high oval niche in the gorgeous hall "Mario dei Fiore" of the old palace, known also as the Galleria Sangiorgi. It is of the collection of Pope Paul V (1605–1621), who was of the Borghese family, and lived in this palace. It is a little more than life-size, of the type of the Pisa bust; a composite study not claimed as antique, but supposed to be by an able sculptor of the Pope, who would be familiar with all known busts of Cæsar at that time. Whether these busts are made to adorn the hall, or whether the niches were made for previously valued busts, I could not learn. The face is a noble presence, with high forehead, more vertical than this feature on the Vatican busts. The fact that it is unmentioned by Visconti, Clarac,

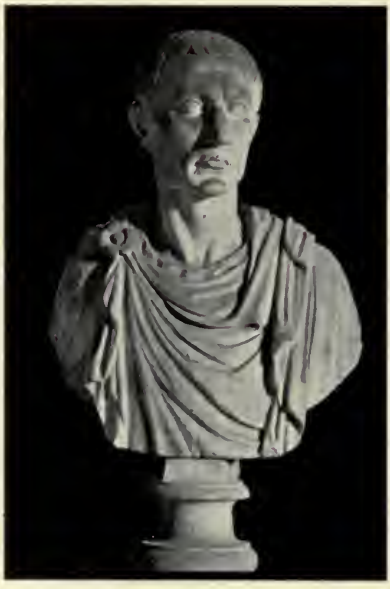


Fig. 12

[1] The reader not familiar with Rome may need to be informed that the Borghese palace in the city, and the Villa Borghese in the great park of that family, are distinct places.

JULIUS CÆSAR, OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN, ROME

and Bernoulli indicates that it has no claim to antiquity; yet its early existence in the papal collection might even raise a doubt on that point. As we cannot find any authentic data to prove or disprove the antiquity of any of the busts, — that is, to prove them to be of Cæsar's own time, — I include all that are admirable in themselves in this collection.

No. 24. National Museum of the Baths of Diocletian. This new find, or belated exhibit of an old find, seems to have a mystery around it. It has but lately been set up on side III of the great court of the Cloister, where it is perched on a fluted broken column, numbered 1 on base of bust, and entered in the catalogue, "Julius Cæsar (?)". An employee told me it was from Ostia, and Professor Vaglieri chided him for telling more than he knew. I went to Professor Gatti, the director of the museum, for information. He could only inform me that it was recently transferred from the government's storehouse of antiquities, exhumed sometime and somewhere about Rome. I went to a distinguished authority, Signor Lanciani, for information,

Fig. 13

and learned from him that he did not know of its existence. But he assured me that it could not be from Ostia, the Palatine, the Forum, or any other dry earth explorations made by the government since 1870, but that it might have come from the excavations of the Tiber. These have been very extensive during the past thirty years, for the foundations of the new bridges and the superb new quays. They have probably been less closely watched by officials of the government antiquarium than the others, and it seems to be conceded that the government warehouses may have many finds which are little known. It is not even certain that all exhumed antiques, or supposed antiques, from the bed of the Tiber have always been deposited under the government's roofs. It is known that some have fallen into the hands of private purchasers, or favoured donees.

Fig. 14

The bust under consideration, whatever its origin may have been, is as clearly a Julius Cæsar as any known, and is as likely to be an antique of near his time as nine-tenths of those which are accepted and catalogued as such in the great public museums. The fact that it remains as found, without any misleading restorations, makes it more interesting than if it had been puttered over. Fortunately, each part of a feature which is lacking, has parts remaining that indicate with much clearness the feature as it

must have been. The form of the head is unmarred, and imagination can readily restore the parts of the face that are lost, upon the parts existing. The original was clearly in harmony with other types accepted of him, and to some extent a connecting link between them. The forehead is high, not so vertical as in the Naples bust and the Conservatori statue of Rome, nor as retreating as in the bronze of Florence (No. 25), or the marble head of the British Museum. The nose, if completed as indicated by the lines of fracture remaining, would be of the high-bridge Roman type — assuredly not a straight nose. The mouth is clumsily finished, as of a figure not intended for near sight, a deep cut being made at the joining of the lips. Both the latter are slightly chipped. The loss of even these fragments from the most expressive of all the features prevents the mouth from having just its original expression. It is a feature so mobile and subtle in its varied expressions that when marred in marble it can hardly be perfectly restored. The chin as it was, jutting boldly from the deep recession below the under-lip, is indicated with singular certainty by the outline of the fracture. One eyebrow has been much chipped, but here the parts missing can be clearly surmised from the parts remaining. The bust as a whole is rather a coarse work technically, designed apparently for an out-of-door place, not near the eye. The vignette, Fig. 14, is from my sketch. Plate XIX and Fig. 13 are from photographs. The great value of this find consists mainly in its being a connecting link in forms and expression between several types of Cæsar.

No. 00.[1] The Barracco collection in Rome, I learned, contains a Julius Cæsar recovered from the delta of the Nile. I failed to obtain the courtesy of permission to visit it. I found, however, in Helbig's *Barracco Collection*, a quarto volume in the British Museum, large engravings of its profile and front face. That author hails it as a Julius Cæsar of great value. The engravings show no evidence to my mind that it is intended for him. Helbig describes it as of dark granite or diorite. The engravings show a crude piece of sculptural work, with not one feature, besides the nose, in harmony with the Roman marbles which are conceded to be Julius Cæsar's portraitures. It belongs to the same order of coarse work and vague characterization as the half life-size basalt in the British Museum (our No. 63), also found in Egypt.

No. 00. Garden of the Pincio. Among the innumerable busts which adorn the walks and drives of this extraordinarily interesting resort, is one on the walk next to the Villa Medici, marked Julius Cæsar, by Batti Raggi; made apparently in the first half of the nineteenth century. It seems to me a poor work, as if the sculptor had chosen one of the bad coin heads for his model, and had studied little else. It is peculiarly unfortunate that among the scores of busts added to the Pincio during the last half of the nineteenth century, most of which are gems of sculptural portraiture of Italy's greatest men, the latest generally the best, that the most remarkable man of her race should have no good representation.

[1] No. 00: nondescripts. See Appendix.

The preceding numbers embrace all of the Julius Cæsars I was enabled to study in Rome. If this book shall come to the attention of gentlemen who know of unnoticed busts or statues there, information concerning them will be gratefully acknowledged, and if accompanied by photographs of the same will be most valued.

FLORENCE

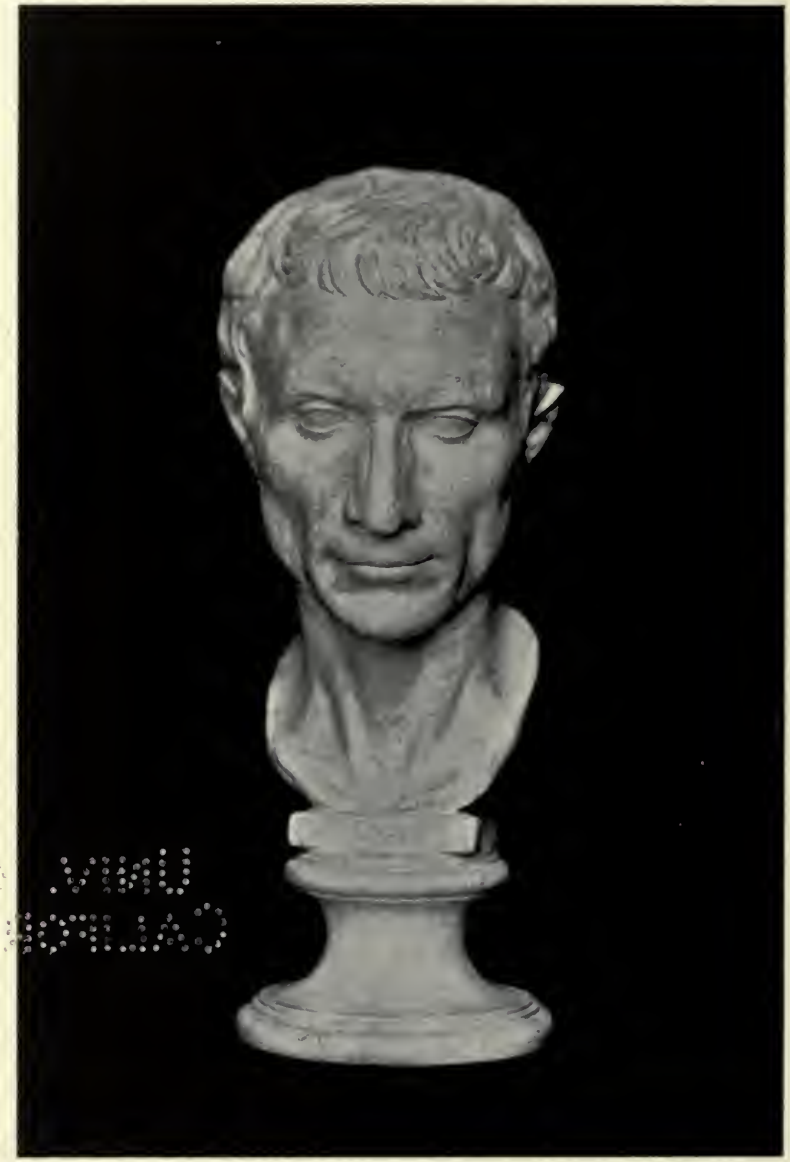
No. 25. [B. 19]. Uffizi Museum, No. 3587. A life-size bronze head and neck set in a white marble toga-bust (Fig. 15). The mere fact that it is in this famous museum has made this a notable bust. At first sight it seems a brother of the Ludivisi bronze (No. 13); but careful comparison reveals that this is a much better work. The profiles are similar; but the head of this bust is higher, longer, and deeper back of the ears than that, and the forehead higher and less indented. The eyes are larger, the mouth longer. *In short it is a little better at all points, sufficiently so to make the difference between a good work and a bad one.* It is the one that the writer first selected to typify the executive Cæsar, when classification by types was intended. Professor Ridolfi, the venerable and very courteous director of the museum, informed me that it has no history, back of the fact that it came from the Medici collection in Rome in the sixteenth century. This fact

Fig. 15

alone confers little value, as the collections of the great Roman families of that day were mostly made about sixteen hundred years after Cæsar's death. We can simply credit the richest families with having purchased from other old families the best they could buy. But choice antique heirlooms are not always to be bought even from poor families. Rich men's agents buy only what is purchasable, and sometimes recommend the purchase of that piece which they can get the best commission on. Once introduced into a great family gallery, such pieces are likely to have consideration beyond their merits, while better pieces may remain obscure. I do not believe that the mouth of this figure is a good representation of Cæsar's mouth, nor that the forms or lines of the cheeks are good. But on the whole it is one of a type of portraits which demands attention as an excellent piece of work, and a possible antique recognizable as intended for Julius Cæsar.

Fig. 16

No. 26. [B. 20]. Uffizi Museum, No. 3586. A life-size marble having a vague resemblance to the Pontifex Maximus of the Vatican, but greatly inferior. The cranium from front to back is disproportionately short compared with the length of the face. Seen in profile, it is not easy to believe it intended for Cæsar, but as the antiquarian experts in Florence have conceded it this title, I bow to authority and give it place in the collection.



JULIUS CÆSAR, OF THE "TRESORIA," PITTI PALACE. FLORENCE

Of course it is a poor work, or its identity would not be doubted. It has been badly marred, and badly restored; so that, however imperfect a portraiture originally, it is worse now. Seen in full face, it is much more Cæsarean than in the profile shown by my sketch. The reader's attention is called to remarks made on a bust found in Turin, our No. 37.

No. 27. [B. 21]. Uffizi Museum, Inscription Hall. On a very high bracket, in a dark place near the ceiling, is a life-size bust that from the floor below looks so like a Julius Cæsar that it piqued my curiosity. Professor Ridolfi, the director, very kindly had it taken down for inspection, and he agreed with me, after thus seeing it, that it did not seem to be intended for a Cæsar, though Bernoulli accepts it as such. The latter remarks that it resembles the British Museum bust, but the resemblance disappears on close inspection. I retain it in this list out of respect for that distinguished authority.

No. 28. In the "Tresoria," or King's Treasure room, of the Pitti Palace. Here I found, almost by accident, a life-size, very antique-looking marble head, not mentioned in the museum catalogues, nor by Bernoulli, nor by any previous author, so far as I can learn; yet it seems to me one of the most interesting of all the busts of Julius Cæsar. It is Julius the Thinker: a sort of Hamlet face. There is no bust of him in which the sculptor has embodied more quiet intellectuality. It suggests a study of him in the solitude of

privacy, canvassing questions of deep import: a subtile study, and an exquisite piece of sculptural work. The portrait opposite is taken from my plaster cast of the original, with too full a light upon it, so that the engraving does not do justice to the fine modelling of the marble. The vignette profile (Fig. 17) is from my own sketch. A part of the nose, a point of the chin, and a bit of the left eyebrow are restorations. The head is long and large, the face seeming small, relatively. The marble head and neck bear marks of age and soil. It certainly does not look like a modern piece, or a mediæval forgery. The restorations, I think, have been well done. The nose is one of the straightest, but not being the original has no authority to determine the doubt as to whether the high-bridge noses, like those of the Parma bust and the Berlin statue and some of the coins, are absolutely incorrect, or only exaggerations. See No. 6, on the plate at the head of this chapter, and full page plate opposite. I could not, while in Florence, learn the history of this bust. The titled custodian of the "Tresoria" in 1899 was as ignorant of it as a King of Congo.

Fig. 17

Since the above was written I have received a letter from the director of the Archæological Museum of Florence,

Signor Luigi N. Melani, dated July 23, 1901, of which the following is a translation : —

"This bust of Julius Cæsar which interests you so much used to be in the *Giovanni da San Giovanni* Hall much earlier than the time when this hall was used for the exposition of the silver of Palazzo Pitti. In the work of *Dütschke zerstrente antike Bildwerke in Florenz* (Leipsic, 1875), it seems to be described at page 27, but the identification is not certain. From the different inventory numbers which it bears (66 yellow, 836 red, 268 blue, 468 green, etc.) we infer that it was a part of the Medici's wardrobe. The origin of said bust could perhaps be ascertained by a retrospective study of the inventories, a study which I have caused to be made, but which is as yet unfinished. . . . The marble of which it is made is lunette gray, and the workmanship is good, though upon bronze model, as I believe. The restored parts are made of stucco or terra-cotta, a fact which leads me to believe that the restoration was accomplished in the fourteenth or sixteenth centuries."

Fig. 18

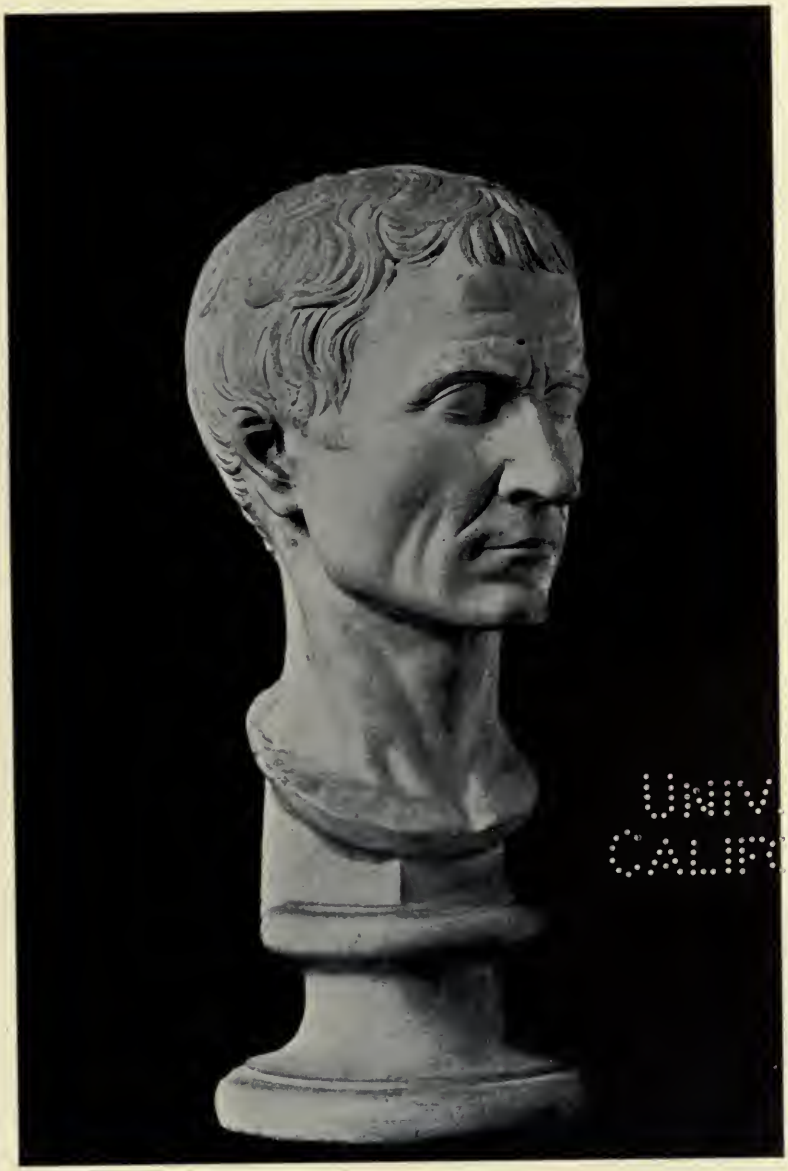
No. 29. Palazzo Ricardo. A life-size white marble head and neck on a high bracket at left side of main entrance to the court: not claimed, as far as I am aware, as a Julius Cæsar, but bearing so much resemblance to some coin profiles of him as to suggest that it may have been made for him. As a study by some

mediæval sculptor, it may be worth attention. The vignette, Fig. 18, is from my sketch-book.

PISA

No. 30. [B. 22]. "Campo Santo" Museum of Art, No. 21867. This life-size marble head and neck has long been famous for the excellence of its modelling, and its supposed life-likeness. Were the original nose upon it, possibly it might nearly satisfy the mind as a good likeness of Julius Cæsar. But the nose is a very bad restoration. It mars the expression, and confuses one's first impression. Imagine a strong, slightly Roman nose, in the place of this sharp-pointed, and almost *retroussé* restoration, and we would then have a harmonious and really acceptable Cæsar face; though the mouth decidedly lacks the expression of powerful reserve force to be seen on the Parma bust. It is of the same general type as that, and our No. 6 of the Vatican; the inferior nose and thinner lips lessening the resemblance. The Renaissance sculptors of Rome seem to have been partial to it in constructing their own composite ideals. The mouth not only lacks the generous fulness and strength

Fig. 19



JULIUS CÆSAR, OF THE CAMPO SANTO, PISA

that we shall soon see in the Parma bust, but also the finer and more delicately expressed strength of the British Museum bust. Even had it the original nose, this bust would not show that robust and audacious will-power which the Parma bust expresses, nor the charms of the other side of his character which the Vatican bust, No. 107 (our No. 6), and others suggest, and which the Parma bust does not suggest. Aside from the nose and mouth, there is no finer head of Cæsar than this. No one head known more completely characterizes him. It is classed by Italian experts as an antique, but I did not learn any history of it or the evidences on which their conclusions were based.

Fig. 20

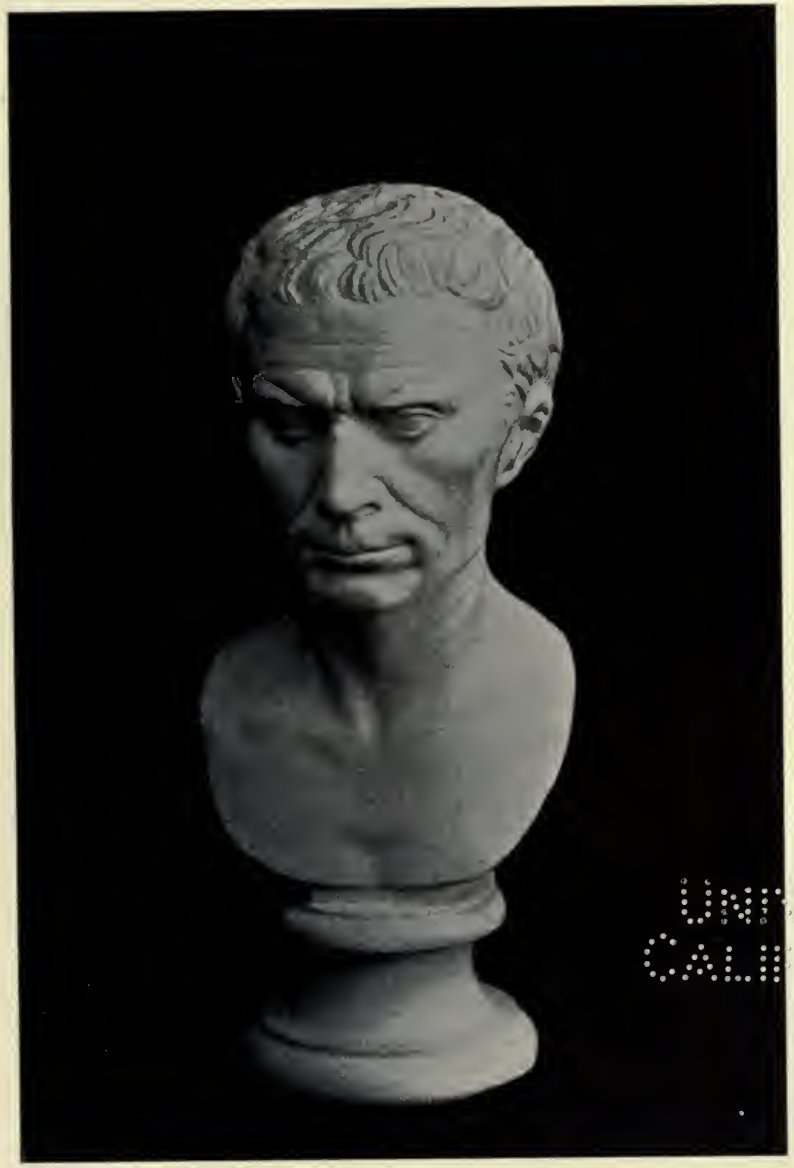
PARMA

No. 31. [B. 23]. This half life-size marble head is kept in a glass case in the Museum of Antiquities in Parma, and is probably the least seen and known of all the valued busts of Julius Cæsar. It is also the latest find of them all, the head and neck having been found as lately as 1812 in excavations of the old Villa de Velleia, near Piacenza. It is thought by antiquarians to

be one of the earliest in date. Without pretending to the Italian antiquarians' technical bases of judgment, I will venture to write that it seems to me more likely to date back to the years of Cæsar's governorship of northern Italy and Gaul than any of all the portraitures I have seen; that is to say, about ten years before any of the miserable coin dies were made which are assumed to represent him. I consider it one of the best portraitures. But this is not to say that it expresses all that a bust of him should express. The noble complacency of the Naples bust is wanting. The intellectual and will power expressed give no suggestion of gracious suavity and habitual kindliness which may be recognized in the Naples, the Vatican, and the British Museum busts, and in the Capitoline statue. These characteristics were as much a part of Cæsar as his audacity or his intellectual elevation. Our No. 28, the Tresoria bust of Florence, which I have called Cæsar the Thinker, is less intense and more reposeful than this Parma bust — is of a gentler mood. This is the Cæsar Dominator.

Fig. 21

The projection of the upper part of the nose is more marked than in any other head except our No. 3, of



JULIUS CÆSAR, OF THE PARMA MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES

the Conservatori corridor, and that of the Berlin statue, — all, probably, exaggerations. The lower end of the nose is a restoration, and is, I am sure, a trifle shorter than the original, and has been cut down and slightly deformed by the restorer, to smooth over lines of fracture. With the original nose I imagine the expression to have been rather nobler. Otherwise, the marble was found quite complete, though a little chipping from the lips slightly mars their expression. The feature that is most peculiar in this bust is the mouth. The upper and lower lips alike express more will-force and instinct of domination than is found in any other portrait of him. The two which rival it are the black bronze of the *Cabinet des Médailles*, Paris, (our No. 50), and the miniature bronze of the *Bibliothéka Nationale* of Madrid (our No. 59).

I had much trouble to secure a plaster cast of this valuable bust; but at last, thanks to a permit from the Director General of Fine Arts in Italy, Signor C. Fiorelli of Rome, to Professor Mariotti of Parma, it was sent to me with the statement that it was the first copy which had been made! The plate is from a photograph of this cast, and the profile, Fig. 21, is from my own sketch of the original.

BOLOGNA

In the hall of the Hotel Braur, once a palace, adorned with busts of the Roman Emperors, executed in the period of the Renaissance, is a bust, evidently for Julius Cæsar, well featured, with a particularly well formed head, which

resembles the head from Italica in Spain that I sketched in the Casa Pilatos of Sevilla, our No. 63 (Fig. 45). I made a good sketch of this Bologna bust, which was lost. In the hall where found, the busts are on pedestals bearing names of the busts supposed to be above them. But the heads have changed pedestals, so that when I was there all were in merry confusion.

MANTUA

No. 32. [B. 24]. Bernoulli mentions this as of the same type as the Parma bust, without other comments. As circumstances turned me from a visit to Mantua, I relied on the courtesy of a reply from the director of the Mantua Museum, to whom I wrote several times to secure a photograph of his half life-size Cæsar, but never received a reply. I regret to have no illustration of it, not having been able to find one.

VENICE

No. 33. [B. 26]. Doge's Palace. An armor-clad life-size marble bust of the sixteenth century. I had only a dark day to see this bust, which occupies a shaded place at the best; but I formed an impression that it has little significance as a portraiture.

No. 34. [B. 27]. Castle of Catajo. Bernoulli describes it as resembling the Berlin marble bust and marks it "modern." As I failed to find the whereabouts of the Castle of Catajo, I could make no notes on this bust.

TURIN

No. 35. [B. 28]. Museum of Antiquities, entrance hall. This life-size marble bust seemed to me a modern or a mediæval work, and I am surprised to find it noticed by Bernoulli without the caution "modern." It did not impress me as valuable.

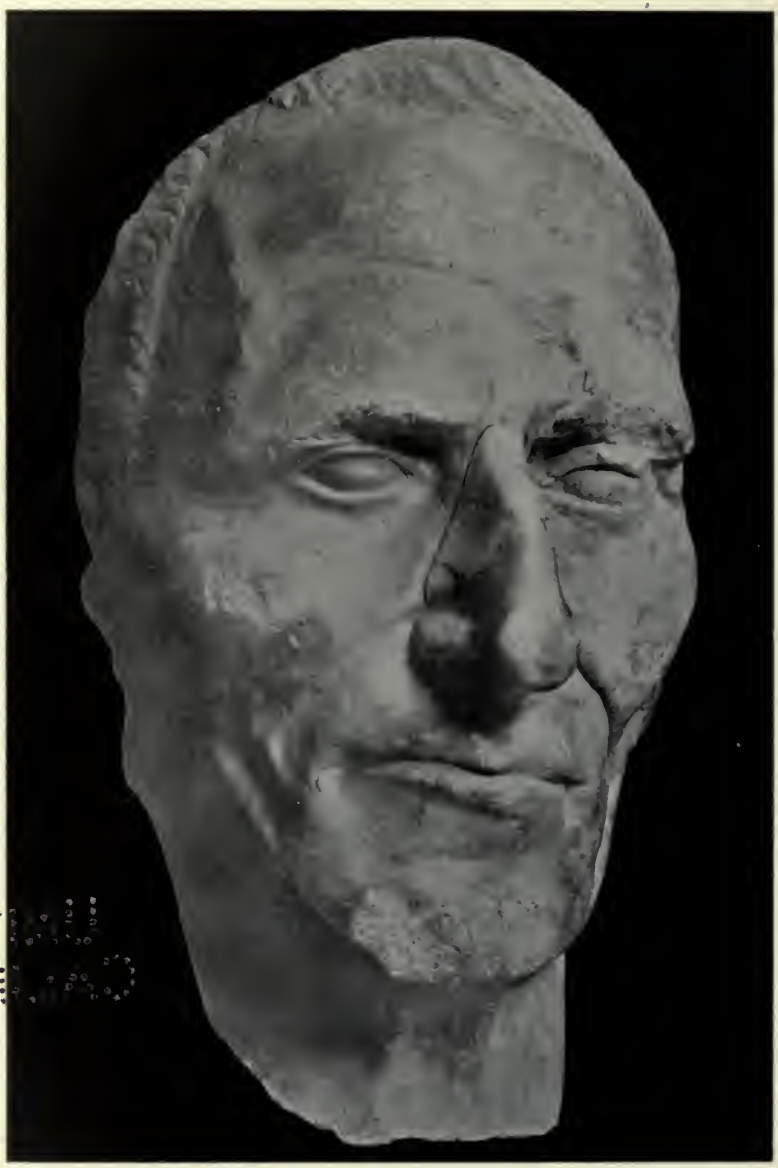
No. 36. Antique Museum. Here, on a high shelf, aloof from common observation, I found a marble head and neck that seemed to me one of the most interesting of the little-known heads of Julius Cæsar. Bernoulli makes no mention of it. It is possibly a little more than life-size, and admirably modelled. The crown of the head above the forehead is gone. The head is thrown back and to one side, as in no other bust. The original nose has been replaced by such a preposterous one as to deform the expression of the face. The original, at its root, would permit any pattern of Cæsar nose to be built below it. The forehead is lofty, less vertical than the Naples and Conservatori heads, the eyes and mouth decidedly large, the modelling of the cheeks, mouth, and chin, and the whole

Fig. 22

expression (if one can be blind to the nose), decidedly Cæsarean. It is so excellent and interesting a piece of work, and so completely suggestive of great antiquity, that it deserves more attention and better treatment than it has received. The inset engraving, Fig. 22, is from a sketch that I made from the top of a step-ladder, from which alone I could have a fair look at it. It is a faithful representation, from a much better point of view than the one from which the photographer took it, with the "death-mask," as seen on the left in the engraving below.

Fig. 23

No. 37. In the same museum and room as the preceding, on a table or low shelf, where quite a number of antique busts are exhibited, my attention was called to a supposed

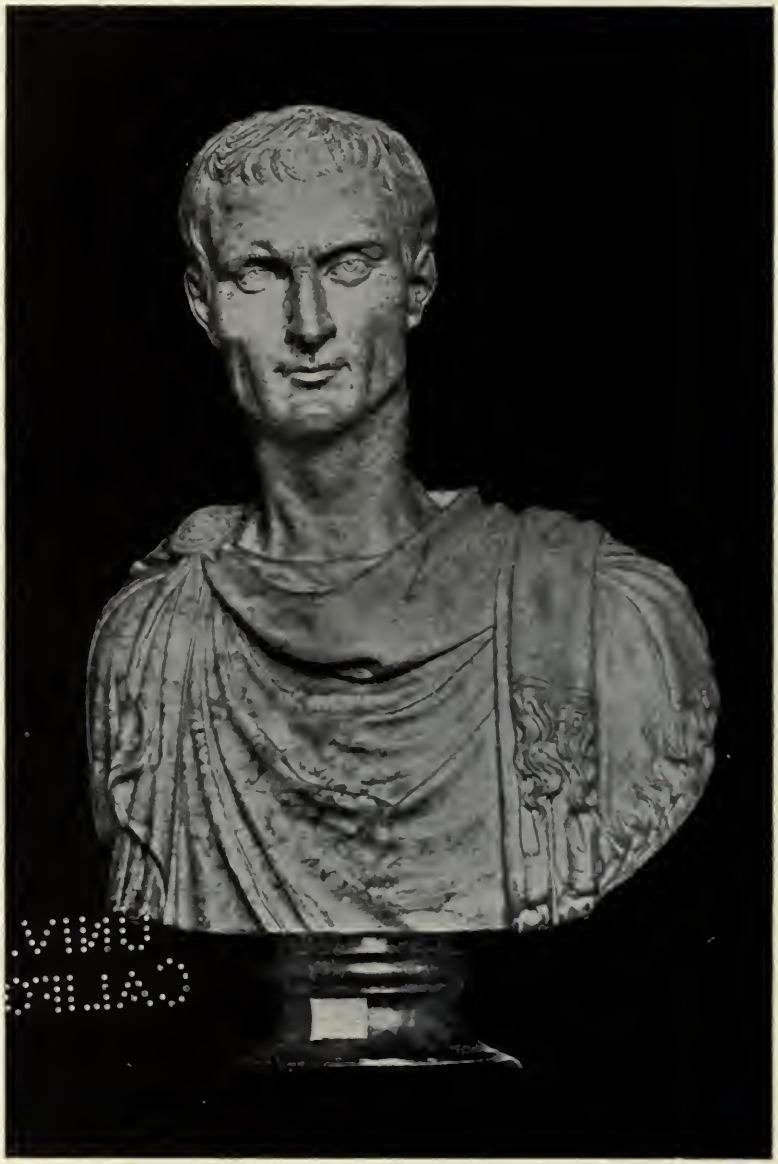


"Death Mask" (?) of Julius Cæsar, in the museum of Antiquities, Turin

Julius Cæsar. It proved to be a curious and most interesting study. See Plate No. XXI, and the right-hand figure on engraving of preceding page. It impresses one like a death-mask. But death-masks are not of marble, nor of an entire head. This is both. In describing the Pontifex Maximus bust in the Vatican (our No. 8) this head is referred to, and a theory there advanced of which this head is the suggestion. I would be pleased to have the reader refer back to it.

We may bear in mind that if a sculptor were copying a death-mask by the eye, in marble, he would only be careful to follow the mask proper, — the face; and if he wished to make it self-supporting, so that it would have an upright position, the addition of the neck and back head, and a pedestal, would make it stand. He might naturally be careless of these mere accessories of the mask. All of this head, back of the ears, is as bad as possible. The nose is a restoration, and clumsy. The forehead is lofty, less broad toward the ears than the usual Cæsar type. The head, in thickness from ear to ear, seems pinched; but the face, aside from the restorations, is very like what Cæsar's must have been after death. The cheek bones are very prominent, especially the right one; the cheeks hollow, upper lip massive, and the lower lip and chin shrunken, like those of a dead man. The chin is partly chipped away, but indicates greater size and length downward than most of the Cæsar busts. The mouth is very broad, much broader than on the Conservatori statue in Rome, or the Vatican busts. On the

whole it is exceedingly suggestive. I believe it to be a copy, or a copy of a copy, of a real death-mask. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Antonio Tournielli, Director of the Museum of Antiquities of Turin, for his kindness in furnishing me photographs of these heads. The marbles themselves are apparently unvalued, and almost withdrawn from observation; yet it seems to me that there are no marbles of Julius Cæsar in existence that have a more interesting bearing on the determination of Cæsar's head and features, or that do so much to form a connecting link or *raison d'être* for the divergent types, as those neglected pieces of the Turin Museum.



JULIUS CÆSAR : BUST OF THE BERLIN ROYAL MUSEUM

GERMANY

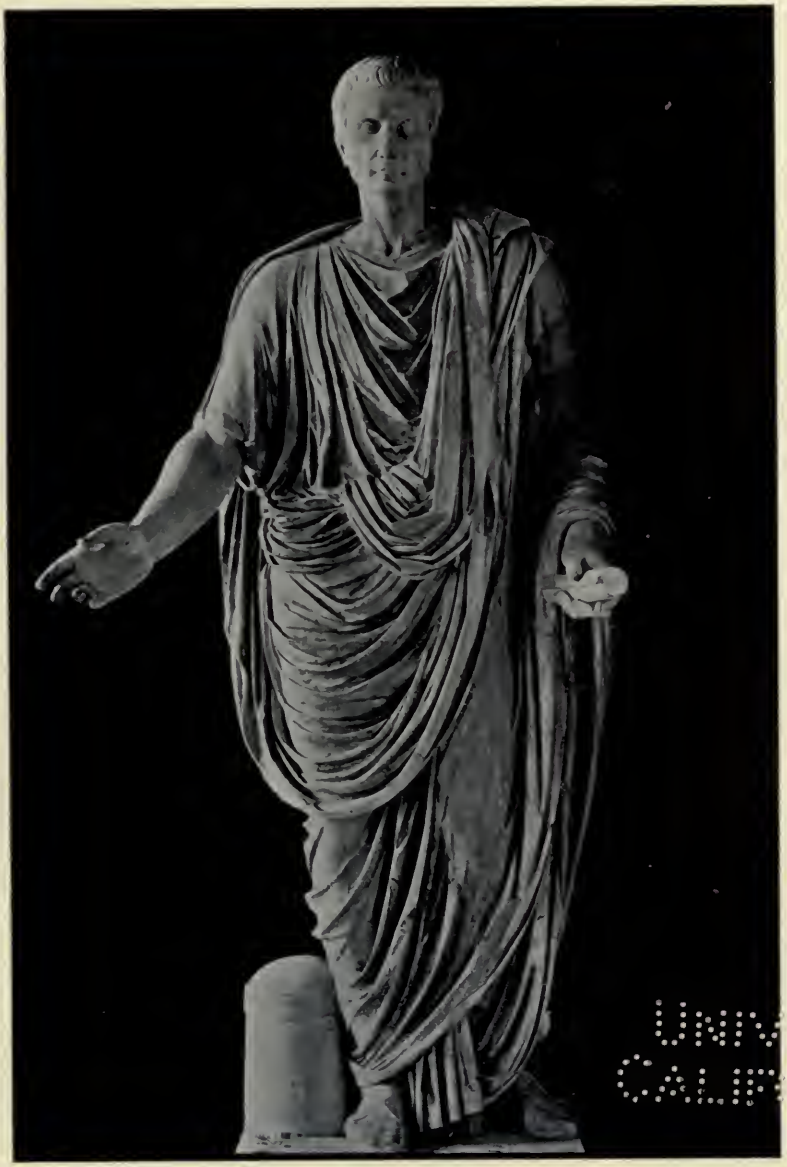
BERLIN

No. 38. [B. 55]. Berlin Royal Museum. The marble life-size bust, No. 1331: formerly 380. This is classed with antiques, but has characteristics that throw doubt on it. The face is fine and forceful; the form of the head, the profile (except the nose, which is un-Cæsarean), and the peculiar cheeks and jaws, all show unmistakably that it is intended for Cæsar. But the expression as a whole suggests a Renaissance ideal of some able sculptor rather than a faithful composite work from old busts. Bernoulli suggests that different parts of the bust are not of the same date. Altogether it is believed to be more interesting than successful, as a portraiture. The authorities of the museum do not seem disposed to throw any light on its history. Perhaps there is no light to be thrown. See Plate XXIII, full face, and Fig. 24 of profile.

Fig. 24

No. 39. [B. 56]. Berlin Royal Museum. Toga statue, heroic size, formerly numbered 295, now 341. It was obtained from the Polignac collection in Rome in 1824, and reputed to have been in the Collona collection, and "found near Rome." The head has a family likeness to the bust just described, though in profile quite distinct; and like that bears the Cæsar identifications. The illustrations give a just conception of it. The head and neck, which are the only parts of any value to us, do not belong with the body. Bernoulli alludes to this as resembling the Parma bust. In the outside line of the nose there is resemblance, but that is all. The Parma bust is a harmonious piece of portraiture. This statue head has anatomical disproportions. The nose is too short from back of nostril to point, and the head too high for its length. The last disproportion is at variance with most of the coins, and with all the absolutely accepted busts. Nevertheless, this shape of head leads us to imagine that some sculptors, who have given him a low, long head, may have erred in their extreme, and that this higher ideal may have had some prototypes in old heads that no longer exist. The expression of the head

Fig. 25



STATUE OF JULIUS CÆSAR, OF THE BERLIN ROYAL MUSEUM

and face is noble, and we feel that its resemblances to Cæsar are enough to entitle it to be one of his representations, even if it be not an antique. But as sculptural portraiture it cannot take rank with busts like those of Parma and Pisa, No. 107 of the Vatican, the Tresoria bust of Florence, or with the Naples bust or the Conservatori statue.

No. 40. [B. 57]. Berlin Royal Museum, No. 342, formerly 291. A black basalt bust, life-size as to the face, and of a deformed littleness of head. This is said to have been a favourite with Frederick the Great, perhaps because he had little knowledge of others, or that it was the only one he could buy! He is said to have purchased it in Paris. The eyes are of crystal, set in. At first sight the bust is amusing by reason of the littleness of the head and neck, and the thinness of the suggested chest. The thing is a puzzle. The cranium suggests a Congo negro. But the face seen in front is full size, and expresses the will-power, the executive force, and the bland disposition of Cæsar; and each of the features — forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, and chin — conforms closely to traditional knowledge of him. All

Fig. 26

in front of the hair line and the ears is good modelling and good portraiture. In profile it is equally good, but back of that line it is ridiculous. As it resembles the Cæsar type more than any other, and was found in Italy among antique marbles, paired with a bust of Augustus, and is generally conceded to be an antique, it must hold its place in the Cæsar collection. How is this ridiculous back head on so fine a face to be accounted for? A first conjecture is that after the face was worked out in the stone, fatal splits or defects were found in the back part, or an accident came to it, and the sculptor, not wishing to lose his work, made the best reduction possible within the limits of the stone. Another conjecture is that when the bust was discovered a part was gone from the back of the head, and some restorer showed his smartness by cutting down the head, on the principle that a diminutive head whole is better than a large one broken! It is not reasonable to suppose that the sculptor who made the face really designed the present form of the head. The illustrations are from excellent photographs.

DRESDEN

No. 41 [B. 53?]. Albertinum Gallery. A marble head one-half life-size, with eyes resembling those of the Berlin marble bust, and otherwise somewhat resembling the Parma bust. But on putting my casts from the latter side by side with this, the superiority of the Parma bust is at once apparent. The latter looks like a veritable study from life by an accomplished sculptor, while the former seems a composite study. Dr. Hermann, director of the Albertinum

Basalt Bust of Julius Cæsar, of the Royal Museum of Berlin

Museum, kindly wrote me the following facts concerning this head: —

"It is from the collection of Herr von Rumoko, undoubtedly some time obtained from Italy. The head is of white marble. The nose is a restoration, very well done. The pupils of the eyes are distinctly marked like plastic work. This fact makes it pretty certain (?) that it was not of Cæsar's time, but must have been much later. The work, notwithstanding, is so good that the time when it was made cannot be very late; about the time of Hadrian probably — the time when outlining the iris of the eyes first appears. Described in the catalogue of the Kings' (Saxony) collections in 4th ed. as No. 119 from Prince Chisi's collection (Italy) in 1728."

Fig. 27

The lips are somewhat marred. If whole, the massiveness of the upper one might be as noticeable as in the Parma bust. The lower one-third of the nose is a restoration, and shorter, I think, both at base and point, than the original. An additional length of nose doubtless gave the bust more force and dignity of expression. When seen apart from other and better busts it makes a good impression (Fig. 27).

No. 42. Albertinum Gallery. A thoroughly antique-looking, life-size, white marble head and neck, which Dr. Hermann assured me is modern. The bust below the neck is of black and white marble and evidently modern. I cannot quite give up that the head is not antique; but the director is high authority, and I bow to his opinion, and to that of Bernoulli. Both the front and side views of this head give the impression of an intellectual and majestic personality to a greater degree than the admitted antique busts. But the thin lips and hard mouth-lines rob the face of all geniality. The whole visage conveys the impression of conscious intellectual power troubled by its limitations. Cæsar never seems to have been troubled in that way. The shape of the back of the head in this bust is bad, dropping down where phrenologists locate firmness and self-esteem, which Cæsar surely did not lack. The angle of the face, backward rather than forward from a vertical line, is also bad. I was told at the Albertinum Museum that this bust came from the Farnese collection of Rome. Despite its faults, it is so full of the expression of Cæsar's dominating intellectuality, that, whether antique, mediæval, or modern, it cannot be ignored in a collection. The full

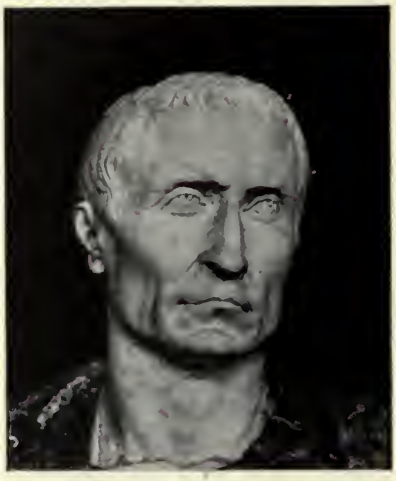


Fig. 28

face engraving, Fig. 28, is from a photograph kindly made for me by Mr. Director Hermann, and the profile, Fig. 29, is from my own sketch.

Fig. 29

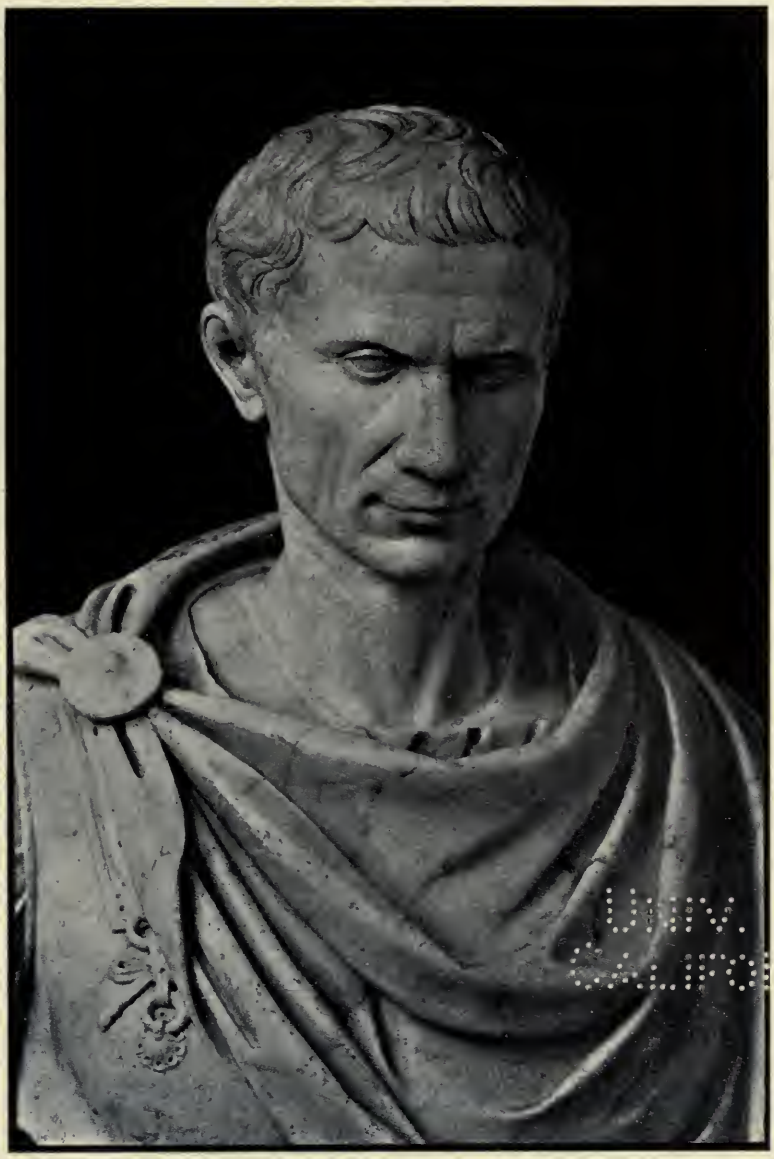
MUNICH

No. 43. [B. 51]. Antiquarium. A small bronze bust which I failed to see, and which Bernoulli does not consider surely a Cæsar, though he has given it a number in his collection. I have failed to get a response from the director of the Antiquarium to my requests to be allowed to obtain a cast or a photograph of it. The German love of knowledge and thoroughness in its pursuit ought, it seems to the author, to beget a desire to aid others in similar studies. But some German museum officials seem not imbued with this sentiment.

COLOGNE

No. 44. [B. 52]. Walraf Museum. A marble bust, life-size, of great beauty in conception and modelling. The head and neck have the semblance of antiquity, but the toga-bust is unqualifiedly modern. The very intelligent director, Herr C. Aldenhover, does not believe the head and neck to be antique, but a skilfully tool-marked imitation. That is to say, that what appears to be a ravage of time on the marble, or the effect of earth contact, is the work of a skilful mechanic, employed by some Italian manufacturer of antique marbles! He thinks it may not be much more than a century old. The face is of the type, and probably a copy by the eye, of the Florence Tresoria bust; so harmoniously perfect in its expression, that, whether antique, mediæval, or modern, it must have been the work of an accomplished sculptor. The Tresoria bust, Florence, has been known for centuries, and if it be the original after which this is designed, it speaks well for the intelligence of the sculptor who chose it for his model. I am inclined to surmise that the Pisa, the Parma, and the Tresoria marble busts, and the little bronze of Madrid (our No. 61), even

Fig. 30



JULIUS CÆSAR, OF THE WALRAF MUSEUM, COLOGNE

if not of Cæsar's time, are the survivals of busts which were their prototypes, and which were made when he was proconsul of Gaul, with his winter capital in Lombardy. I think they are *North Italy's* souvenirs of him, in the years when he conquered whole nations in single campaigns in summer, and returned every autumn to hold court in his provincial capitals, where artists as well as literary men were not likely to be wanting. Letters written to and from Cæsar's camps in Gaul, preserved in Roman literature, show that not only were young Romans of a military ambition welcome there, but men of culture generally. Cicero sent to him a young doctor of law who arrived at the Roman camp by the British Channel when Cæsar was in sudden trouble by reason of the discovery of treachery among the Gauls on the eve of his first expedition to Britain. The man was sadly disappointed to have no attention paid him. But on Cæsar's return from Britain he found time to make a valued companion of him. While in Gaul Cæsar composed a treatise on grammar. If such social surroundings and study were congenial to him in those far-away camps, how reasonable to suppose that a man of Cæsar's splendid tastes would have attracted sculptors and other artists to his more permanent capital. See Plate XXVI, engraved from a photograph, and Fig. 30, of the profile, engraved from my sketch.

FRANCE

PARIS

After acquaintance with the busts and statues of Julius Cæsar in Italian cities, those found in the great statuary collections of the Louvre Museum are disappointing. Two statues (our Nos. 46 and 47) are to be seen in the Hall of the Roman Emperors. Both, I think, were bad portraitures originally. They have been much broken and restored, and after the best that could be done was done to make them presentable, they are quite unsatisfactory. To say that their antiquity is uncertain is a charge that may be made against excellent works. But the good portraitures are good by reason of their *prima facie* evidence of the characteristics of their subject. The Louvre statues and busts lack that evidence. There is a bust on a pedestal in the middle of the same hall, distinctly labelled "Jules César," "from the Élysée," which M. Michon, the assistant conservator of this department, agreed with me is not at all likely to be what it was labelled! It is an absurd survival of a venerable mistake. It will be seen on page 138, not numbered as a Cæsar, but pictured, as the impostor is by the police, to identify. It seems as if Louis Napoleon, while collecting materials for his life of Julius Cæsar, would have surrounded himself with a great variety

Basalt Bust of Julius Cæsar, destroyed at St. Cloud in 1870

of the best portraitures attainable; but it was not so. His collection must have become public property after his flight. I can learn of nothing remaining of it except the black bronze in the Cabinet of Medallions (our No. 50), and the falsely labelled "Jules César" above mentioned. The basalt bust at St. Cloud, which was destroyed by fire in the siege of Paris in 1870, was another. Fortunately this was figured by Visconti,[1] in copperplate, full face and profile, as shown with our description of No. 45.

The best study of Julius Cæsar portraiture in the queen of cities is provided for by the two copies of the Conservatori statue of Rome, — an original cast in plaster in the court of the *Académie des Beaux Arts*, and the Caen stone copy from it in the old garden of the Tuileries, on the south side of the middle alley, facing the east. This is referred to under the description of the original in Rome. As the statue in Rome is placed so that it cannot have justice done it by photograph, it is some comfort to have *facsimile* copies in the well-lighted court of the *Académie des Beaux Arts*, and in the old royal park of Paris under the open sky.

No. 45. [B. 36]. Basalt life-size bust of St. Cloud, destroyed in 1870, during the siege of Paris. This piece has a legendary importance for the value attached to it while it was in existence. I made inquiries to learn if any plaster copy of it had ever been made, and heard of none: a degree of thoughtlessness about the preservation of such things that has its counterpart in many another collection,

[1] J. Q. Visconti, *Iconographie Romaine*, Paris, 1827.

both public and private. Bernoulli in 1884 declared that it only exists in Visconti's engravings. Of these I procured photograph copies, here reproduced. The drawings made for Visconti I am quite sure were not accurate. There is a sharpness about the nose, mouth, and chin, and a loftiness of forehead, quite exaggerated. These peculiarities are not only not in harmony with the conceded best portraits, but they are in each case abnormal, and suggest inaccuracy of the artist who made the drawings for the engraver, rather than faults of the bust. Believing the latter to have been better than the drawings show it, we must draw upon imagination to picture what it was. It does not seem likely that so careful a writer as Visconti would furnish us engravings of only the great Naples bust and this one, unless he was convinced of the great importance of the latter as well as the former. Bernoulli thinks it strongly resembled the Pisa bust. It is possible. But he also suggests a resemblance to the bronze head in the Paris *Cabinet des Médailles* (see No. 7, on plate at head of Chapter VI), from which it must have differed most radically, or the Visconti engravings were even greater failures than I assume them to

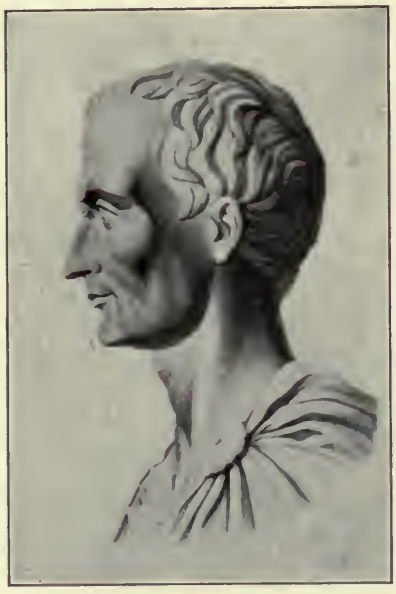


Fig. 31

be. A resemblance to the Berlin bust seems to me more likely. Indeed, the moment I first saw the Visconti engravings, it reminded me of that head. All of this type, which I will call the Pisa type, are so different in expression from the Naples head, and the head of the Conservatori statue in Rome on one side, and from the Chiarmonti Gallery bust, No. 107, and the Tresoria bust in Florence on the other, that they form three distinct types.

After the above was written, I had the good fortune to be furnished with the address of the genial and venerable Professor Froehner of Paris, who was commended to me by Mr. Solomon Reinach as one of the best-informed archæologists of France. He was reader for Napoleon III during the years before the destruction of St. Cloud, when the latter was composing his life of Julius Cæsar. I found his reminiscences very interesting. This bust, he told me, stood on the mantel of the room where he worked, and was a familiar figure to his eyes every day. He is sure that it was not an antique, and remembers it as a poor piece of sculpture, and an uninteresting piece of portraiture. He thought it was not brought away from St. Cloud when valuable works of art were being hurriedly removed to Paris simply because it was not considered of value enough to trouble with. M. Froehner's opinion concerning the non-antiquity and the poor workmanship of the bust I respect absolutely; but whether in those days of his youth he had a thoroughly well-informed judgment concerning Julius Cæsar's portraiture is a question. At any rate, Visconti and Froehner, both having seen the bust, must be left to face each other.

No. 46. [B. 29]. The Louvre; Hall of the Roman Emperors. A toga-clad statue of heroic size, No. 1271, standing in a bad light between two windows, near the west end of the gallery. This is a much-repaired old marble from the Campana collection of Rome, and unsatisfactory in the expression of the face, albeit bearing evidence of being intended for Julius Cæsar. Bernoulli remarks that the head and neck are joined to the part below, and "may have belonged" to the statue originally. The nose and point of the chin are restorations; also parts of the toga, the breast-piece, and the parts resting on it. The wreath of bay leaves over the forehead, which was the proverbial decoration which the Senate requested Cæsar to wear during the last two years of his life, Bernoulli assures us was not a part of the original head, but was

Fig. 32

set on afterward. But aside from the changes and restorations, the expression of the face is weak and utterly un-Cæsarean, and this in spite of the fact that some traits are characteristic; the forehead, for instance, though exaggerated in height. The nose, being a restoration, need not be noticed; but the facial angle, receding toward the mouth, makes the latter positively a weak-willed feature. In most busts that bear internal evidence of Cæsar characteristics, the far-advanced base of the nose and the strength of the upper lip are singularly expressive of will-power; the Parma bust being in this respect the most striking. This statue lacks all that the mouth should express of will-power and suavity.

No. 47. [B. 30]. Louvre; "Cæsar as Mars," No. 1874 of the catalogue. This naked statue, of heroic size, has recently been replaced near the statue last described. It is said to be of Greek marble, and is from the Borghese collection, Rome. It seems conceded by iconographists to be a genuine antique of Julius Cæsar. The antiquity of the marble work I will not question, but that the head was ever made for a portraiture of Cæsar is quite another question. However well modelled in body, it is a vulgar conception even of the Roman god of war. It belongs rather to the class of warrior heroes of single combats, gladiatorial for example. Perhaps it was modelled

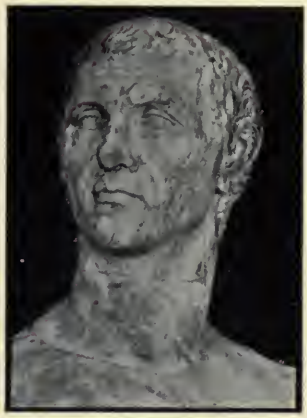


Fig. 33

when the low level of intelligence among Romans made that sort of a god marketable. Or it may never have found a purchaser, and stood in the sculptor's work-court until thrown down and broken; and then, covered with ages of débris, to be finally exhumed in long-after ages, galvanized into value by the Renaissance rage for antique sculpture, and at last associated for the first time with the name of Julius Cæsar.

The head is in two parts. It is admitted that the head and body may have joined company during the Renaissance centuries, when a demand sprung up for Roman Emperors. Our Cæsar's statue or bust was necessary in every collection of those notables in later times. It was among great Italian families that the demand for Greek and Roman antiques began. When the fashion was taken up by northern nations, the Italian marble workers and art merchants furnished and sold a supply equal to the demand. That collectors for the northern museums always made shrewd choice among the patched-up antiques offered to them by the Italians may be doubted. That the museum authorities who received these "antique" marbles had an exaggerated estimate of their value is now well known. The statue under consideration is a case in point. This work being devoted to Cæsar's physiognomy, and not to his body, it is only necessary to refer to the make-up, or restorations, of this head. A part of the forehead, the entire nose, a part of the chin, and a piece of the neck are restorations. The forehead of the toga-statue last described is high and strikingly

intellectual. This statue has a retreating forehead, not high. That statue suggests the philosopher; this one, the gladiator. Only in length of head, in height and fulness of the back head, it is strong, and more like Cæsar's. The expression is resolute and aggressive, again the opposite of its neighbour in the toga. To say that both heads are bad for Julius Cæsar is the simple truth. The toga-statue could never be thought a masterful executive character; nor this one a born statesman and orator, or a gentleman of unusual suavity.

No. 00. [B. 31.] Louvre. A marble head, heroic size, formerly occupied a place between the two statues last described. It has lately been put upon the retired list under the roof, in the *Magasins du Louvre*. It is no worse than some which have not been retired, and certainly not of sufficient value to remain where it was. It is mentioned simply because Bernoulli gave it a number.

No. 00. [B. 32.] Louvre, Hall of the Emperors, marked "Julius Cæsar." I publish this sketch in order to identify it for rejection. There is but little in the bust to warrant its naming. I have already mentioned that M. Michon, assistant conservator of antiquities in the museum, admitted to me that he did not consider it a Cæsar. It is a forceful head, and might

Fig. 34

be a general's. It has a good Cæsar nose — that is all it has of Cæsar's physiognomy. The fact that it has a band around the head indicating an "Imperator" is, I fancy, the principal reason for imposing it on the public as a Cæsar. It was found in the Élysée palace after the fall of Napoleon III in 1870. I could not learn its anterior history. Unfortunately it is being rapidly duplicated for public and private collections, through the Louvre *Atelier du Moulage.* It will probably require half a century to extirpate these copies from college, museum, and private collections.

No. 00. [B. 33]. I quote Bernoulli: "Also in the *Magasins du Louvre,* a Cæsar head, the back part wrapped up, and the nose knocked off. The relation to Cæsar not impossible." It seems among the things too interesting to throw away and too poor to be catalogued.

No. 48. Louvre, room XXVI, south side, Gallerie Mollien. A large unfinished head in blue-white marble, life-size or larger, not numbered, marked simply "Romain" and "*Au Louvre Magasins avant 1870.*" Restorations, lower two-thirds of the nose, most of the chin, and base of the neck. Evidently not antique, but apparently intended for a Julius Cæsar, and, like many others, interesting if not valuable. The forehead is quite too lofty, and rather narrow. Eyes, nose, chin, mouth, cheeks, and cheek-bones are characteristic. The upper

Fig. 35

"Hermes" or Julius Cæsar : Hall of Antique Roman Sculptures, Louvre, Paris

one-third of the nose, uninjured, indicates the Roman form, and the restored part is well done. The mouth is broad and beautiful, in harmony with the best busts. The restored chin is too classically perfect, but the original fracture lines around it do not necessitate its superfluous fulness. I have alluded to this head as an unfinished work. All back of a vertical line through the centre of the ears has simply been roughed out. This indicates that it was made for a niche so high and deep that those parts were not expected to be seen, and the loftiness of the forehead would thus be foreshortened, as seen from below, to an extent that might bring the whole face into harmonious proportion. Supposing it to be a Renaissance idealization, I give it place because it shows a high intellectual, instead of a merely forceful, ideal of Julius Cæsar: the opposite in this respect of the Ludivisi bronze type (Fig. 8, p. 96), and the bust on the floor of the Louvre, our Fig. 34.

No. 49. The "Hermes" of the Louvre. This very beautiful Greek statue, nude, life-size, is on the floor of the Roman antique sculpture room. It formerly was named Germanicus, but is now labelled "Hermes," and also "(*Jules César?*)." It is here introduced into the Cæsar portraiture gallery, not because there is certainty that it was so intended, but because there is a theory interesting and plausible concerning its origin in Cæsar's life-time and its association with him. The head and features are so like what his may have been in youth, and the pose in speaking so like a peculiarity of his

described by contemporaries, that one is led to be open-minded toward the theory that has become associated with it. The statue is of Greek marble, exquisitely finished. On a turtle at its feet is graved in Greek, "Cliomenes, son of Cliomenes." Students of Greek history have found these names to be of two sculptors, the younger of whom was of Cæsar's own time. It is well known that while Cæsar was an ambitious young orator he undertook the defence of some prominent Greeks involved in a political prosecution at Rome; and was successful in clearing them. Later in life, when he was master of Rome, and victor over Pompey in Greece, the Grecians who had sided with Pompey against him dreaded his anger. The interesting theory of Ravaisson concerning this statue is that the sculptor, in personating the god of eloquence, studied to make the head resemble Cæsar's youthful features, and his characteristic pose of the right arm and forefinger, as a delicate tribute to his early oratorical effort in behalf of the Greeks. The statue is supposed to have been presented to Cæsar by some city of Greece to placate his resentment against the Greeks after the battle of Pharsalia. It is certain that he never showed any ill-will toward them afterward. Besides the archæologist Ravaisson, there are O. Rayer, Bernoulli, Solomon Reinach, all iconographists, and S. Baring-

Fig. 36

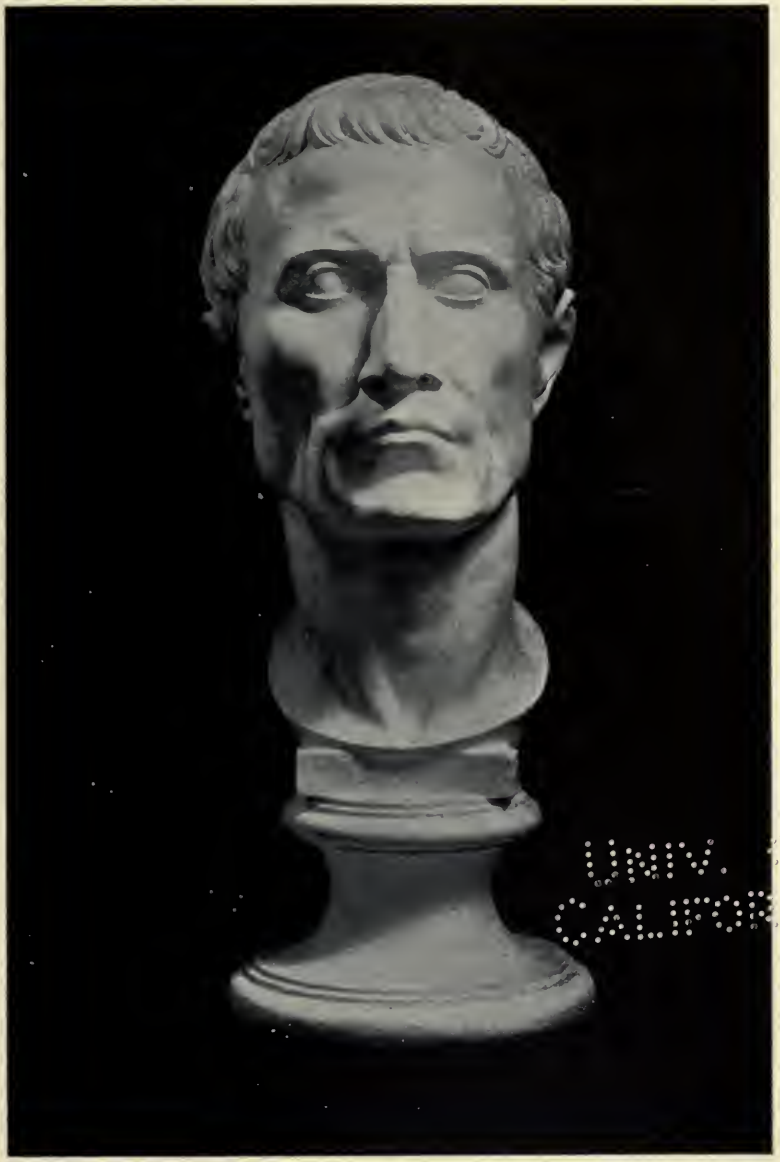
Gould, author of *The Tragedy of the Cæsars*, who lean to the probability of this theory. I first heard it from the lips of M. Reinach, director of the Musée St. Germain, whose interest inspired my own. Bernoulli does not include it in his list of numbered Cæsars, but confesses to being impressed with its Cæsar-like expression; giving consideration to the fact that it represents a man thirty years younger than other statues and busts. It was not until I returned to it, after having seen nearly every Cæsar head in Europe, that the reasonableness of the theory impressed itself upon my mind by a study of the face alone. In idealizing a Hermes, the sculptor could not with propriety introduce Cæsar's prominent cheek-bones, but all else is a semblance of what he might have been between twenty-five and thirty years of age. I therefore include it in my numbers as a probable antique idealization of him — a partial portraiture. O. Rayer, in *Art Antique*, states that this statue was in the garden of the Esquiline at Rome in the time of Pope Sixtus the Fifth (1585), where it was known as Germanicus. In 1684 it was owned by Cardinal Prince Savelli. In 1685 Louis XIV authorized Louvois, his Minister of State, to buy it; and after some years of negotiation it was secured for the French royal collection.

No. 50. [B. 34]. *Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale*, No. 829, of the catalogue of Babelon and Blanchette. A life-size head of almost black bronze, perhaps slightly below life-size. A very interesting and a very re-

markable head. Some iconographic writers cast doubts on its antiquity. I am impressed with its nearness to Cæsar's time, by the similarity of its features and shape of head to a group of the best types known, combined with a singular expression of fierce intellectual tension that at once makes one think: how like that Cæsar must have looked at the battle with the Nervii, when his small army was unexpectedly attacked on all sides and almost overwhelmed by the bold Belgians, and where, bareheaded and without armour, he rushed among his men to inspire and direct them. It is a fierce face — anxious, intellectual, resolute. It seems to me that it ought not to be mistaken for any other than Julius Cæsar.

Fig. 37

M. Babelon, conservator of the Cabinet of Medallions, kindly had the bust taken down for me from a high shelf to which it had been retired. I found it labelled "Brutus or Cæsar." A singular mistake, as it does not at all resemble Brutus's face. One feels that it is the work of some sculptor of that far time when Cæsar's features were preserved in every variety of similitude among the Romans; when his career as a warrior in Gaul was the most popular conception of him. Whether this particular metal is of his



BRONZE HEAD OF JULIUS CÆSAR: *Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale,* PARIS

time or not, the whole spirit of it is instinct with fighting men's conceptions of a fighting leader.

The season I first saw this bronze I could obtain no permission from the director to have a cast made from it, and regretted that I should have only a copy of my own profile sketch, shown in the vignette, Fig. 37. Either photographs or sketches from very dark bronzes are unsatisfactory. A photograph from a plaster cast only will give the true expression of the bust.

Though I am impressed with the life-likeness of this bust as a dramatic expression of one phase of Cæsar's life, it would not be fair to the original to have it in any public place, *alone*, as a *characteristic* portraiture of him; but it may well form one of a collection.

Bernoulli alludes to it as a possible copy of the destroyed St. Cloud basalt bust (No. 45), or of the Pisa bust. It seems to me to differ radically from both: to be absolutely an original and unique work. He also remarks, "It is not to be comprehended how it has come out in modern times." I do not believe it has come out in modern times. M. Babelon is ignorant of its origin further than that it was a part of the French royal collection at the close of the seventeenth century.

In a visit to Paris after the above was written I succeeded, by appeal to M. Roujon, Minister of Public Instruction in France, to have a request issued to M. Babelon that I might have a plaster copy of this bronze; and M. Eugene Arrondelle, the venerable chief moulder of the Louvre Museum, was authorized to make it. Since returning to the

United States I have received from the latter duplicate plaster copies of this bust. I am surprised to find the change of expression that appears from the black bronze to the white plaster. It in no way changes my opinion of its high value, but it does modify slightly the impression of a "fierce face," and shows that that exaggerated expression was partly due to the blackness of the surface, and not all inherent in the modeller's work. On my invitation M. Solomon Reinach went to see the casts in white, and said to me that he is certain that it was made for Julius Cæsar, but not that it is an antique bronze. Antique or not, as a casting, it bears on its face the evidence of a forceful portraiture of Cæsar; and whether a copy of an antique, or an idealized composition from many antiques, or itself of Cæsar's far-away time, we shall probably forever be in the dark. The first plate opposite this number is a front view from a photograph of the plaster cast, the last one is a profile of the same, and the vignette, Fig. 37, is from my original profile sketch.

No. 51. [B. 35]. Bronze statuette in the Luzarche collection (Paris?). An engraving of this was reproduced in 1866 in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, No. 21, p. 536, from a work entitled *Chefs-d'œuvres des Arts Industriels*, by Philippe Burty, issued that year. Neither in Burty's work or the *Gazette* is there any statement of the history of the piece, or the locality of the "Luzarche collection." The engraving shows an armoured figure in dramatic pose. It suggests a study from the Alençon statuette. Burty describes

PROFILE OF BRONZE HEAD OF JULIUS CÆSAR : *Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale*, PARIS

it as a beautiful piece of bronze work, saying nothing of its origin, but leaves the impression on the mind that it is a modern work. I did not find the "Luzarche collection."

No. 52. [B. 37]. A copy of a bronze miniature head only three inches high, in a cabinet of room XVII of the Musée St. Germain, near Paris, numbered 11594. Mr. Solomon Reinach first called my attention to it. He considers the original bronze, retained in the Museum of Douai (No. 588), a veritable antique of Julius Cæsar. It was found at Bavay in the north of France, in excavations of an old cemetery. It was first kept in the collection of the Abbé Carlier, curate of that town, and bought for the Museum Douai about 1840. It seems to me a rude effort to personate him. Insignificant as it is in size, and rude as a work of art, I esteem it of some value as an effort in portraiture. The piece is in good preservation. The nose only has been marred by chipping and wear of the lower end. The shape of the head and features are Cæsar's, as we learn to recognize them. It resembles the Besançon head, but not much. In mouth it more resembles the Parma bust. The forehead is lofty, with wrinkles above the mid-line; the eyes are large, under characteristic brows, but on a back angle that reminds one of crude Egyptian statuary, and shows it not to be the work of an educated sculptor. The nose is rather

Fig. 38

straight than aquiline, and its worn and shortened end must be corrected by the imagination. The mouth is strong and the lower lip fuller than any I remember, yet not out of proportion. The chin averages with other busts. The cheek-bones are less prominent than some, but the wedgelike form of jaws, the thin cheeks, and the depressions in them are unmistakable. The head is erect, in an attitude of alert repose. The half-tone inset is from a photograph of a cast from the St. Germain copy. The vignette (Fig. 38) is a copy of my sketch of the same, and renders the expression of the piece more faithfully than the photograph.

Fig. 39

I am indebted to Monsieur E. Gottelin, conservator of the Douai Museum, for the early history of this discovery. It is a little curious that three strikingly characteristic portraits of Julius Cæsar have been exhumed in the nineteenth century. I allude to the half life-size marble head of Parma, the Besançon bronze, and this apparently insignificant piece. I might add the bronze No. 3014 of the Archæological Library of Madrid (our No. 61), which, though it comes from the palace of the Duke of Salamanca instead of ancient ground, is of the same family likeness, and is introduced to the public for the first time in this monograph.

No. 53. Life-size bronze or zinc-bronze statue, to which my attention was called by Mr. Paul Desprez of Paris. It is in the open court of No. 55 Rue Monceau, the property of Madame the Countess de Croquit de Montfort. The proprietor being absent from the city, I obtained no information concerning it. Its rather noble and militant expression reminded me of the little Besançon statuette, No. 56. It is believed to be quite a modern piece.

No. 54. A colossal bust, in the Exposition of 1900, under the great arch entrance of the east wing of the building blazoned "Arts — Paix," the entrance on the left nearest the Pont Alexandre. Here I found pedestalled in stately position a heroic-size Carrara marble bust of Julius Cæsar on the right side, and a companion piece of Pompey on the left side. See engraving facing Chapter V. I learned from their owner that they were executed in the time of Louis XIV. I found no sculptor's name upon them. The owner refused permission to photograph this Cæsar; but the sketch I made of it, reproduced by the engraving, gives a fair idea of its character. It is a composition of great power, and may be as nearly a portrait of Cæsar as some of the antiques of the great museums. That a sculptor had a commission to execute works of such size in Carrara marble in Louis XIV's reign, argues employment by the King or some great personage of the court. If so employed, he would naturally have been furnished with letters giving him access to all Italian antiques of value from which to make his studies. The work would probably have been

done in Pisa or Rome. This bust shows, not only study of the Italian antiques, but of the life and character of Cæsar. Naturally, as the work of that military epoch, it emphasizes the intellectual will-power and domineering spirit of the man, rather than those grand qualities of patience and forebearance with men, of practical statesmanship and gentle manners, which modern historians have made more prominent. If one were to idealize Julius Cæsar, say at the age of forty-five, *in default of marble or bronze souvenirs of him*, it would be a difficult task for any sculptor to surpass this in the expression of executive force.

LYONS

No. 00. [B. 38]. Lyons, *Musée de Palais des Arts.* Bernoulli describes, as at this museum, "A little marble with wreath on head, forehead bald, down-sloping eyebrows, and large prominent eyeballs." M. Dissard, director of the above museum, assured me, in reply to my inquiry for the above-described bust, that "there is no marble head of Julius Cæsar in this museum." But he brought out for my inspection a one-third life-size marble head of execrable workmanship, out of which imagination might conjure an apprentice's attempt to make a Julius Cæsar. Evidently Bernoulli was misled concerning it, or something else.

No. 55. Lyons, same museum. In a bronze cabinet I found an old bronze head, one-third life-size, that looks like an iron casting, and seems to be a rude portraiture of Julius Cæsar. It is so catalogued from the ancient Musée of

Lyons. The bronze or iron head and neck are set in plaster, into a very carefully cut but awkwardly designed rose-antique marble bust, dressed in imperial Roman robe. The metal part seems to be considered a very old piece; the marble part is quite modern.

AVIGNON

No. 00. [B. 40]. Avignon, "*Musée Calvet*, No. 272, somewhat after the Naples head." The words quoted are from Bernoulli. I visited Avignon to see this bust, but here, as in Lyons, the conservator of the museum informed me that it contained no Julius Cæsar, and that Bernoulli had been misinformed. I searched for something that might have been mistaken for a Cæsar, and was shown an undersized marble head, bald on top, fringed around with thick hair, which resembles no known personage. The guardian of the museum assured me that this was the nearest approach to a Cæsar that the museum possessed.

BESANÇON

No. 56. [B. 39]. Besançon Museum. Here is a bronze statuette, armour-clad, without arms or legs, but a complete torso and head ten inches in height. It is clearly a personation of Julius Cæsar, and a spirited one. I first saw a copy of it, in bronze, in a shop in Rome, and was much struck with its fine pose and expressive face. It was not until I had seen a plaster cast of the little piece, made directly from the Besançon original, that I was

Fig. 40

made aware of the identity of the two. I have since obtained a plaster cast of it from which this engraving (Fig. 40) is taken. The story concerning it is that it came out of a river, but whether a stream near Besançon, or the Tiber, I could not learn. It was acquired by a Roman collector of antiquities, Signor Rohrich, and sold back to Besançon, from whence it is said to have come, and is now in its museum. Whether antique, mediæval, or modern, is an open question.

PORPHYRY BUST FROM HERCULANEUM: ROYAL PALACE, MADRID

SPAIN

Spain, being one of the oldest of the Roman provinces, and dotted with garrisoned Roman cities in the time of Julius Cæsar, the province where he first was governor, and the earliest theatre of his executive and administrative ability, it would be natural to find there some remnants of marble or bronze portraitures of him. But two thousand years of decay and destruction, and some centuries of occupation by Moslem Moors, have been too much for them. At Madrid two life-size marble busts and two miniature bronze busts were found in public galleries. A red porphyry life-size, from Herculaneum, is in the Royal Palace. Only the latter is believed to be antique. It is shown by the plate opposite.

At Sevilla two life-size marble busts, supposed to be of Cæsar, and the damaged remains of a colossal statue known to have been, were found; all brought from the old Roman capital, Italica (old Sevilla), several centuries ago, and believed to be works of Augustus's time, or not long after.

MADRID

No. 57. The porphyry, life-size bust alluded to as in the Royal Palace of Madrid. It is a beautiful and well-modelled head, and suggests Augustus as well as Julius. I incline to think it intended for Julius. The fact that

Augustus was the idolized head of the Roman Empire, and profusely portrayed during his great reign, lent a form of face to the sculptors that has made some uncertainty which of certain works were intended for one or the other. The head of Augustus was idealized, both in his own time and during the Renaissance, and these idealized types have become so popularly known, that it long ago became a habit of collectors, whenever a particularly handsome Cæsar face was found, to give it the benefit of a doubt (as between Julius and Augustus), and to catalogue it as an Augustus. This head has mouth, nose, cheeks, and expression leaning to the Julius side. From what we learn from contemporary descriptions of the two men, it is believed that Julius in his youth was much the handsomer man of the two. But in his youth he was not Emperor, or Imperator; only a thoroughly hated young patrician, under the ban of his peers for being a leader of the democracy. No busts of him in youth are heard of. We imagine his face then was the more expressive and winsome of the two. The large, strong, pleasant mouth was rather in contrast than resembling the smaller and tighter mouth of Augustus. This feature, and the more prominent cheek-bones of Julius's face, are the two features that most distinguish the one from the other.

No. 58. [B. 41?]. Madrid, Prado Museum, ground floor. Here we found (1899) a slightly more than life-size marble bust, numbered 258 in red on base of bust, and marked Julius Cæsar in the catalogue. Its appearance has little to make assurance that it may not be antique, or that it

may not be of the Renaissance era, and from Italy. The marble has been some broken and looks old. It is a very intellectual head, Cæsarean in its profile, though in form of cranium it might be taken for a Cicero. The nose, mouth, chin, and cheeks are also of our hero's type; the chin somewhat longer and heavier than on most busts, but not more so than on No. 107, of the Vatican. The expression of the face is judicial rather than executive. I saw a cast of this marble in a plaster-worker's collection in Madrid before seeing the original in the Prado Museum. It impressed me at first glance as a Julius Cæsar; a more than usually noble conception of him, but as different from the average of Italian busts as is the bust of the British Museum. If it is Renaissance work, its artist had a more intelligent ideal of Cæsar than most of the Italians who manufactured antiques for the northern market in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This bust, as well as the following, came "from the king's collections." More than this of its history the assistant director could not give me. The fact that it is the jurist Cæsar, rather than the military or "imperator" sort, suggests the reflection that it may be a study from some

Fig. 41

antique not now known. My sketch (Fig. 41) is a faithful one of the profile.

No. 59. [B. 42?]. Also in the Prado Museum, at the side of the preceding, is another life-size marble bust (Fig. 42) of a different type, marked "No. 23. Julius Cæsar." Below the forehead it is a superior piece of modelling, but the cranium is insignificant relatively to the size of the face. It has probably been observed by the reader that the busts of the Parma and Florence Tresoria type show the contrary proportion, the heads being long and large, so that the face appears relatively small. The sculptor of this bust evidently had small sense of the power expressed by size and shape of head, and in this marble has succeeded in expressing an executive spirit devoid of great intellectual capacity, — the face of Cæsar without his brain. It seems to me to resemble the Florence bronze No. 3577 of the Uffizi collection (our No. 25), but with belittled proportion of cranium.

Fig. 42

No. 60. Madrid. In the *Bibliotheka Nacional*, department *Archiologico*, room IV, main floor, in a glass case with other small bronzes, were found two diminutive bronze

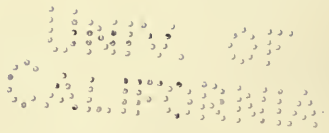
busts, both supposed to be Julius Cæsar. The assistant director informed me that these little bronzes were obtained at the sale of the art works of the Marquis of Salamanca, about 1884. This one (Fig. 43) bears some resemblance to the head on No. 2038 of our plate of Naples coins. It is numbered 2971 on label attached with string, and 123 painted on base, and is also marked Julius Cæsar. It is of the type of the marble bust of the Prado (our Fig. 41) before described. The moment the eye falls upon it there is something that makes one feel it to be intended for Julius Cæsar; but when examined in connection with its companion statuette next described, which is so far superior in the expression of Cæsar militant, doubt is felt whether this can really be intended for the same man. The lofty forehead is like Cicero's. The face leans to Cæsar's side, the cranium to Cicero's. The mouth of the great orator had a mean, uncertain expression, while Cæsar's expresses resolute power and suavity combined — an eloquent mouth — long, full, and of no uncertain will. If intended for Cæsar, it is not a success; still less for Cicero; but it resembles both of them.

Fig. 43

No. 61. Same museum. The bronze companion piece above referred to, numbered 3014 on label attached with string, and named in catalogue as Germanicus! Probably described so on the strength of G. C. marked on the bust, which was assumed to stand for Germanicus Consul. As the letters G. C. are the initials of Guilio Caesare in Italian, and as Germanicus never was Consul, the absurdity of the naming is patent.

Fig. 44

This little statuette is the gem of all miniature portraitures of Cæsar. I am disposed to believe it one of the best portraits known. It is a Julius militant, aggressive, intellectual, sure of his own power, and alert to meet and to overcome all opposition. It is in one respect more satisfactory than the Parma bust, which is one of brooding reflection; while this one gives the pose and expression of readiness for action, whether in the field or the forum. It is of the same type as the Florence Tresoria and the Parma busts, with the difference that in this one the hour of reflection is passed, and the hour of action come. No. 60 and this stood back to back on opposite sides of the glass case of bronzes in which they were found. The former was first seen, and impressed me at once as a *probable*



COLUMNS OF THE *Alamada de Hercules*, SEVILLA, SPAIN

Julius Cæsar, the label upon it confirming the surmise. But when this one came into view it gave the delight of finding an undoubted gem of the first water. The vividness with which the executive side of Cæsar's character is brought out is such a contrast with the former, that one does not feel like giving the other the credit of being of the same man. These bronzes are evidently by the same artist; but from what originals? And of what era?

SEVILLA

In this old Spanish city, in the "*Alemada de Hercules*," are two colossal Roman columns, which are utilized to bear above their capitals, massive pedestals, crowned with statues. One is of Hercules, and the other Julius Cæsar. The plate opposite is from a photograph taken for the author. Columns and statues are both surely antique. They are known to have been brought 376 years ago from the old Roman theatre of Italica (old Sevilla), five miles from the present city. Italica was an important city about 170 years before Christ, when captured by Scipio Africanus. It was then made a Roman stronghold and provincial capital. Three Roman Emperors, Hadrian, Trajan, and Theodosius, were born there. It was therefore an imperial court city. Its palaces, theatres, temples, baths, were on a scale of magnificence known to those familiar with the wealth and luxuriousness of the Empire. From its ruins, for more than a thousand years, architectural marbles and statues were brought by the authorities of Church and

State to decorate the new Sevilla. The builders of its present cathedrals, palaces, and palatial mansions used the old city for their fine art quarry. The exquisite columns in the windows of the Giralda tower, built 700 years ago, had previously graced some Roman palace or villa in Italica. As late as 1574 a public-spirited citizen of Sevilla gave the Alemada to the city, and at his own expense brought from Italica the immense granite columns and colossal marble statues that crown them. All are said to have come from the ruins of the great amphitheatre, in part cut out of the solid rock, the remains of which are still stupendous. The statues are perched so loftily that one can make no study of what they may have been.

No. 62. The statue on the top of the column on the right is of Julius Cæsar. My impression is that, as a work of art, it was not of a high order. How good as a portraiture the statue may have been nineteen hundred years ago, it is now impossible to know. It may have been in good preservation when taken from its niche in the amphitheatre in 1574. But the elements (and the birds) have had their work upon it for nearly four hundred years. A part of the nose and mouth, and all of the chin, have crumbled off. The head seems to have been of enormous size, the body too stalwart, and awkwardly posed. It is impossible to feel sure of anything concerning the original features and expression of the face. The nose is the best preserved part, and is slightly aquiline. The fact that this statue was probably modelled within a century after Julius's

death makes it possible that it may have been used, in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period, as the prototype of some of the busts and statues in modern museums. If it were itself a free copy of some earlier statue, I would incline to the belief that it was the one which bore the colossal head of Naples. It is a sad commentary on the ignorance of the public-spirited donor of the park, and its columns and statues, that he did not know better than to expose marbles, then so venerable, to certain destruction by the elements.

This badly elevated and mutilated, but certainly antique statue of Cæsar is numbered that it may be of record, though it can have little value in determining his physiognomy.

No. 63. Sevilla. Casa de Pilatos. This is a well-known old mansion, in decayed magnificence, maintained as a visiting place for the beauty of the mediæval architecture of its open courts. It is now the property of the Duke of Medinacelli of Madrid. I was informed by the assistant director of the Archæological Museum, that antique busts from Italica were preserved there, two of which, life-size, were possibly Julius Cæsars. I found them in a damp garden-court, under the arcade enclosing it, perched on columns, and quite shaded by the floor above them. The light upon them was so bad

Fig. 45

that it was difficult to form an opinion of their value. One of them was sufficiently interesting to induce me to run the risk of a chill in trying to sketch it, especially as the antiquity of the marbles seems beyond question, and the identity has been recognized by others. The vignette, Fig. 45, on the preceding page, is the result — a meagre sketch, but correct in the outlines, and sufficient to attract attention of expert iconographists to it hereafter. I think it possible that it may have high value. The other one also may be worth a better examination than I was able to make of it.

As the two little bronzes of the archæological department of the *Bibliotheka Nacional* of Madrid, as well as the great statue and the busts found in Sevilla, have been heretofore unheard of or unmentioned by northern investigators, I am hopeful that other old family collections in Spain will yet reveal other Julius Cæsars.

Probably no country other than Italy has so many busts of Julius Cæsar (purchased for antiques) as Great Britain. But it is not certain, nor even highly probable, that there is one among them all dating back to the days of the Cæsars. English purchasers of antiques were the richest and most numerous of any in Italy through the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Mutilated fragments recovered by excavations, or found in the palaces of impecunious old families, brought fabulous prices; and many of them encumber to this day, not only the stately mansions of England, but some public museums on the Continent. It is not strange that Italian dealers, whose finesse in their own arts is unequalled, imposed many things on the stranger which they could not sell at home, and that the manufacture of antiques, in whole or in part, became a much-practised art.

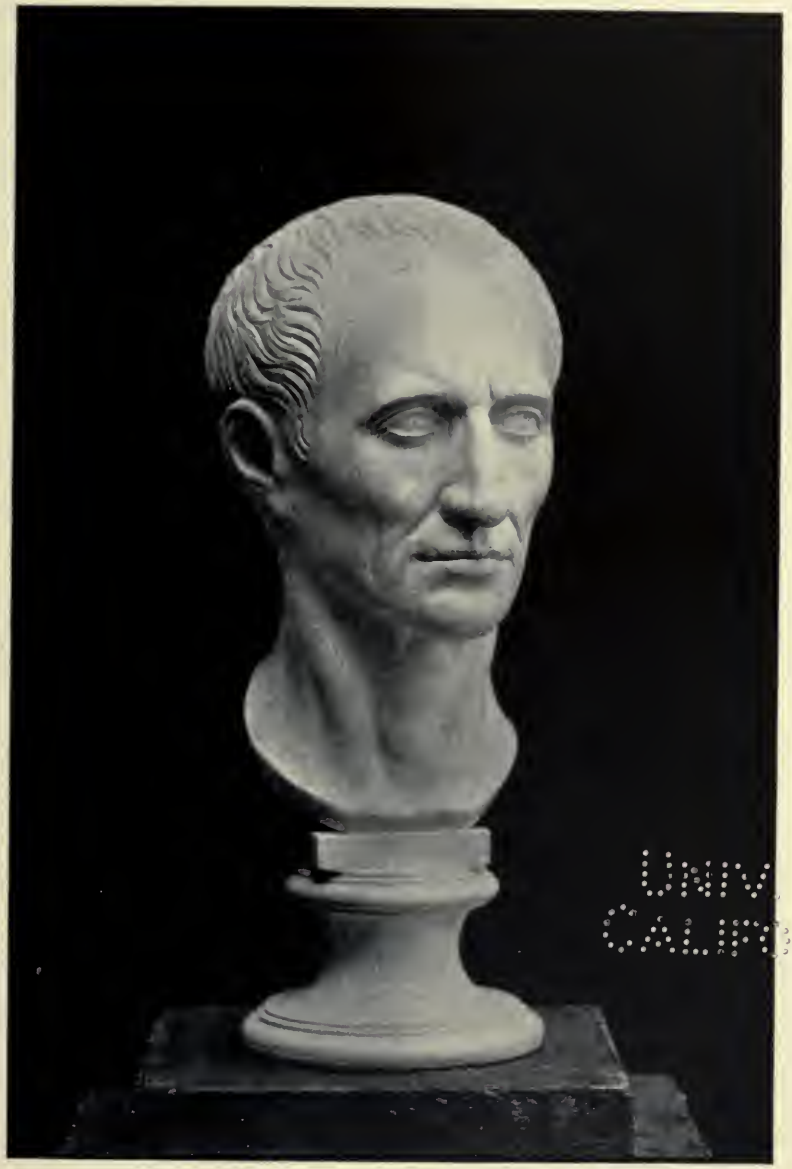
The records of the statues and busts of Julius Cæsar to be found in Great Britain seem to be all by foreign writers. Adolf Michaelis's *Ancient Marbles of Great Britain*, the latest and fullest guide, is a German work translated into English in 1882. Bernoulli had previously, by inquiry rather than exploration, made notes of the works hid away in manorial houses. Still earlier, Count de Clarac, an officially employed French author,

had visited England to see and to illustrate its antique statues only. Busts and reliefs were not within the scope of his *Musée de Sculptures* and its superb outline engravings. Bernoulli illustrates but one Julius Cæsar in Great Britain, the bust of the British Museum; Michaelis not any. As the latter author visited a number of private collections in various parts of England which I was unable to see, and was painstaking and considerate in his judgments, I avail myself of his descriptions of such works.

LONDON

No. 64. [B. 43]. British Museum, London, Roman Gallery. This is a life-size white marble head and neck of Cæsar, essentially different from all other busts, and yet with the characteristic features of the Cæsar face so unmistakably modelled that, after a study of it, confidence in its authenticity grows, and little doubt remains that it was made to represent him. It was bought in Italy for the British Museum in 1818. In a modern work by Friederichs and Walters, entitled *Moulages de Berlin*, it is stated to have been in the Ludivisi col-

Fig. 46



JULIUS CÆSAR : OF THE ROMAN GALLERY, BRITISH MUSEUM

lection in 1637. Bernoulli concedes it to be an antique. The plate facing the preceding page is made from a photograph of my plaster-cast copy. The profile is reduced from the engraving in Froude's *Sketch of the Life of Julius Cæsar.*

Among English-speaking peoples this bust is become more widely known than any other. It forms the frontispiece of Froude's *Sketch of the Life of Julius Cæsar.* It is discussed at much length and illustrated by S. Baring-Gould in his book entitled *The Tragedy of the Cæsars.* It is reproduced in a recent most scholarly work by Thomas Rice Holmes on *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul,* where its claims to antiquity are reviewed, and its author eloquently describes its superiority. It is also one of the illustrations of W. Warde Fowler's *Life of Julius Cæsar,* in Putnam's series of *The World's Heroes.* In short, it has become England's Julius Cæsar. It comes out of mediæval darkness into the modern world to represent, better than most of the others, the combined power, dignity, and sweetness of his character. It holds a place of honour in the British Museum at a time when English historians have been sifting ancient Latin literature to winnow venerable lies and idle gossip concerning Julius Cæsar out of readers' minds, and to lift him to the highest pedestal of human greatness.

As many Italian busts, both antique and mediæval, represent Julius Cæsar according to a Roman ideal of a highly executive human-brute force ("Cæsar as Mars," in the Louvre, for example), this British Museum bust, on the other hand, shows us a face on which we see alertness

of mind, culture, refinement, the statesman's power, and the latent electric energy of his military career.

T. Rice Holmes, in the great work just referred to, prefaces it with a chapter on "The Busts of Julius Cæsar," at the conclusion of which he warms into an unwonted enthusiasm over this bust, as follows: "This bust represents, I venture to say, the strongest personality that has ever lived, the strongest which poet or historian, painter or sculptor, has ever portrayed. In the profile it is impossible to detect a flaw; if there is one in full face it is the narrowness of the forehead as compared with the breadth of the skull. The face appears that of a man in late middle age. He has lived every day of his life, and he is beginning to weary of the strain; but every faculty retains its fullest vigour. The harmony of the nature is as impressive as its strength. No one characteristic dominates the rest. No less remarkable than the power of the countenance are its delicacy and fastidious refinement. The man looks perfectly unscrupulous; or, if the phrase be apt to mislead, he looks as if no scruple could make him falter in pursuit of his aim; *but his conduct is governed by principle.* Passion, without which it can be truly said there can be no genius, inspires his resolve and stimulates its execution; but passion in the narrow sense is never suffered to warp his action. He is kindly and tolerant, but to avoid greater ills he would shed blood without remorse. 'The mild but inexorable yoke of Cæsar'—so Mr. Strachan Davidson describes the ascendency to which Cicero reluctantly submitted; and

mild inexorability is apparent in the expression of this man. He can be a charming companion to men; and, though he is no longer young, he knows how to win the love of women. . . . The bust represents a man of the world in the fullest meaning of the term. It alone represents a man such as Cæsar has revealed himself in his writings, and as his contemporaries have revealed him in theirs, and that is why I have chosen it to illustrate this book." [1]

The bust has one decided fault. The forehead is not Cæsar's forehead. It differs from the descriptions of writers of his time who mention the bulge of it above the middle wrinkles — a form which some of the coins and nearly all the recognized antique statues and busts give. Its backward slope, its somewhat commonplace smoothness and narrowness, swelling into a prodigious width of the head above and back of the ears, are all out of keeping with the mass of authority concerning Cæsar's head. That he had both a long and a broad head is sure, but not in the fashion of this bust. Yet the general expression of Cæsar's attributes in the face and the characteristic features are so admirably rendered that it is entitled to the honours it has received. I must not omit to state that the point of the nose was mutilated and repointed with plaster; but the last time I saw it the plaster point had been broken off accidentally or intentionally, relieving it of the Israelitish look that it once had. The attention of the reader is called to the

[1] *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul*, Macmillan & Co., London, 1899.

plate at the head of this chapter for standards of comparison.

No. 65. British Museum. A black basalt, half life-size, on a bracket in third Græco-Roman room, marked "Roman Portrait, probably Julius Cæsar, found in Egypt." It is a rude piece of work that may have been executed by some sculptor's apprentice anywhere that basalt was at hand. The shape of head and features resemble the conventional Julius Cæsar. The ears are set quite too far forward — a mistake that would not be made by a competent sculptor. The cheeks and their lines are not specially characteristic. The position given it in the British Museum is its only claim to be numbered. It is not worthy of its place there.

No. 66. British Museum. A life-size alto-relievo medallion, hung high up on the west end wall of the Roman gallery, in a very bad light. It is described in the *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum*, edition of 1874, as a "medallion representing in profile the bust of an unknown personage, who is bald over the forehead, and has his beard closely shaven. A tunic covers his breast and shoulders, and a folded mantle hangs over his left shoulder. The countenance is expressive of serenity and benevolence. Height 2 ft. 5 in., width 2 ft. 1 in. Purchased from a palace in Florence in 1771. *Museum of Marbles*, Vol. X, plate 57. T."

This medallion impresses me as intended for Julius

Cæsar, and is a fine work, deserving a better place and better light. As now hung it cannot be intelligently judged. If those who placed it there had wished to conceal it altogether, they could not have succeeded much better.

No. 67. British Museum. This is a companion-piece to the foregoing, evidently intended for the same person, hung just as high, and in as bad a light, at the opposite end of the same gallery. The following extract from the *Synopsis* is its museum history: "Thought by Mr. Hawkins (*Musée Marbles*, X, p. 140) to be an ancient copy from the same original, but executed in a more recent period than the other medallion. Mr. Hawkins thinks the person represented is a Greek philosopher, but the costume and general character of the countenance of both these heads seem rather Roman of the Augustan age than Greek. This medallion was brought to England by Sir William Stanhope, from whom it was obtained by Mr. Townle."

I number it after the preceding, as a candidate for a place among the portraitures.

British Museum Gems and Coins

The old Roman coins with heads of Julius Cæsar in the British Museum seem so nearly duplicates of those already figured from Naples and Paris that it is needless to repeat all of them; but on Figure 47 I give four which are characteristically different from each other, though with common traits of cheeks, chin, and neck.

Of the gems in the Gem Room, two intaglios of sardonyx, in case No. 46, are supposed to represent Julius Cæsar. One is inscribed in Greek, *Diorkuridon*, and the other *Dioskoridos*. These are shown at the top of Plate XXXIV. They are considered of great value, but their value does not reside in their excellence as portraitures. They are marvels of the exquisite finish of ancient art in the cutting of miniature heads on gems. Only by a magnifying glass can one realize the delicate modulation of the facial muscles. Our engravings are just double the size of the originals. The three shown below on the same plate are in cases 46 and 53. They are not named in the catalogue as Julius Cæsars, but I believe them to be. The most youthful resembles the head of the Hermes in the Louvre, our No. 49.

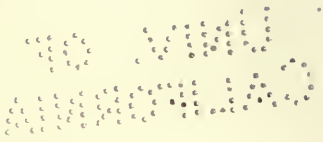
The following engraving is of four Cæsar coins selected from the casts of the British Museum, most kindly furnished

Fig. 47

me by the gentleman in charge of the coins and gems. As works of the die-cutter's art in portraiture they are bad, as usual, but are well-preserved specimens of very old coins.

No. 68. Kensington Museum. A huge head labelled "Julius Cæsar, in Luna marble: Roman; middle of first

COPIES OF GEMS IN BRITISH MUSEUM, SURMISED TO BE OF JULIUS CÆSAR. DOUBLE THE REAL SIZE



century before Christ." "Lent by George Nugent Banks, Esq." This over-sized head is remarkable both for its resemblance to Cæsar types, and for its variations from them. The sketch I took of it (Fig. 48) shows quite its best side. Other views exhibit the head and neck so disproportionately large that it is difficult to believe it an

Fig. 48

antique, or anything more than a composite work of the Renaissance period. I made an effort to get information concerning it from its owner, but without success. As it is given a place and name in a great English museum, I herewith assign it a number.

No. 69. [B. 44]. Bust in Wilton House, Wiltshire, from the Valetta collection of Naples. Bernoulli alludes

to it as resembling No. 282 of the Gallery of Busts, Vatican (our No. 5), with smaller mouth.

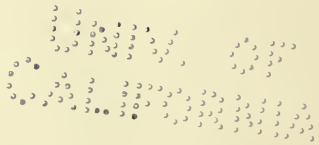
No. 70. [B. 45]. Ince-Blundell Hall, Lancashire. Bernoulli admits this doubtingly to his list, thus: "This head, with powerful straight nose and fairly thin cheeks, recalls Augustus rather than Julius, but has eyes too hollow and hair too thin. Bust completely preserved, but of doubtful genuineness."

No. 71. [B. 46]. Also in Ince-Blundell Hall. A porphyry bust which Bernoulli numbers on the strength of Michaelis's notice of it, remarking nevertheless, "but has no resemblance to the Cæsar types."

No. 72. [B. 47]. Woburn Abbey. A life-size bust, said to resemble one of the busts formerly in the Roman gallery of the Louvre, now withdrawn to the "Magasins"! Bernoulli pronounces it modern.

No. 73. [B. 48]. Cambridge, Fitz-William collection. "A piece of an antique ornament of a pilaster, on the back of which is introduced a modern head of Julius Cæsar, seen in profile with a fillet in the hair. Bought of a merchant in Naples about the year 1755 by Hollis." Michaelis, p. 266.

No. 74. In the Crystal Palace of Sydenham, near London, in the "Roman Court" of plaster casts, is a more than life-size statue marked: "A Roman, veiled with



A Roman in the Act of Sacrificing : Vatican. A Possible Julius Cæsar

the toga, in the act of sacrificing. From the Vatican." I was astonished that I had failed to see it in the Vatican; possibly because it does not appear on the catalogue as a Julius Cæsar. Seen in the excellent light of the Crystal Palace, it impressed me very decidedly as likely to have been intended to suggest him. Yet it is distinctly different from others. The great fulness and size of the forehead would have suggested the allusion, in the play of *Julius Cæsar*, to "broad-browed Cæsar"; if the writer of that play were Francis Bacon, for he may have seen it in Rome, as Shakespeare surely did not. As Bernoulli makes no mention of it among the Cæsars to be found in Rome, I infer that the great iconographists of Italy have found it wanting in either antiquity or resemblance, and therefore have not catalogued it as a possible Cæsar. But even experts are not infallible. One of the arguments advanced by Bernoulli for Cæsar-identification of other busts and statues is that when the work is about of Cæsar's time, and no positive resemblance exists to well-known portraitures of other celebrated Romans of that epoch, those bearing marked resemblance to well-known traits of Julius Cæsar may with fairness be classed as Cæsars, unless thrown out for patent disresemblance in general. This fine statue may, therefore, have that claim. It can probably be better studied in the plaster cast, and in the fine light of the Crystal Palace, than in its place in the Vatican.

No. 00. Knoll, Seven Oaks, near London, the seat of Lord Sackville. A venerable-looking marble head, heroic

size, is here shown as Julius Cæsar, and as "one of the heir-looms of the family." It is clearly one of those "job-lot" Roman Emperors got up in late centuries in Italy to personate some one of them, as called for. It was brought from Italy by the Duke of Dorset about 1620. It is of no value as a portraiture, and therefore not numbered.

No. 75 to 80. At Lowther Castle, Westmoreland, Michaelis enumerates five possible Julius Cæsars — "No. 11, Julius Cæsar, a sitting statue in a consular chair, from the Bessborough collection." Also Numbers 28, 29, and 69, all supposed to personate Julius Cæsar. I was not able to find in the British Library any description or engravings of these works, and letters of inquiry for information or photographs to the steward of the castle failed to elicit a reply. I regret thus to be unable to present illustrations of works that may be of value in that collection, and that any busts of Julius Cæsar, if of real value, should be hid away in remote private collections anywhere. Without a letter of presentation bearing a distinguished name, the student seeking information of art treasures in these manorial houses has but scant courtesy.

No. 81. [B. 49–50]. Edinburgh, Antiquarian Museum. Through the politeness of Professor J. Anderson, director, I have secured photographs of this life-size marble bust (Plate XXXVI), and find that it is of the Ludivisi bronze type (our No. 13, B. 11), and partakes of its faults. It is reputed to have come from the Hadrian Villa near Rome, and to

JULIUS CÆSAR, OF THE ANTIQUARIAN MUSEUM, EDINBURGH

have been purchased *from the Casali collection of Rome* by "the late General Ramsey." I believe it to be the original Casali bust, to which Bernoulli and older writers allude. (See our No. 15.) It was formerly in the collection of Lord Murray in Edinburgh. It belongs to a group of busts possibly intended for Julius Cæsar, which I believe to be impediments rather than helps to the study of his head. It is unfortunate that Edinburgh, one of the intellectual centres of the world, should set before its students this doubtful, this perniciously misleading, type of portraiture of Julius Cæsar.

RUSSIA

ST. PETERSBURG

Nos. 82, 83, 84. [B. 58, 59, 60]. Two busts of Julius Cæsar are in the great Hermitage collection, and a statue is credited to the private collection of A. de Montferrard, deceased, architect of the Winter Palace. The two former I saw, but failed to study and take notes of them, or to sketch them, supposing I should return to do so, and also that I should readily find good photographs of them, as one does in the museums of other capitals. Too late I found that no photographs could be procured of them, and that sketching in the galleries was forbidden. As descriptions are of small value without correct pictures, whatever value the busts in the magnificent Hermitage collection may have is practically hid from the students of the world outside of St. Petersburg. The few lines which Bernoulli gives to these busts is probably by reason of the same lack of data withheld by the management. One of them is said by him to resemble the Naples bust; the other to be from the Campagna collection of Rome; and the Montferrard statue to be of Hadrian's time. The latter is alluded to in the Berlin *Archäologische Zeitung* of August, 1852, p. 187, which contains no engraving of it, or other information than that it is of Hadrian's time. That the managers of the antiques

in the Hermitage of St. Petersburg should seek to conceal a knowledge of their own treasures, from art students, so that even after the journey to their capital no souvenirs like sketches or photographs may be brought away, is a kind of Chinese exclusiveness little in harmony with the catholic spirit of the civilization around them.

While travelling in Algeria and Tunisia, I made inquiries for Roman antiques that I supposed might have been found in North Africa during the period of the French occupation, but I discovered none that related to Julius Cæsar. Making the short excursion from Tunis to Carthage, I found on the exquisitely beautiful site of the buried city, then green with crops, that a religious society had erected a votive church, and Père Délatre had superintended excavations in the old ruins. A little museum was there to show the finds, mostly of little interest. One very diminutive bronze head had been found, corroded by ages of contact with earth, which I was told has been described in some archæological journal as a possible Julius Cæsar. I examined it with interest, and afterward procured a plaster copy of it. It proved to be an Augustus, instead of a Julius.

THE UNITED STATES

While the author was engaged in seeking the portraitures of Julius Cæsar in Europe from 1897 to 1901, mention was made to him first, it is believed, by Signor Lanciani in Rome, and afterward in England, of "an American" who had recently published an illustrated article in *Scribner's Magazine* containing a greater number of heads of our subject than had before been illustrated together. I was informed that it might be found in some number of the magazine for the year 1897. I searched for it in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, and then in the British Museum, looking through all the numbers of 1897 without finding it. Not until I had returned to New York in 1901, did I learn at the office of *Scribner's Magazine* that the article sought was published in 1887 instead of 1897. It was by John C. Ropes of Boston, and was undoubtedly at the time of its publication the largest collection of Julius Cæsar heads ever illustrated together. It would have been a delight to me, and a great economy of time in my search, if I could have had that fruit of his study at the time when my own enthusiasm was being similarly awakened. Unfortunately the error of my informant as to the year of the magazine containing it left me to travel on the same road alone. However, I was not long in discovering that Professor Bernoulli of Basle was a comprehensive and learned

guide in this study; one too thoughtful and scholarly not to follow with respect. Thus I completed this work without knowledge of Mr. Ropes's preceding study. If my work has been less rapid by reason of this ignorance, it may, on the other hand, have gained by the greater time I have been forced to give to the work, and the riper independence of judgment that may result from wider range of study.

Naturally it is not to be assumed that antique or imitation-antique busts or heads of Julius Cæsar are to be found in the United States. Nevertheless, before returning to America I directed letters to the conservators and librarians of every college or library in the country where it was thought such antiques or imitations might be found. So many rich and curious and scholarly Americans have been disposed to acquire treasures of art in their travels in Europe that it will not be surprising if among them may be found some interesting Cæsars. However, the numerous letters from college and library officials informed me not of one. For any in private collections there is no key to inquiry. Plate XV of Mr. Ropes's article in *Scribner's Magazine* of February, 1887, gives a cut of the head and

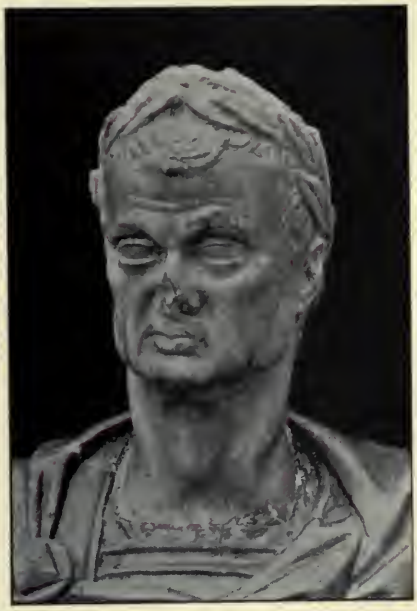


Fig. 49

neck, actual size (three inches high), of a bust owned by General Henry L. Abbott of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army, acquired in Naples by his father in 1812, and said to be from the excavations of Herculaneum. By permission of General Abbott and of Messrs. Scribner, the engraving is here reproduced (Fig. 49). It is a very strong face. It is certainly not a copy, and bears no close resemblance to any preceding plate, cut, or sketch. The engraving does not convince me that it is intended for Julius Cæsar. An examination of the original may furnish more evidence of its resemblance. The great strength of character stamped upon it, and the chaplet of bay leaves on the head, however, make one open-minded to evidence that it may be indeed a veritable antique intended for our hero. I hope yet to see it.

I heard of another supposed antique head of Julius Cæsar through Professor George N. Olcott of Columbia University, which is in the possession of Mr. S. Hudson Chapman of Philadelphia. After a correspondence with him I was promised a photograph of his marble; but it has failed to arrive. The following is Mr. Chapman's description of it in a letter to me dated April 7th, 1902.

"The marble head of Julius Cæsar which I own I bought, in 1885, in Europe. It had just been found in Rome, and when I bought it was unidentified, and one side was covered with mortar, showing it had been used as a building stone. I invited Professor Lanciani to see it when he was here about ten years ago, and he exclaimed, 'It is the finest portrait head I have ever seen,' &c. The

modelling of the face is splendid and characteristic. It is probably the youngest portrait known resembling him (as Pontifex Maximus), as, though it has no veil, it shows traces of having had one in bronze."

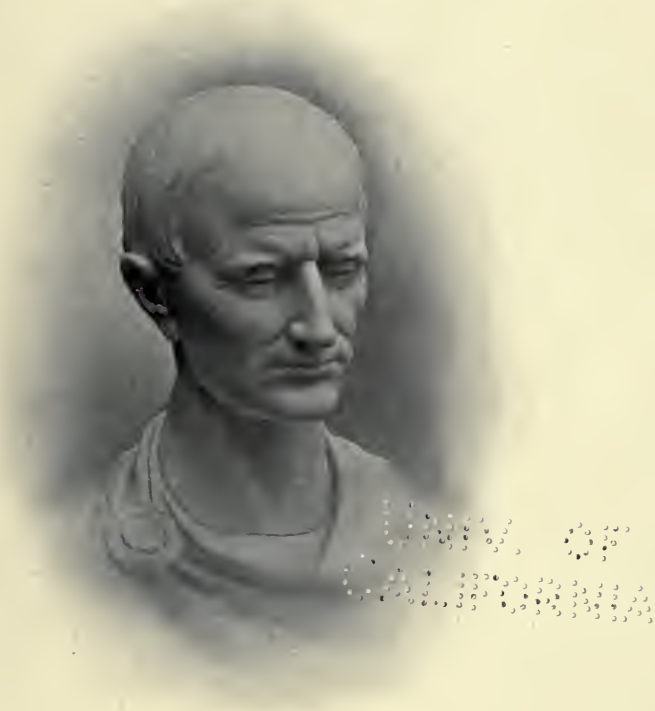
I regret that I have been unable to procure a photograph of what, from the above description, ought to be a very interesting candidate for identification.

If this work be received with sufficient favor to warrant another edition, the author hopes that, not only from the old fields of Europe, but from the choice selections which have found their way to the United States, some valuable additions may be made to the varied illustrations which the present volume contains.

After all the time and travel devoted to the illustration of this subject, I am aware that I may have failed to find, and to illustrate, some valuable pieces of bronze, marble, or gems of Cæsar. These will in time come in, and when all of the data shall have been gathered, then, if not already, the twentieth century will have more material for sculptors to study his head than has been at their service at any time, or anywhere, for more than fifteen hundred years.

I will close by avowing two studies of my own, modelled at Nice in 1899. One is intended to personate Julius at the age of twenty-six, and the other as he is imagined the day he went to the Senate to his assassination, thirty years later. The former is the frontispiece of this volume, and the latter the concluding illustration. When I was modelling them I had not seen the small bust of Parma, or the miniature bronze (No. 61) of the Archæological Museum of Madrid.

Nor had I studied so thoroughly as I have since the Vatican bust No. 107 of the Chiaramonti Gallery (our No. 6). The tremendous concentration of thought and will thrown into the Parma bust is the fullest expression of that side of his character, and not to have seen it was to miss something essential. But after all are seen that can be seen, one feels that Cæsar's personality was more instinct with the grace of conscious power, of persuasive intellectual force, more inspiring of confidence in himself, than any portraitures handed down to us suggest. Can such expression be given by sculptors without losing fidelity to the real features? I think it can, and I believe that men of genius, sculptors living or in the future, will yet give us Julius Cæsars more to the life than any one work now in existence.



APPENDIX. — NONDESCRIPTS

Note on page 108. Whoever has followed the author in reading this monograph up to this page will have realized that among all the busts and statues, of whatever age, which for any reason are supposed to represent Julius Cæsar, many will have doubtful claims. The dividing line between some of those which are included among my numbers, and those rejected as Nondescript, and numbered 00, is somewhat shady. I am conscious of having numbered a few which may be of the Nondescript class. Deference to some generally accepted authority handicaps independent judgment. Catalogues of the great museums are entitled to respect. Yet in several cases I have felt constrained to write of them as quite misleading. Two cases especially germane are: One the Ludivisi bronze, to which I have (inconsistently I admit) given the number 13, illustrated on page 96, Fig. 8; and the other the bust in the Louvre, Hall of the Emperors, Fig. 34, page 139, to which I have not assigned a number, thereby casting it into the outer darkness of the Nondescripts. The directors of public museums, in Paris especially, have put away many busts as unworthy their former nomenclature, which were once as conspicuously exhibited and misnamed as the one to which I have last alluded. Few persons will, I think, question their last judgment concerning them. Other old museums have need of the same kind of sifting work.

NARRATIVES OF JVLIVS CÆSAR

BY

FRANK J. SPRAGUE