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HISTORY
OF
THE ROMANS

UNDER THE EMPIRE.

BY

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LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

FROM THE FOURTH LONDON EDITION. WITH A COPIOUS ANALYTICAL INDEX.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

VOLS. I. AND II.

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PREFACE V. 1+2

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF VOLS. I. AND II.



THE portion of this history now offered to the public embraces the period from the first Triumvirate to the death of Julius Cæsar. The life and times of the great man by whose name it might fitly be designated, present on the one hand the close, on the other the commencement of an era. Cæsar prostrated the Roman oligarchy, and laid the foundations of the Empire in the will of the middle classes. He levelled the barriers of municipality, and infused provincial blood into the senate and people of Rome. Preceding imperators had annexed provinces, Cæsar began to organize the conquests of the commonwealth. From an early period of his career he was fully conscious of the real nature of the revolution on which he was embarked; but if it was his hand that moulded and directed it, the change he effected was in fact demanded by his party and enforced by circumstances. Though the structure of his personal ambition perished with him, the social foundations on which it rested remained firmly rooted in the soil; and the comprehensive imperium of his successors rose majestic and secure from the lines originally drawn by the most sa-

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gacious statesman of the commonwealth. The career of Cæsar is the prelude to the history of four centuries.

I have stated in my first chapter the limits I venture to assign to the work, namely, the transfer of the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople. I shall endeavour to trace throughout the long period before me the effects of conquest and supremacy upon the Roman people; the reaction of the provinces upon the capital; the struggles of the conquered nations to assert for themselves a share in the dignities and privileges of the conquering race; and the gradual fusion into one mass of Italians, Britons, Africans, and Orientals. I shall have to inquire how far the boast of the Romans themselves was true, who, when they beheld the result of this universal fusion and settlement, exclaimed, that their city alone had been wise and just enough to promote this beneficent revolution of her own accord.¹ For we shall see that her concessions were in a great degree extorted from her; and the crowning event which obliterates the last vestige of Roman sentiments, the establishment of Christianity, was in fact the conquest of Rome by her own subjects.

The records we possess of the period to which these two volumes are confined, are more ample than those, perhaps, of any other portion of ancient history; but the course of this work will lead us over many long and dreary

¹ Claudian. *de Cons. Stilich.* iii. 150.:

“Hæc est in gremium vietos quæ sola recepit,
Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit,
Matris non dominæ ritu; eivesque vocavit
Quos domuit, nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.”

Rutilius, *Itiner.* i. 63.:

“Fecisti patriam diversis gentibus unam,
Profuit injustis, te dominante, eapi:
Dumque offers victis proprii consortia juris,
Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat.”

tracts, diversified by few objects, and admitting of little detailed description. Bearing this in mind, I have studied not to lose sight altogether of the proportions suited to a long historical work, and have sought to compress my materials to the utmost limit consistent with perspicuity. At the same time, the remarkable deficiency of our recent literature in any complete narrative of the most interesting period of Roman annals, has constantly tempted me to expatiate; and I have been unwilling to forego the opportunity of supplying it substantially, in case circumstances should prevent the further prosecution of my general design.

The scanty illustration of these times by English writers has been amply compensated by the abundance and copiousness of the contributions of continental scholars. The volumes of Michelet, Amedée Thierry, Duruy, Hoeck, Abeken, and others, have lain open before me throughout the course of my own studies; and the elaborate work of Drumann, in which he has amassed every notice of antiquity, and connected them all together with admirable ingenuity and judgment, has supplied me with a storehouse of references, to which I have not scrupled to resort freely. But without affecting originality, which could only have been extremely defective, I believe that much of my reading, and most of my conclusions, may lay claim at least to independence.

My obligations to Dr. Arnold's History of the Later Commonwealth are acknowledged in another place. The rapid sketch he has given of the times of Julius Cæsar deserved to be retraced by the same pen; the armour in which he made his first literary essay he would doubtless have furbished anew for a riper achievement. If he had lived to continue his general history of Rome to the period before me, it is needless to say that my ambition would have been directed elsewhere; and that, as his ad-

mirer and friend, I should have joined the public voice in hailing his extended work as worthy of himself and his subject.

“Si mea cum vestris valuissent vota, Pelasgi,
Non foret ambiguus tanti certaminis hæres,
Tuque tuis armis, nos te poteremur, Achille.”

LAWFORD, April, 1850

ADDITIONAL PREFACE

TO THE COMPLETE WORK.



THE passage from Rutilius, which was cited at the foot of the page in my original preface, as the key-note to the ensuing history, has just been introduced with a similar view by M. Amedée Thierry, at the commencement of his latest work, the *Tableau de l'Empire Romain*. "Cette belle pensée," he remarks, "exprimée en si beaux vers par un poëte Gaulois du cinquième siècle . . . m'a inspirée le plan de ce livre. Remontant à l'association des compagnons de Romulus dans l'asile des bords du Tibre, j'ai suivi pas à pas la construction de Rome latine, italienne, puis universelle, jusqu'au jour où toutes les nations civilisées et une partie des nations barbares étant réunies sous le même sceptre, il n'y eût plus dans l'ancienne monde qu'une seule cité, en travail d'un monde nouveau. De tous les points de vue de l'histoire romaine, celui-là m'a paru tout à la fois le plus élevé et le plus vrai." I could not express more plainly the idea with which I conceived the plan of this work, which embraces a portion only of the history of Rome, and as now completed, a smaller portion than I at first, perhaps too lightly, contemplated. Of the reasons which have induced me to

terminate my labours with the death of M. Aurelius, I have spoken at the conclusion of the final chapter. But, while I allow the preface to my first volumes, which held out larger expectations, to stand, I will take the opportunity of issuing an edition of the complete work, to speak somewhat more particularly of the object with which it was undertaken.

M. Thierry remarks very truly that every people has two histories,—the one interior, national and domestic, the other exterior. The former he goes on to describe as the history of its laws and institutions, and its political changes,—in one word, of its action upon itself; the latter he refers to the action of the people upon others, and the part it may claim in influencing the common destinies of the world. Of these two histories the first cannot, of course, be fully written till the people has reached the term of its political individuality, neither can the second be written till the farthest effect of its influence can be traced and estimated. There are none of the modern nations of Europe of which even the first of these histories can yet be recounted, still less the second. The political institutions of England, France, and Germany are still in action and progress, while their ultimate effect on the destinies of mankind is lost in an unfathomable future. The great interest of Greek and Roman history consists in this, that we can trace them with singular completeness in both these respects.

The interior, or active political history of the Greeks ceases with the subjugation of their country by Alexander, or at least by the Romans; but it is from this very point that the history of their exterior influence may be said almost to commence. From this period we begin to learn how important a part the little corner of Europe, which gave birth to art and science, to politics and philosophy, was really destined to play in human affairs.

The struggles of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, the siege of Syracuse, the battle of Chæronea, sink into insignificance beside the moral revolutions effected by Plato and Aristotle, by the Sophists and the Rhetoricians, by the poets and painters, the architects and sculptors, by the early converts of Paul and Polycarp, by the fathers of the Christian Church, the Clements, Origen, and Chrysostoms. The internal and political history of Greece has exercised the pens of some of the most accomplished writers of our own day, as well as of earlier generations; but, strange to say, they have uniformly stopped at the conquest of Greece by the Macedonians or the Romans, and the subversion of her political independence, without regarding the far more interesting history of her moral influence from that moment commencing. I know of no work, in any language, on what has always seemed to me the noblest of all historical subjects, the action of Grecian ideas upon the East and the West,—upon the Egyptians, the Persians, and the Jews on the one hand, and upon the Romans on the other,—in the development of modern philosophy and religion, as well as of art and science. To trace these causes to their latest effects would be indeed a task of enormous scope and variety; but a history of the *Greeks*, or of the *Greeks* under the Roman Empire, as distinguished from the narrow and familiar *curriculum* of the “history of Greece,” might not have been too unwieldy for the comprehensive grasp of some of our recent historians.

Roman history presents a nearly similar division of subject and interest with the Grecian, and doubtless it may be written with almost equal completeness in both its branches. The active life of the Romans was comprehended in the series of their conquests, and our writers have generally been content with tracing it to the period when these conquests having arrived substantially at their

greatest extension, and the free action of political ideas having been sacrificed to them, the internal history of the people reaches its termination. With the subjugation of the Eastern provinces, or with the civil wars which followed, and the establishment of a despotic monarchy, the interest of domestic affairs at Rome languishes or ceases; and comparatively little attention has been paid to the new interest which now begins to attach to her influence on the world around her and beneath her. I have always felt how sharp a line is here drawn between the history of Roman action and the history of Roman ideas; between the history of arms and the history of civilization. This distinction I have sought to mark by designating the work on which I have myself engaged as the history of the *Romans*, rather than of Rome. On reviewing, indeed, what I have written, and admitting the painful consciousness of how far it falls short in scope and comprehensiveness of the idea which has from the first been present to me, I must acknowledge that I have done no more than lay the foundations of such a history of the Romans under the Empire, of their ideas and moral principles, their habits and institutions, as might, and no doubt will one day, be elaborated. The civilization of the Romans is, indeed, very closely bound up with that of the Greeks, and to many may appear to be merely subordinate to it. But both deserve to be studied and portrayed apart as well as together. It will be generally conceded that the ideas and institutions of modern Europe are derived by more direct filiation from those of Rome than of Greece; and while both the Roman and the Grecian seem, in their time, and perhaps simultaneously, to have pervaded the whole sphere of the civilized world of antiquity, I confess that my own imagination is most powerfully excited by the visible connexion between moral influence and material authority which is presented, to an

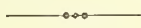
extent never realized before or since, by the phenomenon of the Roman Empire.

The portion of Roman history which I have ventured to illustrate derives another interest, in my eyes, from the completeness of the gallery of national portraits which it exhibits. From Catulus and Lucullus to M. Aurelius, the series may be said to be entire. There is not one, perhaps, of the whole number of statesmen and warriors who fills an important place in the period, whose moral lineaments are not preserved for us in vivid relief by our remaining historians and biographers. And to these political celebrities may be added a list, hardly less complete, of men of letters, in whose works, still preserved, we may trace a clear impress of their social habits and intellectual training. We may picture to ourselves the characters of Virgil and Horace, Lucan and Seneca, Tacitus, Juvenal, and the elder and younger Pliny, almost as accurately as those of Cæsar and Pompeius, Augustus and Tiberius. It is only by knowing the leading minds of an age that we can truly gauge the spirit of the age itself; and in this respect we have, I think, as good means of throwing ourselves into the epoch of Augustus and of Trajan as of almost any modern period prior to our own generation, and that of our immediate predecessors. Assuredly we have no such advantages for studying the character of any other portion of antiquity. Such are the grounds on which I have thought that an account of the Romans under the Empire might be a welcome addition to the stores of English literature.

LAWFORD, August, 1862.

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HISTORY OF THE ROMANS

UNDER THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF ROMAN HISTORY ILLUSTRATED BY THE LEGEND OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY.—EXCLUSION: COMPREHENSION.—ROMANS; PATRICIANS, PLEBEIANS.—ROMANS; LATINS.—ROMANS; ITALIANS.—ROMANS; PROVINCIALS.—TYRANNY OF THE ROMANS: WRONGS OF THE PROVINCES; SERTORIUS; MITHRIDATES; THE PIRATES.—INTERNAL STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS: SPARTACUS.—SPIRIT OF REFORM: RISE OF A MIDDLE CLASS: MODIFICATION OF ROMAN IDEAS.—CLAIMS OF THE PROVINCIALS TO COMPREHENSION: THEIR GRADUAL RECOGNITION.—DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF UNITY, MORAL AND POLITICAL.—CHRISTIANITY: MONARCHY.—EXTINCTION OF ROMAN IDEAS.—SCOPE OF THE WORK.

THE Romans regarded the Palatine as the cradle of the City of the Seven Hills. It was from the opposite slope of the Janiculum that they delighted to behold the chain of eminences which surrounded this central summit, and comprehended within its circuit the most interesting sites and monuments of their history.¹ The configuration of the six exterior heights, from the Capitoline on the left to the Aventine on the right, presented an almost continuous ridge of unequal elevation, abutting at either extremity on the channel of the Tiber. Between the Aventine and the Cælian a small stream made its

Contrast between the Palatine and Aventine hills as sites for a city.

¹ "Hinc septem dominos videre montes,
Et totam licet æstimare Roman." Martial, iv. 64.

way into the enclosure, and the ravine in this quarter was diligently fortified from an early period. The mound of Servius¹ lined the crest of the Quirinal and the Esquiline, where the city seemed accessible, not from any depression in its natural rampart, but from the gentleness of the exterior acclivity. It was not till the time of Trajan that an opening was excavated between the Capitoline and the Quirinal. Where the Tiber first fell under the shadow of the Servian walls, the Capitoline descended abruptly into the hollow, and sustained on its precipitous summits the defences of the city to the north. The Aventine, presenting the opposite horn of the ridge, sloped gradually to the water's edge, and might seem from its position to invite the commerce of the world to the widest and richest valley south of the Apennines, teeming with the products of Etruscan civilization. Its aboriginal monsters were exterminated by the Tyrian Hercules, the genius of commercial enterprize.² But in the depths of antiquity, before the foundations of Rome were laid, the single outlet to the waters which collected round the base of the Palatine, was choked by a desolate morass, and the rank growth of primitive forests buried the central eminence in almost impenetrable concealment. Such a position was admirably adapted for a place of retreat, and offered an impregnable shelter to crime and rapine. It seemed created by Nature herself to be the stronghold of a people of reserved character and predatory habits. It was destined to become the den of the wolves of Italy.³ The legend of the founda-

¹ "Ut unus aditus qui esset inter Esquilinum Quirinumque montem maximo aggere objecto fossa cingeretur altissima." Cic. *de Rep.* ii. 6. Arnold (*Hist. of Rome*, i. 51) has described this locality by a just and lively image. It is remarkable that Cicero makes no mention of the hollow through which the Aqua Crabra flowed into the city, which was fortified by the Agger Quiritium of Ancus (Liv. i. 33); but he was thinking only of defences against invasion from the north.

² See the Legend of Cacus, Virg. *Æn.* viii.

"Cacus Aventinæ timor atque infamia sylvæ." Ovid, *Fast.* i. 551.

³ Such was the expression of Telesinus the Samnite: "Nunquam defuturos raptore Italicæ libertatis lupos, nisi sylvâ in quam refugere solerent esset excisa." Vell. ii. 27.

tion of the Eternal City, which affirmed that the divine omens decided the contest of the brothers and the pretensions of the rival summits, furnishes a striking illustration of the subsequent fortunes of the Roman people. They chose between a career of conquest and plunder, and of discovery and commerce. Romulus founded Rome, Remus might have founded a Carthage.

Nor is it only in the local features of this original birth-place that the isolation of the Roman character is thus vividly depicted. The native ferocity of the people is stamped upon its earliest traditions. The author of the race, it was said, was rejected and exposed by his natural guardians. The sustenance denied him by man was afforded him by the most savage beast of the desert. He grew up to slay his oppressor, to summon the injured and the outlawed to his standard, and wreak with them wild vengeance upon mankind around him. In the same manner, the morose pride of the Roman people, and their antipathy to foreign habits, are strongly marked on every page of their history. They scorned the humanizing pursuits of commerce, and the genial tendencies of social refinement. They were inflamed by a passion for destroying the monuments of their conquered enemies, their arts and literature. They established the most odious distinctions between themselves and their subjects, insulted them by their legislation, and defamed them in their histories.

The Roman polity, however, presents another side, which lays much greater claim to our interest. It was compelled at sundry periods to abandon its proud exclusive principles, and court for self-preservation the alliance of aliens, and even enemies. The annals of the Roman people afford a conspicuous illustration of the natural laws which seem to control the rise and progress of nations. The almost uninterrupted succession of their triumphs, the enormous extent of the dominion they acquired, and the completeness of the cycle through which they passed from infancy to decay, combine to present them to us

Antipathy of
the Romans to
foreigners.

The policy of
comprehension
is forced upon
them.

as the normal type of a conquering race. One principle seems to be established by their history. It is the condition of permanent dominion, that the conquerors should absorb the conquered gradually into their own body, by extending, as circumstances arise, a share in their own exclusive privileges to the masses from whom they have torn their original independence. Thus only can they provide a constant supply of fresh blood to recruit their own exhausted energies, and strengthen the basis of their power while they extend the limits of their conquests.

All conquering nations instinctively resent this sacrifice of pride and immediate interest ; all struggle blindly against it ; the more readily they submit to the necessity, the longer do they retain the vitality of their institutions, and repel the natural advances of decay. The obstinacy with which the Dorian conquerors of Sparta resisted this necessity, checked their career of aggrandizement, and brought their political existence to a premature termination. We are ourselves witnesses at the present day to the consequences of such resistance in the impending ruin of a more magnificent empire, the dominion of the Turks in Greece and western Asia. On the other hand, the latest conquerors of our own island, as well as those of Gaul, have acknowledged the condition attached to their triumph ; and the effects of their victory, itself long since forgotten, have endured through a succession of many centuries. It was by gradually communicating to their subjects, however reluctantly, the outward badges and privileges of the conquering caste, that both the Normans and the Franks have averted the reaction which must otherwise, sooner or later, have swept away the progeny of a mere handful of adventurers. But in relinquishing the privileges extorted by arms, these invaders have retained the ascendancy due to their political genius, and have each impressed their own character indelibly upon the common institutions of the victors and the vanquished. Again, the time may arrive in the social progress of a nation when the incorporation of its component elements has become

This policy the necessary condition of permanent dominion.

complete, but the struggle of races has been succeeded by a struggle of ideas; the conflicting interests and feelings of different classes may require a similar system of timely concession; the rise, for instance, of new religious convictions may threaten to act with explosive force in the bosom of society, and demand a new social combination at the hands of prudent statesmen. In this respect also the history of the Roman people in its latest developments furnishes a manual of experience to the philosophical inquirer.

The spirit of this assimilative principle, if we may so denominate it, may be traced in the venerable legend which related the deed of violence by which the founder of the city sought to multiply the number of his subjects. The contest with the Sabines, who resented the rape of their women, ended in the association of the hostile tribes in the bonds of kinship and alliance. The divided throne of Romulus and Tatius was a type of the double chairs of the patrician and plebeian consuls, and of the successive extension of the Roman franchise to the Latins, the Italians and the Provincials. The infant colony, thus recruited, sprang rapidly into vigorous adolescence. The city of Romulus spread from the Palatine over the surrounding ridge, and connected with a single wall the fortresses which were planted on its heights.¹ The commonwealth grew in fame and fortune by the periodical repetition of this original experiment; by carrying out this principle of incorporation still more widely, it finally rose to empire.

The principle of assimilation traced in the earliest legends of Rome.

Nevertheless, a large portion of the history of Rome is no other than a record of the desperate resistance she offered to the claims of her subjects for comprehension within the pale of her privileges. The timely amalgamation which took place so repeatedly between the conquerors and the conquered, is to be attributed to the good fortune of the commonwealth rather than to

Struggle between the patricians and plebeians.

¹ "Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces."

Virg. *Georg.* ii. in fin.

the wisdom and foresight of her rulers. Under the regal government, indeed, as far as we may trust the records which have descended to us, the principle of equal association was admitted and practised liberally. Romulus shared his throne with the king of the Sabines. Tullus transplanted to Rome the citizens of Alba. The most ancient enumerations of the Roman people seem to indicate, by their rapid increase, that they carried out this policy systematically as long as they were governed by kings. But as the monarchical form of government generally favours the obliteration of distinctions between the various elements which compose a nation, so the oligarchy which supplanted the dynasty of the Tarquins displayed the opposite tendency congenial to a more jealous polity. As the light begins to brighten about the cradle of the Roman institutions, we discover distinct traces of the existence within their pale, not of two classes only, the warriors and their subjects, but of a third also, occupying a position between the others, sharing in the name and in an inferior degree in the rights and privileges of the dominant class. The patricians and plebeians of Rome represent, at this early period, two races of different origin, the former of which has admitted the other, whether on compulsion or by concession, after a fruitless resistance, or by spontaneous arrangement, to a certain prescribed share in the privileges of government and the rights of conquest. It exacts, in return, a strict alliance against the unruly subjects and the enemies common to both. During a century and a half of republican government, while the external policy of the state is developing its tendency to universal aggression, and the work of aggrandizement and self-defence seem, to the eye of the mere bystander, to be animated by a common instinct, there exists, nevertheless, internally a strong under-current of hostility between these jealous yokefellows. The plebs is resolutely working its way to the attainment of complete equality with the *populus*, to the common enjoyment of all public honours and emoluments, and a pledge for the personal consideration of its members. Its numbers are gradually, though slowly, augmented, by the ad-

mission into its ranks of the class of freedmen, those whom compassion, gratitude, or interest have elevated occasionally from servitude to civil privileges. In some cases the whole free population of an allied or friendly city was admitted in a body to the rights of Roman citizenship. Enrolled in one of the existing plebeian tribes, or adding another to the number, it directly increased the power and influence of the inferior order, while at the same time, as the clientele of some patrician house, it reflected additional lustre upon the more dignified class. At last the commons attain their object. They acquire an equal share in the public offices and honours, participate in the same system of law, in the same rites of religion, and in the common fruits of conquest. The two nations coalesce into one. From this era the body politic appears to be animated with new vigour. The career of victory is no longer checked by the defection of the bulk of the people at some important crisis. The hostility of the enemy is no longer encouraged by the suspicion that the councils of his adversary are divided. The course of another century witnesses the extension of the Roman dominion over the whole of Italy, and the vigorous republic is now prepared to contest the sovereignty of the West with the long-settled and deep-rooted power of Carthage.

We find, however, that the Romans do not enter upon this mortal conflict in exclusive dependence upon their own resources. The burghers and the commonalty together are already far outnumbered by the multitude of their subjects, whom they continue to treat as aliens, who are jealous of their sway, and may be expected to rise against them at any favourable opportunity. The strength of the Romans must be invigorated, that of the Italians reduced. Accordingly, we remark the institution of a new form of qualified citizenship conferred upon certain dependent societies, either as a reward for good service to the republic, or to appease their cravings for union with it. The Latin franchise, as it was termed from the people to whom it was first assigned, placed its possessor in

The Latin franchise, and comprehension of the allies in the Roman state.

a state of subordinate communion with the Roman people. The principal advantage which it conferred related to the means of holding and disposing of property ; but the Latin was not deemed worthy to mingle his blood with the Roman, and the child of a mixed marriage became a Latin, and not a Roman citizen. Nor did the republic concede to these dependents the complete right of suffrage. The discharge of certain local magistracies, accessible of course to a few only, was required as a title to enrolment in a plebeian tribe, and the full acquisition of her privileges. In return she required the recipients of her favour to enlist without hesitation in her service. To be admitted, however, even on such unequal terms, to partnership with the victorious republic was an honour much esteemed. Gradually extended to a considerable number of Italian towns, particularly in Samnium and Campania, and afterwards beyond the sea, it conciliated many doubtful friends and materially contributed to the strength of Rome.

It was obvious, however, that in giving her subjects this foretaste of the sweets of sovereignty, the republic fostered the demand for their full and unrestrained enjoyment. Meanwhile, not only was her genuine blood drained by constant warfare, but every new conquest required a fresh effusion from her veins to garrison or to colonize it. Whilst she strove to repair the losses of war in her dependencies, she enhanced the injury which it had inflicted upon herself. The claim of citizenship extended with every new conquest, strengthened in every crisis of her weakness, and gathered courage from her internal dissensions. Within the walls of Rome itself the old contest of the burghers with the commonalty had been insensibly transferred to the richer and poorer classes, the nobility and the populace. Undoubtedly many families of the plebs were as noble and as wealthy as any of the patrician order ; but the latter were all ennobled by birth and station, and the political advantages, of which they enjoyed so large a share, had as yet allowed few to descend into poverty. The mass of the plebeians, on the other hand, com-

Contest of patricians and plebeians transferred to the richer and poorer classes.

prehended all the citizens of obscurer birth, and nearly all of inferior means. Accordingly, when a struggle arose between the upper and lower classes, old names and old jealousies were appealed to on both sides ; the contest assumed the title of one between patricians and plebeians, and the name probably conducted to give a false colour and illegitimate tendency to the thing. The poorer classes claimed certain rights with regard to the public property, of which they had been dispossessed, not as plebeians, but simply as citizens ; but their cause was advocated by the tribunes of the plebs ; the prejudices of the plebs, of every one enrolled in a plebeian tribe, whether noble or mean, rich or poor, were invoked in its support. It was the sympathy of old association, rather than any actual participation in injury, that drew the members of the plebeian nobility into a quarrel altogether apart from their personal interest, or rather one which was contrary to it. The attraction was not universal ; many of the richer plebeians fell into the ranks of the patrician aristocracy which generally opposed these claims ; and in the subsequent phases which the contest assumed, individuals were found to fluctuate reciprocally from the one side to the other. But the struggles of the privileged and the unprivileged continued to be described by the old party designations, and the popular faction might be astonished at triumphing under the leadership of the patrician Julius, while the nobles accepted with distaste and reluctance the services of a plebeian Porcius and Pompeius.

The Licinian rogations, enacted in the year 389 of the city, had laid the foundations of a virtual equality between the patrician and plebeian orders. The principle of the most important of these measures was to destroy the actual monopoly of the use of the public lands which the patricians enjoyed, and to limit the occupation of each citizen to a certain number of acres. Since that time, however, the rich and powerful had again gradually encroached upon this regulation, and while they grasped immense tracts of land, which they could not profitably occupy, had left a vast proportion of the poorer

Proprietary enactments: the Licinian rogations: the Agrarian laws of the Gracchi.

citizens without their rightful means of subsistence. The law in fact had fallen into desuetude. Tiberius Gracchus, alarmed at the progressive depopulation of Italy, and perceiving how the enormous disproportion of properties was tending to extirpate the mass of free citizens, fixed his eye upon these obsolete enactments as the legitimate means of restoring the balance between the rich and poor. His immediate object was, not the enrichment or elevation of the plebeians, but simply the restoration of the needier citizens to a state of honourable independence. The actual law was doubly favourable to his views of re-distribution; for not only had the Licinian rogations never been abrogated, but the title by which alone public land could be occupied was always, in strictness, revocable by the state. It was not the nobility of Rome only who were alarmed by the project of this new agrarian division. The Italians also combined with them in determined opposition to it.¹ The senates of the Italian towns were at this time even more aristocratic than that of Rome itself; for amidst all the popular modifications to which her own constitution was subjected, it had always been the policy of the republic to stifle democratic movements in her dependencies. It is probable, therefore, that the Italian governments were attached to the Roman nobility by mutual interests and sympathies. The nobles repaid their goodwill with kindly offices, and to many of the allies the use of portions of public land, so jealously withheld from their paupers at home, was conceded by special enactment, to more, perhaps, by favour and connivance.

Notwithstanding this foreign support the aristocracy were foiled by the courage and patriotism of the Gracchi, who acted with that thorough faith in the truth and justice of their cause, which affords the surest promise of success. The agrarian laws were carried, though their authors perished in the struggle,

The state derives strength from this concession. Claims of the Italian allies to the

¹ "Nobilitas noxia atque eo perculsa, modo per socios et nomen Latinum ... Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat."—Sallust, *Bell. Jugurth.* 42. Comp. Prosper Mérimée, *Etudes sur l'Histoire Romaine*, i. 48.

and these enactments proved thoroughly too intricate and impracticable to be ever executed. But, imperfectly as they were administered, their effect was still stringent and salutary. Hence the extraordinary energy which the republic displayed during the thirty years that followed; hence the destruction of Jugurtha and the Cimbri, and the repeated triumphs of Marius and Metellus, of Fabius and Scaurus. Meanwhile the Italians had been brooding in secret over the ideas which the late reformation had suggested to them. They acknowledged, upon reflection, that the precarious enjoyment of a few acres of the public land was a privilege far inferior in value to the franchise of the city.¹ The popular party in Rome were still restless, and disturbed the state with demands for new agrarian laws to remedy the inefficiency of the former. The agitators encouraged the demands of the Italians, who now assailed with importunity and menace the prescriptions of the Roman polity.² Great was the outcry of the nobles against their treacherous compatriots who were prepared to level the barriers of exclusion. As usual in popular struggles, moderate concessions were refused, and extreme measures the more vehemently demanded.³ The nobles flew to arms with a spirit that cowed domestic treason, while it maintained its ground no less resolutely against foreign aggression. The apprehensions entertained by the ruling class of the personal loss which would ensue to them from the admission to public honours and emoluments of such a host of competitors, not less, perhaps, an honourable though mistaken abhorrence of

Roman franchise. Resistance of the Romans. The Social war. Triumph of the Romans, but eventual concession of the claims.
A. U. 666.
B. C. 88.

¹ Appian (*Bell. Civ.* i. 18) describes how they were harassed by the commissioners who attempted to carry out the appointed re-distribution of land. Ταυτά τε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν δικαζόντων ἐπίξεις οὐ φέροντες οἱ Ἰταλιῶται. . . .

² Καὶ τινες εἰσηγούντο τοὺς συμμάχους ἅπαντας, οἳ δὴ περὶ τῆς γῆς μάλιστα ἀντέλεγον, εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἀναγράψαι, ὡς μείζονι χάριτι περὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ διωισομένους. καὶ ἐδέχοντο ἄσμενοι τοῦθ' οἱ Ἰταλιῶται, προτιθέμενοι τῶν χωρίων τὴν πολιτείαν.—Appian, *B. C.* i. 21. *Comp.* i. 34.

³ Val. Max. ix. 5. 1; Merimée, i. 60.

the dilution of Roman blood and Roman sentiments from this foreign influx, united both the patricians and plebeians amongst them in one stern and indomitable phalanx. Alone, amidst every combination of dissension and treachery at home, did this old nobility, a few hundred families at most, maintain the struggle by their courage and wealth, against the whole force of Italy, precipitated into arms at the brilliant prospects revealed by the popular intriguers. As the contest proceeded, the claim of citizenship was exchanged for the deadliest vows of extermination, and it was for their existence rather than their prerogatives that the Romans had to contend. The result of the contest was in every way worthy of their military and political reputation. Successful everywhere in the field, they paused at the moment of victory, and to each nation, as it resigned its claims, presented the boon of citizenship as a free gift. The whole of Italy received the full franchise of the city.¹

The Romans had now arrived at that period in their career as a nation, at which the existing generation begins to reflect upon the past, and to trace the steps by which it has arrived at its actual position. They could not fail to recognize the peculiar feature which distinguishes their history from that of all the popular governments of antiquity, the principle of expansion and association, which had carried them triumphantly through every crisis, and strengthened year by year the foundations of their magnificent empire. Sallust hails with satisfaction the early application of this happy policy by the founder of the city;² and it is to this pre-eminently that Cicero attributes the extent and vitality

Retrospect.

¹ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 49; Vell. ii. 17. The principal enactments by which the franchise was extended to the Italians were the *Lex Julia* (A. U. 664) and the *Lex Plautia Papiria* (A. U. 665). But the actual process of enfranchisement was more gradual than has generally been supposed. Many difficulties were thrown in the way of the claimants; the acquisition of the metropolitan required the relinquishment of the local franchise. Several states declined the honour. See Duruy's elaborate note, *Hist. des Romains*, ii. 213; and Niebuhr, *Lect. on Rom. Hist.* i. 387.

² Sallust, *Bell. Catil.* 6.

of the Roman dominion.¹ Dionysius, in the striking passage in which he enumerates the principal causes of the grandeur of the people, who had mortified Grecian vanity by their easy overthrow of the descendants of Leonidas and Themistocles, contrasts the humane and liberal policy of the Romans with the feeble jealousy and exclusiveness of his own countrymen.²

*What was the cause, says Tacitus, of the fall of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, but that, powerful as they were in arms, they spurned their subjects from them as aliens?*³

The nobles, although they had given way to their opponents on the vital point of the right of suffrage, still clung to the hope of maintaining their superiority. At first they tried to limit the preponderance of new voters by arbitrarily restricting them to a small number of the tribes.⁴ But amidst the violence of the civil wars, which assailed the most sacred landmarks of the constitution, such invidious distinctions could not long be maintained. On the first triumph of the popular party, its leader hastened to reward the services of the Italians by abolishing these injurious restrictions. The whole of the tribes were now thrown open to them, and from this time it was evident that they had it in their power, by acting with steadiness and concert, completely to master the genuine Romans in the comitia. But many causes combined to avert this result. The Italians had

Triumph of the popular party in Rome contemporaneously with the enfranchisement of the Italians.

¹ Cie. *pro Balbo*, 31.

² Dionys. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 16, 17.

³ Tac. *Ann.* xi. 24; where the remark is put in the mouth of the Emperor Claudius, when he urged the senate, according to his uniform policy, to extend the franchise to the mass of the Gaulish people. He adds, "At conditor noster Romulus tantum sapientia valuit, ut plerosque populos eodem die hostes dein cives habuerit."

⁴ The original arrangement lasted so short a time that its nature seems to have been speedily forgotten. Velleius (ii. 20) says that the Italians were enrolled in eight tribes, apparently eight of the existing thirty-five; on the other hand, Appian (*B. C.* i. 49) affirms that ten new tribes were created for them. In either case they were liable to be overwhelmed by the old Roman citizens in the comitia, where questions were decided by the majority, not of votes, but of tribes.

no longer any distinct interest at variance with that of the Romans, while they retained many causes of jealousy and disunion among themselves. The distance at which they lay from the centre of action made it impossible for them to watch the shifting currents of the forum, and the inactivity to which they were thus condemned by their position soon rendered them wholly indifferent to questions of temporary interest. The apprehension, therefore, that the introduction of the Italian element into the constitution would have the effect of Italianizing Rome, was totally groundless. Nevertheless, it is certain that from this time must be dated the decay of the Roman nationality, though we must look to another quarter for its cause. The city became from henceforth the common resort of all that was neediest and vilest in the suburban population. The forum was occupied by dissolute and reckless mobs, eager to sell themselves to the demagogues of any party, controlling the elections by corruption or violence, obstructing the march of public affairs, rendering law impotent and justice impracticable. Conscious of their strength and services, these hungry mercenaries claimed a subsidy from the faction they kept in power. They quartered themselves on the government, which was compelled to tax, for their maintenance, the industry of the provinces. At this crisis the suffrages of the Italians might have saved Rome. But the statesmen of the day failed to discover the means, obvious as they appear to us, by which the votes of the distant municipals might be brought to bear against the rabble of the city. The idea of popular representation was altogether foreign to the habits of the age: it was not till a later generation that it first glimmered upon the mind of the variest of Roman legislators.¹ We may imagine, however, that the introduction of such a system by a strong government, like that of Sulla, might have infused a

¹ Suet. *Oet.* 46. : "Excogitato genere suffragiorum quæ de magistratibus urbicis decuriones colonici in sua quisque Colonia ferrent, et sub diem comitiorum obsignata Romam mitterent." The precise nature of the enactment of the Emperor Augustus, here referred to, will be examined hereafter.

new element of stability into the tottering machine of the republican constitution.

Marius was wafted into power with the full tide of the Italian confederacy. He was the first to proscribe and massacre the leaders of the party opposed to him:¹ but his views were narrow and sordid, and he took no measures to secure the ascendancy of the popular faction which he had led to victory. Satiated with the acquisition of a seventh consulship, he was snatched away by a timely death from the disgrace and ruin with which his friends were speedily overtaken.² The return of Sulla, the champion of the nobility, with his veteran legions from Asia, surprised them without plans or resources. The younger Marius threw himself into the arms of the Samnites, still the implacable enemies of Rome, and offered to transfer to their country the seat of empire. The views of Sulla, on the other hand, were thoroughly *national*. The massacres by which he decimated the Italian races, the proscriptions by which he swept off the leaders of the popular party in the city, together with his vigorous exercise of the extraordinary powers which the gratitude of the triumphant nobles conferred upon him, in abrogating laws which had fixed, for more than a generation, the balance of the constitution, all tended to the same end, the restoration and defence of the Roman oligarchy. Even his introduction of a multitude of soldiers and slaves to the franchise, revolutionary as it was in principle, found its excuse in the aim he had in view, that of counteracting the suffrages of the Italians, which even he dared not absolutely annul. He abridged the power of the tribunes,³ who, in addition to their original

Oligarchical reaction under Sulla, and ascendancy of the exclusive or Roman policy.

¹ Sulla indeed was the first who decreed a proscription by law; and on this account Velleius assigns him the ignominy of inventing this mode of carrying on the struggle. "Primus ille exemplum proscriptionis invenit." ii. 28.

² Merimée thinks that Marius committed suicide, i. 247; see Plutarch, *Mar.* 45.

³ Liv. *Epit.* lxxxix.; Vell. ii. 30; Appian, *B. C.* i. 100; Cic. *de Leg.* iii. 9: "In ista quidem re vehementer Sullam probo, qui tribunis plebis sua lege injuriæ faciendæ potestatem ademerit, auxilii ferendi reliquit."

office of protecting the interests of the plebs, had usurped direct control over the deliberations of the senate. He restored to that body the *judicia*, a prerogative eagerly coveted and jealously guarded; for the senatorial judges, or judges, reigned irresponsibly in the public tribunals, screened their friends and condemned their enemies, gorged themselves individually with bribes, and maintained with relentless tyranny the system of provincial oppression by which they profited as a class. The popular party was cowed, and the nobles promised themselves a long enjoyment of the new oligarchical constitution. The gratitude for his services, together with the devotion of his veterans, and the terror of his own name, maintained the dictator in undisputed power, and continued to protect his person after his abdication.

The course of events will lead us, on some future occasions, to trace the remains of resentment and antipathy to

Acquiescence
of the Italians
in Sulla's political
settlement.

Rome which lingered long in some regions of the peninsula: but, for the most part, the ambition of the Italian races was now quelled; they were content to regard the city of Romulus as their own metropolis, and, while they enjoyed the fruits of her wide-wasting domination, gradually learned to take pride in her name. We must now extend a cursory glance beyond the limits of Italy, and estimate, from the condition of her subject territories, the good fortune of Rome, which had thus acquired new strength and resources in a momentous crisis of her external affairs.

Italia, the region to which the privileges of the city had been conceded by the Plautian law, was bounded by

The Roman
provinces. Gal-
lia Cisalpina;
Sicily and the
islands; Spain
and the Prov-
ince beyond the
Alps.

a line drawn across the neck of the peninsula, from the *Æsar* on the lower sea, to the *Rubicon* on the upper. To the north and south lay two provinces, which held the first rank in political importance; on the one hand *Gallia*, or *Gaul* within the Alps, on the other *Sicily*. The *Gaulish* province was divided into two districts by the river *Padus*, or *Po*, from whence they derived their denominations respect-

ively, according as they lay within or beyond that boundary. But the whole of this rich and extensive region was placed under the command of a single proconsul, and the citizens soon learned to regard with jealousy a military force which menaced their own liberties at the same time that it maintained the obedience of their subjects. Sicily, on the other hand, though tranquil and contented, and requiring but a small force to control it, was important to the republic from the abundance of its harvests, to which the city could most confidently look for its necessary supplies of grain. Next among its provinces in proximity to Rome were the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, of which the former also furnished Italy with corn; but both were rude and imperfectly cultivated, and the unhealthiness of the larger island especially continued to keep it below many far remoter regions in wealth, population, and intelligence. The first province which the Romans had acquired beyond their own seas was Spain, where their arms had made slow but steady progress from the period of their earliest contests with the Carthaginians, although the legions had never yet penetrated into its wildest and most distant fastnesses. The connexion between Rome and her Iberian dependencies was long maintained principally by sea, while the wide territory which intervenes between the Alps and the Pyrenees was still occupied by numerous free and jealous communities. But the republic acquired possessions on the coast of the Gulf of Lyons, which gradually extended inland to the Lake of Geneva on the one side and the Cevennes on the other. To this district she gave the name of the Province. She established remoter colonies at Narbo and Tolosa, and finally secured an uninterrupted line of communication from the Var to the Garonne.

The Adriatic and the Ionian Straits separated Italy from her eastern acquisitions. The great provinces of Illyricum and Macedonia comprised the whole expanse of territory from the Adriatic to the Ægean Sea, and were divided from one another by the long mountain-ridges of Boion and Scardus. Ancient Greece, from

The provinces
beyond the
Adriatic.

Thermopylæ to Cape Malea, constituted a single command under the title of Achaia. With Asia Rome communicated principally by sea, the route of the Hellespont being insecure, and the barbarous tribes of Thrace but imperfectly subjected.¹ The republic had constituted a province in the western portion of Asia Minor, and controlled the dependent potentates of Bithynia, Cilicia and Cappadocia. But her supremacy in these regions was contested by Mithridates, the great king of Pontus, and her acquisitions more than once seemed lost to her for ever. On the southern coasts of the great inland sea, the domain which once belonged to Carthage, limited on either side by the lesser Syrtis and the river Bagrada, was the only country which acknowledged her dominion. The extent of her empire, under Sulla, was hardly one half of that which it attained under Augustus and Trajan.

The various relations in which the different classes of the provincial population stood to the ruling city, have been compared with the constitution of a Roman household. The colonies of Roman citizens, planted in the provinces, enjoying the full exercise of their national rights, and presenting a miniature of the metropolis herself, held the position of the son towards the paterfamilias: the conquered races, which had thrown themselves on the victor's mercy, were subjected to his dominion as unreservedly as the slave to that of his master: those among them to whom the state had restored their lands and institutions, occupied a place analogous to that of freedmen. Some cities or nations had voluntarily sought a connexion with Rome on terms of alliance, but with acknowledged inferiority; others, again, stood on a more independent footing, offering a mutual interchange of good offices and citizenship; and, lastly, there were some which entered into confederacy with the republic with perfect equality of rights on both sides. All these had their prototypes respectively in the clients, the guests, and the friends of the Roman noble. Within the

Relation of the
provincials to
Rome.

¹ Cicero, *De Prov. Consul.* 2, makes mention of a military way through Macedonia to the Hellespont.

limits of each Roman province there were generally some states which stood in these several relations to the republic; and the strictness of the military and civil administration of the country was maintained or relaxed towards them according to their respective claims. But, after all, the mass of the provincial population belonged to the class of *dediticii*, that is, those who had originally submitted without conditions, the slaves, as they may be termed, of the great Roman family. These were subjected to the severest fiscal and other burdens, enhanced by the rapacity of their rulers, who, from the consul or prætor to the lowest of their officers, preyed upon them without remorse and without satiety.

The appointment to the provincial commands was left ordinarily in the hands of the senate; nevertheless the people continued to regard it as their own indefeasible prerogative, and sometimes, at the instigation of their demagogues, did not hesitate to resume it.

Government of
the provinces
by proconsuls,
&c.

It was the general rule that the consuls and prætors, after serving their year of office in the city, should proceed to administer for one or sometimes three years the affairs of a province. The state placed large standing armies at their disposal, threw enormous patronage into their hands, and their ambition, avarice, or mutual rivalry, far more than any sense of the public interests, impelled them to exert themselves, during their brief career, in reducing frontier tribes, in quelling insurrections which their own injustice excited, and whenever they could find an excuse for it, in annihilating the ancient liberties and privileges still retained by the more favoured classes of the provincials. Surrounded by an army of officials, all creatures of their own, all engaged in the same work of carving out fortunes for themselves, and abetting their colleagues, the proconsuls had little sense of responsibility to the central government, and glutted their cupidity without restraint. Of all the provinces the Cisalpine and Macedonia, and latterly Syria, were the richest and most amply furnished with military armaments, and on both these accounts they were generally coveted by the consuls, and

distributed between them by lot. The tithes, tolls and other imposts, from which the public revenue was drawn, were farmed by Roman contractors, belonging generally to the order of knights, who had few opportunities of rising to the highest political offices at home ; and the connivance of their superiors in the province, backed by the corrupt state of public feeling in Rome, shielded, to a great extent, the sordid arts by which they defrauded both the state and its subjects. The means of enrichment which the provinces afforded to the nobility became the ultimate object of the deepest political intrigues. A man of ruined fortune looked to the office of proconsul as the sole means of retrieving his affairs. To obtain it, he allied himself with the chief or the party by whose influence he might hope to rise successively through the various steps which led to the consulship. He first sued for the post of quaestor, after a due interval he might hope to be elected ædile, next prætor, and ultimately consul. His grand object was then obtained, for upon the expiration of his term of office he departed as governor to a consular province ; from the emoluments of which he calculated on repaying the expenses of his various contests, on liquidating the debt of gratitude to his adherents, and accumulating a vast fortune for his own gratification, or the advancement of his party.

The cupidity which animated individuals was in fact the mainspring of the political factions of the time. The spoil of the provinces was the bait with which the popular leaders had lured the Italians to their standards. All the legal rights of citizenship had been conceded, but the old oligarchic families, dignified by historic associations, and revelling in the wealth accumulated by centuries of conquest, still hoped to maintain their grasp of the larger share of honours and emoluments which they had contrived to make generally accessible only to the richest. They still looked with scorn themselves, and infused the same sentiment into their inferiors, on the New Men, the men of talents and education, but of moderate origin and fortune, who were striving on all sides to thrust themselves into public notice.

Wrongs and
discontent of
the provincials.

The judicia, or occupation of the bench of justice, was the great instrument by which they protected their monopoly; for by keeping this in their own hands they could quash every attempt at revealing, by legal process, the enormities of the provincial administration. This was the battle-field to which, as we shall see, the instinct of the orator led Cicero to transfer the contest; and when, by a concurrence of fortunate circumstances, he found the means of revealing in one amazing instance the glaring iniquity of the system, the nobles were forced to surrender, if not their prerogatives, at least their impunity in abusing them. But as far as each party succeeded in retaining or extorting a share in the plunder, the same system was carried on by both. It would be unfair to point to either as exceeding the other in rapacity and tyranny. The distress and consequent alienation of the provinces became the pressing evil and danger of the times.¹ Adventurers sprang up in every quarter, and found a floating mass of discontent around them, from which they were certain of deriving direct assistance, or of meeting at least with sullen approbation.

The retirement of Sulla proved how necessary his energy and reputation had been to sustain the weight of empire upon the slender basis of the oligarchical faction. In the west, the whole Spanish nation rose against its oppressors. In the farthest east the ability of Mithridates was seconded by the good will of the conquered races of Asia Minor. Wherever he advanced his ensigns, the people rose, without hesitation, and welcomed him as their deliverer. At the same time the oppression of the conquerors

Their discontent breaks forth in various quarters.

¹ We may indeed infer, from a remarkable passage in Cicero, that even the fiscal oppression of the Romans was not so galling as that which the provincials sometimes exercised upon one another, when they had the power. See Cic. *ad Quint. frat.* i. l. 11: "Non esse autem leniores in exigendis vectigalibus Græcos quam nostros publicanos hinc intelligi potest, quod Caunii nuper, omnesque ex insulis, quæ erant ab Sulla Rhodiis attributæ, confugerunt ad Senatum, nobis ut potius vectigal quam Rhodiis penderent." Comp. Liv. xli. 6. The ingenuity of the Greeks in the art of fiscal extortion is signalized in a long series of instances in the second book of the *Œconomica*, which, though perhaps wrongly attributed to Aristotle, may be fairly referred to as an authority on this subject.

of the world had driven thousands from honest and peaceful occupations to resort to piracy for vengeance or subsistence. The roving corsairs of the Cilician coast found their resources multiplied by the conflux of these restless and discontented adventurers, and their vessels penetrated all the gulfs, and insulted every harbour in the Mediterranean, with a system of organization co-extensive with the great sphere of maritime traffic.¹ It was not till these various combinations of her foes and subjects against her were successively suppressed, that the power of Rome was finally established throughout her dominions. It will be instructive to fix our eyes for a moment upon them.—

I. Sertorius was a Sabine by birth, a Roman citizen who had served with distinction in the armies of Marius against the Cimbri, and again with great success and reputation in Spain.² In the civil war he attached himself to the popular party, and enjoyed a share in the government with Marius and Cinna. His moderation and disinterested patriotism contrasted advantageously with the selfish principles of his colleagues; his name was untainted with the guilt of their proscriptions. After their deaths he despaired of obstructing the triumph of the oligarchy under Sulla, and having no confidence in the character of the younger Marius, he abandoned the defence of the popular cause,³ and retired into Spain. The harassed provincials, who seem to have been previously attached to him, received him as a deliverer from the tyranny of the proconsular government, which now became identified with the rule of Sulla and the nobility. But the energy with which the dictator proceeded to quell their insurrection was irresistible. The rude barbarians were un-

Revolt of the Spanish provinces in combination with the remnant of the Marian party.
A. U. 673.
B. C. 81.
Sertorius.

¹ Appian, *B. Mithrid.* 22: Οὐ μόνως ἔτι τῆς ἑώας θαλάσσης ἐκράτουν ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἑρακλείων στηλῶν ἀπάσης.

² Plutarch's life of Sertorius, to which the reader is referred, is one of his most interesting biographies. The character of the hero is perhaps the most romantic in all Roman history, and the traits of humanity and natural feeling which distinguish it are such as the mild philosopher most loved to paint.

³ Plut. *Sertor.* 6: Παντάσιν ἀπογνοὺς τὴν πόλιν ὤρμησεν εἰς Ἴβηρίαν.

able to face his veteran legions, and Sertorius fled precipitately to New Carthage, and thence crossed to Africa. For a short time the Iberian provinces returned to their obedience, while their champion flitted from place to place, attempting various combinations against the dominant party, but without success. Proscribed and banished from Rome, he proposed to sail for the far-famed islands of the west, and establish his sovereignty in the paradise of Grecian legend.¹ But a native war between rival pretenders to the throne of Mauretania tempted him to remain on the continent of Africa, where he met and defeated a Roman army under one of Sulla's lieutenants. The old sentiment of party animosity thus flattered, he gladly listened to an invitation from the Lusitanians to lead a new revolt against the Roman power. The cause of the oligarchy in Spain was entrusted to the care of Metellus, now aged and unfit to cope with a vigorous antagonist; moreover, the retirement of Sulla soon deprived the Romans of the soul which used to animate their exertions. By successive victories nearly the whole of the peninsula was wrested from the armies of the republic,² and acknowledged the chieftainship of the hero of the west. The sway of Sertorius was studiously mild and conciliatory. His views were comprehensive, and, not content with his present elevation, he looked forward to the establishment of a permanent sovereignty. He detained the children of the nobles as hostages for their fidelity; but at the same time he educated them in Roman arts and manners, and proposed to breed up a generation which should understand and wield the principles of enlightened government. His military force was now strengthened by the arrival of some veteran troops of the Italian party, who had compelled their general, Perperna, to lead them over to him. His camp became the resort of fugitives from Rome, whose object was to

¹ Plut. *Sertor.* 9: Ταῦθ' ὁ Σεργάριος ἀκούσας ἔρωτα θανααστὸν ἔσχευ οἰκῆσαι τὰς νήσους καὶ ζῆν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, τυραννίδος ἀπαλλαγὴς καὶ πολέμων ἀπάντων.

² Liv. *Epit.* xc.: "L. Manlius, proconsul, et M. Domitius, legatus ab Herculeio quæstore, victi sunt." Comp. Flor. iii. 22; Oros. v. 23; Plut. *Sertor.* 12.

renew the old civil contest on a more favourable field. From this moment the designs of Sertorius seem to have undergone a change. He surrounded himself with the nucleus of a new senate from among his Roman adherents; he aimed at a triumphant return to the imperial city, together with the restoration of his party and their principles, and he began to treat his Iberian followers rather as faithful allies than as his adopted countrymen. Accordingly, when Mithridates sent ambassadors to him to negotiate a combined attack upon Italy and a partition of her provinces (for Rome, he said, cannot withstand the union of the new Pyrrhus with the new Hannibal), Sertorius haughtily rejected his alliance, and declared he would never allow a barbarian to possess an inch of Roman territory beyond Bithynia and Cappadocia, miserable countries, which had always been ruled by kings, and the sovereignty of which he cared not to dispute.¹

While contemplating these ultimate objects, Sertorius continued to maintain his position against Cnæus Pompeius, who now shared with Metellus the command of the Roman armies. Though a far abler general than his colleague, and though successful in various engagements with the enemy's lieutenants, Pompeius was baffled by the address and vigilance of a chieftain who compensated for his deficiency in disciplined troops, by availing himself of the genius of his native allies for irregular warfare.² There existed also a jealousy between the Roman commanders, and Pompeius suffered a severe check in hastening to give battle before the arrival of Metellus, who eventually saved him from total rout. *If the old woman had not come*

Contest between Sertorius and Pompeius.

¹ Mithridates, according to Plutarch, was content to furnish Sertorius with 3000 talents and 40 ships, in return for this empty acknowledgment of his claim to Bithynia and Cappadocia. The circumstantial account which this writer gives of the whole transaction seems more worthy of credit than Appian's loose assertion that Sertorius surrendered to Mithridates the whole of the Roman province of Asia. Plut. *Sertor.* 23, 24; Appian, *B. M.* 68.

² Plut. *Pomp.* 19: Διέκοπτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ δῖστη ποικίλος ὦν ὁ πολέμιος, καὶ δεινὸς ἐν βραχεῖ πολλαχοῦ περιφανῆσαι, καὶ μεταγαγεῖν ἀπ' ἄλλων εἰς ἄλλους ἀγῶνας.

up, said Sertorius, *I would have whipped this stripling back to Rome.* The two generals could not long maintain the field against an enemy who possessed all the communications of the country, and the skill to avail himself of them. Metellus was compelled to retire into Gaul to recruit his forces, while Pompeius took up a defensive position in the country of the Vaccæi, and addressed urgent letters to the senate for further supplies.¹

The influence which Sertorius acquired over the Iberians was unbounded. When, with their usual fickleness and mutual distrust, some tribes were inclined to return to their obedience to Rome, he confirmed their fidelity to himself by playing upon their imaginations. He trained a milk-white hind to follow and caress him like a dog, and pretended that it was a gift of Diana, and his familiar counsellor and protectress.² The artifices he used, if we may believe the popular tales, to revive the confidence of his followers by means of this creature, were an ordinary kind of imposture; but it is pleasing to trace, in the fondness he showed for a favourite animal, the tenderness and humanity for which he was conspicuous in a ferocious age, and which, it was said, impelled him to offer more than once to relinquish the contest, that he might again visit his mother, who was still living a widow and childless in Rome.³ It is with pain, however, that we remark, on his part, one act at least of savage treachery. Jealousies arose between his Roman and his native adherents, he was threatened with the desertion of his Iberian nobility, and in a moment of anger or alarm he caused the massacre of their children whom he had retained as hostages. This deed, while it sullied his fame, could not fail to ruin his fortunes. His

Death of Sertorius. The revolt quelled by Pompeius.
A. U. 682.
B. C. 72.

¹ Sallust, *Ep. Pomp. Fr. Hist.* iii. 4.

² Plut. *Sertor.* 11; Aul. Gell. xv. 22.

³ Plut. *Sertor.* 22: Καὶ γὰρ ἦν φιλόπατρις καὶ πολλὸν ἔχων ἴμερον τοῦ καταελθεῖν. . . ἐν δὲ ταῖς νίκαις διεπέμπετο πρὸς Μέτελλον καὶ πρὸς Πομπηίου, ἑτοιμὸς ὦν τὰ ὄπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ βιοῦν ιδιώτης καθόδου τυχών. . . λέγεται δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖν διὰ τὴν μητέρα τραφεὶς ὄρφανός ὑπ' αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἀνακείμενος ἐκέλη.

lieutenant Perperna intrigued against him, and in the midst of the dissensions spreading in the camp, was enabled to assassinate him with impunity.¹ The traitor assumed his victim's place at the head of the allied armies, but their strength was daily weakened by the desertion of the Iberians. From this moment the success of the arms of Rome, ever patient and vigilant, was no longer doubtful. Perperna was defeated and taken in the first engagement, and vainly attempted to avert his merited punishment, by disclosing his adherents in the city. Pompeius, out of generosity or policy, refused to inspect the list.² Perperna was put to death and his forces entirely broken up, the barbarians submitting once more to the dominion which they had so nearly succeeded in overthrowing.

II. The long struggle of Mithridates, king of Pontus, with the Roman power began with his attempts to gain possession of the neighbouring regions of Bithynia and Cappadocia, which it had taken under its protection. The success with which his arms was crowned encouraged him to carry war into the territories of the republic in Asia Minor; and throughout those districts the people were so well disposed towards him that he was enabled to relieve them, at least for a moment, from the yoke of the foreigner.³ The enthusiasm with which he was received marks the excessive hatred that yoke had inspired. It is evident that even the capricious tyranny of Oriental despotism was preferred to all the benefits of European civilization, blighted as they were by the system-

Contest of
Mithridates
with Rome.
His cause
viewed with fa-
vour by the pro-
vincials in the
East.

¹ Plut. *Sertor.* 26; Vell. ii. 30; Liv. *Epit.* xcvi.; Oros. v. 23.

² Plut. *Pomp.* 20.

³ This appears incidentally from Appian's narrative, *B. M.* 20, 21, 22, 28. He says expressly in one place: "Οι καὶ μάλιστα δῆλον ἐγένετο τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐ φόβῳ Μιθριδάτου μάλλον ἢ μίσει Ῥωμαίων τοιαύτε ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι. The clemency which the barbarian conqueror showed to the vanquished indicates that he came rather as a deliverer than an enemy. Velleius excuses the readiness with which the Athenians received the lieutenant of Mithridates (ii. 23); but Tacitus brands them as allies of the enemy of Rome, "Mithridatis adversus Sullam socios." (*Ann.* ii. 55.)

atic rapacity of the Roman governors.¹ The character of the great king of Pontus has come down to us laden with all the crimes his rivals' malevolence could fasten upon it; and in estimating it we must never forget that the sources from whence our historians drew their information were the narratives of unscrupulous foes. We know of no native documents which they could have consulted, and the memoirs of Sulla himself, the personal opponent of Mithridates, were doubtless deemed by the Romans the most authentic records of the contest between them. We have, however, too many proofs of the malignity of their writers to pay any respect to their estimate of the character of their enemies. The abilities which the Eastern despot exhibited may justly raise a prejudice in his favour; and when we consider in addition the magnanimity he repeatedly displayed, we shall be the more inclined to look for other explanations of the crimes imputed to him than the natural barbarity to which our authorities complacently refer them. The massacre of the Roman settlers throughout their Asiatic possessions, which followed upon the success of Mithridates, is more likely to have been an act of national vengeance than the execution, as the historians represent it, of a tyrant's mandate.²

The triumphs of the king of Pontus were not limited to Asia. In Greece the same predisposing cause produced

¹ This is strongly expressed in the speech of Mithridates (Justin, xxxviii. 7), where he makes a direct appeal to the passions of the provincials: "Tantumque me avida expectet Asia ut etiam vocibus vocet: adeo illis odium Romanorum incussit rapacitas proconsulum, sectio publicanorum, calumniæ litium." Compare Pliny's remark on the infamous character his countrymen had acquired, when speaking of the death of Aquilius, down whose throat molten gold was poured by order of Mithridates. (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 3.)

² It is worth observing, as an illustration of the carelessness of the Romans in reporting groundless calumnies, that Plutarch (*Pomp.* 37), speaking of this very subject, mentions Theophanes, a literary contemporary of Cicero, as having asserted that Pompeius discovered among the papers of Mithridates a letter from a certain Rutilius, urging him to the perpetration of this massacre, whereas it appears incidentally from a passage of Cicero (*pro Rabir. Post.* 10), that it was only by a stratagem that Rutilius himself escaped being made a victim.

Attempt of Lucullus to reform the provincial administration not supported by Pompeius.

similar effects, and almost the whole of that country was wrested from the Romans with equal ease and rapidity. Sulla it is true recovered these provinces after many desperate engagements; but

the hostility of the natives, the result of misgovernment, had been amply manifested, and not less the precariousness of the tenure by which their obedience was maintained. Sulla

A. U. 670.
B. C. 84.

pursued his victorious career into Asia, and compelled the enemy to accept terms by which the

whole of his conquests were wrung from his grasp. The provinces were again subjected to their former servitude. It seems, even from the accounts of the Romans themselves, that during the years that followed, while Sulla was enjoying his supremacy in Rome, the generals to whom the defence of the Asiatic frontier was committed acted with much perfidy in their transactions with Mithridates, trying, for their own glory or emolument, to provoke him again to war.¹ It was not however till after the dictator's death that the contest was actually

A. U. 680.
B. C. 74.

renewed. Lucullus now assumed the command in Asia, and he alone perceived the real weakness of

the republic, and strove to apply a remedy. The *publicani* or farmers of the revenue had redoubled their exactions to acquit their obligation to defray the expenses of Sulla's campaigns.

The new proconsul took measures to relieve the provincials from the fresh burdens imposed upon them on this account;² at the same time he began a series of administrative reforms, and sought to beguile the disaffection of the natives with hopes

A. U. 686.
B. C. 68.

of a milder servitude. But before he could develop his new system, the armies of Mithridates

again appeared in the field, and the people rose to receive him with all their former alacrity. Lucullus strove in vain to repress the impatience of his officers, who despised his prudential measures, and were eager to oppose force to force. The arms of the republic sustained some partial losses; these were

¹ App. B. M. 64.: Μουρήνας μὲν. . . πολέμων ἀφορμὰς ἤρεσκέλει δι' ἐπιθυμίαν θριάμβου.

² Plut. Lucull. 20. 2.

magnified perhaps by the classes interested in provincial oppression, till the senate began to murmur against the Fabian policy of their general. Though he obtained eminent successes, and restored the domination of Rome upon a more solid footing than before, he was charged with delaying, for personal objects, the consummation of his victories, and finally superseded in his command. The brilliant and decisive operations of Pompeius, to whom the conduct of the war was next intrusted, might seem to justify his predecessor's disgrace. But if Pompeius had greater military talents than Lucullus, or if his influence over a soldiery demoralized by alternate rout and plunder was more efficient for the restoration of discipline, the views of the other were certainly both nobler and wiser. The victor after all owed his triumph as much to the exhaustion of the enemy as to his own prowess; having gained the laurels which it was his ambition to secure, he declined at least to risk the favour of the Roman nobles by checking their career of extortion abroad.

A. U. 688.
B. C. 66.

III. The great traffic which flourished for centuries between Greece, Egypt, and Syria, presented a brilliant lure to the habits of piracy which have prevailed in those seas from the earliest times. The father of history traces the origin of European and Asiatic hostility to the predatory enterprizes of lawless adventurers.¹ Such is the natural configuration of the coasts of Greece and Asia Minor, and their intermediate islands, that this plague of piracy has never been thoroughly eradicated from their waters.² The sea-line of either continent is broken by innumerable bays and creeks, and bristles with projecting headlands; in such regions the science of navigation requires the aid of minute local knowledge. The interior of the country is also generally difficult of access; precipitous mountains

Origin of the
Cilician piratical confederation.

¹ Herod. i. init.; comp. Thuc. i. 5.

² Compare Mr. Finlay's intelligent work on Greece under the Romans, p. 38.: "It is said that the piracies committed during the late revolutionary war contributed quite as much as the humanity of the allies to the signature of the treaty of the 6th of July, 1827, and to the foundation of a German monarchy in Greece."

alternate with deep valleys; here and there only a broader expanse is opened by a river of more than usual volume. Its population congregated, even in the best times, in spots of isolated fertility, large tracts of impassable mountain intervening between them. Under such circumstances, the recesses of every bay formed retreats for piratical adventurers, in which to repair their vessels, enjoy their booty, and riot away the intervals of repose. The policy of the Romans did not allow the provincials to maintain an effective military force to destroy these nests of marauders; during the Mithridatic war the coasts of Greece and Ionia swarmed with them; but it was through the policy of the king of Pontus that Cilicia became their principal stronghold. Despairing of ultimate success, he determined, it was said,¹ to leave a sting rankling in the vitals of the republic. With this view, having driven in the feeble outposts of the Roman power, he encouraged the piratical hordes of the eastern seas to collect on the coast of Cilicia.² Here they established their docks, arsenals, and magazines: here there grew up an organized system of rapine and defiance, a fleet, a nation, and perhaps a government of pirates.

The rise of such a power, not only menacing individual life and property, but obstructing the communications and clipping the revenues of states, shows how inefficient the Roman government abroad must have been, and how alienated the affections of the natives who did not shake off the marauders from their coasts.³ Meanwhile, the needy and oppressed, whoever had suffered from the scourge of war or

It flourishes from the inefficiency of the provincial government, and the disaffection of the provinces.

clipping the revenues of states, shows how inefficient the Roman government abroad must have been, and how alienated the affections of the natives who did not shake off the marauders from their coasts.³ Meanwhile, the needy and

¹ Appian, *B. M.* 92. : Μιθριδάτης, ὅτε πρῶτον Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμει καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκράτει, Σύλλα περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πονοῦμένου, ἡγούμενος οὐκ ἐς πολλὴν καθέξειν τῆς Ἀσίας, τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐλυμαίνετο, καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν πειρατὰς καθῆκεν.

² Appian, *l. c.* : Ναῦς τε καὶ ὄπλα πάντα ἐτεκταίνοντο μάλιστα περὶ τὴν τραχείαν λεγομένην Κιλικίαν, ἣν κοινὸν σφῶν ὕφορμον ἢ στρατόπεδον ἐτίθεντο εἶναι.

³ Sulla and Lucullus restored the Roman government in Cilicia, but made no impression upon the piratical establishments on the coast.

from the rapacity of a foreign official, the most adventurous, at least, and energetic among them, contributed to swell the numbers of this pirate state.¹ The commerce between Italy, Greece, Syria and Egypt, was in a great measure an interchange of necessaries, which war and even anarchy could not exterminate. Year after year whole fleets of merchant vessels, with all their passengers and cargoes, fell into the hands of the corsairs. Such were the power and audacity of these restless adventurers, that they often dashed as far as sixty miles inland, and carried off not only plunder, but the inhabitants of towns and villas.² From the wealthy they exacted ransoms; the bold and the desperate they enlisted in their own service; some they murdered in mere wanton cruelty, others on purpose to strike terror into friends and foes, and draw closer the bonds of their confederacy. They formed stations and settlements throughout the Mediterranean. It was on the coast of Spain that Sertorius fell in with a fleet of Cilician privateers, and obtained their assistance. Another squadron treated with the foes of the republic in the straits of Messina.³ Four hundred cities, according to Plutarch,⁴ fell into their hands; they possessed a thousand vessels; their pride and audacity, the splendour of their equipments, and their insolent ostentation, were more galling to the Romans than even their violence.⁵ Many of the principal temples, the treasuries of the Greek communities, which had escaped the cupidity of so many conquerors, were plundered by these unscrupulous robbers. In some places they

¹ Plut. (*Pomp.* 24) says that piracy began to be embarked in as a sphere of honourable enterprise by men of wealth and station: 'Ὡς καὶ δόξαν τινὰ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἔργου φέροντος.

² Antonia, the daughter of the orator M. Antonius, was seized by these pirates on a high road in Italy and ransomed at great cost. (Plut. *l. c.*)

³ Plut. *Crass.* 10.

⁴ Plut. *Pomp.* 24.

⁵ Cicero (*pro Leg. Manil.* 12) enumerates some of their principal exploits:—The seizure of Cnidos, Colophon and Samos; the sack of Caieta; insults and injuries inflicted within the harbours of Ostia and Misenum; the Roman fleet shut up in Brundisium; the capture of two Roman prætors. "Etiam Appia via jam carebamus." Comp. App. *B. M.* 98. Both Julius Cæsar and P. Clodius fell, as we shall hereafter see, into their hands.

established within their walls the rites of Mithras and secret Oriental mysteries, as if they wished to defy the religion no less than the civilization of Europe. But most of all they delighted in torturing and destroying citizens of the republic, against which their hatred was chiefly concentrated.

The honour, if not the security, of the commonwealth demanded the thorough suppression of this growing evil.

Murena, and after him Servilius Isauricus, while holding commands in Asia, had attempted to check it without success. But the republic had the maritime force of all its allies at its disposal :

Reduction of
the pirates by
Pompeius.
A. U. 687.
B. C. 67.

to marshal it with effect required consummate ability. Pompeius, to whom this task was committed, distributed his armament in three divisions, so as to sweep the whole of the Mediterranean, and surprised the world by reducing the squadrons of the pirates, together with their strongholds in Cilicia, within the space of three months. He effected his purpose, indeed, as much by negotiation as by force. He admitted the pretensions of the marauders to the dignity of a nation,¹ not treating them as outlaws, but condescending to settle many of them in colonies both in Greece and Asia. As a memorial of the exploit he changed to Pompeiopolis the name of Soli, which he rebuilt for their occupation.²

These accounts may suffice to show the detestation in which the Roman government was held throughout the provinces.

The Italians, on the other hand, are conciliated by their comprehension in the Roman state. They lend no countenance to the movements of Lepidus and Brutus.

A. U. 677.
B. C. 77.

We see the natives ready everywhere to throw themselves headlong into any enterprize that seems to menace the fortunes of the republic.

We see how passively they regard the rise of a hostile power, even where they are themselves the first to suffer from it. Equally harassed, whether in war or in peace, their distress drives them to despair; they break their ties with so-

¹ App. *B. M.* 92. : Βασιλεύσι δ' ἤδη καὶ τυράννοις ἢ στρατοπέδοις μεγάλοις ἑαυτοὺς ὁμοιοῦντες. Velleius discovers to us, by an incidental expression, that the Romans were jealous of this condescension: "Sunt qui hoc earpant." (ii. 32.) Compare the reluctance of Tiberius to treat with Taefarinas as a *hostis*. (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 73.)

² App. *B. M.* 97. ; Plut. *Pomp.* 28. ; Strabo. xiv. 5.

ciety, and plunder even the nations whom they avenge. The energy with which the Romans combated and triumphed over this mass of resistance strikes us with wonder and awe. Their hands were nerved with the strength which the incorporation of the Italians supplied to them. Even within the limits of the peninsula the remembrance of the late wars might rankle among various communities; but the sense of their new dignity, and the enjoyment even of their limited share of power, subdued these latent animosities. The advance from municipal distinction to the highest honours of the metropolis was still rare and difficult; but many of the most lucrative posts were open to the claims of the Italians. Their ablest men flocked to Rome in quest of fame and preferment, of which they obtained an ample share through numerous channels. Enrolled among the Roman knights, they served in the administration of the provinces, or, at the head of the legions, cohorts, and centuries, rifled the temples of Asia and the fastnesses of Gaul and Spain. The increase of wealth at Rome could not fail to overflow upon the cities of the peninsula. The colonists of Sulla disgorged, in the retirement of their Sabine or Etruscan farms, the plunder of their distant campaigns; the nobles of the capital covered ample districts with villas and gardens; and the ostentation of luxury allured and charmed, even where the substance of wealth was wanting. Accordingly both fear and interest combined to dissuade them from hazarding again the chances of war with Rome. When M. Æmilius Lepidus, the chief of the popular party, and consul upon the abdication of the dictatorship by Sulla, attempted to revive the struggle of factions, and raise himself to a similar supremacy, the Italians held aloof from his cause.¹ Defeated in his rash enter-
A. U. 677.
B. C. 77.
 prize, and driven beyond the seas, he perished of
 shame and sickness in Sardinia.² M. Junius Brutus, who

¹ Sallust says: "Etruria atque omnes reliquæ belli arrectæ" (*Fragm. Hist.* i. 14.); but the Etrurians were his only allies, and their ardour was only momentary.

² Appian, *B. C.* i. 109.; Florus, iii. 23.: "Ibi morbo et pœnitentia interiit."

embarked upon a similar adventure, was shut up in Mutina, and there taken and put to death.¹

Nevertheless the seeds of disturbance were rife even in Italy among the classes of society to which the rights and privileges of humanity were denied. The gladiatorial shows had already begun to form the great national diversion of the Romans. Slaves, captives, and criminals were the ordinary victims of this barbarous passion, though freemen, and even citizens, sometimes fought for wages in the arena. It happened that a numerous troop of gladiators was maintained at Capua by one Batiatus, to be let out, according to the custom of the time, on occasions of public entertainment. These men at least were not voluntary combatants; they plotted to escape, but seventy-eight only out of the number succeeded in breaking prison.² The fugitives began by seizing upon the spits and other implements in the house of a cook; thus armed, they attacked and plundered on the road a large consignment of gladiatorial weapons. They took refuge, it is said, in the first instance in the then extinct crater of Vesuvius, and soon made themselves masters of a neighbouring fortress. When they proceeded to elect a commander, their choice fell upon Spartacus,³ a Thracian by birth, a man of remarkable strength and courage, and endowed with a mildness as well as sagacity of character above his condition. The first success of the insurgents in the field was in combat with the troops which sallied forth from Capua to check their revolt. This victory supplied them with the arms of a regular soldiery, for which they gladly exchanged their own imperfect equipments. More confident in themselves, and with increasing numbers, they met and defeated a

Revolt of the gladiators under Spartacus. Supported by multitudes of the discontented in Italy, but quelled, because not countenanced by the Italian states.
A. U. 681.
B. C. 73.

¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 16.

² Plut. *Crass.* 8-12.; Appian, *B. C.* i. 116-121. Florus, iii. 20., states the number at thirty.

³ It appears that he had deserted from the army, been retaken, and sold into slavery; if at least we may attach any credit to the violent language of Florus: "De stipendiario Thrace miles, de milite desertor, inde latro, dein in honore virium gladiator." (Flor. *l. c.*)

force of 3,000 men under C. Clodius, and were now daily joined by bands of fugitive slaves and outlawed marauders.¹ In the course of three years, during which Spartacus continued to make head against the power of the republic, the numbers of his armies are successively estimated at 40,000, 70,000 and 100,000 men. At one time he actually held possession of the southern provinces of the peninsula; he sacked some of the principal cities in Campania, and pillaged the farms and villas of the Sabine mountains.² In the field he obtained brilliant victories over Cassinius and the prætor Varinius; yet he received no public support from the Italian communities. The Samnite and the Marsian shrank with horror from a revolt of slaves and brigands. At the height of his success he was not deceived as to his real weakness, and urged his followers to effect their escape across the Alps, and betake themselves to their own homes in Gaul and Thrace, to which countries most of them belonged.³ But the plunder of all Italy seemed within their reach, and was too tempting to be relinquished in the first flush of victory. The senate was now seriously alarmed, and sent the two consuls, Gellius and Lentulus, with ampler forces, to confront the public enemy.⁴ The danger had not even yet reached its height: both the consuls were ignominiously defeated. They were deposed from their commands, and Crassus, the most eminent of the citizens, was appointed to continue the war. Meanwhile dissensions arose in the horde itself; parties separated from the main body and were cut off in detail. The legions of the republic, numerous

¹ The shepherds of the Apulian mountains were a lawless and desperate class of men, ready to join in any insurrectionary enterprise. Comp. Ascon. in *Orat. in Tog. Cand.* p. 88. Orell.

² Horace, *Od.* iii. 14., alludes to local traditions: "Spartacum si quæ potuit vagantem fallere testa."

³ Plut. *Crass.* 8.: "Ὁν οἱ πολλοὶ Γαλάται καὶ Θρᾶκες. Crixus and Eno-maus, the principal leaders next to Spartacus, were both Gauls. Eutrop. vi. 7.; Oros. v. 24. Liv. (*Epit.* xvii.) speaks of a large body of the fugitives as mostly Germans and Gauls.

⁴ Lucan, a faithful depositary of the traditions of the old oligarchical government, dignifies him with the appellation of *hostis*, or foreign foe: "Ut simili causa caderes qua Spartacus hostis," ii. 554.

and well-appointed, closed in upon the disorganized stragglers. Retracing his steps from the north of Italy, Spartacus now contemplated transporting his followers into Sicily, and there reviving the servile war which within a quarter of a century had set that island in a blaze. A fleet of Cilician privateers lay off Rhegium, and with these bitter foes of Rome the rebel chief treated for a passage across the straits. But they, impolitic no less than faithless, secured the stipulated price, and sailed away without performing their agreement.¹ Crassus was now in full pursuit of the insurgents, whom he drove into the town of Rhegium, and there blockaded. By a skilful manœuvre Spartacus made his escape, but only with a portion of his forces; this, however, was enough to terrify his adversary, who feared that the enemy would outstrip him, and pounce upon Rome itself before he could be overtaken. Crassus entreated the senate to recall to its defence Lucullus from Asia, and Pompeius from Spain; again, repenting of having invited his rivals to share, perhaps to rob him of the honours of the war, he redoubled his efforts to bring it to a close before their arrival.² But Spartacus was destitute of means to attack the capital, and the Italian states continued immovable. He defended himself with obstinate bravery; but after alternate victories and defeats, he was slain in a final and decisive battle. The remnant of his followers was exterminated by Pompeius, who arrived in time to put the finishing stroke to the war, and to reap, from the partiality of his countrymen, a disproportionate share of the reward. Crassus lavished upon the multitude one-tenth of his immense wealth; he feasted them at ten thousand tables, and fed the citizens at free cost for three months.³ But Pompeius alone they regarded as their preserver; in him their gratitude wholly centered; and it was only through his assistance that Crassus obtained a share in the consulship.

A. U. 684.

B. C. 70.

¹ Plut. *Crass.* 10.

² Appian, *B. C.* i. 120.

³ Plut. *Crass.* 12.

The frightful corruption of the Roman government in the provinces was symptomatic of the general relaxation of public

morality at home. On turning our eyes to the great metropolis from whence this stream of profligacy issued, we find every act of its senate, its comitia and its forum, marked with the same stain of selfishness and venality. The senate retained with a convulsive grasp every privilege which Sulla had won for it: the judicia, which he had wrested from the knights and appropriated exclusively to the highest order in the state, were shameless alike in their partiality and corruption.¹ The favour of the people was sought and gained by profuse largesses; the means of seduction allowed by law, such as the covert bribery of shows and festivals, were used openly and boldly; while others which were expressly interdicted, such as the direct proffer of money, were practised not less lavishly in the polling booths, where the restraint of the ballot was wholly ineffectual. Not unfrequently mere violence took the place of bribery; disturbances were purposely created; mobs were formed and drilled, and battles ensued. In the confusion the consuls interfered, and broke up the proceedings. The great public magistracies were left vacant for many months, from the impossibility of conducting the election with even a show of legitimate order.

Corruption of the Roman government at home; venality and violence displayed at the elections.

It has already been shown that a large portion of the urban population whom the nobles thus systematically debauched, were no better than a needy rabble, dissolute in morals, and destitute of any sense of national honour. The ready market offered for their votes was attractive to the lowest and vilest of the Italians, and the mob of the comitia was swelled by the worst class of the new citizens. Too proud to work where labour was the mark of the slave, a multitude of free men, without

Dissolute character of the mass of the free urban population. Remains of the ancient parsimonious spirit of the Romans. Moral superiority of the knights to the senators. Growth of a middle class.

¹ Cicero allows that the venality of the judices, who presided at the *quaestiones perpetuae*, permanent tribunals for inquiring into political or other specified offences, cast a stigma upon the whole order: "Totus ordo paucorum improbitate et audacia premitur, et urgetur infamia judiciorum." (I. *In Verr.* 12.) In another place, warming with his subject, he brands the judicia of the senate as *regia dominatio*. (II. *In Verr.* v. 68.)

occupation or social position, were content to subsist in idleness upon the annual sale of their prerogatives, and presented ready instruments for any political adventurer who promised either present pay or prospective rapine. But the Romans had a natural genius for the arts by which money is made and accumulated. The cautious and frugal habits of the middle orders in a former age of the republic still survived in that class of the commonalty to which the equestrian families belonged, who had always formed the strength of the Marian party. This was the class which had suffered most in the civil wars. As the foe and rival of the senate, it had been decimated and almost crushed by the massacres and proscriptions of Sulla. The restoration, however, of domestic peace was soon followed by the revival of its fortunes. The nobility struggled in vain to keep it in the state of depression to which it had been reduced. Its members, too, had their family recollections. Their modest patrimonies gave them an hereditary interest in peace and order. They were educated and intelligent, and knew the power which these advantages conferred. The making of money was their first object: to this the bent of their dispositions instinctively impelled them; and the circumstances of the state, overflowing with the wealth poured in from the provinces, gave them a great advantage over their rivals, whose political necessities required them year by year to scatter their fortunes among the mob. This class consisted, 1. Of those who attached themselves to the great families, and hung upon their favours and patronage, whether in the forum, the provinces, or the camp; 2. Of those who, in spite of the ancient prejudices against commerce, and the arts and sciences of polished society,¹ engaged with all their energy in those lucrative pursuits, and were not ashamed of ministering to the growing taste for luxury and refinement; 3. Of the government officials, a class hitherto in the infancy of its development, but one which the gradual progress of uniformity and system in the administration was

¹ Cic. *de Off.* i. 42., ii. *in Verr.* v. 18.; Liv. xxi. 63.: "Quæstus omnis patribus indecorus visus."

slowly raising into an important body.¹ It became evident to the clear-sighted politician that this was the order in which the real strength of the nation lay, and that it was this moneyed aristocracy which must eventually dispose of the government. The patriotic statesmen might hope through their influence to place the commonwealth upon a new and permanent basis; the selfish adventurer might combine with him to advance their interests, with the hope of forging them into instruments for his own ends. The course of this history will show how the principal leaders of party leaned successively upon the support of this body, and how important was the part it played in the conversion of the republic to a monarchical form of government. The rise of this middle class, hostile to both the higher and lower, and resolved to control them equally, exerted from within an active influence upon that revolution of affairs. One further glance at the provinces will reveal to us a second force co-operating from without, and destined to form the other main support of the imperial Colossus.

The legal rights of the Roman citizen were of two kinds, social and political: the former consisted chiefly in certain immunities and privileges regarding marriage, inheritance, and the possession of property; the second secured his person from the disgrace of corporal punishment, gave him an appeal from the decision of the magistrates to the people, the exercise of the suffrage and eligibility to public offices, and an escape from sentence of death by voluntary banishment. In later times another immunity was required by it, of more substantial, at least of more universal, interest. The reduc-

Fiscal immunities imparted by the Roman franchise. Claims of the provincials to comprehension.

¹ The great mass of official writing was conducted originally by slaves or freedmen below the class of citizens. Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, iii. 299. Engl. Trans. There can be no doubt that the unfortunate institution of slavery deprived the state of that large class of citizens, of moderate tastes and conservative tendencies, who contribute so much, as inferior dependents on government, to the stability of modern politics. But the superior officers and chiefs of department were, at least in the later periods of the republic, in the enjoyment of the complete franchise.

tion of Macedonia by Æmilius Paullus, in the year 585 of the city, supplied such abundant resources to the treasury, that the public domains in the occupation of Roman proprietors were from thenceforth released from the payment of the land tax :¹ and, in general, the indulgence which the state evinced to her citizens as regarded their public contributions, perpetuated an invidious distinction between them and the inferior class of subjects. Accordingly, as the pressure fell more and more upon the provinces, the anxiety to escape from it became proportionally urgent. At the same time this anxiety on the one side was met by ample reasons of policy on the other. The diminution of the free population of Italy was the most notorious evil of the times ; and it was viewed with the greater alarm, as the extension of the dominions of the state rendered the permanent augmentation of her armies indispensable.²

The progressive enlightenment of the Roman statesmen caused the constant addition of new names to the roll of citizenship. Successful generals were allowed the privilege of rewarding their adherents with this precious boon. Fidelity to the state began to constitute a claim to its immunities, which was more graciously conceded, as the benefits of incorporation were more sensibly perceived. As the people became gradually aware that the great revolution of the Social war had brought with it more good and less evil than had been anticipated, the extension of the rights of the metropolis to the distant provinces lost the character of an inconsistency and anomaly in the constitution. Local preju-

Gradual enlightenment of the Roman statesmen. Tendency towards a general fusion of all the races of the empire.

¹ Cic. *de Off.* ii. 22. If this tax was reimposed in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, A. U. 711 (Plut. *Æmil.* 38), it seems to have been merely as a temporary expedient : see Durcau de la Malle, *Econ. Polit. des Romains*, l. ii. c. 9. The city itself and the whole of Italy were relieved from all tolls by the laws of Metellus Nepos, in 694. Dion, xxxvii. 51. ; Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 16.

² The most important evidence regarding this depopulation of Italy may be found at the beginning of Appian's history of the civil war. There is no subject on which there is such a complete consent of the original authorities. The discussion of its causes and effects is reserved for a future opportunity.

dices died away in the familiar contemplation of the vastness of the empire and the mutual relationship of its several members. The mind of the nation expanded to the conception of infusing unity of sentiment into a body, which was wielded by a single effort, and from a common centre. One after another there arose political crises, which demanded the combination of all the powers of the state in a single hand. The success of each experiment became an argument for its repetition, till the idea of submission to the permanent rule of one man first ceased to shock, and was finally hailed with acclamation. The monarchy was at first veiled under the old republican forms. Gradually the veil was dropped. Lastly, the theory of a republic was dismissed from men's minds, and fell into the same oblivion into which its real forces had already sunk. Under the supremacy of a single ruler all varieties of class became merged together; and when the citizens ceased to be discriminated among one another, there seemed no reason for maintaining distinctions between the constituent races of which the empire was composed.

At the same period there arose in various quarters of the world mysterious voices, of which historians have repeated the echoes, indicating a general but undefined presentiment that an age of social or moral unity was approaching.¹ The East was roused to a fervid anticipation of the advent of some universal conqueror who should melt all mankind into a crude, inorganic mass. Accustomed from its infancy to a succession of monarchical dynasties, it was uneasy under the republican organization and individual development which followed upon the Roman conquest. It sighed for the coming of another Cyrus or Alexander. But these sounds found a responsive chord in the West also.² The sublime vaticinations of the Virgilian Sibyl,

Anticipations of a new era. Contemporaneous manifestation of Christianity and monarchy. Development of the idea of unity. Its consummation in the political establishment of Christianity.

¹ See the well-known passages of Suetonius (*Vesp.* 4.) and Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 13.), confirmed by Joseph (*B. J.* vi. 5. 4.) and Zonaras (xi. 16.), referring to a lost book of Appian. Comp. Philo, *de Præm. et Pæn.* 16.

² Virg. *Ecl.* iv. Comp. Suet. *Aug.* 94.; Vell. ii. 59.; Senec. *Quæst. Nat.*

bringing the predictions of the Hebrew prophets home to the breasts of the Italians, foreshadowed a reign of peace, equality, and unity, whether under a political or a moral law. At last, with the birth of the monarchy, there sprang up the germ of the greatest of social revolutions, the religion of Christ. It was this dispensation which seized and developed, with intuition and energy truly divine, the latent yearnings of mankind for social combination. Its essence, from a human point of view, consisted in the doctrine of the fundamental equality of men. As it marched along, it trod under foot all prejudices of race and caste. Persecution might check the growth of its numbers, but only made its principles more conspicuous; and when it counted its converts by thousands, its unconscious disciples were already millions. I wish to trace the expansion of the Roman people, together with the development of the ideas of unity and monarchy among them, from the last days of the republic to the era of Constantine. I commence with a period when the senate still fondly imagined that the government of the world was the destined privilege of one conquering race, whose life-source was enshrined in the curia of Romulus and Camillus. The point at which this review may appropriately terminate is the day when the civilized world received its laws and religion from the mouth of an autocrat, whose sole will transferred the seat of empire without a shock from the sacred circle of the seven hills to a village on the Bosphorus.

i. 2., for the prodigies and predictions which regarded the future empire of Augustus.

CHAPTER II.

POSITION AND POLICY OF THE OLIGARCHY OR SENATORIAL PARTY UPON THE DEATH OF SULLA.—CHARACTER OF ITS PRINCIPAL LEADERS.—CATULUS, LUCULLUS, CRASSUS.—POMPEIUS, THE FAVOURITE OF THE SENATE.—HIS PRE-EMINENT SERVICES AND REWARDS.—HE INTRODUCES REFORMS AND COUNTENANCES THE CLAIMS OF THE EQUESTRIAN ORDER.—HE RETAINS THE ADVOCACY OF CICERO.—IMPEACHMENT OF VERRES A BLOW TO THE OLIGARCHICAL ASCENDENCY.—EARLY CAREER OF CICERO.—HIS DEVOTION TO REFORM.—HIS ELEVATION TO THE CONSULSHIP AND SERVICES TO THE OLIGARCHY.—THEIR CONTEMPT FOR HIM AND JEALOUSY OF POMPEIUS.—CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE OF CATO.—GENERAL IMBECILITY OF THE NOBLES, AND CRITICAL POSITION OF THE OLIGARCHY.

A HISTORY of the Romans under the empire, the *impe-*
rium, that is, or military sovereignty, may commence
 with the period when Pompeius returned to Rome from the overthrow of Mithridates, and the final subjugation of western Asia. This event Sulla's legisla-
 tion in the in-
 terest of the
 oligarchy.
 took place in the year of the city 693, following the computa-
 tion of Varro, which is most commonly received, and this
 date corresponds with the year 61 before the Christian era.
 We shall see indeed how the great commander disbanded his
 legions, and ostensibly surrendered the power of the sword
 on his entry into the city; but he confided in the terror of his
 name, the devotion of his veterans, and the influence he had
 acquired both at home and abroad by the exercise of his vast
 patronage, to maintain himself though unarmed in the ascen-
 dency which he affected to disclaim. The spirit moreover
 which had dictated the concession to him of autocratic powers
 in the provinces, was not less prepared to submit even within
 the city to the assumption of military rule. Before proceed-
 ing, however, to the narration of events, it will be necessary

to review the position of political parties, between the abdication of Sulla and the era above indicated ; a period memorable for the struggle of the oligarchy to maintain the invidious supremacy restored to them by the dictator, for the patriotic efforts of some of their wisest partizans to modify the exclusiveness of their claims and enlarge the basis of their authority, and for the renewed vigour with which the popular faction, so lately prostrated, returned incessantly to the assault. The reforms by which the dictator had sought to control the future aggressions of the commons, related in the first instance to the senatorial order, the power and consideration of which he had studied to revive by supplying its thinned benches with the noblest scions of the equestrian families, and placing in its hands the sole initiation of legislative measures. The commons, mortified and insulted by this jealous enactment, were still more indignant at the restrictions Sulla placed upon their champions the tribunes, whose legislative functions he annulled, whose veto upon the proceedings of the senate he materially modified, and even whose prerogative in convening the popular assemblies he ventured to abridge. The confinement of the judicia to the senators alone was felt as a reproach and an injury ; it cut off the knights from indirect advantages which they had long enjoyed, and it exposed them to the wanton injustice of their hereditary enemies. The establishment of the dictator's military colonies had expelled vast numbers of Italian proprietors from their legitimate patrimonies, and rendered them needy and turbulent : the proscription and exile of the Marian chieftains, and the cruel law which excluded even their descendants from all public employment, rankled in the bosoms of many personages of name and influence. The provincials, as we have seen, in many quarters had formed vague expectations of admission to the Roman franchise at the hands of the popular leaders ; and those leaders themselves, against whose pretensions to civil honours the oligarchs combined with their united strength, resented the bribery and compulsion which were brought to bear upon the elections, the falsification of the auspices, the

dissolution of the comitia, and the other tricks of insolent power which their opponents exerted unscrupulously against them.

While such were the grounds and motives of the popular discontent, the loss of its great champion Sulla, in the year 675,¹ had left the oligarchy without any acknowledged leader. It may be supposed that the haughty nobles, secure as they now deemed their power to be, were not displeased at their release from the domination of a military chieftain; and, as long as they could maintain their new privileges without one, would be little disposed to submit to a second. It might be difficult, indeed, among a body so illustrious for wealth and family honours, and so well trained to public affairs, to select any one man by the influence of whose name and character the rest would be content to be guided.² If we would form to ourselves an idea of what was the number of the nobility of Rome, and upon what their influence rested, we must refer for a moment to the origin of the patrician houses, and their subdivision into families. In the earliest form of the commonwealth the patres were divided into three tribes, thirty curies, and three hundred gentes, clans or houses. The members of these houses were connected among themselves by identity of name and community of religious rites: whether they descended originally from a single stock respectively is a debated question upon which we need not enter. At all events, we may be assured that any ideas of blood-connexion were forgotten from an early period; that the gens was replenished and multiplied by the introduction of clients and freedmen, so that its

¹ Sulla resigned the dictatorship in the year 675, and died in 676.

² The nobility of Rome had universally more or less of a military and a forensic education; they were hereditary jurisconsults, and for the most part were early initiated into the conduct of civil affairs. The author of the treatise *De Corruptâ Eloquentiâ*, says of them, "Ex his intelligi potest Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione valuisse; Lentulos et Metellos et Lucullos et Curiones, et cæteram procerum manum multum in his studiis operæ curæque posuisse; nec quemquam illis temporibus magnam potentiam sine eloquentia consecutum."

original patrician element might in time be completely absorbed in the plebeian admixture; that some houses lost their patrician status by marriages of disparagement; and that, from whatever cause, the number of the oldest houses had become reduced already within narrow limits.¹ Those among them, however, which continued to flourish, spread into many

branches bearing the name of the parent stock, such as the Cornelian and Æmilian; and these branches were distinguished from one another by

the cognomen, or surname, only. Thus, among the Cornelii were Scipios and Cinnas, Sullas and Lentuli;² while the Æmilii bore the surnames of a Lepidus, a Scaurus, or a Paullus. The plebeian houses were established on a similar principle, and were from an early period far more numerous than their rivals. The nobility consisted properly of all those who were, in legal phrase, ennobled by their ancestors having served the curule, or chief civic magistracies.³ All such were entitled to a seat in the senate, when vacancies were supplied by the censors at each succeeding lustrum, if not personally disqualified, and provided that the number of the order, fixed by Sulla at six hundred, was not exceeded. At the period at which this history begins, the actual members of the senate may have amounted, perhaps, to five hundred.⁴ The election

¹ About half a century later, in the time of Augustus, it was remarked that the number of families of the highest antiquity was not more than fifty. This, however, was after a long and bloody period of civil war, proscription, and massacre. See Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiq. Rom.* i. 85. *ικανὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου γνώριμον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ τὸ εὐγενέστατον δὴ νομιζόμενον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ γενεαὶ τινες ἔτι περιῆσαν εἰς ἐμὲ πεντήκοντα μάλιστα οἴκοι.* This claim to Trojan descent was of course a mere pretence; but it would not have been popularly conceded except to families of real antiquity, such as the Julii, Sergii, and others.

² At this period the name Cornelius becomes indefinitely multiplied, in consequence of the indiscriminate admission into his own house which Sulla conceded to his soldiers and dependents.

³ The curule magistracies, so called from the chair of state, or stool, mounted with ivory, appropriated to them, were those of the consul, the prætor, the ædile, and the censor; the dictator, and his master of the horse, were also curule magistracies.

⁴ This may be inferred from two passages in Cicero's works. In a letter

which had been made by Sulla had doubtless eliminated all whose poverty rendered them unfit to participate in the privileges of an oligarchy, the influence of which depended, in a great degree, upon the wealth of its individual members. The party which attached itself to this illustrious order was no doubt far more extensive, and comprised a portion at least of its rival, the equestrian, which was cajoled or bribed to its service. It was supported, moreover, by a numerous class of clients both in Rome and throughout the provinces. Even where the old social feelings attached to that connexion were forgotten, it was still maintained from consideration of the solid advantages pertaining to it. Whole cities and states placed themselves sometimes under the protection of a senatorial patron. The mass of the urban population was ready to follow the banner of a generous leader. The saying attributed to the wealthiest of the Roman aristocracy, that no man deserved to be reputed wealthy who could not maintain at his own cost three legions of soldiers, may indicate that the equipment of troops of mercenaries was not altogether unfamiliar to the great chieftains of his party. But the most direct bulwark of the oligarchy was the army of 120,000 veterans, whom Sulla had settled in Italy, conscious how insecure was the tenure of their newly-acquired possessions, and bound, as was supposed, by every motive to the cause of the magnates of the capital.

Besides the Cornelian and Æmilian, the most wide-spread, and perhaps the most illustrious, historically, of all the great Roman houses, there were several others which from their wealth, their dignity and public estimation, were enabled almost to share among

The great offices of the state shared by a few houses.

to Atticus (i. 14.), he speaks of a division in a very full assembly of the senate, when there appeared four hundred on one side and fifteen on the other. On another occasion (see the speech *post reditum in Senat.* 10.) the house was extremely full, and four hundred and seventeen were present. Allowance must be made for the number of those engaged abroad in the provincial administration. The censors for the year 689 had abdicated their functions without making any revision of the senate, and the vacancies occurring since the previous lustrum had not been filled up at the period referred to.

themselves the principal offices of the commonwealth. To the Cæcilian gens belonged the Metelli, subdivided into many distinct families, which were among the strongest supporters of the senatorial ascendancy: to the Servilian appertained the Vatii and Ahalas: to the Scribonian the Libos and the Curios. The Claudian or Clodian house was descended from remote antiquity, and pretended to derive its origin from a mythical hero: the Sergii and Antonii claimed a Trojan ancestry: the Asinii and Annii, the Cælii and Calpurnii, the Junii and Pomponii, the Marcii and Domitii, were names conspicuous in the municipal annals of the free-state; but the Lutatian, the Licinian, the Pompeian, the Tullian, the Porcian, and, lastly, the Julian house, were rendered pre-eminently illustrious by the great warriors or statesmen who at this time represented them, whose early career and contemporary honours I shall proceed to signalize, as an introduction to the more detailed history upon which we are about to enter.

The consuls for the year 676 of the city, in which Sulla died, were M. Æmilius Lepidus and Q. Lutatius Catulus.

They were raised to that elevation by the undisputed influence of the nobles in whose ranks they were both eminently conspicuous. But Lepidus, we have seen, aspired to a forbidden ascendancy. He aimed at leaping into the seat of Sulla himself; and when the nobles resisted and denounced his criminal ambition, he appealed to the passions of the Marians and Italians, and raised the standard of civil war. His colleague Catulus, on the other hand, was the most moderate and truly disinterested of all the great men of his day. The history indeed of the commonwealth presents us, perhaps, with no character which deserved more general esteem, or obtained more blameless distinction in political life. We have no evidence, however, that his talents were of the highest order. Except in crushing the feeble movement of Lepidus, he performed no military exploit. Nor was his eloquence such as could sway the turbulent democracy of the forum, or unravel the crafty intrigues of tribunes and demagogues. But he

Q. Lutatius
Catulus, born
circa A. U. 634.
B. C. 120.

proved himself useful to his country in throwing the weight of his reputation into the scale of justice and constitutional right, and in supporting more ardent and enterprising men in the cause he deemed the best. He declaimed openly against the corruption of the tribunals and the spoliation of the provinces.¹ In the abuse of the *judicia* he discovered the motive and the plea for the revival of tribunitian irresponsibility, and he urged timely concession to the reasonable claims of the democracy. On the other hand, he combated the bills of Gabinius and Manilius, for conferring extraordinary and dangerous powers on Pompeius. He lent all his influence to strengthen the hands of the consul Cicero against the avowed or secret machinations of Catilina and his adherents. The people offered a marked testimony to their sense of his merits. In opposing the law of Gabinius, he had asked, *Should the man perish whom we are about to invest with these successive powers, to whom shall we look to save us?* The multitude with one voice exclaimed, *To Catulus himself.*² Accordingly he enjoyed for many years the *principatus*, or premiership, of the senate, the most honourable distinction of public and private excellence, which, upon his death, fell into abeyance, and was only revived, after the expiration of liberty, to swell the dignities and privileges of an emperor.

L. Licinius Lucullus was another noble of high character and immense wealth, whose military exploits discovered talents for command, while his administrative powers were not less conspicuous. But, though ambitious of distinction, he wanted sufficient energy to devote himself to the toils of public business, and to court popularity with a jealous and exacting party. Among the ferocious warriors of Rome, Lucullus was celebrated for his mildness and humanity: among her crafty and over-

L. Licinius Lucullus, born circa A. V. 644. B. C. 110.

¹ Cic. *in Verr* i. 15. He said, *patres conscriptos judicia male et flagitiose tueri: quod si in rebus judicandis populi Rom. existimationi satisfacere voluissent, non tantopere homines fuisse tribunitiam potestatem desideraturos.*

² Cic. *pro leg. Manil.* 20.

bearing statesmen he was not less conspicuous for his modesty and prudence. His reforms in the government of the Asiatic provinces were unpalatable to the rulers of the state, and they requited their grudge by seizing an opportunity to remove him from his eastern command. He is accused of avarice; and it may give some colour to the charge, that he deigned to accept another appointment in Thrace, instead of returning at once, and asserting his proper ascendancy in the councils of the city. But when he did return, it was rather to enjoy his wealth in ostentatious luxury, than to enter into the current of public affairs. He gratified the people, whom he disdained to court, by the sumptuousness of his entertainments, and the liberal use he made of his galleries and gardens. Frequently appealed to by his party to cheer and protect them by the influence he thus acquired, it was from indolence rather than resentment that he seldom responded to the call. He may perhaps be ranked next to Catulus, though at a long interval, for the purity and patriotism of his motives, qualities which we shall find to have been eminently rare at that period among the corrupt aristocracy of the republic. But he had neither the pertinacity of will, nor the resolute daring, required to control the furious passions and headlong venality of a Roman faction.

Again, in the general mediocrity of talent among the highest nobility a distinguished place was occupied by another member of the Licinian house, Marcus Crassus. This man deserves to be remarked as a genuine representative of the least attractive side of the old Roman character, which has been already referred to, namely, that shrewdness and sordid diligence in the accumulation of money which made so many of the national heroes strict domestic economists, sullied such illustrious names with the stain of usury and extortion, and impelled so many thousands of inferior note to establish themselves as traders on every coast, and incessantly repair by their influx the destruction of their countrymen in the provinces. The branch of the Licinian house to which Crassus belonged had

M. Licinius
Crassus, born
circa A. U. 639.
B. C. 115.

already obtained the surname of Dives from the excessive wealth of some of its members.¹ There was none, however, of the race to whom the title was so justly applicable as to the rival of Catulus and Lucullus. The name of this Marcus Crassus became in after times proverbial among his countrymen as the richest of the Romans;² the evaluation of his treasures has been preserved, and the head grows dizzy in estimating them in the minute denominations of the national coinage.³ The wealth indeed which he amassed sinks, after all, into insignificance when compared with some of the great fortunes of later times; but it must be remembered that his position compelled him to spend almost as fast as he accumulated, and there seems to have been no want of liberality in his mode of dispensing his treasures when his interest required it. But what is chiefly remarkable is, that his acquisitions were made, not by brilliant successes, though in his youth he had served Sulla with distinction; nor by glaring extortions, though he was sufficiently exact and punctual in his claims; but simply by waiting steadily upon the necessities of his friends or rivals; by buying at the cheapest and selling at the dearest moments; by the careful and judicious use of accumulating capital, as, for instance, in the education of a multitude of slaves with a view of deriving a profit from their accomplishments.⁴ We may conceive how, in the dis-

¹ Cicero, *de Off.* ii. 16.

² Compare Cic. *ad Att.* i. 4.; *de Fin.* iii. 22.; Sallust, *Bell. Catil.* 48.; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 47.; Plut. in *Crass. Cæs.*; Tertullian, *Apolog.* 11.

³ His father's estates had been confiscated by the Marians, and Plutarch (*Crass.* 2.) states that he possessed at first only 300 talents. Before setting out on his expedition to Parthia, he estimated his substance at 7,000. Pliny (*H. N. l. c.*) gives the sum of 200 millions of sestertees, which make about 8,300 talents. The talent is computed to equal in weight of silver about 200*l.* of our money. But these estimates are extremely uncertain, and we do not even know whether they are confined to money and bullion, or include the capital invested in slaves, houses and lands.

⁴ Plut. *Crass.* 2.: ταῖς κοιναῖς ἀτυχίαις προσῶδ' τῆ μεγίστῃ χρησάμενος. Some curious modes in which he made his money are there mentioned; but the statement that he frequented fires in the city, to bid for houses in danger from the conflagration, I regard as merely a characteristic invention. Com-

ordered state of private fortunes at Rome in an era of revolution, a shrewd politician might thus attach to himself a number of adherents, especially one who had no prominent vices to disgust, or brilliant talents to alarm them. Around him rallied the moneyed interests of the city, that large class who were silently and cautiously founding fortunes on the spoils of the provinces, while the great chiefs were squandering their means in largesses to the people, and wasting their time and energies in the race of preferment. He repaid their favour by exerting himself for their advancement, and combined with other liberal statesmen to restore to the knights a share in the judicia. He shewed himself active and wary in advocating the suits of wealthy delinquents: his assiduous industry supplied the place both of natural genius and early training; and his polite attentions to those whose favours he coveted might be advantageously contrasted with the pride and stiffness of his rivals.¹ Without yet aspiring to a leadership of the oligarchy, he contrived to secure a large portion of its confidence, and was at one period the principal link which continued to bind the senate and the knights together, notwithstanding their mutual jealousy and conflicting pretensions. But as he rose in the esteem of the nobles, he risked the loss of popular favour, and we have seen how little his munificence to the people would have availed him in his suit for the consulship without the aid of his more brilliant competitor.

However conscious the nobles might be that their privileges demanded the fostering protection of the ablest and most successful general of the time, it was not without distrust and reluctance that they consented to court the favour of Cnæus Pompeius. This illustrious personage was the son of Pompeius Strabo,

Cnæus Pompeius Magnus,
born A. U. 648.
B. C. 106.

pare in point of exaggeration Cicero's jest, in the *Scholia Bobiensia*, p. 347. Orelli.

¹ Cicero's description of Crassus (*Paradox.* vi.) is doubtless tinged with prejudice (comp. also Cic. *Brut.* 66.). On the other hand, Plutarch's good-natured estimate of him (*Crass.* 3. 7.) seems at least equally distorted.

a noted captain in the previous civil wars. The name of the father was associated with many of the worst enormities of that terrible period. Though commanding in the name of the senate, he had been the object of its dislike and suspicion; and the pertinacity with which he prosecuted his own plans, independent of its direction, had marked him as dangerous and disloyal. Bred up under the auspices of a turbulent and aspiring parent, and familiarized from his childhood with the selfish projects of a rapacious soldiery, it may be supposed that schemes of personal aggrandizement opened themselves from an early period to the mind of the younger Pompeius. Sulla divined and distrusted him; but his followers were powerful, his predilections ostensibly oligarchical; every enterprize to which he was called was crowned with extraordinary success; and when, at the age of twenty-four, he returned victorious from Africa, where he had crushed the remnant of the Marians with their Numidian auxiliaries,¹ the dictator hailed him with the appellation of Magnus, or the Great; and reluctantly allowed him the honour of a triumph, unexampled in so youthful a conqueror.² He soon requited this favour by combining with Catulus to repress the insurrection of Lepidus. He was not yet of proper standing to enter upon the career of civic honours, when the progress of Sertorius in Spain demanded once more the employment of his military talents. There, as we have seen, his victory was achieved rather through Perperna's treachery than by his own prowess; but the grateful senate forbore to scrutinize his merits too closely, and rewarded him with a second triumph. Henceforth, adopting him as its champion, it confided to his steady hand the prosecution of its policy in the city. Nevertheless, while it was their interest thus to flatter and caress him, the nobles looked with secret disdain

¹ Livy, *Epit.* lxxxix. Eutrop. v. 9.

² The occasion on which this memorable title was conferred, has been the subject of much discussion. Drumann (*Geschichte Roms nach Geschlechtern*, iv. 335.), after weighing the conflicting authorities, acquiesces in Plutarch's statement (*Pomp.* 13.), which is followed in the text.

upon his municipal extraction, his plebeian descent and recent nobility. The illustration of his family dated only from his father, a successful adventurer in the hazards of the civil war; and he knew that his own fortunes, like those of Pompeius Strabo, must rest upon his personal abilities rather than the love or sympathy of the dominant party. He saw, moreover, the fact, to which that party obstinately blinded itself, that its foundations were too narrow for the permanent maintenance of its power. Conscious of his own strength, he struck out a course of policy independent of the trammels in which the oligarchs would have confined him. He sought to raise up a bulwark to the commonwealth, and to the aristocracy itself, in a middle class whose interests and predilections might dispose it to control the excesses both of the populace and the nobles. This class he purposed to constitute the pedestal of his own rising fortunes. He would make himself its head to plan, and its hand, if necessary, to strike. With this view, Pompeius did not hesitate to place himself in direct opposition to the nobles on points which they deemed essential to their ascendancy. He supported the much contested measure of restoring to the knights their ancient judicial prerogative, which they continued ardently to covet, and which might contribute to relieve the nobles themselves from a weight of odium which threatened to overwhelm them. In carrying out this policy he was gradually removing the superstructure of his own fortunes from the basis of the oligarchy to that of his own personal adherents, and shifting his ground to a position in which he might defy the control of the senate.

The restoration of the tribunitian prerogatives and of the *judicia* were kindred and connected measures. In his first harangue after his election to the consulship, Pompeius promised to effect both, and this declaration was received by the people with the loudest acclamations.¹ But the nobles resisted with desperation,

Pompeius undertakes a reform in favour of the equestrian order.

¹ Pompeius and Crassus were consuls A. U. 684, B. C. 70. Pseudo-Asconius in *Cæc. divin.* 8. "Primus Sicinius, tribunus plebis, nec multo post Quintius,

notwithstanding the counsels of Catulus and the wisest men among them. Their courage required to be daunted by a signal exposure, and the notorious guilt of Verres, ^{Prosecution of Verres.} who had just returned from the spoliation of the province of Sicily, furnished an apt opportunity. The zeal and eloquence of Cicero, the most rising orator of the day, were enlisted on the side of justice and authority, and the issue of the prosecution, urged with the fervour of genius and backed by the influence of the consuls themselves, clothed the cause of the people with all the charm of success. The criminal had boasted the fruits of three years' occupation of office. Those of the first, he declared, would suffice to make his own fortune; those of the second to reward his advocates and partizans; those of the last and most abundant, to secure the suffrages of his judges. No wonder that Cicero could venture to anticipate that the provinces would soon come forward of their own accord, and pray for the repeal of the laws against malversation, since they only served to redouble the extortions of their oppressors to amass the means of corrupting the tribunals.¹ During the forty years that the knights had served on the bench of justice, common fame declared that there had been no single instance even of the suspicion of corruption: it had now become rather the rule than the exception.² It must be confessed, however, that the restoration of their prerogative, which was now about to take place, failed to restore any such golden age of judicial purity.

But it was not the venality of the tribunals that made the cause of injured innocence most utterly hopeless. If the judges were always to be bought, satisfaction, at least, if not

et postremo Palicanus perfecerant, ut tribunitiam potestatem populo darent consules Cn. Pompeius Magnus et M. Licinius Crassus." Compare Liv. *Epit.* xvii.; Vell. ii. 30.; Plut. *Pomp.* 22.

¹ Cic. i. *in Verr.* 13, 15.

² Pseudo-Ascon. *in Cæc. divin.* 8. "C. Gracchus legem tulerat, ut equites Rom. judicarent. Judicaverunt per annos xxxix sine infamia. Post victor Sulla legem tulerat, ut Senatorius ordo judicaret, et judicavit per decem annos turpiter." But Appian allows that the knights were no better than the senators. (*Bell. Civ.* i. 22.)

Pompeius unites with Crassus, and engages the services of Cicero in transferring a share in the judicia to the knights.

justice, might sometimes be attained by a wealthy complainant. The senators, whose turn it might be to come under judgment the next day themselves, guaranteed, for their own sake, the impunity of criminals of their own order. In the flagrant case, however, of the Verrine prosecution the hands of the assailant were opportunely strengthened. Both the consuls were equally intent on carrying the popular vote of condemnation. The culprit resorted to every means to postpone the trial till the next year, when a personal friend, Hortensius, would succeed to the consulship, and another, Metellus, would be the prætor to whose lot it had fallen to preside in such suits as that now pending against him.¹ But Cicero's activity and adroitness defeated every artifice, and when he opened the proceedings, a single preliminary oration sufficed to seal the fate of the defendant. Verres, scared by the array of influences combined against him, acknowledged his guilt by withdrawing into exile; but the accuser followed up his success by publishing the series of speeches he had prepared for delivery, in which he had detailed the black catalogue of his victim's enormities. The disgrace of these disclosures could neither be palliated nor endured, and the senate resigned a contest in which its own chief magistrates were arrayed against it. The system, of which the particular case was only an example, admitted of no defence, and the time for defiance was past. But its vices, checked perhaps for a moment by publicity, were apparently little amended by the change now effected in the constitution of the tribunals. Neither the subsequent conduct of Pompeius, who reversed the reformatory measures of Lueullus in Asia, nor the general character of his colleague, to whom honour and justice were wholly indifferent, allow us to suppose that their policy was guided by a sense of justice or humanity. Public opinion continued to encourage the most open defiance of every moral obligation in dealing with the *enemy* in the provinces.

¹ Cic. i. *in Verr.* 8. "Cum prætores designati sortirentur et M. Metello obtigisset ut is de pecuniis repetundis quæreret."

We find Cicero, in the very next year, defending Fonteius against the complaints of the Gauls, with an audacity of statement and insinuation far transcending the common artifices of the advocate. But the knights gained by the new enactment an important step in the advancement of their interests: a political expediency was satisfied, and the middle class of citizens began to coalesce into a firm and compact body, conscious of its unity and strength.

At the same time the generous aid of Catulus and a small section of the nobles, enabled the consuls to effect a further measure of public utility. They revived the office of Censor after a long interval in which it had lain in abeyance, and the magistrates thereto appointed, L. Gellius Publicola and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, undertook their functions in a fair spirit.¹ They assigned to Catulus the exalted distinction of *princeps*, or leader of the senate. They made moreover a rigid inquiry into the means and qualifications of the members of that body, of whom they ejected not less than sixty-four, as unworthy from their character, or incompetent from their poverty, to discharge its duties according to the intentions of antiquity. These public acts are important, as indicating the temper of the times, and the growing sense of the necessity for administrative reforms; they also throw light upon the cautious and quiet policy which characterized Pompeius, who continued, while still ostensibly a leader of the oligarchy, to throw all his influence into the descending scale of popular opinion. With manners eminently bland and attractive, whenever he chose to display them, with a person of remarkable dignity, and a countenance of winning sweetness, he possessed a sure means of engaging the admiration of attendants, suitors and casual visitors; but his colleagues feared, his associates distrusted him, and those he called his friends were in fact merely parasites.

Upon the expiration of his consulship, Pompeius did not accept, as was usual, the government of a province. He had

Progress of reform: revival of the censorship.
A. U. 684.
B. C. 70.

¹ Cic. II. in *Verr.* v. 7.; Liv. *Epit.* xxviii.; Plut. *Pomp.* 22.

Reserve affected by Pompeius. Extraordinary powers conferred upon him by the bills of Gabinus and Manilius.

already attained the highest ordinary honours of the state, and pure as he was in his private conduct and moderate in his habits, the emoluments of the proconsulate offered no temptation to him.

He had attained extensive influence with the legions, and his overweening reliance upon his early reputation forbade him to conceive any jealousy of Lueullus, Metellus, and the other commanders in the provinces. He remained accordingly at Rome, affecting the reserve and retirement of one who would only deign henceforward to serve the state when weaker hands had failed; but he foresaw that the perils which menaced the commonwealth must soon call him forth amidst redoubled acclamations. When Gabinus, his flatterer or his creature, proposed in the panic caused by the Cilician pirates, to confer upon him extraordinary powers, to invest him with command over all the Mediterranean coasts, and every city and territory within fifty miles from the seaboard, the senate stood aghast.¹ But the cause was not that of the senate and the nobles alone. The whole empire was frenzied with alarm, and ready to rush upon any remedy that offered. The city trembled for its daily sustenance; the government apprehended the violence of a starving mob. In spite of the strong

A. U. 687.
B. C. 67.

dissuasions of Catulus and others, the appointment of Pompeius to this enormous command was

carried by the general voice of the nation. The skill and vigour he displayed, the confidence he presently restored, the rapid influx of supplies into the capital, all seemed to mark the expediency of this political stroke. After a brief interval for making his dispositions, dividing his forces and securing the most important communications, Pompeius set sail with a well-appointed fleet for the principal resorts of his roving adversaries. In two months the wound was staunched, in six it was healed over by the establishment of the marauders in continental colonies: health and strength returned in the natural order of events.² The danger of the return in a private

¹ Cic. *pro leg. Manil.*; Dion, xxxvi. 6.; Vell. ii. 31.; Liv. *Epit.* xcix.

² Cic. *pro leg. Manil.* 12. "Tantum bellum . . . Cn. Pompeius extrema

capacity of one who had now tasted so much of absolute power, was averted for a season by the increasing difficulties of the Mithridatic war. Lucullus was recalled, and another bill was proposed by Manilius to confer upon the champion of the republic the undivided command of the eastern provinces.¹ Again the nobles shuddered at the powers they had called into existence; again did Catulus and many more, the most prudent together with the proudest of the party, resist this accumulation of honours. Pompeius was supported by the favour of the citizens, by the intrigues of his friends and creatures in the senate, by Crassus and another craftier than Crassus, who countenanced for their private ends these successive inroads upon established usage; and he might command the spirited declamation of Cicero, who, now rising rapidly in fame and popularity, resolved at once to throw his fortunes into the wake of the great conqueror's.

A. U. 688.
B. C. 66.

Pompeius may claim perhaps the merit of discovering the necessity of widening the basis of the ruling aristocracy; but the development which Cicero's zeal and energy gave to this sagacious policy, marks him more particularly as its patron and representative.

M. Tullius Cicero, born
A. U. 648.
B. C. 106.

Every circumstance combined to dispose the aspiring advocate to assert, and at the same time to qualify, the ascendancy of the Senatorial party. As a new man, the offspring of an equestrian family in the obscure country town of Arpinum, he knew that in climbing the ladder of preferment he must encounter the jealousy of the nobles, who never permitted one of his class to attain the highest civil dignities in the ordinary course. Yet a townsman of Cicero, and one of even inferior birth, had recently been raised by his political ser-

hieme apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, mediâ æstate confecit." Plutarch reduces the period of actual hostilities to three months, *Pomp.* 28.: οὐκ ἐν πλείοσι χρόνοις τριῶν μηνῶν. Livy, *Epit.* xcix.; Florus, iii. 6., and the Auctor de *Viris Illust.* 77, shorten the time to forty days.

¹ Cic. *pro leg. Manil.*; Dion, xxxvi. 25.; Liv. *Epit.* c.; Vell. ii. 33.; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 30.

vices to the enjoyment of seven consulships, and the blood of the young municipal might well be inflamed by such an example of successful self-reliance. Cicero however had none of the adventurous spirit of Marius: if ever he harboured aspirations for military renown, they were satisfied by a single campaign. But as the shocks of civil war subsided, a nobler field was opened to the accomplishments of peace, and he felt in the consciousness both of genius and industry, an earnest of brilliant success in the forum and at the bar. The heroes from whom he caught "the fever of renown" were neither the chieftains of sanguinary factions, nor the legists whose reforming spirit had first contested the sacred maxims of the constitution. If he abhorred the violence of a Marius or a Sulla, a Cinna or a Carbo, he was little more enamoured of the captious liberalism, for such he deemed it, of Drusus and the Gracchi. He admired and followed and hung upon the lips of the great bulwarks of legal usage who illustrated the period of his own early education, a Crassus, an Antonius, a Sulpicius and a Scævola, the children and champions of the Roman aristocracy. By them his temper was moulded to the love of precedent and prescription. In the restoration of the popular party he could not fail to anticipate the overthrow of the ancient jurisprudence, and the discouragement of the formal studies in which he most delighted, and which he made the basis of his own practical philosophy. Doubtless it cost him a severe struggle to take the side of the reformers: but he perceived instinctively that the talents of Pompeius, all-sufficient in the field, must require in the city the co-operation of the orator and the jurist; and he hoped, by making himself necessary to the military chief of the government, to command his support in return, and scale the summit of political distinction. At the moment when the young advocate entered upon public life, the pre-eminence of the great captain, his contemporary in years, was already established. The leader of the senate, the patron of the knights, the favourite of the people, Pompeius appeared to unite all suffrages. The republic seemed to await the pressure of his hand to receive

her bias and direction. Cicero felt, with unsuppressed exultation, that his services were understood by the hero of the day, and his genius he believed was appreciated by him. He trod the path of honours with a bold and confident step, and flung to the populace the treasures with which his clients repaid his eloquence; while the consciousness of deserved prosperity added brilliancy to his wit and ardour to his generosity.

The views to which Cicero thus early devoted himself he continued to cherish through life, even while compelled at times to side with a faction which feared and re-
Cicero an advocate for reform.
 sented them. He began gradually to conceive a genuine interest for the classes whose cause he advocated, perhaps we may say an affection for them, which forms one of the most pleasing features of his character. He aimed at elevating that middle class already spoken of, as a pledge of the integrity of the constitution. He laboured diligently to soften the conflicting views of the nobility and commons, of the Romans and Italians, the victors and the vanquished of the civil wars. Nor was his political course warped like that of his leader Pompeius by any impatience of the restraints of law, such as might naturally arise in the breast of a military commander, nor by the criminal desire to rise above them, which the child of Strabo and the lieutenant of Sulla might be supposed to inherit. Cicero's ambition was ardent and soaring, but it was sincerely limited to acquiring the highest honours of the free state. He succeeded in attaining the consulship, and as consul he performed a service for his country as brilliant as any recorded in her annals. But his career of patriotism and loyal service was cut short by the jealousy of his associates and the selfishness of his early patron. Intoxicated by success, he had allowed himself to forget how unnatural and precarious his elevation really was; and assailed as he was from various quarters, his own vanity contributed in no slight degree to his fall. The nobles were willing to prove to the world the inherent weakness of any man, however splendid his abilities, who had not the legitimate basis of birth and wealth to rely

on ; and Pompeius selected Cicero for the victim of his ungenerous policy, when he wished to display his power and hurl defiance at the senate, yet did not venture to inflict upon it a wound which should really smart.

While Pompeius was prosecuting the war against Mithridates with all the powers assigned him by the Manilian bill, Cicero continued to advance the interests of their common policy in the city. He had already acquired a great reputation as an orator and a pleader. He could extend and confirm his political alliances by the suits he undertook to defend. He gained the attachment of some of the noblest of the senators. The cautious coldness of the oligarchy gradually warmed in favour of the clever aspirant whom all classes combined to admire. One after another the principal magistracies of the city were surrendered to his ardent solicitations. The commonwealth required indeed the services of her ablest men : it was not a time for petty jealousies and illiberal exclusions. Affairs were ripening for a crisis, which various chiefs and parties seemed to anticipate, with a view to profit by the universal confusion. Pompeius and Crassus, no less than the Marian leader Cæsar, were forecasting the results of a mutinous outbreak among the dissolute and discontented men with whom the ranks of highest birth and station abounded. The violent changes in the state which had so lately occurred, had bred up a race of men of ungoverned enmities and desperate resolutions. Public and private life had become one great gambling-booth, in which the most abrupt alternations of luck had rendered multitudes equally reckless of good or evil fortune. The constant bickerings of the rival parties had kept the sores of the recent troubles still unhealed. A thousand intrigues crossed and jostled one another in the forum, and while two great factions still confronted each other in the arenas of public strife, a chaos of conflicting passions and interests occupied the ground between them. The city, in the absence of Pompeius, was destitute of any leader of acknowledged pre-eminence. The moment seemed to have arrived

Apprehensions
of a secret con-
spiracy against
the govern-
ment.

when Rome and Italy might become the prey of a daring adventurer. The return of the proconsul with his legions from the east was too remote a contingency to disturb the anticipations of the unsettled heads which met in secret conclave, and divided in imagination the spoils of empire. Pompeius awaited at a distance the result of the impending commotion, not displeased perhaps at being removed from the city, where his presence would have stifled it in its birth: for he was assured that, whatever might be the immediate issue, substantial power resided in his camp, and the triumph must ultimately be his alone. But the nobles viewed with redoubled anxiety both the chance of a revolution and the means of its suppression. While they shuddered at the prospect of a sedition which might involve the city and the laws in a common destruction, they apprehended hardly less sensibly the restoration of order by the sword of a military dictator.

The chiefs of the aristocratic faction who have hitherto been mentioned, were all men of moderate and politic views, and disposed to admit of qualification and compromise in the claims they advanced in behalf of its ascendancy. To the mass of their own adherents, accordingly, they were all more or less objects of distrust: for the dominant class continued sternly bigoted to its own ideas, from mistaken principle no less perhaps than from selfishness, and regarded with disgust as well as apprehension every movement of its leaders which swerved from the direct assertion of its supremacy. This stubborn majority, which refused to ply either to justice or expediency, and defied both the authority of Pompeius and the blandishments of Cicero, comprised many nobles whose names will figure in the following pages: a Bibulus, a Marcellus, a Domitius will soon become individually known to us; but while we leave these personages to be portrayed by their own actions, there is one at least among them whose character deserves more special consideration. M. Porcius Cato was a member of a noble plebeian house, connected on all sides with the principal families of the commonwealth, and descended in the fourth gene-

M. Porcius Ca-
to, born
A. U. 659.
B. C. 95.

ration from Cato the Censor, a name long held by the citizens in traditional veneration for probity and simplicity. Younger by a few years than any of his great political rivals, he entered upon the public stage at a somewhat later period. The absence of Pompeius in Asia first made room for him in the councils of the nobility, whose cause he embraced with more genuine ardour and devotion than any of his contemporaries. The stubbornness and fearlessness he displayed, even as a child, made a deep impression upon his relatives. He had witnessed the termination of the Social contest, and resented, as a mere boy, the compromise in which it resulted. Nevertheless, his natural humanity had revolted from the atrocities with which Sulla confirmed the domination of his party; and if he was the friend of aristocratic ascendancy, he was no less devoted to what he believed to be justice. Had his views been clearer, and his mind more susceptible of logical conclusions, he would have seen how utterly the lines he thus marked out for himself were inconsistent and irreconcilable. But his convictions were blind and unreasoning, his temper rigid and untractable; from the goodness of his heart he deserved to lead mankind, but the weakness of his head should have condemned him to follow them. Well read in books, his mind had no power to assimilate the lessons of history; a formal adherent of the Stoic philosophy, the real springs of human action were unknown to him, or disregarded by him. His gaze was fixed on the mere outside of society around him, and his disgust at the prevailing laxity of manners was as crude and inconsiderate as his admiration of the reputed severity of antiquity. He marched on foot when others rode, to mortify his associates' vanity; he turned night into day to prove that the genuine sage is independent of external circumstances; the mandates of the law he enforced with ostentatious strictness, because a ruder age had been naturally unfeeling; he was hard to his slaves because the old Romans treated them like cattle; he swallowed wine with joyless avidity to emulate the brutal recreations of his barbarous ancestors. Cato revered the name of his great-grandfather the

Censor; and while he studiously formed himself upon that ancestral model, he had actually inherited a kindred disposition. But the elder Cato lived in an age which still professed at least to respect the principles of the old Roman austerity. It was against a rising generation, extravagant in its habits and speculative in its ideas, innovators both in practice and theory, that he had marshalled the antique prejudices of the nation. Unsuccessful as he was, he had still preserved the reverence of the people, and bequeathed an honoured name to his descendants. His successor applied the same rules and maxims to his own times, which were fast becoming obsolete a century before. The poet of the civil wars, in speaking of a later period, compares Pompeius to the venerable oak, majestic in its decay, and honoured for its antique associations; Cæsar to the lightning of Jupiter, which spares nothing venerable, nothing holy, neither the monarch of the forest nor the temples of its own divinity; Cato he might have likened to the rocky promontory which marks the ancient limits of an encroaching ocean, still resisting the action which has sapped the hills around it, and barely attached to the continent by a narrow and diminishing isthmus.¹ Yet even the iron disposition of the Roman Stoic was not really unaffected by the change of circumstances since the period he blindly admired. The same temper which made the elder Cato a severe master, a frugal housekeeper, the cultivator of his own acres, the man of maxims and proverbs, converted the younger into a pedantic politician and a scholastic formalist. Private life had become absorbed in the sphere of public occupations; the homely experience of the individual was lost in the recorded wisdom of professional instruction. The character of the Censor had been simple and true to nature; that of his descendant was a system of elaborate though perhaps unconscious affectations.

To the customary training in literature and eloquence of the better men of his class Cato paid little attention; but he distinguished himself by rare assiduity in mastering the details of business. In serving the office

Character of the nobles as a class.

¹ Lucan, i. 129. Nec coiere pares: etc.

of quæstor he introduced method and regularity into the service of the treasury ; he was the most punctual and constant attendant in the curia ; and oftentimes, while business was standing still, and his colleagues were dropping slowly in, he might be seen sitting in his place, and studying a volume, which he affected to conceal in the folds of his robe. His frame was robust, and he had strengthened his system by endurance ; he could harangue with untiring energy throughout an entire sitting, in the same style of dry and unvarying precision. But as yet he had not come prominently forward in debate ; it was amidst the grave events of Cicero's consulship, as we shall presently see, that the boldness of his views and the vigour of his character marked him first for the leader of a party. Such a temper could meet indeed with little sympathy among the ranks of the Roman aristocracy ; and excessive would have been his perplexity in regarding the various sections of that class, all so alien from himself, could his shrewd but narrow view of men and things have been troubled for a moment by any subject of speculation. For he had to choose his associates or instruments either among the older men, who were indolent and immoveable, insensible to public morality, even to the contempt of external decency, or among the younger, who were violent and ferocious, and whose hot patrician blood was inflamed no less by luxury than pride. The early years of the former class had been mostly past in camps. The urgent dangers of the commonwealth had allowed them little leisure, even at home, to cultivate the refinements of social life. At a later period, crowned with success, and with all the enjoyments of unbounded wealth flung suddenly at their feet, they plunged from mere ignorance into a tasteless imitation of eastern sensuality. The pictures of vice which the writers of the age have left us are principally derived from the manners of the highest nobility ; and the coarseness which could be plausibly attributed to a Piso and a Gabinius leaves no doubt of the gross habits prevalent among their class.

The introduction of Grecian models of intellectual culti-

vation, which had so honourably distinguished the age of Lælius and Scipio, produced in fact a very imperfect effect upon the progress of the national mind. For half a century, indeed, the new taste seemed to make a genuine impression upon a people far from deficient in natural sensibility, or incapable of appreciating the excellence of such originals. During that happier period it seemed not idle to expect that Rome might become a rival to her mistress and instructress, even in her own accomplishments. It might be hoped that, as among other nations, so in Rome also, the time had arrived when arms should give place to the pursuits of peace, and the fruits of youthful education have room and leisure to ripen in maturer years. But this fair prospect was overcast by the circumstances which supervened. The destiny of the race of conquerors prevailed. Each succeeding generation became more immersed in war than its predecessor; the turbid stream of military habits never ran itself clear; the camp continued to pour its sanguine flood into the silver current of humanity and letters. Even those among the Romans who were most renowned for their love of polite literature were seldom wholly absorbed in their devotion to it. Their philosophers and historians, no less than their orators, were public men, and courted the muses in the intervals of toil and danger. They wrote, as they acted, for effect. Disdaining retirement, they had little concern for the graces of simplicity. The purity even of Cicero's taste may be called in question. There is an ostentatious prodigality, even in his use of words, akin to the vastness of his ambition and the sumptuousness of his style of living. Cicero indeed scorned the voluptuous refinements which enervate the mind and vitiate the moral sense. But Lucullus, and the accomplished orator Hortensius, second only to Cicero among his contemporaries in persuasive eloquence, a scholar and a wit no less than an advocate and debater, did more to degrade than to exalt the tastes they affected to patronize. The display which Lucullus made of his libraries and galleries of art, in throwing them open to

Their ostentation coupled with want of refinement.

public admiration, however much in advance of the real wants of the age, and calculated to create envy rather than gratitude, might yet be represented as a more magnanimous use of wealth than the vulgar profusion by which others of his order courted the applause of the multitude.¹ Those, however, who knew him more intimately, discovered how little genuine interest he took in these honourable resources of a dignified leisure. In his later years he withdrew himself almost wholly from the more animated scenes of public life, and walked languidly through his part as a senator and statesman, while he devoted all his real interest to inventing new refinements on the luxury of the table.² His example corrupted and countenanced those about him. One after another the nobles sank into a lethargy almost without a parallel. The writers of a later period have associated the proudest names of the martial republic with the idlest amusements and the most preposterous novelties. A Gabinius, a Cælius, a Crassus, were immortalized by the elegance of their dancing.³ A Lucullus, a Hortensius, a Marcius Philippus, estimated one another, not by their eloquence, their courage, or their virtue, but by the perfection of their fish-ponds, and the singularity of the breeds they nourished. They seemed to touch the sky with their finger, says their mortified advocate, if they had stocked their preserves with bearded mullets, and taught them to recognize their masters' voices, and come to be fed from their hands.⁴

¹ In fact it was the Greeks in Rome, and not the natives, who took advantage of this munificence. Plutarch, *Lucull.* 42.

² Vell. ii. 33. Compare Plutarch, *Cat. min.* 19., *Lucull.* 40.; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxviii. 14.

³ Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 10. Gabinius and Cælius were not mere triflers. They were both active intriguers, though corrupt and dissipated men. M. Crassus had two sons, the younger of whom was a distinguished officer. The Crassus here mentioned was one of these, I should suppose the elder. But the introduction of dancing among the relaxations of the Roman nobility, was of much earlier date, and provoked the indignant animadversion of Scipio Africanus and the elder Cato. Nevertheless it continued to prevail; Sulla himself danced.

⁴ Cicero, *ad Att.* ii. 1. "Nostri autem principes digito se cœlum putant

If Cato's austere virtue was roused to indignation by the freaks of these degenerate patricians, the temper, on the other hand, of the younger men of the same party was not less repugnant to his sense of justice and reverence for law and order. If Lucullus and Hortensius were frivolous and short-sighted, they might claim at least the merit of moderate views and humane dispositions. The remembrance of the horrors of the civil wars, no less than the delicacy of sentiment engendered by their Greek education, made them shrink from the sight of blood. But the rising generation had no such reminiscences to stifle their natural ferocity; and the increasing barbarity of the public spectacles, perhaps it may be added, of the recognized usages of warfare, steeled their hearts against the compunctions of their fathers. They had not learned from experience the inevitable requital of blood for blood; and they breathed nothing but vengeance and destruction against every one who ventured to cross their path. They would govern the commonwealth by impeachments and assassinations. They would bring back the days of Sullan ascendancy; and certainly nothing but a permanent military dictatorship could spring out of their anarchical policy. These were that bloody-minded youth, of whom Cicero speaks with such aversion and

attingere, si nulli barbati in piscinis sunt, qui ad manus accedant, alia autem negligunt." Comp. Varro, *de Re Rust.* iii. 17., who gives some curious descriptions of the fish-ponds of Lucullus and Hortensius. The former cut through a mountain to introduce salt water into his preserve, for which feat Pompeius gave him the nickname of Xerxes togatus. (Vell. ii. 34.) Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ix. 80. seqq., celebrates the inventions of Hirrus, Philippus, Muræna and others, and mentions anecdotes of their extravagance: "invasit deinde singulorum piscium amor:" the ponds of Hortensius were at Bauli; "in quâ murænam adeo dilexit ut exanimatam fesse creditur." Compare Martial, x. 30.:

"Natat ad magistrum delicata muræna,
 Nomenclator mugilem citat notum,
 Et adesse jussi prodeunt senes nulli."

It seems that this folly lasted a hundred and fifty years. Hortensius was said to moisten his planes with wine (Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 9.), and was the first Roman who brought peacocks to table. (Plin. *H. N.* x. 23.) His affectation in dress and manner is noted by Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* i. 6.).

fear, who hired bands of ruffians to attend them in the forum, nor travelled beyond the gates of the city without an armed retinue.¹ Such demonstrations on the one side begat, of course, rival violence on the other. Quarrels and collisions occurred, which there was no efficient police to control; the elections were repeatedly suspended by riotous interference; the legitimate proceedings of the people were interrupted by the clang of arms; the sacred privileges of the tribunes were violated, and the most august personages of the state driven from their posts by blows and menaces. We shall see that the leaders of every party, Pompeius and Cicero, Cato and Cæsar, all suffered alike and in turn, from the unbridled ferocity of such men as Clodius and Milo, as Nepos and Curio.

It has been said that there was no efficient police in Rome. The safety of the capital was deemed secure in the patriotism and military training of the citizens themselves; and the government, founded professedly on a popular basis, disclaimed the use of force, either for its own protection or for the coercion of the popular will. The licitors and archers of the consuls surrounded their office with decent pomp, but could provoke no comparison with the traditional tyranny of the kings. The city had far outgrown the walls of Servius, and the idea of foreign invasion might be scouted as visionary; nevertheless, we cannot suppose that the gates stood always open without a guard, or that the fortresses on the Capitoline and the Janiculan were wholly denuded of their defences. But the same government which trusted itself at home to the self-respect of its constituents, did not fail to exercise a jealous control over the armies quartered in the provinces. The garrison of the city was stationed in Gaul or Macedonia; and the rulers of the republic relied for the

The nobles retain their command of the national armies.

patriotism and military training of the citizens themselves; and the government, founded professedly on a popular basis, disclaimed the use

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 7. written in the year 695. "Megabocchus et hæc sanguinaria juvenus inimicissima est." The mildest terms he can apply to them, when speaking of the transient favour they on one occasion showed to himself, are, "libidinosa et delicata juvenus." (*Ad Att.* i. 19.)

maintenance of their authority on the attachment of the officers whom they deputed to foreign command. By straining all their influence to secure the election of their own adherents to the highest magistracies at home, they were enabled to consign the legions in the provinces year by year to captains of their own choice. The army, which had long lost its original constitution, and had become a standing force of veterans, enlisted for a long term of years, had ceased to retain the political predilections which the citizens were wont to bring fresh to the camp from the comitia.¹ It had exchanged its interest in patrician patrons or popular demagogues for pure military devotion to the persons of its leaders; and, officered as it now was under the ascendancy of the senate, it gave a steady support to the existing government, enabling it to defy any attempt at a counter-revolution. Even the possible success of a *coup de main* could hardly delude the judgment of intriguers in the city, when they contemplated the overwhelming resources of the senate abroad, and remembered how effective they had been in the hands of Sulla to scatter the battalions of adventurers nearer home.

Nevertheless the senate was uneasy. The Marians, under every discouragement, yet seemed to grow in strength. The claims of the popular faction constituted the weak point in the body politic, towards which Their fears and dangers. every evil humour tended. Every fortune misspent, every enterprize baulked, every expectation frustrated, supplied fuel

¹ Marius abolished the qualification of property, which was originally required of every citizen who offered to enlist. A sufficient motive for this grave innovation might be the peril of the state from foreign invasion, coupled with the growing concentration of property in a smaller class. But its direct effect was to degrade the principles of the legionary, and wean him from his devotion to the state. Compare Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 86. "Non ex classibus et more majorum, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, milites Marius scripsit, capite census plerosque. Id factum alii inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis memorabant, quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat, et homini potentiam quærenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua curæ, quippe quæ nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur."

for the fire which was raging in its vitals. Secure as the government might feel of its soldiers' fidelity, while retained under their ensigns, to disband and disperse them in colonies, though demanded by themselves, and expedient on various accounts, would at once dissolve the ties which ensured their allegiance. No class was more ready for tumult and revolt than the veterans of Sulla, settled recently in ease and apparent contentment throughout Italy. They only wanted a leader of their own choice to plunge into another civil war, and scramble for fresh booty. The chiefs of the hostile party were moving all the passions of the vast constituency of the city to compass their own election to the curule magistracies. From office in the city to authority in the provinces the step was direct and inevitable. A Marian proconsul might hope to lay the foundations of his meditated supremacy in the allegiance of an army and the devotion of a foreign people. With a more ample or a prolonged command, he might convert the West or the East into an arsenal for the munitions of a new civil war, or a fortress for his own security. With this glittering prize in view the popular candidates lavished bribes and largesses with their own hands, while they stimulated their creatures to the use of threats and violence. They assailed their opponents with every available weapon, showered calumnies upon some, menaced others with impeachments, covertly promoted conspiracies from which they kept themselves personally aloof, and scared the city with rumours of impending catastrophes. The nobles defended themselves with clamorous indignation. They sowed discord in the hostile ranks, gained over some of the tribunes to stay the proceedings of the others, retorted slander for slander, not less virulently and perhaps more successfully, while they wielded the engine of the state religion to discredit their enemies' policy, and thwart their tactics. They relied more particularly on their command of the public tribunals to chastise the daring corruption practised by their opponents. But from bribing the electors it was an easy step to buy the suffrages of the judges, and the Marians soon found that they could

succeed in the halls of justice not less readily than in the comitia. When this last bulwark began to be undermined, the nobles felt that the time was at hand for unsheathing the sword in defence of their prerogatives, or submitting to the dictation of terms, the extent of which they could hardly conjecture.

I shall proceed in the next chapter to review briefly the progress of this vital struggle, and to bring out more distinctly the character and aim of the popular faction, in order to complete our introduction to the ensuing history.

CHAPTER III.

THE MARIAN OR POPULAR PARTY REPRESENTED BY CÆSAR.—HIS CHARACTER AND POLITICAL VIEWS.—HIS EARLY DANGERS AND GOOD FORTUNE.—HE ASSUMES THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MARIAN PARTY: HARASSES THE SENATE WITH REPEATED ATTACKS: BECOMES QUÆSTOR, ÆDILE, AND SUPREME PONTIFF.—THE CATILINARIAN CONSPIRACY.—TRIUMPH AND PRESUMPTUOUSNESS OF THE NOBLES.—THEY DEFY POMPEIUS, DESPISE CICERO, AND ADOPT CATO AS THEIR LEADER.—CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD.—CÆSAR ALONE FULFILS THE IDEA OF THE HERO DEMANDED BY THE AGE.

THE policy and conduct of the popular party at the great crisis of the commonwealth may be best understood by tracing the career of its illustrious leader, who stood forth far more prominently among his own associates, and gave more distinct expression to their aims, than was the case with any one of the chiefs of the opposite faction whose character has already passed under our review. To that grand array of aristocratic gravity, of military renown, of learning and eloquence, of austere and indomitable virtue, were opposed the genius and resources of one man. He bore, indeed, an ancient and honourable name; his talents for war were, perhaps, the highest the world has ever witnessed; his intellectual powers were almost equally distinguished in the closet, the forum and the field; his virtues, the very opposite to those of Cato, have been not less justly celebrated. But one qualification for success he possessed beyond all his rivals; the perfect simplicity of his own character gave him tact to appreciate the real circumstances and tendencies of public affairs, to which his contemporaries were signally blind. He watched the tide of events for many anxious years, and threw himself upon it at the moment when its current was most irresistible. Favoured on numerous

C. Julius Cæsar, born
A. U. 654.
B. C. 100.

occasions by the most brilliant good fortune, he never lost the opportunities which were thus placed within his grasp. He neither indulged himself in sloth like Lucullus, nor wavered like Pompeius, nor shifted like Cicero, nor, like Cato, wrapped himself in impracticable pride; but, equally capable of commanding men and of courting them, of yielding to events and of moulding them, he maintained his course firmly and fearlessly, without a single false step, till he attained the topmost summit of human power.

Caius Julius Cæsar, the greatest name in history, was descended from a genuine Roman family of the highest antiquity.¹ He seems to have been himself the first to claim descent from the hero Iulus, the offspring of Æneas, and through him from the goddess Venus;² a legendary genealogy which the poets adopted with ardour and rendered universally familiar.³ The name of Julius occurs several times in the list of the earlier consuls, but this branch of the house seems to have become extinct; while that from which Caius Cæsar himself sprang could also boast of more than one consulship, and a large share of other public honours.⁴ Besides the father and grandfather of Caius, whose names are honourably recorded, several of his uncles and cousins are mentioned in the annals of the time. They seem, for the most part, to have taken the side of the aristocracy in the civil wars,⁵ and more than one of them were slain by Fimbria

His parentage, and connexion with Marius, from whom he inherits the leadership of the popular party. Comprehensiveness of his views.

¹ The Julii were both patrician and plebeian: the branch which bore the surname of Cæsar belonged to the former class. A Julius Proculus played a memorable part in the story of Romulus.

² In the funeral oration which he pronounced over his aunt Julia, who had been the wife of Marius. (Suet. *Jul.* 6.) At this time he was in full pursuit of the great object of his ambition, and this assertion of his divine descent must be regarded as a stroke of policy, and not as a mere ebullition of youthful vanity.

³ Vell. ii. 41.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 68.; Dion, xli. 34.; and the poets passim.

⁴ For the supposed derivations of the cognomen Cæsar, see Festus, in voc. *Cæsar*; Servius on Virg. *Æn.* i. 290.; Pliny, *H. N.* vii. 7.; Spartian. *in Æl. Ver.* 1.; Isidor. *Orig.* i. 1. etc.

⁵ L. Julius Cæsar was consul at the commencement of the Social war, and

among the enemies of Marius and Cinna.¹ But Marius himself was married to a Julia, sister to the father of Caius Cæsar; and the nephew inherited from his uncle the championship of the popular party, his connexion with which he further cemented in early youth by espousing the daughter of Cinna.² Having thus planted himself in decided opposition to the oligarchy, he was not dazzled by the brilliancy of their position, nor deceived in his estimate of their vaunted strength and resources. He saw how rotten was the foundation on which their power really rested, which was no more than the traditional awe of the lower ranks, and the precarious influence of interests ill understood. On the other hand, he discerned with rare sagacity the omens of success in the camp of the Marians. He knew that their strength, great as it was even at Rome, under the very shadow of the patrician majesty, was supported moreover by many external bulwarks, such as the ambition of the Italians, the restlessness of the veterans, and even the hatred of the provincials to the ruling class, with whose injustice and tyranny they were most familiar.³ He foresaw that the genuine Roman race would be overwhelmed by the pressure of its alien subjects; but he conceived the magnificent idea, far beyond the ordinary comprehension of his time, of reducing the whole of this mighty mass, in its utmost confusion, to that obedience to the rule of a single chieftain which it scorned to render to an ex-

took the command of the Roman armies. In the heat of the struggle he perceived the wisdom of concession, and succeeded in carrying a law for the admission of the Italians to the franchise of the city. But the character of the war was changed by this time, and many of the Italians refused to avail themselves of the boon. (Cic *pro Balb.* 8.) The son and grandson of this Cæsar were noted partizans of the senate at a later period, though they had little influence in public affairs.

¹ Flor. iii. 21.

² Cornelia, by whom he had his only daughter Julia. (Suet. *Jul.* 1.) His friends had betrothed him at a still earlier period to an equestrian heiress named Cossutia, but he had refused to marry her, preferring perhaps an important political connexion.

³ "Romanos odere omnes, dominosque gravantur

Quos novere magis."

Lucan, vii. 284.

hausted nation. He felt, from the first, the proud conviction that his genius could fuse all its elements into a new Universal People; and the more he learned to appreciate his contemporaries, the more was he persuaded that none among them was similarly endowed. The pertinacity with which he assailed the principles and prejudices by which the actual system of society was still loosely held together, bespeaks, in my apprehension, a deliberate policy. With a distinct aim in view, a mind so comprehensive could not overlook the bearings of each separate act; with a firm grasp of his means, a hand so steady could deal no uncertain or unpremeditated blows. At the same time I can trace in this daring attack upon the institutions of his country no barbarous love of destruction nor vulgar pride of power, but a solid and just conviction that they had become obsolete and fatally insecure, and a reliance, not less just, upon his own resources to create new ideas in harmony with his new legislation.

Cæsar was called upon to assert his courage and his political principles at the very outset of his career. Sulla, suspicious of the youthful nephew of his rival, and urged perhaps to destroy him by some of his own adherents, but restrained by some lurking feeling of mercy or sympathy with a kindred genius, required him to divorce his wife Cornelia, and thus loosen his connexion with the Marians.¹ That party was at the moment in its lowest state of despair. The proscription had lopped off all its leaders, and no one dared to raise his head above the ranks of the multitude, who were protected by their insignificance. There was no one among them to whom Cæsar could appeal for protection; yet, though now only in his eighteenth year, he refused to comply with the dictator's command. Sulla was staggered by his boldness, and still refrained from striking. At the tyrant's decree even Pompeius, the rising favourite of the senate, had abandoned his consort Antistia,² while Piso had divorced Annia, the widow

He is persecuted by the Sullan party.

A. U. 672.
B. C. 82.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 1.; Plut. *Cæs.* 1.

² The circumstances of this base compliance are touched with some feeling

of Cinna. But the dictator, it would seem, was growing weary of power. He was satisfied with the revolution he had effected; he entertained, as he proved by his abdication, a feeling of magnanimous confidence in the stability of his work; and, in a moment of generosity or wanton defiance, he spared the life of one from whose genius he anticipated a brilliant career. He is said indeed to have remarked that in Cæsar there was more than one Marius, and to have warned the magnates of the senate, some of whom had ventured to intercede for him, to *beware of that young trifler*.¹ Nor was the young Marian allowed to escape altogether with impunity. He paid for his constancy by the loss of his place in the priesthood and of his wife's fortune. He was himself compelled to seek an asylum at a distance from Rome, beyond the immediate observation of his enemies; and until his pardon was assured, he lurked in disguise among the Sabine mountains.²

The friends of Cæsar had represented to the dictator his youth, his careless habits, his insignificance, as reasons why he might be spared with safety. The reply of Sulla showed that he saw further into his character than ordinary observers. He had the acuteness to know how much energy and power of application is frequently concealed in youth under an exterior of thoughtless dissipation. The future orator, historian

Cæsar undertakes the patronage of the popular cause.

by Plutarch (*Pomp.* 9.), though in general the victims of such political unions commanded little sympathy from the ancient writers.

The reader may refer to Mr. Robert Eyres Landor's *Fountain of Arethusa*, if he would see of what flagrant colouring this particular desertion is susceptible. But we must be careful not to contemplate a violation even of abstract morality from too modern a point of view.

¹ Suet. *l. c.*; Plut. *l. c.*; Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 3.: "Ut puerum male præcinctum caverent." Dion, xliii. 43.: Τὸν κακῶς ζωννύμενον φυλάττεσθε.

² He was discovered and seized by one Cornelius Phagita, from whom he escaped by a bribe. It is recorded by Suetonius, as an instance of the clemency of his character, that he never avenged himself upon his captor in the time of his power. (Suet. *Jul.* 74.; Plut. *Cæs.* 1.) He was pardoned at the intercession of the Vestal virgins, of Mamercus Æmilius, and Aurelius Cotta. (Suet. *Jul.* 1)

and statesman was doubtless actively employed from his earliest years in storing his mind with learning, and laying the foundations of the varied interest in literature which he afterwards developed. He was also deeply meditating the part which he should play in political affairs. The great popular party of the last generation lay exhausted and shattered on the ground. Cæsar determined to revive and consolidate it, and claimed, with the generous devotion of youth, to be the organ of its passions and the centre of its affections. The boldness of his demeanour in collision with the all-formidable dictator stamped him at once as fit to command. He seemed to leap at once into one of the niches of fame and popularity in which the figures of the great men of the day were admired and courted by the multitude. His next step was to make himself conspicuous abroad, to form connexions for himself and his party among the nations and potentates beyond Italy, who were yearning for a nearer access to the privileges or favour of Rome. At this period the generals of the republic in the East were intently occupied in recovering the authority in the provinces which Mithridates had wrested from her in his first contest. Cæsar learned the first rudiments of warfare at the siege of Mytilene, which had revolted from the republic.¹ He profited by the opportunity of a mission to the court of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, to gain the personal as well as political friendship of that monarch, who eventually bequeathed his possessions to the Roman people.² He also served under Servilius in Cilicia; but as soon as the news of the dictator's death reached the camp, he abandoned the army and returned to play a more conspicuous part in civil affairs.

A. U. 693.
B. C. 81.

Upon the abdication of Sulla no one had dared to assail his disposition of political power, such was the terror which

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 2.

² The influence which Cæsar obtained over the king of Bithynia, leading, as it apparently did, to this successful result, excited the jealousy of the nobles, and was rewarded by the circulation of infamous but inconclusive charges against his private character. (Suet. *Jul.* 2.; comp. 49, 50.)

But abstains from joining the movement of Lepidus. Impeaches some of the principal nobles.

the monster, disarmed and decrepit as he was, still continued to inspire. Upon his death, the young aspirant manifested his self-control in holding aloof from the premature movement of Lepidus.¹ Nor did he entangle himself in any way in the projects of Sertorius. Throughout life he never trusted himself to the schemes and combinations of others. Whatever intrigues he may have favoured with the view of thrusting more hasty and violent men into action, he was careful not to compromise his own ultimate plans by proclaiming himself an open enemy of the government, till he had acquired a position from which he might direct and control every instrument he chose to employ. Accordingly, while the sedition of Lepidus was rapidly working the destruction of its movers, Cæsar was betaking himself to slower and more secret methods of mould-

A. U. 677.
B. C. 77.

ing circumstances to his designs. He undertook the impeachment of Dolabella, a distinguished noble, for malversation in his province; and, although the senators succeeded, as judges, in screening the delinquent, his accuser was rewarded by the unbounded applause of the people. The provinces hailed him as the patron of the subject against the citizen, and rejoiced in every blow aimed at

A. U. 678.
B. C. 76.

the prerogatives of the dominant faction. Cæsar repeated the experiment by assailing another distinguished magnate, C. Antonius. In this case the accused, though he escaped at the time, was expelled from the senate by the censors six years afterwards. It was evident that *the young trifler's* blows already told.²

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 3.: "Et Lepidi quidem societate, quanquam magnis conditionibus invitaretur, abstinuit, quum ingenio ejus diffusus, tum occasione quam minorem opinione offenderat."

² Suet. *Jul.* 4.: Plut. *Cæs.* 4.; Ascon. *in Orat. in tog. cand.* p. 84.; Orelli. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, consul A. U. 673, had been proconsul of Macedonia. C. Antonius, afterwards consul with Cicero (691), was accused of extortion in Greece. These impeachments are coupled with that of Verres for the enormity and notoriety of the offence in each case:

"Inde Dolabella est atque hinc Antonius, inde
Sacrilagus Verres."

Juv. viii. 105.

Still acting upon his principles of caution and delay, Cæsar retired again from Rome, and occupied himself for some time in Rhodes in attendance upon the lessons of the rhetorician Molo.¹ Even in this proceeding, however trifling, we may discover a trace of the independence of his character. It had been, from early times, the practice of the Roman magnates to educate their young men for the bar and the forum, by observation of the orators of the day, their own friends and relations. The school was a noble one; its models lived and breathed, and transacted the real business of the state. All their words had a meaning, and might be traced to effective results. But this practice nourished exclusive views of state-policy, and tended to confine the management of affairs in the hands of the favoured class who had private access to the discussions and exercises of the nobility. The sullen patricians of the imperial times looked back with regret to the period when the halls of the Greek rhetoricians had not yet become the resort of political adventurers, and pointed, with bitter triumph, to the sarcasm of Cicero, who had once called them schools of impudence.² Yet Cicero himself, the young municipal, to whom, doubtless, the statecraft of the Roman senators was far from freely communicated, had acquired the first rudiments of his own skill and experience in the lecture room, which, when himself ennobled, he thus harshly stigmatized. And Cæsar also may have been compelled to learn the business of the forum, in some degree, from the mouths of the sophists, while he was

Cæsar studies rhetoric at Rhodes. Effects of the prevalent taste for foreign study.

¹ Suet. *l. c.*; Plut. *Cæs.* 3. who is wrong in the order of time. (Comp. Drumann, iii. 135.) Cicero had studied under Molo a few years previously. (Plut. *Cic.* 4.; *Cic. Brut.* 91.)

² See the passage in the *Dial. de Oratoribus*, 35.: "At nunc adolescentuli nostri deducuntur in scenas scholasticorum, qui rhetores vocantur: quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora exitisse, nec placuisse majoribus nostris, ex eo manifestum est, quod L. Crasso et Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero, ludum impudentiæ jussi sunt." The passage of Cicero occurs in the *De Orat.* iii. 24. The words are put into the mouth of L. Crassus, but this speaker is considered generally to represent the sentiments of the writer.

urged no less by his own views and inclination, to bring their studies into fashion by his example, and throw wide the portals of political education. Predisposed as he was to imbibe liberal and cosmopolitan ideas, his personal observation of the men of Greece and their modes of thinking may have contributed to enlarge his views, and shake to their foundations the prejudices held sacred by his countrymen. The school of Molo, the resort of the ardent and enlightened youth of all nations, may have prepared the way for his senate of Gauls, Spaniards and Africans.

The many imminent risks of his life which Cæsar incurred confirmed him in the steadfast confidence with which he relied on his good fortune, which became one of the secrets of his success. During his retirement in the East, he fell into the hands of the Cilician pirates, who were wont to parade their defiance of Rome by murdering the officers of the republic whom they captured. Fortunately, the name of Cæsar was not yet enrolled in the annals of the magistracy; but his birth and the wealth of his family were well known, and the ruffians were satisfied with demanding a ransom. The imagination of the narrators has added some romantic embellishments to the story, in accordance with the reckless magnanimity with which Roman tradition loved to invest her favourite hero.¹ He disdained, it was said, to purchase his liberty at so mean a price as twenty talents, and offered his captors fifty. At the same time he threatened them with his vengeance, and pledged himself to return with a fleet, arrest the pirates, and crucify them as common robbers.² His vengeance, indeed, did not slumber. After his release, he collected some forces, attacked and overcame his captors. He was content, how-

He is captured by the pirates. His courage and good fortune.

¹ Plut. *Cæs.* 2.; Polyæn. *Stratagem.* viii. 23. 1.

² Plutarch gives a graphic account of the way in which Cæsar is supposed to have passed his time among the pirates while waiting for his ransom. He spent eight and thirty days among them, not so much like a prisoner as a prince surrounded by his guards, and he joined in their sports and exercises. He read his verses and speeches to them, and scoffed at their bad taste if they did not applaud them.

ever, with offering to send them to Junius Silanus, the proconsul of Asia, under whose military authority he was acting, that they might suffer condign punishment at his hands. The proconsul, in reply, ordered him to sell them as slaves, but Cæsar resented, as an insult to himself, the lenity or avarice which could dictate such a proceeding. He boldly disregarded the command, and sentenced his prisoners to the cross, the death of slaves and robbers: but the historians thought it worth recording, as an instance of the clemency always attributed to Cæsar in comparison with his contemporaries, that he allowed them to be put to death by a less painful process, before he inflicted upon their bodies the last indignity of the law.¹

Upon his return to the city, Cæsar prepared to enter upon the career of public office, for which his extreme youth had hitherto disqualified him. He now began to pay his court to the people with systematic assiduity.² His lofty spirit, his noble aspect and popular manners, even the lustre of his patrician descent, recommended him to their affections; moreover, he had chosen his side as a patron of the popular cause, and had bearded the oligarchy in their stronghold, the courts of justice.³ But it was not sufficient to enlist their prejudices in his favour. The candidate for the suffrages of the people availed himself of the means of bribery and corruption, so generally resorted to, while he surpassed every competitor in the energy with which he practised them. His private means had never been ample; his wife's dowry had been seized by Sulla; and he found himself reduced to the greatest straits in supplying the demands of this policy. But he drew boldly upon his own matchless self-confidence. He

He enters the arena of public honours; is pushed forward by the zealous efforts of his party.
A. U. 680.
B. C. 74.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 74.

² The fascination of Cæsar's manners and address is specially noted. Plut. *Cæs.* 3.

³ The people, says Plutarch (*Lucull.* 1.), set the young orators upon noble delinquents, just as well-bred whelps are hounded upon wild beasts: 'Ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως αὐτοῖς ἄνευ προφάσεως οὐκ ἀγεννῆς εἶναι τὸ τῆς κατηγορίας ἔργον.'

borrowed of all his friends, and even of his rivals ; he pledged his future fortunes ; he held out the lure of places and provinces to the wealthier of his own faction ; the last reward of their fidelity could be obtained, only by placing him, at whatever cost, on the pinnacle of public honours. The pre-eminence of his genius, however, was soon discovered by his own party ; as he rose, his adherents must rise with him. Accordingly, he was supported and impelled forwards by the combined efforts of all who had money to stake upon the great game he was playing for their common advancement. In the year 680 he attained his first step in public service, being appointed a military tribune by the suffrages of the people.

Meanwhile the policy which, after crushing the Iberian revolt, Pompeius had deliberately adopted, that of surrendering the most obnoxious privileges conferred by Sulla upon the senate, found, of course, a warm partizan in the self-proclaimed patriot. Thus commenced the intercourse between these destined rivals. They mutually cultivated an appearance of friendship, though with no real cordiality. Pompeius, from the secure elevation of his military ascendancy, might despise the arts of seduction which he had never needed ; while Cæsar might look with equal scorn on the lofty pretensions to purity which had never been tested by temptation. Whether from policy, or from the irrepressible openness of his temper, Cæsar on his part affected no concealment of his designs, as far at least as they had yet dawned upon his own mind. His projects of counter-revolution became more frankly avowed every day, and it was only a misplaced contempt for one whom he regarded as a clever profligate, that could suffer Pompeius to view them with such unconcern. The measure by which the judicia were distributed among the senate, the knights and the ærarian tribunes, proposed by Aurelius Cotta, the uncle of Cæsar, was supported and perhaps suggested by the active zeal of the nephew. Cæsar came forward once more as an orator ; he pleaded the cause of his wife's brother Cornelius

Cæsar defies
the law of Sulla
in exhibiting
the bust of Ma-
rius.

Cinna, proscribed for his connexion with Sertorius, and obtained his rehabilitation with that of other Marian exiles. The reputation of his eloquence was established. Cæsar's style of oratory was grave, forcible and practical. He charmed the acute ears of his countrymen by the accuracy of his language ; but though possessed of all the aids of rhetoric and technical learning, his plain native sense was never overlaid by acquired accomplishments.¹ On the death of Julia, the widow of Marius, her nephew pronounced a funeral oration in her honour.² Of course a much larger share of his panegyric was devoted to the hero Marius than to the respectable matron, the ostensible subject of the ceremony. The brave Arpinate had been a mere son of the soil ; but his exploits had raised his name to a level with the most illustrious Romans ; and when the orator boasted in the same breath of his own descent from the gods, and connexion with the plebeian champion, the people felt it as a compliment to themselves, and declared that two such eminent titles to their esteem were fitly associated in the same person. Sulla had attempted, in the wantonness of power, to obliterate all remembrance of his rival. No monuments were allowed to rise in his honour. The public exhibition of his bust was forbidden. But this decree Cæsar boldly violated, and paraded an image of Marius among the other insignia of his family.³ From the effigies of the dead the Romans were wont to derive incentives to every noble sentiment ; they crowded the apartments of the living with busts of their

A. U. 686.
B. C. 68.

¹ Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* x. 1. Exornat hæc omnia mira sermonis, cujus proprie studiosus fuit, elegantia. Comp. Cic. *Brut.* 72, 75. ; Gell. i. 10. ; *Dial. de Orat.* 25. ; Macrobian. *Saturn.* i. 5.

² Suet. *Jul.* 6.

³ Plut. *Cæs.* 5. On the death of his wife Cornelia, about the same time, Cæsar delivered also a funeral oration over her. It was not the custom to bestow this honour upon *young* married women, and Cæsar obtained credit by this act for peculiar kindness and affection to the memory of his wife. He probably seized the opportunity to proclaim to the world his connexion with the family of Cinna, in whose behalf he supported the bill of Plautius for allowing the adherents of Sertorius to return to Rome. Suet. *Jul.* 5. ; Gell. xiii. 3.

deceased ancestors, and on every occasion of funeral pomp these waxen memorials were drawn forth from their receptacles, and the glories of the family displayed to the gaze of the citizens. The effect upon the fervid passions of an Italian populace was often, as in this case, electric; and from that moment, perhaps, the popular party began to regard Cæsar as the representative of their lost chieftain, and the heir to their favour and affections.

Cæsar at this period was serving the office of quæstor in the city, upon the expiration of which he followed the pro-
He serves the office of quæstor in Spain. prætor Antistius to Spain.¹ In his share in the administration of the province he obtained the praise of industry and vigour.² The sophists of a later age, who were wont to vaunt him as a striking instance of the conversion of a dissolute youth to the noblest aims and virtues, imagined a sudden change to have taken place in his character at this time, and ascribed it to his reflections on beholding a statue of Alexander the Great at Gades, and to a dream of auspicious interpretation.³ But there is really no trace of any such conversion in Cæsar's history. Through life he acknowledged, it must be confessed, no other restraints than those of policy and opportunity; though as his aims became more distinct and engrossing he might learn to refrain from some indulgences, to which, we may believe, he had never wholly abandoned himself. The extent indeed to which he could make such indulgences compatible with his manifold higher interests, as a statesman and a man of letters, may affect us with pain and wonder: but it forms an essential part of the universal character before us, and in the vices of Julius Cæsar the pride of our common nature is humiliated.

After an interval of two years, the young champion of the Marians gained another step in the career of public honours. His own daring profuseness, perhaps, and the ardour of his

¹ Plut. *Cæs.* 5.

² Vell. ii. 43.

³ Suet. *Jul.* 7.; Dion, xxxvii. 52.; but they differ as to the time, which Dion puts some years later. Plutarch connects the dream (*ἐδόκει τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μητρὶ μίγνυσθαι τὴν ἄρρήτων μίξιν*) with the passage of the Rubicon.

numerous friends, secured his election to the ædileship, a post which afforded peculiar opportunities to a candidate for popular favour, and in which he acquitted himself very much to the satisfaction of the people.¹ Following steadily the bold policy which he had adopted upon mature calculation, he bade high for their applause by the magnificence of his shows and entertainments.² He had prevailed upon his colleague Bibulus, a wealthy noble, to furnish the sums requisite for this lavish expenditure, for his own private resources were exhausted, and his debts amounted to thirteen hundred talents. He might share the credit of generosity with his colleague,³ but he knew that its more substantial recompense would accrue to himself alone. Meanwhile he had exerted all his growing influence to forward the schemes by which the friends of Pompeius fostered their patron's ambition, and widened the breach, already apparent, between him and the senatorial party. He had chosen to connect himself, by a second marriage, with a branch of the Pompeian house; and his pretended devotion to its chief's aggrandizement might be mistaken by its object, and by the world, for respect and duty.⁴ The success of the Manilian bill was owing, probably, far more to the crafty support of Cæsar and Crassus than to the eloquence of Cicero. The exhibition of the bust of Marius in a funeral procession had already irritated the nobles; but now a greater insult was

He becomes ædile; connects himself by marriage with the family of Pompeius; restores the trophies of Marius, and baffles the indignation of the nobles.

A. U. 687.

¹ Cæsar was ædile, A. U. 689, in the consulship of P. Cornelius Sulla and P. Autronius Pætus.

² The gladiatorial shows with which he celebrated the memory of his father were peculiarly splendid. "Omni apparatu arenæ argenteo usus est." Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 16.

³ Even this was not the case, for the goodwill of the people insisted upon ascribing the whole merit to their favourite. Bibulus consoled himself by making the best bon-mot the occasion allowed: "Nec dissimulavit collega ejus M. Bibulus evenisse sibi quod Polluci; ut enim fratribus ædes in foro constituta tantum Castoris vocaretur, ita suam Cæsarisque munificentiam unius Cæsaris dici." Suet. *Jul.* 10.; Dion. xxxvii. 8.

⁴ Pompeia, Cæsar's second wife, was the daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus, consul with Sulla A. U. 666.

inflicted upon them. Among his other acts of munificence as ædile, Cæsar had decorated the forum, the basilicas, and the Capitol with pictures and statues; he had enlarged them with additional porticoes for the gratification of the people, and these also he had adorned with monuments of taste and luxury.¹ One morning there suddenly appeared among the new ornaments of the Capitol the statue of Marius surrounded by the trophies of his Cimbrie and Jugurthine victories.² The people shouted with delight; the nobles seowled with indignation. The author of the deed did not proclaim himself, but neither friends nor foes could err in assigning it to the daring ædile. Catulus, now replaeed at the head of his party, determined to bring the offender to punishment for this breach of the law. His bitterness was aggravated by the remembrance of his father, who had been one of the most distinguished victims of the Marian proscription.³ He accused Cæsar of throwing off the mask from his ulterior designs; of no longer subverting the republic with mines, but of assailing it with the battering-ram.⁴ Cæsar defended himself before the senate, and succeeded in foiling his accuser; but his triumph was not owing to the favour of his audience, but to the temper of the people, upon which the nobles dared not make an experiment. It would appear, from the historians, that the trophies of Marius retained possession of their conspicuous place in front of the Capitol, an indication of the popular strength, which must have shaken the nerves even of Cato himself.⁵

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 10.

² Suet. *Jul.* 11.; Plut. *Cæs.* 6.

³ Cic. *de Orat.* iii 3.

⁴ Plut. *Cæs.* 6.: Οὐκ ἔτι γὰρ ὑπονόμοις, ἔφη, Καῖσαρ, ἀλλ' ἤδη μηχαναῖς αἰρῆσι τὴν πολιτείαν.

⁵ Suet. *Jul.* 11.: "Tropæa restituit." Vell. ii. 43.: "Restituta monumenta." They make no mention of their having been removed. Propertius (iii. 11. 46.) speaks of them as existing at a later period: "Jura dare et statuas inter et arma Mari," and Val. Max. vi. 9. 14.: "Cujus bina tropæa in urbe spectantur." The antiquaries of modern Rome thought they had discovered a portion of these identical trophies in the monument now placed at the top of the steps which lead to the Campidoglio; but the illusion has been dispelled by the greater acuteness of later eritics.

Both parties had now chosen their ground, and summoned all their resolution. The combat waxed warmer and warmer. At the first opportunity, the senate hastened to strike another blow. The republic claimed possession of Egypt upon the pretence of a will made in its favour by king Ptolemæus Alexander during the ascendancy of Sulla; but the government had hitherto abstained from enforcing these pretensions.¹ It preferred to leave the fertile plains on which Italy relied for no small portion of her daily sustenance in the hands of a dependent sovereign, rather than subject them to the ambition or cupidity of a citizen. But Cæsar now pressed the claim. His immense debts weighed sorely upon him, and he sought the means of cancelling them. He solicited his own appointment to an extraordinary mission, for the purpose of constituting the country a province of the empire, and arranging its administration. Egypt was a golden soil in the imagination of the Romans; and, in the execution of his trust, a political agent might justly hope to amass unbounded treasures. The senate was blind perhaps to this covert object. In its jealousy of Pompeius, and of all who appeared to side with him, it conceived that Cæsar proposed to strengthen its general's hands by adding to his enormous powers the control of one of the granaries of the city. Accordingly, it peremptorily rejected the demand, and proceeded, in addition to this insult, for the demand was plausible, to aim a more direct blow against its antagonist's interests. A tribune of the people named Papius, under the direction of the senate, proposed and carried a decree for removing all aliens from the city.² It was pretended that strangers from the provinces flocked into the city and interfered with the elections, the immense number of the

The nobles retaliated.

A. U. 689.
B. C. 65.

¹ Cicero throws suspicions upon the validity of this claim (*De Leg. Agr.* ii. 16.); but there is no doubt that the citizens believed in it, and it seems most probable that this was the pretext of Cæsar's demand. The account given by Suetonius (*Jul.* 11.), that he proposed to restore a king whom the Egyptians had expelled, is evidently a confusion of dates and circumstances Comp. Drumann, iii. 146.

² Dion, xxxvii. 9.

genuine voters rendering it impossible to exercise due caution in taking the suffrages. But this harsh measure was really aimed against the Transpadane Gauls, who were anxious to exchange their Latin franchise for that of Rome. Cæsar, while passing through their country on his return from Spain, had listened affably to their solicitations, and they had gladly connected themselves with him as their patron and political adviser. To injure them was to gall the popular leader, and reduce the estimation in which the provincials already began to hold him.¹

It was now Cæsar's turn to strike. The creatures of Sulla, who, at his instigation, had perpetrated the atrocities of the proscription, had obtained an act of indemnity to relieve them from the legal guilt of the murder of Roman citizens. Sulla had caused a general enactment to be passed, defining and assigning punishments for every mode of assassination, but including a special exemption for the instruments of his own recent crimes.² After serving as ædile, Cæsar became entitled to aid the prætors in their tribunals: he had been chosen to preside in the court to which charges of murder were referred. In this capacity he listened to accusations against two of Sulla's ruffians, and pronounced sentence of death upon them.³ The people, no longer startled by the violation of an unpopular law, had expressed their satisfaction at this stroke. The victims themselves were justly odious, and they fell without commiseration. But Cæsar did not stop here. These proceedings were merely intended to prepare the way for another and more terrible demonstration against his opponents.⁴ Thirty-six years before L. Saturninus, a tribune

Cæsar strikes again. Proceedings against Sulla's agents in the proscription. Prosecution of Rabirius.

¹ This was called the *Lex Papia de peregrinis* or *de civitate Romana*. Dion, xxxix. 9.; Schol. Bob. *in Orat. pro Arch.* Cic. *de Off.* iii. 11.

² This was the *Lex Cornelia de sicariis*. Suet. *Jul.* 11.

³ Cato, in his quæstorship, had already prosecuted the agents of Sulla who had received public money in reward for their services to him in the proscription. Plut. *Cat. Min.* 17.

⁴ The case of Rabirius may be conveniently noticed here, as belonging to the same series of attacks upon the persons of the nobility as those just

and favourite of the people, had headed a revolt against the government, and seized the Capitol.¹ The consuls, Marius and Valerius, summoned the citizens to their aid. After besieging the public enemy in his fortress, they at last reduced him by cutting the pipes which supplied it with water. The consuls, it appears, offered him pardon on capitulation;² but, upon his opening the gates and descending from his fastness, a tumult arose, his party was attacked, and himself killed in the confusion. A slave named Scæva declared himself the man who had struck the blow, and obtained a public reward for the good service he was supposed to have done. For many years no further notice was taken of the circumstance. But it was determined in Cæsar's councils to make this event, so long passed, a pretext for another attack upon the oligarchy; and an aged senator named Rabirius was selected to suffer the charge, now apparently for the first time advanced, of having been the real author of the deed. The man himself was not unjustly obnoxious for the foulest cupidity and tyranny imputed to his class; but the charge against him was grossly iniquitous, and was preferred, perhaps, on that very account, that its extravagance might evince in the most glaring manner the determination of the popular leaders to drive the senate to extremity. The trial was held before the tribunal at which Cæsar himself presided, together with his kinsman Lucius.³ Cicero defended the criminal; but his elo-

mentioned. But it did not occur till the early part of Cicero's consulship, A. U. 691.

¹ A. U. 654, the year of Cæsar's birth.

² Cicero's argument that the pardon of the consuls was not valid because it had not been formally ratified by the senate is a mere quibble; but such an act on the part of Marius, who was sometimes a reluctant instrument in its hands, would be regarded with jealousy by that body. Cic. *pro Rabir.* 10. The whole speech is an appeal to the passions much more than to the judgment and equity of the hearers; but the facts of the case were in themselves overwhelmingly strong in favour of the accused.

³ They were styled *duumviri perduellionis*, judges of murder. L. Cæsar had been consul the preceding year, and was generally connected with the party of the senate, but he seems on this occasion to have been completely under the influence of his kinsman Caius. Dion, xxxvii. 27. The circum-

quence was not likely to avail, and sentence was given against his client. The charge was capital, and an appeal lay in one quarter only, the comitia of the tribes. This resource seemed to offer but a slender chance of success, but it was necessary to resort to it; and it might be faintly hoped that the declamation of the unrivalled orator would have greater effect upon an excitable multitude than upon cool and prejudiced judges. But Cicero again failed, and but for the timely interference of a prætor, Metellus Celer, the unfortunate Rabirius could hardly have escaped the confirmation of his sentence. When the frontiers of Rome were but a few miles from her gates, and the advance of the Etruscans behind the barrier of the Vatican and Janiculan hills was frequently sudden and unexpected, watch was kept upon an eminence beyond the Tiber, to give notice of the approach of an enemy, whenever the people were occupied with the transaction of business in the Campus Martius. The signal of danger was the removal of the great white flag which floated conspicuously on the summit of the Janiculum.¹ The people broke up hastily from their elections or debates, and rushed to man the walls. The old custom remained in force for centuries among a people more than usually retentive of antique observances.² Metellus, acting possibly in concert with the managers of the prosecution, struck the flag, and suspended the proceedings. The excited and blood-thirsty populace understood and perhaps laughed at the trick, consenting cheerfully to be baulked of their prey for the sake of a constitutional fiction. The object of the charge, which was only intended perhaps to alarm and mortify the nobles, being already gained, the prosecutors abstained from pressing the matter, and it was allowed to fall into oblivion.

stances of this trial, which we gather from a comparison of Cicero's pleadings with Dion's succinct narrative, have given rise to much controversy. The statement in the text is taken from Dion.

¹ Serv. *ad Æn.* viii. 1.: "Alii album et roseum vexillum tradunt, et roseum bellorum, album comitiorum signum fuisse."

² Dion, who gives this account (xxxvii. 28.), says that the practice still continued in his own day: *Καὶ ἔτι τε καὶ νῦν ὁσίας ἔνεκα ποιεῖται.*

Indefatigable in harassing the oligarchy, the leaders of the popular party had already undertaken to support the agrarian law proposed in the previous year by one of the tribunes, Servilius Rullus. The author of the bill urged the appointment of commissioners to carry into effect three great popular measures.¹ The first of these was the division among the commonalty of all the public land beyond Italy which had been acquired by the republic since the consulship of Sulla and Pompeius Rufus in the year 666. This domain embraced a large portion of the conquests of Lucullus and Pompeius in the East; for all conquered territories, which were neither assigned to Roman colonies nor restored upon their submission to the natives, accrued to the state itself, and were granted in occupation to favoured citizens on easy terms, but with no right of property. In Italy, also, the event of the social war had thrown the lands of the vanquished into the possession of the republic; and these had either been given to the Sullan veterans as colonists, or let to them as tenants. But this portion of the public domains, although acquired since the period assigned by him, the tribune excepted from his law, and did not venture to touch.² However popular such interference might have been, it would doubtless have been dangerous. Cicero declares that it would have involved the kindred of the tribune himself in the common ruin of the men who had benefited by the dictator's liberality. But it would have been, no doubt, a great boon to the clamorous poverty of the urban populace to receive assignments of public territory in the east, whatever its amount may have been, which we have no means of estimating.

In the second place, the commissioners were to inquire into the pecuniary transactions of the generals of the republic.

¹ Cic. *de Leg. Agr. contra Rull.*; Plut. *Cic.* 12. The discussion of these measures took place at the commencement of Cicero's consulship, 691. His first speech was spoken on the first of January (*in Pison.* 2.).

² The Social war was terminated in the year of Sulla's and Pompeius's consulship: Rullus had drawn his line immediately previous to that epoch.

The agrarian law of Rullus, another weapon of the Marian party.

lic, who had returned from their eastern victories laden with the spoils of war and the presents of subjects and allies. It was proposed that the whole of the sums which they had thus personally acquired, beyond what they had expended upon public works, or handed over to the treasury, should be restored to the commissioners appointed to make the investigation. Pompeius himself, such was the gratitude and delicacy of the republic, was to be exempted from this restitution: but the account of others was to be made retrospective; even inherited property, it seems, was to be swept into the net; and it was from Faustus Sulla, the son of the dictator, that the amplest return was anticipated.

A third provision of the law was, that a tax should be imposed upon all public lands excepted from the sale. The moneys thence accruing might be used by the commissioners in making such purchases of land for division as they should judge desirable. But the point upon which Cicero, who resolutely opposed the measure throughout, lays the greatest stress, as the most arbitrary and dangerous of all, was the proposed division among the people of certain domains in Campania, and the drafting of colonies to Capua and neighboring places. He declares his grave alarm lest Capua should thus become the seat of a great plebeian community in opposition to Rome; he enlarges upon the dangers which were apprehended from that city in the time of Hannibal; he expatiates upon the pride and viciousness attributed in all ages to its inhabitants, and denounces the scheme as one which must infallibly create a great rival power in the centre of Italy. During the progress of the Social war the allies had threatened to destroy Rome, and plant at Corfinium the capital of an Italian confederacy.¹ Such perils might occur again; and though Cicero himself may have entertained no serious

¹ Vell. ii. 16. : "Caput imperii sui Corfinium elegerant quod appellarunt Italicum." Comp. Lucan, ii. 136. :

"Tum, cum pæne caput mundi rerumque potestas
Mutavit translata locum, Romanaque Samnis
Ultra Caudinas speravit vulnera furcas."

solicitude regarding the foundation of the new colony, we can understand how plausible his argument was, as addressed to the jealous pride of the Roman comitia. The orator's speeches against the agrarian law of Rullus were amongst the most specious triumphs of his art. In three successive harangues he first convinced the senate of the impolicy of the proposal, then persuaded the people that it would be of no advantage to their interests, and, finally, defended himself against the tribune's insinuation that his opposition had been grounded on personal views. As regarded Cicero indeed, and his vigorous hostility to this measure, its introduction placed him in a critical position, from which it required consummate dexterity to extricate him with any appearance of honour. He had just reached the summit of his ambition, first by the advocacy of certain popular claims, under the shelter of Pompeius, and again by persuading the nobles that he had been an aristocrat throughout at heart, that his liberal tendencies had been misunderstood, and that he was, in fact, entirely devoted to their interests. The bill of Rullus was a test of his real policy which he could not evade. It was one of those decisive measures which try the mettle of the adherents of party; no man could support it and profess himself an oligarch; no man could oppose it and retain the affections of the people. It was an ingenious device of the Marians to compel Cicero to break with the people, whom he had thus far cajoled and, as they deemed, betrayed to the senate. Cicero, indeed, was most reluctant to pronounce openly in favour of the aristocratic party, though it was to their cause that he doubtless proposed from henceforth to devote himself. The effort he made to the last to convince both parties that he was really advocating their interests could deceive neither, and the noisy declamations he vented about the imaginary dangers of his new Carthage were only meant to cover his ignominious retreat from a position which was no longer tenable.

C. Calpurnius Piso was a nobleman of high reputation, and a devoted partisan of the senate. He had been consul in

Cæsar prosecutes Calpurnius Piso: competes with Catulus for the dignity of supreme pontiff, and is victorious.

A. U. 691.

B. C. 63.

the year of the city 687. He had subsequently obtained the province of Gaul beyond the Alps, and had suppressed the mutinous spirit of the natives with unscrupulous severity. The Allobroges preferred against him a charge of malversation; and his judicial murder of a Transpadane Gaul gave Cæsar, as the patron of that people, an opportunity of coming forward and conducting their prosecution.¹ Cicero was intimately connected with this Piso, whom he had extolled to Atticus as the pacifier of the Allobroges,² and with whom, while absent in Gaul, he had concerted measures for his own elevation to the consulship.³ He now undertook his defence, and the judges found no difficulty in acquitting him.⁴ This result was a matter of little concern to the popular party, who were satisfied with seeing the breach between the chiefs of the rival factions daily widened, and their personal animosities rendered irreconcilable. Piso vowed revenge, and soon afterwards made a desperate effort to obtain it, in concert with Catulus, who was at the same time stung by a new disappointment. We have already witnessed the indignation of this veteran champion of the Sullan constitution, when the upstart leader of the Marians exhibited the spoils of their revered hero in the Capitol. He had, moreover, failed in getting this insult punished; the trophies remained to perpetuate its recollection. We may imagine the bitterness with which the idol of the nobles, the honoured prince or leader of the senate, would daily regard them. This feeling was aggravated when, upon offering himself as a candidate for the office of Pontifex Maximus, the most dignified elevation to which a citizen could aspire, he found the same Cæsar, still young in years, still a novice in political affairs, still unknown by civil or military exploits, starting in auda-

¹ Sallust, *B. C.* 49.: "Piso oppugnatur in iudicio pecuniarum repetundarum, propter cuiusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum."

² Cic. *ad Att.* i. 13.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* i. 1.

⁴ Cic. *pro Flacco*, 39.: "Consul ego nuper defendi C. Pisonem, qui quia consul fortis constansque fuerat, incolumis est reipublicæ conservatus."

cious competition with him.¹ For the nobles professed to regard Cæsar merely as a reckless spendthrift, and to consider his well-known pecuniary embarrassments his only claim to notoriety. Catulus offered, perhaps in derision, to buy off his opposition by ministering to his necessities, that the field might thus be left open to the rivalry of himself and Servilius, a worthy candidate, who had just returned in triumph from the east with the title of Isauricus. But Cæsar knew his own position, and had calculated his resources. He refused with scorn the offers of Catulus, declared that he would persevere in the contest, and that, as for his debts, he was prepared to borrow more to win it.² The enactments of Sulla had withdrawn from the people the appointment to the sacerdotal college, and had constituted that body self-elective. What mode the dictator assigned for the appointment of the supreme pontiff does not clearly appear, but it was probably confided to the comitia of the centuries by the same law of Labienus which had restored the election of the priests generally to the people. It was apparently only a few months or weeks since this great triumph had been achieved by the popular party,³ and Cæsar might reasonably count upon the good offices of the electors. Nor did he conceal from himself that he staked all his fortunes upon the die. When the moment arrived, and he was about to present himself in public, his mother attended him in tears to the door of his house, and he embraced her with the words, "This day you will behold your son either supreme pontiff or an exile."⁴ The election terminated in his elevation to the much-coveted honour. The old traditions of the state were violated in favour of one thus young and inexperienced; and the senate was taught that its civil influence was gone for ever; it must

¹ Sallust, *B. C.* 49. : "Catulus ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod extrema ætate, maximis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Cæsare victus discesserat."

² Plut. *Cæs.* 7. : 'Ο δὲ καὶ πλείω προσδανεισάμενος ἔφη διαγωνιέσθαι.

³ Dion, xxxvii. 37. ; comp. Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, 228.

⁴ Suet. *Jul.* 13.

now gird itself for the battle, and place its trust in its purse and its sword.

In the midst of this agitation and bewilderment, the assembly of the nobles was suddenly scared by the revelation of a plot for the destruction of the commonwealth. Sulla and Marius, even Cinna too and Lepidus, had been all party leaders, and their banners had been inscribed with appeals to laws and principles. Pompeius might be intriguing for his own aggrandizement, but at least he put forth some popular pretensions: Cæsar might have vowed the overthrow of the oligarchy, but he too was the champion of a class, and of specific interests. But the man, of whose atrocious enterprise the whole city was about to ring, was the chief of a mere private cabal. The laws were threatened, it was said, with extinction, the city with conflagration, the empire with anarchy or dissolution, to gratify a sanguinary and rapacious crew of selfish adventurers. L. Sergius Catilina, a noble profligate, had sued for the consulship of the year 690. Publius Clodius, a stripling, not less profligate, but as yet less notorious, crossed his path with a charge of malversation in the province from which he had recently returned.¹ A rumour obtained general credit, though, as the case never came before the public, its authenticity must remain uncertain, that upon this repulse, Catilina concerted with Autronius, who had been deprived of the consulship for bribery, with Calpurnius Piso, and other dissolute nobles, a plot to murder the successful candidates, and seize the powers, of the state. The names both of Crassus and Cæsar had been whispered in connexion with this bloody enterprise. When it was asked upon what military resources the rash intriguers relied, it was answered that Piso, who had acquired the command of one of the Iberian provinces, was charged to organize an armed force in that quarter, with which to balance the legions of the senate under Pompeius. The scheme,

The nobles seek to implicate Cæsar and Crassus in a charge of conspiracy.

of a plot for the destruction of the commonwealth. Sulla and Marius, even Cinna too and Lepidus, had been all party leaders, and their banners had been inscribed with appeals to laws

¹ Ascon. ad Cic. *Orat. in Tog. cand.* p. 85. Comp. Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 18.; Cicero, *Pro Cælio.* 4.

it was alleged, was opportunely detected; the chief conspirators were discovered and marked. Piso shortly afterwards was cut off in his province by banditti, or possibly by assassins:¹ but the proceedings with which the culprits were menaced by the government were stayed by the intervention of a tribune, and the circumstances of the plot were never formally revealed.

So great however was the influence of Catilina, from his ancient blood and extensive connexions, or such the interest which his presumed machinations could excite among the lawless and ambitious even in the heart of the commonwealth, that not only was the executive power unable to convict him upon this flagrant charge, but he did not shrink from soliciting the consulate itself for the following year, and that too while yet unabsolved from the accusations of Clodius. The character of the arch conspirator is painted for us in the gloomiest colours. Cruel and voluptuous, bankrupt in means and reputation, he supported his extravagance by pandering to the vices of headstrong and prodigal youth. His courage had been conspicuous in his early years in the wars of Marius and Sulla, and in manhood his audacity was fearless as it was unscrupulous. Nor was the cunning, we are assured, less remarkable, with which he cajoled many of the best and wisest citizens. These qualities had placed him at the head of a cabal comprising personages of mark and dignity. His last chance of disentangling himself from his embarrassments was through the consulship, and its reversionary province. His friends, creditors, and dependants, combined to thrust him into this coveted position. His means were formidable; and, bankrupt as he was, he could engage the aid of Cicero himself, who was prepared for the sake of his alliance, in their common competition for the consulship, to defend his cause against Clodius.² But the services of the pliant orator were apparently not required. Catilina escaped condemnation

¹ Sallust, *Bell. Catil.* 19. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus.

² Cic. *ad Att.* i. 2.

through the favour of his judges, and possibly the corruption of his accuser; while on the other hand he failed in his suit for the consulship, which fell to Cicero himself in conjunction with a third candidate, Caius Antonius. Cicero's mouth was unsealed, and a few months later he could stand forth without a blush, and denounce his contemplated client as the foulest monster, the most universal culprit of the age.

The government of the republic was administered by Cicero during the year 691. Some of the contests which that year witnessed have already been reviewed. The profligacy of his aims. The consul proposed on his own part various salutary enactments; but he devoted himself assiduously to the interests of the oligarchy which, in its fears perhaps and anxieties for itself, had substantially befriended his advancement. Meanwhile, Catilina's position was becoming desperate. The disappointment of his hopes of a province dashed to the ground the last legitimate resource of impoverished ambition. It only remained to bury his private embarrassments in a public convulsion. All ages have their cant term for the cherished anticipation of an era of legalized insolvency. The young Roman prodigals invoked *new tables*, or a clear balance sheet; and it cannot be doubted that their aims were rather personal than political, that they yearned for the extinction of their debts first, and the division of public offices afterwards.¹

The names of Catilina's associates show how noble were the families, how exalted the stations, of the men who now prepared to plunge into a desperate revolution. Among them His associates and partizans. were two nephews of the dictator. Autronius and Cassius had been candidates for the consulship; Bestia was a tribune elect; Lentulus and Cethegus, both members of the Cornelian house, of which Sulla had been chief and patron, were nobles of high distinction, though lost in character: even the consul Antonius was suspected of privity to their designs, and a secret inclination in their favour. They counted upon

¹ Sallust, *B. C.* 21.: "Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptiones locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas."

the support of the men who had been disgraced or impoverished by Sulla,¹ and hoped to inflame the turbulence and lust of rapine which animated the dregs of the populace. They expected moreover the armed assistance of numbers of the disbanded veterans, who had already squandered, with the recklessness of fortunate adventurers, the possessions they had so suddenly acquired.² They proposed to solicit and excite the hostile feelings towards their conquerors still prevalent among the Italian races.³ Finally, they resolved to seize the gladiators' schools at Capua; and some of them would not have scrupled to arm a new insurrection of slaves and criminals.⁴ This last measure, indeed, was the only enormity to which Catilina hesitated to assent. He was urged to it more especially by Lentulus; and when a proposal so base was discovered in the handwriting of one of the Cornelii, it crowned the horror and indignation of the Roman people.⁵

Catilina continued to veil his purpose by renewed applications for the suffrages of the tribes, but his designs were generally suspected. The secret, if such it could be called, was revealed to Cicero by the paramour of one of his accomplices, and by him officially communicated to the senate. The consuls were at once invested with summary powers for the protection of the commonwealth.⁶ But in the suppression of so formidable a conspiracy, every step was hazardous. The lives of the noblest Romans were involved in it; the spirit of the populace was questionable or adverse, and their leaders ever on the watch

Discovery and suppression of the conspiracy.

¹ Cic. *pro Muran.* 24.: "Quam turbam dissimillimo ex genere distinguebant homines perculti Sullani temporis calamitate."

² Cic. *in Catil.* ii. 9.; Sallust, *B. C.* 16, 28.

³ Sallust, *B. C.* 28.

⁴ Sallust, *B. C.* 30.

⁵ Such was the tenor of Lentulus's letter discovered upon the person of an accomplice: "Auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis;" which was interpreted by a verbal message: "Quum hostis ab senatu iudicatus sit quo consilio servitia repudiet." Sall. *B. C.* 44.

⁶ Sallust, *B. C.* 29.: "Senatus decrevit darent operam Consules ne quid republica detrimenti caperet."

to profit by a false move. The affair required to be placed in such a light as to carry the passions of the citizens along with the government. Cicero manifested consummate adroitness in the course he now adopted. He first drove the arch-traitor to despair by proving his thorough acquaintance with the plot, and then allowed him quietly to make his escape from the city, and even take refuge among his armed adherents. As soon as he was gone and his open defection known, the consul could convene the senate and cause him to be declared a public enemy. He could then represent him as an invading foe, ready to fall upon the city with the men of Etruria and Picenum; he could revive the old panic of a Gallic outbreak, aggravated with the terrors of a servile war. No cry was more sure to rouse the passions of the Roman people, and combine every faction against a common enemy. From that moment also he could convict of treason any citizen discovered merely in correspondence with the proscribed outlaw. The consul resorted to further artifices to get proofs of this nature into his hands. He succeeded in securing, with letters on their persons, certain agents employed by the conspirators in the city. Having made himself master of these documents, he caused the culprits to be suddenly arrested. They were produced successively before the senate, and confronted with their own messengers, and the evidence of their own hands and seals. The senate in secret session investigated the charges, and pondered the disclosures of their accomplices. From these private sources it might learn the particular business assigned to each of the associates; which of them should assassinate the consul, which seize the public treasure, which set fire to the city; together with the signals concerted between them, and the contemplated division of the spoil. But in the speech which Cicero addressed to the people, upon the close of the examination, and the conviction of the prisoners, he submitted to them no judicial proof of the existence of such designs. He contented himself with declaring the evidence upon which they had been convicted to be their correspondence with

Catilina, a public enemy, and their intercourse with certain envoys of the Allobroges, a Gaulish clan, objects at that moment of popular apprehension.¹ This sufficed to brand them as pledged to succour an invader, to harbour him within the city, and to deliver Rome to the violence of Etrurians and Gauls. This was enough to justify all the frightful vaticinations of fire and slaughter with which Cicero had kept the ears of the people tingling. But to prove their ulterior designs would have involved the disclosure of the degrading means to which the consul had been compelled to resort, his intercourse with the basest of men and women; it would have been unbecoming the dignity of the government, and, above all, inconsistent with the politic reserve of an aristocratic assembly. Nor perhaps could it have added to the force of Cicero's arguments to have exhibited proofs of designs against himself, for he was not then a favourite with the populace; nor of the conspirators' intention to share the magistracies and priesthoods, to which it might be wholly indifferent.² The object of the government was fully obtained by the partial disclosures it thought proper to make; and the presumption some modern writers have entertained, that the legal guilt of the criminals was not formally established, is altogether nugatory.

The conspiracy thus critically arrested has been represented, in accordance with the evidence before us, as the work of mere private cupidity or ambition. But it was not the policy of the ruling party to allow such an opportunity to escape of incriminating their public adversaries. The insinuation that a Crassus

The nobles fail to implicate Cæsar and Crassus in the conspiracy.

¹ Cicero, *in Catilin.* iii. 9. : "Homines Galli in civitate male pacata, quæ una gens restat quæ populo Romano bellum facere et posse et non nolle videatur."

² The reserve which Cicero maintained was not unnoticed by his contemporaries; but if it was afterwards made a subject of attack by Clodius, it met with the full approbation of graver and better citizens. Cic. *ad Att.* i. 14. : "Me tantum *comperisse* omnia criminabatur." Comp. *Ad Div.* vi. 1. This was the phrase by which the consul was wont to indicate his knowledge of facts when he refrained from revealing his sources of information.

and a Cæsar had combined with the common enemy, was so obvious and natural, that neither then nor since has the rumour been easily discredited. The statement that these chieftains were so deeply concerned in the earlier plot, as to have actually designated themselves the one as dictator, the other as his master of the horse, may be dismissed as a glaring exaggeration. It is, however, far from impossible that they may have secretly favoured the scheme, with the hope of profiting by the explosion. For, whether it succeeded or failed,—and Cæsar we may be sure foresaw its certain failure,—it must at least add to the embarrassments of the oligarchy; it must tend to precipitate the republic along the path which sloped towards revolution, and render the popular mind familiar with the fatal conviction that the old system of administration could not be worked much longer. But the nobles sought to implicate Cæsar still deeper. Catulus and C. Piso had urged Cicero to include the leaders of the Marians in the impeachments of the presumed delinquents; ¹ the plot was ripe, witnesses were forthcoming, the blow was ready to fall; nothing perhaps, but the firmness of Cicero, who saw that Cæsar's popularity would in fact screen from justice every culprit with whom he was associated, saved him from standing before the bar of the senate on a charge of life and death.

Cicero's eloquence and ingenuity had conciliated thus far the favour of the people, and nerved the arm of the oligarchs with a strength to which they had long been strangers. The question now arose how much farther this favour might be relied on. Nine of the traitors had been convicted; of these five were in confinement; the nature of their punishment remained for decision. The law of the republic, as interpreted at least by the patricians, invested the chief magistrate with power of life and death as soon as the senate should issue its

Catullina's associates are condemned to death by a decree of the senate.

¹ Sallust, *B. C.* 49.: "Sed iisdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque precibus neque gratia Ciceronem impellere potuerunt, uti per Allobroges aut per alium indicem C. Cæsar falso nominaretur."

ultimate decree,—Let the consuls see that the state suffer no harm. Nor were there wanting precedents to support in the present case an act of extreme rigour, which the majority of the assembly might be found to justify and applaud. But Cicero was aware that the commons had never consented to such a stretch of prerogative; while their power, as well as their jealousy of the nobles, had much increased since its last exercise in the time of the Gracchi. There existed also a conflicting principle in the Roman law, according to which no citizen could be put to death except by a vote of the tribes. But the senate still hesitated to appeal to the people, by which course they would risk the failure of justice and vengeance altogether. Nor by delegating their own authority to the consul would they secure his impunity, should he venture to act upon it. The passions of the populace, stimulated by angry demagogues, would scorn submission to any such questionable pretensions. Accordingly, even in the moment of triumph, Cicero was too wary to assume at once the proffered responsibility. He appealed once more to the senate itself. He restored to the assembly the sword it had thrust into his hand. The fathers met in the Temple of Concord, the ground-plan of which may yet be traced beneath the brow of the Capitoline; and from the memorials still preserved to us, we may picture to ourselves a vivid representation of the debate which ensued.¹ The speakers on the side of the government were urgent for capital punishment, which was resisted not less vehemently by their opponents. The popular faction could not be expected to acquiesce in the assumption by the senate of the power of life and death. Banishment or imprisonment was, they contended, the extreme penalty allowed by the law. But their motives were questioned, their loyalty was impeached; and Cato, on be-

¹ Sallust, *B. C.* 51. seqq. Compare Cicero's fourth Catilinarian oration. How near the language which Sallust ascribes to his speakers approaches the words they really uttered it is impossible to conjecture; but Plutarch mentions that the speech of Cato alone was preserved, having been taken down in shorthand at the time by Cicero's direction. *Plut. Cat. Min.* 23.

half of the oligarchs, could maintain, not without a show of justice, that the convicted criminals were no longer citizens, but enemies of the state. By their connexion with the foreign foe, they had forfeited every Roman privilege. Cicero himself demanded a sentence of death. But it was not upon the letter of the law that either party did, in fact, lay the greatest stress. Policy or expediency dictated the most cogent arguments on either side. Finally, the harsher counsel prevailed, and the consul's hands were strengthened by a deliberate decree in favour of the bold stroke he personally advocated.

The historian of Catilina's conspiracy assures us that the charge with which Cæsar was threatened was false ; at least, Motives and arguments for and against this decree. that the evidence by which it would have been supported was forsworn ; nevertheless, it is from the language which the historian himself ascribes to Cæsar that a shade of suspicion still attaches to him. He sought to save the culprits' lives ; but his motive was a public and not a personal one. He contended for the manifest interests of his party ; for the advancement of his policy, for the embarrassment of the senate, for the renown of clemency and public spirit. Had he been conscious of complicity in the crime, his first aim must have been to bury the evidence in the graves of his associates. It is fair also to conclude, from his general character, that he shrank from the atrocity of shedding Roman blood on the scaffold, where it had rarely flowed except at the mandate of tyrants. He avowed that the culprits were justly liable to the severest penalty ; but to free and high-minded men, banishment, he contended, or imprisonment, would be even worse than death. These punishments the law allowed ; the infringement of this law had embittered the rivalry of political factions. The murders of the Gracchi and Saturninus had roused the people to direful vengeance. The proscriptions of Marius had already provoked retaliation. The execution of Lentulus and his associates would reopen the sluices of bloodshed ; one reaction would follow upon another ; each party would alternately decimate

the other.¹ This was the popular argument of the day. The commonalty were depressed, and they naturally made their appeal to the principles of mercy. But the nobles were elated by the advantage which a plot arrested always gives to a feeble government. They hailed with unrepressed satisfaction an event which enabled them to prove that they could defend their own position without the aid of a military chief. The patron they suspected and feared had withdrawn from their presence, with the apparent design of collecting his forces at a distance to assail their prerogatives. He had left them exposed to the furious attacks of the Marians, whose courage had evidently revived in his absence. They numbered in their ranks not a few daring spirits, who proposed to seize the crisis and secure themselves at one blow against both the open and the secret enemy. Such men may have been making a tool of Cicero, even while they most loudly applauded the lurid pictures of slaughter and conflagration with which he scared the timid into approval of their measures. The destruction of the traitor chiefs was deliberately planned and executed. When the apparent danger was at its height, the resolution of the waverers was fixed by an act of violence which cut off from them all retreat. Pompeius, it might be expected, would make it a pretext on his return for military interference. The survivors would appeal to him, and he would answer the appeal. The nobles threw down the gauntlet, and defied the commander of their own legions. Assuredly they miscalculated their strength, if they thought to withstand him for a moment: but perhaps they had formed their estimate of their opponent, and trusted by an imposing

¹ Cæsar's arguments, though unsuccessful, had considerable influence. "Metum injecit asperiora suadentibus identidem ostentans quanta eos in posterum a plebe Romana maneret invidia." Suet. *Jul.* 14. Tiberius Nero had preceded him in declaring similar sentiments. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 5.; Sallust, *B. C.* 50. How deep the violence of Sulla had sunk into the minds of the Romans may be estimated from a remarkable passage of Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* v. 77.) His dictatorship was regarded as a mere tyranny. He acted as no Roman had ever acted before, and treated Romans as Romans had never before been treated.

attitude to awe him into acquiescence. Failing in this, they were prepared to sacrifice Cicero, whom they disliked and despised; while he, not wholly unconscious of their meditated treachery, insisted upon implicating them together with himself in the full responsibility of the execution. Death accordingly was decreed by a large majority of the assembly; and the culprits, five in number, were forthwith strangled in the public prison, or in the houses where they were kept in custody.

This first taste of blood sufficed to stimulate the appetite of the triumphant faction; and Cæsar himself, as he descended the steps of the temple, was assailed and well-nigh sacrificed to their barbarous passions. The consul was attended by a number of young men equipped for the defence of his person, and these had crowded round the rival leader, and menaced him with their drawn swords, while they looked anxiously to Cicero himself for a signal to hew him in pieces.¹ But the consul checked their fury, while a spirited youth named Curio, who lived to play a conspicuous part in the troubles which succeeded, threw his cloak round their intended victim, and hurried him away in safety. Such was the current story of the time; but Cicero himself, in writing the memoirs of his consulship, made we are assured no allusion to it. The nobles, who at least regarded it as true, upbraided him for his untimely scruples, and perhaps he did not care to place on record an avowal of the opportunity he had missed. The people who believed the report, and were agitated at their hero's danger, thronged the doors of the assembly at its next sitting, when Cæsar defended himself against the charges made against him in a lengthened and noisy discussion. Believing that he was detained by force, they insisted with shouts and menacing gestures that he should be restored to them. Pacified for a moment, they resorted again and again to tumultuary proceedings. The neediest and most dissolute of the populace excited and fed their agitation, and at last Cato himself was

Violence of the nobles and discontent of the people.

¹ Plutarch, *Cæs.* 8.

induced to appease their discontent by a monthly allowance of corn from the government.

Cato had been the most urgent of all the speakers in the recent debate for the capital punishment of the conspirators. At the persuasion of the same rash counsellor, the senate ventured to break that union with the equestrian order which had been the aim of Cicero's policy, and his partial success in which had constituted, up to this moment, his greatest triumph. Hardly had the second order obtained a footing in the tribunals, than their rivals sought to avenge the injury by retorting charges of malversation upon them. Presently, certain of the knights who had contracted with the censors to farm the revenues of the eastern provinces, finding that, in their cupidity, they had overreached themselves, besought the government to relax its terms. The senate would listen to no accommodation. Cato, partly from the natural severity and strictness of his temper, partly from his class prejudices, opposed them with sternness, and prevailed upon the assembly to reject their appeal, after degrading them by long suspense.¹ The deepest jealousy and hostility revived between the parties; and this dissension, as it frustrated the aims of Cicero and Pompeius, gave a colour to the events which followed.²

Thus thwarted in his conciliatory policy, Cicero began henceforth to incline more to the senatorial than the equestrian order. He had tasted the sweets of admission into the highest ranks of an exclusive oligarchy, and his self-love forbade him to renounce its charms and descend to the level where alone he could maintain his dignity and independence. He complained that the knights had deserted the senate, though his vanity would not allow him to admit that they had cooled in their devotion to himself.³ They had crowded around him to defend his person against the criminal attempts of the conspirators; and he

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* i. 18.

² Cic. *ad Att.* i. 19.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* i. 19.: "Vidi nostros publicanos facile a senatu disjungi, quanquam a me ipso non divellerentur."

Cato mortifies
and irritates the
knights.

Cicero inclines
to the senate.

persisted in regarding their zeal as a display, not of public interest, but of personal attachment.¹ But he soon learnt that the services he had performed could secure him no effective control over a party which despised its benefactor, and was resolved to depreciate his merits. No man knew more thoroughly the inefficiency of its vaunted leaders; their injustice, their violence, and their sloth he had gauged in every arena of public life. He shuddered at the perils gathering around their path; at the audacity of Cæsar, the offended pride of Pompeius, nor less perhaps at the morose austerity of Cato, under whose guidance they were content to place themselves. Cicero does ample justice to the motives of this new champion, who strove, with firmness and success, to carry out in public life the strictest theories of his stern philosophy. But with the best intentions and the truest loyalty he damaged his own cause: he spoke as one who dwelt in the commonwealth of Plato, and not amidst the dregs of Romulus.²

The ranks of both parties in the state were filled with men of practical ability, whose lives had been passed in the free and active spheres of the camp and the forum; but, with the exception of Cæsar himself, it would be difficult to point out one statesman among them of original genius, or one who could discern the signs of the times, and conceive comprehensive measures in harmony with them. The temper of the Roman people at this crisis of their history required the guidance of a mind of more vigorous grasp than was possessed by a Cicero or a Pompeius, whose talents as public men were limited to a capacity for administration, but who could neither understand nor grapple with the great evil of the Sullan revolution,

Extravagant ideas popularly afloat. Want of an original and powerful mind to guide them.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 1.: "Nunc vero quum equitatus ille noster, quem ego in clivo Capitolino collocaram, senatum descruerit . . . equites curiæ bellum non mihi."

² Cic. *l. c.*: "Sed tamen ille optimo animo utens, et summa fide, noceet interdum reipublicæ. Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτεία non tanquam in Romuli sæec sententiam."

which had checked the natural progress of reform and enfranchisement, and restored the landmarks of a constitution which was no longer the legitimate exponent of the national character. The people had already undergone a marked change in their ideas and motives of action, while they were still clinging, with their accustomed pertinacity, to forms from which the living spirit had fled. The extent and rapid succession of their conquests, bringing with them an overwhelming accession of public and private wealth, had filled men's minds with the wildest anticipations. The extravagance of each succeeding year eclipsed the profuseness of its predecessor. M. Lepidus, the consul in the year of Sulla's death, erected the most magnificent dwelling that had been seen up to his day in Rome; within thirty-five years it was outshone by not fewer than an hundred mansions.¹ The same was the case with the extension of the territorial possessions of the nobility, their accumulation of plate, jewels, and every other article of luxury, and no less the multiplication of their slaves and dependants. The immoderate interest which ready money commanded shows that the opening of new channels to enterprize outstripped even the rapid multiplication of wealth. The national prejudice against trade still drove the capitalist from the secure and regular pursuits of commerce to gamble in perilous speculations. The curse of barrenness clung indeed to this ill-gotten abundance: instead of spreading over the face of the empire, the treasures of the world were accumulated in a few rapacious hands. Cicero has recorded the assertion of the tribune Philippus, at no distant period, that not two thousand citizens were possessed of property:² such, it seems, were the real numbers of the class who ruled the East and the West by their armies, their magistracies, their largesses, and their loans. But in the race of cupidity such considerations were little heeded. All eyes were turned from the simplicity of the past and fixed upon a future of

¹ Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24.

² Cic. *de Off.* ii. 21. "qui rem haberent."

boundless promise. Men laughed at the narrow notions of their parents and even of their own earlier years. It is only once or twice in the course of ages, as on the discovery of a new continent, or the overthrow of a vast spiritual dominion, that the human imagination springs, as it were, to the full proportion of its gigantic stature. But even a generation which has witnessed, like our own, an extraordinary development of industrial resources and mechanical appliances, and has remarked within its own sphere of progress how such circumstances give the rein to the imagination, what contempt for the past, what complacent admiration of the present, and what daring anticipations they engender regarding the future, may enter into the feelings of the Romans at this period of social agitation, and realize the ideas of an age of popular delirium.

When the mind of a nation is thus excited and intoxicated by its fervid aspirations, it seeks relief from its own want of definite aims in hailing the appearance of a leader of clearer views and more decisive action. It wants a hero to applaud and to follow, and is ready to seize upon the first that presents himself as an object for its admiration, and to carry him forward on his career in triumph. Marius, Sulla and Pompeius, each in his turn, claimed this eager homage of the multitude; but the two former had passed away with his generation, and the last lived to disappoint the hopes of his admirers, for whom he was not capable of extending the circuit of the political horizon. For a moment the multitude was dazzled by the eloquence and activity of Cicero, but neither had he the intellectual gifts which are fitted to lead a people onward. The Romans hailed him as the saviour and father of his country, as another Romulus or Camillus;¹ but this was in a fit of transient enthusiasm for the past, when their minds were recurring for a moment to their early founders and preservers. It was still

Caesar the only man who could fulfil the demands of the crisis.

definite aims in hailing the appearance of a leader of clearer views and more decisive action. It wants a hero to applaud and to follow, and is

¹ Cic. *in Pis.* 3.; Plut. *Cic.* 22.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 7.; Plin. *H. N.* vii. 30.; Juvenal, viii. 244.

to the future that their eyes were constantly directed ; and it was not till the genius of Cæsar burst upon them, with all the rapidity and decision of its movements, that they could recognize in any of the aspirants to power the true captain and lawgiver and prophet of the age.

CHAPTER IV.

DEFEAT AND DEATH OF CATILINA.—THE OLIGARCHY DERIVES GREAT CONFIDENCE FROM THIS SUCCESS, AND DEFILES POMPEIUS.—POPULARITY OF CICERO.—CÆSAR'S PROGRESS IN THE ATTAINMENT OF HONOURS AND POWER.—RETURN OF POMPEIUS FROM ASIA: HE RESENTS THE ATTITUDE OF THE SENATE TOWARDS HIM.—THE SENATE TURNS THE LICENTIOUSNESS OF CLODIUS TO A POLITICAL OBJECT.—POMPEIUS ALLIES HIMSELF WITH CÆSAR AND CRASSUS.—THE TRIUMVIRATE.—CÆSAR'S CONSULSHIP, AND CONTINUED HOSTILITIES BETWEEN HIM AND THE SENATE.—HE OBTAINS THE PROVINCE OF GAUL.—CLODIUS ELECTED TRIBUNE: HIS POPULARITY, AND MACHINATIONS AGAINST CICERO.—ABANDONMENT OF CICERO BY THE CONSULS, AND COLDNESS OF THE TRIUMVIRS.—HE IS ASSAILED BY CLODIUS, AND RETIRES INTO EXILE.

CATILINA had replied to the denunciations of Cicero with a few words of furious menace; but, on leaving Rome, he addressed letters to some of the principal men of the city, in which he declared his intention of betaking himself to Massilia as a place of voluntary exile.¹ But to Catulus, who either was, or whom at least he wished to be considered, a more intimate friend, he opened himself without disguise. He declared that he was urged to extremity by the violence of personal enemies; that he could no longer endure to see the elevation of unworthy Romans to places of trust and honour, from which he was himself excluded by unjust suspicions; that, in short, he was now resolved to effect a revolution in the state, for such was the obvious meaning of his threat to undertake the defence of the poor and the oppressed in Italy and the city.² On reaching Ar-

Catiline puts himself at the head of the insurgents in Etruria.
A. U. 691.
E. C. 63.

¹ Sall. *B. C.* 33, 34.

² Sall. *B. C.* 35.

retium in Etruria he assumed the ensigns of military command, and repaired to the camp of his adherent Mallius, who had already gone forward to raise the standard of revolt, and was actively appealing to the hopes and necessities of the rustic population. The senate forthwith issued a decree by which Catilina and his lieutenant were declared enemies of the state, and ordered the consul Antonius to levy troops for their destruction. At the same time it deemed it prudent to offer pardon to all, except the two leaders, who should abandon the guilty enterprize; but not a single man, it is said, was found to desert his chiefs. On the other hand, while some supplies of men and money were forwarded from his coadjutors in Rome, Catilina received considerable addition to his forces from among that desperate class which rejoiced in the prospect of an impending revolution, and now rushed to share the peril and the spoil without any previous concert with the conspirators.¹

The rebel force now consisted of two legions of the ordinary complement, but not above one fourth of the number were fully equipped, the rest having ^{His defeat and} armed themselves with any weapons which ^{death.} they could seize or fashion for the occasion. While awaiting the result of his friends' machinations in Rome, Catilina kept to the mountains, out of the reach of the consul's forces. Antonius himself showed great tardiness and indecision; his conduct was open to the suspicion of sympathy, if not of concert, with the enemy he was sent to subdue. But, fortunately for the republic, his lieutenants were men of vigour and activity. The prætor, Metellus Celer, had checked by the rapidity of his movements the spirit of disaffection which was beginning to manifest itself in either

¹ Among these traitors to the state was a youth, A. Fulvius, the son of a senator, who, being arrested on his way and brought back, was put to death by his father's order. (Sall. *B. C.* 39.; Dion, xxxvii. 36.; Val. Max. v. 8. 5.) This imitation of the discipline of the ancient republic excited neither applause nor indignation among the languid voluptuaries of the senate. Merimée, *Etudes sur l'Histoire Romaine*, ii. 183.

Gaul. He was at the head of three legions, with which he occupied Picenum and Umbria, and watched the northern flanks of the Apennines. Hasty and ill-concerted risings in Bruttium and Apulia had also been speedily quelled; yet, if Catilina could have burst from the toils by which he was surrounded, he might have taken advantage of the winter season to rouse rebellion throughout Italy, and have collected resources for another year's campaign.¹ The news of the detection and defeat of the conspiracy reached him in the neighbourhood of Fæsukæ. His first impulse was to make for Gaul, with which view he traversed the territory of Pistoria, and was about to cross the Apennines, when he found himself confronted by Metellus with firm resolution and superior numbers. Something might still be hoped from the favour or timidity of Antonius, and he turned again to throw himself upon the consular army. Antonius shut himself up under pretence of illness, and allowed the command to devolve upon Petreius, a veteran of unflinching fidelity. Catilina's undisciplined bands had no chance against their opponents as soon as they met in the field; yet they fought to the last with the ferocity of wild beasts, unless, indeed, their devotion to their leader deserves a nobler title. Three thousand of their number were slain in the combat, and each man fell on the spot on which he had been marshalled for the battle. The body of Catilina himself was found far in advance of the line, among the corpses of the enemy, and the expression of his dying countenance still corresponded to the passions which had animated him in life.²

While the generals of the republic were still hunting the common enemy in the Apennines, and the machinations of his associates had not yet been brought to punishment, the

¹ Cic. *pro Sest.* 5.

² Sallust, *B. C.* 61.; Florus, iv. 1.; Dion, xxxvii. 39, 40. Catilina made his escape from Rome Nov. 9, A. U. 691, of the unreformed calendar, equivalent to Jan. 13, B. C. 62. The execution of his associates took place Dec. 5 = Feb. 7., and he was slain in the beginning of the year 692 = the middle of March, B. C. 62. Fischer, *Zeittafeln*, p. 221.

leaders of the senate allowed themselves to quarrel among one another, as if they had no one to fear either within or without the city. The election of consuls for the ensuing year had fallen upon D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena. We have seen that Catilina had presumed to offer himself; but a worthier candidate, the great jurist Sulpicius, was also disappointed, and, resenting the notorious bribery employed by his rivals, had rushed to the prosecution of Murena. Cato, blinded by his hatred of corruption, or swayed by the self-appointed duty of chastising all political offenders, rashly consented to support the charge. It can hardly be supposed that the unsuccessful candidate had abstained from similar means, or came into court with clean hands. At all events, in the existing crisis of affairs, it was most important, that the executive should not be paralysed by depriving Silanus of his appointed colleague, and withdrawing his attention from the care of the public interests to the harassing duties incident to a fresh election. This Cicero saw, and immediately stepped forward to defend Murena, who, to his other claims on the confidence of his party, added the reputation, most valuable at such a moment, of a military commander.¹ The orator's exertions were successful, and his speech is more than usually interesting, from the tone of banter in which he indulges towards men in whom the senatorial party reposed the highest confidence; from the disparagement he throws, on the one hand, upon the legal science for which Sulpicius was justly celebrated, and upon the Stoic philosophy, on the other, of which Cato was the advocate and the pattern. In a subsequent work of more pretensions to sober argument Cicero alludes to this speech, and acknowledges that he had purposely adapted his rhetoric to the superficial understanding of the judges.² But this curious effusion of

Differences between the leaders of the senate.

¹ The speech *pro Murena* was delivered after Catilina's retreat, but before the execution of his associates (c. 37.); Murena's military services are extolled (cap. 5. 9. 16.).

² Cic. *de Fin.* iv. 27.; comp. Quintil. xi. 1.

untimely levity must be ascribed to the intoxication of success. Cicero did not abstain from indulging his vanity in the arch depreciation of the chief men of his own party. Cato, who, with all his outward austerity, was a man of singular good-humour, smiled at his opponent, and quietly remarked to those about him how witty a consul the republic enjoyed.¹

In the midst of their contentions for the highest office, the nobles had allowed Cæsar to obtain one of the second

places in the scale of power, the prætorship, which he held in conjunction with M. Calpurnius Bibulus, the candidate of the opposite party.

The most prominent among the tribunes at the same time were Cato and Metellus Nepos, a brother of Celer, the prætor of the preceding year. Nepos was an adherent of Pompeius, and was sent by him from Asia to canvass for the tribuneship, that on his own return he might secure the services of an ally in that important office. Cato, it was said, had resisted the solicitations of his friends to allow himself to be nominated for another seat on the tribunitian bench, declaring that the post was too invidious for one who was resolved not to swerve in the conduct of affairs from the strictest rules of probity and justice. But while journeying into Lucania, to escape from the turmoil of the approaching elections, he met Nepos, who had just landed at Brundisium. He knew or divined the object of this sudden arrival, and ordered his horses' heads to be turned towards Rome, resolved to defeat the election of a creature of Pompeius, or at least to place himself in a situation in which he might neutralize such baneful influence.² He sought and obtained the tribuneship, in which he was, at the same time, associated

¹ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 21. Niebuhr excuses Cicero's levity, and represents it as the innocent expression of natural cheerfulness and playful spirits on the happy termination of an arduous enterprize. (*Lect. on Rom. Hist.* ii. 29.) But the affair of Catilina had not yet reached its crisis; and though the consul might be confident that he possessed the means of crushing the enemy, his mind could not have been free from the deepest anxiety.

² Plut. *Cat. Min.* 20.

with the enemy whom he had set himself to watch, whose evil schemes he was prepared to counteract by the free exercise of his official veto.¹ Such were the suspicions of their once favourite champion which the leaders of the aristocracy now manifested to the world.

This early preparation for a year of violence and intrigue was amply justified by the events which followed. On the first of January, when the consuls entered upon their duties, it was customary for all the chief men and dignitaries of the state to proceed to the Capitol, and there offer them their solemn greetings.² Cæsar, however, instead of assisting in this act of official courtesy, took advantage of the absence of his colleagues and rivals to address the people in the forum, and to propose that Catulus should be deprived by their vote of the honours due to him as the restorer of the temple of Jupiter, which was now on the point of completion.³ That august edifice, the glory of the City and the Empire, had suffered severely in the conflagration which took place during the conflict of Sulla and Marius.⁴ The charge of restoring it in a manner worthy of the extended greatness of the republic had been assigned to Catulus, as prince of the senate and the most illustrious of all her citizens.⁵ He had accepted the commission with pride, and bestowed infinite care on its execution, nor had he shrunk from incurring vast personal expense, that his name might deserve to be inscribed on its front by his grateful countrymen. Cæsar audaciously

Cæsar proposes to deprive Catulus of the honour of restoring the Capitol, but is defeated.
A. U. 692.
B. C. 62.

¹ Cic. *pro Mur.* 3.

² We find this custom alluded to a hundred and fifty years later by Pliny (*Ep.* ix. 37.): "Vides quam non delicata me causa obire primum consulatus tui diem non sinat: quam tamen hic, ut præsens, votis, gaudio, gratulatione celebrabo."

³ See Cic. ii. *in Verr.* iv. 31.

⁴ Not by accident but designedly. Some charged Sulla, others Carbo, with having applied the torch. Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 72., says, "fraude privata."

⁵ Sulla originally undertook it, but died before the work had proceeded far. This disappointment, it was said, was the only exception to the universal good fortune from which he obtained his surname of Felix. "Hoc solum felicitati ejus negatum." Tac. *l. c.*; comp. Plin. *H. N.* vii. 43.

brought a charge of peculation against him, and demanded the production of his accounts; while at the same time he insisted that he should not be permitted to put the finishing hand to the work, but that the burden and the glory should be transferred to Pompeius.¹ This attack was, perhaps, not seriously meant to succeed. It answered the purpose of enraging and alarming the nobles, of thwarting a personal enemy, above all of menacing the aristocracy with the vengeance of the chieftain they distrusted. It was also an overture of more cordial alliance between the pretended friends. But the nobles, on hearing what was passing, rushed from the presence of the consuls with all their friends and adherents, into the forum, and succeeded in averting the blow. The name of Lutatius Catulus was duly inscribed upon the noblest monument of the national pride, and bore witness to the glory of the most blameless hero of the aristocracy until the temple was again destroyed by fire in the civil wars of Vitellius and Vespasian.²

The main object of the extraordinary powers which Pompeius enjoyed had been recently attained by the death of the terrible Mithridates in the preceding year. The power of the eastern tyrant had been gradually broken by the perseverance of successive Roman generals, and he had been finally expelled from all the territories he had inherited or acquired on the southern shore of the Euxine. The ascendancy which Pompeius had gained over his army, and probably the zealous assistance of the civil administrators throughout the east,

Pompeius desists from the pursuit of Mithridates, who forms a new combination against Rome.

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¹ Dion, xxxvii. 44. Suet. *Jul.* 15.

² Tac. *l. c.*; Suet. *Vitell.* 15. Dion (xliii. 14.) says that the senate decreed (A. U. 708) that the name of Catulus should be erased, and that of Cæsar substituted. In modern times, indeed, an inscription has been found in the foundations of the tabularium bearing the name of Catulus: "Q. Lutatius Q. F. Q. N. Catulus substructionem et tabularium de s. s. faciendum cœravit." This, however, refers only to a small and inferior part of his work. The tabularium, the depository of the public archives, was built against the face of the Capitoline hill, upon a huge substruction of masonry between the two summits of that eminence.

whose extortions he had not chosen, like Lucullus, to check, gave him far more complete command of his resources than his predecessors ever possessed. Accordingly, he obtained an easy conquest over Tigranes, king of Armenia, and received his submission with favour upon payment of an adequate tribute.¹ He drove the king of Pontus beyond the Caucasus: but to pursue him further was a service of danger, for such a charm did the mighty monarch carry with him, even in exile and disgrace, that wherever he came the nations rose to welcome and obey him. Mithridates retreated round the north-eastern coasts of the Euxine, and halted at Panticapeum, at the mouth of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.² Pompeius relinquished the pursuit, and turned southwards in search of wealthier lands to plunder and feebler sovereigns to intimidate; while the enemy whom he had been specially commissioned to destroy was maturing a new combination against the power of Rome, more gigantic and formidable than any which his bold imagination had yet conceived. The same sagacity which, at an earlier period, had induced him to enter into negotiations with Sertorius in Spain, now counselled him to communicate with the restless warriors of Gaul. He proposed, it is said, to traverse Dacia and Pannonia with a Scythian horde at his back, and join his impatient allies at the threshold of Italy.³ Even at the farthest extremity to which his power ever reached this extraordinary man could leave a durable name in the traditions of the native population. A ledge on the summit of a rock projecting into the sea, in the neighbourhood of Kertch, is said to be popularly known at this day as the *throne of Mithridates*.⁴ But the ordinary result of Oriental polygamy hastened the old man's end. He had excited against himself hostility in the bosom of his own family. Three sons and three daughters he had put to death

¹ Vell. ii. 37.

² Appian, *Bell. Mithrid.* 107.

³ Dion, xxxviii. 11.; Flor. iii. 5.; Appian, *B. M.* 109.: Ἐς Κελτοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ φίλους ἐπὶ τῷδε γεγονότας ἐπενόει διελθῶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν σὺν ἐκείνοις ἐμβαλεῖν.

⁴ Michelet, *Hist. Rom.* iii. c. 4.

to secure his throne, but another of his children named Pharnaces, whom he had destined for his successor, eager to defeat the wild enterprize he meditated, and thus gain the favour of the Romans, revolted against him. Deserted by his troops and people, Mithridates prepared to embrace a voluntary death. His system, it was affirmed, had been fortified against poison by the habitual use of antidotes; he was compelled to require the services of a Gaulish attendant, and fell upon the sword reluctantly presented to him.¹

The treason of Pharnaces was rewarded with the kingdom of the Bosphorus, and he was received by Pompeius into the friendship and alliance of the republic. Meanwhile the decrees of the Roman general at the head of his army had sufficed to annex many rich provinces to the empire. When Pompeius desisted from the pursuit of the king of Pontus, he repaired to the court of Antiochus, surnamed Asiaticus, in Syria, and ordered him to descend from the throne of the Seleucidæ, and surrender his country to the Roman people. This sovereign, the last of a dynasty which had wielded the sceptre of Syria for two centuries and a half, and had furnished a succession of seventeen kings,² had entered upon his hereditary rule on the expulsion of Tigranes by the Roman arms. But the country was totally unable to defend itself against the Parthians and Armenians; it was too rich or too critically situated to be intrusted to a dependent monarch, and Pompeius reduced it without hesitation to the form of a province. Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria submitted to the same yoke without an audible murmur, and became incorporated in the proconsular government of Syria. At Damascus the conqueror received the appeal

Mithridates puts an end to his life on the revolt of his son Pharnaces, A. U. 691.

Successes of Pompeius in Syria and Palestine.

¹ Dion; Appian; Liv. *Epit.* cii.

² Appian (*B. Mithr.* 70.) calculates the period at 270 years, and adds fourteen for the duration of the rule of Tigranes. He is manifestly in error. Seleucus began his reign B. C. 312, with which year his era commences (Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* in ann.); and from thence to B. C. 64 (A. U. 690) are 248 years complete. Various computations may be compared in the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, ii. 337. ed. Svo.

of Hyrcanus, who had been deprived by his younger brother Aristobulus of his sacerdotal sovereignty in Judea. He listened to the usurper's defence of his conduct in assuming the title of king; but he condescended to weigh the arguments of the Jewish statesmen and the usages of the nation, and finally undertook to restore Hyrcanus to power, and re-establish the ancient polity. The Jews, however, would not submit to foreign dictation. Aristobulus was their favourite. They wished, as of old, to have a king to reign over them. They defended their freedom of choice, and the object whom they had chosen, with all the valour and obstinacy of their race. For three months their temple-citadel held out against the skill and patience of the Romans: but the fanaticism of the people, which was kindled by the excitement of patriotism, proved their ruin; for, as on former occasions, their presumptuous confidence tempted them to omit the requisite means of defence, and their fastness was surprised during a season of unguarded ceremonial.¹ The victor replaced Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood and abolished the royal title. He made the country dependent upon Rome; but, though he violated the Holy of Holies by his profane presence, he appears to have acted with more than usual moderation in sparing the sacred furniture and treasures of the temple.² If the death of Mithridates had been longer delayed, it was the intention of Pompeius to have made a campaign against the Nabathæans; and it would have been, we are assured, his idle ambition to penetrate to the eastern Ocean, as he had carried the arms of the republic in Spain to the shores of the Atlantic.³ But the change in the situation of affairs required his return to Asia Minor. He there completed the arrangements of his foreign policy, and gave his last directions for

¹ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* xiv. 4. 3.; Strabo, xvi. 2.: *νηστείας ἡμέρα.*

² Dion (xxxvii. 16.) says the contrary: *πάντα τὰ χρήματα διηρπάσθη*: but the other is the statement in which the rest of our authorities concur. See Drumann, iv. 467. The spoliation of the temple of Jerusalem was reserved for Crassus.

³ This may, perhaps, be regarded as a rhetorical flight of Plutarch's, who amplifies it still further (*Pomp.* 38.).

the settlement of the provincial administration. The basis upon which the edifice of social order had been established by Lucullus remained unshaken after his successor had left Asia.¹

The zeal with which the nobles had rushed to the defence of Catulus could not fail to mortify the jealous temper of Pompeius, and their statesmen might regard the death of Mithridates with alarm rather than satisfaction, for nothing now remained to delay the conqueror's return to take account of their proceedings in his absence. In vain had Cato sneered at the feeble resistance of the Asiatics, and asserted that the successes of their conqueror were merely victories over women.² The power and ability of so great a captain were not to be charmed away by empty taunts. It was a better policy to fortify the position of the senate by courting the services of its most distinguished military members. Lucullus had lately received the long-delayed honour of a triumph: the technical objection that he had not actually finished the war in the East was overruled, and his real merits were not unduly rewarded by an unusual stretch of the senate's prerogative.³ This year, Q. Metellus, another scion of the same illustrious house which furnished a tribune at the late elections and a prætor at the preceding, was flattered with a similar honour.⁴ He received, at the same time, the surname of Creticus, for his final reduction of the warlike islanders whom it had taken three years to subdue. But the importance of his victory was to be estimated, not so much by the resources or valour of the natives, as by the convenience of the harbours and fastnesses of the island, protecting the commerce of the Mediterranean, and imposing a bridle upon piracy in the surrounding seas.⁵

¹ Cic. *Acad.* ii. 1. ; comp. Plut. *Pomp.* 39.

² Cic. *pro Mur.* 14.

³ Cicero seems to claim the merit of having extorted this act of justice and good policy (*Acad.* ii. 1.): "Nos consules introduximus pæne in urbem currum clarissimi viri."

⁴ Vell. ii. 34.

⁵ Even the plunder of Crete deserved to be recorded among the spoils of

No sooner had Metellus Nepos arrived in Rome than he put himself in communication with Cæsar, and the two agitators combined together in harassing the party to which both were equally hostile. Ne-^{Popularity of Cicero.} pos began his career as tribune by denouncing the execution of Catilina's associates.¹ He declaimed against it, on the one hand, as a crime against the people; on the other, as offensive to Pompeius, the saviour of the state and the champion of the constitution. Thus early were the nobles apprised of the pretext they had furnished to their protector, should he choose to overthrow their power by force, and declare himself the avenger of a judicial murder. Under Cato's undaunted leadership, however, they mustered all their courage. Cicero himself presented a bold front to his accusers; and the people for once were not forgetful of the preservation of their homes and hearths by his patriotic vigour. On the first day of the new year, when the consul was about to lay down his office and to make the customary oration to the people, the tribune offered to impose silence upon him, declaring it unfit that the murderer of Roman citizens should address an assembly of free men. Amidst the uproar which this act excited, Cicero could only exclaim, with a solemn adjuration, that he had saved the state, and the general acclamations of the people overwhelmed every opposing whisper.² Yet it might seem to him ominously significant that this innocent or necessary act of self-defence was resented by Celer, the brother of Nepos. Metellus

much ampler domains. Lucan, iii. 163. The pirates had probably accumulated treasures there.

¹ Dion, xxxvii. 42.; Plut. *Cic.* 23.

² *Cic. ad Div.* v. 1, 2. Plutarch (*Cic. l. c.*) attributes the favour with which Cicero was received to the good offices of Cato, who was the first to address him as the "Father of his country." Plutarch is not correct, perhaps, in saying that Cicero was the first who received this honourable distinction; at all events, he was the last, while the voice of the Roman people continued really free: "Roma patrem patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit." Juvenal, viii. 244. Comp. however Plin. *H. N.* vii. 31. "Salve primus omnium parens patriæ appellate."

Celer, though now enjoying the proconsulship of Gaul through Cicero's surrender of his own prior claim, and though professing himself his friend both personally and politically, was unreasonable enough to address him in a letter of bitter remonstrance, to which his correspondent replied with becoming spirit.

The attack was repulsed. But Catilina had not yet been defeated; and the tribune now moved a rogation to the people for recalling Pompeius with his troops, and giving him full powers for the destruction of the common enemy. The senate shrank from offering any such invitation; it would rather have thrown some obstacle in the way of his return, and rejoiced in the dilatoriness of his present proceedings. It exerted all its influence to thwart the odious proposal. The part Cæsar was playing now became manifest. He appeared as the counsellor and confidant of the demagogue, whose violence was destroying all hope of reconciliation between the oligarchs and their former leader. The tribune had occupied the forum with a crowd of his own adherents. He presented, moreover, a startling array of military force, whether to protect his own inviolable person, or to overawe his opponents. Scarcely could Cato, who would not be withheld from appearing by the advice and entreaties of his friends, succeed in making his way to the spot where the functionaries of the state presided over the popular assembly. Cæsar and Nepos were sitting side by side. Cato advanced and took his seat directly between them, to interrupt their private communications. Nepos directed the clerk to read the proposed resolution aloud; Cato forbade him. Nepos took the paper himself; Cato snatched it from his hand, and tore it in the face of the multitude. This boldness warmed the people in his favour, when Nepos, furious at being thus thwarted, began to recite the resolution from memory. Thermus, another of the tribunes and an adherent of the nobles, raised his hand to the speaker's mouth. This was a violent way of interposing the official veto, the means of

Violence of the
tribune Nepos;
triumph of the
nobles.

control which each tribune legally possessed over his colleagues ; but it hit the humour of the excited multitude, and was crowned with tumultuous acclamation. A scene of riot and disorder followed, which prevented the adoption of any measure under the sanction of legal forms ; and although it was necessary for the friends of Cato to hurry him from the strife, and to secure his safety hard by in the temple of Castor and Pollux, the object of Nepos was defeated, and a great triumph obtained for the insulted senate.¹

But the aristocratic party was fated always to push its victories too far. The senate, elated by the unaccustomed sounds of popular applause, ventured to suspend both Nepos and Cæsar from the functions to which they had been duly elected. The tribune fled to the camp of his patron, proclaiming that the sanctity of his office had been profaned by violence. Cæsar, with greater resolution, threw himself upon the protection of his allies and adherents, and continued to administer his prætorial functions in defiance of every hostile menace. He refused to quit his tribunal till compelled by a military force, whereupon he dismissed the lictors who attended upon him, divested himself of his official insignia, and retired with dignity to his private dwelling. The populace now assembled to avenge the insult offered to their favourite. A riot ensued, which compelled the consuls to retrace their steps, not without the most obsequious expressions of respect and deference towards him.² But how hollow these compliments were, how insincere the show of reconciliation, appears from a fresh attempt which was made at the same moment to implicate him in the late conspiracy, the inquiry into which was still in progress. The ostensible promoters of the charge were L. Vettius and Q. Curius, both men of notorious character, who had already sold them-

The nobles venture to insult Cæsar, and are compelled to make reparation.

¹ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 26—30. Dion, xxxvii. 43.

² Suet. *Jul.* 16. This incident is omitted by all the other authorities, and Plutarch expressly declares that no tumults occurred in Cæsar's prætorship, *Cæs.* 9.

selves to the senate, and denounced the plot in which they had in fact been deeply engaged.¹ Vettius declared that he could produce letters from Cæsar to Catilina; Curius only professed to have ascertained his guilt from the mouth of their common leader. It is hardly credible that these wretches would have ventured to assail the popular champion, whose courage and resources were so well known, had not they received direct encouragement from some chiefs of the senate. Cæsar, with his usual decision, went straightway to Cicero, and engaged him to remove any suspicion of his criminality. The late consul declared publicly that it was by Cæsar himself that the first intimation of the danger had been made to him. Whether this had really been the fact does not appear; but, at all events, the testimony of Cicero could not be discredited. Not only was Cæsar acquitted, but the reward recently assigned to Curius as the supposed revealer of the plot, was taken from him, and handed to the object of his calumny. Vettius was sacrificed to the wrath of the people, and thrown into prison; nor did Novius the quæstor, who had allowed his superior magistrate to be cited before his tribunal, escape a similar chastisement.²

Another incident occurred during Cæsar's prætorship, which is cited by his biographer as an instance of his zeal in defending the clients who intrusted their interests to his care.³ It is so briefly related that we are at a loss fully to understand it; but it seems at least to give further indications of the confidence he now felt in his position, and the spirit of defiance which animated all his transactions with the government. A Numidian chieftain named Masintha had applied to Cæsar to defend him against a claim for tribute on the part of his sovereign Hiempsal. The king sent his son Juba to Rome, to take the proper measures for having the cause decided by the tribunals

Cæsar protects Masintha in defiance of the senate.

¹ Dion, xxxvii. 41.; Sallust, *B. C.* 17.

² Suet. *Jul.* 17.

³ Suet. *Jul.* 71. This occurrence is not mentioned by any other writer.

of the republic; for Numidia had recently been constituted a Roman dependancy by Pompeius, and the senate assumed the right of determining the political relations of the ruler and his vassals. The republic declared in favour of the royal claim; and Cæsar, it seems, did not abstain from personally insulting Juba, whose beard he pulled in derision. But the majesty of Rome he insulted even more gravely; for when it was decided that Masintha should be delivered to Juba for the punishment of his contumacy, Cæsar snatched him from the hands of the officers, and carried him to his own house. There, our informant assures us, Masintha was kept in concealment, or rather, we must suppose, in open defiance of the government, which could not have been ignorant of his retreat, till the prætor departed for Spain some months later, and assigned him a place in his suite.

At length fortune seemed to offer an opportunity to the nobles for creating disunion among their adversaries. While Cæsar, by the ascendancy of his character and genius, maintained throughout his career the chief estimation among his party, the giddy multitude had other favourites besides him; and among them was P. Clodius, a young man of very dissolute habits, but not without ambition to court, and address to engage, its admiration.¹ Connected with several of the principal men of the state, Clodius enjoyed every advantage in the outset of his public life. He was admitted to the confidence of Lucullus in Asia, which he betrayed by exciting a mutiny in the ranks, the first occasion on which he essayed the arts of a demagogue.² Marcius Rex, when commanding in Cilicia, had placed a portion of the fleet under the young man's control, with which he fell into the hands of the pirates.³ Released by the intervention of Pompeius, he betook himself to Antioch, thrust himself into the affairs of the Syrians, and narrowly escaped death in the disturbances he there excited. Having thus succeeded in embroiling every affair in which

Early life and
character of
Clodius.

¹ Vell. ii. 45. : "P. Clodius, homo nobilis, disertus, audax."

² Plut. *Luc.* 34.

³ Dion, xxxv. 15.

he had taken part, he returned to Rome, and assumed the character of a patriot. His attack upon Catilina was specious and daring, but its failure threw a further shade upon his reputation.¹ Though involved in the common suspicion of a guilty acquaintance with the conspirators' designs, he avowed himself a supporter of Cicero in the process against them.² Meanwhile, he was no less intent upon beguiling the women than upon quarrelling with the men, and his triumphs seemed destined to be confined to the weaker sex. The odious charge that he lived in incest with his sisters can only be regarded as a current tale of scandal, the truth of which it would be preposterous to assume.³ But he was at least a favoured admirer of Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar; and it was in the prosecution of an intrigue with that illustrious matron that he perpetrated an act, the discovery of which raised him to a disgraceful notoriety, and well nigh created fatal dissension in the ranks of the popular party.

The Bona Dea, an old Italian divinity, whom the antiquaries of superstition sought to identify with various Greek and Latin goddesses, enjoyed the honour of a peculiar festival, at which none but women were allowed to attend. The presence of any of the male sex was deemed a pollution, and expected to bring a curse upon the nation. The intruder, it was once devoutly believed, would be visited with the loss of his sight; but no instance had yet been known of the wrath of the goddess being tempted to this extremity. The festival was held in the month of December,⁴ in the mansion of one of the consuls or prætors, and the mistress of the house was entitled to preside at it. The matrons of Rome were assembled at night under the roof of Pompeia, in the official dwelling of the chief

He profanes the mysteries of the Bona Dea.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* i. 1.

² Cic. *de Har. Resp.* 3.; Plut. *Cic.* 29.

³ Cic. *de Har. Resp.* 20., *ad Div.* i. 9.: "Qui non pluris fecerat Bonam Deam quam tres sorores." The three sisters were married respectively to Marcus Rex, L. Lucullus, and Metellus Celer. The last was the Clodia whose gallantries and political intrigues are so frequently stigmatized by Cicero. Drumann, ii. 374. foll.

⁴ Drumann, ii. 204. *note.*

pontiff, at the foot of the Palatine hill, a spot which may still be traced by the two half-buried columns of the temple of Romulus and Remus, which stood directly over against it. The beardless gallant introduced himself into the house in the garb of a female musician; he had corrupted one of the maids, and sent her to acquaint Pompeia of his arrival. The appointment had probably been concerted. But meanwhile he incautiously allowed himself to be seen by another attendant. Being addressed, his person or his voice immediately betrayed him.¹ The alarm was given, and the utmost consternation prevailed. Aurelia, the mother of Cæsar, a Roman matron of the ancient stamp,² who professed to keep strict watch over the virtue of her daughter-in-law, speedily threw a veil over the mysteries of the goddess, and rushed through the house, a torch in her hand, to discover the intruder. He was surrounded and recognized, but allowed to escape.³ The matrons who had assembled to assist at the ceremony dispersed to their homes, and none of them failed to inform her husband that night of the interruption of the rites and the pollution of the city. The next day the story was bruited far and wide, and the cry of indignation and fear resounded over the seven hills.

Such a moment of general panic presented the advisers of the aristocracy with a golden opportunity, and it was with no religious feeling, for Cicero himself scoffs at the goddess who failed to strike the impious intruder blind,⁴ that they consulted the pontiffs and the Vestal virgins, from whom they received a formal assurance that the crime demanded signal expiation. Cæsar, as the chief of the pontifical college,

The nobles attempt to turn this transaction to a political account, but are baffled by Cæsar.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* i. 12.; Plut. *Cic.* 28.; Dion, xxxvii. 45.

² Comp. the author of the *Dial. de Orat.* c. 28.: "Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Cæsaris, sic Atiam Augusti matrem præfuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus."

³ "Aurelia pro testimonio dixit suo jussu eum esse dimissum." Schol. Bob. in *Orat. in Clod. et Curion.* 5. 3.

⁴ Cic. *pro Dom.* 40.

could not abstain from coinciding in this solemn declaration. His guilty consort he publicly repudiated ; but he denied all knowledge of her gallant, and refused to proceed against the intriguer, whom the city unanimously denounced. This was the point at which his enemies were aiming. A man of Cæsar's influence might have insured the criminal's conviction ; at all events, it was obvious that, by invoking punishment upon Clodius, he would incense many of their common friends, and during a long and bitter struggle a thousand incidents might occur to widen the breach in their party. But though disappointed in this hope, the nobles would not let their victim escape. According to the ordinary mode of procedure in cases which were confined to questions of fact, the judges were selected by lot for the decision of each particular cause from the list of one hundred and five, previously drawn by lot also from the three orders of senators, knights, and ærarian tribunes. But, whether the charge against Clodius was one for which there was no exact precedent, or whether its importance might be held to justify a departure from the usual course, the senate wished the judges to be assigned by the direct appointment of the prætor. This also was a method not unknown to the constitution ; and though the advantage it offered to the nobles seems obvious, we do not hear that it was regarded by their opponents as unjust or invidious. Accordingly, the new consuls, Pupius Piso and Messala, were enjoined to invoke the people to sanction this mode of procedure. Messala engaged in the business with good faith ; but his colleague was easily won over by the enemy, and allowed obstacles to be thrown in the way of the enactment which he himself proposed. Cato pushed the matter forward with his usual promptitude ; Cicero joined in the general outcry, always hoping to be floated to the top in every current of popular opinion ; but he dared not commit himself to active measures. Pompeius was expected daily with his army at the gates of Rome ; all parties were intriguing with him, but no one yet knew what his judgment in the matter might be ; it

was the part of prudent men not to put themselves too prominently forward at so critical a moment.

Before the close of the first month in the year 693, the conqueror of the east reached the shores of Italy. No sooner did he touch the land than he falsified the apprehensions of the city by disbanding his host of veterans, with the promise of ample rewards, which he felt secure of obtaining from the senate

Pompeius reaches Italy, disbands his army, and enters the city as a private man.

and people.¹ The senate received the news with surprise, gratification, and premature contempt. But there was neither difficulty nor dishonour in affecting gratitude, and the great captain was escorted into the city with the liveliest demonstrations of respect and joy. His entry into Rome was the celebration, it was said, of a triumph, not over the kings of Asia, but over himself, the heir of Sulla, the child of the proscriptions.² When the pageant was over, the proconsul required time to cast his eyes around him, and assure himself that he comprehended the posture of affairs. Meanwhile, his conduct in every respect was studiously moderate. Every word he uttered was noted and treasured up by innumerable ears, every movement was watched and criticized; all parties hung in suspense, and awaited in silence the declaration of his sentiments. But amongst all parties he found no friend; perhaps he sought none: his coldness and vanity were equally repulsive, and he was too fearful of committing himself by premature disclosures to court the intimacy of any one. Among the number of those who crowded about him and tendered advice and service, it is probable that Cæsar acquired his usual ascendancy, unsettling his views and shaking his resolutions.

The first harangue which the new-comer made to the senate was so cautiously worded, that no indication whatever of his

¹ The reception of Pompeius, and the whole proceedings in Clodius's trial, are related with great liveliness by Cicero in two of his letters to Atticus, i. 14, 16.

² Drumann, iv. 479.; comp. Dion, xxxvii. 5.; Plut. *Pomp.* 43.; Vell. ii. 40.

He expresses himself with great reserve on public affairs.

thoughts could be drawn from it. The coldness of his demeanour before that assembly might raise a fear that he reserved his animation for the forum, and his confidence for the popular demagogues. At the instigation of the consul Piso, Fufius Calenus, one of the tribunes in the interest of Clodius, stepped forward and invited him to address the people in the Flaminian Circus. On his appearance there, Fufius demanded of him, in direct terms, whether he approved the rogation of the consuls, by which the judges in the forthcoming trial were to be assigned by the prætor. Pompeius parried the thrust: his answer, as Cicero triumphantly proclaimed, was that of a true aristocrat; he made a laboured speech, with many unmeaning words, in which he magnified the authority and majesty of the senate, and professed to regard it with devout veneration. The consul Messala was encouraged by this apparent overture to ask his opinion, when he next presented himself in the senate, on the affair of Clodius and the proceedings of the government. But the crafty dissembler again shrank within himself; his reply was courteous but vague, and was limited to a general approbation of the behaviour of the nobles. He then turned to Cicero, and expressed a hope that he had said enough on that point. The applause with which even this guarded language was received, induced Crassus to rise and deliver a studied panegyric upon the conduct of Cicero in the grave affairs of his recent consulship. Cicero, sitting next to the object of universal attention, and watching every turn in his countenance, thought that he perceived a gleam of approbation stealing over it. He rose to take advantage of the favourable moment, and enlarged, with his usual copious rhetoric, on the dangers from which the state had been preserved, and his own share in the glory of the deed. He spoke, as he alone could speak, of the dignity of the senatorial order, the good feeling of the knights, the favourable attitude of the Italians, the paralysis of every element of disaffection, the encephness of provisions, the security of the

commonwealth.¹ The senate responded, to the speaker's entire satisfaction; it was the crowning day of Cicero's vanity; yet one triumph was wanting to it, Pompeius would not be drawn into any further indication of his views.

When the day came for moving the rogation, the friends of Clodius, the remnant, as Cicero invidiously asserts, of the Catilinarian crew, with the younger Curio, a reckless demagogue and spendthrift, at their head, attempted to defeat the influence of the nobles by various irregular manœuvres. But the opposite party displayed more than usual vigour; Cato, Hortensius and Favorinus, Cato's shadow,² spoke with energy in the cause of justice, and the assembly at last separated without coming to a decision. Once more the senate met, and resolved in favour of the rogation by a majority of four hundred to fifteen, notwithstanding the personal entreaties of the accused. Clodius's addresses met with no other success than that of raising a laugh against Cicero, whom the oligarchs were never displeased to see made ridiculous. The mover of the rogation, fortified by the concurrence of this overwhelming majority, would now have beaten down all opposition; but Hortensius, by an unlucky scruple, counselled concession at the last moment, and waived the essential point in question, the assignment of the judges by the prætor. The guilt he deemed to be so manifest that the culprit's escape was impossible; a sword of lead, he said, would suffice to slay him; the concession would be graceful in appearance, while it could have no evil consequence. But he was deceived. Fifty-six judges were chosen by lot, a mode of selection which no doubt in itself admitted of much false play; at all events, there were many among them whose poverty and bad character cast equal suspicion on their honesty. The friends of Clodius strained

Proceedings against Clodius: these end in failure: disappointment of the nobles. Clodius meditates vengeance.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* i. 14.: "Quid multa? totum hunc locum, quem ego varie meis orationibus soleo pingere, de flamma, de ferro,—nosti illas ληκύθους,—valde pertexui." Compare as specimens of these ληκύθους, the *Orat. in Pis.* 2., *pro Mur.* 39.

² Drumann, ii. 209.

every nerve to seduce them :¹ money was showered upon them, promises were lavished without stint ; the noblest and fairest women of Rome were induced to grant them their favours ; the corruption of this infamous tribunal became a by-word to succeeding generations.² Yet the testimony which was produced against the accused seemed to make his escape impossible ; his own plea, that he was absent at Interamna on the night in question, was refuted by the direct evidence of Cicero ;³ the mother of the injured husband asserted her knowledge of his guilt ; the slaves of the house confessed it under torture :⁴ one word from Cæsar would have sufficed to settle the matter ; but that word nothing could extort from him. *Then why divorce Pompeia ?* cried the nobles in their vexation ; the reply was adroit and spirited : *The wife of Cæsar must be above suspicion.*⁵ The eloquence of Cicero carried even the multitude with him, and the judges affected to be terrified by the demonstrations of popular disgust. They demanded a military guard for their protection, while Catulus asked, with bitter irony, if they feared to have their pockets picked of their bribes. The cause was at last decided in favour of Clodius by thirty-one suffrages against twenty-five, a less proportion, perhaps, than might have been expected from the composition of the tribunal. The nobles consoled themselves as they best might, by the evidence so narrow a majority gave to the substantial justice of their cause, and to the bias of public opinion ; but they were more sorely disappointed at failing to create dissension between Cæsar

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* i. 16. 5. : " Arecessit ad se, promisit, intercessit, dedit," &c.

² Seneca, *Ep.* 97. : " Atqui dati iudicibus nummi sunt ; et quod hac etiam nunc pactione turpius est, supra insuper matronarum et adolescentulorum nobilium salarii loco exacta sunt."

³ Cic. *pro Mil.* 17. ; Quintil. iv. 2. 88.

⁴ Schol. Bob. *in Orat. in Clod.* vi. 3. Abra (the Greek "Αβρα may perhaps be written more correctly in Latin Aura), the servant of Pompeia, was put to the question. It would appear from Cicero, *pro Milon.* 22. that the slaves of Clodius were tortured also : " de servis nulla quæstio est in dominum nisi de inestu, ut fuit in Clodium."

⁵ Suet. *Jul.* 74. ; Plut. *Cæs.* 10., *Cic.* 29.

and his friends which they had fondly anticipated. It was upon Cicero, however, that the real force of the blow rebounded. He had made an implacable enemy of one with whom he had hitherto cultivated terms of amity; and from henceforth Clodius seemed to devote every faculty he possessed to the prosecution of a memorable revenge.

Cæsar could afford to smile at the impotent machinations of his enemies; the prætorship had opened to him the path to the high fortune he coveted. Thus far he had succeeded in every political step. He had obtained the civic honours in succession, and he wielded at the moment almost unequalled influence. But his rivals were powerful in the field: Lucullus and Crassus, as well as Pompeius, were experienced generals; they had gained the attachment of armies; they could raise troops with a stamp of a foot; and when raised, they could lead them to victory. Cæsar, on the other hand, had neither veterans at his command, nor means to levy recruits. His name was unknown in war, and was no watchword to the aspirants either for plunder or for glory. But now his turn was come. Assured that the parties in the state were so nicely balanced that no material change could suddenly occur in the political game, he determined to retire to the Further Spain, the province which had been assigned to him on the expiration of his late office, there put himself at the head of a Roman army, and store his coffers with the spoils accruing whether from war or peace. But such were his private embarrassments that he could not even leave Rome for his destination without one more extraordinary effort. His private means had been long exhausted. The friends who had continued to supply his necessities had seemed to pour their treasures into a bottomless gulf; so vast was his expenditure in shows, canvasses and bribes; so long and barren the career of public service, through which this ceaseless profusion must be maintained. At this period, when the bold gamester was about to throw his last die, he could avow that he wanted two hundred and fifty millions of sesterces to be *worth nothing*. Before he

Cæsar assumes
the government
of a province.

could enter upon the administration of his province he had pressing creditors to satisfy and expensive preparations to make. Every other resource perhaps had been exhausted, but Cæsar could apply to Crassus for a loan.¹ The wealthiest of the Romans hated the great captain Pompeius, and he saw in Cæsar the readiest instrument for lowering his estimation. He held in pawn the treasures of Iberia. The sum required was 830 talents, and this was placed at once in Cæsar's hands.²

The delay however which these arrangements required was nearly fatal to the proprætor's expedition. For in the mean while the senate was occupied with the affair of Clodius; and a decree was passed, no doubt with special reference to Cæsar, that the prætors should not depart for their provinces until it had been discussed and finally settled. Accordingly, the details of his commission had not been arranged, the sum which the state should contribute to his expenses, the number of the troops to be entrusted to him, the names of those who were to constitute his retinue, were not determined, when Cæsar, resolved not to allow his designs to be frustrated, suddenly left Rome in the middle of the year, and betook himself to his province in defiance of every impediment. He had reason to apprehend that a scheme was in contemplation to retain him at home by a political impeachment;³ but he knew that when once at the head of his legions, his enemies would not dare to recal him, and he trusted to reap such a harvest, both of treasure and reputation, as would divert the effects of their malice on his return.

The whole of ancient Iberia was divided at this time into two provinces, the Hither and the Further.⁴ The former

¹ Plut. *Crass.* 7. *Cæs.* 11. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 8.

² Plut. *Cæs.* 11.: 'Ἐπὶ Κράσσου κατέφυγε πλουσιώτατον ὄντα Ῥωμαίων, δεόμενον δὲ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀκμῆς καὶ θερμοτήτος ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Πομπήιον ἀντιπολιτείαν.

³ Suet. *Jul.* 18.: "Incertum, metune judicii quod privato parabatur, an quo maturius sociis implorantibus subveniret."

⁴ Spain; Hispania, Iberia: the former name was given by the Cartha-

extended from the Pyrenees along the coast of the Mediterranean to the Sinus Urcitanus, near the south-eastern angle of the peninsula. The line of the sea-shore was studded with numerous Roman settlements; the Celtiberi, occupying the central parts of the country, from whence the great rivers take their rise, had been conquered at an early period, and were rapidly assimilating to the type of the victorious nation;¹ the brief season of their education under Sertorius had already borne fruit in a spirit of discipline and obedience. But, throughout the northern districts, the limits of the province, as well as of the Roman authority, were less clearly defined. The Cantabri, Vaccaei, Astures and Callaici, the remnant of the old and unmixed Iberian stock, maintained among barren mountains their sullen independence. The southern and western portion of the peninsula constituted the further province, which was afterwards subdivided into two, the Anas or Guadiana forming the line of demarcation between them.² The coast of the Mediterranean and the valley of the Bætis were the abodes of wealth and luxury, of art and science; but even these favoured districts were liable to the sudden attacks of savage neighbours, and the vigilance of the provincial government was constantly exercised in protecting the central retreats of peaceful civilization.

Having thus invested himself, as it were, with the government of his province, the proprætor proceeded to raise ten

gimians to the south-western extremity of the peninsula, and was probably a Phœnician word. The rough breathing and sibilation are characteristic of their appellations: comp. Hasdrubal, Hiempsal, Thapsus, Ruspina, Hispalis, Hispania, Hesperia (?). The Romans adopted the name from them. On the other hand, the Greek geographers gave the country the name of Iberia, which may have been derived, through the Massilian traders, from the river Iberus. But it is probable that the earliest population of all the north and centre called themselves Iberians. Plin. *H. N.* iii. 3: "Iberus—amnis, quem propter universam Hispaniam Græci appellavere Iberiam." Comp. Mannert, *Geog.* i. 227.

¹ They were subdued by the arms and artifice of Cato the Censor, about A. U. 557. Appian, *Hisp.* 41.

² Cæs. *Bell. Civ.* i. 38.: "A saltu Castulonensi ad Anam."

The Roman
provinces in
Spain.

Cæsar's successful campaign in Spain.

cohorts from his own resources, in addition to the twenty which were stationed in the country. The tribes of Lusitania, beyond the Tagus, had never yet accepted the Roman yoke, and behind them lay the mountains of Gallicia, which harboured a race to whom even the name of the republic was almost unknown. The provincial governors lived in a state of almost perpetual warfare with the petty chieftains, whose nominal dependence was marked by the imposition of a tribute, seldom paid except when exacted by arms. The necessity of self-defence might excuse the repeated incursions by which they restrained the hungry wanderers on their frontiers. But Cæsar was not satisfied with the mere avowal of submission; he required a guarantee for its permanence: he carried war into the fastnesses of the mountains, and drove the enemy from his retreats into the open plains. Nor was he diverted from his purpose by the booty which the natives craftily threw in his way; he thrust home at the main body of his opponents, pursued them over broad rivers, drove them to the borders of the sea, and into islands on the coasts. He collected vessels from Gades, and with their assistance finally reduced these last strongholds. He thus effected the complete subjugation of the districts of Lusitania north of the Tagus, including the wild fastnesses of the Herminian mountains and the rapid waters of the Durius. Brigantium in Gallicia, protected on the land side by the difficult character of the surrounding country, he attacked with a naval armament, and erected his victorious standard at the furthest extremity of his province.¹

¹ Brigantium seems to have been either the modern Ferrol or Coruña. Mannert decides for the former, but the remains of an old Roman tower near the latter place may remind us that Brigantium was celebrated for its lighthouse. (Oros. i. 2.) The two modern towns, however, lie nearly opposite to each other across a bay, and the lighthouse might serve as a beacon to vessels bound for either destination. The Mons Herminius is supposed by both Drumann and Mannert to have lain south of the Tagus, but it would rather appear from Dion's account to have been situated near the Douro. It may probably be identified with the Sierra d'Estrella in the province of Beira.

The success of the new candidate for military fame gave a brilliant earnest of his future glories. The brief space which he could devote to civil affairs must have been employed with at least equal energy. The <sup>His civil admin-
istration.</sup> The great complaint of the provincials, throughout the Roman dominions, was the pressure of their debts to the government. The farmers of the public revenues exacted their dues with scrupulous severity. But as capitalists they were prompt in accommodating the natives with usurious loans, and thus extricating them from immediate difficulties at an enormous eventual sacrifice. The revenues, not of individuals only, but of cities and states, became mortgaged beyond the possibility of redemption. The persons of the debtors and of their families were liable to be seized and sold into slavery. When the affair came to this point, we may imagine how ready a refuge was offered to the victim by the bands of brigands in the mountains. The administration of Cæsar was directed to the abolition of this cause of perennial warfare. He effected an adjustment by which these debts were to be liquidated by instalments, and is said to have conciliated, by his wisdom and prudence, the good-will of either party. The tribute which had been imposed upon the province by Metellus Pius, during the Sertorian war, was remitted by the senate at the proprætor's instance; upon which service he founded a just claim to the gratitude of the Spanish people.¹ But meanwhile the main object of his own visit to the country was not neglected. He amassed a considerable treasure for himself, and took care to satisfy the cupidity of his followers and soldiers in due proportion.² The army saluted him on the field with the title of Imperator.

The authorities for the history of this campaign, important only as a prelude to Cæsar's great military achievements, are Plutarch, *Cæs.* 12.; Dion, xxxvii. 52. 53.

¹ *Auct. de B. Hisp.* 42.

² Suetonius, in a passage where he rakes together all the charges which were made against the subject of his memoir during his lifetime and afterwards (*Jul.* 54.), says that he was accused of accepting presents from individuals, and even soliciting them. This is not improbable, but no one seems

During the absence of Cæsar, Pompeius continued slowly and irresolutely to press upon the senate the ratification of his acts in the eastern wars. He had expended large sums of money in the service of the state, he had levied contributions from subjects and allies, he had conferred privileges upon cities and crowns upon political partizans. All this he had done in the exercise of his own plenary discretion, under the extraordinary powers of the Manilian law; nevertheless, he was anxious that his proceedings should be confirmed by a special decree of the senate, to relieve him from all future responsibility. But that body was well pleased to have an opportunity of humiliating the haughty general. Lucullus, more particularly, grudged the distinctions of his rival and successor in the eastern command,¹ and insinuated that he had been himself the first to break the power of Mithridates, leaving him an easy prey to a fresh adversary with augmented resources. And the tyrant had, after all, escaped from his pursuer, and robbed the pretended conqueror of half his glory by a voluntary death.²

The senate listened with approbation to these petulant objections, and gradually recovered its courage in the presence of one who had so lately been the master of its legions. It had concealed its enmity under a flourish of acclamations when Pompeius entered Rome, accompanied, not by his troops, but a crowd of flatterers and courtiers.³ The studied modesty of his bearing roused the presumption of the nobles, in the same degree that it allayed

to have made any charge against him of fraud or rapine in his civil administration. His enemies, with all their unscrupulous animosity, never threatened to bring his conduct as a provincial governor before a judicial tribunal. Cæsar's proprætorship was an object of panegyric among his countrymen. Comp. Cic. *pro Balb.* 19.; Vell. ii. 43.; Plut. *Cæs.* 12.

¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 46.

² Lucan (i. 336.) puts this depreciating language in the mouth of Cæsar :

“Lassi Pontica regis

Prælia, barbarico vix consummata veneno.”

³ Vell. ii. 40.: “Quo magis homines timucrant, eo gratior civilis tanti imperatoris reditus fuit.”

Pompeius presses the senate to ratify his acts.

Pompeius's triumph. A. U. 693. Sept. 22, 23.

their jealousy. He would not accept any title to designate the theatre of his conquests, and perpetuate their memory in connexion with his name. He was content with the simple appellation of Magnus, the Great, which had been sanctioned by the popular voice at an earlier period, and which, in a single word, more than comprised all local designations.¹ He further declined any mark of public approbation, except the permission to wear a laurel chaplet and the triumphal insignia at the games of the Circus.² Meanwhile, he exhibited the spectacle of his triumph, such as Rome had never before seen.³ It was not so remarkable for the munificence of the festivals which attended it, or for the public shows in the theatre and Circus, as for the interest and value of spoils which decorated it. The treasures of Mithridates, collected from the plunder of Greece, were not restored to the sufferers, but reserved to enrich the friends of the latest victor. Works of painting and statuary were eclipsed by vast hoards of plate, and the novel luxury of gems, pearls and crystal vases. The taste, indeed, for these objects in Rome dated its introduction from this auspicious event;⁴ so rapid was the transition the Romans made from the old Italian simplicity to a puerile delight in mere brilliancy and rarity and meretricious ornament.⁵

¹ Ovid, *Fast.* i. 603.

“Magne, tuum nomen rerum mensura tuarum est.”

² Dion, xxxvii. 21.: Vell. *l. c.* observes: “Id ille non plus quam semel, et hoc sane nimium fuit, usurpare sustinuit.” The glories of the triumph were a giddy elevation which furnished a constant theme to the moralists. Nemesis could hardly endure the provocation of seeing a mortal sitting among his fellow-citizens in the robe in which he had thrice ridden to the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol: “Velamina summo Ter conspecta Jovi.” Luc. ix. 177.

³ Comp. Plutarch's elaborate account, *Pomp.* 45.

⁴ Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 7.

⁵ Pompeius is the first Roman who can be confidently charged with the bad taste of allowing himself to be represented by a naked statue. This was the fashion which the Greeks applied to the representation of deities and heroes, and it consorted suitably with features of ideal beauty and majesty. In the Roman emperors the combination of the naked figure with the ordinary

This harmless gratification of his vanity, however, did not avail to advance the immediate object of Pompeius's interest. The soldiers he had disbanded at Brundisium required the fulfilment of the ample promise of lands which he had held out to them.

He presses for an agrarian law for the satisfaction of his veterans.

Sulla had demanded estates for his veterans; why should not Pompeius extort a similar gratification? But the copy had not the boldness of the original; the vision of the dictatorship still eluded his grasp. He attempted to gain his point by management suited to the times; but in this also he failed, from want of adroitness. He had secured, by the ordinary methods of corruption, the election of two consuls for the year 694, on whose political or private sentiments

A. U. 694.
B. C. 60.

he ventured to rely.¹ But the one, L. Afranius, was a mere eypher among statesmen, one, says Cicero, who did not know the value of the thing he had bought, and who understood dancing better than politics.² The other, Metellus Celer, had received a personal affront from his patron, who had divorced his sister Mucia immediately upon his return to Rome.³ It was under these unfavourable auspices that one of the tribunes, named Flavius, was engaged to bring forward a bill on similar principles to

human head, trimmed and curled according to the fashion of the day, is generally ludicrous. The emperors, however, who claimed kindred with the divinities, were not altogether inconsistent. But a naked figure of a Roman citizen, before the age of apothecoses, was preposterous and unmeaning. Pompeius was probably misled by personal vanity, for he was one of the handsomest men of his day. (Plut. *Pomp.* 2.; Plin. *H. N.* vii. 10.; Vell. ii. 29.) The famous statue in the Palazzo Spada at Rome, which is supposed to represent him, and to be that beneath which Cæsar was assassinated, can hardly be presumed genuine; but another, also naked, preserved in the Villa Castellazzo near Milan, has a better claim to our confidence. See Winckelmann, *Gesch. der Kunst*, xi. 1.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* i. 16.: "In comitia omnibus invitit trudit noster Magnus Auli filium." Plutarch notices the audacious openness with which Pompeius bribed the voters. (*Pomp.* 44.)

² Cic. *ad Att.* i. 19.; Dion, xxxvii. 49.

³ Dion, *l. c.*; Plut. *Pomp.* 42. Mucia was the daughter of Mucius Scævola, and half-sister of Celer and Nepos. She was suspected of familiarity with Cæsar.

that of Rullus, for a division of lands in Italy among the veterans of Pompeius and the poorer classes of the city. These lands were to consist partly of public domains, partly of estates to be bought by the government with the spoils of the late war. Cicero, who had opposed the former agrarian enactment with so much bitterness, speaks with moderation of this. He professes, in his correspondence, to have bestowed some pains on shaping and amending it, and to have studied to reconcile the interests of the proprietors with those of the state and of Pompeius himself.¹ If such was his tone in addressing a private friend, he was probably still more guarded and conciliatory to all parties in the senate. But if the sting was thus taken out of an unpalatable and violent measure, the nobles only relaxed their opposition to fall into indifference and stifle the project by procrastination. The city was occupied, on the one hand, by a topic of private scandal, the intrigue of a noble named Memmius with the wife of a brother of Lucullus.² On the other, it was amused by the manœuvres of Clodius, who, in his anxiety to obtain a seat on the bench of tribunes, was seeking to be adopted into a plebeian family by a vote of the people.³ Every one knew that his ultimate object was to obtain the means of injuring Cicero, and the city looked on with more curiosity than solicitude.

About the same time news arrived from Gaul of the commotions with which that country was menaced, and of the great preparations of the Helvetii for a national emigration, which threatened to respect neither the Roman province nor the territories of the allies. A revolution in Gaul was always a matter of deep alarm at Rome. The senate decreed that the consuls should undertake by lot the defence of the two provinces on either side of the Alps, and that deputies of consular rank should be sent immediately to levy troops and provide for the security

Pompeius is obliged to desist from his demands.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* i. 19. : "Et sentinam urbis exhauriri et Italiae solitudinem frequentari posse arbitrabor:" this was the language of the Gracchi.

² Cic. *ad Att.* i. 18.

³ Cic. *l. c.*

of the empire. Distinguished men were promptly selected for this important charge; but Cicero and Pompeius were specially reserved, as statesmen whose services at such a crisis could not be dispensed with at home.¹ The imminence of this Gallic war cooled down whatever interest the agrarian bill had excited.² Pompeius, fearing to exasperate the people by pressing his demands at such a moment, desired his friends to desist; but he bitterly regretted the precipitation with which he had disbanded his army and confided himself to the gratitude or fears of his countrymen.³ The people, it would seem, were hardly less jealous of their national champion than the senate itself. They conceived that his plan for enriching the rabble of the forum by grants of public land was no better than a cover to his designs upon their liberty.⁴

It was a great descent for Pompeius, from giving the word of command to consuls and consulars, to wield, as his instruments, the most turbulent of the tribunes and popular demagogues.⁵ To this degradation he was reduced by the hostility of Lucullus and the resentment of Metellus Celer. The consul, for the gratification of his private pique, paid court to Cicero and the senatorial party, and the creature of favour and corruption became all at once, in their eyes, an admirable magistrate, a patriot and a statesman. The violence of his opposition to Pompeius provoked violent retaliation. The tribune Flavius, presuming on his new patron's support, actually seized the consul's person, and threw him into prison. Metellus was well pleased to parade his injuries before the eyes of the city. He summoned the senators to hold their deliberations in his cell.

¹ Such was Cicero's complacent interpretation of this proceeding (*ad Att.* i. 19.).

² *Cic. l. c.*: "Sed hæc tota res interpellata bello refrixerat."

³ Dion, xxxvii. 50.

⁴ The populace insulted Pompeius in the theatre. An actor having occasion to say in his part, "Nostra miseria tu es magnus," was required to repeat the words several times. At the words, "virtutem istam veniet tempus eum graviter gemes," the audience burst into loud acclamations. *Cic. l. c.*

⁵ Compare Plutarch's remarks, *Pomp.* 46.

Flavius erected his tribunal before the prison door to prevent their ingress; they caused the wall to be pulled down, and walked into the presence of their chief. Pompeius was not yet hardened to such scandalous proceedings, and hastened to repress his adherents' zeal.¹ Such moderation, however, would have been a bright spot in the history of these times of selfish violence, had it been accompanied by any attempt to check the degeneracy of the age, and infuse new vigour into the workings of the constitution. But Pompeius had no wish to effect any thing for the good of the state, unless it would surrender itself wholly to his discretion. Then, and not before, he was ready to try the experiment of reform, to bring to bear all the influence he was known to enjoy, all the wisdom and magnanimity he was supposed at least to possess. It would still remain to be seen what talents the successful warrior really had for civil administration. But no party in the state was yet willing to buy so doubtful a good at so uncertain a price. Meanwhile, the idea began to dawn upon his mind, that by the artful application of his resources, his wealth, his power, his private connexions, he might clog the proceedings of all parties, and throw the executive into a state of abeyance. The dread of mob-rule, and of the violence of demagogues, would ultimately prevail, as nearer and more urgent, over the apprehension of dictatorial despotism; and the author of the confusion would alone be able to disentangle it.

Great as Pompeius undoubtedly was, it was a cardinal defect in his character that he failed to keep his principal aim steadily in view, and allowed minor objects to divert his course and fret away his energies. Weakness of Pompeius. This may be observed even in his military career, in which his genius was most conspicuous. His operations against Sertorius were desultory and indecisive, and there appear traces of similar feebleness in his contest with Mithridates; his countrymen were dissatisfied, and suspected him of pro-

¹ This story, it must be remarked, rests solely on the authority of Dion (*l. c.*); and if true, it is strange that it should not be alluded to by Cicero.

tracting the struggle for political objects. In the city this want of vigour became daily more evident. Accordingly Pompeius failed to acquire any moral ascendancy over his associates. His virtues were sobriety and moderation, and these he possessed in an eminent degree. But when these qualities are not the result of resolute self-control, but arise from a deficiency in animation and the sense of enjoyment, they have little attraction for men of warmer temperaments, and exercise still less command over their imaginations. Accordingly, no man was so constantly deceived in the persons he selected for his instruments: they discovered his weaknesses, and shook off the yoke of his condescension. The distance which he affected in his intercourse with those about him arose partly from natural coldness, but more perhaps from his own distrust of his power over them. They mistook it at first for greatness of soul; but when they approached nearer to the self-proclaimed hero, they found with disgust of what ordinary clay he was formed.

Nor can it be disguised that this coldness and reserve had been known by their usual fruits, in an early career of remorseless cruelty and inveterate dissimulation. The nobles who shuddered at the idea of Pompeius assuming the powers of the dictatorship, well knew the school in which he had been brought up, and the proofs he had given of having imbibed its lessons. He had licked the sword of Sulla; and as with young tigers who have once tasted blood, they could never be assured that his thirst was sated.¹ He was himself another Marius or Sulla, no better, only more disguised.² Under the orders of the dictator he

His dissimulation detected.

¹ Luc. i. 327.:

“ Utque feræ tigris nunquam posuere furorem,
Quas nemore Hyrcano, matrum dum lustra sequuntur,
Altus caesorum pavit erro armentorum;
Sic et Syllanum solito tibi lambere ferrum
Durat, Magne, sitis.”

Lucan had no dramatic spirit. This is not what Caesar *might have said*, but what his contemporaries *did say*.

² Tac. *Hist.* ii. 38. : “ Occultior, non melior.”

had shed the best blood of Rome, and had been branded with the title of the young hangman.¹ He had put to death a Carbo, a Brutus, a Domitius; in Spain, under the guise of martial discipline, he had massacred a whole cohort of Roman soldiers: the clemency he had been known to display in later years might be attributed to lofty scorn, rather than to new-born humanity. His word was not to be trusted, he was capable of disowning his own commands, neither friend nor enemy could rely on his actions corresponding with the sentiments he expressed.² Rome might have yielded to a chieftain who demanded her submission with the drawn sword, but it was too much to expect that she should put herself voluntarily in the power of one who affected to ask it as a favour to have the lives and liberties of her children placed in his hands.³

From the moment of his return to the city, Pompeius was casting his eyes around him to find creatures who might further his occult ends, without either compromising himself or asserting too much independence of his direction. In these intrigues he was singularly unfortunate. When he divorced his wife Mucia, he had perhaps already in view the formation of an advantageous alliance. He proposed, it was said, to connect himself with the family of Cato, with whose character and position he must, if so, have been strangely unacquainted. The overture was rejected with disdain.⁴ In Cicero, indeed, he found a

He makes overtures of alliance to Cæsar.

¹ Val. Max. vi. 2. 8.: "Adolescentulus carnifex." Comp. Plut. *Pomp.* 3. 5. 18. 25.

² Cic. *ad Div.* viii. 1. 3.: "Solent aliud sentire, aliud loqui." Comp. *ad Att.* i. 13. 4., ii. 20. 2., ii. 22. 1., iv. 9., iv. 15. 7.; Sallust, *Fragm.*: "modestus ad omnia alia nisi ad dominationem." "Oris probi, animo inverecundo."

³ The later Romans drew this distinction between their submission to the usurpers of the civil wars, and to the legalized despotism of the emperors Lucan, iv. *in fin.*:

"Jus licet in jugulos nostros sibi fecerit ense
Sylla potens, Mariusque ferox, et Cinna cruentus,
Cæsareæque domus series, cui tanta potestas
Concessa est."

⁴ Plut. *Pomp.* 44.

willing flatterer, and with him he carried on a long course of dissimulation and cajolery, which was transparent to every one except its object.¹ *In vain*, exclaimed the great commander to the great orator, *in vain should I have earned the glories of a triumph, hadst not thou preserved the city for me to triumph in.*² Indeed, he paid his court to his dupes so assiduously, and showed himself so frequently in his company, that the young nobles gave him jestingly the name of Cnæus Cicero. But he seems to have early satisfied himself that he could make little use of the orator's services. Again, he was disappointed in the behaviour of both the consuls; the one was imbecile, the other unexpectedly hostile; his interests were not advanced by either. Clodius was too giddy and too self-willed to be trusted as an ally; the services of Flavius it was beneath the dignity of the great Pompeius to seem to require. Crassus was aiming like himself at the exasperation of the public dissensions, with the blind presumption that his wealth and the number of his clients would give him the advantage over all competitors in a period of popular discord. But with Crassus he was at deadly feud, for neither was of a temper to forget an ancient jealousy, and Pompeius disdained to make an overture of reconciliation. These circumstances disposed him to invite Cæsar to his counsels; for in Cæsar he had already discovered, as he thought, abundant alacrity to serve him. Such an ally, he conceived, had no consideration to lose in the eyes of the nobility, of whose opinion he stood himself so much in awe; while his temper and necessities seemed equally to encourage him to defy the consequences of the most daring aggressions. We may suppose further, that in the view of a man so decorous and correct as Pompeius, the character of the profligate Marian appeared so bad, that he might expect to be able at any time to shake off and disown the connexion with impunity. The return of Cæsar from his province was oppor-

¹ It is evident that Cicero was warned against Pompeius by his friend Atticus. Cic. *ad Att.* i. 17. 10., ii. 1. 6.

² Cic. *de Off.* i. 22.

tune for the views of both parties, and they lost no time in coming to the show of a mutual understanding.¹

Rome had no rewards for the honourable and beneficial discharge of civil duties in the provinces; but the military successes of the proprætor in Spain entitled him to claim the distinction of a triumph. Cæsar addressed letters to the senate, detailing his exploits and soliciting their reward. But the consulship

Cæsar sues for the consulship, and relinquishes the honour of a triumph.

was an object of more solid advantage; and as the year of Afranius and Celer advanced, the time drew near when it might be sued for and won. One obstacle intervened. The jealousy of the law forbade the Imperator to enter the city before the day of his triumph, while the vanity of the people demanded the appearance in the forum, on three stated occasions, of every candidate for their suffrages. It was true that the senate had frequently obtained for its favourites a dispensation from this latter regulation. Marius had been raised to the consulship, Lucullus to the ædileship, each in their absence.² A few years later we shall find Cato himself the foremost to propose a similar indulgence to Pompeius, while holding the proconsulate of Spain, and forbidden accordingly to enter the city.³ But on the present occasion the nobles were rejoiced to throw an impediment in the way of a man they hated; they conceded the triumph to Cæsar on purpose to exclude him from the consulship.⁴ When his friends were urgent to obtain a decree in his favour, the rigid patriot Cato resorted to an artifice, and wore out the day with an interminable harangue.⁵ Doubtless the nobles expected that Cæsar would forego the uncertain contest for the consulship; but on the contrary he relinquished the triumph, and hastily leaving his province before the arrival of his successor, ap-

¹ It is at this period that the name of Cæsar first occurs in the letters of Cicero, and is introduced to us with the ominous words: "Cæsar ejus nunc venti valde sunt secundi" (*ad Att. ii. 1.*).

² Plut. *Mar. 14.*, *Luc. 1.*; Cic. *Acad. ii. 1.*

³ Plut. *Pomp. 54.*

⁴ Dion, *xliv. 41.*

⁵ Suet. *Jul. 18.*; Dion, *xxxvii. 54.*

peared in Rome in due season to solicit the votes of the citizens. To exhibit this preference of their honours before those of the senate was a compliment to the majesty of the people; but in Cæsar's eyes the value of the one outweighed a hundred times the empty glory of the other. He formed a coalition with a wealthy candidate Luceius;¹ the nobles put forth all their strength on behalf of Bibulus, and contributed an immense sum to bribe the centuries. Even Cato joined in this open avowal of corruption, and set his seal to the universal acknowledgment that law was impotent and revolution inevitable.²

Meanwhile, Crassus, set aside equally by the leaders of the various sections of the nobility, the idle, the profligate, and the impracticable, felt himself ill at ease even in his conspicuous position. Cautious, industrious, and studious of appearances, he was himself equally removed from all these extremes; and, without any open rupture, his influence with his party seemed to slip from under him. The return to Rome of Cæsar, the mainspring of every thing original and active, breathed new life into him as well as into Pompeius, and was about to form an era in the fortunes of both. The Marian candidate for the consulship was already prepared to establish an intimate connexion with each, and at the same time to reconcile them to one another. Crassus soon began to listen with satisfaction to the overtures of so skilful a negotiator. A little adroit flattery served to smooth over the wounds that his vanity had received; and he was easily induced to withdraw his countenance from friends who knew not how to appreciate his importance, and to bestow it upon those who had the prudence to solicit it. Thus did the three competitors for supreme power combine to form a league among themselves for their mutual advancement. They covenanted that no proceedings should be allowed to take place in the commonwealth without

The cabal of Pompeius, Cæsar, and Crassus: the first triumvirate.

A. U. 694.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* i. 17. 11.

² Suet. *Jul.* 19.: "Ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e republica fieri."

the consent of each of the three contracting parties.¹ United they constituted a power beyond all the resources of the commonwealth to cope with. Whether or not they deigned to consult the forms of the constitution, their influence was really omnipotent, their voice decisive. The cabal only wanted open avowal to be recognized as the usurpation of absolute power, and the distribution of this power in more than one hand alone distinguished it from a monarchical despotism. The prodigious alliance of Pompeius, Cæsar, and Crassus, might be branded by statesmen as a Cerberus or Chimæra, the triple monsters of ancient legend; but the popular voice was content to designate it as a triumvirate, merely implying, in political language, an extraordinary public commission.²

The curtain now draws up for the commencement of another act in the great drama, and discloses to us a new development of the history of the Roman people. The blood of the Roman and the Italian has mingled in one common current; the counter-
Reflections upon the character of this league.
 revolution has obliterated all traces of the Sullan reform; the contest has ended in raising individual statesmen to a position in which they can array their own private ambition against the general weal. Each great chieftain finds himself at the head of a faction whose interests centre in him alone, who are ready to fight under his banner and for his personal aggrandizement, and have ceased to invoke the watchwords of party or the principles of class. The triumvirs are now leagued together to undermine the old form of government; by-and-by they will fly asunder, and challenge each other to mortal duel. Each will try to strengthen himself by an appeal to old names and prejudices, and the shadows of a popular and a patrician party will again face each other on the field of Pharsalia; but the real contest will be between a Cæsar and a Pompeius, no longer between the commons and the nobility. For the one party has no common object of

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 19.

² Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 9.: Καί τις αὐτῶν τήνδε τὴν συμφροσύνην συγγραφεύς, Βάρρων, ἐν βιβλίῳ περιλαβῶν, ἐνέγραφε τρικάραναι.

sufficient interest to bind it firmly together ; the other, though every privilege and every traditional feeling is in peril, has no reliance on its leaders, by whom it has been so often betrayed, and has become a mere gathering of desperate men, crowded together by an instinct of resistance, but animated by no vital principle of permanence or progress.¹

It was precisely at this period, the crisis of the fortunes of the oligarchy, that the best and wisest of its champions became lost to it. Catulus died in the same year² which witnessed Cæsar's return to Rome and the establishment of the triumvirate. The confusion into which the affairs of his party from henceforth fell confirms the truth of the mournful panegyrics which Cicero pronounces upon him. *He was a man whom neither the tempests of danger nor the breezes of glory could ever divert from his course either through hope or fear.*³ Since the death of Catulus, he writes in a letter of this period, *I maintain the true policy of my order, without a protector and without a companion.*⁴

The effects of this triple union soon became apparent. The election of Cæsar to the consulship was carried by acclamation ; the nobles could only succeed in thrusting in Bibulus as his colleague. This was the second time that these reluctant yoke-fellows had been joined together in public office, and there was little prospect of their bearing their honourable burdens with decent unanimity. In the heat of a rumour of a Gallic tumult the senate had already assigned the two Gauls to the consuls of the year ; but the aspect of things became less warlike, and Metellus feared to miss an opportunity for acquiring a triumph.⁵ The

Death of Catulus.

Cæsar obtains the consulship for the year 695.

which witnessed Cæsar's return to Rome and the establishment of the triumvirate. The confusion into which the affairs of his party from henceforth fell confirms the truth of the mournful panegyrics which Cicero pronounces upon him. *He was a man whom neither the tempests of danger nor the breezes of glory could ever divert from his course either through hope or fear.*³ Since the death of Catulus, he writes in a letter of this period, *I maintain the true policy of my order, without a protector and without a companion.*⁴

¹ *Vell.* ii. 44. "Hoc igitur Cos. inter eum et Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum inita potentia societas, quæ urbi orbique terrarum, nec minus diverso quoque tempore ipsi, exitiabilis fuit."

² In the middle of the consulship of Metellus Celer. *Cic. pro Cæl.* 24.

³ *Cic. pro Sest.* 47.

⁴ *Cic. ad Att.* i. 20. Asinius Pollio commenced his history of the civil wars with the consulship of Afranius and Metellus: "Motum ex Metello consule civicum." *Hor. Od.* ii. 1.

⁵ *Cic. ad Att.* i. 20.

senate now hastened to allot their future provinces to the consuls newly designated, and made a feeble attempt to guard against Cæsar's increasing power by decreeing to them the supervision of the roads and forests; a paltry charge, not worthy even of Bibulus.¹ Cæsar was justly incensed at this manœuvre, but he had no doubt of being able to counteract it when the time should arrive; meanwhile, he had a game to play, and he commenced it with his usual decision.

The consulship was the fulcrum from which the whole Roman world was to be moved. Popular measures might secure the favour of the people, and thereby the appointment to some extensive command, the resources of provinces, and the devotion of armies. With these prizes almost within reach, the bold aspirant followed up his successes with increasing ardour. The nobles had recently defeated the agrarian bill of Rullus: Cæsar brought forward a measure substantially the same. He provided lands for the Pompeian veterans, and thus secured the cooperation of Pompeius himself. He also assigned estates to large numbers of the citizens, and proposed to plant 20,000 colonists in the public domain in Campania.² Commissioners were to be appointed to execute the division of lands, and the patronage of these lucrative and influential appointments remained in the hands of the consul himself. The people hailed the announcement of this popular measure with acclamations; but it was requisite to obtain the sanction of the senate, before the consul could offer it to the centuries. The nobles felt the danger of rejecting or mutilating it. Cicero hesitated to renew the combat in the face of both Crassus and Pompeius: but his party saw the fatal influence Cæsar would

Cæsar as consul proposes an agrarian bill.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 19.: "Provinciæ minimi negotii." It is possible, however, that this charge was not quite so trivial. Cælius writes to Cicero, in the year 704, that Curio was about to propose a law in the interest of Cæsar, "viariam, non dissimilem agrariæ Rulli," and combines it with a *lex alimentaria*. (Cic. *ad Div.* viii. 6.) Any measure which threw the public burdens on the privileged classes would be agreeable to Cæsar.

² Vell. ii. 44.; comp. the various statements of Dion, xxxviii. 1, Appian, *B. C.* ii. 10.

gain by it, and put forward Cato, not to contest or cavil at the bill itself, but simply to protest against all innovation. The consul ventured to treat this manœuvre as an illegitimate artifice. He ordered his lictors to seize his antagonist, as it were for contempt, and carry him off to prison. The fathers rose in consternation: many followed their fellow-senator to the place of confinement. Petreius, a blunt soldier, vowed that chains with Cato were better than the presence of the oppressor Cæsar. The consul, it is said, was moved to shame: he caused Cato to be set free, and at the same time dismissed the assembly, with the declaration that it was illegal to refuse to entertain a measure moved by the chief magistrate, and with a threat that henceforth he would dispense with the senatorial decree altogether, and bring his projects of law at once before the people.

Such a mode of proceeding would doubtless have been utterly irregular: nevertheless the Hortensian law, which His violent contest with the nobles. made a resolution of the tribes, moved by a tribune, binding upon the whole body of the citizens, had shown that enactments could be passed without the concurrent action of the senate. Cæsar, however, did not yet despair of influencing the nobles in their own assembly. He assured the citizens that the measure would be granted them if they could succeed in persuading his colleague Bibulus. *During my year,* exclaimed Bibulus, *you shall not obtain your desire, not though you cried for it with one voice.* Cæsar proceeded to ask the opinions of Pompeius and Crassus, which, as he knew, were favourable, and their votes swayed the decision of many others. Thus thwarted and harassed, Bibulus engaged certain of the tribunes to obstruct the proceedings before the people; and when this resource failed, he pretended to consult the auspices, and declared all the remainder of the year to be holy-time. Law, usage and superstition combined to forbid the transaction of public affairs at such a season: it was an act of supreme audacity in the consul to defy this impediment, however manifestly factitious; but the passions and interests of the people proved

stronger than their principles or prejudices, and a day was appointed for moving the bill in the comitia. The citizens filled the forum before dawn to prevent it being occupied by the dependents of their adversaries; nevertheless respect or fear induced them to make way for Bibulus, who boldly sought to confront Cæsar himself in the porch of the temple of Castor and Pollux, whence he was about to declaim. But when he ventured to speak in opposition he was thrust down the steps, his fasces broken, and himself and his attendants bruised and wounded. The law was carried through. The next day Bibulus attempted to obtain a decree against it in the senate; but the senators themselves were now disposed to submit to the insult. It only remained for him to shut himself up in his own house, send his officers to protest, in the name of the Gods, against every public act of his colleague, and consult at home with a cabal of his own adherents on the interests of his country or his party.

The law had indeed been carried through with a high hand. In vain had Bibulus bared his throat to the populace, and deprecated their violence by exposing himself most freely to it. Even Lucullus, old and feeble The bill is forced upon the Senate. as he was, suffered personal maltreatment, and only saved his life, it was said, by casting himself at Cæsar's feet. Cato, whose spirits rose with danger, had exerted himself with impetuous energy. He pushed his way to the rostrum, but his sonorous voice was drowned in the uproar, and he was dragged from the spot by Cæsar's orders. When the law was passed both he and Celer refused to swear obedience to it. A second law, declaring refusal capital, at last compelled them to submit. Pompeius looked on with secret satisfaction: the acts of his provincial command were now obsequiously ratified; and he attributed this consummation to the craftiness of his own intrigues, and to the master-stroke by which he had enlisted Cæsar in league with himself and Crassus.¹

Much of the violence and apparent bitterness of the states-

¹ Compare Dion, xxxviii. 1-7.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 12.; Suet. *Jul.* 20.

men of the day which we have witnessed hitherto may be attributed to the excitability of the Italian character, prone to the most exaggerated expression of its feelings. The politicians of Rome continued notwithstanding to converse in private with much harmony and good temper: their public feuds were often forgotten in the relaxation of social intercourse. Their conduct was rather that of rival gamesters than of deadly enemies. But at this crisis an event occurred which served to sow dark suspicions among honourable opponents, and reminded men once more of the use of the dagger, not unfamiliar to them in a ruder age of the republic. Vettius, whose name has already received dishonourable mention, either attempted, or pretended that he had been suborned to attempt, the lives of Cæsar and Pompeius.¹ He was arrested with a poniard upon his person, which he declared had been furnished him for the deed by the consul Bibulus. His disclosures tended to implicate the most conspicuous members of the senatorial party, Cato and Cicero, and more especially the younger Curio. The nobles on their part insinuated that the pretended plot was a fabrication of Cæsar himself. Vettius, they asserted, had promised Cæsar to break down Curio's rising influence by fastening upon him a charge which should cover him with odium and disgrace. With this view he had wormed himself into the young man's confidence, and gradually prepared him for the announcement of his intended blow. Curio escaped the snare, and revealed the plot to his father, the father to Pompeius. Such was the version of the story put forth by the nobles. To this there was nothing to be opposed but Vettius's word, upon which no party deigned to rely. The criminal was thrown into prison, and was found some days afterwards dead in his bed. His death was attrib-

¹ This story is given in detail by Cicero (*ad Att.* ii. 24.). Compare Suet. *Jul.* 20.; Plut. *Luc.* 42., and Cic. *in Vatt.* 11.; also the Schol. Bobiana *pro Sest.* p. 308., *in Vatin.* 320. These writers agree in insinuating that the plot was a fabrication of Cæsar's. Appian (*B. C.* ii. 12.) suggests an unsatisfactory reason on the other side. Comp. Dion, xxxviii. 9.

uted to suicide, but the rumour prevailed that he had been dispatched for the convenience of others. Many persons may have wished his death. At every fresh examination he had denounced new names: the noble Lucullus was implicated in his reckless disclosures no less than a Domitius, a Lentulus, a Piso and a Brutus. The discoverer or fabricator of the plot was a tribune in the interest of Cæsar, named Vatinius. At a later period it was upon this man that Cicero ventured to fasten the crime of murder. Cæsar at this time had placed Cicero under obligations, otherwise he would not perhaps have scrupled to designate the consul himself as the midnight assassin. But the orator himself, according to other accounts, incurred a similar suspicion,¹ and in such a maze of conflicting testimony we can only drop the veil again upon the corpse of the victim.

Bibulus did not venture forth again in public during the remainder of his term of office. Cæsar continued to administer the affairs of the commonwealth without the aid or opposition of his colleague.² The release of the knights from the rigour of the terms on which they farmed the revenues of Asia was another of his measures;³ a wise one in itself, and at the same time conducive to his own interests; for that body, already alienated from the senate by the repulse they had before suffered, and apparently cooling in their gratitude towards Cicero, their unsuccessful patron, were delighted to transfer their allegiance to the popular champion. The increased influence which the consul acquired by these proceedings he took care to confirm and extend by a great display of munificence in his shows and entertainments.⁴ The alarm with respect to Gaul had in some measure subsided

Cæsar obtains the proconsulship of the two Gauls and Illyricum for five years.

¹ Dion, *l. c.*

² Suet. *Jul.* 20.: "Ut nonnulli urbanorum quum quid per jocum testandi gratia signarent, non Cæsare et Bibulo, sed Julio et Cæsare consulibus, actum scriberent . . . utque vulgo ferrentur hi versus:

"Non Bibulo quicquam nuper, sed Cæsare factum est:

Nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini."—Comp. Dion, xxxviii. 8.

³ Suet. *l. c.*; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 13.; Dion, *l. c.*

⁴ One of Cæsar's popular acts, of more than ordinary sagacity, was his

during this year ; but the people, on the motion of Vatinius, conferred upon their favourite the charge of the Cisalpine province, together with that of Illyricum, for the space of five years ; an extraordinary stretch of their prerogative, but one for which the Manilian and Gabinian laws afforded ample precedents. Both Crassus and Pompeius blindly supported the interests of their colleague, and in addition extorted for him from the senate the Transalpine province, the seat of expected war.¹ But the nobles were glad perhaps to rid themselves of his presence upon any terms ; while he sought the conduct of extensive and protracted military operations, with the view of creating an army of devoted adherents, and enriching a numerous retinue of the best families in Rome. At the same time Pompeius offered his hand to Julia, his confederate's daughter,² and this alliance was regarded as a pledge of their fidelity to each other in their scheme of common advancement. In vain did Cato warn the senate that it had exalted a king over itself, and introduced him, guards and all, into the citadel of the commonwealth. Even Cæsar himself seems for once to have been intoxicated with success, and to have vaunted in unmeasured language the triumph he had achieved over his enemies, and the vengeance he would wreak upon them.³

The affairs, however, of the city were at this moment assuming a character of more intense interest than ever. After vacating the consulship at the commencement of the year 696, and taking the command of his legions, Cæsar still continued to linger outside the walls to watch events. The new consuls were A. Gabinius and

Clodius elected
tribune : his
popular meas-
ures.

providing for the publication of the proceedings of the senate. Suet. *Jul.* 20. ; Duruy, *Hist. des Romains*, ii. 399.

¹ The one province was probably at this time a necessary complement to the other. Cæsar constantly levied in the Cisalpine Gaul the troops which he required for his campaigns in the remoter province. Dion, xxxviii. 3.

² Vell. ii. 44. ; Dion, lib. xxxviii. 9. ; Suet. *Jul.* 21. Cæsar gave his daughter to Pompeius, though she was betrothed at the time to another. He at the same time married Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso.

³ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 33., *Pomp.* 48. ; Suet. *Jul.* 22.

L. Calpurnius Piso, both adherents of the triumvirs, the one devoted to Pompeius, the other to Cæsar, who had just espoused his daughter. They seem both to have been equally notorious as men of depraved characters and dangerous dispositions, though Piso displayed an almost cynical affectation of republican virtue.¹ Clodius sought the tribuneship, and Cæsar, who counted on his services, had exerted himself to effect his required adoption into a plebeian house. The forms of the law were satisfied or evaded,² and, to the dismay of the nobles, the shameless intriguer was elected to the office he coveted. While his immediate object was well known to be the persecution of Cicero, his personal enemy, he was generally regarded as a creature of Pompeius, and feared as a ready instrument for the furtherance of his treacherous schemes. The consuls were necessitous and greedy, and the young tribune made no scruple to assure them, on the strength of the favour in which the people held him, of the reversion of two lucrative provinces at the expiration of their year.³ With such a combination of influential men to back him, Clodius put forth without delay a series of measures, calculated both to increase his own popularity and to cripple the vital powers of the oligarchy. He began with proposing a gratuitous distribution of corn to the needy citizens.⁴ He introduced a bill to limit the power of the censors in expelling unworthy members from the senatorial body.⁵ He also effected the restoration of the colleges, or guilds of trades,

¹ Comp. Cic. *Or. post Red.* 4., *pro Dom.* 9., *pro Sest.* 7., *de Prov. Cons.* 3., *in Pison.* 4. But it must be borne in mind that our knowledge of them, especially of Piso, is derived principally from their enemy, and that he at an earlier time had spoken more favourably of both (*ad Qu. Fr.* i. 2.).

² Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 12.; Vell. ii. 45.; Suet. *Jul.* 20.; Dion, xxxviii. 12. Cicero advanced various technical objections to the legality of this adoption (*pro Dom.* 13. 29.).

³ Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 2 : "Syria et Macedonia quas, vobis invitis et oppressis pestiferi illi consules pro eversæ reipublicæ præmiis occupaverunt."

⁴ Lex Clodia frumentaria. Ascon. *in Pison.* p. 9.

⁵ Lex Clodia de censoria notione. Ascon. *in Pison.* l. c. : "Quartam (legem tulit Clodius) ne quem censores in legendo senatu præterirent neve qua ignominia afficerent, nisi qui apud eos accusatus et utriusque censoris

which had been suppressed only a few years before by a decree of the senate. These guilds dated their origin from the time of Numa,¹ and the institution, doubtless, in the first instance, was wise and salutary. They were calculated, at the era of their foundation and long after, to raise the estimation of the kinds of labour which they fostered and protected; a matter of importance in a city of soldiers and landholders, among whom the artizan and the dealer were generally held in contempt.² At a much later period these guilds gave weight and consistency to the class next below that of the knights and publicani, one which, without the enjoyment of public office or dignity, had nevertheless a stake in the commonwealth and an interest in its well-being. Their direct tendency to consolidate the power of the middle ranks of society made them extremely obnoxious to the higher aristocracy, which had only recently effected their suppression.³ At the same time it must be allowed that in a period of faction and licence, and the occasional ascendancy of mere mob-government, they were liable to be perverted to the worst purposes, and to become nurseries of sedition. In the existing condition of the city, the familiar use of private bonds of union, secret signs and devices, and peculiar social distinctions, all tended to foster the spirit of lawless combination which menaced the commonwealth with ruin. On the other hand, the persons, the property and the repute of the trading classes had no further need for special protection; the growth of luxury and refinement rendered their services indispensable, and ensured them respect. Accordingly Cicero opposed the restoration of the colleges, and we shall find hereafter how carefully the wisest rulers watched and restrained them.

sententia damnatus esset." Dion, xxxviii. 13.; comp. Cic. *pro Sest.* 25. This law was again abolished by Scipio in his consulship, A. U. 702.

¹ Plut. *Num.* 31. Many of these guilds are specified by Plutarch, *Num.* 27., and Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiv. 1., xxxv. 46.; comp. Dionys. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* iv. 43. See various inscriptions in the collections.

² Cic. *de Off.* i. 42.

³ "L. Cæcilio, Q. Marcio consulibus, collegia sublata sunt quæ adversus rempublicam videbantur esse." Ascon. *in Pison.* § 8., A. U. 686.

But Clodius undoubtedly was looking to the further use to which an unscrupulous demagogue might mould them, and he succeeded in carrying his measure triumphantly.¹

A still more important step was the repeal of the Ælian and Fufian laws, which had become practically one of the most efficient weapons of the oligarchy in the deadly struggles in which it was engaged.² These ^{Repeal of the} Lex Ælia Fufia. statutes directed that, whenever the comitia were convened, the consuls should consult the auspices and signs of the heavens according to the prescribed forms; if they declared them to be unfavourable, the assembly was to be at once dissolved, and its acts rendered invalid. This became a constitutional check in the hands of the consuls to the power of the tribunes,³ who, among their other prerogatives, possessed the right of summoning the popular assemblies. Thus, when Bibulus had refused to attend the comitia, he had performed these ceremonies, as he asserted, in his own house, and had denounced the proceedings of the people as obnoxious to the Gods. The act by which Clodius had obtained his adoption into the plebs had been vitiated in a similar manner; and, at a later period, Cicero could argue upon this ground that his enemy's election to the tribunate had, from the first, been null and void, and all his subsequent acts illegal. To overthrow this bulwark of the existing order of things was nat-

¹ Lex Clodia de collegiis. Ascon *in Pison. l. c.*: "Post novem annos quam sublata erant, P. Clodius trib. pl. lege lata restituit collegia." Comp. Dion, xxxviii. 13.

² Lex Clodia de auspiciis. Cic *pro Sest.* 15.; Ascon. *l. c.*; Dion, *l. c.* We do not know what were the actual provisions of the new law, but we can hardly suppose that they went the whole length of repealing the consular prerogative in a matter so closely connected with the popular superstitions. A few years after this we find the consuls still obnouncing, as it was called, and thus vitiating the proceedings of the comitia, as heretofore. It may be urged, however, that, after the defeat of Clodius, the laws passed in his tribunate would be little regarded by the opposite party. Yet Cicero speaks of the Lex Ælia Fufia as entirely abolished (*in Vatn.* 8, 9.).

³ The tribunes had also the power of taking the auspices, and were accustomed to thwart the proceedings of their colleagues by these means. Cic. *in Vatn.* 8.

urally a great object with Clodius himself and his party, however manifest it might be that the power of the people had outgrown the danger to which it was in earlier times exposed from it. But having cleared his way by all these preliminary movements, the tribune next proceeded to make his meditated attack upon the destroyer of Catilina's associates.

We have already seen how rapidly Cicero fell in general estimation and influence after the eventful period of his consulship. As he felt himself sinking, he strove to buoy himself up by constantly dinning into the ears of senate and people the glories of his administration, and magnifying his own deeds with all the rhetorical extravagance, which might be excusable, if not always graceful, in his pleadings for others.¹ The virulence of the great contending factions had thrown both equally beyond the reach of his moderate counsels, and the superior lustre of the triumphs had cast his services and abilities entirely into the shade. The three allies had no occasion to enumber themselves with a fourth colleague for the sake of talents with which they could dispense; and it is but justice to the great orator to say that he was too sincere a patriot to devote himself to such an association. But at the same time, the suspicion which haunted him, that he was in constant danger of being seduced by their intrigues, was altogether unfounded. Difficult as it is to read the real designs and objects of the crafty confederates under the disguises which they all knew how to assume, it seems to have been their aim to inflict a wound upon the oligarchy through the sides of their vaunted consul.² Pompeius at least contemplated, as we may conjecture, that the sympathy of his order and of his personal friends would

¹ Plut. *Cic.* 24.: Οὔτε γὰρ βουλήν, οὔτε δῆμον, οὔτε δικαστήριον ἦν συνελεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μὴ Κατιλίαν εἶδει θρυλλομένον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ Λέντυλον. The reader will be pleased with the good-humoured apology which the biographer makes for his hero.

² Vell. ii. 45.: "Non earuerunt suspicione oppressi Ciceronis Cæsar et Pompeius." Cicero allows (*pro Sest.* 7.) that Pompeius had given him an assurance that he would require a solemn promise from Clodius not to molest him; but it is evident that he had no faith in the triumvir's sincerity.

raise a tumult in Cicero's defence, and looked steadily for the moment when an armed interference would be requisite to restore peace to the republic, and elevate one of the eabal to an avowed and legalized supremacy.

Cæsar, indeed, with his natural kindness and friendly feeling,¹ would have spared Cicero the humiliation of a public disgrace. He offered him a place in the list of commissioners for dividing the Campanian lands;² a post of honour, inasmuch as it was coveted for Luere's sake by the greatest personages, and still more one of influence, in which he might have surrounded himself with a host of friends and expectants. When Cicero refused this offer, Cæsar pressed him to become one of his lieutenants in Gaul, which would at least have removed him from the scene of the machinations in progress against him.³ But the orator seems to have considered this appointment beneath his dignity, and he would not consent to be withdrawn from the sphere in which he conceived his political importance to lie. He persisted also in his fond hope that the Roman people would not desert him in extremity;⁴ that his enemy's schemes would eventually be frustrated; that Pompeius would step in at the last moment for his protection. It was not till he found every sollicitation rejected with increasing marks of distrust, that Cæsar seems to have determined to abandon to his fate the inveterate opponent of his policy. As he saw the crisis approach, he hovered about the city with the troops he had collected, and was evidently in a better position than either of his colleagues

¹ Dion, xxxviii. 11. ἐπιεικεστέραν μὲν γὰρ ὕντως εἰλήχει φύσιν, καὶ οὐ πάνυ ῥᾷδίως ἐθυμοῦτο . . . θυμῷ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἐχαρίζετο, κ. τ. λ.

² Vell. l. c. : "Hoc sibi contraxisse videbatur Cicero quod inter xx viros dividendo agro Campano esse nolisset." Comp. Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 2.; Quintil. xii. 1. 16. It appears from a letter to Atticus (ii. 5.), that the orator was expecting the offer of a mission to Egypt, of which he speaks with much affected coyness. It does not appear whether the offer was ever made, but probably not.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 18.

⁴ Dion, xxxviii. 16. : Τούτοις οὖν τοῖς λογισμοῖς κρατήσιν ἐλπίσας, καὶ γὰρ ἐθάρσει παρὰ λόγον ὥσπερ ἀνεξετάστως ἐδεδία.

for seizing the dictatorship, if, in the midst of these impending convulsions, the state should lose its balance.

Meanwhile Pompeius, who was jealous of any union between Cæsar and Cicero, remarked this distrust with satisfaction. From old habits of respect and awe, the orator continued still to regard him as alone possessed of power to restrain the popular demagogue; and Pompeius did not hesitate to lure him on to the last with false hopes, to prevent his throwing himself into the arms of another. From Crassus, with whom he was on terms of personal enmity,¹ Cicero had no aid to expect, and, notwithstanding every soothing assurance on the part of Pompeius, he could not but observe with increasing terror his enemy's plans unfold themselves. By giving way, however, to these apprehensions he only animated the courage of his enemies, and confirmed the coldness or secret treachery of those who professed to protect him. He hastily determined to hazard an appeal to the compassion of his countrymen, whom he had saved from revolution, or at least of the party whose ascendancy he had preserved. Accordingly, he suddenly appeared in public in black garments, as a suppliant for favour and commiseration,² a theatrical display never adopted except by persons actually under accusation. This stroke of policy was not unsuccessful among the orator's friends, but it made no impression upon the hostile or indifferent. The senate indeed clothed itself in mourning, and vast numbers of the knights and other classes followed its example. Even Publius Crassus, the triumvir's son, a devoted admirer of Cicero as a statesman and philosopher, assumed the costume of fear and sorrow in which no fewer than twenty thousand of the citizens arrayed themselves.³ But Clodius and his agents were unabashed; their confidence even rose on beholding the effect the mere rumour of their leader's machinations had created. They made a jest of the mourners, raised tumults in the

¹ Plut. *Crass.* 13.

² Plut. *Cic.* 30.

³ Cic. *Or. post Red. ad Quir.* 3., *pro Sest.* 11, 12., and elsewhere. Dion, xxxviii. 16. The consuls issued an edict to forbid this sign of sympathy.

streets, and assailed both Cicero and his adherents with mud and stones.¹

The friends of the orator, more terrified and perplexed than ever, now made a last effort to secure the protection, or at least ascertain the intentions of the consuls and triumvirs. They deemed it impossible that any men who aspired to hold the reins of government should continue to countenance the violence of a faction which had taken possession of the streets. But Gabinius treated their representations with scorn.² Piso, to whom, as a family-connection, Cicero applied in person, though less rude, proved not more tractable.³ He affected to treat the suppliant consular with frankness. He explained to him that Gabinius was compelled by his poverty, if not by his inclination, to espouse the popular side, and that since he despaired of obtaining anything from the senate, his hopes of succeeding to a rich province depended upon the favour of the tribunes. It was his own duty, he argued, to advance the interests of his colleague, just as Cicero himself had catered for Antonius; irony the more cutting, since it was rumoured, falsely we may believe, that, in conceding to Antonius the government of Macedonia, the orator had stipulated for a share of its expected profits. In conclusion he coldly took leave of his visitor, recommending him, as the common duty of every citizen, to provide for his own interests and safety.⁴ At the same time the heads of the senatorial party, with a crowd of citizens in their train, betook themselves to the house of Pompeius at Alba, whither he had retired to avoid the sollicita-

¹ Plut. *Cic. l. c.*; Dion, *l. c.*; Cic. *pro Mil.* 14.

² Cic. *pro Sest.* 11.

³ Dion (*l. c.*) thinks that he was not personally hostile to Cicero, and gave him the advice which he really deemed the most expedient under the circumstances.

⁴ Cic. *in Pis.* 6. This account rests upon Cicero's own representation of the affair, but there seems no reason to doubt its correctness in the main. But we may disregard the coarse personalities which the orator flings against his enemies, the effeminacy he ascribes to the perfumed Gabinius, and the crapulousness of his sententious colleague.

tions he foresaw, and which he feared perhaps his inability to parry. The Clodians, indeed, had plied him with secret admonitions to protect himself against the dagger of the friend he was betraying, and then gave out that his retirement was adopted for personal security.¹ Pompeius replied to his visitors, by referring them to the consuls, the appointed guardians of the public peace, and of private rights: if they thought fit to summon him to arm in their defence, he was ready, he said, to obey the call.² To Cicero himself, who even after this repulse ventured to apply to him in person, he declared most explicitly, that against the will of Cæsar he could do nothing; and herein we may believe that he threw off for once his usual dissimulation, and confessed the truth, that the whole affair was really hurried irresistibly along by the impulse which Cæsar had given it.

Clodius had already established his popularity when he brought forward the bill to which all his previous efforts were intended to pave the way. He proposed that the assembled people should declare, in general terms, that every man guilty of a citizen's blood, without legal sanction, should be put under the ban of the state and interdicted from fire and water. This was, in fact, a sentence of outlawry, by which the person so attainted was denied legal protection, his property was confiscated, to harbour him was rendered penal, and any one was allowed to slay him with impunity. Such a resolution would be, at first sight, no more than a confirmation of laws already existing; but it would bind the people to enforce their dormant severity, and it would point directly at Cicero, who, by putting Lentulus to death by authority of the senate, had overstepped the popular limitation of its prerogatives.³ The tribune convened the people in the Flaminian Circus, outside the walls, to give Cæsar an opportunity of attending their deliberations, for, being invested

Clodius prevails on the people to pass a resolution affecting Cicero's safety; who retires into voluntary exile.

¹ Cic. *pro Sest.* 18., *pro Dom.* 11.

² Cic. *in Pison.* 31.

³ See Cicero's speeches after his return from exile, and his letters to Atticus. Dion. xxxviii. 17.; Plut. *Cic.* 30, 31.

with a military command, he could not enter the city. Thus invited, he took part in the discussion, reminding the assembly of the opinion he had expressed against the capital sentence, and he reiterated his condemnation, both on legal and political grounds, of the conduct of the consul and his party: at the same time, he faintly dissuaded the adoption of the present proposal, on the ground that the time for animadversion was past, and that it was better to bury the whole matter in oblivion. But the tribes affirmed the resolution, and Clodius was determined not to reject the weapons they put into his hands. Cicero's wisest course, as many then thought, and himself also at a later period, would have been to take no notice of this menace, which did not expressly accuse him, and thus to defy the enemy to attack him directly.¹ To accept this resolution as affecting himself was to acknowledge himself conscious at least of an irregularity, which both the senate and their champion indignantly denied. Some advised, and among them was old Lucullus, to draw the sword at once, not in defence of Cicero only, but of the senate, of the legislation of Sulla, of the interests of the best and worthiest classes of the nation.² There was no safety, they argued, in parleying any longer with the popular demagogues: every year was adding to their strength; their leaders clung closer together instead of splitting asunder; the opposite party had already fallen into the hands of three chiefs with a common object; if it came under the power of one, its unity of purpose and action would be irresistible. But others persuaded Cicero to bow to the present storm, which they felt assured could be only transient.³ The popularity of so miserable a creature as Clodius could not last; better counsels must ultimately prevail in the breast of states-

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* iii. 15.: "Cæci, cæci, inquam, fuimus, &c. . . . quod, nisi nominatim mecum agi cœptum fuerit, perniciosum fuit."

² Lucullus recommended Cicero to remain in the city and defy the malice of his enemies. (*Plut. Cic.* 31.) He must assuredly have contemplated bringing matters to a crisis by a resort to arms.

³ Hortensius and even Cato were of this opinion. *Plut. Cat. Min.* 35.; *Dion*, xxxviii. 17.

men so respectable as Pompeius, at least, and Crassus. If he left Rome for the present, the matter might be more easily smoothed over, the sentence modified, and perhaps shortly reversed.¹ Cicero yielded to this advice with the general prudence and humanity of his disposition;² but he has marred the grace of the concession, in the judgment of posterity, by the unmanly lamentations with which he accompanied it. The last act of the retiring patriot was to take an image of Minerva, which he prized among his household treasures, and place it in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter;³ signifying thereby that the citizen, who had once saved his country by his presence, recommended its preservation during his enforced absence to the goddess of moderation and wisdom.⁴

¹ The laws allowed a Roman citizen to escape capital punishment by voluntary exile; but in such case they permitted the confiscation of his property, and inflicted upon him civil incapacity to the fullest extent.

² His views are expressed with eloquence and sense in the speech *Pro Sest.* 19–21.

³ Plut. *Cic.* 31.; Dion, *l. c.*; Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 17.

⁴ Middleton, *Life of Cicero.* A better interpretation perhaps would be, that in time of anarchy wisdom must seek refuge under the protection of power.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY CONQUESTS OF THE GAULS: THEIR FORMIDABLE HOSTILITY TO ROME.—GRADUAL SUCCESS OF THE ROMANS IN THE CONTEST BETWEEN THEM.—REDUCTION OF GALLIA CISALPINA.—ALLIANCE OF ROME WITH MASSILIA.—THE ROMANS ACQUIRE A PROVINCE BEYOND THE ALPS.—GAULISH ETHNOLOGY:—1. THE IBERIANS: 2. THE GAEL: 3. THE BELGÆ.—DISCREPANCY BETWEEN CÆSAR AND STRABO: MODERN THEORY OF A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE KYMRY AND GAEL IN GAUL AS WELL AS BRITAIN—PHYSICAL AND MORAL CHARACTERISTICS; CIVILIZATION; RELIGION: 4. THE GERMAN TRIBES IN GAUL.—GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE GAULS, AND AMOUNT OF THEIR POPULATION.

OF all the nations with which Rome had come into collision, two alone could boast of having reduced her to submission: the Etruscans had extorted hostages at her gates; the Gauls had encamped within her walls, and carried off the ransom of her existence.¹

Victorious career of the Gauls in Europe and Asia.

The surrender of the city to Porsena, attested by the most veracious of her historians, had spread an expiring gleam over the annals of the Etruscan nation, already declining from its highest power, and doomed to speedy decay and entire subjugation. The victorious attack of Brennus, in the fourth century of her career, marks the era at which the tide of Gaulish conquest was at its full. About that period the name of the Gauls was more terrible, throughout Europe and western Asia, than that of any other conquerors. They had occupied almost every part of Spain, and might still be traced in the remotest corners

¹ Tac. *Ann.* xi. 24.: "Capti a Gallis sumus, sed et Tuscis obsides dedimus." Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 39.) states that the treaty which Porsena concluded with the Romans forbade them the use of iron except for implements of husbandry.

of the Peninsula.¹ The indigenous Iberians had been compelled either to amalgamate with them, or to make their escape through the passes of the Pyrenees. In a series of repeated immigrations, they had succeeded in establishing themselves throughout the north of Italy, overthrowing the languid power of the Etruscans in that region, and re-peopleing its half-deserted cities with colonists of a new race. From the central recesses of the parent country vast swarms were still incessantly issuing. One horde established a Gallic sovereignty on the banks of the Danube. A second penetrated into Illyria, and prepared the way for the successive waves which spread over Pæonia and Macedonia, which broke against the defiles of Thermopylæ, and were at last shivered to atoms in the gorges of Delphi. Another band, still more adventurous, succeeded in crossing the Thracian Bosphorus, and made itself master of the greater part of Asia Minor. The populous coasts of the Ægean Sea, with all the fair cities of Ionia, were overrun by these barbarians in the third century before our era; and, after many vicissitudes of fortune in their wars against the kings of Syria, they still left their name impressed upon a province of Asia, and became, as mercenary troops, the main defence of the thrones of their conquerors.²

However much the Romans might strive to disguise the full extent of their disgrace, the taking of the city by the Gauls left a deep and permanent impression upon their minds. War with the Gauls was thenceforth regarded with peculiar alarm and horror. It was designated, not by the ordinary term of War, but as a Tumult; an era of dismay and confusion, when the customary regulations of the state must be suspended, and the usual im-

Their capture of the city leaves a deep impress on the minds of the Romans.

¹ The Gallæci or Callaici, in Gallicia, and the Celtici near the mouth of the Guadiana, were of Gaulish descent.

² Justin, xxv. 2. See Amedée Thierry's *Histoire des Gaulois*, partie 1. ch. i. iv. x. I shall have frequent occasion to refer to this admirable work, as also to the same writer's *Histoire de la Gaule sous l'Administration Romaine*. The one I shall cite under the title "*Gaulois*," the other under that of "*Gaule*."

munities from service overruled.¹ The defeat of the Allia continued to be commemorated in the calendar as an anniversary of evil omen ;² and a special hoard of treasure was deposited in the Capitol, never to be touched except for the purpose of repelling a Gallic invasion.³ The strength and stature of the barbarians, so much exceeding those of the Italian races, made it necessary for the Roman generals to improve the equipment of the legionaries. Camillus introduced the helmet of brass or iron, and fortified the shield with a rim of metal, to turn the edge of the heavy but untempered Gaulish sword ; he furnished his soldiers also with a long pike, to keep the gigantic enemy at a distance.⁴

For a while the Gauls passed annually under the walls of Rome, in quest of booty from Latium or Campania. At last the Romans took courage, and ventured to issue from their retreat and obstruct the march of the depredators. The tactics of the generals of the republic were signalized by caution no less than by bravery, and the result of more than one well-fought campaign was the final deliverance of central Italy from these periodical ravages. The popular stories by which the events of this conflict were embellished, of the golden collar won by Manlius, and of the raven which aided Valerius in his unequal combat, evince the long-continued interest with which the Romans regarded this desperate struggle.⁵

Continuation of the struggle between the Romans and Gauls.

The next contest which took place between the two na-

¹ Plut. *Cam.* 41. : Οὕτω δ' οὖν ὁ φόβος ἦν ἰσχυρὸς, ὥστε θεέσθαι νόμον ἀφείσθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς στρατείας χωρὶς ἂν μὴ Γαλατικὸς ἦ πόλεμος. Comp. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 150.

² Luc. vii. 409. : "Et damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis." Comp. Ovid, *A. A.* i. 413., and elsewhere.

³ App. *B. C.* ii. 41. : "Α φασιν ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς πάλαι σὺν ἀρᾷ δημοσίᾳ τεθῆναι. κ. τ. λ.

⁴ Plut. *Cam.* 40. ; Polyæn. *Strat.* viii. 7. These pikes (ὄσσοι μακροί) were probably massive and heavy, and not adapted for throwing. The famous pilum was a modification of this pike, shortened to six feet, and used principally as a missile. (*Gaulois*, i. iii.)

⁵ Sall. *B. J.* 114. : "Cum Gallis pro salute non pro gloria certare."

tions was decided at a greater distance from the hearths of the republic. In the year of the city 455, a new swarm of barbarians issued from the defiles of the Alps, and threatened to overthrow the earlier establishments of their own countrymen within that barrier. The Cisalpine Gauls diverted them from this unnatural enterprize by pointing to the riches of the south, and opening to them a passage to the frontiers of Etruria. Some of the elder migration also offered to accompany the new comers.¹ The Etruscans were engaged at the moment in the secret preparation of a mighty armament against Rome. Alarmed and disconcerted at the arrival of the strangers, demanding lands as the price of peace, they sought to enlist them on their own side by the amplest promises of Roman plunder. Meanwhile they offered an immediate donative in money. The price was stipulated and paid down, when the Gauls treacherously refused to move without the more substantial present of a fixed territorial settlement. *Give us lands, they exclaimed, and we will be your allies now and hereafter; otherwise we will retrace our steps with the treasures we have already extorted.* Deceived and baffled, the Etruscans deliberated, and determined, with becoming spirit, to have no further dealings with such perfidious and dangerous allies. The Gauls kept their word, and recrossed the Apennines; but discord soon arose between the Transalpine and Cisalpine divisions of their army, and the greater part of both perished together in the furious encounters which resulted from their disputes.

At this period, however, the ramifications of a great Italian coalition were extending themselves throughout the Peninsula. The Samnites and Umbrians united with the Etruscans; and, strong as they were in their native confederacy, the allies determined to enlist the Cisalpine Gauls also in the common enterprize. The Romans flew to arms with undaunted spirit. The struggle that ensued was terrific, and seldom had the republic been brought into more signal peril. The imprudence of Fabius

Fresh immigration of Gauls into Italy
A. U. 455.

Coalitions of the Gauls with the Italians against Rome. Triumph of the Romans.

¹ Liv. x. 10.; Polyb. ii. 19.

and the devotion of Decius were among the events by which this war was signalized. The Gauls, in their turn, complained that they were betrayed by the Etruscans, who were induced to desert their allies by a judicious movement of the Roman forces, which carried fire and sword into their defenceless territories. The fatal day of Sentinum ended with the defeat and immense slaughter of the Gauls and Samnites, more especially of the former.¹ When the Gauls were once more engaged by the Etruscans to combine with them, the Samnites were incapacitated from joining the new coalition. In this war the Romans were uniformly successful, and the contest was terminated by the great battle at the Vadimonian lake, where the Boii and Senones, the flower of the Cisalpine forces, were entirely defeated. The Romans could boast for the first time of having reduced their most formidable enemy to sue for peace.² The solicitations of the vanquished, however, were not made, or not listened to, till the nation of the Senones had been almost exterminated by Drusus, and their capital, Sena, transferred to the conquerors, who established a Roman colony within its walls. The victorious legions returned to the city with the actual treasure, as they fondly boasted, which had been surrendered by their ancestors as the ransom of the Capitol.³

A. U. 470.
B. C. 284.

These disasters effectually broke the strength of the Cisalpine Gauls, nor did they again venture to threaten the republic with invasion and conquest. The power of Rome gradually extended and consolidated itself in the Peninsula, and, during the interval of the first two Punic wars, her citizens carried their arms beyond the limits of Italy Proper, and effected the subjugation of the Boii and Insubres on the Po. The arrival of Hannibal presented an opportunity of deliverance and revenge. But the Gallic tribes did not rise simultaneously, as in

The Gauls join Hannibal and share his reverses.

A. U. 532.
B. C. 222.

¹ Liv. x. 26.

² Liv. *Epit.* xii.

³ Suet. *Tib.* 3.: "Drusus . . . traditur . . . pro prætorè ex provincia Gallia retulisse aurum Senonibus olim in obsidione Capitolii datum, nec, ut fama est, extortum a Camillo."

former times, in reply to his call for assistance. He obtained succours from the Gauls, indeed, as from other nations of Italy, but not in such overwhelming numbers, nor with such zeal and confidence, as he had hoped and anticipated. It was against the genius and moral resources of the man that Rome had to contend in her wars with Hannibal, rather than against the spirit and energy of his allies. When these resources failed, the Gaulish auxiliaries, despairing of their own country, now deprived of its last defender, devoted themselves to the interests of their Carthaginian leaders, and followed the remnant of their host into Africa.¹

Thus cowed in spirit and reduced in power, fortune favoured the Cisalpines with no more such golden opportunities. But they were yet untaught to submit to a foreign master; and while the Romans continued to strengthen their position on the Po by colonies and fortified works, the indignation of the natives frequently broke out in desultory and fruitless resistance. Under the Carthaginian Hamilcar, they attacked and destroyed Placentia;² but their success was transitory, and repaid by a bloody defeat. Wars followed upon wars; treachery on their own part led to cruel retaliation on that of the enemy. The Boii at last broke up from their harassed and insulted homes, and migrated in a body to the banks of the Danube. The Romans gradually pushed their conquests to the foot of the Alps, and closed the defiles of the mountains against the reinforcements which might have poured in from the Further Gaul. Towards the end of the sixth century of the city, the whole region between the Rubicon and the Alps was reduced to the form of a Roman province, secured by numerous garrisons and watched with unremitting vigilance. The name of Gallia Cisalpina still remained, as a memorial of the people in whom the republic had found her most dangerous and most inveterate

Cisalpine Gaul reduced to the form of a province about the end of the sixth century of the city.

A. V. 554.
B. C. 200.

¹ The Gauls and Ligurians formed together a third part of the Carthaginian forces at the battle of Zama. App. *Pun.* 40.

² Liv. xxxi. 10.

enemy; and every year, after the completion of his term of office, one of the consuls went forth with a numerous army to govern the province, which might be intrusted only to personages of the highest authority and greatest experience in the state.

In the midst of these successes, however, the Romans had not neglected to secure their acquisitions within the barrier of the Alps by checking the movements of the Gallic tribes beyond it. Massilia, the modern Marseilles, had been founded some centuries before this era by a Grecian colony; but it was by slow and painful steps that this celebrated city extended its influence along the southern coast of Gaul. Notwithstanding the numerous maritime colonies which it established, it with difficulty maintained its own existence against the tribes of the interior, and the intimate relations it cultivated with the great Italian republic from an early period were found to be of equal convenience to either party.

First transactions of the Romans beyond the Alps. Alliance with Massilia.

The Massilian aristocracy, which enjoyed the exclusive administration of the government,¹ was purely mercantile, and possessed little or no territorial wealth. Like the other commercial settlements of the Greeks in ancient times, and many of the Italian republics of the middle ages, Massilia was unable to defend itself by the unassisted strength of its own native population. While other states, in similar circumstances, have depended upon the fidelity of mercenary troops, the Massilians rested their security mainly upon their alliance with Rome. Under the shelter of this great military power, their commerce flourished and expanded on all sides. Syracuse and Carthage were crushed by the universal conqueror; the maritime power of the Etrurians had already dwindled away before they fell under his baneful domination. The mercantile genius of Greece, which had migrated from Athens to Rhodes and Corinth, was impaired by internal weakness, and repressed by the harassing activity

Massilia, its position and resources.

¹ Strab. iv. 1.; Aristot. *Pol.* v. 6.; Cæs. *B. C.* i. 35.; Cic. *de Rep.* i. 27.

of the pirates in the eastern Mediterranean. Accordingly, Massilia reigned for a considerable period without a rival in the career of commerce. But her trade was mainly supplied by the produce and the wants of the vast continent which lay behind her. She opened regular communications with the interior of Gaul, and from thence with the ocean and the British isles; thus substituting a direct and safer route for the perilous circunnavigation of the Phœnician coasting vessels. The wines and other produce of the South found their way up the Rhone and Saone, then by a short portage to the Seine and Loire, or across the plains of Languedoc, to the Garonne, and so to the coasts of the Atlantic.¹ The interchange of commodities between Gaul and Britain was constant and regular, producing a close moral and intellectual connexion between those distant regions. The riches which gradually accumulated in the emporium of all this traffic disposed the Massilians to cultivate the arts and enjoy the luxuries of their mother country; and their learned leisure was crowned with a reputation hardly anywhere exceeded beyond the bounds of Greece itself.² But the jealousy of the maritime tribes of southern Gaul was not appeased by the blandishments of commerce and social refinement. The Ligurians especially, the rudest and most restless of the number, were engaged in almost constant hostility with the Greek colonists. The position occupied by this people commanded the most practicable of the Alpine passes, where the mountains descend into the Mediterranean. The Romans had no object more at heart than to obtain possession of this key to Gaul; and the

¹ Strabo observes (iv. 1.) how conveniently the great rivers of Gaul lie for the purposes of commerce: *οὕτως εὐφρως ἴσχει τὰ ρεῖθρα πρὸς ἄλληλα*. The same is eminently the case as regards the construction of railroads. The three great valleys of the Saone, the Loire, and the Seine are separated by a table land of moderate elevation. At one period of the Roman domination the commerce of the whole of Gaul radiated from Autun, in the centre of this district.

² Strabo (*l. c.*) remarks that Massilia became a place of resort for the purpose of liberal education, not only to the Gauls, but even to the Romans themselves.

claims upon their assistance which their new ally was constantly making could not fail to afford them a pretext for seizing it.

The first interference of the Romans in the affairs of the Massilians occurred in the year of the city 600. Antipolis (Antibes), and Nieæa (Nîce), two offsets from the original Hellenic stem, were beleaguered by the Ligurians, in the midst of whose territory they lay, and were on the point of surrendering. The arrogant republic sent ambassadors to require the assailants to desist from an enterprise against the dependencies of an ally. But the mountaineers refused to listen to their representations, nor even allowed them to land. In making the attempt, Flaminius, the principal commissioner, was severely injured, and some lives were lost in the encounter. The deputation sailed away to Massilia, where the wounds of Flaminius were assiduously tended, while the news of the violence done to him was conveyed to Rome. The outrage was denounced as a violation of the law of nations, and so specious a pretext for decisive hostilities was embraced with eagerness. The Oxybii and Decæatæ were specially marked out for vengeance as the guilty tribes. An army was assembled at Placentia, under the consul Opimius. Æginita, the offending town, was taken and sacked, and the armies of the audacious barbarians defeated after an ineffectual resistance. The consul gave up their territory to the Massilians, and compelled the rest of their kindred tribes to surrender hostages for their good behaviour. The Roman troops occupied the country through the winter; but it does not appear that they established fortresses, or made any permanent settlement there.¹

This first campaign of the Romans beyond the Alps had been short and easy, nor did its success contribute to the territorial aggrandizement of the republic. In the epitomes of the national history it was not thought worthy of mention.² In the year 629 a second occasion pre-

The Romans first interfere with the affairs of Transalpine Gaul in behalf of the Massilians.

A. U. 600.

B. C. 154.

Formation of the Transalpine province.

¹ Polyb. xxxiii. 7, 8.: Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὀξεῖαν ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν συντέλειαν.

² Florus (iii. 2.) says: "Primi trans Alpes arma nostra sensere Salyi."

sented itself for pushing an army into Gaul. The wars of Fulvius Flaccus against the Salyi, and of Calvinus against the Vocontii, undertaken in the first instance at the request of the Massilians, led to the discovery of the medicinal springs of Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix), and the foundation of a Roman town within the lines of the consular encampment. Massilia gained a large accession of territory; but the Romans had set their foot firmly upon the soil of Gaul. From this moment wars succeeded one another with rapidity. The republic had now an interest of its own in the country to preserve and extend. It formed alliances with some of the native states, and made their grievances a pretext for assailing others. Hence its fierce contest with the Allobroges, and the Arverni and their king Bituitus, between whom and the Ædui, who claimed the friendship of Rome, there existed an ancient enmity.¹ The interference of the republic between these rival states led to new combinations and further aggressions, for most of the Gaulish tribes were bound to one or the other of them by ties of fear or interest. Fabius Maximus defeated with immense slaughter the forces of the Arverni and Allobroges near the banks of the Isere; his colleague Domitius inveigled Bituitus into his camp, treacherously cast him into chains, and sent him to Rome.² The senate censured the consul's perfidy, but failed not to profit by it. Bituitus was detained in Italy as a hostage for the submission of his people and of his son Congentiatus, who was destined to replace his father, after receiving a Roman education. During the progress of these events, the whole tract of country between the Alps, the Rhone and the maritime possessions of the Massilians, was reduced to subjection. The territory of the Salluvii and Allobroges, comprehending the modern Savoy, was absorbed, together with that of many smaller tribes, in this extensive conquest, and the whole district received, by way of emi-

A. U. 633.
B. C. 121.

¹ A strict alliance was formed between the Romans and the Æduans, and the terms of brothers and kinsmen were frequently interchanged between them. *Cæs. B. G.* i. 43.; *Tac. Ann.* xi. 25.; *Cic. ad Att.* i. 19.

² *Liv. Epit.* lxi. lxii.; *Oros.* v. 14.; *Flor.* iii. 4.; *Plin. H. N.* vii. 50.

nence, the appellation of *the Province*. The Arverni were treated with more consideration. Situated beyond the Rhone and the Cevennes,¹ they were too remote to be an object of immediate cupidity to the invaders, and their power and influence were so great that it appeared more politic to accept them as allies than to threaten them with subjugation.

The Romans attached the highest importance to this outpost of their empire established beyond the Alps. It was reserved as a consular province, and every year one of the consuls marched into it with an army, to ^{Importance of this province.} maintain it in subjection and defend it from the intrigues and violence of the neighbouring tribes. But the principal object of the military governor was to extend its frontiers. In the years immediately ensuing, Manlius, Aurelius Cotta and Marcus Rex successively crossed the Rhone, and extended their operations to the Cevennes and the Pyrenees. Some tribes they conquered by arms, while the prompt submission of others, such as the Teutosages, gained for them the title and privileges of allies. These new acquisitions were maintained by the establishment of a colony at Narbo Martius (Narbonne), which at the same time kept Massilia in check, and rivalled her in arts and commerce. The final subjugation of certain Alpine tribes by Marcus, the completion of the Domitian road along the coast of the Mediterranean, and the occupation of the Graian and Cottian passes afforded means of rapid access from Italy to every part of its transalpine possessions.²

¹ Strabo (iv. 2. fin.) describes the dependencies of the Arverni as extending to Narbo and the frontiers of the Massilian possessions in the south, but the centre of their power lay in the mountainous district of Auvergne. They were received, like the Ædui, into the alliance and friendship of Rome. Tacitus says that the Ædui alone of all the Gaulish nations were honoured by the Romans with the title of brothers. It is probable that Lucan, when he gives the Arverni a claim to this distinction (i. 428.),

“Arvernique ausi Latio se fingere fratres,
Sanguine ab Iliaco populi,”

confuses them with the Ædui, both nations in his time being equally Romanized. It is remarkable that, in his enumeration of the Gaulish nations, he omits all mention of the latter people.

² Oros. v. 14.; Liv. *Epit.* lxiii. The campaign of Appius Claudius against the Salassi, A. U. 611, shows that at that early period the possession of the

While the victorious republic was occupied with the organization of its new province, the foundations of its power were menaced by a great but transient revolution. The Roman annalists had already heard the distant rumour of vast national migrations among the Gaulish races; but, conspicuous as were their results in the constant irruption into Italy of new swarms of barbarians, their features were indistinct, and their causes unknown. The observation of the intelligent people of the south gradually became more keen, their interest more awakened. The movement of the Cimbri and Teutones, at the beginning of the seventh century of the city, which enfeebled Gaul, while it stimulated the aggressive spirit of the Romans, was more carefully noticed and more accurately detailed. The Cimbric peninsula seems to have been adopted as a place of refuge by a remnant of the mighty nation known by the cognate names of Cimmerii, Cimbri, or Kymry, left behind in the course of its westward progress, and cut off from the rear of the advancing host by the rapid influx of the Teutonic races behind it.¹ The Cimbric is generally recognized as one branch of the great Celtic family, and a broad line has always been drawn by ethnologists between this and the Teutonic. The union of the offspring of such inveterate foes in any common enterprize of magnitude has been pronounced impossible, and various conjectures have been hazarded to reconcile the statements of history with the supposed nature of things.² But the progress

pass of the little St. Bernard was an object of importance. He defeated the hostile tribes; but we cannot suppose that one such victory was sufficient to give the Romans a permanent hold of their country. It is probable that both the Graian and Cottian passes were only used by them occasionally, and at the price of a stipulated payment.

¹ The Cimbri are designated as Gauls by Sallust, *B. J.* 114.; Cic. *de pr. Cons.* 13.; Flor. iii. 3.; Diod. Sic. v. 32.; Appian, *Illyr.* 4. Plutarch, on the other hand, terms them Germans. (*Mar.* 11.) But little regard can be paid to these assertions on either side. Among recent and more critical authorities I observe that Zeuss (*Deutschen und Nachbarstämme*, p. 144.) maintains their German origin.

² Certain cantons in the mountains about Vicenza and Verona have been supposed from the peculiarity of their language to be peopled by the descen-

of knowledge on these subjects has served to smooth the difficulty. As our investigations proceed, we discover, on the one hand, more shades of distinction between the several branches of one principal family; on the other the differences between families themselves appear to be less decisively marked. Thus, among the Celtic populations of Gaul, we shall observe a Gaelic, a Cimbric, and perhaps a Belgic variety, each with peculiar characteristics, yet all blended together and maintaining a common affinity through various points of contact. To Cæsar's observation the connexion between the Celtic Belgians and the Teutonic Germans seemed more close than that between the different races of the same Celtic family. This view is no doubt essentially erroneous; but the fact that so accurate an observer should have made the mistake, may suffice to convince us how powerfully the accidents of intercourse and proximity may operate in sundering kindred and amalgamating independent elements. There seems therefore no objection to the supposition that the Celtic tribe, isolated, as has been described, from the rest of its brethren, and closely pressed by the vicinity of a Teutonic population, gradually assimilated itself to its immediate neighbours. The sudden occurrence of a common danger would naturally draw more closely the bonds of social alliance; the feelings of ancient antipathy would give way before the claims of mutual distress; and thus the representatives of widely divergent stocks might eventually combine in political union. We shall have occasion presently to notice a very similar case, the union of the Celtic Belgians with their German neighbours within the Rhine, when they associated together to resist the invasion of the Romans.¹

dants of the Cimbri who penetrated into Italy. It is said that a Danish prince visited them and recognized the dialect as that of his own country. The language has indeed been proved to be German by M. Edwards (*Lettre à Am. Thierry*, p. 91.); but an Italian writer, Count Giovanelli, has discovered in Ennodius and Cassiodorus the fact of the establishment of a German colony in that district in the time of Theodoric, and it is to this immigration that their origin may be ascribed.

¹ It will be seen that the Cimbri and Teutones were afterwards joined by

There is reason to believe that the low countries between the Elbe and the Baltic, which were the seats of the Cimbri and the Teutones, were harassed, in the early part of the seventh century, by a series of destructive inundations, followed by scarcity, famine and pestilence.¹ The inhabitants of the neighbouring shores of Friesland and Holland might have combated these enemies with courage and industry, and by their persevering labour have kept their footing in the country. But the Cimbri and their neighbours had no local attachment, and little of local interest to bind them to the soil they occupied. Nations are slow in losing the habit of movement, and the confidence with which their fathers had repeatedly wandered forth in quest of new settlements had not abated in the later generation. The Cimbri and Teutones made a joint resolution to migrate in one mass, and seek new abodes in the south, wherever fortune might permit them to establish themselves.² The inhabitants of northern Germany were thinly scattered, without fortresses or fixed habitations; they offered no resistance to the progress of the invader, nor inducements to his stay. The central regions of the continent were, indeed, for the most part covered with forests and unoccupied by man. Accordingly, from the shores of the Baltic to the Danube, and even to the foot of the Rhætian Alps, was, as it were, but one step to this gigantic emigration. But here the Romans rushed forward to stem the torrent, the character of

the Helvetii and Ambrones, both of them undoubtedly belonging to the Celtic family.

¹ Appian (*Illyr.* 4.) says that the country of the Cimbri was afflicted by earthquakes and pestilence. Strabo (vii. 2.) alludes to a report that their migration was caused by an inundation of the waters of the sea. He is disposed to doubt the truth of this account, but gives no satisfactory reason for disputing it.

² A remnant were left behind. Strabo mentions that the Cimbri, in the time of Augustus, sent an embassy to apologize for the temerity of their ancestors. The emperor seems to have regarded them as a German people (see *Monum. Ancy.* v. 16.): "Cimbrique et Chariides et Semnones et ejusdem tractus alii Germanorum populi." By that time they had probably lost every trace of their Celtic descent. Comp. Tac. *Germ.* 37.

Their great migration to the south early in the seventh century of the city.

which they had been taught to fear by experience at their own doors. They seized the passes of the mountains, and commanded the invaders to retire from the territories of a people whom the great republic entitled her friends. The barbarians were appalled by this bold defiance from an enemy whom they had never yet seen, but whose fame was bruited throughout Europe. They paused in their career, and offered to apologize for an insult committed in ignorance. The Roman general, Papirius Carbo, suddenly attacked their camp, while he delayed the return of the envoys they had sent to wait upon him.¹ But neither his perfidy nor his arms succeeded in averting the danger. The bloody combat which ensued terminated in the defeat of the Romans with such loss, that they would have been unable at the moment to retain possession of the passes, had the enemy had presence of mind to follow up his victory.² But the barbarians were yet undecided as to their future course. They contented themselves with spoiling the undefended countries south of the Danube, until, having gorged themselves with booty during a three years' sojourn, they changed the direction of their march towards Gaul, and entered it with the favour and co-operation of the most powerful of the Helvetic tribes.

The Romans
oppose them
and are defeat-
ed.

A. U. 641.

B. C. 113.

The vast multitude now spread itself with augmented numbers over the Belgian territory, having crossed its frontier between the Rhine and the Jura. In some districts it met with resistance, and was engaged in sanguinary struggles, but generally the inhab-

They turn to
the West, enter
and overrun
Gaul.

¹ Appian, *Gall.* fr. 13.: Οἱ δὲ Τεύτονας . . . προσέπεμπον ἀγροῦσάι τε τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους Νωρικῶν ξενίαν . . . αὐτὸς δὲ . . . ἀδοκίμως ἀναπανομένους ἐτι τοῖς Τεύτοσιν ἐμπροσθῶν ἔδωκε δίκην ἀπιστίας. It may be conjectured that the apology of the Teutones was a pretence, and that while they promised to abstain from injuring the Noricans, they had no intention of quitting the neighbourhood, where their position necessarily gave umbrage to Rome.

² The battle is said to have taken place at Noreia. (Strabo, v. 1.) Noreia is supposed by Groskurd (Strabo, *in loc.*) to be the modern Friesach, in Carinthia, between the Mur and the Drave. Walckenaer (*Geog. des Gaules*, ii. 80.) places it at Noring, near Gmund.

itants hastened to propitiate the foe by the offer of hospitality and an appeal to the ties of kindred.¹ The invaders showed no disposition to rest from their wanderings in the territories which they might have extorted from the native population; in the country of the Eburones, they reserved only the city of Aduatuca, as a magazine for their stores and booty, and an asylum for their young and aged, who could no longer endure the fatigues of endless adventure.² The combined hordes next turned towards the south of Gaul, where they met with no serious impediment to their progress: it was not till they had exhausted the resources of the regions which lay in their way, that their rapacity was tempted by the rich and flourishing possessions of the Roman power. In the Province they declared their intention of taking up their abode, and here they boldly demanded an assignment of lands from the proconsul Silanus. He refused contemptuously, and proceeded confidently to the attack. But the ponderous masses of the barbarians overpowered the skill and science of the legionaries; and it was chiefly by its natural barriers that the Province was protected from invasion, till a second army could be sent into the field. The arrival, indeed, of these fresh forces only brought with it new defeats. Cassius was routed with one army, himself slain,³ and the remnant of his legions compelled to pass under the yoke. Scaurus was taken prisoner in another quarter, with the total loss of a second. The Cimbri deliberated whether they should not at once cross the Alps and carry their

They defeat the proconsul, Silanus:

Cassius and Scaurus:

¹ Strabo says that the Belgæ alone throughout Gaul were able to resist the invaders; but Cæsar (*B. G.* ii. 4.) seems to confine this success to those tribes in Belgium which were of German origin.

² Aduatuca, according to D'Anville, is the modern Falais. Others identify it with Tongres. It may be recognized, perhaps, from the particular description which Cæsar (*B. G.* ii. 29.) gives of the locality. Its inhabitants in his time were the descendants of the Cimbric garrison.

³ Liv. *Epit.* lxxv. : "In finibus Allobrogum." Oros. v. 15. says, "Tigurinos usque ad Oceanum persecutus," which I can only suppose is a strange mistake for the Lacus Lemanus. Thierry, *Gaulois*, ii. iii. : "A la vue des remparts de Genève."

arms into Italy; but, scared by their captive's resolute defiance, they preferred securing their position in the Province, and reducing the towns in the interior, a difficult and laborious task to an unskilled and undisciplined multitude. Rome put forth her resources, and assembled another powerful army to cover the cities of the Mediterranean. But now her generals, Cæpio and Manlius, did not act in concert; the jealous pretensions of the one ruined both himself and his colleague. The two camps were forced one after the other on the same day; the rout was more complete, and the slaughter more overwhelming, than had befallen the republic since the fields of Cannæ and the Allia. On the one hand, the Province, with all its wealthy colonies and commercial establishments, lay defenceless at the feet of the invaders; on the other, the Alps were unguarded, and a bold advance might carry desolation into the heart of Italy. Rome trembled at the name of the Cimbri, which recalled to her all the horrors of Gallic invasion.¹ Never did Fortune better deserve the offerings of her favourite worshippers than when she averted both these impending dangers, and directed the more enterprising of the barbarian hordes towards the frontiers of Spain, while she engaged the remainder in the enjoyment of ease and luxury on the spot where they had won their triumphs. The main body of the invaders was occupied in an inglorious incursion beyond the Pyrenees for the space of two years. During this breathing time, the Romans recovered from their consternation, and magnanimously broke through their ordinary rules to appoint Marius to the command, and to give him the authority of the consulship for three years successively. The new general reached the Province before the enemy's return, and the great military

Cæpio and
Manlius:

But invade
Spain instead
of penetrating
into Italy.

¹ The figure of the Cimbrian warrior which Marius painted in derision on a shield, and set up in a conspicuous part of the forum (if Mariano be not a corruption for Manliano (see Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 66.), was an imitation of a similar mockery of a much earlier date, commemorating probably (comp. Liv. vii. 10.) the victory of Manlius over the gigantic Gaul. The terms Cimbri and Galli were used by the Romans of that day as synonymous: the precise distinction between them will be shown presently.

works which he effected for the security and convenience of his future operations had already marked his energy and foresight, before the opposing forces took the field. The barbarians had now resolved to invade Italy. They divided their armament, with the view of crossing the mountains simultaneously from the west and the north, and meeting at an appointed spot on the banks of the Po. The Cimbri and Helvetii took the longer circuit; the Teutones and Ambrones were to cut their way through Marius's legions, and penetrate the Cottian or the Maritime Alps.¹

The events of the short campaign which followed, as preserved in Plutarch's picturesque narrative, are more than usually striking. The admiration in which the Roman general's name was so long held by his countrymen caused them to treasure up every quaint rudeness which fell from the rough soldier's lips during the awful moments of suspense preceding the final catastrophe. But we must confine our hasty glance to the great encounter which took place in the neighbourhood of Aquæ Sextiæ. After the unprecedented series of six successive defeats sustained by the Romans in conflict with their formidable enemy, they here gained a victory which retrieved all their former losses. The barbarians were totally exterminated, the survivors of that bloody day falling one by one under the vengeance of the provincials, while vainly endeavouring to escape northwards. The enumeration of the slain is given with great variations by the different historians. The whole horde was, in fact, annihilated; and the dead, lying unburied upon the field, gave to it the frightful appellation of the Putrid Plain, which seems still to be retained in the name of Pourrières, a village which marks the spot.² The husbandman, it is said, fenced his vineyard with the bones of the giants of the north; but the greater portion of the ghastly mass sank gradually into the soil, and the fields on which the

Marius takes
the command.
His great vic-
tory at Aquæ
Sextiæ :

A. U. 652.
B. C. 102.

¹ Plut. *Mar.* 15.

² Plut. *Mar.* 15-24. ; Thierry, *Gaulois*, II. iii.

Roman and the Teuton fought and fell on that terrible day became celebrated for their rank fertility.¹

The enterprize of the Cimbric horde, though more successful in the outset, was crowned with disaster no less overwhelming. The barbarians descended into Italy by the pass of the Brenner, and drove before them the troops commanded by Catulus, the aristocratic colleague of Marius. They crossed the Adige and reached the banks of the Po, where they expected to meet

And at Vercellæ. Destruction of the invading hordes.

¹ The French antiquaries have taken great interest in tracing the existing monuments and traditions of these events. (See *Mém. Soc. Antiq. Franç.* ix. 48., xvi. 1.) The localities, it seems, may be distinctly pointed out in the valley of the Arc, about ten miles east of Aix. The ancient names of several hills and villages are still preserved in their modern appellations. The Mont Ste. Victoire, on the side of which the army of Marius was arrayed, evidently derives its name from the battle. The people of the neighbourhood have kept festival there from time immemorial, and the addition of the term Saint, together with the Christian exterior given to the solemnities, may be ascribed to the pious policy of the mediæval church. "Les habitans de Pertuis," says M. Castellan, "petite ville au-delà de la Durance, à trois lieues d'Aix, paraissent en avoir mieux conservé la tradition que tous les autres peuples du voisinage. Ils s'y rendent au bruit des tambours, et des fifres. Des prieurs nommés annuellement, choisis pour diriger la marche et maintenir le bon ordre, se chargent aussi de la subsistance des pèlerins, parmi lesquels se trouvent des personnes des deux sexes et même des enfans. Arrivés sur le sommet, après une journée de marche par des chemins peu praticables, ils campent en plein air; et dès que la nuit commence, ils mettent le feu à un grand mouceau de broussailles, sautant tout autour en signe d'allégresse. Répété à Pertuis, aussitôt que la flamme y est aperçue, ils font entendre réciproquement, au lointain, à cris redoublés, ces paroles dignes de remarque, 'Victoire, Victoire!'" Compare this account with Plutarch's narrative, *Mar.* 22.: μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Μάριος τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ὕπλων καὶ λαφύρων τὰ μὲν τρεπῆ καὶ δλόκληρα . . . ἐπέλεξε· τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐπὶ πυρᾶς μεγάλης κατασφύρας τὸ πλῆθος ἔθυσεν θυσίαν μεγαλοπρεπῆ· καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ περισσῶτος ἐν ὕπλοις ἐστεφανωμένου, περιζωσάμενος αὐτὸς, ὡσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν περιπόρφυρον καὶ λαβὼν δᾶδα καιομένην, καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν ἀνασχὼν πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἔμελλεν ὑψῆσειν τῇ πυρᾷ . . . μεγάλης οὖν χαρᾶς τοῖς ἐπιδικίοις προσγενομένης ὁ στρατὸς ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐνοπλίῳ τιῶν κρότῳ καὶ πατάγῳ συνηγάλαξαν. Thierry (Gaulois, l. c.) adds another interesting illustration of the same tradition; "Le matelot Provençal, près d'entrer dans la rade de Marseille, montrant au voyageur le sommet lointain de la montagne, lui dit aujourd'hui, comme disaient ses ancêtres d'Arélaté ou de Fosse: 'Voilà le temple de la Victoire!'"

their companions, whose absence surprised but did not seriously disquiet them. Unfavourable rumours began to be heard around them; but the Cimbri were too confident in the invincibility of the tribes by whose side they had so often conquered to apprehend the possibility of their destruction. They persisted for some months in awaiting their promised arrival, and consumed the period of inaction in the sensual indulgences to which the charms of climate and abundance invited them. At last Marius appeared before them at the head of his victorious legions. The Romans announced their triumph and the annihilation of the Teutons, with bitter sarcasms; nor were the Cimbri backward in preparing for a final struggle. The great battle of the Campus Raudius, near Vercellæ, whither the barbarians seem to have advanced by a lateral movement in quest of their expected allies, gave another complete victory to the Roman arms. The slaughter of the invading army was not less entire than that of the other division; and the republic preserved a lasting monument of the peril from which it had been rescued in the titles and rewards which it showered upon the head of its champion.

When the cloud of danger had passed away, the Romans might have remembered with gratitude the fidelity with which the provincials had resisted the temptation to join the invaders. With the single exception of the Volcæ Tectosages,¹ whose apparent connexion with the Belgians may have caused them to sympathize with the Cimbri, the Gallic tribes of the south gave the intruders no encourage-

¹ Dion, *Fr.* 97.: Στασιόσασα πρὸς τὰς τῶν Κιμβρῶν ἐλπίδας. The temerity of the Volcæ cost them their independence, for they were allies and not subjects of the republic, though the Romans had invented a pretext for introducing a garrison into their city, Tolosa. Having risen and overpowered this military force, they were marked out for vengeance by Servilius Cæpio, who was aware of the great riches which the city contained. He took advantage of the absence of the Cimbri in Spain, attacked Tolosa, and gave it up to plunder. But the treasure which had formed a part of the spoil of Delphi was fated to bring a curse upon its possessors, and the end of Cæpio was not more prosperous than that of the people whom he reduced to servitude. Strab. iv. 1.

ment. But their constancy was attributed to timidity, and the exactions of the oppressor were restrained neither by fear nor remorse. The victorious soldiers demanded lands; the plundered citizens clamoured for compensation. It was decreed that the districts of the Province which the strangers had occupied should not be restored to their original proprietors, but divided among the claimants of the ruling nation. When the Gauls ventured to complain, it was coldly replied, that their lands having been lost to the Cimbri, the republic had acquired, by reconquest, a right to their possession.¹ Such was the notion of the relations of ruler and subject which found favour among the governors of a state proud alike of its principles of jurisprudence and of its military prowess. The natives sullenly submitted; but this ill-treatment had rendered them now, whatever they may have been before, foes to Rome and secret conspirators against her. Nor was this all, for poverty and disappointment compelled them to seek bare subsistence from arms and violence. Henceforth they had no hope but in the chances of tumult and confusion. This soon appeared; for the event of the Social war, which drove the proscribed adherents of Marius in great numbers into this region, the cradle of his glory and the adopted home of many of his veterans, found the Gauls disposed to embrace the invitations of their shattered party, and avenge its cause upon the Roman government. From Gaul Sertorius derived a great part of his resources: the Province threw itself into the arms of his lieutenants, and accepted the decrees of his senate, composed of fugitives of the Marian faction.² When Pompeius was sent by the nobles to crush the Iberian revolt, he was compelled to make good his footing in the Gaulish province before he could venture to cross the Pyrenees. The Marians indeed made

Disaffection of the provincials: they side with the Marians and Sertorius.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* i. 29.: 'Ο μὲν Ἀπουλήϊος νόμον εἰσέφερε διαδάσασθαι γῆν, ὅσην ἐν τῇ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλουμένη Γαλατία Κιμβροὶ, γένος Κελτῶν, κατειλήφεσαν· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μάριος ἔναγχος ἐξελάσας τὴν γῆν ὡς οὐκέτι Γαλατῶν ἐς Ῥωμαίους περιεσπάκει.

² Oros. v. 23 compared with *Cæs. B. G.* iii. 20.

but a feeble resistance. The vengeance of the Roman general and of Fonteius, who was charged with the restoration of the senate's authority, fell upon the unfortunate natives with more weight than ever.¹ From many of their cities, such as Tolosa, Ruscino and Baeterræ, they were immediately expelled, and colonies of the conquering people planted in their room. The success which finally crowned the arms of the republic in Spain fastened the yoke of servitude still more firmly upon their necks. Fonteius continued to exercise the functions of proconsul, and organized throughout the country a system of tyranny, which may be sufficiently appreciated even from the pleadings of Cicero in its defence. The orator makes no attempt to refute the charges of avarice and extortion brought against his client otherwise than by contemptuously rejecting the credibility of any testimony of a Gaul against a Roman. Cicero's apology is indeed a more instructive exposition of the horrors of provincial suffering than any hostile impeachment. The contumelious indifference it breathes to the rights of a foreign subject implies much more than a consciousness of the guilt of the accused. It shows how frightfully even a sage's mind could be warped by national prejudice and the pride of dominion; it further indicates what was the temper of the senatorial body presiding on the bench, before whom such an overt denial of justice could be vaunted. Pompeius, who had professed to purify the tribunals and to pacify just complaints, withheld his countenance from an accusation against a creature of his own. The whole force of the aristocratic party arrayed itself in vindication of its privileges. The judges absolved the culprit, and the suppliants relapsed into apparent submission, still brooding over the wrongs of their country and meditating revenge. Not only was Fonteius acquitted, but his system of oppression continued unrelaxed.² The pro-

Tyranny of
Fonteius: he is
impeached, and
defended by
Cicero.

¹ Thierry, *Gaulois*, II. iv.

² Another governor of the province, Calpurnius Piso, was accused of similar tyranny, again defended by Cicero, and again acquitted by the judges. (Cic. *pro Flacc.* 39.) Among the atrocities which, on another occasion, Cicero

vincials were overwhelmed with debts contracted to discharge their public burdens, the pressure of which had been aggravated by successive years of famine. Nor was the surrender of lands and goods sufficient to satisfy the law and the creditor as long as the obligation was not wholly redeemed. The debtor himself might be sold, together with his wife and family, into the most cruel slavery. He might be driven to labour in chains on the public works, or to wait as a menial on the commands of a Roman colonist. Such was the system pursued by the remorseless policy of the republic, and such the result upon which even the reformer and philanthropist could look with complacency.

Nevertheless, the Gauls still continued to hope for justice at the hands of the Roman people. The Allobroges, plunged into desperate poverty by the pressure of their debts, threatening the confiscation of their entire territory, sent an embassy to Rome to plead their cause and sue for mercy. During the secret progress of Catilina's machinations the foreign deputies were deploring the frustration of their hopes by delay and neglect. In this mood they were craftily addressed by Umbrenus, a creature of the conspirators, and at the same time a person well known to the Gauls, among whom he had lived and trafficked. He condoled with them on their misfortunes, sympathized with their sense of wrong, confirmed them in their fear that no reparation was to be obtained from the justice or clemency of the ruling powers, and, finally, when he had moved their indignation and despair to the proper pitch, revealed to them the existence of a plot for the overthrow of the government. Nothing could be so opportune, he said, to its success as an outbreak in the transalpine province, which was in fact already partially disturbed. Nothing could be so agreeable to the conspirators, or so strongly command their favour and grateful recollection. The Allobroges had it in their power to avenge themselves

The Allobroges send deputies to Rome to solicit justice: they are tampered with by Catilina.

imputed to P. Clodius were his extortions in Gaul as quæstor. Cic. *de Har. Resp.* 20.

at one blow upon the party from whose tyranny they suffered, and to secure from the victors every reward and advantage they could desire.¹

At first the delegates lent a willing ear to a proposition so alluring and unexpected. But a moment's reflection suggested to them a safer means of obtaining their end. They took counsel with Fabius Sanga, the patron and advocate of their nation, disclosed to him the whole occurrence, and by his advice offered to betray every circumstance to the consul. The fortune of the republic thus prevailed at the crisis of her utmost peril; such evidence was placed in the hands of the government as sufficed to put it on its guard against the impending danger. The Allobroges were directed to enter warmly into the plot, to attend the meetings at which it was discussed, to obtain written and sealed assurances from the chief conspirators, in which the invitation to insurrection and promise of reward should be distinctly conveyed. When their hands were full of these fatal documents they were seized, according to agreement, by the agents of the consul, and the treason stood revealed to the world.

We may suppose that the consul and senate were not slow to promise their favour to the foreigners, in return for a service the importance of which they recognized in the most public manner.² But it is extremely doubtful whether the Allobroges derived any benefit from the fidelity of their representatives. Harassed and disappointed, they allowed the conspirators to rouse them at last to actual rebellion.³ The insurgents invaded the frontiers of the Province, and attempted to excite a general movement among the population. A moment earlier this would have caused great alarm and been pregnant with serious danger; but the senate had recovered its

They reveal the conspiracy to Cicero.

Ingratitude of the senate. The Allobroges revolt, and are subdued.

¹ Sall. *B. C.* 40.; Cic. *in Catil.* iii. 6.

² Cic. *in Catil.* iv. 3.: "Hesterno die præmia legatis Allobrogum dedistis amplissima."

³ Sall. *B. C.* 42.

confidence with the fall of Lentulus and his colleagues, and a vigorous campaign, under the conduct of Pomptinus, sufficed to reduce the Gauls once more to their former subjection.¹

We have thus traced step by step the slow and indignant retreat of Gallic independence from the Apennines and the Tiber to the Garonne and Cevennes. Civilization has triumphed over barbarism: the one gave union to the Romans, and a distinct object as well as method to their policy; while the other, notwithstanding the external cultivation of their principal tribes, still kept the Gauls asunder by petty jealousies and divisions. Though identified for the most part one with another in the great features of language and character, there existed among them certain shades of difference, both in origin and sentiments, and this disadvantage was aggravated by their want of foresight and mutual self-control. The conquest of Gaul is one of the most complete and distinct episodes in Roman history; but its interest and value as a portion of human annals must be lost to those who fail to discriminate between the various elements of which the vanquished race consisted. When Cæsar distinguished so carefully between the different populations of Gaul, it was not merely in the spirit of the antiquarian that he placed his information on record. He wrote as the practical warrior and statesman, who had thoroughly scanned their means of resistance, and estimated with sagacity the moral and material resources from which he had the fairest province of his empire to form.

A. U. 693.
B. C. 61.
Reflections on
the contest be-
tween the Ro-
mans and
Gauls.

The original authorities from which we learn the main facts regarding the ethnology and character of the Gauls are, as is well known, principally two, Cæsar himself and Strabo. The first lived for nine years in the heart of the country, and spoke of the state of things which he himself witnessed, with all the

Sources of our
knowledge re-
garding Gaul-
ish ethnology.

¹ Dion, xxxvii. 47, 48.; Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 13.; Liv. *Epit.* ciii.

advantages of acute observation and consummate literary ability; the second, better acquainted in his own person with the East than the West, depended partly upon the accumulated knowledge of a century later, and partly on the accounts of Posidonius,¹ who had travelled in Gaul in the time of Marius. A careful criticism may employ the one of these authorities to explain or correct the other; and their respective statements, where apparently conflicting, may possibly be reconciled by the consideration of the different circumstances under which they wrote. The outline here presented of the antiquities of Gaulish history is the result of a comparison of both, together with such additional illustrations as modern research and reflection have enabled us to supply.²

The population of that large portion of the European continent which was known to the ancients by the name of Gallia was distributed in four principal divisions, varying more or less in origin, in language and institutions.

Quadruple division of ancient Gaul.

I. Southern Gaul, from the Garonne to the Pyrenees, and along the coast of the Mediterranean, was mainly occupied by a race altogether distinct from their Gallic neighbours. Under the name of Iberi, they have generally been considered as a remnant of a family of nations which occupied much of the southern part of Europe before the arrival of the great Celtic race in the West. The Iberians, it is supposed, were originally thrust out of Gaul into Spain, and many of them were again driven back to their old homes, when the Celtic race first penetrated through the Pyrenees. Of the older race, such as neither submitted to the new comers nor mingled with them³ were compelled, for the most

¹ Posidonius is frequently referred to by Strabo, particularly in books iii. iv. and xi. He visited Massilia and the Narbonensis, was born A. U. 619, and died A. U. 703. (Ukert, *Georg. der G. und R.* i. 174.)

² I have been principally guided by Thierry's elaborate history: see particularly the Introduction, which has been much enlarged in the third edition, Paris, 1845.

³ The Celtiberi, a people widely spread in the Spanish peninsula, were said to be of a mixed race of conquerors and conquered. (Diodor. Sic. v. 33.; comp. Lucan, iv. 9.)

part, to make their escape through the western and eastern outlets of the mountains, whence they spread themselves to the Garonne on the one side, to the Cevennes, the Rhone and the Alps on the other. They became known in the West and the East respectively by the names of Aquitani and Ligures. In the former region they remained stationary; on the other side they continued to push forward, driving the Sicani before them, and finally established themselves along the coast of the Mediterranean, from the Pyrenees to the river Macra.¹ We have seen how the whole of this coast fell gradually into the hands of the Greeks of Massilia and the Roman invaders. The Aquitani continued to occupy the triangle between the Pyrenees, the Garonne and the Bay of Biscay, within which they formed a confederacy, holding little intercourse with the Gaulish tribes beyond the river, speaking a language² and maintaining institutions peculiar to themselves, but jealously watched and controlled by the colonies of the republic at Narbo, Baeterræ and Tolosa.

II. The Gauls, properly so called, the Galatæ of the Greeks, the Galli of the Romans, and the Gael of modern history, formed the van of the great Celtic migration³ which had poured westward at various intervals during many hundred years. Their origin, as well as the causes and events of their early movements, is lost in the night of ages. Having overrun the south of Gaul and penetrated into Spain, they lost a part of the territory thus acquired, and the restoration of the Iberian fugitives to Aquitania placed a barrier between the Celts in Spain and their

II. The Galatæ,
Galli, or Gael.

¹ Thucyd. vi. 2.; Avien. *Or. Marit.* 132., &c.

² Strab. iv. 1. init. (comp. 2. init.): Τὸς Ἀκουιτανὸς τελέως ἐξηλλαγμένους, οὐ τῇ γλώττῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἐμπερεῖς Ἰβηρσι μᾶλλον ἢ Γαλαταῖς. (Compare Zeuss, *die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 163.)

³ The term Celtae, Celts, which is now generally adopted as the generic appellation of one of the principal families of the human race, was confined by the ancients to the Gauls, and seems to have had originally a still more limited signification, as the designation of certain tribes in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. Strab. iv. 1. fin.: Ἀπὸ τούτων δ' οἶμαι καὶ τοὺς σύμπαντας Γαλατὰς Κελτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσαγορευθῆναι.

brethren whom they had left behind them in the north. In the time of the Romans the Galli were found established in the centre and east of the country denominated Gaul, forming for the most part a great confederation, at the head of which stood the Arverni.¹ It was the policy of the Romans to raise the Ædui into competition with this dominant tribe, and with this view they distinguished them, as we have seen, with especial marks of favour. The Arverni, whose name is retained in the modern appellation of Auvergne, occupied a large district in the middle and south of Gaul, and were surrounded by tributary or dependent clans. The Ædui lay more to the north and east, and the centre of their possessions is marked by the position of their capital Bibracte, the modern Autun, situated in the highlands which separate the waters of the Loire, the Seine and the Saone.² The one nation was better placed for defence, the other for commerce; and with the spread of riches and civilization, the ancient influence of the Arverni seemed on the point of giving way to the more active ambition of their rivals. Other Gallic tribes stretched beyond the Saone: the Sequani,³ who afterwards made an attempt to usurp this coveted preeminence; the Helvetii and other mountain races, whose scanty pastures extended to the sources of the Rhine; the Allobroges, who dwelt upon the Isere and Rhone,⁴ and who were the first of their race to meet and the first to succumb before the prowess

¹ The power of the Arverni might be estimated, says Strabo (iv. 2.), by the many contests they maintained with Rome, and the numbers they brought into the field: Διέτειναν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν μέχρι Ναββῶνος, καὶ τῶν ὕρων τῆς Μασσαλιώτιδος· ἐπύρατον δὲ καὶ τῶν μέχρι Πυρήνης ἔθνῶν, καὶ μέχρι Ὠκεάνου καὶ Ῥήνου; after which he gives an instance of the barbaric splendour of their king Bittus or Bituitus.

² Strabo places them between the Arar (Saone) and the Dubis, by which he evidently means the Liger (Loire). He makes the same mistake in this name twice. See Groskurd's *Strabo*, iv. 3. § 2.

³ The valley of the Doubs formed the centre of the Sequanese territory, which reached to the Jura and the Rhine, Strab. iv. 3.

⁴ The settlements of the Allobroges occupied the space between these two rivers, and extended also a little beyond the latter into the modern province of Franche Comté.

of the Roman legions. According to the classification both of Cæsar and Strabo, the Turones, Pictones and Santones must be comprised under the same general denomination. It is probable, however, that the relationship in these three cases was not so close, as these tribes do not appear to have formed a part of the political confederation of the Galli.

III. It will be seen that the limits thus assigned to that portion of the ancient Celtic population of Gaul which is appropriately designated by the term-Galli, embrace at least the whole centre and east of the country.

Beyond the Seine and Marne, the north-east was occupied by a race whom Cæsar characterizes as not less different from the Galli in language, manners and institutions,¹ than were the Iberi, whom modern ethnologists represent as belonging to a distinct family. To this race he gives the name of Belgæ, and informs us that in their own estimation they were principally descended from a German stock, the offspring of some early migration across the Rhine. According to Cæsar's view, the Gallic race extended much further than the limits above assigned to it, and included the people of the north-west, from the mouth of the Loire to that of the Seine; whereas Strabo, following probably the information of Posidonius, gives the whole of Gaul north of the Loire to the Belgæ. At the same time, the geographer by no means concurred in Cæsar's view of the origin of this third race, which he believed to be Gaulish and not German, though differing widely from the Galli, or Gauls of the central region. According to his account we should regard them as a variety of Celts, distinct both from the Iberi on the one side, and the Teutons on the other. In order to explain these conflicting statements, we must observe that Cæsar's account is not strictly consistent with itself, for certain among the Belgic tribes he contrasts with the rest as being German by origin, and forming separate leagues among themselves for mutual defence in the midst of jealous and probably alien

III. The Belgæ; discrepancy between Cæsar and Strabo.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 1.; comp. Strab. iv. 3. init.

neighbours.¹ The great mass, therefore, even of the Belgæ were still Celts; but, as the immigration of Teutons was an event of gradual progress, it is reasonable to suppose that in the time of Posidonius the population beyond the Seine was as yet little tainted with the admixture of the foreign element. At that period the middle race between the Loire and the Seine may have been more akin to the Belgæ, as Strabo, viewing them with the eyes of the earlier writer, represents, than with the Galli, south of the Loire, to whom Cæsar, on the contrary, assimilates them. We may conclude that, with whatever mixture of German blood, still, even in the time of Cæsar, the main element of the whole population of the north was Celtic, differing from the Gallic subdivision of the

Theory of the division of the Gauls into two races, the Gael and the Kymry.

family, and required to be designated by a distinctive appellation. This fact of the division of the Gauls into two races is one of great importance in the history of the Celtic family, though

its announcement seems to have been left to very modern times.² It may be traced, however obscurely, in several ways, which can only be cursorily indicated here. Thus, for instance, the existence in the neighbouring island of Britain, of two Celtic races, the Gael and the Kymry, with different types of language and feature, is well known. In Gaul there remain at the present day vestiges of only one of these languages, the Kymric, which is still spoken in some portion of Brittany, a district included, as we have seen, in the Belgica of Strabo. The common theory, that the population of this country is the offspring of certain immigrations from the

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* ii. 4, 5. The Belgæ themselves only affirmed that most of them (plerosque) were of German origin, and Tacitus remarked among them a certain "*affectatio Germanicæ originis.*"

² I believe that Thierry was the first to discuss it scientifically. The introduction to the third edition of the *Hist. des Gaulois* notices the favour with which the theory has been received. Niebuhr gave a hint of the same view in his lectures on Roman history, delivered before Thierry's work, but published since. (*Lect. on Rom. Hist.* ii. 1, 44.) On the other hand, Arnold criticizes and hesitates to adopt it. (*Hist. of Rome*, i. c. 24.)

opposite coast, is wholly untenable.¹ The supposition that the three scanty infusions of Kymric blood which alone are recorded by genuine history, should have sufficed to change the language and physical character of the whole people of the peninsula is inconsistent with the doctrine of the permanence of type in the majority of every mixed population, which modern experience so strongly attests. The Kymry, then, as distinguished from the Gael, were the first known inhabitants of this part of Gaul, and probably of Belgica in general.

Further evidence of this division of races may be discovered, it is said, in the different types of feature which are still strongly characteristic of the population of the north and south respectively. This, undoubtedly, is a subject which requires much closer investigation than it has yet received before it can be regarded as furnishing substantive and independent evidence of the facts in question. Yet it is too interesting and important to be altogether omitted. A curious observer has distinguished, among a great mass of what may be called neutral characters, two opposite types of form and feature prevalent in different parts of Gaul respectively.² In the one the shape of the head is long and oval, the forehead high and narrow, the nose curved downwards and pointed, the chin small. This type of head is generally accompanied with a tall and spare figure, and prevails throughout the northern parts of Gaul, the Belgica of Strabo. The other is distinguished by a flat head, a forehead low and broad, the face round or approaching to square, the chin prominent, the nose small

Evidence of
this division
from physio-
logical distinc-
tions.

¹ Three such are particularly mentioned: the first, A. D. 285, when Constantius Chlorus assigned lands to some fugitives in the territory of the Curiosolitæ; the second, a century later, when Conan Meriadec followed the usurper Maximus from Britain, and obtained a sovereignty in Armorica after his defeat; and the third, some years after, when the same Conan invited a few settlers to confirm his power in the Peninsula. (Daru, *Hist. de Bretagne*, i. 53.) The stories of subsequent immigrations of the Kymry in the fifth century are regarded by Niebuhr as undoubtedly fabulous.

² M. Edwards, *Lettre à Amed. Thierry*.

and straight or turning upwards; the corresponding stature is short and the figure thick. This is the type which prevails in the centre and east of France. The one type occurs throughout the seats of the Kymry, the other in those of the Gael. It will be readily admitted that, among the Celtic populations of our own islands, the latter of these types is strongly characteristic of the Highland Gael and also of the Irish. The former answers precisely to the characters most generally prevalent among the Welsh, though in Wales there is undoubtedly a large intermixture of the other type also.

But if there exist even at the present day certain physical characteristics which seem to attest the early diversity of the great races by which Gaul was occupied, we may discover still further evidence of the same fact both in their political combinations and their social institutions. The campaigns of Cæsar bring us successively into acquaintance with distinct confederacies existing in different parts of the country, with little intercourse between them. The first is that of the Arverni, Ædui, Sequani and other central and eastern tribes: beyond them the Belgica of Cæsar forms a separate cluster of nations, closely connected among themselves, but maintaining no political relations with their southern neighbours. The tribes of Normandy and Maine hang, as it were, loosely upon the skirts of the Belgians proper, and, though less intimately united with them, are easily induced to join in a common cause. The Armoricans, strictly attached to one another, are allied moreover with all the tribes on the northern coast, and seem to be no less closely linked with the fortunes of the Turones, Andes and others on the lower Loire. In short, there exists a certain homogeneity throughout the whole Belgica of Strabo. Even to the south of the Loire it may be suspected that the Santones and Pictones belong to the same race with the communities to the north. The request of the Helvetians to the Sequani, to be permitted to fix themselves in the territory occupied by these tribes,¹

Evidence from moral and political characteristics.

¹ Cæs. B. G. i. 9, 10.

seems to show that no strict bonds of blood or sentiment existed between the nations of the eastern and those of the western centre of Gaul.

The progress which civilization had made in the northern and more southern parts of Gaul respectively, seems also to indicate the distinct and later development of the Kymric element of the population. At the time when the northern invaders were disputing the soil of Italy with the republic, they showed in one respect a striking inferiority to opponents with whom they were so equally matched in the field. It marked the national aptitude of the Romans to imbibe the lessons of civilization, that from the first they regarded the city, with the ideas of freedom, sympathy and unity attaching to it, as the source or nucleus of political society. Hence arose the deep-set principles from which were unfolded their conceptions of civil government, of personal independence, of social rights and their correlative duties. But the feeling of citizenship, the moving principle of Greek and Roman life, had little power of spontaneous development among any races of Celtic origin. The natural ties which held society together among the Gauls were rather personal than civil. The Gaul devoted himself to the service of his chieftain, whether as a serf, a client, or a friend; the chieftains dwelt apart, and issued forth to war or council attended by a retinue of dependents, of whom they exacted a sort of feudal service in return for their maintenance.¹ A state of society of this kind gives room for the display of emulation and personal attachment, but it tends to isolate the elements of a nation rather than to concentrate them. The strength of the whole body was broken up by the petty factions and feuds which existed among its members; and while the courage of the Gauls was unsurpassed, and their onset formidable from its impetuosity, they wanted those moral ties

Additional presumptions in its favour: different character of Gaulish civilization in the Gaelic and Kymric communities respectively.

¹ Compare the account of Orgetorix in Cæsar (*B. G. i. 4.*): "Omnem suam familiam, ad hominum millia decem, undique coegit et omnes clientes obæratosque suos."

between man and man by which alone disasters can be borne and retrieved. Such was the general character of the Gaulish people ; but in process of time their manners and principles of action had admitted of partial modification. When the Romans saw themselves at last arrayed front to front against the great powers of central Gaul, they found its political institutions in all the uncertainty and tremulousness of a period of transition. The increase of arts and commerce had collected masses of the population in cities ; Bibracte, Noviodunum, Genabum, Vienna and Tolosa, were marts of commerce and strongholds of popular independence. The germs of municipal liberty had taken root in the bosom of the Gaelic states, and the influence of the chieftains of clans was gradually bowing before it. These states were, for the most part, governed by a chieftain exercising a nominal sovereignty, but elected and controlled by a popular assembly. The nobles struggled by artifice and intrigue to maintain a remnant of their authority, while the bolder and more ambitious of their class cherished schemes of aggrandizement and usurpation. Political power among the Gaelic tribes had fallen, for the most part, into the hands of the commonalty, but public virtue had withered almost before it blossomed ; for the communities whose institutions were the most liberal, and condition the most advanced, were precisely those which submitted most readily to the Roman domination. But the northern or Kymric tribes were still subject to the primitive rule of their kings and chieftains ; among them the lower classes were still merely serfs or clients. They possessed no great cities, no public marts of industry and commerce. The places which we find dignified by the names of towns, or *oppida*, were for the most part merely entrenched fastnesses on lofty eminences or in woody coverts, whither a whole tribe might retreat in case of attack with all its moveables and cattle ;¹ but in the

¹ On this point there is much diversity of opinion. A writer in the *Mém. Soc. Antiq. de France* argues,—1. That the term *civitas*, when applied to the Gaulish barbarians by Cæsar, never means a city, but always a state : 2. That the designation of *urbis* is used only two or three times ; of Avaricum, *B. G.*

intervals of peace the people dwelt in hamlets or detached habitations, in the situations most convenient for fishing, hunting, or husbandry.¹ That the oppida were not intended for permanent residence appears clearly in the case of the Armoricans, at least, from their position on the rockiest and most remote peninsulas.

The religious ideas prevalent among the Gauls may furnish us with another clue to the distinction between their several races. The theological system known to us by the name of Druidism, from the appellation of its priests, was claimed by the Kymry of Britain as their own invention.² Without attaching any credit to this assertion in its literal meaning, it may nevertheless be taken to represent the fact that Druidism was preserved in its purest and most systematic form in our own

Different character of Druidism among the Kymry and the Gael.

vi. 9., vii. 15.; of Gergovia, vii. 36.; of Alesia, vii. 68.: 3. That *oppidum* (Strab. *φρούριον*) is always a place of refuge and defence merely. He urges that Cæsar's description of the *oppida* implies that they were almost empty spaces; large armies manœuvred in them, as at Avaricum 40,000 Gauls assembled "in foro et locis patentioribus," vii. 28. In the *oppidum* of Vesontio Cæsar's officers dwelt in tents, i. 39. Critognatus speaks of it as a great calamity, that on the invasion of the Cimbri the Gauls were compelled to resort to their *oppida*, vii. 77. When Gaul was conquered, one of the means taken to break the people to servitude was to compel them to inhabit their *oppida* by seizing their lands: "compulsos in oppida multatis agris," vii. 54. He asserts that in the ancient Celtic languages, the Low-Breton for instance, there is no word for a city in our sense. The assemblies of the people were held not in cities, but in the open air, at the common frontiers of several nations, vi. 13. So religious ceremonies were performed in forests and on mountains, &c. The argument is pushed too far, and should be confined at least to the northern parts of the country; but Walekenaer (*Geogr. des Gaules*) is, I think, too sweeping in his rejection of it.

¹ The Gauls built their scattered dwellings principally in the woods and on the banks of streams; "æstus vitandi causa." They were made of the branches of trees and clay (Cæs. *B. G.* vi. 30.), and thatched with straw (Vitruv. i. 1.); only a ground floor, as appears from the absence of any word in the old Celtic to signify stage or story. Accordingly, there exist no remains of domestic buildings of the Celts in Gaul.

² Cæs. *B. G.* vi. 13.: "Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur: et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illic discendi causa proficiscuntur."

island; the express statement of Cæsar is sufficient to prove that the highest instruction in its mysteries flowed from thence, and that its votaries were wont to flock thither to imbibe its most spiritual lore. The great religious assembly of the whole of Gaul was held in the territory of the Carnutes, north of the Loire.¹ It was in the northern and western parts of the country that the Druids seem to have exercised the greatest influence in political affairs; it was there that they continued to animate successive revolts against Rome, till they drew down an inveterate persecution upon themselves and their religion. In those regions also the most important and most numerous remains of Druidical worship still exist, and support the inference that it was among the Kymry in Gaul as well as in Britain that the oldest and purest form of Druidism flourished. The character of the system was essentially Oriental, and forms another link in the chain which connects the Kymry of the West with the Cimmerii of the Euxine shores,² and through them with the primitive hives of Asia. It corresponded in many important particulars with the simple and comparatively spiritual character of the Persian theosophy; it taught the purity of the Godhead as a metaphysical abstraction, and the eternity of the soul's existence by transmigration;³ it had its mysteries and initiatory rites, by which the mind of the votary was withdrawn from the contemplation of the manifold energies of the Godhead to that of his

¹ The spot is said to have been at Dreux. (Mœbe in Cæs. *l. c.*) Cæsar states that the Gauls considered this region the centre of their country, which might be nearly true of the Kymric confederacies. There are legends, I have been informed, connected with the cathedral of Chartres, which tend to show that this place was selected for a centre of Christian missions from its reputed sanctity under the Druids.

² Diodor. Sic. v. 32.

³ There seems no reason to suppose that the Druidical dogma maintained, like that of Pythagoras, the transmigration of the human soul into the bodies of animals. See Diodor. v. 28. It is not quite certain even that Cæsar represents the soul as passing from one human body into another (vi. 14.): Lucan (i. 460.) and Mela (iii. 2.) only assert a belief in its immortality, implying the existence of a future state. See an essay by Chiniac de la Bastide, in Leber, *Coll. de Pièces relatives à l'Histoire de France*, p. iii.

essential unity ; it abounded in symbols, inculcated retirement and meditation, and upheld the character of its priesthood as mediators between earth and heaven : again, it made use of natural phenomena as means to elevate the mind to the comprehension of a first cause, glided from thence into the frivolous delusions of astrology, and finally degenerated into the impieties and horrors of belief in magic.¹ Hence its addiction to human sacrifices,² the last resort of superstitious terror endeavouring to extort the secrets of futurity from a reluctant power, and to control the course of destiny. But by the side of this Oriental theism there existed another system, much less distinctive in its character, an elemental worship of the grossest kind, in which the objects of nature were identified with the memory of deceased heroes, and the sun and stars, the thunder and the whirlwind, were worshipped as the visible representatives of superior beings. The Roman sceptic was surprised to find the barbarians adoring, as he supposed, the same divinities whom his own critical acuteness had rejected. Jupiter and Apollo, and the rest of the host of Olympus, were recognized in the consistory of the Gallic deities : Mercurius seemed to hold the highest place among them, under the name of Teutates, and was venerated as the patron of all their civilization ; the sun, or Apollo, was worshipped by the name of Belenus ; Taranis represented the thunderer Jupiter ; and Hesus was their Mars, the god of battles.³ We may ascribe the worship of Belenus and Teutates to the traditions imported into Gaul by the Phœnicians.⁴ The Greek colonists of the coast may also have had their share in moulding the western polytheism to the shape of the eastern ; but it must still remain a question how far this form

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* vi. 14. ; Plin. *H. N.* xxx. 4. : "Britannia hodieque eam (magiam) attonitè celebrat, tantis cærimoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit." Compare Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 71. ; Ammian. xv. 9. ; Mel. iii. 2.

² Diodor. Sic. v. 31. ; Strab. iv. 4. ; Cæs. *B. G.* vi. 16.

³ Cæs. *B. G.* vi. 17. ; Luc. i. 445.

⁴ The Phœnician origin of the worship of Teutates (Theuth) is confirmed by that of a Mercurius in Spain. (*Liv.* xxvi. 44.) Belenus is connected with Baal. Teutates may still be recognised in many local names in England.

of heathenism was independent of Druidism,¹ and how far, on the other hand, it was a degeneration from that more spiritual system, in accordance with the sensual tendencies of the period and the people. But if the councils and institutions of the Gaelic nations were more independent of Druidical influence, it must have exerted a vigorous ascendancy over the lower classes, and taken deep root in the remoter and less frequented districts. In the north-western angle of Gaul,

Existing monuments of Druidism in Gaul. comprised between the lower Loire and Seine, the region in which the Kymry seem to have

been most unmixed, there exist at the present day about ninety remains of Celtic monuments, all probably of religious significance. They abound equally on the rocky coasts of Brittany, and the wooded hills of Normandy, in the meadows of Anjou, and the plains of the Orleanois.² In central and eastern Gaul similar remains are confined to the highlands about the sources of the Seine, the Loire, the Allier and the Vienne. Within those narrow limits about fifty such may be enumerated. But in the lowlands of the Gaelic territory they either never existed or have been altogether obliterated. Throughout the Province not more than one or two vestiges of the kind can be traced. Here perhaps they were most ruthlessly exterminated by the arm of Roman persecution. Their number is also very small in the north-eastern or Belgic provinces of France; and there too they were trodden into the soil by the heel of the Roman legionary, quartered for centuries in the neighbourhood of the German frontier, or were worn away by the attrition of succeeding waves of invaders, the Sueve, the Frank and the Burgundian. In Aquitania the presence of the Celt is attested by only one or two monuments of his religion, and the antiquity of these may possibly remount to the earliest period of Gaulish his-

¹ This hypothesis is maintained by Thierry, who considers Druidism to have been only adopted by the Gael at a later period. (*Gaulois*, II. i.)

² These enumerations are made from Hocquart's *Carte Archéologique de la France*. These various monuments are almost universally cromlechs, dolmens, or rocking-stones.

tory. But in the district between the Gironde and the lower Loire they are hardly less numerous than in Brittany and Maine, and are there scattered indiscriminately over hill, plain and valley, in token of the general diffusion and security of the worship which they subserved.

IV. The Rhine, which formed the geographical boundary between Gaul and Germany, was never a barrier capable of restraining the migratory propensities of the northern races, or preventing the repeated transit of invaders from the right to the left bank. Accordingly, the Kymric population, which had spread over the northern region of Gaul, was constantly harassed by the Teutonic hordes, which pressed hungrily on its rear. The Germans, who had introduced themselves within the limits of Gaul, were already, in the time of Cæsar, intermixed in a great degree with the earlier possessors, besides retaining, in some localities, their own names and characteristics. Such were the Eburones, Treviri and Nervii, the Segni, Cæresi and Pæmani, who dwelt apart from the Kymry, with distinct habits and institutions. But it is to the whole of this population, thus fused and intermingled, that Cæsar applies the name of Belgæ; a name, however, which can be shown not to be properly generic, but to be appropriated in strictness, like that of Celt originally, to certain particular tribes.¹ We have already noticed some traces of subdivision among the great Kymric race, and the boundary between the pure and the mixed Kymry may be placed on the line of the Seine and Marne. We may readily believe that this mixed people had lost much of the genuine manners, language, and religion of its Celtic ancestors; and this may account for the paucity of its sacerdotal monuments, as well as for the difference which Cæsar so strongly marks between its language and that of the Gael. But he is undoubtedly mistaken in his assertion that the Belgians were for the most part of German origin, their essential identity with the Celts being sufficiently established by the declarations of Posi-

IV. The Belgians a Celtic people, with an intermixture of Teutonic tribes.

¹ Thierry, *Gaulois*, Introd. lvii.

donius and Strabo, together with the strong presumptions that have been adduced from physiological and other evidence.

This people, however, as it was the last to emerge from the rudeness of its primeval forests, and was unable to shake off from its bosom the unmixed barbarism of a still younger race clinging so closely about it, so it was much behind the rest of the Gaulish population in all the elements of civilized existence. Throughout the extensive region which it occupied we hear of no place deserving the name of a city, except perhaps Samarobriua, the modern Amiens, the bridge over the Somme. The Morini and Menapii fed entirely on fish and the eggs of wild fowl; they dwelt in the recesses of their woods and morasses, with no more sense of cleanliness and comfort than the Teutonic Eburones and Nervii. The Belgians were noted for the use of the scythed chariot,¹ one of the rudest and earliest implements of war. They rejoiced in passing their whole lives with arms in their hands. The German tribes haughtily excluded from their territory the purveyors of all foreign articles, whether of use or luxury. Accustomed to constant warfare with a more savage and ferocious race than themselves, the Belgians acquired a renown for bravery beyond all the other inhabitants of Gaul.² They affected to despise their brethren in the south, kept aloof from their confederacies, and were even inclined to disown their kinship.

The limits of the Belgian conquest are broadly defined by the two great rivers which have been mentioned; but it is

probable that some of these tribes penetrated far into the south. The Volcæ, who occupied a dis-

Some of their tribes pene-

¹ Lucan, i. 426. :

“ Et docilis rector rostrati Belga covini.”

Thierry attributes the scythed chariot to the Treviri, but I question whether the Germans ever used it. Mela iii. 6. says: “ Bigis et curribus, covinos vocant, Gallicè armati.” Covinus appears to be a Celtic word, common both to the Kymric and Gaelic variety. Cæsar, however, makes no mention of scythed chariots among the Gauls or Britons. (Cluver. *Germ. Ant.* i. 335.)

² Cæs. *B. G.* i. 1.; Ammian. xv. 11.

trict between the Rhone and the Pyrenees, in two divisions distinguished by the names of Arecomici and Tectosages, are connected with the Belgians by the coordinate appellation of Bolgæ, and even of Belgæ.¹ The fate of Britain was similar to that of Gaul. There also the conquering Kymry found the Belgians at their back before they had well time to turn themselves round in the habitations of the vanquished Gael. There, too, the new comers brought along with them a portion of Teutonic blood; and the south-eastern angle of the island, the limit of their progress, came to be inhabited by a mixed people, who seemed to superficial observers to have little in common with the race upon whom they had intruded themselves.

But, notwithstanding the familiar intercourse thus established between the Celtic and Teutonic tribes who shared the north-east of Gaul, the enmity between the two races continued unabated, the Germans hovering on the banks of the Rhine with numbers and courage daily augmenting, the Gauls crouching in terror before an enemy whom they dared not encounter, or even inviting him within their frontiers to fight their battles for them. The time had long passed since the Gauls had been an emigrating and a conquering people.² Their incursions into the German territories had once been no less numerous and successful than those by which they had possessed themselves of one half of Italy, and devastated nearly the whole. But step by step they had been hurled back in both quarters by nations fiercer or better disciplined than themselves. The progress of moral and physical culture among them had taken a direction which paralysed their means of defence both against the Germans and the Romans. It enervated their bodies and subdued their daring courage, as compared with the wild barbarians of the north, while it had no tendency to

trated into the south of Gaul.

Hostility between the Gauls and Germans.

¹ Thierry, *Gaulois*, Introd. p. li.-lv.

² Tac. *Germ.* 28.: "Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum divus Julius tradit, eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in Germaniam transgressos." Comp. *Cæs. B. G.* vi. 24.

impart that community of sentiment and identity of purpose, which hold the scales of victory so evenly between civilized powers.

The ancient writers abound in descriptions of the character of a nation which performed so conspicuous a part in the early history of Europe. In stature the Gauls are uniformly represented as exceeding the people of Greece and Italy. Undoubtedly the disproportion between the Italians and the Kymry was strongly marked; and the Senones, from whom the Romans derived their most formidable conceptions of the Gaulish warriors, as well as the Cispadanes generally, were of the Kymrie race. The lightness of complexion ascribed to the nation was also characteristic of the northern rather than of the southern population. It may be conjectured that a change of habits and perhaps of climate has embrowned a skin which paled under the shadow of primeval forests:¹ yet even now the darkest-haired Gael has not the olive tint of the Italian and Greek. The temper of the Gauls in general was lively, frivolous and irascible, inconstant even to perfidy, violent in language and gesture;² their courage was daring and impetuous, but not capable of enduring resistance and reverses.³ At the same time they were noted for simplicity and good-humour, and rushed gaily into danger without artifice or malice. But their great defect was the want of patience and true earnestness, and of the moral firmness which controls a

General character of the Gauls.

¹ Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, i. 529.

² The spirit of bravado for which the Gauls were remarkable (*ἀπειληταὶ δὲ καὶ ἀναστατικοὶ καὶ τετραγυθήμενοι ὑπάρχουσι*. Diod. Sic. v. 31.) is aptly illustrated by the reply of their chieftains to the vainglorious question of Alexander the Great. After exhibiting before them a great display of his magnificence and power, he ended by demanding of them, What was the thing in the world they were most afraid of? "We fear nothing," they replied, "except it be lest the sky fall." Strab. vii. 3.; compare Posid. ap. Athen. iv. 40.; Ælian. xii. 23.

³ Tac. *Agric.* 11., comparing the Gauls and Britons, says of both: "In deposedis periculis eadem audacia, et ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido."

prejudice and refrains from a gratification for the sake of an ulterior result. Their want of self-control and self-respect was manifested in the brutal sensuality to which they were addicted. It may be surmised that the worst of their vices were confined for the most part to those who came in contact with the sickly refinement of the Greek settlers; but even the over-civilized nations of the South affected disgust at their enormity. The Gauls exhibited docility in learning and considerable aptitude for practical avocations. They carried on a commerce in various articles of manufacture; and, though their coinage was rude in execution, we know that the art of working metals was in extensive use among them. They were acute in intellect, and curious in speculation, though they never produced a spontaneous literature. But their intercourse with Rome gave a new stimulus to their genius; and under the empire the cities of Gaul were hardly second to any as seats of learning and schools of rhetoric.

The spirit of careless exaggeration, which was wont to regard the desert region of the north as the teeming parent of innumerable nations, has vanished before the ^{Population of} calculations of experience and reason; and it ^{Gaul.} will be readily allowed that at least one half of Gaul was occupied in the time of Cæsar by unsettled and scanty tribes, who abandoned a vast proportion of their territory to the barrenness of nature, while in the remnant which they professed to cultivate they barely scratched the soil. If the numbers of their fighting men are represented as enormous, we must remember that war was the only occupation of the people of the north, and that at least a fourth of each nation was ready at any moment to start up in arms.¹ In the south the manners of the people approached much nearer to those of civilized life, and the richness of the soil was developed

¹ When the whole mass of the Helvetic tribes migrated to the amount of 368,000 souls, 92,000 men were capable of bearing arms. Cæs. *B. G.* i. 29. Cæsar assures us that he saw the precise data from which this enumeration was made. In the Pannonian revolt the total number of insurgent tribes is stated generally at 800,000, that of the warriors at 200,000. Vel. ii. 110.

by a due application of labour. A calculation of the entire population has been made for the period of the fourth century of our era upon grounds which apparently deserve confidence, and the result gives a total amount of ten millions and a half.¹ At that period the country had been for some time exposed to the ravages of barbarian invasion, and the growth of the population had doubtless been checked by a long term of misgovernment. Nevertheless, it would be preposterous to suppose that the semi-barbarous Gauls of Cæsar's age approached at all nearly to that number. Cæsar himself boasted, as we learn from Plutarch,² that he had combated three millions of men; and in this round number we may conjecture, that he meant to comprehend the whole male population of the hostile states. If, on the one hand, the tribes of Germans and Britons whom Cæsar met in the field are to be deducted from this calculation, we have to add the inhabitants of the Province, on the other, in order to obtain the number of the whole Gaulish people, which we may fairly conclude to have reached about six millions at the date of his invasion.

¹ Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol. des Romains*, i. 301.; Duruy, *Hist. des Romains*, ii. 409.

² Plut. *Cæs.* 15., who, however, evidently interprets the statement literally.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SUEVI ENTER GAUL, AND ESTABLISH THEMSELVES IN THE TERRITORY OF THE SEQUANI.—THE ALLIANCE OF THE REPUBLIC SOLICITED BY BOTH THE GAULS AND GERMANS.—MOVEMENT AMONG THE HELVETII: THEY THREATEN TO ENTER THE ROMAN PROVINCE: CÆSAR LEAVES ROME, AND ASSUMES HIS COMMAND IN GAUL: REPELS THE INVASION OF THE HELVETII: FOLLOWS THEM INTO THE TERRITORY OF THE ÆDUI: DEFEATS AND COMPELS THEM TO RETURN TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY.—CÆSAR ADVANCES AGAINST THE SUEVI: NEGOTIATES WITH THEIR KING ARIOVISTUS: OBTAINS A COMPLETE VICTORY, AND EXPELS THE GERMANS FROM GAUL.—CÆSAR'S FIRST CAMPAIGN, A. U. 696. B. C. 58.

AT the period at which we have now arrived in the contest between the Gauls and Romans a third power comes into action, one of which we have already caught indistinct glimpses, but which, from this time forward, is destined to be seldom long removed from our observation. The Germans on the Rhine: the Suevi. The independence of northern and central Gaul is now threatened, not only by the crafty ambition of the South, but more directly by impetuous assaults from the opposite quarter also. The banks of the Rhine were tinged with a deeper shade of barbarism than the countries that lay further to the west. On the left, several offshoots, as we have seen, from the Teutonic family were already settled. It was only within a late period that these immigrations had taken place, and the stream of German invasion still continued to pour in at intervals. The Suevi, a very formidable clan, were now hovering on the right bank, impatiently awaiting an opportunity of following the steps of their predecessors. These savage warriors were unacquainted

even with the rudiments of civilized life.¹ Their polity was simply the military supremacy of the strongest and bravest. They neither built towns nor cultivated land, but dwelt in temporary encampments, sleeping under the branches of trees or in the open air, using their forests and mountains as places of security, and wherever they were unconfined by the pressure of their neighbours, moving periodically from spot to spot in restless migration. But their enterprizes were undertaken rather for plunder than with a view to a permanent change of abode, and they were not in the habit of going forth to war with their wives and children, betraying in that, as in other respects, a want of definite purpose which marks the lowest scale in human progress.

In the year of Rome 693 the forces of Ariovistus, the king of the Suevic nation, were standing on the German side of the middle Rhine, ready to obey the first invitation to cross it.² They formed a compact body of warriors, fifteen thousand strong, unencumbered with baggage or followers, accustomed to a life of ceaseless activity, and despising every appliance of luxury or comfort. In the disturbed state of the interior of Gaul at that moment, such a summons could not long be

Menacing attitude of the Suevi,
A. U. 693.
B. C. 61.

¹ Some figures on the column of Trajan (see Fabretti, *Columna Trajana*, p. 16.) represent the mode of wearing the hair adopted by this people and their kindred tribes, as described by Tacitus (*Germ.* 38.): "Insigne gentis obliquare erinem nodoque substringere . . . apud Suevos horrentem capillum retro sequuntur." The front hair is gathered back in a large knot or ball on the top of the forehead.

² The date of the irruption of the Suevi is not fixed by the authorities. A passage in Ariovistus's reply to Cæsar, *B. G.* i. 44.: "Neque bello Allobrogum proximo Æduos Romanis auxilium tulisse," has been supposed to refer to the campaign against the Helvetii on the frontier of the Allobroges, A. U. 696. But in the first place, the Allobroges took no part in that war; and, again, the Ædui in their prostrate condition could not have given any assistance. The war, therefore, with the Allobroges must have been that of the year 692, and must have taken place before the Ædui were menaced by the Suevi and their allies. Accordingly, the date of the arrival of the Germans cannot be placed earlier than 693, nor the reception of Divitiaeus at Rome before the end of that year.

wanting. The Ædui had taken advantage of their commanding position to oppress the neighbouring states. Their rivals, the Arverni, had been considerably weakened by their contests with the Romans, and their influence, founded upon fear rather than favour, had dwindled away as rapidly as their power. The latter had been suffering also from intestine divisions, one of their nobility, named Celtillus, having attempted to usurp supreme authority among them.¹ On the other hand, the Ædui had been received into strict alliance with the Romans upon terms of professed equality. They were proud to be acknowledged as the friends and brothers of the illustrious conquerors; but the levity of the Gaulish character was marked by their perversely holding aloof from them, when their aid might have been expected against the revolt of the Allobroges.² They wished perhaps to display their independence in the presence of the Gauls around them, who doubtless observed with jealousy the favour in which they were held by the Romans. But the republic was deeply offended, and soon found an occasion for showing its resentment. The Sequani complained bitterly of the tyranny of the Ædui, who had imposed heavy tolls on the navigation of the Saone, the common highway for the commerce of both nations with the Province and the coasts of the Mediterranean.³ When these exactions became no longer tolerable, the injured people determined to shake them off by an appeal to arms. The Arverni also were easily induced to unite in a confederacy against their ancient rivals; but to rise against the Ædui was to brave at the same time the displeasure of the Romans, to give a pretext at least to the southern invader for interfering with the affairs of central Gaul. To secure themselves from danger in this quarter the allies determined to give the Suevi an interest in their defence. The resources of the German tribe were undefined and unknown, but their

Ascendency of
the Ædui in
Central Gaul.

The Sequani
complain of
their tyranny.

¹ Cæs. B. G. vii. 4.

² Cæs. B. G. i. 44. See above.

³ Strab. iv. 3.

proximity was imminent, the terror of their name was great, and their neighbours made the fatal mistake of fancying that they could counterbalance the hostility of Rome.

Accordingly, Ariovistus and his warriors were invited within the Gaulish territory, and they readily set their feet upon the soil of the Sequani. The Romans at the moment were so much occupied with domestic perils that they could pay no attention to this important movement. Possibly the Ædui, conscious of their own recent treachery, were ashamed to call upon their allies for aid; perhaps the republic was well pleased to leave them for once to fight their own battle upon unequal terms. The contest quickly terminated in their complete discomfiture, and the conditions which they were compelled to accept were highly disadvantageous and disgraceful.¹ They surrendered the children of their nobility to the Sequani as hostages, and swore never to wage war for their recovery, never to solicit the succour of the Romans, or to withhold such respect and submissive behaviour towards their triumphant enemy as are due from the client to his patron. The Sequani affected to seize the honourable pre-eminence from which the Ædui had thus fallen, and claimed the leadership of the tribes in that part of Gaul.

Among the Ædui, the chief magistrate, or vergobret, had no power to resist the national will, of which he was no more than the interpreter and organ.² But Divitiacus, who occupied that station, felt acutely the dishonour of his countrymen, and refused to

They invite the Suevi to their assistance, throw off the yoke of the Ædui, and assume the leadership of the Gaelic tribes.

Divitiacus the Æduan solicits the assistance of the Romans.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 31.: "Cum his Æduos eorumque clientes semel atque iterum armis contendisse, magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse."

² Cæsar terms this magistrate vergobretus, which Celtic scholars derive from the words *ver-go-breith* ("homme de jugement," O'Brien, Thierry). He was elected by a council of priests and nobles, and had the power of life and death. But his office was only annual (*B. G.* i. 16.), and a second of the same family could not hold it during the lifetime of a previous occupant. (*B. G.* vii. 33.)

submit in his own person to the terms in which the multitude acquiesced. He escaped with difficulty beyond the frontiers, and took refuge in Rome, where he hoped to obtain the succour of the republic for the recovery of the honour and influence of his nation. Gaul could have sent no man more fit by his intellectual cultivation to command for her the respect and sympathy of a civilized people. Divitiacus belonged to the Druidical caste, and was well versed in all the lore it boasted. As an expounder of the mysteries which already attracted the curiosity of the Roman sages, his society was peculiarly agreeable to Cicero, who has enshrined in his immortal pages the memory of their friendly intercourse.¹ The recommendation of so illustrious a patron secured for the wanderer of the north more than ordinary respect. When he appeared in the senate to plead the cause of his countrymen, the allies and brothers of the republic, he was requested to take his seat among the assembled nobles. But this honour he modestly declined, and delivered his address leaning on his shield.² Cæsar, who took an interest in every object of human science, no less than in the affairs of state to which he had been regularly trained, engaged in an intimacy with the Gaulish chieftain, which forms one of the most pleasing features in his life and character for its tenderness and fidelity. From conversation with Divitiacus, who became his constant companion in his Gallic campaigns, he derived, we may suppose, much of the acquaintance he manifests with the history and institutions of his adversaries. But, in the meanwhile, the simplicity of the Æduan's character was not proof against the seductions of Roman refine-

¹ Cic. *de Divin.* i. 41.

² The story is recorded by Eumenius, a native of Autun, and we may conjecture that it was preserved traditionally among the Ædii (*Gratiar. Act. Constant.* 3.): "Princeps Æduus in senatum venit, rem docuit, cum quidem oblato consessu minus sibi vindicasset quam dabatur, scuto innixus peroravit." Livy (xxxviii. 21.) describes the Gaulish shield as a long, narrow, and flat plank: "Scuta longa, cæterum ad amplitudinem corporum parum lata, et ea ipsa plana, male tegebant Gallos."

ment. He evidently became a convert to the views and sentiments of the conquering nation; in his admiration for the arts and sciences which flourished in the metropolis of the South, he gradually forgot the ruder virtues of his own countrymen; and he familiarized himself with the fatal idea that a foreign dominion might exalt and ennoble the people whom it enslaved.

But, however well individuals might be pleased to display their magnanimity and urbanity before the eyes of an admiring stranger, the government had too many anxious cares pressing upon it to decide at once the tenor of its Gallic policy. The Allobroges had just been subjugated, but their resistance had cost blood and treasure; moreover, the Ædui had done nothing for their allies towards hastening the termination of the struggle. Meanwhile, the course of affairs in the city was evidently leading to the entire subjection of the republic to the will of an odious triumvirate, and whichever of the three chiefs should claim the conduct of a new war would acquire thereby a fearful pre-eminence. As far, therefore, as the senate was concerned, the solicitations of Divitiacus fell upon unwilling ears. Moreover, Ariovistus, on his part, had not been idle. He also solicited an alliance with the Roman people; and his representations, backed as they were by so powerful a force quartered almost on the frontier of their possessions, were not without effect. Anxious to avoid war at any price, the senate temporised, and encouraged the German to make his appearance in person.¹ While Divitiacus was still at Rome, the government bestowed upon his rival the titles of friend and ally, and presented him with magnificent tokens of its regard.² If the senate could have had its own way, it would have continued to balance the two parties one against the other, and tried by these means to prevent aggression on either

¹ Plut. *Cæs.* 19. : Καίτοι τὸν βασιλέα πρότερον αὐτῶν Ἀριόβυστον ἐν Ῥώμῃ σύμμαχον πεποιημένος.

² *Cæs.* *B. G.* i. 43. : "Rex appellatus a senatu et amicus, munera amplissima missa."

side. But it was with the people, after all, that the determination of the matter really lay; and when they insisted, shortly afterwards, upon the appointment of Cæsar to his Gallic command, with such extensive and permanent powers, it was a distinct declaration of the national will in favour of a decisive and warlike policy beyond the Alps. This declaration, however, was not made till the progress of events called more imperatively for Roman interference, and Cæsar's position was such as enabled him to take the conduct of it.

The republic determines to take the side of the Ædui.

The Suevi, on their part, became enamoured of the charms of their new habitation, its climate, fertility and cultivation. Not less than one-third part of the territory of the Sequani had been surrendered to them, and as it was too extensive for their own occupation, they introduced fresh hordes of their countrymen into it, till their force amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand warriors.¹ The Sequani, insulted and harassed, fled from their villages and betook themselves to their places of defence, while the Ædui, suffering probably still greater oppression, rose in arms against the savage intruders. But Ariovistus was not to be easily dislodged. According to the practice of his countrymen he fortified himself on a morass on the upper Saone, and commanded the country from his inaccessible fastness. Secure in his position, he repeated and increased his demands, requiring another third part of the territory of his hosts, in order to settle there a new colony of Harudes from beyond the Rhine. He interposed to prevent any restoration of hostages between the rival nations, whose mutual animosity he strove by all means to foster for his own purposes, while, as far as his power extended, his rapacity and cruelty raged unchecked.

The Sequani are oppressed by their German allies.

The growing resistance of the neighbouring nations was suddenly checked by one of those periodical migrations which were wont to spread confusion throughout the whole land. The Helvetii, who inhabited a

Restlessness of the Helvetii: they resolve to

¹ Cæs. B. G. i. 31.

make a general
emigration into
Gaul.

great part of modern Switzerland, had grown impatient of the narrow limits in which they were crowded together, and harassed at the same time by the encroachments of the advancing German tide.¹ The Alps and Jura formed barriers to their diffusion on the south and west, and the population thus confined outgrew the scanty means of support afforded by its mountain valleys. One swarm had indeed separated from the main body not many years before, uniting itself with the Cimbri and Teutones, and penetrating into Gaul by the northern outlet of their territory. But the German tribes, whose increasing numbers had closed against them the old Gaulish route to the east of Europe, had now settled themselves on the left bank of the Rhine also; and the Helvetii, who felt some contempt perhaps for their Gallie neighbours, were the less disposed to assail an enemy so formidable as the Suevi, and at the same time so poor. The western outlet, therefore, where the Rhone rushes out of the lake of Geneva and threads a narrow defile on its way into France, was the point to which their eyes were directed. Divided into a number of small cantons, they owned the supremacy of no single chieftain; but one, by name Orgetorix, possessed at this time the principal influence among them, and was ambitious of placing himself at their head. His suggestion that the entire nation should transplant itself to a foreign soil was received with universal approbation. He proposed that they should march in one mass into the heart of Gaul, promised them an easy victory over the most martial and powerful of its opponents, and dominion over the whole Gaulish people. He hoped to rise himself to undisputed supremacy among his own countrymen, and through

¹ The account which was commonly given of this people and their migration is that they were a pastoral tribe, abounding in wealth, and of a peaceful disposition; it was the example of the Cimbri and Teutones, with whom they came in contact, that corrupted their natural simplicity, and suggested visions of conquest and rapine. Strab. vii. 2., following Posidonius. But Cæsar says they were the bravest of the Gauls, from their constant warfare with the Germans on their frontier. Cæs. *B. G.* i. 1.

them to rule over the whole breadth of the land from the Alps to the ocean.¹

This enterprize, extravagant as it may appear, was no more than what the Cimbri might in all probability have accomplished, had they kept it steadily in view, and at a later period it was not the mere dream of a visionary. Orgetorix did not look to the employment of arms only, however much he relied upon his countrymen's fancied superiority in war. He was well acquainted with the state of central Gaul, and the political jealousies which constituted its weakness. To secure aid and encouragement he intrigued with ambitious chieftains among the *Ædui* and *Sequani*. *Dumnorix*, the brother of *Divitiacus*, who had succeeded him in the office of *vergobret*,² and was anxious to extend the authority and duration of his office, was won over by the crafty Helvetian by promises of assistance and the bribe of his daughter in marriage. *Casticus*, the son of *Catamantaledes*, late king of the *Sequani*, had failed in obtaining the succession upon his father's death, and was burning with indignation at the affront. To him also similar views of aggrandizement were opened, and his co-operation promptly secured. But while these plans were ripening, the *Helvetii* began to suspect the personal views which their champion was harbouring under the semblance of zeal for the public good. Orgetorix was summoned to appear before the popular assembly, and challenged to defend himself against the charge of aspiring to the tyranny. According to the custom of the barbarians, who seem never to have contemplated the possible innocence of an accused party, he was to plead his cause in chains, and, if unsuccessful, the penalty was death by fire. The culprit accepted the con-

Orgetorix, his
intrigues and
sudden death.

¹ *Cæs. B. G.* i. 2. ; *Dion*, xxxviii. 31. ; *Plut. Cæs.* 18.

² It has been mentioned already, on the authority of *Cæsar* (*B. G.* vii. 33.), that it was illegal for a second personage of the same family to hold this or any other political office during the lifetime of the prior occupant. If this statement is correct, it would seem that *Dumnorix*, who was a popular favourite, had already succeeded in getting the law relaxed in his behalf.

ditions, and the day was appointed: in the interval, however, he collected all his friends and dependants to the number of ten thousand, and effected his escape. The nation flew to arms to recover the person of the fugitive, but his sudden death arrested their indignation. Disappointment and despair, it was rumoured, had driven the guilty intriguer to put an end to his existence.

The loss, however, of their principal adviser produced no change in the counsels of the Helvetians. They sought no alliance with discontented chieftains in the neighbouring states, but, confident in their unassisted strength, determined calmly to abandon their homes, and trust to their own fortune and valour to find themselves, with their women and children, a more desirable residence elsewhere. They devoted the next two years to making the necessary preparations, and to collecting a sufficient store of provisions. The third was destined for the enterprize itself.

Meanwhile, they extended their design by embracing in their league the Rauraci, the Tulingi¹ and the Latobrigi. The next point to be decided regarded the precise course which they should take. Two routes might conduct them westward into Gaul: the one following the defile of the Rhone along the north bank of that river, and thus penetrating into the

country of the Sequani; the other lying to the south, and crossing the territory of the Allobroges in the direction of the province.² The nature of the country rendered the first of these routes peculiarly hazardous. For many miles the mountains descend almost perpendicularly into the torrent below. Modern engineers have succeeded in making a path along the brow of these cliffs; but the ease with which the traveller now winds round their projecting precipices, and above the most tremen-

Choice between two routes into Gaul.

¹ Augusta Rauraeorum is the modern Bâle. The position of the Tulingi is quite uncertain, as they are not mentioned elsewhere. See Thierry, *Gaulois*, II. v.; Le Déist, *César*, ind. in voc.; *César*, ed. Lemaire. Stuhlingen is on the German side of the Rhine, near Schaffhausen. Walekenæer places the Latobrigi at Breggen, near the sources of the Danube (ii. 272.). Tacitus, it will be remembered, extends the territory of the Helvetii to the Hercynian forest (*Germ.* 28.).

² *César*, B. G. i. 6.

dous abysses, serves to enhance his conception of the perils which must have attended a march among them before these obstacles were overcome. The emigrants soon decided that this route was impracticable in the face of an enemy. The other alternative offered a passage the difficulties of which might not be insurmountable. The Rhone might be crossed either by the bridge, which already existed at Geneva,¹ the frontier town of the Allobroges, in possession at this period of a Roman garrison, or, if this was closed against them, the stream presented fords which might be used by bold men accustomed to stem the torrents of the mountains.² The Helvetii determined to force their way through the country of the Allobroges, and to trust either to arms or persuasion to obtain a passage through the province and across the Rhone into the centre of Gaul. They indulged a hope that the people of the country would be eager, from their known hostility to the Romans, to afford every facility to a transient invader. But the favourable moment had passed; the decisive victory of Pomptinus had cowed the spirit of the Allobroges, and their territory, in the language of the republic, was already pacified.³

We have seen that Cæsar, on the expiration of his consulship, obtained the government of the two Gauls, together with Illyricum, and that the people were so strongly impressed with the military importance of these provinces in the impending crisis, as to confer the command upon him for a term of five years. The enterprizes already meditated by their barbarian foes were not yet quite ripe for execution. The proconsul was content to watch them from a distance during the first months of the year. The prosecution of

Cæsar lingers in the neighbourhood of Rome, in the beginning of the year.

¹ Cæs. *l. c.* It has been alleged that the name of this place does not occur again for a period of four hundred years; but inscriptions have been found there which sufficiently prove that it was a place of importance under the Romans. Walekenaer, *Geogr. des Gaules*, i. 263.

² Cæs. *l. c.*: "Nonnullis locis vado transitur."

³ Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 13.; Cæs. *l. c.*: "Allobroges qui nuper pacati erant,"

his own political schemes still required his proximity to Rome; he was engaged in abetting the revolutionary proceedings of the popular tribune; and he overawed the deliberations of the nobles by fixing his camp before the gates of the city, at the same time that he communicated with his lieutenants beyond the Alps, and kept a vigilant eye upon the movements of the Helvetic tribes. The course of three months witnessed the success of all his schemes. Domitius and Memmius, in the interest of the nobles, compelled him to defend the acts of his consulship before the hostile tribunal of the senate, from which, however, he extorted their entire ratification.¹ The triumph of Clodius over the nobility was also completely effected in this short interval. Cicero, who had refused to accept the proconsul's protection, was on the point of flying from the vengeance of his enemy.² The power of the triumvirate was established upon an unassailable basis, while Cæsar had secured by the marriage of his daughter an ascendancy in the counsels of his rival Pompeius.

At this moment the news arrived at the camp of the proconsul that the cloud, so long gathering on the frontiers, was at last fully charged, and about to burst. The Roman province, it was added, was the quarter upon which the first fury of the tempest was destined to break. The Helvetii, having completed their preparations, appointed the twenty-eighth day of March for the meeting of their combined forces at the western outlet of the lake Lemanus.³ The whole population of the assembled tribes amounted to three hundred and sixty-eight thou-

Cæsar hastily leaves Italy, and reaches his army on the Rhone.

¹ Schol. Bob. in *Orat. pro Sest.* p. 297. : "Ipsius Cæsaris orationes contra hos exstant quibus et sua acta defendit et illos insectatur." Comp. Suet. *Jul.* 23. 73.

² Cæsar and Cicero must have left Rome almost on the same day. Cicero had reached Lucania April 8 (*Ep. ad Att.* iii. 2.). This date coincides with April 27 of the reformed calendar. Plutarch (*Cæs.* 14.) says, Καῖσαρ οὐ πρότερον ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν ἢ καταστασιάζει Κικέρωνα μετὰ Κλωδίου, καὶ συνεμβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας. Comp. Abeken, *Cic. in seinen Briefen*, p. 111.; Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, p. 239.

³ *Cæs. B. G.* i. 6. March 28, A. U. 696 = April 16, B. C. 58.

sand souls, including the women and children; the number that bore arms was ninety-two thousand.¹ They cut themselves off from the means of retreat by giving ruthlessly to the flames every city and village of their land; twelve of the one class and four hundred of the other were thus sacrificed, and with them all their superfluous stores, their furniture, arms and implements. Cæsar's levies were still incomplete; he left his camp with only a few attendants, and reached the Rhone in eight days, at the point where the legion which defended the Province was awaiting his arrival.² He immediately broke down the bridge at Geneva,³ thus placing a strong natural barrier between the colony and the foe; for the stream which rushes from the lake has all the violence of a mountain torrent, with the volume of the outlet of a vast reservoir. The Helvetii were startled at the proconsul's sudden appearance, and his determination to forbid their progress. They attempted conciliation, and despatched a deputation to the Roman quarters, with instructions to represent their designs as innocent and peaceable, and to request a passage through the territories of the republic, that they might explore some land of refuge in the farthest extremities of the west. They bound themselves in the most solemn manner to respect the property of the provincials on their march. But it was not consistent with the views of the Roman govern-

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 29.; Plut. *Cæs.* 18. makes the whole number somewhat less, but states the amount of the fighting-men at one hundred and ninety thousand. But compare what has been said, p. 229.

² Cæsar's words are, "quam maximis potest itineribus in Galliam ulteriorem contendit," which leaves it uncertain whether he marched with his troops, or went alone for greater expedition. Plutarch, who however is to be read with great caution, says that he effected the transit in eight days: 'Ογδοαῖος ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ἦλθεν. The march of a Roman army was ordinarily twenty miles a day (Veget. i. 10.); but the biographer is speaking of Cæsar alone, and not of his troops. The distance from Rome to Geneva could not have been less than six hundred miles. Cicero indeed (*pro Quint.* 25.) reckons the distance to the territory of the Segusiani (Lyons) at seven hundred Roman miles

³ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 6.: "Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet . . . pontem jubet rescindi."

ment to allow of such manifold disturbance as the contemplated movement would produce. The shock of the proposed migration, by breaking up existing combinations, would dispossess the republic of all the advantages she enjoyed, and compel her to enter upon fresh intrigues and reconstruct her policy. Cæsar indeed makes no profession of looking so far; he merely says that he distrusted the faith of the Helvetii; and remembering their defeat of Cassius and the disgrace of a Roman army, which they had passed under the yoke, he regarded them as inveterate enemies to whom no favour should be shown, and from whom no moderation could be expected.

The Helvetii had assembled on the right bank of the Rhone, and awaited the return of their envoys from the Roman camp. In order to gain time for the arrival of the reinforcements which he expected, the proconsul appointed them to come to him again and receive his answer on the thirteenth of April.¹ During the interval he set his soldiers to work with the spade and pickaxe, and drew a direct line of ditch and rampart from the extremity of the lake to the point where it rushes into the gorge of the Jura. The skill and vigour of the Roman legionary sufficed to complete this fortification, about fifteen miles in length, in the course of the few days allotted to the task. On the ides of April the Helvetii returned, and renewed their application for leave to pass through the Province. Cæsar was now prepared with his reply. He declared that the history of the republic afforded no precedent for such a concession, and refused to entertain their demand. The Helvetii were not discouraged by this rebuff. They made some hasty preparations, and resolved to

The Helvetians attempt to cross the river and are repulsed.

¹ The Helvetii met on the 28th of March, but it is not said that they sent their deputation on that day, nor is it likely that they should have done so without some little delay for consultation. The author of the *Précis des Guerres de César*, which pretends to be written from Napoleon's dictation to his attendant Marehand at St. Helena, calculates the extent of the work performed by Cæsar's legion, and estimates the time requisite at from *ten to fifteen* days (p. 34.).

force the passage of the river. The fords in so impetuous a stream were extremely difficult and dangerous; nevertheless, they made several attempts to cross, both by day and night, sometimes by plunging into the river, sometimes with armaments of boats and rafts. But when they reached the opposite bank the rampart before them was defended with military skill, the space between was too narrow to offer them a secure footing, and they were compelled ultimately to abandon all hope of effecting their exit in this direction.¹

To skirt the right bank between the river and the mountains became now the more feasible of the two alternatives; but this could only be accomplished by securing the goodwill of the natives. The Sequani had declared their resolution to defend to the utmost this access to their territory, and had hitherto refused to entertain any proposals of negotiation with the intruders. But Dumnorix had been gained over by Orgetorix to the cause of the Helvetii. The death of his adviser had not damped the ambitious hopes which the Æduan had been led to conceive, and he was willing to offer any assistance towards an enterprize upon which he grounded his views of personal aggrandizement. By his intervention the Sequani were induced to grant the Helvetii the favour they desired, upon receiving pledges for their peaceable behaviour. The migrating hordes again declared that they had no other wish but to obtain a passage through the country of the Sequani and Ædui, that they might finally settle themselves in the western parts of Gaul. They pointed out the country of the Santones as the quarter where they proposed to establish their sovereignty. The Romans, however, apprehended that the settlement of so restless and warlike a people to the north of the Garonne, on which river some of their own most flourishing districts lay,² would be a source of great inconvenience and danger. Not much was to be ex-

They adopt the other route on the right bank of the Rhone. Cæsar increases his levies and follows them.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 8. Comp. Polyæn. *Strategem.* viii. 23.

² Cæs. *B. G.* i. 10: "Non longè a Tolosatium finibus, . . . locis patentibus et maximè frumentariis." Dion, xxxviii. 32.

pected from the resistance which the Ædui might be disposed to make, nor had Cæsar yet sufficient strength at hand to follow the wanderers on their track, and support the efforts of his allies. For the moment he was obliged to leave them unmolested, while he hastened in person into Italy to collect and expedite the movement of additional troops. He left Labienus, a distinguished officer, whose merits will come frequently under our notice, to defend the rampart he had erected, while he urged forward in person the levy of two fresh legions. Three others he summoned from their station at Aquileia, and as soon as he had thus assembled a force of five legions, he hurried back into Gaul by the route of the Cottian Alps.¹ He had chosen this line as the most direct for the point he had in view; but the path he chose was perhaps the least frequented of all the Alpine tracks, and his progress was obstructed by the mountain tribes, the Centrones, Garoceli and Caturiges, who assembled to defend their fastnesses against the intrusion of the stranger. Cæsar cut his way through every obstacle. He crossed the Rhone above its confluence with the Saone. In the interval the Helvetii had threaded the defile of the Jura with all their enormous train of women and children, of horses and carriages, and were traversing the country between the two rivers. Cæsar hoped perhaps to meet and check them before they reached the further stream; but encumbered as they were, and slowly as they moved, they had already got before him, and his object was now no longer to meet but to pursue them. The Saone, the Arar of the Romans,² offered no

¹ By the passage of the Mont Genevre to Briançon. The neighbouring route by Susa, the Mont Cenis and the valley of the Are was first rendered practicable by the native chief Cottius in the time of Augustus. It was from him that all the part of the Alpine chain, in which both these passes lie, derived the name of Cottian. It seems previously to have been known by the name of Julian, and that possibly from Cæsar's passage. The more usual but longer route would be that by the Col de Tiniers and Barelonnette, discovered by Pompeius. Sall. *Fr. Hist.* iii. 3.; Appian, *B. C.* i. 109.; Walekenær, *G. des G.* i. 225. 538.

² The modern name is traced in Sæuona, the appellation given to it by Ammianus, xv. 11.

formidable barrier. Its width is moderate and its current gentle, though it is only in contrast to its furious neighbour that it can be represented as stagnant or sluggish; nor is it easy to understand the language of Cæsar, who declares that the eye can hardly distinguish which way it flows. This obstacle had already been overcome by the greater part of the advancing horde, though it had taken them twenty days to effect the transit; and the Ædui, who had not ventured to impede their passage, were now suffering the intruders' insolence with almost passive submission. They placed, indeed, their whole reliance upon Cæsar and the Roman forces, whose aid they loudly invoked in the name of their ancient alliance.¹ Their champions were advancing with rapid strides. The tribe of the Tigurini,² constituting one fourth of the whole confederacy, had not yet crossed the Saone, when Cæsar came up with them, and instantly gave them battle with three legions. This was the same tribe which had destroyed L. Cassius and his army exactly fifty years before.³ Among the Romans who had fallen on that day was the grandfather of Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, and the energy of the Roman general was stimulated by the recollection of both a public and a private calamity. The barbarians were incommoded by the mass of baggage, which had been placed under their care as forming the rear-guard of the combined armament. The attack was totally unexpected. They were easily routed, and suffered immense slaughter, only a small remnant escaping into the woods in the vicinity.⁴

He overtakes
the Tigurini
and defeats
them.

¹ Dion, xxxviii. 32.

² The pagus Tigurinus may be the canton of Zug or of Uri. Turicum, the name of Zurich in the middle ages, is proved to have been its Roman appellation also by an inscription, "sta(tio) Turicen(sis)," found there in 1741. Walckenaer, i. 312.

³ A. U. 646. Appian, *Fr. de Rebus Gall.* iv. 3.: Οἱ Τιγύριοι δ' αὐτῶν χρόνῳ ἔμπροσθεν Πείσωνος καὶ Κασσίου τινὰ στρατὸν ἐλόντες ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἐξεπέπρωσαν.

⁴ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 12. If the Tigurini amounted to 23,000 warriors, i. e. one fourth of the whole, they were probably out-numbered by three Roman legions with their Gaulish auxiliaries.

The fugitives were allowed to make their escape unmolested, while Cæsar proceeded to build a bridge with the greatest expedition, and transferred his army to the right bank of the Saone. The Helvetii were alarmed at the rapidity of his movements. Not only had he destroyed their rearguard in one battle; he had given another proof of vigour and skill far beyond their own in crossing the river in a single day. Accordingly, they sent a deputation to confer with him, and while they offered to submit their destination to his direction, and seek their future residence in any quarter that he should indicate, they attempted to disguise their apprehensions of a collision with his forces by reminding him of their former successes against the republic. The aged Divico, to whom the conduct of the negotiation was confided, had been the leader of their army in the famous battle of which they boasted; and the language of defiance and contemptuous warning would fall, they hoped, with greater weight from his lips.¹ But the proconsul was not to be moved by such devices. The more they ventured to remind him of the calamities of the republic, the more, he said, would they incite him to avenge them. Moreover, it was no ancient quarrel he had come to renew; he sought compensation for their present insults to Rome and injuries to her allies. He ended, not with issuing directions regarding their destination, but by requiring them to make satisfaction to the Ædui, and to pledge themselves, by the delivery of hostages, to submit to whatever commands the republic should impose upon them. Divico arrogantly replied that his nation was more accustomed to take than to give hostages, as the Romans had good reason to know; and with this taunt the conference broke up.

The next morning the barbarians pursued their march. Cæsar, who had now brought up his whole forces, hung close upon their rear, and skirmishes took place between the cavalry of the two hosts. A brilliant success obtained by the Helvetii in an affair with

The Helvetians make overtures of negotiation.

The Helvetians march through the country of the Ædui, and are followed by

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 13, 14.

the Æduan auxiliaries encouraged them to engage more frequently in these partial contests, which the Roman general, who could not trust either to the valour or constancy of his allies, was anxious on his part to avoid. In this way the rival armies moved for fifteen days up the course of the Saone; ¹ the one slowly and deliberately foraging for its supplies, and courting the attacks of the enemy's advanced guard; the other closely observing and following all its movements, but studiously declining a general engagement. The space thus traversed could not have been more than one hundred miles, when the emigrants made a movement to the left, and struck across the country, the Romans still hanging on their rear. This manœuvre reduced Cæsar to great difficulty. As long as he kept to the bank of the Saone, he could draw his supplies from the Roman province behind him. ² But the Ædui on their part were extremely negligent in providing for his wants. While he was occupied in preventing the common enemy from destroying their villages and produce, they made no efforts to bring provisions to his camp. It was still early in June, and the standing corn was not yet ripe; nor if provisions had been ready to his hand, would it have suited his policy to irritate the natives by seizing them. Nevertheless, he resolved to persist in his previous tactics, and not to abandon the track of the enemy. He was compelled, however, at last to summon the chiefs of the Ædui, and make a formal complaint of their conduct. ³ Liscus, the vergobret, replied in the name of his countrymen. He pointed to Dumnorix as the real though concealed cause of all the coldness and tardiness which they had betrayed; but it was not till Cæsar withdrew him to a private conference that he ventured to expose

Cæsar. Disaffection of the Ædui to the republic.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 15. The time which Cæsar assigns to this march creates some difficulty. The distance from Lyons to Chalons is not above ninety miles, and it was probably from the vicinity of the latter place that the Gauls turned to the west and abandoned the valley. It is evident that the Helvetii made no exertions to escape from their pursuer, and that he did not attempt to arrest their progress.

² Cæs. *B. G.* i. 16.

³ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 17-20.

the intrigues which were secretly in progress, the private understanding which existed between Dumnorix, the Helvetii, Bituriges and others, the hopes which he drew from their assurances, the power and influence which he had already acquired in his own country. The presence of the Romans was the sole obstacle to the consummation of his intrigues, and all his endeavours were now devoted to impeding their movements, and cutting off their resources, until they should be compelled to retreat. It even appeared that the disaster which had lately occurred to the Æduan cavalry was caused by his treachery. Divitiacus accompanied the expedition in the proconsul's retinue. Though conscious that his brother's schemes were directed no less against the liberty than the best policy of their common country, he threw himself at Cæsar's feet, and used every solicitation to save the culprit's life. It may be remarked that though he had been two or three years resident in Rome, he was unable to express himself in the Latin tongue; a circumstance the more surprising considering the admiration with which he regarded the life and manners of the civilized south. Cæsar made use of an interpreter in conversing with him.¹ Dumnorix was spared; but the proconsul gave him to understand the peril into which he had thrown himself, and placed his actions under vigilant observation.

The Helvetii were now making their way slowly across the hilly country which separates the feeders of the Saone, the Loire and the Seine. In the centre of this tract lies the city of Autun, originally named Bibracte, the capital of the Ædúi. Cæsar still following close upon the heels of the advancing host, found himself at a distance of eighteen miles from this place, apparently to the northward.² Here, however, it be-

Cæsar engages the Helvetii in a decisive battle, and entirely defeats them.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 19.: "Divitiacum ad se vocari jubet, et quotidianis interpretibus remotis, per C. Valerium Procillum, principem Galliæ provinciæ, familiarem suum, cui summam rerum omnium fidem habebat, cum eo colloquitur."

² Cæs. *B. G.* i. 23.

came necessary to cease from pursuit, and make for the city, where the provisions he demanded awaited him. This abandonment of his previous tactics, much as he might regret its necessity at the time, prepared for him an opportunity of giving battle on ground of his own choice. The Helvetii, regarding it as a flight, exulted in it as a symptom either of weakness or cowardice. Turning round to follow their late pursuer, their advanced columns soon fell in with the rear of the Roman legions. Cæsar had time to select his position on the side of a hill,¹ along which he ranged his infantry in three lines, allowing the cavalry to descend into the plain, and there sustain the first shock of the assailants. The Helvetii, placing their baggage and waggons in the rear, charged with the whole weight of their mass in compact order. The Roman cavalry soon gave way before them, and retired without confusion upon the lines of infantry. Hereupon the general, dismounting first from his own charger, caused the cavalry to dismount also, and send their horses in the rear, that all might be on an equality. It is evident that he distrusted his auxiliaries, of whom that arm was entirely composed,² who served under the command of Dumnorix; and he feared lest any weakness or treachery on their part should discourage his own legionaries. The Gauls advanced in close array, their shields interlaced above their heads to repel the expected discharge of stones and arrows. But the massive pilum of the Roman infantry did better service than any such light missiles. Hurlled from a vantage ground it pierced the wooden targets through and through, entangling several together, and depriving their bearers of the free use of their

¹ Cæsar ranged his four veteran legions on the side of the hill, and kept the two legions of raw levies in reserve on the summit (c. 24.). His whole legionary force therefore might amount to 36,000 men, and we may add at least half as many more for auxiliaries. The disparity of numbers between his forces and those of the enemy, reduced by the loss of the Tigurini, was not very great. In point of skill, discipline, and the material of war, there could be no comparison between them. The only danger of the Romans lay in the doubtful fidelity of their allies.

² It appears from c. 42. that there were no Roman horse in the army.

arms. The array of the barbarian phalanx was thus loosened and broken, and as soon as its confusion was perceived, down rushed the Romans upon it with the drawn sword. The Gauls could either make no resistance or were forced to abandon their shields to extricate themselves from one another. After a short combat they fled to another hill at the distance of a mile, hotly pressed and followed up the activity. A diversion was here created in their favour by the arrival of the Boii and Tulingi, who were the last to reach the field of action, and were now able to check the advance of the Romans. The conflict continued to rage with unabated fury in the space between the two hills. The Gauls gradually retreated upon their waggons, but always presenting their face to their opponents. The entrenchment which they had hastily thrown up, and behind which they had so long defended themselves, was at last carried; but a vast body escaped from the field, one hundred and thirty thousand according to Cæsar's computation, and succeeded, by rapid marches northward, in reaching the borders of the Lingones in four days. The care of the wounded and the necessity of seeking provisions at Bibracte, prevented Cæsar from pursuing them. But his victory had been sufficiently decisive, and the loss of the vanquished was tremendous. He hoped that the letters he despatched to the Lingones, threatening them with the vengeance of the republic if they gave food or succour to the fugitives, would effect the destruction of the remainder, or force them to surrender. After a halt of only three days he found himself once more in a condition to follow upon their track.

The Lingones had no sympathy with the unwelcome intruders, and being secure of Cæsar's support, they wanted no further inducement to engage them to refuse the wanderers a passage. Disheartened and famishing the remnant of the crumbling host were soon compelled to surrender, and submit to any terms which the victor should be pleased to impose upon them. His measures were indeed sufficiently lenient, but

Terms granted to the Helvetii. They are compelled to return into their own country.

for this he had a political object. The laws of war as interpreted by the Romans placed an enemy, when captured with arms in his hands, entirely at the disposal of the conqueror. Sometimes the whole nation was sold into slavery, sometimes it was even put indiscriminately to the sword, if vengeance or policy seemed to demand it. But Cæsar, inflexible as was his severity whenever he deemed it fitting, accepted on this occasion the surrender of his helpless enemies as an act of voluntary submission, and contented himself with commanding them to return in a body to their own country. It was important that the space which they had left vacant should be peopled again, as otherwise it would have attracted a colony of Germans, and brought a new and restless neighbour to the very doors of the Province. He laid upon the Allobroges the burden of furnishing the survivors of the horde with the necessary provisions, until they could rebuild their habitations and restore their soil to cultivation. A small body of six thousand men had escaped from this convention, and were trying to cut their way into Germany. They were brought back to the Roman camp by the zeal of the Gaulish tribes through whom they had to pass, and these the proconsul, as he tells us, *treated as enemies*; a phrase of fearful import, which leaves us only uncertain whether they were put to the sword or sold as slaves. The tribe of the Boii were allowed to remain in the interior of Gaul, at the instance of the Ædui themselves, who admired their military prowess, and wished to settle them as allies and defenders in some districts of their own country. The whole number of those who returned to their homes amounted to one hundred and ten thousand souls.¹

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 21–29. Cæsar caused a census to be taken. In the Helvetian camp lists were found in which the names of the several confederate tribes and their respective contingents were registered. These documents were written *litteris Græcis*, either in the Greek language or more probably in Greek characters. It cannot be supposed that the Helvetii were familiar with the language, since Cæsar (*B. G.* v. 48.) uses it expressly to conceal the purport of his despatches from the Nervii, who, rude as they were themselves, might easily have found an interpreter if such knowledge had been generally

The Gauls were penetrated with surprise and admiration at the power of the republic, which, at this distance from its home, had struck down an enemy before whom their own concentrated energies had quailed. The ability of the leader and the constancy of his legions through all the fatigues of so long a march, and the pressure of so many difficulties, impressed them with a higher sense of the character of their ancient rivals than national vanity had hitherto allowed them to entertain. They began at last to recognize the Romans as a superior race. Every state hastened to vie with its neighbours in strains of respect and adulation. Deputations crowded one upon another, congratulating the proconsul on his success, expressing the thanks of the Gaulish people for a deliverance such as they dared least expect from a stranger, so recently their deadly foe. But for Roman intervention Gaul, they confessed, would have been overrun from the Rhine to the Ocean, its cities destroyed, its political relations subverted, and the yoke of servitude imposed perhaps upon the entire nation.

The Gauls eager to pay their court to the victorious proconsul.

But if their most imminent danger had been that of conquest by the Helvetii, the prospect of the advance of the Germans was not in reality less alarming. In the midst of their rejoicings for their late deliverance, the Gaulish chieftains still exhibited tokens of secret apprehension. They communicated their fears to Cæsar, and desired his permission to convene an assembly of delegates from various states to determine upon a plan of united action.¹ The council was accordingly held.

Their apprehension of the encroachments of the Suevi.

diffused among the southern Gauls. Cæsar employs the same phrase in speaking of the Druids: "In publicis privatisque rationibus Græcis utuntur literis" (comp. Tac. *Germ.* 3.). Their acquaintance with the Greek alphabet would be derived from Massilia.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 30.: "Petierunt uti sibi concilium totius Galliæ in diem certam indicere," &c. Some writers imagine from this and one or two similar expressions that the whole of the Gaulish tribes were united in a general confederation, and consulted together occasionally for the common good. But this opinion has no foundation. The author of the Commentaries uses the

The result was that the deputies returned to the Roman camp, and placed themselves entirely at the proconsul's disposal. The whole affair was transacted with the utmost secrecy. The Gaulish chieftains, especially the Æduan, were so cowed by the tyranny of Ariovistus, that they dared not utter their apprehensions above their breath. It was not till they were assured of the discretion as well as the favour of the Roman, that they ventured, with Divitiacus for their spokesman, to expose the state of their relations with the German intruders, the oppression under which they were suffering, their ardent thirst for deliverance, and their resolution to put themselves under the guidance of their puissant ally.

The command which the Helvetii had received to return to their original seats, and maintain their ancient barriers against the Germans foreshadowed the policy of the Roman general. With whatever hopes of amity the senate might have amused Ariovistus,

He espouses
the cause of the
Gauls against
the intruders.

he could not but feel assured that the intentions of the proconsul, whom it had sent to manage the affairs of Gaul with absolute power, were decidedly hostile to his views. Cæsar had settled the question between him and the Ædui as to which of the two Rome should keep her word with; it was hardly possible to be true to both, and the governor of the province had perhaps no other alternative but to choose between them. Nor was the attitude adopted by the German chieftain calculated to disarm the jealousy of the republic. He declared formally that he had entered Gaul as a conqueror, equally with the Romans, and he claimed to share the country with the invaders from the south: *You have your province*, he said, *and I will have mine.*¹ The Romans could

word *totus* in a very loose way. He is here speaking only of the two confederations of which the Ædui and Arverni were respectively at the head, as appears clearly from the following chapter. But these embraced none of the states of Aquitania, Belgium, nor even the western division of Gaul. It was not likely that the people of Armorica or the tribes on the Rhine should have asked permission to attend a general convention from a Roman commander whose name could scarcely have reached them.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 44. ; or in the words of Florus, iii. 10. : "Quid est Cæsar?"

endure no such partnership. Their influence in Gaul beyond the Rhone rested mainly upon the reliance which the natives might be induced to place on their will and power to protect them. They well knew how the prevalence of such an opinion would assist in breaking up the national spirit of independence, and they already foresaw the rapid absorption of new victims into the mass of their conquests. Cæsar, in fact, embodied the sentiments and policy of his countrymen, in the career upon which he now deliberately entered, by which he designed to train his armies to victory, to enrich his followers, and to surround his person with admiring crowds of Roman and provincial adherents.

The demands, however, which the proconsul made upon the German chieftain bore a semblance of moderation, and were such as a potentate of less pride and wilfulness might have secured his safety by accepting.¹ He was required to transport no more of his countrymen across the Rhine, to restore their hostages to the Ædui and Sequani, and to enter into relations of amity with the states upon which he had hitherto trampled. On these conditions the proconsul pledged himself to maintain the good understanding which had thus far subsisted between the rival powers. He would urge no pretensions to diminish the authority which Ariovistus had acquired in Gaul. But the barbarian, flushed with success, would listen to no proposals which did not recognize his sudden and precarious occupation of Gallic territory as an equal title to independent sovereignty with the slowly-consolidated dominion of the Romans. He courted war as between two equal and rival powers; the alliance which the Romans had formed with the Gaulish states he treated with scorn, and disputed their right to step forward as the defenders of the Ædui. While these discussions were in progress, certain of that nation came to Cæsar with further complaints of the violation

Ariovistus refuses the proconsul's terms of accommodation.

si vult, veniat: quid ad illum quid agat nostra Germania? num ego me interpono Romanis?"

¹ Cæs. B. G. i. 34-36.

of their territory by the German warriors: at the same moment the Treviri also besought his assistance to prevent an incursion of the Suevi, one hundred of whose cantons had already assembled all their forces on the bank of the Rhine, for the purpose of a general migration. It was of the utmost importance to strike a blow before this multitude could effect a junction with Ariovistus. Cæsar immediately placed himself at the head of his legions, and marched towards the encampment of the German chieftain, prepared to bring the conference to a close in person, or to enforce his demands by arms. When he had reached Vesontio (Besançon) in the country of the Sequani, where it was necessary to halt a few days to provision the troops, symptoms of insubordination began to manifest themselves in the Roman camp.¹ The proconsul was attended, according to the custom of the times, by a number of young men of family, who came to make under his eye their first essay of arms. The hardships and perils of a Gallic campaign, against savage foes and in an ungenial climate, were more appalling to their imaginations than the service to which their fathers had devoted themselves in Asia, the land of luxuries and pleasures. The name of the Gauls indeed had been stripped of much of its ancient terror; but the republic had not encountered the Germanic races since the invasion of the Teutones, and the hard-won victory of Marius had failed to obliterate the remembrance of her last great panic. Accordingly, when the Sequani were interrogated about the Germans, and described them as the most terrible of men, of tremendous stature, of hideous form, of savage cruelty, warriors who had not slept under a roof for fourteen years,² the shattered nerves of the dissolute patricians gave way. From these effeminate volunteers the alarm spread to the veterans, and pervaded the camp. Many sought leave of absence and fled from the danger; others whom a sense of honour retained at their standards, were yet unable

Cæsar commences hostilities.

Panic in the Roman army.

¹ Cæs. B. G. i. 39-41.; comp. Plut. Cæs. 19.; Dion, xxxviii. 35.

² Cæs. B. G. i. 36.

to conceal their fears, and did even more harm by remaining.¹ It required all Cæsar's address and patience to make head against the growing spirit of dismay. He advised men and officers in private, he harangued them in public, and when at last every counsel and consolation failed, he threw himself, with the tact of an older general, upon their feelings of pride and emulation. No commander, he said, had ever been ruined, unless by the desertion of his fortune or his own injustice. He declared his reliance upon the fortune which had already so conspicuously attached itself to him, at the same time he was no less animated by the consciousness of his rectitude. Such was his confidence, that he was resolved to go through with the affair he had undertaken, though with no more than a single legion. The tenth legion he knew he could trust, and with the services of all the rest, if they chose to desert him, he could afford to dispense. To the tenth legion the defence of the Province had been committed at the commencement of Cæsar's proconsulate. It was the same, perhaps, which had rendered Pomptinus victorious over the Allobroges, and it had more recently maintained the line of the Rhone against the threatened invasion of the Helvetii.² The favoured division received the compliment with acclamations, while the rest of the army, stung with remorse, determined to wipe off the stain of cowardice, and declared their readiness to dare the worst.

Having thus arrested the contagion of terror among his soldiery, their leader lost no time in bringing them into the enemy's presence. Nevertheless, he was anxious to conduct the quarrel, if possible, to a peaceable issue, and accordingly he proposed a conference to the German chieftain. They met on a hill rising from the centre of a plain, where they could be observed by either army, and the openness of the ground offered no lurking-place for an ambuscade.³ Each was attended by a squadron

Cæsar has a conference with Ariovistus.

¹ Florus, iii. 10., copying Cæsar, c. 39.: "Itaque tantus gentis novæ terror in castris, ut testamenta passim etiam in principis scriberentur."

² Guischard, *Mém. Milit.* iii. 15.

³ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 43-45.

of cavalry of equal numbers. Cæsar had no Roman cavalry, nor could he safely confide in his Gaulish auxiliaries: yet he would not reject the arrangement proposed by his adversary, nor betray any appearance of distrust or dread. He caused a party of Gauls to dismount, and placed upon their horses the infantry of his favourite legion. Thus escorted he met Ariovistus at the appointed spot, and recommenced a discussion upon the points which had already been debated between them. The disputants failed, as before, to satisfy each other. Cæsar persisted in his previous demands with the firmness of a Roman emperor, representing the fixed resolution of the government of which he declared himself merely the agent. Ariovistus had nothing but his own will, his own views and policy, to appeal to: though moderate and even respectful in manner, he had no less confidence and constancy than his rival. Each party urged his own right to make conquests over the Gauls. The German, indeed, admitted the equal claims of both, while the Roman contended that the priority of his own country's relations with Gaul gave it the right of excluding from the ground all other competitors. The conference, we are told, was interrupted by the impatience of the German horse, who suddenly assailed the Romans with stones and arrows. Cæsar immediately withdrew, and prepared for more serious hostilities. A further attempt at negotiation failed through the inconstancy of the German chief, who invited the Roman general to a second conference, but treated as spies the envoys whom he sent in his stead, and threw them into chains.¹

The spot at which these occurrences took place lay in the space between the two armies, which were twenty-four miles

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 46, 47. Cæsar seems anxious to represent the perfidy of the barbarian in the strongest colours, and does not fail to inform us that his envoys, C. Valerius Procillus and M. Mettius, were selected by him as having been guests of Ariovistus. It will be remembered that our accounts of these transactions, drawn almost entirely from Cæsar's own narrative, are ordinarily unchecked by any independent authority. The Romans themselves questioned Cæsar's candour; nevertheless, it would seem that their self-love forbade them to refute his statements.

Decisive battle
between the
Romans and
Germans.

apart. Cæsar abstained from advancing, and formed a large entrenched camp to contain the whole of his forces, in expectation of an immediate attack from the Suevi, who manœuvred around him, and established their lines, at a distance of two miles, between him and Vesontio, whence he drew his supplies. Finding the enemy disposed to defer the contest, it was now the Roman's wish to compel him to fight. Cæsar led his troops in front of the German position, and drew them up in battle array, but to no purpose. This operation he repeated several days in succession; still the Germans, generally so impetuous and so confident of victory, would neither attack him in his trenches nor meet him in the open field. It appeared from the account of some captives that this reserve was not the effect of the superior discipline introduced by Ariovistus, but arose from a motive of superstition. On such occasions, they reported, whether to fight or to refrain was determined by the decision of the women, whom the Germans were wont to regard with peculiar deference.¹ The women had consulted together, according to the prescribed forms of divination, and declared that their countrymen could not conquer if they engaged before the new moon.² Having ascertained the cause of the enemy's inactivity, Cæsar took advantage of it to make a movement by which he outflanked them, and then entrenched a second camp in the rear of their position, thereby re-establishing his communications. He was now in a situation to force a battle, and at last, after one or two indecisive skirmishes, he was gratified by seeing the whole German host issue from its camp and spread over the plain, tribe by tribe, the women and children in the rear, intermingled with the vast assemblage of waggons, placed apparently on purpose to cut off the possibility of flight. The barbarians formed in huge pha-

¹ The superstitious veneration paid to women by the Germans is noticed by Tacitus (*Germ.* 8.): "Inesse sanetum quid et providum fœminis putant, nec aut consilia earum aspernantur, aut responsa negant." See also *Hist.* iv. 61. Strabo makes the same remark of the Cimbri (vii. 2.). Dion (xxxviii. 48.) follows Cæsar.

² Tac. *Germ.* 11.

lanxes, the men raising their shields, as the Helvetii had done, like an enormous coat of mail, over their heads. The Romans threw their piles, and rushed headlong upon the unwieldy mass, each man marking his own object and making directly for it. Unable to break the compact lines of the enemy, they leaped upon them, and, tearing up the serried shields, pierced their half-stified bearers from above; a desperate mode of attack, to which little resistance could be offered, but exposing to inevitable death the assailant who should fall into the midst. The right wing of the Germans was at last broken and scattered in flight; but the left resisted, and, swaying slowly this way and that, overpowered the forces confronted with it. The third line or reserve of the Romans was then brought into the field, and at last the Germans were thoroughly routed on every side. The fugitives burst through the barrier of waggons in their rear, and fled precipitately towards the Rhine. The distance was only five miles,¹ and the pursuit was not slackened to the very brink of the river. Ariovistus succeeded in crossing by means of a boat: not many of his followers were equally fortunate. Some swam the stream, but a far greater number were overtaken and put to the sword. The women shared perhaps the fate of the combatants. Two wives of the German king perished;² of their daughters one was slain, another captured.

¹ The manuscripts of Cæsar read *quinque*, which agrees with the old Greek translation, *τεσσαράκοντα στάδια*. But Plutarch makes the distance four hundred stadia, or fifty miles. The context gives little assistance towards determining between these accounts. We only know that Cæsar marched seven days after leaving Besançon, and made a circuit of fifty miles. The distance of Besançon from the Rhine, in a direct line, is about eighty miles. Adopting the reading of our text, the field of battle would probably lie between Bâle and Muhlhausen.

² "Utræque perierant," Cæs., whom Orosius flatly contradicts, saying: "duæ captæ sunt." It would not be worth while to mention this discrepancy, but to point out, once for all, the extreme carelessness of many of the later writers in going over Cæsar's ground, although they must have had his commentaries in their hands. The only work which could have come into competition with his, for the author's means of personal knowledge, was the history of his own times by Asinius Pollio, but we are not informed whether that writer entered

The Roman general was well pleased to recover Procillus, the bearer of the late flag of truce, whose guards were overtaken while dragging him along in their flight. Three times, he related, had lots been drawn in his presence, to decide whether he should be burnt at once in sacrifice, or reserved for a future occasion; each time he had owed his life to the chance of sortilege.¹

The Suevi who, as before mentioned, had arrived on the banks of the Rhine, and were preparing to cross into Gaul, and share the flourishing fortunes of their countrymen, were struck with consternation at the apparition of the flying king and his routed horde. They had no further appetite for aggression, and would gladly have returned in safety to their homes. But the Ubii,² whose hostility they had provoked on their march, turned upon them, and made great slaughter in their ranks. The soil of Gaul was thus delivered from the German invaders, and its security in that quarter seemed at least for a time to be sufficiently assured.³ The proconsul led his troops into winter quarters among the Sequani, where he left Labienus in command. Having accomplished both his immediate objects in two campaigns and a single season, he retired for the winter into the Hither Gaul, and convened the annual assembly of that province.⁴

When Cæsar entered the Transalpine province he found, as we have seen, only a single legion observing the frontiers.

The colonies of the republic were defended by a provincial militia, forming not separate legions, but a number of flying cohorts attached to the

into the details of the Gaulish campaigns. About plurality of wives among the Germans, comp. Tac. *Germ.* 18.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 53.

² The Ubii, better known in later times as a Cisrhenane people, dwelt at this period beyond the Rhine, to the south of the Sigambri, probably on the Mayn and Lahn, surrounded by the Suevi. Comp. Zeuss, *die Deutschen*, &c., p. 87.

³ It seems that Ariovistus died shortly afterwards. Comp. *B. G.* v. 29.: "Magno esse Germanis dolori Ariovisti mortem."

⁴ Cæs. *B. G.* i. 54.

regular force.¹ The rapidity of communication by means of the great roads, with which it was the policy of the Romans to connect every important position, may have enabled them to dispense with stationary garrisons in every principal town. The full complement of the legion amounted to about six thousand infantry. For its complete equipment it required also a body of three hundred horse: but the cavalry which Cæsar employed throughout his Gallic campaigns was almost entirely Gaulish.² This compact body was attended into the field by auxiliary forces composed of the allies or subjects of the republic, not levied from the neighbouring states only, but drawn also from more distant possessions. Cæsar brought into the field javelinmen from Numidia, bowmen from Crete, and slingers from the Balearic isles.³ Besides the legion already stationed in the province, the state furnished the proconsul with three more; and these he had summoned from Aquileia to join in the pursuit of the Helvetii. But not satisfied with the number prescribed him by the decrees of the senate and people,⁴ he undertook to raise two others in addition at his own charge,⁵ though he afterwards contrived to make the state maintain them. Nor, when the magnitude of his operations required fresh succours, did he restrict himself even to this number. In the second year of the war we shall see him enter the country of the Nervii with eight legions,⁶ and provide himself with at least three others at a later period, to occupy a more extended field of enterprize.⁷

¹ It appears from the inscription of a coin (*Thes. Goltz.* p. 237.) that the colony of Arausio (Orange) was founded by the thirty-third cohort of the second legion. See Harduin. *ad Plin. H. N.* iii. 4.

² Spanish cavalry are mentioned *B. G.* v. 26. It is probable also that Cæsar had some Numidian squadrons (ii. 7.). Guischart, *Mém. Milit.* iii. 37.

³ *Cæs. B. G.* ii. 7. The Numidian light infantry used darts four feet in length. Polyb. i. 74.; Appian, *Hisp.* 25., *Pun.* ii. 71.

Comp. Lucan, iv. 680.:

“Æquaturusque sagittas

Medorum tremulum cum torsit missile Mazax.”

⁴ Plut. *Cæs.* 14., *Pomp.* 48., *Cat. Min.* 33.; Dion, xxxviii. 41.

⁵ Suet. *Jul.* 24.

⁶ *Cæs. B. G.* ii. 23.

⁷ *Cæs. B. G.* vi. 32. These included one which Cæsar borrowed of Pom-

These troops, composed partly of veterans, but principally of new conscripts, were gradually inured to equal discipline and bravery, and vied with each other in feats of prowess and devotion to their commander. Their great leader was not insensible how much he owed to their faithful services. No general was ever more lavish of his praises than he who recorded his soldiers' achievements in his own commentaries on his wars. Distinguished as all the legions were in turn, there was one, the tenth, in which, as we have seen, Cæsar placed peculiar confidence, and which he has exalted by his encomiums to celebrity in military annals. And as with his soldiers, so was it also with his officers. Cæsar betrayed no jealousy of the merits of Labienus, the foremost of that renowned band. Nor had he any occasion to fear the rivalry even of the best of the captains formed in his school; for Labienus, who had acquired immortal laurels in Gaul, as second to the proconsul, was destined to fall no less signally when he deserted to an enemy, and arrayed himself against his former leader. The proconsul carried with him Quintus, the brother of Marcus Cicero, and Publius, the son of the triumvir Crassus: both of them became good officers under his eye. Cotta and Sabinus, Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, obtained distinction under the same auspices. The two former were cut off by the sudden attack of an overwhelming enemy; the two latter survived to conspire against their generous commander, the founder of their fame and fortunes.¹

peius in the year 700, and again restored to him, on his demand, four years afterwards. *Cæs. B. G.* vi. 1., viii. 54.; *Appian, B. C.* ii. 29.; *Dion*, xl. 65.

¹ Guischard (*Mém. Milit.* iii. 46.) gives a complete list of Cæsar's officers, as far as they are known to us: T. Labienus, P. Considius, Q. Peditus, Q. Titurius Sabinus, L. Aurunculeius Cotta, Servius Galba, Decimus Brutus, P. Sulpicius Rufus, Q. Atrius, C. Trebonius, C. Fabius, Q. Cicero, L. Roscius, L. Munatius Plancus, L. Silanus, C. Antistius Regulus, T. Sextius, C. Volcatius Tullus, L. Minucius Basilus, L. Cæsar, M. Antonius, Caninius Rebilus, M. Sempronius Rutilus, Q. Calenus, P. Crassus, and P. Vatinius. Most of these personages we shall find distinguished in various ways in the eventful years which followed.

CHAPTER VII.

CÆSAR'S SECOND CAMPAIGN IN GAUL, A. U. 697. B. C. 57.—WAR WITH THE BELGIANS.—REDUCTION OF THE SUESSIONES AND BELLOVACI.—GALLANT RESISTANCE OF THE NERVII.—GENERAL SUBMISSION OF THE BELGIAN TRIBES, AND OF THE NORTH-WESTERN STATES OF GAUL.—UNSUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN OF GALBA IN THE ALPS.—CÆSAR'S THIRD CAMPAIGN, A. U. 698.—REDUCTION OF THE VENETI AND ARMORICAN TRIBES.—P. CRASSUS CONQUERS THE AQUITANIANS.—CÆSAR CHASTISES THE MENAPII AND MORINI.—PACIFICATION OF GAUL.

THE state of affairs in Gaul had undergone considerable change during the few months which Cæsar had occupied in its defence. Two formidable hordes of invaders had been defeated and expelled, and the power of the Germans, which had threatened the country with permanent subjugation, was so effectually broken, that the frontier tribes of Gaul might hope again to see the day when they should push their incursions across the Rhine, instead of being the prey of adventurers from beyond it. But in the place of these two enemies the Gauls had introduced far into the interior of their country a power which, under the name of friend and ally, already threatened to reduce them not less completely to servitude. When Cæsar crossed the Alps for the winter he quartered his troops, not within the limits of the Roman province, but in the territory of the Sequani. What was the meaning of this innovation? Was there any possibility of Ariovistus returning after his signal defeat with another horde of Suevi to recover his Gallic possessions? or were the Sequani, weakened as they now were by the oppression of the Germans, exposed so

Review of the
state of Gaul.
A. U. 697.
B. C. 57.

helplessly to the hatred of the Ædui as to require a Roman garrison for their protection? The proconsul, it would appear, already anticipated the aggressive movement which was about to take place among the Belgian tribes. The Sequani he knew had fallen for ever from that high estimation among the Gauls, in virtue of which they had been allowed to assume the pre-eminence heretofore occupied by the Arverni. Not only their political weakness, but the remembrance also of their treachery in inviting the Germans across the Rhine, disgusted the petty states which had formerly served them as clients. Of these some now betook themselves to the Ædui with the offer of allegiance; others, not forgetting the tyranny of that nation during its prosperity, and suspicious of a people who piqued themselves on their intimacy with the Romans, looked out for another patron. The Remi were the most powerful of the Belgian tribes. They envied the position to which the chief states of southern Gaul had attained as leaders of numerous confederacies, and rejoiced in succeeding to a part at least of the influence lately enjoyed by the Sequani.¹ They also were in turn distrusted by the other Belgic states, which hastened to form an alliance among themselves, while the Remi haughtily kept aloof.

Meanwhile the Romans, on their part, were improving the advantages they had secured. The establishment of their winter quarters among the Sequani gave them paramount influence over that broken and dejected people. They restored the hostages of whose retention the Ædui so bitterly complained; but in return they surrounded their camps and councils with Roman spies and agents, and contrived to get into their own hands the real direction of their affairs. The blandishments of Italian civilization were found efficient in reconciling the proudest of the Gauls to the universal yoke. Divitiacus, the gentle victim of southern luxury, was a useful instrument in

The Romans establish their influence over the Sequani.

¹ Cæsar (*B. G.* vi. 12.), speaking of this period, says: "Eo tum statu res erat, ut longe principes haberentur Ædui, secundum locum dignitatis Remi obtinerent."

the conquerors' hands; while the restless intrigues of his brother Dumnorix awakened no response in the breasts of a people already dreaming of a new career of supremacy under foreign patronage.

While the Ædui were thus familiarizing themselves with these silken fetters, the Remi also were not unwilling to bend before the influence of Rome, with the hope of consolidating their own power. But the other Belgian tribes, unbroken as yet by war and uncorrupted by artifice, combined together under the lead of the Suessiones, and rose in arms against the intruders.¹ The rumour of their intended outbreak reached Cæsar before it had actually burst forth. He hastened to raise two new legions, and hurried back from Italy to the scene of danger. The Belgians had met in a general conference; the Suessiones, the Nervii, the Bellovaci, the Atrebates, the Ambiani, the Morini, the Menapii, the Caletes, the Velocasses, the Veromandui, all the nations between the mouths of the Meuse and the Seine, together with those of the interior:² to these were added the tribes of German descent; the Eburones, Condrusi, Cæresi and Pæmani,³ all joined in this mighty coalition: the armies it brought into the field numbered altogether two hundred and ninety thousand men. The Remi alone refused to league themselves in the common cause,⁴ and attempted in vain to sow dissension among the confederates. Upon them accordingly the whole weight of the Belgian

Confederacy
of the Belgian
tribes against
the invaders.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 4. and foll. Under the sway of a chieftain named Divitiacus, the Suessiones had recently become the most flourishing and powerful of the Belgian states and had extended their sovereignty over a part of Britain.

² These names are identified with the following modern places and districts respectively, Soissons, Hainault, Beauvais, Artois, Amiens, the coast of the Pas du Calais and West Flanders, East Flanders, Pays de Caux in Normandy, the Vexin, the Vermandois.

³ Brabant, Liege, and Limburg.

⁴ The Remi were a powerful people, and occupied probably a great part of the three departments of Aisne, Marne, and Ardennes. Bibracte (Bièvre) is sometimes mentioned as their capital, and sometimes Durocortorum (Rheims).

forces was in the first instance directed. They appealed to the proconsul for protection, and offered to place themselves entirely at his disposal. They sent him hostages, and proposed to open their fortresses to his soldiers. Cæsar embraced their offer with alacrity, promised them the protection of the republic, and at the same time took measures to secure their entire dependence for the future. The Roman forces were immediately put in motion to succour the suppliant state. The Ædui meanwhile showed their usual want of fidelity or of vigour; the assistance demanded of them was tardily and reluctantly supplied. Divitiacus, still attending upon Cæsar, and still entranced in admiration of him, conjured his countrymen to give their succours freely and liberally. The legions advanced to the banks of the Axona (Aisne), which they crossed, and then awaited in an entrenched camp the expected attack of the Gallo-Germans.

Bibrax, or Bibracte, the capital of the Remi, eight miles distant from the Roman encampment, was at this moment assailed by the confederates. Their mode of attack was to clear the ramparts by a constant discharge of stones and arrows, and to advance parties of sappers to their foot under the cover of a storm of missiles, their shields firmly compacted over their heads. Their progress was slow, but its success seemed certain. The defenders were exhausted with wounds and fatigue. At last they found means of communicating with the Roman general. They represented that they were not in a condition to hold out longer; unless prompt assistance arrived the place was lost. Cæsar hastily despatched some cavalry and light troops, which penetrated the loose array of the blockading forces, and were received within the walls. The Belgians, disappointed at the escape of their prey, had not the firmness to recommence their frustrated work: after spending a few days in ravaging the neighbourhood, they broke up from their lines and advanced towards the Roman position. Cæsar's eagle eye measured the long extent of their front by the smoke of their fires by day and the

Commencement of the war: Cæsar's second campaign.

A. U. 697.

B. C. 57.

flames at night, and estimated it at not less than eight miles.

The numbers of the enemy and their reputation for superior prowess made Cæsar pause before he ventured to give them battle. The result of a few cavalry skirmishes reassured him, and he resolved to challenge the Belgians to a general engagement.

The Belgians
attack Cæsar's
position on the
Aisne,

The confederates issued from their camp as soon as they beheld the Romans before them, and prepared to receive the shock. The proconsul's camp was placed on the summit of a gentle acclivity. In front the ground, as it sloped towards the plain, offered sufficient space for the evolutions of the six legions which he brought at once into action. His rear relied upon the river, and he communicated with the further bank by a bridge, commanded by an earthwork at its head, and guarded by a small detachment. The two fresh legions he kept, according to his general practice, as a reserve within his lines. But as his principal danger lay in the risk of being outflanked by superior numbers, he drew a trench from either side of the hill to a distance of four hundred paces, and erected works at each extremity, which he fortified with great care, and equipped with military engines. Thus advantageously posted, the Romans were sheltered moreover by a morass in their front, into which they hoped the enemy would impetuously plunge.¹ But the Gallo-Germans possessed prudence and caution no less than bravery, and rested on their arms, awaiting the onset of the Romans as invaders and aggressors. The cavalry engaged, and the Romans had the best of the encounter; but when he found that the Belgians could not be induced to charge, Cæsar withdrew his legions within his camp.

Thus unsuccessful in drawing the Romans from their po-

¹ Cæsar's position is said to have been a little below Pont-à-Vaire, on the Aisne, where a morass still exists in the direction which he indicates. A camp placed here would be distant 14,000 toises from Rheims, 22,000 from Soissons, 16,000 from Laon, and 8,000 from Bièvre, which is supposed to have been Bibracte of the Remi. *Précis des Guerres de Cæsar*, p. 44.; Mannert, ii. 207.

sition, the Belgians changed their plan. By a lateral movement they reached the banks of the river at a place where the stream was fordable, with the intention of crossing it, and thus throwing themselves upon the enemy's rear. As soon, however, as the detachment at the bridge head observed this demonstration, they apprized the general, and he immediately despatched his horse and light troops to prevent its taking effect. These squadrons, crossing the river by the bridge, reached the ford before the Belgians had made good their passage, and attacked them with their missiles while yet struggling in the middle of the stream. A party which had already gained the opposite side was surrounded and cut to pieces by the cavalry. The attempt, though persisted in with obstinate bravery, completely failed, and the Belgians were forced to betake themselves again to their former quarters. The country which they had ravaged began now to fail in supplies; while at the same time they heard that Divitiacus, having collected the Æduan forces, had entered their confines, and was carrying fire and sword to their own homes. The confederates, ill-assorted and undisciplined, flew each to the defence of his own. The confusion which attended upon this hasty break-up was reported to Cæsar, and he darted rapidly upon the disorganized mass. The rear-guard, if such it might be called, made a brave resistance; but the numbers and skill of the Romans were invincible, and the day was spent in merciless carnage rather than conflict.

On the morrow the conqueror pushed his success further.¹ He marched upon Noviodunum, the principal stronghold of the Suessiones. Having failed in taking it by the first sudden assault, he constructed the moveable towers which the Romans used in their regular sieges, advancing them filled with combatants to the ramparts, and carrying on from them a war of missiles, under cover of which the walls were either mined or shattered by

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* ii. 12. Noviodunum is said to be Soissons. D'Anville; Mannert, ii. i. 205.

the battering-ram. These engines were hitherto unknown to the Gauls, and they soon found them much more efficient than their own rude operations. They hastened to anticipate the vengeance of the conqueror by timely capitulation. The lives of the garrison and inhabitants were assured to them at the prayer of the Remi; but Cæsar insisted upon the surrender of their arms, together with the persons of the principal citizens and of the king's two sons. The nation was then received among the subjects of the republic.

Presently the Bellovaci, into whose territory Cæsar immediately advanced, despairing of effectual resistance, courted the clemency of the invader. At the first rumour of his approach, the population had crowded into ^{and of the Bellovaci.} Bratuspantium, their principal fortress, with all the valuables they could remove. From hence they sent out a train of old men in the garb and attitude of suppliants. When the proconsul advanced within sight of the walls, he found them crowned with multitudes of women and children, all stretching forth their hands towards him, and signifying by their gestures the utmost fear and humiliation. Divitiacus also undertook to plead their cause. He urged the wishes of his own people for their pardon, declaring that they had formerly been faithful allies of the Ædui, and had only abandoned them at the instigation of certain evil counsellors. The authors of the revolt had escaped into Britain, with which country the Bellovaci entertained close relations. The mass of the nation, being relieved from their presence, would, he doubted not, return to its duty, and thereby increase the reputation of the Ædui for influence with Rome and clemency towards their fellow-countrymen. Cæsar was not indisposed to allow his allies the credit of thus saving their ancient clients. He professed to be overcome by the prayers and arguments of Divitiacus; but, in consideration of the size and importance of this state,¹ he demanded from it not fewer than six hundred

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* ii. 4.: "Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos et virtute et auctoritate et hominum numero valere." They boasted that they could bring an hundred thousand warriors into the field.

hostages. When he had received these, and had seized upon all the arms he could collect, he left the country, and entered that of the Ambiani, who made their submission and met with similar treatment.

Thus far the Belgians had done little to justify their reputation for superior valour. The force opposed to them was indeed overwhelming; but they had yielded almost without a trial of strength. But it was not so with the Nervii and their immediate allies, the Aduatuci, the Atrebatas and Veromandui. The Nervii were peculiarly proud of their German descent, and affected to despise what they termed the effeminacy of their Gaulish neighbours. According to their ideas, the only security for maintaining their national bravery was the preservation of the barbarian character in all its unsophisticated rudeness.¹ Accordingly, they forbade the introduction of foreign goods, prohibited the use of wine and other delicacies, and prided themselves on the coarseness of their mode of life. They taunted the Suessiones, Bellovaci and Ambiani with their cowardly submission, declared their resolution to maintain the struggle with their own unassisted resources, and challenged the Roman general to follow them into their fastnesses. Contemptuously rejecting the defences, clumsy as they were, which their Gaulish neighbours adopted, they erected no walled fortresses;² their dwellings were merely open villages; their places of strength the woods and marshes in which their country abounded. They sheltered their families in the impregnable islands which obstruct the outlets of the Scheldt and Meuse, while the whole flower of the nation and its allies, excepting the Aduatuci, who had not yet arrived, took up their position behind the Sabis (Sambre), in the direction in which the enemy was expected to advance.³ The Ro-

The Nervii and some other tribes still hold out.

¹ Cæsar. *B. G.* ii. 15.

² Cæsar describes (ii. 17.) the peculiar mode which the Nervii adopted for impeding the progress of cavalry, by forming hedges of thorns, brushwood, and the twisted branches of trees.

³ What this direction was it is impossible to ascertain with precision. Cæsar marched from Amiens; but the Nervii had no capital city for him to

man general was not less anxious to meet them, marching as he was at the head of one of the finest armies that had ever taken the field, consisting of eight legions, all full of confidence in their leader's fortune and their own valour. He was attended also by many of the Belgian chieftains, who publicly vaunted their zeal in his cause, while they were watching for an opportunity to desert or betray him. They secretly apprized the Nervian chieftain Bodugnatus, that the order of the army's advance was such as to invite a well-concerted attack. Each legion marched separately, followed by its long train of baggage and military engines. If the head of this winding column were boldly assailed, it might be cut off before effectual resistance could be rendered from the ranks behind. But the Belgians had not fought against the Romans long enough to understand their tactics. As soon as Cæsar learned that he was approaching the enemy, he altered the disposition of his troops.¹ Six legions now advanced in front, next followed the whole of their collected baggage, under the escort of the two legions of recent levies, who formed the rear guard on the march and the reserve on the day of battle. He selected for the site of his encampment a hill descending with a gentle slope to the Sambre. As fast as the legions arrived on the ground they were employed in throwing up their earthworks for the night's shelter. The cavalry were despatched to clear the banks of the stream of some

strike at. He would therefore seek out their army wherever it might be posted. He says that he marched three days through the Nervian territories. If this is to be interpreted strictly, it would lead him between the Scheldt and the Sambre, on the right bank of the one and the left of the other. If the Nervii placed themselves on the right bank of the Sambre, they would have abandoned their country to him entirely, nor would the barrier of the Scheldt have prevented his ravaging at least one half of it. If he directed his line of march through the country of the Veromandui, the Nervii might have defended the access to their territories by placing themselves on the left bank of the Sambre, near Maubeuge; or if he crossed the country of the Atrebatæ, he might propose to force the passage of the Scheldt at Condé or Valenciennes. The critics have generally supposed the second of these courses to be that which he adopted.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* ii. 19.

bodies of the enemy's horse, that the troops might use their watering-places unmolested. The Belgian skirmishers hereupon retreated up the opposite hill into the wood which crowned it, where their main body had already established itself under shelter and unperceived by the Romans.

While the legionaries were busily employed upon their works, the train of baggage began to gain the summit of the hill. This was the appointed signal for the Nervii to burst from their concealment in the wood.

The Nervii surprise Cæsar's position, Long had they waited for it, and great had been their disappointment as they saw legion after legion take up their ground before its arrival. But when they beheld the whole Roman army standing before them they were not dismayed. They trusted in the suddenness of their appearance and the impetuosity of their charge. Cæsar was taken by surprise; it was impossible to issue at once all the orders requisite for the disposition of his numerous forces. But the admirable training of the legionaries supplied for the moment the place of generalship. Each man seemed to know, as if by instinct, what it was his part to do, and where to betake himself. The standard-bearers flew to their ensigns planted in the ground; the men flocked around them; line and battalion formed spontaneously. Though many had not time to seize their helmets, or draw off the leathern coverings from their shields, though some of the standards were yet furled, and the hedges with which the country had been obstructed prevented some divisions from seeing the movements of the others, yet in a few minutes the whole scattered multitude was disposed in all the intricate order of Roman battle-array. Meanwhile, the charge of the Nervii had swept off the squadrons of Gaulish horse, together with the light skirmishers who had crossed the stream, hurling them back upon the right wing of the Romans, on which were the twelfth and seventh legions. On the left the ninth and tenth met the attack of the Atrebatæ, and, aided by the superiority of ground, repulsed their wearied and breathless assailants. The Atrebatæ, thus beaten from the brow of the hill, recrossed

the river in confusion, losing many in its waters, the Romans pursuing them, and compelling them to renew the combat on the other side. At the same time the Roman centre, consisting of the eighth and eleventh legions, sustained the charge of the Veromandui, and confined their assailants to the strip of level ground between the acclivity in front and the river, which they had tumultuously crossed, in their rear.

The conflict was thus raging in every quarter with no decided success on either side, when a movement of the Nervii on the right suddenly changed the face of affairs. Their superior numbers enabled them to keep the Romans in check with a part only of their forces, while another division turned the enemy's flank, and rushed furiously up the hill on which the encampment was marked out. On the summit of this acclivity Cæsar's cavalry, which had been repulsed from the other side of the river, had taken breath and formed again; but the sight of the Nervii revived their former panic, and they fled a second time without a blow. Meanwhile, the sutlers and occupants of the camp, which the reserve had not yet reached, had followed the left wing in the hope of sharing in the plunder of the Atrebrates, whose confusion on the first attack had appeared irrecoverable. When they now turned their heads and beheld the Nervii in possession of their works, they cried that all was over, and dispersed in every direction. At the same moment the cavalry sent by the Treviri to Cæsar's assistance, glad to believe the battle lost, left the field with precipitation, and spread far and wide the welcome news, that the Roman camp was taken, and the army totally routed.

Cæsar had been himself engaged on the left wing; one moment yet remained to confirm the flagging resolution of the legions on the right, and a glance revealed to him at the critical instant the imminence of his peril. He threw himself immediately into the post of danger. He found the twelfth legion almost surrounded, and the men huddling together about their ensigns, the centurions and standard-bearers for the most part slain, despair begin-

and carry his
camp by storm.

Imminent
danger of the
Roman army.

ning to prevail among the survivors, and fugitives escaping in numbers from the ranks. The Nervii were concentrating their dense forces all around them, and pressing the attack with inexhaustible energy. In this extremity the personal exertions of the general decided the fortune of the day. He knew that the reserve was pressing eagerly forward to his succour; but to maintain his position and prevent premature dispersion, it was necessary to gain more room for his men to use their arms, and to execute the manœuvre of turning the two legions back to back. Cæsar, indeed, well knew his du-

Cæsar fights in the ranks.

ty as a general to abstain from personal exposure in combat; but on such an occasion as this he could throw off all restraint, and fight in the first rank with the meanest of the soldiery. When his men saw him thus measuring himself with the enemy hand to hand, armed with a buckler which he had snatched from a soldier of the hindmost rank;¹ when they heard him encouraging their centurions by name, and acquitting himself among them as their equal and fellow, every hand was nerved with new vigour, every order he could utter was obeyed with ardour or anticipated by instinct, and a few minutes sufficed to clear a space in which the two legions could spread their ranks and place themselves in a position for mutual support and defence.²

Thus arrayed the Romans were able to maintain themselves, at least for a time, against the weight and numbers

The Roman army is rescued by the arrival of the reserve.

of their assailants. The Nervii made little use of distant missiles: they trusted to their great strength and stature, and were eager to close with an enemy to whom they held themselves personally superior.

¹ Compare the conduct of Marius in the battle with the Teutones. *Plut. Mar.* 20.

² Compare *Suet. Jul.* 62.: "Inclinatam aciem solus sæpe restituit, obsistens fugientibus retinensque singulos, et contortis faucibus convertens in hostem: et quidem adeo plerumque trepidos, ut aquilifero moranti se cuspidem sit comminatus, alius in manu retinentis reliquerit signum." Also *Lucan.* vii. 576.:

"Promovet ipse acies, impellit terga suorum,
Verbere conversæ cessantes excitat hastæ."

But the cool intrepidity of the sturdy legionary, with his thorough command of his cut-and-thrust sword of unfailing temper, was more than a match, man to man, for the German with his ponderous falchion, which embarrassed the slow and heavy movements of its bearer. The agile Roman, peering over the rim of his shield held close to his breast, attracted the eye of his gigantic foe, while he pierced his belly from below; and as long as he had room to use his weapons, his activity and skill in fence made him almost invulnerable. At length the reserve made its appearance on the brow of the hill, and, at the same moment, Labienus, on the left wing, having driven the Atrebates to the summit of the German position, and even occupied their camp, perceived from above the distress of his general, and detached the tenth legion to its assistance. A strong reinforcement of troops, some fresh and the others victorious, now poured exultingly upon the rear and flanks of the Nervii. The fugitives reappeared in the field, and sought by renewed exertions to efface the stain of their defection. The wounded and the dying collected their failing energies to raise themselves on their shields and hurl their arms at the enemy. Courage and confidence everywhere revived, and the victory of the Romans became at last assured. Nevertheless, the resolution of the Nervii remained to the last indomitable. They were celebrated as the bravest of the Belgians, themselves the bravest of the Gauls, and never did they better sustain their character than on that fatal day. Their eulogy is preserved in the written testimony of their conqueror; and the Romans long remembered, and never failed to signalize, their formidable valour.¹ But this recollection of their ancient prowess became from that day the principal monument of their name and history, for the defeat they now sustained well nigh annihilated the nation. Their combatants were cut off almost to a man. The elders and the

The Nervii are routed, and their nation almost destroyed.

¹ The authorities for the account of this great battle are:—Cæs. *B. G.* ii. 19–27.; Liv. *Epit.* civ.; Plut. *Cæs.* 20.; Flor. iii. 10.; Dion, xxxix. 3.; Oros. vi. 7.

women, who had been left in secure retreats, came forth of their own accord to solicit the conqueror's clemency, and enumerated the losses of their tribe. *Of six hundred senators, they said, we have lost all but three; of sixty thousand fighting men five hundred only remain.* Cæsar treated the survivors with compassion, allowed them the free use of their territories, and promised to shelter the scanty remnant from the malice of the neighbouring tribes.

The narrative of Cæsar, which forms an instructive and interesting guide through the whole course of his policy and tactics in Gaul, is in general so concise, and enters so little into technical details, as to foil the military critics who profess to study in it the art of war. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to persuade ourselves that in this celebrated battle, in which he ran such imminent risk of destruction, he was not completely taken by surprise, and had failed to adopt the precautions of a consummate captain. He had sent forward his scouts in the early part of the day; and it was from some deserters perhaps from his advanced parties that the Belgians had ascertained the spot where he proposed to form his encampment for the night.¹ When he arrived on the ground he intended to take up, he still pushed cavalry and light infantry in front to clear the country before him; but these were so little in advance of him, or performed their service so negligently, as to allow a wood, apparently only a few bowshots from his lines, to conceal the whole force of the enemy assembled immediately behind it. At the same moment he allowed his troops to pile their arms, and proceed to the work of raising their entrenchments as if in perfect security. If he could not trust his Gaulish cavalry out of his sight, he should at least have taken the precaution of keeping a large portion of his forces under arms to protect the others while laying out the camp. This from his own account he would appear to have neglected, and to have trusted partly to his belief that the enemy was still at a distance, and partly perhaps to the natural defence of the river,

Observations of
military critics
on Cæsar's con-
duct.

tactics in Gaul, is in general so concise, and enters so little into technical details, as to foil the military critics who profess to study in it the art

¹ Cæs. B. G. ii. 17.

though he admits that the stream was only three feet in depth. The rapidity of the barbarian onset was probably greater than he had anticipated; but it may be conjectured that he exaggerates the confusion in which his own forces were found, and that at least the legions of Labienus, on the left, were not unprepared for an attack.¹

The remainder of the Belgian forces effected their escape during the protracted resistance of the Nervii, and betook themselves to their several homes, each hoping that his own turn of retribution might come the last. The Aduatuci, who had not actually borne a share in the battle, were the first upon whom the Romans threw themselves.² Their forces were in full march to join the combined armies of their countrymen when they learned the news of the day's disaster. But they relied on the strength of their chief position, and defied the victors to a trial of arms. Deserting every village and open place, they collected the whole of their population, together with all their moveables, in one spot, the flat summit of a rocky eminence, defended on three sides by a natural escarpment, and on the fourth by a double rampart on the brow of a gentle declivity.³ This tribe were the descendants of the garrison which the Cimbri had left in that part of the country in charge of their hoarded spoils before they set out on their fatal expedition to Italy.⁴ They had increased from a body of six thousand warriors to a population of ten times that number, of whom nineteen thousand were counted as combatants. Despising the quailing and unresisting tribes which lay between, Cæsar made directly for the entrenchment of these bolder enemies. He quietly constructed his engines of assault and his towers, with

¹ *Précis des Guerres de César*, p. 45.

² *Cæs. B. G.* ii. 29-32.

³ D'Anville discovers in Falais a spot which corresponds with this description; others identify it with Namur. Mannert (ii. i. 199.) makes the country of the Eburones extend from the Scheldt to the Meuse, and places their fortress in the neighbourhood of Maestricht; while Walckenaer shows that it is most probably Tongres (*Géographie des Gaules*, ii. 286.).

⁴ *Cæs. B. G.* ii. 29.

the use of which most of the Belgians were still unacquainted. The besieged collected on their walls, in the strength of which they were blindly confident, and inquired tauntingly, what was the purpose of these monstrous and cumbersome machines, and how a nation of dwarfs (for the small stature of the Italians was always a matter of derision to the northern barbarians) should move them to the assault? The Romans made no reply, but finished their preparations, and applied their mechanical forces, till the towers were seen to nod above the summit of the Belgian ramparts. The besieged declared, panic-stricken, that the gods themselves fought on the side of the invaders. They had now no other thought than how to make terms with their invincible enemy. They only entreated that, if required, as they expected, to deliver up their arms, they might be protected against their neighbours, so universal was the feeling of insecurity among the Gallic tribes, their jealousy of each other and sense of mutual injuries. This was, no doubt, the secret of the speedy dissolution of the formidable confederacy which the Belgians had formed at the beginning of the year. Cæsar gave the promise they desired, and demanded their arms. They threw down from their walls immense quantities of weapons and armour, till the heap equalled, it is said, the height of the rampart; but a gleam of hope had entered into their breasts, and they still reserved a considerable store concealed in a chosen spot. The Roman army was then admitted within the enclosure, and the place formally surrendered. Having thus obtained apparently his principal object, the proconsul was preparing to quit the country, and extend his incursions into other districts. He withdrew his troops from the fortress, and passed the night in his own camp. The Aduatuci seized their hidden weapons, and made a desperate sally upon the Roman entrenchments, which they expected to find now less carefully guarded. But the vigilance of the general had not been lulled asleep. At the first approach of danger the soldiers were found at their posts, and after a furious encounter, prolonged

Their treachery severely punished.

by the conscious guilt and despair of the barbarians, the Romans were completely victorious. The next day Cæsar re-entered their stronghold without resistance, and vindicated the injured majesty of the republic by selling the whole remnant of the tribe as slaves. The remaining states now poured in offers of submission, which appear to have been accepted on easy terms. We must suppose that Cæsar exacted from them the surrender of their arms, together with sufficient pledges for their fidelity. But he abandoned to them the free possession of their lands and laws. He trusted to the gradual influence of Roman manners, to the counsels of the Roman emissaries whom he introduced among them, and to the weight of the mere name of the republic in directing the conduct of their political affairs, to familiarize them in no great length of time with a state of entire dependence.

General submission of the Belgian tribes.

It was probably not till after the great defeat of the Nervii, in which the whole of Cæsar's forces had been engaged, that he was enabled to detach a single legion, under the command of his young lieutenant P. Crassus, the son of the triumvir, to secure the tranquillity of the tribes inhabiting the coast of the British channel beyond the mouth of the Seine.¹ Among these were the Lexovii, the Unelli,² the Curiosolitæ and the Osismii. On the southern shore of Armorica dwelt the Veneti, the most formidable of all the nations which composed the western division of the Kymric population of Gaul. These, together with the Auleri, Rhedones, Carnutes, Andes and Turones, occupied the whole space between the lower Seine and the lower Loire, and were apparently closely united

Cæsar sends P. Crassus to demand submission from the tribes in the northwest.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* ii. 34.

² Unelli, mod. Côtentin: Osismii, dep. Finisterre: Curiosolitæ, mod. Coursault, dep. Côtes du Nord: Veneti, mod. Vannes, dep. Morbihan. Lexovii is a conjectural reading for Sesuvii, an unknown name. They occupied a part of the coast of Calvados. The Auleri belonged to Maine and the south of Normandy, the Rhedones to Rennes in Bretagne. Mannert, ii. i. 149. &c.; comp. Cæs. *B. G.* iii. 9. 11. 17. 29., vii. 75.

among themselves, while at the same time the traditional recollection of a common origin made them look not without feelings of sympathy upon the fate of the Belgians in the east. In the affairs of the south they took no interest, and seem to have had little acquaintance with the character of the foreign power which the Ædui had recently called into Gaul. The small force which Crassus led was sufficient to terrify them, one after another, into submission. The proconsul was satisfied perhaps with deterring them from giving aid to the Belgians, and considered the surrender of a few hostages an ample acknowledgment of his superiority. The Carnutes, the Andi and the Turones, whose countries formed the key of the whole region north of the Loire, were selected to bear the burden of provisioning the Roman army, which was quartered in their territory for the winter. Having thus

Caesar retires to Italy for the winter.

secured the extensive acquisitions he had made in this successful campaign, Caesar hastened himself to the Hither Gaul, as in the autumn preceding.¹

He took up his residence at Luca, at the extreme frontier of his province, where he put himself in communication with his friends at Rome, and held a brilliant court of clients and dependents. The senate, however hostile and jealously disposed, was dazzled by the brilliancy of his achievements, or unable to stem the torrent of popular acclamation. It decreed a thanksgiving of fifteen days in honour of his victories, a duration exceeding that of any previous festival of the kind.

The campaigns which have been narrated in the preceding pages, distinguished as they were by a rapid succession of

Comparison between the Romans and Gauls in a military point of view.

hard-fought battles in the open field, suggest some remarks upon the nature of the warfare in which Caesar and his veterans reaped their laurels.

While the counsels of the Gauls were marred by manifold jealousies, and by their independent mode of carrying on the war, even after they had been brought into alliance, the Romans enjoyed the inestimable advantage of a single head to plan, and an army disciplined as a single hand

¹ Cæs. B. G. ii. 35.

to execute. The senate allowed their general uncontrolled power in the administration of his province, and the resources he could command by taxation or plunder, were generally sufficient to bring into action as many troops as he could supply or manœuvre. On the other hand, the personal qualities of the Gauls, their courage and bodily strength, were at least equal to those of their opponents; in size and stature they were individually superior, though wanting in that compactness of limb and power of endurance which at this time so eminently distinguished the natives of southern Europe.¹ As regarded the climate of the country in which the war was waged, neither side perhaps had any advantage over the other. The Gauls, indeed, fought on their own soil and under their own skies, colder in winter and more humid at all seasons than those south of the Alps. But the habits and discipline of the Roman soldier had hardened him against the exhalations of the marshes and the change or privation of food, no less than against the extremities of heat and cold. Throughout his Gallic campaigns Cæsar makes no allusion to the prevalence of sickness in his camps; and if it be true that his ranks too were recruited from the south of Gaul, yet it is worthy of remark, that the Roman legionary seems rarely to have suffered from those accidental causes of mortality which are more to be dreaded in modern warfare than the sword.² How much of this immunity is to be attributed to his food, his habits and his clothing, is a question which deserves more attention from the physiologist than it seems to have obtained. The absence or

Physical effects of climate, food, and habits of discipline.

¹ The composition of Cæsar's legions will be considered more particularly on a future occasion; his soldiers were for the most part Roman citizens of the Gallic provinces on either side of the Alps. These might be either of Roman or of Gaulish extraction. The contempt expressed by the Belgians for their diminutive stature is an additional proof of the great diversity of race among the inhabitants of different parts of Gaul.

² Cæsar's troops quartered in the neighbourhood of Brundisium in the autumn of the year 705 suffered from the malaria of the Apulian coast, but these were composed, to a great extent, of recruits from the northern parts of Gaul.

rarity of ardent spirits is not sufficient to account for it, inasmuch as unusual or superabundant food is hardly less detrimental to the soldier than intoxication, and the barbarian armies which entered Italy frequently melted away through careless and indulgent living. But the natives of the north have been found less capable of enduring the rigour of a severe winter than men born in a more hospitable climate.¹ Reared in the centre of the temperate zone, the Italians shrank from neither extreme of heat or cold. Vigorous in frame, and elastic in constitution, they bore the standards of the republic through Asia and Africa without sickening; while at this day the French are consumed by thousands in Algeria, and fevers decimate the British regiments in the East and West Indies.²

In the field the Gauls were almost destitute of tactics or artificial resources. But while firearms have furnished ingenuity and discipline with irresistible weapons, the barbarians before their invention were much more nearly matched with regular soldiery than in modern times. The numbers and weight of the Gaulish charge could hardly be resisted by the firmest battalions. It was usual to employ the cavalry to bear the first brunt of the encounter; but even these could seldom do more than slightly check and retard their impetuous rush. After one cast of the pilum, the legionary could only fall back upon the hinder ranks for support. He was soon pressed into the closest array by the weight of accumulating masses, and when ordered to draw his sword, could no longer wield it with freedom. With modern infantry the closer their array the deadlier is the fire of their musketry, the steadier the advanced points of their bayonets. In such an emergency the long pike of the pha-

¹ It is a well known remark that the Italian soldiers in Napoleon's Russian campaign suffered less from the cold than the Germans.

² The compliment which Claudian pays to the grandfather of Honorius might have been applied to themselves by many of the Roman legionaries:

“Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis,
Qui medios Libyæ sub casside pertulit æstus.”—Claud. viii. 26.

lanx was a formidable protection to the Macedonian infantry ; but that weapon was too cumbrous for general service, and never adopted by the active and independent Roman, who put all his trust in his sword. In such cases the general relied upon his light cavalry,¹ whose sudden onset and no less rapid retreat confused and distracted the enemy, and constantly broke and shivered the masses with which he came to the charge. The great peril of the Romans in the battle with the Nervii arose from their cavalry being unable to rally after their first repulse, and so to relieve the legions from the increasing pressure of the Belgian infantry. Every Roman soldier required a space of three feet on each side of him for the free movement of his arms. But when room was cleared for a moment, the legion immediately extended its front again and separated its battalions. Then each man was able once more to ply his sword, singling out an adversary, getting within his guard,² and carving his naked body with point or edge of the finest temper.

While the rank and file of the Roman legion were protected by plates of iron on the head, breast and shoulders, the Gauls were but imperfectly furnished with defensive armour, and even this they frequently rejected with the reckless and ostentatious spirit of their nation.³ Accordingly, when they encountered a foe

Personal inferiority of the Germans.

¹ There was, properly speaking, no distinction between heavy and light cavalry in the Roman armies (Guischard, *Mém. Mil.* iii. 42.), but the equipment of that service would bring it generally under the latter denomination, according to our notions.

² Compare Polyb. ii. 33. : *Συνδραμόντες εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοὺς μὲν Κελτοὺς ἀπράκτους ἐποίησαν Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀφελόμενοι τὴν ἐκ διάρσεως αὐτῶν μάχην, ὃ περ ἴδιόν ἐστι Γαλατικῆς χρείας, διὰ τὸ μηδαμῶς κέντημα τὸ ξίφος ἔχειν.* Liv. xxii. 46. : "Gallis gladii prælongi et sine mucronibus." Comp. Plut. *Mar.* 25. : *Μεγαλαῖς ἐχρῶντο καὶ βαρελαῖς μαχαίραις.*

³ Thierry asserts that the Gauls long resisted the use of defensive armour as an unworthy innovation. I find no express authority for this statement ; but Livy (xxii. 46., xxxviii. 21.) represents the Gauls as fighting naked, and stripping themselves for the combat. In the time of Louis XIV. it was necessary to issue repeated ordinances to prevent the French officers from throwing off their armour in the field. The motive, perhaps, in both cases was partly

who had firmness to withstand their first shock, they had little chance of coming off victorious from the combat of man with man. The obstinacy with which they fought, and the courage with which they maintained their ground, even when they had no opportunity of returning blow for blow, only served to swell the number of the victims. The great disproportion, indeed, between the numbers slain in these battles on either side is an ordinary characteristic of ancient warfare. In modern engagements the greater part of the carnage is caused by the artillery, which may frequently be served with nearly equal precision and effect by both parties, until the superiority of one being ascertained, the day is decided by the general advance of its lines. There is no reason, therefore, to doubt that the victories of the Romans over the Gauls were gained in many cases with the trifling loss which the victors themselves acknowledged; at the same time it is evident that the dead of the enemy are generally estimated upon mere conjecture, without any attempt at actual enumeration.

When Cæsar quitted the Further Gaul for his Cisalpine province, he did not leave his soldiers unoccupied. To inure them to constant exercise, to find new objects for their cupidity, to extend in every quarter the terror of his arms, these were sufficient motives for fresh and unprovoked hostilities. Some tribes about the waters of the upper Rhone had not joined the great Helvetic migration. Their cities were still standing, their wealth, whatever it might be, was still intact. Cæsar directed his lieutenant Galba to occupy the territories of the Nantuates, Veragri and Seduni, with the twelfth legion and a body of horse. This tract of country extended from the lake Lemanus to the highest chain of the Alps, comprehending the

vaingloriousness and partly laziness. Probably the custom of wearing armour among the Gauls did not extend beyond the nobles. Their helmets, generally the skins of animals' heads, their corslets, chainmail, and the ornaments with which they covered themselves, are described by Diodor. Sic. v. 30.; Varro, *L. L.* iv.; Strabo and others. Compare Cluvier, *Germ. Ant.* 1.

Campaign of
Galba in the
Valais Cæsar.

districts of Chablais, in Savoy, and the Valais, or valley of the Upper Rhone. The position of the Seduni may still be traced in the name of Sitten, which was perhaps the site of their principal town. Octodurus, the capital of the Veragri, may have occupied the spot where stands the modern town of Martigny, for it was considered an important position for defending the Pennine pass, which it was one object of this expedition to secure. We have seen that the ordinary route of the Roman armies into Gaul was that of the Via Aurelia, by the sea coast, sufficiently direct as long as the connexions of the republic beyond the Alps were limited to the Province and the cities of the Mediterranean, but highly circuitous and inconvenient for operations in the more northern parts of Gaul. Cæsar had on one occasion hazarded the passage of the Cottian Alps, in order to reach the Saone with more expedition; but the experiment had served to prove the insecurity of such a route, and he might wish to command an easier and safer line of communication. The pass of the Great St. Bernard, the Alpis Pennina of the Roman geographers, was already frequented for purposes of traffic: the merchants, probably, bought off the hostility of the natives by the payment of blackmail. But the wild mountaineers were more jealous of the approach of the Roman armies to their solitary fastnesses, and were disposed to dispute with them every inch of their formidable gorges.

Galba seized upon Octodurus, which was divided into two parts, either by the Rhone or the little river Dranse. One quarter of the town he abandoned to the natives, but occupied the rest with his own forces, and He occupies Octodurus, proceeded to fortify it with a ditch and rampart. Thus securely posted, all he needed was provisions, and these he demanded of the natives by way of tribute. The valley in which the town lay was extremely narrow, and closely hemmed in by lofty and barren mountains, so as to produce very scanty supplies. Subsistence for an army could only be procured from a distance, and the people of the country paid little regard to the commands of an intruder whom they had

scarcely seen. Two cohorts were despatched to forage, when the Gauls, taking courage from the reduced number of the garrison, assembled with all their forces on the neighbouring heights, and harassed it by repeated sallies from their fastnesses. They were the more inflamed against their invaders because many of their children had been exacted as hostages. They saw too that the pretence of opening the road was only a cover to ulterior designs, and that it was intended to retain their city in permanent occupation.

The Roman general became seriously alarmed at these hostile demonstrations, for which he was unprepared. He

had not yet collected sufficient stores to enable him to stand a siege, nor were his entrenchments completed. He called a council of war, in which many proposed to abandon the place at once, and

cut their way, as they best might, through the multitudes augmenting around them. But the opinion prevailed that it was too soon yet to resort to such desperate measures; retreat should be reserved for the last extremity; art and discipline were meant to supply the place of efficient numbers and full preparation. This determination, however, only cost the Romans greater loss, for it was soon discovered that their defences were not sufficiently strong effectually to resist the assailants, who kept up a constant and murderous discharge of missiles upon the garrison, while they filled the ditch with stones and faggots, and hacked at the palisades and earth-works with pikes and axes. Many of the Romans had fallen, and the defence was beginning to waver; officers of approved courage pressed in the strongest terms the necessity of retreating. Galba yielded to their demands; he made a sudden sally, and the valour of his legionaries, as soon as they could grapple with the foe, threw the Gauls into confusion and drove them to a distance. But Galba, considering that he had come into the country to take up winter quarters, and not to fight, much straitened also by the scantiness of his supplies, determined to return at once into the Province, and setting fire to his camp, effected his retreat without oppo-

but is obliged
to abandon it
and withdraw
his troops from
the country.

sition through the country of the Nantuates to the frontier of the Allobroges. Such is the excuse which Cæsar himself gave for the evident failure and discomfiture of his lieutenant.¹

Cæsar, indeed, magnifies the check which the barbarians received into a signal defeat,² and enumerates it among the triumphs by which his arms had been crowned, and the Gaulish nations reduced to submission. This boasted pacification of Gaul gave him the opportunity of visiting Illyricum, the further extremity of the vast tract entrusted to his care. Whatever

Disturbances in
the north-west
of Gaul.
A. U. 698.
B. C. 56.

might have been his plans in that quarter, he had not leisure to carry them into effect. The wars of Gaul were the peace of Illyricum. Suddenly in the midst of apparent security there burst forth a wide-spread sedition throughout the lately subjugated tribes of Armorica, while the aspect of affairs in other parts of the country demanded the proconsul's utmost vigilance and activity. P. Crassus was at the head of a legion quartered in the country of the Andes. Their territory was not capable of supplying him, and he despatched officers into the neighbouring districts to levy the requisite contributions. The Unelli,³ Curiosolitæ, and more especially the Veneti, the most powerful of the north-western tribes, were harassed by these demands. The last-named people were celebrated for their maritime power. They held many tribes of the coast in dependence, and presumed upon their skill and prowess in a mode of warfare in which they had never yet measured themselves with an equal. They seized two Roman officers, threatening to retain them as guarantees for the hostages they had themselves surrendered to the proconsul. At their instigation, other tribes also laid hands on commission-
ers despatched to them from the Roman quar-

The Veneti
seize some Ro-
man officers.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* iii. 1-6. ; Dion, xxxix. 5. ; Oros. vi. 8.

² Orosius also declares that the Veragri lost thirty thousand men.

³ This reading is adopted by Mœbe from the Greek version of the commentaries and the editions of Aldus and Stephanus. Oudendorp reads Esubios, from the best MSS. ; but no such a name is known.

ters. Having persuaded their clients and dependents to make common cause with them, they sent to Crassus, demanding the restoration of their hostages in exchange for the officers they had thus captured. Crassus himself was not strong enough to avenge this insult, but he announced it to his general without delay. The proconsul hastened to the scene of action. He determined to attack the Veneti on their own element; for their fastnesses, defended by creeks and mo-

Cæsar prepares to attack them with a naval force.

rases, were hardly accessible from the land. With this view he immediately ordered the construction of a flotilla at the mouth of the Loire.

The rowers of the Rhone and the Mediterranean were collected for this service in great numbers. He exhorted his legionaries to embark, and declaimed to them against the perfidy of the enemy, who had violated the law of nations in seizing the persons of his ambassadors, as he chose to designate the captive commissioners. The Veneti, on their part, made active preparations to meet the attack, and invoked the assistance of the whole seaboard from the mouth of the Loire to that of the Rhine. The nations were ready at their call: the Osismii, the Lexovii, the Namnetes,¹ the Ambiliati, the Morini, the Diablintes, the Menapii, all joined

Their maritime power, and extensive alliances.

the great maritime confederacy. And now for the first time the name of the Britanni appears in the records of Roman history, for the Veneti

drew both ships and men from the opposite coast of the channel.²

The rapidity with which the flame of resistance spread through so many nations and such an extent of country convinced Cæsar how fallacious was his reliance on the submission which had followed upon his last campaign. It was necessary not only to face the enemy in arms, but to redouble his vigilance to check defection in other quarters.³ He sent Labienus with

Cæsar takes precautions to prevent the Belgians and Aquitanians joining the league.

the submission which had followed upon his last campaign. It was necessary not only to face the enemy in arms, but to redouble his vigilance to

¹ Namnetes, mod. Nantes; Ambiliati, mod. Lamballe, Mœbe in *Cæs.* Diablintes (Aulerci), the north-west corner of Maine.

² *Cæs. B. G.* iii. 9.

³ *Cæs. B. G.* iii. 11.

some squadrons of cavalry into the country of the Treviri, the centre of the Belgian tribes, and the quarter in which the Germans might attempt to cross the Rhine. Crassus he deputed to prevent any junction between the Aquitanians and the insurgents. Sabinus, with three legions, was commissioned to cut off the communication between the eastern and western limbs of the confederacy, and check the progress of levies among the Lexovii, Unelli and Curiosolitæ. Lastly, Decimus Brutus was appointed to the command of the great naval armament which was equipped partly from the newly constructed vessels, and partly from the barks of the Pictones and Santones, the only coast-tribes whom the proconsul had been able to retain in subjection. This fleet received orders to steer for the shores of the Veneti, while Cæsar advanced to the same point at the head of a large army by land.

The Veneti placed great reliance upon the character of their fortified positions. Promontories and peninsulas projected from their coasts, which the tide daily severed from the main land,¹ and upon these isolated spots their forts were generally erected.

Mode of warfare adopted by the Veneti.

To such places it was hardly possible to lay regular siege. The Romans were wont to assail an enemy's city by advancing towers to its walls; but here the recurring tides would either render their erection impossible, or speedily sweep their basements away. On the other hand, the command of the sea enabled the garrisons to supply themselves at pleasure with recruits and provisions. If, after all, the besiegers with extreme toil pushed moles of masonry across these arms of the sea, and, from mounds raised to the level of the walls, were preparing to pour themselves into the fortress, even then, at the last moment, the galleys of the Veneti might sweep up to the gates, and carry off in an instant the garrison and the booty. The prevalence of tempestuous weather, which kept the Romans to their anchorage through the

¹ Cæs. B. G. iii. 12. The *heppan*, or stockades, of the New Zealanders are described as places of refuge on rocky points of the coast, and not as ordinary abodes.

greater part of the summer, enabled the Veneti to retain their naval superiority. They doubtless owed much to their possession of the ports and their knowledge of the coast; yet Cæsar seems to admit the inferiority of his own seamen in skill and boldness. The difference in the mode of ship-building, and in the naval tactics adopted by the parties respectively, seemed to balance the advantages on either side. The Veneti used vessels with flatter bottoms and higher sides than those of the Romans;¹ they built them also of greater strength, as men who had ample experience of the winds and waves of the Atlantic. On the other hand, their sails were clumsy and made of skins; they scarcely availed themselves of oars, and their movements were much slower than those of their rivals. But when once the two came in collision, the Venetian vessel was so firmly compacted as to withstand the stroke of the Roman's beak, and its deck so high as to place its combatants on a ground of vantage.

The Romans succeeded indeed in capturing several fastnesses of the Veneti, but the whole tribe had taken to the water, and roamed freely from strand to strand. It was necessary to bring the campaign to an issue by a decisive trial of naval strength. The barbarians mustered not fewer than two hundred and twenty galleys, with which they sailed forth from the mouth of the Morbihan to meet the armament of Brutus.² The Roman ad-

The Romans
gain a great
naval victory.

¹ Strabo (iv. 4.) follows Cæsar in his account of this people. See also Dion, xxxix. 40-43.

² If the principal fortified place of the Veneti was the modern Vannes, it must be an exception to the choice they generally made of sites for their entrenchments. The local traditions assign the site of Cæsar's camp, from which he observed the seafight between Brutus and the Veneti (iii. 14.) to a spot between the point of Quiberon and the promontory of Rhuy (Daru, *Hist. de Bretagne*, i. 38.), in which case it might be supposed that the city of that people was in the immediate neighbourhood. But an ingenious essay in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires*, ii. 325. (an 1820), seems to prove that the city in question lay at the bottom of the gulf of Morbihan. A N.E. wind would have been favourable both to the course of the Roman fleet from the mouth of the Loire and to that of the Veneti sallying from their capacious harbour

miral employed long poles armed with hooks to cut the sheets and shrouds of the enemy's vessels. The ponderous sails soon brought the masts by the board, and they thus became unmanageable. Others were grappled and dragged out into the open sea, where they were exposed to the repeated shocks of the enemy's beaks, impelled against them with all the force that oars could impart. If still unpierced, they were quickly surrounded by several barks at once, when the lighter-armed and more agile Romans soon succeeded in boarding and capturing them. The Gauls, finding themselves unable to cope with these various modes of attack, took to flight and spread their sails to the wind. But a sudden calm deprived them even of this last resource. The assailants, moving lightly round the unwieldy and defenceless masses, attacked them one by one, and were prevented by nightfall alone from accomplishing their total destruction. The loss of the Veneti was overwhelming. Their whole naval force had been collected together. It bore the mass of their youth, their nobility, and their senate, who had hastily embarked to escape from the advancing foe, already so near to their city as to witness the naval combat from the shore. The remnant hastened to make their submission; but they were not in a condition to demand terms, and Cæsar, acting without remorse on the ruthless principles of ancient warfare, put the survivors of the senate to the sword, and sold the people into slavery. He chose to assert that the barbarians had infringed the law of nations, and he avenged, with a fearful example, the wrongs of the spoilers whom he styled his envoys.¹

Submission and
cruel punish-
ment of the
Veneti.

The campaign of Sabinus against the Unelli and their neighbours affords us some insight into the state to which the late wars had reduced the north of Gaul. On the one

to meet them. The calm which ensued in the middle of the day is said to be of regular occurrence in the summer after a N.E. wind in the morning. The combat took place probably off the town of Sarzeau.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* iii. 16. : "Quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris jus legatorum conservaretur."

The tribes of Normandy again subdued. hand, their dread of Cæsar and their opinion of his skill and fortune were such that the nobles and senate of some tribes would not venture to second the popular cry for war.¹ The people rose upon their chiefs and massacred them. On the other, the country was filled with needy and desperate outlaws, men who had lost their all, or of fierce and untractable characters, ready to join or to urge any daring and sanguinary enterprize. These banditti flocked from various parts of Gaul to the standard of a people who had shown their audacity by murdering their own nobles. Lawlessness attracted lawlessness; and the camp of the Unelli was filled with a crowd of blood-thirsty savages, confident in their own prowess, and disdainful of restraint and counsel. The cautious tactics of Sabinus, who refused, as an inferior officer, to commit the army entrusted to him to an engagement without the express sanction of his commander, raised their hopes beyond measure. He calculated, probably, on the disastrous effects which must inevitably follow from the collection of these bands of ruffians in a common cause, and was awaiting the moment when they would rush blindly upon their own ruin. The discontent, however, of his own soldiers embarrassed him more than the numbers or the ferocity of the enemy, and he was compelled to precipitate matters by sending some trusty adherents into their camp, with instructions to represent his inaction as the result of fear, and to promise them an easy victory over bands disheartened and disorganized. The Unelli fell into the snare, and rushed forth tumultuously to assault the well-defended camp of Sabinus. Breathless and exhausted with their own haste, they made but a feeble attack. The Romans repulsed them with great slaughter, and having thrown them into confusion, hurling the first ranks back upon those that followed, issued calmly from their entrenchments, and cut them down with little resistance. The Gauls thus defeated rushed from the extreme of confidence into that of despair. They yielded without another blow.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* iii. 17.

While these events were occurring in the north, young Crassus, burning for distinction, was leading his troops into the country of the Aquitani.¹ The attempts which the Romans had hitherto made to subjugate that part of Gaul had been unsuccessful. In Aquitania a legatus had been slain a few years before with the loss of an army, and a proconsul had been driven back with dishonour. Crassus drew reinforcements from the cities of the Roman province, Tolosa, Narbo and Careaso, ever ready to assist in extending the yoke under which they themselves bent to the neighbouring tribes, of whose liberty they were jealous. The Sotiates,² ancient enemies of the republic, were the first on whom he fell. This people had learnt the Roman art of war from the conflicts they had maintained with the legions, and now defended their fortress with mines and countermines, which their practice of working their veins of copper had given them skill in constructing. But the steady perseverance of the invaders prevailed, and the Sotiates submitted to purchase their lives and property by the surrender of their arms. Their king, Adeantuannus, refused to be a party to this capitulation. He was surrounded by a handful of faithful followers, who, according to a custom prevalent in that part of Gaul, had devoted themselves by a vow to his personal service. They bore in their country the name of Soldurii;³ they were admitted to live with their chief on terms of intimacy and equality, were feasted at his table, and shared all his amusements and luxuries. In return they pledged themselves to live and die for him, to defend him as a body-guard in battle, and if he fell, not to survive him. So sacred was this vow held that no one, it was said, was ever known to have broken it. When therefore Adeantuannus declared his determination to die rather than surren-

Campaign of P.
Crassus in
Aquitania.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* iii. 20.

² Sotiates, mod. Atre and Sots. Mannert, iv. i. 137.

³ Cæs. *B. G.* iii. 22. This circumstance is referred to by Athenæus (vi. 54.), quoting Nic. Damascenus, who renders the word soldurius by *εὐχολιμαῖος*. Drumann, iii. 269.

der like the rest of his countrymen, this trusty band were ready to rush with him against the enemy, and encounter certain death by his side. But being easily repulsed by the superior number of his opponents, the barbarian chieftain repented of his resolve, and begged his life of the conqueror.

From this tribe the Roman general advanced against the Vocates and Tarusates,¹ whose resources were increased by the assistance afforded them from Spain, and their confidence confirmed by the presence and counsel of many officers who had gained their military experience in the camp of Sertorius. Their tactics therefore were just the reverse of those which their countrymen had hitherto employed. They fortified an encampment after the Roman fashion, and waited for the enemy to attack them at a disadvantage, or to retire from want of provisions. Crassus found himself compelled to risk an assault, in which he met with little success. But the Aquitanians had neglected to provide sufficiently for the defence of the gate at the rear of their camp, and this omission the Romans opportunely discovered. A chosen band forced their way through the opening while the attention of the defenders was occupied in another direction, and by this seasonable diversion the position of the besieged was mastered, and their forces routed. The flying multitude were pursued by the Roman cavalry, and of fifty thousand men only a fourth escaped to their homes. This triumphant success was immediately followed by the submission of the greater part of the Aquitanian tribes. A few mountaineers alone still refused submission, secure in the strength of their fastnesses and the lateness of the season.²

The submission of only two nations now remained to complete the pacification of Gaul for the second time.³

Cæsar christises the Morini and Menapii. The Morini, farthest of mankind, as Virgil designates them,⁴ occupied the coast of the north-

¹ Vocates, mod. Bazadois : Tarusates, mod. Marsan. Mannert, iv. i. 133. 138.

² Cæs. B. G. iii. 27. : "Pauca ultimæ nationes." ³ Cæs. B. G. iii. 23.

⁴ Virg. Æn. viii. Æn. : "Extremique hominum Morini."

ern ocean, from the straits to the mouth of the Scheldt. The Menapii also inhabited a land of woods and marshes on the banks of the lower Meuse. In their distant and little envied recesses these two tribes had not yet experienced the keenness of the Roman sword; but they had heard enough of the ill success of their brethren to shrink from open combat with the invaders, and resort to the natural defences of their country, covered with impenetrable forests. After the defeat of the Veneti the summer was drawing to a close; but Cæsar, determined to inflict chastisement upon every nation, however remote, which had dared to join the northern confederacy, crossed the centre of Gaul to aim a blow at these last enemies. The barbarians hid themselves in their woods, and the impediments presented by nature were not easily overcome. The further the Romans penetrated, clearing their way before them with the axe, the more dense became the obstructions of their path, and the prospects of reducing the people more than ever hopeless. When at last the bad season set in it was necessary to recal the soldiers from their fruitless labour, and thus, at the close of Cæsar's third campaign, the only members of the Gaulish race who retained their liberty were the mountain tribes of the Pyrenees and the amphibious wanderers of the Wahal and the Scheldt. The proconsul, as before, imposed the burden of maintaining his troops for the winter upon the last conquered of his opponents, the Lexovii and Aulerci,¹ while he himself, as in the winter preceding, departed for Italy.

Leaves his
army in winter
quarters and
returns to
Italy.

¹ In Normandy and Maine.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BANISHMENT OF CICERO IS FOLLOWED BY THE CONFISCATION OF HIS PROPERTY.—HIS HOUSE ON THE PALATINE, AND HIS TUSCULAN VILLA.—TRIUMPHANT CAREER OF CLODIUS.—HE REMOVES CATO FROM ROME UNDER PRETENCE OF AN HONOURABLE MISSION TO DEPRIVE THE KING OF CYPRUS.—CHARACTER OF M. BRUTUS, WHO ACCOMPANIES CATO.—CICERO'S UNMANLY COMPLAINTS.—EXERTIONS OF HIS FRIENDS IN HIS BEHALF.—ATTICUS: HORTENSIUS.—HIS WIFE TERENTIA.—REACTION IN HIS FAVOUR.—CLODIUS DISGUSTS POMPEIUS.—ELECTION OF CONSULS FAVOURABLE TO CICERO.—HE IS RECALLED, AND IS RECEIVED IN ITALY WITH ACCLAMATIONS. A. U. 696, 697, B. C. 58, 57.

WHEN Cæsar broke up his camp in the neighbourhood of Rome, and set forth upon his expedition into Gaul, he left the republic under the tyranny of a capricious multitude, which obeyed no other leadership than that of the tribune Clodius. The terror which this man had inspired among the nobles had sufficed to drive Cicero into exile. The late consul had not ventured to defend himself either by his eloquence or by the arms which were proffered for his succour. It might indeed have been possible to seize the person of the demagogue by force, to defy the clamorous imputation of sacrilege, and crush the mutinous spirit of the mob which served him. But Clodius had proclaimed that Cicero must either perish or conquer twice.¹ It was evident from these ominous words that there was another and greater power behind; that the consuls would step forward to protect or avenge the tribune, and, at the last

Pusillanimity of Cicero in retiring from Rome.

¹ Cic. *pro Sest.* 19.: "Cum quidem in concione dixisset, 'Aut mihi semel pereundum, aut bis esse vincendum.'"

moment, would be supported by the triumvirs themselves.¹ In the eyes of the multitude, however, Cicero was self-condemned by his sudden flight before he had been made the object of a distinct accusation. How many difficulties would have stood in the way of a legal attack upon him may be conceived from the fictions and evasions to which his enemy was compelled to resort in order to obtain his condemnation even when absent. On the same day that he left the city, Clodius convened the people, and caused his client Sextus to propose a resolution, in which the exiled consular was denounced by name as the author of the death of sundry citizens without form of law. By the same enactment he was interdicted from fire and water, and it was forbidden to receive or harbour him. The formula even denounced, in its blind malice, the utmost vengeance of the law against whoever should propose his recall, unless, as it declared, the victims of his tyranny should first return to life.²

In order to carry this resolution even in the popular assembly, jealous as it ordinarily was of the encroachments of the senate, and now excited and exasperated against it by artful intriguers, it was necessary to declare the decree, by which Lentulus and his associates had been condemned, a forgery.³ So audacious a proposition no one probably would have ventured to assert in the face of the orator himself. But the legality of the enactment moved by Sextus was questionable in the eyes of the Roman jurists on various grounds, all of which Cicero at a subsequent period triumphantly exposed. In the first place it was a *privilegium*, a law, that is, directed specifically against an individual, contravening thereby a fundamental principle of Roman jurisprudence. It was in fact nothing less than a proscription, a word still terrible to Roman ears.⁴ The terms in which it was conceived were incon-

Difficulties that would have stood in the way of his legal condemnation.

¹ This view is set forth in the strongest colours in the speech for Sestius, 16-20.

² "Clodianorum dux." Ascon. *in Pison.* 8. : "Sextus Clodius familiarissimus P. Clodii et operarum."

³ Cic. *pro Dom.* 19.

⁴ A *privilegium* (lex privo homini irrogata) was forbidden by the *leges*

sistent with the fact. Sextus Clodius had proposed a resolution to the effect, not that Cicero *shall be interdicted*, but that he *has been interdicted already*; a form of language which betrays the object of the proposer to treat the condemnation of his enemy as a fact already accomplished by the previous vote of the people, instead of being, as it still was, at the moment an open question.¹ So again, when Clodius forbade any man to harbour his victim, he abstained from expressly pronouncing his banishment, which he might fear not to be able to carry in all the naked severity of the term.² It was only by the blunder of Cicero's friends, who sought to mitigate the sentence by inserting a clause to limit the distance of his banishment to four hundred miles from the city, that the brand of exile was legally fixed upon him.³ And, once more, the accuser had not ventured to instruct the censors to strike off the criminal's name from the roll of the senate, an indignity which had always formed a part of a legal sentence of outlawry.⁴

Nor was this all. A majority of the citizens would probably have secretly applauded, even if they durst not openly support, any one of their members who ventured to declare that the edict, such as it was, was carried, not by the unbiassed voice of the people, but by a faction misled by manifest falsehood or forced by violence. The various symptoms of hesitation and self-distrust betrayed by the accuser could not fail, when skilfully handled by a consummate master of debate, to make an impres-

He was not banished by any legal procedure.

sacratæ and by the twelve tables. Abeken, p. 118. "Quæro enim quid sit aliud proscribere." Cic. *pro Dom.* 17. ; comp. Gell. x. 20.

¹ Cic. *pro Dom.* 18. : "Non tulit ut interdicatur: quid ergo, ut interdictum sit." This interpretation of a somewhat obscure passage is maintained by Drumann, ii. 259.

² Cic. *pro Dom.* 19, 20. : "Tulisti de me ne reciperer, non ut exirem . . . poena est qui receperit, ejectionis nusquam est."

³ Cic. *ad Att.* iii. 4. ; Dion, xxxviii. 17. ; Plut. *Cic.* 32. The latter writers do not coincide precisely with Cicero in their statement of the distance prescribed.

⁴ Cic. *pro Dom.* 31.

sion upon the assembly, and encourage it to resist the dictation of a demagogue who evinced such a want of confidence in his own cause. And, after all, it might be argued that the whole of the tribune's acts were essentially invalid, inasmuch as his adoption into a plebeian house was liable from the first to the charge of informality. Such were some of the positions upon which the orator and his friends might have maintained their ground. He required, they contended, no law to recal him, for he was banished by no legal procedure.¹

Severe as this law was in its terms, it was not in fact so formidable as it appears. In the licentious temper of the times, none might care to respect an arbitrary act of malice, which a turn in the wheel of fortune might at any moment reverse. Possibly Pompeius or Cæsar controlled its execution from a distance, and let it be understood that the safety of the exile should not be compromised, that his friends should be treated with forbearance, and the crime of entertaining him in his banishment connived at. Cicero was well received at Brundisium, within the bounds of Italy, no less than beyond the sea. He was apprehensive of the violence of his enemy's adherents; but

Demolition of
Cicero's houses.

¹ The nature of the decree of Sextus Clodius is to be gathered principally from the speeches *Pro Domo sua* and *Post Reditum ad Quirites*. It is well known that the four orations attributed to Cicero upon his return from banishment lie under suspicion of spuriousness. Their genuineness was first questioned by Markland in the middle of the last century, assailed still more vehemently by Wolf, and has been tacitly surrendered by Orelli. As usual in such cases, it is far easier to point out internal grounds of suspicion than to establish a plausible theory to account for the existence of the speeches themselves, on the supposition of their being spurious. The objections to them, however, seem far from conclusive, and in any case their value as historical documents is little impeached by them. It is known that Cicero delivered speeches on the occasions to which they refer, and that he was well pleased with them as specimens of his oratorical powers; we may conclude therefore that they were published, and obtained notoriety in Rome. The impugnors of the genuineness of the existing speeches allow that they must have been written, as rhetorical exercises, not later than the latter years of Augustus, being evidently the same as those upon which Asconius commented. It is clear, therefore, that if they are not Cicero's, the writer must have had the originals before him, and kept the facts and details distinctly in view.

he had at least personally nothing to fear from the legitimate enforcement of the law. The sphere of Clodius's power was, after all, confined to Rome. Omnipotent in the forum, he ascended the Palatine hill, razed the orator's dwelling to the ground, and dedicated a portion of its site to Liberty, which of all human idols seems to have received the greatest homage from successful tyranny. His malicious object in this dedication was to render future restitution impossible. The consuls divided the spoils of the Palatine house and the villa at Tusculum, the favourite retreat of the statesman and philosopher. The tribune seized for his own share the remnant of the site of the former, which, with that purpose, he had left unconsecrated, and attached it to his own residence, which lay contiguous.¹

The demolition of a traitor's house was one of the modes by which the patriarchs of Roman liberty had striven to obliterate the memory of the most odious of crimes.

Cicero's house
on the Palatine
hill.

Such had been the fate of the abodes of Spurius Mælius and of Manlius in early times: at a later period the infliction of this indignity savoured rather of the vindictiveness of faction than the sternness of republican virtue. Cicero the oligarch could point with unseemly exultation to the retribution which the nobles had wreaked upon Vitruvius Vaccus and Fulvius Flaccus, the associates of the Gracchi, at the moment when he was inveighing against the tyranny of the cabal which had in turn triumphed over himself.² The house of the orator on the Palatine was the most conspicuous memorial of the deed for which he suffered. After his victory over Catilina, in the pride of his heart he had surrendered to his brother Quintus the modest dwelling of his father, and had bought of Crassus a more splendid mansion for himself, in the coveted resort of the highest aristocracy.³ The fortunate consular regarded this abode with peculiar complacency. Cicero, the preserver of his country,

¹ Cic. *pro Dom.* 24. 44., *pro Sest.* 24., *post Red. in Sen.* 7.

² All these cases are mentioned in the *Orat. pro Domo*, 38.

³ Cic. *ad Div.* v. 6., *pro Dom.* 37.

he said, had established his household gods on the hearthstone which had been laid by Drusus the demagogue.¹ It overlooked the forum and the rostra, on which the foundation of his glories had been laid. It was conspicuous in the eyes of the citizens; the person and the actions of its possessor could never escape their observation and memory. But the fickle multitude might retort that Cicero the tyrant possessed at Tusculum the abode which had been occupied by Sulla the dictator;² and the impulse of the moment was gratified by the dispersion of all the ornaments and trophies which had fostered the pride and ambition of one whom they regarded as their oppressor.

If the summit of the Palatine had been selected to keep the memory of its occupant ever fresh in the minds of his countrymen, his villa at Tusculum was his chosen spot for retirement and study. Here, also, though His villa at Tusculum. too far removed from Rome to be himself an object of observation, his porticoes opened upon the full view of his beloved city, from which he could never long bear to take off his eyes. From the hill on which this villa stood the spectator surveyed a wide and various prospect, rich at once in natural beauty and historic associations. The plain at his feet was the battle-field of the Roman kings and of the infant commonwealth; it was strown with the marble sepulchres of patricians and consulars; across it stretched the long straight lines of the military ways which transported the ensigns of conquest to Parthia and Arabia. On the right, over meadow and woodland, lucid with rivulets, he beheld the white turrets of Tibur, Æsula, Præneste, strung like a row of pearls on the bosom of the Sabine mountains; on the left, the glistening waves of Alba sunk in their green crater, the towering

¹ There was a famous saying connected with this spot. When Drusus was about to erect his house there, the architect proposed a plan by which the occupant should be screened from the curious eyes of his neighbours. "Rather build it," replied the patriot, "so that every action of my life may be seen by every one." Vell. ii. 14.

² Plin. *H. N.* xxii. 6.

cone of the Latian Jupiter, the oaks of Aricia and the pines of Laurentum, and the sea bearing sails of every nation to the strand of Ostia. Before him lay far outspread the mighty City, mistress of the world, gleaming in the sun with its panoply of roofs, and flashing brightness into the blue vault above it.¹ The ancient city presented few towers, spires, or domes, such as now arrest the eye from a distant eminence; but the heights within its walls were more distinctly marked, and the statues of its gods exalted on pillars, or soaring above the peaks of its innumerable temples, seemed an army of immortals arrayed in defence of their eternal abodes.² From the bank of Lake Regillus to the gates of Tusculum the acclivity was studded with the pleasure-houses of the noblest families of Rome. The pages of Cicero commemorate the

¹ The effect must have been far more striking in the time of Cicero than at present, from the greater size of the city, and its extension to the south of the Capitoline. When the houses came to be crusted with marble and the roofs of the temples to be gilded, the brightness it threw into the air must have been exceedingly splendid. Rutilius, in the fifth century, gives us a glimpse of it (*Itin.* i. 193.):

“Nec locus ille mihi cognoscitur indice fumo
 Qui dominas arces et caput orbis habet . . .
 Sed cœli plaga candidior, tractusque serenus
 Signat septenis culmina clara jugis.
 Illic perpetui Soles, atque ipse videtur
 Quem sibi Roma facit prior esse dies.”

² Silius's Vision of Hannibal in his camp on the Alban Mount, a conception worthy of an abler hand, may very possibly have been suggested by the view of Rome from this locality. *Sil. Punic.* xii. 707. :

“En age, namque oculis amota nube parumper
 Cernere cuncta dabo, surgit qua celsus ad auras,
 Adspice, montis apex, vocitata Palatia Regi
 Parrhasio plenâ tenet et resonante pharetrâ,
 Intenditque arcum et pugnas meditatur Apollo.
 At qua vicinis tendit se collibus altæ
 Molis Aventinus, viden' ut Latonia virgo
 Accensas quatit Phlegethontis gurgite tædas,
 Exsertos avidè pugnæ nudata lacertos.
 Parte aliâ cerne ut sævis Gradivus in armis
 Implêrit dictum proprio de nomine campum.
 Hinc Janus movet arma manu, movet inde Quirinus,
 Quisque suo de colle Deus . . .”

villas of Balbus, of Brutus, of Julius Cæsar; of Catulus, Metellus, Crassus and Pompeius; of Gabinius, Lucullus, Lentulus and Varro.¹ Accordingly, the retreat of the literary statesman gazed upon the centre of his dearest interests, and was surrounded by the haunts of his friends and rivals. It was here that, at a later period, when his fortunes were re-established, he composed some of the most abstract of his philosophical speculations;² but even these too partook of the air of the city and the tone of practical life; the interlocutors of his dialogues were the same men whom he had just left behind at Rome, or whom he might encounter among the shady walks around him;³ the subject of their conversations never wandered so far from their daily concerns as not to admit of constant application to the times and illustration from them.

Clodius had taken his measures well. He relied with confidence on the support of the consuls, who, eager to reap the fruits of their office in the spoil of the wealthiest provinces, cared for no odium and foresaw no danger in maintaining the influence of the man who had promised to stand their friend with the people. The adherents of the orator, whose most generous supporters had thronged to the Capitol from the provincial towns of Italy, left the city in disgust when their favourite shrank from the contest, so that the forum was easily filled or overawed by the tribune's armed rabble. On the same day that the decree was fulminated against Cicero, Clodius brought forward another proposition for bestowing the province of Syria upon Gabinius, and Macedonia, to which Achaia was annexed, upon Piso. This measure was in direct contravention of the Lex Semproniana of Caius Gracchus,⁴ which obliged the senate

Triumphant
career of Clodius.

He assigns
provinces to
Piso and Gabinius.

¹ Orelli, *Onomast. Tullianum*; comp. Strab. v. 3. § 12.

² The Tusculan villa is the spot in which Cicero laid the scene of his dialogue *de Divinatione* and the *Tusculanæ Disputationes*, and it was there, we may presume, that he composed them.

³ Cicero even complains that his villa lay a little out of the road: "Devium τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι; et habet alia δύσχροιστα" (*ad Att.* vii. 5.).

⁴ Cic. *pro Dom.* 9.

to assign their future provinces to the new consuls before their election, and merely allowed the candidates a choice between them. But the popular assembly had already claimed to exercise its original right of appointment; it had gained a signal victory over the senate when it insisted upon giving Gaul and Illyricum to Cæsar; and the rival body having once surrendered at its dictation a questionable privilege, dared not now resist its caprices even upon a point of strict law. This triumph over the statutes of the commonwealth encouraged the demagogue to assume still further licence. Through his influence the authority of Piso was extended over several cities within the limits of his province, to which the senate had guaranteed freedom and autonomy. Gabinius received, on his part, full powers to make war upon any of the foreign potentates whose frontiers bordered upon Syria, upon the Arabians, the Persians and the Babylonians. Egypt indeed was carefully excepted from the states against which he was permitted to lead the legions of the republic. But Egypt, it will appear, was precisely the point of attack which offered the greatest temptation to the ambition or cupidity of a proconsul in the east, and it could hardly be expected that one who had profited so much by successful violence should hesitate to grasp at the only prize forbidden him.

There was yet another enemy both of Clodius and the triumvirs, the inflexible and magnanimous Cato, whom it was essential to their objects to remove from the scene of their intrigues. The means they adopted for this purpose were craftily contrived to undermine his influence by throwing suspicions upon his integrity. Ptolemæus, king of Cyprus, was the younger brother of Ptolemæus Auletes, who occupied the throne of Egypt. The elder had been acknowledged as the ally of the Roman people; the younger had obtained the complimentary designation of their friend.¹ No evil designs were imputed to him; the safety or tranquillity of the empire demanded no

Intrigue to remove Cato from Rome.

¹ Cic. *pro Sest.* 26.; Schol. Bob. p. 301. Orell.

sacrifice of him ; the pretence that he abetted piratical depre-
 dations was paltry as well as false.¹ But it was known that
 he had accumulated large treasures, and the Ro-
 man government, under the guidance of two un-
 scrupulous consuls, proposed to deprive him of his
 kingdom and confiscate his possessions to the pub-
 lic service. A Roman officer of conspicuous mark and dig-
 nity was to be sent to demand the surrender ; the edict had
 gone forth, and no other discretion was left to the instrument
 of the republic than to manage the affair with violence or
 mildness, according to the bent of his own disposition. Of
 all the principal men in Rome at the time, it might be
 thought that to Cato the execution of an act of such glaring
 injustice would be least palatable. For this very reason per-
 haps the high-minded philosopher was selected to enforce it.
 It was rightly calculated in the councils of the dominant
 cabal that his principles of strict obedience to the will of the
 state would not allow him to decline the commission : but it
 was hoped that the acceptance of so ignoble an office under
 the direction of the enemies of his party would tend to lower
 his estimation among them. Possibly it was surmised that
 the handling of such a mass of treasure might have some
 effect in corrupting even his sturdy morality ; at least it
 would furnish a pretext for blackening his character. The
 tribune accordingly brought forward a rogation to this effect,
 which he fortified by producing Cæsar's written approval.
 Pompeius was well pleased, for his own part, that the odium
 of the extraordinary commissions with which he had himself
 been charged, which he sometimes felt to be galling, should
 be shared by a leader of that very party which had most ve-
 hemently opposed his own schemes of aggrandizement. He

Proposed mis-
 sion to deprive
 Ptolemæus
 king of Cyprus
 of his king-
 dom.

¹ Schol. Bob. *l. c.* : " Quod dieeretur ab eo piratas adjuvari." Clodius had a personal enmity against Ptolemæus ; for having once been captured by the pirates, he had applied to him to obtain a sum of money for his ransom. The king, it seems, sent him two talents for the purpose, and Clodius held himself affronted by the moderate value thus set upon him. It appears, however, that the pirates themselves did not consider it adequate. App. *B. C.* ii. 23. , Dion, xxxviii. 30.

considered it a master-stroke of policy thus to stay the clamours of his fiercest enemy, and he readily joined the tribune in urging the adoption of the rogation and the appointment of Cato as the commissioner.

Cato's apologists indeed averred that Clodius sent to him in the first instance, and used the softest and most flattering persuasions to induce him to accept the service. Many, he said, of the most distinguished personages of the state were already soliciting it; but it was for Cato he chose to reserve it, as the most honest and incorruptible of all, and therefore the fittest to discharge so delicate a trust. Cato, however, immediately perceived that the offer was meant, not as a favour, but as an insult and a snare, and rejected it with indignation. The tone of Clodius instantly changed from coaxing to menace, and, presenting himself before the assembly, he obtained a decree for the appointment of the refractory patriot. It was asserted that neither ship, nor attendants, nor military force were furnished to him; every chance of failure was purposely given to the enterprize.¹ And to this service Clodius caused another, not less scandalous, to be annexed, the restoration, namely, to their city of certain persons whom the free state of Byzantium had expelled for sedition and breach of the public peace.² This combination of political charges was always peculiarly hateful to the cupidity of the Roman nobles, though they disguised their own selfish feelings under the pretext of patriotic jealousy.

The appointment, however, had its charms even for Cato. It conferred great distinction upon a public man, who had served as yet no higher offices than those of quæstor and tribune, and who was now elevated to the rank of prætor, that this double commis-

This commis-
sion is thrust
upon Cato.

He executes it
with modera-
tion and strict
integrity.

¹ This account is given by Plutarch (*Cat. Min.* 34.). Cato attained the object of his mission without the employment of force; but it is not likely that he was really left without the means. Cicero says: "Si quis jus suum defenderet Catonem bello gerendo præfecisti" (*pro Dom.* 8.).

² Cic. *pro Dom.* 20.

sion might be discharged with suitable dignity.¹ It would seem, moreover, from the advice which Cato had given to Cicero, that he deemed it useless at the time to resist the combination of tyrants, and was not unwilling to embrace a specious retirement, until brighter prospects should open upon his party. Having undertaken the service, he seems to have performed it with as much forbearance as its nature admitted.² He forebore to intrude himself into the presence of the unfortunate king; perhaps he was ashamed to transact so foul a business in person. Remaining himself at Rhodes, he sent a lieutenant to deliver the decree of the Roman people, and to promise the injured monarch a rich and honourable compensation in the priesthood of the Paphian Aphrodite. Ptolemæus made no attempt at resistance; but his royal spirit scorned to descend to a private station, or accept a favour from the hands of treacherous enemies. Fortunately for Cato, as Plutarch remarks,³ he preferred to embrace a voluntary death. His vacant throne was immediately overturned, his subjects placed under the rule of a Roman governor, and the fatal treasures which he had amassed poured with the strictest fidelity into the coffers of the state.⁴ It would be well for the character of the most illustrious model of republican virtue if the narrative of this event could stop here; but it must be remarked that Cato, having thus performed what he might consider no more than his duty as a citizen, so far from protesting afterwards against the injustice of the decree, seems

¹ Vell. ii. 45.: "P. Clodius sub honorificentissimo ministerii titulo Catonem a republica relegavit."

² Plut. *Cat. Min.* 35.

³ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 36.: 'Ο δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ Πτολεμαῖος εὐτυχία τινὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος αὐτὸν φαρμάκοις ἀπέκτεινε.

⁴ Cato's probity was always ostentatious; comp. Vell. ii. 45. and Plut. *Cat. Min.* 39. As he sailed up the Tiber with his treasures, the consuls and principal people came out in procession to meet him; but he would not pause even to greet them till he had deposited his charge in the treasury. He returned from his mission A. U. 698, ὑπάτευε δὲ Φίλιππος. Plut. *l. c.* Appian makes an unaccountable mistake in saying that he did not actually proceed to discharge his commission till the consulship of Pompeius, A. U. 702. App. *B. C.* ii. 23.

rather to have prided himself upon his mission, as redounding to his honour no less than to his advancement. As Clodius had probably foreseen, he became the defender of the acts of his patron's tribunate. He not only repudiated the excuses which Cicero afterwards suggested for his submission, but openly withstood the attempts of the orator, after his return from banishment, to fasten a stigma upon the administration of his baffled persecutor.¹ Nor was his zeal in defence of the author of his appointment weakened even by the insult cast upon him by Clodius in questioning the correctness of the accounts he rendered to the people, and hinting that he had abused his trust. This must have been the more offensive to Cato, as the minute and even morose strictness with which he had made his inventories and effected his sales had already disgusted and irritated his personal followers. That there was something pedantic in his dealings, and matter for not unreasonable ridicule, may be inferred from Cæsar having made them one of his principal topics of raillery in the satire upon his opponent, which he published long afterwards under the title of *Anticato*.²

While the king of Cyprus was suffering under the lawless domination of a foreign government, his brother Auletes³ was experiencing the penalty of his own tyranny in the rebellion of his indignant subjects. Expelled from the palace of his ancestors in Alexandria, he bethought himself of the necessities of the rival statesmen of Rome, and determined to offer to their cupidity the temptation of interference with the affairs of his country. On his way to Italy he sought an interview with Cato. The coarse and haughty Roman treated the royal pe-

The king of Egypt applies for the intervention of the republic.

¹ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 40.

² Plut. *Cat. Min.* 36. Compare the anecdote in Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 19.: "Non ære captus nec arte, unam solummodo Zenonis statuam Cypria in expeditione non vendidit Cato, sed quia philosophi erat; ut obiter hoc quoque noscatur tam inane exemplum."

³ This Ptolemæus acquired his surname from his shameless appearance in public as a flute-player. Strab. xvii. 1.: Οὐκ ὠκνεῖ συντελεῖν ἀγῶνας ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις.

tioner with contemptuous indelicacy, while the supple Egyptian submitted to the indignity without a murmur.¹ Nevertheless, the advice of the cynical republican, who was anxious to avert another extraordinary commission, with all the cabals and fatal dissensions to which it would give rise, was sound and friendly; but the banished monarch, with all his professions of obsequiousness, had not the sense to follow it. Cato pointed out to him the insults to which he would be exposed in waiting upon the plots and counterplots of the Roman forum, the bribes that would be exacted from him on every side, the adjournment of his hopes, the exhaustion of his resources, finally, perhaps, a success more perilous to him than failure. He recommended him to return to Egypt and make the best terms he could with his rebellious subjects; and the monarch, who disregarded the advice, was said to have afterwards expressed his admiration of its prophetic wisdom.

Cato was accompanied on his mission by his nephew, M. Brutus, a young man of noble birth, of high and ambitious aspirations, but whose public career had hitherto been confined to serving as lieutenant to Cæsar in his government of Spain. The important part which he was destined to act in the closing scenes of the Roman republic, and the peculiar celebrity attached to his name, make us the more anxious to investigate the minuter actions of his life, and acquire a complete view of his character. He was the son of a father of the same name, who had been a prominent supporter of the Marian party, and finally lost his life by rashly joining in the enterprize of Lepidus.² His mother Servilia was half-sister to M. Cato, and ap-

Cato accompanied on his mission by his nephew, M. Junius Brutus.

¹ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 35.: 'Ο δὲ Κάτων ἐτύγχανε μὲν ὦν τότε περὶ κοιλίας καθαροῖν . . . ὡς δ' ἦλθεν, οὐτ' ἀπαντήσας, οὐτε ὑπεξαναστάς . . . κ. τ. λ. But such coarseness of manners has been paralleled in comparatively recent times. See Wraxall's *Historical Memoirs*, i. p. 252.

² Plut. *Brut.* 4. Niebuhr (*Lectures on Roman History*, 1. 48.) denies that this M. Junius Brutus was father of the tyrannicide. But compare Orelli *Onomast. Tullian.*

pears to have been a woman of strong character and more than usual attainments.¹ So far she was worthy of her distinguished relative; but the public voice circulated foul rumours against her, as the favourite mistress of Cæsar, the instrument of her own daughter's dishonour, the venal recipient of the spoils of conquest.² The shocking suspicion, however, it may be here remarked, that Brutus became the murderer of the man to whom he owed his existence is a mere invention of the Roman anecdotists.³ He was born A. U. 669, only fifteen years later than Cæsar himself. But Cæsar's intimacy with Servilia was, it may be presumed, a principal cause of the marked favour with which he distinguished her offspring.

The elder Brutus being cut off prematurely, when his son was only eight years of age, the care of his education fortunately passed from the hands of an intriguing
His character. mother into those of his uncle Cato; and the youth became early initiated in the maxims of the Stoic philosophy, and learned to regard his preceptor, whose daughter Porcia he married, as the purest model of practical and abstract virtue. But, together with many honourable and noble sentiments, he imbibed also from him that morose strictness in the exaction as well as the discharge of legal obligations, which, while it is often mistaken for a guarantee of probity, is not incompatible with actual laxity of principle. Accordingly, we find that while, on the one hand, he refrained as a provincial officer from extorting by fraud or violence the objects of his cupidity, he was, on the other, not the less unscrupulous in demanding exorbitant interest for loans advanced to the natives, and enforcing payment with rigid per-

¹ Servilia was married first to M. Junius Brutus, secondly to D. Junius Silanus. She was senior by many years to M. Cato. "Servilia apud Catonem maternam obtinebat auctoritatem." Aseon. *in Scaur.* p. 19. The Servillii claimed descent from Servilius Ahala, the slayer of Sp. Mælius, as the Junii from Brutus, the founder of the republic, so that the blood of the two most celebrated assertors of liberty met in the person of the future tyrannicide.

² Suet. *Jul.* 50., and Maerob. *Sat.* ii. 2.

³ Plut. *Brut.* 5.

tinacity. His base transactions with the magistrates of Salamis, as also with Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, are detailed in Cicero's correspondence with Atticus. It was some years after his residence in Cyprus that he commissioned a person named Scaptius to collect his debts with their accumulated interest. He allowed his agent to urge the most questionable interpretations of the law, and to enforce a rate of interest beyond what Cicero considered either legal or equitable. Scaptius, in his zeal for his employer, obtained the services of a troop of horse, with which he shut up the Salaminian senators in their house of assembly till five of them died of starvation, being really unable to procure the sum required.¹ The bitter reflections which Cicero makes upon the conduct of Brutus mark the strong contrast between the tried and practical friend of virtue and the pedantic aspirant to philosophic renown.

But neither, indeed, were the weaknesses of Cicero's own character controlled by the sage lessons he had learned and delivered. He lingered in his progress through Italy to the coast of the Adriatic, as if still indulging a hope that the passions of his partizans, whom he had left the city rather than excite to arms, might rise upon his departure in uncontrollable fervour only to be appeased by his immediate recal. But the senate cowered under the blow; the populace of Rome was devoted to the audacity and good fortune of Clodius; the states and cities of Italy, with many of which the fugitive had ingratiated himself during his long forensic career, dared not even raise their voices in behalf of the leader of a broken and dispirited party. When at last he summoned resolution to cross the sea to Epirus, it was with a burst of anger and despair, which reveals not less of pique and disappointment than of genuine sorrow. The character of this illustrious exile is fully and curiously developed to us in the very complete collection we possess of his letters at this period. They exhibit the writh-

Cicero's un-
manly com-
plaints in exile.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* v. 21., vi. 1.

ings of a mind which wreaks upon friends the torments of self-dissatisfaction. The writer begins early to think he has made a false step, and to throw the blame upon those who advised, or at least did not actively dissuade him from it.¹ *Unprecedented*, he exclaims to Atticus, *as my calamity is, nevertheless I am not so much affected by that as by a sense of the error I have committed; for now, indeed, you perceive by whose wickedness I have been betrayed.* In these words he seems to point more particularly to Hortensius, whom he might fancy to be jealous of him as a rival in eloquence; but in other places he involves his friends generally in one common accusation: *Those to whom I believed my safety was dearest have treated me as the most cruel of enemies; when they saw me despond only a little, they played upon my fears, and urged me to my ruin.* Nor does he spare Atticus himself, even while heaping upon him the strongest assurances of confidence. At length he works himself to such a pitch of irritation as to broach the question of suicide, and so arranges his arguments as to leave his friends under some apprehension lest his troubles should be brought to a violent termination.² We cannot wonder that they expressed doubts among themselves of the soundness of the sufferer's intellect.³ But, without imputing to him any intentional deception, it must be allowed that Cicero, as a pleader and declaimer, had indulged so grossly in the vice of exaggeration, that he retained little power of looking calmly upon things which excited his feelings, at least of expressing himself upon them with clearness and moderation. He does himself much injustice, probably, in the over-charged picture he has drawn of his own imbecility. He might think to move the commiseration of his contemporaries by magnifying his own infirmities, but he has well nigh lost by it the respect of posterity. Some portion at least of the complaints he lavishes

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* iii. 8. and foll., *ad Qu. Fr.* i. 3. and foll.

² Cic. *ad Att.* iii. 9., *ad Qu. Fr.* i. 3.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* iii. 13.: "Scribis te audire me etiam mentis errore ex dolore affici."

upon his own wrongs might well have been spared for a more frequent and prominent expression of concern at the degradation of his party and country.

Meanwhile, the friends of the unfortunate exile, far from resenting his unjust suspicions, were stirring anxiously in his behalf. Cato, indeed, as we have seen, was absent upon a distant mission, and Lucullus had relapsed, after a short interval of activity, into the easy indolence to which he had long surrendered himself. But Quintus, the orator's brother, had returned from the province of Asia, which he had governed as proprætor, and was now conferring at Rome with Atticus, Hortensius, and the tribune Ninnius. The political history of the times makes little mention of T. Pomponius Atticus, familiar as his name is to scholars, from the confidential intercourse with which Cicero honoured him. Yet he was a man of good descent, of ample fortune, and of literary attainments;¹ one who mixed freely in the society of the statesmen of the day, and was the friend of some of the most active among them. A follower, from temper as well as from reflection, of the philosophy of Epicurus, he vaunted the consistency of his life with his professions. In the most stirring age of the commonwealth, he abstained from all political action;² though closely connected with the oligarchy, he attached himself to no party; nor would he undertake the discharge of any public functions at home or abroad. He refused even the safe and easy dignities which the governors of the provinces could bestow upon the friends who followed in their retinue; nor would he employ his abilities and attainments in the career of an advocate, to which every Roman gentleman deemed himself born. He never preferred an accusation against any one himself, though such display of zeal for the public interests was the beaten road of honourable distinction; nor would he subscribe his name to the charges

Exertions of his friends in his behalf. Character of Atticus.

¹ He wrote an epitome of Roman history, a history of Cicero's consulship in Greek, and drew up genealogical tables of the principal Roman families. Cic. *ad Att.* xii. 23., ii. 1.; Nepos, *Att.* 8.

² Nepos, *Att.* 6.

promoted by a friend. He never entangled his own affairs in a suit of law. Among his numerous private friends in every party of the state, each political change reduced some to peril or distress, in which to relieve them might be dangerous, or at least troublesome. Yet Atticus was not ungenerous in his care for Cicero, and afterwards for Brutus; while at the same time he succeeded in divesting his sympathy of any political colour, and escaped the animadversion of their enemies.¹ This indeed was in later life, when his character for neutrality was securely established; and it deserves to be remarked, that the factions of Rome were always extremely tolerant of neutral parties. At an earlier period, however, the fact of his connexion by blood with P. Sulpicius subjected him to the jealousy of Cinna's followers, and compelled him to leave Rome and seek an asylum at Athens.² There he continued to reside for many years, and his avowed attachment to the spot, and interest in its fame and fortunes, obtained for him the surname by which he is familiarly known. The leisure which Atticus secured by this renunciation of all public employment he devoted chiefly to the cultivation of arts and letters. Nevertheless he was shrewd and keen in the pursuit of wealth, though far from illiberal in the use of his treasures. Ample as was the patrimony he inherited, the lessons of wisdom could not restrain him from devoting both time and care to improving and increasing it. He possessed a large family of slaves, whom he imbued with various accomplishments to enhance their value; he lent money on the most approved securities, especially to the corporations which farmed the revenues; and we read of his purchasing a troop of gladiators in order to let them out to magistrates for public games.³ The friend of Sulla, of Cicero, of Brutus and of Agrippa, Atticus outlived several generations of contemporary statesmen. At the age of seventy-seven he was attacked by an incurable disease, and then, true to his principles, he submitted to voluntary death by abstinence, rather than encoun-

¹ Nepos, *Att.* 4. 8.

² Nepos, *Att.* 2.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 4.; Nepos, *Att.* 13.

ter the only ill for which his master could furnish no remedy. He died in the year of the city 722.

We have already acquired some knowledge of Q. Hortensius, in reviewing the character of the more refined and luxurious class of the Roman nobility. Born Character of Hortensius. eight years before Cicero, and entering the arena of the forum at the age of nineteen, his florid rhetoric and graceful delivery had already established his fame before the period of Sulla's ascendancy.¹ At the first introduction of his future rival into public life Hortensius was in complete possession of the ear of the judges. Attached as he was to the cause of the oligarchy, he continued from that time to exercise his talents chiefly in defence of the statesmen of his party accused of provincial malversation. He pleaded before favourable tribunals; and this circumstance doubtless contributed far more than his eloquence to his boasted successes. The prosecution of Verres, in which he was retained by the defendant against the rising genius of Cicero, first shook the supremacy of this champion of the bar. But Hortensius felt no remorse at reflecting that the immense wealth procured for him by his abilities was for the most part derived from the plunder of the provinces. Though unstained by glaring vices, his career was equally unmarked by any elevation of view or the expression of any generous sentiments. Accomplished as he was, he made no progress in the affections of the simpler mind of Cicero. After passing through the usual succession of public offices, he obtained the consulship in the year 684. His ambition was thenceforth satisfied; nor did he even exert himself to retain the high position he had acquired. The example of his indolence and luxury made him rather a burden than a support to the sinking cause which he still nominally maintained, and he gradually lost whatever esteem a Cato² and

¹ The redundant and florid character of this orator's eloquence is criticised with delicate depreciation by Cicero (*Brutus*, 94, 95.).

² Aristocrat though he was, Hortensius was held in little favour by the later admirers of Cato. Perhaps it was natural to contrast two such dissimilar characters. Comp. Lucan, ii. 329.:

“Quondam virgo toris melioris juncta mariti.”

a Cicero may have once bestowed upon him. The latter lived indeed to retract his insinuations against him of want of fidelity to himself;¹ but if he failed to the last in exhibiting any cordiality towards him, we may feel that he had better grounds for his coldness than a mere remnant of professional jealousy.

The first duty of the exile's real friends undoubtedly was to provide for the security of his wife and family, whom, uncertain regarding his own movements, he had left behind him at Rome. This was a sufficient reason for Atticus to neglect his friend's entreaties to meet him at Brundisium or in Epirus, where an interview could have been of no service to Cicero's true interests. Not indeed that there was much actual danger to a woman abandoned by her legitimate protector, even in the midst of his political enemies. The Roman women in the olden times had been bred on a system which disabled them from taking any part in politics. Their proper sphere was deemed to be merely domestic, and the cultivation of their intellectual powers was rejected as superfluous or dangerous. With the advance of civilization the manners of antiquity relaxed; the Roman matrons, the Cornelias, the Porcias and Aurelias, became not unfrequently the counsellors of their husbands and the instructors of their children; but it was only the looser sort, the Fulvias and Clodias, who mixed in the political intrigues of their gallants. The idea still remained rooted in the Roman mind that the wife was the dependant, almost the slave, of the pater-familias, and could occupy no place in the arena of public life. Hence it was that, amidst the revolutions and proscriptions of the civil wars, the females of a family were never subjected to the persecutions in which their husbands and brothers were involved. The parent of Sertorius remained unmolested in Rome throughout the wars which the republic waged against her son. After the death of Caius Gracchus, his mother Cornelia retired only to Misenum, and there abode in the enjoyment

Political nullity of the Roman women, and their consequent security in times of revolution.

¹ Cic. *pro Sest.* 16-19.

of ample fortune and the most distinguished society,¹ while the son of Fulvius, a youth of only fifteen years, was involved in the proscription of his father.² Nevertheless, the situation of Terentia, the wife of Cicero, demanded the solicitude of his friends. The confiscation of her husband's fortune reduced her at once to poverty. She was a woman of high spirit, and acted with fortitude and decision.

We possess a letter of Cicero's, in which he entreats her not to dispose of a small estate, her own property, by the sale of which she was preparing to provide for the immediate necessities of her household. He represents the injury that she will thus inflict upon their son, and counsels her to trust to the benevolence of Atticus and the pious attention of Piso, their son-in-law.³ In a short time ample provision was made for the wants of the family; and Terentia combined with her husband's friends in watching the tides of public opinion, and working with zeal for his restoration.

High spirit of
Cicero's wife,
Terentia.

The vices and insolence of Clodius were already contributing to the advancement of Cicero's cause; by the one the affections of the people were in some degree alienated from their unworthy favourite, by the other even Pompeius felt himself at last aggrieved. The exile had meanwhile retired to Thessalonica. Southern Greece, to which he would more willingly have betaken himself, was infested by the presence of certain of Catilina's adherents, among whom he deemed it unsafe to venture his person.⁴ But when the year was about to expire, and Piso, the late consul, was preparing to visit Macedonia, his allotted

Cicero takes up
his residence at
Dyrrhachium.

¹ It may be remarked, as an exception to this contemptuous generosity, that Licinia, the wife of C. Gracchus, was deprived of her dowry. Merimée, i. 81. note.

² Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17. 19.; Vell. ii. 7.

³ Cic. *ad Div.* xiv. 1, 2.: "Quod ad me scribis te vicum vendituram, quid, obsecro te, me miserum, quid futurum est? . . . per fortunas miseras vide ne puerum perditum perdamus . . . obsecro te, mea vita, quod ad sumum attinet, sine alios, qui possunt, si modo volunt, sustinere."

⁴ Cic. *pro Planc.* 41.

province, the fugitive entertained no less apprehension from the proximity of so bitter an enemy. Presently the country began to fill with the troops and officers of the new consul.¹ Any violence done by them to the banished man would, he feared, be regarded with indulgence, if not with favour. Cicero felt it necessary to expedite his departure, and he determined, by approaching nearer to Italy, to give a token of his own courage, and animate the exertions of his friends. Accordingly, he took up his residence at Dyrrhachium, although it was within the prescribed limits of four hundred miles from Rome, and lay on the high road to Macedonia. He had numerous partizans in the country.² The magistrates and people of the city were both kindly disposed towards him, and jealous of their own liberty.³ In the midst of some real, and much imaginary danger, he relied on the spirit of this free state for protection; so much had the citizen to fear from illegal violence, in the lawless condition both of Rome and the provinces; so much might he hope, even in opposition to the law, from personal and private regard; such, in short, was the weakness of the metropolitan government in the dependent communities over which it claimed to be paramount.⁴

The elections for the ensuing year had already proved favourable to the prospect that the decrees against Cicero

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* iii. 22.

² Cic. *ad Div.* xiv. 1.: "Dyrrhachium veni quod et libera civitas est, et in me officiosa et proxima Italiæ." *Comp.* xiv. 3.: "civitas hæc semper a me defensa est."

³ Pliny (*H. N.* iii. 23.) calls Dyrrhachium a Roman colony, but the great importance of the place as an emporium of commerce had given it probably the means of claiming autonomy. It had been famous for its hospitality to strangers, from whence it may have derived its ancient name of Epidamnus (sc. ἐπιδημῆν). See Perizon. *ad Ælian.* V. H. xiii. 16. There was a popular story that the Romans changed the name to Dyrrhachium (sc. δὺς and ῥηχία), "Ominis causa, quasi in damnum ituri." Mela, ii. 2.

⁴ When Cæsar proposed to consign the Catilinarian conspirators to the custody of Italian municipia, Cicero remarked: Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem si velis, difficultatem si rogas: *in Catil.* iv. 4.

would be speedily reversed.¹ This was chiefly owing to the sudden change in Pompeius's disposition towards Clodius. When the victorious general returned from the East, he had brought with him a son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, whom he kept in the custody of Flavius, one of the prætors, as a hostage for his father's good faith. Clodius had obtained possession of this youth's person by fraud, and refused to deliver him up on the prætor's demand. Soon afterwards he accepted a bribe from the Armenian monarch, and sent him home. Flavius set forth with a body of armed men to overtake him; but at the fourth milestone he was met by the tribune, attended also by a troop of partizans.² A combat ensued, in which Clodius was successful, killing several of his opponents, and among them one Papius, a knight, a publicanus and a friend of Pompeius.³ Thus outraged and insulted, the great man withdrew his countenance from his upstart creature, and determined effectually to check him. It was reported indeed that Clodius had contrived a plot to assassinate the triumvir. All the circumstances requisite to substantiate the report were vouched for: one of the tribune's slaves was seized at Pompeius's door; he had a dagger upon him; he confessed that he had been placed there by his master to commit the murder.⁴ This suspicion, coupled with the violence of the mob which surrounded the tribune's person, induced Pompeius to retire from public view and confine himself to his own house. Even there he was assailed by the populace, and in the riot which ensued the consul Piso openly took part with Clodius. Pompeius succeeded in detaching from him the other consul Gabinius, and by exerting all his influence, joined probably to that of Cæsar, who was also in-

Pompeius
turns against
Clodius,
B. C. 57.

Violence of the
tribune.

¹ The elections had taken place at the usual time in the summer of 696. Cicero at Thessalonica speaks of the tribunes designate in a letter of the fifth of August; *ad Att.* iii. 13.

² Dion, xxxviii. 30.

³ Cic. *pro Mil.* 14.; *Ascon. in loc.*

⁴ Cic. *pro Sest.* 32.; *Plut. Pomp.* 49.

duced to abandon the demagogue,¹ he obtained the election to the consulship of Lentulus Spinther, a decided friend to Cicero, and of Metellus Nepos, an adherent of his own, whose personal enmity to the exile he could control and modify. The new tribunes also were now for the most part favourable to the interests of Cicero and of the senate.

The consuls commenced their career by moving the question of the orator's recal. They were baffled in the first instance by the veto of Serranus, one of the tribunes.² A second attempt issued in a furious and bloody tumult excited by Clodius, and carried through by the armed clients and paid adherents by whom he was constantly attended. Rome was abandoned for an instant to brute violence. Clodius, blind with rage, set fire with his own hands to the temple of the Nymphs, and consumed the registers of the censorship; he attacked the houses of the principal nobles, and filled the forum with the corpses of the slain. Such a scene had not been witnessed within the walls since the contest of Cinna and Octavius.³ At last Annius Milo, on the part of the senate, collected a body of gladiators under arms, and patrolled the streets to prevent his opponent's followers from assembling; nor did the gravest of the nobility scruple to acknowledge his assistance, and applaud his spirit in undertaking their defence at his own private charge.⁴

The senate had now made up its mind to proceed to any extremity. It issued a decree, inviting the Italian citizens to

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* iii. 15., written in the middle of August: "Varronis sermo facit expectationem Cæsaris." Soon afterwards Sestius, a private friend of Cicero, whom he defended subsequently in the energetic speech from which so much of our knowledge of these events is drawn, made a journey into Gaul on purpose to confer with the proconsul, and obtain his approval of the exile's recal, though coupled apparently with some conditions or expressions unpalatable to him (*pro Sest.* 32.).

² Cic. *pro Sest.* 34.

³ Cic. *pro Sest.* 35-38.

⁴ Cic. *de Off.* ii. 17.: "Honori summo nuper nostro Miloni fuit qui gladiatoribus emptis reipublicæ causa omnes P. Clodii conatus furoresque compressit."

come to the defence of the commonwealth, and overawe the urban population.¹ Rome was speedily filled with the adherents of Cicero and his party; while every city, it was said, throughout the Peninsula, hastened to testify by some public act or monument its regard for the saviour of his country, the patron of so many states and towns of Italy. Nevertheless, the forms of the constitution gave such obstructive power to the factious and unscrupulous, that Clodius still contrived to suspend for several months the carrying of a law for his restoration. The refractory tribunes, through whose vetoes he acted, for he had ceased to belong to the college himself, saw themselves gradually deserted by all their principal supporters, and were at last bought off or wearied out by the inflexible determination of the senate. It was not, however, till August that the law was finally passed,² and early in September the exile reappeared in the city, after an absence of sixteen months. He had advanced almost in a triumphal procession the whole length of the Appian way: Italy, it was said, had borne him on her shoulders, and carried him into Rome. He was received on the Capitol with such acclamations as had rarely fallen to the lot of the greatest conquerors;³ happy above his patron Pompeius in the fortune which, by unmerited reverses, had already revealed the vanity of the applause which greeted him.

Cicero is recalled from exile, and returns to Rome.

¹ Cic. *post Red. in Sen.* 9., *pro Sest.* 60.: "Ut literis consularibus ex senatus consulto cuncta ex Italia omnes qui rem publ. salvam esse vellent convocarentur."

² Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 1., prid. non. Sext. i. e. Aug. 4. The Roman people never voted with such unanimity as on this occasion. Plut. *Cic.* 33.: καὶ λέγεται μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἐκ τῶσαύτης ὁμοφροσύνης ἐπιψηφίσασθαι τὸν δῆμον.

³ Cic. *post Red. in Sen.* 15., *pro Sest.* 63., *in Pison.* 22.

CHAPTER IX.

POMPEIUS OBTAINS AN EXTRAORDINARY COMMISSION FOR SUPPLYING THE CITY.—APPLICATION OF THE KING OF EGYPT TO BE RESTORED TO HIS THRONE.—INTRIGUES OF THE NOBLES IN RELATION TO IT.—VIOLENCE OF CLODIUS.—THE TRIUMVIRS CONFER TOGETHER AT LUCCA.—POMPEIUS AND CRASSUS ELECTED CONSULS IN SPITE OF THE OPPOSITION OF THE NOBLES.—SPAIN AND SYRIA DECREED TO THEM, AND CÆSAR'S COMMAND PROLONGED FOR A SECOND TERM OF FIVE YEARS.—POMPEIUS' THEATRE AND SHOWS.—HE REMAINS IN ITALY, AND GOVERNS HIS PROVINCE BY LEGATES.—CICERO RECONCILED WITH CRASSUS.—GABINIUS RESTORES THE KING OF EGYPT.—HE IS IMPEACHED, ATTACKED BY CICERO, BUT ACQUITTED: AGAIN ACCUSED ON ANOTHER CHARGE, DEFENDED BY CICERO, BUT CONDEMNED AND BANISHED.—CICERO COURTS THE TRIUMVIRS.—CORRUPT PROCEEDINGS OF THE CANDIDATES FOR THE CONSULSHIP.—PARALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTION.—DEATH OF JULIA, AND REFLECTIONS ON THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THAT EVENT (A. U. 697-700, B. C. 57-54).

THE wealth and influence of the aristocracy might have succumbed in a contest with the representative of the mob of Rome, had it not armed itself with weapons from his own workshop, and turned the arts of the demagogue against himself. The nobles had adroitly availed themselves of the occurrence of a scarcity, perhaps they had even contrived it, to inflame the passions of the multitude against the champion it had deemed omnipotent. On the very day upon which the law was passed in favour of Cicero's recall, a sudden fall was remarked in the price of corn. The partizans of the banished man hailed this circumstance as a manifest token of divine approbation.¹ True it was that the markets rose

Appointment of Pompeius to an extraordinary commission for provisioning the city.

Sept.
A. U. 697.
B. C. 57.

¹ Cic. *pro Dom.* 5, 6.

again almost immediately ; but Cicero had the tact to draw advantage in another way from this reverse also.¹ Being now reinstated in his position, and, to a certain extent, in the influence he had formerly enjoyed in the counsels of the nobility, which he was anxious to fortify, he seized this pretext for proposing the appointment of Pompeius to an extraordinary commission for supplying the city. This was a recurrence to the principle of the Gabinian and Manilian laws, both of which the leaders of the senate had resisted and denounced. But the republic had now become familiarized with these monopolies of power, which so lately had shaken it with alarm. It conceded, for the third time, indefinite and arbitrary powers to a personage, whose influence in the state was already greater than that of any of his competitors, perhaps even than that of the state itself. It authorized him to demand supplies from any part of its dominions, at prices to be fixed at his own discretion ;² and to enable him to carry out his measures, it invested him with the command of troops, and every other resource he might deem necessary. He received the sole appointment to fifteen commissionerships, posts of lucre and dignity which the principal men of Rome might covet. Cicero himself accepted one, though he does not appear to have taken any part in the administration of the affair.³ The populace, looking to this measure for its immediate relief, clamorously invited it, and the senate offered no

¹ Dion, xxxix. 9. ; App. *B. C.* ii. 18 ; Plut. *Pomp.* 49. The Clodian party took this opportunity of throwing the blame of this rise upon Cicero, whose friends had filled the city with strangers to secure his recal. Cicero was thus driven to promote Pompeius's interests in his own defence. Clodius thereupon attacked Pompeius as the real author of the famine. Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 3. We may believe with Drumann, that it was the latter who caused an artificial scarcity, with the view of extorting an extraordinary employment.

² Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 1. : "Legem consules conscripserunt quo Pompeio per quinquennium omnis potestas rei frumentariæ toto orbe daretur."

³ Quintus Cicero was employed by Pompeius in the execution of the office (Cic. *pro Scaur.* 2. 39.). Drumann supposes that Marcus resigned his commissionership in favour of his brother. (*Gesch. Roms*, iv. 511.)

steady opposition.¹ The appointment was decreed for a term of five years; and its secret opponents were contented with discountenancing certain extravagant provisions which Messius, a flatterer of Pompeius, proposed to annex to it. The triumvir found himself compelled to disclaim any wish for the dictatorial power in the provinces, which his creature's rogation would have conferred upon him,² and the bill passed the popular assembly in a less obnoxious form than might have been apprehended from the strength of his party and the reckless impatience of the multitude.

The senate was determined to follow up with energy its victory over the public enemy. That august body had listened to the speeches of Cicero on his return with commiseration, the people with shame and contrition. All possible reparation was to be made to the injured patriot. The site of his house on the Palatine was restored to him, cleared of the new buildings which Clodius had begun to erect upon it, and relieved from the effect of the act of consecration, which was now disregarded as informal.³ Sums of money were also voted to him in compensation for his pecuniary losses.⁴ The next object was to institute proceedings against the demagogue for the violence and illegality of his conduct. The validity of his original election to the tribuneship he had so abused might be brought into question, for high authorities pronounced the mode of his adoption into a plebeian house illegitimate. The

Hostile attitude of the senate towards Clodius.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 1.: "Senatus frequens et omnes consulares nihil Pompeio postulanti negarunt."

² Cic. *l. c.*

³ Cicero, in his speech *Pro Domo apud Pontifices*, states the reasons why the act of consecration should be pronounced invalid. The college of priests would go no further than to declare that if the circumstances were such as he represented, the act would be vitiated; but the senate was satisfied with this qualified sentence, and proceeded to vote accordingly.

⁴ The compensation for the Palatine house was fixed at HS. vicies, something less than 18,000*l.* of our money, valuing the sestertium at 8*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.*, that of the Tusculan quingentis millibus, or nearly 4,500*l.*, of the Formian at half that sum: "Certe valde illiberaliter." Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 2.

establishment of this point would cut up the very roots of his power, by the summary reversal of all his official acts. But it would be difficult to carry so sweeping a censure in the teeth of the various methods of obstruction which a crafty opponent could employ in his defence. While Cicero urged on the prosecution, and Cato, lately returned from Cyprus, stood forward to repel it, the movements of the body of the senate were languid and distracted, and the apprehensions excited by the mob which filled the streets and menaced the assembly deterred it from pressing the matter to a decision.¹ It was soon found, indeed, that even the pursuit of a common enemy was not a matter of interest sufficiently intense to subdue the private jealousies of a triumphant faction. The king of Egypt, Ptolemæus Auletes, of whose suit to the Roman people mention has been already made, had now arrived in the city, and was besieging the doors of the political chiefs with applications to befriend him. A new and most important commission was in view; to whomsoever it fell, it would confer upon him, as the Romans phrased it, an increase of personal dignity; it would extend his influence among the lower orders, which still regarded the honours and titles of illustrious families as claims to their support and suffrages. Moreover, the discharge of such offices presented manifold ways of amassing treasure; there were outfit and salary to be expended, presents and bribes to be hoarded in the coffers of the family, or distributed among friends or opponents. Such a commission would require a military force for its execution, and thus confer power and influence, and the means of providing for dependants. For a moment all other party interests were abandoned, and political leaders rushed together into the arena to compete for this brilliant preferment. In the first instance the consuls of the year were authorized, by their exalted position, to propose that the charge should devolve upon one of themselves, upon him, namely, who should obtain by lot the province of Cilicia, which lay

It is diverted from its purpose by the application of the King of Egypt, for restoration to his kingdom.

¹ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 1.

opportunately for an expedition to Egypt. Cilicia fell to Lentulus, Spain to Metellus. Lentulus was preparing to set out for his province, when one of the tribunes, C. Cato, produced an alleged oracle from the Sibylline verses, to the effect that the king must not be restored *with a multitude*; a phrase which was deemed to prohibit the employment of an armed force. The power of levying an army was one of the principal advantages which the commission held forth; but the influence of Rome in Egypt was so great that the object, it might be presumed, could be easily effected by the representations even of an unarmed ambassador. The oracle was doubtless a forgery for political objects: but the people were swayed blindly by superstitious terrors, and no one ventured to trifle with their prejudices. Cicero, even in a familiar letter, speaks of the divine interference with bated breath. In the senate it was generally deemed an opportune fiction; yet, in the discussions which ensued, its genuineness seems never to have been called in question.¹ The prediction appears indeed to have sunk deeply into the minds of the nation; the fate of Pompeius, when he was afterwards murdered on the shore of Egypt, was attributed to his neglect of its warning, in venturing merely to land upon the beach and seek an asylum for his broken army.²

Lentulus did not wait till the question regarding the commission was settled, but departed for his province as soon as he had descended from the consul's chair. Installed in his government he awaited the result of these lagging deliberations. In accordance with the provisions of the bill which had already received the requisite sanctions, Cicero would have consented to his retaining the commission, but would

The Sibylline oracle prohibits an armed interference.

Great heats occasioned by the competition of the nobles for this commission.

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* i. 1., in a letter to Lentulus.

² Lucan, viii. 824.:

“Haud equidem immerito Cumanæ carmine vatis
Cautum, ne Nili Pelusia tangeret ora
Hesperius miles, ripasque æstate tumentes.”

have withheld from him the military force. Others considered the whole matter as open to fresh discussion. Crassus proposed the appointment of three legates. Bibulus required that the three should be personages of inferior dignity. Volcatius and Afranius, friends of Pompeius, and others who were won over by the intrigues of the royal petitioner,¹ would have conferred the office on the great commander alone. Servilius, one of the gravest and noblest of the senate, declared the commission altogether inexpedient.² Thus split into various sections, the senate exposed itself again to the attacks of its bitterest enemy. Clodius succeeded in obtaining the ædileship, while his friends, affecting to support the proposal of Crassus as adverse to Pompeius, used every endeavour to widen the breach between them.³ The triumvirs, regardless of their common interest, could no longer dissemble their mutual jealousy. Pompeius openly accused his associate of designs against his life, while Crassus thwarted with vigilant activity every scheme for his rival's aggrandizement. Obscure as were the sources of the power which Crassus wielded, every day proved how deeply it was seated, and how great was the weight of the moneyed class by which he was principally supported. The result of a series of petty intrigues gradually narrowed the contest to one between Pompeius and Lentulus, but the increasing violence of the popular demagogues made its decision impossible.

The city became once more a prey to internal tumults. The nobles began to collect their retainers from the country

¹ Cic. *ad Div. l. c.*: "Regis causa si qui sunt qui velint, qui pauci sunt, omnes rem ad Pompeium deferunt." The Egyptian king employed intrigue and corruption, and even violence, to effect his object. He is said to have caused the ambassadors, whom the Alexandrians sent to confront him at Rome, to be waylaid and murdered on their route. Dion, xxxix. 13.; Strab. xvii. 1.

² Cic. *l. c.*

³ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr. ii. 3.*: "Who is it that starves the people?" exclaimed Clodius. "Pompeius!" shouted his followers. "Who wants to go to Alexandria?" "Pompeius!" they shouted again. "Whom do you wish to send?" "Crassus!"

Violence of Clodius and Milo.

to protect their champion Milo.¹ The Clodians, unable to repel force by force, appealed in their turn to the tribunals, and impeached him without success. The tribune, C. Cato, however, persisted in harassing the senate with factious motions before the popular assembly. The statue of Jupiter on the summit of the Alban mount was struck by lightning,² a portent which excited a general panic, and raised a cry for rescinding the appointment of Lentulus.³ A bill was even proposed to recal him from his province;⁴ but the consuls interfered by taking the auspices on the days of meeting, and thus vitiated the proceedings.⁵ The wheels of the constitution were locked.

By getting himself elected ædile, Clodius had for the present averted the danger of judicial impeachment. The influence he still continued to wield at this crisis, bankrupt as he was in character, and destitute of the ordinary resources of great party leaders, must be referred to the secret support he received from personages of more importance than himself. Pompeius indeed had cast him off in a fit of spleen; yet the ends for which the triumvir was secretly working could only be realized through the confusion to which the demagogue's proceedings were obviously tending. The senate had displayed more resolution than he expected; the state was not yet ripe for falling quietly under his domination. He now bitterly regretted having divested himself of his military command; the charge of supplying the city had been denuded of that which consti-

¹ Cic. *l. c.*: "Operas autem suas Clodius confirmat. Manus ad Quirinalia paratur: in eo multo sumus superiores ipsius copiis. Sed magna manus ex Piceno et Gallico expectatur, ut etiam Catonis rogationibus de Milone et Lentulo resistamus."

² Dion, xxxix. 15. This was in January, or early in February, A. U. 698.

³ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 3.

⁴ Cic. *l. c.*; *ad Div.* i. 5.: "C. Cato legem promulgavit de imperio Lentulo abrogando."

⁵ Cic. *ad Div.* ii. 6.: "Consul . . . dies comitiales exemit omnes. C. Cato conceionatus est, comitia haberi non siturum, si sibi cum populo agendi dies essent exempti."

tuted its greatest charm, the authority to levy troops. The senate had outwitted him by a specious gift, which added much to his unpopularity, and little to his strength. The more recent prospect of a command in Egypt had been frustrated. There was only one way left to recover the position which he had relinquished, and that lay through the consulship. The consuls for the year just commencing were men of more than common resolution; such at least was Lentulus Marcellinus, and his superior force of character carried Marcius Philippus, his colleague, along with him.¹ These were not the men to surrender the advantage which their party had gained by the reversal of Clodius's infamous law; on the contrary, they were already putting forward, as a candidate for the next consulship, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a brother-in-law of M. Cato, inspired by his connexion, if not by his own temper, with the deepest hatred of the triumvirs. Domitius openly declared that his first act in office should be to propose Cæsar's recal from his province, and he was actuated no doubt by a similar spirit of hostility towards Cæsar's allies. The danger indeed touched the proconsul more nearly than either of his associates: for to him the deprivation of his command would be something much more serious than a mere temporary frustration of his ambitious projects. It would be no less than a summons to appear before his enemies at Rome, unarmed and defenceless. The moment he should descend from power, banishment or even death, in all probability, awaited him. Cæsar's position was, indeed, exceedingly critical. The reversal of the sentence on Cicero came too soon for his policy. He had assented to it with reluctance. It had been extorted from him by the impatience of Pompeius; for he had doubtless looked to the continuance of Clodius's ascendancy until he could obtain certain further concessions from the terrified senate. By means of this instrument on the tribunitian bench, he hoped

The consuls vigorously oppose his views.

Critical position of Cæsar under a threat of recal from his province.

¹ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 6.: "Consul est egregius Lentulus, non impediante collega."

to have driven the nobles to consent to an extension of his term of command, with ampler powers and more abundant resources. All this was absolutely necessary for the full development of his design to raise himself to a position in which he might defy his enemies; and in this view he continued, we must imagine, to support Clodius even after Pompeius had withdrawn his countenance from him.

The proconsul of Gaul was never more actively engaged than during the intervals between the campaigns by which his attention was for the time engrossed. After the apparent submission of the Transalpine nations in the autumn of 697, he had betaken himself to the Hither province, where he had two objects in view; the first, and the more ostensible, was to convene the national assembly of the Cisalpine communities, through which he regulated the internal affairs of his government, levied contributions, and recruited his legions; the second was to confer with the friends whom he had left in the city, who flocked to him at Lucca,¹ bringing in their train political agents of every shade of party, spies, enemies and admirers. Consulars and officials of every grade thronged the narrow streets of a provincial watering-place. A hundred and twenty lictors might be counted at the proconsul's door, while two hundred personages of senatorial rank, nearly one half of the order, paid their court at his levees.²

The genius of the popular champion was never unequal to the opportunities which fortune presented to him, and seemed now to shine the more brilliantly from the pinnacle of glory which he had attained. If he practised every artifice to acquire or retain the affections of all classes, it was to ensure an abundant return of

Cæsar arrives at Lucca, and is waited upon by great numbers of senators and knights.

Effects of his bribery and caresses.

¹ Lucca, according to the ancient orthography, Luca, was on the frontier of Liguria, which was comprehended in the province of Gallia Cisalpina. It was first included in Etruria by Augustus. Mannert, *G. der G. und R.* ix. i. 391.; Suet. *Jul.* 24.: "In urbem provinciæ suæ Lucam."

² Plut. *Cæs.* 21.; App. *B. C.* ii. 17. At Lucca Cæsar passed the winter of 697-698.

gratitude, and acquiescence in the demands he meditated. While he dazzled them with the lustre of his splendid achievements, and tempered with kindness and affability the haughtiness of military command, he secured an indemnity for the boldness with which he had multiplied his legions beyond the limits fixed by the government, and fortified his position against the malevolence of a future consul. In lavishing upon his flatterers the spoils of his successful wars,¹ he was preparing to thrust his hands into the public treasury, for the payment of the armies² he had led to victory. These manœuvres were crowned with a large measure of success. Senators and knights returned to Rome, their ears tingling with his compliments, their hands overflowing with his benefactions. The spendthrift extolled his generosity; the prudent admired his dexterity; even of the best and gravest many bowed beneath the ascendancy of his character, in which they beheld the last pledge of public order, energy and security.

The enmity between Pompeius and Crassus was felt by Cæsar, who had so much use to make of both, to be highly disadvantageous to his interests. He was anxious to effect a reconciliation between them before he left Italy to resume the command of his armies. He obtained interviews with them separately, with Crassus at Ravenna, afterwards with Pompeius at Lucca, where he eventually succeeded in bringing them together.³ The winter had passed, and he had not yet torn himself from the scene of his intrigues, when at the commencement of the month of April he was assailed by a direct attack on the part of the oligarchs. The onset was led by Cicero himself. The orator, after the first outburst of vanity and exultation, had

The triumvirs meet at Lucca and arrange their policy in concert.

¹ See the instance of C. Rabirius Postumus, whose necessities Cæsar relieved, in the speech of Cicero, *pro Rab. Post.* 15, 16. Comp. Sallust, *B. Catil.* 54. Cæsar negotiis amicorum intentus sua negligere; nihil denegare quod dono dignum esset, &c. The effects of Gallic gold became more evident at a later period.

² Dion, xxxix. 25.

³ Suet. *Jul.* 24.

learned to take a juster view of his own position. The glory which surrounds him in the eyes of posterity, for the splendour of his genius and the dignity of his character, has blinded too many historians to the moderate estimation in which he was held by his own contemporaries. Among the statesmen of his party Cicero occupied only a secondary place. The brand of ignoble birth was upon him; his ascent to power was obstructed, his retention of it thwarted by his own allies; it was only when his services were essential that they consented to place him at their head. Cicero, for his part, had discovered that a man who could be so easily overthrown ought not to aspire to command. The nobles had blandly waived his invitation to take them under his wing. The sneering tone in which he continues to speak of them may lead us to infer that he keenly felt the disparagement they cast upon him. But he bowed to circumstances. Through the first three months of the year he displayed himself very little on the stage of public affairs.¹ But suddenly, in the beginning of April, he startled the city by stepping prominently forward, and attacking Cæsar's law for the division of lands in Campania.² The government had recently been obliged to place a large sum, forty millions of sesterces, at the disposal of its high commissioner for the supply of the city. The treasury was drained, and it was easy to assert that there were no means forthcoming for the purchase of lands, according to the tenor of the late agrarian enactment. Now the nobles had need of boldness and eloquence. At their instigation Cicero proposed that the law should be altogether repealed; and the senate, full, he assures us, of admiration at his manœuvre, which it pretended to ascribe to himself alone, received the motion with acclamations, such as were oftener heard in a popular assembly than in the delib-

¹ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 6.: "Quo me libentius a curia et ab omni parte rei publicæ subtraho."

² The question of a repeal had already been mooted by the tribune Lupus in the December preceding, but Marcellinus had thought it prudent not to discuss it during a temporary absence of Pompeius. Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 1.

erations of so august a council.¹ The matter, it was resolved, should stand over for solemn discussion on an appointed day in the following month.² The interview of the triumvirs was devoted to tracing the line of their policy with reference to this hostile demonstration. In the first place, it was determined that all jealousies between the associates must give way to the defence of their common interests. The election of Domitius must be defeated, and Cæsar urged his colleagues to present themselves as candidates in opposition to him.³ If successful, he depended on the covenants between them to secure him in his military command, and to enlarge his powers to any extent he might choose to demand. Should the senate persist in preventing the people from assembling, he was confident that it must ultimately be tired out, or frightened from its course by the fear of a dictatorship. Meanwhile Pompeius should use every endeavour to detach Cicero from the enemy, and assist in procuring the prolongation of Cæsar's command, together with the other indulgences which he required.

The proconsul now once more crossed the Alps. Pompeius passed over to Sardinia, where he met his legate Q. Cicero, whom he chose to consider, upon his acceptance of a post under him, as a pledge for his brother's allegiance.⁴ No sooner had the orator delivered his speech against Cæsar's agrarian law than he had hastened to pay a visit to Pompeius, who was on the point of leaving Rome for Sardinia, with the hope of eliciting from him some tokens of approbation. But the crafty dissembler was impenetrably reserved; ⁵ he did not even mention that he expected to meet Cæsar at Lucca on

Cicero's equivocal conduct in abandoning the nobles, and attaching himself to the triumvirs.

¹ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 5. : "Clamore prope concionali."

² Cic. *ad Div.* i. 9. : "Non. April. mihi est Senatus assensus ut de agro Campano frequenti Senatu id. Mai. referretur."

³ Suet. *Jul.* 24. : "Sed cum L. Domitius consulatus candidatus periam minaretur, consulem se effecturum quod prætor nequisset, adempturumque ei exercitus, Crassum Pompeiumque in urbem provinciæ suæ Lucam extractos compulis, ut detrudendi Domitii causa alterum consulatum peterent."

⁴ Cic. *ad Div.* i. 9.

⁵ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 6.

his way. Cicero probably augured no good from this taciturnity. He had already revolved in his mind the rashness of the move he had made; he had balanced the disastrous consequences of a breach with the triumvirs against the slender support he could expect from the weak and wavering faction to which he had renewed his devotion. He was relieved perhaps from a weight of anxiety when he received letters from his brother expostulating with him on his hostility to Cæsar, urging the policy of concession, and still assuring him that the triumvirs, though offended, were not implacable. We discover immediately an entire change in the tone of the orator's correspondence.¹ He abandons resentfully the cause of the oligarchs, against whose faithlessness and frivolity he lashes himself into indignation. They no longer love him, he says, and he must now transfer his regard to others who do so. He paints to himself in glowing colours the merits of the great chiefs of the republic, and argues from the maxims of wise men of old that the simple citizen should conform his views to those of the best and noblest. He deprecates the charge of inconstancy in tones which seem to admit its justice, and finally resigns himself in despair to the irresistible current of circumstances.

Cicero indeed was spared the disgrace of refuting in May the arguments which he had alleged against Cæsar's law in the month preceding. The senate, abandoned by its spokesman, allowed the matter to drop. But when he next appeared in the arena of public discussion, it was to pronounce a laboured panegyric upon the very man against whom he had so lately led the ranks of opposition. Before proceeding to the election of consuls, the nobles bethought them of the Sempronian law, according to which the consular provinces were to be assigned prospectively before the day of election. Little regard, as we have seen, had been paid to an enactment

Cicero's speech
de Provinciis
Consularibus:
he defends
Cæsar and
Pompeius,
and revenges
himself upon
Piso and Ga-
binius.

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¹ Compare Cicero's letters, *ad Att.* iv. 5, *ad Div.* i. 7., and more particularly that to Lentulus *ad Div.* i. 9., in which he reviews his political course at this period.

so adverse to the rapid and fluctuating combinations of the day; nevertheless it might be made an instrument for assailing an enemy, and it was not forgotten that Cæsar had received his three provinces in utter defiance of it. It was now proposed, not only to enforce it, but even to give it a retrospective effect.¹ All the speakers, except Servilius, had declared themselves in favour of depriving the Gallic proconsul of one or more of the governments he held in conjunction, when Cicero stepped forward in his defence, with a speech of peculiar dignity and spirit. He pointed with just enthusiasm to the extent and rapidity of Cæsar's conquests; he had broken the Helvetians, he had repulsed the Germans, he had received submission and hostages from every state of Gaul. Cicero urged the expediency of allowing him to complete and consolidate the work he had thus successfully begun; a work which should relieve Rome thenceforward from any dread of foreign invasion. By an artful panegyric on Pompeius, the victor of the east, the orator insinuated the importance of fostering the genius of an ambitious rival. He claimed it as a merit that he had prevailed on the senate to increase the number of Cæsar's lieutenants, and to grant him the pecuniary supplies which the war demanded;² finally, he contended that such indulgences must, in consistency, be crowned by repelling with indignation the blow now aimed against him. These arguments and instances, backed by the influence of the triumvirs, averted the impending decree. But Cicero had not missed the opportunity of avenging himself on the consuls who had consented to his banishment. He showed with his usual felicity how strongly the Sempronian law condemned the appointment of Piso and Gabinius to Macedonia and Syria, and he even succeeded in effecting their recal.³

¹ Cic. *Orat. de Provinciis Consularibus; ad Div.* i. 9. This speech was probably delivered in May (comp. *ad Div.* i. 7.), when Cicero alludes to the discussion in a letter to Lentulus, though he seems to be withheld by shame from mentioning the part he took in it himself: "Quod eo ad te brevius scribo, quia me status hic reipublicæ non delectat." Abeken, p. 153.

² Dion, xxxix. 25.

³ Ascon. *in Pison. arg.* p. 2.: "Revocati . . . ex provinciis Piso et

But with whatever gravity and decorum the senate might continue its discussions, in anticipation of the due election of magistrates, there were forces out of doors beyond its control, which had arrayed themselves in so hostile an attitude, that it could not venture to invoke the decision of the comitia. Pompeius and Crassus were canvassing the tribes; the demagogues of the forum, again in secret league with them,¹ were stirring up the passions of the populace, and urging them to reject the nominee of the oligarchy. When it became manifest that Domitius could not succeed, the senate, under the daring guidance of Marellinus, determined at least to prevent the election of any other candidate. Day after day the consuls interposed with adverse auspices, and forbade the tribes to assemble. There still existed sufficient reverence for the forms of the constitution to ensure respect even to this stretch of prerogative. The election of magistrates was so closely bound up with the observances of the state religion, that no appointment could command the regard even of its own authors which was not sanctioned by the ordinary modes of procedure. Indeed, the obstinacy with which Marellinus maintained a struggle which could only increase the confusion of affairs, earned him the acclamations even of the fickle populace. He replied to their insensate shouts by solemnly warning them that a time was coming when even their voices should be no longer free.² He wished, perhaps, to prepare their minds for that final appeal to arms which the nobles had been long revolving in their wild and fluctuating counsels. But the consuls knew that their power was on the point of expiring with the close of the current year, and that it would

Gabinus." The latter, however, did not relinquish his government till M. Crassus came to supersede him, A. U. 700. Piso was summoned home without delay, and his province handed over to the prætor Q. Ancharius. Cic. *in Pis.* 36.

¹ Dion, xxxix. 29. : Κλώδιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ μεταπηδήσας αὐθις πρὸς τὸν Πομπήϊον, κ. τ. λ.

² Val. Max. vi. 2. 6.

be impossible ultimately to resist the usurpation with which the commonwealth was threatened. They abstained during the remainder of their term from all the duties of their office. They neither relinquished the mourning in which they had clad themselves, nor attended the popular spectacles, nor feasted in the Capitol on Jove's solemn day, nor celebrated the great Latin festival on the Alban mount, but continued to conduct themselves in every thing as men under constraint, and magistrates deprived of their legitimate power.¹

As soon as the curule chairs had become vacant, the triumvirs reappeared on the stage. With the assistance of C. Cato and the other tribunes devoted to them, they convened the people, and enacted a shadow of the forms of election. They resorted to violence and bribery with equal recklessness; but it was not till young Crassus arrived from Gaul with a detachment of Cæsar's veterans, to control the elections, that the nobles finally gave way. Domitius himself had doggedly interposed as a candidate, and only retired from the contest when his attendant had been slain at his side.² The new consuls, Pompeius and Crassus, having obtained their own appointment by violating every principle of justice and law, proceeded to employ similar means to secure the other magistracies for creatures on whom they could rely.³ M. Cato, who was a candidate for the prætorship, was mortified by a contemptuous rejection which the character of Vatinius, the rival to whom the all-powerful consuls postponed him, rendered the more insulting.⁴ Nor indeed did the sworn defenders of the public tranquillity carry their point in all

Pompeius and Crassus obtain their elections to the consulship by violence, at the commencement of the year 699.

¹ Dion, xxxix. 30.

² Dion, xxxix. 31.; App. *B. C.* ii. 17.

³ Two only of the new tribunes, C. Ateius Capito and P. Aquilius Gallus, were hostile to them. Dion, xxxix. 32.

⁴ Liv. *Epit.* cv.; Val. Max. vii. 5.: "Comitiorum maximum crimen . . . proxima dementiae suffragia . . . quem honorem Catoni denegaverant Vatinio dare coacti sunt." This striking perversion of justice was remembered four centuries later: comp. Mamert. *Grat. Act. ad Julian.* c. 19.: "Unde factum est ut majores nostri viderent Vatinios designatos et repulsos Catones"

cases without bloodshed. But quiet was eventually restored ; they were feared for their vigour, if not respected, and Rome settled down for a time in exhaustion and disgust under the tyranny of her new rulers.

When Pompeius looked back upon his own career, from the time of his return from Asia, in the enjoyment of unexampled glory, and with the prospect of exerting almost boundless influence, he could not fail to observe that he had fallen from the summit of dignity which he then occupied, and that Cæsar, a younger aspirant, was threatening to outclimb him at no distant day. He might remark how different had been the course they had respectively pursued. The one had awaited in proud inaction the offer of fresh honours and powers ; the other had seized and secured them with his own hands. The one had studied to increase the confusion of public affairs, by balancing faction against faction ; the other had attached himself, without wavering, to the party with which he was hereditarily connected. The one had hoped that the necessities of the state would at last combine all men in the common policy of elevating him to the dictatorship ; the other had applied himself steadily to the task of reducing his opponents to insignificance, and throwing the creation of a supreme ruler into the hands of his own devoted adherents. Pompeius seems to have now determined to alter his previous course, and imitate that of his more audacious competitor, by bolder and more hazardous steps, such as he had not shrunk from himself in earlier times, when his position was still to be won. With this view he had grasped at the consulship, and obtained it by means which the nobles could never forgive. He wanted, as we have seen, to secure the reversion of a province, and to place himself again at the head of an army. A short experience of civil affairs had sufficed to teach him that the profession of his early choice, in which he had been invincible, was the most natural to him, as well as the most available for his purposes. As a military chieftain, he might enact again the crowning triumphs of his master Sulla, whom

Pompeius compares his position with that of Cæsar, and meditates a change of policy.

he had imitated in the outset of his career with such fidelity and success. But the toils in which Cæsar had entangled him, by the connexion he had so dexterously formed between them, confined his movements on every side, and disabled him from the free use of the victory he had gained.

The consuls began their career with an outward show of moderation, affecting to be content with their brilliant position, and to look for no ulterior advantages. But C. Trebonius, one of their tribunitian allies, came forward in their service, and, no doubt, at their own suggestion, with a proposal that the governments of Spain and Syria should be conferred upon them respectively, at the expiration of their year of office, for a term of five years, together with extensive powers for making war and levying armies.¹ The friends of Cæsar were immediately roused. A renewal of the lease of his own proconsulate was the object at which Cæsar was aiming. His original term was now only in the course of its fourth year, but his plans required several more for their full development. There must be fresh campaigns to complete the training of his soldiers; new resources must be discovered to gorge the cupidity of his officers. Gaul, he might urge, once conquered, had risen again in arms; Germany and Britain loomed obscurely in the distance; the mere proximity of freedom furnished a dangerous example to unsettled and discontented subjects. The excuse was plausible; but it was only a pretence; the real objects of the proconsul were not such as could be revealed in the Roman forum. Accordingly, the partizans of Cæsar, zealous for their patron's advancement, and not less so for their own private interests, declared that they would suffer no such augmentation of the dignity of Pompeius and Crassus, without securing an equivalent for their absent associate. The consuls were compelled reluctantly to recede from their own exclusive pretensions, and it was signified to Trebonius,

Law of Trebonius for conferring provinces on Pompeius and Crassus. Jealousy of Cæsar's adherents.

¹ Liv. *Epit.* cv.; Dion, xxxix. 33.: Στρατιώταις τε ὕσους ἂν ἐθελήσωσι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων χρωμένοις, καὶ πόλεμον, καὶ εἰρήνην πρὸς οὓς ἂν βουληθῶσι ποιουμένοις.

as their wish, that he should propose another law for the prolongation of Cæsar's command also.¹

If the statesmen of Rome were mortified by the arrogance of consuls who had thrust themselves unbidden into the seats they occupied, they were still more alarmed at the demands unfolded from the rival quarter. They could not fail to foresee that, in making such large concessions, they would build up from its foundations a power such as had never before overshadowed the commonwealth; for it was manifest that these latter years of Cæsar's government would consolidate his influence over his soldiers, by weaning them from the habits and prejudices of citizens, and teaching them to centre all their feelings of duty and obedience in their leader alone. No sooner, therefore, were these motions made, than the nobles arrayed themselves for another struggle. It was not, however, Lucullus, and Servilius, and Cicero that now appeared, as formerly, in the van. M. Cato, the influence of whose grave consistency had been almost obliterated by daily collision with violence and vulgarity, and Favonius, a party brawler, rather than a political champion, were the most active leaders of the oligarchy. Ateius and Aquilius, in their capacity of tribunes, were willing to throw over them the bruised and battered shield of their official dignity. But, under the guidance of such men as these, the cause was in danger of being rendered ridiculous. Favonius, being limited to an harangue of a single hour, consumed the whole of it in remonstrating against the shortness of the time allotted him. Cato, to whom a double space was conceded, launched forth into a general invective against the conduct of his opponents, tracking their violence and treachery through the whole sequence of political events, so that his time also was exhausted before he had arrived at the real point of discussion.² Such were the infirmities of the men to whose discretion the

¹ App. *B. C.* ii. 18.; Vell. ii. 46.: "Cæsari lege, quam Pompeius ad populum tulit, prorogate in idem spatium temporis provinciæ."

² Plut. *Cat. Min.* 43.; Dion, xxxix. 34.

indolence or despair of the nobles had now consigned their cause.

Thus was the whole day consumed before Trebonius and his allies on the tribunitian bench found an opportunity of delivering their sentiments; for it was the custom, derived from simpler times, to allow private persons to take the precedence in discussion, that they might not be unduly biassed by the superior authority of those who spoke from official seats. Cato had gained his point so far as to retard the discussion by twenty-four hours. But it was about to be renewed on the morrow. Aquilius, fearing now that his opponents' exasperation might induce them to use violence to prevent his appearance in the forum in the morning, passed the night in one of the curias on the spot. His ingenuity, however, was of little avail. Trebonius caused the doors of the building to be blocked up, and kept his colleague in durance through the greater part of the ensuing day. At the same time, he obstructed the passages which led to the forum, and excluded with a high hand Ateius, Cato, Favonius, and all the most notable men of their party. Some of them, indeed, contrived to slip unobserved into the assembly, while others forced their way into the inclosure over the heads of the crowd. Cato and Ateius were lifted upon men's shoulders, and from that unsteady elevation the voice of the tribune was heard above the din, proclaiming that the auspices were adverse, the proceedings illegal, and the assembly formally dissolved. He was answered by the brandishing of clubs, and by showers of stones; swords and daggers were drawn in the affray, and the friends of the senatorial party were driven from the arena, not without bloodshed.¹ Such were the tumultuary proceedings by which the triumvirs secured a pretended ratification of their schemes.

In such scenes as these, the consuls themselves did not scruple to take part openly. Not long before, at the election

The law is carried by popular violence.

¹ Plut. *l. c.*, *Pomp.* 52., *Crass.* 15.; Dion, xxxix. 35, 36.

Disastrous consequences of this affray to Pompeius.

of ædiles, the robe of Pompeius had been sprinkled with the blood of a victim of popular ferocity. This accident was eventually attended by the most fatal consequences.¹ On his return home, thus disfigured, he was met at his door by his wife Julia, suddenly informed of the fray, and hastening to welcome her husband on his safe arrival. The youthful matron, devotedly attached to her spouse, and far advanced in pregnancy, was so much alarmed at the sight, that she was seized with premature labour. The event gave a shock to her constitution, from which, as will appear, she never wholly recovered.

The populace, who delighted in thwarting the senate and mobbing its champions, had nevertheless no sympathy for the chieftains who had now condescended to become their leaders. In vain did Pompeius study to ingratiate himself with them, as Cæsar had done before him, by the magnificence of his public exhibitions. The splendour, indeed, even of Cæsar's ædileship was eclipsed by the opening of his rival's gorgeous theatre, the first edifice of the kind at Rome constructed of stone, and designed for permanence.² Within the circuit of its walls it could accommodate forty thousand spectators, no small portion of the resident population of the city; and it was adorned with a profusion of gold, marble and precious stones, such as the western world had never before witnessed. That such

Pompeius seeks to ingratiate himself with the populace. His magnificent theatre.

¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 53.

² Dion, xxxix. 38.: ϕ και νῦν λαμπρυνόμεθα. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 20.: "Quippe erant qui Cn. Pompeium incusatum a senioribus ferrent, quod mansuram theatri sedem posuisset: nam antea subitariis gradibus et seena in tempus strueta ludos edi solitos, vel, si vetustiora repetas, stantem populum spectavisse." The founder was supposed to regard none of his exploits with more complacency than the erection of this magnificent edifice. Compare Lucan, i. 133.: "Plausuque sui gaudere theatri." vii. 10.:

"Nam Pompeiani visus sibi sede theatri
Innumeram effigiem Romanæ eernere plebis;
Attollique suum lætis ad sidera nomen
Voeibus, et plausu cuneos eertare sonantes."

The sentiments of the ancients on this building are collected, and its later history related by Drumann, iv. 521.

profuse magnificence might not seem to be lavished upon a work of mere luxury, a temple was attached to it dedicated to Venus the Conqueror, so placed that the seats of the theatre might serve as a flight of stairs to the sacred edifice. The ceremony of consecration was attended with a display of music, with chariot races, and all the games of the palæstra.¹ In the course of five successive days, five hundred lions were sent forth to be hunted and slaughtered in the arena. Eighteen elephants were made to fight with trained bands of gladiators; but the populace was seized with a fit of unusual sensibility, and the cries and agonies of these half-reasoning animals damped even the excitement of such a spectacle with pity and disgust.² Some even professed to interpret the miserable wailings of the victims, and affirmed that they appealed to the generosity and justice of the Roman people, having only been induced to leave their native shores on assurances of safety, which their captors had confirmed to them by oath.³ After all, the liberality, as averred by the great man's detractors, was not Pompeius's own.⁴ The building had been raised by the taste and munificence of Demetrius, one of his freedmen, who had thus devoted to the entertainment of the public the treasures he had accumulated in following his patron's fortunes. He had considerably bestowed upon it the name of Pompeius, to screen from the invidious gaze of the citizens the enormous amount of his own private gains.

Whatever remnant of gratitude, however, the Romans might feel towards their consul, after the efforts he had made to amuse them, they were dissatisfied both with him and with themselves, when they beheld the legions which he and his colleague had hastened to levy in pursuance of their late decree.

He remains in Italy, and governs his province by his legates.

¹ Dion, *l. c.*; Plut. *Pomp.* 52.; Cic. *de Off.* ii. 16.; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24.

² Cic. *ad Div.* vii. 1.; Plin. *H. N.* viii. 7.: "Tanto dolore, ut populus flens universus consurgeret, dirasque Pompeio quas ille mox luit imprecaretur."

³ The credit of this statement must be appropriated to Dion exclusively.

⁴ Dion, *l. c.*

The tribunes even attempted to revoke the sanction under which they had been raised, but the speedy preparations of Crassus for possessing himself of his eastern government, and the apparent moderation of Pompeius, who despatched his troops to Spain, that their presence in the neighbourhood of the city might afford no cause for jealousy, soon engaged them to relax from their hostility. Pompeius himself determined not to quit the centre of affairs; the functions with which he had been invested as comptroller of supplies gave him a ready excuse;¹ and he proposed, for the first time since the establishment of the republic, to govern his province through his lieutenants alone.

During their consulship Pompeius and Crassus had turned some portion of their attention, though with little energy or decision, to the enactment of sumptuary laws; a course which always flatters the envious feelings of the middle classes, and which met at Rome with the cold approbation of discreet and experienced men even among the highest. But in this policy they were speedily defeated by the selfishness of the nobles, particularly of Hortensius,² and they were easily induced to desist from a project, undertaken probably more for the sake of appearances than from any real devotion to antique simplicity. They succeeded, however, in establishing a pecuniary qualification for the office of judex,³ instead of the merely arbitrary selection from the privileged orders, the senators, knights and ærarian tribunes, which had prevailed since the enactment of the Aurelian law.⁴ This reform, also, had a specious appearance, inasmuch as it tended to confine a post of much responsibility and temptation to

¹ Dion, xxxix. 39.; Plut. *Pomp.* 53. The good-natured philosopher attributes Pompeius's stay at Rome solely to his affection for his wife.

² Dion, xxxix. 37.

³ Cic. *Philipp.* i. 8.; Ascon. in *Cic. Pison.* 94.: "Pompeius in consulatu secundo . . . promulgavit ut amplissimo ex censu, ex centuriis aliter quam antea lecti iudices, æque tamen ex illis tribus ordinibus res judicarent." Comp. Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, p. 247.

⁴ A. U. 684, B. C. 70.

Enactment of sumptuary laws, and a pecuniary qualification for the office of judex.

the classes which, from their affluent or easy circumstances, might be deemed sufficiently free from the ordinary incitements to cupidity. Nevertheless, in the frightful state of the reigning immorality, it had probably no other effect but to enhance the price of judicial venality. But Crassus was eminently studious of outward decorum, and such, no doubt, was the character which the measure seemed at first sight to bear. On the other hand, it was a direct boon to the moneyed interest; it raised wealth above birth, virtue and education; it tended to hasten the consummation of social corruption, when poverty is branded as a crime, and riches become the sole object of popular adoration.

The overwhelming preponderance of the triumvirs in the scales of power reduced Cicero to a state of political inactivity. He studied to secure the friendship, or, in other words, the protection both of Cæsar and Pompeius, while at the same time he shrank from joining systematically in the defence of their policy, the only condition on which they would freely impart it. On the one hand, he writes with great satisfaction of the visit with which Pompeius had honoured his retirement, not unmixed, however, with serious misgivings as to the sincerity of his friendly expressions;¹ on the other, he pays his court assiduously to the proconsul in Gaul, through his brother Quintus, who had accepted the post of legatus there, and other officers in the army. He submits his poetical compositions to the judgment of the accomplished captain, and is highly delighted with the flattery he receives in return.² He hints that he is engaged on a poem in celebration of Cæsar's invasion of Britain, which now occupied public attention; he appeals to his brother for the facts; the form, he says, shall be supplied by his own genius.³ Towards Crassus, however, whose person and character he always regarded with aversion, Cicero made no advances; he could not put on the guise of affection where his feelings were of a nature

Political position of Cicero: his connexion with the triumvirs, and hollow reconciliation with Crassus.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 9.

² Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 16.

³ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 15.

directly opposite. Pompeius and Cæsar, indeed, on their part constantly strove to effect a better understanding between him and their colleague, and their efforts were strongly seconded by the mutual regard of the orator and the younger Crassus. But the enmity of many years, as Cicero himself confesses, burst forth in a violent altercation between himself and Crassus in the senate, just before the departure of the Syrian proconsul for his province, and this open rupture was with difficulty skinned over at the last moment to meet the public eye.¹ The stress which the triumvirs laid upon the mere appearance of a reconciliation may have flattered Cicero's self-importance; but the advice of his friend Atticus was probably the wisest that could be offered, in urging him, at this crisis, to abandon political life. From the termination of the affair of Catilina, his part was, in fact, concluded. His triumphant return from banishment formed an appropriate drop-scene to the noble interlude of which he had been the

hero. But in the midst of all his cares, the disappointment of his ambition, the ingratitude of one set of friends and the insincerity of another, embittered as they were by his constant apprehensions for the welfare of his country, he still filled every vacant moment with the recreations of literature and philosophy.² His doors stood always open to any friend who would contribute a speculation or a criticism to his overflowing stores of thought. His mind, irritable, perplexed and desponding in public matters, recovered, in these healthier engagements, its calmness, its dignity and its strength. In philosophy he kept his aim before him with a steadiness which it had been well for his fame if he could have imparted to his political career; or

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* i. 9. : "Crassus, ut quasi testata populo Rom. esset nostra gratia, pœne a meis laribus est in provinciam profectus." The reconciliation was attested by a supper, at which the parties met in the gardens of Crassipes, who had lately married the orator's daughter Tullia: "Quum mihi condixisset, cœnavit apud me in mei generi Crassipedis hortis."

² It was in the course of this year that Cicero wrote, or at least completed his dialogue *de Oratore*, the most elaborate and interesting perhaps of his works. Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 13. 16., *ad Div.* i. 9.

rather, the same disposition to balance and temporize, which wrecked his fortunes as a statesman, fitted him to hear all parties and weigh all theoretical opinions, and, if not to discover speculative truth, at least to limit on all sides the encroachments of error.¹

Unable to adjust their rival pretensions to restore the king of Egypt to his throne, the statesmen of Rome had allowed the affair to fall into abeyance. We have seen that Lentulus Spinther had gone to his province of Cilicia, in the expectation of receiving full powers from the government to carry that measure into execution, according to the tenor of the bill which he had himself proposed. When the complete ratification of his commission was withheld, and the subject reopened for competition and intrigue, Cicero undertook to watch over the interests of his friend the late consul, and continued to amuse him with hopes of eventually bringing the matter to a favourable issue. But meanwhile the affair, which had lingered so long at Rome, and had become at last forgotten in the hurry of more momentous agitations, was settled at once by a daring and unscrupulous hand. Gabinus, on the expiration of his consulship at the end of the year 696, had succeeded to the government of Syria. We meet with no trace of any special enactment by which that office was assured to him for any longer period than the ordinary term of twelve months; nevertheless, he occupied it through the space of two years complete, and did not quit it, even after his formal recal upon Cicero's motion, till towards the end of 699, when Crassus was preparing to supersede him.² The aggressive and tyrannical character

Transactions of
Gabinus in his
government of
Syria,
A. U. 697, 698.

He resolves to
restore Ptole-
mæus Auletes
to the throne of
Egypt.

¹ A story was told of Cicero (Plut. *Cic.* 5.), that in his youth he consulted the oracle at Delphi how he might acquire fame, and that he received in answer the prudent advice, to make the bent of his own genius, and not the estimation of the world, the guide of his life. This pleasing fiction expresses the judgment of posterity upon his character.

² The laws of Sulla, always adapted to enhance the influence of the senate, permitted the proconsul to remain in his province, after the expiration of the year, until he was superseded by a successor (Drumann, ii. 190.). Cicero, in

which distinguished the conduct of the Roman proconsuls, both towards their own subjects and foreigners, was maintained by Gabinius with systematic vigour. With regard to Judea he adopted the policy which Pompeius had bequeathed to his successors in Syria, and supported Hyrcanus by a military force against the family of his brother Aristobulus. The restlessness of the Arabs on the frontier might demand his vigilance and activity, and excuse the attacks which he made upon the neighbouring tribes. Some trifling successes obtained in these enterprizes acquired for him from his soldiers the title of Emperor.¹ But when he applied to the senate for a supplication, in honour apparently of his vaunted exploits in one of these expeditions, the nobles evinced their dislike to him, and their stifled resentment towards his patron Pompeius, by a contemptuous refusal.² Such an affront, it was said, had never before been cast upon a proconsul, and it served rather to excite than to check his ambition and audacity. Gabinius next proposed to restore to the throne of Parthia a claimant named Mithridates, who had been ejected from it by his brother Orodes. But he was besieged at the same time by the importunities of Auletes, who had retired disappointed from the doors of his patrons in Rome, and the offer of a direct bribe induced him to adopt in preference the cause of the Egyptian.³

The population of Alexandria, which gave law to Egypt, was headstrong and rebellious, and always required to be amused into obedience to its sovereigns. It had expelled Auletes from his throne, and bestowed the vacant seat upon his daughter Berenice.

Berenice,
daughter of
Ptolemæus,
reigns in Alex-
andria.

a letter to Lentulus (*ad Div.* i. 9.), suggests to him that he is not authorized to leave Cilicia before the arrival of a new proconsul with full powers.

¹ It seems that Gabinius suffered some ignominious losses in these campaigns. *Cic. pro Sest.* 33.: "Neque equitatum in Syria et cohortes optimas perdissemus."

² *Cic. Philipp.* xiv. 9., *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 8.: "Id. Maii senatus frequens divinus fuit in supplicatione Gabinio deneganda."

³ His cause was recommended to Gabinius by letters from Pompeius himself. *Dion.* xxxix. 56.

When the exiled monarch repaired to Rome, and prayed the senate to restore him to the dignity which the declaration of friendship and alliance on the part of the republic had solemnly assured him, the Alexandrians sought to strengthen themselves against the impending danger.¹ They invited Seleucus, a scion of the dynasty which had lately reigned in Syria, to partake the throne and bed of their young queen. But both the people and the sovereign seem to have been soon dissatisfied with this alliance, and the unfortunate prince was strangled by the orders of his consort. Another competitor for the precarious distinction was found however in the person of Archelaus, the son, we are assured, of one of the generals of Mithridates, but who pretended to be the offspring of the great king himself, and aspired to wield the influence of that formidable name. Gabinius, it seems, had captured this man at an earlier period, and had purposely allowed him to escape,² in order to embroil the Egyptian court still more with the government of Rome, and give a colour to the violence he meditated in direct opposition to the decree of the senate.

Upon the arrival of the proconsul with his legions, bringing Ptolemæus in his train, the Egyptians did not hesitate to rise in arms for the defence of their sovereign and their own freedom of choice. But resistance was fruitless. The Alexandrian populace, however violent and reckless of their lives in tumults and seditions, were not fit subjects for military discipline, and formed a contemptible soldiery.³ Gabinius entered the city

Gabinius restores Ptolemæus, who puts his daughter to death.
A. U. 699.
B. C. 55.

¹ Cæsar had asserted that the kingdom of Egypt had been bequeathed to the Roman people by Alexander I. (see above, p. 105.). That sovereign had left one daughter, Berenice, and two illegitimate sons, afterwards kings of Egypt and Cyprus. The daughter died, and Auletes, the elder of the brothers, experienced great difficulty in establishing his claim to the succession. The jealousy of the senate saved him from the aggression meditated by Cæsar, and he spent 6000 talents in winning over the nobles whom he principally feared. Suet. *Jul.* 54. ; Dion, xxx. 12. ; Plut. *Cæs.* 48.

² Dion (xxxix. 57.) mentions the fact of this connivance.

³ Comp. Dion's remarks on the character of the Alexandrians (xxxix. 58.),

after one or two skirmishes, and effected the revolution to which he had pledged himself. Ptolemæus reascended his throne, and his first act was to put his daughter to death, to gratify his vengeance or ensure his safety, and the next, to massacre the noblest and richest of her adherents, in order to amass the enormous sum which he had promised as the price of his restoration.¹

A small portion only of this Egyptian gold found its way into the private coffers of Gabinius; the greater part he was compelled to expend in buying impunity for his violation of the law. He dared not even send an account of the transaction to his government, much less advance any claim to public honours. But the proconsul's share in the restoration of the fugitive monarch was too notorious to escape detection; nor was this the only part of his administration which demanded judicial inquiry. The Syrians complained of the consequences of his protracted absence from his province. They had been exposed to molestation from the brigands of the mountains and the desert; the publicani had been unable to collect the revenues; and the youthful Sisenna, the proconsul's son, whom he had left behind as his representative, had proved himself wholly unequal to the charge. There were not wanting personal enemies of Gabinius to excite against him the wrath and superstition of the Roman people. They wielded with fatal effect the terrors of the Sibylline oracles. To awaken the fears of the multitude was to sharpen their sense of his enormities.

As long as Pompeius and Crassus retained the consular office they threw the shield of their influence over the pro-

and Ammian. Marcell. xxii. 11.: "In civitate quæ suapte motu et ubi causæ non suppetunt, seditionibus crebris agitur et turbulentis, ut oraculorum quoque loquitur fides;" where Valesius adduces other passages from the ecclesiastical historians. Compare also Vopiscus in *Saturn.* 7.; Dion Chrys. *Orat.* xxxii.

¹ This sum is stated at ten thousand talents, above two millions of our money. In such a matter we may readily suspect exaggeration. The celebrated wealth of Crassus, at the highest computation (Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 47.), was not more than about eight thousand three hundred talents.

consul. The one was his political as he had formerly been his military leader, and could not now afford to dispense with his support; the other, it was said, was gained to his cause by a share in the spoils of his government.¹ Gabinius was allowed to remain unmolested in Syria; but the approach of Crassus, as his successor in the administration of that province, robbed him of this retreat, and constrained him to prepare for meeting his enemies in Rome. The intrigues of the triumvirs had prevented the election of new consuls till the close of the year. It was not till December that the perseverance of the nobles at last prevailed. The comitia were held, and now Domitius obtained the long-sought object of his ambition.² But the triumph of his friends was damped by the selection of Appius Claudius as his colleague, which threatened to counteract the schemes of aggression and revenge they secretly meditated. Appius was the brother of P. Clodius, the infamous tribune. He was closely connected with Pompeius by the marriage of his daughter with a son of the triumvir; and though he appears to have been on this account regarded with more consideration by Cicero, he was generally disliked and feared by the senatorial party. His career was distinguished even in that corrupt age by its unblushing venality. Though professing to second the policy of Pompeius, he began his consulship by joining his colleague in threatening to impeach Gabinius;³ not so much from a wish to rival his brother as a demagogue, as with the hope of extorting from the proconsul, by way of bribe, a portion of the treasures, the fame of which was already widely bruited.⁴ But Gabinius

Gabinius is succeeded in his province by Crassus.

He is threatened with impeachment.

¹ Dion, xxxix. 60.

² L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius Pulcher consuls, A. U. 700, B. C. 54.

³ Such seems to be the meaning of the apparently corrupt passage. Dion, xxxix. 60.

⁴ Another instance of the cupidity of Appius appears in his proceedings respecting Antiochus, king of Commagene. This district, on the right bank of the Euphrates, formed a small dependent sovereignty. Antiochus, its ruler, had received from Cæsar, during his consulship, permission to wear the

easily divined his views, and found the proper means of softening his hostility. Though ejected from the place of honour in Syria, he still continued to linger in the province, whence he distributed bribes among his friends and enemies at Rome, and opposed the demand of a triumph to the charge of maladministration suspended over him.¹ His conduct was first brought indirectly in question in February, when the citizens of Tyre complained before the senate of the ill treatment they had suffered from the publicani of his province. On this occasion Domitius eagerly displayed his ill-will to the late proconsul, by administering a rebuke to the publicani for the honours they had paid him upon his surrender of office. But we may trace the effect of the Egyptian gold in the conduct of Appius, who now stretched his authority to prevent the assembling of the comitia, before which the tribunes had determined to bring forward a direct accusation.² The affair still lingered until the arrival of the culprit himself, which he had put off to the latest moment.

Notwithstanding the means which Gabinius had taken to gain to his interests the principal men of the city, the reception he encountered, upon his appearance in September before the walls, was so cold and disheartening that he did not venture to make a public entry. For it was not only the faction of the senate which had vowed his disgrace and ruin; the tide of popular feeling, worked upon through its superstitious terrors, had set decisively against him. Accordingly, he slunk within the gates privately and by night, and even then delayed

He returns to Rome, is impeached on a charge of *maiestas*, but acquitted.

Roman toga, and was now petitioning the senate to confirm this honourable distinction, which had been disregarded, perhaps, by the neighbouring proconsuls, Lentulus or Gabinius. Appius had received presents to induce him to regard this suit with favour. Cicero attacked and ridiculed the pretensions of the kingling, apparently from mere levity, for it could not have been part of his deliberate policy to insult the obscurest of Cæsar's clients. Appius did every thing in his power to conciliate the orator, fearing that if the dependent kings should be deterred from suing to the Roman statesmen, it would dry up a most lucrative source of emolument. Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 12.

¹ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* iii. 2.

² Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 13.

for several days to render to the senate the official account of his administration. By the members of his order he was treated with haughtiness and harshness. Cicero attacked him with acrimony, and so provoked him, that he retorted by taunting his assailant with the disgrace of his exile. But matters had changed since Gabinius had left Rome. The senate, instead of cowering under the blows directed against its ancient champion, as in the triumphant days of the Clodian tribunate, rose to a man in his defence, and crowded around him, showering upon him expressions of applause and gratitude with all the enthusiasm of the period of his consulship. The influence of Pompeius, indeed, was interposed to screen Gabinius from its exasperation; but more than one accusation was impending over him, and L. Lentulus was first appointed to bring him to trial on the charge of *majestas*. The act of a military officer who made war without the express order of the government was defined as treason against the republic. In ordinary cases such an excess of zeal might meet with no severe condemnation; but the crime of Gabinius was of an aggravated character, for he had assailed Egypt in direct contravention of his orders. He defended himself on the plea, that, notwithstanding the decree of the senate to forbid the restoration of Ptolemæus, another resolution had obtained the suffrages of the tribes, by which it had been expressly enjoined.¹ Whether any hasty and irregular measures of Clodius had given a colour of legitimacy to this line of defence, or whether Gabinius relied upon a forgery, for the falsification of such a public instrument was neither impossible nor unexampled,² or whether, again, the plea rested merely upon an audacious fiction, the senate refused to admit it for a moment. But Cicero's opposition had already cooled down, the judges had been successfully tampered with, and, in spite of the hostility professed at least by both of the consuls, and the imprecations of the multitude, the criminal was

¹ Cic. *pro Rabir. Post.* 8.

² Cic. *de Leg.* iii. 20.; comp. Drumann, iii. 55. A flagrant instance of the kind is mentioned in Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 18.

acquitted upon the main charge, and the response of the Sibyl was evasively interpreted to refer to circumstances altogether different. The acquiescence however of the people was not so easily secured, and the occurrence of a violent inundation of the Tiber¹ armed their superstition with new arguments against the victim who had not yet escaped them.

A second charge was still pending against the proconsul for corruption and extortion,² but, triumphant upon the former issue, he was not much concerned about the other. He felt how well his gold had served him among the venal and corrupt, while, strange to say, the most high-minded of his enemies, Cicero, had been induced by Pompeius to undertake his defence. The triumvir himself, who had been absent from the neighbourhood of the city during the first trial, engaged to keep close at hand and redouble all his efforts to save him. But it was these very efforts, to all appearance, that lost him his cause. It was intolerable to hear Cicero maintain, at the beck of a veteran intriguer, the assertion of the Alexandrian witnesses, that Gabinius had received no bribe from the king of Egypt, when the fact was so notorious, that the same orator, in the very next cause that he pleads, admits it without hesitation.³ Indeed, there can be no doubt that Cicero's character suffered severely on this occasion in the estimation of his friends:⁴ his own account of the affair gives no plausible excuse for this inconsistency. It was idle to boast of his placability, when he admits that the reconciliation was effected by the instances of the triumvir, whom it was evident he dared not disoblige.⁵ His accepting from Pompeius a lieutenantcy

¹ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* iii. 7.: "Cedit in absolutionem Gabinii." Dion, xxxix. 61.

² The corruption consisted in his accepting a sum of money from Ptolemæus as the price of his restoration: besides this he was accused of having extorted four millions of sesterces from the provincials. Dion, xxxix. 55.

³ Cic. *pro Rabir. Post.* 12.

⁴ Dion, xxxix. 63.: ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸ τοῦ ἀντομόλου ἔγκλημα ἐπὶ πλεῖδον οἱ ἀξιοθῆναι.

⁵ Cic. *pro Rabir. Post.* 12.: "Neque me vero pœnitet, mortales inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere."

in Spain almost at the same moment¹ was both indecent and indiscreet. Nor were the judges better pleased, perhaps, at the officious interference of Cæsar, from whom Cicero produced a letter strongly urging the acquittal of the accused. To the surprise of both his friends and enemies, to the amazement probably of himself, the trial ended with the condemnation of Gabinius, and he was compelled to retire into banishment.² His property was confiscated to the state, in liquidation of the fine which the judges proportioned to the amount of his acquisitions.³

Cicero's political allies felt themselves aggrieved by the open defection from their views which his defence of Gabinius manifested. It was evident, indeed, throughout the course of this year, that he had abandoned all hope of maintaining the ground they had assumed in opposition to the triumvirs, and that his aim, if not confined to the conservation of his own personal interests, was directed to the infusion of more patriotic sentiments into the breasts of those in whom all substantial power seemed now to be lodged. He had stood forward in the winter as the defender of Crassus, against an attempt on the part of the nobles to obtain his recal, almost before he had yet reached his province. Assuredly the sentiments he expresses in a letter addressed to the proconsul of Syria upon this occasion,⁴ if they were such as he publicly asserted at the time, were calculated to surprise and disgust those who had known the bitterness of the enmity recently subsisting between them. He declared that his own good-will towards the triumvir had been constant from the first; he was confident that this sympathy had been reciprocal; their mutual regard had been made the sport of false and pernicious associates. He repudiated the idea that his present defence of Crassus's

Cicero attaches himself to the triumvirs, and affects great cordiality towards Crassus.

¹ This lieutenantcy did not require his presence in the province, but provided him with an honourable retreat, together with the means of making a fortune, in case he should ever feel it expedient to leave Rome for a time. Cic. *ad Div.* vii. 5.

² Dion, xxxix. 63.

³ Cic. *pro Rabir. Post.* 4.

⁴ Cic. *ad Div.* v. 8. (Febr. A. U. 700).

character and conduct had been the effect of any new conviction; he had always watched his career with admiration, and studied to promote the closest intimacy between them. This was said, it must be remembered, in the face of their notorious jealousies and repeated quarrels. Cicero himself had been the first to insult Crassus, by giving all the glory of the destruction of Spartacus to his rival; he had deeply offended him by allowing suspicion to rest upon him with regard to his supposed participation in the councils of Catilina. On the other hand, the machinations of Clodius against the orator's dignity had been covertly encouraged by Crassus, no less than by the other triumvirs; and when we consider how little there was in the character of the sordid usurer to attract or dazzle the scholar and the sage, it is impossible to suppose that Cicero was as sincere in his forgiveness of Crassus, as in his reconciliation with Cæsar, or even with Pompeius.

But the orator continued to act systematically upon the policy he had laid down for himself in conciliating the triumvirs in succession. He made use of his brother Quintus, who, we have seen, was now serving as a lieutenant to Cæsar, and of his friend Trebatius, who was occupied with civil employments in his suite, to ingratiate himself with the proconsul of Gaul.¹ He offered his services as a pleader to defend Messius, another of Cæsar's lieutenants, who left his general's camp at the summons of the senate to take his trial.² Vatinius also, an adherent both of Cæsar and Pompeius, who through their united influence had obtained the prætorship to the exclusion of M. Cato, and was now exerting all the influence of the tribunate in their behalf, found a defender in Cicero, when accused of bribery by the senatorial party. The laboured apology for his own conduct in this particular instance, which the orator addresses to Lentulus in Cilicia, reveals his consciousness of the deep

Cicero defends Messius and Vatinius, the creatures of Cæsar and of Pompeius.

His apology for his present line of conduct.

¹ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 13. 15., *ad Div.* vii. 6-8.

² Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 15. He was attacked by the anti-Cæsarian party "Servilius edixit ut adesset." The charge is not specified.

offence it had caused. Stung to the quick by the charges of desertion which his friends now cast upon him, Cicero at last turns indignantly upon them. *Granted*, he says, *that Vatinius is the profligate and the traitor whom you describe; granted that I have myself assailed him publicly as such, though more for the sake of exalting the virtues of Cato than of denouncing the vices of his rival; yet it is not for you, chiefs of the senate, to taunt me with caressing a creature whom I despise, seeing what infamous wretches you have repeatedly recommended to my patronage, what encomiums you have heaped upon them, what falsehoods you have put in my mouth to grace my defence of them.*¹

The authority of the nobles as a class had been completely undermined, not only by the attacks of Cæsar and the more covert machinations of Pompeius, but also by the silent change of circumstances, and the transfer of wealth and power into private hands. The violence which had been done to such a statesman as Catulus, and the disrespect with which Bibulus, Lentulus, and others had been treated, had tended to accustom the people to ridicule pretensions which had no solid foundation in physical force. The troops of the republic all but avowed that their obedience was given to their generals rather than to the state, and the nobility dared not appeal to them for the support of established institutions. They were compelled to trust to the irregular levies of their more headstrong partizans, such as Milo, thereby encouraging the increasing contempt for law and order. They made a desperate effort to maintain their influence by wholesale corruption. They placed their reliance upon their immense patronage, on the spoil of the provinces, the leasing of the revenues, the sale of justice in the public tribunals. But the proconsuls, who had originally been sent to the provinces to break their fall from the highest office of the state, now returned, year by year, from their governments with wealth too great for a private

The power of the nobles as a class is over-awed by the enormous resources of individuals in the state.

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* (in a letter to P. Lentulus. Sept. A. U. 700), i. 9.

station, with ambition whetted by conquest or plunder, and with a retinue of followers enriched in their service, and devoted to their interest in defiance of patriotic or party ties. Lastly, they tried direct bribery, in buying the suffrages of the popular assemblies, or of the judges in political trials; but in this field also they were met by the enormous resources of private speculators, who outbid them in largesses, and still more in promises. The unbridled licentiousness of private citizens had still an advantage over the most unscrupulous government.

The proceedings of the consular candidates for the year 701 afforded an instance of this licentiousness beyond all former example. The struggle was carried on without intermission through the latter half of the year preceding, the competitors themselves contriving every possible means of delay, in the hope of thwarting each other's interests or promoting their own. Pompeius beheld the postponement of the elections with ill-disguised satisfaction, and secretly fomented the confusion.¹ The candidates were four in number, Memmius, Domitius Calvinus, Æmilius Scaurus and Valerius Messala. The first two formed a coalition, and made an engagement with the actual consuls, to procure for them, if elected, whatever provinces they desired as the price of their influence. They had witnesses, two of them consulars and three augurs, already suborned to swear that they had been present, the former when the senate made the requisite decree, the latter when the same was ratified by the act of the popular assembly.² But Pompeius, anxious to break up an alliance which threatened to carry every thing before it, found means to induce Memmius to disclose this infamous transaction, and, when he had thus ruinously compromised his associates, to abandon his own views and

Corrupt proceedings of the consular candidates for the year A. U. 701.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 15. : "Pompeius fremit, queritur, Scauro studet; sed utrum fronte an mente dubitatur."

² Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 15. : "Cum Memmio consules Domitium conjunxerunt quâ pactione epistolæ committere non audeo" (comp. iv. 18.).

adopt the policy of the triumvirs.¹ The senate, more mortified than ashamed, was compelled to institute an inquiry into the affair. It adopted a mode of procedure which was termed a Silent Judgment, the nature of which was that the sentence was not to be pronounced till after the election had taken place. But this manœuvre, by which the nobles hoped to save appearances, at the same time that they secured the election which it was their object to hasten, proved unsuccessful. Q. Scævola, one of the tribunes, acting not in the interests of Pompeius, but with the approbation, according to Cicero, of the best and most upright men of the day,² had no faith in the justice either of the senatorial decision or of the tribunals before which all the candidates were now cited by several prosecutors³ to answer for their notorious bribery. The prerogative century, which gave the first vote at the election, and the example of which, it seems, might be relied upon to carry with it the voices of the rest,⁴ had been bought, it was said, at the price of ten millions of sesterces. In order to meet this enormous profusion, the candidates borrowed of the capitalists in the most reckless manner. The interest which money fetched, on so unprecedented a demand, rose at once from four per cent, a rate sufficiently exorbitant, to eight per cent per month. Scævola interposed to prevent any assembly of the comitia for the election of consuls, and the year passed without the appointment of any chief magistrates for that which was to follow.

The senate proposes to bring them to trial.

The elections are stopped by the intervention of a tribune.

¹ He expected that Pompeius, as dictator, would give him the consulship through the recommendation of Cæsar. Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* iii. 2., *ad Att.* iv. 18.

² Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* iii. 3.: "Comitiorum quotidie singuli dies tolluntur obnuntiationibus, magna voluntate bonorum."

³ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* iii. 2.: "De ambitu postulati sunt omnes qui consulatum petunt." Comp. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 15. 16., *ad Att.* iv. 15.

⁴ The prerogative century was chosen by lot from the hundred and ninety-three which constituted the whole number, to give its decision first. The peculiar influence which it exercised over the rest is referred to by Cicero (*pro Plane.* 20.): "Centuria prærogativa tantum habet auctoritatis, ut nemo unquam prior eam tulerit quin renuntiatus sit." I am quite unable to explain this startling assertion.

Nothing could be more favourable to the views of Pompeius, according to all human calculation, than the paralysis which was thus gradually stealing over the vital powers of the constitution. Some great measure of state reform seemed evidently to be required, and the circumstances of the time, no less than the well-known practice of the commonwealth, pointed to the selection of a single personage, the foremost in the state, a man of approved judgment and courage, a man of acknowledged popularity, to whom so responsible a charge should be freely confided. But while the progress of events, as far as they were susceptible of being directed or moulded by dexterity and cunning, was thus quietly advancing the cherished views of the triumvir, other incidents beyond his control were preparing the way for new combinations, never yet foreseen in his counsels, and fatal to all his calculations. It was in the year 699, as has been already mentioned, that a sudden alarm gave a shock to his wife Julia, which brought on premature labour, and broke the strength of her constitution. In the summer of the year 700¹ she died in childbed, nor did the infant survive to perpetuate the union of the Pompeian and Julian houses.² The Romans long turned with fond regret to the memory of one who might have mediated between the father and his son-in-law, and assuaged the personal rivalry which overthrew their national liberties. Their sorrow, brooding over its object

¹ The date may be fixed approximately from a passage in Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* iii. 1. 5. He received a letter from Cæsar in Britain on the xi. Kal. Oct., in which allusion was made to the death of his daughter. Now xi. Kal. Oct. = Sept. 20, A. U. 700 of the unreformed calendar = Aug. 25, B. C. 54. A letter might travel, it appears, between Britain and Rome in 20 days. According'y, Julia must have died at least 40 days before Cæsar's letter above mentioned could reach Cicero, that is, not later than Aug. 9, A. U. 700, or July 16, B. C. 54. Plutarch is evidently wrong in saying that the news reached Cæsar immediately upon his return, *καταλαμβάνει γράμματα μέλλοντα διαπλείν πρὸς αὐτόν* (Cæs. 23.): but it is on his authority, I conceive, that Fischer states that Julia died in September (*Röm. Zeitt.*). It may be well to remind the reader that in the unreformed calendar August (Sextilis) had 29 days, and September a like number.

² Plut. Cæs. 23., *Pomp.* 53.; Val. Max. iv. 6. 4. Liv. *Epit.* cvi.

and playing with its own moody fancies, remembered the ancient legend of the Sabine women, who saved the state by rushing between the armed ranks of their fathers and their husbands.¹ It is natural and becoming for parents to acquiesce in the wishes of their children, and yield with the dignity of age to the more passionate decisions of youth. But in the present case all such feelings were reversed. The father was the younger in years, and inferior in position; the passion and spirit of movement were his: the husband could yield the more easily and the more gracefully of the two. The only result we can contemplate from the prolonged existence and fruitfulness of this ill-fated union is that Pompeius would have gradually succumbed under Cæsar's influence, instead of throwing himself repentantly, when once released from the rash connexion, into the arms of the aristocracy he had outraged. As it was, the union of Pompeius with Julia may furnish us with more pleasing ideas of his character than we obtain from the observation of other parts of his career. The ferocity of his earlier years, however much it was tempered by the prosperity of his middle age, would hardly allow us to suppose him so amiable in domestic life as appears in the account we have received of his intercourse with Julia. Though celebrated for her beauty as well as her accomplishments, and younger than her husband by twenty-three years, she devoted herself to him with rare affection, while his attachment to her was engrossing even to weakness. Such an instance of conjugal fidelity was rare, and might deserve to be commemorated by unusual distinctions. But it afforded the citizens an opportunity for displaying their devotion to Cæsar; and it was perhaps with no other view that they forbade the remains of Julia to rest in

¹ Vell. ii. 47. : "Concordiæ pignus Julia." Lucan, i. 114. :

"Quod si tibi fata dedissent
 Majores in luce moras, tu sola furentem
 Inde virum poteras, atque hinc retinere parentem ;
 Armatasque manus excusso jungere ferro,
 Ut generos soceris mediæ junxere Sabinæ."

the mausoleum of her Alban villa, and insisted upon honouring them with public obsequies in the Field of Mars.¹

¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 53. The consul Domitius attempted to prevent this pretended tribute of regard to the deceased, which he evidently considered was meant to reflect honour upon her father; but the people were not to be controlled even by the interdict of the tribunes. Dion, xxxix. 64.

CHAPTER X.

CÆSAR'S FOURTH CAMPAIGN, A. U. 699.—INVASION OF BELGIUM BY GERMAN TRIBES.—CÆSAR DRIVES THEM BEYOND THE RHINE.—CROSSES THAT RIVER, AND CHASTISES THE SICAMBRI.—HE INVADES BRITAIN.—CÆSAR'S FIFTH CAMPAIGN, A. U. 700.—HE INVADES BRITAIN A SECOND TIME WITH LARGER FORCES.—CROSSES THE THAMES, AND DEFEATS CASSIVELLAUNUS.—RECEIVES HOSTAGES AND TRIBUTE, AND RETIRES.—REVOLT OF THE GAULS.—DESTRUCTION OF TWO LEGIONS IN BELGIUM.—COURAGEOUS RESISTANCE OF Q. CICERO.—CÆSAR'S SIXTH CAMPAIGN, A. U. 701.—HE MAKES AN INCURSION BEYOND THE RHINE.—DESTRUCTION OF THE EBU- RONES.—DEFENCE OF ADUATUCA.—PACIFICATION OF BELGIUM.

THE Gauls lay prostrate at Cæsar's feet; the flower of almost every people had fallen in the vain attempt to maintain its liberty; the national assemblies were terrified by the frightful punishments which the conqueror had inflicted upon them, and their counsels were guided or distracted by Roman agents established throughout their cities.¹ Moreover, the mutual enmities of their tribes prevented much intercourse and discussion among them, and the four great divisions into which the country was split, the Belgian, the Aquitanian, and those of which the Ædui and the Veneti respectively took the lead, maintained little sympathy with one another. But it is not to be supposed that any of them were content with their position or satisfied with their new masters. No one was more fully aware of the hollowness of their submission than Cæsar himself. They were anxiously watching an opportunity for shaking off the yoke; but instead of entering frankly into

State of Gaul
at the com-
mencement of
the year 699.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 5.

a national confederation for their common object, they were waiting, each in sullen silence, for the chances that might occur in their favour.

Meanwhile, the Menapii had little time to exult in the withdrawal of the Roman legions. A new enemy suddenly assailed them from an opposite quarter. The Usipetes and Tenctheri were two German tribes situated on the lower course of the Rhine, to the north and south of the Lippe respectively.¹ For some time past they had been hard pressed by the Suevi, who, as we have seen, were at this time pursuing a victorious career, in which they had extended their dominions from the Hercynian forest to the frontier of Gaul,² and had only been checked within that territory by the invincible prowess of the Roman armies under their distinguished commander. Confined in that direction, they now turned northward, and the tribes above mentioned were soon reduced to the last extremity of barbarian races, that of migrating in a body, and occupying new settlements by force of arms.³ Accordingly, they fell upon the Menapii beyond the Rhine in a mass estimated at four hundred and thirty thousand souls. The Menapii fled precipitately from their seats on the right bank of that river, and sought refuge with their kinsmen established on the Gaulish side. Thus united, the whole tribe presented a bolder front to the invaders, and defended the passage of the broad and rapid stream with energy and success. The Suevi had next recourse to stratagem. They retired to a distance, enticed the fugitives to recross the river, in order to return to their former homes; then, suddenly wheeling round, they attacked and slaughtered them, and effected their passage in

¹ Mœb. *in Cæs.* iv. 1.; Mannert, iii. 153.; Zeuss, 90.

² The seats of the Suevi in the time of Cæsar lay principally in the interior of Germany, to the east of the Siambri and Ubii, bordering on the Hercynian forest, which separated them from the Cherusei. (*Cæs. B. G.* vi. 10.) They are sometimes represented as a single tribe, sometimes as a collection of tribes. (*Tac. Germ.* 38.) The Chatti and Hermunduri of Tacitus seem to share their territory at a later period.

³ *Cæs. B. G.* iv. 4.; Dion, xxxix. 47, 48.; Oros. vi. 20, 21.

the same barks in which the others had just arrived. The Germans were once more established on the left bank of the Rhine. At any other time, almost the whole of Gaul from the north to the south might have been roused to meet and repulse its hereditary enemies. Even the ancient kinsmen of the invaders in Belgium might have leaped forth to defend their adopted country. But at that moment far different views occupied the minds of the Gaulish people. On the one hand, those who crouched the most supinely under the Roman yoke began already to entertain without abhorrence the fatal reasoning that the Romans, being now masters of the country, were responsible for its defence. On the other, a still greater number were indifferent to an invasion which could have no worse consequence to Gaul than that of giving it a change of rulers. But still there were not a few who hoped that the impending contest might weaken both the rival powers, and thus offer an opportunity of eventual triumph to the national cause. Such were the secret hopes of many who now flocked to Cæsar's standard, and filled his camp with brave but faithless auxiliaries.

The proconsul left Lucca in all haste, before his usual time of departure, when he learnt from his legates the state of affairs,¹ and that some Gaulish tribes had even invited the invader into Belgium, and offered to receive them as friends and deliverers. It was still mid-winter when he crossed the difficult passes of the Alps, convened a general assembly of the states, and, dissembling his acquaintance with their sentiments or acts, laid before them the position of their country as a matter of national concern. They decreed him all the supplies and reinforcements he demanded, and with his new recruits he marched straight to the point at which the Usipetes and Tenctheri were assembled. They had crossed the Rhine, and were now spreading themselves along the valley of the Meuse, penetrating far to the south of the Menapian territories into those of their German

Cæsar meets
the invading
tribes.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 6.

kinsmen, the Eburones and Condrusi.¹ The success with which their enterprize had thus far been crowned raised their spirits and imparted to their language a vainglorious tone little in accordance with their condition as a defeated and fugitive horde. They sent deputies to the Roman general, offering him his choice of peace or war. It was the custom, they said, of their nation never to decline the combat with an enemy who challenged them: however, they had gained their immediate object; they had found the settlements they sought; with the Romans they had no quarrel; they were content to remain upon the soil they had seized; all they claimed was the right to do so unmolested. They proclaimed aloud the valour by which these acquisitions had been so rapidly made, and ended by declaring that they yielded in strength and bravery to no nation under the sun, excepting only the Suevi, whom the gods themselves could not withstand.² Cæsar replied, as was his wont, by claiming it as the province and duty of a Roman proconsul to protect the Gauls against all external enemies. He would hold no intercourse or discussion with any foreign nation while it occupied an inch of Gallic soil. With what face could they, who were unable to maintain their own possessions, presume to assert a right to those of others? He condescended to point out to them that at this moment the Ubii, another Rhenish tribe, were in want of allies to defend them against the encroachments of the Suevi; a lateral movement would bring them to the spot in a few days or hours; he would not oppose their recrossing the river peaceably, and establishing themselves in that district as a garrison against the advance of their common enemies. He further promised to obtain the consent of the Ubii to this arrangement.

The first object of Cæsar's policy at this moment was to convince the Gauls that they were perfectly secure from foreign invasion under the powerful protection of Rome. To effect this it was necessary to assume

Cæsar confers
with the Ger-
man invaders

foreign invasion under the powerful protection of Rome. To effect this it was necessary to assume

¹ These people dwelt on the northern borders of the modern duchy of Luxemburg.

² Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 7.

a tone of the loftiest defiance towards the Germans, and to be fully prepared to act in accordance with it. But he had before him a formidable enemy; the desperate valour of barbarian armies had too often broken the legions to allow a prudent general to risk a mortal combat with them without absolute necessity, and the Germans were still regarded by the Roman soldier with more than usual apprehension. It was far wiser to consolidate the forces of the opponents of the Suevi beyond the Rhine, than ultimately to aid the views of that encroaching power by desolating and depopulating the frontiers. The moderation which Cæsar displayed, supported as it was by his known character for uncompromising resolution, cooled the fervid audacity of the German orators. They agreed to lay his proposals before the council of their tribe, and contented themselves with requiring that he, on his part, should suspend his advance for three days, until an answer could be returned. But Cæsar sternly refused even this short respite. He knew that a part of the enemy's cavalry had been detached to make a foray in the country of the Ambivariti, and was resolved to allow no time for their return, if the matter should come to blows.¹ He continued his march, and arrived within twelve miles of the barbarian quarters, when the deputies hastily returned, in vain entreated him to halt, and could only obtain from him a promise that he would restrain his cavalry, already in advance, from commencing hostilities on that day. The deputies pressed for a truce for three days, that a communication might be made to the Ubii; but this request he regarded as an evasion. Four miles further on he expected to find water, and there he had determined to pitch his camp, and no remonstrances could induce him to swerve from this resolution. Finally, he required a more numerous deputation of the German chieftains to meet him on the morrow at that spot. At the same time he sent orders to the officers in command of his cavalry to abstain from hostilities, and, even if attacked, to make no reprisals until he should come up with them.

¹ Cæsar. *B. G.* iv. 9.

According to Cæsar's narrative of these transactions, it would appear that the German cavalry posted in advance of their camp, as soon as they perceived the Roman squadrons approaching, charged them without regard to the truce which had been thus concluded.¹

Great battle between the Romans and Germans: total rout of the latter.

The number of the Germans he states at eight hundred, the rest of their horse being absent foraging. That of the Romans, or rather of the Gaulish auxiliaries, amounted to five thousand. Relying on the faith of the treaty, they were totally unprepared for the onset, and easily thrown into confusion even by a handful of assailants. Defending themselves feebly and partially they suffered a loss of seventy-four men, and were routed and pursued as far as the head of the advancing columns of the main army. Cæsar, affecting just indignation at this flagrant infringement of the truce, determined to take signal vengeance on its perpetrators. He would no longer consent to an instant's delay, which he was now convinced was only held out as a lure to entrap him. He was aware, moreover, how injurious an effect the report of this check, however slight, would have upon his Gaulish auxiliaries and upon the nations in his rear. Betrayed himself, he scrupled not, for the safety of his army and the province, to requite the barbarians with treachery deeper and more destructive than their own. Accordingly, when, the next morning, the German deputation, consisting of a large number of their chieftains, met him with protestations of regret for the occurrence of the day before, and with disclaimers of their error or their guilt, he threw them at once into irons, and gave orders for immediate advance against the enemy, unprepared for combat and deprived of their commanders. The Germans, thus taken by surprise, had not time even to form their rude array. They could only protract an ineffectual resistance by rallying about their waggons. They sent off their women and children in all haste, in the hope that they at least might escape the fury of an enemy whom they despaired of overcoming. But Cæsar, perceiving this move-

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 12.

ment, ordered his cavalry to pursue and attack the unarmed fugitives, and as there were but few German horse to oppose them, his directions were carried into effect with ease and with ruthless ferocity. At the sight of this carnage the barbarians lost all heart, broke their ranks, and betook themselves to flight. Their rear being occupied by the Roman cavalry, it would seem that they must have escaped from the field on their left flank, on which side the Rhine lay, apparently at no great distance. Their flight was arrested by that deep and rapid stream at the point of its confluence with another, the Meuse, according to Cæsar's text, but more probably the Moselle.¹ Here a rally took place, but only for an instant; in another moment the multitude plunged headlong into the waters, and were swept away by the wintry flood. The Romans had only a few men wounded, not one was killed. The great mass of the Germans, not less probably than one hundred and eighty thousand in number, perished, we are assured, altogether. To the captive deputation the conqueror behaved with contemptuous clemency. He granted them leave to depart; but they dreaded the enmity of the Gauls, whom they had injured and insulted, and preferred remaining in the Roman camp.

Cæsar sent the news of this signal triumph to Rome, and the senate, after reading his despatch, decreed with acclamation

¹ There is great difficulty in fixing the site of this battle. Cæsar's text undoubtedly speaks of the confluence of the Rhine and Meuse (Mosa); but the Germans, it will be remembered, only required three days to send a message to the Ubii (on the right bank of the Rhine, between Cologne and Coblenz), and receive their deliberate answer, which is quite inconsistent with such an explanation. They had penetrated at least to the frontiers of the Treviri, according to Cæsar and Dion (xxxix. 47.), and there is no reason to suppose that they made any retreat before the advance of the Romans. Cluverius thought that we should read Mosella for Mosa; and, notwithstanding Mannert's criticism, I am disposed to believe either that our text is in fault, or that the author of the Commentaries committed a slip of memory. Mannert allows that the junction of the Meuse and Wahal took place at the same spot formerly as it does now, only eighty miles from the sea (II. i. 192.). The country in that neighbourhood was at this time quite inaccessible to the Romans.

Treachery im-
puted to Cæsar
in the senate.
Cato proposes
that he should
be delivered to
the enemy.

a supplicatio, or national thanksgiving to the gods. Cato rose indignantly to deprecate the bestowal of such honours on an occasion so unworthy. He denounced the conduct of Cæsar as perfidious and degrading to the Roman name. He described his

treatment of the Germans as a violation of the pledged faith of the republic, and proposed rather a national humiliation to avert the wrath of heaven, and to prove to the barbarians that the Romans disowned treachery in their generals even when successful. He declared that Cæsar ought to be given up to the Germans in expiation of the national crime. Examples of such a course were not altogether wanting. At least two instances of the kind could be mentioned: the one when Q. Fabius and Cn. Apronius were delivered over to the Apolloniatae for having slain their ambassadors;¹ the other, when L. Minucius and L. Manlius were surrendered to the Carthaginians in atonement for a similar crime.² But however it might have been in the sterner days of the republic, it was neither to the public virtue of the senate nor to its religious feelings that such an appeal could at this period be seriously addressed. A few of the proconsul's personal enemies, who had all Cato's bitterness without his singleness of purpose, might applaud and stimulate his frantic violence; but a reasonable view of the transaction might combine with a sense of general or private interest to prevent the great majority of the assembly from yielding acquiescence to his extravagant demands.

A fair consideration of the real facts of the case could not certainly be expected from statesmen so blinded by political animosity.³ At all events, as regards the internal probability of Cæsar's account of the transaction, by which the first infraction of the treaty is im-

Credibility of
Cæsar's own
account.

¹ Liv. *Epit.* xv.; Dion, *Excerpt. Vales.* 43.; Val. Max. vi. 6. 5.

² Liv. xxxviii. 42.; Val. Max. vi. 6. 3.; comp. Cic. *pro Cæc.* 34.: "Ut religione solvatur civitas civis Romanus traditur."

³ The story is alluded to by Suetonius (*Jul.* 25.), and more distinctly mentioned by Plutarch (*Cæs.* 22.).

puted to the Germans, there seems no reason to dispute it on the ground that their number was so much the smaller. The cavalry opposed to them was Gaulish, and its indisposition to the cause in which it was engaged might be presumed upon. It was also unprepared on the faith of the treaty. The event proved that the calculation of the Germans was not incorrect. The larger squadron retreated in confusion before the lesser. Such could not have been the case had the Gallo-Romans been the first to attack with such superior force. The charge therefore of deliberate perfidy on Cæsar's part seems to be groundless. That he was well pleased to make use of his enemies' crime, which a slight explanation might have sufficiently atoned for, cannot be denied. He might fairly have exacted harder terms in consideration of it ; but his time was precious and his situation precarious. He allowed himself an extreme measure of retaliation ; and if he reaped the advantage, he certainly lost all the glory of the engagement which followed.

Various migratory hordes had crossed the Rhine before the Usipetes and Tenctheri, and whether they had established themselves on the Gallic soil, or had perished in their wanderings, faint and vague had been the rumours of their fate which had reached the ears of those they had left behind. But Cæsar was determined that the German people should know what had become of this last swarm of invaders, how the two tribes had fallen in one great day of slaughter, and who were the fatal enemies who had thus cut short their career. His authority in Gaul depended in no slight degree upon his checking the roving spirit of the free men beyond the Rhine, and convincing the discontented within that boundary that the arm of the republic was long enough to reach their most distant auxiliaries. The pretext which he puts forward himself for his incursion into Germany, that of pursuing the wretched remnant of the Usipetes, the cavalry which had been absent from the battle, seems hardly worthy of consideration. Nor is it much more to the purpose that the Ubii are said to have solicited his

Cæsar proposes to make an incursion into Germany.

assistance against the Suevi. It was the business of a Roman proconsul always to put forth a legitimate pretext for an act of aggression; but the real motive was often kept in the background, and doubtless Cæsar on the present occasion had further and deeper views, when he resolved to cross the frontier and show himself in all the majesty of Roman military array to the proud warriors before whom the tribes of the Rhine were trembling.¹

He first required the Sicambri to deliver up the fugitives who had just eluded his grasp. They replied with firmness that as he denied the right of the Germans to interfere in the affairs of Gaul, they for their part were prepared to dispute his authority over a people of their own nation. This was a sufficient pretext for taking umbrage, and Cæsar gave orders to effect the passage of the river. He chose a spot near the present town of Neuwied,² a few miles below Coblenz, where the banks of the river present a space of level ground on both sides, and there he built a bridge, partly for greater security, partly perhaps to impress the natives with a higher sense of the dignity and power of the republic. The stream was broad and rapid, and the engineers applied all their skill and ingenuity, under his special directions, to construct a solid edifice. The work was completed in the short-space of ten days.³ But after all this la-

His short campaign beyond the Rhine.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 16.

² This was the spot where Augustus afterwards constructed a stone bridge, the foundations of which are said to be still visible. It corresponds with the situation of the Ubii. Supposing the recent battle to have taken place near the confluence of the Rhine and Moselle, we might expect Cæsar to follow up his victory by crossing the river in the immediate neighbourhood. For these reasons I have preferred the locality mentioned in the text. Some indeed have supposed from the statement of Florus (iii. 18.) that he crossed the Moselle as well as the Rhine in his first expedition against the Germans, that his first passage of the latter river was in the neighbourhood of Bingen. But this will not correspond with the position of the Ubii or Sicambri, which certainly lay more to the north. It is more likely that Florus imagined him to have crossed the Moselle from the right bank. See Mannert, II. i. 256.

³ Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 17.; Plut. *Cæs.* 22. The author of the *Précis des Guerres de Cæsar*, p. 61., compares this bridge with that which Bertrand threw

bour, Cæsar made no further use of it than to transport his army over and back again, after he had spent a few weeks in ravaging the country of the Sicambri, and showing himself as a friend and ally to the Ubii. The Suevi, indeed, collected in large numbers, and prepared for battle. The proconsul, however, was satisfied with the demonstration he had made, and took no measures to bring on an engagement. When he again reached the left bank he broke down his bridge, and hastened away to engage in another enterprize of a similar nature, and probably with similar political views.¹ This was no other than the famous invasion of Britain, an enterprize to which we owe our first introduction into the history of Europe and of the world.

The campaigns of Cæsar in Belgium could not fail to make him acquainted with the existence and character of the inhabitants of the great island which lay within sight of its coasts. It was indeed from their allies on the opposite shore that his enemies had drawn no inconsiderable resources. Questioned as to the relations subsisting between themselves and the natives of Britain, they asserted that many of their own race had emigrated from Gaul during the preceding century, and established themselves beyond the white cliffs just visible in the horizon. They spoke of a population believed by them to be aboriginal, upon whom they had intruded themselves, and in whose seats they had gradually fixed their abodes.² This primitive people they described as peculiarly rude and bar-

Cæsar inquires into the character and condition of the Britons.

across the Danube near Vienna for Napoleon in 1809. He shows the great superiority of the modern engineers, both as regards the difficulty of the undertaking, and the speed with which it was completed. Napoleon's bridge required ten times the amount of labour, and was finished in only twice the number of days. This author supposes Cæsar to have crossed at Cologne. Among his motives for this expedition may be reckoned the advantage of keeping his army in training and occupation. The building of the bridge may have been undertaken as an exercise in engineering, and a wholesome employment.

¹ Cæsar was the first Roman who crossed the Rhine. Suet. *Jul.* 25.; Dion, xxxix. 50.

² Cæs. *B. G.* v. 12.

barous in their social habits.¹ They were almost destitute of clothing, and took a grotesque pleasure in painting or tattooing their bodies with blue woad.² They admitted a regulated community of women.³ They lived almost entirely on milk and flesh, the toil or skill required even for fishing was distasteful to them; ⁴ and dwelling apart, or congregating in a few hovels, with a wooden stockade round them, and screened by forests, mountains, or morasses, they possessed nothing which could deserve the name of a city.⁵ It was in the interior or north of the country apparently that the rudest tribes used the scythed chariot in war. Cæsar, who never penetrated very far from the coast, does not seem to have met with it. We may conclude that the earliest known inhabitants of the island were akin to the Gaelic division of the Celtic family, and that its possession was disputed with them from a very remote period by the subsequent intrusion of the Kymry.⁶ The latter brought with them, besides the language and the physiological characteristics which still remain so strongly marked in a part of the island, the Druidical religion, which has already been described. It was perhaps the fixed and exclusive qualities belonging to an insular institution which gave the British Druidism so great an ascendancy among the Gaulish tribes,

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 14.

² Cæsar says, "*Omnes se Britanni vitro inficiunt.*" If this is meant to extend to the Belgian tribes in Britain, we must suppose the custom to have been partially adopted by them in imitation of their ruder neighbours. Solinus says, "*Regionem partim tenent barbari quibus per artifices plagarum figuras jam inde a pueris variæ animalium effigies incorporantur*" (c. 25.).

³ A contemporary Welsh scholar, Archdeacon Williams, conjectures that this statement may have arisen from a misconception of the provision of the British law of inheritance, by which a patrimony was divided equally among the sons, and after the death of the last survivor redistributed equally among the descendants in the second generation. See his interesting essay on "Claudia and Pudens," p. 33. But I cannot trace any point of similarity between Cæsar's statement, however erroneous it may be, and the law or custom here described.

⁴ Dion, lxxvi. 12. A fatal characteristic of their Gaelic descendants even at this day.

⁵ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 21.; Strab. iv.

⁶ See Thierry, *Gaulois*, Introd. p. xei.

and caused them to regard it as the purest expression of their mystic theology. The Belgians, who were the latest settlers on the British shore, seem to have been easily reclaimed from the wild habits of their forest life by the civilizing influences of the coast and a navigable river. Cæsar remarks that the inhabitants of the corner nearest to Gaul were the farthest advanced in social cultivation, and the extraordinary rapidity with which the eastern ports sprang into commercial celebrity discovers a natural aptitude in the race which their subsequent history has so fully confirmed.

A close connexion was maintained between the Belgian tribes located in the island and the kinsmen whom they had left behind.¹ Some of the kings of the continental states still claimed a kind of sovereignty over the emigrants beyond the sea. Cæsar complained that his enemies in Gaul had frequently received succour from an invisible arm stretched forth to them from these remote colonies. The example of freedom and this expression of sympathy were, at all events, dangerous to the tranquillity of his new conquests. It seemed a measure of political importance to strike a blow at a people who might be supposed to plume themselves on their insular security, and to carry, at least, the terror of the Roman arms across the barrier which Nature herself had raised against them. A century earlier a proconsular army had turned back with reverence or dismay from the shores of the Atlantic. They had reached, it was surmised, the verge of the habitable world, and profanely approached the frontiers of night and oblivion. But Cæsar's legions and Cæsar himself were alike inaccessible to such feelings; the general sought an arena for martial exercises, the soldier dreamed of hoarded gold and jewels; and if the temper of either admitted of finer sensibilities, the bil-

Their proximity to Gaul dangerous to the security of the Roman conquest.

¹ Cæsar informs us that several of the British states derived their name and origin from Gaulish, especially the Belgian tribes (*B. G.* v. 12.). Ptolemy mentions the names of the Parisii, Atrebates, Belgæ, Menapii. The Parisii were Belgian, in Strabo's extended signification of the term, but not in Cæsar's.

lows of the western ocean might inspire him with ambition rather than with awe.¹

After recrossing the Rhine, the proconsul fixed his quarters on the coast of the Morini; for it was only in the remote districts that this tribe could maintain its independence, and the mere rumour of his intended invasion of the island raised among them such a notion of his boldness and power, that they hastened, for the most part, at once to make a voluntary submission.² The Roman general was well pleased to receive them into favour, and obtain from them the assistance and information he needed. He spent some weeks in collecting his naval armaments, despatched an officer named Volusenus to explore the opposite coast, and commissioned Commius, a chieftain on whom he had conferred the sovereignty of the Atrebates, to repair to his friends and kinsmen in the island, and represent to them in proper colours the magnitude of the Roman power, and the advantages of alliance or submission. The rumour of his preparations had already alarmed the Belgians in the south of Britain, and various embassies from them reached his camp, with the offer of hostages for their good-will and fidelity.

The season had already advanced too far to allow the Roman general to contemplate the conquest of any part of the island in this campaign, if indeed he entertained any such ulterior view. His object was to obtain a personal acquaintance with the country, its chiefs and people, to thrust himself in some way into their affairs,

¹ "Decimus Brutus aliquanto latius Celticos Lusitanosque et omnes Gallicæ populos, formidatumque militibus flumen Oblivionis (comp. Liv. *Epit.* iv.); peragratoque victor Oceani litore, non prius signa convertit, quam eadentem in maria solem, obrutumque aquis ignem non sine quodam sacrilegii metu et horrore deprehendit." Florus, ii. 17. The Romans ridiculed Cæsar's vanity in dignifying the shallow straits with the name of the Ocean. Lucan, ii. 571.

"Oceanumque vocans incerti stagna profundi
Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis."

² Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 21, 22.

and establish such relations with them as might afford a convenient pretext for further interference at a future time. For his immediate designs it seemed sufficient to collect a force of two legions and a few hundred cavalry. The former were destined to embark in eighty transports at Portus Itius,¹ the latter at a spot eight miles further to the east. The embarkation of both divisions was to take place simultaneously, on the morning of the 26th of August, soon after midnight, during the third watch. This seems to have been the commencement of the flood-tide, which runs along the coasts of the channel in a north-easterly direction. The proconsul embarked with the infantry, and proceeding slowly, possibly that he might fall in with the cavalry transports, found himself at ten in the morning off the cliffs of Dover. The expected squadron, however, was detained by wind, or accident, and the spot itself offering some impediments, the invader determined to seek another landing-place. The sea is described here as running up into the land by a narrow creek overhung by heights, which completely commanded every approach,²

¹ The point on the French coast from which Cæsar sailed has not been determined with certainty. We may pass over the unconscionable nationality of some Flemish writers (see Bast, *Antiq. Rom. Gaul.* p. 264.); but Boulogne, Ambleteuse, Witsand and Calais, still contend for the honour. It was not Calais, because Cæsar would not in that case surely have sent his cavalry further to the east to make the passage. Boulogne, which became at a later period the usual place of embarkation for Britain, was known by another name, Gessoriacum. There is probably an error of *east* for *west*, where Ptolemy places this spot east of the Ἰκίον ἄκρον. (See Mannert, II. i. 186.) The question seems therefore to be narrowed to the two ports of Ambleteuse and Witsand. In deciding between them we may be guided partly by the similarity of the names Iccius, or Itius, and Witsand, and partly by the fact that in the middle ages Witsand was the port from which the passage was commonly made. (See Ducange on *Joinville's Memoirs*, diss. xxvi.) Both are equally distant from the nearest point of the British coast. When Cæsar computes the length of the passage at 30 miles, which is more than the distance from shore to shore, he may measure from his starting-place to his landing-place, viz. Deal. The Ἰκίον ἄκρον is probably Cap Grisnez. See Walckenaer, *G. des G.* ii. 268. With regard to the orthography of the Roman name, the MSS. of Cæsar read Itius, those of Ptolemy Ἰκίον. The form Iccius is a corruption of later writers. Bast, *l. c.*

² Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 23. His expressions evidently describe a creek or estuary,

and were already crowded with the natives in arms. Accordingly, after waiting the greater part of the day for the arrival of his cavalry, the proconsul took the next flood-tide, aided by a favourable wind, and coasted northward a distance of seven or eight miles, which brought him to the open beach of Walmer or Deal.¹

The movements of the Roman squadron were closely watched by the Britons from the heights, and by the time it had arrived at the spot where Cæsar proposed to draw up his vessels, the beach was lined with an imposing array of warriors in their chariots, prepared to dispute his landing. The sea was too shallow to admit of the larger vessels approaching the land, and the barbarians rushed into the surge to reach their invaders. The war-galleys which drew less water were ordered to the flanks to dispel the host of assailants, and when they opened their batteries of missiles

and cannot refer to the promontory of the South Foreland. There is an ancient tradition at Dover that the sea formerly ran five or six miles up into the land there. *Acad. des Sci. et Bell. Lett. de Bruxelles*, iii. 1. (1770), quoted by Bast, *Antiq. Rom. et Gaul.*

¹ Cæs. l. c.: "Ventum et æstum nactus secundum." It has been much disputed whether the spot at which Cæsar landed lay to the east or west of Dover, at Deal or Hythe; but a close examination of his language seems to settle the question decisively. He came to Britain a little before the end of summer (*exigua parte æstatis reliqua*), and left it before the equinox. From Halley's calculations (see *Phil. Trans.* No. 193.) it is ascertained that there were two full moons in August of the year B. C. 55, on the 1st at noon, and on the 30th at midnight. The latter then must have been that which Cæsar noticed on the fourth night after his arrival (e. 29.). If the tide was at its height at midnight (30th-31st), it must have been so about 8 p. m. on the 26th. Accordingly, the tide began to flow on the afternoon of the 26th at 2 p. m., and this must have been the tide with which Cæsar left his moorings off Dover. As the floodtide flows to the northward, such must have been the direction which he took, and a run of seven or eight miles would bring him precisely to the flat beach of Deal or Walmer. The only reason for believing him to have taken the opposite course is the expression of Dion, xxxix. 51.: *τοὺς προσμίξαντάς οἱ ἐς τὰ τενάγη ἀποβαίνοντι νικήσας*, where *τενάγη* is supposed to indicate such marshes as are found between Hythe and Romney, but not on the other side. The word may, however, mean the soft beach washed by the tide. Dion also says that he sailed round a promontory, which cannot be reconciled with the notion of his going westward.

the Britons were thrown into disorder. The Romans, however, in the confusion incident to a mode of fighting with which they were not familiar, showed little alacrity in attacking the enemy, until the standard-bearer of the tenth legion leaped with his eagle into the waves, and summoned his comrades to the rescue.¹ Excited by the danger of their adored ensign, the soldiers threw themselves into the water, repulsed the barbarians, and made good their landing. The fame of Cæsar and his legions had gone before him, and when the Britons found themselves engaged hand to hand with the conquerors of Gaul, their courage failed. But the Romans, destitute as they were of cavalry, might have suffered severely from the vigorous attack of chariots and horsemen; and, however feeble was the resistance opposed to their landing, they were not in a condition to pursue, but hastened to secure the spot on which they had planted themselves by throwing up their earthworks. Before, however, even these first defences were completed an embassy arrived from the Britons, with the offer of hostages and humble protestations of submission. Commius, who had been seized and thrown into chains when he ventured to set foot in the island, was restored with many excuses to liberty. The Roman general complained of his hostile reception after offers of friendship and alliance; but he agreed to accept the overtures now proffered, together with the promised hostages.

But whether or not the Britons were sincere in the first terror of defeat, an accident which befel the foreign armament gave them courage to change their policy and break their faith. The Roman cavalry, sailing at last on the fourth day after their leader's departure, were driven back by a violent wind. As their course lay towards the north-west, the gentle breeze with which they had hoped to effect their landing came probably from an easterly quarter. Before they had reached the Downs the wind freshened to a gale, and their vessels were rendered unmanageable. Some of them, indeed, succeeded

Their fleet severely injured by a high tide.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 25-27.

in recovering the coast of Gaul, but others were carried through the straits far to the west, and narrowly escaped being cast away on distant points of the British coast.¹ At midnight the tide rose with the full moon and the strong east wind to an unusual height, such as the Romans, imperfectly acquainted with those seas, had never before witnessed. The war-vessels drawn up on the beach were covered with the waves and dashed in pieces, while the transports at anchor were torn from their moorings, and hurled upon the coast or against one another.

Thus the fleet was almost disabled, nor had the little army proper means for repairing it. Nor was the camp provided with grain for the winter. The Britons, who had noticed the smallness of the Roman force, and its want of supplies, now conceived the hope of cutting it off by famine, presuming that the entire loss of an army with its general would deter the Romans from repeating the enterprize. But they did not execute their plans skilfully. They made a sudden attack upon the seventh legion, which had been sent to forage, but was not yet beyond reach of assistance from the camp. Cæsar rushed forth to its rescue, and repulsed the assailants; but his experience of the treachery of the enemy, and the peril to which he was now daily exposed, made him the more anxious to withdraw from the island without delay. The equinox was also fast approaching, and the tempestuous weather which generally accompanies it. He was well pleased therefore at receiving a new offer of submission from the vacillating barbarians. He contented himself with imposing upon them double the number of hostages they had originally promised. Since the night of the storm he had laboured assiduously to refit his vessels, destroying, for the want of fresh materials, the most damaged, in order to repair the rest. He sailed soon after midnight some days before the equinox, that is to say, about three weeks from the time of his landing, taking the ebb-tide, which would then serve to

The Roman
army harassed
by the Britons.

Returns to
Gaul before the
equinox.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 28.

carry him down the coast, and thence across into Gaul. Two vessels which could not make the appointed port were borne by the current further down the channel.¹

On his return from Britain, Cæsar detached Sabinus and Cotta to make an incursion into the country of the Menapii, which proved more successful than that of the year preceding, the dryness of the season having rendered the morasses accessible. At the same time, Labienus chastised the Morini, who had risen against the crews of the dispersed vessels. The Britons, as soon as they learned that the Romans had left their shores, neglected, with the exception of two only of their tribes, to send the promised hostages.² But at Rome the news of Cæsar's victories called forth unbounded acclamations, especially the vaunted success of his attack upon an unknown island, which struck their imaginations as an heroic exploit, while it inflamed their cupidity with the hopes of new and incalculable plunder.³ The avaricious dreams of the Romans ascribed hoards of plate and jewels to the rudest barbarians of the ancient world. Britain was reported to be rich in mines, at least of the inferior metals. Above all, the pearls of the Rutupian coast were celebrated for their supposed abundance and splendour, and became objects of especial desire.⁴ The breastplate set with these costly brilliants, which the conqueror afterwards dedicated to Venus Genetrix, the patroness and mother of his race, was no less agreeable to the eyes of the young nobility than to those of the goddess her-

Transactions of the remainder of the year. Cæsar goes into Illyricum.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 36. : "Paulo infra delatæ sunt." On reaching the coast of Gaul, the crews of these vessels were attacked by the Morini, and were within immediate reach of the main body, which had already disembarked. They came to shore therefore probably near Ambleteuse or Boulogne.

² Cæs. *B. G.* iv. 38.

³ Diou, xxxiv. 53. After disparaging the enterprize as unsuccessful he adds: τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰσχυρῶς ἐσεμνύετο, καὶ οἱ οἴκοι Ῥωμαῖοι θανμαστῶς ἐμεγαλύνοντο, κ. τ. λ.

⁴ Suet. *Jul.* 47. : "Britanniam petiisse spe margaritarum, quarum amplitudinem conferentem," &c. Yet Pliny confesses that the pearls of Britain were, after all, "parvi et decolores" (*H. N.* ix. 57.), and Tacitus adds: "Gignit oceanus margarita sed subfusca et liventia" (*Agric.* 12.).

self. A thanksgiving of twenty days was decreed in his honour, while he hastened, as usual, to the frontier of his province to confer with his friends from Rome. Early, however, in the next year he visited Illyricum, the further district of his province, beset by predatory hordes, which had crossed the upper waters of the Save and Drave, and penetrated its Alpine boundary.¹ We observe the name of Julius impressed upon many spots in this vicinity: the Carnian Alps here take the appellation of Julian; a town immediately at their feet was denominated Julium Carnicum; and Forum Julii, still surviving in the modern Friuli, lay at no great distance, near the head of the Adriatic. It is not, however, to the great conqueror that these appellations can be traced; for he could not possibly have crossed the Alps in the winter season, and carried the sword into the native valleys of the Pirustæ in the Tyrol; nor did he remain long enough in the neighbourhood to found cities or colonies.²

During Cæsar's absence preparations were in progress in the ports and camps of northern Gaul for a second invasion of Britain with a more powerful force. Six hundred transports were built, of a construction adapted to the shallow coasts and short chopping waves of the channel. The whole armament was appointed to assemble at the Portus Itius; and Cæsar employed this short interval in menacing the Treviri, with whom he was incensed for their neglecting to attend the general meeting of the states, and intriguing with the Suevi. Two of their chieftains, Cingetorix and Indutiomarus, were mutually aspiring to the supreme power.

Great preparations for a second invasion of Britain in the spring,
A. U. 700.
B. C. 54.
Cæsar's fifth campaign.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 1.; comp. Mannert, III. 547.

² The origin of these names remains in obscurity: See Mannert, III. 546., who supposes Forum Julii to have been founded by one of the Cæsarean family in a later generation, and the Alps to have received their local designation from the city. The epithet Julian is first given to these mountains by Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 8. Livy, who speaks of the locality, makes no mention of such a name. Ammianus (xxxvi. 16.) says: "Usque ad radices Alpium Juliarum quas Venetas appellavit antiquitas." The Julian Alps known at this period were those afterwards denominated Cottian. See above, p. 246.

On the approach of the Roman army, the former hastened to make his submission; the latter, thus anticipated, rashly summoned his troops and adherents. But soon repenting of this overt act, he sued for pardon, which Cæsar was easily persuaded to bestow. To Cingetorix, however, he displayed greater favour, taking his part, and conciliating to his views the principal men of the state. The Treviri returned to their obedience; but the ambition of Indutiomarus was turned to bitter though suppressed hostility.¹

This affair being despatched, the whole disposable force of the proconsul was assembled at the Portus Itius.² He was attended by a body of four thousand Gaulish horse, officered by the flower of the native nobility, whom Cæsar proposed to carry with him, not less as hostages for the tranquillity of their country, the state of which was becoming daily more critical, than for the benefit of their military services. Among them was Dumnorix, the Æduan, whose good faith Cæsar justly distrusted, and who alarmed his countrymen by vaunting that the proconsul had promised to confer upon him the sovereignty of their nation. He was anxious to avoid accompanying the expedition, hoping, if left behind, to find an opportunity of forwarding his private projects of ambition. He studied to rouse the fears of his fellow-chiefs, representing that the conqueror, not venturing to put them to death in their countrymen's presence, sought, in this distant campaign, the means of destroying them. The prevalence of north-west winds interposed a delay of several days, of which the Æduan made all the use in his power. At last, when the order for embarkment was given, he secretly escaped, with a few followers, from the camp. Cæsar immediately despatched horsemen to recapture the fugitive, dead or alive. He was overtaken, and the Gauls, who hated him no less than their Roman oppressors, slew him on the spot.³ His attend-

Intrigues of Dumnorix.

He escapes from the camp, is pursued and slain.

¹ Cæs. B. G. v. 3, 4.

² Cæs. B. G. v. 5.

³ Cæs. B. G. v. 7.

ants returned without further resistance to the Roman quarters.

The spring had not yet passed, when the Roman armament sailed for Britain. It consisted of five legions, and a proportionate number of cavalry, the importance of which force had been proved in the late expedition. Three legions were left under Labienus, to provide for the security of Gaul. The landing was effected without opposition at the same spot as in the preceding summer;¹ and Cæsar, leaving ten cohorts and three hundred horse, to protect his naval station, repaired with his main body to a place in the neighbourhood, where he constructed a camp for permanent occupation. This was the foundation, in all probability, of the famous station of Rutupiaë, or Richborough. The ruins of its gigantic defences attest to this day the extent and solidity of the Roman military works in our island. The Britons still declined to oppose the invaders; it was not till the army had advanced to the banks of the Stour, twelve miles distant from its encampment, that it found a foe arrayed to dispute its further progress. But the Britons did not place their reliance on the slow and narrow stream of a petty river; they had a camp of their own peculiar construction, a space cleared in the centre of a wood, and defended by the trunks of trees, to which they retreated on the first repulse, and whence it was difficult to dislodge them. When this was at last effected, Cæsar did not venture to pursue the rapid flight of their horsemen and chariots in a country unknown to him. An accident, which had again befallen his fleet, suddenly recalled him. A storm, as in the preceding expedition, had severely injured his vessels. It took several days of incessant labour to repair the damage, and then, at last, it was determined to draw up the whole armament on shore, and extend and strengthen the fortifications which defended it on the land side. Cæsar again advanced, and again encountered the natives at the passage of the river. Amidst

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 8.; Dion, xl. 1. The pretext for the invasion was the refusal of the Britons to send the stipulated number of hostages.

their internal dissensions (for such seem to have prevailed among them to a greater extent than even among their neighbours on the continent), the Britons had embraced the resolution of trusting the conduct of their defence to one of their principal chieftains. His name was Cassivellaunus,¹ and he ruled over the Trinobantes, the people of Middlesex, Hertford and Essex. The British method of fighting was almost wholly on horseback or from chariots. The dexterity with which the barbarians managed these ponderous vehicles, the weight of their onset, and the rapidity of their retreat, baffled through the day the skill and vigour of the invaders. The Roman lines were shaken by repeated charges; the pilum stretched many a chieftain on the plain, but his steeds and empty car came bounding against the wall of steel. Repulsed, the flying squadrons were quickly beyond the reach of pursuit; the Gaulish cavalry were languid and inactive; it was by the steady endurance of the veteran infantry that victory was at last secured. The Britons lost the bravest of their combatants, together with their cumbrous materials of war. From that day the Britons never ventured again to attack Cæsar's legions in regular battle, but scattered themselves through the country, in the hope of wearing out their strength by repeated and desultory skirmishes.

The Britons, commanded by Cassivellaunus, make a brave resistance.

Cæsar, however, kept his men well together, and refrained from partial engagements, while he marched boldly into the heart of the country, to the banks of the Thames, behind which Cassivellaunus had retreated. It was necessary, in order to ford the river, to ascend above the highest point which the tide reaches; and the very spot where the passage was made may be conjectured with some confidence from early and constant tradition. A place known by the name of Coway Stakes, near the mouth of the Wey, is supposed to have derived its appellation from

They defend the line of the Thames.

¹ This was the Roman orthography. Dion writes it *Κασουελλανός*, approaching nearer to what was probably the real pronunciation, Caswallon or Cadwallon.

the palisades with which the Britons obstructed the bed and bank of the Thames,¹ the remains of which were still visible, according to the testimony of Bede, in the eighth century.² The spot accords also sufficiently well with the distance of eighty miles from the sea, at which Cæsar places the frontier of Cassivellaunus's dominions.³

The swimming and fording of rivers were among the regular exercises of the Roman legionary. Though immersed up to his chin in water, he was expert in plying his hatchet against the stakes which opposed his progress, while he held his buckler over his head not less steadily than on dry land. Behind him a constant storm of stones and darts was impelled against the enemy from the engines which always accompanied the Roman armies.⁴ The natives were driven from their position, and Cæsar marched upon the capital of the Trinobantes, which lay at no great distance.⁵ The Trinobantes, over whom Cassivellaunus had usurped authority by the murder of its sovereign, were disposed to treat with the conqueror and abandon the tyrant to his fate. Their example was followed by several other states, enumerated under the names of Cenimagni, Segontiaei, Anelitæ and Bibroci, occupying apparently the counties of Berks and Buckingham, and the neighbourhood of Henley and Bray.⁶ The British chief, reduced to his single stronghold,

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 18. ; Dion, xl. 3.

² Bede, *Hist. of Brit.* i. 2. Every narrator of these events feels bound to commemorate this cherished tradition. Compare Camden's *Britannia*, "Surrey." He states the depth of the water at that spot to be generally about six feet. Cæsar's passage was made in the middle of summer, and the season was remarkable for its drought: "Eo anno frumentum in Gallia propter siccitatem angustius provenerat." Cæs. *B. G.* v. 24.

³ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 11.

⁴ Polyænus (*Stratagem.* viii. 23. 5.) says that the Britons were terrified by Cæsar's making use of an elephant in this attack.

⁵ We may conjecture that this was Verulamium, or St. Alban's, the site in after-times of a great Roman colony. If it had been Londinium, which was a place of considerable commercial importance only an hundred years later (*Tac. Ann.* xiv. 33.), we should doubtless have been informed that it lay on the bank of the river.

⁶ Camden, *Britannia.* Mæbe, *Cæs. in loc.*

defended himself with the natural fortifications of forest and morass which surrounded his city. He excited the people of Cantium, or Kent, to attack the naval camp of the invaders; but while they were repulsed with loss and discomfiture, he was obliged himself to escape from the fastness which he could no longer maintain. Reduced to extremity, he sued for peace, which he obtained by the surrender of his usurped sovereignty, and the promise of hostages and tribute from the various states which he had combined against the Romans.¹ Cæsar was anxious to return to Gaul, where rumours of projected insurrection were more rife than ever.² He retained no territory in Britain, nor left any stronghold or garrison; and when he quitted its shore, with the nugatory assurance of a trifling tribute, he must have felt himself baffled in his enterprize. Even the hopes of plunder were totally unfulfilled. Cicero, who corresponded, as we have seen, with his brother Quintus, serving under the proconsul in his British campaign, assures us that nothing was to be obtained from the poverty of the natives. No silver plate could be extorted from them, nor booty of any kind acquired, except perhaps slaves; and these were not of the refined and educated class, such as the conquests of Lucullus and Pompeius had poured into Rome from Asia, ingenious artizans or professors of literature and music, but the rough uncouth children of woods and mountains, whom their masters would be ashamed to employ beyond the limits of some distant farm.³

He accepts the promise of tribute, and returns into Gaul.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 22.

² Such seems to be the meaning of Cicero's expression in a letter to Trebatius (*ad Div.* vii. 6.), who remained in Gaul, at Samarobriva, declining to accompany the expedition into Britain: "Quamquam vos nunc istie satis calere audio." Or does it merely refer to the great heat of the summer already noticed? There had been an extremely hot season at Rome also: "Ex magnis caloribus, non enim memini majores." . . . Cie. *ad Qu. Fr.* iii. 1., written in Sept., 700. But Cæsar was evidently in great haste to leave Britain; see c. 23. *Comp.* Dion, xl. 45.

³ Cie. *ad Att.* iv. 16.: "Etiam illud jam eognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ nisi ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditos expectare." So also to Tre-

These short campaigns against the Germans and Britons sufficed to occupy the intervals during which Cæsar was watching the conflict of parties in Rome; they maintained his troops in active exercise, afforded pretences for multiplying his legions, and fostered the cupidty or ambition of his officers. But the eyes of the proconsul were still steadily turned towards Italy, and he omitted no opportunity of betaking himself to the frontier of his province to obtain a nearer view of the transactions of the capital. However, on his second return from Britain, it became manifest that his recent conquests were in imminent peril, and that his presence throughout the winter was indispensable to their security. The assembly of the Gaulish states was convened at Samarobriua (Amiens), and Cæsar employed, according to his system, the authority of the deputies among their own tribes to give a colour of national will to the decrees which in reality issued from his own mouth alone. The council was dissolved before the end of autumn, and its members returned each to his own city, bearing with him the mandates of the conqueror, by which the internal polity of the province was regulated, and new contributions, both of money and men, were assessed. Unpalatable as these requisitions were to the proud and jealous chieftains, circumstances contributed at the moment to give a chance of success to a combined attack upon the enemy from whom they emanated. The summer had been excessively dry, and it was found impossible to maintain the great mass of the Roman forces in one locality. Accordingly, the eight legions of which they

General spirit
of disaffection
in Gaul.

The Roman
forces are dis-
tributed over
too wide a sur-
face.

batius (*ad Div.* vii. 7.): "In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod suadeo capias, et ad nos quamprimum reurras." This hope of plunder is a favourite topic in his correspondence. Again to Trebatius, vi. 16.: "Balbus mihi confirmavit te divitem futurum. Id utrum Romano more locutus sit, bene nummatum te futurum, an quomodo Stoici dicunt, omnes esse divites qui cælo et terra frui possint, postea videro." In Plutarch's life (*Cæs.* 23.) Cæsar is said, *κακῶσαι τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἰδίους ὠφελῆσαι, οὐδεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ λαβεῖν ἦν ἄξιον ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων κακοβίων καὶ πνήτων.*

consisted were distributed through the country of the Belgians, among the Morini, the Nervii, the Remi, the Treviri and the Eburones, in small divisions and under various commanders.¹ The Gauls calculated, we may presume, on the proconsul's usual departure to Italy, and standing more in awe of him personally than of all his lieutenants, they proposed to delay their general attack on his winter quarters until his back should be turned.² But although compelled to risk it, he was aware of the danger of dividing his forces, and accordingly he stationed himself at Samarobriva, a central post, whence he could conveniently combine the direction both of military and civil affairs.³

The first indication of the insurrectionary spirit about to break forth throughout the north of Gaul was an isolated act of violence on the part of the Carnutes, who suddenly massacred Tasgetius, the chieftain appointed by the Roman government to exercise sovereignty in their state.⁴ That this was a public and not a private act of vengeance appeared from the complicity of the magistrates and other influential men of the tribe. The Carnutes, however, were not in a condition to vindicate their deed, and the speedy arrival of a legion, which took up its winter-quarters among them, repressed any further movement on their part against the Roman power. The affair was judicially investigated, and the guilty parties were sent to the proconsul for punishment. Meanwhile, however, a vast conspiracy was

Revolt of the
Belgians.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 24.

² Cæsar gives us to infer that he had no intention of quitting Northern Gaul during the winter: "Si ipse . . . in Gallia morari constituit" (v. 25.). Dion (xl. 8.) maintains that he was on his way into Italy when recalled by the perilous posture of his affairs; and this account would seem to be confirmed by the ignorance of his officers whether he was in Gaul or not. See below.

³ Cæsar seems anxious to extenuate the extent to which he dispersed his forces, where he says that all his divisions, except that quartered among the Essui in Normandy, where there was no apprehension of disturbance, were posted within a distance of a hundred miles. But the distance from Aduatuca to the frontiers of the Bellovaci (c. 46.) is little less than two hundred miles.

⁴ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 25.

ripening in the north of Belgium.¹ Ambiorix, a youthful leader of the Eburones, obtained the honour of striking the first blow, in which he displayed no less craft than courage. He had been treated with much favour by the Romans, and had acquired no small share of their confidence. That he should be the first to attack those who called themselves his benefactors, caused equal surprise and concern. The Romans, however, were not unprepared. The assault which he conducted against the camp of Sabinus and Cotta they repulsed without difficulty. Thus baffled, Ambiorix requested a conference with his opponents, in which he declared himself a genuine friend of the Romans, but compelled by the violence of his own people to head an attack upon them. The tribe itself, he asserted, was only acting under similar compulsion, for it was unable to resist the power of the great Gaulish confederacy, which had been long preparing, and was now in the act of executing, a simultaneous assault upon all the Roman quarters. In two days a large body of Germans would arrive to reinforce the assailants. He ended by entreating the Roman officers to evacuate their camp while there yet was time, and consult, not their own safety only, but the general good, by seeking a junction with one of the other divisions of their army, the nearest of which, that of Q. Cicero, was fifty miles distant.²

Long and anxious was the consultation which took place in the Roman quarters. Cotta and Sabinus differed in opinion; the one was for maintaining the post at all hazards, the other for falling back upon Cicero's legion. Strange to say, Sabinus could urge in behalf of the latter course that it was uncertain whether Cæsar was himself in Gaul, or whether he had departed for Italy.

The Eburones
destroy two
Roman legions.

¹ Besides Cæsar, Dion, xl. 5-11.; Plut. *Cæs.* 24.

² *Cæs. B. G.* v. 27.; Dion, xl. 5, 6. The writer follows the Commentaries of Cæsar very closely, and it is important to remark that they still formed the text-book for this period of history after an interval of 250 years. It may be inferred also that the charges of treachery which Cæsar makes against the Gauls had not been discredited by subsequent authorities.

The news of the rash violence of the Carnutes was appealed to in proof that the vigilant control of the proconsul must have been withdrawn; the sudden defection of the Eburones was supposed to confirm this presumption. It seems incredible that Cæsar should really have left his officers in uncertainty on a matter of such primary importance for the direction of their conduct, and we are compelled to imagine that such doubts were expressed merely for the purpose of giving a colour to a disgraceful and cowardly proceeding. Cotta finally yielded to his colleague's representations, and it was resolved to effect a retreat. On their march the two legions fell into an ambuscade, notwithstanding the friendly assurances in which they had been tempted to confide. Surrounded in a narrow valley they were compelled to abandon their baggage, and under the direction of Cotta (for Sabinus had lost all presence of mind), ranged themselves in a circle to maintain to the last a desperate struggle with their destroyers. This manœuvre, effective as it had often proved in saving the armies of the republic in the most dire extremities, was on this occasion of no avail. After baffling repeated attacks, the Romans succumbed at last, under the constant shower of missiles by which they were harassed from every side. Sabinus, while attempting to discuss the forms of a capitulation, was treacherously slain; and Cotta, who had refused to parley with an armed enemy, met a more honourable death in the front of his slender ranks. The Roman army was almost entirely destroyed; the few that escaped through the forests in the darkness of the night were merely stragglers, without baggage, arms, or ensigns.¹

This destruction of two complete legions with their generals was the signal for a wide-spread defection throughout central Belgium. The Eburones, Nervii, and Aduatuci were reinforced by numerous but less conspicuous tribes. Ambiorix, able and energetic, and crowned with the glory of a triumph which reminded men of the ancient days of Gaulish renown, was the soul of the confed-

Attack upon
Q. Cicero's
camp.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 37.; Dion, *l. c.*

eracy. He marched immediately upon the camp of Q. Cicero, whose single legion was quartered in the Nervian territory. Letters were despatched from the camp to Cæsar, but these were intercepted, and for many days the proconsul was left in entire ignorance of the movements of the enemy, and the dangers to which his troops were exposed.

The correspondence of the orator, M. Cicero, represents him throughout in the light of an adviser, almost of a tutor or guardian, to his younger brother Quintus, and the character of the latter has been overshadowed by the greater celebrity and higher merits of the former. But Q. Cicero, though he cannot aspire to be numbered in the first class of the statesmen of his day, holds nevertheless a prominent place among the men of tried services and abilities, who contributed to stamp the national character upon the Roman administration at home and abroad. Rising upon the wave of his brother's fortunes, and supported by his own talents and good conduct, he had served various public offices of distinction. In the ordinary career of honours, he had arrived at the prætorship, in which he was colleague to Cæsar in the year 692. Thence he had succeeded to the government of Asia, where his term of office was prolonged to a second, and again to a third year, principally at the instance of M. Cicero,¹ who employed him in the task of upholding the equestrian order, and conciliating the affections of the provincials by justice and moderation. Brilliant abilities could have little scope in a province so peaceful, and amidst a society so thoroughly moulded and matured; but it was no slight merit in Quintus, it might be of no small advantage to the reforming party to which he belonged, that it could be said of him that, in a region so full of objects attractive to a man of elegance and taste, he had refrained from the undue acquisition of a single monument of art.² After quitting this

¹ This appears from M. Cicero's remarkable letter to his brother, numbered *ad Qu. Fr.* i. 1., which, besides the light it throws on Quintus's character, is interesting as containing a formal exposition, evidently intended for the public eye, of the duties of a provincial governor.

² *Cic. ad Qu. Fr.* i. 1, 2.: "Præclarum est autem summo cum imperio

province with the liveliest demonstrations of regard from the people, Q. Cicero had assisted Pompeius in executing his great commission for supplying the city; he had then attached himself to Cæsar, and engaged to serve under him in Gaul, nor had he failed to advance his brother's interests with his new patron. He was from the first an ardent admirer of Cæsar's character. When the senate decreed the capital punishment of the Catilinarian conspirators, he had voted with the Marian leader for a more lenient sentence,¹ and now, when the fortunes of his general seemed for a moment precarious, and the ascendancy of the republic in Gaul was perilled in his person, he sustained the enemy's attack with constancy and courage as great as had ever been displayed by a Roman officer. The merit of his defence is heightened by the infirm state of his health at His resolute defence. the time.² His magnanimous general was fully sensible of his deserts, and recorded his approbation in a few simple words. Nor must we forget that Cæsar's lieutenant was in his turn supported by troops whose courage and endurance were never exceeded. The romantic rivalry of Pulvis and Varenus seems to elicit a spark of fire from the coldest of all military narratives. When the besieged legion was at last relieved by the triumphant arrival of the proconsul in person, it was found that not one man in ten had escaped without a wound. The Gauls had made rapid progress in learning and applying the Roman methods of attack.³ They had surrounded the camp with a ditch and rampart, they had propelled their towers to the foot of the wall, had reduced all the interior to ashes by inflammable missiles, and had succeeded for many days in cutting off communication between the besieged and the nearest quarters. They kept all the Ro-

fuisse in Asia triennium, sic, ut nullum te signum, nulla pictura, nullum vas, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cujusquam nulla conditio pecuniæ, quibus rebus abundat ista provincia, ab summa integritate continentiaque deduxerit."

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 14.

² Cæs. *B. G.* v. 40.

³ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 42.; Dion, xl. 7.; Oros. vi. 10.

man detachments in such constant alarm, that Labienus dared not venture from his post, and Cæsar was forced to leave a legion at Samarobriva to protect the treasure, magazines, and public documents. The proconsul could muster no more than two legions to lead against the enemy, and these were reduced to a meagre remnant of seven thousand men. He had no other means of apprising the besieged of his approach but by sending a messenger with a letter attached to a javelin, which he was to fling into the camp if he could come within distance. The letter was written in Greek, or Greek letters, to baffle the enemy in case it should be intercepted.¹ The javelin stuck in one of the towers of the wall, and was not discovered till the next day. By this time the speedy arrival of succour was announced by the smoke of the burning villages which marked the progress of the exasperated Romans. The Gauls broke up from their lines and marched, sixty thousand strong, to confront the enemy. But even then Cæsar was obliged to disguise the slender amount of his forces, before he could induce his opponents to hazard an attack. A steady resistance broke their onset and put them to the rout, and thus Quintus Cicero with his little band, harassed and weakened as it had been, was saved from the fate which had overtaken his colleagues.²

He is saved by
Cæsar's arrival.

The news of their common disaster soon reached the various armies of the confederates, and they disappeared in a moment from the astonished eyes of the Roman generals. Indutinnarus retreated from before the camp of Labienus, and sought an asylum among the Treviri. The hosts of the Armorican states, which were threatening Roscius in the country of the Essui, and had arrived within eight miles of his position, dispersed without a blow. The proconsul collected three legions around Samarobriva, and took up his station there again for the rest

Cæsar remains
in the north of
Gaul during
the winter.

¹ See above, p. 253. Dion in mentioning this circumstance remarks that Cæsar's usual mode of secret communication was by the use of each fourth letter from the one intended (xl. 9.).

² These events are detailed at great length, Cæs. *B. G.* v. 42-52.

of the winter, fully occupied with watching the affairs of Belgium. Excepting the Remi and the Ædui, who had devoted themselves without reserve to the interests of the republic, there was hardly a state to which grave suspicions of disaffection did not attach. Slow and timid as the Gauls were in the beginning of a movement, from their want of mutual communication and reliance, yet, once begun, all were ready to join it with heart and hand, and the open defection of two nations whose valour they were most accustomed to respect, exasperated their resolution and embittered their defiance, in proportion as it heightened the danger of their cause.

In this critical position of their affairs, the defenders of Gaulish liberty had now recourse to the aid of the barbarians beyond the Rhine. But the followers of Ariovistus had been disheartened by the disasters they had already experienced in collision with the Roman arms, and the fate of the Usipetes and their allies, together with the subsequent invasion of their own soil, had terrified the rest of the Germans. No assistance could be obtained from that quarter.¹ But, notwithstanding this disappointment, Indutiomarus persisted in moving the Gauls to revolt. He had acquired great personal influence throughout their tribes by the friends he had attached to himself by gifts and promises. He now stepped boldly forward, claimed the leadership of the whole confederacy, and convened an armed council of their chiefs. The severity of the national institutions demanded, it is said, that whoever was last to attend such a summons should be publicly put to death with tortures and infamy. In this assembly Indutiomarus denounced his rival Cingetorix as the enemy of the common cause, and the latter was not slow to avenge himself by divulging to Labienus the schemes of his accuser. It was against Labienus himself that the first outbreak was directed. A numerous host of Gaulish cavalry careered round his works, taunting his soldiers with insults and menaces. But the legate, forewarned, had formed his plan of defence. He

The Gauls attack Labienus's camp. The death of Indutiomarus breaks up the confederacy.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 55.

suffered the enemy to exhaust their energies by a long and fruitless endeavour to draw him forth to an engagement, and it was not till he had collected all the auxiliary forces within reach, and thoroughly wearied his assailants, that he threw open his gates and gave the signal for a sally. He issued strict orders that the person of Indutiomarus himself should be the object of every soldier's aim. He forbade them to engage with any one of the enemy until the leader had been taken and slain. The Gauls offered little resistance to this vigorous onslaught, and Indutiomarus was overtaken in crossing a ford. His death completed the easy victory of the Romans; the Nervii and Eburones fled precipitately to their homes, and the confederacy rapidly dissolved.¹

The close of the year brought a short period of respite to the Roman soldiery, but the winter months were hardly less full of solicitude to their officers, especially to Caesar, who now clearly saw that he had before him the task of completely reconquering the country.² It was necessary to recruit his diminished forces by extensive levies. Orders were issued for raising two fresh legions, and the proconsul obtained a third as a loan from Pompeius,³ who did not hesitate to transfer to him a portion of the forces which the republic had assigned to himself. This legion had indeed been levied in Cisalpine Gaul by a special decree of the senate, and might seem therefore to belong of right rather to Cæsar than to his rival. But that Pompeius should have thus consented to strengthen the hands of a competitor of whom he had long been jealous, shows how secure he deemed himself in the exercise of the new powers he had obtained on the expiration of his consulship, and the reliance he placed on the friends and adherents with whom he had doubtless

Caesar makes great additional levies for his sixth campaign, A. U. 701, B. C. 53, and borrows a legion from Pompeius.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* v. 58.

² Cæs. *B. G.* vi. 1.: "Multis de causis majorem Galliæ motum expectans."

³ Cæs. *B. G.* l. c.; comp. Dion, xl. 65. Plutarch's error, who speaks of two legions as thus lent, is explained by Mœbe, in *Cæs. l. c.*

officered the new legion. The transaction displays also in a striking manner how independent the chiefs of the commonwealth felt themselves to be, when they ventured thus to lend and borrow troops among themselves, without even consulting, as far as appears, the superior authorities of the state.¹

Cæsar's levies proceeded rapidly, and it was his policy as well as his pride to show how speedily Rome could repair her military losses, and pour legion after legion into the field. The Belgian tribes were actively engaged in forming alliances among themselves; the Cisrhenane Germans united heartily with them; the Senones and others openly refused obedience to their foreign masters; everything portended a general insurrection in the north-east of Gaul, when Cæsar, before the winter had yet passed, anticipated the approaching movement by pushing four legions into the country of the Nervii. A few rapid marches and energetic proclamations daunted successively the spirit of these people, of the Senones, the Carnutes and others. But the Treviri constituted the main strength of the disaffected, and the loss of all these auxiliaries was supplied by the assistance of various German tribes, together with the Menapii and Eburones, who joined in their revolt, and distracted the attention of the Roman generals. While Cæsar pursued the Menapii into their fastnesses, Labienus overcame the Treviri in a battle to which he enticed them by a feigned retreat. Cæsar reached the Rhine and crossed it by a bridge, constructed at some distance above the spot of his former passage.² Finding, however, that the Suevi had retired, and hidden themselves in the dense Hercynian forests, he desisted from the pursuit, and was satisfied with leaving a garrison at the head of the bridge, of which he cut

Cæsar chastises the Treviri and Menapii, and crosses the Rhine.

¹ See Cæsar's simple account of the transaction (*l. c.*). We shall find that a few years later, when the struggle was about to commence between Cæsar and Pompeius, the latter demanded his legion to be restored to him, and the other made no attempt to retain it (*B. G.* viii. 54.); *Plut. Cæs.* 29.; *Appian, B. C.* ii. 29.

² *Cæs. B. G.* vi. 9.; *Dion*, xl. 32.

down the portion which abutted on the right bank of the river. He then turned his forces upon the centre of the Belgian confederacy. His lieutenant Basilus, at the head of the cavalry, made a bold dash at the person of Ambiorix, who narrowly escaped the unexpected attack, and was compelled to break up his plans for the campaign, and recommend his troops to consult their safety by dispersion. The Segni and Condrusi, Germanic tribes, sent in their submission, with loud assertions of the constancy with which they had refused to aid the confederates. The conqueror was not unwilling to accept their excuses.

But in the midst of these successes the conduct of the war still presented great difficulties. The Eburones, in whose stronghold, Aduatuca, the proconsul had now established his quarters, possessed no other fortresses. They could not be reached in any vital part. The conquest and occupation of their country seemed to make no permanent impression upon a tribe of hunters and foresters. Once more was the Roman general compelled to scatter his forces in various directions. The Menapii, lately reduced, were again in arms, and it required the presence of three legions under Labienus to check their adventurous reprisals. Q. Cicero was left with one legion to maintain possession of Aduatuca, while three others were entrusted to C. Trebonius, with orders to devastate the country round, and prevent the nearer approach of the enemy. Cæsar himself issued forth in quest of Ambiorix, in whose death or capture he took the greatest interest. As long as large bodies of troops kept together, they were secure from the isolated attacks of the barbarians; but as soon as they ventured to pursue or plunder, they were exposed to be cut off in detail in a country which was no other than one great ambushade. It was in these straits that Cæsar determined to employ the last resource of an unscrupulous invader. He circulated a proclamation through the neighbouring states, declaring the Eburones traitors to Rome and outlaws from the human race, offering at the same time their lives and their goods as a

He offers the plunder of the Eburones to the neighbouring tribes.

common prey to any one who would venture to take them.¹ This sufficed to call forth all the tribes which cherished any jealousy of that ill-fated people, and every man with a private quarrel to avenge could wreak his fury under the protection of Rome. It put arms into the hands of every adventurer, whether Gaulish or German, who might choose to enrich himself by rapine and murder. Such, it seems, was the state of mutual hostility in which the Gaulish tribes dwelt among one another, that an announcement of this kind sufficed to break all the late-cemented ties of interest and friendship, and to enlist overwhelming multitudes in the work of destruction. The Eburones, it must be remembered, were an alien people, descendants of the Cimbri and Teutones of old. The neighbouring races were for the most part indifferent or even hostile to them. The proconsul's summons was welcomed with savage alacrity. The Gauls rushed headlong upon their victims, who, we may presume, did not perish without a desperate struggle. But from whatever quarter it flowed, it was the blood of enemies, and the Romans looked on coolly and securely while the ranks of the assailants were thinned, and while the whole clan of the Eburones was butchered and their very name obliterated from the map of Gaul.

Modern warfare rarely presents such frightful scenes as must have marked the annihilation of the Eburones; nor did the Romans often allow themselves to display such terrible examples of their vengeance. The transaction we have just related has accordingly been employed, and not unnaturally, to fix a foul blot upon Cæsar's character. Yet we know that his countrymen uniformly represented him as humane, and even indulgent to every enemy, domestic or barbarian: and this act must in fairness be contemplated from a Roman point of view, whence alone a just conception can be obtained of his motives and conduct.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* vi. 34.: "Cæsar ad finitimas civitates nuncios dimittit, ad se evocat, spe prædæ, ad diripiendos Eburones, ut potius in sylvis Gallorum vita quam legionarius miles periclitetur; simul ut, magna multitudine circumfusa, pro tali facinore stirps ac nomen civitatis tollatur." Dion, xl. 32.

Reflections upon this act of severity.

The Romans vaunted with peculiar complacency their professed horror at all political treachery. In their public transactions, especially in the field, they did, perhaps, exercise some self-denial in maintaining the principles of good faith. Their history presents undoubtedly remarkable instances of punishments inflicted upon their own commanders who had postponed force to fraud in dealing with the enemy. The religious pretensions of the Romans were not altogether nugatory. They demanded in every case an apparent cause of war, as well as the observation of due forms of warfare. Even to the last the popular voice, exerted in the area of the forum or from the tribunes' bench, was powerful to recal statesmen and captains to a sense of the prescriptive principles of justice. But the laws of nations, as held by the encroaching republic, might neither be regarded nor known by some of its rude opponents. Fierce was its wrath and loud its reclamations against the alleged perfidy of the injured and the ignorant. We have seen, in the case of the Veneti, how harsh was the punishment which the infraction of a conqueror's terms was deemed to justify. Even in the purest ages of the commonwealth the infliction of pain and death had never disturbed a Roman general in the discharge of his public duty. But civil war is the worst corrupter both of honour and humanity. Fraud and violence conspired to brutalize the national character. Consuls and imperators, whether at home or abroad, learned to protect their own lives by taking unscrupulous advantage of every opponent. They dealt to their foes the same measure they were trained themselves to expect, and it can hardly be said that they held an enemy's blood much cheaper than their own. Still the aggressions of the Romans, with all their enormity, were conducted for the most part on certain recognized principles. The passions of the Gauls, on the other hand, were wholly uncontrolled. It was the Gauls themselves who rushed, at a foe's bidding, to destroy their own compatriots; their lust of plunder overcame both sympathy and prudence. Civilization has at least the power of

The laws of war as understood by the Romans.

atonement in some measure for its own crimes. The conquests of the republic were, on the whole, a career of human improvement, and conducted to the diffusion of juster views and milder sentiments than prevailed among the barbarians it subdued.

When Cæsar quitted Aduatuca in pursuit of Ambiorix, directing his course to the northern confines of the great forest of Arduenna, between the lower Scheldt and the Meuse, he assured Q. Cicero that he would return within seven days. The work of massacre and pillage had already commenced. The Gauls

A body of Germans crosses the Rhine to plunder the Eburones,

from far and near hastened to the destruction of their own friends and allies; but besides these assailants a small body of Germans joined in the onslaught, allured across the Rhine by hopes of booty.¹ They had effected the passage of the river on rafts, and escaped the vigilance of Cæsar's outposts. They penetrated on the track of blood and plunder even to the vicinity of the Roman quarters at Aduatuca. Here they paused and inquired after the much-dreaded name of Cæsar, and when they heard that he was absent, lent willing ears to the bold suggestion of an Eburon captive. *In three hours, he said, you can reach Aduatuca; poor and scanty is the plunder you have obtained from my country; the further you advance the less will you glean from the leavings of our neighbours' rapacity; but in the camp of Cicero are all the proconsul's stores, all his resources for the campaign, and all the booty he has swept within his net. The garrison is too slender even to man the walls which surround, but cannot protect, all this wealth.* The Germans embraced the adventure with alacrity, and the Eburon rejoiced in the certain destruction of the one or the other of his enemies.

The garrison of Aduatuca was, indeed, by no means so slender as had been represented, outnumbering very considerably the handful of Germans who had thus undertaken to surprise and destroy it. We may suppose, however, that the marauders had gathered

and is tempted to attack the Roman station at Aduatuca,

¹ Cæs. B. G. vi. 35.

numbers on their route, and at the moment of their sudden appearance before the encampment five cohorts of the legion were foraging at a short distance. The seventh day had passed, no news of the proconsul had arrived, provisions were scarce in the camp, and no appearance of an enemy at hand. Nevertheless, Cicero's incautiousness in thus reducing his strength nearly proved fatal to him. The attack of the Germans was so sudden, the defence so feeble, that the place was on the point of being carried at the first onset. The absent cohorts returned from their excursion; but the enemy had placed himself between them and the camp, and, despising the smallness of their numbers, expected an easy victory. The Romans, moreover, were mostly new levies, being a portion of the armament which had been raised that winter in Italy. They had been officered, however, with picked men from the veteran legions, and were now saved by the skill and discipline of their centurions. They were instructed to form the *cuneus* or wedge, and so rush with all their force upon the opposing ranks. Their weight and steadiness bore down all resistance, and the moving mass burst through the crowd of barbarians till it reached the gates of the camp, which were speedily opened to receive it.

but are disappointed in their enterprize.

Thus baffled, the Germans lost heart, and made the best of their way homewards, with as much of their booty as the time and their own fears would allow them to secure: for Cæsar was now close upon their rear, and they were much more ready to believe in his approach than the Romans themselves, who had given way to despair, convinced that his defeat and death could alone have thus brought the Germans so suddenly upon them.¹

Cæsar, indeed, had been unsuccessful in the chief object of his late expedition, the capture or slaughter of Ambiorix.

Cæsar leaves Gaul for Italy at the conclusion of his sixth campaign.

He set out once more and ravaged the districts through which he passed with fire and sword; still the wily Eburon was able to elude his pursuit. In vain did the captives of each day's skir-

¹ Cæs. B. G. vi. 35-41.

lish declare, when brought into the proconsul's presence, that they had but just seen the fugitive, that he must still be close at hand, that he was defenceless and alone, or attended at most by a mere handful of followers; for the rewards with which the Romans urged his people to betray him rendered him everywhere insecure. As the season drew to a close, and no enemy appeared any longer in the field, the labours of the campaign came at last to an end. Cæsar convened the general assembly at Durocortorum, and charged it to inquire into the guilt of the Senones and Carnutes; but he treated those people with unexpected mildness, and was satisfied with the sacrifice of a single victim. Two legions he stationed in the country of the Treviri, two among the Lingones, but the remaining six he concentrated at Agendicum, in the territory of the Senones.¹ Having made these dispositions, he no longer hesitated to take the road for Italy, intending to hold the assembly of the Cisalpine states, and make at the same time a nearer survey of affairs at Rome, where events had occurred of the utmost importance towards the development of his schemes.

The death of Julia had occurred during the period of Cæsar's second invasion of Britain. He had felt his bereavement with the keenness of genuine affection;² nevertheless, he had not suffered his sorrow to suspend the progress of his arms;³ nor did he fail, we may suppose, to forecast, with cool deliberation, the changes it seemed to open in the great political game he was playing at Rome. The tie which bound him, however loosely and precariously, to Pompeius, was now rudely severed.⁴ Cæsar was aware that, crowned with laurels

The alliance of Cæsar and Pompeius dissolved by the death of Julia, Crassus, and Clodius.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* vi. 44.

² See Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* iii. 1.: "O me sollicitum, quantum ego dolui in Cæsaris suavissimis litteris!"

³ Senec. *Cons. ad Marc.* 14.: "Intra diem tertium imperatoria obiit munia et tam cito dolorem vicit quam omnia solebat."

⁴ Senec. *l. c.*: "In oculis erat Cn. Pompeius, non æquo laturus animo quenquam alium esse in republica magnum."

and followed by legions, he was no longer, even in the eyes of his vain associate, the mere aspiring adventurer who had crossed the Alps to seek political distinction. He had become a formidable rival even to the first man in the republic. He could not doubt that his recent connexion would now recoil from his alliance, and employ his recovered freedom to form a new compact with his deadliest enemies. Cæsar was not yet prepared to meet and defy such a combination in the curia and the forum. His plans were not yet ripe, his position not yet assured. He might fear to be precipitated into a struggle with the oligarchy at home, while Gaul was yet unconquered, and the basis of his future operations unsecured. But other catastrophes followed, which could not fail to widen the breach, and poison the sources of disunion. Our next chapter will record the expedition of Crassus into Asia, and its final termination. The triple league was definitely dissolved by the death of the triumvir, whose peculiar position and personal qualities marked him as best fitted to hold the balance between his jealous colleagues; or constituted him, in the language of the poet, the isthmus which forbade the collision of two encroaching oceans.¹ Was any thing more wanting to expose to the survivors the hollowness of their alliance, and the natural antipathy of their views and tempers, it was supplied by the removal of Clodius from the theatre of affairs, the man whom they had conspired to support, each for his own ulterior purposes. The news of the death of Clodius greeted Cæsar immediately upon his arrival on the frontier of his province.² The circumstances which attended it compelled the senate, as we shall see, to throw all its power into the hands of Pompeius, to exalt him to a greater pre-eminence than he had ever yet enjoyed, to inflame his pride, to enhance his self-confidence, and to tempt him finally to break with the leaders of the popular cause.

¹ Lucan, i. 100.:

“Qualiter undas

Qui secat, et geminum graeilis mare separat isthmus.”

² Cæs. *Bell. Gall.* vii. 1.: “Ibi cognoscit de Clodii cæde.”

CHAPTER XI.

STATE OF THE PARTHIAN MONARCHY.—CRASSUS MEDITATES AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PARTHIANS.—FIRST INVASION, A. U. 700.—SECOND INVASION, A. U. 701.—HE IS DECEIVED BY THE PARTHIANS, AND MISLED BY HIS GUIDES.—FATAL ENGAGEMENT BEYOND CARRHÆ.—DEATH OF THE YOUNGER CRASSUS.—CRASSUS ENTICED INTO A CONFERENCE AND SLAIN IN A FRAY.—HIS REMAINS INSULTED.—AN INTERREGNUM AT ROME.—POMPEIUS PREVAILS ON THE TRIBUNES TO ALLOW THE ELECTION OF CONSULS.—ASSASSINATION OF CLODIUS.—DISTURBANCES IN THE CITY.—POMPEIUS APPOINTED SOLE CONSUL FOR THE YEAR 702.—TRIAL OF MILO.—THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORUM CONTROLLED BY AN ARMED FORCE.

BEFORE we revert to the contemplation of the protracted death-struggle of Roman independence, we must turn aside to follow the Parthian expedition of Cras-
Rise of the Parthian monarchy.
 sus, one of the most romantic episodes in the history of the martial republic, conspicuous for the most wanton aggression and the most signal chastisement by which her bloody annals are distinguished. The province of Syria offered brilliant opportunities to the ambition or avarice of a Roman proconsul. Its wealth, comparatively untouched by earlier conquerors, was the accumulation of centuries of commercial splendour. Its frontiers were limited by the dominions of the tributary sovereigns of Cappadocia and Palestine, who flourished under the shadow of Roman protection. Beyond them lay the kingdoms of Armenia, placed also in a state of dubious dependence on the republic, and of Egypt, whose freedom at the moment was trembling in the balance. To the east stretched the vast extent of the Parthian empire, with which Rome had never yet measured her strength. The region from which the once mighty name of the Parthians

took its rise is an insignificant tract of country watered by the river Ochus, the modern Tedjen, near the south-eastern extremity of the Caspian Sea. On the north a sandy desert separates it from the Oxus and the modern city of Khiva; on the south it is hemmed in by the great mountain chain which connects the Caucasus of the west with the Hindoo Khoosh, or Caucasus of the east. This district had formed the most northern possession of the Macedonian empire; but, upon the partition of the various provinces after the death of Alexander, none of his Greek generals aspired to occupy a throne in so remote and barbarous a region. Parthia fell into the hands of a chief of native extraction, though known by the Greek name of Stasanor; but it continued in a state of precarious dependence on the sovereigns of the Macedonian line, who held their court in Susa. The power of the European dynasties was weakened by their quarrels with one another; and both the Parthians and the Bactrians shook off the yoke in the third century before our era. Arsaces, the founder of a race of Parthian kings, was a man of obscure origin; the conquest of Hyrcania extended his possessions to the Caspian; and when his vigorous chivalry crossed the Caucasus and came in contact with the nations to the south, the successors of Alexander were unable to withstand them, and the whole of the provinces between the Euphrates and the Indus fell in the fourth generation under the sway of the Parthian Mithridates. This powerful tyrant was succeeded by a son who, after some brilliant triumphs over the Greeks in Syria, was defeated and slain by a horde of invading Scythians. The attention of his successors, as far as they could spare it from their intestine divisions and family intrigues, was principally occupied with checking the progress of these depredators, and supporting the power of Armenia on their north-western frontier, which formed a bulwark against future invasion from that quarter.¹

For his abode the Parthian sovereign selected Seleucia on the Tigris, from among the royal residences of the empire he

¹ This history is concisely detailed by Justin, xli. 4, 5.

had overthrown. Scarcely emerged from the tent of his fathers, he at once established himself in all the pomp of the ancient dynasties which had successively held the sceptre of Central Asia. He adopted from the Assyrians the slothful luxury of the priest-kings of the line of Belus; he surrounded himself with slaves, eunuchs and concubines; dressed more like a woman than a man,¹ and revelled in the charms of odours, wine and music. From the example of the Medes, he assumed the licence of intermarrying with the nearest members of his own family, a barbarous device for limiting the claimants to the succession. Nor was he less easily seduced by the more intellectual, but hardly less enervating, refinements which the Greeks had introduced into Asia. An exotic literature and a gaudy theatre flourished at Seleucia under the royal patronage: the ritual ceremonies of the most graceful of superstitions were too closely interwoven with the forms of the Grecian drama not to follow in its train. The court of Seleucia presented a motley combination of the manners of different ages and countries, only to be paralleled, perhaps, in the semi-European fashions of Petersburg and Moscow. But the monarch was surrounded and his throne upheld by the faithful arms of a warlike nobility, among whom these refinements had not penetrated so deeply. For them he had changed the satrapies of Persia and the governments of Alexander into dependent fiefs. When he put forth his whole strength for conquest or defence, he could call upon the services of eighteen vitaxæ, or vassal kings.² Every petty chieftain summoned his retainers to his side, who preserved at least in the field the habits of their nomade ancestors, clad themselves in their scaly armour, and bounded upon their horses, equipped with the bow and arrow, equally deadly in the charge or the retreat.³

¹ See Plutarch's description of Surenas (c. 24.): *ἐντρίμμασι προσώπου καὶ κόμης διακρίσει*, and comp. c. 32.: *ἐσθήτα βαρβαρικὴν γυναικὸς ἐνδύς*. The flowing dress which the Greeks supposed to be feminine was originally sacerdotal, but its effect must have been to encourage indolence and cowardice.

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. 8.; Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*, i. c. 7.

³ The Parthian forces consisted principally of cavalry, and both men and

The countenance which the Parthian monarch extended to the manners and usages introduced by his immediate predecessors into the regions beyond the Euphrates was doubtless galling to the spirit of the native race, and rendered him particularly obnoxious to the priestly caste, who worshipped the element of fire in its visible fountain in the heavens. It was to this hostility, perhaps, that the dynasty of Arsaces owes the obscurity which envelopes its history in the native annals. Ferdousi, the poetical historian of Persia, passes it over almost in silence; and other Oriental authorities, while they curtail its duration by two or more centuries, deny the foreign extraction of the founder.¹ This opinion has met with supporters among European scholars; but the passage of Strabo, on which they rely, may be safely pronounced corrupt,² and there is no

The dynasty of the Arsacidae obnoxious to its Persian subjects.

horses were clad in chain or scale armour. Justin, xli. 2. These accoutrements became an object of terror to the Romans after their defeat under Crassus, and formed the burden of many popular descriptions. (See Propertius, Martial, and the poets generally.) It is hardly credible that the Parthian horsemen thus equipped could have had great rapidity of movement; and the Armenian cavalry, similarly armed, was defeated and destroyed with ease by Lucullus at Tigranocerta. (Plut. *Luc.* 28.) But their attacks were formidable to the Roman legionary, unless well furnished with archers, slingers, and cavalry on his wings. In the later periods of the empire the Romans adopted this mode of equipment, rather perhaps for show than for service. (Claudian, *in Rufin.* ii. 360.) But the same kind of defensive armour, which we are accustomed to associate with the name of the Parthians, has been very extensively used in various parts of the world. The figures thus clad on the Column of Trajan represent Sarmatians: comp. Tac. *Hist.* i. 79.; Ammian. xvii. 12.: Pausan. i. 21. The Georgians and Circassians use it habitually at the present day, and it was adopted from them by their descendants, the Mamelukes of Egypt. Major Denham discovered a people in Bornou whose king was attended by a body-guard of horsemen in chain-mail. Their horses, he says, were small, but moved with rapidity. Denham and Clapperton's *First Journey*, p. 62-64. His drawings are precisely similar to the specimens of Afghan or Belooche chain-mail, which may be seen in Sir Samuel Meyrick's collection at Goodrich Court. The chain-mail of the crusaders with which we are familiar was more complete and heavier than any other.

¹ Malcolm's *Hist. of Persia*, l. c. Arsaces is known to the native writers by the name of Ashk.

² Strabo alone of the ancient writers seems to identify the Parthians with

ground for supposing that the Arsacidæ formed an exception to the destiny which has so repeatedly subjected Persia to the sway of foreign masters.¹

The progress of the Roman arms in the east had brought them at length into immediate contact with the Parthian outposts, and the line of the Euphrates became through a part of its course the recognized boundary of the two dominions. The Roman province of Syria extended from the south-eastern extremity of Asia Minor, or the Gulf of Issus, to the Libanus, the northern limit of Palestine. It was governed, as we have seen, directly from Rome, while the territories immediately bordering upon it were allowed to retain their own laws, and were subjected to the rule of native sovereigns appointed by the republic. The large force which it was necessary to maintain in a position of such importance, and its distance from the seat of government, invested the proconsul of Syria with almost irresponsible power. Gabinius was nearly the first to whom this charge had been intrusted since the political settlement established throughout these regions by Pompeius. He had gone to his province full of schemes of warfare and plunder. He had quarrelled with the Parthians, who had hitherto cultivated amicable relations with their formidable neighbours, and conducted themselves towards her officers with the respectful frankness of a brave and inde-

Crassus sets
out for his gov-
ernment in
Syria.
A. U. 699.
B. C. 55.

the Carduchi (xvi. 1.); but the reading *Παρθυαίων* is rejected by Groskurd, who, with Tzschukke, Koray and Wesseling, would read *Γορδυαίων*. The Carduchi, or Kurds, had their central seats about the sources of the river Tigris, but extended also into the plains of Adiabene. Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 5. 16.) describes them as only nominally dependent on the kings of Persia in his time. Their nomade habits and love of horses (Kinneir, *Geographical Memoir of Persia*, p. 143.) are too common characteristics of an analogous state of society to establish any identity between them and the Parthians. Undoubtedly, however, there was an early connexion between the Armenians, Parthians, Medes and Persians, derived from their common Caucasian origin, and so far both theories may be reconciled.

¹ The dynasty of the Arsacidæ was overthrown in the third century by Ardshir, or Artaxerxes, the first of the Sassanidæ, a native race which reigned till the conquest of the Saracens in the seventh.

pendent people. He had gone so far as to threaten them with invasion, but had been diverted from his purpose by the superior temptation of restoring Ptolemæus Auletes to the throne of Egypt. It was this capricious project of Gabinius to signalize himself by a war with Parthia that inflamed the vanity of Crassus. The success of the new proconsul in military affairs had hitherto been equivocal; up to this period he had not appeared to affect the character of a great general. But the renown of Pompeius and Cæsar had long rankled in his bosom; he resolved to rival, and he hoped to excel, them; sentiments of military ambition, which were supposed never to have found a place in his cautious and sober disposition, now broke forth in expressions of the wildest arrogance. He talked to his friends with puerile presumption of the exploits he would perform; he would not limit his enterprizes to Syria or even Parthia; the victories of Lucullus over Tigranes, of Pompeius over Mithridates, he ridiculed as trifling; while he proclaimed his own resolution to subdue the Bactrians and the Indians, and penetrate, like another Alexander, to the ocean which surrounds the Continent.¹ Cæsar, always on the watch for the errors of his associates, wrote to him from Gaul to stimulate his ambition and feed his hopes.² We may suppose that the advice of the conqueror of the west would be no less audacious in character than that which had so often marked his actions, and that he urged Crassus to put the widest interpretation upon the licence to make war or peace which Trebonius had obtained for him. It was indeed too late to quarrel with the proconsul of Syria for proposing to exercise a power which had been formally conceded to him; nevertheless, the statesmen of the republic were reluctant to throw themselves at the feet of another military despot, and the disclosure of his warlike resolves caused general alarm and discontent among them. In order to evade the effect of their discouragement or remonstrances, Crassus pushed on his preparations, and commenced his journey some weeks before his consulship ex-

¹ Plut. *Crass.* 16.

² Plut. *l. c.*

pired. It was resolved to appeal to the feelings of the people by denouncing his meditated aggression as unprovoked and impious. The tribune Atcius met him at the gate of the city, and holding in one hand a brazier of burning coals, and casting incense into it with the other, invoked the curse of heaven upon the enterprize and its leader, and devoted him, in the face of his country, and in the solemn words of the ancient formularies, to the infernal gods.² The tribune's curse awakened a sense of justice, or at least a feeling of superstition, among the citizens, by which the soldiers themselves were not unaffected. Remorse and fear conspired to imagine, nor did malice fail perhaps to invent omens and prodigies of direful import, and many such were doubtless reported after the catastrophe they might be supposed to have portended. A story related by Cicero is curious, at least in a philological point of view, for the glimpse it gives us of the Latin pronunciation. While the troops were assembled at Brundisium, a man was heard calling his figs in the street, *Cauneas, Cauneas*; his long and drawling accents were fancifully interpreted into the fatal warning, *Cave ne eas, Beware of going*.³ The loss of several vessels, in the passage to Dyrrhachium, with troops on board, was a more serious misadventure. But the journey through Macedonia and the Lesser Asia, with all its cheering sights and pleasant resting-places, revived the equanimity of the soldiers, and

¹ He left Rome just before the middle of November, according to the unreformed calendar (Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 13.), the Roman year at this period being just fifteen days in advance of the real time. He probably crossed from Brundisium about a fortnight later, when his armament was assailed by violent stormy weather. Plut. *Crass.* 17.; comp. Drumann, iv. 96. Plutarch contradicts himself in *Pomp.* 52., where he says that Crassus did not leave Rome till the beginning of the following year.

² Plut. *Crass.* 16.; Dion. xxxix. 39.; Flor. iii. 11. 3., where the name Metellus is a mistake. The nobles affected to be displeased with the extravagant zeal of their friend. But Cicero, in a letter to Atticus (iv. 13.), contrasts the slender attendance of friends and well-wishers at Crassus's departure with the enthusiasm which was manifested when Æmilius Paulus left the city to undertake the war against Perseus, king of Macedonia.

³ Cic. *de Divin.* ii. 40. Probably the sound was *Caf'neas*.

Crassus himself was full of confidence and arrogant levity. Deiotarus, king of Galatia, an aged and faithful ally of the Roman people, was building a city in the route of the proconsul. Crassus mocked him for undertaking such an enterprise in his old age. *And thou, too, returned the veteran, art far advanced in years to lead an expedition against the Parthians.*¹

The Roman, indeed, did not delay an instant in making his first campaign. He crossed the Euphrates, and accepted the submission of some towns in Mesopotamia. One place, before which a party of his troops had met with a check, he stormed and ransacked, and was well pleased to receive, for so trifling an exploit, the acclamations of his army and the applau-
Crassus crosses the Euphrates, and gains some trifling successes.
A. U. 700.
B. C. 54.

dition of Imperator. But he was soon satisfied with his success, and, instead of pushing forward upon the centre of the enemy's power, returned indolently to his province; thus allowing the Parthians, irritated but not seriously injured, to complete their preparations for repelling a second attack. The rule of an upstart race of barbarians fretted the pride of the great old-world cities of Seleucia and Babylon. The first object of an invader, according to the military critics of antiquity, should have been to present himself before their walls, and proclaim himself the deliverer of voluptuous civilization from the yoke of the rude mountaineers.² During the remainder of the year, the seven-hundredth from the foundation of the city, Crassus occupied himself with the civil affairs of his province, or rather with the extortion and accumulation of treasure. In the pursuit of his object he committed various acts of sacrilege, to the horror of the natives, who care-

¹ Crassus was sixty years of age, and his appearance was still older. Plut. *Crass.* 17.; *App. Hist. Rer. Parth.* This work cannot be considered genuine, and is almost a verbal transcript of Plutarch.

² Plut. *Crass.* 27.: Βαβυλωνος καὶ Σελευκειας, δυσμενῶν ἄει τοῖς Πάρθοις πόλεων. Dion, xl. 13.: τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συστρατευσάντων σφίσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄποικοι πολλοὶ, βία ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὡς καὶ φιλέλληνας πολλὰ ἐλπίζοντες, οὐκ ἀκουσίως μεθίσταντο.

fully registered the omens which portended the vengeance of the gods.¹ He was joined by his son, the gallant lieutenant of Cæsar, with a body of one thousand cavalry from Gaul, a present from the one triumvir to the other. The most experienced of his officers was C. Cassius Longinus, a soldier of approved skill and courage. Thus supported, with an army duly disciplined and equipped, he continued to indulge in sanguine confidence regarding the result of the campaign which he projected for the following year. The character of the Parthian warfare, which became so terrible to the Romans, was as yet little known to them; but the Persian arrow, they might remember, had been no match for the Macedonian sarissa. They had not yet learned to distinguish the mail-clad horsemen of Parthia from the loose-garbed and effeminate human herds which Xerxes had driven with whips before him, which Agesilaus had scattered with a handful of Spartan infantry, or which Alexander had chased from the Hellespont to the Hyphasis.²

While Crassus was collecting his forces from their winter

¹ Crassus seized without remorse the treasures amassed in the temple of Dereeto or Atargatis, in Hierapolis. (Plut. *Crass.* 27.; Strab. xvi. 1. 4.) He made a journey to Jerusalem on purpose to rifle the temple. Its wealth was computed at ten thousand talents. Eleazar the high-priest tried to save it by the offer of a costly bribe. Crassus took the bribe and the treasure both. Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 7. 1., *B. Jud.* i. 7. 8.

² Compare the speech of Lentulus in Lucan's poem (viii. 331. &c.), which seems to express a revival of the contemptuous and unfounded prejudices of the Romans, after the defeat of Crassus had been effaced from their recollection:

" Illie et laxas vestes et fluxa virorum
Velamenta vides."

The bow was stigmatized as a cowardly and effeminate weapon compared with the sword:

" Ensis habet vires, et gens quæcunque virorum est
Bella gerit gladiis."

One disadvantage it had:

" Nam Medos prælia prima
Exarmant, vaeuæque jubent remeare pharetræ."

No Roman would have escaped from the field of Carrhæ if the Parthians could have maintained a close blockade of the exhausted legions.

quarters, Orodes, the king of the Parthians, sent ambassadors to complain of the sudden aggression upon his territories, or, more properly, upon those of Abgarus, king of Osrhoene, a dependency of the Seleucian crown. But their commission was not so much to negotiate with the Roman proconsul as to defy him. The Parthians seem to have been informed of the dislike with which the proceedings of Crassus were viewed by the Roman senate. An attempt had lately been made in that assembly to obtain the proconsul's recall from his province, which was foiled by the interference of Pompeius, seconded by a speech from Cicero.¹ The Parthians affected to draw a distinction between the republic herself and the marauder who had insulted them. With the former, they said, they were prepared to wage war to extremity, if challenged to the field; but if the enterprize were merely the personal act of the old man before them, they would not condescend to harm a hair of his head, but would contemptuously send him back the garrisons he had left beyond the Euphrates. Crassus retorted with the usual taunt of inexperienced commanders; he would discuss these matters in their capital. Wagises, an aged Parthian, pointed to the smooth palm of his hand, and said that hair should sooner grow there than the Romans ever see Seleucia.²

The confidence these expressions indicated was not belied by the power and resolution with which it was backed.

Some of the Roman detachments stationed beyond the Euphrates were soon compelled to abandon their posts, and came flying into the camp.

They described the vigorous character of the enemy who had assailed them, the deadliness of his assault, the fruitlessness of pursuing him, the unerring aim of his arrows, the impenetrability of his armour. The Parthians were evidently a people very different in character from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had so easily routed. These reports caused much uneasiness in the Roman quarters, and

Embassy of the Parthians, and mutual defiance, A. U. 701. B. C. 53.

Advice of Cassius and Artabazes regarding the conduct of the campaign.

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* v. 8.

² Plut. *Crass.* 18.

Cassius thus early warned his leader of the perils of the enterprise he was about to undertake. But Crassus gave no heed to the warning. Artabazes, the king of Armenia, came into his presence with the offer of all the resources of his country. He promised the assistance of ten thousand cavalry equipped in complete armour, and of thirty thousand infantry; at the same time he strongly urged him to direct his march through his own friendly territories, well supplied with water and provisions, and abounding in hills and streams, which would baffle the dreaded manœuvres of the Parthian horsemen.¹ By this route he would reach the upper waters of the Tigris, from whence he might descend to Seleucia through a fertile and practicable country. But Crassus, though well pleased with the zeal of his ally, would brook no delay, nor adopt a circuitous line of march: moreover he represented that he had still some troops left in occupation of outposts beyond the Euphrates, and these he was hastening to support.

The writers from whom we derive our accounts of the campaign that followed, lived at least two centuries after the date of the events they relate; and even if the sources from which they drew their materials were trustworthy and accurate, they may very probably have confused and disfigured their statements from their own want of critical spirit. Accordingly, their narratives correspond very imperfectly with the geography of the country through which they profess to guide us. The district of Osrhoene, which comprehends undoubtedly the

Different routes open to the choice of an invading army.

¹ Comp. Lucean, *l. c.* :

“ Parthus per Medica rura,
Sarmaticos inter campos, effusaque plano
Tigridis arva solo, nulli superabilis hosti est
Libertate fugæ: sed non, ubi terra tumebit,
Aspera conscendet montis juga, nee per opacas
Bella geret latebras, incerto debilis areu:
Nec franget nando violenti vorticis amnem.” . .

Yet the Parthians came originally from a hilly country, and the mail-clad cavalry of Armenia, as well as the modern Belooches, were accustomed to mountain warfare.

whole of the route we wish to trace, was confined on the north by the line of the Mons Masius, or Karahjah Dag, running directly east and west from the Tigris to the Euphrates, in the parallel of Samosata. The latter of these rivers bounds it to the west and south, as far as its confluence with the Chaboras, which may be considered as the eastern limit of the district. The great highway from Asia Minor to the cities of Persia lay through the town of Zeugma, on the Euphrates, which derived its name from the bridge by which the opposite banks were there connected, and which, in Rome's most prosperous times, when she granted terms to the prostrate empires of the East, was complimented with the pompous title of the Route of Peace.¹ The modern village of Roum Kale (the Roman castle) still marks its site, but the caravans now cross the river a few miles lower down at Birs. From Zeugma a military way was directed due east to Edessa, the modern Orfa, the Ur of Scripture, where the king of Osrhoene held his court. At a later period this position became, in the hands of the Romans, the key of Parthia and Armenia. From hence the road branched into two lines: the one continued in an easterly direction to Nisibis and Nineveh, on the Tigris, and here was the point of departure either for Seleucia or Ecbatana; the other struck more southward, ran through Carrhæ, then turned due south, skirting the little stream Balissus, till it reached the Euphrates at Nicephorium. From this point it was carried on nearly parallel to the banks of that river, and at last terminated at Seleucia, after crossing the narrowest part of the isthmus which separates the Euphrates from the Tigris. These highways were the work of a later age, when the power of Rome was established through the whole of Mesopotamia; but they were laid out, in all probability, in the line of the much more ancient routes frequented in the time of Crassus. It was along one or other

¹ Stat. *Sylv.* iii. 2. 137.: "Zeugma Latinæ Pacis iter." The bridge was originally constructed for the transport of Alexander's army across the Euphrates. Dion, xl. 17.: Kinneir, *Geographical Memoir*, 316. The Euphrates there is deep and rapid and about 130 yards broad.

of these lines, therefore, that we should expect to trace the march of the invading army. In later times Trajan entered Parthia by the northern, and Julian by the southern route;¹ but Crassus, according to our historians, followed neither. We have no choice, but to consider the main incidents of their narrative correct, and we must be content with remarking, as we pass, the minor inconsistencies by which it is encumbered.

The proconsul had collected his troops together, seven legions strong, at Zeugma. Once more the superstition of the soldiers was busy in collecting omens of disaster. Thunders and lightnings, with tempests of wind and rain, gave a gloomy presage of ill-success.² The bridge broke under the weight of the army and its baggage, at which the troops were much disheartened. But the actions of their leader and the expressions which fell from him were peculiarly significant and unlucky. Crassus, intending to return from the conquests he anticipated by the route of Armenia, paid no attention to the calamity, and uttered the unconscious prophecy, that none of his soldiers would want that bridge again. So, too, in sacrificing, he let the sacred fragments of the victim fall from his hand. Instead of hastening to recover them, and avert the omen by appropriate formulas, he only smiled, and remarked with levity, *See the infirmity of age!*³

Discouragement of the Roman army.

As soon as the Roman army had reached the left bank of the Euphrates, it proceeded, if we are correctly informed, not to take the road to Edessa, but to skirt the river for some way down.⁴ If the object of the gen-

Preparations of the Parthians.

¹ Mannert, v. 2. p. 200.; Francke, *Gesch. Trajans*, p. 277.; Ammian. xiii. 3. D'Anville's work on the Euphrates and Tigris is of great service in tracing the ancient geography, but his map is extremely incorrect as regards the course of the former river. That which is appended to Kinneir's *Journey through Armenia, &c.*, seems much more trustworthy.

² The Euphrates is subject to violent hurricanes. It was in one of these that Captain Chesney's vessel was lost on his expedition to explore the navigation of that river.

³ Plut. *Crass.* 19.: τοιοῦτον τὸ γῆρας.

⁴ The force which crossed the Euphrates amounted to seven legions with

eral had been to give confidence and support to garrisons stationed along its course, as, for instance, at Barbalissus and Nicephorium, that object, it would seem, might have been more readily attained by approaching the river at the spot nearest to Antioch, his original point of departure, without making a circuit so inconvenient. There could have been no difficulty in throwing a bridge of boats across the stream at either of those places. The counsel of Artabazes having been altogether disregarded, the skill and experience of Cassius now suggested the most feasible alternative, the plan of the campaign. Cassius recommended his leader to keep along the bank of the Euphrates, by which means he could ensure a constant supply of provisions from the flotilla which was in readiness to accompany him, and secure himself against being surrounded. At the same time he advised him to move slowly and with circumspection, not to trust to the rumours which flowed into the camp of the disappearance and meditated flight of the Parthians, but to keep under the shelter of some of his fortified posts till the plans of the enemy could be fully ascertained. The fact was, as Cassius anticipated, that the Parthians designed to maintain the defensive, and did not choose to meet the invaders in a pitched battle on equal terms. It was their object to lead the Roman army into the sandy plains which intervene between the two rivers, and there hang loosely upon their skirts, till heat, fatigue and want should anticipate the work of the sword. They found an instrument for their design in Abgarus,¹ the Osrohenian, who attended the

Their stratagem to mislead the enemy.

about four thousand cavalry, and as many light-armed troops. Plut. *Crass.* 20. Appian (*B. C.* iii. 18.) raises the number to 100,000 men, and Florus to eleven legions (iii. 11.).

¹ He is called by Dion *Αὔγαρος*, i. e. Abgarus; by the Pseudo-Appian, *Ἀκβαρος*, in which we may, perhaps, recognize the modern Akhbar. This word is said to be a royal title, signifying "great." Several of the name are mentioned in this and the following century as kings of Edessa. Plutarch gives this personage the name of Ariamnes; he also uses the form *Ἰρώδης* for Orodes.

march of the Roman legions, and wormed himself into their leader's confidence by specious professions of gratitude for the favours he had received from Pompeius. He assured the proconsul that Orodes, despairing of the defence of his country, had left two of his satraps, Surenas and Sillaces, to make a show of resistance, while he was himself in full retreat for Scythia or Hyrcania, carrying off with him all the treasures he could hastily remove. Any appearance, he said, of hesitation on the part of the Romans might restore his confidence, but a sudden and direct march upon Seleucia would at the moment meet with no effectual opposition. In fact, whether through fear of the Romans, or to show his contempt for them in the most striking manner, Orodes had undertaken himself to chastise the insolence of their Armenian ally, leaving the brunt of the invasion to be sustained by his satraps. But this division of his forces was calculated to lull the enemy into security, and entice him to a perilous movement, where the nature of the country and climate would arm the Parthians with irresistible weapons. Surenas ranked next to the king in birth, wealth and distinction.¹ He was the most eminent of his nation for valour and abilities, nor had he an equal in strength and beauty of person. He went forth, whether in peace or war, with an equipage of one thousand camels, and his wives and concubines followed him in a train of two hundred chariots. His body-guard consisted of one thousand horsemen in mail, and a still greater number of light-armed. His rank and relationship to the throne entitled him to place the diadem on the head of the sovereign. It was to him that Orodes owed his restoration to the supreme power, from which he had been formerly expelled by his own subjects. Surenas had reconquered Seleucia by his own personal valour, and though not yet thirty years of age, he added to all these claims to honour the reputation of the highest wisdom in council and craft in the face of the enemy.

¹ Plut. *Crass.* 21. 24. It seems probable that Surenas, like Abgarus, was a title, and not an appellative.

Surenas, the Parthian general.

Abgarus, it seems, found no difficulty in persuading the infatuated Roman to abandon the line of the Euphrates, and strike into the plains which separate it from the Tigris, in the face of this formidable opponent. The general character of the country from Zeugma to the Chaboras is both level and sandy, but its barrenness is relieved by patches of cultivated and abundantly fertile soil. Nor are there wanting both streams and wells to supply it with water. There seems, therefore, to be no serious impediment to the progress either of a caravan or an army as far as the river Chaboras, beyond which lies the great desert of Sinjar.¹ It is highly improbable that the army of Crassus ever penetrated into this further region, and we cannot resist the suspicion that the common traditions, upon which the historians relied, ascribed to its march far greater difficulties and privations than it really encountered. Soon after leaving the river side, it is said, the country lost every appearance of habitation and fertility. Boundless tracts of light moving sand presented themselves to the eye, without shade or water, undulating like the waves of the sea. The heat was intense, and the spirits of the soldiers sank under the daily repetition of fatigue without refreshment. Artabazes, harassed by the attack of Orodes, excused himself from despatching the promised reinforcements, and intreated the Roman general to turn his course in the direction of Armenia. Crassus denounced the unfortunate prince as a traitor, and threatened him with the vengeance of the republic as soon as he should have leisure to execute it. His conduct to Cassius was marked with contemptuous disregard, and the officers, who foresaw the perils into which they were hurrying, had no other resource than to wreak their ill-humour in bitter reproaches against Abgarus, who retorted with the coolest assurance, asking if they had expected to make a holiday excursion among shady groves and fountains, in a country of baths and hostelries, like their own Campania. At last,

¹ This is the great desert of Mesopotamia, which Strabo describes as lying beyond the Chaboras (xvi. 1.).

The Roman
army is misled
by the treach-
ery of Abgarus.

on pretence of executing some secret services, he quitted the Roman camp, and escaped from the hands of the enemy whom he had entrapped into the desert.¹

It is evident from this account of Plutarch that he considers the expedition to have proceeded several days' march from the point where it left the beaten route to the next locality which he mentions, the passage of the river Balissus. It was here that Crassus was informed by the piquets which he had sent forward that the Parthians were collected in his front in much greater force than he had been led to expect. If this, then, was the extreme limit of his onward progress, he had not left the Euphrates above fifty miles in a straight line behind him; he had not set foot in the sandy desert at all; nor had he given any indication that he meant to pursue a route through the centre of Mesopotamia, for at this point he had not abandoned the highway that leads from Edessa to Nicephorium and Seleucia. We must either consent to regard the whole account we have received of Crassus's errors and misconduct as unworthy of credit, and the charges against him unproved, or we must apply a correction to Plutarch's geography, and believe that he should have pointed out, not the Balissus, but one of the branches, probably the more western, of the Chaboras, for the spot where the army prepared for combat. However this may be, we now find Crassus taken by surprise, and his army thrown at once into confusion. Hasty preparations were made to meet the enemy; the order of battle was a deep square of four fronts, with twelve cohorts on each side, supported by a body of cavalry not only on the flanks, but also in front and rear. A moment only was allowed for refreshment on the bank of the rivulet, contrary to the advice of the most experienced officers, who recommended a halt and an encampment for the night. The troops pushed on till they came in sight of the advancing columns of the Parthian cavalry. The enemy had adopted measures to conceal their numbers till the Romans had come

Geographical difficulties respecting the line of Crassus's march.

¹ Plut. *Crass.* 22.

close upon them. When the whole of their forces were revealed, with their sweeping clouds of cavalry, glittering, man and horse, in brilliant armour, their banners waving with silk and gold, and the loud clang of their kettle-drums uttering discordant music to European ears,¹ the Romans were appalled at the sudden discovery of their numbers and resolution.

The Roman
and Parthian
armies engage.

Nevertheless, wearied and breathless as they were, they were compelled immediately to accept the proffered combat. The shower of arrows with which the Parthians began the fray pierced the armour of the legionary through and through. It nailed his buckler to his arm, and his feet to the ground. Thus far indeed he suffered no worse than the ordinary peril to which he was exposed from the first discharge of the skirmishers at the commencement of a battle, except that the Parthian arrow was a missile of unusual strength and sharpness. But the Parthian bowman was mounted, and the Roman foot-soldier in vain attempted to close with him. He could shoot as well in the retreat as the charge, and the onset of infantry threw him into no confusion, and afforded not an instant's relief. His quiver was no sooner exhausted than he repaired to his camels in the rear, and quickly reappeared with his stock replenished. Crassus perceived the necessity of employing his cavalry to disperse the enemy, but their numbers were inadequate to such a service. He directed his son Publius to charge, and the gallant young soldier obeyed with too eager alacrity. The Parthians gave way, and led him on till they had withdrawn him far from the support of the main body, when they wheeled about, surrounded and easily overpowered his scanty squadrons. Young Crassus fought with resolution to the last, and when every hope of victory or rescue had vanished, caused himself to be slain by his shield-

¹ Compare Flor. iii. 11. 8., and Plut. *Crass.* 24. Milton (*Parad. Regained*, iii.) has amassed from the historians and grouped with poetic brilliance the characteristics of Parthian warfare :

“He look'd and saw what numbers numberless,” &c.

bearer. The father had been flattering himself that the field so suddenly cleared by his son's impetuous charge was already his own. He was awakened from his dream by the return of the Parthians, shouting aloud in triumphant exultation, and brandishing the head of their victim on a pike. Crassus stifled his grief and horror with an effort of despair. He hurried from cohort to cohort, uttering such customary words of encouragement as his alarm or sorrow allowed. The death of Publius, he said, was the loss of a son to his father, but only of a citizen to the republic. But spiritless himself, he was incapable of infusing spirit. The Parthians continued throughout the day to harass the Roman army by a repetition of their usual manœuvres. It was not till nightfall that they allowed them any respite. Not being accustomed to construct camps, they never passed the night in the immediate neighbourhood of an enemy, but retired to a distance, leaving the Romans to make what use they could of the few hours which would intervene before their reappearance. Crassus himself, overwhelmed with grief and mortification, if not with fear, was incapable of suggesting any counsel or adopting any resolution. Cassius and the other officers promptly set him aside, and took upon themselves to give the necessary orders. They determined to retreat without a moment's delay. Compelled to leave behind them the wounded, these unfortunate victims, hopeless of receiving quarter, uttered such piercing shrieks as to reach the ears of the Parthian spies, who guessed the cause and reported it. Immediately the horsemen sprang to their saddles, and speedily overtook the retiring legions. But it would seem that their horses, after a long day's service, were unable to keep pace with the headlong rush of desperate men. News of the disaster was speedily conveyed to Carrhæ, and the Roman garrison which was there stationed issued forth to succour and rescue the remnant of the flying army, which it conducted to an asylum of rest and safety. The Parthians contented themselves with the plunder of the camp and the slaughter of the wounded,

Death of the younger Crassus, and retreat of the Romans.

They take refuge in Carrhæ.

together with all the stragglers they could intercept, to the number of several thousands.¹

A report was spread in the cantonments that Crassus and the principal leaders had abandoned the routed army and effected their escape. Surenas was especially anxious to seize the person of the proconsul, for, according to Oriental notions, the death or captivity of the leader was generally considered decisive of the war. Accordingly, he would have pushed forward in pursuit, and left the fugitives behind him in Carrhæ, had he not obtained by a stratagem the information he sought. Having ascertained that Crassus was within the walls, he collected his forces and determined to beleaguer the place. But the Parthian tactics were not adapted either to the siege or the blockade. The Romans, distrusting their slight fortifications, or unprovided with the means of subsistence, or more than ever anxious to get within their own frontier, escaped from the fortress by night. Each officer

The Roman army abandons Carrhæ, and disperses in several directions.

seems to have been allowed to make the best of his way with his own division; no attempt was made to conduct the retreat in concert. Cassius succeeded in crossing the Euphrates with a small body of horse; Octavius, with a larger division, reached the outskirts of the Armenian hills, and was almost beyond pursuit, when the imminent danger to which the proconsul was exposed behind him induced him to quit his vantage ground, and descend to save or perish with his general. The Parthians had come up with Crassus, and were pressing closely both upon his rear and flanks. Yet a few hours more, and the shades of evening would receive him within the mountain fastnesses, among which the cavalry of his pursuers would cease to be formidable. Surenas beheld his prey on the point of eluding his grasp; courage and audacity could hardly secure it, cunning and treachery might yet prevail. He allowed some of his prisoners to escape, after duly preparing them for his purpose, by discoursing in their presence of the goodness and placability of Orodes, and assuring them

¹ Plut. *Crass.* 27.; Dion, xl. 25.; Flor. iii. 11. 8.

that the Parthians would be satisfied with fair and reasonable terms of accommodation. At the same time he sent messengers to Crassus to propose a capitulation. The escaped prisoners repaired to the camp of their countrymen, and spread among them their own conviction of the good faith and moderation of the enemy. Crassus had the sense to distrust their representations; but the army became clamorous, and began to threaten violence, shaking their arms in a tumultuary manner. The proconsul believed himself compelled to yield, though not without protesting to his officers that he was coerced by the insubordination of his own soldiers, the greatest disgrace that could befall an emperor. The Parthian chieftain made the fairest professions, and arranged that the meeting between them should take place in the company of a few chosen officers on each side. The Roman emperor approached, attended by his staff, but all, it would appear, disarmed and dismounted. Crassus was received at first with the highest demonstrations of respect, and Surenas, according to the Parthian custom, ordered a horse with golden housings to be brought forward for his use. The proconsul would have sent for his own charger, but the Parthian offered him one of his own in the name of Orodes the king. The feeble and bewildered old man was lifted abruptly into the saddle, and the Parthian grooms began to goad the steed and urge him towards the enemy. The attendants of Crassus vainly endeavoured to arrest his doom. Octavius and another officer named Petronius seized the reins, while others attempted to cut them. Confusion ensued, and blows were interchanged. Octavius seized a Parthian's sword, and slew one of the grooms, but was immediately cut down by a blow from behind. In the fray Crassus himself received a mortal wound from the hand of a Parthian named Pomaxaithras. Such was the most credible account of the matter, but nothing certain was known. Others of the Romans fell also in the scuffle; the remainder escaped to the army, and the Parthians now suffered the fugitives to make

Stratagem of Surenas to engage Crassus in conference.

A fray ensues. Crassus and Octavius are killed.

their way unmolested to the hills. Many, indeed, surrendered to Surenas, who assured them that with the death of their general hostilities should cease. We do not hear that they received any ill-treatment; though, from the temper in which, as we shall see, the remains of Crassus were insulted, we cannot suppose that they met with the respect due to honourable captives. Detained for years among their foreign captors, they ended with adopting their customs and manners, intermarried with the families of the barbarians, and renounced the country of their ancestors.¹ It was calculated that twenty thousand men perished in this calamitous expedition, and that half that number were made prisoners.

The victor sent the head and hand of Crassus to Orodes; but he would have been better pleased to have conducted his prisoner alive into the royal presence, as he is said to have promised. He amused his soldiers, and gratified his own vanity, by the performance of a ceremony in mockery of a Roman triumph. The proconsul was represented by one of the captives, who was supposed to bear some personal resemblance to him. The substitute was tawdrily arrayed in female garments, and compelled to answer to the title of Imperator, with which his fellow-prisoners were ordered to address him. The voluptuous and dissipated habits attributed to Crassus and his officers were made subjects of scornful ridicule, and the licentious books which were found in the Roman tents were paraded with a mockery of indignation.² It seems that the Parthians were well pleased to offer such a spectacle to their effeminate

The Parthians amuse their subjects with the spectacle of a mock triumph.

¹ Hor. *Od.* iii. 5. 5. :

“Milesne Crassi conjuge barbarâ
Turpis maritus vixit,” &c.

And according to Velleius ii. 82. and Florus iv. 10. M. Antonius, in his campaign of A. U. 718, found prisoners from the army of Crassus in the Parthian service. Compare Justin, xlii. 5. The day of Crassus's death, vi. Id. Jun. or June 8, is fixed by Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 465. See Fischer, p. 253.

² It should be observed, however, that Crassus himself was unstained with the grosser vices of his class: “Vir cætera sanctissimus, immunisque voluptatibus.” Vell. ii. 46.

Greek subjects: but they, on their part, failed to draw the inference which their masters intended, and thought it inconsistent in Surenas to deride the licentiousness of the Romans, when he was himself accompanied to the field by his battalion of concubines, and rejoiced in the lewd music and dancing of a train of slaves, and when the throne of the Arsacidæ was so often filled by the offspring of strange and disgraceful alliances. They compared, indeed, his array to the figure of a viper, bristling in front with its armed warriors and horses, but disgusting and squalid behind, with its train of women, with their timbrels, and songs, and bacchanalian orgies.¹

While these events were in progress, Orodes came to terms with the Armenian Artabazes, and accepted the hand of his daughter for his own son Pacorus. This auspicious union received new lustre from the triumph of Surenas. The festivals with which it was celebrated were fashioned upon Grecian models; so soon had the rude descendants of Arsaces resigned themselves to the fascinating luxuries of their semi-Hellenic capital. Orodes was well skilled in the language and literature of Greece; Artabazes even composed tragedies after the Grecian model, and wrote historical works in that tongue. When the head of Crassus was brought to the door of the banquetting hall, a Greek actor from Tralles began to recite appropriate verses from the Bacchanals of Euripides; when the bloody trophy was thrown at the feet of the assembled guests, he seized it in his hands, and enacted with it the frenzy of Agave and the mutilation of Pentheus. The story that molten gold was poured into the mouth of the avaricious Roman is not mentioned by Plutarch, from whom we receive such minute details of the insults practised on his remains. But the testimony of an earlier writer shows that it was already currently reported,² nor is there any improbability in the circumstance to induce us to disbelieve it.

Indignities offered to the remains of Crassus.

¹ Plut. *Crass.* 32.

² Florus, iii. 11. 11., at the end of Trajan's reign, about one hundred and seventy years after the event. The commentators on this passage have

Such was the end of the unfortunate triumvir. It was many years since a Roman proconsul had thus miserably perished at the head of an army which he had led to destruction. The names of Carrhæ and Cannæ were coupled together on the bloodiest page of the national annals. The fate of the general was held up by poets and historians as a beacon for the warning of ambitious statesmen, and possibly his errors were magnified to screen the want of conduct and discipline in the licentious armies of the east. Not a single voice has been raised through all ages in lamentation over his untimely death, except in so far as it tended to precipitate the confusion of his country's affairs, and the overthrow of her constitution. But the son deserves at least to be exempted from the pitiless scorn which clings for ever to the name of the father, and to be honoured as the gallant Lausus of Roman history.¹ Enough that his memory has found a shrine in the pages of the philosopher whom he most revered, and of the commander whom he strove to imitate.²

At Rome the year 701 had opened with an interregnum, which was itself an important step in the direction in which the intrigues of Pompeius pointed. The interreges were assigned by a committee consisting of the patrician members of the senate.³ Each interrex in turn held the office for five days only; and the principal object of their appointment was

A. U. 701.
B. C. 53.
Interregnum:
the tribunes
prevent the
election of con-
suls.

collected several analogous stories from Appian, Pliny, Justin, Zosimus, and more modern writers.

¹ Virg. *Æn.* x. 811.:

“Quo moriture ruis, majoraque viribus audes?

Fallit te incautum pietas tua.”

² Cie. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 9.: “P. Crassus, adolescens nostri studiosissimus.” *Ad Div.* v. 8.: “Hoc magis sum Publico deditus quod me maxime sicut alterum parentem et observat et diligit.” *Ad Div.* xiii. 16.: “P. Crassum ex omni nobilitate adoleseentem dilexi plurimum.” Compare *Brut.* 81.: “Erat eum institutus optime tum etiam perfecte planeque eruditus; ineratque et ingenium satis aere, et orationis non inelegans eopia; prætereaque sine arrogantia gravis esse videbatur et sine segnitia verecundus.” See also Cæs. *B. G.* i. 52., ii. 34., iii. 7.

³ Aseon. *arg. in Milon.* init.

understood to be that they might summon and preside over the comitia for the election of consuls. They discharged, however, in the mean time, the general functions of the chief magistrates. But a power so limited in duration was merely nominal. The executive was paralysed, and almost every one was interested in devising means to terminate so disastrous an interruption to the ordinary course of affairs. The cry for a dictatorship rose more and more loud above the murmurs of personal and party interests, for it was only by the creation of a supreme autocrat that the free-state had provided for disentangling the most desperate complications of her affairs. Pompeius affected indifference, and pretended to keep aloof from the confusion, but his creatures were labouring actively in his behalf. The nobles were full of apprehension and anxiety. Cato unravelled and denounced the plot against the liberties of the commonwealth; Cicero was silent.¹ In the mean time the tribunes, or some at least of their number, continued to play into the hands of the triumvir, by obstinately opposing all attempts to assemble the comitia. In former times, the appointment of interreges had been an object of traditional jealousy to the protectors of the plebs, inasmuch as the constitution allowed the plebeians no share in their election.² But now they not only acquiesced in that temporary arrangement, but seemed resolved to perpetuate it, until the senate should be compelled to resort to the creation of an irresponsible ruler. The nobles, however, held out with more than usual firmness, and even took the vigorous step of imprisoning one of the tribunes, Q. Pompeius Rufus, a grandson of Sulla, whose hostile proceedings were the most violent. To put this bold stroke in execution, they were enabled to employ the strong arm of the triumvir himself. In the absence of consuls and prætors, the tribunes, who since the abrogation of Sulla's enactments, had been constantly encroaching upon the functions of the other magistrates, undertook almost the entire management of the affairs of the city.

¹ Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* iii. 9. : "Ego quiesco."

² Liv. iv. 43. : "Coire patricos tribuni prohibebant."

Even Pompeius was offended at their insolent usurpations. The absence of his colleagues, and the disruption of the peculiar ties which bound him to Cæsar,¹ gave a freer scope to the aristocratic prejudices of his youth. He was already revolving in his mind the expediency of returning to his former alliances, when he consented to become the instrument of the senate in thus chastising tribunitian dictation.² He waited

Pompeius at length interposed, and consuls are elected

for the most graceful opportunity for offering his mediation, and interfered at last to bring the matter to a decision, by prevailing on his own friends to give way, and consent to the election of consuls.³

The ostensible causes of its postponement had vanished, and the ground being cleared, it was only decent in one so studious of appearances to prepare the foundation of a new edifice. The Silent Judgment which the senate had instituted upon the conduct of the several candidates had been put off on various excuses, till the public had ceased to be interested in its prosecution; the competitors stood with erect front before the people whose suffrages they demanded; Cicero himself had defended and obtained the acquittal of Æmilius Scaurus; perjury and corruption raised their heads triumphantly; and it might be expected with reason that no public man would ever be condemned again, except upon a charge of murder.⁴ The election fell upon Cn. Domitius

¹ Pompeius was the more free to act without deferring to Cæsar at this moment because he had just lent him one of his own proconsular legions. Cæs. B. G. vi. 1.; Dion, xl. 65. Plutarch (*Cæs.* 25.) says two, but this is an error.

² But such a violation of the sacred person of the tribune must have been an act of flagrant illegality, and we look in vain for any further explanation of the circumstances. The story is told by Dion, xl. 45.

³ Plut. *Pomp.* 54.: αἰδεσθεὶς ἐπεμελήθη. Dion, xl. 46. This writer is incorrect in saying that the dictatorship was offered to Pompeius: the offer was proposed by Luceius Hirrus, one of the tribunes, but the question was never formally entertained. Among other suggestions of the tribunes, one was to return to the government by military tribunes, a board of several members. Perhaps it was this that induced Pompeius to take the part of the senate.

⁴ This was Cicero's own remark at the beginning of these proceedings (*ad Att.* iv. 16.).

Calvinus and M. Valerius Messala, who at last entered upon their office in the seventh month of the year.¹

Although the blow had thus been averted for a moment, yet the opinion was rapidly gaining ground, in the midst of these dissensions, that affairs were tending irresistibly to the creation of a dictator. The powers of the state could not long exist by the mere counteraction and collision of one with another. The strength of their materials was too sorely tried. The genuine patriotism and singleness of purpose through which alone, and by no nice adjustment of its functions and forces, the machine of government had in reality been in ancient times preserved, were found to have given way altogether. The constitution of the commonwealth stood in need of an organic change; the exorbitant power of individuals could only be balanced by conferring an adequate share of political importance on the wealth and intelligence of a lower class. Probably the establishment of a permanent military police, such as that which the emperors afterwards maintained in the city, was absolutely necessary to secure the freedom of councils and elections; yet the hand to which this force was intrusted could hardly fail to establish a monarchical domination.

What was it then that still retarded a consummation which seemed so imminent? It would appear that Cicero and the more moderate politicians whom he represented would have acquiesced in the temporary appointment of a dictator, according to the old traditional policy of the state, as at least a necessary evil, fondly blinding themselves to the risk of its becoming perpetual. The knights and others of the middle class would doubtless expect the vigour of an irresponsible governor to overflow in measures for the elevation of their own order. The multitude, always apt to applaud a striking change, had no longer that apprehension of a dictator which he was wont to inspire when he was the instrument of the

in the seventh month of the year.

General opinion of the necessity of a dictator.

It is only retarded by the recollection of the proscriptions of Sulla.

¹ Dion, xl. 45.

patricians for overruling the insolence of the tribunes. Even the nobles might have remembered that the last dictatorship had been the creation of their own hands, and all its measures directed to their own aggrandizement. Pompeius, however much he had wavered in their cause, was still the pupil, the follower, the admirer of Sulla, the heir to his fame, to his army, to his political career. Besides, the cautious decorum with which he had conducted himself for many years had secured him the reputation, however unmerited, of moderation and humanity, and he might be expected to make a mild, perhaps a bloodless use of absolute authority. Nevertheless, it was from the nobles that the opposition to this appointment principally came. The proscriptions of Sulla and Marius had made an indelible impression on the minds of the generation next succeeding. The dream of blood still flitted before their unclosed eyes; the name of dictator was indissolubly connected with the idea of unimaginable horrors.¹ The life of a citizen was still sacred in the eyes of the conquerors and butchers of the world. Could a Pompeius bear rule in a state in which a Cæsar was a subject? Unless the one were massacred, the other must be overthrown. Murder would succeed to murder, revolution would breed revolution. The door to violence being once opened could never be shut against the torrents of blood that would dash through it. The conviction was forced upon them that the question was not that of the appointment of a temporary dictator, but of a succession of tyrants.

The weight of these sentiments and reasonings was reinforced by the ponderous mass of selfish voluptuousness, which, with no extended view of ulterior consequences, would not consent to relinquish or abridge its gratifications at the bidding of a social reformer. No aristocracy was ever more short-sighted at the crisis of its fate than the once glorious patriciate of Rome. It clung desperately to its privileges, not from a fond regard to their antiquity, or their connexion with any social or religious preju-

¹ Dion, xl. 45.: *πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Σύλλου ὀμότητα ἐμίσουν πάντες τὸ πολίτευμα.*

dices; disdained to invoke the watchwords of patriotism, or utility; it took up its ground upon the enactments which Sulla had made to enhance its own wealth and power, and depress those of its rivals, and contended with its assailants upon purely selfish considerations. Without a policy and without a leader the nobles went staggering onward in their blind conflict with the forces arrayed against them, and Pompeius, not daring to take the single step which still remained between him and the post he coveted, left every thing a prey to suspense and confusion. At last the force of circumstances had thrust the prize even to his feet; he gazed at it and sighed over it, but did not stoop to take it up.

The appointment of consuls had no effect in restoring public order. The senate indeed passed one decree, ostensibly of considerable importance, which forbade the consuls and prætors to assume the government of a province till the fifth year from the expiration of their office in the city.¹ It was hoped, perhaps, that this limitation would materially check the eagerness of the candidates.² This, however, was the only measure of reform that could be carried. The consuls and senate clad themselves publicly in mourning³ when they found that, as in previous years, it was impossible to effect the election of the ordinary magistrates. Among the various candidates, Milo sued for the consulship and Clodius for the prætorship: the violence of the one and the intriguing spirit of the other rendered any decision more than ever unattainable. The new year opened, like the preceding, with an interregnum. It was speedily distinguished from its predecessor by a flagrant crime and its long train of consequences. In the middle of January it happened that Milo was travelling along the Apian Way. He was accompanied in his carriage by his wife, a large retinue of servants was in attendance upon him, and he

Tranquillity
not restored by
the appoint-
ment of con-
suls.

¹ Dion, xl. 46.

² This judicious enactment we shall find revived under the imperial system of Augustus. Dion, liii. 14.

³ Dion, xl. 45.

was followed, according to his wont, by a troop of gladiators. The object of his journey was at least ostensibly peaceful, since he was on his way to perform certain ceremonies attached to his municipal dictatorship at Lanuvium. At a few miles' distance from the city he was met by Clodius, who was on horseback, with a small company of armed attendants. Such modes of travelling were not unusually adopted for the sake of security even in the neighbourhood of Rome; but the lives of men in the position of Milo and Clodius were never safe from sudden violence, and their journeying with military escorts could be no proof that their designs were sinister, or that the meeting was on either side premeditated. Cicero, in his defence of Milo, lays great stress on the nature of his retinue, which he adduces in proof that he had no intention of waylaying his enemy, while, on the other hand, he tries to fasten a suspicion of the kind on Clodius.

However this may be, a quarrel ensued between the servants on each side; blows were exchanged, and Clodius himself, wounded in the scuffle, took refuge in a tavern by the road side. The fury of Milo was ungovernable. Violence once committed, he resolved to carry it through. He attacked the house, caused his enemy to be dragged from his concealment, and slain. The corpse lay in the road, till it was picked up by a passing friend, and brought to Rome. The adherents of the murdered man exposed it to the view of the populace, who worked themselves into frenzy at the sight. A riot ensued; benches, books and papers were snatched from the curia in which the senate was wont to assemble, and the tumultuary pyre involved part of the forum in its conflagration.¹ The house of

Affray between
Clodius and
Milo:

Clodius slain:

Riot and con-
flagration in
the city.

¹ Dion, xl. 49.; App. *B. C.* ii. 21.; Ascon. *arg. in Milon.*: "Quo igne et ipsa quoque curia flagravit, et item Poreia basilica, quæ erat ei adjuncta, ambusta est." The burning of the Curia Hostilia and the adjoining buildings cleared the space for the improvements introduced afterwards by Cæsar. There was another great fire in the year 703, in the western part of the forum, that is, nearly on the same spot. Oros. vi. 13.

Milo and that of the interrex M. Lepidus were attacked, but the assailants were received with coolness and determination, and repulsed with bloodshed. So great was the popular clamour against the murderer that he dared not at first submit himself to trial. He was preparing to withdraw into voluntary exile; but his friends rallied about him; the violence of the Clodians worked some reaction of opinion in his favour,¹ and a majority of the tribunes was known to be generally favourable to his party. He was encouraged to remain in the city and try the effect of wholesale bribery, by distributing a largess among the poorer citizens.² But riot succeeded to riot, and the populace refused even to listen to the excuses which the culprit pleaded in his defence. The senate, crippled in its executive branch, felt its authority defied by both parties, whom it could neither mediate between nor confront before an equitable tribunal. It adopted the expedient of nominating a commission, consisting of the interrex, the tribunes and Pompeius, to whom it entrusted conjointly the solemn charge of providing for the safety of the state. Pompeius was allowed to collect a military force to overawe the turbulent multitude. The substance of the dictatorship was thus thrust into his hands; for what authority could his colleagues exert against the commander of an army at the gates, or even in the forum? Still, however, the title was withheld; some secret intrigues prevailed to thwart the cherished wish; still Pompeius hesitated to demand it. Cæsar had by this time arrived at Lucca, and was intently watching the crisis.³ His immediate vicinity gave a new stimulus to the efforts of the partizans, and honours were lavishly decreed him in acknowledgment of his late victories. So close at hand, the senate was apprehensive of his not only resenting the elevation of his rival to an avowed dictatorship,

A commission appointed for the trial of Milo. The substance of the dictatorship thrust into Pompeius' hands.

¹ Ascon. *l. c.*: "Incendium curiæ majorem aliquanto indignationem civitatis moverat quam Clodii cædes."

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 22.

³ Cæs. *B. G.* vi. ult.: "Ibi cognoscit de Clodii cæde."

but claiming a share in the consular dignity for himself. Accordingly, with the sanction of Cato and Bibulus, the nobles invented a middle way to reconcile the conflicting pretensions of the jealous allies, by refusing Pompeius the dictatorship, but decreeing his appointment as sole consul.¹

He is declared
sole consul.
A. U. 702.
B. C. 52.

Pompeius himself was absent from the city; but the public appearance of the candidate was dispensed with; the suffrages of the tribes were not solicited; it is even doubtful whether any forms of popular election were maintained.

The trial of Milo was the principal object for which these irregularities were committed, for it required extraordinary measures to give effect to judicial proceedings in such a case. The character of the accused and the influence which he exerted, combined with the ostentatious lawlessness of his enemies to make a fair decision hopeless. It was the part of a vigorous magistrate at least to repress violence, and for this purpose the consul did not hesitate to fill the avenues of the forum, and even the steps and porticoes of the temples which surrounded it, with files of soldiers,² a spectacle never before witnessed by Roman eyes. Cicero, on rising to defend the criminal, was assailed with such cries and menaces from the populace as almost to make him quail from the attempt. The sight of

¹ Dion, xl. 50.: τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὴν ὑπατείαν, ἕστε μὴ δικτάτωρα αὐτὸν λεχθῆναι, καὶ μόνῳ γε, ἵνα μὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ συνάρξῃ, δόντες. Appian. *B. C.* ii. 23.; Plut. *Pomp.* 54.; Liv. *Epit.* cvii.: "Cnæus Pompeius a senatu consul tertium factus est, absens et solus, quod nulli alii unquam contigit." To crown this series of irregularities it must be remembered that he was at the same time proconsul. On all these accounts Brutus brauded this appointment as a dictatorship, the assignment of irresponsible power by an irresponsible authority. Quintil. *Inst.* ix. 3. 95. quale apud Brutum *de dictatura Cn. Pompeii.*

² Plut. *Cic.* 34.; Schol. Bob. *in Milon.* p. 276.; Lucan, i. 319.:

"Quis castra timentī

Nescit mixta foro, gladii cum triste minantes
Judicium insolita trepidum cinxere corona,
Atque auso medias perrumpere milite leges
Pompeiana reum elausurunt signa Milonem?"

the consul's military dispositions was too novel and alarming to reassure him. He hurried through his speech, abashed and dispirited; his client lost his cause, and was condemned to banishment.¹ On returning to his own house Cicero recovered to a sense of the glorious opportunity he had lost, and sat down to compose the magnificent oration which has descended to posterity as his defence of Milo.² The orator had executed a splendid declamation, and his vanity prompted him to send it to his client at Massilia. The exile perused it, and replied that he esteemed himself fortunate that so convincing a speech had not actually been delivered, *else*, he said, *I should not be now enjoying the delicious mullets of this place*; a reply which may perhaps have passed with Cicero as a pleasant jest, but which, as Dion shrewdly remarks, must have been meant as a bitter sarcasm on the timidity of the orator in the forum and his vanity in the closet.³

Milo goes into exile. Speech of Cicero pro Milone.

¹ The judges, according to a new enactment of Pompeius, were selected by lot to the number of eighty-one; this number was reduced by challenge on either side to fifty-one. On this occasion their votes were given in the following proportions: Senatores condemnaverunt xii., absolverunt vi. Equites condemnaverunt xiii., absolverunt iv. Tribuni ærarii condemnaverunt xiii., absolverunt iii. Aseon. p. 53.

Immediately after his conviction on the charge *de vi*, Milo was accused of *ambitus*, and condemned in his absence. He was again accused *de sodalitiis*, of conspiracy, and condemned a third time.

² Dion, xl. 54.: χρόνω ποθ' ὕστερον καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ἀναθαρσῆσας ἔγραψε. The writer of the Scholia Bobiensia mentions that in his time the original speech was existing: "Existit alius præterea liber actorum pro Milone, in quo omnia interrupta et impolita et rudia, plena denique maximi terroris agnoseas." This must have been the "report" of the speech inserted perhaps in the Acta Diurna. See Leclerc's dissertation, *Journaux Publics chez les Romains*.

³ Dion, xl. 54.

HISTORY
OF
THE ROMANS

UNDER THE EMPIRE.

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WE have seen the death of Crassus begin to bear fruit in the mutual alienation of the surviving members of the triple league, and in the renewed approximation of Pompeius to the party from which he had been so long estranged. During the winter, Cæsar, from his retreat at Lucca, had been a close observer of this change in the political game, precipitated as it had been by the proceedings consequent upon the murder of Clodius. The sole consul had undertaken to maintain the position of the Roman oligarchy by an extensive conscription throughout Italy. At the decree of the great council of the nobles, the youth of the peninsula were marshalled in arms;

Cæsar's lenient policy towards the conquered states of Gaul.

the Etrurians, the Marsians, the Samnites and the Umbrians were sworn to defend the senate and people¹ of Rome under the auspices of the new Sulla. It remained to be seen whether the old allies of Marius would prove a source of strength or of weakness to the enemy who had ventured to invoke their aid. At a crisis of such intense interest it was, we may imagine, from no patriotic motives, nor from a stern sense of duty to his country, that Cæsar again withdrew from the focus of action and intrigue to the obscure banishment of a distant province. While he remained unarmed within reach of the city, even his personal safety was at the mercy of his enemies. With less patience and self-control he might have been excited by the adverse turn of circumstances to make a premature appeal to the chances of war. He might have called at once upon his own devoted legions; he might have thrown himself upon the generous impulses of his friends in the city; even the new Pompeian levies he might have summoned in the names of Marius and Drusus, of Pompædius and Telesinus. But his resources were yet only half developed; the Gauls were hostile and still unbroken. The conquest must be thoroughly completed before they could be bent to his ulterior purposes, and made to serve as willing instruments in his meditated career. The proconsul, in fact, now regarded the magnificent country subjected to his rule not merely as a great province which he had attached to the empire, but rather as a private estate to be organized for the furtherance of his own designs. As such, he made it, in the first place, the nursery of his army, levying fresh Roman legions within its limits, without regard to the authority of the senate, and without recourse to the national treasury. With the same view he quartered his friends and partizans upon the conquered land, establishing them in permanent employments throughout the province, and effecting, through their agency, a systematic development of its resources. The subjugated and allied states he treated with studious forbearance, such

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 1.: "De senatus consulto certior factus ut omnes juniores Italiæ conjurarent," where *conjurare* is a military term for *simul jurare*

as they seldom experienced from other commanders: he endowed their faithful cities with privileges, and encouraged their commerce, which already flourished in the south under his equitable administration.

But a closer view of Cæsar's policy in Gaul, with its principles and results, must be reserved for another opportunity; it is sufficient for the present to indicate thus far the direction in which it lay. The barbarians were easily seduced by these caresses. They solicited with ardour the honour of enrolment in the Julian gens.¹ The parts of the country where the old aristocratic rule had been most impaired were those which submitted with least reluctance to the Roman domination. Wherever the people had an influential voice in the direction of affairs, they showed themselves generally willing to accept a yoke which promised personal security, equal burdens, and all the enervating indulgences which Rome lavished upon her obedient subjects. Brief and inglorious had been the flourishing period of Gaulish democracy. On the other hand, it was the chieftains principally who were impatient of the conquest. Wherever the power of this class was great, as in the recent uncivilized communities of Belgium, the flames of insurrection might be repressed, but were not extinguished. It was from this indomitable spirit of resistance to their conqueror, not less than from their acknowledged character among their own countrymen, that the Belgians merited the testimony Cæsar bore them, as the most warlike people of Gaul. Even among the Arvernians the sentiments of clanship were not extinct, and the gallant appeals of Vercingetorix could still sway the feelings of the multitude, in spite of the decision of their assemblies, and the maturer judgment of the nation itself.

Favourable disposition of the Gaulish democracies towards him.

¹ In the later history of the Empire, we shall meet with an Africanus, an Agricola, a Classicus, a Florus, an Indus, a Sacrovir, a Sabinus, and several others, all of Gaulish extraction, and bearing the gentile name of Julius. It was, however, to Augustus, no doubt, that many families owed their introduction into the Julian house, as he also gave to some of his colonies the designation of Julia, in honour of his adoptive parent.

But upon those parts of Gaul in which the resistance had been vigorous, and where the yoke of conquest was still shaken by repeated revolts, the hand of the pro-consul lay heavy. The estates of the chieftains, the ornaments of the cities, the hoarded treasures of the temples, were distributed without remorse among his friends and officers. All that he could withhold from their insatiable appetite be reserved to defray his own lavish expenditure in Rome, to bribe the nobles with money, and cajole the multitude with public benefactions. The triumvirs had vied with one another in courting popular applause by pomp and munificence. Cæsar determined to eclipse the theatre of Pompeius by buildings of greater splendour or utility. The spoils of the Gauls were employed to adorn and enlarge the forum, in which their victorious ancestors had encamped; and the remains of the Julian basilica, on the one side, and the contemporary edifice of Æmilius, on the other, still indicate to antiquaries the limits of that venerable enclosure.¹

The magnificent results thus brought before their eyes furnished the Romans with a vivid idea of the magnitude of the labour by which they had been achieved. Nothing in their history could be remembered equal to them, nothing certainly in the recorded transactions between Rome and Gaul, fertile as they had

Cæsar lavishes the treasures of Gaul, enriches his dependants, and decorates the city.

Exultation of the people of Rome at Cæsar's victories.

¹ Stat. *Sylv.* i. 1. 29. :

“ At laterum passus hinc Julia tecta tuentur,
Illinc belligeri sublimis regia Pauli.”

Cicero (*ad Att.* iv. 16.) says that Oppius and himself were employed as friends of Cæsar to purchase and lay out a space on one side of the forum, which they effected at a cost of 60,000,000 sesterces, by clearing away a great many private dwellings. The Curia and Basilica Julia, which occupied part of this site, were not begun till some years later (see the chronological tables in Bunsen's *Beschreibung Roms*). Cæsar gave orders at the same time for rebuilding of marble the Septa, or polling-booths in the Campus Martius, and surrounding them with an arcade a mile in length. Cic. *l. c.* L. Æmilius Paulus was quæstor of Macedonia, prætor A. U. 701, and finally became consul A. U. 704, with C. Marcellus.

been to the republic in disastrous defeats and ineffective victories. *Marius*, said the popular orator, *arrested the deluge of the Gauls in Italy, but he never penetrated into their abodes, he never subdued their cities. Cæsar has not only repulsed the Gauls, he has conquered them. The Alps were once the barrier between Italy and the barbarians; the gods had placed them there for that very purpose, for by them alone was Rome protected through the perils of her infancy. Now let them sink and welcome: from the Alps to the ocean Rome has henceforth no enemy to fear.*¹

In the midst, however, of these rhetorical flourishes, it so happened that the Gauls also, on their side, conceived that their cause was on the eve of triumph. They had heard of the confusion which reigned at Rome, of the levies of the youth of Italy, and the apparent imminence of intestine war. They were persuaded that Cæsar was retained beyond the Alps by the urgency of public affairs.² They hoped to be forgotten by Rome, at least for a moment, and determined to make the most of the brief respite which might never again recur. Ten legions indeed remained in their country; but Cæsar was absent. It was the general himself, they said, who had conquered them, and not his army. The proconsul had previously tried the experiment of dispersing his forces through a great extent of territory, and had suffered severe losses in consequence. This winter he concentrated them more closely together; but the tribes which were not awed by their immediate presence were able to carry on their intrigues the more securely, and succeeded in organizing another general revolt; while he was obliged to trust to the fidelity of the *Ædui* and *Arverni* even for the transmission of his couriers and despatches between the head-quarters of his army and his own winter residence within the Alps. The Gauls, indeed, were not without hopes of intercepting him on his re-

The Gauls flatter themselves with revived hopes of recovering their independence.

¹ Cic. *de Prov. Consul.* 13, 14.

² Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 1.: "Addunt ipsi et affingunt rumoribus Galli quod res poscere videbatur, retineri urbano motu Cæsarem."

turn alone, or with a slender escort. But the levies which Pompeius was making in Italy by the authority of the senate, furnished him with an excuse for strengthening his own armaments, and he employed the period of his absence from Gaul in collecting troops for the fresh campaign he anticipated.¹

The execution of Aeco furnished a lively subject of complaint at the secret meetings which the Gaulish chieftains convened in their distant fastnesses² to plan measures of revolt. Such, they remarked to one another, might be the fate of any one among them. Who, then, would venture to strike the first blow in a matter which equally concerned all? To the state which should be the first to rise in arms promises were held out of national gratitude and reward. The Carnutes accepted the post of honour; they only required that the rest should pledge themselves by an oath of more than usual solemnity to join in the enterprize; for their meetings were too hurried and private to admit of the usual precaution of exchanging hostages for each other's good faith.³ The leaders of the Carnutes, Cotuatus and Conetodunus, are described by Cæsar as men of violent and desperate character; assuredly they plunged their people into the war with more vehemence than reflection. But the first shock of the barbarians was sudden and irresistible. They threw themselves upon the Roman settlers in Genabum, who were driving their usual trade of money-lending, and made an indiscriminate massacre of them. Still more important was the defection of the Arverni, who were excited to arms against the will of their government by Vercingetorix, a son of the ambitious Celtillus, whose life had been forfeited a few years before for the crime of aspiring to the sovereignty.⁴ Expelled from

¹ Cæs. *B. G. l. c.*

² Cæs. *l. c.*: "Indictis inter se principes Galliæ conciliis sylvestribus ac remotis locis."

³ Cæs. *B. G. vii. 2.*: "Quoniam in præsentia de obsidibus inter se cavere non possint, ne res effertur."

⁴ Cæs. *B. G. vii. 4.* Cingetorix, Vercingetorix, and other Gaulish names, may possibly be analyzed into several Celtic words, and the compound, in each

Gergovia, their capital, the young warrior roamed the mountain tracts of the Cantal and the Puy de Dôme, to this day the rudest fastnesses of Gallic independence, inflaming young and old by his generous eloquence, until they were roused to expel in its turn the government which resisted the movement, and greeted their champion with the title of king. Presently the Senones, the Parisii, the Pictones, the Cadurci, the Turones, Aulerci, Lemovices and Andi, all the tribes of the Mid Seine and the Lower Loire, with many others, joined in one loud cry of defiance to the oppressor. They unanimously saluted Vercingetorix as their leader, and submitted to the levies of men, money and arms which he imposed upon them severally. He knew the people he had to deal with, how fitfully the military spirit kindled and subsided among them, how strangely gallantry and meanness were blended in their composition. His rule was one of terror and severity. Any appearance of supineness in the cause was avenged with flames and tortures. The loss of an eye or an ear was his lightest punishment for trifling offences.¹

It was to be apprehended that the treachery of the Arverni, who had hitherto kept their faith inviolate, would be followed by that of the Ædui, in whose power it lay to close the only route which remained open for Cæsar to communicate with his army. This was the point to which the views of the Gaulish leader were in the first instance directed, and it required the utmost decision and rapidity on the proconsul's part to frustrate them. It was now the depth of winter.² The Cevennes, which rise to their

Cæsar's energy
and decision.

ease, may be an official designation, such as captain, general, generalissimo (Thierry, *Gaulois*, iii. 86.). In the same manner the name Arminius may be the German Heermann or general. But Heermann (Hermann) is a well-known surname, and the same may have been the case with these Celtic appellatives also.

¹ So under Napoleon's regime in France, the most searching severity was necessary to raise and keep together an army, which in the field was full of enthusiasm and self-devotion.

² Owing to the confusion of the Roman calendar at this period, which will be explained in a subsequent chapter, the Kalends of January for the year

highest elevation at the point where they form the common frontier of the Province and the Arvernian territory, were thickly covered with snow, and at such a season were regarded as an impassable barrier.¹ But Cæsar, who had just crossed the Alps, was not to be deterred by a less formidable rampart.² He forced his way across them with such troops as he had with him, including his new levies.³ By this movement he distracted the attention of Vercingetorix, who was at that moment soliciting the alliance of some neighbouring states, and called him back to the defence of his astonished countrymen. Cæsar left Decimus Brutus in a secure position to harass and occupy the enemy, while he hastened himself back again across the mountains to Vienna, the capital of the Province, collected there some more troops, and took the road through the country of the Ædui to the quarters of his legions among the Lingones.⁴

A. U. 702 fell on the 23d Nov. of the year preceding, according to the true reckoning. (Ideler, *Chronol.* ii. 116.) Pompeius assumed the consulship v. Kal. Mart. or Feb. 25. (Aseon, *in Milon.*), corresponding with the middle of January. This was the time of Cæsar's return to Gaul: "Cum jam ille urbanas res virtute Cn. Pompeii commodiorem in statum pervenisse intelligeret" (*B. G.* vii. 6.).

¹ Comp. Plut. *Cæs.* 25.: τότε δὲ χειμῶνος ὄρα, πάγοι ποτάμων καὶ νιφετοῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένοι δρυμοὶ, καὶ πέδια χειμάρροις ἐπιλελιμασμένα, καὶ πῆ μὲν ἀτέκμαρτοι χιόνος ἀτραποὶ, πῆ δὲ δι' ἐλῶν καὶ βρυμάτων παρατρεπομένων ἀσάφεια πολλὴ τῆς πορείας, παντάπασιν ἐδόκουν ἀνεπιχείρητα Καίσαρι τὰ τῶν ἀφισταμένων ποιεῖν. Lucan evidently refers to this exploit, where he describes the Cevennes as snowy mountains, i. 434.:

"Qua montibus ardua summis
Gens habitat cana pendentes rupe Gebennas."

² Silius (iv. 745.) says of Hannibal crossing the Apennines:

"Prior extingui labique videtur
Gloria, post Alpes si stetur montibus ullis."

³ *Cæs.* vii. 8.: "Discussa nive sex in altitudinem pedum atque ita viis patefactis summo labore ad fines Arvernorum pervenit."

⁴ *Cæs.* *B. G.* vii. 9.: "In Lingones contendit ubi duæ legiones hiemabant." We may conjecture the spot to be that of the Roman station of Andematunum, afterwards Lingones, now Langres. This town stands on a hill rising from a central plateau, and its elevation is said to be the highest of any

Thus, by extraordinary exertions and rapid movements, which are often calculated to terrify an enemy more than the most brilliant deeds of arms, Cæsar placed himself again at the head of his forces, assembled in a formidable mass from their scattered cantonments. The leader of the Gaulish confederacy, reeking from the massacres of Genabum, was menacing Gergovia, the capital of the Boii. These people, a remnant, as has been before mentioned, of the Helvetic migration, had been settled in this district by Cæsar, and placed under the patronage of the Ædui. To attack them was in fact to assail the fidelity of the more powerful nation, which, it was hoped, might be induced by the danger of its clients to join in the general defection from Rome. Anxious to avert this risk, Cæsar rushed to the defence of the Boii, although the season of the year and the scarcity of provisions presented serious obstacles to the movements of an army. His first object was to march upon Genabum, the possession of which place would intercept the communication of the northern and southern states of the confederacy; while he justly expected that the first rumour of his attack would draw off Vercingetorix from the siege of Gergovia.¹ With his usual celerity he advanced to the walls before the defenders were apprised of his movements. The meditated assault was only postponed for the moment by the late hour of his arrival. But the Gauls within, astounded at the unexpected apparition of their restless enemy, were preparing to evacuate the town

He reaches the quarters of his army, leads it into the country of the Carnutes, and takes Genabum.

in France: perhaps it may be identified with the station alluded to by Lucan (i. 397.):

“Castraque quæ Vogesi curvam super ardua rupem
Pugnaces pictis cohibebant Lingonas armis.”

The hills from which the Marne, Meuse and Saone take their rise were comprehended under the general name of Vogesus.

¹ Genabum, or Genabus, is the modern Orleans. Gergovia of the Boii is to be distinguished from Gergovia of the Arverni: there are no means of determining its site; but the Boii were settled in a part of the Æduan territory between the Loire and Allier, a district of the modern Bourbonnais, and their capital may have been at Moulins.

by the bridge which crosses the Loire. As soon as the news reached him that they were about to elude pursuit, he led his troops, already on the watch for the signal, to attack the walls. Fire was applied to the gates, and an entrance easily effected, since no resistance was offered. The flying multitude, impeded by the darkness of the night and the narrowness of the bridge, were captured almost without a blow. The exertions of the soldiery demanded a soldier's reward, while the treachery of the inhabitants gave it a sufficient, or at least a plausible, pretext. Cæsar abandoned the place to fire and sword; the whole of the plunder was distributed among the captors.

The proconsul immediately crossed the Loire and entered the country of the Bituriges. He took a fortress named Noviodunum, defeated a detachment of Arvernian cavalry, chiefly through the prowess of some German horse, and proceeded to lay siege to Avaricum, the capital of the tribe, a fortification of great size and strength, known in modern times by the name of Bourges.¹ Vereingetorix, though not dispirited by these successive disasters, now saw the necessity of changing the plan of operations, in which his countrymen had so long blindly confided. He assured them that the fatal termination of every encounter between the Gauls and the Romans was no reproach upon their valour; that no walls could withstand the skill of the Romans in engineering, no array maintain itself in the field against such weapons and such discipline. But he reminded them that through the winter and early spring the soil on which the enemy trod could furnish him with no provisions. He must disperse his troops among the villages and fortresses, and seize for his subsistence the stores there collected. Let there be no more attempts then, he

Vereingetorix exhorts the Gauls to change their plan of warfare.

¹ As with many other Gaulish towns, the original name became exchanged for that of the people, i. e. Bituriges, and thence the modern Bourges and the name of the province Berri. The history of this change of name, which is found so repeatedly in Gaulish geography, is a curious subject in itself, which I may have a future opportunity of explaining more fully.

said, to defy him in the open field; let him rather be followed in detail into every corner where he roamed for sustenance; above all, let the towns which served him for magazines be destroyed by the hands of the inhabitants themselves. The effect of such a mode of resistance must be his speedy and disgraceful retreat, and with it the restoration of liberty to central Gaul, and to every other state that should have the spirit to make similar sacrifices.¹

The assembled council of Gaulish states assented gallantly to this proposal. In one day twenty fortresses of the Bituriges were levelled to the ground, and similar havoc was made throughout the territories of the allies. But when the fate of Avaricum itself came to be discussed, whether it should be defended or destroyed, the Bituriges could hold out no longer. Their deputies threw themselves at the feet of the assembled Gauls, and interceded with piteous cries for the preservation of their beautiful and, as they deemed, impregnable city. The hearts of the chieftains were moved to compassion. Vercingetorix at first sternly resisted representations which he knew to be delusive. But when the rest gave way, he at last yielded to the general clamour, and consented that the place should be maintained and an ample force assigned for its defence.

They consent to destroy their own towns, but are induced to spare Avaricum.

The site of Avaricum was admirably calculated for defence. It stood on a hill, and a narrow causeway between a river and a morass afforded the only approach to it.² These natural advantages had been improved by art, and the devoted garrison now proceeded to strengthen their defences within the walls. The combined exertions of the Roman legions were applied to draw lines of circumvallation around them, while the principal force of the Gaulish league watched these operations at a short distance, and cut off the supplies destined by the Boii and Ædui for the hostile camp. While the Bituriges within their city were hard pressed by the machinery which the Roman engi-

Avaricum captured by the Romans.

¹ Cæsar, *B. G.* vii. 20.

² Cæsar, *B. G.* vii. 17.; Dion, xl. 34.

neers directed against their walls, the forces of the proconsul, on their side, were harassed by the fatigues of the siege and the scarcity of provisions. Cæsar is lavish of praise in speaking of the fortitude with which his soldiers bore their privations: they refused to allow him to raise the siege; and when he at last led them against the enemy's army, and finding it too strongly posted for an attack, withdrew them again within their lines, they submitted to the disappointment, and betook themselves once more without a murmur to the tedious operations of the blockade. The skill of the assailants at length triumphed over the bravery of the defenders. The walls were approached by towers at various points, and mounds constructed against which the combustible missiles of the besieged were unavailing. Finally, a desperate sally was repulsed, and then, at last, the constancy of the Bituriges began to fail. Taking advantage of a moment when the watch on the walls had relaxed its vigilance, Cæsar marshalled his legions behind his works,¹ and poured them suddenly against the opposing ramparts. They gained the summit of the walls, which the defenders abandoned without a blow, rallying, however, in the middle of the town, in such hasty array as the emergency would allow. A bloody struggle ensued; both parties were numerous, and, still burning to avenge the massacre of their countrymen at Genabum, the assailants gave no quarter. The Gauls were routed and exterminated, their women and children mercilessly slaughtered, and the great central city of Gaul fell into the hands of the conquerors without affording a single captive for their triumph.²

The influence of the champion of Gaulish independence, far from declining, rather gained strength by this disaster.

Vercingetorix
revives the
courage of the
Gauls.

for he could represent that the defence of Avaricum had thwarted the policy he so warmly recommended, and to which, in that single instance, the allies had refused to accede. He now instructed his followers, abandoning their regular fortresses, to defend themselves

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 27.: "Legiones intra vineas in occulto expeditas."

² Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 22-28.

with temporary works, according to the Roman practice, which the Gauls had never before adopted. Nor were the rest of the tribes discouraged: many reinforcements arrived, notwithstanding the great losses the cause had sustained; the numbers of the confederates were recruited by new levies, and the Romans found their enemy no less formidable than before in actual strength, and much more so in experience and confidence.

Hitherto the Ædui had acted with great indecision. They had refused assistance to the Bituriges when that unfortunate people, urged to revolt by the Arvernians, had solicited their protection to enable them to remain faithful to Rome. This refusal, veiled by a flimsy pretext, had thrown the Bituriges into the arms of the confederates, and had brought upon them the destruction of their capital. The attack of Vercingetorix upon the Boii was intended to force the Ædui to a declaration of their sentiments; but Cæsar's sudden diversion on the north withdrew the enemy, and relieved them from this pressure. On the other hand, the proconsul complained that the provisions and stores he required came slowly and scantily to his camp, until the capture of Avaricum gave him abundant supplies. The counsels of the Ædui vacillated through internal divisions. At the commencement of the spring they held their annual election of a vergobret, and then these dissensions came to a head. While a faction among the chiefs tried to thrust into the office a noble of the name of Cotus, who, as brother of the late vergobret, was by the law excluded from it, the priests, at the head of the dominant party, selected a youth of birth and distinction, named in the Roman version of his Gaulish appellation Convictolitans. The rival candidates appealed to Cæsar, and consented to abide by his decision. The popular party he probably considered the most favourable to his own policy, and their appointment he accordingly confirmed.¹ But, having performed this act of

Vacillating conduct of the Ædui, and divisions among them: interference of Cæsar.

¹ There is some obscurity in Cæsar's account of this transaction (vii. 33.): "Intermissis magistratibus" I understand, with Hotoman, to refer to the law

friendly interference, he demanded his reward: he required the nation to co-operate vigorously with him, and to furnish him with a contingent of ten thousand men.

Having imposed these orders upon his clients, Cæsar proceeded to divide his Roman forces into two armies. He placed four legions under the command of Labienus, whom he charged to take up his quarters in the country of the Senones, and from thence maintain the obedience of the central states; with the remaining six he crossed from the Loire to the Allier, intending to make his way to Gergovia of the Arverni. His vigilant enemy was not off his guard. Vercingetorix had broken the bridges and was guarding the fords of the latter river. If the energy of both commanders was equal, the skill of the Roman was superior. By a feigned movement he drew off his adversary's attention, and speedily restored the means of crossing. Cæsar's camp was always furnished with implements and workmen, and he owed much of his success to the skill of his engineers. He transported his army across the Allier with his usual celerity; and Vercingetorix, surprised to find his flank thus suddenly turned, cautiously and firmly declined a general engagement. Cæsar held his course along the left bank of the Allier towards Gergovia, the enemy retreating with no less steadiness before him.¹ He arrived before the ramparts on the fifth day, but was foiled in his turn by finding on inspection that the place was too strong in situation and defences to be captured by assault. It was impossible to form a regular siege until the necessary provision for the troops had been collected and

that two individuals of the same family should not succeed one another in the supreme magistracy.

¹ The site of Gergovia of the Arverni is supposed to be a hill on the bank of the Allier, two miles from the modern Clermont in Auvergne. The Romans seem to have neglected Gergovia, and to have founded the neighbouring city, to which they gave the name Augustonemetum. The Roman city became known afterwards as Civitas Arvernorum, in the middle ages Arverna, and then, from the situation of its castle, elarus mons, Clermont. See d'Arville, *Notice de la Gaule, in voc.*: Mannert, II. i. 131.

forwarded to the camp. He contented himself for the moment with a successful attack upon an important position in the neighbourhood, carrying it by a bold and skilful movement in the night.¹

Meanwhile, Convictolitans, the vergobret of the Ædui, had resolved to betray the patron to whom he owed his appointment, and to precipitate his country into war with the Romans. He took his measures with Litavicus, the commander of the levies which his nation had consented to send to Cæsar, and planned a scheme for deceiving the soldiers, and hurrying the people blindly into revolt. In the midst of their march Litavicus suddenly caused his men to halt, and brought forward certain persons whom he had instructed to announce that the proconsul had just put his Æduan hostages to the sword, and reserved the same fate for the very troops who were at that moment marching into his toils.² The stratagem succeeded; the Æduans, seized with indignation, slew all the Romans within their reach, and Litavicus transmitted the news to Bibracte, with representations calculated to inflame the passions of the nation, and strengthen the hands of Convictolitans by committing it irrevocably to the Gaulish cause. A massacre of the Roman settlers ensued, as the ordinary preliminary of revolt. At this moment, the Æduans in the proconsul's camp, the same whom he was represented to have murdered, were contriving a plot for his destruction. The febleness of one of the conspirators revealed the danger, and Cæsar marched forth with his usual decision to meet the troops of Litavicus, while they were still awaiting fresh orders from Bibracte. Instead of attacking and crushing them by force of arms, he showed them the persons of their countrymen, whose supposed assassination had excited them to revolt. Overwhelmed with surprise and terror, Litavicus threw himself on the proconsul's mercy. The soldiers disowned the authority of their general; the general disclaimed the acts of his government; every one hastened to plead for him.

The Ædui revolt, massacre the Roman settlers, are reduced and pardoned.

¹ Cæs. B. G. vii. 34-36.

² Cæs. B. G. vii 38.; Dion, xl. 37.

self, and to make the most abject professions of obedience for the future.¹ With these professions Cæsar was forced to be content. The adherence of the Ædui was of too much importance to allow him to indulge in vengeance, or even in just retribution for the murder of his countrymen. He led back the contingent of Litavicus to his camp before Gergovia, where his presence was required to revive the courage of the division he had left behind, which had repelled one attack from Vereingetorix, and was in immediate apprehension of another.

It seemed, indeed, notwithstanding this success, that heavy clouds were gathering around Cæsar's position. He was aware that the Ædui still meditated defection, the more so, as they could not persuade themselves that he would persist in his clemency when the danger of the moment was passed. They held the key of the road which led to his legions at Agendicum, and the situation of his forces, thus separated by a wide tract of hostile country, was eminently precarious. He pressed forward to Gergovia; but with no hope of forcing the Gaulish leader to a battle, or making any important impression upon the centre of the confederacy. He was only anxious to perform some creditable feat of arms, and then withdraw his forces northward without the appearance of a check.² Vereingetorix had posted his army midway on the declivity at the summit of which the city stood, and he had imitated so well the science of his enemies in surrounding his position with fortifications that he could not be compelled to fight. He had also taken possession of several elevated spots in the neighbourhood, from which he commanded the Roman camp in every direction. Frequent skirmishes took place between the cavalry on both sides; and Cæsar gained a momentary advantage by deceiving the enemy with a feigned movement, and inveigling him to a distance from his encampment. The bulk of the Roman forces advanced boldly up the hill, penetrated the almost deserted lines, and found themselves, breathless

Engagement
before the walls
of Gergovia;
Cæsar defeat-
ed.

¹ Cæs. B. G. vii. 38-44.

² Cæs. B. G. vii. 44.

and astonished at their success, beneath the walls of the town. The Gauls within were struck with panic at this sudden apparition. A cry arose among the unarmed population that the scenes of Avaricum were about to be repeated; the women threw their ornaments and treasures over the walls; some even leaped into the arms of the assailants, hoping to earn their mercy by precipitate submission. Meanwhile, Cæsar, satisfied with the achievement of the day, gave the signal for retreat. He had no intention of making a serious attack upon Gergovia, which he could not hope to take, still less to keep if taken. But the ardour of his soldiers had led them too far; the hasty return of the Gaulish army placed them between two enemies. But for the prodigious exertions of the tenth legion, which, under Cæsar's immediate command, hung on the rear and flanks of Vercingetorix, they would have been crushed between the pressure of stone walls and overwhelming numbers. The struggle was long and dubious; the several divisions of both armies seemed inextricably entangled with one another; the unequal combat of horse with foot, of the light with the heavy-armed, of one above with another below, of one behind a wall or a hedge with another exposed and defenceless, all contributed to the uncertainty of the issue and rapid fluctuations of success. The Roman general was at last enabled to draw off his troops with ill-concealed precipitation. So great was their loss, so dire their discouragement, that it was only to save the appearance of a rout that Cæsar postponed his retreat for two days. The Gauls abandoned themselves to the full intoxication of a success beyond their most sanguine hopes. Even the Roman writers enumerated this among the few instances in which their illustrious hero was worsted.¹ Cæsar himself passes it lightly over; nor certainly was his defeat of such extent or

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 25.: "Per tot successus ter nec amplius adversum casum expertus: in Britannia classe vi tempestatis prope absunta; et in Gallia ad Gergoviam legione iusa; et in Germanorum finibus Titurio et Aurunculeio legatis per insidias ca.sis.

character as would have done him serious injury under other circumstances than those in which he actually stood.¹

But the delay of only two days threw a serious obstacle in Cæsar's way. The Ædui, vacillating and inconstant, harassed as they were by the intrigues and solicitations of Convictolitans and Litavicus, yielded at once to their persuasions, on the news of their allies' disaster. Their previous indecision gave place to the most vehement activity. The enthusiasm of the people knew no bounds; they exhibited it by the sacrifice, not of such wretched villages or towns as the Bituriges had committed to the flames, but of Noviodunum itself, the second city in their rich and flourishing country, the mart of commerce, the centre of communications, the magazine and arsenal of the deserted foreigners.² Their first act was to slaughter the Roman traders and sojourners in the city; they next demolished the bridge over the Loire, for which they knew Cæsar would make, and then consummated the awful catastrophe of patriotism and devotion. Cæsar had now broken up from before Gergovia. He crossed to the right bank of the Allier, entered the country of the Boii, only less exhausted and barren than that of the Bituriges on the left, and traversed the strip of land which separates the parallel channels of the Allier and Loire. He arrived in front of Noviodunum in time to hear the last crash of the sinking bridge, and see the devouring flames rise triumphantly beyond it. His army was exhausted by its rapid march; it was straitened for supplies; the waters of the rivers were swollen with the first melting of the snows, and the ordinary fords had become impassable. Before him lay a powerful people, long ripening, as he knew, for rebel-

Cæsar retreats
to his quarters
in Belgium.

¹ Cæs. vii. 52, 53. Dion (xl. 36.) takes the same view. Cæsar takes care to mention that he gained the advantage in two cavalry skirmishes before he abandoned his quarters. On the other hand, Orosius says that he lost a large part of his army, which was certainly not the case. Oros. vi. 11. This author, however, is very ill-informed. He confounds Genabum with Avaricum, and Gergovia with Alesia. Florus (iii. 10.) makes the same mistake.

² Noviodunum, the modern Nevers.

lion, the first signal of whose avowed defection he beheld in the flaming masses before him. The alternative of turning southward and retreating into the Province was opposed by many considerations. The roads were difficult, and the passage of the Cevennes would cost much time; moreover, besides the disgrace of thus skulking from the enemy, it would leave Labienus in a position of extreme peril. In this emergency he did not hesitate for a moment. To consume a single day in building a bridge would have been a fatal delay. But a spot was discovered where the Loire could be forded by wading to the armpits; the soldiers could carry their weapons above their heads. The stream was strong and rapid, but the cavalry were ranged above, and broke the current for the infantry below. If the Ædui had made the best of the occasion, they might have defended the bank of the river against the Romans with great advantage. But Cæsar carried every thing before him by the terror of his name. He now supplied himself with provisions in the neighbourhood of Noviodunum, and thence continued his march unmolested till he effected his junction with his lieutenant, who came forth, at his summons, from Agendicum to meet him.¹

This well-combined operation revived the drooping spirits of the Roman legions. The forces of Labienus had engaged in a campaign against the Parisii and some neighbouring states, in which their success had at first been dubious. The growing enthusiasm of the Gauls was constantly pouring fresh hosts into the field; almost every day brought the news of further defections. The issue of the siege of Gergovia was rapidly communicated to the tribes in the north. The revolt of the Ædui was made known to them at the same moment. It was generally believed that the baffled invader had turned his back upon Gaul, and was hastening to seek an asylum in the Province. This

Successful
operations of
Labienus.

¹ Cæs. B. G. vii. 55, 56. Agendicum is generally supposed to be the modern Sens. See d'Anville, Mannert, Walckenaer. An essay in the *Mém. Soc. Antiq. de France* (ii. 397.) maintains the opinion of the earlier critics in favour of Provins.

accumulation of successes had inspired the opponents of Labienus with overweening presumption. They had no leader of consummate caution and experience, like Vercingetorix, to head them; their king Camulogenus was unable to control their anxiety for instant battle. Once more engaged man to man in the open field, the Romans gained a complete victory, and this triumph counterbalanced in their minds all the disasters of the campaign hitherto.¹ Labienus could now receive his general with troops elated with victory and flushed with plunder, in quarters abounding with stores and provisions, and in the centre of a tract of country where the hydra of revolt lay stunned and prostrate. Perhaps it was from that moment that the lieutenant began to measure himself with his general, and to murmur secretly at standing second to a leader whose disgrace he boasted of having turned into a triumph.

The tranquillity thus temporarily restored in the north afforded indeed a respite of great importance to the proconsul's plans. He had assembled all his ten legions, nor had their complements been much diminished by the checks they had hitherto sustained. But his cavalry had suffered very severely, and he was precluded from the possibility of drawing recruits from the Province. He turned his eyes towards Germany, and the promise of pay and booty allured to his standard several bands of horse, together with the light-armed runners, who were accustomed to combat by their side. But the horses of the Germans were unequal to those of Gaul, and Cæsar did not hesitate to dismount himself and his officers to furnish them with chargers of better quality.² Meanwhile, the confederates received the Æduans into their alliance with open arms. Whatever distrust they might be disposed to entertain towards a people who had betrayed their countrymen in the first instance, and deceived them more than once since, every suspicion must vanish before such devotion to the cause as that which all their public acts now displayed. They had surrendered their

Great preparations on both sides.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 57-62.

² Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 66.

ancient claim to precedency among the Gaulish states, and relinquished the command of the combined armies to the brave Arvenian. Having seized at Noviodunum the Gaulish hostages whom Cæsar kept there in honourable custody, they made use of them to confirm the fidelity of some tribes, and to stimulate the sluggishness of others. So successfully did they wield this instrument of coercion, that when the general assembly met at Bibracte, there were only three states, it was said, from whom no deputies arrived. These were the Remi, the Lingones and the Treviri: the first had been uniformly devoted to Rome; the second were controlled by the presence or proximity of the Roman armies; the third had suffered severely in previous struggles, and as they had been left to defend themselves without assistance from the states of Southern Gaul, so they did not now choose to form a combination with them.¹

While Vercingetorix was preparing to march in quest of Cæsar with an overwhelming force, he did not neglect ulterior measures. He sent a division of his troops to organize a diversion against the Romans in the Narbonensis, by a combination of force and intrigue. With the Allobroges he adopted a similar course; though he could not persuade them to unite their arms with his, they took measures to defend the points at which the upper Rhone could be crossed, so as to anticipate any attempt the proconsul might make to regain the Province in that direction.² They rightly conjectured the plan which Cæsar's necessities would cause him to adopt. It was impossible for him to remain in his actual position, having lost all communication with the south: but his united forces were formidable, from their numbers as well as their valour, and he might presume on cutting his way to the Province through all opposition. What were his ulterior views he gives us no intimation; but he left no troops in garrison behind him; nothing but the terror of his name and the deep discouragement inflicted by so many triumphant campaigns. He conducted

Cæsar retreats
from Belgium
towards the
Province.

¹ Cæs. B. G. vii. 63, 64.

² Cæs. B. G. vii. 65.

his march without hurry or confusion, and seemed to court rather than avoid the attack of the enemy. But he abandoned the direct route through the territory of the Ædui, and repaired to the left bank of the Saone, expecting perhaps to experience from the Sequani less organized and effective resistance.

Vercingetorix came up with the Roman army in the high country of the upper Saone; but, adhering still to his old tactics, delayed an engagement. For some days he followed its movements at a short distance; possibly he distrusted the power of the Allobroges to check it on the Rhone; possibly the ardour of the Gallic chieftains was too impetuous to be withstood. In an evil hour, trembling lest his enemy should at length escape him, he, too, was carried away by the vain confidence of the national character, and gave the signal for battle.¹ Never, indeed, was the chivalrous spirit of a gallant people more thoroughly awakened. The chiefs engaged themselves by mutual oaths not to return from the field till they had twice ridden through the enemy's ranks. Cavalry was the force in which the Romans were most deficient, and in which the Gauls most boasted of their strength; for their horsemen belonged to the class of the rich and noble, better armed and equipped, and inspired with a more martial spirit than the multitudes which followed them to the field on foot. Cæsar, always found at the point where the danger was greatest, was this day engaged with the cavalry, as in his great battle with the Nervians he had done the duty of a legionary. At one moment he was so nearly captured that his sword was wrested from him, and remained in the hands of his enemies.² The Arvernians caused it to be suspended in one of their temples, and of all military trophies this assuredly was the noblest.

The steady Roman and the impetuous Gaul were well matched in the desperate struggle of that day. At length a dexterous movement of the German squadrons checked the hot onset of the Gaulish horse, and

The Gauls are defeated.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 67.

² Plut. *Cæs.* 26.

gave the legionaries room to open their lines and charge in their turn. The unwieldy masses of the barbarian infantry had not yet learnt to face this formidable shock. The men, hastily imagining that they were outflanked, lost their presence of mind, broke their ranks, and fled precipitately. Their careful leader had provided a retreat for them in three camps which he had fortified in the rear. The Gauls rallied, but it was only for a moment; many of their principal chieftains had been slain or taken; the panic became more than ever irretrievable; and Vercingetorix was compelled to abandon the defence of his position, and guide the flying multitudes to the neighbouring city of Alesia. Here, besides the enclosure of the place itself, situated on the level summit of a high escarped hill, a large camp had also been constructed and fortified with every appliance of art for the reception of eighty thousand men.¹

Thus failed the rash attempt to bring the retreating lion to bay. But even though the battle was lost, the cause might have been maintained by recurrence to the harassing system in which the Gauls had hitherto, with one exception, so steadfastly persevered. If their vast forces had been dispersed or drawn out of Cæsar's immediate reach, and the country wasted around him, he would not, we may presume, have ventured to protract an indecisive warfare under pressure of the circumstances which urged him to seek the Roman frontiers. The victory he had gained would in that case have been destitute of any decisive result. But the fatal mistake of assembling the whole Gaulish army in one spot, and there tying it, as it were, to the stake, offered an opportunity for a daring and decisive exploit. Few strokes in warfare have been more prompt and bold than the last Cæsar now made in his retreat, and his turning to attack the enemy and terminate the struggle at a blow. At this moment Cæsar risked every thing;

Bold resolution of Cæsar to attack the Gauls in their fortified camp at Alesia.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 69. Alesia is supposed to be the modern Alise, to the west of Dijon. Mannert, II. i. 175.

all the plans of conquest which he had established and matured in Gaul; all the schemes of ulterior aggrandizement over which he had so long brooded; his life, his reputation, all were hazarded at this eventful crisis. For if he now escaped into the Province, he might hope to organize a future invasion; another series of campaigns might restore him to that supremacy which he had just forfeited beyond the Rhone; or he might leave the unfinished task to a successor, and hasten himself to retrieve his fortunes by some popular act of audacity in Rome. But he saw the whole flower and strength of Gaul self-cooped in a single encampment, and determined to abide his attack. He had thoroughly calculated his own strength. He was at the head of a larger force than he had ever mustered before; and he collected his energies for one decisive struggle, with just confidence in a crowning success.

The preparations which Cæsar made to carry out his resolve were on a scale proportioned to its grandeur. He formed a line of circumvallation round the whole of the enemy's works, thus blockading in one sweep both the camp and the city, an army of eighty thousand men, and the population of the place swelled with an innumerable crowd of fugitives. The exultation they had felt at their late triumphs, and their indignation at their recent reverses; the taste of blood they had obtained in the massacres of Genabum and Avaricum; their horror at the slaughter of their countrymen at Noviodunum and Bibracte; all they had done and all they had suffered, had combined to harden the minds of the legionaries, and divest both men and officers of the common feelings of humanity. The Gauls, too, had had their moments of triumph and exasperation, of vengeance and despair; the same causes had produced on them no less frightful effects; the nerves of both parties were strung to the uttermost, and both were equally prepared for every extreme of infliction or endurance.

If it was with these feelings that the two armies faced each other from behind their breastworks, the events of the

He forms a
blockade: exas-
peration of both
armies.

siege daily added to them fresh bitterness. Vercingetorix, discovering the fault he had committed, made an attempt to break the Roman lines by means of his cavalry. But here again the Germans turned the fortune of the day, and the Gauls, beaten back with loss into their entrenchments, suffered sore discouragement. Their leader felt increasing alarm. He knew how rapid must be the progress of scarcity in such a host as was cooped up with him, which he dared not again lead forth to combat. He dismissed a great part of his horse, with the commission to scour the country far and near, and summon tribes and cities to his assistance. But this could not be done effectively in the short period during which he might hope to maintain his post; as the operations of the enemy were pressed more resolutely and decisively, it became necessary to repel the approach of famine by extraordinary measures. The Gaulish chieftains were animated with the most desperate resolution; it was deliberately proposed to sanction the killing and eating of human beings. For the present, indeed, this horrible counsel was rejected. But another alternative, hardly less shocking, was adopted: all the non-military population which had crowded within the lines, the women and children, the sick and the aged, were expelled from the city and the entrenchments. The Roman general was unrelenting; he too was steeled in this last struggle against every ordinary feeling of humanity, and he ordered the helpless multitude to be driven back upon their countrymen with showers of stones and darts. Between the trenches of their friends and the bristling ranks of their enemies, the miserable victims perished by wounds or hunger.¹

The Roman general, apprehending the arrival of the enemy's succours, had not only completed a line of circumvallation in front of the Gaulish fortifications, but had strongly entrenched himself in the rear also. The confederate states had hastened to send reinforcements to Vercingetorix; they had not

The Romans successful in a cavalry skirmish: they pass the blockade: desperation of the Gauls.

The Romans are attacked by a Gaulish army in the rear, but repulse and disperse them.

¹ *Cæs. B. G.* vii. 78.

waited for the tardy result of a general levy, which it would have required time to arm and equip, but had furnished each a contingent as far as their means allowed them. A numerous army was thus speedily collected round the circuit of the Roman entrenchments, and a ray of hope gleamed upon the ramparts of Alesia, when the signal was given for a simultaneous advance upon the invaders both from within and from without their lines. The Romans had furnished their fortifications with every implement of defence, in which art they were not less skilful than in that of attack. Pressed as they were by a great superiority of numbers, and scattered themselves along lines of immense extent, their activity and science supplied every deficiency; and, though the danger was imminent, they eventually succeeded in repelling every assault. The conflict indeed was repeated from day to day, but always with the same result. The assailants from within, animated by despair, renewed the attack with unabated vigour; but those without, whether worse armed or led by less experienced generals, or unnerved by the means of escape always open to them, gave way before the sallies of the besieged Romans, and at last broke up their camp and retreated in disorder.

The result of the original blockade was now inevitable. It could only remain a question with the Gauls, whether they should die with arms in their hands, or yield themselves to the vengeance of the exasperated enemy. Then at last did Vercingetorix come forward and offer to give himself up as a ransom for the blood of the Gaulish nation. If conquered in the open field, no terms, he knew, would be granted to the combatants or their country; but if they capitulated, even at the last moment, some conditions might, perhaps, be extorted from the prudence, if not the clemency, of the conqueror. The wrath of the proconsul might, he hoped, be appeased by a splendid sacrifice. This indeed had not been a contest between rival nations; according to the maxims of the republic the confederation of Gaul was a rebellious conspiracy. Vercingetorix

Vercingetorix
offers to devote
himself for his
country.

himself had at one time cringed under the power of the intruding government; he was known personally to Cæsar; he had received favours from him; and he was marked out for signal vengeance for what was denominated his treason, not less than for his bitter hostility to Rome. The ancient superstition of many nations declared that the self-devotion of the chief is accepted by the Gods as an atonement for the people; and Vercingetorix, who had been the principal instigator as well as the most conspicuous leader of the revolt, now claimed the honour of being its last victim.

The Gauls were touched with their hero's generosity. Before accepting his magnanimous offer they sent a deputation to Cæsar to negotiate the terms of a capitulation. The answer was stern and ominous. It demanded the surrender of their chiefs, the delivery of their arms, the submission of the whole multitude to the discretion of the Roman general. Vercingetorix, with all the gallant gaiety of his nation, clad himself in his most splendid armour, and mounted his noblest charger. Cæsar had drawn up his troops in front of the lines, and had seated himself to receive his captives. The Gaul caused the gates of his encampment to be thrown wide, and galloped forth into the open space, in the attitude of a warrior charging. Having approached close to the proconsul's chair, he dexterously wheeled round, and again returning to the same spot sprang to the ground, and laid his arms at the feet of the conqueror. The army was touched with a sense of admiration akin to compassion, but Cæsar himself remained cold and unmoved.¹

The Roman general had now broken the neck of resistance. Whatever further delay there might be in the complete pacification of Gaul, a judicious mixture of forbearance and severity would disarm it of all danger. It was his habit to calculate every movement, nor at this crisis of his fortunes did he allow himself to yield to any impulse of impolitic magnanimity. To gratify the Roman populace he reserved the champion of

He surrenders himself to Cæsar.

Harshness of Cæsar, and cruel fate of Vercingetorix.

¹ Cæs. *B. G.* vii. 89.; Dion, xl. 41.; Plut. *Cæs.* 41.; Flor. iii. 10.

Gaul to grace his future triumph. To appease the cupidity of his soldiers he allotted to each of them one of his captives as a slave. All the Arvernians and Æduans among them he liberated, with the view of winning back their countrymen to their former state of submission. We read of no punishment being inflicted upon the other Gaulish chieftains, and we may hope that an occasion which casts a deep shade upon Cæsar's character for generosity did not at least tarnish it with the stain of vindictiveness. Nevertheless, the worst remains to be told. At the spot where the triumphal car turned to the left to commence the winding ascent of the Capitoline hill, another path led in a contrary direction to the state prison in the rock. The noble captives who had thus far followed the wheels of the conqueror were here removed from the procession, and put to death in the fatal dungeon at the same moment that he entered the temple of Jupiter. Such had been the custom of the republic from the times of its original barbarism; hallowed by antiquity and perhaps by superstition, the progress of refinement had not availed to soften it; and thus the brave Vercingetorix ultimately suffered death, after six years of confinement.¹

The lenient policy which the proconsul now adopted towards the Arvernians and the Æduans seems to have been eminently successful. The governing class in both these states had in fact been driven into the war against their own inclination; the elevation of Vercingetorix to supreme command had been a

Further disturbances in parts of Gaul, Cæsar's eighth and last campaign.

¹ Dion, xl. 41.: ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐν δεσμοῖς ἔδησε, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπιπέδια μετὰ τοῦτο πέμψας ἀπέκτεινε. In the same manner C. Pontius, the Samnite general, was sacrificed at the triumph of Q. Fabius Gurges, A. U. 464. Jugurtha was cast into prison and starved to death, A. U. 650. But Perseus and other conquered enemies were released. Compare Cicero (ii. *in Verr.* v. 30.): "At etiam qui triumphans coque diutius vivos hostium duces servant, ut his per triumphum ductis pulcherrimum spectaculum fructumque victoriæ populus Romanus percipere possit; tamen quum de foro in Capitolium curram flectere incipiunt, illos duci in carcerem jubent; idemque dies et victoribus imperii et victis vitæ finem facit." It should be remarked, however, that Dion Cassius is the only authority for this fact, and that his charges of cruelty against Cæsar, where he can be confronted with the statements of others, are frequently disproved.

source of much bitter jealousy to the chieftains in both tribes, and they submitted again to the Roman yoke quietly, perhaps even gratefully. The spirit of resistance, however, was not quelled in other parts of Gaul. For the most part, indeed, the better organized governments declined a hopeless and ruinous struggle; but wherever the influence of any single chief was preeminent, or where, as among the Carnutes, the authority of the Druids was all-powerful, the smouldering flames found fuel among a restless and harassed population, and new armies continued to spring up in inexhaustible abundance. From the absence of a presiding spirit, they relapsed indeed into the same want of unity and concert which had paralysed their early efforts at defence.¹ Cæsar flew from state to state with the extraordinary activity which always distinguished him. He crushed the Bituriges by an incursion into their territory in the depth of winter.² No sooner had he regained his quarters, than he rushed forth again upon the Carnutes, scattered all opposition, and drove the disaffected beyond their own frontiers to take refuge under the standards of the Belgians.³

It was indeed in this quarter of Gaul, which had taken less part in the exhausting campaigns of the last two years, that the resistance to the Romans was most organized and effective. On the one hand, the Bellovaci and Suessiones combined together, and having no

Cæsar defeats
and accepts
the submission
of the Bello-
vaci.

¹ Auet. *B. G.* viii. 1. In the eighth book of the Commentaries on the Gallie war we have no longer Cæsar himself as our guide. Suetonius attributes it to one of his officers, Aulus Hirtius (*Jul.* 56.). The style is formed on the model of Cæsar's, but is inferior to it both in elegance and clearness. But, like the preceding books, it is the work of an eyewitness, and seems to be equally trustworthy. In this place the author gives as a reason for the desultory warfare into which the Gauls relapsed after the loss of Vereingetorix, their despair of overthrowing the enemy in a general engagement, and their hope of wearing out his troops by attacking them in detail. It is more probable that the loss of the only leader who had ever succeeded in uniting them in a common enterprize was irreparable.

² Auet. *B. G.* viii. 2. He began his march the last day of the year 702: "Pridie Kal. Jan. ab oppido Bibraete proficiscitur."

³ Auet. *B. G.* viii. 3-6.

fortified towns to tempt them to defy the military science of their enemy, assembled in vast numbers in a position of peculiar natural strength, a hill enclosed in thick forests, and surrounded by impassable swamps. On the other, the Treviri, always proud to stand alone, defied the foreigner to set foot in their territory. Cæsar undertook the reduction of the first of these opponents, and deputed to Labienus that of the second. He threw causeways across the swamps, drew long lines of entrenchment before the face of the enemy, drove them from one position to another to avoid his circumvallations and the fate of the victims of Alesia, and at last compelled them to join in a general combat, the crisis by which every Gaulish campaign was finally decided. Thoroughly beaten and routed, with the loss of Correus, their king, and a vast number of their fighting population, the Bellovaci hastened to excuse their revolt, under the plea that the senate could not resist the influence which their sovereign possessed with the multitude. This excuse was probably not altogether false; but it suited Cæsar to rebuke it sternly, at the same time that he made a show of clemency, by sparing the nation which he had so effectually humbled.¹

Nor had Labienus in the mean time been less successful in defeating the forces of the Treviri;² so that the campaign in Belgium was speedily reduced to the irregular warfare for which the country was so well adapted. Commius, the Atrebate, at the head of a band of German cavalry, whom he maintained by the plunder of Roman convoys or stations, was constantly flitting from place to place. Ambiorix continued to stimulate the zeal of the small remnant of the Eburones, till they were finally exterminated by a second massacre. In the west of Gaul, amidst loud notes of preparation for a general rising against the Romans, an important diversion was made in their favour by the adhesion to them of Duratius, one of the principal chiefs of the Pictones.³ He seized and occupied Lemo-

The Treviri and Eburones again put down: a revolt of the Pictones quelled.

¹ Auct. *B. G.* viii. 6-22.

² Auct. *B. G.* viii. 25.

³ Auct. *B. G.* viii. 26.

num, the capital of their country, and, by so doing, kept both the Andi and the Armoricans in check. The neighbouring tribes assembled in great force to reduce him by a siege; all the troops the Romans could spare were sent to his assistance; and the result of a great battle fought on the banks of the Loire, was the total rout of the confederate army.

Upon the dispersion of this multitude, a small band once more rallied under the standard of a chieftain named Drappes.¹ The Romans branded them as a handful of robbers, fugitives, and slaves, united only by the hope of plunder, and unworthy of the common rights of war. This little troop crossed the country hastily to the southward, and prepared to attack the north-western frontier of the Province, in expectation of sympathy and aid from various quarters, and especially from Aquitania. But the speedy arrival of two legions in pursuit forced them to abandon this bold enterprize, and shut themselves up in the strong fortress of Uxellodunum.² Here they made a desperate resistance; Cæsar himself hastened from the north to conduct the siege, the last important operation that now remained to be performed; and with the reduction of this stronghold, the conquest of Gaul may be said to have been completed.³

Reduction of Uxellodunum, the last Gaulish stronghold.

The proconsul, whose policy it now became to soothe by forbearance the passions of the chieftains and regularly organized states of Gaul, made a severe example of the rabble captured in Uxellodunum. He did not put them to death, nor sell them into slavery; in either case their persons would vanish from the sight of their countrymen, and their example be speedily forgotten. As a more permanent memorial of their crimes, and the condign judgment which had overtaken them, he cut off their right hands, and threw them thus mutilated upon the com-

Cæsar treats the enemy with severity. Final pacification of Gaul.

¹ Auct. *B. G.* viii. 30.

² Uxellodunum, le Puy, or Puech d'Usolle in the Quercy, department du Lot. Thierry, *Gaulois*, iii. 195.; d'Anville.

³ Auct. *B. G.* viii. 43. Plut. *Cæs.* 75.

passion of their neighbours. Gutruatus, a rebellious chieftain among the Carnutes, he sacrificed to the importunate demands of his soldiers. In making these severe examples, his historian coolly remarks, he well knew his own reputation for clemency, and was satisfied that no one would suspect him of personal cruelty.¹ Commius, the champion of the Atrebatas, whose romantic adventures invest him with a greater interest than most of his fellow-chieftains, was allowed to surrender himself upon honourable terms. Labienus had acted towards him with signal perfidy. Pretending that the repeated rebellion of the Gaulish chieftain justified any treachery on the part of his enemies, he had sent Volusenus to meet him in an amicable conference, and to seize the opportunity of assassinating him.² Struck on the head and almost stunned, the Gaul was saved by the promptitude of his attendants. Partly through apprehension and partly through indignation, he never ceased to regard the Romans with peculiar horror, and determined never again to meet one on terms of peace. The same Volusenus was afterwards employed to pursue the Atrebatas from fastness to fastness: the excitement of the chase was added to the bitterness of their mutual hatred. Commius, constantly reduced to the utmost straits, still succeeded in eluding his pursuer; but Volusenus at length approached his prey incautiously; the hunted chieftain turned at bay, and pierced his enemy through the thigh.³ M. Antonius, who was now commanding in Belgium, was anxious to bring these hostilities to an end; and, both parties being equally tired of the unprofitable contest, overtures of reconciliation were made and accepted, Commius only stipulating that, in the amicable arrangement of the conditions, he should never be personally brought into the presence of a Roman.⁴

The last book of the Commentaries on the Gallic war,

¹ Auct. *B. G.* viii. 38. 44.: "Cæsar quum suam lenitatem cognitam omnibus sciret, neque vereretur, ne quid crudelitate naturæ videretur asperius fessisse," &c.

² Auct. *B. G.* viii. 23.

³ Auct. *B. G.* viii. 48.

⁴ Auct. *B. G.* l. c.

which have so long guided us, is supplied by the hand of one of the proconsul's officers; nor is it likely, from the character of the record which Cæsar himself has left, that if he had completed the work with his own hand, he would have chosen to gratify our curiosity with any general delineation of the state of the Province at the conclusion of his eight years' labour. A writer of a much later age has thought fit to embellish a feeble narrative with a picture which might have struck our imagination more had the colours been less elaborate. *Let the reader conceive*, says Orosius,¹ *the languid and bloodless figure of Gaul, just escaped from a burning fever and inflammation of her vital parts; let him remark how thin and pale she is, how helpless and nerveless she lies; how she fears even to move a limb lest she should bring on a worse relapse; for the Roman army rushed upon her as a plague stronger than the strongest patient, which rages the more, the more resistance it encounters. The thirst that consumed her was her impatience at the demand for pledges of her perpetual servitude; liberty was the sweet cold draught for which she burned; she raved for the waters which were stolen from her.* Or let him turn to a passage of a very different character, the cold and dry enumeration of Plutarch, which seems to bear the impress of the very words of Cæsar himself:² *He took more than eight hundred cities by storm, worsted three hundred nations, and encountered, at different times, three millions of enemies, of whom he slew one million in action, and made prisoners of an equal number.* Whichever of these two records be thought the most impressive, the reader will feel that enough has been said to account for the long prostration of the energies of Gaul from this time forward, and for the almost passive endurance with which it submitted to the establishment and development of the provincial administration.

Pictures from the ancient writers of the state to which Gaul was reduced.

¹ Oros. vi. 12.; comp. Thierry, *Gaulois*, iii. 206.

² Plut. Cæs. 15.

CHAPTER XIII.

POMPEIUS, AS SOLE CONSUL, UNDERTAKES THE REFORM OF ABUSES: HIS ILL SUCCESS: HE CONNECTS HIMSELF AGAIN WITH THE OLIGARCHY BY ESPOUSING THE DAUGHTER OF SCIPIO.—CÆSAR INTRIGUES TO OBTAIN THE CONSULSHIP BEFORE RELINQUISHING HIS PROVINCE.—CICERO ACCEPTS THE GOVERNMENT OF CILICIA: HIS CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.—THE NOBLES SEEK TO DEPRIVE CÆSAR OF HIS COMMAND.—M. MARCELLUS INSULTS HIM BY THE HARSH PUNISHMENT OF A TRANSPADANE GAUL.—POMPEIUS FALLS SICK.—REJOICINGS FOR HIS RECOVERY.—CÆSAR CONCILIATES THE GAULS.—STRENGTH AND COMPOSITION OF HIS ARMY: HIS POPULARITY WITH THE SOLDIERS.—CHARACTER OF THE YOUNGER CURIO: HIS DEVOTION TO CÆSAR'S INTERESTS.—CÆSAR RECEIVED WITH ACCLAMATIONS IN CISALPINE GAUL.—HE FIXES HIS QUARTERS AT RAVENNA.—HE OFFERS A COMPROMISE WITH THE SENATE, WHICH IT REFUSES, AND REQUIRES HIM TO RESIGN HIS COMMAND.—THE TRIBUNES INTERPOSE, ARE MENACED WITH VIOLENCE, AND THEREUPON FLY TO CÆSAR'S CAMP.—A. U. 702-704, B. C. 52-50.

WHEN Pompeius entered upon his office as sole consul, he submitted his reputation as a statesman to a crowning trial. His position was in substance that of a dictator, but without the odium of the name. But, in return for the irresponsible power which formed the peculiar feature of this extraordinary charge, no less was expected from him than to direct the stream of public affairs back into the old channels which it had deserted, to repair the youth and vigour of a decaying commonwealth, and to restore the spirit of a constitution which seemed only to survive in forms and traditions. The work of Sulla was the model which the nobles thrust under his eyes, still cherishing the vain hope that he possessed the genius no less than the desire to restore an oligarchical su-

Comparison of
Pompeius and
Sulla.
A. U. 702.
B. C. 52.

premaey which the march of events had rendered impossible. But if the champion they had summoned to their side was ambitious of wielding the power of his early patron, his motives were merely personal and selfish. The dictator, indeed, had thrown himself in implicit faith upon the principles of his faction. The ascendancy of his class was the object to which his career was devoted; he was no less ready to become the martyr than the champion of his political creed. As the spirit of the two men differed, so did the comprehensiveness of their views, and the vigour of their execution. If Sulla was blinded by his original prejudices to the real evils of his times and their true remedies, he at least felt and acknowledged the responsibility which he assumed. He placed his object steadily before him, and cut out a complete constitution, such as it was, with two or three rough strokes of the chisel. It was the work of a master, complete, consistent, fulfilling its idea. But Pompeius, on the contrary, was satisfied with the tentative palliation of a few prominent abuses; he probed nothing to the bottom; he removed some scandals for the moment, but made no attempt to reach the sources of evil. In one respect only the dictator and the sole consul acted alike; neither the one nor the other submitted to the trammels to which they had subjected their countrymen. Sulla, in his zeal for social reformation, had enacted new and severe laws against violence, immorality and extravagance; but in his own person he was notorious for the indulgence of prodigal tastes and licentious passions.¹ The correctives which Pompeius applied to social abuses were subtler in their character; but he, too, scrupulous as he was in all matters of public decorum, could not restrain himself from the violation of his own laws for transient political purposes.²

¹ Duruy, *Hist. des Rom.* ii. 297.

² Tac. *Ann.* iii. 28.: "Tum Cn. Pompeius tertium consul, corrigendis moribus delectus, et gravior remediis quam delicta erant, suarumque legum auctor idem atque subversor, quæ armis tuebatur armis amisit." It is curious to observe the aristocrat of so late an age still clinging to the conviction that the evils of the times were not so great as Pompeius chose to represent them, and that he betrayed his party by the extent to which he carried his reforms.

The methods which the consul devised to protect the political tribunals from undue influence were frivolous in the extreme. The selection which he is said to have made from the three privileged orders of the persons who might be chosen by lot to exercise the functions of judges may have purified the bench from the neediest and most openly profligate of its members; but the vices of venality and partiality were common to the noblest and the most abject, and it was not by merely removing the scum from the surface that the fountains of justice could be really cleaved. The limitation of the number of advocates, and the restriction of the speech of the accuser to two and of the defendant to three hours, were trifling reforms in procedure; but the latter at least deserves notice from the importance subsequently attached to it as forming an epoch in the eloquence of the bar;¹ and it may undoubtedly be regarded as a symptom of the desire of wise and thoughtful men to diminish the undue weight of rhetorical appeals to the passions. It had been moreover a common artifice to overawe the judges by bringing forward the testimonies and protestations of distinguished men in favour of the accused. A letter of Cæsar or Pompeius expressing his regard for the culprit, his assurance of his innocence and wishes for his success, might be read in open court with no little effect upon the interested parties in whose hands the decision lay.² This

¹ *Auctor de Caus. Corr. Eloq.* 38. Cicero himself seems to have thought the restriction reasonable and convenient (*Brut.* 94.).

² Asconius in his Commentary on Cicero's pleading for Scaurus (A. U. 700) cites, apparently from the documents of the trial, the names of the personages who used their influence in this way: "Laudaverunt Scaurum consulares neminem, L. Piso, L. Volcatius, Q. Metellus Nepos, M. Perperna, L. Philippus, M. Cicero, Q. Hortensius, P. Servilius Isauricus pater, Cn. Pompeius Magnus. Horum magna pars per tabellas laudaverunt qui aberant, inter quos Pompeius quoque; nam quod erat pro consule, extra urbem morabatur. Unus præterea adolescens laudavit, frater ejus, Faustus Cornelius, Sullæ filius. Is in laudatione multa humiliter et cum lacrymis locutus non minus audientes permovit, quam Scaurus ipse permoverat. Ad genua judicum, cum sententiæ ferrentur, cefariam se diviserunt qui pro eo rogabant: ab uno latere Scaurus ipse, et M. Glabrio, sororis filius, et Paulus, et P. Lentulus, Lentuli Nigri Flaminis filius,

was another instrument in the machinery of corruption which the consul considered a fitting object of his specious reforms. But trifling as these matters were in themselves, they combined to assist in breaking down the rude independence of the judicial system, in which the judges and the advocates had played into each other's hands, in defiance both of the government and of popular clamour. Notwithstanding the partial reforms which had been effected since the time of Sulla, the *questiones perpetuæ* were still the stronghold of aristocratic monopoly. Every attempt, however superficial, to amend them, contributed to reveal the unfairness of their operation. Degraded in the public estimation, they lost their ancient hold on the feelings of the citizens, and the intrusion of armed soldiers at Milo's trial, though adapted only to the convenience of the moment, and with no ulterior designs, was in fact a significant intimation that the ascendancy of the nobles had fallen for ever under the military domination of generals and dictators.

It is not to be supposed that Pompeius was acting in these proceedings with far-sighted treachery towards the party with whose interests he had connected himself. He considered his own exalted position to rest mainly upon public opinion, and, in the discharge of his functions as state reformer, his object was to maintain the influence of the senate, as the inveterate enemy of his own rival Cæsar, just so far as he could do so without sacrificing his own popularity. He would have been content with the praise due to the specious palliatives which he had devised for long-condemned abuses, and neither aspired nor expected to lay the foundations of a new political system. He persuaded his friends that the desertion of Milo, of whose popularity with his party and unreserved devotion to them he was jealous, was a necessary sacrifice to appearances.¹ But having

His conduct at the head of affairs.

et L. Æmilius Buca filius et C. Memmius, Fausta natus, supplicaverunt; ex altera parte Sulla Faustus frater Scauri, et T. Annius Milo, et T. Peducæus, et C. Cato, et M. Octavius Lenas Curtianus."

¹ Pompeius pretended to believe that Milo had plotted against his life.

made this specious concession to the demands of outraged law, the consul was anxious to exhibit the impartiality of his justice, and now encouraged proceedings against the friends of Clodius who were implicated in the disturbance.¹ Even among the nobles indeed Milo had made many enemies; the historian Sallustius resented a private affront, and had been one of the loudest in clamouring for his condemnation.² He had kept clear, however, of any act which could involve him in the guilt of sedition. Sextus Clodius, less prudent or less fortunate, was accused and condemned for the breach of the public peace; and, as soon as their year of office expired, the tribunes Pompeius Rufus and Munatius Plancus, both highly connected and adherents of the senate, were brought nevertheless to the bar of justice. The reformer took no step to avert the punishment of the first of these; but for the other he condescended to write a letter to be read before the judges, thus using his influence precisely in the way which his own enactments expressly forbade.³ This indecorous proceeding gave deep offence. It was a manifest breach of the law as well as a gross act of partiality. Cato denounced it with all the weight of his blameless reputation.⁴ The accused thereupon excepted against him as one of his judges; but though his challenge was admitted, he was notwithstanding condemned by a majority of voices. In this suddenly awakened zeal for purity and fair play, the criminals who excepted against Cato were generally condemned, so strong a presumption of guilt did it seem to shrink from the sentence of a judge whose integrity stood so high in public estimation.⁵ The year of

Ascon. *in Milon.* 67. : Vell. ii. 47. : "Milonem reum non magis invidia facti quam Pompeii damnavit voluntas."

¹ Dion, xl. 55. : *διὰ τὴν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐμπρησιον.*

² Ascon. *in Milon.* Gellius (xvii. 18.), on the authority of Varro, tells the story of Sallust having been discovered by Milo in adultery with his wife, and severely chastised.

³ Dion, xl. 52. 55. ; Plut. *Pomp.* 55.

⁴ Val. Max. vi. 2. 5. : "Huic facto persona admirationem ademit: nam quæ in alio audacia videretur in Catone fiducia cognoscitur."

⁵ Plut. *l. c.*, *Cat. Min.* 48. ; Dion, *l. c.*

Pompeius's consulship was distinguished by the multitude of cases in which the conduct of men of all shades of political opinion was submitted to judicial scrutiny. He passed a law to compel the prosecution of all the charges of bribery with which the various candidates for office since the year 699 had been menaced.¹ A curious provision was adopted to stimulate the flagging zeal of the accusers. The culprit who was suffering himself under conviction for a similar crime might obtain remission of his own penalty by conducting to a successful issue a charge against another.²

It seems, however, that the alliance of Pompeius with the senate, and the alienation from Cæsar which all his proceedings attested, gave new life and strength to the functions of government. Not only did the consul arm himself to enforce the execution of the laws, but he provided by a salutary measure against their violation in forbidding the citizens to carry weapons within the walls.³ The riddance which had been made both of Milo and Clodius, together with many of their noisiest adherents, freed the forum from the tumultuary bands by which public business had been so long impeded. The tribunes learned to be more cautious in their opposition, and the people, no longer caressed or menaced by rival demagogues, became good-humoured and manageable. Such was the early promise of the military tyranny which the consul and senate had virtually introduced into the city. The consul's success was ob-

His administration produces salutary effects.

¹ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 48. This was the year of Pompeius's second consulship. Appian (*B. C.* ii. 23.) makes the retrospective operation of this act extend to his first consulship in 684. Cæsar's friends are said to have complained of the indignity of bringing their patron's consulship (695) within the period thus stigmatized for its corruption, and possibly the limit was contracted on this account. Hoeck, *Römische Geschichte*, i. 149.

² This privilege continued under the emperors, and tended to multiply the number of *delators*. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 7.: "Sed Minucius et Servæus damnati indicibus accessere."

³ Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 39. If the words are to be taken literally, he forbade even the keeping of arms: "Magni Pompeii in tertio consulatu exstat edictum, in tumultu necis Clodianæ, prohibentis ullum telum esse in urbe."

tained by favour perhaps not less than by the display of force. The commission he had received for provisioning the city gave him the opportunity and the means of distributing grain to the populace. This usage, which had originated in the legislation of C. Gracchus,¹ had been turned to the maintenance of the senatorial ascendancy by the astute policy of Cato. Under his direction it had served to soothe the irritation of the people on the defeat of the Catilinarians.² Fatal as it eventually proved to their liberties, and even to their prosperity, it conciliated them at the time to the governments which fed them, and became a shield in the hands of the oligarchy against the attacks of demagogues, which they could not refrain from using, notwithstanding the warnings of Cicero and the more far-sighted of their statesmen.³

Nevertheless, Pompeius was not unconscious of the hollow and unsubstantial nature of the reforms he had devised.

The permanence of the little good he had effected could only be assured by the military power on which it was really based. A few months must reveal the imposture, and the termination of his extraordinary office would be hailed as the dethronement of a tyrant. Great as were his abilities in the conduct of affairs, and free as he was from the passions which so frequently cloud the judgment of statesmen, untrammelled by avarice or sensuality, with few personal hatreds or partialities, nevertheless his character exerted no ascendancy over others. Always artful, he had no ingenuity in concealing his artifice. He was suspected by all men, and he could impose upon none. His moral nature was as repulsive to those who came in contact with him as that of his great rival was attractive. He felt that his sole consulship was after all a failure, and he hastened to throw off the responsibility of ineffectual power. Upon the dissolution of his connexion with Cæsar by the

Pompeius, dissatisfied with his position, courts the alliance of the oligarchy.

reveal the imposture, and the termination of his

¹ Cic. *pro Sest.* 48.

² Plut. *Cat. Min.* 26.; see Hoeck, *R. G.* i. 112.

³ Cic. *l. c.*, *ad Att.* i. 16.: "Illa concionalis hirudo ærarum misera ac jejuna plebecula."

death of Julia, he had determined to retrace his steps, and ally himself by another marriage with the heads of the oligarchy. He offered his hand to Cornelia, the widow of the younger Crassus,¹ whose father, Q. Cæcilius Metellus Scipio, was one of the leading members of the senate, and a sworn enemy of the Marian faction. He now seized the opportunity of cementing this interested alliance by associating his new father-in-law with himself in the consulship for the latter half of the year. The people, if indeed they were consulted in the matter, made no difficulty in accepting his nomination, and the senate was pleased with an act of condescension to its wishes, though it probably despised the weakness which dictated it.²

Marries Cornelia, and associates her father Scipio with himself in the consulship.

But in this proceeding, also, Pompeius betrayed the same disregard for the provisions of his own general policy which we have before remarked. Scipio was himself one of those over whom, as a recent candidate for the consulship, a charge of bribery was impending; and it required the consul's interference to avert the consequences of a prosecution which his own enactment had encouraged. Another instance of the reformer's inconsistency was still more flagrant, and served to crown the impatience of the people, who acknowledged in after times that Cæsar's subsequent treason was provoked by the lawlessness of his rival. It will be remembered that the consuls of the preceding year had obtained the enactment of a law whereby the curule magistrates were forbidden to take a province till after the lapse of five years from the termination of their office. It does not appear whether the framers

His inconsistent and arbitrary conduct, and unfairness towards Cæsar.

¹ Appian, ii. 25.; Dion, xl. 51.; Plut. *Pomp.* 55., who gives a pleasing account of her character and accomplishments. The warm praises which Lucan lavishes upon her are a testimony to the traditional prejudices of the nobility in her favour.

² In divesting his sole consulship of its exclusive character at the end of six months, Pompeius seems to have acknowledged that it was a dictatorship in disguise.

of this restriction had any other object in view than to check the inordinate ambition of the aspirants to wealth and power; but when Pompeius, in the exercise of his sovereign authority, renewed and confirmed it,¹ his purpose was to deter Cæsar from suing for the consulship. The position of Cæsar's game was so critical, that he was compelled to keep his enemies in check at every move; if he once allowed the lead to be taken from him, he was lost. As long as he was at the head of an army in Gaul, he could despise the impotent clamour of the oligarchy: if he could obtain the consulship without previously laying down his command, he might then enter the city and return to civil life with security. From the curule chair he might descend once more to the proconsular camp, and place himself again at the head of the armies of his country. But the interval which was now appointed to elapse between the two offices which were essential to his safety seemed to threaten him with certain destruction. Pompeius could not indeed suppose that so bold and skilful a statesman would resign himself without a struggle to the prosecutions with which his enemies threatened him, as soon as they could get him within their toils; but he calculated on his precipitating himself into a revolt against the state, and dashing himself with senseless desperation against the senate, the veterans and the conqueror of Mithridates. Thus, presumptuously confident in his superior resources, he was unconscious of the moral force with which he furnished his rival, when, in the face of this very enactment, he retained his own proconsular appointment, and even caused it to be prolonged to him for another period of five years.²

The senate, however, exulted in the advance it had made, and believed that its path was now clear before it, and that its mortal enemy must soon fall into its hands. Cæsar, on his part, in the midst of the overwhelming cares and perils of war, kept his eye intently fixed upon the progress of affairs in the city, and saw that his only hope now lay in the errors of his antagonists. His term

Critical position of Cæsar.

¹ Dion, xl. 56.

² Dion, xl. 56.

of government was approaching its close, while his opponents were eagerly pressing to have it cut short at once. At the moment of its expiration, as soon as he should become once more a private citizen, denuded of troops and employments, a charge of malversation would undoubtedly be preferred against him. The conduct of his proconsular government would be subjected to invidious scrutiny, the daring acts of his consulship would be denounced and punished.¹ He could expect neither justice nor mercy from the powers whose position in the city seemed now impregnable. But could he only obtain the consulship, he had yet another stroke to make, in spite of the restriction which his enemies had so craftily devised. He might employ his year of office in reviving the spirits of his own party, in recovering the affections of the people, which had cooled, apparently, during his long absence, in infusing fresh vigour into the tribunes, in forming new alliances, and breaking the phalanx of his enemies by the numerous modes of corruption in which he was so well versed. As a last resource, he might flee from the city like Lepidus or Catilina, and raise his voice from the Alps to the veterans of either Gaul. Though better aware of the strength of his resources than his contemptuous enemies, yet it is evident that he felt the extreme rashness of throwing off his allegiance to the state while he had yet no plausible excuse for it, and that he did not decide upon that course till he had no other alternative, nor till his enemies had revealed to the world the injustice of their conduct, and to himself the weakness of their counsels.

Such then were the prognostications which Cæsar drew from the conduct of his adversaries in their enjoyment of power; such were his resources, and such his hopes. Nor did he delay to act. His first counter move was to employ some of his friends among the tribunes to submit a law to the people, authorizing him to sue for the consulship without being present in the city; that is, without laying down his

He intrigues to be permitted to stand for the consulship while still absent from the city.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 30.

command previously. From a comparison of the various conflicting accounts, the confusion of which throws great uncertainty upon a point of considerable interest, we may conjecture that this authorization was meant to be a special exception in Cæsar's case to the general provisions of the existing law, by which the candidate's presence was required; a law which, as we have seen, had frequently been dispensed with in similar instances; and further, that Pompeius, jealous of the tribunes' interference, took the matter out of their hands, with the promise to settle it by a declaratory enactment, in which the existing law should be confirmed with some provision for special exemptions. This enactment, it seems, had passed; it had been engraven in the usual way on a brazen tablet, and actually deposited in the public offices, before Cæsar's friends observed that the promised exception in his favour had not been distinctly made. A great clamour was raised, and Pompeius was obliged to come forward and acknowledge that an oversight had been committed. The error was reluctantly corrected, by the insertion of the name required; but the transaction could only add to the imputations of treachery and inconstancy under which the consul already suffered with either party.¹

The tenor of Scipio's administration of office was quiet and unobtrusive. The only measure attributed to him was the repeal of the popular Clodian enactment which had deprived the censors of one of their

Scipio restores the authority of the censors.

The authorities are strangely contradictory:—

1. Cic. *ad. Att.* viii. 3., says: "Pompeius contendit, ut decem tribuni plebis ferrent ut absentis ratio haberetur, quod idem ipse sanxit lege quadam sua."

2. Appian, ii. 25.: τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους ἔπεισεν (ὁ Καῖσαρ) εἰσηγήσασθαι νόμον . . . καὶ τοῦθ' ὑποτείνοντος ἔτι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οὐδὲν ἀντειπόντος, ἐκεκύρωτο.

3. Dion (xl. 56.) speaks of the law as entirely the work of Pompeius, and says that the provisions for exemption were so large as to render it nugatory.

4. Suet. *Jul.* 28.: "Acciderat ut Pompeius legem de jure magistratuum ferens, eo capite quo a petitione honorum absentes submovebat, ne Cæsarem quidem exciperet, per oblivionem; ac mox lege jam in æs ineisa, et in ærarium condita, corrigeret errorem."

most important functions, the power of degrading unworthy members of the senatorial order. But the temper of the times was unfavourable to such delegation of irresponsible power even to an ancient and venerated magistracy. Private character was no longer confided in as a guarantee for the honourable discharge of a public trust. As long as the censor was prohibited by law from noting the infamy of his fellow citizens, his office might seem indeed shorn of its former lustre; but he was exempt himself from the jealousies which so invidious a duty must otherwise have heaped upon him. But when the restriction was removed, he had no longer an excuse for inaction; all connivance at vice was construed into fear of offending the powerful; the reputation of the censor and of his office sank together, and no man with any regard to his character coveted from henceforth a position which had once been the most honourable in the state.¹

The consuls were succeeded in the year 703 by M. Claudius Marcellus and Servius Sulpicius Rufus without disturbance or impediment. They both belonged to the party of the oligarchy: the former was animated by peculiar hostility to Cæsar; the other was a man of whom the nobles were justly proud, on account of his great reputation as a jurist.² Their influence with Pompeius was such as to secure their election against Cato, who had declared himself also a candidate, but whose independence of character was feared by the men in power. The candidates, it is said, abstained from bribery; authority and intimidation may have served instead. But the successful suitors for the suffrages of the tribes had put on the garb of flattery and condescension; to which Cato, who maintained all the stiffness of the antique virtue, refused to bend.³ His impracticable purism sustained a fatal defeat, and he determined from thenceforth to decline all further competition for public honours, by which conduct he inflicted,

Consuls for the year 703. M. Claudius Marcellus and Servius Sulpicius Rufus: defeat of Cato.

¹ Dion, xl. 57.

² Cic. *pro Muren.* 10, 11, 12., *Brut.* 41.; Gell. vi. 12. &c.; Quintil. x. 1.

³ Dion, xl. 58.

probably, a serious injury upon his unfortunate country, which stood so much in need of honesty among its rulers.

The position which Cicero had lost as a political leader might be compensated to the state by the activity and success with which he applied himself to the business of a pleader in political causes. For some years there was, perhaps, no cause of importance in which his eloquence was not put in requisition for the accusation or the defence; and his name grew more and more illustrious, both for the brilliancy and the effectiveness of his harangues. On the one hand, he defended and saved Saufeius, a friend and associate of Milo;¹ on the other, he did not shrink from accusing Munatius Plancus,² at the risk of offending Pompeius. Nor did he quail before the threat of a public impeachment himself: once released from the persecution of Clodius, who seems to have had a greater mastery over his courage than any other of his enemies, his confidence in his own powers was unabashed, and he defied the malice of the world. Cicero seems indeed to have recovered, in these congenial occupations, some portion of his earlier spirits and sanguine temper. Though in his private correspondence he still expressed himself in despair for his country's destinies, yet that he did in fact retain hopes of better days appears from the interest he continued to take in those, among the rising generation, who seemed to give the greatest promise of goodness and wisdom.³ Such seems to have been his opinion more particularly of the younger Curio, the son of Scribonius, whom the experienced statesman delighted in educating, to fill hereafter, as he fondly imagined, the highest places in the state, to the advantage of the commonwealth.⁴

Cicero's activity in pleading.

His attachment to Curio, and hopes of him.

¹ Aseon. *in Milon.* p. 54.

² Dion, xl. 55.; Cic. *ad Div.* vii. 2.

³ Abeken (*Cicero in sein. Brief.* p. 186.). It was in this year that he wrote the treatise *de Legibus.* Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln,* p. 260.

⁴ The family of Curio was distinguished for its talents. Plin. *H. N.* vii. 41.: "Una familia Curionum, in quâ tres continua serie oratores exstiterunt." Schol. Bob. *in Clodian. et Curion.* p. 330. ed. Orell.: "Tres illis temporibus Curiones illustri nomine exstiterunt, atque ita in libris adhuc feruntur: Curio

Yet this was the young patrician whom Vettius, as we have seen, had implicated in the alleged conspiracy against the triumvirs, and against whom Cicero himself had uttered expressions of no little bitterness: we cannot doubt that his early years were stained by the worst vices of his time, such as, in a more sober period at least, would have left little room for auguring from him a more useful and honourable manhood. But in those times of sudden change, the dissipation of youth might yet give place to better counsels and the growing strength of a manly character: the abilities of Curio were brilliant, and his disposition had some natural bias towards the good; his recent quæstorship of Asia had opened his mind to larger views of interest and duty, and his sphere of action was expanded by the death of his father, a man of considerable influence among his order. Cicero exerted himself to the utmost to develop the latent seeds of good in his favourite and pupil; and it would seem that the young man had already made some return for this care, by the zeal with which he had served his monitor in the affair of Clodius.¹

Cicero obtained an honourable reward for the courage he had recently displayed in the acquisition of the place in the College of Augurs rendered vacant by the death of Publius Crassus.² Hortensius proposed and Pompeius lent his countenance to this appointment,³ and the only drawback to the complacency of the successful candidate was the obscurity of his competitor Hirrus. The office itself he considered one of the most dignified which a citizen could enjoy;⁴ and his vanity could plume itself on unsubstantial dignities, when real power eluded his grasp. But the law of Pompeius, which restricted the administration of the provinces to such magistrates as had completed their term of office five years previously, left a gap in the ordinary succession to these governments, which could only be filled

Cicero obtains a place in the College of Augurs.

avus, qui Servium Fulvium incesti reum defendit, et hic, C. Curio pater qui P. Clodio affuit, et tertius ille Curio tribunicius," &c.

¹ See Cicero's Letter to Curio, *ad Div.* ii. 1.

² Plut. *Cic.* 36.

³ Cic. *Brut.* 1.

⁴ Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 12.

by invoking the services of the consuls and prætors of past years, who had already served, or, perhaps, had declined to serve at a distance from Rome. Among the number of the latter was Cicero, whom the alluring temptations of the proconsulate had never yet induced to abandon that position in the city which he considered the only proper sphere for the exercise of his accomplishments. Nor was he less reluctant

Accepts with
reluctance the
government of
Cilicia.

now to accept the commission which was thus, in a manner, forced upon him. He saw more clearly, perhaps, than others, though few were altogether blind to it, the imminence of a decisive struggle between the leaders of party; he was slackening in his attentions to Cæsar, and attaching himself more closely to the culminating fortunes of his rival; and he flattered himself, perhaps, that his own presence might supply the deficiency of public virtue which he still mournfully remarked in his patron's counsels. But to obey the call of the commonwealth was the point of honour with the Roman statesman; and when Syria and Cilicia were assigned to himself and Bibulus, the latter was the province which fell by lot to his hands.¹

The province of Cilicia was of considerable extent, and of no less military importance. It comprehended, besides

State of Cilicia.

the narrow district between the Taurus and the sea to which the appellation more properly belonged, the countries of Pisidia, Pamphylia, Isauria and Lycaonia, together with the three districts of Southern Phrygia, distinguished by the names of their respective capitals, Laodicea, Cibyra and Apamea.² To these was added the neighbouring island of Cyprus. From the moment that he reached the frontiers of his government the new proconsul was called upon to exercise the military functions, so foreign to his habits and education, which the republic imposed upon the rulers of her subjects, no less than the administration of her laws. In Lycaonia he met his army, which ought to have consisted of two legions, but was reduced in numbers by the absence of some cohorts.³ It was necessary to advance with-

¹ Plut. *l. c.*

² Cic. *ad Div.* xiii. 67.

³ Cic. *ad Div.* iii. 6.

out an instant's delay to the eastern extremity of the province, in order to check the insolence of the Parthians, who were threatening an irruption into the Roman territory, nor less to control the disaffection of the king of Armenia, who, as we have seen, had lately formed a family alliance with the victors of Carrhæ. Cicero stationed himself at Cibystra at the foot of the Taurus.¹ This place was within the frontiers of the dependent kingdom of Cappadocia, where Ariobarzanes II. occupied the throne upon which his father had been placed by the Romans. A conspiracy against him was on the point of breaking out, and it was only by the presence of the proconsul and his legions that it was repressed; but the king was with difficulty able to maintain himself against the rebellious spirit of his subjects, fostered, no doubt, by the intrigues of his Parthian neighbours. Cicero could not afford to detach any troops for the defence of his capital or person; the terror of the Roman name was all the assistance he could lend him; but this was sufficient to check the apprehended revolt. The smallness of the military force which was assigned for the support of the dependent sovereigns, for repressing the discontent of the provincials themselves, for overawing the predatory tribes of Isauria, for withstanding the encroachments of the Parthians or Armenians, cannot fail to move our astonishment. It is calculated certainly to impress us with an exalted notion of the moral influence exercised over the provinces by the vigour of the Roman administration, and the more so at a moment when a large army had so recently been lost almost within sight of the frontiers. It must be remembered, however, that Cicero himself complains of the inadequacy of his forces; and his friend Cælius accuses the uniform misconduct of the senate in leaving its generals in the provinces miserably ill-provided for the services they had to perform.² Cæsar and Pompeius were already draining the ordinary resources of the state, and diverting the flower of the Roman youth into their own camps. The proconsul was

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* v. 18.

² Cic. *ad Att.* v. 18., and Cælius to Cicero, *ad Div.* viii. 5.

obliged to make a levy of Roman citizens in his province, while he trusted to the goodwill of Deiotarus, the king of Galatia, to double his numbers with auxiliary troops. But the expedient of enlistment did not answer his wishes; the number of the Romans in those parts was small, and they were reluctant to quit their lucrative employments for the perils of military service. Bibulus, who made the same complaint in his government of Syria, relinquished the attempt as wholly unprofitable.¹

The apprehensions of a Parthian invasion which the proconsul of Cilicia entertained, were relieved by the high spirit with which Cassius Longinus defied it in Syria with the remnant of the army of Crassus.² After his general's fatal discomfiture, Cassius had retired to Antioch, resolving to provide for the safety as well as the internal administration of the province until he should be superseded by the arrival of a new proconsul. In the preceding year he had repulsed some Parthian squadrons which had ventured to cross the frontiers of the Roman territory. While Cicero was still advancing leisurely from Rome to assume his command in Cilicia, Pacorus, the son of Orodes, appeared again with larger forces, and in a more determined attitude, almost before the walls of the Syrian capital. Cicero claims the merit of having emboldened Cassius by his proximity to bring the enemy to a decisive engagement; but a comparison of dates clearly shows that the victory which the latter now obtained was some weeks previous to Cicero's arrival at the foot of the Taurus.³ Nor did Bibulus appear in time to reap any share in his lieutenant's laurels. The Parthians seem to have been sufficiently discouraged by their successive defeats; they refrained from any further demonstrations of hostility; and to pursue them into their own

¹ See Cicero's complaints in an official despatch to the consuls and senate (*ad Div.* xv. 1.).

² Liv. *Epit.* cviii.; Dion, xl. 29, 30.; Vell. ii. 46.; Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 7.

³ Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, p. 260.; comp. Cic. *ad Att.* v. 20. with *ad Div.* xv. 4.

country demanded greater forces, and perhaps bolder leaders, than the Roman power in the east could at that moment furnish. Accordingly, the new proconsul abstained from the prosecution of any military enterprize against the enemy; but he kept a watchful eye upon their affairs, and fomented a family quarrel in the Parthian court, which resulted in the revolt of Pacorus against his father.¹

The citizens of Rome seem to have derived some amusement from contemplating the novel situation of their peaceful philosopher, in the heart of a country swarming with banditti and half-reclaimed pirates, and with clouds of Parthian cavalry rolling in his front.

Military exploits and civil administration of Cicero.

But Cicero was ably supported by his brother and other officers; and when the more serious danger had passed away, he was far from shrinking from the safer though less glorious warfare which the state of his province demanded. He chastised the marauders of the mountains in more than one expedition; ² his soldiers complimented him with the title of Imperator, and the senate rewarded him with the honour of a Supplication.³ For his own part he was so much dazzled by his own exploits as to fix his heart on the distinction of a triumph.⁴ Indeed we may reasonably feel at a loss whether most to admire the ability of the man who could thus acquit himself with credit in a career so alien from the studies of his life, the excellence of the training which enabled his countrymen ordinarily to exchange without disadvantage the gown for the breastplate, the forum for the camp, or again, the perfection of the military system, which seemed to require no more than good sense and firmness in the general to insure the success of his arms. Nor did the moderation and wisdom of Cicero's civil administration belie the lessons of public virtue of which he had been so conspicuous a teacher. On the

¹ Dion, xl. 30.

² See Cicero's official despatch (*ad Div.* xv. 4.); comp. Plut. *Cic.* 36.

³ Cælius to Cicero (*ad Div.* viii. 11.).

⁴ Cic. *ad Att.* vi. 6.: "Amicorum literæ me ad triumphum vocant." Comp *ad Att.* vii. 1., *ad Div.* xv. 6.

one hand, we may be assured that the man who resisted the importunities of M. Brutus, seconded by the instances of his own personal friends,¹ would exercise a wholesome severity in checking the extortion of less distinguished and less powerful subordinates; on the other, we learn that the expenses of the government were reduced to a scale of the most scrupulous economy,² and that a troop of disappointed parasites groaned over the ample surplus which was poured into the national coffers.³

Meanwhile, the consulship of Sulpicius and M. Marcellus was attended with continued tranquillity in the city. The rival parties were intently watching each other, and calculating their next moves with breathless anxiety, and it seemed agreed that the game should be played out by an effort of skill and coolness. The commencement of Cæsar's proconsulate dated from the first of January, 696, and the original provisions of the Vatinian law had been extended, by the good offices of Trebonius, to a second term of five years, commencing from the beginning of 701. Accordingly, in the middle of 703 his government had still two years and a half to run. At this moment the wars of Gaul, as we have seen, were almost brought to a close; but the remainder of the term he might still advantageously employ in consolidating his influence both in the province and among the needy politicians of the capital. The senate had just carried the election of two of its partisans, L. Æmilius Paulus and C. Claudius Marcellus, who were to enter upon the consulship at the commencement of the ensuing year. It was for a still distant vacancy that Cæsar reserved his pretensions. During the interval he remained entrenched, as it were, behind the provisions of the law which had been extorted from Pompeius, and depended on the exertions of his party to carry his

State of
parties during
the consulship
of Sulpicius
and M. Marcellus.

A. U. 703.

B. C. 51.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* v. 21., vi. 1-3. See above, Vol. I. p. 314.

² Cic. *ad Att.* v. 16.; comp. Plut. *l. c.*

³ Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 1.: "Ingenuit nostra cohors omne illud putans distribui sibi oportere."

election in the city while he still retained the command of his legions in Gaul. Among the nobles, indeed, there were not a few who felt the obligation to respect so recent and clear an enactment. Others, less scrupulous perhaps on this point, were still unwilling to strip him of his power while his rival, of whom they were hardly less jealous, continued to wield the military government of Spain. Cato himself, exasperated at the slight he had sustained from the creatures of Pompeius, would willingly have pulled down both the rivals together from their proud elevation. But M. Marcellus and the more violent section of the party were for pushing their attack upon the popular leader without disguise, and disregarded all further considerations. The consul audaciously proposed that Cæsar's term should be cut short at once by the appointment of a successor. Pompeius masked the approaches by which he hoped to storm his rival's position by assurances of his implicit deference to the will of the senate, at the same time that he affected moderation, and interrupted its deliberations by absenting himself from the city when it was proposed to bring the matter to a solemn debate. At this moment all eyes were turned towards the tribunitian bench, where some were known to be devoted to Cæsar, and determined to exercise their fatal veto in any case of direct attack upon his rights. A correspondent of Cicero reveals to us the feelings with which the election of young Curio to the tribuneship was regarded by the nobles. Already it was surmised that one so giddy in temper, and so needy as he was known to be, might easily be corrupted by the arts of the most accomplished of intriguers; but they trusted in a slight which he was said to have received from Cæsar, and still clung to the hope that he would continue faithful to the policy of his family and friends.¹ They declared boldly that if any tribune protested against the removal of the proconsul of

Renewed intrigues for depriving Cæsar of his province.

The younger Curio elected tribune.

¹ Cælius to Cicero (*ad Div.* viii. 4.): "Curio . . . nihil consilio facit, incutit multis magnum metum, sed ut spero et volo et ut se fert ipse, bonos et senatum malet . . . quod eum Cæsar . . . valdè contempsit."

Gaul, they had partisans on the same bench pledged to frustrate the appointment of a successor to any one of the provincial governors, and thus bring matters to a crisis which would demand the intervention of a dictator.¹

At length, on the last day of September, M. Marcellus came forward and proposed that, on the first of March ensuing, the consuls who should have then entered upon office should proceed to the usual assignment of the provinces of the republic.² The first two months of the year were appropriated to the reception of foreign ambassadors and the regulation of external affairs. The first of March was apparently the ordinary day for assigning the provinces, the most important business connected with the internal economy of the state.³ Marcellus had made no express mention of Cæsar's province; but it was well known that he was in reality aimed at, and a second decree was fulminated against any tribune who should venture to impede the proceedings of the senate. It was further provided that the claims of Cæsar's veterans should be taken into immediate consideration; and it was evidently hoped that they might thus be seduced from their allegiance to their beloved commander. Three tribunes protested, notwithstanding, and even Sulpicius expressed his disapproval of his colleague's proposition; but the majority of the senate did not hesitate to confirm it, and Pompeius intimated with solemnity

Disapproved of by the moderate party, but supported by Pompeius.

that obedience to the senate was the first duty of a citizen. Hitherto, he said, he could not have interfered to abridge Cæsar's term of government, but now his scruples vanished. *What then would he do, asked Marcellus, if the tribunes should interpose, and forbid the law for assigning his provinces to a successor? It would make no difference, he replied, whether Cæsar refused to obey the senate himself, or prompted*

¹ Cælius to Cicero (*ad Div.* viii. 5.).

² *Ad Div.* viii. 9.

³ Compare Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 15.: "Ex Kal. denique ei Martiis nascetur repente provincia." Perhaps this was a provision of the Sempronian law for the assignment of consular provinces before the consuls' election.

his creatures to do so. And what, urged another, if Cæsar should persist in suing for the consulship, and refuse to abdicate his command? What, he returned, if my son should raise his stick against me?¹ These words were not regarded as sufficiently explicit. They might, indeed, imply a contempt for the restless intriguer too great to condescend to so monstrous a supposition; but, whatever language Pompeius might hold, his intentions were never free from suspicion; and on this occasion there were not wanting some to surmise that he had still a private understanding with the common enemy. Cæsar appears to have remonstrated against the injustice of the proceeding, and even, if we may believe the testimony of one writer, offered to resign the Transalpine and Illyrian provinces, retaining only the Cisalpine.² But the senate gave no heed to him. Exasperated to a pitch of unusual warmth, he could no longer refrain from intimating his resolution to preserve himself, if necessary, by an appeal to arms. When the news was conveyed to him of the determination at which the senate had thus arrived to deprive him of his government on the appointed day, he laid his hand on his sword and exclaimed, *This, then, shall keep it.*³

Cæsar offers to resign the Transalpine and Illyricum.

It still remained to be seen whether these bold assailants would have the courage to abide by this resolution when the time came to put them to the proof. It was, perhaps, the object of a section at least of the party to anticipate the risk of failure by driving the popular leader at once to violence. Such seems to have been the aim of a brutal insult with which the consul Marcellus now provoked him. Cæsar had constituted himself the patron of the Transpadane Gauls, and among other acts by which he had confirmed his interests in that country, he

M. Marcellus insults Cæsar by the ill-treatment of a Transpadane Gaul.

Cælius to Cicero, *l. c.*

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 25. It may be suspected that Appian anticipates in this place an offer of the kind, which Cæsar undoubtedly made at a later period.

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 26. Plutarch, however, attributes this sally to one of his soldiers.

had founded a colony at Novum Comum. The Transpadanes had already obtained the Latin franchise from the republic through the influence of Pompeius Strabo;¹ a privilege which, as is well known, conferred upon all who had held a provincial magistracy the full rights of Roman citizenship. Scourging was a punishment from which a Roman citizen, in the fullest sense, was legally exempt. This immunity was considered as a distinction, and guarded with jealousy. Marcellus caused a freeman of Novum Comum to be seized, upon some pretence, and beaten with rods. The man, it appears, had not served a magistracy;² he could not legally claim exemption; but the act was not the less offensive to the patron of his countrymen, who felt that it was intended to disparage his influence. Cicero's good sense and moderation denounced it as an act of wanton hostility towards one who deserved at least honourable regard from every citizen of the republic. The indignity was redoubled, when the consul bade the man go and show his scars to the patron who was powerless to relieve him.

It is not improbable that the precarious position in which the proconsul was at this time supposed to be, may have in-

¹ Strab. v. 1. 6.: *Ascon. in Pisonian.* p. 3. ed. Orell. Novum Comum was the name given to Comum, now Como, when Cæsar founded a second colony there. Drumann thinks that as the first colony of Pompeius Strabo received the *jus Latii*, the second had the complete Roman franchise. There is no authority for such a supposition, and it can only be adopted with the idea that it is required for the point of the story before us. But the act of Marcellus was sufficiently irritating to Cæsar, without supposing a direct violation or denial of a citizen's privileges.

² Such are Cicero's express words: "Marcellus fœde de Comensi: etsi ille magistratum non gesserat, erat tamen Transpadanus" (*ad. Att.* v. 11.). Appian (ii. 26.) and also Plutarch (*Cæs.* 29.) assert the contrary, but Cicero's authority is of course to be preferred. He goes on to complain of the act as disrespectful to Pompeius, whose father had given the *jus Latii* to the Transpadanes. It could hardly be represented as such, if Marcellus had merely denied Cæsar's power to confer a higher right than had been conceded to his predecessor. Middleton, I observe, makes bad Latin of the passage, reading *gesserit* (it should be *gessisset*) for *gesserat*, in a futile attempt to reconcile it with Appian and Plutarch.

spired his enemies with courage to hurl this insult at his head. It was reported at Rome that his cavalry had been destroyed in a disastrous engagement; that the seventh legion had suffered a severe defeat; that in his expedition against the Bellovaci he had been cut off with a small detachment from the rest of his forces: whispers as to his fate were circulating in the ranks of the nobility; Domitius put his finger to his lips with a significant look, which our informant declines to interpret.¹ But Pompeius at least had more confidence in his rival's ability to extricate himself from his difficulties. When Marcellus proceeded still further, and proposed to send the proconsul's successors into his provinces, even before the time appointed, he interfered with expressions of moderation and respect for so noble a champion of the commonwealth.² At the same time, however, he insisted, without disguise, that the senate should take up the matter in due season, and assume the right of deciding peremptorily upon his claims.

Supposed peril of Cæsar's position in Gaul.

At this crisis, while the more wary among the nobles might still distrust their ability to resist the enemy whom the more violent were driving to desperation, an incident occurred which served to confirm their uncertain hopes, and raised them to the highest pitch of temerity. The health of Pompeius was far from robust: he was wont to suffer periodically from the autumnal fevers, which appear in all ages to have been the bane of the Tyrrhenian coast. Towards the close of the year 703 he was prostrated by severe sickness at Neapolis, and his life was for a time despaired of. He had now reached the culminating point of his political career, and, having enjoyed, and still

Pompeius falls sick at Neapolis.

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* viii. 1. Cælius writes to Cicero, in Cilicia, on the first of June: "Quod ad Cæsarem crebri et non belli de eo rumores sed susurratores duntaxat veniunt: alius equitem perdidisse, quod, opinor, factum est: alius septimam legionem vapulasse; ipsum apud Bellovacos circumsederi, interclusum ab reliquo exercitu: neque adhuc certi quicquam est, neque hæc incerta tamen vulgo jactantur: sed inter paucos, quos tu nosti, palam secreto narrantur: at Domitius,—quum manus ad os opposuit—"

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 26.

more, having surrendered the sole consulship, there remained nothing within the sphere of the laws which could increase his reputation either for power or moderation. The only legitimate boon which fortune might still bestow upon her favourite was an honoured and tranquil old age; but the storms which were gathering in the horizon forbade the hope of so happy a consummation. At such a moment, said the Roman moralists, the gods, in their foresight, offered to remove the great Pompeius beyond the sphere of human change; but the cities and the nations interposed with prayer, and preserved their beloved hero for defeat and decapitation.¹ The people of Neapolis and Puteoli were the first to make a public demonstration of grief and despair. Vows and sacrifices were offered for the sick man's recovery. He was saved, and the same people expressed their delight with festivals and dances, and crowned their heads with chaplets. These, indeed, Cicero might have said, were only Greeks;² but the reserved and sober Italians were no less ardent in their adulation. The roads were thronged; the villages were crowded like cities; the harbours could not contain the vessels which brought strangers from beyond the sea to salute the popular idol as he was transported slowly from place to place on his way to Rome. Pompeius from his litter contemplated this movement of the people with lively satisfaction; he regarded it as a crowning proof of the depth to which his influence had penetrated, as a gauge of the inexhaustible resources of his popularity.³ Rooted on a foundation so broad and immovable, what should he fear from Cæsar or Cæsar's veterans? There was no one at his ear to whisper how hollow these demonstrations were, to

Enthusiasm of
the Italians on
his recovery.

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¹ Cic. *Tusc. Qu.* i. 35., from whence the celebrated lines of Juvenal (x. 283.) are taken: "Fortuna ipsius et Urbis Servatum victo caput abstulit;" a sentence of most pregnant brevity. Comp. also Vell. ii. 48.; Senec. *Cons. ad Marc.* 20.; Liv. ix. 17.

² Cic. *l. c.*: "Coronati Neapolitani fuerunt, nimirum etiam Puteolani: vulgo ex oppidis publicè gratulabantur: ineptum sane negotium et Græculum."

³ Plut. *Pomp.* 57.

foretell that Italy would surrender to his rival without a blow, and that the voices now loudest in the accents of devotion to him would welcome the conqueror of Gaul with no less fervent acclamations. *But what, exclaimed a shrewder observer, are the prospects of a party whose champion falls dangerously sick at least once a year?*¹

The termination of the conquest of Gaul found the work of pacification already far advanced. The policy of Cæsar was essentially different from that of his predecessors in provincial administration. The provinces on either side of the Alps had been bound to the car of the republic by the iron links of arms and colonies. Large tracts of land had been wrested from the conquered people, and conferred upon such Roman citizens as would exchange for foreign plunder the security of their own homes, and maintain the outposts of the empire in the midst of prostrate enemies. The military spirit which animated these colonists, their discipline, intelligence and valour, sufficed to overawe the natives almost without the presence of regular troops. But such a system could not possibly be extended to the vast territories which the state was now suddenly invited to organize. Nor was it Cæsar's wish to bring Rome thus, as it were, into the provinces; his object was, on the contrary, to approach the Gaulish provincials to Rome, to give them an interest and a pride in the city of their conquerors. The first step towards making citizens of the Gauls was to render the Roman yoke as light as possible. Accordingly Cæsar established no colonies throughout the vast region which he added to the empire. The form of a province which he gave to it was little more than nominal. As Cisalpine Gaul was distinguished by the title of *Togata, the gowned*, to indicate its peaceful character and approximation to the manners of the city, so the Province, otherwise called the *Narbonensis*, was contrasted with it by the epithet *Braccata, or t.ousered*, from the uncouth habiliments of its people. So,

Cæsar's mild
and concilia-
tory treatment
of the Gauls.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* viii. 2: "In unius hominis quotannis periculose ægrotantis anima positas omnes spes nostras habemus."

also, to the whole of the immense country between the Rhone, the Ocean and the Rhine, the acquisition of Cæsar himself, another term of distinction was applied, and it was called Comata, from the long wild hair of its native barbarians. But, on the other hand, the conqueror allowed the appearance at least of their original freedom to most of the states within these limits. He was not afraid to trust the most spirited of the Gallic tribes with this flattering boon. Not only the Arverni, the Ædui, the Bituriges, but even the fierce and intractable Treviri, were indulged with the name of free states.¹ They had their own magistrates, senates and deliberations, guided no doubt by Roman agents; and, as we hear in later times that the subjects of discussion were appointed by the government, and the topics and arguments of the speakers strictly controlled,² so it is probable that Cæsar did not cease to exercise jealous vigilance over the assemblies he permitted to exist. Other states were taken into the alliance of the victorious republic.³ The tribute which the provincials paid was softened by the name of military contribution,⁴ and that it might not press heavily upon them, the annual sum was definitely fixed at the moderate amount of forty millions of sesterces.⁵ Upon both cities and chiefs he showered a profusion of honours and more substantial benefits.⁶ But, after all, the manner of the magnanimous Roman won as many hearts as his benefactions. When he saw his own sword suspended, as has been mentioned, in the temple of its Arvernian captors, he refused to reclaim it, saying, with a gracious smile, that the offering was sacred.⁷

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 59.; Plin. *H. N.* iv. 31. 33.

² Tac. *Ann.* iii. 43.; Ukert, *Geog. der Gr. und Röm.* iii. 255.

³ Tac. *Germ.* 29.

⁴ Suet. *Jul.* 25.; Thierry, *Gaulois*, iii. 211.

⁵ Computing the sestertius at 2*d.* and a fraction, this sum will represent about 350,000*l.* of our money.

⁶ Auct. *B. G.* viii. 49: "Itaque honorifice civitates appellando, principes maximis præmiis afficiendo." Dion's account, indeed, is not so favourable: τοὺς μὲν ἐταπείνωσε, τοὺς δὲ ἡμέρωσε (xl. 43.).

⁷ Plut. *Cæs.* 26.: ἱερὸν ἡγούμενος. The writer evidently attributes this generosity to a feeling of superstition.

Cæsar, indeed, had another enemy in the southern part of his province, the Pompeian faction, whom he feared more than the Gauls themselves, and it was in order to strengthen himself against these that he paid his court to the nations which he had subdued. The stronghold of this party lay in the Narbonensis, where Pompeius had established the base of his operations against Sertorius, and which he had filled with his legionaries and dependants. Narbo Martius, the principal city in the west of the province, was devoted to the interests of the chief of the nobles; nor was Massilia less attached to the cause of the Roman aristocracy, to which it had looked for alliance and protection during the period of its struggle with the neighbouring tribes. The presence of Marius in those regions for a period of some years had, indeed, introduced relations with the party of which he was the victorious champion; and when that party had been trampled down by Sulla in Italy many of its proscribed adherents had taken refuge in the Gaulish province. It was there that Lepidus had hoped to muster allies for his futile attack upon the Roman oligarchy; it was from thence that Perpenna had brought powerful reinforcements to Sertorius in Spain; but after the triumph of Pompeius the south of Gaul was reorganized as a dependency of the ascendant class by a system of cruel confiscations and proscriptions. Milo selected Massilia for his place of retreat, as being a stronghold of his order. For the same reason, perhaps, Catilina pretended to go into banishment there, as a pledge to the senate that he had no views opposed to their interests. Pompeius, after his return to Rome, had still continued in fact to govern the Province through the agency of Fonteius and other proconsuls, up to the moment of Cæsar's arrival. But the new governor was intently occupied in undoing the work of his predecessors. He exerted himself to recover the favour of the Massilians by doubling the benefits his rival had already conferred upon them. He extended the limits of their territory, and increased the tributes they derived from

He conciliates
the adherents
of the senate
in the pro-
vince.

it.¹ The project, at least, of building a city and forming a naval station at Forum Julii may be attributed to Cæsar, though it is uncertain whether he actually completed it.² With the ulterior designs he had in view he could not follow the example of Sulla and Pompeius in disbanding his veterans, and establishing them in colonies throughout the country; but we hear of the settlement of a division of the tenth legion at Narbo, of the sixth at Arelate, of the seventh at Biterræ, of the eighth at Antipolis;³ and it is probable that he made at least the commencement of an assignment of lands at those places, which was afterwards completed by Augustus.

If the clemency which the Gaulish cities experienced at his hands should fail to procure their acquiescence in the ascendancy with which Rome seemed to be content, the proconsul adopted other means of depriving them of the power of contesting it. He placed himself at the head of the military spirit of the people, and converted the flower of their youth into one great Roman army. The legions with which he had effected the reduction of the country had been principally of Gaulish blood and language; the republic had furnished him with no Italian troops.⁴ The tenth legion was raised by Pomptinus in the Transalpine province to combat the Allobroges. The seventh, eighth and ninth, which Cæsar found in the Cisalpine, were probably the levies of Metellus in that region, when he was commissioned to close the Alps against the retreat of Catilina.⁵ The eleventh and twelfth were the

Cæsar attaches to himself the military spirit of the Gauls.

Composition of his legions.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 35.: "Bello victos Salyas attribuit, vectigaliaque auxit." The Massilians acknowledged that they had received *paria beneficia* from Cæsar and Pompeius.

² D'Anville, *Notice sur la Gaule, in voc.*

³ Mela, ii. 5.; Plin. *H. N.* iii. 4.; Ukert, *Geog. der Gr. und Röm.*; Guischard, *Mém. Milit.* iii. 16.

⁴ Guischard, *Mém. Milit.* iii. § 2.

⁵ Auct. *B. C.* viii. 8.: "Tres veterrimæ legiones." The legions which Pompeius maintained in Spain bore the numbers one to six. The numbers were given according to the date of conscription; but even at this early period the armies of the east and west had no reference to each other, and the

proconsul's hasty conscription in his province at the commencement of his first campaign. The thirteenth and fourteenth were raised from the same countries to oppose the great confederacy of the Belgians. Of these, the latter had been cut to pieces by the Eburones;¹ but another fourteenth and a fifteenth also were afterwards levied in the Gaulish provinces. Even the legion which Pompeius had lent to his rival had been raised by him in the Cisalpine, by the order of the senate. Only a small portion of these soldiers could have been of genuine Roman or Italian extraction, with the full franchise of the city; they were levied, no doubt, from the native population of the numerous states which had been endowed with the Latin rights.² It was contrary to the first rule of military service to admit mere aliens into the ranks of the Roman legion, or to form supplemental legions of the unfranchised provincials. But each of these divisions was attended by an unlimited number of cohorts,³ which, under the name of *auxilia*, were equipped, for the most part, in the same manner as itself, and placed under the same discipline and command. The common dangers and glories of a few campaigns side by side had rendered the Gaulish auxiliary no less efficient than the legionary himself. Cæsar surrounded himself with a large force of this kind, and swept into its ranks a great number of the men of note and influence in their respective cities.⁴ One entire legion, indeed, he did not scruple to compose of Gauls alone; and of all his audacious innovations, none, perhaps, jarred more upon the prejudices of his countrymen. But in so doing he was carrying out his

legions of Syria were numbered independently of those of Spain and Gaul. Guischart, *l. c.*

¹ Two legions are said to have been destroyed on that occasion; probably there remained enough of them to be drafted into a single legion.

² Sigon. *de Jur. Ant. Ital.* iii. 2., *de Jur. Prov.* i. 6.

³ The thirty-second cohort of the second legion is mentioned on a medal. Harduin. *ad Plin.* iii. 4.

⁴ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 39.: "Nominatim ex omnibus civitatibus nobilissimo et feruissimo quoque evocato."

policy of amalgamation; and he acted on the same principle, when, at a later period, he gave to this whole body the Roman franchise. The soldiers who composed this legion were distinguished by a helmet with the figure of a lark or a tuft of its plumage on the crest, from whence it derived its name

Alauda.¹ The Gauls admired the spirit and vivacity of the bird, and rejoiced in the omen.

Fond of the excitement of a military life, vain of the consideration attached to the profession of arms, proud of themselves and of their leaders, they found united in Cæsar's service all the charms which most attracted them. No captain ever knew better how to win the personal affection of his soldiers, while he commanded their respect. The general severity of his discipline enhanced the favour of his indulgence. Even the studied appearance of caprice, and the rudeness which he could mingle seasonably with his refined accomplishments, hit the humour of the camp, and delighted the fancy of his followers.² Accordingly, he enjoyed popularity among his troops such as seldom fell to the lot of the Roman generals, who maintained discipline by the terror of punishment alone. Throughout his Gaulish campaigns there was no single instance of an open act of insubordination; even the raw recruits of his earliest campaign quailed at the first words of his rebuke. The self-devotion manifested in moments of peril by men and officers astonished even the ample experience of the Romans. It was impossible to make his soldiers, when captured, turn their arms against him; and the toils and privations they endured in their marches and sieges more appalled the enemy than their well-known bravery in the field.³ This was the secret of their repeated triumphs over numbers and every other advantage; the renown they hence acquired charmed away the malice or patriotism of the

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 24.: Plin. *H. N.* xi. 44.; Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 8.; comp. Drumann, *iii.* 235.

² Suet. *Jul.* 65. and foll., where he gives several instances of the kind.

³ Suet. *Jul.* l. c.

Cæsar's Gaulish legion named Alauda.

Gauls, and precipitated them once more upon Italy, under the banners of their conqueror.

Through the favour of the senate, though not without the misgivings of some at least of the party, C. Scribonius Curio had succeeded in obtaining the tribuneship. He had been noted, not long before, as one of the most rabid partizans of the oligarchy; but his character was unstable; his friend Cicero was absent; above all, his resources were, as was well known, exhausted by profligacy and profusion.

Character and
conduct of C.
Scribonius
Curio.
A. v. 704.
Consuls,
L. Æmilius
Paulus and
C. Claudius
Marcellus.

The Pompeians studied to defame with the name of corruption every expression of sentiment adverse to their patron's ascendancy, and doubtless the Gaulish gold had flowed like a stream of molten metal into every corner of the city. The guilt of Curio, even at the time, admitted of no disproof; at the present day it would be idle to attempt to allay the prevalent suspicion.¹ There was nothing, however, in his proceedings which might not admit of a more favourable construction. There were others besides himself who insisted that equal measure should be dealt to Cæsar and Pompeius. Curio proposed that both the rivals should lay down their arms simultaneously, and thus restore the senate to its legitimate supremacy. The nobles embraced his views with alacrity. When C. Marcellus, the consul, moved, on the first of March, that Cæsar should be disarmed by the appointment of a successor, the tribune interposed his amendment, and obtained on a division the overwhelming majority of three hundred and seventy to twenty-two. The people whose affections he had already secured by the promise of measures to relieve them from the charge of their own subsistence, as well as from the ordinary burdens of civil government,² eagerly ap-

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 26.; Dion, xl. 60. Velleius, however, who is generally very temperate and judicious in regard to charges of this kind, declines to express an opinion. "Id gratis an accepto HS. centies fecerit, ut accepimus, in medio relinquemus."

² Cælius to Cicero (*ad. Div.* viii. 6.): "Levissimè transfugit ad populum et præ Cæsare loqui cœpit; legemque viariam, non dissimilem agrariæ Rulli et

plauded him, and strewed the ground before him with flowers, as before an athlete returning victorious from the arena.¹ Pompeius was absent at the moment, and this discomfiture stunned him. He hastened to appear in the senate, and there made specious professions of his willingness to obey the recent vote, and expressed will of the assembly. *But Cæsar, he interposed, is my friend and connexion; I know that his wishes are for retirement and peace; his eyes are turned towards the city, where his name is held in such deserved honour, where nothing awaits him but congratulations and triumphs. Let us at once invite him among us by decreeing him a successor; I have given my promise to do my part hereafter towards the pacification of all jealousies and troubles.*² It was not difficult to penetrate this flimsy disguise, and Curio insisted more loudly than ever that, unless both the rivals obeyed at once and together, both should equally be declared enemies of the republic. Pompeius retired, baffled and indignant; yet he could afford to smile at the threat, for the senate had not a legion within a thousand miles of Rome, and it could not put down either Cæsar or himself without the assistance of the one against the other. This it felt, and eventually shrank from a decision: the tribune broke up the assembly.³ One decree, indeed, it passed, possibly from the very sense of its defenceless state, and to this it took care to give an external semblance of justice. It commanded each of the proconsuls to surrender one legion for the service of the commonwealth in Syria, where it was proposed to muster a large force to oppose the Parthians. Then it was that Pompeius had the assurance to demand back from Cæsar the legion which

The senate requires both Pompeius and Cæsar to surrender one legion.

alimentariam, quæ jubet ædiles metiri, jactavit." Comp. Cic. *ad Att.* vi. 1. 25.: "Vedius venit mihi obviam cum duobus essedis et rheda equis juncta et lectica et familia magna: pro qua, si Curio legem pertulerit, HS. centena pendat necesse est."

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 27.; Plut. *Pomp.* 58., *Cæs.* 30.

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 28.

³ Appian, *l. c.* 29.; Auct. *B. G.* viii. 53.: "Senatus frequens in alia omnia abiit." Cælius in a letter to Cicero uses precisely the same words.

he had lent him three years before, in addition to that which he was required to furnish to the senate. Nor did Cæsar hesitate to accede to either requisition.¹ He was assured that the soldiers would not soon forget the general who had covered them with immortal glory, and he confirmed their fidelity by a present of a thousand sesterces to each.² The Parthian war was a mere pretext; as soon as the legions arrived, the senate quartered them at Capua, and flattered itself for a moment that it could now hold the balance between the rivals with a firm and fearless hand.

The cause of Cæsar, however, was not left solely to the defence of the eloquent but profligate Curio. Sulpicius also had lent the whole weight of his authority among his order to the interests of equal justice, and the consul Æmilius Paulus, who built, with the price, it was said, of his treachery,³ the basilica which has immortalized his name, aided in thwarting the Pompeians at every step. But the blindness of his enemies worked better for the advantage of Cæsar than any exertions of his friends. Appius Claudius, one of the censors, was a furious partizan of Pompeius, and he deemed that he served the interests of the oligarchy by rigorously purifying the list of the senate. He instituted a severe examination into the revenues, the extraction, and the personal merits of its members, and pounced with instinctive sagacity upon the knights, freedmen, or impoverished nobles, whose exclusion he thought would benefit his own party. But he only confirmed and embittered the Cæsarian partialities of his victims. Among others, he proscribed Sallust, the historian, on a charge of profligacy, which, as far as it went, was no doubt fully established. But the insulted rhetorician considered himself no worse than those around him, and revenged himself by

Appius Claudius disgusts some of the senatorial party by the severity which he exercises in the censorship.

¹ Auct. *B. G.* viii. 54.: "Neque obscure hæ duæ legiones uni Cæsari detrahuntur." Comp. Appian; Dion.

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 29.

³ He received fifteen hundred talents according to Plutarch, *Cæs.* 29.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 26.; comp. Suet. *Jul.* 29.; Cic. *ad Att.* vi. 3.

openly devoting himself to the cause of the enemy.¹ If his hand was not strong, nor his purse heavy, there were other means he could use in the service of his new patron, and he has covered the Roman aristocracy with eternal infamy in a series of pungent satires under the garb of history.²

It was of more importance to sacrifice, if possible, the busy demagogue himself, and Appius would have noted Curio among the unworthy, had not his colleague L. Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, though timid in opposing the party to which he was generally attached, resisted this extreme proceeding. Appius contented himself with gravely pronouncing the unworthiness of the tribune in the senate, and the tribune retorted by tearing his robes, in token of the insult done to his sacred office.³ The consul, C. Marcellus, was not daunted by this demonstration, but put the question of his rejection to the vote of the assembly. Curio defended himself with address, and affected moderation; the senate faltered, and refrained from sanctioning his expulsion. Stung with vexation, the nobles clothed themselves in mourning, and made all the parade of a great national calamity.⁴ They attended their champion Marcellus to the suburban retreat to which under the plea of his proconsular command Pompeius had retired. They there thrust upon him the guardianship

Abortive attempt to expel Curio from the senate. Marcellus and the oligarchs appeal to Pompeius for support.

¹ Dion, xl. 63.

² Little is recorded, and that little is not undisputed, of the private life of Sallust. The spurious *Declamatio in Sallustium* describes him, probably not incorrectly, as living from hand to mouth, scraping means together by the basest methods, to squander them again in the pursuit of office or pleasure. At a later period he obtained a provincial government in Africa, and there amassed by extortion the enormous wealth for which he became notorious to posterity. This circumstance may serve to illustrate Horace's address to the historian's grand-nephew:

“Latus regnes avidum domando
Spiritus, quam si Libyam remotis
Gadibus jungas et uterque Pœnus
Serviat uni.”

Hor. *Od.* ii. 2. 9.

³ Dion, xl. 64.

⁴ Plut. *Pomp.* 59.

of the city, and placed at his disposal the two legions at Capua.¹ The cautious statesman required that this charge should be confirmed to him by the sanction of the consuls designated for the ensuing year. These were C. Claudius Marcellus,² a brother of M. Marcellus, the consul of the year 703, and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus. They both expressed their full concurrence in the voice of their party,³ and promised their future support to its chosen protector. It was vainly hoped, from the reports which were said to come from Cæsar's camp, that the proconsul's army would refuse to fight for him, and even that he might be overpowered and destroyed by the indignation of his own troops.⁴ Pompeius was still blindly persuaded that his own position was unassailable, and when pressed to make further levies, contemptuously rejected the advice. *I have only to stamp with my foot*, he said, *when the occasion requires, to raise legions from the soil of Italy.*⁵

Such is the infatuation which seems generally to attend the counsels of a proud and dignified aristocracy assailed by a revolutionary leader. Wrapped in their own tranquil composure, they fail to take account of Infatuation of the oligarchs. the contagiousness of an aggressive and lawless spirit. They make no due allowance for the restlessness and excitability of troops who have been debauched by a long career of plunder and power. They calculate on the mere instruments of a selfish leader being at last dissatisfied with their own unequal share in the combination, and on their willingness to secure their gains by turning against him. But the genius of the successful adventurer is chiefly shown in the ascendancy he gains over his adherents, filling them with his own hopes, moulding them to his own feelings, and imbuing them with the sense of being actual partakers in his triumphs. It is this

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 31.; Dion, xl. 64.

² He was cousin to C. Claudius Marcellus, the consul of 704.

³ Dion, xl. 66.

⁴ Plut. *Cæs.* 29., *Pomp.* 57.

⁵ Plut. *Pomp.* 57.

transcendent operation of mind upon mind which can only be fully understood by the same genius which can exert it.

Having ascertained the security of his conquests by a residence beyond the Alps through the winter and spring of this year, Cæsar set out in the summer to make a tour of inspection in the Cisalpine province.¹ His immediate object was to solicit the suffrages of the Roman citizens in those regions in favour of his quæstor, M. Antonius, who was a candidate for a vacant seat in the College of Augurs. The zeal with which this accomplished officer had seconded his operations in Gaul, as well as his intrigues in the city, merited the proconsul's warm support; at the same time he was aware that the nobles had determined to sacrifice Antonius to their hatred of himself. When he learned, before his arrival on the Po, that the suit of his adherent had been crowned with success,² he did not discontinue his journey. With his eye steadily fixed on the consulship, though still in the distance, he wished to make the first essay of his popularity, as the conqueror of Gaul, among the municipia and colonies to which his deeds were most familiar. Nor was he disappointed in his anticipations of the esteem in which he was held among them. Wherever he went the roads were crowded with enthusiastic admirers. The gates of the cities were opened with acclamations, or crowned with triumphal chaplets; victims were sacrificed in token of thanksgiving for his success and safety; the populace was feasted in every market-place, as if in anticipation of

Cæsar's triumphant reception in the Cisalpine province.

¹ A. U. 704, B. C. 50; Auct. *B. G.* viii. 50.

² Antonius was elected to the seat in the College of Augurs vacated by the death of Hortensius, which took place in April. Cælius to Cicero (*ad Div.* viii. 13.); comp. Cic. *ad Att.* vi. 2.; and see Fischer, *Röm. Zeittofeln.* The nobles put forward L. Domitius Ahenobarbus to contest the honour, but Curio's influence with the tribes secured the success of Cæsar's nominee. The election took place in the summer: see Cælius to Cic. *ad Div.* viii. 14.

Velleius (ii. 49.) speaks in glowing language of the good fortune of Hortensius and Lucullus in dying before the breaking out of the civil war. The latter had died soon after Cicero's return from exile. Comp. Cic. *de Prov. Consul.* 9.

the solemn triumph which he had so gloriously earned. The rich spared no profusion in honour of what he had done; the needy thronged around him in hopes of what he might yet do. Having thus traversed the whole of the Cisalpine province, and ascertained the place he held in the affections of its people, he returned to his quarters at Nemetocenna,¹ and assembled all his forces for a grand review. All eyes were turned towards Italy; the progress of hostilities between the rival parties was confessed to the world, and the army, confident in its prowess, devoted to its general, regardless of its moral ties to a city which it only knew by name, awaited with eager expectation the first signal to advance. Thus meeting for the first time all together, and recounting their several exploits, the legions burned with hardly controllable excitement. But the time was not yet come. Their ardour was tempered to the proper point by promises and flattery, and their attention was amused by moving from place to place, for the alleged convenience of abundant or healthy quarters. Meanwhile, Cæsar deputed Labienus to administer the Cisalpine province, as a faithful friend on whom he could rely for advancing the interests which he had already excited there in his favour. Rumours did not fail to reach him of the attempts his enemies were making to shake the allegiance of his well tried lieutenant as well as of his soldiery; but these he despised or disbelieved. He boldly asserted the justice of his claims as a future candidate for the consulship, under the sanction of the privilege accorded to him, and he maintained, with specious confidence, that the senate would not dare the flagrant iniquity of depriving him of his command.²

Towards the close of the year the proconsul withdrew once more into Italy, and stationed himself at Ravenna, with a single legion, the thirteenth, for his immediate protection.³ The rest of his troops were divided

Enthusiasm of
Cæsar's veter-
ans.

Cæsar stations
himself at
Ravenna,

¹ Nemetocenna, the Nemetacum of the Itineraries, afterwards Atrebatæ, modern Arras. D'Arville, *in voc.*

² Auct. *B. G.* viii. 51, 52.

³ Auct. *B. G.* viii. 54.

whither Curio
betakes him-
self.

in winter quarters between the Æduan and the Belgian territories. He had been thus far secured from a hostile vote of the senate by the ability with which Curio had maintained his interests, and the election of Antonius and Q. Cassius Longinus, another of his friends,¹ to the tribunate for the ensuing year seemed to furnish him with the legitimate means of prolonging his defence. But the act of the consul in delivering to Pompeius the guardianship of the city was in fact a declaration of war. How long would the safeguard of the laws be extended to one who was thus all but openly denounced as a public enemy? Curio's term of office was on the point of expiring, and his personal safety also was compromised. The tribune made a last appeal to the people; he proclaimed aloud that justice was violated, that the reign of law was over, that a military domination reigned in the city; he entreated the citizens to resist this tyranny, as their fathers had done before them, by refusing military service;² and when he had made this final effort he suddenly left the city, and betook himself without a moment's delay to the camp at Ravenna,³ as the only asylum of persecuted innocence.

Pompeius, meanwhile, was content to retain in its scabbard the sword which the consul had offered to him. His conduct was incomprehensible to his fiery adherents. He shunned the councils of the nobles, and kept aloof from the city, pleading the state of his health or his military command as an excuse for moving from place to place, while he left his party to maintain without a leader the wordy contests of the forum and the curia. They complained of his apparent inactivity in the bitterest language.⁴ But he gave no heed to their dissatisfaction, nor deigned to reply to the still fiercer denunciations of his whole

The nobles dis-
satisfied with
Pompeius's in-
action.

¹ Quintus was brother to C. Cassius.

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 31.

³ Dion, xl. 66.

⁴ Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 5.: "Quos ego equites Rom., quos senatores vidi! qui scerrime quum cætera tum hoc iter Pompeii vituperarent."

career, from his first appearance in public life, with which Antonius commenced his term of tribunitian licence.¹ It was just at this time that Cicero returned from Asia, where his correspondents had flattered him to the last with hopes of peace, and indulged him in the idea of claiming a triumph. His services, indeed, though not splendid or striking, were fully adequate to sustain such a claim;² and it might be supposed that the nobles would have been glad to attach another imperator firmly to their side by the gratification of a fair ambition. But either his views were not sufficiently decided for the satisfaction of the party generally, or private jealousies prevailed over the common interests of the class. Even Cato urged formal objections with more than his usual stiffness:³ but whatever might have been the result under other circumstances, the impending crisis occupied men's minds to the exclusion of all other business, and the claim was put aside for a future opportunity of discussion, which never arrived.

Cicero appeared in Italy in the military garb, attended by his lictors with laurelled fasces. He could not enter the city, where he would fain have thrown himself at once into the current of affairs; but he was imperfectly informed of the real state of things, and his views regarding them were unsettled. He repaired immediately to Pompeius at his Alban villa, and was received with an appearance of cordiality, and encouraged to persist in his suit for the much-coveted honour.⁴ At the same time Pompeius advised him not to embark in the discussions of the senate, if it should be convened outside the

Cicero's return to Italy, Jan. A. U. 704. B. C. 50. Consuls, C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

He confers with Pompeius on the state of affairs.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 8.: "Antonii concionem . . . in qua erat accusatio Pompeii usque a toga pura," &c.

² Abeken (*Cicero in sein. Brief.* p. 242.) shows that Cicero's claim was reasonable. Lentulus had enjoyed a triumph for precisely similar exploits in the same province. Cic. *ad Att.* v. 21. 4.

³ Cato to Cicero (*ad Div.* xv. 5.). He had resisted the claim of Appius Pulcher to a triumph from the same province.

⁴ Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 4., and comp. foll.

walls, ostensibly lest he should get entangled in a quarrel with the tribunes, and so prejudice his chance of success ; but in reality, perhaps, lest he should attempt to mediate between parties, and interfere for the re-establishment of concord. Cicero, he knew, was still in correspondence with Cæsar, and the Gallic proconsul's letters breathed nothing but sentiments of moderation and public virtue. Cicero himself could hardly be persuaded that a rupture was inevitable ; but his cherished hopes were overborne by the honour of Pompeius's confidence, and he resigned himself to the general conviction of his order, that the power of Cæsar must be controlled by force. He unburdened his feelings to Atticus in unavailable lamentations over the infatuation of his party in allowing that power to grow through nine years of victory, when it might have been crushed in its germ.

In the position which he was about to assume, of actual aggressor in a civil war, Cæsar felt the immense advantage of having appearances in his favour. He availed himself, therefore, of every opening which the violence of his enemies gave him for representing the justice of his claims and the innocence of his designs in the mildest language. He prevailed on Curio to return to Rome at the opening of the new year as the bearer of a message of peace.¹ He offered to surrender at once the Transalpine province, together with all the troops by which its submission was secured ; he requested no more than permission to retain the Cisalpine and Illyricum, with the moderate force of two legions.² He must have been aware that the passions of his enemies had been lashed into such fury that they would lend no ear to any compromise ; they were resolved that Cæsar should not be consul again ; the bitterness of his quæstor Antonius in the tribuneship warned them of what they might expect from the proconsul himself in a still higher place.³ But the conditions which Cæsar offered

Cæsar sends Curio to Rome with the offer of a compromise.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 1. ; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 32. ; Dion, xli. 1.

² Auct. *B. G.* viii. in fin.

³ This was the remark of Pompeius himself to Cicero. Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 8.

were a specious bait for the acclamations of the people, and the consuls were very unwilling to suffer them to be publicly known, while Curio and Antonius took care to communicate them to the world, at the same time that they laid them before the senate.¹

In the debate which followed the consuls diverted the discussion to the question of the general safety. They denounced Cæsar's imputed designs as treason undisguised. The ordinary powers of the commonwealth, said Lentulus, are paralysed; for once let forms give way to wholesome violence.² Nothing

The senate refuses Cæsar's offers, and requires him to resign his command.

remained, he urged, but that Cæsar should surrender his command on a day to be appointed by the senate, and come as a private citizen and sue in the regular course for the suffrages of the tribes. The indulgence which had before been granted him in this particular must bow to the public necessity. It was in vain that voices were still raised for delay, some urging that their party was not yet armed; others, that if Pompeius would depart for his distant province all would be well;³ there would be no danger of collision between the electric clouds which were about to set the world in a blaze.

The decree was put to the vote; the tribunes in Cæsar's interest, Antonius and Q. Cassius, interposed, on the ground of the privilege already ac-

The tribunes interpose, but are overruled.

corded him by the people; but their objection was overruled, and the decree was passed triumphantly.⁴ The tribunes protested against its illegality, and proclaimed aloud that they were coerced in the exercise of their official functions. Their opponents retorted by once more declaring the state in danger, and by putting on, as a sign of alarm, the black robes of

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 1.; Dion, xli. 1.; Plut. *Pomp.* 59., *Cæs.* 30.

² Cæsar says (*B. C.* i. 5.): "Aguntur omnia raptim atque turbate."

³ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 2.

⁴ The vote ultimately was almost unanimous. Dion, xli. 2. This rapid fluctuation of majorities marks the habitual deference of the Roman assemblies to the opinions of their leaders, which is equally conspicuous in the proceedings of the senate and of the centuries.

national mourning. The consuls felt that they had already passed the limits of law, and nothing now remained for them but to carry out their violence with a high hand. The senate was again convened to determine what punishment should be inflicted upon the refractory tribunes; and when it was intimated to them that they would be expelled from the council-hall by force,¹ they wrapped themselves hastily in pretended disguise and fled, together with Curio, as if for their lives. The act of leaving the city was in itself a declaration that they threw up their outraged and defenceless office, for the tribune was forbidden to step outside the walls during his term of service. Arrayed in all the dignity of violated independence, they knew that they should be eagerly received in the proconsul's quarters, and paraded throughout his camp as the cause and justification of war.

They leave
the city and re-
pair to Cæsar's
camp.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 5.: "De sua salute septimo die (Jan. 7.) cogitare coguntur. Dion, xli. 3.: ὁ Δεντοῦλος ὑπεξελθεῖν σφισι παρήνευσε. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 33.: ἐκέλευον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκστῆναι τοῦ συνεδρίου, μὴ τι καὶ δημαρχοῦντες ὕμῳ πάθοιεν ἀτοπώτερον. Liv. *Epit.* civ.: "Urbe pulsi." The tribunes quitted Rome on the night of Jan. 6-7 = Nov. 18-19 of the corrected calendar.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CONSULS PREPARE TO WITHSTAND CÆSAR'S CLAIMS BY FORCE.—CÆSAR CROSSES THE RUBICON.—CONSTERNATION OF HIS ENEMIES.—THEY ABANDON ROME, AND RALLY ROUND POMPEIUS IN CAMPANIA.—CÆSAR ADVANCES TRIUMPHANTLY.—THE SENATE AFFECTS TO NEGOTIATE.—POMPEIUS FALLS BACK UPON LUCERIA.—DOMITIUS MAKES A STAND AT CORFINIUM: IS BETRAYED AND DELIVERED UP BY HIS SOLDIERS: PARDONED BY CÆSAR.—EFFECT OF CÆSAR'S CLEMENCY.—POMPEIUS IS BESIEGED BY CÆSAR IN BRUNDISIUM.—ESCAPES ACROSS THE SEA WITH HIS TROOPS, THE CONSULS AND THE SENATE.—EXPLANATION OF THE APPARENT PUSILLANIMITY OF HIS CONDUCT. (JAN.—MARCH A. U. 705, B. C. 49.)

AS long as the claims which Cæsar advanced were supported by champions invested with the prerogatives of the tribunitian office, the senate, composed of men of every party and various shades of opinion, had acted, as we have seen, with extreme vacillation. Though it had permitted itself to be swayed violently from one extreme decision to another at the bidding of its most resolute and turbulent members, yet it had shown, at least on many occasions, a disposition to treat both the rival leaders with equal justice. But the abrupt departure of the tribunes, compelled, as they proclaimed, by the ascendancy of the most violent section of the oligarchical faction, changed at once the position of parties, and decided the place of the wavering and neutral. If any voice was now raised for negotiation or even reflection, it was drowned by the din of applause which hailed the indignant reclamations of Scipio, Lentulus and Cato.¹ From this moment the staunchest of the

Success of the vigorous measures of the senate.

A. U. 705.
B. C. 49.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 3, 4.

proconsul's adherents in the senate were reduced to silence. If the sacred office had failed to protect the tribunes, what should divert the violence of the consuls from the head of a private partizan? The law had declared itself against Cæsar in the person of its chief organs, the authorities and great council of the state; and the Marian party, the strength of which certainly did not lie in the eminence of its leaders in the city, had neither the courage nor the power to defy it. At the same time, as might be expected, and as doubtless was calculated, the success of violent measures swept along the more moderate councillors, such as Cicero, in the wake of the triumphant leaders of their common party. Even those who had obstinately maintained a neutral position, such as Cato, those who detested and feared both the rival chiefs equally, found themselves reduced to the necessity of embracing the side on which the state had declared itself. In supporting Pompeius at the head of the republic they were compelled to concede to him all his claims, and that entire independence of law and constitutional practice which Cæsar had so plausibly contrasted with the severe treatment he had himself received.

Accordingly, when the consuls convened the senate for the day succeeding the flight of the tribunes, they invited Pompeius to attend their deliberations, which were held outside the walls of the city in the temple of Bellona.¹ Lentulus was roused to action by the pressure of his debts, the prospect of military command, and the lavish bribes administered to him by eastern potentates, impatient for the commencement of anarchy. He boasted among his friends that a second Cornelius was destined to resume the pre-eminence of Sulla. Scipio, as the father-in-law of the general, expected at least to share his distinctions. Pompeius himself was impelled to the arbitrement of arms by the consciousness of his own equivocal position as the proconsul of a province at the head of an army

The consuls review their forces, in the prospect of war.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 6., Dion, xli. 3.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 34.

in Italy.¹ The nobles were charmed at the echo of their bold defiance, and were determined not to relax the vigour of their policy at the moment when it had gained the ascendant. They listened with satisfaction to the sanguine calculations their leader made of the forces at his disposal. Ten legions he had under arms; seven of these, indeed, were in Spain, where one had been lately levied, in addition to those which the senate had assigned to the proconsul; one only he had in immediate attendance upon his orders in the neighbourhood of Rome, and two more were stationed at Capua, being the same which the government had lately extorted from Cæsar at his bidding. But his strength lay not so much, he affirmed, in the magnitude of the preparations he had made, as in the expectations on which he might confidently rely. A vast portion of the soil of Italy had been parcelled out among the veterans of Sulla, and every motive of gratitude and interest would still attach both them and their descendants to the party which inherited the dictator's principles and obligations. It was on the temper of his rival's forces, however, that Pompeius chiefly relied for the triumphant issue of a struggle he had determined to provoke. The conquerors of Gaul, it was said, were wearied with war, satiated with plunder, discontented with their restless general, dismayed at the prospect of raising their hands against their beloved country.² It is not improbable that notions of this kind were disseminated by members of the great families of whom Cæsar kept so many about his own person throughout his campaigns. Certain of these might be in correspondence with his enemies, and not disinclined to betray him, at least if his affairs should seem desperate. Some doubtless who, up to this time, had been most distinguished in foreign fields, declined to follow his banners in the unnatural contest of civil war. Among his chief lieutenants there was one at least who was on the point of abandoning his camp, and arraying himself in arms on the other side. So strong was the conviction upon this point entertained in the circles of the senatorial party, that

Cæs. *B. C.* i. 4.

² Cæs. *B. C.* i. 6.; Plut. *Pomp.* 57

few of them believed that Cæsar would really venture to throw away the scabbard. But there was no more fatal mistake throughout their proceedings than their confidence in the existence of general disaffection to their leader among the officers and soldiers of the Gallic legions.

The senate, though far from expecting the actual collision of arms, decreed its war-measures with ostentatious energy.

Orders were issued for the immediate levy of fresh troops; but, at the same time, so secure did it feel of its position and resources that it made no provision for bringing over the large division of its forces quartered in Spain. It was presumed, indeed, that Cæsar could not venture to withdraw his army of occupation from the conquered provinces of Gaul, and the Iberian legions might be left to menace the garrisons which, if he invaded Italy, he must leave behind him in the west.¹ In the assignment of provinces which was made at the same sitting of the senate, no respect was paid to the regulations which had been so recently sanctioned by its own decree. The enactment which required an interval of five years between the discharge of office in the city and the assumption of a provincial government was utterly disregarded. Scipio, the consul of the year 702, received Syria, the most important military command in the East. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was selected to be Cæsar's successor in the Further Gaul, a province which had heretofore been generally reserved for the most devoted partizans of the oligarchy. The Cisalpine Gaul, one of Cæsar's principal strongholds, was confided to Cossidius; Sicily, Sardinia and Africa, the three granaries of the city, were entrusted to the vigilance of Cato, Cotta and Tubero. Cilicia, which secured the alliance of the dependent kings of Asia Minor, was placed under the control of P. Sestius. A trifling and inglorious charge, that of the Campanian coast, satisfied the demands of Cicero. He was extremely

¹ Cie. *ad Div.* xvi. 12. : "Putabamus illum metuere, si ad urbem ire cœpisset, ne Gallias amitteret, quas ambas habet inimicissimas præter Transpadanos; ex Hispaniaque sex legiones et magna auxilia habet a tergo."

unwilling to leave the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, where he conceived that his real sphere of usefulness lay.¹ Cato was no less reluctant to relinquish the contests of the forum, in the danger and excitement of which he delighted, for the grave responsibility of arming in a civil contest. He would have resisted every entreaty or menace of Pompeius, but the voice of the consuls spoke to him with an authority which he could not withstand, and his assuming an active share in the war measures of the senate gave the stamp of justice to its cause in the eyes at least of an admiring posterity.²

The personages who were selected for these important charges were for the most part distinguished as the boldest and haughtiest champions of aristocratic ascendancy. Marcius Philippus, a near connexion of Cæsar, and M. Marcellus, who had given offence by his prudent advice not to rush into war, at least until preparation was fully made, were passed over in the distribution of provinces, though both were entitled to them from their consular dignity.³ The appeal to the people for the Lex Curiata, by which alone the proconsul received legitimate authority for the levy of troops, was omitted in all these appointments, as a superfluous condescension to the privileges of the commonalty. The treasury was freely opened to the requisitions of the generalissimo of the republic, and not in Rome only, but throughout Italy contributions were extorted, and even the temples plundered, to expedite the collection of the materials of war which had been so long neglected.⁴

Men and money raised by arbitrary requisitions.

These measures were the vigorous, or rather the feverish

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* xvi. 11, 12., *ad Att.* vii. 14.

² Plut. *Cat. Min.* 53.; Lucan, i. 128.:

“Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed vieta Catoni.”

³ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 6.: “Philippus et Marcellus privato consilio prætercuntur.”

⁴ Cæs. *l. c.*: “Tota Italia dilectus habentur, arma imperantur, pecuniæ a municipiis exiguntur, e fanis tolluntur, omnia divina humanaque jura permiscuntur.” Comp. Dion, xli. 6.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 34.

work of a single day. It was not by Curio and the fugitive tribunes, who had left the city the preceding night, that the news of the nobles' defiance was brought to Cæsar's camp. The couriers who set out from Rome one evening later with the account of the next day's debate seem to have outstripped the progress of the private party; and it was upon the receipt of the intelligence which they brought to Ravenna, if we are to believe Cæsar's apologetic statement, that he first determined to draw the sword.¹ He did not fall in with Curio, as we shall see, till some days later, and one stage nearer to Rome. Doubtless he had calculated every step beforehand: his arrangements were made, his preparations complete, nor did he at the last moment waver. It was apparently on the eleventh of January, as soon as the news reached him, that he assembled and harangued the thirteenth legion, which was all the force he had with him at Ravenna.² The statement of his claims and wrongs was received by the soldiers with expressions of the warmest indignation; though he did not even yet indicate publicly the course he had determined to adopt, he felt the pulse of his followers, and satisfied himself once more of their devotion to him. The officers were attached to him from love, hope and gratitude, and the great mass of the common soldiers, of provincial or foreign birth, had no sympathy with the country whose name only they bore. He had al-

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 7.: "Quibus rebus cognitis," that is, the resolutions of the senate for the division of provinces, by which he was himself superseded, Cæsar harangued his soldiers: it was not till some days later that he met the tribunes at Ariminum (c. 8.). But I am inclined to think that the notices of date here are purposely confused.

² Cæs. *B. C.* i. 7. Appian (*B. C.* ii. 32.) says that Curio reached Rome in three days from Ravenna. We must suppose that couriers left Rome with the news of the debate which took place in the senate on the following day, in the evening of the 7th, and arrived at Ravenna within a similar period. Cæsar's address to the soldiers could hardly be later than the next day, that is, the 11th: yet it does not appear that he crossed the Rubicon before the night of the 15th-16th, if we may depend upon the accuracy of Plutarch's calculation of 60 days from thence to the taking of Brundisium.

ready doubled their pay while yet in comparative poverty ; what might they not expect from his munificence when the riches of the world should lie at his disposal ?

The city of Ravenna, at which Cæsar had fixed the quarters of his scanty band, though lying out of the direct line of the Æmilian way, the principal communication between Italy and Cisalpine Gaul, was the chief ^{Cæsar prepares to invade Italy.} military station of that province. It was connected with this main trunk by a secondary route, which branched off from Ariminum, and skirted the coast of the Adriatic, passing through Ravenna to Aquileia. About ten miles from Ariminum, and twice that distance from Ravenna, the frontier of Italy and Gaul was traced by the stream of the Rubicon.² This little river, red with the drainage of the peat mosses from which it descends,³ is formed by the union of three mountain torrents, and is nearly dry in the summer, like most of the watercourses on the eastern side of the Apennines. In the month of November the winter flood might present a barrier more worthy of the important position which it once occupied ;⁴ but the northern frontier of Italy had long been secure from invasion, and the channel was spanned by a bridge of no great dimensions.⁵ Cæsar seems to have made his last arrangements in secret, and concealed his design till the moment he had fixed for its accomplishment. On the morning of the fifteenth he sent forward some cohorts to the river,

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 26. : “ Legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicavit.” He does not state the exact time, but mentions this among the various artifices by which Cæsar attached different classes of the citizens to his rising fortunes. The legionary’s pay in the time of Polybius was two obols, equivalent in round numbers to five ases (Polyb. vi. 39.). Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 17.) mentions ten ases as the ordinary stipendium in his day. See the note on Suet. *l. c.* ed. Baumgarten-Crusius, from Lipsius and Gronovius.

² Suet. *Jul.* 31. ; Plut. *Cæs.* 20.

³ Lucan, i. 214. : “ Puniceus Rubicon.” The name of the stream is evidently derived from its colour.

⁴ The 15th of January, A. U. 705, corresponded with Nov. 27. B. C. 50. ; Fischer, *R. Z.*

⁵ Suetonius (*l. c.*) calls it *ponticulus*.

while he remained himself at Ravenna, and assisted at a public spectacle throughout the day. He invited company to his table, and entertained them with his usual ease and affability. It was not till sunset that he made an excuse for a brief absence, and then, mounting a car yoked with mules, hired from a mill in the vicinity, hastened with only a few attendants to overtake his soldiers at the appointed spot. In his anxiety to avoid the risk of being encountered and his movements divulged, he left the high road, and soon lost his way in the bye-paths of the country. One after another the torches of his party became extinguished, and he was left in total darkness. It was only by taking a peasant for a guide and alighting from his vehicle that he at last reached his destination.¹

The ancients amused themselves with picturing the guilty hesitation with which the founder of a line of despots stood, The passage of the Rubicon. as they imagined, on the brink of the fatal river, and paused for an instant before he committed the irrevocable act, pregnant with the destinies of a long futurity. Cæsar, indeed, in his Commentaries, makes no allusion to the passage of the Rubicon, and, at the moment of stepping on the bridge, his mind was probably absorbed in the arrangements he had made for the march of his legions, or for their reception by his friends in Ariminum. We may feel an interest, however, in remarking how the incident was coloured by the imaginations of its first narrators; and the old tradition recorded by Suetonius is too picturesque and too characteristic of the Italian cast of legend to be passed by without notice. *Even now*, Cæsar had said, *we may return; if we cross the bridge, arms must decide the contest.* At that moment of suspense there appeared suddenly the figure of a youth, remarkable for comeliness and stature, playing on a flute, the pastoral emblem of peace and security. The shepherds about the spot mingled with the soldiers, and straggled towards him, captivated by his simple airs; when, with a violent movement, he snatched a trumpet from one of the military band, rushed with it to the bank of the river, and

¹ Suet. *Jul. l. c.*; Plut. *Cæs. 32.*

blowing a furious blast of martial music, leaped into the water, and disappeared on the opposite side. *Let us advance*, exclaimed Cæsar, *where the gods direct, and our enemies invite us. Be the die cast.* The soldiers dashed across the bridge or the ford, and, giving them not an instant for reflection, the bold invader led them straight to Ariminum, entering its undefended walls with the first break of dawn.¹ It was there that he met Curio and the fugitive tribunes. They had no occasion to disclose their grievances. While they had lingered on their way, inflaming perhaps the indignation of their adherents in the towns through which they passed, by the recital of the proceedings in Rome, the champion of the commons had already heard the story of their wrongs, and had taken up arms ostensively to avenge their violated sanctity.

The occupation of Ariminum was an explicit declaration of war; but Cæsar was not in a condition to push forward immediately. It was from thence, he tells us, Consternation of the city. that he despatched orders for the movement of his troops;² one legion, the twelfth, reached him within a fortnight, and another, the eighth, within a month from that time. These, together with the thirteenth legion, which he had with him, were the forces with which he had determined to confront the army of the consuls; for Cæsar also had made his calculations regarding the disposition of the Italians, and the fidelity of the troops opposed to him, and reckoned upon deriving his most copious resources from the enemy's own camp. Three of his legions were led to the neighbourhood of Narbo, under the command of Fabius, in order to check the advance of the Pompeian lieutenants from Spain. The remainder of his forces were withdrawn perhaps gradually

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 32.; comp. Appian, ii. 35.; Plut. *Cæs.* 32. Lucan (i. 186) introduces on this occasion the apparition of the goddess Roma. In his times, it should be remembered, the idea of Rome as a living abstraction began to take the place of the conceptions of the popular mythology. The famous Prosopœia of the Genius of the Cape, whom Camoens summons to address the Portuguese navigators, has far less connexion with the ideas of real life.

² Cæs. *B. C.* i. 8.; Lucan, I. 396.:

“Deseruerit cava tentoria fixa Lemano,” &c.

from their winter-quarters and concentrated in the south of Gaul, to support either the right or left wing of his position. But for some days the position of the invader, with a mere handful of soldiers about him, was extremely precarious. Had the three legions of Pompeius been arrayed in his front, and led against him by officers in whom they confided, a prompt attack could hardly have failed to destroy him. But these troops were divided and distant; perhaps their officers knew, what at least was carefully concealed from the public, that they could not be relied on; and the counsels of the nobles had relapsed once more into feebleness and vacillation. They had indulged in incredulity to the last, and the news that Cæsar had actually crossed the frontier came upon them like a clap of thunder. The conqueror of the northern world was marching, as they believed, upon them. He who had climbed the Alps and bridged the Rhine and bestridden the ocean,¹ was daily, so the rumour ran, achieving his twenty miles on the broad and solid footing of their own military way. Nor was it only the Cæsar of the Curia and the Forum who was rapidly approaching their walls. Bold and reckless as he had shown himself in the civic contests of the gown, he had learnt cruelty by habitual shedding of blood; he had become, they were assured, in his nine years' intercourse with the barbarians, more ferocious than the Gauls themselves. Even his legions were not of pure Roman extraction, but filled with the fiercest warriors of the races he had subdued.² The name of the half-clad savages of the north was still a sound of panic dread to the populations of Italy. The Romans quailed before a second apparition of the bearded and brawny victors of the day of Allia, much as the citizens of London shuddered at the approach of the Highlanders, the shock of

Lucan, i. 369.:

“Hæc manus ut victum post terga relinqueret orbem
 Oceani tumidas remo compeseuit undas,
 Fregit et Aretoo spumantem vortice Rhenum.”

Lucan, ii. 535.;

“Gallica per gelidas rabies effunditur Alpes.”

whose charge had overthrown horse and man at the rout of Gladsmuir. For such, they believed, were the followers of the patrician renegade, who were even now thundering down the Flaminian Way, bursting through the defiles of the Apennines, and choking the valleys of the Tiber and Nar with clouds of barbarian cavalry.¹

At this moment Cæsar, as we have seen, was waiting with only a few cohorts at Ariminum for the arrival of the succours, without which, bold as he was, even he would have deemed it madness to advance against the city. But the elements of his strength were magnified into colossal proportions by the excited imaginations of the men who, only a week before, had most affected to despise them. They counted his eleven legions, his indefinite resources of Gaulish cavalry, the favour of the Transpadanes, the zeal of the city mob, the fanatic devotion to him of the depraved and ruined of all classes. He had secured the favour of the publicani by his successful vindication of their claims; the money-lenders were dissatisfied with the sumptuary reforms which Pompeius had encouraged; and, lastly, the agriculturists of Italy were indifferent to the empty names of freedom and the republic, and would have lent their weight to the maintenance of a kingly tyranny, if only they could avert the calamities of war. In the midst of this general panic, the consuls and the senate, with their friends and adherents, turned anxiously for counsel and encouragement to Pompeius. But the hero had withdrawn from the neighbourhood of the city immediately on the arrival of the fatal news. He imparted his views and plans to no one. He had an interview with Cicero at Formiæ; but the orator, irresolute and

The chiefs of
the senate
evacuate Rome.

¹ *JURON*, i. 475. :

“Qua Nar Tiberino illabitur amni
Barbaricas sævi discurrere Cæsaris alas.
Ipsum omnes aquilas collataque signa ferentem
Agmine non uno densisque incedere castris.
Nec qualem meminere vident; majorque ferusque
Mentibus occurrit, victoque immanior hoste.”

desponding himself, could obtain no intimation from his leader of the tactics by which he meant to oppose the invader. The streets of Rome were crowded with an agitated multitude of all ranks and classes. Consulars and patricians descended from the steps of their palaces and led the long procession of fugitives down the Appian Way to Capua and the south.¹ Such was the confusion of the moment that the rulers of the state left the city without removing the public treasure in the coffers of the temple of Saturn.² They were not less negligent of their own private possessions, all of which they abandoned to the risk of pillage by the mob, even before the public enemy should arrive to seize them. Many indeed of the nobles still retained their blind confidence in Pompeius, and calculated on a speedy return, as the result of some deep-laid schemes which they supposed him to have planned in secret. But his flight operated in general to increase the terror, and no sacrifice was thought too great to make for the safety of their bare lives.

At the moment when great political principles meet in decisive conflict, it may be observed that the inclinations of the mass of the honourable and well-intentioned, who constitute perhaps generally the numerical strength of a party, are swayed in favour of the side which seems to embrace the men of highest renown for patriotism and probity. It is much easier to distinguish who are the most honest men, than to discover which are the soundest principles; and it seems safer to choose the side which boasts of philosophers and patriots in its ranks than that which is branded as the refuge of spend-thrifts and apostates. It was with an instinctive sense of this bias of the human mind that the nobles had studied all along to represent the followers of their enemy's fortunes as none other than the needy and rapacious, the scum of all orders of the community. They did not affect to insinuate that their vileness made them less dangerous, but they were such, they

The calumnies against Cæsar deter many well intentioned men from embracing his cause.

¹ Dion, xli. 7, 8.; Lucan, i. 486.; comp. Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 10-12.

² Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 15.; Cæs. *B. C.* i. 14.

maintained, as no man who wished to keep up the appearance of public virtue could decently associate with. We may remember that Cæsar, as he appeared to the eyes of the Roman nobility at this period of his career, was an adventurer of dissolute manners and the loosest principles. For many years all his actions had been blackened by the systematic calumnies with which he was assailed, even beyond the common measure which fell to the lot of contemporary statesmen. It required more than usual candour, particularly in his avowed enemies, to divest the mind of a peculiar prejudice against him. Nevertheless, his conduct as a statesman and warrior in his foreign governments might have served to disabuse public opinion of its grossest errors in this respect. Assuredly none could fairly deny that he had formed to himself friends and admirers from among men of the best families, and the highest principles. A Cicero, a Crassus, a Brutus, had been his most devoted partizans. The connexions of his own family, the Cæsars, the Pisos, the Marcii, held a high place in the estimation of their countrymen. But, in spite of the plainness of this fact, the charge was constantly reiterated; the men whom the arch-traitor could attach to himself could be none, it was insisted, but monsters of vice, cruelty and profligacy. The lie prevailed by repetition; and the waverers, unable to see clearly for themselves through the cloud of interested sophistry, were frightened, if not convinced, and learnt to shrink with horror from a cause which was thus atrociously misrepresented. Cicero himself, of all men the most easily deceived by the colouring of political partizans, was deluded by this clamour. Much as he hated and feared the nobles, from whose victory he expected nothing but violence and illegal usurpation, he had not the firmness fairly to review the cause and objects for which Cæsar was in arms. If the invader's personal aim was self-aggrandizement, the same was at least equally true of his opponent. If Pompeius, on the other hand, had refrained hitherto from acts of violence, every one was ready to acknowledge that he was deterred by no principle; it was only because the necessities of

the senate had compelled it to throw its powers unreservedly into his hands. The event of the impending contest would undoubtedly place him, if successful, in the position he had long coveted, of a military tyrant. The power of the oligarchy, upon which he leaned, hemmed in on all sides by the encroachment of popular influences, could only be maintained by arms, and arms could not fail to raise their bearer to the despot's throne. But Cæsar's success would not be confined to himself personally; it would be the triumph of the classes from whose fresh blood and simple habits the renovation of the commonwealth might not unreasonably be expected. The Transpadanes, for instance, claimed the boon of citizenship; and, setting aside blind prejudices, no pretender to a statesman's foresight could deny the advantage of thus converting lukewarm allies into zealous members of the commonwealth. The principle for which their patron contended was ripe for extension to other communities similarly circumstanced, and it was apparent that a vast but bloodless revolution might be effected under the auspices of a Marian dictatorship. The interest which the moneyed classes took in Cæsar's success was another proof that the victory of the oligarchy could only lead to more hopeless embarrassments, while that of the popular faction might establish peace upon a solid foundation.¹ The native races of Italy, notwithstanding all the intrigues and violence of the long ascendent faction, still retained their old sympathy for the popular side; and they too had claims of justice which they had long despaired of urging upon the dominant oligarchy. The soil on which the forces of Pompeius were standing was mined beneath their feet. So far from his being able to raise legions by stamping on the ground, the first call of the old general upon his veterans throughout the peninsula was answered, as we shall see, by the open defection of cities and colonies. Surely these were

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 7. § 5., written xiii. Kal. Jan. A. U. 704.: "An publicanos (bonos putas?) qui nunquam firmi, sed nunc Cæsari sunt amicissimi; an feneratores? an agricolas? quibus optatissimum est otium. Nisi eos timere putas, ne sub regno sint, qui id nunquam, dummodo otiosi sint, recusarunt."

signs of the times upon which the true patriot ought to have meditated, before he enlisted on the side against which was arrayed such a mass of interests and affections. It is not the province of the historian to condemn or absolve the great names of human annals. He leaves the philosophic moralist to denounce crimes and errors, upon a full survey of the character and position of the men and their times; but it is his business to distinguish, in analysing the causes of events, between the personal views of the actors in revolutions and the general interests which their conduct subserved, and to claim for their deeds the sympathy of posterity in proportion as they tended to the benefit of mankind. He may be allowed to lament the pettiness of the statesmen of this epoch, and the narrow idea they formed of public interests in the contest between Cæsar and his rival. Above all, he must regret that a man to whom we owe so much affection as Cicero should have been deceived by a selfish and hypocritical outcry; for Cicero succeeded in persuading himself that the real patriots were all on the side of the oligarchy, and that it was his duty as a philosopher to follow, not the truth, but the true men, not right judgment, but honourable sentiment.¹

The consuls and senate, as we have seen, had abandoned the city on the first rumour of Cæsar's advance to Ariminum. The political effects of this rash step seem to have been little considered by them; but, in fact, in the view of the great mass of the Roman people, the abandonment of the city was equivalent to an abdication of all legitimate authority.² Once only, in the history of the nation, had a Roman emperor, in the centre of his camp, assumed to represent the majesty of the republic, and refused to obey the convention of a coerced and beleaguered senate.

Political mistake of the nobles in abandoning Rome.

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* xiv. 18. : "Illud me movet quod video omnes bonos abesse Roma." *Ad Att.* vii. 20. : "Ad fugam hortatur amicitia Cnæi, causa bonorum, turpitude conjungendi cum tyranno" (viii. 1.).

² Comp. Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 11. : "Non est inquit (Pompeius) in parietibus respublica : at in aris et focis : fecit idem Themistocles . . . at idem Pericles non fecit . . . Nostri olim, urbe reliqua capta, arcem tamen retinuerunt."

But the example of Camillus was justified by his success; and it was only in the expectation of a speedy and triumphant return that the magistrates of Rome could hope to retain their authority at a distance from the Forum and the Capitol. Cæsar saw how fatal a blunder his opponents had committed. A great change had taken place in the temper of the people since the last civil wars. In the contest of Sulla and Marius the whole population was divided into two hostile camps; now the great mass was quiescent; its predilections were not strong enough to rouse it to vigorous action in behalf of either. Its instinct taught it that another civil war could only present it with a choice of masters. Whichever of the rival chieftains first occupied Rome, he would secure the acquiescence and apparent approbation of the citizens, and obtain the most specious sanction to his usurpation.

The consuls retired along the Appian Way instead of advancing upon the Flaminian. Such was their first false step, and it is possible that it saved Cæsar from immediate destruction. Yet he could not venture to move southward without reinforcements, while to halt at the first moment of invasion might seem a sign of weakness and an omen of discomfiture. The second move of his enemies relieved him from this difficulty. Pompeius had the weakness to keep up the farce of negotiations by sending L. Cæsar, a young kinsman of the proconsul, to solicit a final declaration of his demands.¹ To complicate the matter still more, and give further pretence for procrastination, the young ambassador was instructed to speak particularly of the good feeling of Pompeius towards his rival, and his personal wish to accommodate matters in a liberal way; as if a feud so ancient, and lately grown so deadly between the Marian camp and the Sullan, could be resolved into an affair of private and personal jealousy. Pompeius indeed had his own reasons for wishing to gain time to complete the preparations he contemplated in Italy and throughout the provinces; but he lost by

Pompeius negotiates with Cæsar in order to gain time.

¹ Cæs. B. C. i. 8.

delay far more than he gained, for the activity of his rival could profit more by an hour than his own stately movements by a day. To these overtures, the insincerity of which was too obvious to deceive, Cæsar replied with an energetic exposition of the claims he had repeatedly advanced, the sum of which was his demand that equal measure should be dealt to Pompeius and himself, and the armies of each imperator disbanded simultaneously. Such was the ultimatum with which the envoy was dismissed; and this was the moment which Labienus seized for the defection which he had been meditating.¹ The desertion of so able an officer at this juncture seems to prove how precarious, in Defection of Labienus. a military point of view, the position of his leader must have appeared. But Labienus could only see what was immediately before him; he could not appreciate the more remote resources on which Cæsar calculated, or the signs of distraction and imbecility already half disclosed by his opponents. It was on the twenty-second of January that the fugitive was received by Pompeius in his quarters at Teanum.² Cæsar contemptuously sent his baggage after him;³ but the nobles stomached this affront, and vied with each other in hailing the accession to their side with rapturous anticipations of triumph. Even Cicero, who had been plunged into the most abject despondency, and was only thinking how best to reconcile his position as a leader of the senatorial party with the means of recovering the favour of the enemy, now broke into exulting vituperation of the new Hannibal, the plunderer of Italy.⁴ He was well pleased to think that his commission in

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 11., *ad Div.* xiv. 14.: "Labienus rem meliorem fecit. Adjuvat etiam Piso quod ab urbe discedit, et sceleris condemnat generum suum." Dion, xli. 4.

² Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 13.: "Labienus Teanum venit, a. d. ix. Kal. Febr." Jan. 22. A. V. 705 = Dec. 4. B. C. 50. All the dates of this year are forty-seven days in advance of the real time. See Fischer, *R. Z.* It must be remembered that December and January, before the Julian correction, had only 29 days each. Drumann, Billerbeck, Arnold and others make this day the 24th.

³ Plut. *Cæs.* 34.

⁴ Cic. *ad Att.* l. c.: "Utrum de Imperatore populi Romani an de Hannibale

Campania gave him the readiest access to his beloved city; but Cato murmured loudly against his own destination to Sicily, at a time when all eyes were turned towards Rome, and the first question to be debated in the senate would be the acceptance or rejection of Cæsar's submission.¹

But L. Cæsar had hardly returned to head-quarters before the news arrived of further aggressions on the part of this audacious rebel. Cæsar's advance more than counterbalanced the impression made by his lieutenant's defection. Three great roads converged upon Ariminum from the south. One led from Etruria to the confines of the Gallic province, through the passes by which Brennus had penetrated to Clusium; another, the famous Way of Flaminius, was the direct route from Rome; a third led from Brundisium and the southern districts of the peninsula, taking the line of the Adriatic coast from Ancona. Arretium, Iguvium and Auximum were important fortresses for the defence of these roads respectively against an invader from the north. Their occupation would enable Cæsar to advance upon either of the three positions which the enemy might adopt; for Pompeius might either concentrate his forces to cover Rome, or withdraw to the right towards Brundisium to keep open his communications with the eastern provinces, or to the left to maintain himself at Centumcellæ, while he recalled to his standard the legions in Spain. Cæsar's forces were still limited to a single legion. Antonius with five cohorts seized upon Arretium, which was undefended. At the same moment Thermus, to whom the senate had intrusted Iguvium and the country of Umbria which it covered, first abandoned his post, rendered untenable by the disaffection of the inhabitants, and was straightway abandoned by his own soldiers; Auximum, meanwhile, rose

loquimur? O hominem amentem et miserum qui ne umbram quidem unquam τοῦ καλοῦ viderit!"

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 15.: "Cato enim ipse jam servire quam pugnare mavult. Sed tamen ait se in senatu adesse velle quum de conditionibus agatur . . . Ita quod maxime opus est in Sielliam ire non eurat; quod metuo ne obsit, in senatu esse vult."

against Varus, and compelled him to a hasty retreat, while it opened its gates to Cæsar in person.¹

The senate, though alarmed and irritated at the progress of an enemy who gave his opponents not a moment to breathe, still indulged the hope that he would suffer himself to be persuaded to withdraw from the places he had occupied, and come to Rome, after disbanding his forces, there to discuss, as a private citizen, the wrongs of which he complain-

The senate attempts again to negotiate, and breaks up Cæsar's band of gladiators at Capua.

ed. This was still the only condition upon which the consuls would condescend to treat, and it was with corresponding instructions that L. Cæsar was sent a second time to the quarters of the invader.² Meanwhile the levy of troops on the part of the senate proceeded slowly and with little success. The reluctance of the Italians to enlist became alarmingly apparent. The magistrates of the towns showed the strongest disposition to hail the approach of Cæsar's troops as a deliverance from the tyranny of the dominant class.³ From the moment that the consuls left Rome there was no further prospect of enlisting in the capital for the service of the state.⁴ Lentulus would have stooped to a measure which revolted the pride of his associates. He proposed to draft into the legions of the republic the gladiators, some thousands in number, whom Cæsar kept in training at Capua.⁵ But his followers remonstrated so warmly against this proposal, which was, indeed, highly impolitic as well as illegal, that he was compelled to relinquish it. It was a difficult matter, however, to dispose of a large body of swordsmen, skilful and well-armed, and accustomed to regard Cæsar as their patron; and the more so as he might have no scruple himself in employing them in his own service. The numerous legionary force which would be requisite for controlling them, while collected

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 11-13.

² Cæs. *B. C.* i. 10.

³ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 15. He mentions particularly the case of Cingulum, a town on which Labienus had conferred great benefactions.

⁴ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 14. : "Dilectus intra urbem intermittuntur."

⁵ Cæs. *l. c.*

in one spot, could not possibly be spared for such a service. After much deliberation it was resolved to distribute them in small parties among the households of the principal nobles, and break their strength and spirit by dispersion.

Attius Varus, Thermus, Lentulus Spinther, Faustus Sulla and Libo, with their soldiers or abandoned by them, were now in full retreat from Picenum towards Apulia.¹ Pompeius appointed Larinum, on the frontier of the latter province, as the rallying point for one division of his forces, while another, under Domitius, was posted in advance at Corfinium, there to collect the new levies from the centre of Italy.² He left Teanum in Campania at the end of January for Larinum, and from thence despatched pressing orders to the consuls to return to Rome, and carry off the public treasure which had been left behind.³ The want of money was felt not less severely than that of men; but the consuls did not choose to risk falling into Cæsar's hands by a retrograde movement, and refused to obey their general's orders. Pompeius himself, shocked perhaps at the arrival of his lieutenants from Picenum with the account of their disasters in that quarter, fell back upon Luceria; and it was now evident that his eyes were turned towards Brundisium, and that he contemplated the abandonment of Italy altogether rather than oppose the public enemy in the field.⁴ The first suspicion of this intention called forth from his partizans a storm of indignant remonstrance. Cowardice or treachery, they conceived, alone could have dictated it, and the bravest of their leaders broke into open disobe-

Pompeius falls
back upon Lu-
ceria.

Pompeius appointed Larinum, on the frontier of the latter province, as the rallying point for one division of his forces, while another, under Domitius, was posted in advance at Corfinium, there to collect the new levies from the centre of Italy.² He left Teanum in Campania at the end of January for Larinum, and from thence despatched pressing orders to the consuls to return to Rome, and carry off the public treasure which had been left behind.³ The want of money was felt not less severely than that of men; but the consuls did not choose to risk falling into Cæsar's hands by a retrograde movement, and refused to obey their general's orders. Pompeius himself, shocked perhaps at the arrival of his lieutenants from Picenum with the account of their disasters in that quarter, fell back upon Luceria; and it was now evident that his eyes were turned towards Brundisium, and that he contemplated the abandonment of Italy altogether rather than oppose the public enemy in the field.⁴ The first suspicion of this intention called forth from his partizans a storm of indignant remonstrance. Cowardice or treachery, they conceived, alone could have dictated it, and the bravest of their leaders broke into open disobe-

¹ Lucan, ii. 461. foll. :

“Gens Etrusca fuga trepidi nudata Libonis,
Jusque sui pulso jam perdidit Umbria Thermo.
Nec gerit auspiciis civilia bella paternis
Cæsaris audito conversus nomine Sulla.
Varus ut admotæ pulsarunt Auximon alæ,” &c.

² Cæs. *B. C.* i. 15.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 21., writing from Cales, a. d. vi. Id. Feb.=Feb. 8.

⁴ Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 23., writing from Formiæ, iv. Id. Feb.=Feb. 10.

dience to the commands of a champion of whose perfidy they were now convinced.

The arrival of the twelfth legion having given Cæsar the means of acting against larger forces, he advanced upon Corfinium early in February. He hardly condescended to notice the terms now brought by his kinsman for the second time, for every succeeding day had disclosed to him the weakness of the enemy and the increasing strength of his own arms. He speedily overran Picenum, taking the fortresses of Cingulum and Asculum, on his way, without opposition. But before Corfinium the Pompeian forces were assembled in formidable numbers, and were commanded by an officer of tried conduct and firmness. Domitius, whose zeal in the cause was inflamed by his recent appointment as Cæsar's successor in the Further Gaul, was determined to make a stand for the defence of Italy.¹ He hated the person of his leader, he despised his policy, and his command to retreat he threw to the winds. At the same time he sent pressing messages to the consular camp, urging Pompeius to advance to his assistance, and representing the smallness of the enemy's forces, the number and confidence of his own. At Corfinium and in the neighbourhood he had assembled thirty cohorts: of these many indeed were raw levies, and his oldest veterans had seen perhaps no other service than the beleaguerment of the forum during Milo's trial.² But Pompeius, dismayed at the repeated defection of his troops, had no confidence in his lieutenant's assurances. He declared that he could not in prudence advance to his succour, that in the present temper of the army Italy was untenable, and that to hazard a general engagement with Cæsar would be to rush upon certain ruin.

Domitius
makes a stand
at Corfinium.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 16. foll. ; Dion, xli. 10, 11. ; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 38. ; Lucan, ii. 478. foll.

² Lucan, *l. c.* :

“Tua classica servat

Oppositus quondam polluto tiro Miloni.”

These recruits were the levies Pompeius had made ostensibly for his service in Spain.

Domitius was not to be discouraged even by his leader's desertion ; but the disposition he made of his troops was unskillful. He weakened his force by trying to extend protection to Sulmo and the neighbouring towns, and lost one division after another, until he found himself blocked up in Corfinium by an enemy whose strength and audacity were increased by these bloodless successes. A third legion, the eighth, now reached Cæsar's quarters, attended by twenty-two cohorts of Gaulish auxiliaries, and a detachment of cavalry from Noricum. The siege was vigorously pressed ; for the delay of a few days was galling to him, while Pompeius, with diminished forces and fast ebbing courage, was evidently preparing to escape from his hands by flight across the sea. But Corfinium could not be left behind ; and, indeed, it was a prize second only in richness and importance to Luceria or Brundisium. For besides the military stores amassed in it, and the vaunted strength of its numerous garrison, Domitius had received into his citadel many of the knights and most distinguished senators, who sought refuge from the invader under the protection of a favourite leader. Domitius himself made every exertion to justify their confidence. He conducted the war as an affair of personal interest, promising his soldiers large assignments of land from his own private possessions, after the manner of a principal rather than a subordinate lieutenant.¹ But his exhortations to the soldiery were at first coldly received, and soon slighted altogether. Disaffection was rife within the walls of Corfinium, as before at Iguvium and Asculum. The heart of the old Italian confederacy throbbed at the presence of Cæsar and the banners of Marius. The rumour spread that Pompeius dared not advance, and had abandoned his followers to their fate. Secret intercourse was held with the besieger, and after a few days the conspiracy broke out into open mutiny, the troops proclaiming their determination to surrender the place, with all that it contained, into the enemy's hands. The nobles, alarmed for their lives, could

Cæsar beleaguers Corfinium, which is betrayed into his hands.

¹ Cæs. B. C. i. 17. ; Dion, xli. 11.

obtain no other indulgence than permission to make terms for themselves by special application to Cæsar. Lentulus Spinther, who was one of the number, acted as their spokesman; and he rightly conceived that to expiate on the favours he had formerly experienced was the surest means of propitiating a generous conqueror. The time had now come for Cæsar to dispel the fears of massacre and proscription which had driven a large proportion of the senatorial party into arms against him.¹ His reply was full of mildness and condescension; he apologised for the necessity in which he was placed of asserting his rights by an act of violence against the state, while he insinuated, emboldened by success, that his opponents were a factious minority, and himself the real champion of freedom and the commonwealth.²

Domitius expected to be himself marked out as the special object of the conqueror's vengeance. Cæsar was determined to render him a signal instance of his clemency. On the eve of surrender the Pompeian leader applied to his physician for poison, and even, it was said, compelled him with his drawn sword to administer a potion. But the draught had not produced its anticipated effect, when he was informed that the victor was disposed not only to spare the lives of his prisoners, but to treat them with marked indulgence. He now, in the most abject manner, lamented his precipitation; but the physician had deceived him with a narcotic, and he lived to enjoy, and afterwards abuse, his captor's clemency.³ Cæsar, if we may believe his own direct statement in contradiction to an obscure rumour related by Cicero, went so far in his generosity as to restore to Domitius the large treasure in his military chest;⁴ an

Cæsar grants life and liberty to Domitius and the Pompeian leaders.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 23.

² Cæsar was seven days before Corfinium, Feb. 14–21.: "Septem dies ad Corfinium commoratur." Cæs. *B. C.* i. 33.

³ This story is told by Suetonius, Seneca, Pliny and Plutarch. See Drumm, iii. 22.

⁴ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 25.; Cic. *ad Att.* viii. 14. Appian (*B. C.* ii. 39.) confirms Cæsar's statement. Some of Cæsar's adherents seem not to have admired their leader's clemency. See the letter of Cicero's witty correspondent Cælius, *ad*

act which is rendered credible by the proconsul's natural wish to show the Roman people that they had no more to fear from his want of money than from his thirst for blood. He then pressed his prisoners to acknowledge his claims and share in the brightening prospects of his enterprize. This offer the men of note steadily declined, but the fresh Italian recruits hailed the summons with enthusiasm, and speedily ranged themselves under the banner which they regarded as their own.

The effect of this clemency, hitherto unexampled in the civil wars of the Romans, became immediately apparent.

Important effects of this clemency. Cicero bears unwilling testimony to the consummate adroitness of the enemy's proceedings.¹ He had killed nobody, he had taken nothing from anybody; if he proceeded thus he would become the object of universal love and enthusiasm. Such was the feeling springing up among the population of Campania; the people of the country towns discoursed with Cicero on the state of public affairs; and he saw but too plainly from their conversation that the heart of Italy was estranged from the consuls and senate: peace was the general wish even among those who had no Marian predilections, and the tranquil possession of property outweighed the antiquated names of law and liberty.² And then the philosopher sighed to think how much the errors and vices of his party had contributed to bring about this state of political indifference.

But, in truth, the conduct of Cæsar was set off in brighter colours from its contrast with the opposite disposition manifested by his opponents. The senate had proclaimed him a public enemy, and his adherents and followers in arms were naturally included in the same sentence. Nor was this enough. At

It offers a favourable contrast to the ferocious threats of his adversaries.

It offers a favourable contrast to the ferocious threats of his adversaries.

Div. viii. 15. But Cælius was personally hostile to Domitius; comp. *ad Div.* viii. 12.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* viii. 13.

² Cic. *l. c.*: "Multum mecum municipales homines loquuntur, multum rusticani. Nihil prorsus aliud curant, nisi agros nisi villulas nisi nummulos suos."

the moment of leaving Rome, it determined, at the instigation of the ferocious Domitius, to drive the neutral and the waverers into the Pompeian camp by terror. It declared that every citizen who remained behind at Rome should be deemed a Cæsarian, and thus provided itself with a pretext for the extreme measures against the city which it seems to have already contemplated.¹ Not only were the young nobles loud in their denunciations of proscription and massacre; the older and more dignified were already parcelling out among themselves in imagination the spoils of the commonwealth. Pompeius himself had the name of Sulla always in his mouth: *Sulla could do this, why should not I do the same?*² was his constant argument. To propose the great dictator for his model was to threaten a sanguinary revolution and a thorough reorganization of the state. It was surmised with inexpressible alarm and disgust that Rome had been abandoned when it might have been defended, in order that it might be involved in Cæsar's guilt, and, when the day of vengeance should arrive, be subjected to all the horrors of a war of reprisal, to famine and fire, to pillage and massacre.³

When Domitius refused, or was no longer able, to obey his leader's injunctions, and withdraw from Corfinium to the head-quarters at Luceria, Pompeius saw the ruin his lieutenant had drawn upon himself, and felt that his own position in Italy was no longer tenable. But the rashness of the rear-guard saved the main body of the retreating column, for so rapid were Cæsar's movements, that but for this seven days' delay, Pompeius would undoubtedly have been overtaken. He now sheltered himself in Brundisium,⁴ and charged the consuls and other magistrates to accompany him across the sea. When this command reached Cicero in Campania, the road into Apulia was no longer open. Cæsar was eager to recover the

Pompeius retreats to Brundisium, and prepares to cross over into Epirus.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 37. : ἀπειλήσας τοῖς ἐπιμένουσι.

² Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 10. : "Sulla potuit: ego non potero?"

³ Cic. *ad Div.* iv. 14., *ad Att.* viii. 11., ix. 7, 10, 11. See below.

⁴ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 24, 25.

time he had lost before Corfinium. But the harbour of Brundisium was crowded with transports and vessels of every description. The consuls and the greater part of their army, which now amounted to five legions, effected their embarkation, and were already far on their way across the Adriatic; but Pompeius, with a division of the army, still lingered in the town when Cæsar's advanced guard appeared before the walls. Intercepted in his meditated flight by the celerity of these movements, Cicero hesitated to take ship at Naples and encounter before the close of winter the dangers of the straits and the Ionian sea. Filled with dark forebodings as to the designs of his leader, whose abandonment first of Rome and then of Italy he regarded as part of a long matured scheme for the destined subjugation of his country, he was not sorry, perhaps, that circumstances now placed a barrier between them. But he was still indisposed to anticipate Cæsar's success, as well as indignant at his rebellion against prescriptive authorities. In his sullen retirement at Formiæ the orator was plied by sollicitations and flatteries on the part of Cæsar himself and his friends Balbus and Oppius. The strongest assurances were given him of the conqueror's good intentions and conservative principles; but these representations failed to assuage his fears or lighten his melancholy, and he continued to pour his griefs and distractions into the ear of his chief adviser Atticus.¹

Cæsar arrived before Brundisium on the ninth of March.² The forces with which he formed the siege amounted to six complete legions, together with their auxiliary Gaulish cohorts. Of these legions, three consisted of his veterans; the others were made up partly of new levies and partly of the Pompeians whom he had drafted into his own ranks. But these did not include the battalions he had recently enrolled at Corfinium; for these

Pompeius
evacuates
Brundisium,
and makes his
escape from
Italy.

¹ See particularly Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 11-13., and the correspondence of Cicero with Cæsar and his partizans therein communicated.

² Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 3.: "Erat hic dies vii. Id. Mar. quo die suspicabamur aut pridie Brundisium venisse Cæsarem." So Cæsar, in Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 13 A.

zealous allies had been despatched in all haste to secure the possession of Sicily. It was impossible for Pompeius with the twenty cohorts, which were all he retained, to hold the place against this overwhelming force. But Cæsar, on the other hand, was entirely destitute of ships; the sea was open, and the transports had received orders to return and bear away from Brundisium the remnant of the consular army. The port of the city is approached by a narrow passage leading from an outer into an inner basin,¹ and the shore on either side of this passage was occupied by the besiegers. But the outlet could only be obstructed by the erection of immense earthworks, and Pompeius trusted to the depth of the water to frustrate or delay the accomplishment of so great an undertaking.² Full of this confidence, he refused to listen to the proposals of accommodation which Cæsar continued to offer. He declared that he was only the lieutenant of the consuls, and could not act without their concurrence. Cæsar sank vessels and drove piles in the channel, while Pompeius exerted himself to impede these operations, and succeeded in keeping it open for the transports, which in due time made their appearance.³ Upon their arrival, the troops were embarked without delay, a few soldiers being left on the walls to deceive the enemy with a show of resistance to the last moment. The streets had been carefully barricaded to obstruct his progress upon first entering the undefended city. But the inhabitants were eager to display their zeal in the cause of a triumphant and perhaps irritated conqueror, and guided his troops with alacrity to the haven. The last of the Pompeians were already safe on board; the flotilla glided rapidly down the harbour, and broke through every

¹ The localities are carefully described by Keppel Craven, *Tour in the Kingdom of Naples*, p. 149.

² Cæsar in a letter to Balbus, communicated to Cicero (*ad Att.* ix. 14.), speaks of his operations before Brundisium: "Pompeius se oppido tenet. Nos ad portas castra habemus. Conamur opus magnum et multorum dierum propter altitudinem maris. Sed tamen nihil est quod potius faciamus. Ab utroque portus cornu moles jacimus."

³ *Cæs. B. C.* i. 25. 28.; *Dion.* xli. 12.

obstruction at the outlet, with the loss of only two vessels, which struck against the head of the embankment. These were immediately grappled to the shore with irons, boarded by the enraged Cæsarians, and their crews cut to pieces. This was the first blood shed in the civil war.

Cæsar had made himself master of Italy in sixty days.¹ Never, perhaps, was so great a conquest effected so rapidly and in the face of antagonists apparently so formidable. Every step he advanced was a surprise to his enemies; yet at each step they predicted more confidently his approaching discomfiture. But at the first blast of his trumpets every obstacle fell before him, and the march of his legions could hardly keep up with the retreat of his boastful adversaries. The consuls abandoned Rome before he was competent to approach it; their lieutenants, deserted by their troops, plundered of their treasure, and denuded of the materials of war, found themselves alone and defenceless in their camps before the invader appeared in sight. The interest which Sulla had fostered in his colonies melted away like a dream; old hopes and hatreds revived in the breasts of the Italians; the magistrates of every city flung wide their gates, and hailed the Roman traitor as their hero and deliverer.² The captain, second only to Pompeius in the camp and councils of the senate, was dragged a prisoner into Cæsar's presence; and Pompeius himself retreated from one position to another without a single attempt to rally, and finally crept

¹ Pompeius embarked March 17=Jan. 25. B. C. 49, and Cæsar entered Brundisium the day following. Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 19. Plutarch says (*Cæs.* 35.): *γεγονὼς ἐν ἡμέραις ἐξήκοντα πάσης ἀναιμωπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας κύριος.* Assigning twenty-nine days to January, and twenty-eight to February, the sixty days would extend from Jan. 16–March 18, inclusive. If this calculation is to be taken strictly, the passage of the Rubicon would take place on the night of Jan. 15–16.; but I am inclined to place it a few days earlier. The interval between the flight of the tribunes, Jan. 6, and the passage of the Rubicon, Jan. 15–16, seems too long, while more time is required for the events which were crowded into the following days.

² Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 12.: “Municipia vero et rustici Romani illum (sc. Pomp.) metuunt, hunc adhuc diligunt.”

out of the country like a hunted fox. All this time the nobles had been growing more and more clamorous to be led against the invader; in vain did they mutter and scowl, and heap reproaches upon their chosen champion. He was not to be diverted from his plans, whatever they might be, but he would make no disclosure of them; to their remonstrances he coldly replied by ordering the murmurers to follow him under pain of proscription. To the last they hoped that he would still make a stand on the sacred soil of Italy; when he finally deceived their anticipations and wafted the last band of his military followers from the port of Brundisium, confusion and despair prompted many among them to throw themselves upon the conqueror's generosity. The Appian Way was again crowded with knights and senators; but this time their faces were turned towards the city. Dragged so long against their will at the wheels of Pompeius' chariot, they vowed from henceforth to renounce the war, and sought the protection of the chief who alone permitted neutrality.¹ Many of these belonged, no doubt, to the class of indolent and selfish voluptuaries, who had been beguiled into a momentary relinquishment of their pleasures by the assurance that they should be soon reinstated in them more securely and triumphantly. But many also were better citizens, who foreboded some undefined evil to the state from the apparent treachery of Pompeius, and would no longer lend their support to his cause, though they might scruple to turn their arms against the sacred names of consuls and senate. They left it to the needy and reckless, the disappointed adventurers and patrician spendthrifts, to cling still to Pompeius' fortunes, and gloat over their visions of an abolition of debts, a confiscation of properties, and a reconstruction of the government. Whatever stains there might be on the character of many of the most prominent of Cæsar's adherents, it was now fully evident that the leader of the

Indignation of the nobles at the conduct of Pompeius.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 8. (March 6.): "Urbem quidem jam refertam esse optimatum audio . . . Hinc vero vulgo vadunt."

oligarchy was surrounded by a crew not less dissolute and unprincipled.

The departure of the more moderate and high-minded of his partizans was witnessed, we may presume, by Pompeius with no great dissatisfaction. There can be little doubt as to the game he had all along been playing. It is impossible to suppose that a captain so consummate and a statesman so experienced should have let the cards drop from his hands, as he had done throughout, except with a deliberate policy. Whether he admitted the consuls themselves into his confidence may remain uncertain; but it is clear that he deceived to the last the main body of his adherents, even within the camp, by a pretended defence of Italy, while it had long been his intention to surrender every post successively, and make his exit from the peninsula as fast as, with a decent show of resistance, he could.¹

The eastern and western portions of the empire stood to each other in peculiar contrast, and the views which influenced Pompeius at this crisis may be traced to the nature of the resources respectively offered by them. The Italian peninsula, stretching far into the midland sea, divided the Roman world into two hemispheres, rivals for the regard of the warrior and statesman, not less distinct in their social and political character than in their geographical position. The contrast between them was more strongly marked at this period than at any subsequent era. For both the East and the West were still instinct with the life peculiar to each, and though both equally within the reach and under the control of the same iron arm, were nevertheless as completely alien from one another in their principles, interests and feelings, as if they had been two rival empires and not parts and provinces of the same.

On the one hand, the great province of Spain was already more thoroughly Romanized than any other part of the do-

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 10. : "Hoc turpe (de fuga cogitare) Cnæus noster biennio ante cogitavit."

Explanation of the secret policy of Pompeius in abandoning Italy.

Contrast between the eastern and western portions of the Roman Empire.

minions of the republic. Though some districts were not yet fully subdued, and much lawlessness and disaffection still existed in others, yet the manners of the conquering people had been introduced from an early period, and definitively adopted throughout a large portion of the country. The language of the Italians was achieving rapid conquests in every quarter, and consolidating the municipal institutions which were lavished so freely upon the natives in no other part of the empire. These results had been rendered permanent by the influence of Sertorius, who had taught the Iberians to regard the discipline and habits of their foreign masters as the true secret of their irresistible success. The subjugation of Spain had occupied one hundred and fifty years of almost constant warfare. Step by step had Rome made her way into the heart of a country, in which every mountain and desert had been defended with the same inveterate love of freedom. But she had never been compelled to retreat from an inch of ground once occupied, and the roots of her power struck the deeper into the soil from the tempests which had so long repressed its growth. The condition of the native races had been one of unmitigated barbarism; the southern and western coasts alone were slightly tinctured with the spirit of Greek and Phœnician culture. But, in the absence of civilization, the Iberians had no social institutions which could retain their vitality under the blight of a foreign conquest. Innumerable strongholds, dignified by the Roman writers with the name of cities, had been razed to the ground; the elder Cato had destroyed, it is said, not less than three hundred.¹ Deprived of every fastness, except those which the nature of the country continued to offer in some isolated districts, the barbarians, once thoroughly subdued, had no retreat in which to cherish the remnants of their nationality. The character of the people was, however, essentially warlike, and this temper the crafty conquerors did not suffer to ferment in inaction.

Spain more completely Romanized than any other province.

¹ See Plutarch, Polybius and Strabo, referred to by Mannert, i. 241.; Liv xxviii. 1

The Iberian peninsula was the Switzerland of the ancient world. Its hardy clans had for ages supplied the infantry of Carthage; they had defeated the Romans themselves at the Trebia and Cannæ, and had enlisted under the banners of Antiochus for a second invasion of Italy. Accordingly, the rude chieftains whom the arts of peace could not soften, were more easily broken to the yoke of military discipline. It was in Spain that the Romans first adopted from their rivals the practice of enlisting hired bands of their foreign subjects.¹ The colonization of the peninsula, especially in the south, by Roman citizens, had been carried on systematically, and the admission of natives to the Roman franchise had been more liberal there than in most of the provinces. The way was already paved for the much larger enfranchisement which followed at a later period. Thus it was that at the opening of the civil wars the spirit of the Iberian provinces was more thoroughly Roman than any other; the political feelings and interests of the people, no less than their social habits, had become nearly identified with those of the dominant race. In no part of the empire beyond Italy itself were the ancient traditions and prejudices of patrician and plebeian held more sacred. Spain was rather a healthy offshoot from the parent state than a conquered dependency. Strong in her indomitable character and her military resources, she was calculated to form the firmest bulwark of the republic and of the party which at this period prevailed in its counsels.

The process of civilization in Spain had been commenced by the Scipios and Catos of earlier generations, and carried on by a Metellus and a Pompeius. The colonists and the natives were attached to the senatorial party by all the ties which the policy of the conquerors could devise. We have seen how in Gaul, on the other hand, the two rival factions had been alternately in the ascendant, and that the result had been to leave the old province, for the most part, Pompeian in feeling, but to create a

Progress of
Roman senti-
ments in Gaul.

¹ Liv. xxiv. 49: "Mercenarium militem neminem ante quam tum Celtiberos Romani habuerunt." This was in the second Punic war, A. U. 539.

strong Cæsarian interest throughout the later conquests. The genius and activity of Cæsar seemed to have effected in nine years in Gaul beyond the Cevennes the moral and social transformation which it had taken a century and a half to mature in the Iberian peninsula. We have already remarked the extent to which the conqueror had availed himself of the military spirit of the northern nations; how, by enlisting the chieftains under his banner, he had so far gained their affections as to be able to leave them most of the forms at least of their ancient freedom. He thus succeeded in inspiring both their warriors and their magistrates with Roman feelings, and the desire to emulate the spirit of southern civilization. The two great nations of the west were thus rendered the allies of the republic, rather than her subjects. Either of them furnished a field on which her quarrels might be fought out, in the midst of a native population hardly less Cæsarian or Pompeian in their sympathies than the conquering race itself.

But in the eastern half of the Roman empire the ideas of the dominant people had received no such development, and no interest was there felt in the quarrels of the city. The earlier and finer cultivation of the East still regarded with contemptuous indifference the struggles of the Roman mind to obtain an ascendancy over the subject races. The Greek populations were at this period almost exhausted by war, bad government, and the decay of their commercial prosperity. They submitted to the conqueror with an apathy from which nothing could rouse them, and, while they were forced to cast their institutions in Italian moulds, refused to imbibe any portion of their spirit. But beyond the Grecian provinces no attempt was made to infuse the political ideas of the republic into the dependent or tributary kingdoms on the frontier. The races of Asia acquiesced in their own immemorial despotisms, to which they had been abandoned by Sulla and Pompeius. To them the names of Liberty and Equality, invoked in turn by each of the Roman factions,

The eastern provinces indifferent to the principle involved in the civil war, and regard only the persons of the leaders.

were unintelligible. They had no conception of the nature of the contests, the rumour of which reached them across so many seas and continents. The sympathies of the Orientals centred always in men, and never in governments. A Cyrus, an Alexander, an Arsaces, commanded all their devotion; for them the foundations of law lay in the bosom of the autocrat. If summoned to take up arms in behalf of either party, it was upon the leader alone that they would fix their eyes, to his triumph the sphere of their interests would be limited. The accession of their wealth and numbers would strengthen the hands of the chief even against his own followers; to the common cause a victory obtained by their aid might be not less dangerous than a defeat. Accordingly, the introduction of such allies into a civil war could only be regarded by the genuine and high-minded among her children, as an insult to the dignity of the republic.¹ The party chief who should divest himself of the support of the national sentiment, and rally around his standards the blind obsequiousness of Egypt and Syria, the rude devotion of Colchis and Armenia,² would forfeit the respect of the true patriot as much as if he had put himself at the head of a foreign invasion.

That this, however, was the course Pompeius had determined to adopt, from the moment that he saw the contest with his rival inevitable, seems sufficiently proved by the whole tenor of his subsequent conduct. He hated the oligarchy of which he was the chief. At an earlier period, while placing himself ostensibly at its head, he had laboured to depress and degrade it. Jealous of the rival whom in self-defence it had raised against him in Cicero, he had used Cæsar, as he thought, as an instrument to crush this attempt to control

Pompeius places himself at their head, in order to counterbalance the authority of the senate.

¹ The true Roman sentiment is expressed by Lucan (vii. 526.):

. . . "Civilia bella

Non bene barbaricis unquam commissa catervis."

² Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 10.: "Getarum et Armeniorum et Colchorum copias ad eum adducere." ix. 11.: "Nuntiant Ægyptum et Arabiam εὐδαίμονα et Μεσοποταμίαν cogitare." Dion, xli. 13

him. But the instrument cut the workman's hand. The next turn of the wheel of fortune showed him in close alliance with this same party, to defend themselves against a common adversary. Pompeius, however, was well aware that these hollow friends would seize the moment of victory to effect his overthrow. If they worsted Cæsar, it would not be to submit once more to himself. He feared the hostile influence of the consuls and magistrates in a camp of Roman citizens, and felt that, in the event of a struggle with them, his title of Imperator would not weigh against their superior claims to the soldiers' allegiance. For the armies of which he was now the nominal leader were raised within the bounds of Italy; they were not debauched like the legions of Sulla, of Marius, of Cæsar, or those which he had himself led from Asia, by long absence from the city and habits of military licence. In order to strengthen his own exalted position, or even to maintain it after the defeat of the invader, he required a military force of another description. It was necessary that his anticipated victory should be gained, not on the soil of Italy, nor by the hands of Lentulus and Domitius, and that his return to Rome should be a triumph over the senate no less than over Cæsar.

Thus only can we account for Pompeius having made no arrangements for maintaining himself at Rome, or at least in Italy, while there was yet time to have brought to his succour the legions in Spain; for his abandoning Domitius with his strong detachment in the face of so inferior an enemy; and above all, for his carrying the war to the east instead of to the west, when compelled to escape from the shores of the Peninsula.¹ It was in Spain that the great strength of his party lay after it was expelled from the hearths of the republic; there was no region where the sacred names of Rome and the senate could

With this view he abandons Italy and disregards Spain.

¹ It was at first expected that Pompeius, if driven from Italy, would have retired into Spain. Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 18.: "Tempori pareamus, cum Pompeio in Hispaniam eamus." This letter was written Feb. 3. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 33. *καὶ παρασκευῆς εἶχεν ὡς ἀρμήσων ὅπη ποτ' ἂν αἱ χρεῖται καλῶσιν.*

meet with so favourable a response in the breasts of the provincials. Twelve legions of Roman soldiers, backed by the resources of so warlike and opulent a country, might be matched with advantage against any force Cæsar could bring against them; and it was more probable that they would have crossed the Pyrenees to engage their antagonists in southern Gaul, than have awaited an assault within their own limits. In the meantime Scipio would have brought up the resources of the east and all that could be spared from the armies of the Syrian frontier, and the two ponderous masses might have met in Italy, and crushed Cæsar between them.

But Pompeius had no intention of sharing his victory on equal terms with the great men of his party, or reinstating in their ivory chairs the old chiefs of the aristocracy. There was now no disguise as to his designs, no doubt as to the attempt he would make to obliterate every vestige of ancient liberty. Some, indeed, of the nobles might still expect to impose a check upon him by their presence in his camp, but many even of the most distinguished among them were already corrupted by the hope of plunder. War against Italy, war against Rome, was the open cry of the most daring and profligate. We will starve the city into submission, we will leave not a tile on a house throughout the country, was echoed by Pompeius himself.¹ Such was the ominous language which resounded in the senatorial camp as soon as it was pitched in Epirus, and the opposite shores assumed the character of a foreign and a hostile strand. The consuls listened to it without a murmur, for it was their own chosen champion who avowed it. *He left the city, says Cicero, not because he could not defend it, and Italy, not because he was driven out of it; but this was his design from the beginning, to move every land and sea, to call to arms the kings of the barbarians, to lead savage na-*

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 7.: "Primum consilium est suffocare urbem et Italiam fame, deinde vastare agros, urere, pecuniis locupletum non abstinere . . . Promitto tibi, si valebit, tegulam illum in Italia nullam relicturum." Comp. *ad Att.* xi. 6., *ad Div.* iv. 14.

He exalts himself above the chiefs of his party, and proclaims war against Rome.

tions into Italy, not as captives but as conquerors. He is determined to reign like Sulla, as a king over his subjects; and many there are who applaud this atrocious design.¹

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* viii. 11.; comp. viii. 16., ix. 9.: "Mirandum in modum Cnæus noster Sullani regni similitudinem concepivit. Εἰδώς σοι λέγω. Nihil ille unquam minus obscure tulit." ix. 10.: "Sullaturit ejus animus et proscripturit diu."

CHAPTER XV.

CÆSAR REPAIRS TO ROME AND CONVENES THE SENATE.—HIS MODERATION AND CLEMENCY.—HE PLUNDERS THE TEMPLE OF SATURN.—HE PROCEEDS TO ATTACK THE POMPEIAN ARMIES IN SPAIN.—DOMITIUS ENCOURAGES THE MASSILIANS TO SHUT THEIR GATES AGAINST HIM.—HE LEAVES A FORCE TO BESIEGE THEIR CITY, AND CROSSES THE PYRENEES.—THE POMPEIAN LIEUTENANTS OCCUPY ILERDA.—MILITARY OPERATIONS BEFORE THAT PLACE.—OVERFLOW OF THE SICORIS AND PERIL OF CÆSAR.—BRUTUS GAINS A NAVAL ADVANTAGE OVER THE MASSILIANS.—THE POMPEIANS COMPELLED TO EVACUATE ILERDA.—FURTHER MILITARY OPERATIONS, ENDING IN THE CAPITULATION OF THE POMPEIAN ARMIES. A. U. 705, B. C. 49.

CÆSAR now occupied without an antagonist in sight the centre of his enemies' position. Their line of operations was fairly cut in two, and the assailant might determine at his leisure against which of the wings of their army he should first concentrate his forces. Moreover, he found himself in possession of the hostile camp, well stored with the moral and material resources of war, and thronged with deserters from their flying ranks. Rome threw her gates wide open to receive him, and he fully appreciated the immense advantage in a civil war of being able to issue his mandates from the centre of law and order. He was, however, entirely unprovided with the requisite armaments for transporting his army across the Adriatic; nor, in any case, would he have ventured to encounter the gigantic resources of the East at the head of only three legions. Another grave consideration at the same time pressed upon him, the protection of Rome and Italy

The consuls' abandonment of Italy gives Caesar a great moral advantage.

from the scarcity which threatened them, so long as Sardinia, Sicily and Africa were held by Pompeian lieutenants.

Accordingly, while he quartered a portion of his forces on the Apulian coast to prevent the enemy's return¹ or the exit of his Italian partizans, he sent detachments in all haste to effect the conquest of these important positions. The appearance of a legion off the coast of Sardinia encouraged the natives to rise

He expels the forces of the senate from Sardinia and Sicily.

in arms and expel the garrison placed there by the senate.² Curio, who now occupied the place of Labienus in his leader's confidence, and whose zeal and ability might compensate for the want of experience, received orders to wrest Sicily from the Pompeians, and from thence cross over the sea, and contest with them the possession of Africa.³ The island was held for the senate by M. Cato, who had reluctantly obeyed its command to defend so obscure a dependency, for his services, he deemed, could be better employed in Italy, or wherever the consuls might pitch their camp. Accordingly, he seems to have made little preparation for the ungrateful task of arming the Sicilians to harass his beloved city. The sudden approach of the Cæsarian forces, consisting of four legions,⁴ in a flotilla of unarmed transports, found him unable to cope with the invasion, and the news of the abandonment of Italy by Pompeius so shocked and dismayed him, that he determined to shed no blood in a desultory and provincial skirmish. He was satisfied with demanding of the intruder whether it was by the decree of the senate, or under the orders of the people, that he presumed to encroach upon the province of an independent governor. *The Master of Italy has sent me*, returned the Cæsarian lieutenant,⁵ and Cato

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 15.: "Ille (Cæsar) ut ad me scripsit legiones singulas posuit Brundisii, Siponti, Tarenti. Claudere mihi videtur maritimos exitus: et tamen ipse Græciam spectare potius quam Hispanias."

² Cæs. *B. C.* i. 30.

³ Appian (*B. C.* ii. 40.) supposes Asinius Pollio to have been first in command; but that Curio was the superior appears from the sequel.

⁴ Cæs. *l. c.*

⁵ Appian, *l. c.*

bowed to the insulting summons, relinquishing the island without a blow, and seeking the head-quarters of the consuls beyond the sea.¹

Meanwhile Cæsar, on his part, repaired straightway to Rome, ingratiating himself at every step with men of all parties, who listened with admiration and favour to the plausible explanation he could give of his conduct, as well as to his gracious promises to restore security and order. In courteous terms he invited the timid and the wavering to meet him in the Capitol, and to aid him with their counsel on the affairs of the commonwealth. With Cicero he had a personal interview at Formiæ, and an animated conversation ensued between them. The orator had already been reassured, by the correspondence he kept up with friends of the proconsul, as to any fears he might entertain for his own person. He did not shrink from meeting the victorious invader, and his demeanour was not wanting in a show of firmness and dignity. Cæsar urged with all the fascination of his polished address that the refusal of so popular a statesman to return to Rome would be a cause of hesitation to others. Anxious as he was to place his interests under the shadow of legitimate authority, he invited the senate to resume its functions in its proper seat, and tender its advice to its faithful soldier.² But Cicero resolutely closed his ears against these flattering solicitations. He pleaded his personal obligation to Pompeius, and his intimate connexion with the fugitive party, whose threats of proscription were still sounding in

Cæsar repairs
in person to
Rome,

and seeks an
interview with
Cicero on the
way.

¹ Cicero (*ad Att.* x. 12–16.) speaks with a good deal of bitterness of the apparent pusillanimity of Cato's behaviour: "potuisse certe tenere illam provinciam scio." But his judgments on these points were formed with the utmost levity. Cato left Sicily (*Cic. ad Att.* x. 16.) April 23, A. U. 705, which corresponds with March 2, B. C. 49.; comp. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 41.; Dion, xli. 18.; Plut. *Cato*, 53.; Oros. vi. 15.; Flor. iv. 2. 22.

² Luc. i. 202., vii. 264.

"Cæsar ubique tuus, liccat modo, nunc quoque, miles."

"Non mihi res agitur, sed vos ut libera sitis
Turba precor, gentes ut jus habeatis in omnes."

his ears. He ventured to declare that, if he opened his mouth in the senate house, it must be to denounce the attack which Cæsar was meditating on the Pompeian legions in Spain, and the expected transport of his army into Greece, in defiance of those whom he was still bound to consider the constituted authority of the state. Cæsar replied abruptly that he would not suffer any such public animadversions upon his conduct; and he was obliged, at last, to break up the conference with the cold expression of a hope that his friend would reflect further upon the matter. To this Cicero returned a civil answer; and so, he says, much to his relief, the interview ended.¹

Cæsar had reached Rome by the first of April, and his first care upon arriving there was to convene a council which should represent to the citizens the image of their venerated senate. Members of that body had already returned in sufficient numbers to give the appearance of a legitimate assembly; the absence of the consuls, by whom its meetings should properly have been convoked, was supplied by the tribunes, Antonius and Cassius, who revived, for the occasion, the obsolete prerogatives of their office.² The demeanour of the conqueror was studiously mild: he reiterated, in set phrases, the complaints he had so repeatedly addressed to the consuls themselves. He proposed the opening of a new negotiation; but he may be suspected of throwing obstacles himself in the way of its being carried into effect. It may be true, as he alleges, that it was difficult to find persons willing to bear the flag of truce into the camp of Pompeius, who had vowed to treat even the neutral as enemies.³ But it was observed that, when the

Cæsar convenes a senate; his conduct studiously moderate.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 18. (iv. Kal. Apr. i. e. March 29.): "Damnari se nostro iudicio, tardiores fore reliquos si nos non venerimus, dicere . . . Tum ille, Ego vero ista dici nolo . . . Summa fuit, ut ille quasi exitum quærens, ut deliberarem. Non fuit negandum. Ita discessimus."

² Drumann, iii. 443.

³ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 33.: "Pompeius enim discedens ab urbe in senatu dixerat eodem se habiturum loco qui Romæ remansissent et qui in castris Cæsaris fuissent."

affair dropped, and Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, mooted it a second time, he received a rebuke for his officious interference.¹

The restoration of the families of Sulla's victims to their civil rights was a measure of justice against which no exception could fairly be taken.² But the adherents of the party now in the ascendant began to press other claims which could not be so easily satisfied.

His difficulty
in satisfying
the demands
of his sol-
diers.

Cæsar had taken the precaution of leaving his army behind him when he entered Rome. His soldiers had allowed themselves to anticipate enormous plunder from the conquest of Italy; and he could not venture to bring them within reach of the spoil of the capital. But the urban populace itself demanded a reward for its long-trying devotion to his cause, and its murmurs at the prospect of disappointment already raised again the hopes of his enemies.³ Cæsar was obliged to pay the price of his popularity in solid coin; and the largess he promised was a frank confession that his power was founded on the will of the multitude. Cæsar had already pledged himself to give five minæ to each of his soldiers;⁴ he now proffered three hundred sesterces to every citizen. The fulfilment of these engagements would have greatly embarrassed him, for he had renounced the resources of proscription and confiscation to which previous conquerors had so readily resorted. But his enemies, in the haste and trepidation with which they had abandoned the city, had neglected the precaution of removing the treasure stored under the Capitol in the vaults of the temple of Saturn. This sacred

¹ Dion, xli. 16.

² Dion (xli. 18.) states that this restoration took place at this time; but Plutarch (*Cæs.* 37.) places it after the Spanish war. I think with Drumann that the later date is the correct one, in which case it was one of a series of connected measures. But such an enactment was probably talked of at this time, and the legal disqualifications virtually set aside.

³ Cie. *ad Att.* x. 8.: "Nullo modo posse video stare illum diutius . . . quippe qui florentissimus æ novus, vi., vii. diebus ipsi illi egentis æ perditæ multitudini in odium acerbissimum venerit."

⁴ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 47.; five minæ may = 2000 sesterces, nearly = 16*l.*

hoard, as it was pompously denominated, had been chiefly amassed from the proceeds of a duty on the enfranchisement of slaves; but a portion of the spoils of war had also from time to time been deposited there. Once only, in the most disastrous crisis of the Punic wars, had a quantity of gold, amounting to four thousand pounds in weight, been thence withdrawn by the solemn decree of the senate; but, in later times, the coffers had been rifled, both by the elder and the younger Marius, during the licence of civil commotion. Undoubtedly the consuls Marcellus and Lentulus would not have spared it, if in the general panic of their flight from Rome they had had presence of mind to forecast the consequences of their pusillanimity. Pompeius had required them to retrace their steps from Campania, for the purpose of retrieving their blunder; but it was then too late, and this abandonment of the public treasure was one of the faults against which Cicero had most bitterly inveighed. Cæsar easily obtained authority from his subservient senate to appropriate these resources. One voice was raised against the proceeding, that of a tribune named Metellus, a bold as well as a bitter opponent of the Marian party, whose courage at least may deserve honourable record. His official veto on the decree of the senate was contemptuously disregarded; but he placed himself before the door of the temple, and vehemently protested that the spoiler should not enter but over his body. He sought to enlist the popular feeling on his side by appealing to a cherished tradition. This treasure, it was devoutly believed, included the actual ransom of the city, which Brennus had carried from the gates, and the valour of Camillus had recovered. A solemn curse had been denounced, it was added, against the sacrilegious hand which should remove it for any purpose whatsoever, except to repel a Gallic invasion. *The fear of a Gallic invasion, retorted Cæsar, is for ever at an end: I have subdued the Gauls.*¹ Cæsar's anger was terrible, and Metellus quailed at last before the menaces of one whose blows, it

He plunders
the sacred
treasure in
the temple of
Saturn.

¹ Plut. *Cæs.* 35.; App. ii. 41.; Dion. xli. 17.

was well known, were swifter than his words. The keys had been carried off by the consuls, and the door was broken open with pickaxes. This violent measure was undoubtedly one of extreme necessity, otherwise Cæsar would not have risked by it the character for moderation he so studiously affected. The pretended champion of tribunitian inviolability was constrained to plead the exigency of civil war, in excuse for the violation of a tribune's dignity.¹

The nobles, indeed, had relied upon these conquered Gauls to make a diversion in their favour. When Cicero expresses the general expectation that the invader would be checked in his career in Italy by the revolt in his rear of the provinces he had only half pacified, he relies neither upon his devotion to the state, nor his care for his own glory, to stay his onward progress. But a revolt in Gaul would have cut off the sources of Cæsar's military strength, and it was reasonable to calculate that he would rather fall back upon the basis of his operations, than throw himself headlong into the centre of his enemies without a reserve behind. But the proconsul had so effectually conciliated the vanquished barbarians, that his absence beyond the Alps was attended by no hostile movement among them in any quarter. It was not from the Gauls that his plans experienced any interruption; but the jealous government of the Grecian Massilia seized the opportunity to display its sympathy with the Pompeian party, with which a series of senatorial proconsuls had maintained it in close connexion.

The victor's genuine or affected generosity had conceded to the captured Domitius both life and freedom. But he,

¹ Cic. (*ad. Att.* x. 8.) says, pertinently enough: "Qui duarum rerum simulationem tam cito amiserit, mansuetudinis in Metello, divitiarum in ærario." Cæsar seems to have carried off his violence with a sarcastic taunt. *Plut. Cæs.* 35.: *παρρησίας γὰρ οὐ δεῖται πόλεμος.* Lucan (iii. 188.) conveys the idea even more pointedly:

"Non usque adeo permiscuit imis
Longus summa dies, ut non, si voce Metelli
Serventur leges, malint a Cæsare tolli."

burning with personal as well as political hatred against his conqueror, was neither soothed by favours nor dismayed by discomfiture. Indignant, however, at the coolness with which his leader had abandoned him, he made no effort to join the consular ranks. He disdained even to communicate with his friends in Epirus, and for a time neither party knew what were his projects, or whither he had repaired.¹ But while the Cæsarian troops were taking possession of the Italian peninsula from north to south, and establishing themselves in quarters at Brundisium and Tarentum, at Ariminum and Placentia, he contrived to elude observation in equipping a small naval armament at Cosa on the Etruscan coast.² From this point he opened communications with Massilia, and as soon as he heard that the little Greek republic was resolved to declare its adherence to the senate, he sailed without hesitation for that harbour of refuge.³ He could not fail to perceive how important a diversion might be created for the interests of his party by securing so strong and opportune a position in the enemy's rear. But the Province, to which, in a military point of view, Massilia was the key, had been the theatre of his own family glories, and he hoped, by force or favour, to acquire actual possession of it, as the government to which he was rightfully entitled by the decree of the senate. The liberty which Cæsar had accorded him he abused for objects of personal ambition, and broke his faith to an indulgent rival, not from devotion to his party or the state, but purely from motives of self-interest and cupidity.

Domitius be-
takes himself to
Massilia.

We have seen that Cæsar had not the means of following the flying enemy across the Adriatic; but a few days had sufficed to put him at the head of the senate and people of Rome, to recruit his military chest by the plunder of the treasury, and thus gather into his hands all the resources his enterprize required. He was not content to act on the defensive in Italy,

Cæsar leaves
Rome to attack
the Pompeian
lieutenants in
Spain.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* viii. 14., ix. 1. 3.

² Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 6.

³ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 34.

The supineness and apparent timidity of his adversaries emboldened him to leave the city almost unprotected, while he hastened in person across the Alps and Pyrenees to crush the left wing of their forces in Spain. He was confident of success. The character of the generals opposed to him, of Afranius at least and Varro, was not such as to inspire him with any apprehension of defeat. He left, as he said, a general without an army, to attack an army without a general.¹ M. Antonius was appointed to watch over his patron's interests in Italy, while the government of Rome was confided to M. Æmilius Lepidus, an hereditary opponent of the oligarchy.² Cæsar joined three legions of recruits at Ariminum,³ and led them with his accustomed celerity across the Alps. Under the walls of Massilia he met his lieutenant Trebonius, with reinforcements from the cantonments in the north of Gaul. In the course of this rapid march he first learned the resistance he might expect from the Massilians, whose harbour and naval resources, weak as he was in that arm, were of the greatest importance to him. Pompeius, at the moment of his flight into the south of Italy, had had the presence of mind to bestow a parting exhortation on the agents of the Greek republic in Rome, reminding them of the benefits he had conferred upon their state, and desiring them to return home, and confirm the dispositions of their countrymen in his favour. The Massilians, in consequence, had closed their gates, amassed supplies of every kind, and purchased the services of the neighbouring tribes. At the same time Cæsar received information of the enterprize upon which Domitius was bound; he learned also that Vibullius Rufus, another of the liberated

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 34.: "Professus inter suos ire se ad exercitum sine duce, et inde reversurum ad ducem sine exercitu."

² Plut. *Anton.* 6.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 41. This personage, whose name will be conspicuous on our pages hereafter, was son of the Lepidus whose insurrection was quelled by Catulus A. U. 677.

³ Oros. vi. 15.; comp. Cæs. *B. C.* i. 36.: the three legions he mentions must have been new levies, for the few veterans he had had with him in Italy were left there in garrison, or transported into Sicily, and the remaining Gallic legions had not crossed the Alps.

captives of Corfinium, had been sent by Pompeius into Spain, to convey instructions to his lieutenants there.¹

Immediately on his arrival the proconsul demanded an interview with the council of fifteen in whom the government of the Massilian commonwealth was vested. They proceeded confidently to confer with him in his camp, and in answer to his invitation to acknowledge the authority of Italy legitimately pronounced through a senate in Rome, rather than submit to the dictation of a private citizen, they replied that the republic, as they understood, was divided in the interests of a Cæsar and a Pompeius, to both of whom they owed great public benefits; and, as they could not presume to decide between such competitors, they conceived it their duty to close their gates equally against either. But no sooner had they left the proconsul's presence than Domitius appeared with his little squadron at the mouth of the harbour, and was at once admitted into the city with open arms.² A bold and experienced general was all that the Massilians needed; arms, money, ships, provisions, they possessed in abundance, and the enthusiasm of the people was fully equal to their resources.

He arrives before Massilia, which shuts its gates against him, and receives Domitius.

Cæsar was intent upon his expedition into Spain, where, if a blow was to be struck, it must be aimed without delay. It was commonly rumoured that Pompeius intended to embark his legions in Greece, or even to march through Mauretania, to reinforce his lieutenants in the west.³ Time was more valuable to Cæsar than men. He preferred leaving three legions behind him to conduct the siege of Massilia, rather than delay his advance till the place should be reduced to submission. He gave

Cæsar leaves his lieutenants to reduce Massilia, and hastens into Spain.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 34.

² Cæs. *B. C.* i. 34. 36.; Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 6.

³ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 39. Another report indeed, at which Cicero eagerly caught, was that he was already directing his course through Illyricum and about to enter Italy by the route of the Cisalpine province, but this Cæsar no doubt discredited. Cic. *ad Att.* x. 6. (10 Kal. Mai=22 April): "Pompeium pro certo habemus per Illyricum proficisci in Galliam." He writes again May 3: "Pompeium cum magnis copiis iter in Germaniam per Illyricum fecisse."

charge for the equipment of a fleet to assist in the operations against the town, and appointed Trebonius and Decimus Brutus to the command of the land and naval force respectively. In the interval which these hurried arrangements required, orders were despatched to C. Fabius to move from Narbo with the three veteran legions there under his command, and occupy the passes of the Pyrenæes; at the same time the troops still quartered in remoter parts of Gaul were directed to follow as rapidly as possible. Auxiliary cohorts were levied throughout Aquitania, and the bravest of the native chieftains enlisted with alacrity. Pressed for money to conduct these operations, Cæsar had the address to borrow it from his own officers, and he congratulated himself on the success of an artifice which bound them to his cause by the additional tie of pecuniary interest.

Eight years had elapsed since the senate had assigned the province of Spain together with Africa to Pompeius. The course of his intrigues nearer home had not permitted him to repair thither in person, but he had taken a lively interest in its military organization, foreseeing the importance of such a magazine of men and arms in the event of a civil war. The republic had previously maintained in the Peninsula a force of four legions. The new proconsul withdrew two more from Africa to strengthen this armament, and these six brigades composed of veteran troops, formed together the finest army Rome could boast. To these a seventh legion was added by the enlistment of provincial colonists, and the entire force under the proconsul's orders was augmented by the contingents of the allied states and large bodies of hired auxiliaries. The Peninsula was divided into three governments, each having a military establishment of its own. In the northern and eastern region the consular Afranius commanded with three legions. Petreius was stationed with two others in Lusitania, a district which comprised the recent conquests of Cæsar in his prætorship. The southern province, from Castulo on the Bætis to the mouth of the Anas, the politest of the Roman

The Pompeian
lieutenants,
Varro, Afranius,
and Petreius.

possessions in the west, was appropriately assigned to M. Terentius Varro, one of the most consummate specimens of Italian culture.¹ The literary genius of this illustrious man was the most universal of his day: his knowledge of the history and antiquities of his country remained long unrivalled; in the dignified profession of philosophy and the lighter pursuits of poetry he obtained an honourable distinction among his contemporaries; while his proficiency in the most practically useful of the arts was evinced by his treatise on rural economy, which has descended to modern times. For military command, indeed, he seems to have shown little aptitude; but he, in fact, alone of the three lieutenants was not heartily attached to his general, and his principal care was to contrive to appear a partizan of whichever should become the winning side. The character of Afranius is already known to us, as a zealous adherent of the senate, but a man of little vigour or prudence in political life. As an officer, however, he had served with distinction in the war against Sertorius, and had gained laurels in Asia under the eye of Pompeius. Petreius, perhaps, alone of the three was worthy of the conspicuous post he was called upon to fill. He was a sturdy veteran, whose unshaken loyalty and courage had been long before approved in the destruction of Catilina.²

As soon as their emperor's orders arrived for preparing to encounter Cæsar, the three lieutenants concerted their measures together. To Afranius, as farthest in advance, was assigned the task of preventing, if possible, the threatened irruption into the Peninsula. Petreius undertook to summon in the first place to his standard the hordes of savage warriors with which his half-reclaimed province swarmed, and then direct his march with all speed along the line of the Duris or the Tagus, and effect

They prepare to meet Cæsar in the field.

¹ Cæs. B. C. i. 38. There seems to be some corruption or transposition in the text, but there can be no doubt that this is the writer's meaning.

² Sallust speaks of him as even at that time a veteran of thirty years' standing, and pays a high tribute to his experience in his profession (B. C. 59., see above, Vol. I. p. 132.).

a junction with his colleague beyond the Iberus. Meanwhile, the government of all the south and west was deputed to Varro, who retained with him two legions to keep the province in subjection, and constitute a reserve for future emergencies. The force thus rapidly concentrated in the north of Spain to check Cæsar's advance, consisted of five veteran legions and a body of eighty cohorts of auxiliaries, amounting in all, perhaps, to seventy thousand men.¹

The armies of the Scipios and Catos, in former times, had been transported to Iberia by sea; but the conquest of the southern coasts of Gaul had gradually extended the military roads of the republic from the foot of the Alps to the summit of the Pyrenees, and from thence in various directions across the whole peninsula. Pompeius had devoted himself, in the war with Sertorius, to completing the communication between Gaul and the western dependencies of the republic. The route which he opened led from Narbo, through Ruscino and Illiberis, to Ficara, Girona and Barcino.² This is precisely the line of the modern road across the Col de Pertuis, on the most eastern spur of the Pyrenees. At the highest point of this road Pompeius had erected the trophy which long continued to bear his name, and recorded upon a triumphal arch his achievements in the west. The great Roman way from Gaul skirted the coast from Barcelona to Tarragona, and thence branched out in two directions; the one to Lerida and the north-west, the other to Tortosa, Valeneia and the south. In modern times, the French armies have frequently penetrated into Spain by the route of Puycerda and Urguel, along the valley of the Segre;³ but this more direct line was not adopted by the Romans.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 39. These auxiliaries were partly heavy armed (*scutatæ*), partly light armed (*cetratæ*). The former were drawn from the Nether, the latter from the Farther province. The proper complement of the legionary cohort was 600, but the numbers of the auxiliary cohorts seem to have varied considerably. In one place Cæsar makes particular mention of cohorts of 600 men (*B. C.* iii. 4.).

² The modern Roussillon, Elne?, Figueras, Gerona, and Barcelona.

³ Guischard, *Mém. Milit.* i. 28.

Military route
across the
Pyrenees.

The Pompeian generals, therefore, could not have been uncertain as to the direction of the enemy's advance, and with ordinary foresight and activity they might doubtless have occupied every defensible position along his route.¹ But the energy of Cæsar imparted itself to his lieutenants, while the leaders opposed to them were no less tardy and undecided than their own chief. Fabius pressed forward from his quarters at Narbo, crossed the mountains without any serious resistance, closed the ports of Emporiæ and Barcino against reinforcements from the camp of Pompeius, and, taking the road to the right of Tarraco, reached the valley of the Sicoris, and confronted the united forces of Afranius and Petreius before Ilerda.²

The spirit with which Fabius pushed forward to encounter a superior enemy was the first omen of Cæsar's ultimate success. A second was the supineness, and indeed the hardly dissembled treachery of Varro, in ex-
Rumours of Cæsar's unpopularity in Rome and Italy.
 cusing himself from joining his colleagues in the north, nor even sending the fleets of Gades to cooperate with them, or to assist the defenders of Massilia. But, on the other hand, other circumstances seemed to cloud the invader's prospects. The resistance of the Massilians, beyond all hope and expectation, and with little apparent chance of success, conveyed to the friends of Pompeius the impression that they had stronger grounds of confidence than such as were generally manifest, and their example served to confirm many waverers in Italy. The rumoured unpopularity of Cæsar himself with the mob of Rome, and the supposed disaffection of his new levies, was another topic of mutual encouragement among this class of politicians. The gross and open profligacy of the leading Cæsarians, if we are to

¹ Livius Salinator, an officer of Sertorius, had successfully defended this pass against the prætor, C. Annius. *Plut. Sert.* 7. All the ships Cæsar could build or collect were employed before Massilia, so that many weeks or months might be expected to elapse before he could throw his invading armies upon the coast. Besides, the Pompeian forces in Spain were sufficiently numerous to occupy all the ports on the Mediterranean.

² *Cæs. B. C.* i. 37. Ilerda, mod. Lerida; Sicoris, mod. Segre.

believe the stories current regarding it, was expected to alienate the favour of the more sober citizens. It seemed impossible that men of sense could acquiesce in a domination of which, however specious were its present pretences to moderation, a speedy lapse into tyranny and proscription might be so confidently predicted. Intrigues were set on foot for raising the standard of the senate in the south of Italy. These, indeed, proved utterly abortive; it was not likely that a conspiracy conducted by a Cicero, and confided to an Atticus, should succeed in the face of such men as Cæsar and Antonius.¹ But it was with an uneasy sense of his increasing difficulties, and of the necessity of obtaining a splendid victory for the maintenance of the position he had acquired, that Cæsar hastened in the track of his lieutenant, and brought a chosen body-guard of nine hundred cavalry to reinforce the troops collected on the banks of the Sicoris. The Cæsarian army numbered five legions,² with six thousand auxiliary infantry and as many cavalry, besides the contingent of Aquitanian mountaineers, and the little squadron just mentioned. While the Pompeian generals were securely posted beneath the defences of Herda, Fabius had contented himself by throwing bridges across the Sicoris, and establishing communications with the open territory on both sides of the river. A sudden inundation, such as frequently occurs in that treacherous stream, had broken down one of his bridges, and placed two of his legions, thus cut off from the rest, in a situation of imminent danger. Afranius advanced to the attack and Fabius to the rescue with equal promptitude and conduct. The Pompeian, unwilling to risk a general engagement, retired before the enemy's reunited forces, and both parties re-

¹ See Cicero's letters, *ad Att.* x. 8, 9, 10. 15. Antonius would not have been puzzled by the enigmatical expressions which modern critics have penetrated, if he had thought it worth his while to intercept this correspondence.

² *Cæs. B. C.* i. 37. Fabius had three legions at Narbonne. To these are to be added apparently two others which Trebonius had brought from the north of Gaul (*quæ longius hiemabant*). The auxiliaries are enumerated (*c.* 39.) See Guischard, i. 50.

mained watching each other, when Cæsar arrived to turn the fortune of the campaign.

The ensuing manœuvres of the opposing armies are replete with the highest interest. Seldom do we read in the history of the republic of equal bodies of Roman veterans meeting each other in deadly conflict, with equal valour and resolution, and equally under the command of experienced generals. The good fortune by which the details of these strategic operations are preserved to us by a narrator so clear and accurate as Cæsar himself, deserves to be remarked; and in tracing them with some minuteness we shall gain an insight into the art of war as practised by the most military of nations at the most flourishing period of its arms.¹

Great interest of this campaign in a military point of view.

An eminence rising abruptly from the right bank of the Segre was crowned by the walls of the ancient Ilerda.² The communications of the city with the opposite bank of the river were secured by a permanent bridge of stone, and the Pompeian garrison which maintained this important post commanded the resources of the wide and fertile plain which it surveyed on all sides. On a rival summit, at the distance of less than half a mile to the south, Afranius and Petreius had taken up their position; for a Roman army of several legions required ample space for its accommodation, and the generals of the republic seldom relinquished the array and discipline of the camp for the confused and straitened quarters of a city. These fortified eminences, though unconnected, appeared sufficiently near for mutual support; but between them the ground swelled into a third elevation, and this, as we shall see, the Pompeians had neglected to secure by military defences. Cæsar as-

Cæsar entrenches his camp in front of the enemy's position.

¹ The details of this campaign are given minutely by Cæsar (*B. C.* l. 40. to the end), nor do the other authorities add any thing of importance. I have availed myself largely of Guischart's critical remarks.

² Compare with Cæsar Lucan's description (*iv. init.*). The poet notices the position of Ilerda on the Sicoris, the stone bridge, the hill on which Afranius was posted, and the intervening height contested by the two parties.

sumed the offensive as soon as he arrived at the scene of action. He advanced in battle array to within four hundred paces of the enemy's camp, whence it was his aim to withdraw him by offering battle in the plain below. But his antagonists had no motive for accepting the decision of the open field. They sought to protract operations in order to give their champion time for completing his extensive preparations in the East; and accordingly, being well supplied with provisions, and relying on the resources of the country around them, they persisted in refusing the proffered challenge. For the convenience of space, indeed, or to encourage their troops by the semblance of a bolder defiance, they drew up their array in front of their lines; but even there they were too securely posted for Cæsar to venture an attack. He was unwilling, however, to leave their movements free by retiring from the advanced position he had himself taken up; he proceeded, accordingly, to execute the bold and hazardous operation of constructing an entrenched camp in the face of his antagonists. He could not have kept his ground through the night without placing his men behind the protection of a fosse or rampart; but while the two first lines retained their arms and battle array, he appointed the third to excavate a ditch in their rear, and thus imposed upon the enemy, who believed that the whole force was equally prepared for the combat. Had the progress of these latter works been discovered, the Pompeians might have charged the two first lines with advantage, unsupported as they were at the moment by the third. It was thus that the Nervians, while part of the Roman troops were engaged in entrenching their camp, had made their attack, so sudden and so nearly successful. Anxious to anticipate such a sudden attack in the present instance, Cæsar was satisfied with the temporary protection of a fosse, and postponed the completion of the rampart behind it till he had drawn his legions within their unfinished entrenchments. The excavation of the ditch to the depth of fifteen feet was accomplished by the skilful and laborious veterans before nightfall. Cæsar was now enabled to com-

plete the remaining faces of his camp more at his leisure. Some slight attempts were made by Afranius to interrupt the progress of these works, but Cæsar repulsed them without difficulty. Having now surrounded himself with a fosse, and raised a subsidiary rampart, he possessed a fortified position whence to watch and counteract the enemy's movements. At the same time, the excellence of his Gaulish cavalry, in which force he was decidedly superior to the Pompeian generals, gave him the means of supplying himself with provisions from the fertile plain between the Sicoris and the Cinga, and the bridges which had been thrown across the former river maintained his communications with the country through which he had advanced.

The camp which Afranius and Petreius occupied was situated, as has been said, on an eminence about half a mile distant from the citadel of Ilerda.¹ In the level space between the two heights was one spot of rising ground which seemed to offer a favourable point for intercepting the communication between the two fortifications. Could Cæsar make himself master of this spot, he might cut off Afranius not only from Ilerda, but from the bridge over the Sicoris, and, of course, from the country beyond it. With this view he led three legions out of his camp, and ordered a band of picked men to rush forward and attempt to seize the hill. The three lines in which the Roman battle-array was ordinarily drawn up were not distinguished at this period, as in earlier times, by different equipments and a corresponding difference of name. The legionaries, since the time of Marius at least, were all armed alike; but the first line was generally composed of the men of the most approved conduct and courage. In each cohort a certain number of the best men, probably about one-fourth of the whole detachment, was assigned as a guard to the standard, from whence they derived their name of *Antesignani*.

Manœuvres of
the hostile
armies.

¹ Cæsar says, 300 paces, i. e. a little more than 500 yards; but the localities are clearly distinguishable at the present day, and the interval is undoubtedly greater.

In a general action these men were collected together and placed in the first line; whenever an operation was to be effected which demanded superior nerve and intrepidity, it was to these that it was confided. Cæsar selected the standard-guard of one of his legions to make the sudden attack he now directed. Rapid as were their movements, the Afranians, having the advantage in point of distance, were enabled to anticipate them. With the short weapons used by the Romans, a slight superiority of ground gave a decisive advantage in personal combats. On this occasion courage and discipline were equal on both sides, and the Afranians were not to be dislodged by the most vigorous efforts. Even the loose mode of fighting with which they had become familiar from their intercourse with the natives of the country, gave them an advantage over the Cæsarians, who expected to encounter opponents whose manœuvres would be precisely like their own, and were confused by the agility and ease with which their adversaries moved around them. For the Roman legionaries were trained to keep their ranks even in the quickest charge, and to support one another always at an equal interval of three feet. They rallied close around their standards, which it was their point of honour never to leave whether in retreat or attack. The heavy pressure of the Gaulish masses had compelled Cæsar's troops to maintain these tactics with constancy and precision; whereas the legions which had served in Spain against a foe of a different character, had been forced to depart more or less from the strictness of this system, and had learned to baffle their enemies by lighter and more desultory movements.

The discomfiture of this chosen body was retrieved for the moment by the charge of the ninth legion, which was now brought up to its relief. These fresh troops soon checked the victorious advance of the Afranians, hurled them back in confusion, and rushed in hot pursuit to the foot of the hill upon which Ilerda stood. It was under the walls, or within the gates, that the retiring Afranians sought refuge. But the position of their pursuers was one of great peril, for the

acclivity they were climbing was only wide enough for three cohorts in line, and both to the right and left the descent was extremely precipitous. With no support on its flanks, and with all the disadvantage of inferior ground, the ninth legion was extremely harassed by the obstinate resistance here opposed to it; it offered a sure mark to every dart hurled from above, while the numbers and the means of its opponents were augmented from the resources of the town in their rear. Cæsar was obliged to put forth his whole strength to drive the enemy back to the shelter of his walls, and enable the assailants, after a sharp contest of five hours, to withdraw steadily into the plain. Their retreat was effectually covered by the arrival of some squadrons of cavalry, which had succeeded in overcoming the difficulties of the ground on either side, and threw themselves at the last moment between the opposing lines.

The engagement had been fought with such alternations of success that each party claimed the victory.¹ Cæsar himself admits that he was surprised at meeting such vigorous resistance from troops which no one, he says, imagined to be equal to his own veterans.

Each side
claims the ad-
vantage.

But with regard to the number slain on either side, his language is suspiciously ambiguous, while the height against which his attack was in the first instance directed remained in the hands of the Afranians, who now proceeded to strengthen it with military defences. A later historian, who seems to have had some independent materials for his account of these operations, does not hesitate to give the honour of the day to the soldiers of Afranius.²

The check which Cæsar thus unexpectedly received was followed by another disaster for which he was still less prepared. During the months of April and May the melting of the snows of the Pyrenees causes a periodical inundation of the rivers which, like the

A sudden rise
of the waters
hems in Cæ-
sar's position.

¹ Cæs. B. C. i. 47.

² Dion, xli. 20. Lucan (iv. 46.) balances the result with great ingenuity:

“Sic pedes ex facili, nulloque urgente, receptus:
Irritus et victor subducto Marte perendit.”

Sicoris, descend from their southern flank. The waters of these streams swell rapidly, and rush on such occasions with excessive violence. Fabius's bridge was carried away by the impetuous torrent; but Cæsar may have supposed that, when this inundation abated, the danger was over for the year. A few days afterwards, however, it being now six weeks after the equinox, a second and still more violent flood swept away both the bridge which had been rebuilt and the other higher up the channel. The movements of Cæsar's army were thus confined between the streams of the Sicoris and the Cinga, both overflowing their banks and destitute of fords or bridges. The only communication with the country beyond on either side was by the stone bridge of Ilerda, of which Afranius had possession. The base of the triangle, of which the apex is the confluence of these rivers, was a mountainous and impracticable district, affording probably little support for an army, and access even to this must have been seriously impeded in time of flood by the channels of two other streams which intersect the plain.¹ The season of the year was that in which the last harvest is almost exhausted, while the new crops are not yet ripe for the sickle; the whole country round had been laid under contribution by Afranius, and the light Iberian guerillas, who hovered about the flanks of the enemy's position, speedily cleared it of whatever remained. These men were accustomed to cross the rivers upon inflated skins, which they carried with them in the field as part of their accoutrements; so that while Cæsar's legions were confined to the narrow and barren peninsula on which they stood, they were liable to harassing attacks and every kind of annoyance from skirmishers whom to pursue was fruitless. An attempt to rebuild the bridges in the face of these troublesome opponents was frustrated and abandoned in despair.

Cæsar had made an effort to re-establish his communica-

¹ These streams, now called the Noguera Ribagorsana, and Pallaresa, are not mentioned by Cæsar, though he must have crossed them both under these circumstances, when he transported his coracles in waggons to the spot where he passed the Sicoris. See below.

tions with the highway from the Pyrenees, for he was in daily expectation of reinforcements from that quarter.

A body of Gaulish archers and horsemen was advancing to join the proconsul's camp, and under their escort the deputies of various states, many noble Roman youths, the sons of knights and senators, and some also of Cæsar's superior officers, were following in long array, with an ample convoy of waggons and military equipments. The Pompeian generals obtained early notice of their approach, and made preparations for attacking them as soon as they should reach the margin of the waters. No less than three légions with a detachment of cavalry were put in motion for this service; but the horsemen were sent forward in advance, and the Gaulish cavalry, notwithstanding their consternation on discovering the peril in which Cæsar was placed, and their disappointment at being prevented from joining him, went forth boldly and confidently to meet them. The superiority of the Gauls in cavalry movements kept their assailants at bay until the legionaries arrived to their support. The Gauls now retired before a more numerous and more formidable foe; but the unarmed multitude which had come under their escort had profited by the few hours thus gained to escape with their baggage into the mountainous country, and Afranius reaped only a barren victory, instead of the rich and important capture he had expected. He retired in all haste to Ilerda, the defences of which had been seriously weakened by the withdrawal of so large a portion of his army upon this bootless expedition. The distress to which the enemy's troops were by this time reduced still flattered him with the brightest hopes of a bloodless victory. Day by day their scanty provisions diminished and rose to a more enormous price. The floods continued for a longer period than ordinary: yet they could not fail to abate in a few days, and Cæsar's disastrous position was not, like that of the garrison of a besieged town, without a certainty of early relief; nevertheless the officers of the Pompeian army filled all their letters to their

Cæsar's reinforcements arrested on the further side of the river.

The Atranians are sanguine in their expectation of destroying him.

friends at Rome with sanguine prognostications of his speedy destruction. The patrons of their cause were elated with expectations which they had not ventured to indulge since their champion's flight from Italy, and thronged the house of Afranius in the city, anxious to demonstrate to his family their interest in his heroic achievement.¹

But long before these letters had reached Rome Cæsar had extricated himself from his perilous situation by a simple expedient. He constructed a number of boats of

Cæsar restores his communications by the use of coracles.

light framework covered with skins, after the model of the coracles which he had seen in Britain.² These he transported on waggons to the

spot where he proposed to build a bridge, twenty-two miles up the river.³ On the opposite side there was a hill, from which he could carry on his works without molestation. Accordingly, he commanded a detachment to cross the stream in his frail barks, and when he had made himself master of this position and fortified it, he had no further difficulty in restoring his communication with the country beyond the Sicoris, and replenishing his exhausted magazines. At the same time his Gaulish reinforcements descended from their retreat in the hills to join him, and a successful skirmish with some of the enemy's foraging parties assisted in restoring confidence to his soldiers.

At the same moment that Cæsar effected this successful movement, he received the news of a victory gained by his

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 53.; Dion, xli. 21.

² Lucan (iv. 134.) compares them also to the barks used by the Veneti on the Po, and by the Egyptians on the Nile. Though formed, according to the description, on the model of the coracle, these vessels were of considerable size. More than one waggon lashed together served to convey each: "Carriis junctis devehit." Cæs. *B. C.* i. 54.

³ At this spot, a few miles above the town of Balaguer, the river is confined between steep hills. (Guischard, *Mém. Mil.* ii. 2.) I observe, upon inspection of the atlas to Suchet's campaigns, that the valley of the river is thus confined for several miles above Balaguer. The name of a village called Pons may tempt us to fix the site of the bridge in that locality, but it is too far from Lerida. I think it was more probably at Alos, immediately opposite to which there is a hill of moderate elevation.

navy off Massilia.¹ Domitius had persuaded the citizens to assume the offensive; the departure of the great captain inspired them with confidence; and, besides the superior number and equipment of their vessels, they relied upon the valour of the native tribes by which they were in a great measure manned. Accordingly, they issued from their harbour, and sought the station of the Cæsarian fleet in front of an island opposite its mouth. The ships of Brutus, hastily built of bad materials, and less skilfully manœuvred, might have failed to force them to an engagement; but seeking the conflict themselves, and joining beak to beak and side to side, they threw away all their peculiar advantages and reduced the contest to one of valour and discipline only. Here indeed the Albici, a tribe of hardy mountaineers, whose aid they had secured, did them good service; but these warriors were not a match for the picked men of the Roman legions, with whom Brutus had manned his vessels. The result was that the Massilian squadron lost nine out of seventeen vessels, and the remainder were driven with shame and disorder into their harbour.

Cæsar's lieutenant, D. Brutus, gains a victory over the Massilians at sea.

These tidings were not confined to Cæsar's camp, but spread rapidly among the native tribes in the country around, and combined, with the conspicuous restoration of Cæsar's fortunes before Ilerda, to dispose them to enter into friendly relations with him.² And at the same time it became evident that the rumour of Pompeius's advance through Mauretania was altogether false. The troops of Afranius and his colleague were dispirited at these successive disappointments; their cavalry and foraging parties became daily more afraid to venture near the squadrons with which Cæsar was now overrunning and occupying the plain; they kept close under the walls of Ilerda, and contented themselves with brief nocturnal expeditions to supply their necessities.

Discouragement of the Afranians.

Afranius and Petreius seem themselves to have been

¹ *Cæsar. B. C. i.* 56-58.

² *Cæsar. B. C. i.* 60.: "Magna celeriter commutatio rerum."

grievously affected by these disasters. Despairing of succour from their leader, and alarmed by the defection of the native tribes around them, they already began to look wistfully towards the central districts of Celtiberia, which were the most devotedly attached to them, and where they might hope to find freer scope for their movements. They had voluntarily shut themselves up in their fastness at Ilerda; but the enemy was now manœuvring to cut off their retreat, and but a short interval remained for escaping from their narrow entrenchments without hazarding the general engagement, which they dreaded more than any other alternative. The most direct route to the west or south was guarded by Cæsar's camp; the other road which presented itself lay across the bridge over the Sicoris, reaching the banks of the Ebro at a distance of twenty miles, at a spot to which Cæsar gives the name of Octogesa.¹ Cæsar was anxious to check their movements on this bank of the river also; but the bridge, by which alone he could communicate with it, lay, as we have seen, about twenty-two miles above Ilerda, and he could not venture to divide his army into two bodies at such a distance from each other. He might have adopted the course of throwing another bridge over the Sicoris at a nearer point, at least he does not in his narrative state any reasons to show that this was impracticable or difficult. But, instead of this, he preferred an operation of a

They prepare to evacuate Ilerda.

Cæsar's operations to cross the river and prevent their retreat.

¹ I cannot suppose with Mannert (i. 417.), that this place is Mequinenza, though we might naturally expect that so commanding a position would have attracted the attention of the Romans. Octogesa, from Cæsar's account, must certainly have been on the left bank of the Sicoris; possibly at La Granja, as Ukert supposes, following Guisehard. I think that it lay a few miles lower down, where the present road from Lerida strikes the Ebro, opposite the town of Flix. This situation agrees with the description which Cæsar gives of the country between Ilerda and Octogesa, first several miles of plain, and then a hilly tract. This is the line of the modern road to Tortosa and Valentia, and there is an antecedent probability that it follows an ancient route. I have examined the country carefully in the atlas to Suehet's campaign (1811-12), which is as clear as a model. Napier (*Penins. War*, iii.) says off-hand that Mequinenza is the Octogesa of Cæsar.

different kind. At a short distance above Ilerda he cut several ditches, each thirty feet in breadth, so as to drain off the waters of the river and throw them behind his position, until the stream was rendered fordable at a convenient point. The waters thus carried off were led apparently into an offset of the Noguera, which runs into the Segre a little below Lerida,¹ and the operation upon which the whole army was employed (the Roman legionaries being thoroughly trained to the use of the spade and pickaxe), might have been completed, it is said, in the space of ten days.² The labour, therefore, was not greater than that of building a bridge, while it required no materials. As soon as the object of these extraordinary works was discovered by the Pompeian generals, they hastened the removal from Ilerda, which they had been already meditating. Orders had been previously given to collect boats for the construction of a bridge over the Ebro at Octogesa, and, in expectation of its speedy completion, two legions were transported across the Sicoris and stationed on the left bank behind strong entrenchments.

At this moment, when the bridge of boats was announced to be almost ready for the escape of the retreating Pompeians, the ford of the Sicoris was declared to be practicable for the cavalry of their pursuers, who dashed boldly across it. But the water reached to the armpits of the legionaries, and its rapidity was such that it seemed impossible to keep their footing. There was no resource but to send the legions round by the circuitous route above described, and leave it to the cavalry to harass and impede the retreat of the enemy, which it was

The Afranians retreat, the Cæsarians pursue and come up with them.

¹ Cæsar does not say this, nor does he say, as has been also supposed, that he conducted these waters into an immense reservoir excavated for the purpose. It is difficult to understand clearly what the nature of the operation was. It seems that there must have been a considerable depth of soil to cut through to lead these trenches behind Ilerda into the further branch of the Noguera. Cæsar's words are simply these: "Nactus idoneum locum fossas pedum triginta in latitudinem complures facere instituit quibus partem aliquam Sicoris averteret, vadumque in eo flumine efficeret." (*B. C.* i. 61.).

² Guischar, ii. 67. foll. The length of the cut would be about 4000 toises

out of their power to arrest. Afranius left two cohorts in Herda, and carried all the rest of his forces across the river, where they joined the two legions already in advance, and thus proceeded on their way to Octogesa. Cæsar's cavalry continued to act with great effect on their rear; its operations were distinctly visible to the troops encamped on the heights on the other side, who were inflamed with admiration of the conduct of their more fortunate brethren, and stung with despair at seeing the enemy thus escaping out of their hands. The centurions and tribunes rushed tumultuously to their general, and besought him in the name of the legions to allow them to throw themselves into the ford. Cæsar himself was carried away by the contagion of their ardour, though not without apprehension for the result; he contented himself with leaving the weakest of the men behind with a single legion to protect the camp, and gave the rest the signal to advance. The passage was at length effected. The precaution had been taken to place beasts of burden in line, above and below, in the one case to break the force of the current,¹ in the other to rescue such as should be swept away by it; the cavalry also assisted in picking up the stragglers, and not a man was lost. The retreating Afranians had left their encampment in the first dawn of morning; but such was the alacrity and speed of the Cæsarians that they came up with them in the afternoon of the same day, though they had a circuit of six miles to make, and so formidable a barrier to surmount. But the retreat of the fugitives had been checked in some degree by the enemy's horsemen, and, deeming themselves secure from more serious interruption, they had not

¹ Lucan describes this operation at the passage of the Rubicon (i. 220.):

“Primus in *obliquum* sonipes opponitur amnem,
Excepturus aquas; molli tum cætera rumpit
Turba vado fracti faciles jam fluminis undas.”

The line of beasts below would also slacken the stream by acting as a dam to it, but it would increase the depth proportionally. The date of this passage of the Sicoris is assigned by Guischart to x. Kal. Sext. = Jul. 22. (*Mém. Mil.* iii. 193.), which corresponds with May 31 of the corrected calendar.

care to make any special exertion. Their circumstances, however, were now altered. Afranius was compelled to halt and draw out his men in battle array, for Cæsar was advancing in three lines, as if prepared to demand an engagement. The pursuer now halted in his turn to give his troops rest and refreshment before drawing their swords. Afranius again threw his lines into column, and hurried forward, till the enemy, advancing once more, and pressing closely upon him, rendered escape impossible. The Pompeian general however was informed that at a distance of five miles a tract of hilly country commenced, in which the cavalry of his pursuers would be rendered unavailing. His intention was now to secure the defiles of these hills with forces sufficient to arrest the progress of his pursuers, and so effect his retreat with the bulk of his army to the Ebro; and in this, which was the best course open to him, he might have succeeded had he persisted in continuing his march late into the night, which, considering the few miles he had yet traversed, required no extraordinary effort. But other counsels prevailed; the troops pleaded the fatigues of a day of marching and fighting, and the salvation of the republican cause in Spain was postponed to the morrow. Meanwhile, Cæsar, on his part, was satisfied with the feats his soldiers had performed that day, and he took up his position on the nearest eminence. But he maintained his vigilance through the silent hours of gloom. About midnight some stragglers from the Pompeian camp were brought to his quarters, and from them he learned that his opponents were preparing to evacuate their entrenchments under cover of the darkness. Immediately the Cæsarian trumpets sounded to arms, the tents were struck, baggage piled, arms and accoutrements buckled on; and the uproar of a camp of four legions breaking up announced far and wide that their general was on the alert, and ready to follow hard upon the track of the fugitives. Afranius feared to risk the result of a night engagement, to which he might be compelled in the narrow passes of the mountains, and countermanded the intended movement.

The next day was passed on both sides in examining the nature of the country in the direction in which both armies were equally anxious to proceed. The Pompeian generals held a council, in which they determined to wait for the morning to continue their route, that they might at least have the advantage of daylight to repel the attacks of the enemy, whose vigilance they could not even in darkness elude. But Cæsar turned the information he had acquired to another account. By a rapid though circuitous march he saw that he could throw himself between the retreating army and the mountains. In the early twilight his battalions were observed to issue from their camp, and seemingly to retire in the track upon which they had advanced the day before. The Afranians were convinced that they were in rapid retreat towards Ilerda, overcome by famine, fatigue, or terror; but when they saw the dense columns wheel suddenly to the right¹ and sweep along the verge of the horizon towards the quarter whither they were themselves bound, the tactics of the supposed fugitives and at the same time their own imminent danger became apparent.

The breaking up of their camp, however, caused some little delay. At the same time the Cæsarian cavalry, hanging upon the flanks of the Afranians as they formed and advanced, impeded their movements; so that, in the efforts of both armies to gain the hills, the Cæsarians had so much the advantage as to be able to range themselves in order of battle at their foot, and effectually block up the road to Octogesa. An eminence in the plain afforded the harassed Afranians a position where at least they could recover breath and consider

Cæsar makes a feint, and moves to intercept the march of the enemy.

Cæsar brings the Afranians to a check, but will not suffer his soldiers to engage with them.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* i. 69. A wheel to the right after issuing from the rear of the camp (*contrariam in partem iri videbatur*) would lead them to the east of Afranius's camp, which would thus be placed between them and the Sicoris. The *loca aspera* and *angustiæ* which Cæsar mentions, Guischart supposes to be a defile between the mountains and this river. I think it describes the interior of the tract between the Sicoris and the Iberus.

what course to take.¹ They first attempted to create a diversion by sending a body of the light armed Spanish auxiliaries to occupy a hill on the flank of the Cæsarians; but the terrible Gaulish cavalry were immediately upon them, and cut them off to a man in sight of both armies. It was now evident that the Afranians, dispirited by their reverses, and inferior in cavalry, would have no chance against their assailants in the open plain. The Cæsarians were confident of dislodging them from the slight acclivity on which they had taken refuge; and, as before, the centurions and tribunes again surrounded their general, and urged him with almost threatening importunity to lead them to combat. But Cæsar had many reasons for wishing to refrain from an engagement which he believed to be superfluous; for the enemy, even though unassailed, could not long maintain their position for want of water, but, if driven to despair, might still cause him the loss of many of his bravest troops. Moreover, it accorded with his policy as well as his temper to avoid the effusion of Roman blood, whether on his own side or that of his opponents. And, above all, perhaps, his experience in Italy assured him that a large portion of the men now arrayed against him were, in their hearts, well disposed to join his colours. Accordingly, he steadily rejected the demands of his imperious veterans, though in doing so he greatly offended them, and might hear them muttering, with the licence to which they had been long accustomed, that another time fight they would not when Cæsar ordered them.²

The Pompeian generals, meanwhile, were in a state of great perplexity. All hope of crossing the Ebro was abandoned; their choice of an asylum now lay between Herda and Tarraco. But their movements were closely watched, and circumscribed by the squadrons which hovered around them. No

Communications are opened between the soldiers in the opposite ranks.

¹ The level country at the foot of the hills in which these manœuvres took place is, I conceive, the tract now called la Gariga, and the spot on which Afranius pitched his camp may be that of the village of Llardecans.

² Cæs. B. C. i. 72.

handful of forage nor cup of water could they procure except at the sword's point. The parties they sent out for supplies were attacked, and only rescued by the succour of fresh battalions, which, in their turn, required to be supported by others; so that a large portion of the army was gradually drawn down into the lower ground. The generals ordered a trench and rampart to be constructed from the hill to the watering-place; the distance was great, the work arduous, and, to carry it through, required the presence and encouragement of all the superior officers. Meanwhile, the soldiers in their camp were left almost without superintendence; the Cæsarians straggled up to their entrenchments, and opened communications with such friends and acquaintances as the fortune of civil war had arrayed in the opposite ranks. By degrees this distant intercourse ripened into familiarity and confidence; the soldiers of either party mingled freely among one another; and the enthusiasm with which Cæsar's veterans proclaimed the merits of their commander worked surely and speedily upon the indifference of the Afranians. The rival parties soon came to an understanding. The only stipulation they made between themselves was, that the lives of the Pompeian generals should be guaranteed them. Even Afranius's own son was forced to be satisfied with this assurance; and, upon its being given, the legions arrayed under his standard declared themselves content to surrender to a merciful and munificent enemy.¹

The report of these important transactions brought both the Pompeian leaders hastily back to the camp. Afranius

Petreius interposes violently, and breaks off all intercourse between them.

easily acquiesced in an arrangement in which his own safety had been carefully provided for; but Petreius, a man of sterner temper, would abandon neither his reputation nor his duty. It was usual

for the general to have a body-guard about his own person, distinct from the maniples of the legions. That of Petreius consisted of a cohort of light native infantry, a small squadron of cavalry, and a number of private friends and attend-

¹ Cæs. B. C. i. 74.

ants, who formed his staff or acted as his aides-de-camp. With these men who remained true to him, he rushed impetuously to the rampart at which the soldiers of the opposed armies were holding their treasonable conferences, and broke up their meeting, slaughtering as many of the Cæsarians as he could lay hands on. The remnant, collecting hastily together, wrapped their cloaks about their left arms, and with drawn swords fought their way through the assailants to their own camp hard by. Petreius re-entered his entrenchments, and the habits of discipline resumed their sway.

Petreius now proposed the solemn form of the military oath not to desert nor betray the army or its generals, nor to hold any private parley with the enemy. He first Ferocity of Petreius. took the oath himself, then tendered it to his colleagues; next came the tribunes, and after them the centurions, and, finally, the whole body of the legionaries, century by century. Strict orders were immediately issued that every Cæsarian who had been entertained by a relative or friend in the camp should be brought forth and slain; but mercy or shame interfered to frustrate this atrocious command, and most of them were concealed till nightfall, and then sent privily away. Meanwhile, the conduct of Cæsar was studiously in contrast with this cruelty.¹ He carefully inquired for all the Pompeians who had strayed into his camp, and offered to send them back to their own quarters unharmed. But many of the officers were already so charmed with his demeanour, that they preferred to remain in his service, in which he gave them their old rank, or even promoted them to a higher.²

The Afranians were now reduced to great distress for provisions, and at the same time were cut off from water. It was resolved to direct the retreat upon Ilerda, where their magazines were not yet exhausted, rather than Tarraco, which lay at a greater distance, and where probably no preparation had

The Afranians are compelled to retrace their steps towards Ilerda.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 75.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 43.

² Cæs. *B. C.* i. 76, 77.

been made for the maintenance of so large a force. Cæsar pressed closely upon them, and gave them no opportunity of supplying themselves. Constant skirmishes took place between the parties detached on each side for procuring provisions or intercepting them. When the Afranians pitched their tents for the night and formed their entrenchments near the river, Cæsar determined to confine them to the spot, and prevent them from reaching the water, by drawing a complete line of circumvallation around them. He had persevered for two days in this arduous work, which was already nearly completed, when the Pompeian leaders felt the necessity of interrupting it, even at the risk of provoking the enemy to a decisive combat. But Cæsar also was anxious on his part to avoid the risk and bloodshed of a general engagement with an opponent whom he expected to reduce ultimately

The armies
are drawn up
opposite each
other in battle
array.

upon much easier terms. It was only the mutinous importunity of his own troops, to all appearance, that induced him to put his men in battle array and confront the beleaguered Afranians in

the attitude of defiance. The mode in which the two armies were drawn up, the main strength of each consisting equally of five Roman legions, shows how much the Cæsarian was superior in efficiency. The five legions of Afranius were ranged in two lines, each numbering twenty-five cohorts, instead of the more usual array of three; for the cavalry and light-armed auxiliaries were of so little value that the general extended his centre to the utmost, and dispensed altogether with wings for the protection of his flanks. A third line was formed of the native auxiliaries, and their leader depended for his reserve upon those very battalions in which he could place least reliance. Cæsar, on the other hand, disposed his forces according to the approved system. The legions were arrayed in triple line; four cohorts of each legion, twenty in all, formed the first, three of each the second, and an equal number the third. The intervals between the cohorts were occupied by the light troops, the bowmen and slingers, and

the flanks were protected by the redoubtable squadrons of Gaulish horse.

But the day passed without a blow being struck. The Afranians had not courage to begin the attack, while their opponent checked the ardour of his own forces. The next morning the retreating army, which had succeeded thus far in keeping Cæsar's lines open, made a demonstration upon the side of the river,¹ with the desperate intention of crossing a difficult ford in the face of an active enemy. But the dispositions Cæsar made for covering the spot with his cavalry soon satisfied Afranius that escape in this direction was impossible. The moment had evidently arrived when the want of provisions for men and cattle, the discouragement of his soldiers, and the inferiority of his strength, demanded the unreserved capitulation which his adversary had so long anticipated. The terms required by the conqueror were, that the lieutenants of Pompeius should abandon the province, laying down their military command, and therewith disbanding their forces. At the same time he engaged not to press any of the soldiers into his own service against their inclinations. To those who had families and possessions in the country he gave permission to remain in the country; the rest he promised to escort safely to the frontiers of Italy, and there release them from their military engagements. With his accustomed policy he pledged himself also to abstain from any harsh treatment of their officers. Nor did he fail to display his wonted generosity, in satisfying from his own resources the demands for pay, which the soldiers were clamorously pressing upon their unfortunate generals.² The campaign was thus brought to a termination at the end of forty days,³ and the brilliant success which Cæsar achieved added more lustre to his military reputation than even his great exploits in Gaul. He had fairly out-manœuvred

The Pompeian lieutenants are reduced to capitulate.

¹ Cæsar gives no intimation where this ford was: it must have been at some point below Ilerdá, and by this time the floods had no doubt entirely subsided.

² Cæs. B. C. i. 86, 87.

³ See Curio's speech to his soldiers (B. C. ii. 32.).

a Roman army, not inferior to his own in strength, not indifferently commanded, and backed by all the strength and resources of the country in which it was engaged. The impregnable position of Ilerda, and the extraordinary swelling of the Sicoris, had contributed, in no slight degree, to the difficulties with which the assailant had had to contend; and, whether we look to the splendour of the victory or the importance of the result, the day of Cæsar's triumph over Afranius and Petreius deserved equally to be marked in the Imperial calendar, and its memory celebrated, in after ages, by a festive anniversary.¹

¹ Orelli (*Inscript.* ii. 396.) gives fragments of four ancient Kalendaria which record this circumstance: e. g. "Kal. Capraucorum, iiii. Non. Sext. feriæ quod hoc die imp. Cæsar Hispauiam eiteriorem vicit." The same day was the anniversary of the subsequent defeat of Pharnaces. "Kal. Amitern. iv. Non. Sext. feriæ, quod eo die C. Cæs. C. F. in H[ispan. citer. et] quod in Ponto eod. die. r[egem Pharnace]m devicit." The true date of the event is June 9, B. C. 49. See Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln*.

CHAPTER XVI.

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF MASSILIA.—CÆSAR RECEIVES THE SUBMISSION OF VARRO, AND ESTABLISHES HIS POWER THROUGHOUT THE SPANISH PROVINCES.—CAMPAIGN OF CURIO IN AFRICA: HIS DEFEAT AND DEATH.—DISASTER TO CÆSAR'S FORCES IN ILLYRICUM.—ADMINISTRATION OF ROME BY LEPIDUS AND M. ANTONIUS.—CÆSAR IS CREATED DICTATOR IN HIS ABSENCE.—HE QUELLS A MUTINY AMONG HIS TROOPS AT PLACENTIA, AND HASTENS TO ROME.—HIS FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL MEASURES.—HE IS ELECTED CONSUL, AND RESIGNS THE DICTATORSHIP.—PREPARES TO FOLLOW POMPEIUS ACROSS THE SEA.—ADVANTAGES OF HIS POSITION COMPARED WITH THAT OF HIS ADVERSARIES. A. U. 705, B. C. 49.

WHILE these operations were in progress in Spain, the success which D. Brutus had recently obtained over the Massilian fleet had given the besiegers a superiority at sea, and Trebonius was conducting his operations against the city by land with every resource the military art could supply. Mamurra, the chief of the engineering department, had merited Cæsar's unbounded favour by the skill he displayed in his profession.¹ But the defenders of Massilia were provided, on their part, with abundance of military engines, which it had been the policy of the state to provide long beforehand for such an emergency. Accordingly, both the attack and defence of their city exhibited the most consummate application of the principles and resources of warfare as then practised.² The

Situation of
Massilia.
A. U. 705.
B. C. 49.

¹ Catullus speaks of the enormous wealth Mamurra had reaped from his services in Gaul, and makes it the ground of a gross charge against him and his commander (*Carm.* lvii.) Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvi. 7.) commemorates his profuse magnificence.

² The power of the engines used in defence of a city may be estimated

Massilia of antiquity bore but little resemblance, even in its external features, to the city which has inherited its site and name. Cæsar describes it as washed by the waters of the sea on three sides; but the port which then bounded it on the south is now surrounded by streets and houses. The French antiquaries assert moreover that a considerable part of the ancient city in its western quarter has been long since covered by the encroachments of the waves. The site of the temple of Diana, upon which the modern cathedral stands, was originally in the middle of the city, but is now on the margin of the sea. The lazaretto occupies the eminence on the north, upon which, according to Cæsar's description, the citadel stood; and the side on which alone the city was exposed to attack from the land stretched from the base of this rugged elevation to the innermost angle of the port, along the line probably of the Cours St. Louis and the Rue Cannebière, which are now in their turn the most central regions in the whole assemblage of buildings.

While Trebonius was conducting his first operations against the city, by the construction of an immense rampart, eighty feet in height, over against the wall on the land side throughout its whole length, the besieged ventured to make another attempt upon the element in which they were wont to confide.¹ L. Nasidius had been sent by Pompeius with a squadron of sixteen vessels to throw succours into the city. He had directed his course from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, through the straits of Messana, either unobserved by or in defiance of Curio, the Cæsar's commander in Sicily. Indeed he had ventured to enter the port of Messana, and cut out one vessel from the dockyard. From thence he made sail

Result of a
naval engage-
ment disas-
trous to the
Massilians.

from Cæsar's statement, that the beams of wood, twelve feet in length, pointed with iron, which were hurled from them, pierced through four successive screens of wood-work, behind which the besiegers sheltered themselves while engaged in filling the ditch before the walls. Cæs. B. C. ii. 2. They were obliged to construct these *vineæ* of solid beams a foot in thickness.

¹ Cæs. B. C. ii. 1-7.

for the shores of Gaul, sending forward one bark from his squadron to convey to the besieged the news of his arrival, and to exhort them to sally forth with their whole naval force and join him off Tauroentum, a port and fortress at a little distance on the coast. The Massilians, since their recent defeat, had devoted themselves with unwearied energy to repairing their galleys, and arming the merchant vessels and fishing boats with which their harbour swarmed. They were not disposed to shrink from making a second experiment of their prowess, while the acclamations of the unarmed multitude, of their women and old men, encouraged them to strain every nerve in a contest in which their pride was so deeply interested. Nor did the assailants, who had multiplied the numerical strength of their armament since the last engagement, and were prepared to decide the contest on the broad decks of their rude but massive fabrics, decline the proffered meeting.¹ In numbers, however, the fleet of the Massilians still preponderated; the prætorian galley of Decimus² was attacked at the same moment from opposite quarters by two powerful triremes, which dashed towards it with all the velocity their oars could impart. By a skilful turn of the rudder the Cæsarian steersman extricated his vessel from both the assailants at the instant when they were about to strike her on either side, and the opposing beaks impinged violently against each other. Thus entangled and mutually disabled they were speedily attacked, boarded and destroyed. The Massilians and their allies, the Albici, are admitted to have fought admirably; but Nasidius gave them a very lukewarm support. As soon as the fortune of the day seemed to incline towards the Cæsarians, he quietly withdrew without the loss of a single vessel, while of his allies thus treacherously deserted, five galleys were sunk and four captured. A Roman officer might naturally be reluctant to exert himself in

¹ Lucan, iii. 512. :

“Sed rudis et qualis præcumbit montibus arbor,
Conseritur stabilis navalibus area bellis.”

² Lucan, iii. 535. : “Bruti prætoris puppis.”

behalf of Greeks, whom he despised or hated, against the bravest and most illustrious of his own countrymen. Nasidius seems indeed to have had further orders to execute on the coast of Spain, and it is not improbable that Pompeius had strictly charged him not to entangle himself too closely in the defence of a city to which he attached only secondary importance. He sailed for his ultimate destination without bidding adieu to the unfortunate Massilians, who with difficulty and in diminished numbers escaped into their harbour, and betook themselves, not even yet dismayed, to the defence of their walls. The entrance of the port of Massilia is so narrow that a chain drawn across it secured it from the attacks of the victorious squadron.

But the operations which Trebonius was sedulously directing against the defences of the city on the land side were such as no artificial means of resistance were capable of effectually withstanding.¹ Indeed, it may be observed that, in the best times of Roman military science, the means of attack were generally much superior to those of defence. While a fortress such as that of Ilerda, perched on a lofty eminence, with a steep and narrow access, was justly deemed impregnable, no resources or skill could avail to protect a city which stood upon comparatively level ground against the assault of a persevering and enterprising besieger. Such was the site of Massilia, which had been chosen rather for the convenience of its haven than the natural security of its position. Having effected the complete blockade of the city by means of the gigantic barricade already described,² Trebonius proceeded to construct a tower at a short distance from the point in the wall which he destined for his attack. This tower was built of solid brickwork, and so covered with skins and mattresses that the blows of the enemy's ponderous missiles fell dead

Operations
against Mas-
silia: feigned
capitulation
and treachery
of the besieged.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* ii. 8-14.

² Guischart, in his *Mém. Militaires*, ii., has an elaborate discussion of these operations; but after all the ingenuity he has displayed in the explanation of them, there still remains much to perplex at least the non-professional student.

upon it, while other contrivances were applied to guard it from being set on fire. When at last this prodigious edifice overtopped the walls, (a work, however, which, in the face of a vigilant enemy, must have cost much time and many lives,) the Massilians could no longer maintain themselves on the summit of their ramparts, commanded as they now were by the assailants from above. The next step on the part of the besiegers was to fill up the fosse under the protection of this tower, and erect close to the walls the *musculus*, a ponderous and well-compacted roof of timber, under which men could work without interruption, picking out the stones with crowbars, and undermining with manual labour the bulwarks of the city. The besiegers had thus succeeded in shaking one of the towers of the wall, and the rampart was tottering to its overthrow, when the Massilians hastened to anticipate, by a timely offer of capitulation, the moment which would deliver their hearths and altars to a furious and unbridled soldiery. Trebonius, on his part, had received strict orders to abstain from storming the city, which Cæsar was reluctant to surrender to the horrors of an assault. Accordingly, he was willing to accord honourable terms to the suppliant republic. His soldiers, indeed, murmured bitterly at being disappointed of the plunder which was almost in their grasp; it seems doubtful whether they would have continued to observe the armistice until the expected arrival of the Emperor himself. The apprehension of their uncontrollable fury may have driven the Massilians to violate the agreement they had themselves solicited, and taking advantage of the confidence reposed in them, to make a sudden attack upon the Roman works, and give them to the flames.

But this conspicuous instance of Grecian perfidy was displayed to no purpose. Trebonius resumed his operations with the same determination and on an ampler scale The siege resumed. than before. The original barricade had been constructed principally of timber, and the conflagration had reduced it to ruins. He now repaired it with earthworks and solid masonry, and again pushed forward his covered

galleries to the foot of the walls. Against these insidious enemies the great catapults on the ramparts were of no avail, for they were calculated to hurl their missiles to a distance, and their range could not be adjusted so as to reach an object immediately below them.¹ Once more the Massilians despaired of defending themselves, and ventured to tempt the forbearance of the conqueror by a second offer of capitulation.

The Massilians offer to capitulate a second time.

Once more the Massilians despaired of defending themselves, and ventured to tempt the forbearance of the conqueror by a second offer of capitulation.

This time indeed it was not Trebonius or Brutus, but Cæsar, the politic and the merciful, with whom, as we shall presently see, they had to treat. The return to the camp before their walls of the great captain who had delivered Italy and pacified Spain, may both have cut off the last hope of escape, and at the same time have held forth an augury of pardon. For, after the capitulation of the Pompeian lieutenants on the Sicoris, Cæsar had hastened to complete the reduction of the three provinces of the peninsula. He had marched directly towards the south, and established his head-quarters at Corduba, the Iberian capital, whither he had summoned to his presence the representatives of all the states and cities beyond the Pyrenees. Here the favourable sentiments of the Further Province were speedily pronounced, and it was with full anticipation of the general concurrence of the native and colonial cities that Cæsar had postponed his return to finish the siege of Massilia.² Nor had he any serious opposition to fear from M. Varro. That officer being left in command of the two districts into which the south and west were divided, had excused himself from joining the

Cæsar establishes his head-quarters at Corduba.

The return to the camp before their walls of the great captain who had delivered Italy and pacified Spain, may both have cut off the last hope of escape, and at the same time have held forth an augury of pardon.

Vacillating conduct of Varro.

That officer being left in command of the two districts into which the south and west were divided, had excused himself from joining the

¹ Cæs. B. C. ii. 16. : "Suorumque tormentorum usum *spatio propinquitatis interire*." This obscure expression seems to be explained by Lucan (iii. 478.):

"Nec Graiis *flectere jactum*
Nec facilis labor est longinqua ad bella parati
Tormenti *mutare modum*, sed pondere solo
Contenti nudis evolvunt saxa lacertis."

² Cæs. B. C. ii. 17-21.

camp of his colleagues, retaining two legions at his side to ensure the submission of the natives and the fidelity of the Roman inhabitants. In the first instance, he had allowed himself to express a favourable opinion both of the cause and the prospects of the invader. He admitted in his public harangues the inclination of the province towards Cæsar; but, undecided thus far as to his own course, he had faintly pleaded the duty which as a legatus he owed to his emperor Pompeius, and thus allowed himself to reconcile the maintenance of his official command with entire neglect of the active exertions demanded by the emergency. But the news of the vigorous resistance of Massilia, of the junction and subsequent successes of Afranius and Petreius, together with the assurances he received of the firm allegiance of the Hither Province, all these circumstances, coloured and magnified by the sanguine temper of Afranius in his correspondence, shook his resolution of neutrality. He now affected vast eagerness in the cause of the senate, and adopted active measures for recruiting his forces, for collecting supplies for Massilia and equipping a naval armament for the conveyance thither of men and stores. He did not scruple to wield, in the interest of his commander, all the terrors of the Roman proconsulate, imposing arbitrary contributions upon the states which he suspected of favouring the enemy, and abusing the forms of law to mulct the Roman citizens whose disaffection was reported to him. He invaded the sanctuaries of the Gods, and rifled the celebrated temple of Hercules at Gades. That important and hostile city he entrusted to C. Gallonius, a tried friend of Domitius, with a garrison of six cohorts. At the same time, the tone which he assumed in speaking of Cæsar was arrogant and violent. He described him as beaten in every engagement, and hourly abandoned by his soldiers; nor did he omit the solemn ceremony of summoning the Roman citizens throughout the province to renew the military oath of fidelity to their rightful proconsul.

But, notwithstanding all this pretended display of zeal, Varro was still cautious of openly taking the field against the

The province declares in favour of Cæsar. Varro is deserted by his soldiers, and surrenders.

general whom he so insolently disparaged. When the actual result of the contest in the north was disclosed, he proposed to shut himself up with his two legions in the insular fortress of Gades, where, supported by a naval force, and well supplied with stores and provisions, his position, he deemed, would be impregnable till the proconsul should come to his relief. Cæsar was already advancing towards Corduba; he had pushed forward Q. Cassius, with two legions, upon Hispalis, while the fame of his victories had gone before him, and penetrated to the remotest quarters of the Pompeians. His mandate for the assembling at Corduba of the Iberian deputies had been received with respect and obeyed with alacrity. The Gaditanes, indignant at the desecration of their temple, had already tampered with the tribunes of the cohorts in garrison among them, and expelled Gallonius from their walls. Varro was on his march from Hispalis, the seat of his government, to the more secure retreat of Gades, when the result of this intrigue was announced to him. Immediately one of his legions wheeled about before his face, and returned to the city from which it had just departed. Without a general, and without quarters or provisions, the soldiers abstained from any act of violence, and quietly rested in the forum and under the colonnades in the streets, until the inhabitants, admiring their boldness and perhaps sympathizing in their preference for the expected conqueror, received and entertained them in their own houses. Varro now paused and attempted, as a last resource, to gain the walls of Italica; but this city also had suddenly declared itself against the senate, and refused to admit him. No other course now remained but to acknowledge the ascendancy of the victor of the Sicoris, and proffer a timely surrender; the unfortunate general sought to make a merit of his submission, by offering to bring over the legion which, in fact, he could no longer retain.¹ Caressed and flattered on all sides, Cæsar received the submission of his baffled opponent at Corduba. He pre-

¹ Cæs. B. C. ii. 20.

scribed complete reparation of the wrongs inflicted upon his own adherents, remitted the contributions which had been levied upon the provincials, and commanded at least to be restored the treasure and ornaments which had been carried off from the temple at Gades. Nor in the midst of all this liberality did he hesitate to pardon the double-dealing of Varro, and to treat him with the courtesy due to his character as a scholar rather than as a statesman or soldier. The three provinces were combined under the sole government of Q. Cassius, who had formed a thorough acquaintance with them at an earlier period, while serving in the peninsula as quæstor to Pompeius. Four legions were left behind to maintain the authority of the conqueror in the west. The inhabitants of Gades he attached to himself by the stronger tie of gratitude; for the Roman franchise, which he now bestowed upon them, more than counterbalanced the pecuniary contributions which, notwithstanding his lavish bounty in restoring his opponents' plunder, he was constrained to demand for the support of his armies.¹ In their noble haven Cæsar took possession of the ships his predecessor had summoned thither, and embarked with a portion of his troops for Tarraco; from whence he pursued his journey by land through Narbo, and arrived, finally, at Massilia at the moment when that city, as has been seen, was about to fall into his hands.²

But while the arms of Cæsar, wherever he was personally engaged, were crowned with unalloyed success, the enterprises he was obliged to entrust to his lieutenants were

Cæsar arranges the affairs of Spain, and repairs to Massilia.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* ii. 21.; Liv. *Epit.* cx.: Appian, *B. C.* ii. 43.; Dion, xli. 24., who tells a frivolous story, which I cannot quote, to account for Cæsar's liberality to the Gaditanes.

² In crossing the Pyrenees, Cæsar passed the spot where Pompeius, who had constructed the military road of communication between Gaul and Spain, had erected a trophy to commemorate his achievements in those regions. It need not be said that he abstained from destroying it, as a man of coarser mind would certainly have done: he contented himself with the indirect satire of placing in its vicinity a much simpler and more modest memorial of himself. Dion, *l. c.*

State of the
province of
Africa.

less uniformly prosperous. The obstinate and perfidious resistance of the Massilians, indeed, had been brought to a close by the perseverance of Brutus and Trebonius, and both the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, so important from their proximity to Rome and the resources with which they abounded, had been evacuated by the garrisons of the senate rather than conquered by Valerius and Curio. Thus the whole of the western half of the empire had fallen from the hands of the oligarchy, excepting only the province of Africa, destined to give the first decided check to Cæsar's triumphant progress, and to become, at a later period, the last stronghold of the commonwealth and its genuine defenders. This province occupied but a small portion of the coast of the Mediterranean, comprising the region of which Carthage had formerly been the metropolis. The more distant regions of Mauretania and Numidia, over which the Punic republic had extended its influence rather than its rule, had been acknowledged by the Romans as independent kingdoms; and Juba, the sovereign of the latter country, was attached to the interests of Pompeius, and hostile to those of Cæsar, on distinct personal grounds. To the former he

Hostility of
Juba, king of
Numidia, to
Cæsar.

owed his throne, having received at his hands the succession to his father Hiempsal; from the latter he had experienced, as we have seen, an egregious insult on presenting himself as a suitor before the Roman senate. It happened, moreover, that Curio, the appointed bearer of the Cæsarian banner to the shore of Africa, had attempted to injure him in proposing, as tribune of the people, to deprive him of his sovereignty and dispose of his possessions by public sale.¹ There could be no doubt, therefore, that the fierce and vindictive Numidian would burn to avenge this ill-treatment by taking part with Pompeius against their common enemy. But it was at least possible that prudence might interpose to check the appetite for revenge; it might be presumed that, with the faithlessness attributed to his race, he would hesitate to compromise his interests on the

¹ Dion, xli. 41.; Lucan, iv. 690

score of ancient obligations ; while, at the same time, the unsettled state of his frontiers, harassed as they constantly were by the marauding tribes of the interior, might paralyse his efforts, or at least retard his advance.

Such were probably the anticipations of Curio when he crossed over from Sicily, with only two of the four legions under his orders, to expel the Pompeian general Attius Varus, who commanded a force in Africa certainly not inferior in numbers to his own. The capital of the Roman province was the famous city of Utica, which had succeeded, upon the destruction of Carthage, to as large a share of the military and commercial importance of the elder metropolis as was deemed consistent with a state of dependence and subjection to Rome. Varus was posted before the walls of this city, from whence it was hardly possible for so small a force as his adversary possessed to dislodge him. But he was deceived by the idea that Curio's legions, composed of the fickle cohorts of Domitius, were not disposed to stand staunchly by him ;¹ he was irritated also at some trifling successes which the enemy had gained, and with these feelings he was induced to offer battle in another position, though still retaining a great advantage of ground. The charge of Curio's columns across a deep ravine and up an acclivity so steep that the soldiers required mutual assistance to mount it, spirited and brilliant as it was, could not have been executed in the face of a resolute enemy. But Varus acted with little skill or bravery, and suffered himself to be deprived of all the advantage of his new position. His troops were routed with little resistance, and fled with precipitation to their original entrenchments. Curio pursued them, and confidently resolved to undertake the siege of Utica, and to draw lines of circumvallation, after the example of his great master, round both the city and the legions encamped in front of it. A successful affair in which he had been engaged with a Numidian squadron encouraged him to underrate the power of his enemy's ally, while he had reason

Curio invades Africa, and obtains some successes over the Pompeians and their allies.

to believe that there was a Cæsarian party in Utica which would actively co-operate with him for its reduction.

Indeed, it would appear that Varus was already so severely pressed by the clamours and threats of the hostile faction within the city, that he was on the point of capitulating, when information was conveyed to him that Juba was advancing in person at the head of all his forces to his succour. The Numidian prince had adjusted a recent quarrel with the state of Leptis, and was now at leisure to indulge himself with taking vengeance upon his ancient enemies. No sooner was Curio apprised of this formidable diversion on his rear, than he broke up from his lines before Utica, and hastened to occupy a well-known military position on the coast hard by, rendered famous and, as he deemed, auspicious by the encampment there of Scipio Africanus.¹ From thence he sent pressing orders to Sicily for the embarkation of the two legions which he had left behind. But, in the meanwhile, he felt secure in the strength of his position, as well as in the good fortune which had so conspicuously attended it.

The crafty Numidian employed a stratagem to wile the enemy from his entrenchments. The appearance of a slender detachment of the barbarians in the plain beneath, and the rumour industriously spread that Juba had intrusted the relief of Utica to his vizir Sabura, and withdrawn from a personal share in the campaign, sufficed to impose on the rash and high-spirited Roman. But Juba, meanwhile, was lurking at a distance of only six miles, to support the advanced posts, upon which Curio launched himself in full confidence of an easy victory. Sabura adopted the common feint of retiring before the ene-

On the advance of Juba, Curio entrenched himself in the Cornelian camp.

He is entrapped into fighting, defeated and slain.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* ii. 24. : "Castra Corneliana." Lucan, iv. 661. :

"Curio letatus, tanquam fortuna locorum
Bella gerat, servetque ducum sibi fata priorum," &c.

Cæsar himself, on a later occasion, humoured the superstitious feelings of his soldiers, and perhaps indulged his own, in attaching great importance to the mere name of Cornelius in Africa. See below.

my's impetuous charge, till their ranks were broken and their strength nearly exhausted. When at last he turned and faced them, it was not with the paltry squadrons whose numbers they had despised, but with the whole strength of the Numidian monarchy, its clouds of native cavalry, its troops of elephants, its auxiliary infantry from Spain and Gaul; for the barbarian chieftain was no less afraid of his own subjects than of an enemy, and would only entrust his person to a guard of European mercenaries. The Romans were speedily overpowered by the multitudes which now surrounded them on every side. Fighting with their wonted constancy and valour, they could at least sell their lives dearly, and the example of their commander, who perceived at the last moment his fatal mistake, animated them in the struggle and consoled them in their fall. The gay, licentious braggart of the forum and the camp, the darling of Cicero, the counsellor of Cæsar, the prime mover of the civil wars,¹ of which he was the first distinguished victim, crowned a career of inconsistencies and a character of contradictions by dying magnanimously in the foremost ranks of slaughter, rather than seek his personal safety after losing the army intrusted to him.² In vain,—so sang the dirge of the Roman oligarchy,—in vain had he profaned the rostra with his seditious eloquence, and waved the banner of democracy from the tribunitian citadel; in vain had he armed for unnatural duel the father against the husband; he fell before the day of mortal combat; the issue of his treason was veiled from his eyes: the gods, who failed to protect the state, were speedy in chastising the traitor. Yet he too had many noble gifts; he was tainted by the universal corruption: even his foe's malediction turns insensibly to praise. Lucan pronounces upon him the judgment of posterity with the pathos of Virgil and the sternness of Juvenal;

¹ Lucan, iv. 819.:

“Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum.”

² Cæs. *B. C.* ii. 32-42.

and his name stands for ever conspicuous among the short-lived race of revolutionary heroes.¹

Asinius Pollio was one of the few officers who, with a small body of men, were able to make their escape from the general massacre. A detachment had been left in charge of the camp under M. Rufus; but the impossibility of holding the position was immediately perceived, and every effort was made to collect vessels for embarking this miserable remnant for Sicily. In the hurry and confusion with which the embarkation was conducted, many of the transports were sunk with all on board; a small number only of the soldiers got clear off; the rest, deprived of their last chance of escape, were compelled to seek terms of capitulation from Varus. But when Juba beheld them approaching the Roman encampment, he suddenly fell upon them with the ferocity of a barbarian conqueror, claiming the right to deal with them as his own prisoners. Varus remonstrated against this proceeding, having, as he urged, pledged his word for their safety; but Juba, far from paying any regard to his instances, as soon as he had seen his orders executed, rode into Utica at the head of his triumphant army, and presumed to dictate arrangements at his own pleasure for the government of the Roman colony. To the greater shame of the republic, it was said that several senators, of whom the names of Ser. Sulpicius and Licinius Damasippus are especially mentioned, did not scruple to follow his train, and abet this act of audacious presumption. When he had thus settled every thing by his own royal mandate, he returned with all his forces into Numidia.²

At the same time Cæsar's fortunes were assailed in another quarter by a disaster hardly less signal.³ The province of

¹ The reflections on the death of Curio form one of the most animated and interesting passages in the revolutionary epic. Lucan, iv. 799.:

“Quid nunc rostra tibi prosunt turbata, forumque,
Unde Tribunitia plebeius signifer arce,” &c.

² Cæs. B. C. ii. 44.; App. B. C. ii. 46.

³ There is no mention of this event in Cæsar's Commentaries on the civil

Illyricum, the most obscure portion of the immense government which had been confided to him, became of considerable importance to his interests, now that his opponents had placed the Adriatic between his legions and their own. As soon as he should have secured his rear by the subjugation of the western provinces, he meditated the passage of this narrow gulf. It was, therefore, essential to his plans to strengthen the position he already held on the opposite shore, to confirm the favour of the natives in his behalf, and to establish the magazines which might be requisite for a future campaign in Dalmatia or Epirus; though, indeed, he may have justly disregarded as visionary the project attributed to Pompeius by some of his most sanguine adherents, of marching through this trackless region into the north of Italy. Accordingly, he sent C. Antonius, a younger brother of Marcus, to take the command of the detachments by which the province was held, and commissioned Dolabella¹ to co-operate with him by sea as far as his inferior naval equipments would permit.² But Bibulus, who commanded the naval armaments of the senate, sent a superior squadron to encounter the Cæsarian flotilla, a part of which he adroitly entrapped and severely handled. Such was the ferocity of M. Octavius and L. Scribonius Libo, the senatorial leaders, such at least was it reported to be, that the Cæsarians despaired of receiving quarter. The wild resolution of the tribune Vulteius, who persuaded the crew of his vessel to destroy one another rather than fall into the hands

Cæsar sustains a heavy loss in a naval engagement off the coast of Illyricum.

war. It may be conjectured that the second book, which as it now stands is disproportionately short, has come to us imperfect, and that this, together with some subsequent transactions, was related in the missing portion.

¹ This was Cicero's son-in-law, through whose influence he hoped to retain the favour of the proconsul, at the same time that he so bitterly stigmatized his invasion of Italy in his private correspondence.

² Florus says that he was ordered "Fauces Adriatici maris occupare" (iv. 2.); but this was quite impossible, seeing the acknowledged naval superiority of the Pompeians. The utmost Dolabella could do would be to creep along the coast from harbour to harbour, and try to preserve Antonius's communications with Italy.

of so ruthless an enemy, was remembered in after times as a splendid instance of the old military devotion.¹ If the story be true, it gives us a frightful idea of the recklessness of life engendered by the savage warfare of the times. What value would men set upon the lives of their enemies who held their own so cheap? But however cold-blooded the cruelty of the conquerors generally to prisoners who refused the alternative of taking service under them, the officers of the senate seem on this occasion to have exhibited no such inveterate hostility to the captured Cæsarians. C. Antonius, coming to the relief of Dolabella, was defeated, and thereupon entered with all his forces, estimated by one writer at fifteen cohorts,² into the service of the consuls.³

We have seen that Cæsar, on his departure for Spain, left the city under the charge of Lepidus, and Italy under that of M. Antonius. In Rome itself the members of the nobility who had remained, or had lately returned, were either devoted to Cæsar's cause, or avowedly neutral. The middle class of citizens was also generally favourable to him; it was only the licentious and versatile mob that could cause any anxiety to the prefect of the city. But this mob required to be constantly amused and humoured, and was ready at any moment to raise clamours in the theatres and other public places, which ex-

Administration
of Lepidus in
the city, and of
M. Antonius in
Italy.

¹ Florus, *l. c.*; Lucan, iv. 474. foll. The poet's gloomy application of this story is worth remarking as an illustration of the sentiments of his own times when suicide was contemplated among the ordinary contingencies of life:

“Non tamen ignavæ post hæc exempla virorum
Percipient gentes quam sit non ardua virtus
Servitium fugisse manu: sed regna timentur
Ob ferrum, et sævis libertas uritur armis,
Ignoratque datos ne quisquam serviat enses.”

² Oros. vi. 15. There is no trace of any force of such magnitude being detached from Cæsar's armies into this region, and it seems most likely that Antonius's troops consisted principally of the local militia who had no personal attachment to the proconsul.

³ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 4. and 10. In the latter passage the reading *Coreyra* seems to be an error for *Coricta*, the scene of this event mentioned by Appian, ii. 47.; Drumann, i. 524.

cited the hopes of the Pompeians, and hindered the complete tranquillization of men's minds throughout the country. Beyond Rome, the task committed to M. Antonius was more difficult. The patrician villas of the Campanian coast were crowded by illustrious personages openly hostile to Cæsar's schemes, and only deterred from uniting themselves with his rival by an almost equal jealousy of his designs, and still more, perhaps, by distrust of his fortunes.¹ Such was Cicero, such was C. Marcellus, such was Servius Sulpicius, all of them men of distinguished reputation both from their personal character, and from the high magistracies which they had recently filled. While these statesmen were balancing, as we have already seen in the case of the most illustrious of the number, whether they should betake themselves to the senatorial camp, Antonius received his master's orders to prevent any personage of distinction leaving the Peninsula at all. He placed all their movements under strict observation, while at the same time he carefully abstained from any harsh measures of restraint. Cicero communicated to Antonius his wish to leave Italy for a time, and seek an asylum in some place, such as Sicily, where he might hope to enjoy dignified leisure, apart from the disturbances of civil strife. Cato was still master of the island, and Cicero did not anticipate Curio's attack upon it, much less his unresisted conquest of it. But Antonius pleaded in reply the strict injunctions of his superior not to allow any one of so exalted a class to evade the direct superintendence of the central authority; at the same time he dexterously hinted that an application to Cæsar himself would be flattering and possibly successful.

Cicero and other Pompeians are forbidden to leave Italy.

¹ These men persisted in amusing themselves with the vain hope that Cæsar's soldiers would turn against him. Cicero says that the centurions of three cohorts stationed at Pompeii came to him at his Cumæan villa and offered to deliver the city to him. Under any circumstances he was prudent in declining such an offer; but when it came to the point he acknowledges a suspicion that it was made in bad faith with the view of entrapping him. *Cic. ad Att.* x. 16. He adds: "Omnem igitur suspicionem sustuli." He is painfully apprehensive of giving any cause of umbrage to the men in power.

Cicero, however, was not deceived as to the real meaning of this polite communication: it was, he felt, in reality as arbitrary and decisive as the formal missives by which the Spartan ephors cashiered their military sovereigns.¹ He revenged himself, in his correspondence with Atticus, by puerile declamations against the prefect's vices. He represented Antonius as making his progresses through Italy with the mime Cytheris at his side, surrounded by his lictors, followed by a train of panders and concubines, nor scrupling to introduce his own wife and mother into the same odious company,² exciting the disgust of all moderate and decent men by his profligate manners and his audacious pride. Claiming his descent from the hero Anton, the son of Hercules, he aped, it seems, the symbols of his divine progenitor, to whom he was supposed to bear a personal resemblance.³ At a later period, at least, he stamped the figure of the Nemean lion on his coins,⁴ and presented himself publicly in a chariot drawn by the monarchs of the forest.⁵ In what way he paraded these animals at this time does not clearly appear, but Cicero encourages his correspondent not to be alarmed at Antonius's lions.⁶ It would indeed be strange if a licentious and arrogant man, such as the tribune undoubtedly was, should have exhibited no marks of bad taste

Cicero's scurrilous declamations against Antonius.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* x. 10. : "Habes σκυτάλην Λακωνικήν."

² Comp. *ad Att.* x. 10. with *Phil.* ii. 24. The letter in which these circumstances are related was written from his villa at Cumæ, at the very time that he was in correspondence with Antonius and Curio about the course which it would be prudent for him to take. In the speech he expressly says that he was not in Italy (implying that he was already in the camp of Pompeius) at the time. It is impossible after this to attach any special weight to the scandalous imputations he throws out against Antonius.

³ Plut. *Anton.* 4. : προσην δὲ καὶ μορφῆς ἐλευθέριον ἀξίωμα, καὶ πάγων τις οὐκ ἀγεννῆς, καὶ πλάτος μετώπου, καὶ γρυπότης μυκτῆρος ἐδόκει τοῖς γραφουμένοις καὶ πλαττομένοις Ἡρακλέους πρόσωποις ἐμπερὲς ἔχειν τὸ ἀβρενωπὸν.

⁴ Comp. Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* vi. 44. This figure appears on a coin supposed to be of the date 715 u. c. It occurs also on one struck by Antonius at Lugdunum in Gaul, a city which was much attached to him. Vaillant supposes that its modern name Lyon is derived from the Antonian symbol.

⁵ Plin. *H. N.* viii. 21.

⁶ Cic. *ad Att.* x. 13. : "Tu leones Antonii ne pertimescas cave."

and selfish indulgence on so sudden an elevation. But the colouring of his calumniator is unworthy of our confidence, and even if we were to admit every thing that Cicero says against him, the progress of Antonius through Italy would still stand in luminous contrast to the devastating march of most of its previous conquerors.

We have seen that the defenders of Massilia were on the point of surrendering, when Cæsar's good fortune brought him in triumph to their gates just in time to receive their submission in person. L. Domitius, by whose fierce hostility they had been animated throughout their long struggle, contrived by slipping out of the haven to avoid falling a second time into the hands of the conqueror whose clemency he had abused. He will next reappear in the Pompeian camp at Thessalonica. The perfidy of the Greeks was prudently forgotten, their submission graciously accepted, and their city saved from pillage, though the appetite of the besiegers was whetted by perils and fatigues, and they had indulged in the fullest anticipation of military licence. The surrender of all their munitions of war, together with the treasure of the republic, was rigorously enforced; and if the inhabitants were allowed the enjoyment of their own laws and institutions, they were effectually deprived of the means of defending them.¹

It was at this moment that Cæsar received intelligence that he had been declared dictator at Rome by the appointment of the prefect Lepidus.² The creation of this extraordinary magistrate was an expedient recognized, by traditional usage, on occasions of the greatest emergency. In the earliest ages of the republic the appointment was exercised by the consuls at the command or with the consent of the senate.³ The people had no voice in the matter, nor were the pe-

Final submission of Massilia. Escape of Domitius.

Cæsar created dictator in his absence.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* ii. 22.; Dion, xii. 25.; Liv. *Epit.* cx.

² Cæs. *B. C.* ii. 21.

³ Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, i. 144.: "One of the consuls received the name of the person to be declared dictator from the senate; he then declared him

cular restrictions under which the office was held adopted with any view to their protection. The appointment of a dictator was, in fact, the resource which the nobles reserved to themselves whenever the ordinary political forms were insufficient to resist the demands of the commons. But as the commons grew in strength, and asserted equal privileges with the nobles, such an arbitrary power could no longer be safely exercised. The senate resorted to another expedient to protect itself, whenever its privileges seemed threatened with imminent peril. On such occasions it passed a solemn resolution, declaring the state in danger, and investing the consuls with summary powers for maintaining the public safety. Accordingly, with the single exception of Sulla's appointment, which was made in the intoxication of an overwhelming triumph, there had been no creation of a dictator for a hundred and twenty years. Indeed Sulla's revival of this unpopular authority, and his frightful abuse of it, had concentrated upon it the whole force of the national odium. Pompeius had not ventured to claim it; he had contented himself with the more irregular but less hateful assumption of the sole consulship. It might now be doubted whether the people would endure it, even when exercised by their own champion, and ostensibly for their own interest.

The circumstances, however, which compelled Cæsar to run the hazard of thus awakening the jealousy of his own adherents were peculiar. There can be no doubt that he had himself suggested to Lepidus to make the appointment; but, in doing so, he had not yielded to the indulgence of puerile vanity. It was the proper function of the consuls for the current year to convene the people for the election of their successors. The consulship was the dignity for which Cæsar had long contended. The exalted position he occupied, and the great services he had rendered the state, gave him an undeniable claim to the fasces, even for the second time, upon dictator, and he was confirmed and received the imperium by a vote of the great council of the curiæ."

Cæsar's object in seeking the appointment at this time, to hold the consular comitia and obtain the consulship.

the expiration of his provincial government. For this he had quarrelled with the party of the optimates, who had striven by every kind of violence and intrigue to thwart him. For this he had taken up arms and crossed the Rubicon; and now, having driven his enemies fairly out of Italy, he was ready, he declared, to present himself to the people for this, and this only. But the consuls were absent from the city; no election could take place at Rome; neither, on the other hand, could an election be made under the consular auspices elsewhere than at Rome. Lepidus, indeed, asserted that as prætor he had the right to hold the consular comitia. But an outcry was raised against the legality of this claim; and Cicero argued that an inferior magistrate could not rightfully preside at the election of a superior.¹ Cæsar was studious to preserve appearances, and, on this occasion, he forbade his minister to perform an act which could bear even a colour of illegality. It was, however, of great importance to his views that the state should not fall under an interregnum. The office of the interreges was to supply the place of the consuls on the occurrence of an unavoidable vacancy, until such time as a formal election could be held under their sanction.² But the law restricted the choice of interreges to the patrician houses, and in that class there was so much jealousy of Cæsar that under their authority fresh obstacles, he apprehended, would be thrown in his way.³ There remained, therefore, only one other feasible course, and this was the appointment of a dictator, in whom the right of holding the consular comitia was undeniably vested. If such a sovereign magistrate was to be appointed, it was upon Cæsar alone, as the foremost man in the state, that the burden and the dignity could alight. He accepted the office as the only means of ar-

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 9.: "Iste omnium turpissimus et sordidissimus (Lepidus) qui consularia comitia a prætore ait haberi posse."

² It was by an interrex that Sulla had been created dictator. Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 15.

³ Drumann, iii. 475.; Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 9.: "Permagnum ejus interest rem ad interregnum non venire."

riding at the consulship. Nevertheless, it was still a question whether, in the absence of the consuls, the prætor had strictly the right to make this nomination. It may be remembered, indeed, that the first dictator was appointed at a period when there was no distinction between the functions of these two officers, so that it is not improbable that the archives of the early republic might furnish at least a literal precedent for such a proceeding. There seems, however, to have been a general impression that there was some irregularity in the transaction, though the historians express themselves very differently upon it.¹ Under such circumstances, it must have been a matter of great satisfaction to Cæsar that the intelligence of this appointment reached him at a moment when there was nothing to prevent his setting off immediately for Rome. Delay at such a conjuncture might have been fatal; but Spain was converted to his side, Gaul vaunted her zeal for his interests, Massilia was pacified and crushed. The broad beaten track of the Aurelian Way lay before him, and the proconsul crossed the Alps with the expedition of a courier.

Nevertheless, there remained yet another labour to be overcome before he could reach the consummation of his desires. For a moment the very foundation of all his power seemed crumbling under his feet. After the disappearance of the senatorial forces from the shores of Italy, Cæsar, as we have seen, had stationed a portion of his troops in the southern extremity of Apulia, to resist any sudden attempt of the fugitives to regain the land. Another and apparently a larger division² had been quartered at Placentia, in the valley of the Po, as a central point be-

Cæsar quells a mutiny among his soldiers at Placentia.

sires. For a moment the very foundation of all his power seemed crumbling under his feet. After the disappearance of the senatorial forces from

¹ Flor. iv. 2. : "consulem se ipse fecit." Appian, *B. C.* ii. 47. : καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος πεφρικῶς ἤρειτο δικτάτωρα οὔτε τι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισομένης, οὔτε προχειροτονήσαντος ἀρχοντος. Zonaras, x. 8. : αἰρεθεὶς δὲ δικτάτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς.

² Dion, xli. 26. ; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 47. ; Oros. vi. 15. Guischart calculates that three of the veteran legions were quartered at Placentia. *Mém. sur l'Armée de Cæsar*, in tom. iii. p. 62. of the *Mémoires Militaires*.

tween Rome, the frontier of Gaul, and the north-eastern corner of the Peninsula; in which latter direction it was just possible that Pompeius might move upon his flank, if he were worsted in Spain, or detained under the walls of Massilia. This reserve was augmented by the arrival of the division, consisting of one or more legions, which had been detached from the army in Spain to escort the Afranians as far as the Var. It seems probable that their fidelity to their leader was partly corrupted by familiar intercourse with their fellow-citizens who had so recently served on the opposite side. We have already seen how rapidly the sense of discipline might be thus undermined. But the veterans had mortifications of their own to brood over. Their commander, it is asserted, had never yet found himself in a position to give his promised largess of five minæ to each soldier. He had also withheld from them a prize they might deem not less legitimately theirs, in forbidding the sack of cities and renouncing the confiscation of private property. The news of his having shielded Massilia from plunder roused the soldiers to a pitch of frenzy. It was in their eyes an arrogant interference with the rights of military licence. It does not appear how far the spirit of insubordination had spread; the ninth legion, however, one of the most distinguished in the Gallic wars, was thoroughly demoralized. Cæsar flew to the spot, and his presence doubtless restored the greater number to a sense of their duty. He felt that he was supported, and the bolder the front he assumed, the more he was assured would that support be confirmed. He addressed the mutineers in one of those stirring harangues with which, like most great commanders, he could sway their affections as he pleased. At first, assuming the boundless generosity of perfect confidence, he declared that he would release from his oath whosoever wished to retire. But when the disaffected shouted their approbation of this indulgence, and he suddenly changed the language of his address from *Romani*, or *soldiers*, to *Quirites*, or *citizens*, shocked and abashed the multitude

shrank before him.¹ Such was the disparagement implied in this honourable title, according to the ideas of a brutalized soldiery, that the whole current of their fury was arrested and changed by one magic word. They were now as eager in signifying their repentance, as before in testifying their dissatisfaction. Cæsar, however, was not to be won too easily. He proceeded to disband the entire ninth legion; but at their urgent entreaty, and upon the strongest assurances of their penitence, he contented himself with making some severe examples, according to the laws of Roman discipline, to which, sanguinary as they were, the soldiers were passionately attached. He required one hundred and twenty of the most violent mutineers to be delivered to him, and selected twelve of the number for death. When he discovered that one of these had been unjustly accused, he ordered the centurion who had given the false information against him to take his place.²

When we consider what expectations of a dictator's rule would be formed by the various parties and conflicting interests of the republic, we cannot fail to estimate the extreme difficulty of Cæsar's position upon his return. He was now for the first time summoned to carry out the principles which he had inscribed upon his banner on his first entrance into political warfare. He was called upon to repudiate those which his enemies and his extravagant partizans alike imputed to him. His elevation was similar to that of Pompeius in his sole consulship; but it was not easy for him to imitate the moderation of his opponent in dealing with disputed rights and reforming social abuses. The old conservative element of the commonwealth, upon

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¹ Lucan, v. 358.:

“Tradite nostra viris ignavi signa Quirites.”

Suet. (*Jul.* 70.) tells the same story on the occasion of a mutiny of the tenth legion before Rome at a later period. See also Dion, xliii. 53.; App. *B. C.* ii. 42. But the poet is so faithful to the letter of history, even in his ornamental details, that I think his expressions may be adopted here.

² Dion, and Appian, *ll. cc.*; Suet. *Jul.* 69. The account of this transaction, which is wanting in Cæsar's Commentaries, would have been found in the portion of the second book, which is supposed to be missing.

which Pompeius could securely lean when hard pressed by the revolutionists, was broken to pieces by the flight of the consuls and their adherents. On the other hand, the arrogance of the innovators and reformers, of those who would sweep away the foundations of social confidence, and reconstitute society on the arbitrary basis of financial enactments, was flushed by success. So great a change of men in the government of the commonwealth had never before been effected without a loud cry for blood as well as for plunder: the old animosities of class and party had never before been allayed except by the massacre of the conquered. It remained yet to be seen how far the progress of society had modified these sanguinary instincts; whether the recent growth of a middle and neutral interest of capitalists and financial speculators had tended to assuage the violence of political action; above all, whether the advance of civilization had, at last, brought upon the stage a great political champion, of more humane and philosophical character than the military ruffians of an earlier generation.

We have seen that the moneyed interest of the capital had invoked the success of Cæsar, as offering the fairest prospect of that permanent tranquillity, which it prized above any party triumph. The political excitement of recent years had benumbed its industry with anxiety and distrust. But it was well known that the victorious champion of a great political change would be urged by a large class among his adherents to combine with it a social revolution also. The general abolition of private debts was a familiar cry which had long swelled the chorus of popular clamour against Sulla and the optimates, the dictator and the senate. Accordingly, the class of creditors showed great sagacity in the confidence which they placed in Cæsar, as the man of all others whose moderation would reject, and whose firmness would overcome, such a pressure. He at least, they were assured, had never adopted the language of the Cinna and Catilinas. The good sense with which he had kept aloof from the intrigues of recent conspirators had not been lost upon the wary observers of

Confidence reposed in his firmness and determination to resist the cry for confiscation and blood.

public events. The respect he had shown for private property, under circumstances of great temptation, had raised an exalted opinion of his good faith and moral courage. His influence had extended, during his own absence, to his ministers in Rome and Italy; whatever were their faults and their personal unpopularity, Lepidus and Antonius had thus far scrupulously adhered to the principles they had imbibed from him. They had not violated public faith, they had respected property, they had refrained from blood. On the other hand, many who really wished well to the cause of the nobles durst not resort to their camp, where proscription or at least confiscation awaited them for their previous delay. At Rome, the head-quarters of the Cæsarians, their persons were secure, and even their adhesion, with few exceptions, unsolicited. Conservatism was angry and revengeful, Innovation tolerant and placable; the striking contrast they now mutually exhibited was an efficient agent in consolidating Cæsar's victory.¹

The dictator wielded within the city the paramount authority which, in the case of the consul whom he superseded, was jealously limited to the camp. He was not required to surrender the command of his army on entering the precincts sacred to the peaceful gown. In the language of the poet, he combined the sword with the axe, the eagles of the imperator with the rods of the curule magistrate.² Cæsar could now appear publicly in the forum for the first time since his appointment to the government of Gaul. He presented himself to a senate of his own adherents, and a people whose favourite he had ever been, after an absence of nearly ten years, with all his former popularity, and with more than the promised renown of his early career.

¹ Suët. *Jul.* 75.: "Denuntiante Pompeio pro hostibus se habiturum qui reipublicæ defuissent, ipse medios et neutrius partis suorum sibi numero futuros pronuntiavit."

² Luean, v. 387.:

"Ne ferri jus ullum Cæsar abesset
Ausonias voluit gladiis miscere secures:
Addidit et fasces aquilis."

As he walked over the ashes of the Clodian conflagration, among the rising columns of his destined edifices, Rome might fondly hope that the era of blood and fire had passed away, and peace revived at his command with arts and opulence. But meanwhile, the general uncertainty which darkened the political horizon had caused a wide-spread repugnance to the discharge of pecuniary obligations. The impression had long prevailed, that the time was coming for a scramble for property. Every one was anxious to turn his effects into money, and to keep what he could realize in his own coffers. All were eager to sell, few to buy. The creditors became harsher in exacting their dues, as the difficulty of enforcing their claims became greater. Their mortgages sunk in value, till it became expedient to make almost any sacrifice to secure an adjustment with their debtors. The method which Cæsar adopted for compromising the respective claims of the two classes, was to estimate these obligations according to the scale of prices at a period antecedent to the late commotions, when money circulated freely and plentifully, and to allow debts to be discharged without the payment of the accumulated interest.¹ The debtor was thus generally relieved from a liability which he could not discharge, while the creditor sacrificed a portion of his dues, amounting, however, as was calculated, to not more than one fourth.² As an expedient for reducing prices to their usual level, and restoring the abundance of the circulating medium, which there was so strong a disposition to hoard, the dictator sanctioned another ordinance of an arbitrary kind. He limited to sixty thousand sesterces the amount of coin which the citizen might retain in his possession.³ But as this provision,

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 1.

² Suet. *Jul.* 42.: comp. Plut. *Cæs.* 37.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 48.

³ Dion, xli. 38. Drumann refers to a similar ordinance of the emperor Tiberius, Tac. *Ann.* vi. 16.; Suet. *Tib.* 49.: "Der Kaiser dachte nicht an das allgemeine Beste, sondern an seine Sicherheit: ohne Geld konnte man sich nicht gegen ihn verschwören" (iii. 472. *note*). The class which had speculated on a sweeping abolition of debts were so dissatisfied with Cæsar's mode-

vexatious and inquisitorial as it was, would be little more than a dead letter, unless the inmates of the family were encouraged to denounce the violation of it, the multitude, delighted at any sumptuary restriction on the advantages of wealth, demanded that the testimony of slaves should be received in such cases against their masters. Cæsar, however, remained steadfast to the old principles of Roman law, and refused to sanction so dangerous an innovation.¹

The dictator's next measure was to procure the recal from banishment of certain personages who had been proscribed by the enactments of his adversaries. These penalties had been inflicted, for the most part, under the law of Pompeius against bribery at elections. But the delinquents had been zealous in proffering their services to the armed assailant of the government by which they had suffered; they promised to become useful to his cause, and policy prompted him to satisfy their demands. The indignation of the patrician purists knew no bounds. While Cæsar was still absent in Spain, Antonius had held out the expectation of such an act of grace, and the sympathy he had thus expressed for the victims of the laws was branded as one of the worst of his enormities. In Cicero's view, such an act would fill the measure of Cæsar's iniquities. Sulpicius had declared that, if the exiles returned, he must himself go into exile.² In the meanwhile Cæsar had abstained from receiving these applicants into his ranks. He waited till their recal should proceed from the mouth of the sovereign people; and he now suggested to certain high magistrates to lay a proposition to that effect before the assembly.³ But the amnesty was extended to more than one class of sufferers. Gabinius was among those who profited by it to return to Rome. On the other hand, it was denied to Milo, who had

ration that many of them withdrew to the camp of the senate in consequence. Sallust, *Orat. ad Cæs.* ii. 2.

¹ Dion, *l. c.*

² Cic. *ad Att.* x. 14.

³ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 1.: "Prætoribus tribunisque plebis rogationes ad populum ferentibus."

perhaps made himself obnoxious in the defence of Massilia.¹ It must be allowed that this exception was in flagrant contradiction to the motive which the dictator himself assigns for the measure, his anxiety to reverse legal sentences which had been inflicted at a period when the tribunals were coerced by Pompeius's military force. This measure, it is probable, was connected with another, the subject of which had at least been broached on a former occasion, the rehabilitation, namely, of the descendants of Sulla's victims.²

At the same time Cæsar accomplished an act, the policy and justice of which he had recognized at a much earlier period, and of which his own interests had never failed to remind him: this was the conferring the Roman franchise upon the Transpadane Gauls.³ His connexion with this people had been of long duration, and almost at his first outset in political life his enemies suspected that it was from thence he was to draw the military force destined to support the imaginary conspiracy with which they charged him.⁴ We have seen the insolence and violence with which this connexion had been resented by the nobles, in the treatment of the proconsul's clients at Novum Comum. But the elder Curio, a high authority among the optimates, had allowed the abstract justice of the concession for which Cæsar contended. He withstood it only from a perverse misapprehension of the interests of the commonwealth.⁵ The time had now arrived when every obstacle was removed, and henceforward the freedom of the city was bounded only by the Alps.

The measures which Pompeius appeared to contemplate for reducing the city by famine had been thwarted for the most part by the energy and success of Cæsar's lieutenants

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 48.

² Plut. *Cæs.* 37. Dion, as we have seen, places it before the campaign in Spain; Velleius (ii. 43.), in Cæsar's ædileship, A. U. 689; but this is certainly an error, as Cicero had maintained the exclusion in his consulship.

³ Dion, xli. 36.: comp. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 24.

⁴ Suet. *Jul.* 9.

⁵ Cic. *de Off.* iii. 32.; Drumann, iii. 474.

Full citizenship
conferred on
the Transpa-
dane Gauls.

Cæsar obtains the consulship in conjunction with P. Servilius Isauricus.

in Sardinia and Sicily. But Africa withheld her supplies, and the produce of more distant shores might be cut off by the cruisers of a vigilant enemy. The populace of Rome began to suffer from this pressure, and the dictator distributed gratuitously among them all the grain he could collect.¹ He seems to have indemnified himself for these extraordinary expenses by levying contributions on the deposits in the temples.² The people easily pardoned these depredations. They were now in the highest good humour. Cæsar could trust his fortunes confidently to their grateful favour.³ Accordingly he proceeded, without further delay, to convene the assembly for the election of consuls, and presented himself as a candidate. He could fairly represent to the people that, in the discharge of the sovereign magistracy he had paid unusual deference to their rights as legislators; in his wish to make his dictatorship a name rather than a reality, he had abstained from the appointment of a master of the horse. He now encouraged P. Servilius Isauricus to offer himself for the other chair, and no one ventured to solicit the suffrages in opposition to either. The election of the other magistrates followed, and next in order the distribution of the provincial appointments. Lepidus received the Hither Spain, Q. Cassius retained his government of the Further province, and Decimus Brutus succeeded to that of Gaul beyond the Alps.

The last month of the Roman calendar had now arrived.⁴ Cæsar performed, in his capacity of dictator, the solemn rites of the great Latin festival on the Alban mount; and thus, at the moment of drawing his sword, he proclaimed himself in the face of gods and men the supreme impersonation of the laws.

He resigns the dictatorship, and repairs to his army at Brundisium.

A. U. 706.
B. C. 48.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 48.

² Dion, xli. 39.

³ Lucan, v. 384.:

“Lætos fecit se consule fastos.”

⁴ The month of December, A. U. 705, answered to October, B. C. 49. Plutarch and Florus forget the error in the current computation of time when they state that Cæsar arrived at Brundisium at the winter solstice. See Fischer, *R. Z.* p. 273.

It was by this ceremony that the chief magistrate of the republic was wont to invoke the divine favour before arming to encounter the national foes ; and its celebration now seemed to denounce Pompeius, with his Oriental allies, as a foreign enemy. As soon as the sacrifice was completed the dictator abdicated his extraordinary office, only eleven days after he had entered upon it.¹ He had already summoned his veterans to attend him at Brundisium, and he went forth to the decisive conflict amidst the acclamations of the people ; but their applause was mingled with painful presentiments, and at the last moment they earnestly entreated him to bring the struggle to a peaceful termination. Every eye was bent on the fatal field, where legion should be matched against legion, pile against pile, and eagle against eagle.² The antagonists had assumed an attitude of personal defiance ; the names of Senate and People had sunk into ominous oblivion. Cæsar and Pompeius were now the exclusive watchwords of the contending parties ; even the children playing in the streets divided themselves into Cæsarians and Pompeians.³

The judgment and ability which Cæsar manifested throughout these proceedings must raise his estimation as a statesman to the highest pitch. He who had crossed the Rubicon at the beginning of the year, in defiance of law and authority, and daringly confronted the government of his country, backed as it was by the general opinion of his order, had now completely turned against his opponents the current of public feeling. The moral victory he had gained over them was even more complete than the triumph of his arms. He was now the consul of the republic, legitimately elected and duly invested with full powers. Throughout the empire there were vast numbers of citizens who would bow implicitly to

Comparison of the position now occupied by Cæsar with that of his adversaries.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 2. ; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 48. ; Plut. *Cæs.* 37. ; Zonar. x. 8.

² Lucan, i. 6. :

“ Infestisque obvia signis
Signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis.”

³ Dion, xli. 39.

the wielder of this formal authority. There were many cities which would shut their gates against any party which opposed him, without asking a question as to the substantial justice of its cause.¹ On the other hand, the Pompeians acknowledged by their own conduct that they had ceased to retain the government of Rome. In Epirus, though there were two hundred senators in their camp, they dared not enact a law or hold an election, or confer the imperium. They had neither curies, nor centuries, nor comitia; and the consuls, prætors, and quæstors, who had sailed from the shores of Italy, sank in the next year into proconsuls, proprætors and proquæstors.² The representative of the people had become the guardian of precedent and order; while the champion of the aristocracy derived his unauthorized prerogatives from the suffrage or the passions of a turbulent camp. The position of the rivals was thus exactly reversed, and with it, in the eyes of a nation of formalists; the right seemed to be reversed also.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 12. : "Illi se daturos negare, neque portas consuli prælusuros, neque sibi iudicium sumpturos contra atque omnis Italia populusque Romanus iudicavisset."

² Dion, xli. 43. This writer gives a confused account of the proceedings of the Pompeians, or rather the proceedings themselves were confused and inconsistent. He says that though, *as some affirm*, there were two hundred senators in the camp, together with the consuls, and though they consecrated a spot of ground for taking the auspices preliminary to an election, though they possessed a legitimate semblance of the Roman people, and even of the city itself, yet they did not proceed to make any election of public magistrates, because the consuls had not proposed a *lex curiata*. The proceedings then above mentioned, if they really took place, were a mere imposition; the Pompeian chieftains preferred the retention of their military commands by a mere change of title, to going through even the bare forms of an election. Lucan (v. init.), and Appian (ii. 50.), preserve the popular arguments by which it was sought to give a constitutional colour to these informal proceedings; but the alleged precedent of Camillus was far from the purpose. It is probable that Cæsar's senate was not less numerous than his rival's, notwithstanding the sneer of the poet:

"Libyæ squalentibus arvis
Curio Cæsarei cecidit pars magna Senatus."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SENATORIAL PARTY ASSEMBLE AT THESSALONICA.—REVIEW OF THEIR FORCES AND POSITION.—CÆSAR CROSSES OVER TO EPIRUS.—POMPEIUS THROWS HIMSELF BEFORE DYRRHACHIUM.—MARITIME OPERATIONS OF BIBULUS: HIS MORTIFICATION AND DEATH.—SEDITION IN ITALY, AND DEATH OF CÆLIUS.—ANTONIUS CROSSES OVER TO EPIRUS WITH REINFORCEMENTS.—CÆSAR BLOCKADES POMPEIUS WITHIN HIS LINES.—OPERATIONS IN MACEDONIA AND GREECE.—APPIUS CLAUDIUS CONSULTS THE ORACLE OF DELPHI.—CÆSAR IS BAFFLED IN HIS ATTACK ON POMPEIUS, AND WITHDRAWS INTO THESSALY.—POMPEIUS FOLLOWS, AND EFFECTS A JUNCTION WITH SCIPIO.—GIVES BATTLE AT PHARSALIA.—ROUT OF THE SENATORIAL FORCES.—FLIGHT OF POMPEIUS: DEATH OF DOMITIUS: SURRENDER OF M. BRUTUS (JAN.—AUG. A. U. 706, B. C. 48.)

POMPEIUS had no sooner placed the sea between his followers and the cherished soil of Italy, than he began to develop the military plans which he had long meditated in secret. He had no further occasion to practise reserve. The consuls and their party were now really at his mercy; they could not dispense with his services, for once removed from the centre of government, their authority in the camp was merely nominal. The rulers of the allied and dependent states of the East owed their thrones to the conqueror of Mithridates. While only distant and doubtful rumours had reached them of Cæsar's exploits on the shores of the western Ocean, they had before their eyes sensible proofs that his rival was the greatest captain and most powerful statesman in the world. Gratitude and fear therefore equally conspired to urge them to obey his summons, when he appointed Thessalonica for the rendezvous of his forces. Deiotarus and Dorilaus, princes of Galatia, Rhas-

Enumeration
of the forces of
Pompeius.

cupolis and Sadala of Thrace, Tarcondimotus of Cilicia, Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, Antiochus of Commagene, were among the most conspicuous of the barbarian chieftains who flocked to his standard.¹ Each of them was attended by a select body of horsemen from his own country. Among the Oriental allies, Cæsar enumerates only the cavalry, the bowmen and the slingers, who formed the ordinary auxiliary force to the main body of the legionaries.² But there can be no doubt that most of the tributary states and sovereigns of the east furnished also large contingents of foot-soldiers. These, however, were for the most part ill equipped and worse disciplined, and in the enumeration of combatants it was not commonly the practice of the Roman military writers to take any special account of them.³ The senators and knights served also in large numbers on horseback. A body of five hundred Roman cavalry, which had been left at Alexandria by Gabinius to maintain or watch the power of Ptolemæus, was brought by Cu. Pompeius, the triumvir's eldest son, who had armed, moreover, eight hundred of his slaves and labourers from the extensive estates belonging to his family. But the main strength of the army consisted, of course, in the legionary infantry. Five legions had been carried over from Italy; a sixth was formed by the union of the two incomplete divisions which Cato had commanded in Sicily; a seventh was raised from the veterans whom Sulla, Lucullus, and their successors had settled in Macedonia and Crete; two more had been hastily levied by Lentulus among the citizens of the

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 4.; Vell. ii. 51.

² Cæsar computes the cavalry at 7000, the slingers and bowmen at 4000, bearing in each case an unusually large proportion to the legionary infantry.

³ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 70. Lucan (vii. 360.) dwells emphatically on the numbers of these Oriental allies, and compares their variety to the forces of Cyrus, Xerxes and Agamemnon (iii. 284.). Not to insist on the testimony of the rhetorical poet, we have similar evidence in Cicero's letters; and Appian says plainly: ἔθνεσί τε πᾶσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ πόλεσι ἔγραφε κατὰ σπουδὴν ὅτι δύναιτο ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν πόλεμον συμφέρειν (*B. C.* ii. 88.). Such troops could not, of course, be opposed to Cæsar's veterans in the field, but they might be serviceable in many operations of war.

republic in the province of Asia. The strength of these divisions had been considerably increased by the addition of supplemental or auxiliary cohorts of Achaians, Bœotians, Epirotes and Thessalians. Scipio, who had gone forth to his appointed province of Syria, was expected to return with the two legions stationed on that frontier. The name of Pompeius might be deemed sufficiently terrible to curb the audacity of the Parthians; but Orodes had presumed to negotiate for the cession of Syria as the price of his active alliance, and Luceius Hirrus was despatched on a mission to amuse his vanity while he solicited his favours.¹ To these forces is to be added the detachment of C. Antonius recently captured by Octavius.

These armed multitudes, to which Cæsar's enumeration is confined, were quite as large as could be conveniently supported or manœuvred, according to the principles ^{His naval} and habits of ancient warfare. ^{armaments.} Though composed partly of strange and discordant elements, partly of untrained levies, they might form, in the hands of skilful officers, a military power more formidable than any the world had yet seen. Their numbers may be stated very moderately at eighty or ninety thousand men.² Pompeius employed himself in exercising them together with the utmost diligence. He condescended to go through the severe discipline of the legionary in person, hurling the pilum and brandishing the sword, on horseback and on foot, and he displayed, it was said, though fifty-eight years of age, the strength and ardour of a young recruit.³ At the same time every exertion was made to collect magazines of provisions and warlike stores, while a fleet of five hundred vessels of war, and an infinite number of transports, contributed by every naval power in the eastern seas,⁴ was placed under the command of Bibulus, and divided

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 82.; Dion, xli. 55.

² Eleven legions might amount to 60,000 men. The light troops and cavalry were above 11,000. The supplemental cohorts could hardly be less than 20,000 more.

³ Plut. *Pomp.* 64.

⁴ Cic. *ad Att.* ix. 9.: "Omnis hæc classis Alexandria, Colchis, Tyro,

into several squadrons to watch every harbour from which the enemy might issue forth, or at which he might attempt to make good his landing.¹

The overwhelming naval force which Pompeius possessed enabled him undoubtedly to throw reinforcements upon any coast where his interests were assailed by the enemy. But he would not detach a single vessel or a single cohort to the relief of his provinces or his legions. He required all his adherents to seek him in the position in which he had determined to abide the attack, and looked on with apparent apathy while his best generals and his amplest resources were torn from him. Indeed his opponent's liberality restored to him the officers whom his own negligence had allowed to fall into their hands. Afranius had followed the example of Domitius and Vibullius, in turning his arms once more against the conqueror to whom he owed his freedom. The menaces of the senate left them, perhaps, no choice but to take a decided part on the one side or the other. But Pompeius was exceedingly jealous of his principal officers, especially of such as had the confidence of his party. Though compelled to entrust to them the most important commands in his army, he was by no means disposed to listen to their counsels. The fortune of war which had dislodged the partizans of the senate from so many of the positions they had undertaken to defend, had now assembled at Thessalonica all the great leaders of the aristocratic faction. Various and conflicting as were their opinions on the state of affairs, they all seemed to agree in their dislike and distrust of the champion under whom they were forced to

Sidone, Arado, Cypro, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodo, Chio, Byzantio, Lesbo, Smyrna, Mileto, Coe, ad intercludendos commeatus Italiae et ad occupandas frumentarias provincias comparatur."

¹ *Cæs. B. C.* iii. 5. *Cic. (ad Att.* x. 8.), in one of his fits of confidence in Pompeius's preparations: "Cujus omne consilium Themistocleum est. Existimat enim qui mare teneat, cum necesse esse rerum potiri. Itaque nunquam id egit, ut Hispaniæ per se tenerentur: navalis apparatus ei semper antiquissima cura fuit. Navigabit igitur, quum erit tempus, maximis classibus, et ad Italiam accedet."

The nobles muster in Pompeius's camp. High estimation in which Domitius is held among them.

array themselves. It was with great reluctance that Donitius resorted to Thessalonica after his escape from Massilia. His leader's desertion of him at Corfinium still rankled in his bosom; he felt that it was only by his own gallant self-devotion that the consuls, the senate, and Pompeius himself, had been enabled to escape from Italy; this was a service he never permitted his associates to forget, nor was his temper such as to brook an inferior command. But he found himself naturally in his place at the head of the proudest and most exclusive section of the nobles, and in their company he ridiculed the airs of sovereignty assumed by Pompeius among the petty potentates he had summoned to his standard.¹

Cicero also had found his way to the head-quarters of his friends. How he evaded the vigilance of Antonius does not appear. We must suppose that he withdrew from Italy with the consent, if not the express permission of Cæsar. A crafty politician might foresee that the presence of so discontented a spirit in the hostile camp would furnish it with the seeds of dissension rather than any accession of strength. From the moment of his arrival at Thessalonica, Cicero seems to have found himself ill at ease under the control of a military chieftain. His tardy arrival was made a subject of reproach; the absence of some of his relatives gave colour to insinuations against his sincerity, which were hardly dispelled even by the devotion to the cause manifested by his brother Quintus, who abandoned his old patron and general for the sake of his party. But Cicero revenged himself as he best might by wreaking many a bitter jest upon the apparent imbecility of his traducers. When Pompeius taunted him with having made his appearance among them so late, *How can I be said to have come late*, he replied, *when I find nothing in readiness among you?*² He was striving to conceal from himself how little

Cicero arrives at the camp. His discontent and ill-timed levity.

Plut. *Pomp.* 67.

² Plut. *Cic.* 31.; Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 3., where several of Cicero's gibes on this occasion are recorded.

satisfied he was with his own determination to cling to a faction from which he could expect no good to his country.

The despair a sensible and practical statesman like Cicero felt for the welfare of the republic, even in the event of the party with which he acted being successful in the struggle to preserve its ascendancy, shows how despised and powerless was that small but honourable section of which Cato and Brutus were the leaders. Their names have, indeed, descended to us surrounded with a halo of glory, for they were the purest representatives of a cause which posterity regarded as the antagonist of the tyranny under which it was itself suffering, and the philosophical creed they illustrated by their life and practice was precisely that which found most favour with the generations which succeeded them. But it is evident that they had little influence upon the sentiments of their own contemporaries. Cato had acted with great perverseness. The notion of arming against Cæsar he had from the first denounced. He would have combated him in the forum. He delighted in the confusion of the popular elections, and his courage never rose higher than when he found himself on the hustings, raising his voice above the clamour of the multitude, and defying the violence of tribunes and demagogues. It was his pride to shape his course with a view to the assertion of his principles, rather than the attainment of their triumph. When forced to follow in the wake of the senate, he continued to manifest great reluctance to taking any military command. The government of Sicily was at last thrust upon him. Pompeius, no doubt, was glad to be quit of his presence, for he knew that in the event of victory, no one would be more vigilant in circumscribing his authority than Cato. But his precipitate retreat from that island, contrary to every expectation of friends and foes, can hardly be accounted for, except as the indulgence of that untractable perversity of character which was better understood by his contemporaries than by their posterity. Nor did he feel any shame in re-appearing in the camp of the nobles, where he seemed to be wholly uncon-

Cato possesses little influence in the counsels of his party.

scious that he was now doubly obnoxious, both as an impracticable politician and an imbecile general. On one point, indeed, his dignified humanity shamed the ferocity of his party into acquiescence in his counsels. At his instance the senate passed a decree, which became, however, in the sequel a mere empty form, that no city should be sacked, and no citizen put to death, unless taken with arms in his hands.¹

But, however limited the influence of Cato might be upon the adherents of the same cause, it was at least all-powerful with his nephew M. Brutus. The young philosopher had never forgotten that Pompeius had slain his father, and, devoted as he was by family and temper to the party of the oligarchy, he had nevertheless sternly abstained from joining in the adulation which they had showered upon their champion. But now his haughty reserve was overcome by the claim his uncle made upon his sense of public duty. He offered his services to Pompeius. Though inclined by nature to study and peaceful avocations he was not deficient in the qualities of a good officer, and while he devoted himself, however reluctantly, to the business he had undertaken, he seems to have refrained from any exhibition of restlessness and discontent.

Our conception of the character of Cato would be incomplete if we omitted to notice a domestic incident which curiously illustrates it. Cicero had left his wife behind him at Rome, under the protection of his son-in-law Dolabella. He had expressed, indeed, a decent sense of apprehension at what might befall her, thus separated from a husband, whom the conqueror might be disposed to regard with bitter hostility; but, undecided as he was in respect to his own course, he thought it would conduce to his interests to show such ready confidence in Cæsar's goodwill. Pompeius, on the other hand, who had already transferred to his new wife Cornelia the tender affection he had been seen to bestow upon Julia, seemed to distrust the security of his own camp in his anxiety for her safety, and had

Devotion of M.
Brutus to his
uncle.

Cato's second
nuptials with
Marcia.

¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 65., *Cat. Min.* 53.

sent her far away to the obscure retreat of Lesbos.¹ Cato, however, on his part, as far from the trickery of the one, as from the timidity of the other, had chosen the very crisis of his own and the public safety to marry, or rather to remarry the widow of Hortensius. Marcia had already been espoused to him at an earlier period. But the Roman law allowed excessive facility of divorce; and this licence, which his contemporaries adopted from passion, avarice, or caprice, Cato had assumed for the sake of gratifying, not himself, but his friend. Hortensius was childless; Marcia had proved herself fruitful; and the philosopher gravely transferred the mother of his children to the household of the voluptuary.² But this second union, after answering every purpose for which it was contracted, had been dissolved by death; and the matron, however faithful she had proved to her second husband, was more proud of the name of her first.³ She proposed that they should be reunited, and proved the genuineness of her devotion by the perils which she sought to share.⁴ The nuptials were solemn and private, as befitted the time and circumstances.⁵ Only one eye was deemed worthy of witnessing

¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 66.; Dion, xlii. 2.

² Plut. *Cat. Min.* 25. I have omitted some of the most extraordinary details of this transaction. Cæsar, in his satire which he designated *Anticato*, charged the philosopher with having had an eye to the great wealth which Hortensius had left to his widow; but we may trust, perhaps, to Plutarch's indignant disclaimer: ὁμοιον γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ μαλακίαν ὀνειδίζειν καὶ κατηγορεῖν αἰσχροκέρδειαν *Kátwos* (c. 52.).

³ Lucan, ii. 343.:

“Liceat tumulo scripsisse Catonis
Marcia.”

⁴ Lucan, ii. 346.:

“Non me lætorum sociam rebusque secundis
Accipis; in curas venio partemque laborum.
Da mihi castra sequi:”

it seems, however, that Cato left Marcia in Italy to superintend his domestic affairs. Plut. *l. c.*

⁵ Lucan, ii. 365.:

“Sicut erat, mœsti servans lugubria cultus,
Quoque modo natos hoc est amplexa maritum:
Non soliti lusere sales, sed more Sabino
Excepit tristis convicia festa maritus.”

them : Brutus alone might attest the weakness or the strength of Cato.'

Cæsar arrived at Brundisium at the beginning of the Roman year, and he had probably been the more anxious to reach the coast without loss of time, as the season, which was really a little past mid-autumn, was still favourable for transporting his army across the sea. He had summoned twelve legions to meet him at the place of embarkation, but their numbers were far from complete. The losses of so many campaigns in Gaul and Iberia, and latterly the fatigue of a long and rapid march from the Ebro to the Ionian straits, had thinned the ranks of his veterans, while the troops which had been kept in quarters on the Apulian coast had suffered from its autumnal fevers, and were weak and dispirited through sickness and inaction.² All the vessels that could be collected for the transport of these forces would not contain more than fifteen thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, notwithstanding that the baggage was left behind; yet this small number comprised the complements of seven legions.³ Before embarking, Cæsar harangued his soldiers, declaring that he was now demanding of them the last sacrifice he should have to require, and assuring them that the abandonment of their baggage should be recompensed by rich booty and a munificent largess. They replied with enthusiasm that his orders should be obeyed, be they what they might. On the second day, the fifth of January, the expedition came safely to land, near a place called Palæste.⁴ The pilots had selected a shel-

Cæsar crosses over to Epirus in Jan. 706.

¹ Lucan, ii. 371. :

“Junguntur taciti, contentique auspice Bruto.”

² Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 2. : “Multi Gallicis tot bellis defecerant, longumque iter ex Hispania magnum numerum diminuerat, et gravis autumnus in Apulia circumque Brundisium omnem exercitum valetudine tentaverat.”

³ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 2-6.

⁴ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 6. The reading of the codices is Pharsalus or Pharsalia, which is evidently a mistake or corruption. Lucan (iv. 460.) supplies the name adopted in the text :

“Palæstinas uncis confixit arenas.”

tered beach upon which their vessels could be run with safety, though surrounded on all sides by the dangerous promontories of the Ceraunian mountains. They had received orders to avoid the harbours on the coast, which were all understood to be occupied by the enemy: but the construction of the Roman galleys gave great facilities for debarkation, and for this purpose a naval armament might avail itself of coves, creeks and sand-banks, such as in modern times are only accessible to the light craft of the smuggler.

It cannot be supposed, however, that Cæsar trusted entirely to fortune in thus launching upon an element occupied by an overwhelming naval force. While completing their military equipments in Macedonia, his adversaries pretended to keep him at bay across a channel forty miles in width. But the winter was advancing, Cæsar's troops were scattered, he was supposed to be still absent himself in Spain: for a moment the vigilance of the Pompeian commanders was relaxed, and the gates of the East were left unguarded. Cæsar was, doubtless, aware that Bibulus, with the galleys, an hundred and ten in number, which he retained under his immediate orders, was lying inactive at Coreyra. Nor was he ignorant that another hostile squadron was stationed at Oricum, at no great distance from his destined landing-place. Either of these armaments would have sufficed to destroy his defenceless flotilla; but the police of the seas was imperfectly kept by the naval science of the ancients; their vessels were ill-adapted for cruising through variable weather; and the use of oars acted almost like steam in giving wings to weakness, and baffling the vigilance of a blockade. Bibulus was deeply mortified at an exploit, the success of which was sure to be attributed to his own remissness. He had become apprised of Cæsar's sudden arrival at Brundisium: he augured the lightning speed with which he would dash across the straits; and he hastened, though too late, to intercept him. It was not, however, too late to divide the invader's forces, and make it impossible either for a second detachment to cross over, or for the first to return.

Tardy activity
of the Pom-
peian fleets.

While he rushed himself to sea, he had sent orders to all his officers to issue simultaneously from their stations on the coast. From Coreyra to Salona the Ionian gulf was swept by their squadrons. Cæsar on the very evening of his landing despatched his lieutenant Fufius Calenus with the empty transports to thread the hostile armaments, and bring over his remaining forces from Brundisium. But, neglecting to take advantage of the night breeze, Calenus was descried by the enemy, and thirty of the returning vessels were intercepted and burnt, with their crews on board. Octavius, who commanded a portion of the Pompeian fleet, was less successful in an attack upon Salona, a stronghold of Cæsar's in Illyricum, and was compelled to retreat from before it with some loss. Bibulus continued to keep the sea, notwithstanding the approach of the stormy season, and although Cæsar's operations shut him out from nearly every port on the coast into which he might have run for shelter.¹

Pompeius was in Mæcædonia, and had hardly received information of his rival's unexpected landing in Epirus, while Cæsar was already reducing his fortresses and dispersing his garrisons. The citizens of Oricum and Apollonia refused to shut their gates against the consul of the republic, and compelled the Pompeian lieutenants, Torquatus and Staberius, to withdraw their forces. Several other towns soon followed this example, and, in the course of a few days, the states of Epirus sent a formal deputation to declare their submission to the invader who bore the insignia of the Roman government.² Pompeius was now in full march for Dyrrhachium, which he was exceedingly anxious to save from the enemy. The news of his repeated disasters met him at each successive stage of his advance, and such terror did the name of Cæsar strike into the minds of his soldiers, that they began already to melt away from him, as they had abandoned his lieutenants in Italy the year before. Drooping and straggling, and throwing away their arms, the march of the Pompeian legions began to as-

Pompeius
moves from
Thessalonica,
and throws
himself before
Dyrrhachium.

¹ Cæs. B. C. iii. 7-9.

² Cæs. B. C. iii. 12

sume the appearance of a flight. Labienus came forward to check the progress of desertion, by taking the solemn military oath of adherence and obedience to his general. The formula was successively tendered to the principal officers, to the tribunes, the centurions and the legionaries. This appeal to the spirit of discipline seems to have revived the courage of the soldiery. Dyrhachium was effectually covered by the lines behind which the Pompeians now entrenched themselves on the right bank of the Apsus; while Cæsar, finding his scanty forces insufficient to assail them, took up his position on the left to protect the towns in his rear which had submitted to him, and there resolved to pass the winter under canvas.

At this crisis, attempts were still made on each side to delude the other by negotiations. Cæsar employed the mediation of Vibullius, the Pompeian officer whom he had twice captured, first at Corfinium, and again in Spain. The terms which he offered were, that each chieftain should disband his troops simultaneously, and refer the adjustment of their disputes to the senate and people; an arrangement which had by this time become more than ever impracticable. Cæsar's only object in proposing it must have been to gain time for the arrival of reinforcements. On the other hand, Bibulus and his colleague, being now excluded from almost every point of the coast, and severely harassed by the weather and want of necessaries at sea, were anxious to conclude an armistice for their own immediate convenience. But Cæsar understood their object, and though Calenus was still prevented from joining him with the expected succours, he refused to listen to their proposals. Meanwhile, the fatigues of his naval campaign, joined to his excessive mortification at Cæsar having so narrowly escaped him, had completely broken the health of the Pompeian commander. He fell a sacrifice to his anxiety to redeem his character for vigilance or fidelity with the party which had intrusted to him so important a command.¹ He showed, indeed, ferocity enough to satisfy the most blood

The Pompeian
admirals at-
tempt to pre-
vent the pas-
sage of Cæsar's
second division.

¹ Cæs. B. C. iii. 18.

thirsty of the faction, but he had no other claim on their approbation. The only service he had performed was to disperse his vessels up and down the coast of Epirus, so as to watch every creek and strand upon which Cæsar's second division might seek to effect a landing. Cæsar himself complained that Antonius, whom he had appointed to direct the operation, neglected more than one favourable opportunity of making the passage. He might have made a feint to draw off the enemy's attention, and have selected a point for running on shore where the numbers of his opponents would be insufficient to cope with him. Upon the death of Bibulus, the several detachments of the collective fleet seem to have been left at the disposal of their respective commanders. Pompeius was apparently too much disconcerted by the precarious position of his affairs to pay due attention to what was after all the point most important for his interests, the prevention of the junction of Cæsar's two divisions. L. Scribonius Libo, who had commanded under Bibulus a detachment of fifty ships, now took upon himself to act with this force independently. He quitted the coast of Epirus, and, crossing the straits, established a blockade of Brundisium, taking possession of the island which lay at the entrance of the harbour, and cruising before it with a force which alone was more numerous than any Antonius could bring against it. One great difficulty which the ancients experienced in conducting operations of this kind lay in the incapacity of their vessels for sufficient stowage of provisions and water. They were unable to keep the sea with a view to effectual observation. The numerous flotillas which still lingered along the shores of the opposite coast could not have been better employed than in ministering to the necessities of the blockading squadron. But Libo's manœuvre, far bolder and more decisive than any of Bibulus or even of Pompeius, failed from the want of co-operation. He was deceived indeed with the idea that he could maintain himself by the possession of the little island he had seized, and even assured Pompeius that he might withdraw the rest of his fleet into port, and trust to

him alone to frustrate the passage of the Cæsarians. Antonius, however, disposed his cavalry skilfully along the coast to prevent any of Libo's foragers landing in quest of water and provisions, and the Pompeian was compelled at last to abandon his position, and resort once more to the same feeble and inefficient tactics which had rendered Bibulus contemptible.¹

Some months had been consumed in these desultory manœuvres, and great must have been Cæsar's impatience at being prevented from acting more boldly by the absence of so large a portion of his forces.

Intrigues of M.
Cælius at
Rome.

While in this state of suspense and comparative inactivity, his anxiety must have sorely increased on hearing of the progress of an attempt at counter-revolution in Rome and Italy. Cicero's correspondence has preserved to us the record of the zeal with which M. Cælius Rufus had advocated Cæsar's cause at the period of his invading Italy. He had used his best endeavours to cajole Cicero into acquiescence in the proconsul's views, and his old intimacy with his correspondent, and the terms of playful familiarity in which he addressed him, pointed him out as the likeliest person to sway that vacillating politician.² Cælius had been only a late convert to Cæsar's party. As one of the tribunes in the time of Pompeius's sole consulship, he had exerted himself in defence of Milo, and had asserted on that occasion the principles of the most violent section of the oligarchs. But he seems to have been won over to the popular side by the seductions of Curio, whom he was persuaded to accompany on the famous expedition to Cæsar's camp at Ariminum. The proconsul's blandishments may have completed the work of conversion; and from that period, as we have seen, Cælius devoted his talents, which were considerable, to the establishment of the new order of things. Cæsar had rewarded him by obtaining for him the election to the prætorship, second in dignity; the chair of the prætor of the city was occupied

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 23, 24.

² Cic. *ad Div.* viii. 15-17., comp. *ad Div.* ii. 16.

at the same time by C. Trebonius, whose fidelity had been longer tried, and whose services were undoubtedly more conspicuous. Cælius, witty, vain and dissolute, was dissatisfied with this post, and sought to raise himself to higher distinctions by studying the gratification of the popular wishes.¹ He declared with plausible eloquence that Cæsar's enactments had not gone far enough for the relief of the needy citizens. He promised to lend all the sanction of his office to any debtor who should appeal against the decisions of his colleague, according to the tenor of the recent enactments for the adjustment of debts. He even proposed himself a new law for the greater relief of the debtor by the spoliation of his creditor. The multitude were well pleased with these revolutionary proceedings, and it became necessary for the consul and higher magistrates at once to resist such democratical encroachments. Cælius was hurried forward on his career by the still increasing demands of the passions he had evoked. Tumults arose in the city; the consul applied to the senate for unusual powers: it was decreed that Cælius should be suspended from his functions, and the execution of this decree was enforced with a high hand, which controlled all opposition, and drove the discomfited demagogue from his chair of office. Baffled in his schemes and unprepared with resources, he now professed his intention of appealing personally to Cæsar, and under this pretence he left the city to repair the web of his intrigues in greater security at a distance.

Though the consul had been able to maintain the peace of the city with the opportuue assistance of a body of soldiers which was passing through at the time on its way into Gaul, Cælius, it appears, had persuaded himself that Cæsar's government had already fallen into general odium there, and that with the exception of a wretched pack of money-lenders, the whole population was prepared to rise against his authority. It was only the dread, he argued, of the vengeance which Pompeius had vowed to wreak upon all who had ever submitted to his rival,

He attempts to raise an insurrection against Cæsar in Italy in conjunction with Milo.

¹ Cæs. B. C. iii. 20, 21.; Liv. *Epit.* cxi.; Dion, xlii. 23, 24.; Vell. ii. 62.

that caused any delay in effecting a counter-revolution. New views of ambition began to open upon him. Instead of inviting Pompeius to hasten across the sea and recover Italy and Rome, while his enemy would be detained by the want of ships from following him, he left him to the chances of an encounter, which, from his knowledge of Cæsar's veterans, he believed would be unfavourable, if not fatal to him, while he conceived the design of seizing the prize himself.¹ Milo, who, as the only political exile excepted from the late amnesty, had obvious grounds of indignation against Cæsar, had taken advantage of the disturbed state of affairs to come secretly into Italy, and call to his standard the remnant of the armed bands with which he had been wont to domineer over the factions of the city. Cælius had been allowed to leave Rome unmolested, and was already engaged in secret intrigues with this rash adventurer; but the consul had directed one of the tribunes to attend upon him and observe his movements. His resorting to Campania roused suspicion, and he was summoned back to the neighbourhood of the city; but, in deference to his noble birth and the high office which he still claimed, the watch which was kept over him was relaxed, and still more so, perhaps, after the speedy defeat of Milo before Capua. Cælius effected his escape, and followed the traces of his new confederate in the Lucanian mountains. Here Milo was striving to kindle heath and forest with the flame of predatory insurrection. At the same time he addressed his solicitations, on the one hand, to the municipal authorities in the neighbouring towns, asserting that he was acting under the direction of Pompeius and Bibulus, while he held out, on the other, to the needy and profligate the usual promises of a revolutionary agitator. But his career was speedily cut short; for in an attempt to seize the

¹ See a letter from Cælius to Cicero, written apparently at the moment of his leaving Rome. Cic. *ad Div.* viii. 17.: "Quod si timor vestræ crudelitatis non esset, ejeti jam pridem hinc essemus. Nam hic præter fœneratores paucos, nec homo nec ordo quisquam est, nisi Pompeianus . . . vestras copias novi: nostri valde depugnare et facile agere et esurire consuerunt."

town of Cosa he was slain by the blow of a stone hurled from the walls. Soon afterwards Cælius entered Thurii unarmed; his levity prompted him, alone and defenceless, to make another effort; but when he tried to corrupt the fidelity of some Gaulish and Spanish horse whom Cæsar had stationed there, they turned round upon him with indignation and slew him. With the death of the two chieftains the seeds of this paltry insurrection were scattered to the winds.¹

While these ineffectual movements in the interest of the Optimates were in progress in Italy, their great champion still kept close in his quarters at Dyrrhachium, not venturing to trust his half-trained forces in conflict with Cæsar's veterans. The withdrawal of Libo's squadron from the coast of Apulia had left open the harbour of Brundisium. Antonius was well aware of his commander's impatience to combine all his forces together on the other side of the channel; nor was he or the other officers in command at all deficient in zeal to perform the duty expected of them. But once baffled in their attempt to effect the passage, and awed perhaps by the savage vengeance which Bibulus had wreaked upon his captives, they let slip more than one opportunity of embarking with a favourable wind. The winter was now nearly over, and with the prevalence of milder weather the Pompeian squadrons would find it easier to keep an effectual blockade. Accordingly, Cæsar sent repeated messages, urging Antonius to put to sea at all hazards. He represented that the loss of the vessels was of little consequence. If the troops could only be run ashore any where on the beach, it mattered not that the ships were exposed to the beating of the surf, or liable to be seized by the enemy.² It is related that in a transport of impatience, for his situation was now becoming every day more critical, he determined to hazard the passage in person, and

Cæsar attempts to cross the Adriatic in a violent tempest.

¹ Cæsar and Dion, *ll. cc.* The story is told with some discrepancy by these two writers. The narrative of the latter has the appearance of greater accuracy in detail.

² Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 25.

that too in the face of a violent tempest. This daring enterprise he was obliged to conceal from his own soldiers, and in a private vessel of only twelve oars he braved the chances of shipwreck or of capture. The sailors, however, could make no way against the fury of the winds and waves, and his life was probably saved by yielding to the storm. The undertaking was bold to the verge of rashness. Cæsar himself, it must be observed, does not mention it, and we may suspect that the circumstances have been distorted or coloured by successive rhetoricians, with the wish to trace throughout the exploits of the most successful of adventurers that implicit reliance upon fortune, which is all that ordinary men can discover in the most consummate calculations of the statesmen or the warrior. Perhaps the whole story was invented to introduce the brilliant apophthegm which Cæsar is said to have addressed to the dismayed sailors: *Fear nothing; you carry Cæsar and his fortunes.*¹

At last Antonius embarked his forces, the men and officers being equally clamorous to be carried across. They consisted of four legions and eight hundred cavalry. The south wind, with which he sailed, was not favourable for shaping his course for Oricum. As the breeze freshened, his vessels were wafted considerably to the northward, and passed off Apollonia and Dyrrhachium.² They were descried by Coponius, who commanded a Rhodian squadron in the service of Pompeius at the latter port. He immediately gave them chase, and his swift war-vessels, though only sixteen in number, were more than a match both in speed and strength for the transports in which the Cæsarian legions were embarked. The wind, however, now blew so strongly as to enable Antonius to keep his start of the pursuer, and enter the haven of Nymphæum, which lay some

Antonius effects the passage with the second division.

¹ Florus, who is the first to tell the story, makes no mention of this celebrated saying (ix. 8.). Appian (ii. 58.), Dion (xli. 46.), Plutarch (*Cæs.* 28.), repeat all the circumstances with little variation. Lucan (v. 577. &c.) amplifies them with some of his wildest hyperboles.

² *Cæs. B. C.* iii. 26. foll.

hours' sail to the north of Dyrrhachium. The mouth of this harbour directly faced the south, and if it was easy for Antonius to make it, it would not be more difficult for Coponius to follow. But the wind suddenly shifted to the south-west, and drove the Pompeian vessels with violence upon the coast. Here they were all dashed to pieces, their crews falling into the hands of the enemy. Cæsar, however, treated them with studied kindness, and he takes care to inform us that he sent them safe home to their native island, from which they had been summoned to maintain a cause in which they took little interest. Very different was the fate of the complement of one of Antonius's vessels. Two ships of the squadron had parted company with the main body in the night, and came to anchor off Lissus, three miles to the south of Nymphæum. Here Otacilius Crassus commanded for Pompeius. He surrounded them with a swarm of boats and transports, and invited them to surrender. One of the two, which carried a division of two hundred and twenty men belonging to a newly-raised legion, promptly obeyed, under a promise that the men's lives should be spared. But the Pompeian officer carried out the system of his colleagues without regard to mercy or good faith, and caused them all to be massacred. The complement of the other, which was a battalion of veterans, maintained their courage in the last extremity. Though suffering from fatigue and sea-sickness, and entirely ignorant of the strength of their enemies, they ran their ship on shore, and threw up a hasty entrenchment, behind which they repulsed the attack of the Pompeians, and were enabled eventually to escape to the camp of the main body. Crassus had not the means of offering any resistance to the large force now collected so near him. He retired from Lissus, which immediately opened its gates to Antonius. The transports were sent across the gulf once more to bring over a detachment which was still expected, and Cæsar was speedily apprised of the place and circumstances of his lieutenant's landing.

The course of Antonius's fleet had been observed by both

armies in their quarters on the Apsus. Both were equally eager to follow it; the Pompeians with the view of protecting Dyrrhachium, the Cæsarians in the hope of at last effecting the long-desired junction of their forces. Pompeius, on the right bank of the river, was able to move without delay, while his enemy, to whom the stream offered a considerable impediment, was obliged to seek a ford higher up. Pompeius hoped to surprise Antonius, and conducted his march with secrecy as well as speed: but his movements were discovered to the new comers by the natives of the country, and they had time to entrench themselves, while they sent messengers to inform their general of their arrival and position. On the second day Cæsar made his appearance, and Pompeius, not venturing to expose himself at the same time to an attack both in front and rear, hastily withdrew to a place called Asparagium,¹ where he found a suitable spot to establish his fortified lines.

Even when his forces were so much less numerous, Cæsar had been eager to press the enemy to a battle. He had now doubled his available numbers, and had succeeded in dislodging Pompeius from the position he had selected to cover Dyrrhachium, so that he had every reason to anticipate compelling him soon to fight at a much greater disadvantage. With this view he followed the steps of the retreating army until he arrived before their new encampment, where he drew out his legions in order of battle, and vainly hoped that his challenge would be accepted. But Pompeius kept close within his lines. Cæsar again broke up from his position, and, making a circuit to disguise the object of his movement, threw himself before the walls of Dyrrhachium in such a manner as to cut off all communication between the city and the camp of its defenders. Pompeius had attempted to anticipate this manœuvre, but his cautious cir-

Manœuvres of
the hostile
armies.

Cæsar block-
ades Pompeius
within his lines
at Petra.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 30. The locality of Asparagium is not accurately known. It was on the left bank of the Genusus, and within one day's march of Dyrrhachium, as appears from Cæsar, *B. C.* iii. 76. The reading (iii. 41.), "in Macedoniam," must certainly be corrupt.

cumspection was baffled by the activity of his adversary's movements. Firmly resolved as he was not to commit his half-trained battalions to a premature engagement with their veteran enemy, it was necessary to seize a position in the neighbourhood, lodged securely in which he might watch their operations and profit by circumstances. A cliff, on the sea-coast, distinguished from its bold projection with the appellation of Petra or the Rock,¹ offered a favourable post for the development of these defensive tactics. It stood at a short distance from Dyrrhachium, which contained the stores and arsenals of the republican army; it possessed certain natural advantages for defence, and the anchorage it commanded was extensive and tolerably sheltered. At this spot his troops might rely upon the supply of all their wants from the sea;² but, secure though he was of this element, Pompeius made himself independent of distant resources by drawing military lines in front of his position, fifteen miles in length, and thus inclosing in a strong entrenchment a large tract of cultivated soil. To these limits, however, his bold and unwearied assailant now determined to confine him. Cæsar planted himself firmly in front of the Pompeian position, and actually carried a counter-rampart parallel to the whole sweep of its defences, through an arc not less than seventeen miles in length, from one extreme point on the coast to the other. These extraordinary works were not raised on either side without frequent skirmishes. The forces of Pompeius were the most numerous, and the extent of his works was less, so that he was able to bring greater strength to bear in any attacks he chose to make upon the enemy. He was also superior in light troops, whose services were eminently useful in this kind of engagement; and his success in these desultory conflicts so encouraged him, that he was reported to have declared he would consent to forfeit all claim to military skill if his adversary escaped without fatal disaster from the position he

¹ Lucan, vi. 16.:

“Quemque vocat collem Taulantius incola Petram.”

² Plut. *Pomp.* 65. : πάντα πνεῖν ἄνεμον Πομπηίῳ.

had so rashly taken up. His boast, as we shall see, was not far from being fully accomplished. Nevertheless, Cæsar, though sometimes repulsed from the positions he attempted to seize, and much harassed and impeded in the progress of his operations, completed his chain of towers connected with ditch and rampart from shore to shore, and thus presented to the world the extraordinary spectacle of a superior force, commanded by the most experienced general of the age, blockaded in the centre of the country he had himself chosen for the campaign.¹

As the crisis of the great contest approaches, we become naturally more anxious to assure ourselves of the fidelity of

Character and authenticity of the Commentaries on the civil war attributed to Cæsar.

the narrative before us. This narrative is given in full detail in the Commentaries of the principal actor in the events themselves: the works of later writers add nothing to the particulars, but tend generally to confirm his account. Cæsar's history of the Civil War has indeed come down to us incom-

plete; the text in several places is very corrupt; and its geographical inaccuracies are many and palpable. The account even of the military operations is occasionally confused and inconsistent; but perhaps the most surprising defect of the work is its want of breadth and largeness of view. It contains no general survey of the state of parties and affairs, so essential for understanding the political bearing even of the military transactions; and the discovery it professes to make of the author's own motives and objects must be pronounced for the most part frivolous and unworthy of the occasion. The genuineness of the work is nevertheless generally admitted.² If we are justly disappointed at the nar-

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 42-44.; Dion, xli. 50.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 61.; Lucan, vi 29-63.

² The question of the genuineness of the first seven books of the Commentaries on the Gallic and the three books on the Civil War seems to lie in a narrow compass. The ancients understood that Cæsar wrote commentaries on these wars, and that he compiled ephemerides, or memoranda, of his military actions generally; also that he left some imperfect notices of the Alexandrian and African campaigns, which were reduced to the form of commentaries by

rowness of the sphere over which the writer's observation ranges, compared with the vast extent of view which he might have opened to us, we may, on the other hand, esteem ourselves supremely fortunate in the possession of a record which bears, on the whole, the stamp of truth and candour more conspicuously than the writings perhaps of any other party politician. The contemporary whose impeachment of its fidelity has had the greatest weight with later critics was notorious, it should be remembered, for trivial and perhaps spiteful detraction.¹ In the relation of minor events the author, it may be conceded, has occasionally used some artifice to disguise his failures, but seldom or never to enhance the merit of his successes. But I have abstained generally from questioning the accuracy and fairness of minute details, as disagreeable both to the writer and the reader where there is so little room for criticising them with any certainty. In some places I have tacitly corrected what seemed to me errors, or smoothed over apparent inconsistencies; but in all the main features of the narrative I am content to rely on the authority before me, leaving it to the reader's own judg-

another hand. My belief is that the ephemerides were the rough notes from which Cæsar himself either wrote, or dictated, or superintended the composition of the Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars, and that the same notes furnished the groundwork for the subsequent compilation by others of the eighth Gallic book, and those on the Alexandrian, African, and perhaps the Spanish campaigns. But that the seven books *B. G.* and three *B. C.* were written by the same person I can hardly doubt. The style and still more the character of the two works seem to be nearly identical, the only difference being such as one might expect, that the latter is written with a little less care and appearance of literary ambition. The manifest errors it contains can only be attributed to corruption of the text. To suppose that Cæsar wrote commentaries, and that the next generation suffered them to be entirely lost and superseded by the writings of any other person, whether the genuine memoirs of a contemporary, or either the acknowledged compilation or the fictitious exertion of a later age, is the last resource of the morbid scepticism which cannot suffer any author to say more or less than harmonizes with its own gratuitous canons of historical criticism.

¹ C. Asinius Pollio, one of Cæsar's officers, who wrote a history of the civil wars. For his remarks on Cæsar, Cicero, Livy and Sallust, see *Suet. Jul.* 56., *Ill. Gramm.* 10.; *Quintil.* i. 5. 56., viii. 1. 3., xii. 1. 22.

ment to supply what he may think imperfect, or apply a corrective to what may appear to him partial.¹

The manœuvres of two Roman armies in front of one another may be compared to the single combats of the mailad knights of the middle ages. Equal strength, arms and skill might render victory on either side impossible. When every artifice had been exhausted to entice the one or the other into a false move, it was only by superior patience and endurance that the conflict could be decided. Such might seem to be the respective position of the enemies now confronting each other. The one had posted himself behind his impregnable entrenchments (for the entrenchments of the Roman legionary were quite impregnable to assailants not superior in numbers or military art), and the other had drawn a line of circumvallation around his antagonist, and held him almost a prisoner within his own works. If the one army was superior in numbers, this advantage was fully counterbalanced at the outset by its inferior discipline and self-confidence. But these were defects which Pompeius relied on time to supply. He resolved to decline a battle, and the longer the enemy persevered in his blockade, the more certain was he of being enabled in the end to cope with him successfully.² Meanwhile,

Review of the calculations on which Cæsar planned his operations.

¹ Among the modern works which have lain open before me in studying the events of the Civil War, has been that of the late lamented Arnold, who wrote the biography of Julius Cæsar for the *Encycl. Metropolitana*. In vigour and perspicuity of narrative this early essay is not inferior to the more mature and better known historical compositions of its distinguished author; but I cannot help thinking that, at a later period of his life, he would have considerably modified the moral and political views it exhibits. I detect some places in which the author's prejudice against Cæsar seems to have misled him in the statement of facts, and still more where he appears to me to have unduly disparaged his motives and exalted those of his opponents. But on a question of pure literary criticism any opinion of Arnold's must be of very great weight, and I much regret that we do not possess the deliberate judgment of his later years as to the genuineness of the Commentaries on the Civil War, which in the article referred to he appears to reject with undue precipitation.

² The Roman officers devoted long and patient attention to exercising their recruits preparatory to leading them into battle. The skill, endurance, and

he abided with impassive serenity the ultimate victory of which he felt assured. To Cæsar, however, the advantage was direct and immediate, of standing forth in the eye of the world as the assailant and challenger of the once boastful hero who now seemed to shrink, craven and crestfallen, behind his battlements. This attitude of defiance was in itself an omen of success. At Rome the dictator's friends appealed to it as a proof of his intrinsic superiority, and the waverers could no longer gainsay them.¹ Close at hand the effect was still more signal. Though Epirus was the theatre which Pompeius had himself chosen for the contest, it would seem that his hold upon the favour of the natives was by no means strong. Cæsar, far from his own proper resources, was able to draw largely upon the goodwill of the provincials, many of whose towns had surrendered to him with every appearance of alacrity. At the same time he had taken measures to keep in check the armies which Pompeius was assembling in his rear. The forces of Scipio in Macedonia were confronted by the dictator's lieutenants with an adequate armament, and, from the Ionian shore to the Ægean, the fear or favour of the natives was conciliated to him, for the most part, by the brilliancy of his recent combinations. Precarious, therefore, as his position was, with a superior army in front, and an unsecured country in the rear, his game was played on a

confidence of the individuals were much more important in ancient warfare, particularly on the system practised by the Romans, than in modern. The same time and care were bestowed on restoring the discipline and moral feelings of an army which had been dispirited by defeat. Vegetius (iii. 10.) gives minute directions for the requisite exercises: labour in the trenches was one element in the system. It was long remembered as a maxim of Scipio Africanus: "Fodientes luto inquinari debere qui madere hostium sanguine noluisent." Flor. ii. 18.

¹ See a letter of Dolabella to his father-in-law, Cicero (Cic. *ad Div.* ix. 9.), urging him to espouse the side of the dictator, written just at this time. "Animadvertis Cn. Pompeium nec nominis sui nec rerum gestarum gloria, neque etiam regum atque nationum clientelis, quas ostentare crebro solebat, esse tutum: et hoc etiam, quod infimo cuique contigit, illi non posse contingere, ut honeste eflugere possit, pulso Italia, amissis Hispaniis, capto exercitu veterano circumvallato nunc denique."

masterly calculation of the chances in his favour, and it may be confidently asserted that as a military operation it deserved success.

The first chance which entered into the great captain's calculation was that of provoking the enemy to engage with forces as yet untrained and dispirited. In this Pompeius keeps steadily within his lines. he was disappointed. Pompeius kept himself closely within his lines, while the blockading army was suffering, as he knew, from a scarcity of provisions. But the sturdy veterans had often lived before, and fought too, on worse and scantier fare.¹ They threw their coarse, unpalatable loaves into the quarters of the Pompeians, that they might know the spirit of the men they had to deal with. Meanwhile, with the advance of spring the green crops began to ripen, and the enthusiasm of the Cæsarians in their general's cause warmed still more at the prospect of greater plenty and a more familiar diet. They declared they would gnaw the bark from the trees before they would suffer Pompeius to escape out of their hands. Nor was the condition of the besieged much better. Though supplied with provisions by means of the fleet, they were in great want of water, for Cæsar had dammed up or turned the watercourses which ran from the surrounding heights into the space enclosed by his lines, and the Pompeians were driven to have recourse to the wells which they sank in the sands and marshes of the sea-shore.² At the last extremity Pompeius might no doubt have effected his escape on board his vessels;³ but

¹ Durny (*Hist. des Romains*, ii. 495.) observes on this occasion: "On a remarqué que nos soldats manquaient de vivres quand ils gagnèrent les plus belles victoires des dernières guerres."

² Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 49.: "Omnia enim flumina atque omnes rivos qui ad mare pertinebant Cæsar aut averterat aut magnis operibus obstruxerat." The latter operation is hardly conceivable; besides that within so wide a circuit there must have been numerous springs and streams, as Lucan, only too magniloquently, observes:

"Flumina tot cursus illine exorta fatigant,
Illic mersa, suos."

³ See Dolabella's letter to Cæsar (*Cic. ad Div.* ix. 9.).

in so doing he would have broken up all his plans, he would have incurred infinite disgrace, and his vigilant enemy would hardly have allowed him to execute such a movement without scaling his undefended ramparts, and cutting off at least a portion of his followers.

It is remarkable, however, that Pompeius, whose fame as a naval conqueror was almost equal to his military reputation, should have availed himself so little of his superiority at sea throughout this campaign. The co-operation of land and sea armaments was little

Pompeius gains some advantages at sea

understood by the Romans. We have seen how ill the fleet was seconded in its attempt to blockade the harbour of Brundisium; and now, in its turn, it seems to have contributed very inefficiently to the support of the land forces within the lines of Petra. But it is impossible to suppose that Cæsar, who had combined his land and sea forces so skilfully both in his contest with the Veneti and in the siege of Massilia, would have made so little use of this important arm if the superiority had been on his own side. As it was, however, the little flotilla in which he had run his troops over was completely cut off. He had laid it up at Oricum, where he caused the harbour to be obstructed by sinking a vessel in its mouth, and he also stationed there a garrison of three cohorts. But Cnæus, the spirited son of the great Pompeius, made a dashing attack upon this stronghold, cut out four of the vessels, and burnt the rest. After this exploit he made an attempt upon Lissus, and succeeded in entering that port also and burning a number of transports or merchant vessels, but was repulsed from the walls by the bravery of the citizens, who were devoted to Cæsar's cause.¹

A naval armament which required a military guard for its defence, was an incumbrance to Cæsar rather than a source of strength, and probably he was not much discomposed by the loss of it. He was now thrown entirely upon the disposition of the provinces themselves for the means of supplying his army,

Cæsar establishes communications with Ætolia, Thessaly, and Macedonia.

¹ Cæsar, *B. C.* iii. 39, 40.

and, if requisite, of recruiting it. It was necessary to detach various bodies of troops to secure the co-operation of the natives and Roman citizens, and counterwork the influence which the enemy might still exert upon them. With this view L. Cassius Longinus led the twenty-seventh legion, with two hundred cavalry, into Thessaly, where Cæsar's interests were maintained by a strong party under the direction of a young patrician of the highest rank, named Petreius. A smaller force was despatched into Ætolia, under C. Calvisius Sabinus, to provide supplies for the camp before Petra. At the same time Cn. Domitius Calvinus took the great eastern road leading across the Candavian mountains into Macedonia, where there was a considerable Cæsarian party, which had already invited assistance against the Pompeians.¹ This detachment consisted of two complete legions and five hundred cavalry, for as Macedonia lay in the direct route from the eastern provinces, it was in this region that the advance of Scipio required to be arrested.

Scipio was zealous in the cause of his son-in-law, nor was there any one of the senatorial chiefs whose personal interests were more deeply involved in its success. He was a man of resolution, also, and not deficient in military conduct; yet his proceedings in the command of the eastern provinces were marked by great want of activity. He withdrew every battalion that could be spared from the frontiers of the empire, leaving them almost undefended in the presence of the formidable Parthians. He recruited his legions among the provincials of Syria and Asia Minor, and gradually assembled his whole force at Pergamus, in Phrygia, where he established his head-quarters for some months. His troops were for the most part fully trained to war, so that the delay in his movements could not be attributed to the necessity of devoting time to exercising them. Even had this been the case, he might have led them into Epirus, and thus have united the two great divisions of the Pompeian armies before

Scipio advances with his legions from Syria, lingers for a time in Asia Minor, and arrives at last in Macedonia.

¹ Cæs. B. C. iii. 34, 35, 55.

Cæsar's arrival on the coast. He may have pleaded, perhaps, in excuse for his neglect, the reluctance of the eastern legions to be led against their own countrymen, and their mortification at being required to abandon the interests of the republic in those parts to the mercy of an insolent enemy. It was only by giving up to them, if Cæsar may be believed, the plunder of various cities in Asia, that the proconsul first debauched and so bound them to his service.¹ But it is more probable that Scipio was intriguing to secure his influence with this division of the army, to enable him to claim a share in the command of the combined forces. Accordingly, he proceeded to ingratiate himself with his soldiers by severe exactions upon the subject provinces. His officers were clamorous; they declared, not untruly, that in leaving Rome they had abandoned their personal means of subsistence, and they demanded a full compensation for their sacrifices in the spoil of the provinces in which they were quartered. Every personage of rank and influence was propitiated by the lucrative government of some city or district. The maintenance of a large and licentious army in the midst of a wealthy and feeble population may, indeed, suffice to tell its own tale. It requires no statement of the historian to convince us that the proconsul himself, his retinue, his officers and his soldiery, vied with each other in oppressing the unfortunate provincials. Yet Scipio could not shake off the yoke of military obedience. He had devoted to plunder the temple of Ephesus, a shrine of almost unparalleled wealth, and had assembled the senators and principal officers upon the spot to apportion the treasures among them, when peremptory orders arrived from Pompeius to join him without delay.² The despatch contained, perhaps, bitter reflections upon the character of his proceedings, which could not fail to excite displeasure and alarm in the more politic commander. The greedy expectants were dismissed ungratified, and the temple was saved. Scipio now summoned his troops to active service. He crossed the Bosphorus, and was pursuing the great road westward, which led

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 32.

² Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 33.

through Thessalonica and Pella, when he learned that Calvinus was strongly posted in his front in the valley of the Haliacmon, while, at the same time, the more circuitous route through Thessaly was occupied with a smaller detachment by Longinus.

His advance thus intercepted, Scipio acted with great vigour and promptitude. He approached within twenty miles

of his opponent, as if with the purpose of fighting, and then, leaving only a handful of men under Favonius to amuse him, turned sharply to the left, crossed the Haliacmon, and pushed on rapidly over the mountain frontier of Thessaly to cut off the division of Longinus before it could receive succour.¹ But Calvinus was quickly apprised of his manœuvre, and, knowing that Favonius was unsupported, advanced without a moment's delay to attack him. Cassius had already moved in retreat, and Scipio dared not follow him and leave Favonius in such apparent jeopardy. He retraced his steps with reluctance, and rescued his lieutenant at the moment when the enemy was about to fall upon him. But with all his forces re-united he was still indisposed to meet Domitius in the field. His retirement behind entrenchments was hailed by his opponents as nearly equivalent to a defeat, for, in the wavering state of opinion among the provincials, the party which maintained the most confident demeanour was sure to carry off the palm of popular favour. Some skirmishes ensued, with various success; but, on the whole, the two armies continued watching each other, without coming to any decisive action, while the course of events was unfolding far more important results under the immediate eye of the great rivals.²

¹ Col. Leake supposes Calvinus to have been posted at the modern Satista on the left bank of the Haliacmon, and Scipio to have crossed that river at Servia (near the ancient Æane in the common maps). In my first edition I had described the opponcuts as meeting near Pella. I see now, however, the improbability of Calvinus advancing so far to the east, and I also infer from the expression: "nullo in loco Macedoniæ moratus," that Scipio must have nearly traversed that country before he came in front of his adversary.

² Cæs. B. C. iii. 36-38.

Undecisive
operations in
Macedonia.

While these movements were in progress, however, Cæsar had detached another small division under Fufius Calenus to promote his interests in Achaia.¹ The senate had entrusted that province to Appius Claudius, whose zeal for the cause of the nobles was by no means equalled either by his judgment or activity. He abandoned the plain duties before him to inquire idly into the secrets of futurity. The champion of antiquated political forms took counsel at the shrine of an effete superstition. The oracle of Delphi had fallen into oblivion or contempt in the general decay of faith, or on the discovery of its profligate corruption. Whatever credit might still attach to their pretensions to divine inspiration, its hierophants were no longer the confederates or the creatures of the statesman. They were roused from the languid enjoyment of ample revenues and traditional dignity by the perilous compliment now paid to their obsolete functions. Alarmed and bewildered, they sought to disclaim the invidious responsibility: *the destinies of Rome, they said, were recorded once for all in the verses of the Sibyl: the conflagration of their temple by the Gauls had choked the cave with cinders, and stifled the voice of the god: he who spurned from his shrine the profane and unrighteous, found none to address in these degenerate days.* But all these evasions were vain. Appius demanded the event of the war, and pertinaciously claimed a reply. The priestess took her seat on the fatal tripod, inhaled the intoxicating vapours, and at last delivered the response which her prompters deemed the most likely to gratify the intruder: *Thou, Appius, hast no part in the civil wars: thou shalt possess the hollow of Eubœa.* The proconsul was satisfied. He determined to abandon all active measures for the party which had entrusted the province to him, and fondly hoped that, in retiring to the deep recesses of the Euripus, where the sea rushes through the gorge between Aulis and Chalcis, the waves of civil war would pass by him, and leave him in undisturbed possession of his island sovereignty. But he had

Appius Claudius consults the oracle of Delphi.

His delusion and death.

¹ Cæs. B. C. iii. 55.

scarcely reached the spot when he was seized with fever, and the oracle was triumphantly fulfilled by his death and burial on the hollow shore.¹ From this time the interests of the nobles met with no fostering care throughout the province of Achaia; and, on the approach of Cæsar, the Pompeians found themselves so weak, that they abandoned the whole of Greece north of the isthmus, and contented themselves with fortifying the access to the Peloponnesus by land, the coast being secured by the undisputed supremacy of their naval armaments. It would seem that by this time Cæsar had established his interests on a solid foundation throughout the provinces from Epirus to Thrace, and from Illyricum to the Gulf of Corinth. He had restored the balance of power between himself and his rival upon the very theatre of war which the latter had chosen, and which he had had a whole year to fortify and secure.

The military operations which were conducted during this interval before the walls of Petra were of so complicated a character that, in the absence of local knowledge, and with no other guide than the Commentaries, which at this juncture are both obscure and defective, it would answer no purpose to attempt to describe them in detail. Skirmishes were constantly occurring throughout the whole extent of the lines. Cæsar enumerates the occurrence of not less than six in a single day; and in these earlier engagements it would appear that the advantage generally rested with his own side. One circumstance which he mentions in regard to them is curious, nor does there seem any reason to suspect him of misrepresenting it. It was found, he says, after a series of these petty combats, that two thousand of the Pompeians had fallen, while of his own men only twenty had been killed; on the other hand, of those engaged in a certain position not one escaped without a wound. If any inference can be drawn from so remarkable a disparity of loss, it would seem to show the great superiority of the Cæsarians in the use of their weapons, and is a striking proof

¹ Val. Max. i. 8. 10.; Lucan, v. 122. foll.

of the advantage which the well-trained veteran derived from his superior skill in the warfare of those times. But if these repeated engagements gave occasion for the display of more than usual valour and devotion on the part of Cæsar's veterans, and one of them could exhibit his shield pierced in one hundred and twenty places,¹ they served, nevertheless, at the same time to exercise the Pompeian recruits in the use of their arms, and to raise them gradually to a level with their presumptuous assailants. There was one part of Cæsar's works which had not been completed. He was conscious that, with the command of the sea, Pompeius could turn his besieger's flank and attack him in the rear, by landing troops at a point outside his own lines. To provide against such a movement, Cæsar drew a second line of entrenchments from the shore parallel to his principal line, leaving a certain interval between them, and of such a length that, in order to double them, the assailant would have to penetrate inland a considerable distance from his ships.² But, to carry out this mode of defence, it was necessary to draw a transverse line along the coast to connect the first rampart with the second. This lateral entrenchment had not been completed, and, accordingly, there remained an open space between the two lines, into which Pompeius was able to throw a body of men from his vessels. This detachment not only made good its landing, but found the Cæsarians unprepared, and working at the entrenchments without their arms. It would seem that Cæsar's numbers were not adequate, especially after their late reductions, to carry out works of such immense magnitude, or to defend them when completed. In this quarter his troops were routed and thrown into confusion. He was compelled to withdraw them from the ground on which they were posted and content himself with the construction of a new encamp-

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 53. This was the centurion Scæva, whose prowess as recorded by Cæsar, Suetonius and Appian, to set aside the hyperboles of Lucan, was more like that of a hero of romance than of a military veteran, according to modern ideas.

² Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 63.

ment to confront the enemy, who had thus established themselves in a position in the rear of his trenches. The besiegers were much disheartened at the unexpected vigour which their opponents had exhibited, and their general strove in vain to rally their confidence. He was himself aware that his position was lost almost beyond recovery, for the connexion between the different parts of his immense lines was dislocated, and the ground, intersected by so many walls and trenches, presented serious impediments to the rapid movement and concentration of his forces. His eagle eye discerned one Pompeian division separated from the main body and unsupported. He moved with a very superior force against it; but the difficulties of the ground baffled all his combinations; his men, dispirited and out of breath, straggling up to the object of their attack, were repulsed with steady gallantry, and, when a larger force came to the rescue of the Pompeians, were completely discomfited, and driven back in confusion to their lines.¹

The rout and disorder of the vanquished party were so complete, that Pompeius could only imagine that their rapid flight was a feint to lure him on to incautious pursuit. He abstained from pressing his advantage;² indeed the impediments of the ground would have retarded his advance, while it favoured his opponent's well-known ability in rallying his broken ranks. He had gained, indeed, a complete victory, for it was now impossible for Cæsar to hold his position. Pompeius had fully carried out the plans he had in view from the first, for he had steadily refused to be drawn prematurely into a decisive engagement; he had trained his men at leisure, and had at last thrown them

Discomfiture of
Cæsar.

Triumph of
Pompeius's
military skill.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 69, 70.; Frontin. *Stratagem.* iii. 17. 4; Orosius (vi. 15., here supplies what was required to account for this extraordinary rout of the Cæsarian veterans.

² He is said to have been dissuaded by Labienus: but Cæsar himself was reported to have acknowledged that the war might have been brought to a close that day if the enemy had known how to use his victory. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 62.

upon their besiegers with equal confidence and superior numbers. He now broke triumphantly through the toils with which his enemy had surrounded him, and his fortunes seemed to emerge with all their former brilliancy from the cloud which so lately obscured them. When Cato, indeed, beheld the bodies of a thousand citizens extended on the ground he covered his face and wept.¹ But with this single exception, both the general and his officers now abandoned themselves to unbounded exultation. All the flattering hopes which had sustained them through the winter, of soon returning to Rome to satiate their vengeance or their cupidity, damped as they had been by the course events had recently taken, now returned in their original freshness. They made no account of the disadvantages under which Cæsar had fought, and claimed the victory as the reward of their own valour and conduct. Pompeius alone had any apprehension of the result of a general engagement, to which his adherents now looked forward with impatience. In the midst of his triumph he exhibited signs of moderation which they ascribed only to pusillanimity. He accepted indeed the title of Imperator with which the victorious legions saluted him; but on this, which was perhaps the first occasion of that honourable distinction being awarded in a civil war, he declined to adopt the usual insignia by which it was accompanied, and wreathed neither his despatches nor his fasces with laurel. But his followers had no such scruples: their leader probably had not the power, if even he had the will, to restrain them in the display of their arrogance and violence. Labienus was particularly anxious to distinguish himself among his new friends. He demanded and obtained of Pompeius the unfortunate men who had been made prisoners in the late engagement. Upbraiding them ironically with cowardice and desertion of their ranks, he ordered them all to be put to the sword in the presence of the applauding Pompeians.²

Exultation and violence of his partizans.

¹ Zonaras, *Annal.* x. 8.

² Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 71.: "Interrogans, solerentne veterani milites fugere, in omnium conspectu interficit."

But the gain of a victory was not sufficient to counterbalance the loss of time and reputation which Pompeius had submitted to undergo. One month earlier the defeat of Cæsar would have been his destruction, for he had then secured no friends to favour him in his retreat, and no second field on which to develop the resources of his genius. But now looking calmly around him, he saw that it was necessary to withdraw from the seaboard, and remove the war to a wider theatre in Macedonia or Thessaly. There he could unite all his forces and reconstruct the plan of the campaign. With unabated alacrity he prepared to execute this new project. The siek were sent forward, in the first instance, together with the baggage, under the escort of a single legion. The rest of the army left the camp in successive detachments, and Cæsar himself, having confronted his victorious enemy to the last, followed his advancing legions with such celerity as to overtake and combine his march with them.

The destination of the army, in the first instance, was Apollonia; for it was there that Cæsar had made arrangements for the care of his wounded, and there lay the treasure which was amassed for the pay of the legionaries. From thence he despatched letters of exhortation to his allies, explaining the real state of his affairs, while he advanced detachments to occupy the most important points on the sea-coast. His first anxiety was to effect a junction of the main body of his troops with Calvinus.¹ He calculated that if, by such a movement, he could draw Pompeius from his lines at Petra to protect Scipio from the combined forces of the Cæsarians, he should find an opportunity for compelling him to engage. But if Pompeius should avail himself of the retreat of his antagonist to re-cross the Adriatic,² it was then his intention to march through Illyricum with his whole army, and confront

Cæsar moves towards Thessaly.

He anticipates the various plans the enemy may adopt.

¹ Cæs. B. C. iii. 75. foll.

² This was the advice of Afranius, but Pompeius did not choose to withdraw so far from his Eastern allies. Appian, B. C. ii. 65.

the enemy in Cisalpine Gaul, if not before Rome itself. If, as a third alternative, Pompeius should prefer keeping close to his present quarters, and forming successively the sieges of Oricum, Lissus and Apollonia, in order to cut him off from the sea, and deprive him of all succour from Italy, Cæsar then contemplated advancing against Scipio in Macedonia, and thus forcing the generalissimo of the senate to hasten to his colleague's relief.

Cæsar sent forward despatches to notify his approach to Calvinus, and to convey the necessary instructions for his guidance. But the pompous announcement of their victory which the conquerors had circulated in all directions, had so imposed upon the inhabitants of the intervening districts, that they considered the baffled cause as lost, and were eager to conciliate the victors by intercepting his messengers. Calvinus meanwhile, after keeping his ground for a considerable time in front of Scipio on the Haliacmon, had been compelled to withdraw by the want of provisions, and had fallen back upon the road to Dyrrhachium, as far as Heraclea, a town on the frontiers of Macedonia, at the foot of the Candavian mountains. He supposed that, in making this retrograde movement, he was only approaching nearer to the base of Cæsar's operations, and rendering a junction with him more sure, whatever fortune might befall his general's arms in Epirus. But Cæsar, by the circuit he was compelled to make in order to visit Apollonia, had abandoned to his adversary the direct route into Macedonia; and this was the line upon which Pompeius was already advancing, the noise of the breaking up of Cæsar's camp having advertised him of his sudden retreat. It was by accident only that Calvinus became apprised of the danger gathering in his rear. Certain Allobrogians, who had recently deserted from Cæsar to his opponent at Petra, happened to fall in with the scouts sent out by Calvinus to collect information. Though now arrayed on different sides, yet from old habits of familiarity they did not scruple to enter into converse with one another, and the re

Cæsar effects a junction with the division of Calvinus on the frontiers of Epirus and Thessaly.

treat of Cæsar in one direction, together with the advance of Pompeius on the other, were disclosed just in time to allow Calvinus to break up his camp and set out in a southerly direction to meet his general. The Pompeians arrived at his deserted quarters only four hours after he had quitted them; but he was already beyond the reach of pursuit, and the two great divisions of the Cæsarian army effected their junction at Æginium, on the confines of Epirus and Thessaly.

From this point Cæsar advanced to Gomphi, a town which had lately volunteered to place itself under the banner of his lieutenants, but which now, excited by the exaggerated report of his disasters, shut its gates against him, and sent pressing messages both to Scipio and Pompeius to come to its relief. Scipio, however, had withdrawn as far as Larissa, and Pompeius had not yet entered Thessaly. The activity of Cæsar's operations was such as to prevent the possibility of aid being rendered to the devoted city. Arriving before the walls in the morning, he had prepared all the requisite works and machinery for the assault by three o'clock in the afternoon, and carried the place by storm the same evening. To reward the energy of his soldiers, and at the same time to inspire a salutary sense of his undiminished power, he gave up the town to pillage: but this was for a moment only, for he was immediately on his march again, and appeared straightway before Metropolis, which took warning by the fate of its neighbour, and surrendered without a blow. All the towns of Thessaly, except Larissa, followed this example without delay, thus giving Cæsar complete possession of the broad champaign country watered by the Peneus and its tributaries. Throughout this fertile region the corn was abundant and now nearly ripe. Cæsar had no difficulty in maintaining his soldiers there, and he now confined his movements to the plain southward of the Enipeus, deliberately awaiting the expected attack.¹

¹ Appian (*B. C.* ii. 67.) supposes that Cæsar was in want of provisions, and that Pompeius wished to protract the campaign in order to profit by his neces-

Cæsar had directed his advance upon the route which traverses the southern part of Thessaly, abandoning any attempt to prevent the junction of the two main divisions of the enemy's forces, which, when thus combined at Larissa, formed an aggregate of imposing magnitude. Pompeius now condescended or was compelled to share with his father-in-law the honours of the chief command. But the responsibility still attached to him alone, and the impatient senators felt assured that he purposely protracted the war, to enjoy the supremacy in the camp which must be relinquished in the city.¹ Domitius taunted him with the name of Agamemnon, king of the kings before Troy; Favonius only exclaimed with a sigh, *We shall not eat our figs this year either at Tusculum*. But the proud array of the combined armies inflamed more than ever the hopes of their order; their numerical superiority to Cæsar was greater now than even at Petra, and the impatience to strike the blow which should free them for ever from his harassing persecution became universal and overwhelming. The chiefs contended openly among themselves for the places and dignities which should fall to their lot upon Cæsar's destruction. They already assigned the consuls for several years to come; while among the candidates for the highest offices, Domitius, Scipio and Lentulus Spinther were most clamorous for the supreme pontificate,² Fannius coveted the villa of Atticus, and Lentulus Crus laid his finger on the house of Hortensius and the gardens of Cæsar.³ The mutual jealousy of these competitors led to intrigues and recriminations which loosened the bands of authority and discipline. Attius Rufus came forward to accuse Afranius of deliberate treachery in the Spanish campaign; L. Hirrus, a man of some note in the party, sites: but it appears that the resources of a large extent of country were now at his command.

Arrogance of the senatorial chiefs: their intrigues and mutual jealousies.

¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 67., *Cæs.* 41.; Appian, *l. c.*

² *Cæs. B. C.* iii. 83.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* xi. 6. If this is correct, it would seem that Marcia did not bring the property of Hortensius to Cato as her dowry on their resumption of the nuptial relation, and therefore there was probably no second marriage.

having had the honour of competing on one occasion with no less a rival than Cicero, being absent from the camp on a mission to the Parthians, might fear to be thrust altogether aside in the scramble for the anticipated dignities; and Domitius proposed in council that judgment of death or confiscation should be passed at the close of the war upon every member of the senate convicted of the crime of having remained at Rome during the struggle, or even who, after joining its standard, should have continued a spectator rather than an actor in its ranks.¹

It is possible that this menace pointed among others at Cicero, who may have advanced claims to a larger share in the contemplated distribution of rewards than were deemed proportionate to his actual services. He had been present in the camp at Petra, and had freely expressed his disgust at his leader's policy in allowing himself to be shut up in so dishonourable a position. Cicero, indeed, was one of the few sensible men who had deprecated forcing Pompeius to a premature engagement; but while he confessed that the troops of the republic were not equal in training to their adversary's veterans, he had persisted in urging the adoption of measures still more certainly inefficient, and had paraded his impracticable notions of the authority and dignity of the senate in a question of mere military means.² At last, when Pompeius advanced into Thessaly, he pleaded ill health as an excuse for remaining behind,³ declining at the same time all public command, and contenting himself with sending his son to follow the fortunes of the common cause. The proposition of Domitius, if car-

¹ *Cæs. l. c.* This is fully confirmed by Cicero. Even Atticus, he says, was among the proscribed: and further, "Omnes qui in Italia manserant, hostium numero habebantur."

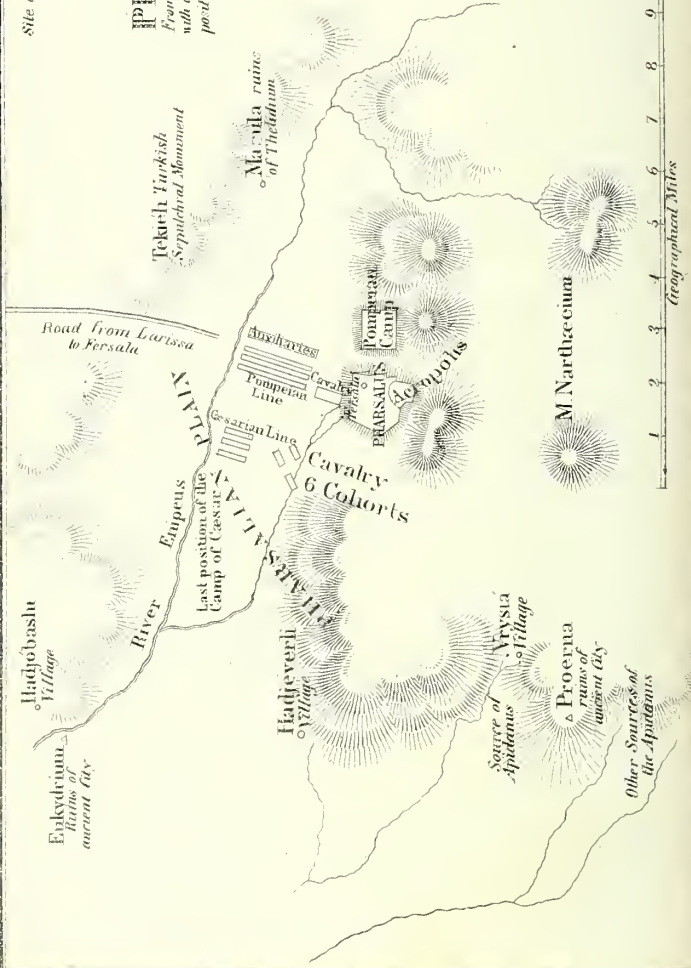
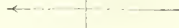
² *Cic. ad Div. iv. 7.* : "Non iis rebus pugnabamus quibus valere poteramus, consilio, auctoritate, causa, quæ erant in nobis superiora; sed lacertis et viribus, quibus pares non fuimus." He used similar expressions in a letter to Torquatus (*Div. vi. 1.*).

³ *Plut. Cic. 39.* ; *Cic. ad Att. xi. 4.*

Site of *Neotussa*

PHARSALIA

From a Map of Colonel Leake's
with a slight variation in the
position of Caesar's Cavalry



Tekeli Turkish
Sepulchral Monument

Marulla ruins
of Theatrum

Road from Larissa
to Fersala

EUPHRATES
River

Caesar's Line

Archers

Pompeian Line

Cavalry
Pompeian Camp

Cavalry
6 Cohorts

Pompeian
Camp

PRARSALIA
ACROPOLIS

M. Nardzeicum

Hadjebashi
Village

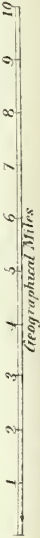
Enkydrium
Ruins of
ancient city

Hadjeverli
Village

Source of
Apidanus
Vrysta
Village

Proerna
ruins of
ancient city

Other Sources of
the Apidanus



ried into effect, would have fallen with its full weight upon one who had thus offended the zealots of his party.

At length Pompeius moved to the southward from Larissa upon the road to Pharsalus, which forms the line of communication between Thessaly and Greece. The city of Pharsalus occupied a rocky eminence connected with the northern spurs of the chain of Othrys, upon the verge of the plain, five or six miles in width, through which the river Enipeus flows in a broad channel. On the southern side of this level expanse, near its eastern extremity, rise some detached hills of moderate elevation, upon one of which Pompeius is supposed to have drawn the lines of his encampment. The fortified post of Pharsalus itself lay at no great distance on the left; but the inhabitants, who had submitted to Cæsar's requisitions in the absence of his adversary, were now glad to shut their gates, and gazed, perhaps with indifference, upon the preparations which were making to decide the war before their eyes.¹ Almost at the same moment Cæsar pitched his own camp in the centre of the same plain, a little to the west of Pharsalus, at a distance of thirty stades, or about four Roman miles from that of his opponent.² Assured of the revived confidence of

The opposing armies take up their positions in the plain of Pharsalia.

¹ Two cities rose successively on or near the site of Pharsalus, and it is possible that at the period of the battle the place may have been deserted. If so, this would account for the remarkable fact that Cæsar makes no mention of it, and also for its playing no part in the details of the operations conducted so close to it. See Ersch und Gruber's *Encyclopædie*, art. "Pharsalische Schlacht," by Eckermann.

² I have endeavoured to comprise in the text all the marks of locality which Cæsar, Appian, and Plutarch furnish for understanding the battle of Pharsalia; what further explanation is required I have derived from Colonel Leake's account in his *Travels in Northern Greece* (i. 445., iv. 477.), and I have to acknowledge his kindness in elucidating some points on which he has allowed me to refer to him. Dodwell and Clarke traversed the plain, but their observation was extremely cursory, and their statements, in some respects, strangely conflicting. The lively professor, indeed, acknowledges that he trotted across it in a thick fog. The map accompanying my second edition is borrowed from Col. Leake, with a trifling alteration regarding the position of Cæsar's cavalry. After weighing again the circumstances of the battle. I

his veterans, he was anxious to draw Pompeius into a general engagement in the open country between them. He arrayed his forces at first in front of his own encampment, and gradually pushed his lines still nearer to the enemy's position. But though Pompeius caused his legions to deploy day by day on the slope beneath his own fortifications, he still kept them on superior ground, and refused to descend into the plain and confront the assailants on equal terms. The result of some cavalry skirmishes was favourable to the Cæsarians, and shewed that their slender squadrons, supported by picked men of the infantry, trained to run and fight between their ranks, could stand without flinching the onset of undisciplined numbers. The nobles were irritated at these petty losses, and redoubled their pressing solicitations to be led to battle. Still Pompeius refused to move. Thus baffled, Cæsar was preparing to shift his quarters, and entice his adversary to follow him into another part of the country where the supplies were less exhausted, and where his vigilance might seize some opportunity of compelling an engagement.

am inclined to leave my account substantially as before. I ought, however, to add, that the difficulty of the received explanation is increased by the use of the word *rivus* for the stream on the bank of which the armies were posted. According to Cæsar's and all correct usage, this term is only applied to a rivulet, and is constantly opposed to *flumen*, a river of breadth and volume, such as the Enipeus must be after the junction of the two streams which meet east of Pharsalus. Kiepert's map gives a much more imposing appearance to the Enipeus than Col. Leake's. The great difficulty of Col. Leake's explanation is that, from the position he assigns to the Pompeian force, the routed army must have turned at least a right angle in its flight to Larissa, besides crossing the broad channel of the Enipeus, neither of which circumstances are alluded to by the authorities. When Pompeius escaped from his camp through the Decuman gate he must have fairly turned his back upon the retreat which he is understood to have reached before Cæsar's rapid arrival. I cannot persuade myself, however, that the localities in their present configuration admit of any other hypothesis. It would be interesting to examine them, with the view of inquiring whether any material change has taken place in the course of the Enipeus and its tributary streams. The battle of Plassy was fought on the left bank of the Hooghly, which now, I believe, flows over its site, and in another hundred years will probably have transferred it to its right.

The movement he now threatened upon Scotussa would have thrown him between the Pompeian army and the base of its operations at Larissa, and was calculated to arouse it from its wary inaction. It was the morning of the ninth of August; the trumpets had already sounded to march in the Cæsarian encampment, the legionaries had buckled on their arms and equipments, and the camp-followers were striking the tents, when news arrived that the Pompeians had advanced a little beyond their ordinary position in front of their entrenchments, and were already extending their long columns on the level plain.¹ Their general had yielded with a sigh to the importunities of his followers, declaring that he could no longer command and must submit to obey.² During the interval of suspense the minds of both the great leaders had been agitated, it was said, by melancholy reflections on the impending crisis. The one was haunted even in his sleep by the delusive vision of his splendid theatre, and by the echoes of popular applause which had so often greeted him there.³ Even Cæsar acknowledged his dejection at the prospect of an encounter, which, he said, whatever were the event, would be the commencement of many evils.⁴ But his men were full of ardour; they had invoked upon themselves, self-accused, the terrors of military execution, to

Cæsar threatens to move on Pompeius's flank.

Pompeius offers him battle.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 85. Aug. 9. A. U. 706 = June 6, B. C. 48. The day is recorded in the Kalendar. Amitern. v. Id. Sext.: "Soli Indigeti in colle Quirinaic Fer(iæ) q(uod) eo d(ie) C. Cæs. C. F. Pharsali devicit." Orelli, *Inscr.* ii. p. 397.; Fischer, *Röm. Zeittaf.* Lucan's assertion (vii. 410),

"Tempora signavit leviorum Roma malorum,
Hunc voluit nescire diem,"

has perplexed the critics. He means probably that the anniversary of Pharsalia was not marked in the calendar as a dies nefastus, like those of Allia and Cannæ.

² Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 86.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 69.

³ Plut. *Cæs.* 42.; Flor. iv. 2.; Lucan, vii. 9.

⁴ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 69. The widespread presentiment of evil recorded in such striking language by Lucan (vii. 187.) may be referred, perhaps, to contemporary tradition. Comp. Plut. *Cæs.* 47.; Dion, xli. 61.; Gell. xv. 18.

atone for their pusillanimity in the disasters before Petra, and when their leader had recently offered to wait for further reinforcements, they had impatiently demanded to be pitted against the enemy unrecruited.¹

The arrangements for the battle were of the simplest kind. The plain was open, without any natural features to give an advantage to one side over the other; nor did either army seek the cover of artificial defences. The contest was to be decided by downright fighting of man and man. The rugged banks of the Enipeus afforded equal protection to one flank of either army, so that both could concentrate the whole of their covering squadrons of cavalry and light troops on the other. Pompeius ranged his legionary force so as to rest its right wing on the river, Scipio² commanding in the centre, Lentulus on the right, and Domitius on the left. In the left wing also the general himself took his station, at least at the commencement of the encounter.³ The cavalry, on which, from its numbers and composition, as well as from the level nature of the ground, Pompeius placed his principal reliance, was stationed at the extremity of the left wing. The days had long gone by when the cavalry of a Roman army was composed of the knights who served the commonwealth on horseback. In later times that force had been furnished entirely by the foreign auxiliaries, while the more distinguished of the citizens officered the legionary infantry. But now the flower of the Roman nobility mounted their horses, and crowded into the ranks,⁴ forming, no doubt, the finest body of cavalry the republic had ever sent into the field. The statement which Cæsar gives of the numbers arrayed on each side is confirmed

Array of the
contending
armies.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 63.; Plut. *Cæs.* 43.

² Cæsar does not mention the Enipeus, but merely says, "dextrum ejus cornu rivus quidam impeditis ripis muniebat." *B. C.* iii. 88.

³ Compare the statements of *Cæs. l. c.* with Plut. *Cæs.* 44.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 76. Lucan places Domitius on the right. It is probable that Pompeius shifted his own position in the course of the battle.

⁴ This is distinctly stated by Frontinus, *Strateg.* iv. 7. 32., and is evidently implied in Plutarch's account of the battle.

by Appian, apparently from independent sources.¹ The Pompeian army consisted of a legionary force of one hundred and ten cohorts, making an aggregate of forty-five thousand men, while the cavalry amounted to seven thousand, bearing a much larger proportion to the whole amount than was usual in the Roman armies. Two thousand picked men were also dispersed through the ranks of the infantry to animate the less experienced by the example of their courage and discipline. The cavalry was supported by detachments of slingers and bowmen, who fought intermixed with the horses; and there were also several squadrons of mounted auxiliaries, principally from Pontus and Cappadocia.² The forces of the allied kings and states which the senate brought also into the field must have been exceedingly numerous;³ but these the pride of the Roman tacticians seldom condescended to compute, and Pompeius himself seems to have had little confidence in their assistance, keeping them throughout the day in the back ground where they only served to encumber the field, and straiten the position of the effective combatants. On the other hand, Cæsar had eighty legionary cohorts in line, so much reduced by the losses of their numerous campaigns as to amount to no more than twenty-two thousand fighting men; while in cavalry he was exceedingly weak, having only one thousand horsemen; but these were a well-trying body of Gaulish veterans, on whom, as we have seen, he could place

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 70.

² Lucan, vii. 225.:

“Cappadocum montana cohors et largus habenis
Ponticus ibat eques.”

But he places them quite at random,

“Juxta fluvios et stagna undantis Enipei.”

No doubt they were posted on the opposite side of the plain, at the extreme left of the position.

³ Florus, in a passage apparently corrupt, seems to count the whole numbers engaged on both sides at not less than three hundred thousand men. This is undoubtedly a gross exaggeration; but the statements of Appian (*B. C.* ii. 70, 71.) leave no doubt that, besides the Italian forces, as he calls them, there were large bodies of allies on both sides, and especially on the Pompeian.

entire dependenee. His subsidiary forces must have been also much inferior in numbers to those of the enemy. Besides Germans and Gauls, he was attended by some recent levies from Greece and Thessaly. But the work of the day was to be performed by the veteran legionaries, and their leader knew and relied on the spirit which linked man to man among them; for every private seemed to feel that his general's eye was upon himself personally, and the sentiment with which the centurion Crastinus greeted him, as he passed along the ranks, was responded to by one and all. *My general*, he exclaimed, *I will so bear myself this day, that, whether I survive or fall, you shall have cause to thank me.* It was Crastinus that hurled the first pilum, and commenced the fray.¹

Such was the eagerness with which Cæsar accepted the proffered challenge, that he ordered the works of his camp to be levelled for his battalions to deploy in line without obstruction, and take up their ground instantaneously.² With forces so inferior, and posted in the middle of an open plain, he was well assured that the enemy would attempt to out-flank him. Yet he could not venture to extend his front. He retained the usual battle array, drawing up his legionary cohorts in three lines, of which the third was destined to act as a reserve. To support his small body of eavalry, which occupied the extreme right of his position, he stationed in their rear six cohorts taken from the third line, disposing their front obliquely so as to sustain the anticipated move-

¹ The body of Crastinus was discovered on the field, the face pierced with a sword wound. Cæsar accorded to it peculiar honours. Plut. *Pomp.* 71.; Appian, c. 82. Lucan has a bitter imprecation against him (vii. 470.):

“Di tibi non mortem quæ cunctis pœna paratur,
Sed sensum post fata tuæ dent, Crastine, morti.”

² Lucan, vii. 326.:

“Sternite jam vallum fossasque implete ruina,
Exeat ut plenis acies non sparsa maniplis.”

comp. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 74., who, however, does not understand the meaning of the operation.

ment of the enemy on his flank.¹ He took up his own position with the tenth legion at the right of his line, to encourage the cavalry by his immediate proximity, and to share with his favourite battalions the post of greatest danger and responsibility.

Pompeius, as was expected, directed his cavalry to charge and turn the flank of the opposite ranks :² meanwhile, he made no demonstration of attack with his infantry, but ordered his lines to await the onset of the Cæsarians without advancing, according to the usual practice, to arrest it in mid career. He expected, we are informed, that the assailants would be exhausted by their own impetuosity, and fall into confusion on meeting the steady points of their adversaries' swords. But he had not calculated on the admirable training and tact of the practised veterans. When they saw that the opposite ranks did not advance to meet them, they drew up of their own accord, recovered their breath and their order, and then rushing forward again, hurled their piles at a distance of twenty paces, and drew their swords with as much vigour and composure as their antagonists who had remained stationary. The Pompeians, on the other hand, crowded by their own numbers, and curbed by their officers, met the attack with none of the animation which the soldier acquires in the act of charging : yet they fought for a time manfully, and a bloody encounter,

Battle of Pharsalia. The Cæsarians charge the Pompeian infantry,

¹ Lucan, vii. 522.:

“Tenet obliquas post signa cohortes.”

This seems to be the best explanation of this difficult passage. Comp. Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 89.

² The circumstances of the battle are minutely described by Cæsar, *B. C.* ii. 92-95., and his narrative is fully borne out by Appian, Plutarch, and Dion. Lucan is useful for illustration; but none of the historians give any colour to the statement he introduces for effect, that a last great stand was made in the centre by the flower of the Roman nobility (vii. 545.):

“Ventum erat ad robur Magni mediasque catervas . . .
Constitit hic bellum, fortunaque Cæsaris hæsit :
Non illic regum auxilii,” &c.

sword to sword, took place along the opposing lines.¹ Perhaps Pompeius's motive in not allowing his line to advance was to draw the Cæsarians onwards, and so throw upon their rear the cavalry which was beginning to operate on their flank. Against this manœuvre Cæsar had provided, to the best of his means, by keeping a third line in reserve; but the charge of the Pompeian cavalry was not, as it happened, sufficiently successful to call forth the application of this resource. It had brought, however, its overwhelming weight of men and horses to bear with formidable effect upon the slender Gaulish squadrons. Unable to sustain the shock, they had given way before it, but still keeping their ranks unbroken, and making face to the right so as to cover as much as possible the flank of the infantry. The six Cæsarian cohorts which had been drawn up obliquely for the same purpose now advanced between the intervals of these squadrons. The legionary, well armed, active and expert, was generally more than a match for cavalry;² for the horses of the mounted squadrons which attended the Roman armies were generally small and light, their accoutrements clumsy, and their training comparatively defective. The appointments of the Pompeians, indeed, were more than usually complete; their cavaliers were armed to the teeth, and if their conduct and discipline were inferior, their spirit was confident and high. But the Cæsarians, intermingled with the horses of their Gaulish allies, who returned with renewed ardour to the combat, made havoc among these gallant patricians. *Strike at their faces*, was the order which

and repel the
attack of their
cavalry.

¹ Lucan, vii. 489. :

“Sed quota pars cladis jaculis ferroque volanti
Exacta est? odiis solus civilibus ensis
Sufficit, et dextras Romana in viscera ducit.”

² The Highlanders who routed the English cavalry at Preston Pans, were directed to strike at the noses of the horses, which wheeled round and became unmanageable. Comp. Lucan, vii. 528., where, however, he seems to attribute too much of the blame of discomfiture to the cowardice of the auxiliary cavalry. Florus says: “Cohortes tantum in effusos equites facere impetum, ut illi esse pedites, hi venire in equis viderentur.”

passed down their ranks ; and whether they used the sword or the pilum, they wasted not a single blow on the mailed panoply of their adversaries, but thrust at their faces with a sure and vigorous aim that disconcerted the bravest of the Roman youth.¹ The Pompeian squadrons were completely broken, and driven in confusion to the adjacent hills, while the light-armed auxiliaries, no longer protected, were cut to pieces, and the Cæsarians, flushed with victory, advanced on the flank and rear of the main body.

Cæsar instantly called up his third line, and made a general advance upon the opposing battalions, already shaken by the first charge they had sustained, and now reeling under the sudden blows which assailed them on the flank. At the commencement of the battle he had ordered his men to confine their aim to the Romans opposed to them, and not waste their strength on the allies, whose slaughter would count little towards deciding the event.² But as soon as the fortune of the day had

Rout of the Pompeian forces, and flight of Pompeius.

¹ Compare Plutarch's description (*Pomp.* 71.). Cæsar's well-known command, *miles, faciem feri*, was explained by the ancients on the supposition that the Pompeian cavalry being composed in great part of the young Roman nobility, the surest means of putting such coxcombs to flight was to threaten their faces with disfigurement. But this explanation rests on no good authority, nor have we any reason to doubt the gallantry of the young patricians who composed this force. Germanicus (*Tac. Ann.* ii. 15.) ordered his soldiers, on engaging the Germans, *ora mucronibus quærere*, telling them at the same time not to be discouraged by the great size of their shields. These shields covered the whole body, leaving only the face to aim at. In the same manner the Roman cavaliers were thoroughly armed, and the soldiers who had been accustomed to engage the half-clad Gauls might require this advice on meeting an enemy so differently equipped. Cæsar's command, therefore, was just such as an officer of the life-guards at Waterloo might have addressed to his men before they encountered the French cuirassiers ; and it is well-known that by this lunge at the face many a personal combat was decided on that day.

The body armour of the Roman consisted generally of a headpiece and cuirass ; his face and throat were bare, and the belly and thighs only slightly protected by a loose fringe or kilt. The sword-cut could hardly take effect except above or below the breast. Accordingly, a sword-wound is generally described as on the face or neck (*ore, jugulo*), or belly (*visceribus*). *Struck o the heart* is a phrase unknown to the Romans.

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 74. : ἔχεσθε οὖν μοι τῶν Ἰταλῶν μόνων.

declared in his favour, he commanded them to abstain from the blood of citizens, and devote themselves to completing their victory by the destruction of the barbarians.¹ The hearts of the Pompeian legionaries were not in their work. As each Cæsarian confronted an opponent, he communicated to him the order he had received, and the Pompeians gladly availed themselves of the welcome respite, and even opened their ranks to let the victors rush upon their allies, who were crowded in unavailable masses behind them. Among these almost unresisting multitudes a great slaughter took place. Pompeius had already abandoned the field, retiring moodily to his entrenchments at the first inclination of fortune. He made dispositions indeed for the defence of the works; but the routed battalions, instead of rallying to man the ramparts, fled with precipitation past them, and took refuge on a hill at a little distance. The discomfited general, alone in his tent, was soon roused from his sullen despondency by the shouts of the enemy pressing upon his outworks; exclaiming with peevish impatience, *What, assault even my camp!*² he mounted his horse and galloped with a handful of attendants through the Decuman or hinder gate.

The conquerors burst into the encampment, where they found every preparation made for celebrating an assured victory.³ Tables were laid for the banquet, and decked with splendid services of plate; the tents of Lentulus and others were already embowered in ivy. This display of luxury and magnificence astonished and tempted the rude veterans; but, before they could address themselves to the spoil, their services were again required by their inde-

Cæsar pursues
the fugitives.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 80.: ἀψαυστεῖν τῶν ἠμοσθηῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς συμμαχοῦς μέγους χωρεῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἡσσωμένοις προσεπέλαζον, παραινοῦντες ἀδεῶς ἐστάνα: . . . διεκθέοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς συμμαχοῦς οὐ δυναμένους ἀντέχειν ἀνήρουν. So Florus, "Parce civibus." Suet. *Jul.* 75.: "Acie Pharsalica proclamavit ut civibus parceretur." Lucan, vi. 319.:

"Civis qui fugerit esto"

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 81.: Plut. *Pomp.* 72.

³ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 97.; Plut. *l. c.*

fatigable general, and such was their devotion to him that they consented, at his earnest entreaty, to leave the fruits of victory untasted until they had dislodged the routed army from the fastnesses to which it had fled. The Pompeians were too much dispirited to make any resistance. Shivered once more at the first onset, they poured in broken masses over hill and plain. But Cæsar was not yet satisfied. Allowing a part of his troops only to return to the camps, he led four legions in hot pursuit by a shorter or better road, and drew them up at the distance of six miles from the field of battle.¹ The fugitives, finding their retreat intercepted, halted on an eminence overhanging a stream. Cæsar set his men immediately to throw up entrenchments, and cut off their approach to the water. This last labour was accomplished before nightfall; and when the Pompeians perceived that their means of watering were intercepted, they listened to the summons of the heralds who required their surrender. A few only of the senators escaped in the darkness.

Early on the morrow the fugitives descended from their position, as required, and, approaching in the attitude of suppliants, demanded grace of the conqueror. Cæsar hastened to reassure them by expatiating on the lenity which had marked his conduct throughout the contest; nor did he falsify on this occasion the character he was so proud to claim. The battle of Pharsalia, it was allowed even by his contemporaries, was honourably distinguished in the annals of civil warfare; from the close of the day no more blood was shed; the fugitives were spared, and the suppliants received mercy.² Nor, in-

His clemency to the vanquished: number of the slain.

¹ Cæs. *l. c.* : "Commodiorem itinere Pompeianis occurrere cœpit."

² It is strange that Dion should make a statement which is contradicted by every other writer. He says, xli. 62.: τῶν δὲ δὴ βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἰππέων ὕσους μὲν καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ἡρῆκῶς ἠλεήκει ἀπέκτεινε. On the other hand, we read in (1.) Cæsar himself, i. 98., "Omnes conservavit." (2.) Cic. *pro Man.* 3., *pro Ligar.* 6.: "Quis non eam victoriam probet, in quâ occiderit nemo nisi armatus?" (3.) Vellei. ii. 52.: "Nihil illa victoria mirabilius . . . fuit, quando neminem nisi acie consumptum patria desideravit." (4.) Sueton.

deed, was the carnage of the combat proportioned to its results. The victors lost thirty centurions, and two hundred, or, as the highest estimate stated, twelve hundred legionaries: of the vanquished there fell ten senators, forty knights, and six thousand of all ranks.¹ But this return does not include the loss of the auxiliaries, which, at least on the Pompeian side, must have been much greater. It may be added that Cæsar's clemency was not dictated merely by policy. He mourned over the destruction of so many brave men, even at the moment which satiated his own thirst for power and glory. *They would have it so*, he exclaimed, as he traversed the field strewn with the corpses of the honoured dead; *after all my exploits, I should have been condemned to death had I not thrown myself upon the protection of my soldiers.*² The most distinguished of the slain was L. Domitius, a man conspicuous among the basest of his class for treachery, the fiercest for ferocity, and the most rancorous for personal malice. He was cut down in the flight by Cæsar's cavalry.³ In the course of this history, we shall have to brand the name of Domitius through several succeeding generations as the symbol of falsehood, cruelty and vindictiveness. We may lament that Lucan condescended to embalm the memory of the victim of Pharsalia in verses of more than usual power and pathos; perhaps they were meant as a tribute of flattery, however unavailing, to his detestable descendant, the emperor Nero.⁴

Jul. 75. : "Nec ulli perisse nisi in prælio reperiuntur," with three exceptions which occurred at a later time. (5.) Florus, iv. 2. 90., speaking generally, "Reliqua pax incruenta, pensatum clementia bellum," &c.

¹ This was the statement of Asinius Pollio, who was present in the battle. Others swelled the loss of the Pompeians to 25,000. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 82.

² Suet. *Jul.* 30. : "Hoc voluerunt: tantis rebus gestis eodemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem." So Plut. *Cæs.* 46.

³ Cicero (*Philipp.* ii. 29.) seems to insinuate that he was slain in cold blood by Antonius.

⁴ Lucan, vii. 599. :

"Mors tamen eminebat clarorum in strage virorum
Pugnacis Domiti . . . victus toties a Cæsare, salva

The conqueror was satisfied with the solid fruits of victory, without claiming the title of imperator; he demanded no triumph nor thanksgiving from a senate of his own partizans; a piece of moderation which, however trifling it may appear in our eyes, was thought worthy of being recorded to his honour by a reluctant panegyrist.¹ He bestowed his pardon and even his favour upon the chiefs of the opposite party who offered to lay down their arms. Among these was M. Brutus, who had escaped from the field, and got safely into Larissa; but, hearing of his leader's flight, and despairing of the cause, he had voluntarily tendered his submission. Assuredly this conclusion of his campaign contrasts mournfully with Lucan's address to the future hero of the republic. Unennobled by honours and offices, he had escaped, in the mass of the combatants, the deadliest aim of the Cæsarians. Yet how fatal a weapon did he wield! He is bid to reserve it for a fitter day and a riper victim. The foe has not yet scaled the tyrant's citadel, or merited, at the summit of all human power, to bow to the sacrificial steel.² Such is the strain of the poet; the historian quietly assures us that Cæsar learned in confidential discourse with his captive the direction of his adversary's flight; not, perhaps, that Brutus intentionally betrayed so important a secret, but his warmth of temperament and want of reserve made him more dangerous as a friend than as an enemy. Admitted to familiarity with his new leader (for he seems to have placed himself at once freely at Cæsar's disposal) he exerted his influence to conciliate him towards Cassius, and, at a later period, moderated his wrath against Deiotarus. Cæsar generously indulged this impetuous zeal,

M. Brutus surrenders, and is taken into favour by Cæsar.

Libertate perit; tunc mille in vulnere lætus
Labitur, et venia gaudet caruisse secunda."

¹ Cic. *Philipp.* xiv. 8.; Drumann, iii. 516.

² Lucan, vii. 586. seqq. :

" Illic plebeia contactus casside vultus,
Ignotusque hosti, quod ferrum, Brute, tenebas !"

and was touched by its openness, however little it was tempered by prudence or reflection. *As for this young man, he is said to have observed of him, I know not what he wills, but whatever he does will, he wills with energy.*¹

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 1 : Plutarch, *Brut.* 6.

CHAPTER XVIII.

POMPEIUS SEEKS REFUGE IN EGYPT.—TREACHEROUS POLICY OF THE ADVISERS OF KING PTOLEMÆUS.—POMPEIUS IS ENTICED FROM HIS VESSEL AND MURDERED.—THE FUGITIVES FROM PHARSALIA REASSEMBLE AT DYRRHACHIUM AND CORCYRA.—CICERO WITHDRAWS FROM THE CONTEST.—SCIPIO ASSUMES THE COMMAND.—CÆSAR FOLLOWS IN PURSUIT OF POMPEIUS: RECEIVES THE SUBMISSION OF C. CASSIUS: REACHES EGYPT, AND UNDERTAKES TO SETTLE THE AFFAIRS OF THAT KINGDOM.—FASCINATIONS OF CLEOPATRA.—DISCONTENT OF THE ALEXANDRIANS: THEY RISE AGAINST CÆSAR AND BLOCKADE HIM IN THE PALACE.—THE ALEXANDRIAN WAR: INTRIGUES, DEFEAT AND DEATH OF PTOLEMÆUS.—CÆSAR PLACES CLEOPATRA ON HIS THRONE.—PHARNACES ATTACKS THE ALLIES OF THE REPUBLIC, AND DEFEATS CALVINUS.—CÆSAR MARCHES AGAINST HIM: HE IS ROUTED AT THE BATTLE OF ZELA AND SLAIN.—ARROGANCE OF THE CONQUEROR, A. U. 706, 707. B. C. 48, 47.

THE remnant of the vast Pompeian host was scattered in various directions. No reserve had been provided on the battle field, nor had any place been assigned in the neighbourhood for rallying in the event of disaster. The fleet was far distant, and dispersed on various petty enterprizes. Yet the resources which remained to so great a party, even after its signal defeat, were abundant and manifold.¹ But Pompeius himself, mortified and bewildered, abandoned every thing, and sought only to save his own life. He fled through Larissa, declining the shelter of its walls, and, penetrating the defiles of Tempe, gained the Thessalian shore

Pompeius escapes to the sea-coast: he takes ship, seeks his wife and son at Lesbos, and finally demands an asylum in Egypt.

¹ Lucan, viii. 273.:

“Sparsit potius Pharsalia nostras
Quam subvertit opes.”

at the mouth of the Peneus.¹ Here he fell in with a merchant vessel lying off the coast, the master of which recognized and generously offered to take him on board, together with Lentulus Spinther, Lentulus Crus the consul of the preceding year, Favonius, the Galatian chieftain Deiotarus, and a few more. Pompeius dismissed the slaves who had hitherto accompanied him, assuring them that they at least had nothing to fear from the conqueror: it was to the loyalty of Favonius that he owed the common offices of menial attendance. The master of the vessel undertook to carry him wherever he should appoint. Pompeius merely cast anchor off Amphipolis, in Macedonia, in order to provide himself with a sum of money, and then steered for Lesbos, where his wife Cornelia, and his younger son, Sextus, were also received on board. From thence, without a moment's delay, the fugitives proceeded to run along the Asiatic coast, and were joined in their progress by another vessel with a few more adherents of the ill-fated cause. Among these were some personages of rank: when at last they landed on the shores of Cilicia, a miniature senate was convened, and a mock deliberation held under the presidency of the late consul, to determine what course should finally be taken. We are assured, strange as it may appear, that the wish of Pompeius himself was to seek an asylum in Parthia. Whether he hoped to lead the murderers of Crassus against his detested rival, or only to watch in security the progress of events, nothing can show more strongly than such a project the state of abject humiliation to which he was reduced.² Orodes had just inflicted another insult upon the majesty of the republic in throwing her ambassador, Hirrus, into chains, because Pompeius had refused to buy his alliance by the surrender of Syria. It was but too evident that his consent to receive Pompeius himself must be obtained by submitting to still greater sacrifices. But to these affronts Pompeius, it appears, could have submitted; the arguments which

¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 73.

² Dion (xlii 2) cannot believe it possible that Pompeius contemplated taking refuge in Parthia.

induced him to renounce such a plan were drawn from the danger it seemed to threaten to his own person, or at least to the honour of his handsome wife.¹ The next alternative which suggested itself was to retire into Africa, where the king of Numidia had proved his devotion to the benefactor to whom he owed his sceptre, by his signal service in the destruction of Curio. In Africa two legions awaited their general's arrival, flushed with victory and devoted to his party. The resources of the province were immense: it offered its harbours for the reception of his magnificent fleets; while, separated from Europe by the breadth of the Mediterranean, it might defy Cæsar for months even to approach it. The fatuity of Pompeius in deciding against the course which held out so flattering a prospect seems indeed inconceivable. But it would appear that he still looked fondly to the East as the quarter of the world associated with his greatest triumphs, and where the prestige of his name had taken, as he imagined, the deepest root. Perhaps he wished to make himself at all events independent of the succour of his own countrymen.

The king whom the Roman government had imposed upon the Egyptian people had died three years previously. He had requited the favour of the republic by a will² in which he had placed his kingdom under the guardianship of Rome, while he nominated his son Dionysius, or, as he was afterwards called, Ptolemæus the Twelfth, and his daughter Cleopatra, both under age, as joint successors to his throne. In accordance with the national usages, this joint authority had been consolidated by the marriage of the brother and sister, the former of whom was seventeen years of age, and the latter about two years his senior. The senate had appointed Pompeius guardian of the kingdom, and possibly the authority this appointment gave him, and the influence he already exercised through it, assisted in determining his choice of a place of

State of Egypt.
Quarrel be-
tween Ptole-
mæus and Cleo-
patra.

¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 76. ; Lucan, viii. 412. ; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 83.

² Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 108.

refuge. But, at the moment of his arrival off the shores of Egypt, the existing government was less than ever competent to extend its protection to so dangerous a suppliant. The throne had become an object of contention between the brother and sister. Cleopatra had been driven from Alexandria by a popular insurrection, and the ministers of her youthful consort, who had apparently instigated the tumult, took advantage of its success to exclude her from her share in the sovereignty. The royal child was directed in all his counsels by a junta consisting of Pothinus, a Greek eunuch of the court, Theodotus, a rhetorician, who held the ostensible office of preceptor to the sovereign, and Achilles, an officer of the Egyptian army.¹ These men had acquired a complete ascendancy over their tender charge, and they used their influence unscrupulously for the furtherance of their private schemes. They had stationed Ptolemæus at the head of his troops in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, to await on the frontiers of the kingdom the invasion of Cleopatra, who had found means to raise a military force for the assertion of her rights.² The hostile armies were arrayed almost in sight of each other at the foot of the Casian hills, when Pompeius appeared off the coast with a slender flotilla bearing about two thousand soldiers, whom he had collected in his flight. The royal ministers hoped to exclude the republic, in the state of anarchy into which it appeared to have fallen, from the interference it had so long exercised in the affairs of Egypt; they might also apprehend that the new comer, if admitted within their confines, would rather assist the injured sister than confirm the usurpation of the brother. Pompeius

Pompeius requests an asylum at Alexandria. Crafty policy of the king's advisers.

sent a message to the young king requesting the favour of a hospitable reception. His application gave rise to anxious discussion in the royal council. If any of the king's ministers was honest and

bold enough to insist on the obligations of good faith and gratitude, his counsels were speedily overruled by the arguments of a subtler policy. It was dangerous to expose the

¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 77.

² *Cæs. B. C.* iii. 103.

kingdom to the wrath of Cæsar by receiving his defeated enemy ; it was dangerous to reject the petition of a suppliant whom the fortune of war might yet restore to power. The only remaining course, which seemed to avoid every danger and combine every advantage, was to invite the unfortunate visitor to the shore and at once make away with him. Such a crime might deserve the gratitude of the conqueror, since it would effectually cripple and distract the plans of his adversaries. Accordingly, the treacherous counsel was adopted. A small fishing boat was speedily equipped, and Achilles, with a few attendants, among whom, to Pompeius is invited to land, inspire confidence in the intended victim, were Septimius, an old comrade in arms, and another Roman officer named Salvius, proceeded to invite Pompeius into the royal presence.¹ The meanness of the vessel assigned to convey so noble a passenger was excused by the alleged shallowness of the water near the coast ; but it was really so contrived to exclude a retinue sufficient for his protection. The Roman officers, indeed, who had crowded into the ship from which their chief was about to take his departure, beheld the Egyptian galleys ranged along the shore, and the evident falsehood of the plea awakened their worst apprehensions. But Pompeius, prepared to dare or to submit, combated their fears, and repelled their entreaties to remain. He took leave of his friends with a faint smile, repeating the words of the poet : He who repairs to a tyrant becomes his slave, though he set out a freeman.² He descended into the fatal bark. The distance to the shore was considerable, and the passage was made in painful and ominous silence. The illustrious fugitive recognized and courteously addressed Septimius, but his salutation was acknowledged only by a bow without a word. The silence continued, and Pompeius took up a roll of parch

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 104. ; Plut. *Pomp.* 78, 79.

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 85. ; Plut. *l. c.* ; Dion, xlii. 4. The lines are from a play of Sophocles :

ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται
κείνου ἴστι δούλος κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ.

ment on which he had written the speech he proposed to address to the king, and occupied himself in studying it. Meanwhile, Cornelia and her friends watched from the ship the progress of the boat with the deepest anxiety, and when the king's soldiers and attendants were seen crowding towards the point where Pompeius appeared about to land, they indulged in the hope that he would yet meet with an honourable reception. But at the moment when Pompeius was taking an attendant's hand to help himself to rise, Septimius approached from behind and struck him with his sword. The victim knew his fate, and, without attempting to struggle against it, drew his toga over his face with both his hands, and so fell mortally wounded. His head was immediately severed from his body, and carried away as a proof of the accomplishment of the bloody order. The trunk was thrown out of the boat and abandoned in the breakers.¹ The friends of the murdered man beheld the deed from afar, and, uttering a shriek of horror, hurried away from the Egyptian galleys which were already moving to intercept them.² When the bystanders had satiated their curiosity with gazing on the mangled remains, a freedman of Pompeius, who alone kept watch over them, drew the headless corpse from the water's edge, wiped from it the sand and brine, and wrapped it in his own cloak. The wreck of a small fishing-boat furnished him with wood;³ and in heaping up a rude and hasty pyre he was aided by an ancient Roman soldier who had followed his patron's banner in the wars. The shadowy pageant of the Egyptian monarchy, its king, its satellites and armies, had vanished from the solitary beach, when an exile and a menial muttered with trembling haste the last farewell to the "Mighty Victor" of the East, the "Mighty Lord" of the Imperial Senate. The wretched obsequies were allowed to pass unheeded; but when

Murder of L.
Lentulus Crus.

Lentulus Crus landed soon afterwards on the spot, he was seized and put to death, as a victim second only in importance to Pompeius himself.

¹ Plut. *Pomp.* 79, 80.

² Lucan, viii. 709. 720.

³ Lucan, viii. 755.

Thus fell the illustrious chief whom alone of all their champions the Romans had distinguished by the appellation of the Great, a title which seemed peculiarly appropriate to one whose rapid conquests in Asia could only be paralleled by those of the Macedonian Alexander.¹ His fate continued to point a moral to the latest period of the Empire, and its consummation deserved to be regarded as the most tragic incident in Roman history.² He had earned greater popularity, and he had perhaps surpassed his rivals more conspicuously, than any Roman before him; and, in the same proportion, his fall was more disastrous and his end more miserable. Yet no acute observer, we might suppose, could have failed to predict his discomfiture; for every move he had made for many years, whether in politics or latterly in war, had been a manifest blunder. All generals, it has been said, make mistakes, and he is the greatest who makes the fewest; but the conduct of Pompeius throughout his last campaigns had been a series of mistakes, against which the renown of his genius can scarcely maintain itself. His last imperfect success in the defence of Petra he owed indeed to his wariness in so long abstaining from offensive operations: but this delay, which he had himself rendered necessary by neglecting to secure the Iberian veterans, was improved by his adversary no less than by himself. No partial victory could compensate for the alienation of friends, the encouragement of enemies, and the loss of that prestige of invincibility which alone had thrown Rome and the provinces at his feet. Pompeius checked Cæsar in attempting an impossibility; but the attempt itself, though unsuccessful, was ruinous to his cause, and on this Cæsar had calculated. On the whole, we must admit the justice of the general verdict, that the great Pompeius was enervated by his early tri-

Reflections on
the death of
Pompeius.

¹ Pompeius himself affected this comparison from an early period. Comp. Sallust, *Fr. Hist.* iii 32.: "Cn. Pompeius a prima adoleseentia, sermone fautorum similem fore se credens Alexandro regi, facta consultaque ejus quidem æmulus erat."

² Comp. Vell. ii. 58.

umphs and constant prosperity. We have seen that in the outset of his career he possessed, with the fire of youth, all the fiercest and most vindictive passions of his times. But he was not naturally jealous, and when arrived at the serene eminence of power, his vanity easily persuaded him that he was beyond the reach of competition. He treated his associates and colleagues with lofty courtesy; to his spouses he even displayed a certain feminine fondness; but while his contemporaries could point to no particular instance of flagrant *incivism* in the spoilt child of revolutions, it cannot be denied that the general impression he left upon them was one of deep distrust and wide-spread dissatisfaction.¹ He was roused from his dream of pre-eminence to repel the aggression of a more ardent rival; and it was truly said of the two illustrious competitors for power that Pompeius could bear no equal,

¹ It might be expected that the memory of Pompeius would be more partially estimated under the tyranny of the emperors. Yet Lucan paints him with more discrimination than any other of his characters. The panegyric of Velleius is less judicious; but it is valuable in showing the liberty of speech allowed even by a Tiberius.

Lucan, ix. 190. foll.:

“Civis obit, multo majoribus impar
Nosse modum juris, sed in hoc tamen utilis ævo.
Cui non nulla fuit justî reverentia, salva
Libertate potens, et solus plebe parata
Privatus servire sibi; rectorque senatus,
Sed regnantis erat: nil belli jure poposcit,
Quæque dari voluit, voluit sibi posse negari. . . .
Olim vera fides, Sulla Marioque receptis,
Libertatis obit; Pompeio rebus adempto
Nunc et fieta perit: non jam regnare pudebit,
Nec color imperii, nec fons erit ulla Senatus.”

Velleius, ii. 29.: “Innocentia eximius, sanctitate præcipuus, eloquentia medius, potentiæ quæ honoris causa ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus; dux belli peritissimus; civis in toga, nisi ubi vereretur ne quem haberet parem, modestissimus; amicitiarum tenax, in offensis exorabilis, in reconcilianda gratia fidelissimus, in accipienda satisfactione facillimus; potentia sua nunquam, aut raro, ad impotentiam usus; pæne omnium vitiorum expertus, nisi numeraretur inter maxima in civitate libera, dominaque gentium, indignari, eum omnes cives jure haberet pares, quenquam æqualem dignitate conspiciere.”

Cæsar no superior.¹ Pompeius fell at the close of his fifty-eighth year, on the anniversary of his triumph over the greatest but one of his opponents, the renowned king of Pontus.² His ashes, hastily entombed on the margin of the waves,³ were removed, it is said, at a later period by the pious care of Cornelia, and enjoyed their final rest in the mausoleum of his Alban villa,⁴ the ruins of which are pointed out at this day. Such is the statement of his biographer; but the poet who sings his funeral dirge knows nothing of this honourable interment. Lucan bewails the disgrace of the illustrious remains, still confined to their wretched hole scratched in the sand,⁵ and surmounted by a fragment of stone on which the bare name of *Magnus* had been traced with a burnt brand.⁶ The imperial dynasties which owed their elevation to the victory of Pharsalia had no interest in paying honour to the champion of the commonwealth; and it was reserved for the most enlightened and the most humane of the emperors, at a distance of a hundred and sixty years, to raise a fitting monument to Pompeius on the spot where his body had been burnt.⁷

Final disposal of his remains, and honours paid to them.

The nobles betrayed their own cause at Pharsalia by their want of courage and self-devotion. It is in vain that Lucan

¹ Lucan, i. 125.:

“Nec quemquam jam ferre potest, Cæsarve priorem,
Pompeiusve parem.”

² Dion, xlii. 5.

³ Lucan, viii. 797.:

“Situs est qua terra extrema refuso
Pendet in Oceano.”

⁴ Plut. *Pomp.* in fin.

⁵ Lucan, viii. 756.:

“Exigua trepidus posuit scrobo.”

⁶ Lucan, viii. 793.:

“Hic situs est Magnus.”

⁷ Spartianus, *Hadrian.* 7.; Dion, lxi. 11.; Appian, ii. 86.: ἐζήτησεν καὶ εἶδεν ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐπιδημῶν. κ. τ. λ. The emperor offered a line for an inscription: τῷ ναοῖς βριθοντι πόση σπάνις ἐπλετο τύμβου *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 286.

Cato leads the Pompeian forces from Dyrrhachium to Coreyra.

rounds a poetical period with the names of the Lepidi, the Metelli, the Corvini, and the Torquati, whom he supposes to have fallen in the last agony of the defence:¹ of all the great chiefs with whom we are familiar as leaders in the Pompeian camp, Domitius alone perished on that day, and even he was killed in the act of flying.² The fragments of the mighty ruin were scattered far away from the scene of disaster. Pompeius and a few adherents fled, as we have seen, in one direction to Larissa; a larger number escaped by the road to Illyricum, and met again within the walls of Dyrrhachium. The principal reserve of the Pompeian forces was there commanded by M. Cato, and there also was the common resort of the wavering and dissatisfied, such as Varro and Cicero, who wished to secure their own safety in either event. The fleets of the republic, under Octavius and C. Cassius, still swept the seas triumphantly; the latter had recently burnt thirty-five Cæsarian vessels in the harbour of Messana. But the naval commanders were well aware that their exploits could have little influence on the event of a contest which was about to be decided by the whole military force of the Roman world; and forming their own plans, and acting for the most part independently, they began more and more to waver in their fidelity to the common cause. As soon as the event of the great battle became known, the squadrons of the allies made the best of their way home, while some, such as the Rhodians, attached themselves to the conqueror. At the same time the turbulence of the soldiers in garrison at Dyrrhachium broke through all restraint. They plundered the

¹ Lucan, vii. 583.:

“Cædunt Lepidos, cæduntque Metellos
Corvinosque simul, Torquataque nomina legum.”

A similar remark has been made on the battle of Waterloo. “Except Duhesme and Friant, neither of whose names were very much distinguished, we near of no general officers among the French list of slain.” Paul’s *Letters to his Kinsfolk*, p. 191.

² Cæs. B. C. iii. 99. Cicero trueulently insinuates that Antonius put him to death in cold blood after he had surrendered. See *Philipp.* ii. 29.

magazines and burnt the transports on which they were destined to be conveyed to some distant theatre of protracted warfare. The desertion of the allies, the mutinous spirit of the troops, and the report of the numerous adhesions which Cæsar was daily receiving from the most conspicuous of the nobles, convinced Cato that the last hope of keeping the party together, and maintaining the struggle effectually, depended upon the fate of Pompeius himself. In the event of the destruction of the acknowledged chief of the senate, he only contemplated restoring to the shores of Italy the troops confided to him, and then betaking himself to retirement from public affairs in some remote province.¹ While the fatal catastrophe was yet unknown he withdrew from Dyrrhaëgium to Corcyra, where the head-quarters of the naval force were established; and there he offered to surrender his command to Cicero as his superior in rank. But the consular declined the perilous honour, and refused to take any further part in a contest which, from the first, had inspired him with distrust and remorse. The young Cnæus Pompeius had urged the exercise of summary vengeance upon whosoever should threaten defection at such a crisis, and it was with difficulty he was restrained from using personal violence against Cicero, when he declared his intention of embarking at once for Italy.² The recreant consular's life was barely saved by Cato's vigorous interference. At Coreyra many of the fugitives from the field of battle rejoined their confederates. Among them were Scipio and Afranius, the former of whom now assumed the command of their combined forces, and it was upon him, as soon as the fact of Pompeius's death was ascertained, that the leadership of the party most naturally devolved.³

Cæsar followed up his success at Pharsalia with unabated activity. He allowed his soldiers at the most only Cæsar follows up his victory. two days' repose on the scene of their triumph, and

¹ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 55.

² Plut. *Cic.* 39.

³ Dion, xlii. 10.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 87.

amidst the spoils they had acquired.¹ His care was divided between improving the victory he had gained in the east, and securing his acquisitions in the west. With the latter view he ordered Antonius to return to Italy with a large part of his forces, and watch over his interests in that quarter, where he apprehended that some of the beaten faction might hazard a descent upon the centre of his resources. He also required his lieutenant Calenus to complete, without delay, the subjugation of southern Greece. Athens had not yet opened her gates to him, but the event of the great battle determined her to obey his summons. The long resistance this city had made exposed it, by the usages of ancient warfare, to the conqueror's vengeance; but Cæsar ordered it to be spared, for the sake, as he said, of its illustrious dead.² The Peloponnesus was now speedily evacuated by the forces of the republic, and Calenus occupied the points on the coast where he anticipated the possibility of fresh intrusion. Scipio had landed at Patræ, probably to receive the remnant of the Pompeian garrisons in that province, but he presently abandoned it, and stretched his sails for Africa.

Cæsar devoted himself to the pursuit of Pompeius with the utmost energy and impatience, being anxious not merely to prevent his assembling a new armament, but if possible to secure his person. He pushed forward with a squadron of cavalry, and was followed by a single legion.³ He reached Amphipolis just after the fugitive's departure, and, taking the route of Asia by land, crossed the Hellespont with a few small vessels. In the passage he fell in with a squadron of C. Cassius, who had been despatched to the Euxine to stimulate or co-operate with Pharnaces, king of Pontus, whose promised succours were urgently demanded.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 88.: αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν Φαρτάλλῳ διέτριψε θύων. Cæsar himself declares that he reached Larissa the day after the battle.

² Dion, *xlii.* 14.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 88.

³ *Cæs. B. C.* iii. 102. 106.

It was remarked as an extraordinary instance of the good fortune ever supposed to wait upon the mighty conqueror, that the mere terror of his name induced Cassius to surrender his galleys to a few fishing-boats.¹ There can be little doubt that the republican commander had already made up his mind to change his side, when accident threw this favourable opportunity in his way. As a man of influence and authority, as well as an able soldier, he was well received by his adopted leader, and the good offices attributed to Brutus could hardly have been required to conciliate to him the favour of Cæsar.

Having now arrived on the Asiatic coast, Cæsar advanced more leisurely. He had received information of Pompeius's flight to Egypt, and was aware that, if the suppliant were received there, he could not be dislodged except by regular military operations. He was content therefore to await the arrival of ampler succours, and employed himself in the meanwhile with repairing the injuries which Scipio was accused of having inflicted upon the unfortunate provincials. He earned their favourable opinion by the remission of taxes, and by restraining the exactions of the farmers of the revenue.² He saved a second time from spoliation the treasures of the Ephesian Diana, which Ampius, an adherent of the opposite party, had been on the point of seizing. These benefits he accompanied with further favours and distinctions, and then handed over the government of the province to Calvinus, to whom he entrusted three legions, to defend it against Pharnaces and the other Oriental allies of the senate. Cæsar retained only two legions about his own

C. Cassius surrenders to him.

Cæsar arrives in Egypt.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 63.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 88.; Dion, xlii. 6.; comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xv. 15. Suetonius and Dion attribute this adventure to Lucius Cassius. The only personage we know of that name was a brother of Caius, one who has already been mentioned as serving in Cæsar's army before the battle of Pharsalia. The allusions, however, which Cicero makes to Cassius's abandonment of the republican cause (comp. *ad Att.* xi. 13. 15.) are hardly consistent with his being engaged in this occurrence, and I have great doubts as to the genuineness of the story.

² Plut. *Cæs.* 48.

person, and those so much reduced in number as to contain much less than half their proper complements. The whole of this force consisted of only three thousand two hundred infantry, and eight hundred cavalry,¹ and with these he sailed without hesitation for Egypt. It was only a few days after the death of Pompeius that he appeared thus attended off the port of Alexandria. No sooner was his arrival known than Theodotus hastened to meet him on board his vessel, and brought to him the head and ring of his murdered rival. The latter might be of important service to assure the wavering of the event which had occurred, and Cæsar took and preserved it for that purpose ;² but from the mangled head

His horror on beholding the head of Pompeius.

he turned away with horror, and gave orders, with tears in his eyes, that it should be consumed with the costliest spices.³ The ashes he caused to be deposited in a shrine which he erected to the avenging Nemesis.⁴ The murderers were confounded and alarmed at the feeling he exhibited, nor were they less astonished, perhaps, at the perfect confidence with which he disembarked upon their coast, and claimed with his handful of followers to settle the concerns of a powerful kingdom.

It had been Cæsar's policy to spare the wealth of the provinces which he wished to attach to his side, and his system was directly opposed to the confiscation of his enemies' estates ; but his want of money was urgent, and it was in arranging the quarrels of a dependent kingdom that the best opportunity might be found for exacting it. This undoubtedly was the urgent motive which impelled him to intrude upon the affairs of a jealous people, in which his principal designs were in no way implicated.⁵ When Auletes came to Rome to negotiate his restoration to the throne, he had purchased the support of the leaders of the senate by the most lavish bribes. Cæsar himself had received the promise of seventeen millions and a half

Cæsar's object in interfering in the affairs of Egypt.

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 106

² Dion, xlii 18.

³ Plut. *Pomp.* 80., *Cæs.* 48. ; Luc. ix. 1091 ; Val. Max. v. 1. 10.

⁴ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 90.

⁵ Flor. iv. 2. 53.

of drachmæ; ¹ an obligation which had never yet been discharged. He now confined his demand to ten millions, but sternly rejected the representations of Pothinus, who pleaded for a longer time for the payment of so large a sum. But even at the moment of landing Cæsar was warned of the difficulties into which he was rushing. His military force was contemptible; it was upon the dignity of his title as consul of the republic that he could alone rely. Accordingly he entered the streets of Alexandria with all the insignia of his office, thereby offending the populace, who were easily persuaded that he offered an intentional insult to their independence. ² A riot ensued, in which many of the Cæsarian soldiers lost their lives. Cæsar felt that he had mistaken the character of the nation, and underrated their jealousy of foreigners. But policy would not allow him to give way. He boldly summoned the rival sovereigns before him, and offered to decide their disputes in the name of the republic. Ptolemæus left his camp at Pelusium, and gave Cæsar a meeting in the palace of Alexandria, where he soon found himself watched and detained as a hostage. Cleopatra had already implored the consul's mediation, and now, when her brother or his ministers obstructed her approach to his presence, she caused herself to be carried by stratagem into his chamber. ³ The fame of Cleopatra's beauty, ⁴ which was destined to become second only to Helen's in renown, ⁵ was already bruited widely abroad. She

His first interview with Cleopatra.

¹ Plut. *Cæs.* 48. This sum may be computed in round numbers at 700,000*l.*

² *Cæs. B. C.* iii. 106.; Lucan, x. 11.

³ Plut. *Cæs.* 49.

⁴ Dion (xlii. 54.) and Plutarch (*Ant.* 27.) have particularly described her charms. From the latter we learn that her beauty was not regular or striking at first sight: *αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' αὐτὸ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς οὐ πάνυ δυσπαράβλητον, οὐδ' οἶον ἐκπλήξαι τοὺς ἰδόντας· ἀφῆν δ' εἶχεν ἡ συνδιαίτησις ἄφυκτον.* Her talents were fully equal to the fascination of her appearance and manners.

⁵ Cleopatra was compared with Helen not only for her beauty, but for the consequences it produced. Lucan, x. 60.:

“Quantum impulit Argos

*Ithacasque domos facie Spartana nocenti,
Hesperios auxit tantum Cleopatra furores.”*

had been seen by M. Antonius during the brief inroad of Gabinius into Egypt; and grave legates of the republic had brought back to Rome glowing reports of the girlish charms of the Lagide princess. She was indeed, at the time of her introduction to Cæsar, little more than twenty years old, and her wit and genius were yet unknown. Cæsar forthwith undertook the championship of the distressed beauty, for it suited his purpose to play off her claims against the haughty minions of her rival. In devoting himself to her cause he did not deny himself the reward of his gallantry;¹ but while he indulged in the luxuries and dissipations of the most sensual of capitals,² he kept his eye steadily fixed on his main object, and at the same time carefully guarded his own person from the machinations of his unscrupulous enemies.

The ministers of the young king were well assured that the reconciliation of the brother and sister would be the signal for their own disgrace. They employed every artifice to rouse the passions of a jealous populace, and alarmed the fanaticism of priests and people against a foreigner, whom they accused of desecrating their holy places, of eating accursed meats, and violating their most cherished usages.³ Cæsar had despatched an urgent message to Calvinus to hasten to his succour with all the forces he could muster. But while waiting for the arrival of reinforcements, the necessity of which he now keenly felt, he dissembled his apprehensions, and occupied himself in public with the society of Cleopatra, or in conversation with the Egyp-

Cæsar's precarious position.

¹ Lucan, x. 74. :

“Sanguine Thessalicæ cladis perfusus adulter
Admisit Veuerem curis et miscuit armis.”

² Lucan, x. 109. :

“Explicuitque suos magno Cleopatra tumultu
Nondum translatos Romana in sæcula luxus,” &c.

³ Dion, xlii. 54. ; Lucan, x. 158. :

“Non mandante fame multas volucresque ferasque
Ægypti posuere Deos.”

tian sages, and inquiry into their mysterious lore.¹ His judgment was no more mastered by a woman's charms than by the fascinations of science: but the occupation of Alexandria was essential to his plans, and he assumed the air of curiosity or dissipation to veil his ulterior designs. With this view he visited with affected interest all the vaunted wonders of the city of the Ptolemies,² and even proposed, it was said, to relinquish his schemes of ambition to discover the sources of the Nile.³ At the first outset of his career of glory, his imagination had been fired at Gades by the sight of Alexander's statue;⁴ now that the highest summit of power was within his reach, he descended to the tomb of the illustrious conqueror, and mused perhaps on the vanity of vanities beside his shrouded remains.⁵

The young king, though kept in hardly disguised captivity within the walls of his palace, had found means to communicate to his adherents the alarm and indignation with which he viewed his sister's apparent influence over the foreign intruder. The Macedonian dynasty which had reigned for nearly three centuries in Alexandria was not, perhaps, unpopular with its Egyptian subjects. Though the descendants of Lagus had degenerated

The Alexandrians rise against him.

¹ See Lucan's beautiful episode (x. 181.):

“Si Cecropium sua sacra Platonem
Majores docuere tui, quis dignior unquam
Hoc fuit auditu, mundique capacior hospes?” &c.

² Frontinus (i. 1. 5.) mentions this conduct of Cæsar in his collection of notable stratagems.

³ Suet. *Jul.* 52.; Lucan, x. 191.:

“Spes sit mihi certa videndi
Niliacos fontes, bellum civile relinquam.”

⁴ Suet. *Jul.* 7.

⁵ The body of Alexander was embalmed, and the mummy preserved in a glass case. See Strabo, xvii. 1.; Lucan, x. 20.; Stat. *Sylv.* iii. 3. 117.:

“Duc et ad Æmathios manes, ubi belliger urbis
Conditor Hyblæo perfusus nectare durat.”

The sarcophagus in which the remains were inclosed, if tradition speaks true, is now in the British Museum.

from the genius and virtues of the first sovereigns of their line, their sway had been generally mild and tolerant, and both conquerors and conquered reposed in equal security under the shadow of their paternal throne. Achilles, the commander of the king's armies, had a force of twenty thousand men, consisting principally of the troops which Gabinus had employed in the restoration of Auletes, and which had been left behind for his protection. These men had for the most part formed connexions with the natives, and had imbibed their sentiments at the same time that they adopted their manners. The camp was filled, moreover, with a crowd of deserters and fugitive slaves from all parts of the Roman empire, for Alexandria was the common resort of profligate and desperate men, who purchased impunity for their crimes by enlisting in the king's service.¹ These were men who had placed Auletes on his throne, who had murdered the sons of the Roman legate Gabinus, and expelled Cleopatra from her royal inheritance. They were the reckless agents of the populace of Alexandria in each capricious mood of turbulence or loyalty. They were now prepared to join in the general outcry against the intrusion of the Romans, and encouraged by their leader and Arsinoë, their sovereign's younger sister, they entered the city, and imparted vigour and concentration to the hostile ebullitions of the multitude.

Cæsar awaited anxiously his expected succours; in the mean time he sought to avert the danger by concession, and while he proposed that Ptolemæus and Cleopatra should resume their joint sovereignty, he consented to satisfy the claims of Arsinoë by surrendering to her, together with another younger brother, the province of Cyprus.² But before these arrangements were completed, the discontent of the Alexandrians revived with more alarming violence. A skirmish which occurred in the

Cæsar fortifies himself in Alexandria.

¹ Cæs. B. C. iii. 110.: "Fugitivisque omnibus nostris certus erat Alexandriae receptus certaue vitæ conditio, ut dato nomine militum essent numero."

² Dion, xlii. 35

streets between the Roman soldiers and the Egyptians determined Cæsar to throw off all disguise, seize the royal fleet, and give it to the flames.¹ Thus only could he hope to keep the coasts open for the approach of his reinforcements. The city of Alexandria stretched along the sea-shore, and its port was formed by an island named Pharos, which lay over against it, and was connected with the mainland in the middle by a narrow causeway and bridge. This island was occupied by the villas of the wealthy, and the suburbs of the great city. Its position enabled it to command the entrances of the double port, which were apparently much narrower than at the present day. As a military position therefore it was invaluable, and while the tumult was raging in the streets Cæsar transported into it a portion of his troops, and seized the tower or fortress which secured its possession.² At the same time he continued to occupy a portion of the palace on the mainland, which commanded the communication with Pharos by the causeway. He strengthened its defences with additional works, destroying in every direction the private houses of the citizens, which being built entirely of stone, even to the floors and roofs, furnished him with abundant materials for fresh and massive constructions. The Egyptian troops set to work with no less energy in forming triple barricades of hewn stone at the entrance of every street, and thus entrenching themselves in a fortress in the heart of their city.³ They looked forward already to the arrival of winter, and were convinced that the enemy must fall eventually into their hands, when he could no longer derive supplies from beyond the sea.

But in the meanwhile the shade of Pompeius began to be

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 111. The conflagration reached the shore and consumed a large portion of the celebrated library of the Ptolemics. Seneca asserts that four hundred thousand volumes perished (*de Tranquill.* 9.). The resignation he expresses under the loss, "multo satius est paucis te auctoribus tradere quam errare per multos," is severely rebuked by a modern devourer of large libraries (see Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. li.). Comp. Dion, xlii. 38.

² Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 112.

³ Auct. *de Bell. Alexand.* 1, 2.

avenged on his murderers. At the commencement of the outbreak Cæsar had seized the person of Pothinus, who was in attendance upon the young king, and detecting him in correspondence with Achilles he put him summarily to death. Soon after, Arsinoë, who hoped by means of the Egyptian general to elevate herself into the royal seat, having cause to be dissatisfied with his conduct, induced her confidant Ganymedes to assassinate him. The adhesion of the army she secured by a munificent largess, appointed Ganymedes her minister and lieutenant, and, assuming the diadem of her ancestors, caused herself to be proclaimed sole queen of Egypt.¹

The Alexandrians pressed the blockade with pertinacity. They could not hope to dislodge the enemy by force, but they expected to reduce him by cutting off his means of subsistence. A contemporary writer describes the artificial contrivances by which the population of Alexandria obtained their constant abundance of water. Rain, it is well known, rarely falls in Egypt, nor were there living springs for the supply of fountains. The common people, indeed, were content with the water of the Nile in the turbid state in which it flows through their slimy plain; but the houses of the wealthier classes were supplied by means of subterranean channels, with which the whole city was mined, and through which the stream of the river was carried into reservoirs, where the impure sediment was deposited. Such of these channels as led to the parts of the city occupied by the Romans the Alexandrians obstructed, so as to prevent the river from flowing into them; they then filled them again with sea-water, raised by hydraulic machinery, in the construction of which they were eminently expert. This operation caused at first great consternation among the Romans, and still more among the native population shut up within their defences. But its effect was defeated by Cæsar's sagacity. He caused his soldiers to dig pits on the sandy beach, and the brackish water which oozed

Sudden end of Pothinus and Achilles.
Arsinoë proclaims herself queen.

Cæsar is blockaded in Alexandria.

¹ Auct. *de Bell. Alex.* 4.; Dion, xlii. 39.

up in them furnished a sufficient supply, not altogether unfit for drinking.¹ At the same time the arrival of a legion from Asia, with a convoy of provisions and military stores, at a point a little to the west of the city, revived the courage of the besieged, and restored the fortunes of their commander.

The Rhodian vessels which had betaken themselves to Cæsar's side were now of great service to him in establishing a communication with these reinforcements. The islanders of Rhodes had succeeded to the nautical Cæsar swims for his life. skill of Athens and Corinth, and were among the most expert mariners of the time. Combined with the small flotilla which Cæsar had brought with him, and the ships which had lately arrived, these new allies presented a formidable force. The Egyptians, however, though the royal fleet had been destroyed, possessed considerable resources for the equipment of a naval armament. They collected from every quarter all the vessels they could muster, and hastily constructed others, till they found themselves in a condition to dispute once more the approach to the harbour. Nor were they less vigorous in the attack they made upon the enemy's defences by land. The crisis of danger called forth all Cæsar's energies: he never exposed his person more boldly, or encountered more imminent peril. At one moment he was so hard pressed as to be forced to leap from his vessel into the sea, and swim for his life, carrying his most valuable papers in his hand above the water, and leaving his cloak in the possession of the assailants, who retained it as a trophy, as the Arvernians had preserved his sword.²

¹ When the English besieged Alexandria in 1801, they cut the canal which supplied it with water; but the French garrison found a sufficient quantity in the tanks. Water, however, might have been procured by digging, though not in large quantities nor very good. Sir R. Wilson's *Exped. to Egypt*, p. 215. Cæsar's expedient has been resorted to by exploring parties on the coast of Australia. See for instance Eyre's letter to the Colonial Secretary of Swan River in the *Journal of the Geogr. Soc.* xiii. 180. Captain Marryat, in one of his novels, mentions this filtration of saltwater by percolation through sand as an authentic, though little known fact.

² Dion, xlii. 40.; Suet. *Jul.* 64.

The Egyptians indeed were ultimately worsted in every encounter, but they could still return to the attack with increased numbers, and Cæsar's resources were so straitened, that he was not disinclined to listen to terms of accommodation, the insincerity of which was transparent. The Alexandrian populace declared themselves weary of the rule of their young princess, and disgusted with the tyranny of Ganymedes. Their rightful sovereign once restored to them, they would unite heartily with the republic, and defy the fury of the upstart and the usurper. It cannot be supposed that the Roman general was deceived by these protestations: the bad faith of the Alexandrians was already proverbial in the West. But he expected perhaps that the rivalry of Ptolemæus and Arsinoë would create dissension in their camps: he may have preferred coping with the young king in open war, to keeping a guard over him, and watching the intrigues with which he beguiled his captivity: possibly the surrender was made in concession to a pressure he could not resist, and was adopted as a means of gaining time. But when Ptolemæus was restored to his subjects, and immediately led them to another attack upon Cæsar's position, the soldiers are said to have felt no little satisfaction at the reward of what they deemed their general's weak compliance.¹

Cleopatra, whose blandishments were still the solace of the Roman general throughout his desperate adventure, rejoiced to see her brother thus treacherously array himself in rash hostility to her protector. The toils were beginning to close around the young king. Mithridates of Pergamus, an adherent in whose fidelity and conduct Cæsar placed great reliance, was advancing with the reinforcements he had been commissioned to collect in Syria and the adjacent provinces. He reduced Pelusium, the key of Egypt by land as Pharos was by sea, and crossed the Nile at the head of the Delta, routing a division of the king's troops which attempted to check his progress.

Battle of the Nile, and death of Ptolemæus.

¹ Auct. *Bell. Alex.* 24.

Ptolemæus led forth his army to confront the new invader and was immediately followed by Cæsar. The Romans came up with the Egyptians, crossed the river in the face of their superior numbers, and attacked them in their entrenchments, which, from their acquaintance with military art, as taught both by the Macedonians and the Romans, were probably not deficient in scientific construction. But the shock of the veterans was irresistible. The Egyptians fled, leaving great numbers slaughtered within the lines, and falling into their own trenches in confused and mangled heaps. The fugitives rushed to the channel of the Nile, where their vessels were stationed, and crowded into them without order or measure. One of them in which Ptolemæus had himself taken refuge was thus overladen and sank.¹

This signal defeat, and still more the death of their unfortunate sovereign, reduced the defenders of the monarchy to despair. The populace of Alexandria issued from their gates to meet the conqueror in the attitude of suppliants, and with the religious ceremonies by which they were wont to deprecate the wrath of their legitimate rulers. He entered the city, and directed his course through the principal streets, where the hostile barricades were levelled at his approach, till he reached the quarters in which his own garrison was stationed. He now reconstituted the government by appointing Cleopatra to the sovereignty, in conjunction with another younger brother, while he despatched Arsinoë under custody to await his future triumph at Rome. The throne of his favourite he pretended to secure by leaving a Roman force in Alexandria. The pride of the republic was gratified by thus advancing another step towards the complete subjugation of a country it had long coveted. Cæsar was anxious that so much Roman blood as had been shed in his recent campaigns should not appear to have sunk into the earth, and borne no fruit of glory and advantage to the state: he did not deem it expedient, however, to constitute Egypt a province of the empire,

The Alexandrians submit to Cæsar, who restores Cleopatra.

¹ Auct. *Bell. Alex.* 29-31.

and transfer it from the hands of a woman and a child to some warlike and ambitious proconsul.¹ The whole of this episode in his eventful history, his arrogant dictation to the rulers of a foreign people, his seizing and keeping in captivity the person of the sovereign, his discharging him on purpose that he might compromise himself by engaging in direct hostilities, and his taking advantage of his death to settle the succession and intrude a foreign army upon the new monarch, form altogether a pregnant example of the craft and unscrupulousness of Roman ambition.²

But in their deadly contests with their neighbours, the wolves of Italy were not always the assailants. The dependent monarchies on the frontier watched the intrigues of the curia and the forum, and profited by the disasters of their chiefs and parties. The discomfiture of the senate let loose upon the republic a new assailant, the son of its most inveterate and dangerous foe. Pharnaces, to whom Pompeius had granted the kingdom of the Bosphorus, in reward for his unnatural treachery, had held aloof from the great gathering of the Eastern auxiliaries in the republican camp. C. Cassius, as we have seen, had been despatched, before the event of the contest was ascertained, to stimulate his flagging zeal in his patron's cause. But when the event of Pharsalia became known to him, he augured that the time was come for resuming the independent attitude of his illustrious father, and wresting the ancient patrimony of his house from a foreign yoke. He first made a descent upon the Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia, where Deiotarus and Ariobarzanes occupied the precarious thrones upon which Pompeius had seated them. At the moment when Calvinus received his leader's pressing message to send all his available forces to his aid in Egypt, he was summoned also to defend these petty princes whose dominions were the outworks of

¹ Liv. *Epit.* cxii.: "Regnum Ægypti victor Cleopatras fratrique ejus minori permisit, veritus provinciam facere, ne quandoque violentiorem prædem nacta, novarum rerum materia esset."

² Dion, xlii. 44.

the empire itself Deiotarus had been one of the most devoted of the Pompeian allies; but he had recently submitted to Cæsar, and engaged to furnish a sum of money for the demands of his troops, an obligation which he declared it would be impossible for him to discharge, unless protected himself from the spoiler. Calvinus, while requiring Pharnaces to desist from insulting the majesty of Rome, protested that he held the honour of the republic far dearer than gold. He put himself in motion with one legion, having sent two to Cæsar, and he was joined by two other detachments which Deiotarus had equipped and trained on the Roman model, and by an equal number from Cappadocia. He had with him also another legion recently levied in Pontus, so that his force was such as might justly inspire him with confidence. Pharnaces retreated from Cappadocia, and attempted to amuse the advancing enemy by negotiations, while the fate of Cæsar was yet in the balance. But Calvinus pressed upon him, and demanded a battle. The conflict resulted in the complete defeat of the Roman army, with the loss of a large number of knights of illustrious family.

He defeats
Cæsar's lieutenant Calvinus.

The worsted general effected an orderly retreat, but he abandoned both Armenia and Cappadocia to the invader, and the province of Pontus fell again for a moment under the sway of the dynasty of Mithridates.¹

Cæsar's policy required him to postpone the pursuit of his own personal enemies to the duty of chastising the invaders of the empire. The partizans of the old broken faction which still called itself the senate and people of Rome were gathering head; and the difficulties which surrounded their adversary in a remote region, together with other misfortunes which befel his cause in various quarters, encouraged many who had thrown away their swords in the flight from Pharsalia to return to the standards of Scipio and Labienus. Cæsar, on his part, even in the moment of victory, was well aware that the strength

The Cæsarians suffer reverses in Illyricum.

¹ Auct. *Rel. Alex.* 34-40.; App. *B. C.* ii. 91.; Dion, xlii. 46.

of his opponents would not succumb under a single defeat; and when he determined himself to follow in the track of Pompeius, he provided against the revival of the beaten party in the countries which had witnessed their recent disaster. He had commissioned his lieutenant Cornificius to hold Illyricum with two legions, while an additional force of new recruits was summoned from Italy to support him in that province and secure the possession of Macedonia. These reinforcements were led by Gabinius, the profligate adventurer who had first made himself notorious by his base subserviency to Pompeius, and who now threw himself without a blush into the party of his victorious rival. But his new service was one of great difficulty. Octavius still rode with a powerful fleet in the Adriatic; and though he had failed in preventing the transit of Gabinius, he cut him off from further communication with Italy, and intercepted his supplies. The country in which the Cæsarian forces were moving was so exhausted by the support of immense armies, that they were sorely pressed for sustenance, while, from their want of military stores, they could make no impression upon the strongholds which they invested. The natives, harassed by repeated exactions, and emboldened by these favourable circumstances, rose against them in the neighbourhood of Salona, and inflicted severe loss on their feeble battalions. It was only with leaving two thousand men and many officers on the field that Gabinius could effect his

Death of Gabinius early in 707.

entrance into safe quarters at Salona; cooped up for months in that fortress, the state of his affairs so depressed his spirits that he sickened and died. This reverse, however, was in a

Vatinius obtains a success at sea.

great measure retrieved by the exploit of Vatinius, who attacked the fleet of Octavius with an inferior force, and obtained such an advantage over it, as to induce its gallant commander to desist from cruising in the narrow seas, and betake himself first to the coast of Greece, and eventually to Africa.

In vain had Cæsar affected moderation in his treatment of the provinces; his lieutenants either did not understand

his motives, or felt no interest in them. The common vice of proconsular extortion had well-nigh overthrown his party in Spain, almost immediately after he had himself quitted it. Q. Cassius Longinus, already mentioned as one of the pretended patriots who fled to the camp at Ravenna, had been appointed to the government of the Further Province. This man had formerly served as quæstor in the same country under the proconsulate of Pompeius, and was already infamous there for his cruelty and rapacity.¹ But Cæsar could not refuse to reward the services of an adherent of such high personal distinction. He nearly paid dear for his compliance. Cassius had already irritated his people by exactions, when directions arrived from his chief to transport a military force into Africa, in order to curb the active partizanship of Juba, who was sending aid to Pompeius in Macedonia. The proprætor was well pleased to have the conduct of an enterprize which promised to open a fair field for plunder. He made his preparations on a large scale, and his fresh demands upon the resources of the province added, doubtless, to the odium he had previously incurred. Certain citizens of Italica entered into a conspiracy against his person. He was severely wounded, and being supposed dead, one of his officers, Laterensis, prepared to assume the command, to the great joy of the soldiers, who detested their general. But Cassius surviving the blows which had been inflicted upon him, such was the discipline of the legions that they immediately returned to their fidelity. The conspirators, and with them Laterensis, who was also implicated in their abortive deed, were delivered up and put to death with torture. The news of the victory of Pharsalia which now arrived, rendered the proposed expedition unnecessary; but Cassius proceeded to indemnify himself for his disappointment by redoubling his exactions upon the people subjected to his rule. The passions of the provincials became more furiously inflamed than ever. The legions in occupation had been either raised or recruited in the province,

Affairs of Spain. Misconduct of Cæsar's lieutenant, Q. Cassius Longinus.

¹ Auct. *Bell. Alex.* 49-64.; Dion, xlii. 15, 16.

and partook fully in the feelings of their countrymen. The authority of the proprætor was at length shaken off, and his quæstor Marcellus invited by acclamation to take the command. Cassius, who retained only a small force about his own person, now called to his support both Lepidus, the proconsul of the Hither Province, and Bogudes, king of Mauretania, while he fortified himself on a hill over against the city of Corduba. Marcellus boldly summoned him to surrender. Lepidus on his arrival took the side of the new governor, for he was convinced that it was requisite for Cæsar's interests that his lieutenant should atone by disgrace for his impolitic extortions. This service Cæsar at a later period acknowledged with magnificent gratitude. He assigned him the distinction of a triumph, though in fact he had fought no battle.¹ But Cassius had chosen his position well, and might not have been easily dislodged from it: when, however, his successor, Trebonius, arrived in the province at the commencement of the following year, he voluntarily relinquished his hostile attitude. Being allowed to retire unmolested with his ill-gotten treasures, he took ship at Malaca for Italy, and was lost in a storm off the mouth of the Iberus. But the guilty legions, which had revolted from their hateful commander, could not easily be persuaded that their offence admitted of pardon. Uneasy and dissatisfied with their own conduct, they began to meditate defection. They deputed envoys to treat secretly with Scipio in Africa.² The result of the proprætor's misconduct was yet to be further developed.

Cæsar's protracted absence from the capital strongly marked the confidence he felt in the stability of his arrangements there. The ferocious menaces of the Pompeians against all who submitted to his ascendancy had tended to attach firmly to him the great mass of the resident citizens. But we may im-

The result of the battle of Pharsalia and the death of Pompeius announced at Rome.

¹ Dion, xliii. 1.

² Dion, xliii. 29. The soldiers who proved so unfaithful to Cæsar were mostly Afranians, who had been drafted into the victorious ranks. Comp Dion, xliii. 36.

agine with what anxious suspense the upper classes of Rome awaited the event of the long operations in Illyricum and Thessaly. Servilius, Cæsar's colleague in the consulship, exercised paramount authority in the city. He watched with vigilance every indication of the popular feelings, and surrounded every suspected enemy with secret spies. Every courier who arrived with news of Cæsar's successes was received with spontaneous or forced acclamations. But there were not wanting sinister rumours of his discomfiture, which many turbulent spirits in the great focus of confusion secretly welcomed and disseminated. The report of the victory of Pharsalia announced a catastrophe too momentous to command immediate belief. The conqueror himself had sent no official notification of the event to the senate; he felt it unbecoming to offer formal congratulations on a triumph over his fellow citizens. But as soon as the fact was sufficiently established, the government decreed the removal of the statues of Pompeius and Sulla from the open space which they occupied with kindred effigies in front of the rostra. This was a final declaration of defiance, not towards Pompeius only, but towards his party, the recent rulers of the republic; and many still feared and hesitated when they surveyed the manifold resources of the great Roman oligarchy, and mused on the rapid reverses of civil warfare. The disasters of Marius had been even more humiliating; yet Marius had returned in triumph to the scene of his former greatness, he had wreaked an awful retribution on his enemies, and had died in the enjoyment of yet another consulship. The rumours of Pompeius's assassination were obstinately discredited; but the most incredulous were at last convinced by the fatal token of his ring, transmitted by Cæsar to Rome.

From this moment the face of things was entirely changed; the previous hesitation had been inspired by timidity, not by any remains of love for the murdered hero. From henceforth every scruple about paying court to the conqueror vanished. His flatterers multiplied in the senate and the forum, and they only vied

The senate and
people heap
honours upon
Cæsar : Oct.
A. U. 706.

one with another in suggesting new honours for him. Decrees were issued investing him with unbounded authority over the lives and fortunes of the vanquished. When the news arrived that the standard of the republic was again raised in Africa, the power of making war and peace was surrendered to his sole decision. A semblance of legal authority was thus hastily impressed beforehand upon acts on which their absent ruler had already resolved. Cæsar was next

created dictator for the extraordinary period of a whole year ;¹ whereupon he appointed Antonius, whom he had sent back to Italy, his master of the

horse. Antonius constantly appeared in arms in the city, and caused both offence and alarm by the military state he maintained. But the insecurity of his position demanded these odious precautions. A popular sedition was excited by

the intrigues of Dolabella, who had tried to ingratiate himself with the people in his office of tribune by reviving the measures of spoliation re-

cently projected by Cælius.² He found himself thwarted, as always happened in similar cases, by a rival occupant of the tribunitian bench, equally unprincipled and equally anxious to distinguish himself by rushing to the protection of the menaced interests. Antonius, already incensed against the innovator on personal and domestic grounds, was compelled to interfere with a military force, in defiance of the sanctity of the much abused office, and vindicate the supremacy of the dictator and the senate against both the contending parties. He acted with unflinching vigour against the excited populace, and quelled the riot with the slaughter of eight hundred citizens.³ His armed mediation between the demagogues was maintained, however, with scrupulous moderation. He abstained from putting forth his strength to crush their noisy pretensions, so that they continued from time to time to disturb the tranquillity of the city, and were only lulled by the

¹ Cæsar's second dictatorship dates from October, A. U. 706. See Fischer, *R. Z.* p. 282.

² Dion, xlii. 32. ; Cic. *ad Att.* xi. 12. ; Liv. *Epit.* cxiii.

³ Liv. *l. c.*

periodical rumours of Cæsar's approach. As soon as the dictator was known to be still engaged abroad, they constantly broke out afresh; nor did they finally subside till his actual arrival quelled disaffection, and awed every passion to obedience.¹

Cæsar received information of these disturbances when already on his march from Alexandria to confront the invaders of the empire on the borders of Pontus.

Nor were these civil commotions the only clouds which lowered in the horizon of Italy. A spirit

Disaffection of Cæsar's veterans in Italy.

of insubordination had broken out once more among the legions. The twelfth and even the tenth, on whose valour their general had so long implicitly relied, dared openly to disobey the orders of their officers. These two legions had been transported across the sea from Macedonia, and were now quartered in Campania. They demanded lands and largesses, and when it was announced that they were required to pass over to Sicily, they refused again to quit the soil to which they looked for their reward, and enter upon another career of unrequited service.² But even this alarming intelligence could not divert Cæsar from the enterprize on which he was bent, from which he expected to reap such a harvest of wealth as should relieve him for the future from all pecuniary embarrassments. He contented himself with despatching orders to Antonius to reduce the mutineers to submission by threats or promises; but he was not aware, probably, of the excesses they had already committed in stoning the officers deputed to remonstrate with them.³ Meanwhile, his own advance through the provinces of Asia resembled a triumphant pageant. The Orientals might prostrate themselves without dishonour before the conqueror of the great Pompeius, whom they had long regarded as the type of invincible power. Deiotarus

He advances to encounter Pharnaces, and defeats him in the battle of Zela.

¹ Dion, xlii. 17-33.; Plut. *Cæs.* 51., *Anton.* 9.

² Dion, xlii. 5.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* xi. 21.: "Legio xii., ad quam primum Sulla venit, lapidibus egisse hominem dicitur."

threw himself at the hero's feet, and gave utterance to the most abject excuses for having ventured to attend upon the vanquished leader. He confessed that, as a dependant on the majesty of the republic, it was not for him to interfere in the controversies of their rival factions, but simply to obey the ministers of her power on his own frontier. But Cæsar, though he condescended to accept this submission, replied haughtily, that the battle of Pharsalia was no party quarrel, but the vindication of the senate and the consulate against rebels and traitors. He did not, however, relax for a moment from the customary rapidity of his movements. Pharnaces was struck with consternation. The crafty Asiatic was well aware indeed of the circumstances of Italy, and of the urgent necessity for the victor's speedy return thither. But in vain did he seek to amuse his impatient adversary by negotiation. Cæsar would give ear to no trifling messages: he pressed resolutely forward, and finally reached the barbarian host at the town of Zela in Pontus. Thus brought to bay, the son of Mithridates prepared for a final struggle, on the same field on which his father had worsted the detested Romans in one of his most memorable victories.¹ A bloody battle ensued,² in which the arms of the republic were crowned with complete success. The undisciplined hordes of eastern sovereigns, once broken and routed, never rallied again. Pharnaces himself escaped from the field, but only to fall in an obscure conflict with a neighbouring potentate.³ His kingdom had been already stripped from him by a decree of the conqueror, and conferred upon the chieftain of Pergamus,⁴ whose services in Egypt have been already mentioned.

Cæsar allowed himself to cast only one distant glance towards the frontiers of Parthia, and then resolutely turned

¹ Appian, *B. Mithr.* 120.

² Kalendar. Amitern. Orell. *Inscr.* ii. 397.: "iv. Non. Sext. feriæ quod eo die C. Cæsar C. F. . . . in Ponto regem Pharnacem devicit. 2 Aug. 707 = 20 Mai. 47. A. C."

³ Appian, *B. Mithr. l. c.*; Dion, xlii. 47.

⁴ Dion, xlii. 48.

his face westward. Perhaps he was even then revolving in his mind the gigantic schemes of Oriental conquest which he announced at a later period, but was destined never to undertake. From this period, however, we begin to trace a change for the worse in his character. The hero whose freedom from display had so long charmed the world became intoxicated by the fumes of eastern incense, and the disposal of forfeited crowns. He now affected to admire the good fortune of Pompeius, whose exalted reputation was built upon the defeat of the servile armies of Asia.¹ The rapidity of his own conquest he signaled, we are told, by the arrogant bulletin, which has passed into a familiar proverb, *I came, I saw, I conquered.*² But his intercourse with Cleopatra had corrupted the proud simplicity of the Roman statesman. He already meditated bringing her to the capital, and there parading her in the face of his countrymen as the partner of the honours they lavished upon himself. The state of feeling among the Romans regarding the intercourse of the sexes was such as we can with difficulty appreciate. Yet we shall very imperfectly understand the position and character of their greatest men, unless we seek to put ourselves in their place, and view things for a moment with their eyes. Marriage among the Romans was hallowed by religious feelings, but such marriage only as a strict and jealous nationality prescribed. Concubinage, on the other hand, was tolerated, licensed, and protected; but even such concubinage, in acquiring a moral sanction, submitted to certain implied restrictions. Generally, an avowed and permanent connexion with a foreigner was regarded as shocking and degrading: with an Oriental, and especially an Egyptian, whose laxity of manners offended Italian notions beyond all

Cæsar's character corrupted by his intercourse with Cleopatra.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 35.; App. *B. C.* ii. 91.

² Plutareh (*Cæs.* 50.) says that this expression was used in a letter to one Amintius; the name is probably a mistake. Suetonius (*Jul.* 37.) asserts that the three words were inscribed on a banner, and carried in Cæsar's triumph. Appian and Dion refer to them as notorious.

other people, it seemed monstrous and incestuous. The disgust of Europeans in the middle ages at the union of a noble Christian with a Jewish damsel, was faint, perhaps, in comparison with this national horror among the Romans. With all such antipathies of race Cæsar refused to sympathize; such antique prejudices he trampled under foot; and he indulged proudly, perhaps wantonly, in this lofty disregard of the prepossessions of his weaker countrymen. But man cannot defy mankind with impunity. Cæsar chilled the applause of his countrymen by this inhuman contempt for their cherished sentiments. He converted the cordial greetings they were prepared to lavish upon him into the hollow flattery of fear. Nor was this the only injury he thus inflicted on his own fame and fortunes. If the sorceress of the Nile contributed to corrupt her admirer's native sense and humanity, no less did she vitiate his taste by the enchanted cup of Canopic luxury. She taught him to despise as mean and homely the splendour of the Circus and the Capitol. She imbued him with the gorgeous and selfish principles of Oriental despotism, and debased him to the menial adulation of slaves, parasites and eunuchs.¹ It is with no wish to heap unmerited obloquy on a woman whose faults were those of her birth and position, that history brands with infamy her influence on the Roman hero. Regardless of her personal dignity, and indifferent to human life, she maintained herself on an Oriental throne by the arts of an Oriental potentate. The course of her chequered career will display to us hereafter a character in which good contended with evil, Macedonian magnanimity with Egyptian suppleness. But in this place it becomes us to remark the fatal effect of a connexion of disparagement, by which Cæsar felt himself degraded in the eyes of his own countrymen. If from henceforward we find his generosity tinged with ostentation, his courage with arro-

¹ Lucan, x. 127. :

“Tum famulæ numerus turbæ, populusque minister . . .
Nec non infelix ferro mollita juvenus.”

gance, his resolution with harshness ; if he becomes restless, and fretful, and impatient of contradiction ; if his conduct is marked with contempt for mankind rather than with indulgence to their weakness, it is to this impure source that the melancholy change is to be traced.

CHAPTER XIX.

CHARACTER OF CÆSAR'S POLICY IN ROME.—HE ASSUMES THE DICTATORSHIP FOR THE THIRD TIME.—HE QUELLS A MUTINY AMONG HIS SOLDIERS.—THE SENATORIAL PARTY COLLECT THEIR FORCES IN AFRICA.—CATO LANDS AT CYRENE, CROSSES THE LIBYAN DESERT, AND JOINS THE FORCES OF SCIPIO AT UTICA.—CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA DECIDED BY THE VICTORY OF CÆSAR AT THAPSUS.—DISPERSION OF THE REPUBLICAN FORCES, AND DEATH OF THEIR PRINCIPAL LEADERS.—CATO UNDERTAKES TO DEFEND UTICA.—HIS ADHERENTS ABANDON THE CONTEST.—HE COMMITS SUICIDE.—THE DICTATORSHIP FOR TEN YEARS AND OTHER DISTINCTIONS SHOWERED UPON CÆSAR.—ON HIS RETURN TO ROME HE CELEBRATES FOUR TRIUMPHS, AND GRATIFIES THE PEOPLE WITH SHOWS AND LARGESSES.—DEDICATION OF THE JULIAN FORUM.—THE WAR RENEWED BY CNÆUS POMPEIUS IN SPAIN.—HE IS SUPPORTED BY CÆSAR'S DISCONTENTED SOLDIERS.—CÆSAR'S FINAL CAMPAIGN, AND DECISIVE VICTORY AT MUNDA.—OF ALL THE SENATORIAL LEADERS SEXTUS ALONE REMAINS IN ARMS.—DISTURBANCES IN SYRIA. SEPT. A. U. 707.—APRIL, A. U. 709.

THE dictator landed at Tarentum in the month of September, of the year 707. He arrived laden with the spoils

Cæsar arrives in Italy. The nobles make their submission to him.

or presents of eastern cities and potentates; he had carried off in every quarter the treasures which had been contributed for his rival's use; and to punish the city of Tyre for its devotion to the Pompeian family, he had rifled the great temple of Melcarth or Hercules, not inferior in fame and opulence to the same god's most western shrine at Gades.¹ He accepted *golden crowns*, a decorous expression for large donatives in money, from the chieftains who solicited his favour. Two things, he used to say, were needful for getting and keeping

¹ Dion, xlii. 49.

power, soldiers and money, and each of these was to be gained by means of the other. The immense sums he thus amassed were destined to satisfy the demands of his veterans, to provide for the expenses of his triumph, and to amuse the populace of the city with spectacles, largesses and buildings, on a scale of unexampled magnificence. In reassuming the government of Italy, Antonius had received express orders to prevent any partizans of the senate from landing in the Peninsula. Many of the nobles were anxious to make their submission to the new government. They trusted to recover thereby their houses and estates, and escape the proscription and confiscation now generally apprehended. But Cæsar, in the unsettled state of men's minds at Rome, could not admit into the city another possible element of discord.¹ He insisted that the deserters from the Pompeian standard should repair to him personally at Alexandria; and during his residence in Egypt there were many such who sought him in his quarters, and devoted themselves with professions of zeal to his service. Cicero alone, whose escape from Italy had apparently been connived at by Antonius at an earlier period, now obtained permission to establish himself at Brundisium.² Further he was not allowed to proceed, and he remained there for many months in a state of great perplexity and apprehension. On the one hand, cut off from the enjoyment of his estates, and debarred the exercise of his talents in the forum, he was reduced, together no doubt with many others of the proud nobility of Rome, to considerable pecuniary embarrassments;³ on the other, he had the mortification to learn that his brother Quintus, who had abandoned his general and patron at the

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xi. 7. : "Ad me misit Antonius exemplum Cæsaribus ad se literarum, in quibus erat, se audisse Catonem et L. Metellum in Italiam venisse, Romæ ut essent palam: id sibi non placere, ne qui motus ex eo fierent; prohiberique omnes Italia nisi quorum ipse causam cognovisset."

² Cicero urged that he had received an invitation from Dolabella at Antonius's instigation: he goes on to say, "Tum ille edixit ita ut me exciperet et Lælium nominatim. Quod sane nollem. Poterat enim sine nomine res ipsa excipi."

³ Cic. *ad Att.* xi. 11. 13.

commencement of the war, had now thrown himself at Cæsar's feet, and was trying to regain the favour he had forfeited by calumniating his more scrupulous relative.¹ Still shaken by every breath of rumour, which at one moment resounded with the successes of the conqueror in the east, and echoed at the next the vaunting anticipations of the republican champion in Africa,² the vacillating statesman awaited the result of events in uneasy seclusion. But when he heard of Cæsar's arrival on the coast, he finally yielded to the impulse to which he had been long inclined. He immediately came forward in hopes of being the first to greet the new ruler of the commonwealth, while Cæsar was generously desirous of sparing him the humiliation of mingling with the crowd who were hastening upon the same business.³ Received with affability, and treated with a show of confidence, Cicero retired with more cheerfulness than he had long experienced to the shades of his Tusculan villa; and whether there or at Rome, his placing himself under the protection of the new government gave it some colour of authority in the eyes of his clients and admirers.

The conduct of his own friends in the city was a subject of greater anxiety to Cæsar, on assuming his place at the head of affairs, than the intrigues of his adversaries. He rebuked the turbulent proceedings of Dolabella, but abstained from punishing one whose services he could not well dispense. He maintained firmly the principles of his own recent enactment regarding the debtors' claims;⁴ nor could they dispute the

His firmness in protecting them against the cupidity of his own party.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xi. 8. : "Quintus misit filium non solum sui deprecatores sed etiam oppugnatores mei" (comp. 12-14.).

² Cic. *ad Att.* xi. 10. (xii. Kal. Feb. A. U. 707.): "De Africanis rebus longe alia nobis, ac tu scripseras, nuntiantur. Nihil enim firmitus esse dicunt, nihil paratius. Accedit Hispania et alienata Italia; legionum nec vis eadem nec voluntas; urbanæ res perditæ."

³ Plut. *Cic.* 39.

⁴ Dion's apparent statement to the contrary (xlii. 51.) refers undoubtedly to the compromise which Cæsar effected between the debtors and their creditors in his first dictatorship. Drumann, iii. 567., anm. 67

fairness of an arbitrator who replied to their clamours by declaring that no man in Rome was more deeply interested in the terms of the compromise than himself.¹ On the other hand, he winked at the private irregularities by which Antonius had disgraced his leader's party hardly less than his own character; nor would he listen to the counsels of those who exhorted him to issue a decree of proscription against his enemies. It may be doubted whether his sentence of confiscation extended further than to the estates of Pompeius himself and his two sons.² In making these examples, he probably wished to stigmatize the family of his personal rival as fomenters of a mere private quarrel, and thus to distinguish their cause from that of a great national party. But it was impossible for the citizens, when they saw the house of the illustrious Pompeius on the Palatine sold for Cæsar's own profit, not to attribute such an action to cupidity or vindictiveness. Antonius, with his usual reckless prodigality, outbad every competitor; but he was surprised and offended when he found himself compelled to pay down the stipulated price.³ He deemed that his services, both past and in prospect, might command the trifling indulgence of release from a paltry debt. He found, however, that his patron was in earnest, and prudently submitted to the affront.

It is impossible not to admire the lofty idea which Cæsar conceived of the claims and duties of the monarchy he sought to establish. He felt that he occupied his exalted eminence by virtue of his acknowledged superiority to all around him in strength and sagacity of character. Obedience he demanded as submission, not to his own arbitrary caprice, but to the principles of reason. He claimed that his word should be law, as the recognized ex-

Cæsar's policy in securing the services of men of all parties.

¹ Dion, xlii. 50.

² Cic. *de Off.* i. 14., *Tusc.* i. 35., *ad Att.* xi. 20.; Val. Max. vi. 2. 11; Dion, xlii. 50.

³ Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 25. The authority for this part of the anecdote is surely suspicious. That the estates of the Pompeii were sold and purchased partly by Antonius is stated by Dion, xlv. 9.

pression of the necessities of the time. It was because they had become obviously inapplicable to existing circumstances that the formal usages of the commonwealth were made to give way to the hand of the innovator. When Cæsar elevated individuals to civil offices before the legal age, he assumed that the old checks upon precocious ambition or popular favouritism were no longer required. In widening the doors of admission to the public boards and corporations,¹ he was accommodating them to the increase in the number of candidates eligible to official distinction. If he replenished the senate with a crowd of men of inferior rank, selected from the most distinguished officers of his army, he was infusing new and healthy blood into a body debilitated by luxury, and deprived by the recent wars of a large portion of its members. In making his appointments to the highest offices of the state, in which the people hardly sought to retain even a nominal share, he had the great difficulty of all usurpers to surmount, to satisfy the claims of his adherents without destroying the dignity and usefulness of the offices themselves. Lepidus, who had rendered Cæsar a great service by his promptness in securing him his first dictatorship, was gratified with the proprætorship in Spain, and upon his return was allowed the honours of a triumph, though he had performed no military exploit, and acquired no trophies except the presents he had extorted from the provincials.² The good offices of Calenus and Vatinius were rewarded with the enjoyment of the consulship for the three months of the year which remained after Cæsar's return to Rome.³ Sallustius, the historian, had a strong claim upon Cæsar's favour, on account of his expulsion from the senate by Appius Claudius, which he justly attributed to his political rather than to his moral delinquencies. The doors of that assembly were again opened to him by his appointment to the prætorship. But if the ruler of the commonwealth condescended in some instances to allow the claims of party to influence his favours, he felt for the most part that true dignity and policy required him to

¹ Dion, xlii. 51.

² Dion, xliii. 1.

³ Dion, xlii. 55

obliterate any such distinctions, and make all men feel practically that they stood upon the same level of common inferiority, and of dependence upon himself. In the distribution of the provinces, the offices which the candidates had previously served, and even the ranks in which they had stood on the field of Pharsalia, were equally disregarded. Submission to the new government was the only condition required for the honour of sharing in its emoluments. Marcus Brutus, who had been so prominent a champion of the senate, received an equal mark of confidence with Decimus, who had served Cæsar with fidelity and success throughout the Gallic wars. The one received the government of the Cisalpine Gaul, the other that of the province beyond the mountains. A crowning act of magnanimous self-reliance was the restoration of the statues both of Sulla and Pompeius,¹ which the obsequious Cæsarians had overthrown in imitation of the previous examples of so many party leaders of less lofty character. But if the new hero could thus defy comparison with the most illustrious of the dead, much more did he feel himself exalted above all living competition.

Upon his return to Rome, Cæsar caused himself to be created dictator for the third time, and again for an annual term. He also designated himself and Lepidus consuls for the ensuing year. But it deserves to be remarked, that he now described himself on his coins as dictator for the second, and not for the third time. He thus turned men's eyes upon himself as the founder of a new order of things; for the first appointment had been made in accordance with constitutional precedent, and was a last vestige of the republic; while those which succeeded were altogether irregular, and betokened the establishment of a new monarchical era.² But in the midst

Cæsar assumes the dictatorship for the third time: Oct. A. U. 707.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 75.; Plut. *Cic.* 40.: ἔφη γὰρ ὁ Κικέρων, ὅτι ταύτη τῇ φιλοθροπία Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν Πομπηίου ἴστησι, τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ πῆγγυσι ἀνδρίαντας.

² See Drumann, iii. 565. This is true of some of the coins of this date, on which we read "cos. tert. dict. iter.;" but others are inscribed more correctly.

He quells a
mutiny among
his soldiers.

of these dazzling distinctions the demands of the legions in Campania caused Cæsar the greatest disquietude; for the forces of the enemy were daily augmenting in Africa, and it was incumbent upon him to go forth without delay, and combat them on another field of battle. Sallustius, who had been sent to quell the rising mutiny, was driven back to Rome ignominiously.¹ Two senators of prætorial rank, Cosconius and Galba, had been slain in the tumult. The refractory legions, imbued with the blood of their officers, marched in frantic excitement to the gates of the city, and pitched their tents in the Campus Martius. Cæsar sent once more to inquire the causes of their discontent, but they replied that they would confer only with himself in person. All the military force he had in attendance upon him consisted of the few cohorts with which Antonius had recently maintained the peace of the city, and of the fidelity even of these he was doubtful. He relied on his own courage to save him. Without betraying any symptoms of anxiety, he confronted the mutineers, and demanded what it was they desired. They claimed their discharge and the liquidation of their long arrears; if required, as they expected, for further service, their swords must be bought by an extraordinary largess. But Cæsar acted over again the part which had succeeded so well at Placentia. He took them immediately at their first word: they had claimed their discharge; they were discharged. The composure and deliberateness of his resolve was signified in the word *Quirites*, by which he addressed them.² The legionaries were at once overcome with shame and confusion; the veterans of the tenth especially felt the deepest remorse at the injustice of which they now accused themselves. But this time the indignant general remained cold and unmoved. He refused to lead his ancient favourites to another field of glory; he only permitted them to follow him, and exacted of

¹ Dion, xlii. 52.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 92.

² See the parallel occurrence above, Vol. II. p. 177. It seems not improbable that Cæsar employed the same mode of rebuking his rebellious soldiers on two distinct occasions.

their officers the most dangerous services, in which he did not choose to sacrifice the men whom he really loved. Nor did he miss the opportunity of the first occurrence of a breach of discipline to remind its authors of their recent misconduct, and to dismiss them with ignominy from his ranks.¹

The chiefs of the republican party who had met at Cœryra soon began to act independently of each other, without submitting to any recognized leader or plan of operations. While Scipio, their ostensible head, led the largest division of their forces to the province of Africa, to effect a junction with the victorious armies of Varus and Juba,² Labienus directed his course further eastward, and made an attempt to possess himself of Cyrene, which, however, resisted and repulsed him. Cato united himself with Cnæus Pompeius, and fell in at Patræ with Petreius and Faustus Sulla. Their combined squadrons now crossed from the shore of Greece to that of Africa, with the intention of following

Scipio joins
Varus and
Juba in Africa.

Cato on hearing
of the death
of Pompeius
crosses over to
the coast of
Africa.

the general who had abandoned them, and whom their last accounts represented as having betaken himself to Egypt. But when they met the flying vessels which bore Cornelia, together with Sextus, from the scene of her husband's murder,³ being unaware of Cæsar's movements, and how scanty were his military equipments, they turned their faces from the east, at a juncture when an act of energy and boldness might have retrieved every disaster. Cnæus, indeed, urged with all the vehemence of his character a desperate attack on his father's murderers,⁴ but he was overruled by the cautious prudence of Cato, who was now only anxious to unite together in one spot the scattered fragments of the party. The Roman general landed his little army in the neighbourhood of Cyrene, and demanded admittance. The inhabitants again closed their gates, but they had more respect for Cato than for their last assailant, and yielded on the first demonstra-

Auct. *B. Afric.* 54.

² Plutarch, *Cat. Min.* 56.; Appian, *B. C.* ii.

³ Lucan, ix. 47.

⁴ Lucan, ix. 150. 166.

tion of force.¹ Cato only required rest and provisions, and allowed no violence to be exercised against them; a rare act of clemency in a leader of the republican party towards a town which had made any show of resistance to its authority.²

From Cyrene Cato set sail to the westward. His flotilla seems to have reached the Lesser Syrtis in safety, but at that point it was assailed by a tempest by which it suffered considerably, and it was not deemed prudent to coast those dangerous shores any further in the boisterous season which had now set in.³ The vessels were left in charge of Cnæus, to await more favourable weather for the continuation of their voyage.⁴ But Cato was impatient of further delay, and, having laid before his followers the dangers of the route he was determined to take, put himself at the head of a devoted band, and led the way into the depths of the desert which skirts the head of the Lesser Syrtis.⁵ The winter was about to commence, and his march was fortunately more practicable than it would have been at any other season of the year.⁶ Nevertheless, the scarcity of water, the excessive heat, and, it is added, the noxious reptiles by which some districts were infested, rendered it a suc-

He traverses
the Libyan
desert.

¹ Lucan, ix. 297.; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 56.

² Cato had himself sacked the town of Phycus in Crete for refusing shelter to his vessels. Lucan, ix. 40.

³ Lucan, ix. 320.

⁴ Lucan, ix. 374.:

“Hæc eadem suadebat hyems quæ clauserat æquor.”

⁵ Lucan makes Cato land in the neighbourhood of the lake Tritonis, that is, at the Lesser Syrtis. He is the only author who gives any local details of this expedition, and our confidence in him is shaken by his introducing the temple of Hammon into the line of march. See Luc. ix. 511. seqq. The superstitious character of Labienus is indeed noticed incidentally by Plutarch, *Cic.* 38.: *Λαβιήνου δὲ μαντείας τισὶν ἰσχυριζομένου*, and I think it probable that the curious episode in the *Pharsalia*, in which Labienus advises Cato to consult the oracle of Jupiter Hammon, which the sage refuses to do, is founded upon some real fact, though its local application is undoubtedly fictitious.

⁶ Lucan, ix. 375. Plutarch says the same, but they were misled perhaps by the unreformed calendar. See the following note.

cession of unprecedented hardships. The inhospitable sands stretched for a distance of seven days' journey.¹ The camel, it must be remembered, was only known to the Romans as a denizen of Bactria and Arabia;² the ocean sands of the African continent had never yet been navigated by these ships of the desert.³ Accordingly, the difficulties and privations of such a march are not to be estimated by our modern experience. Undoubtedly it deserves to be commemorated as one of the greatest exploits in Roman military history. The poet of the republic exalts it indeed above the three triumphal processions of Pompeius, above the victories of Marius over the tyrant of Numidia. He turns with pardonable enthusiasm from the deified monsters, the Caligulas and Neros of his own day, to hail its achiever as the true father of his country, the only worthy object of a freeman's idolatry.⁴

The arrival of Cato and his gallant band at the headquarters of the republicans at Utica was followed at a later period

¹ This is Plutarch's statement. Lucan makes the march through the desert occupy two whole months (ix. 940.):

"Bis positis Phœbe flammis, bis luce recepta
Vidit arenivagum surgens fugiensque Catonem."

I conclude that this was the whole time from Cyrene to Utica. Pompeius was killed Sept. 29 = July 24. Cato must have landed at Cyrene within the first month from that date, and left it probably before the end of a second. The two following months would include December of the Roman calendar, September or October of the real time. Strabo (xvii. 3. 30.) makes the time thirty days.

² Plin. *H. N.* viii. 26. Plutarch says that Cato employed a large number of asses to carry water.

³ That is, not to the westward of Egypt. Pharaoh had camels; and the Israelites, on their coming out of Egypt, are forbidden to eat the flesh of the camel. Strabo (xvii. 1. 45.) speaks of the camels of Coptos and Berenice.

⁴ Lucan, ix. 598.:

"Hunc ego per Syrtes Libyæque extrema triumphum
Ducere maluerim, quam ter Capitolia curru
Scandere Pompeii, quam frangere colla Jugurthæ.
Ecce parens verus patriæ, dignissimus aris
Roma tuis, per quem nunquam jurare pudebit;
Et quem si steteris unquam cervice soluta
Tunc olim factura Deum."

Great muster
of the republi-
can chiefs at
Utica.

by that of Cnæus; and in the course of the next year, A. U. 707, the remains of the great host of Pharsalia were assembled, with many additional reinforcements, under the banners of the oligarchy. These forces amounted to not less than ten complete legions, and their chiefs relied for support upon the whole military resources of Juba,¹ who could bring one hundred and twenty elephants into the field, and squadrons of light cavalry, wild and numberless as the waves of the stormy Syrtis. The officers began to brag of their future triumphs in almost as loud a strain as recently at Thessalonica. Their notes of confident defiance were echoed to the opposite shores of Italy, and caused fresh dismay to the time-servers, who had abandoned the good cause on the event of its first discomfiture. Strange, indeed, it must seem, that the leaders of so powerful an army should have made no attempt to regain their footing in the country to which all their hopes pointed, and which lay at only three days' sail from the Gulf of Carthage. It is possible that they purposely refrained in order that the population of Rome and Italy might feel the full effect of the tyranny or anarchy which was said to prevail under the new regime, and learn from bitter experience the weight of the yoke to which they had submitted. Expecting to see the colossus which Cæsar had reared fall to pieces by its own weight, and overwhelm the arch-traitor in its ruins, they had neglected the opportunity of crushing him in Alexandria, no less than the means of intercepting him on his passage from Greece to Italy. They were destitute, we may suppose, of the means of putting a large army readily in motion. The province of Africa was small, nor was it one of the wealthiest of the empire, and the alliance of Numidia was too important to be discarded for the hope of plunder. This inaction may be partly accounted for also by the jealousies which already prevailed among the chiefs of the party. Moreover, Juba, whom both Scipio and Varus strove by every means to attach to themselves respectively in their rivalry for the leadership, was doubtless anx-

¹ Auct. *B. Afr.* 1. 19

ious to retain the Roman forces in their present position, both for his own security, and with a view to the recompense he expected for his aid, if the power of the enemy should be overthrown on the shores of Africa. Of the remnant of those who had fought at Pharsalia Scipio stood the highest in rank and consideration; he could boast of having been associated in command with Pompeius himself. But Varus was proud of his share in the defeat of Curio, and declared that, as legitimate governor of the African province, he would yield the supreme authority to no other emperor within its limits. The army, indeed, would have settled the dispute by conferring the first place on Cato by acclamation; a remarkable tribute to the personal influence of one who, in point of fact, had never measured his sword with an enemy in the field. But that noble-minded man felt that it would be unbecoming to usurp the place of an officer of higher rank, and immediately devolved the command upon Scipio the consular.¹ The name of Scipio was one of good omen for a campaign in Africa; but his first act was to authorize the destruction of the city of Utica, at the instance of Juba, who was jealous of its power and splendour as the rival of his own neighbouring city of Zama, and represented it as dangerous to the republican cause from the disaffection imputed to its inhabitants.² Fortunately Cato possessed sufficient influence to save it; but Scipio affected to make him responsible for its good behaviour, and was glad to thrust him on one side, by giving him the command there, while he shifted the quarters of his own army to the neighbourhood of Adrumetum.³ Cato, indeed, was obliged to adopt vigorous measures of precaution. He expelled the multitude of unarmed inhabitants from the city, placing them within entrenched lines outside the gates, under the guard or protection of a body of soldiers. The senate, an object of just suspicion, he placed under rigorous confinement.⁴ We feel a melancholy pleasure in contemplating the

¹ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 57.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 87.; Dion, xlii. 57.

² Plut., Dion, *ll. cc.*; Liv. *Epit.* cxiii.

³ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 95.; Auct. *B. Afr.* 24.

⁴ Auct. *B. Afr.* 87.

brave philosopher busying himself in the collection of stores, and preparations for defence, and glad to devote himself to any dull and thankless office rather than draw his sword against his countrymen in the field ; for of all the professed defenders of Roman liberty, he alone really mourned over the necessity of asserting his principles by arms. From the first outbreak of the civil war he had refused to trim his venerable locks, or shave his grizzled beard ; and from the fatal day of Pharsalia he had persisted in sitting at his frugal repasts, and denied himself the indulgence of reclining on a couch.¹ Nevertheless, it was good policy to remove him from the councils of the party, where his unbending principles must have proved seriously detrimental. Cicero might harmlessly whisper into a private ear at a distance his mortification at the deference paid to a barbarian potentate by the representatives of the republic ;² but when Cato, at the head-quarters of the allied powers, expressed his haughty indignation, he was sowing the seeds of certain rupture. It was related that when Juba, attending a council of officers, presumed to seat himself between Scipio and Cato, the latter rose and walked round to the other side, to preserve the place of honour for the Roman general.³ But he was more alert in striving to rouse the spirit of his countrymen for the last struggle than any of his colleagues in command. He encouraged Cnæus to make a diversion in the west ; for in Spain the provincials were still believed to be at heart Pompeian, and the Cæsarian garrisons were known to be wavering. Cnæus commenced his enterprize with an attack on a stronghold of the king of Mauretania ; but suffering a repulse in this desultory and inglorious warfare, he withdrew to the Balearic islands, and there rested for a time on his arms.⁴

The sovereignty of the great tract of country known by the name of Mauretania was divided between two brothers,

¹ Plut. *Cat. Min.* i. 56. ; Lucan, ii. 375.

² Cic. *ad Div.* ix. 6. to Varro : " Ad bestiarum auxilium confugere," i. e. the Numidian lions ; comp. *ad Att.* xi. 7.

³ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 57.

⁴ Auct. *B. Afr.* 23.

Bogudes and Bocchus, whose father had deserved well of the unscrupulous republic by betraying Jugurtha into its hands. These chiefs were both disposed to throw themselves into Cæsar's arms, out of jealousy probably of the rival king of Numidia, whose influence with the opposite party they had every reason to fear. Bocchus was prepared to take an active part on the side of his ally, and his military power was the more respectable from his having engaged in his service a Roman adventurer, named P. Silius. This man had found means to maintain himself at the head of a band of outlaws of all nations, whose swords he disposed of to decide the quarrels of the petty chieftains of the country.¹ Silius was a native of Nuceria, in Italy, and had acquired some notoriety at Rome as an extensive money-dealer, in which capacity he had established intimate relations with some foreign potentates, and especially those of Mauretania. It was surmised that losses incurred in his trade, or the prodigality which had more than kept pace with its profits, had tempted him to connect himself with the revolutionary visions of Catilina; but the proof against him had failed, and his connexion with P. Sulla, who was defended against a similar charge by Cicero, obtained him the distinction of a panegyric from the renowned patriot. It seems, however, that he subsequently fell under sentence of banishment on some other account. He collected about him a band of ruffians, and crossing over to the coast of Africa was ambitious of playing a more distinguished part on that theatre of lawless adventure. Bocchus, having secured this man's aid in the diversion he meditated in Cæsar's favour, prepared to make an inroad into Numidia, and draw off the forces of Juba for the defence of their own territories, as soon as he heard of the arrival of the dictator in the Roman province. The representative of Marius, whose name had been so illustrious in Africa, might depend also on the favour of a portion of the Roman colonists;

The chiefs of Mauretania favourably disposed towards Cæsar.

Adventures of P. Silius.

¹ The history of Silius is gathered from *B. Afr.* 25.; Dion, xliii. 3.; Appian, *B. C.* iv. 54.; Cic. *pro Sulla*, 20.; Sallust, *B. C.* 21.

and even among the Gætulians and Numidians there were many whose fathers had won distinctions under the old veteran's standard, and who bequeathed to their descendants a faithful remembrance of his benefactions.¹

A whole year had now passed in a state of comparative inaction on the part of the republicans, while Cæsar was quelling the resistance of the Egyptians, destroying Pharnaces, and consolidating his power in Rome.

Cæsar leaves Italy and lands in Africa. He must have left the city before the end of November, 707; for he led his troops through the whole length of southern Italy, crossed the straits of Messina, and traversed Sicily to Lilybæum at its western extremity, arriving there soon after the middle of December.² So rapid indeed had been his march that he had not allowed a single day of rest throughout; and, on reaching his destination, he pitched his tent on the seashore, to show his anxiety to sail without a moment's delay. He had appointed Lilybæum as the rendezvous of his legions, and had directed that all the war and transport vessels that could be mustered should there await his coming. The weather continued unfavourable for some days; but fresh battalions reached him in the interval, and a force of six legions and two thousand cavalry was in attendance upon his orders when he gave the signal for embarkation. He sailed himself with the first detachment before the end of December of the Roman year, that is, before the commencement of the winter season. The enemy kept no lookout to intercept him. He passed Utica, the usual place of landing from the coast of Europe, and steering southward, disembarked his troops, consisting of only three thousand foot and one hundred and fifty horse, in the neighbourhood of Adrumetum, which was occupied by C. Considius with a powerful garrison. Cæsar was not strong enough to make an attack upon this place; he despatched a captive under a flag of truce, to open a negotiation with the commander. But when Considius demanded in whose name the herald ap-

¹ Auct. *B. Afr.* 32.; Dion, xliii. 4.

² Auct. *B. Afr.* 1.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 95.

peared, and he answered, *In that of Cæsar the imperator, There is no imperator in Africa but Scipio*, replied the republican officer, and inflicted condign punishment upon him as a deserter.¹ The dictator saw that so vigorous an adversary was not to be cajoled, and broke up from his camp, amidst the desultory attacks of the Numidian skirmishers, whom however he repelled in a brilliant affair of cavalry. He was favourably received by the inhabitants of Leptis, and invited to take shelter within their walls, while he despatched messengers to expedite the conveyance of stores and recruits from Sardinia and the neighbouring provinces, and to direct the course of the second detachment of his legions, which had been scattered by adverse winds.

But while these reinforcements came slowly in, Cæsar's little army was exposed to imminent peril. The combined forces of Scipio and Juba moved rapidly upon them; and, in the course of their manœuvres to secure their communications with the sea, they found themselves reduced to the necessity of hazarding a general engagement. Cæsar had with him at this time thirty cohorts and some hundred cavalry and archers; the number of the republicans was so enormous that Labienus could boast that even to destroy them unresisting would weary out the puny band of Cæsarians. Labienus and Petreius were the principal leaders of the attack, which was confided almost entirely to the Roman and Numidian cavalry. The former of these officers made himself particularly conspicuous, fighting in the thickest of the conflict, and railing in bitter language at the Cæsarian legionaries, to whom his person was well known. The Roman veteran was proud of his length of service, the experience, valour and fidelity, which it betokened. No sarcasm was more biting to him than to be addressed as Tiro, or raw recruit. *Who are you? I never saw you before*, was the insulting language which Labienus addressed to his old companions in arms, as he thrust his lance in their faces. *I am no tiro*, replied one of them, *but a veteran of the Tenth*, hurl-

An engagement ensues, in which Cæsar is worsted.

¹ Auct. B. Afr. 4.

ing his ponderous pilum at his old commander. The skilful horseman covered himself by a rapid movement of his steed, which received the blow in its chest and fell under him. But the valour of the Tenth was unavailing; the pressure of the enemy's massive squadrons drove the men close together, or, in Roman military phrase, within the rails. Hardly able to use their arms in the throng, they gazed anxiously around in search of their commander, while they moved their bodies and inclined their heads to avoid the shower of missiles. By a great effort Cæsar threw his lines into a wedge, ranging the alternate cohorts back to back and separating the dense array of the enemy in the centre. The combat was divided into two parts on the right and left; but Cæsar had pierced an opening for retreat to his camp, and was glad to draw off his men, and abandon the field of battle to the republicans.¹

Cæsar now fortified his position on the coast, in connexion with the town and harbour of Ruspina, with more than usual care, for he felt the extreme precariousness of his position while awaiting the arrival of the expected supplies. At this period, however, events began to tell in his favour, both in the advance of Sittius and the Mauretians upon the Numidian capital, Cirta, which drew off Juba from Scipio's head-quarters, and also by the growing manifestations of feeling in his favour within the province. Even now, distressed and harassed as he was, many personages of rank and station began to resort to him; the harshness of the proconsul's administration drove the noble and the wealthy to his camp.² Cæsar published their complaints in his appeals to the rulers of the neighbouring provinces for supplies. He had come to Africa, he declared, to save the natives from spoliation, and the allies from utter destruction; but for his opportune arrival nothing but the bare soil would soon be left them. Four more legions shortly joined him from beyond the sea, and provisions with all kinds of military stores were collected in abundance, while Scipio, deprived of the aid of his Numidian allies, was seeking to

The provincials regard him with favour. His reinforcements arrive.

¹ Auct. *B. Afr.* 15-18.

² Auct. *B. Afr.* 26.

train a squadron of elephants to war, by a series of mimic combats.

The arrival of so large a number of Cæsar's veterans gave a decisive inclination to the scale of fortune. The legionaries of the republican army were personally no match for them, and even its numerical superiority in cavalry was greatly diminished, while the terror of Cæsar's prowess more than counterbalanced any other advantage it might possess. Scipio felt that he was unfit to contend with such an adversary in the field, and avoided a battle; while at the same time he had conceived no other distinct plan of opposition to him. But even this feeble policy was disconcerted by the rapidity of the assailant's movements. A month had scarcely elapsed from his first landing when he found himself in a condition to assume offensive operations. He surprised Scipio's position near Uzita, and forced his troops to an engagement from which they did not escape without considerable loss. The discomfited general could only revenge himself by putting to the sword the complements of two of Cæsar's transport vessels, which were cast away at Thapsus, and on the island Ægimurus.¹

Cæsar obtains
an advantage
over Scipio.

During these operations, however, the diversion on the side of Cirta had not proved so important as had been anticipated. Juba, after making his observations on the strength of the invaders, contented himself with deputing the defence of his capital to Sabura, while he returned with the larger part of his forces, to share in person the fortunes of his allies. The necessities of the Roman chiefs compelled them to submit to revolting indignities from the pride of their presumptuous colleague. He took upon himself to forbid Scipio the use of the emperor's purple cloak, which he declared to be an ensign of the kingly office; and restricted him to the white colour of the ordinary toga. When the barbarian issued his royal mandates to Roman officers, they were observed to be more punctually obeyed than the orders of the general himself.² But every insult was

Insolence of
Juba in the
senatorial
camp.

¹ Auct. B. Afr. 46.

² Auct. B. Afr. 57.

borne to secure the aid of the Numidian cavalry, which Cæsar was compelled to train his soldiers to baffle by a peculiar system of tactics. They were discouraged also by the elephants, which their horses could not endure to encounter. Cæsar fetched some animals of the kind from Italy, on purpose to familiarize both men and horses with the sight of the uncouth creatures; and it was found that, when the first terror of novelty was overcome, the unwieldy monsters did little service in battle.¹

Thus prepared for a decisive struggle, Cæsar long tried in vain to draw his adversary into a general engagement. At last, on the fourth of April, 708, he issued from his encampment by night and marched sixteen miles to Thapsus, where Virgilius commanded for Scipio with a considerable force.² When his determination to invest this place, important as well from its devotion to the republican cause as from the numbers of the garrison it contained, became known, Scipio felt the necessity of making an effort to preserve it. He summoned resolution to follow in the enemy's track, and pitched his camp over against him, at a distance of eight miles from the town. Cæsar had profited, in the meanwhile, by the few hours by which he had outstripped his opponents. There was only one route by which they could communicate with the place, which ran along a narrow strip of land, enclosed by the sea on one side, and a salt-water lake on the other. This isthmus Cæsar had secured the day before Scipio's arrival, throwing up fortifications, and posting a strong body of troops behind them. Having made these dispositions, he was applying himself to the investment of the city, when Scipio, unable to force an entrance into it, contented himself with taking up a position on the shore, from whence he might observe and impede the works of the besiegers. While some of his troops were employed in casting up the entrenchments, the main body was drawn up in battle array for their protection. Cæsar saw that the moment was arrived; he immediately led forth his

The hostile
armies meet
before Thap-
sus.

¹ Auct. *B. Afr.* 72.

² Auct. *B. Afr.* 79.; Dion, xliii. 7

own troops to the encounter, leaving two legions to cover the works already commenced, and, at the same time, gave orders to a portion of his fleet, which was riding off the shore, to divert the attention of the enemy by threatening to land a detachment in their rear.¹

If Cæsar felt a momentary distrust of the result of the approaching combat, it was caused by the consciousness that a large portion of his men were fresh recruits, who had never encountered an enemy before. To these he pointed out the sturdy veterans dispersed through their ranks, and bade them emulate the fame they had acquired, and merit similar titles and rewards. Some symptoms of vacillation on the part of their opponents gave new force and spirit to his exhortations. Men and officers crowded round their general, imploring him to give the word for the onset. While he still hesitated, or watched his opportunity, checking with hand and voice the impatient swaying of the lines, suddenly the blast of a single trumpet burst forth on the right wing. The impetuous ferocity of the tenth legion could no longer brook restraint; they had raised the signal unbidden, and now the whole army rushed forward in one unbroken body, overpowering the resistance of their officers. Cæsar, when he beheld rank after rank pouring by him, without the possibility of recal, gave the word *Good luck* to his attendants, and spurred his horse to the head of his battalions. The combat was speedily decided. The elephants, thrown into confusion by the first discharge of stones and arrows, turned upon the ranks they were placed to cover, and broke in pieces their array. The native cavalry were dismayed at losing their accustomed support, and were the first to abandon the field. Scipio's legionary force made little further resistance; their camp was close in the rear, and they were content to seek shelter behind the entrenchments. Deserted by their officers, they looked in vain for a leader to direct the defence of the ramparts. No one had been left in command of the

Battle of Thapsus, Apr. 6. A. U. 708. = Feb 6. B. C. 46.

Cæsar obtains a complete victory.

¹ Auct. B. Afr. 81.

camp. The fugitives, seized with panic terror, threw away their arms and betook themselves to the Numidian encampment near at hand. But, on reaching it, they found it already in the hands of the Cæsarians. They now withdrew in a body to a neighbouring eminence, and held out their bare arms and empty hands in sign of submission. But the victorious veterans were mad with fury and exultation; they would give no quarter to the unresisting multitude, and even slew some of their own comrades, men of gentle birth and nature, lately enlisted at Rome, and uninitiated in their brutal habits, in resentment at the attempt to curb their ferocity. Cæsar beheld the transaction with horror; but neither entreaties nor commands could prevail on the butchers to desist from their carnage.¹

This sudden and complete victory cost the conquerors no more than fifty men. Cæsar celebrated it by a grand sacrifice in the presence of the army, after which he addressed his soldiers with encomiums on their valour, and distributed a largess to the whole of his veteran forces, with special rewards to the most deserving. After this, leaving considerable detachments to conduct the siege of Thapsus and Thysdrus, he followed up the first report of his success by appearing before the walls of Utica. The destruction or rout of the republican army in the late battle had been no less complete than at Pharsalia. And, precisely as on that fatal day, the chiefs of the party had sought each his own safety by escaping unattended from the field. As the fugitives from Pharsalia had made no attempt to rally within the walls of Larissa, so for the most part the remnant of the slaughter of Thapsus left Utica in their rear, nor looked behind them till they had gained the sea or the recesses of Numidia. Scipio, with a few officers of high rank, attempted to make his way into Spain; but their vessels were driven by stress of weather to the harbour of Hippo, where Silius, who had routed and slain Sabura, had stationed a flo-

Dispersion of
the senatorial
chiefs.

¹ Auct. B. Afr. 85.

tilla of much greater force. The unequal combat ended in the destruction of the flying armament; while Scipio, after exhibiting pride and courage worthy of a Roman imperator, thrust his sword into his side, and leaped overboard.¹ A Damasippus and a Torquatus sank ingloriously to the bottom.

Death of Scipio and others.

It was late in the evening of the eighth of April when Cato received information at Utica of the result of the battle. The next morning he assembled the Roman senators and knights, together with the three hundred,² in the temple of Jupiter. By this time the news of the overwhelming disaster had spread among them. With surprise and admiration they beheld the calmness of their general's demeanour. He began by stating that he had summoned them to deliberate upon affairs of grave importance.³ Though professing himself still full of hope, and urging every one to nerve his courage for a magnanimous defence, he left the determination of their conduct to their own decision. For himself, he would not exercise his military authority to prevent them either from seeking safety by flight, or even opening the gates to the enemy; but if they were determined to defend the liberty of Rome to the last, he would place himself at their head, and lead them against the enemy, or prolong the struggle in some other quarter. He read the list of men, arms and stores which were still at their disposal; and the example of his calm courage was so effectual that they resolved on the spot to prepare for resistance, and began manumitting and arming their slaves. The remnant of the Roman nobility remained firm in their determination; their blood was more thoroughly inflamed against the enemy, and their hopes of pardon seemed more precarious. But the three

Cato animates the Romans in Utica to defence.

¹ Auct. *B. Afr.* 96.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 100.; Liv. *Epit.* civ.: "P. Scipio in nave circumventus honestæ morti vocem quoque adjecit: quærentibus enim Imperatorem hostibus dixit, Imperator bene se habet."

² These "three hundred," according to Plutarch, were Roman citizens engaged in commercial and monetary transactions in Africa, of whom Cato formed a council for the government of the city. Plut. *Cat. Min.* 59.

³ Auct. *B. Afr.* 88.

hundred, for the most part private speculators, men who had no personal quarrel against Cæsar, and had taken no part in the contest until the establishment of the republican headquarters in the centre of their peaceful town had compelled them to assume the attitude of political partizans, soon relaxed from the high-wrought enthusiasm to which they had for a moment given way. The few days which followed seemed to have been past in mutual intrigues between these parties and the natives of Utica, each fearful of being betrayed and sacrificed by the other. Cato felt the impossibility of reducing to harmony such discordant elements.

His exhortations failing, he recommends them to make their escape.

The last duty which remained to the patriot general was to save the persons of all Roman citizens from the treachery of the provincials, as well as from the vengeance of the conqueror. When it was announced that Cæsar was advancing at the head of the merciless legions which had given no quarter on the field of Thapsus, Cato closed all the gates except that which led to the sea, and urged the Roman senators to betake themselves to the ships which lay ready to receive them. He entreated all his personal friends to make their escape in the same manner, but about securing his own safety he said nothing, and seemed to take no thought. No one indeed doubted that he had formed his own resolution to die. Finally, he consulted with L. Cæsar on the terms in which he should intercede with his kinsmen on behalf of the three hundred, and despatched him to the conqueror's camp. When he had thus dismissed every one, excepting his own son, who would not abandon his father, and one or two friends and attendants, with whom he was wont to take his meals and discourse or declaim on subjects of sublime speculation, he passed the evening in animated conversation on his accustomed themes, and harangued with more than usual fervour on the famous paradox of the Stoics, that the good man alone is free, and all the bad are slaves. His companions could not fail to guess the secret purpose over which he was brooding. They betrayed their anxiety only by silent gestures; but Cato, observing the de-

pression of their spirits, strove to reanimate them and divert their thoughts by turning the conversation to topics of present interest.

The embarkation was at this moment proceeding, and Cato repeatedly inquired who had already put out to sea, and what were the prospects of their voyage. Retiring to his chamber he took up the Dialogue on the Soul, Cato committit suicide. in which Plato recorded his dying master's last aspirations after immortality. The academy might be justly proud of the homage of so noble a disciple of the Porch. But the Stoic could dispense with the consolations of any other school, for he had been taught to believe in a future existence, coeval at least with the frame of a perishable universe.¹ After reading for some time, he looked up and observed that his sword had been removed. In the irritation of the moment he gave way to a burst of violence, such as often characterized the behaviour of the Roman master to his slaves: calling his attendant to his presence he struck him on the mouth, bruising his own hand with the blow. He then sent for his son and friends, and rebuked them sharply for their unworthy precaution; *as if*, he said, *I needed a sword to kill myself, and might not, if I chose, put an end to my existence by dashing my head against the wall, or merely holding my breath.* They saw that it was vain to avert the blow which he seemed to meditate, and reassured, perhaps, for the moment by the calmness with which he conversed, they restored him his weapon, and at his earnest desire once more left him alone. At midnight, still anxious about those who were departing, he sent once again to inquire if the embarkation was completed. The messenger returned with the assurance that the last vessel was now on the point of leaving the quay. Thereupon Cato threw himself on his bed, as if about to take his rest for the night; but when all was quiet, he seized his

¹ This was the doctrine of Zeno (comp. Diog. Laert. vii. 156, 157. Plutarch, *de plac. Philos.* iv. 7.); Cicero's raillery is unmerciful (*Tusc. Disp.* i. 31.): "Stoici vero usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus; diu mansuros aiunt animos; semper, negant."

sword and thrust it into his stomach. The wound was not immediately mortal, and the victim rolled groaning on the floor. The noise at once summoned his anxious attendants. A surgeon was at hand, and the patient was unconscious while the protruding intestines were replaced, and the gash sewn up. But on coming to himself he repulsed his disconsolate friends, and tearing open the fatal wound, expired with the same dogged resolution which had distinguished every act of his life.¹

Such was the proud though melancholy end of the gravest philosopher Rome had yet produced: the first of a long line of heroes of the robe, whose dignified submission to an adverse fate will illustrate the pages of our history throughout the gloom of the imperial tyranny. The ancient heathens but faintly questioned the sufferer's right to escape from calamity by a voluntary death. It was reserved for the Christian moralists, in their vindication of nobler principles, to impugn the act which has rendered Cato's fame immortal.² The creed of the Stoic taught indeed that the world is governed by a moral Intelligence, and from such premises the obvious inference is, that it is the part of man to conform to its behests, and fulfil his appointed lot whether for good or for evil. But the philosophy which exalted man to a certain participation in the nature of the Deity,³ seemed to make him in some sort the arbiter of his own actions, and suicide, in Cato's view, might be no other than the accomplishment of a self-appointed destiny. The wisest of the heathens never understood that the true dignity of human nature consists in its submission to a higher Exist-

¹ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 58-70.; Dion, xliii. 10, 11.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 98, 99.; Auct. *B. Afr.* 88.

² Cato's suicide is applauded by Cicero, *Tusc.* i. 30., *Off.* i. 31., and Seneca, *Ep.* 24. 67. 71. 95. fin., 104. See also *de Prov.* 2. S. Augustine, on the contrary, contrasts it with the genuine heroism of Regulus (*de Civ. Dei.* l. 24.).

³ Lucan, ix. 564.:

“Ille deo plenus tacita quem mente gerebat.”

ence; that its only hope for the future is in the consciousness of its imperfection and weakness and reponsibility here.

Cato had no cause to despair of retaining life under the new tyranny. At an earlier period he had meditated, in such a contingency, seeking refuge in retirement and ^{Deaths of Juba and Petreius:} philosophy. But his views of the highest Good had deepened and saddened with the fall of the men and the things he most admired. He now calmly persuaded himself that with the loss of free action the end of his existence had failed of its accomplishment. He regarded his career as prematurely closed, and assuredly the dignity of his acquiescence demands our respect and compassion, if not the principle on which it was based. Far different was the manner in which the rude barbarian Juba and the coarse soldier Petreius rushed forward to meet their ends. They had escaped together from the field of battle, and the Numidian offered to provide shelter for his companion in one of his own strongholds. The Roman province was so ill-disposed towards the barbarian chief, that he was obliged to hide himself by day in the most secluded villages, and roam the country on his homeward flight during the hours of darkness. In this way he reached Zama, his second capital, where his wives and children, together with his most valuable treasures, were deposited. This place he had taken pains to fortify at the commencement of the war, with works of great extent and magnitude. But on his appearance before the walls, the inhabitants deliberately shut their gates against him, and refused to admit the enemy of the victorious Roman. Before setting out on his last expedition, Juba had constructed an immense pyre in the centre of the city, declaring his intention, if fortune went ill with him, of heaping upon it every thing he held most dear and precious, together with the murdered bodies of the principal citizens, and then taking his own place on the summit, and consuming the whole in one solemn conflagration. But the Numidians had no sympathy with this demonstration of their sovereign's despair, and resolved not to admit him within their walls. Juba having tried in

vain every kind of menace and entreaty, to which no reply was vouchsafed, at last retired, but only to experience a similar reception in every other quarter to which he resorted. He at least had little to hope from the clemency which the victor had extended to his conquered countrymen. His companion, hard as his own iron corslet, scorned to accept it. The fugitives supped together, and, flushed with the fumes of the banquet, challenged each other to mutual slaughter. They were but unequally matched: the old veteran was soon despatched by his more active antagonist; but Juba was constant in his resolution, and only demanded the assistance of an attendant to give himself the last fatal stroke.¹

Nor was the fate of Considius, of Afranius, and Faustus Sulla less disastrous. The first of these had abandoned the defence of Thysdrus at the approach of the forces which Cæsar despatched against it, and attempted to make his escape with the treasures he had amassed into the territories, until now friendly, of the Numidian chieftains. He was destroyed, for the sake of his hoarded booty, by the Gætulians who accompanied him in his flight. The others had retained the command of a squadron of Scipio's cavalry, and after burning one town which had shut its gates against them, had made a desperate attack on the military post which Cato maintained outside the walls of Utica, to wreak an unworthy vengeance on the Cæsarian partizans there kept in custody. Baffled in this object they had made their way into Utica, while Cato still commanded there and had added bitterness to his last days by the violence and ferocity of their behaviour. From thence they led their ruffians along the coast in the hope of finding means of transporting them into Spain. But on their way they fell in with Sitius, who was advancing to join Cæsar; their men were routed and themselves taken. The bands of the Roman adventurer carried on war with the same brutality as the barbarians among whom they practised it. The captors quar-

¹ Auct. *B. Afr.* 91. 94.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 100.; Dion, xliii. 8.; Senecæ *de Prov.* 2.; Flor. iv. 2. 69.

relled among themselves; their passions were inflamed, perhaps, in the distribution of the prisoners and the booty; and both Afranius and Faustus were killed in the fray which ensued.¹ But the massacre of the son of the dictator Sulla, accidental as it was, or at least unauthorized, could hardly fail of being charged as a deliberate act upon the representative of Marius.

While his foes were thus flying and falling, Cæsar advanced triumphantly from the scene of his last exploit, receiving the submission of the towns on his way, carrying off the stores and treasure collected for his enemies' use, and leaving garrisons to retain them in fidelity. As he drew near to Utica he was met by L. Cæsar, whose petition for mercy seems to have been confined to his own person, and to whom, as well as to a long list of distinguished nobles, the conqueror extended the promise of his protection.² He lamented with every appearance of sincerity that Cato had robbed him of the pleasure of pardoning one who, of all his antagonists, had been the most obstinate in his opposition, and the most inveterate in his hatred. The fatal compliance of the Utican senators, who, not content with obeying his enemies' commands, had contributed money to their cause, furnished him with a specious pretence for rifling their coffers of the treasures he now most urgently needed.³ His requisitions amounted to two hundred

Cæsar exacts large sums from the conquered cities.

¹ Such is the statement of the author of the book *de Bello Africano*, and it is supported by Suetonius, *Jul.* 75. Other writers, Dion, Florus, Eutropius, and Orosius, countenance the notion that Cæsar caused them to be put to death.

² Dion (xliii. 12.) gives currency to a report that Cæsar caused his kinsman to be put to death privily some time afterwards. Such a story need only be mentioned to put the reader on his guard against the historian's inaccuracy.

³ Appian (*B. C.* ii. 100.) asserts that Cæsar caused as many of the three hundred as he captured to be put to death, and Dion speaks of the assassinations he privately commanded. Nicolaus Damascenus says that Cæsar was very implacable towards the captives of the African war, σφόδρα ὀλίγοις τῶν ὑποπεσόντων αἰχμαλώτων συγγυῶς, διὰ τὸ τοῖς προτέροις αὐτοῦς μὴ σεσωφρονησθαι πολέμοις. His kinsman Octavius with great difficulty extorted from

millions of sesterees. At the same time the city of Thapsus was mulcted in two millions, and the company of Roman traders in three. Adrumetum paid down three millions, and its Roman capitalists five. Leptis and Thysdrus also suffered in due proportion. A grand auction was held at Zama for the sale of all the objects of Juba's royal state, and of the goods of the Roman citizens who had borne arms under the tyrant's orders. Upon the people who had so boldly defied their sovereign, and refused him admittance within their walls, honours and largesses were munificently showered, and the taxes heretofore demanded for the royal treasury were partially remitted by the collectors of the republic. But the country of Numidia was deprived of its independence, and definitively reduced to the form of a province, under the proconsulate of Sallustius.¹ The rewarded and the punished acquiesced equally in the conqueror's dispositions; the submission of Africa to his authority was from thenceforth complete. The Uticans were allowed to commemorate with a funeral and a statue the humane and noble conduct of their late governor.

Cæsar settled the affairs of Africa with his usual despatch, and sailed from Utica on the thirteenth of June.² On his way to Italy, he stopped at Caralis, in Sardinia. The aid which the island had afforded to his adversaries furnished him with a decent pretext for ex-

Cæsar sails for Sardinia, and thence to Italy.

him the pardon of a brother of his friend Agrippa. *Fragm. xcix. : περί τῆς Καίσαρος ἀγωγῆς, 7.* Nevertheless, I see no reason to credit statements at variance with the direct evidence of other writers, and opposed to the general opinion of his clemency towards his countrymen when they fell into his power, an opinion never popularly held of those who shed Roman blood on the scaffold. Appian allows that Cæsar pardoned Cato's son, and restored the daughter of Pompeius, the wife of F. Sulla, with her two children, to Cnæus; and Dion acknowledges that he burnt Scipio's papers unread, and exhibited other marks of moderation and generosity: *καίτοι καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα ἔσωσεν ἄν* (xliii. 13.).

¹ Auct. *B. Afr.* 97. Dion, xliii. 9. : *τῷ Σαλουστίῳ, λόγῳ μὲν ἄρχειν, ἔργῳ δὲ ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν, ἐπέτρεψε.* The same historian goes on to describe in bitter language the shameless rapacity of the proconsul, and to contrast it with the pretensions to purity he makes in his histories.

² June 13, A. U. 708 = April 14, B. C. 46. Fischer, *Röm. Zeitafeln*

torting from the inhabitants large sums of money. At the end of the same month he again weighed anchor; but the prevalence of easterly winds drove him repeatedly to shore, and he at last reached Rome on the twenty-eighth day after his departure from the Sardinian capital.¹ The reports he received at this time of the revival of the republican cause in Spain did not give him much uneasiness. Cnæus had been detained by sickness in the Balears, and the fugitives from the field of Thapsus had been almost all cut off in their attempts to reach the point to which their last hopes were directed. The legionaries who had mutinied against Quintus Cassius were still either dissatisfied with their treatment under the commander who had superseded him, or fearful of their general's vengeance when a fitting opportunity should arrive. It was from Cæsar's own soldiers that the invitation had gone forth to the republican chiefs to renew the struggle on the soil of Spain. The spirit of the old commonwealth still survived in many of the towns of Bætica; promises of support were freely given; but the remnant of the African armament was contemptible both in numbers and ability. Of all the haughty nobles who had thronged the tent of Pompeius at Luceria or Thessalonica, not one with a name known to history remained in arms, except Labienus alone. He indeed had succeeded in making his escape from Africa, in company with Varus; but the insurgents had already placed themselves under the command of Scapula and Aponius, officers of their own, nor would they suffer themselves to be transferred from them to any other except the son of the great Pompeius. The extent to which the flame of insurrection had spread was probably unknown at this time to Cæsar. He was impatient to reap at last the fruit of so much bloodshed, to assume the powers and preroga-

Revival of opposition to Cæsar in Spain.

¹ Auct. *B. Afr.* 98. The period seems extraordinary for so short a distance, and the author's words will perhaps bear the meaning, that it is to be computed from Cæsar's leaving, not Caralis, but Utica. But from certain notes of time which will appear below, I think the statement in the text is correct.

tives he had extorted, and to work out the principles and objects of so many years of anticipation. A distant and contemptible outbreak might be subdued without meeting it in person. Accordingly, C. Didius, an officer of no eminent reputation, was sent with a naval and military force to the succour of Trebonius, whom, however, he found already expelled from his government by the growing force of the new movement.¹

Meanwhile, Rome had sunk, during the conqueror's absence, into a state of torpid tranquillity. The universal conviction that the dictator's power was irresistible had quelled all further heavings of the spirit of discontent. Dolabella had been gratified with a command in the late campaign; while others, in whose fidelity and military skill the usurper could rely, had been left behind in the city to overawe disaffection. The most illustrious of the nobility, having now no occasion to remain at Rome for the sake of paying court to a jealous ruler, had retired generally to their country seats; but Cicero seems to have feared giving occasion for distrust if he withdrew himself from the broad eye of public observation.² He occupied himself, however, in his philosophical studies, and could rejoice that he had never, like so many of his contemporaries, when plunging into the excitements of political life, abandoned the literary pursuits common to them in youth. While he still regarded the contest in Africa with the sentiments of a true republican, he confessed with a sigh, that though the one cause was assuredly the more just, yet the victory of either would be equally disastrous. He probably

Honours showed upon Cæsar by the senate and people during his absence.

viction that the dictator's power was irresistible had quelled all further heavings of the spirit of discontent. Dolabella had been gratified with a command in the late campaign; while others, in

¹ Dion, xliii. 29.

² Cic. *ad Div.* ix. 2. (to Varro): "Quæres cur, cum hæc in urbe sint, non absim quemadmodum tu. Nobis stet illud, una vivere in studiis nostris, a quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus, nunc vero etiam salutem." *Ibid.* 6.: "Equidem hos tuos Tusculanenses dies instar esse vitæ puto; quod nos quoque imitamur ut possumus, et in nostris studiis libentissime conquiescimus." *Ibid.* 20.: "Literis me involvo, aut scribo aut lego." See Fischer, *R. Z.* In the autumn of this year (708), i. e. after Cæsar's return to Rome, Cicero wrote the *Laus Catonis*, and the *Brutus, sive de claris Oratoribus*.

held aloof from the proceedings of the servile senate, which occupied itself during the months of Cæsar's absence in devising new honours for his acceptance. First of all it decreed the religious ceremony of a thanksgiving of forty days, being twice the term to which the compliance of popular gratitude had ever previously extended, and it was by the length of the observance that the honour was estimated. Next it appointed that the victor's triumphal car should be drawn by horses of white, the sacred colour,¹ and that the number of his attendant lictors should be doubled. He was to be requested to undertake the office of Censor for three years, under a new title, which should not remind the citizens too closely of the times of republican liberty, that of Præfectus morum, or regulator of manners. The changes which the revolutionary storm had effected in the condition of so many of the citizens justified a resort to the old constitutional resource for purging the senate of scandalous or impoverished members, and infusing new blood into its veins. The most substantial, however, of all these tributes to Cæsar's ascendancy was the decree by which he was appointed dictator for a period of ten years; for thus the initiative of legal measures was united in his hands with the command of the legions both at home and abroad. Other specious honours, in the taste of the times, were accumulated upon him. His chair was to be placed between those of the consuls in the assembly of the senate; he was to preside and give the signal in the games of the circus; and his figure in ivory was to be borne in procession among the images of the gods, and laid up in the Capitol, opposite the seat of Jupiter himself.² A statue was to be erected to him in bronze, standing upon a globe, with the inscription, *Cæsar the demi-god.*³

¹ Dion, xliii. 14. Camillus triumphed with white horses by a special decree of the senate. But this unwonted and impious flattery conduced to his fall. Plut. *Camil.*; Aur. Vict. *de vir. illust.* c. 23. It seems not to have been repeated till this occasion.

² Dion, xliii. 14. The thensa, Gr. *ἄρμα*, was properly a sort of litter in which the statues of the gods were carried in certain processions.

³ Dion, *l. c.*; comp. Servius on Virg. *Ecl.* ix. 47

His name was to be engraved on the entablature of the Capitol, in the place of that of Catulus, its true restorer. The historian who recounts these honours, assures us that many others besides these were offered; he has only omitted to specify them because Cæsar did not think fit to accept them. It is difficult to imagine to what lower depth of obsequiousness the senate could have descended, or what higher dignities the conqueror would have rejected.

The time had now arrived for the celebration of the Gallic triumph, which had been so long postponed. In the interval, the emperor's victories had been multiplied, and the ranks of his veterans had been recruited by fresh enlistments; so that every soldier who had shared in his later perils and successes, demanded the reward of participating in his honours. Cæsar claimed not one, but four triumphs: the first, for his conquest of the Gauls; the second for his defeat of Ptolemæus; another, for his victory over Pharnaces; and the last, for the overthrow of Juba. But he carefully avoided all reference to what were in reality the most brilliant of his achievements. In Spain and Thessaly he had routed the disciplined legions of his own countrymen; but their defeat brought no accession of honour or territory to the republic. The glory it reflected on the victor was dubious and barren.¹ The four triumphs were celebrated, with intervals of a few days between each, that the interest of the public might not pall with satiety. The first procession formed in the Campus Martius, outside the walls of the city. It defiled through the triumphal gate at the foot of the Capitoline hill, and crossed the deep hollow of the Velabrum and Forum Boarium, on its way to the Circus Maximus, which occupied the valley between the Palatine and Aventine. In passing through the Velabrum, the chariot in which the emperor stood, happened to break down; a mischance which so affected him that he never afterwards, it is said, ascended a vehicle without repeating a charm.² The

Celebration of
Cæsar's four
triumphs;
August,
A. U. 708. =
June, B. C. 46.

¹ Comp. Val. Max. ii. 8. 7.

² Plin. *H. N.* xxviii. 2., who adds, "Id quod plerosque nunc facere scimus."

long procession wound round the base of the Palatine, skirting the Aventine and Cælian hills, to the point where the arch of Constantine now stands.¹ There it began the ascent of the gentle slope which separates the basin of the Colosseum from that of the Roman forum. It followed the same track which now leads under the arch of Titus, paved at this day with solid masses of hewn stone, which may possibly have echoed to the tramp of Cæsar's legions. Inclining a little to the right at the point where it gained the summit of the ridge, and looked down upon the comitium and rostra, in the direction of the Capitol, it passed before the spot where the temple of Julius was afterwards built; thence it skirted the right side of the forum, under the arch of Fabius, till it reached the point just beyond the existing arch of Severus, where the two roads branched off, the one to the Capitoline temple, the other to the Mamertine prison. Here it was that Cæsar took the route of triumph to the left, while Vercingetorix was led away to the right, and strangled in the subterranean dungeon. The Gaulish hero doubtless met with firmness and dignity the fate to which he had so long been doomed, while his conqueror was exhibiting a melancholy spectacle of human infirmity, crawling up the steps of the Capitol on his knees, to avert, by an act of childish humiliation, the wrath of the avenging Nemesis.² The next instance of similar degradation recorded is that of the emperor Claudius, who, being corpulent and clumsy, performed the ungraceful feat with the support of an arm on either side.³ The practice was probably of no unusual occurrence, and was deeply rooted, we may believe, in ancient and popular prejudices. A remnant of it still exists, and may be witnessed by

¹ I abstain from tracing more minutely the route of the triumphal procession, which must be considered as still open to discussion; Becker's views, however, seem to me on the whole nearly conclusive. See his *Handbuch der Röm. Alterthümer*, i. 145. foll.

² Dion, xliii. 21. That there was, however, some better feeling mixed with this display of superstition may be believed from the fact that Cæsar caused the blasphemous inscription on his statue to be erased.

³ Dion, lx. 23.

the curious, even at the present day, on the steps of the Ara Celi, and at the Santa Scala of the Lateran.

The days of triumph which succeeded passed over with uninterrupted good fortune. The populace were gratified with the sight of the Egyptian princess, Arsinoë, led as a captive at the conqueror's wheels; but she was spared the fate of the Gaulish chieftain out of favour to her sister, or perhaps out of pity to her sex. The son of the king of Numidia who followed the triumphal car was also spared, and lived to receive back his father's crown from Augustus.¹ Though Cæsar abstained from claiming the title of a triumph over his countrymen, he did not scruple to parade their effigies among the shows of the procession. The figures or portraits of the vanquished chiefs were carried on litters, and represented the manner of their deaths. Scipio was seen leaping desperately into the sea; Cato plunging the sword into his own bowels; Juba and Petreius engaged in mortal duel; Lentulus stabbed by the Egyptian assassin; Domitius pierced in the back, perhaps in token of his flight. The figure of Pompeius alone was withheld for fear of the commiseration it might excite among the people whose favourite he had so lately been.² Nor, as it was, were the spectators unmoved. Upon the unfeeling display of Roman defeat and disaster they reflected with becoming sensibility. But the pictures of Achilles and Pothinus were received with unmingled acclamations, and loud was the cry of scorn at the exhibition of Pharnaces flying in confusion from the field.³ After all, the most impressive part of the

¹ Plut. *Cæs.* 55. While he remained at Rome he received an education in Greek literature, and became a respectable historian: *μακαριωτάτην ἀλοῦς ἄλωσιν*, says the man of letters. Comp. Strabo, xvii. 3.

² The illustrious citizens thus represented were not only those who by their alliance with the barbarian potentate in Africa might be supposed to have forfeited all claim to the consideration of their countrymen. Duruy, ii. 520. Appian says expressly that Pompeius alone was excepted of all the chiefs of the republican party.

³ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 101. Compare a similar representation in Scipio's triumph as described by Silius Italicus, xvii. ad fin. :

“Sed non ulla magis mentesque oculosque tenebat
Quam visa Hannibalis campis fugientis imago.”

ceremony must have been the appearance of the rude veterans whose long files closed the procession. With what ignorant wonder must the children of Gaul and Iberia, of Epirus and Africa, have gazed at the splendour of the city, of which the fame resounded in their native cabins! What contempt must they have felt for the unarmed multitudes grinning around them! How reckless must they have been of the dignity of the consuls and senators, they who claimed the licence of shouting derisive songs in the ears of their own commander! Little did they think that grave historians would sum up their coarse camp jokes in evidence against the fame of their illustrious leader; still less did they dream of the new power which the military class was thenceforth to constitute in the state. Rome in fact was their own; but it was a secret they were not yet to discover.

The satisfaction of his armed supporters, however, was the first condition on which the supreme power of the dictator must henceforth be maintained in the city. It was a matter, indeed, of hardly less importance to secure the good humour of the urban population. While the soldiers received each a donative of twenty thousand sesterces, the claims of the much larger multitude of the free citizens were not undervalued severally at four hundred; especially as they received the additional gratification of one year's remission of house-rent.¹ It does not appear how this indulgence differed from that for which Cælius and Dolabella had raised their commotions; but the dictator had so strenuously resisted every attempt to set aside the just claims of creditors on all previous occasions, that it can hardly be doubted that in this case he gave the landlords compensation from the public treasury. The mass of the citizens was feasted at a magnificent banquet, at which the Chian and Falernian wines, the choicest produce of Greece and Italy, flowed freely from the hogshead, and towards which six thousand lampreys, the most exquisite delicacy of the Roman

Largesses distributed to the soldiers and people.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 38. The sums mentioned are equivalent to about 200*l.* and 4*l.* respectively.

epicure, were furnished by a single breeder.¹ The mighty multitude reclined before twenty-two thousand tables; each table having its three couches, and each couch, we may suppose, its three guests; so that the whole number feasted may have amounted to nearly two hundred thousand.² When Cæsar undertook the functions of his censorship, the number of recipients of the public distributions of corn was estimated at three hundred and twenty thousand. Upon a scrutiny into their claims as genuine and resident citizens, he was enabled to strike off as many as one hundred and fifty thousand from this list.³ Adding to the remainder of the senators and knights, and the few wealthy individuals who might have scorned to partake of a state provision, the sum will correspond pretty accurately with the number of the imperial guests as above computed.

The public shows with which these gratifications were accompanied, were carried out on a scale of greater magnificence than even those recently exhibited by Pompeius. There was nothing in which the magistrates of the republic vied more ostentatiously with one another than in the number of wild beasts and gladiators which they brought into the arena. The natural taste of the Italian people for shows and mummery degenerated more and more into an appetite for blood; but in this, as in every other respect, it was Cæsar's ambition to outdo his predecessors, and the extraordinary ferocity and carnage of the exhibitions which he complacently witnessed, excited a

Exhibition of
gladiatorial
shows.

¹ Plin. *II. N.* xiv. 17., ix. 81.; Varro, *R. R.* iii. 17.

² Plutarch's words (*Cæs.* 55.) are: ἐστιάσας ἐν δισμῆριοις καὶ εἰσχιλοῖς τρικλίνοις ὁμοῦ σύμπαντας.

³ Suet. *Jul.* 41.; Dion, xiii. 21. Undoubtedly Suetonius's words will bear no other meaning: "Ex viginti treecentisque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit." Livy, however, is supposed to have given a different account (*Epit.* exv.): "Recensum egit quo eensa sunt civium capita centum quinquaginta millia," and he is followed by Drumann and others. So also Plutarch. This is very probably the error of the epitomizer, afterwards repeated by later writers. Dion contents himself with saying that the number was reduced by about one half.

shudder even in the brutal multitude.¹ The combatants in the games of the circus were either professional gladiators, who sold their services for a certain term of years, or captives taken in war, or, lastly, public criminals. But Cæsar was, perhaps, the first to encourage private citizens to make an exhibition of their skill and valour in these mortal combats. He allowed several men of equestrian rank, and one the son of a prætor, to demean themselves in the eyes of their countrymen by this exposure to the public gaze. It was only when a senator named Fulvius Setinus asked permission thus to prostitute his dignity, that the dictator was at last roused to restrain the growing degradation.

If the people of Rome were shocked at the bloodshed which they were invited to applaud, it seems that they were offended also at the vast sums which were lavished on these ostentatious spectacles.² They would have preferred, perhaps, that the donative to themselves should have been greater, and the soldiers even exhibited symptoms of discontent and mutiny in consequence. No instance of Cæsar's profuse expenditure excited greater admiration than his stretching a silken awning over the heads of the spectators in the Circus. This beautiful material was brought only from the furthest extremity of India, and was extremely rare and precious at Rome at that time. Three centuries later it was still so costly that a Roman emperor forbade his wife the luxury of a dress of the finest silk un-mixed with a baser fabric.³ But a more permanent and worthy object of imperial expenditure was the gorgeous forum of which Cæsar had long since laid the foundation with the spoils of his Gallic wars. Between the old Roman forum and the foot of the Quirinal, he caused a large space to be enclosed with rows of marble corridors, connecting in one suite halls of justice, chambers of commerce, and arcades for public recreation. In the centre was erected a temple to Venus the ancestress, the patroness for whom Cæsar had

Dedication of
the Julian
forum.

¹ Dion, xliii. 24.

² Dion, *l. c.*

³ Vopisc. *Aurel.* 45.

woven a breastplate of British pearls,¹ and whose name he had used as his watchword on the days of his greatest victories.² He now completed the series of his triumphal shows by the dedication of this favourite work.³ It remained for centuries a conspicuous monument of the fame and magnificence of the first of the Cæsars. His successors were proud to cluster new arches and columns by its side, and bestowed their names upon the edifices they erected in connexion with it. Finally, Trajan cut through the depressed ridge which joined the Capitoline with the Quirinal, and impeded the further extension of the Imperial forums. The level space thus obtained he crowded with a new range of buildings, occupying as much ground as the united works of his predecessors in this quarter. To the magnitude of this elevation a reference is made, not without some obscurity of expression, in the inscription on the pillar which bears his name.⁴

Our review of the dictator's proceedings in the discharge of his civil functions must be postponed, but only for a moment, to relate the short episode of his last military exploit. The despatches of his lieutenants in Spain represented that province as rapidly fall-

The republicans make head in Spain under Cnæus.

¹ Plin. *H. N.* ix. 57.

² He had vowed this offering to the goddess on the morning of the battle of Pharsalia. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 102.

³ "Kalend. Pincian. vi. Kal. Octob. Veneri Genetrici in foro Cæsar." Orell. *Inscr.* ii. 399. According to Dion the consecration took place on the day of the last triumph: this then was the 26th of September, A. U. 708. The series of triumphal shows was comprehended in a period of one month. It must have begun therefore about the end of August, and the preparatory having, no doubt, been made before, it is not likely that Cæsar delayed the celebration more than a few weeks after his return to Italy. This consideration seems to confirm the account (p. 305.) that he was twenty-eight days in his passage from Caralis to Rome.

⁴ The inscription on the base of the column runs: . . . "ad declarandum quantæ altitudinis mons et locus tantis operibus sit cgestus." The height of the column is supposed by some to indicate, not indeed the elevation of the ridge, but the point of the two opposite declivities from which the soil was scooped away to form a level in the centre. The column is 130 feet high, while the summits of the Capitoline and Quirinal are not more than 137 and

ing into the hands of the republican faction. Varus and Labienus had escaped from Africa, and joined the standard under which Scapula marshalled the disaffected legions in Spain. Cnæus Pompeius had also issued from his retreat in the Balearic Isles, and as soon as he appeared in their camp every chief of the oligarchy waived his own pretensions to the command in deference to the man who represented the fame and fortunes of their late leader. Yet Scapula had the confidence of the soldiers, Labienus was an officer of tried ability and reputation, and Varus had at least held the highest military commands, while Cnæus himself was personally unknown to the legions in Spain, and his only achievement in war had been a dashing naval exploit. So cowed by its repeated reverses was the spirit of the old Roman party, which had revived for a moment in Africa with vain exultation at finding itself relieved from the ascendancy of its own military champion. Cnæus, on his part, seems to have regarded the renewed contest in the light of a private quarrel. His war-cry was not *Rome, Liberty, or The Senate*, but *Pietas, Filial duty*.¹ The disaffection among Cæsar's soldiers had spread; a large body of them had enrolled themselves under their new leaders; their numbers had been augmented by provincial enlistments; even slaves had been drafted into the ranks;² while the cities and states of the peninsula lent their aid more or less openly to the cause. It was not in the remoter parts of the province, or among the half-subdued native principalities, but in the centre of Roman influence and civilization, in Corduba itself, that the standard of the adventurers was unfurled. Cæsar had completed the ceremonies of his quadruple triumph, and was deeply engaged in the arduous task of legislation for the new system of government which he had undertaken to raise, when he found it necessary to postpone every other occupation to meeting his enemies

Cæsar's final campaign in Spain, decided by the victory of Munda, March 17, A. U. 769.

151 feet respectively above the level of the Tiber. Bunsen, *Beschreibung Roms*, i. 31.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 104.

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 103.

once more in arms. So uncertain and tedious was the navigation of those days, that he may have chosen the land route across the Alps and Pyrenees, for the sake of reaching his destination with greater speed.¹ The details of the campaign into which he immediately plunged are given, but very obscurely, in the last of the series of contemporary memoirs which have hitherto been our guides throughout the military history of the period. In point of composition it betrays less literary accomplishment than any of its kindred works. The rude soldier who seems to have been its author, had no hesitation in recording in their undisguised enormity the cruelties which disgraced the conduct of both parties. Cæsar's character for humanity suffers more in this than in any other contemporary narrative of his actions. The campaign was, indeed, a series of butcheries on either side, but Cnæus was, perhaps, the most savagely ferocious of all the captains of the civil wars.² The scenes of the last act of Roman liberty were laid in the valley of the Guadalquivir and the defiles of the Sierra Blanca. After a variety of desultory movements, of which we obtain from the narrative only an indistinct notion, we find the rival armies at last drawn up in hostile array on the field of Munda.³ Cæsar was this time superior in numbers, and especially in cavalry;⁴ but the enemy was well posted, and fought well: never, it is said, was the great conqueror brought so near to defeat and destruction. He exhibited, as on other critical occasions, all the personal courage of a private soldier, snatching a shield from one of the legion-

¹ Appian (*l. c.*) says that Cæsar arrived *in Spain* from Rome in twenty-seven days accompanied by a part of his army; Suetonius (*Jul.* 56.) that he reached the *Further Province* in twenty-four. Strabo seems to rely on the same authorities as Appian (iii. 4.). From Rome to Corduba or Cbulco, is more than a thousand miles, a distance which it is utterly impossible for an army to accomplish in the longest of these periods. The author of the *Commentary on the Spanish War* is contented with the expression "ecleri festinatione," and Dion prudently follows him.

² Comp. a letter of C. Cassius to Cicero (*ad Div.* xv. 19.).

³ Munda, the modern Monda, between Ronda and Malaga.

⁴ Auct. *Bell. Hispan.* 30.

aries, and rushing within ten paces of the enemy's line, where he was exposed to the aim of two hundred pikes and javelins. The officers were the first to dash forward to protect him with their bodies; and the soldiers, at the very height of their dismay, were recalled to themselves by this splendid example. When the battle was at last gained, Cæsar is said to have remarked, that he had often fought for victory, but never before for his life.¹

Thirty thousand men were left on this decisive field, and among them Varus, Labienus, and many others of the remnant of the Roman nobility. Cnæus escaped from the scene of his disaster, and gained the coast with a few adherents. He had taken refuge on board a vessel, and was in the act of putting to sea, when having accidentally entangled his foot in a rope, an over-zealous attendant, in attempting to extricate him, wounded his ankle with the blow of a hatchet. He was now compelled to land again for the sake of obtaining surgical assistance: his retreat was discovered by his pursuers, and he was forced to quit it and betake himself to the forests. Wearied and desperate he threw himself at the foot of a tree, where he was speedily overtaken, and killed after a miserable struggle.² His head, with those of his colleagues in arms, was presented to the conqueror; and the complete defeat and ruin of the adventurers was thus publicly notified. Of all the leaders of the senatorial party, Sextus Pompeius was now the only survivor. He had made his escape from the field of Munda, and had sought an asylum in the wildest districts of the Hither Province. He had nothing to hope from the clemency of the conqueror, who had shown unusual bitterness against his family by the confiscation of

Destruction of the republican leaders, and death of Cnæus.

Sextus alone maintains himself in arms.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 104. The battle was fought on the 17th of March A. D. 709: "Ipsis Liberalibus fusi fugatique sunt Pompeiani." Auct. *B. H.* 31. Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 713.: "Tertia post Idus lux est celeberrima Baccho;" i. e. the third day inclusive; the Ides was the 15th Kal. Farnes. xvi. Kal. Apr. Liber Libero in Ca Cæsar Hi[s]paniam] Orell. *Inscr.* ii. p. 387.

² Appian, *B. C.* ii. 105.; Dion, xliii. 40.; Auct. *B. Hisp.* 39.

their patrimonial estates, and was now preparing to celebrate his triumph over them as foreigners and enemies of the state.¹ Thus driven to despair, he infused new spirit into the predatory habits of the tribes among whom he had taken refuge, and continued to defy the power of the provincial authorities. Cæsar occupied himself for some months in reconstituting the government of Spain, taking precautions for the entire subjugation of the party which had shown such vitality in that quarter. The battle of Munda was fought on the seventeenth of March, but the dictator was not at liberty to return to Italy till September, after an absence of ten months.

The hostile attitude of the last of the Pompeii in Spain was not the only exception to the tranquillity which prevailed generally throughout the empire. In Gaul the *Disturbances in Syria.* Bellovaci had risen in arms; but this movement was expeditiously repressed by Decimus Brutus, the proconsul of the newly conquered province.² In the extreme East, however, the republican party still continued to make head, under the leadership of Cæcilius Bassus.³ Their champion was an obscure knight, and their forces were insignificant, consisting principally of two legions which Bassus had seduced from their allegiance to Sextus Cæsar, the commander to whose care Syria had been entrusted by his kinsman.⁴ But the proximity of the Parthians, ever on the watch for an opportunity to wound the sides of their great rivals, rendered any movement in this quarter formidable. Sextus Cæsar was murdered by his soldiers, and Bassus took possession of the city of Apamea, which, with the assistance of the national enemies, he continued to hold against the petty attempts which were made to dislodge him. The dictator kept his eye upon him, and already meditated his destruction: but for the present he was content to leave his temerity unpunished, while he applied himself to the consolidation of his power by bold and comprehensive legislation at home.

¹ Appian, *l. c.*; Cic. *ad Att.* xii. 37.; Dion, xlvi. 10.; Strabo, iii.

² Liv. *Epît.* civ.

³ Liv. *l. c.*; Dion, xlvi. 26.; Strabo, xvi. 2.; Auct. *B. Alex.* 78

⁴ Auct. *B. Alex.* 66.

CHAPTER XX.

CÆSAR'S LEGISLATION: HIS SUMPTUARY LAWS: INCREASE OF THE NUMBER OF THE SENATE: LIMITATION OF THE TERM OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS: EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE: DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS TO THE VETERANS: MEASURES FOR MULTIPLYING THE FREE POPULATION OF ITALY: ASSIGNMENT OF THE JUDICIA TO THE SENATORS AND KNIGHTS, TO THE EXCLUSION OF THE ÆRARIAN TRIBUNES: REPRESSION OF CRIMES OF VIOLENCE, AND ABOLITION OF THE CLUBS.—CÆSAR CONTEMPLATES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN UNIFORM SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION: HE PROPOSES TO COMPILE A CODE OF LAWS, AND TO EXECUTE A COMPLETE MAP OF THE EMPIRE.—CÆSAR'S PATRONAGE OF LITERATURE: HIS REFORM OF THE CALENDAR: HIS REFORMS ARE VIEWED WITH JEALOUSY BY THE NOBLES: HE IS ACCUSED OF PRIDE AND ARROGANCE.—THE DEMEANOUR OF CLEOPATRA TENDS TO MAKE HIM UNPOPULAR; AT THE SAME TIME HE IS FLATTERED AND HIS CLEMENCY EXTOLLED.—HE DISBANDS HIS SOLDIERS, AND RELIES ON THE FAVOUR OF THE CITIZENS.

WE have now followed the career of Julius Cæsar to the point at which his supremacy is finally established, and the proud defiance of a licentious oligarchy has subsided into the murmur of a broken and proscribed faction. We have seen him commence his political existence with the assertion of the popular claims identified with the hero of his own house. He urged them with a fearless vehemence, in which it is impossible to mistake the sincerity of his devotion. The first steps of every popular champion are bold and decided. At the outset he has a distinct object before him; he knows what his grievances are, if not their true remedies. He may delude himself as he proceeds with the fancy that he is reconstructing, but there is no deception about the fact that he is pulling down. His days and years are marked by the successive

General view
of the spirit of
Cæsar's legisla-
tion,
A. U. 709.
B. C. 45.

demolition of real and substantial things, while his new creations are perhaps no more than ideas. Such, however, was not the case with Cæsar. From the time, indeed, of his first entry into public life, his name had been signalized by the overthrow, one by one, of the strongholds of ancient privilege, and in the ardour of the attack, straitened in his means and controlled in his natural impulses, he had little opportunity of applying himself to the task of renovation. Accordingly, when the ruins of the past began to be cleared away, he was astonished to behold how great was the gap he had made. The solemn question now urged itself upon him, how this desolate space was to be again filled up; and in the boldness and originality of his views, it found an appropriate solution. But the work to be performed was long, and the time granted to him was but short; we shall see him, however, erect more than one durable edifice of utility and justice, and bear witness to his planning of others on a scale still more magnificent, while many vast conceptions were obviously floating in his mind of which he was not even permitted to shadow forth the outline. His undisputed tenure of power lasted hardly more than one year and a half, including an interval of ten months' absence from the city. It was, therefore, impossible that his ideas, however long he may have actually brooded over them, could receive their complete and methodical realization. We are the less able to appreciate with accuracy the clearness of Cæsar's views, and the process of their development, from the fact of there existing no record of the order in which his enactments succeeded one another. We know not at what stage his legislation was interrupted by his departure for Spain, nor have we the means of judging whether his reforms gained in boldness or lost in impartial justice, when his power seemed secured by his final victory. It would have been deeply interesting to have remarked how one idea may have germinated in many new directions; how various imperfect measures may have conduced to one harmonious result. But the measures themselves, confused and disjointed as is the form in which they

present themselves to us, point decisively to the existence in their author's mind of a comprehensive plan for the entire reconstruction of the national polity. The general principle which pervades them is the elevation of a middle class of citizens, to constitute the ultimate source of all political authority. The ostensible ruler of the state is to be in fact the creation of this body, its favourite, its patron, its legislator and its captain. To this body he is to owe his political existence.¹ He is to watch over the maintenance of an equilibrium of popular forces, checking with the same firm hand the discontent of the depressed nobility, and the encroachments of the aspiring rabble. The eternal principles of rule and order he is to assert as sacred and immutable; but he is to be himself responsible for their application at his own discretion to the varying wants of society. This idea of government was perfectly new to the ancient world. It was the first rude conception of popular monarchy, the phantom of philosophers and jurists, which has been so often shadowed forth in theory, but never permanently realized in practice. The event indeed proved that an attempt to combine the discordant elements of despotism and freedom² could avail only as a temporary expedient, under favour of a strong popular reaction from a period of anarchy and suffering. It was repeated, as we shall see, under these conditions, with limited and transient success, by Augustus and Nerva. But its effect was either to exchange the sword of the open foe for the dagger of the assassin, or to crush all independence of thought and speech, and congeal in stagnant inaction the life-blood of the nation. If,

¹ In Justinian's view, derived by constant tradition from the earliest times of the Imperial monarchy, the people are the fountain of power. He lays it down as the first principle of public law: "Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem, quum lege regia quæ de ejus imperio lata est, populus ei et in eum omne suum imperium et potestatem concessit." *Inst.* I. ii. 6. *Comp. Gai. Inst.* I. i. 5. The *lex regia* here appealed to was, as we shall see hereafter, a mere fiction of the jurists to account for the existence of the authority which they found established.

² *Tac. Agric.* 3.: "Quanquam Nerva Cæsar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit principatum et libertatem."

however, it contained, in execution, the seeds of premature degeneracy and corruption, the humane experiment at least deserved, and did not fail to obtain, the sympathy of mankind.

The pomp of four triumphs, the spectacles of the theatre and the circus, the unwonted splendour of the decorations lavished on the dictator's person, were mere frivolous expedients for amusing the people, and enhancing the popularity and dignity of their favourite. To consolidate the power he had acquired on the firm basis of the national affections was a much more arduous undertaking. The demands of the age, as they presented themselves to Cæsar's mind, may be summed up in the language of the discourse attributed, though with little authority, to the historian Sallust, but in which some later rhetorician appears at least to have embodied the sentiments ascribed to antiquity by his own contemporaries.¹ A noble object of ambition, it was said, lay open to the emperor who should aspire to rule over the Roman people. He found them bloated and corrupted by the excess of luxury, overwhelmed with debt and degraded by the vices which debt engenders. The nobles were selfish and cruel, and had sought in a civil war the surest refuge from their creditors, and the only means of retrieving their fortunes. But this faction had now been crushed; let the seeds of such passions be prevented from taking root again. Let luxury be repressed by sumptuary laws: let the numbers of the privileged orders be increased; let the rights of citizenship be extended; let colonies be planted in the provinces; let military service be required equally of all, and none be retained under their standards beyond a reasonable period. Let the magistrates and judges be chosen for their virtues and dignity, and not merely for their wealth. It would be vain to entrust the working of such re-

¹ There is no other external evidence for the genuineness of these *Orationes ad C. Cæsarem*, than the titles of the MSS. Their style has little in common with that of the historian; and the freedom with which they speak of Cæsar's ascendancy as a *regnum*, seems to me inconsistent with the language of the times.

forms as these to a commonwealth of free and equal citizens ; but the impartial eye of a supreme ruler may watch securely over their execution, and neither fear, nor favour, nor private interest interfere to clog their operation.¹

These counsels represent, no doubt, the views which the Romans themselves entertained regarding the most urgent of their political wants. Couched as they are in feeble generalities, they still seem to point with sufficient distinctness to the kind of reforms

A single ruler
required to
effect them.

which were really most essential. They were seconded assuredly by the cry of the provinces, which felt themselves entitled to make their interests known in return for the support they had given to the conqueror. If the city acknowledged its weakness and exhaustion, and declared its eagerness to receive an invigorating supply of foreign blood, the provincials offered for the honour of incorporation their best and noblest families. If the commonwealth demanded that the privileged order of the senate should be enlarged by the admission of new members, men of capacity and distinction, Gaul, Africa, and Spain presented their sons to the censor as soldiers who had fought for the new government, or civilians learned in the laws and skilled in the conduct of public affairs. Rome had groaned under the severity with which the military service had pressed on the diminished ranks of her citizens ; they had endured twenty, or thirty, or even forty campaigns, and the state had persisted in declaring that it could not afford to discharge them. But every frontier of the empire was burning to enlist its hardy warriors under the Roman eagle, to supply the places of the Italian husbandmen, and take their turn in the dangers and emoluments of conquest. And if the jealous democracy of the forum could behold without alarm the ascendancy of the man from whom alone it could expect to obtain all these benefits, much less would the subjects of the republic scruple to heap honour and

¹ These recommendations may be compared with Cicero's suggestions (*pro Marcel. 8.*): "Constituenda judicia, renovanda fides, comprimendæ libidines, propaganda soboles."

power upon him, and constitute him the uncontrolled arbiter of their destinies. From the vigilant superintendence of a single ruler alone could they hope for any repression of the tyranny of their local governors. The interests of the sovereign dynasty would be naturally opposed to the elevation of rival families on the spoils of the conquered. The provinces might even hope that the ruler of the Roman world would seek to counterbalance the authority of a turbulent and jealous capital, by favouring the competition of her ancient rivals in Greece and Africa. Such perhaps were the vague hopes with which the native populations of the East and West had uniformly ranged themselves on Cæsar's side throughout his campaigns against the oligarchy. They now joined with the great body of the citizens themselves in pressing nearly similar suggestions upon him.

Cæsar was not appalled by the magnitude of the task which was thus thrust upon him. He had great examples before him in the projects of Drusus, and the legislation of his own relative, who had carried the Julian law for the admission of the Italians to the franchise; nor less in the policy of Sertorius, whose wise liberality had renewed the image of Rome herself on the shores of the Iberian peninsula. In some matters of detail he had also the experience of the Pompeian reforms to guide him; these were at least safe and moderate, and might conciliate many by their specious propriety. Among the first of the dictator's enactments was one for restricting the luxury of dress and the table, and some other objects of ostentatious prodigality.¹ The ancient legislators, as is well known, never renounced the futile hope of checking private extravagance by formal decrees; but though experience had uniformly shown the futility of such expedients, it may still be urged in excuse for Cæsar, that his new position as a sovereign ruler placed his legislation in this respect on a different footing from that of the republican arbiters of manners; for he could continue to watch over the execution of his own laws, and not

Cæsar's sumptuary enactments.

¹ Suct. *Jul.* 43.; comp. Cic. *ad Div.* vii. 26., ix. 15., *ad Att.* xiii. 7.

be constrained to abandon them, as soon as made, to the superintendence of indifferent or hostile successors. He was obliged also to consider that the censorship of manners which he virtually discharged was invested in the eyes of the people with the peculiar function of checking the growth of aristocratic luxury, and the democracy demanded, at least in this instance, that the traditions of the republic should be respected. It is true that Cæsar's legislation in this direction only added another to the long list of similar failures. Nothing but his own presence in the city, and his personal vigilance, could secure even the pretence of obedience to it. His mortification at this result seems to show that he had reposed more faith in the expedient than we, from his natural sagacity, might have expected. Doubtless the real object he had in view was not so much to control vicious extravagance, as to break down the pre-eminence of the wealthiest class. Other means offered themselves towards this end, more sure in their operation as well as more equitable in their character. The restriction of the term of provincial governments to one year in the prætorian, and at farthest to two¹ in the consular provinces, opened the door to these lucrative appointments to a larger number of candidates, and in the same proportion reduced their emoluments. Cæsar could combine the satisfaction of the numerous claims which were urged upon him with a further development of his policy. He was glad to degrade the highest offices of the republic by distributing its honours among his partizans in rapid succession. The consuls, at his instigation, were elected for the abridged term of six, three, or even two months.² Yet he did not venture to recommend a foreigner to the suffrages of the people, to which he still pretended to appeal in the appointment to the highest magistracies.³ The case was different where the ap-

He abridges the consuls' term of office arbitrarily, and increases the number of the senate

¹ Cic. *Philipp.* i. 8.; Dion, xliii. 25.

² Dion (xliii. 46.) says, even for a few days; comp. Lucan, v. 399.

³ Cornelius Balbus, the first foreigner who obtained this honour (*Plin.*

pointment lay solely in himself. In revising the list of the senate in his censorial capacity, he raised it to nine hundred in number, which was probably nearly double what it had been in recent times. When we consider how many of that body had fallen in the war, or were still self-banished from the city, besides those whom Cæsar, by the exercise of his special functions, removed from the list for their misconduct or their poverty, we cannot doubt that more than two-thirds of the whole number were new importations. Nor were these elevated for the most part from other classes of Roman citizens. It was Cæsar's policy to place his allies from the provinces on the same benches with the proud descendants of their fathers' conquerors. The representative of many an old patrician house, glorying in the images of prætors, consuls and imperators, with which his halls were crowded, fancied that he saw in the new senators whose Roman toga he was constrained to honour, the same uncouth figures which, in Gallie kilt or trouser, had followed the victor's ear and graced his triumph.¹

The Romans exercised their wit upon these upstart strangers losing themselves amidst the forest of columns which thronged the public places of the city, and placards were posted recommending no good citizen to guide them to the senate house.² But wander where they would on the banks of the Tiber, the Gaul and Syrian might see their own Rhodanus and Orontes mingling with its turbid waters.³ The crowds

Communica-
tion of the
Roman fran-
chise to pro-
vincials.

H. N. vii. 44.), was not consul till the year 714, after Cæsar's death. *Dion.* xlviii. 32.

¹ Suetonius (*Jul.* 80.) quotes, among other jests of the day, a popular song:

“Gallos Cæsar in triumphum ducit, idem in curiam.
Galli braecæ deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt.”

² Suet. *l. c.*: “Bonum factum: ne quis senatori novo curiam monstrare velit.”

³ What was said by Juvenal of later period (*Sat.* iii. 62.), was almost equally appropriate even in the time of Cæsar:

“Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes.”

of foreigners whom they met in every street or theatre must have reminded them that Rome was even now, in some sense, invaded by the barbarians. When Cæsar reduced the claimants of the public corn from three hundred and twenty thousand to little more than half that number, we must suppose that a great portion of those excluded were strangers who had fraudulently represented themselves as genuine children of the republic. But he made amends to these disappointed applicants by a large measure of enfranchisement. The policy was wise and humane by which he declared that all practitioners of medicine, and professors of science and liberal knowledge, should receive the full rights of Roman citizenship.¹ In the provinces, though his steps were slow and uncertain, he marched in the track which had been pointed out by the founders of the Marian party. The freedom of the city was conferred upon various states in Gaul, Spain, and possibly in other provinces. The whole legion *Alauda*, composed of Gaulish mercenaries, was enlisted in the ranks of the commonwealth by communication of the same honourable boon.² It seems probable that Cæsar already meditated a much further extension of this salutary principle of incorporation. Sicily was selected to furnish an example of its gradual application, if it be true that a project for conferring upon the inhabitants of that island the inferior or Latin franchise, was found among the dictator's papers at his death.³ He had no more confidential agent and counsellor than a Spanish provincial, Cornelius Balbus, by whom we may suppose such measures would be suggested or promoted. But the fate of Drusus must have been ever before the eyes of the Roman statesman, who sought to amalgamate the conquering with the conquered races. Cæsar shrank from or postponed the development of his own liberal views, and could only leave behind him some isolated precedents for a generous policy, instead of working out the principle himself.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 42. The franchise was also given as a reward for laying out money in improvements such as building. Gai. *Inst.* i. 33.; Thierry, *Gaule*, i. 75.

² Suet. *Jul.* 24.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 12.

The assignment of lands to the veterans was a measure sanctioned by custom and repeated legal enactments. Cæsar, however, was more magnanimous in regard to this than Sulla. He despised the crafty policy of planting a cluster of military colonies in Italy, so as to form a camp of his own partizans within call of the central government. Some territories indeed, here and there, were assigned to the disbanded legionaries within the Peninsula, but they were neither extensive nor contiguous to one another.¹ There were no tracts of public domain left within the Alps for the state to distribute in public grants; there had been comparatively little confiscation of the enemy's estates; nor does it appear that the government entered into the market to buy lands for the purpose of so distributing them. Undoubtedly several of Pompeius's most obstinate adherents, the malignants of the oligarchic faction, had suffered spoliation on various pretences.² There were, we may suppose, many cases of particular hardship, some of gross injustice. But the voice of remonstrance was not unheeded. Cicero could plead for a friend or a client, and the cry he raised was directed rather against accidental oversights than intentional wrongs.³ Respect was paid to the rights of the owners of lands, even where they lay most convenient for occupation, and the veterans were generally scattered over the face of the country, instead of being collected together, as under Sulla, in compact masses.⁴ Not more than six insignificant colonies were settled in Italy, namely, at Bovianum,

Assignment of
land to the
veterans.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 38.; Dion, xlii. 54.

² Varro's villa at Casinum had been confiscated by Antonius (Cic. *Phil.* ii. 40.). Its owner had abused Cæsar's clemency by resorting to the Pompeian camp in Epirus after surrendering himself to the conqueror in Spain. Comp. Cic. *de Div.* i. 32., and Varr. *de R. R.* i. 4. Yet Cæsar extended his pardon to him a second time, and afterwards conferred further favours upon him.

³ Cic. *ad Div.* ix. 17., xiii. 8.

⁴ Compare Tacitus's account of the ancient mode of assigning lands (*Ann.* xiv. 27.): "Olim universæ legiones deducebantur cum tribunis et centurionibus et sui cujusque ordinis militibus ut consensu et caritate rempublicam efficerent."

Veii, Aufidena, Casilinum, Calatia and Lanuvium.¹ But as many as eighty thousand Roman citizens were transplanted to found new cities beyond the sea. Carthage and Corinth were bidden to rise once more from their ruins.² It was a bold and generous enterprize to restore the two great maritime cities of the western world, of both of which Rome had long shown herself so ignobly jealous.

The settlement of the veterans on the soil of Italy added little directly to the population of the country, and the experience of similar plantations on recent occasions had assuredly proved that no numerous or robust progeny was likely to spring from a stock so worn-out and enervated.³ But the centre of the empire had been more exhausted by the civil wars than any of the provinces. The rapid disappearance of the free population had been remarked with astonishment and dismay, at least from the time of the Gracchi. If the numbers actually maintained on the soil of the Peninsula had not diminished, it was abundantly certain that the independent native races had given way almost throughout its extent to a constant importation of slaves. The remedies to which Caesar resorted would appear as frivolous as they were arbitrary, were we not allowed to surmise that they were no more than the first imperfect outlines of a more comprehensive scheme. He prohibited all citizens between the age of twenty and forty from remaining abroad more than three years together, while, as a matter of state policy, he placed more special restrictions upon the movements of the youths of senatorial families. He required also that the owners of herds and flocks, to the

Attempts to counteract the increase of slave labour in Italy.

¹ Panvin. *de Imp. Rom.* c. xi.

² Suet. *Jul.* 42.; Plut. *Cæs.* 57.; Dion, xlii. 50.; Strabo, xvii. 3. 15.; Pausan. ii. 1, 2.

³ Compare Tac. *l. c.*: "Veterani . . . adscripti, non tamen infrequentiae locorum subvenere . . . Neque conjugii suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti orbas sine posteris domos relinquebant." This of course was not without exceptions. Horace speaks of "Pueri magnis e centurionibus orti" (*Sat.* i. vi. 74.), the rustic descendants of these veteran colonists, and Tacitus gives a hint of the same kind (*Ann.* iii. 75.): "Ateius . . . avo centurione Sullano."

maintenance of which large tracts of Italy were exclusively devoted, should employ free labour to the extent of at least one-third of the whole.¹ Such laws could only be executed constantly under the vigilant superintendence of a sovereign ruler. They fell in fact into immediate disuse, or rather were never acted upon at all. They served no other purpose at the time but to evince Cæsar's perception of one of the fatal tendencies of the age, to which the eyes of most statesmen of the day were already open. In one particular he counteracted a certain amount of good which his rival had unconsciously promoted. Pompeius had distributed corn without making strict inquiry into the claims of the recipients to citizenship. This was found indirectly to encourage the manumission of slaves, who, receiving thereupon a share of the public largess, became less onerous to their masters as free labourers than they had been in their former capacity.² This effect, as far as it went, was doubtless checked by Cæsar's fiscal severity. But in fact the great cause which operated to stimulate the increase of slave-labour was the burden of the military conscription, which fell upon the free classes alone. This was perceived by Cæsar's successors in the supreme power, but was overlooked apparently by himself.

Another series of enactments, however, with a similar view, had a very different fortune. The privileges which the dictator assigned to paternity became the basis of much subsequent legislation, and established certain principles in Roman jurisprudence from which it never afterwards departed. The relative importance which was attached to the population of different portions of the empire was shown by a graduated scale. The father of a family of three legitimate children born at Rome, or four in Italy, or of five in the provinces, enjoyed exemption from certain per-

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 42. This law was merely the revival of an ancient enactment with the same view. Appian, *B. C.* i. 8.

² Dion, xxxix. 24.

sonal charges.¹ Cæsar knew, it seems, the weakness of either sex. If he encouraged the paternal instincts by the boon of immunity from taxation, he flattered those of the other parent by an appeal to female vanity. The proudest of the ancient matrons had boasted that her children were her only jewels; but the mothers of the modern Gracchi might glory in the special privilege of riding in litters, dressing in purple, and wearing collars of pearls.²

In providing for the due execution of justice and the security of the commonwealth, Cæsar was compelled, as dictator, to reverse in some instances the policy which his party had maintained. He restricted the orders of citizens, from which the judges were to be chosen, to the senators and knights; thus excluding the most popular of the classes to which that privilege had been previously extended, that of the ærarian tribunes.³ Whatever were the precise alterations which he effected in the law of treason, they seem, at least, to have lain in the direction of greater strictness and severity. The same was undoubtedly the case in his enactments against other crimes of violence, to which the law had hitherto shown the most vicious leniency. Even when blood was shed, as in a party scuffle by Milo, the Roman citizen claimed the privilege of withdrawing into banishment before trial. The lawless excesses into which faction was so constantly rushing, invested this privilege with especial popularity. But Cæsar, though he did not venture entirely to abrogate it, went so far as to mulct the culprit of half his property, and, in the most heinous cases, to confiscate the whole.

The judicia confined to the senatorial and equestrian orders.

The settlement of the veterans on the land averted that which is the great difficulty governments generally have to contend against on the restoration of peace after a long war.

Aulus Gellius (ii. 15.) mentions cases in which paternity and the number of children gave precedence.

² Suet. *Jul.* 43.; Euseb. *Chron.* a. 1972, referred to by Dureau de la Malle, ii. 240.

³ Suet. *Jul.* 41, 42.

Lawlessness of
the times and
personal in-
security.

There were no disbanded soldiers left to roam about the country, unaccustomed to labour, and corrupted in morals. The lawlessness of the times was, at least, not aggravated by this fertile element of mischief. Nevertheless, the effect of the licence of civil wars must have been to increase frightfully the insecurity of person and property. The institution of slavery was a temptation to at least one odious crime, of which modern times have little experience, that of kidnapping. The factories and secluded estates of the great proprietors were so many prisons where freemen might be detained in galling servitude without the possibility of making their injuries known. Of the prevalence and publicity of assassination some idea may be formed from a single allusion in the literature of the time. Didactic writers, it must be observed, were accustomed to throw their disquisitions into the form of dialogues; and it was generally contrived that, in each division of the work, a conversation of this kind should be brought to a conclusion. It was some exercise of ingenuity to devise easy and natural means of breaking up these supposed meetings of friends for philosophical discussion. In the first book of Varro's treatise on Husbandry, the interlocutors of the dialogue meet in the temple of Tellus. When they have said as much as the author thinks fit, he finds no more opportune means of dissolving the party, than the sudden announcement of the priest's attendant, that his master has just been killed by an assassin in a public place. He comes to invite them to assist at the obsequies on the morrow. They express themselves pleased with his courteous attention, content themselves with wafting a sigh to the uncertainty of human life in the centre of Roman civilization, and so retire to their homes.¹

¹ Varro, *R. R.* i. 69.: "Cum hæc diceret Stolo, veuit libertus æditumi ad nos fleus, et rogat ut iguoseamus quod simus retenti, et ut ei in funus postridie prodeamus. Omnes consurgimus ac simul exelamamus, Quid? in funus? quod funus? quid est factum? Ille fleus narrat ab neseio quo pereussum eultello coneidisse, quem qui esset, animadvertere in turba non potuisse; sed tantummodo exaudisse voeem, perperam fecisse. Ipse eum patronum domum sustulisset, et pueros dimisisset ut medium requirerent ac mature adducerent, quod

Another salutary though unpopular reform was the dissolution of the collegia, or combinations, which held so much sway in the capital, overawing the independence of the judges, and trampling upon the execution of the laws. Cæsar dissolves the collegia. Cæsar herein did tardy justice to the principles of the party which he had spent his life in combating, and overthrew the corner-stone of the licentious legislation of Clodius. While he abolished the political clubs, however, he spared the original trade-guilds, upon the model of which they had been formed. An exception was also made in favour of the Jewish residents in the city, who were permitted to form an organization among themselves for social and religious purposes.¹ The feelings of that people had been peculiarly outraged by the profanation Pompeius had inflicted upon their temple. Cæsar, on the contrary, they were disposed to regard as their avenger, and, during his campaign in Egypt, they had shown themselves remarkably zealous in his service. In return he accorded to them various privileges, remitting, among other things, the tribute of the seventh or Sabbatical year, in which they still made it a point of conscience neither to sow nor to reap.²

The measures of reform which have been thus far enumerated, refer, for the most part, to the solution of immediate practical difficulties. In the removal of actual and pressing evils Cæsar's movements were rapid and decisive, though his enactments were little more than the repetition of older experiments. On the other hand, when he had leisure to look further into the future, and to meditate schemes for the development of a new system of administration, his views, as far as we are enabled to trace

Project of a complete code of laws.

potius illud administrasset quam ad nos venisset æquum sibi esse ignosci. Nec si eum servare non potuisset quin non multo post animam efflaret, tamen putare se recte fecisse. Non moleste ferentes descendimus de æde, et de casu humano magis querentes quam admirantes id Romæ factum, discedimus omnes." This work is assigned by Schneider (*Comment. de Vit. M. Ter. Varronis in Script. R. R.* i. 225.) to the year A. U. 717, only eight or nine years after Cæsar's legislation.

¹ Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 8.

² Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 6.

them, were more liberal and original; but the execution of them was unfortunately postponed to pressing necessities. To contemplate the empire as one complete whole, to sweep away anomalous usages and traditions, and organize it under a single uniform system of administration, was a conception worthy of the greatest and most powerful of Roman statesmen. But to make any real progress in so vast a scheme would have required at least the greater part of one life; one or two vague indications of its conception, hastily struck out in the course of a few months of feverish excitement, are hardly enough perhaps to justify us in attributing to their author any fixed purpose in this respect, or maturity of view. Cæsar only lived long enough to intimate his noble design of reducing to one harmonious code of laws the inconsistent decisions of preceding centuries.¹ The science of the law was a mystery which the nobles had retained in their own power. They had claimed to be its sole authorized expositors until its technicalities were divulged by a treacherous partizan. During the last century, however, though this veil had been in a great measure withdrawn, the whole system had been so entangled by conflicting precedents and the independent edicts set forth by the prætors, as to present a labyrinth of vexatious confusion. Cicero, whose natural good sense appears in nothing more clearly than in his contempt for the pedantry of the juriconsults of his day, had conceived the idea of reducing to form and principle the most anomalous of the sciences. A treatise on this subject, even by such a master, might easily be forgotten after the reform it advocated had been actually effected; but the work in which Cicero first paved the way for this beneficent undertaking seems to have survived, though known perhaps only to the learned, for some centuries after the first remodelling of the Roman law.² The glory of effecting this reform was not reserved for Cæsar; he could only

¹ Suct. *Jul.* 44.: "Destinabat . . . jus civile ad certum modum redigere, atque ex immensa diffusaque legum copia optima quæque et necessaria in paucissimos conferre libros."

² This work of Cicero is referred to by Aulus Gellius, i. 22.

point out to the succeeding generation the importance of the undertaking, as a bold step in the direction of administrative uniformity.

Precisely the same may be said of another project which the Roman people owed to this great creative genius. Cæsar proposed to execute a complete map of the empire from actual survey.¹ He divided the whole extent of the Roman world into four portions, and appointed men of approved science as commissioners to examine them personally throughout. The work was to be executed in the most minute manner. The Roman land-surveyors had long been familiar with the technical processes by which the inequalities of natural limits are duly measured and registered. Throughout Italy and in many of the provinces every estate was elaborately marked out on the surface of the soil, and its extent and configuration inscribed on tablets of brass and preserved with scrupulous care.² The sages of Greece had begun also to apply the knowledge of astronomy to the measurement of the globe. The age was ripe for a great achievement in the science of geography, and the systematic way in which it was carried out, together with the long period of thirty-two years which was devoted to it, is a guarantee for the substantial results of this magnificent undertaking.³

Of a complete map of the empire.

One of the brightest features in the dictator's character was his genuine and unaffected love of literature. He was not only distinguished himself as an orator, a grammarian, an historian and even an astronomer; he was also attached to literary men and enjoyed their society. His institution of a public library, not

Establishment of the first public library.

¹ We obtain our knowledge of this fact from the preface to the *Cosmographia* of Æthicus, a writer of the fourth century. The measurement was begun B. c. 44.

² Consult on this subject Dureau de la Malle, *Econ. Pol. des Romains*, i. 166-207.

³ It may be conjectured that the chart of the world which M. Agrippa published, and which is referred to under his name by Pliny (*H. N.* lii. 3.), was in fact the completed undertaking of Cæsar's commissioners.

offered to the citizens for their use, but surrendered to them for their own property, was a novelty in the career of civilization. Cæsar paid a graceful compliment to literature, which should be of no political party, by assigning to the veteran antiquarian Varro, the most learned of the Romans, the arrangement and care of these intellectual treasures.¹

The reform of the calendar was a vigorous and well-timed effort for the removal of a great practical abuse.² The Roman year, even before the time of Cæsar, ought to have equalled, on the average, three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours; so near had the astronomers even of the period assigned to the reign of Numa already arrived to the real length of the earth's revolution round the sun. This year had been calculated on a basis of three hundred and fifty-four days, with the intercalation of a month of twenty-two and twenty-three days alternately every second year; but another day had been added to the three hundred and fifty-four to make an odd or fortunate number, and, to compensate for this superfluous day, the number of intercalations was proportionally diminished by a very intricate process.³ The simplicity of the original arrangement being thus violated, great carelessness had soon prevailed in making the requisite corrections. In course of time the pon-

Confusion of
the Roman
calendar.

¹ Compare Suet. *Jul.* 44., and Plin. *H. N.* vii. 31. The former tells us that the arrangement of Cæsar's collection was confided to Varro; the latter, that Varro's statue was placed in the library of Asinius Pollio, to whom he attributes the honour of setting the first example of such a public institution. But Pollio's library was formed, he says, *ex manubiis*, from the spoils of war, and Pollio's most noted exploits were of a later date (A. U. 715, in Illyricum). It seems likely, however, that the statue of Varro would be placed in the library which he had himself arranged; and I am inclined to follow the account of Suetonius, and to suppose that Pollio only made additions to Cæsar's original foundation. It may be remarked that the first Alexandrian library, though open to the public, was the private property of the king. So was Lucullus's a private collection. Plut. *Lucull.* 42.

² Ideler, *Handb. der Mathem. und Techn. Chronologie*, ii. 117. There is some discrepancy in the most modern observations of the precise length of the solar year.

³ Macrob. *Sat.* i. 13.; Censorin. *de Die Natal.* 20.

tiffs, to whose superior knowledge the guardianship of the national calendar had been entrusted, had shrouded their science in a veil of religious mystery, and began to turn it to political or private purposes. They commanded the intercalation of a month arbitrarily,¹ when it suited them to favour some partizan who desired the extension of his year of office, or the postponement of the day on which his debts should become due.² They abstained from the requisite insertion, at the instance of some provincial governor who was anxious to hasten his return to the enjoyments of the capital.³ This control over the length of the civil year, as well as the power of proclaiming the days on which business might or might not be transacted, had become an engine of state in the hands of the oligarchical government with which the sacerdotal functionaries were for the most part politically connected. Cæsar indeed had broken down in his own person the barrier which had been systematically raised against the intrusion of the opposite party into this body. The supreme pontificate which he enjoyed, gave him the legitimate means of working this instrument for his own advantage. But he felt the extreme inconvenience which had latterly resulted from its abuse. The grievance had indeed become intolerable. In the distracted state of public affairs, and amidst conflicting personal interests, the pontiffs had abstained from making any intercalation since the year of the city 702, and had even then left the civil calendar some weeks in advance of the real time. From that time each year had reckoned only three hundred and fifty-five days, and the civil equinox had got eighty days in advance of the astronomical. The consuls, accordingly, who entered on their office on the 1st of January of the year 708 of the city, really commenced their functions on the 13th

¹ *Censorin. l. c.*; *Plut. Cæs. 59.*

² *Censor. l. c.*; *Macrob. Sat. i. 14.*; *Ammian. xxvi. 1.*; *Solin. 1.*

³ As Cicero, for instance, in his government of Cilicia. He writes to his friends at Rome to entreat them to hinder the pontiffs from intercalating in that year, and so protracting his term of absence (*Ad Att. v. 9., ad Div. vii. 2., viii. 6.*).

October B. C. 47, that is, eighteen days after the astronomical equinox. The confusion which resulted from such a state of things may be easily imagined. The Roman seasons were marked by appropriate festivals assigned to certain fixed days, and associated with the religious worship of the people. At the period of harvest and vintage, for instance, certain offerings were to be made and certain divinities thereby propitiated.¹ The husbandman was obliged to reject the use of the calendar altogether, and to depend upon his own rude observations of the rising and setting of the constellations.

Cæsar had acquired a competent knowledge of the science of astronomy, in which the duties of his office as supreme pontiff gave him a particular interest. He composed himself a treatise upon the subject, which long retained its value as a technical exposition.² The astronomers of Alexandria were considered the most expert of their time, and with them he had made acquaintance during his brief and busy sojourn in the palace of the Ptolemies. But if the Alexandrians made their year to consist of three hundred and sixty-five days, without any intercalation,³ their error was out of all proportion greater than that of the original calendar of Numa. It is more probable that Cæsar took this latter as the basis of his own calculations. He was not unaware that the period of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours exceeds, in a slight degree, the true length of the solar year. The astronomer Hipparchus⁴ had calculated this excess as constant at four minutes and forty-eight seconds, and Cæsar, or his adviser Sosigenes, was no doubt acquainted with this result. But if the excess were really

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 40. : "Ut neque messium feriæ æstati neque vindemiarum autumnino competerebant."

² Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 16., where the writer asserts also that Cæsar derived his knowledge from the Egyptians.

³ Censor. 18. : "Nam eorum annus civilis solos habet dies cccclxv sine ullo intercalari." Ideler shows that the Egyptians knew of the increment of six hours, but did not introduce it into their civil year till B. C. 30. Ideler ii. 118.

⁴ B. C. 169, or thereabouts. See Ideler, *l. c.*

constant and not greater than this, it would make the difference of only one day in three hundred years, and this amount of error he may have been contented to neglect. In fact, however, the more accurate observations of the moderns have ascertained that the excess of the Julian year over the solar progressively increases; that at the present time, it amounts to as much as $11^m 22^s$, while at the commencement of the Julian era it was only $11^m 12^s$. It appears, then, on taking the average excess between that era and the present time, that the error would really amount to as much as one day in each hundred and thirty years. Cæsar, however, was satisfied with assigning to each year the average of three hundred and sixty-five days and a quarter, by the regular intercalation of one day in every fourth year. The consequence was that the sum of the trifling increments of each successive revolution of this period had occasioned a loss of nearly three days at the date of the council of Nice, A. D. 325. Accordingly, in that year the solar equinox was found to fall not on the 23rd of March, as in 45 B. C., but on the 20th. When the Romish calendar was corrected by Pope Gregory XIII. in A. D. 1582, it had got forward as much as thirteen days. That pontiff proceeded to cut off ten of these superfluous days, and so restored the calendar to its position at the date of the council of Nice. This alteration has since been adopted throughout the Protestant states of Europe, with an adequate provision against the future accumulation of error; but there still remains a constant difference of about three days between the civil and the astronomical equinox.

The basis of Cæsar's reform was that the commencement of the new era should coincide with the first new moon after the shortest day. In order to make the year of the city 709 thus begin, ninety days required to be added to the current year. In the first place an intercalary month of twenty-three days was inserted in its proper place between the 23rd and 24th of February,¹ and at the end

¹ In our ecclesiastical calendar the intercalary day of leap-year is still inserted at this place.

of November two new months were added, comprehending sixty-seven days, or rather, as we may conjecture, the months comprised twenty-nine and thirty-one days respectively, and the seven supplemental days were counted separately. The shortest day of the year 46 B. C. was the 24th of December, and the first new moon fell on the eighth day succeeding, from which accordingly the new era received its date.¹

The Julian era, The period which was marked by this series of alterations received vulgarly the appellation of *the year of confusion; the last year of confusion* was the term which a writer of a late date more significantly applied to it.² In a political as well as a social point of view it must have been hailed by the mass of the people as the commencement of a new era of steady and reasonable government. Even the discontented could not raise the cry so popular in England on the occasion of the reformation of our own calendar in the last century, *Give us back our eleven days*. Cæsar, on the contrary, had given them ninety. The jests which they did level at this wholesome enactment were miserably pointless. When some one observed to Cicero, *To-morrow Lyra rises*, Yes, he replied, *by command*.³

After all, the most salutary of the dictator's reforms were embittered to the minds of the noblest of the Romans by the compulsion with which they were attended. Both Cæsar and his familiar friends had been accustomed to express openly their contempt for the republic as a name only, and not a reality, a title without form or substance.⁴ The name of king was alone wanting to complete the actual tyranny which they saw gradually closing

The dictator begins to assume regal state.

¹ Ideler, ii. 122.; Servius on *Æn.* vii. 720.: "Proprie sol novus est octavo Calend. Januariis."

² Macrob. *Sat.* i. 16.

³ Plut. *Cæs.* 59.: *ναὶ ἐκ διατάγματος*. The edict, in fact, reconstituted the civil limits of the seasons according to certain phenomena of the heavens. Thus an ancient calendar remarks on Aug. 11.: "Fidicula occasu suo autumnum inchoat Cæsari." We can detect from this the way in which Cicero's jest may possibly have been spoiled by the mistake of the reporter.

⁴ Suet. *Jul.* 77.; comp. Cic. *ad Att.* x. 4., *ad Div.* ix. 9.

around them. The despot made little show of veiling the arbitrary nature of his proceedings. He caused, indeed, the decrees he issued from the solitude of his own chamber to be subscribed with the names of the senators who were supposed to have assisted in his councils; ¹ but so flagrant an imposition only added insult to the injury. Nothing struck the Romans more forcibly with its assumption of regal state than the difficulty of access to the great man. Accustomed as the nobles were to the most perfect external equality, and the easiest intercourse among each other, their indignation rose high when they found their approach to the dictator barred by a crowd of attendants, or impeded by ceremonious formalities. ² In this, however, there may have been no affectation on his part; he felt the unpopularity of such a position, and lamented the soreness which it engendered towards him. But the enormous pressure of business, however rapid was his despatch of it, and in this respect he had an extraordinary facility, made it necessary to restrict the times and means of claiming his attention. Thus it was that the first rudiments of an Oriental court began to rise in the centre of the western republics. The colours of this imitation of a Cleopatra visits Rome. hateful original were heightened by the demeanour of Cleopatra, who followed her lover to Rome at his invitation. ³ She came with the younger Ptolemæus, who now shared her throne, and her ostensible object was to negotiate a treaty between her kingdom and the commonwealth. While the Egyptian nation was formally admitted to the friendship and alliance of Rome, its sovereign was lodged in Cæsar's

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* ix. 15. He alludes, perhaps, to a single instance of the kind. Dion attests that Cæsar generally required the sanction of a council selected from the senate, or of the whole body, to his decrees (xliii. 27.).

² Cic. *ad Div.* vi. 13.: "Magnis occupationibus ejus, a quo omnia petuntur, aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt" (comp. vi. 14., iv. 57.). Cæsar had expressed his sense of the unpopularity he incurred from the necessary inconvenience he caused his friends: "Ego dubitem quin summo in odio sim quum M. Cicero sedeat, nec suo commodo me convenire possit?" Comp. *ad Att.* xiv. 1, 2.; Drumann, iii. 626.

³ Dion, xliii. 27.; Suet. *Jul.* 52.

villa on the other side of the Tiber, and the statue of the most fascinating of women was erected in the temple of the Goddess of Love and Beauty.¹ The connexion which subsisted between her and the dictator was unblushingly avowed. The national prejudice against the foreigner and the Egyptian was openly outraged and insolently disregarded; and Cleopatra was encouraged to proclaim that her child, whom she called Cæsarion, was actually the son of her Roman admirer. A tribune, named Helvius Cinna, ventured, it is said, to assert among his friends his intention of proposing a law, with the dictator's sanction, to enable him to marry more wives than one, for the sake of progeny, and to disregard in his choice the legitimate qualification of Roman descent.² The citizens, however, were spared this last insult to their cherished sentiments. The queen of Egypt felt bitterly the scorn with which she was popularly regarded as the representative of an effeminate and licentious people.³ It is not improbable that she employed her fatal influence to withdraw her lover from his jealous capital, and urged him to schemes of Oriental conquest to bring him more completely within her toils. Meanwhile the haughtiness of her demeanour corresponded with the splendid anticipations in which she indulged.⁴ She held a court in the suburbs of the city, at which the adherents of the dictator's policy were not the only attendants. Even his opponents and concealed enemies were glad to bask in the sunshine of her smiles. Cicero himself, the moralist and the

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 102.

² Suet. *l. c.*; comp. Dion, xlv. 7. But the story is a confused one. The words of Suetonius ("Cinna . . . confessus est, habuisse se legem," &c.) imply that the statement was made after Cæsar's death, as was the case with regard to many other schemes ascribed to him; but the same writer also tells us (c. 85.) that Helvius Cinna was murdered in the fury of the mob immediately after the funeral.

³ The sensuality of Canopus was proverbial. Comp. Propert. iii. 11. 39.:
"Incesti meretrix regina Canopi."

Juvenal, vi. 84.:

"Prodigia et mores Urbis damnante Canopo."

⁴ Cic. *ad Att.* xv. 15.: "Superbiam ipsius Reginæ, quum esset trans Tiberim in hortis, commemorare sine maximo dolore non possum."

patriot, was not the last to submit to the blandishments of the sorceress. He was still unable to shake off his apprehensions of an impending proscription, and with all his professions of personal purity he was not scrupulous as to the character of those whose favour or assistance he required. He had availed himself of the infidelity of a Fulvia; he now flattered the vanity of a Cleopatra. The desire to obtain some precious manuscripts and works of art from Alexandria was the excuse he made for presenting himself in her hall of reception.¹ The queen's behaviour to him was exceedingly gracious; she promised every thing he desired, and charged the grammarian Ammonius, who followed in her suite, to remind her of the engagement. But Cicero did not refrain at the same time from expressing himself with great bitterness against her in his private correspondence, in which he seems anxious to assure Atticus that her agent Sara was only admitted once into his house. It is probable that Cleopatra arrived at Rome before Cæsar's expedition into Spain,² which interrupted and perhaps frustrated her intrigues. But she continued to reside there till after his death, as will appear in the sequel.

The flattery of the nobles was, after all, pronounced in a louder strain than their discontent. Cæsar heard himself addressed daily in the senate with language of fulsome adulation. A crowd of parasites of the highest education and the most polished manners imparted grace to homage, and threw a charm over the most abject obsequiousness. Of all the attributes of greatness which were lavishly ascribed to the dictator, none was more celebrated by his courtiers than his clemency. M. Marcellus had retired from the field of Pharsalia to Mitylene, and dared not even solicit the favour of the conqueror, whom his fatal insolence to the Transpadanes had offended beyond the hope of pardon. But his friends had learned not to despair. They plied Cæsar with piteous appeals to his generosity. C. Marcellus, the cousin of the exile, pros-

Adulation of
the nobles.

¹ Cic. *l. c.*: "Quæ omnia erant *φιλόλογα* et dignitatis meæ."

² According to the order of events as related by Dion, see xliii. 27.

trated himself at the dictator's feet, and a crowd of the noblest of the Romans followed his example. The question of his recall was remitted to the decision of the senate itself. The oration which Cicero delivered was a laboured panegyric upon Cæsar; the anticipated pardon of Marcellus was exalted above the greatest of his actions; and the usurper was bid to rest secure in the gratitude of the nobles, and in the firm conviction of the nation that his life was indispensable for the maintenance of order.¹ Marcellus was accordingly invited to return to his country; but on his way he fell under the dagger of an assassin at Athens. The deed was undoubtedly the effect of some private enmity, but it did not fail to be for some time currently ascribed to the instigation of the man who had forgiven him. Cicero made a speech some months afterwards in favour of Ligarius, against whom, on account of the pertinacity of his opposition, the dictator was said to be peculiarly exasperated. In this address, the orator adopted undoubtedly a bolder tone than appears in the oration of Marcellus. But, as Cæsar's character became better known, the most timid summoned courage to affect freedom of speech in his presence. The fear of proscription had vanished, and with it much of the breathless subservience of the proud Roman nobility.

Cæsar indeed felt the ground firm beneath his feet. He was conscious that the real strength of the nation was with him. The nobles might intrigue against him, and the mob of the city might be ready to sell itself to any restless adventurer; but the good sense of the middle class of Rome, backed by the general sympathy of the Italians and the enthusiastic veneration of the provinces, concurred to secure the foundations of his power. It was to these classes only that he felt himself re-

The general feeling of the nation favourable to Cæsar's power.

¹ The genuineness of the *Oratio pro Marcello* has been abandoned without due consideration, in my judgment, by many modern critics. The arguments against it seem to me at least inconclusive, and I should expect the work of a rhetorician composed after the event which confuted so many of its prognostications, to betray some consciousness of the impending catastrophe.

sponsible for the exercise of his delegated authority. Accordingly, he disbanded his veterans, or despatched the legions to distant quarters. He even dismissed a band of Spanish auxiliaries whom he had retained about him for a time as a chosen body-guard.¹ When his personal friends among the senators and knights offered to arm a select corps of their own number, to watch over the safety of his person, he waived the honour of their services, in the confident assurance that the state had more need of him than he of the state.² And such was the impression of its general beneficence which his administration had created in almost every quarter, that he might fully depend upon it to protect him at least from any public enemy. No precaution he well knew could guarantee his life from the insidious attack of the private assassin: but he declared that it was at any time better to die than to live always in fear of dying.³

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 86.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 109.

² Plut. *Cæs.* 57.

³ Plut. *l. c.*; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 108.: ἀμφὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στρατιωτικὸν οὐκ ἦν, οὐ γὰρ δορυφόροις ἠρέσκετο, τῇ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὑπερέσια μόνῃ.

CHAPTER XXI.

TRANQUILLITY OF ROME DURING CÆSAR'S ABSENCE IN SPAIN.—CHARACTER OF HIS PRINCIPAL FRIENDS: BALBUS, OPPIUS, MATIUS, HIRTIUS.—THEIR EPICUREAN PRINCIPLES.—CÆSAR HIMSELF A FREE-THINKER, BUT ADDICTED TO SUPERSTITION.—HIS RETURN TO ROME, AND LAST TRIUMPH.—HARSH TREATMENT OF LABERIUS.—HONOURS AND DIGNITIES SHOWERED UPON CÆSAR.—HE RECEIVES THE APPELLATION OF PATER PATRÆ, AND THE PRÆNOMEN IMPERATORIS: IS ELECTED CONSUL FOR TEN YEARS, AND CREATED DICTATOR FOR LIFE, ETC.—HIS MAGNIFICENT SCHEMES FOR WORKS OF PUBLIC UTILITY.—HE MANIFESTS SYMPTOMS OF INTOLERABLE PRIDE.—CÆSAR'S URBANITY OF CHARACTER.—HE VISITS CICERO AT HIS VILLA.—CICERO EXHORTS HIM TO MAKE WAR ON THE PARTHIANS.—HE PREPARES TO SET OUT ON AN EXPEDITION OF FOREIGN CONQUEST, AND APPOINTS MAGISTRATES FOR THE INTERVAL OF HIS INTENDED ABSENCE.—CÆSAR APPEARS TO COVET THE TITLE OF KING.—THE PEOPLE EXPRESS THEIR DISAPPROBATION.—HE REFUSES THE DIadem.—A CONSPIRACY IS FORMED AGAINST HIS LIFE BY MEN OF BOTH PARTIES IN THE STATE.—THEY PLACE BRUTUS AT THEIR HEAD.—ASSASSINATION OF CÆSAR ON THE IDES OF MARCH, BENEATH THE STATUE OF POMPEIUS (A. U. 709—MARCH 710. B. C. 45, 44.).

THE prudent mildness with which the government was administered during Cæsar's absence in Spain had maintained perfect tranquillity in Rome during a period of unusual anxiety. At the beginning of the year Cæsar had been elected consul for the fourth time, and without a colleague. The old republican office of prætor had been also dispensed with. Lepidus, as master of the horse to the dictator, convened the senate, and presided, with the assistance of six or eight prefects, over the administration of affairs in the city: the higher magistracies were all in abeyance, excepting those of the tribunes of the people and the ædiles. Cæsar had prudently taken with him

State of Rome during Cæsar's absence in Spain.

Dolabella, and had invited Antonius also to accompany him. But the latter smarted under the blow his arrogance and cupidity had recently received from the dictator, and refused to leave Italy in his train.¹ It does not appear whether he was entrusted with a share in the government, but his mere presence in Rome was enough to keep alive the apprehensions of the most timid of the malcontents, who still foreboded that Cæsar's final triumph in Spain would be the signal for dropping the mask of clemency, and plunging into a career of confiscation and blood.

Resentment of Antonius against him.

On mature reflection, however, Antonius seems to have felt that it would be imprudent to indulge in animosity towards his patron, from whose generosity he was anxious to obtain the honour of the consulship.² He left Rome with the intention of overtaking him. Taking the route of Gaul, he did not proceed further than Narbo, from whence, pleading the insecurity of the roads, he suddenly returned.³ It was now confidently surmised by Cicero that he came with authority to execute the long delayed vengeance of the conqueror.⁴ The fact seems to have been simply that having lately taken to wife the notorious Fulvia, who had been left a widow successively by Clodius and Curio, he thus abridged his absence out of passion or jealousy.⁵ He possibly may have had some apprehensions lest the government should take advantage of his absence to restore to their owners, or sell for the benefit of the state, the estates of the unfortunate Pompeians, which he had contrived to grasp.⁶ Another rumour arose that he had heard in Gaul of Cæsar's defeat and death, and of the impending restoration of the republican party.

Though Lepidus was nominally at the head of the administration of affairs, it would seem that his influence was less

¹ Antonius abstained from taking part in Cæsar's campaigns either in Africa or Spain. Plut. *Anton.* 10. ; Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 29. : "Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito accepisti?"

² Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 30.

³ C. c. l. c.

⁴ Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 31., *ad Att.* xii. 19.

⁵ Plut. l. c.

⁶ Cic. *ad Att.* xii. 18.

The dictator's
personal
friends: Lepi-
dus.

regarded than that of others among his colleagues. The wealth and dignity of his family, his descent from the chief who had been the first to attempt the overthrow of the Sullan ascendancy, the favour which his brother, Æmilius Paullus, had acquired with Cæsar by his well-timed defection from the ranks of the Pompeians, had all contributed to raise him nominally to the first place among the dictator's adherents, and elevated him eventually to a position of still greater eminence. But it was through the channel of private friendship that the goodwill of the sovereign of the Roman world was to be conciliated, and it was those who enjoyed his personal intimacy and confidence who were felt to be most influential in the distribution of honours and favours. It may serve to illustrate the character of the central figure itself if we pass rapidly in review the personages who were grouped most closely around him.

Of these the most conspicuous in the history of the times was C. Asinius Pollio, who had first brought himself into notice by assailing the tribune C. Cato for his violent proceedings in favour of the senate. He assumed this attitude perhaps in the first instance for the sake of notoriety only; but from that moment he attached himself more and more closely to Cæsar. He attended the proconsul in some of his campaigns in Gaul, and formed one of the scanty band of devoted followers with which he crossed the Rubicon. When Cæsar had so rapidly traversed and conquered Italy, he sent Pollio into Sicily and Africa as lieutenant to Curio. It was under his command that the remnant of that unfortunate expedition had been conveyed home. Throughout the campaigns of Epirus and Thessaly he served by the side of his patron, and was present at the battle of Pharsalia. His fidelity and talents were next charged with the administration of Cæsar's government in Rome, in which he had the merit of opposing Dolabella's seditious movement.¹ He served again in a military capacity both in Africa and Spain. Pollio was one of the most finished specimens of

¹ Plut. *Anton.* 9.

the man of business and literature combined. His great work on the history of his own times was the result of the leisure of his latter years. He strode with a bold and firm step over the volcanic ashes of the civil wars.¹ Critical in his judgment and impartial in his sentiments, he reflected no less severely on the misrepresentations of Cæsar's personal narrative, than on the exaggerations of Cicero's invectives. But in the most active period of his political and military career he distinguished himself as an accomplished orator, and put forward no mean pretensions to poetical celebrity. The encomiums of Catullus and his youthful admirer Horace represent his character to us in an amiable light: but it was the amiableness of a practical eclectic, of one whose good-humoured selfishness found no difficulty in accommodating itself to the tempers and habits of men of very different principles.² His taste was refined and fastidious: the style even of Cicero and Livy did not escape his animadversions.³ Subsequent eritics represented his own as rough and jejune, formed, as it were, rather in the school of the Appii and Menenii than of his more polished Augustan contemporaries.⁴

If Pollio was a familiar associate of Cæsar, Oppius seems to have been one of the most confidential of his friends. It was to him, together with Balbus, that the dictator entrusted the management of his private

C. Oppius.

¹ Hor. *Od.* ii. 1. 3.:

“Incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.”

This work, which was in fact a history of the Civil Wars, commenced with the consulship of Afranius and Metellus, A. U. 694, that is, with the formation of the triumvirate:

“Motum ex Metello consule civicum.”

² His popularity in society may be estimated from the fact recorded of him that he was the first to introduce the practice of an author's reciting his own works to an audience of private acquaintance. Senec. *Controv.* iv. pref.

³ Senec. *Suasor.* vi. vii.; Quintil. i. 5. 56., viii. 1. 3. He discovered *Patavinity*, or the provincialisms of Patavium, in the language of the great historian, who was born there.

⁴ Tac. *Dial. de Orat.* 21.

affairs; and at a later period a volume of letters was preserved, in which he had corresponded with them in cypher, probably on matters of the most domestic and personal interest.¹ The high favour in which they stood with their patron induced Cicero to consult them, throughout the painful struggle he made to secure the conqueror's protection without attaching himself to his party. When the topics of his adulatory addresses were in their judgment ill-chosen, he consented to withdraw or remodel them accordingly. The character of Oppius seems to have been warm and affectionate. He wrote the lives of many distinguished Romans, and among them of some of his contemporaries, and even of Pompeius himself; but in these his partiality for Cæsar rendered him unworthy of confidence.² A pleasing anecdote is related of Cæsar surrendering to him, when he had fallen sick on a journey, the only room in the hut at which they were to rest for the night, while he took up his own lodging in the porch outside.³ Such is the influence which a gentle and feminine nature often exerts over a sterner character. It seems probable that the counsels of Oppius confirmed Cæsar's natural inclination to make the mildest use of his power, and certainly he became the channel through whom assurances of pardon and favour were most generally conveyed.

L. Cornelius Balbus was a not less intimate associate of his great patron, but the genuineness of his attachment is not equally indisputable. His talents and industry were devoted through life to securing his own advancement and maintaining his personal safety, and his career proved a remarkable instance of worldly success. Balbus was by birth a provincial, of the town of Gades, in Spain. His fellow-citizens took the part of the republic against Sertorius, and it was thus that he found means of recommending himself to Pompeius. From the champion of the oligarchy he received the Roman franchise, and upon this foundation he built his fortunes. The prospects of advance

¹ Gell. xvii. 9.

² Plut. *Pomp.* 10.

³ Plut. *Cæs.* 17.; Suet. *Jul.* 72.

ment which it seemed to open induced him to remove to Rome, where he cultivated the favour of his first patron; but another star was rising in the firmament, and he did not neglect at the same time to attach himself to Cæsar. While the outward show of alliance between the rival leaders still subsisted, his new civic rights, invidiously impugned, gained the advocacy of Pompeius, Crassus and Cicero. Cæsar, however, secured at last his entire devotion by confiding to him, in conjunction with Oppius, the management of his private concerns. The spoils of the Gallic war were thus dispensed through his hands, and he did not fail to profit by the opportunity to amass riches. At the same time the trust which he exercised at Rome enabled him to avoid siding with either party in the field, and he came to the councils of the conqueror with a judgment and temper undisturbed by the passions of the civil wars. His position in the court of the dictator now became highly influential, and the anxious nobles vied with one another in soliciting his mediation.

But the most disinterested perhaps of all Cæsar's associates was C. Matius Calvena; for he alone abstained from taking part in public affairs, and derived neither wealth nor station from his friend's success. His C. Matius Calvena. natural predilections were probably on the side of the senate, but the ties of personal attachment were stronger with him than any political preference. He asserted the justice of Cæsar's claims in the most perilous crisis of his life, and persevered after his death in defending his memory against every detractor. Nor did he fail to use all his influence, which was justly considerable, in saving the conquered. The line of conduct pursued by one so honest and magnanimous is a strong proof that the most humane and reasonable men of the day, though they might scruple to put their own hands to the work of destruction, were satisfied that the safety of the commonwealth demanded the overthrow of aristocratic ascendancy.

A. Hirtius held commands under Cæsar in the Gaulish campaigns, but it was apparently rather as a negotiator, or in

A. Hirtius. a civil capacity, that he approved himself to his leader as a zealous and able partizan. His literary accomplishments, which doubtless contributed to raise him in his patron's estimation, are known to us by the last book of the Commentaries on the Gallic war, in which he appears as a cold but correct imitator of Cæsar's style. But it was to Hirtius also that Cæsar confided the task of replying to a work which Cicero published at this time in praise of Cato; and all the traits we discover of his private character, his moderation, want of ambition, and habits of kindly intercourse with his political adversaries, seem to point him out as an opponent of the philosophical no less than the political sentiments of the renowned Stoic. Among the principal adherents of the usurper the tenets of Epicurus seem universally to have prevailed. Vibius Pansa, another of Cæsar's friends and admirers, was noted alike for his amiable temper and the fashionable indifference of his speculative creed; for at this time every man of education in Rome professed a creed, and felt himself obliged by the rules of good society to pretend to some consistency between his creed and his practice. Similar sentiments were maintained by C. Cassius, and no doubt the great principle of Epicureanism, its apathy on political subjects, served to reconcile him so easily to the change of government. The rigid virtues of the Stoics had found little favour with a generation to which corruption and tergiversation had become so notoriously familiar. The sceptical schools of the Academy were too restless and argumentative for men to whom acquiescence in the irresistible march of events had assumed the form of a policy. But the dogmas of Epicurus, while they indulged political indifference and made tinc-serving respectable, were also easily distorted to cloak vice and voluptuousness: to disclaim the inference which so many of their professors drew from them in favour of licentiousness both of action and principle was the faint and hypocritical endeavour of a few sanctimonious pretenders. The spread of such opinions was favoured by the social corruption

Epicurean
tenets of Cæsar's
friends:
Vibius Pansa,
C. Cassius.

of the times, and by the exigencies of the public crisis. The miseries of civil dissension had at last raised a general cry for peace at any price. Rome could bear the long exhaustion of her foreign wars without a murmur; for they brought her glory and lucre, and opened boundless prospects to her avarice or ambition. But the civil wars were destitute of every charm. The principles of the fashionable philosophy coincided with the longings of the multitude. To the men who could recommend these principles by the brilliancy of their personal accomplishments and amiableness of their tempers the favour of Cæsar most naturally inclined. He loved the sleek in person and easy in disposition; the lean and eager-minded were those he instinctively feared.¹ The philosophy of the Garden had recently been raised in popularity and fashion by the most elaborate work that had ever yet issued from the study of a Roman sage. The great poem of Lucretius on the Nature of Things formed an era both in the literature and the social state of Rome. The work was nobly executed, with all its defects of argument, and, with all its defects of feeling, its aim was noble also. It opened a long career to the peaceful triumphs of thought, and every interest it excited was so much detracted from the domain of evil and sanguinary passions. The sublimest of the Roman poets sighs for rest from war as heartily as from the terrors of superstition. If he once only relaxes from his hapless abnegation of a superintending Providence, it is in his pathetic address to the goddess, power or principle, which associates all things in their appointed harmonies, and can alone effect the restoration of placid peace to his countrymen.²

Cæsar himself professed without reserve the principles of the unbelievers. The supreme pontiff of the commonwealth,

¹ The well-known passage in Shakspeare's *Julius Cæsar* is adapted from Plutarch, *Anton.* 11.: *μη̄ δεδιέναι τοὺς παχεῖς τούτους καὶ κομήτας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἑχρῶν καὶ λεπτοὺς ἐκείνους.*

² Lucret. i. 1-41.:

"Alma Venus

. . . . petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem."

Cæsar himself
a professed un-
believer.

the head of the college whence issued the decrees which declared the will of the gods, as inferred from the signs of the heavens, the flight of birds and the entrails of victims, he made no scruple of asserting in the assembled senate that the immortality of the soul, the recognized foundation of all religion, was a vain chimera.¹ Nor did he hesitate to defy the omens which the priests were especially appointed to observe.² He decided to give battle at Munda in despite of the most adverse auspices, when the sacrificers assured him that no heart was found in the victim.³ *I will have better omens when I choose*, was the scornful saying with which he reassured his veterans on another similar occasion.⁴ He was not deterred from engaging in his African campaign either by the fortunate name of his opponent Scipio, or by the unfavourable auspices which were studiously reported to him.⁵ Yet Cæsar, freethinker as he was, could not escape from the universal thralldom of superstition in which his contemporaries were held. We have seen him crawling on his knees up the steps of the Capitoline temple to appease the Nemesis which frowns upon human prosperity. When he stumbled at landing on the coast of Africa, he averted the evil omen with happy presence of mind, looking at the handful of soil he had grasped in his fall, and exclaiming, *Africa, thou art mine!*⁶ In a man who was consistent in his incredulity this might be deemed a trick to impose on the soldiers' imagination; but it assumes another meaning in the mouth of one who never mounted a carriage without muttering a private charm. Before the battle of Pharsalia Cæsar had addressed a prayer to the gods whom he denied in the

His addiction
to superstition.

¹ Sallust, *B. C.* 50.

² Suet. *Jul.* 59.: "Nec religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus unquam vel retardatus est."

³ Suet. *Jul.* 77.: comp. Polyæn. *Strateg.* viii. 23. 32. The same prodigy occurred a second time, and was equally disregarded. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 152.; Plin. *H. N.* xi. 71.

⁴ Polyæn. *l. c.*

⁵ Suet. *Jul.* 59.; Cic. *de Div.* ii. 24.

⁶ Suet. *l. c.*

senate, and derided in the company of his literary friends. He appealed to the divine omens when he was about to pass the Rubicon.¹ He carried about with him in Africa a certain Cornelius Salutio, a man of no personal distinction, to neutralize, as he hoped, the good fortune of the Corneli in the opposite ranks.²

Cæsar's character is strongly contrasted with those of some later and spurious imitators by the gallant confidence with which he left his actions to be their own heralds, never deigning to anticipate by a single day the effect they were calculated to produce upon his friends or his enemies. In modern times it will hardly be credited that he allowed the capital to remain for months in ignorance of his proceedings in the Spanish campaign. Confident of ultimate success, he was not unwilling that some mystery should hang about the means and movements which conduced to it.³ If he had any affectation about him, it was the noble one of concealing the details of his operations, and bursting suddenly upon the world with a victory when it was least expected. But he could depend upon the awe which his mere absence inspired. The rumour of a great disaster having overtaken him found only a few fond listeners; the great mass of the citizens remained spell-bound in their conviction of his good-fortune; and when the despatch at last arrived which announced the crowning victory of Munda, it was as if the sun had shone forth from an eclipse, and relieved them from anxiety without exciting their surprise.

Rumours and anticipations at Rome during Cæsar's absence in Spain.

It was the eve of the Parilia, the anniversary of the foundation of the city.⁴ A rude shepherds' festival, at which the ordinary precautions for the health of their sheep received a re-

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 32.

² Suet. *Jul.* 59.; Plut. *Cæs.* 52.; Dion, xlii. 57.

³ Compare Lucan's illustration of his character (v. 670.):

"Desint mihi busta, rogosque,
Dum metuar semper, terraque expecter ab omni."

⁴ The Parilia, or Palilia, were celebrated on the 21st of April.

Tidings of the
victory of
Munda arrive
at Rome.

ligious sanction, had gradually gathered round it the most solemn traditions of the Roman people.

The walls of Rome had been cemented with blood.

The stain of fratricide could never be entirely wiped away, and the conscience of the city was for ever haunted by the recollection of its original guilt. The senate received the announcement of Cæsar's victory just in time to decree that the festival of the morrow should be celebrated with more than usual solemnity. The conqueror of his fellow-citizens, it declared,

deserved the honours of another Romulus. Thus

Decrees passed
in Cæsar's
honour.

the second foundation of the city was laid, like the first, in brothers' blood.¹ A decree immediately followed to appoint a thanksgiving for fifty days.

The year before Cæsar had been pronounced a demigod; now a statue was erected to him inscribed, *To the Invincible Deity*, and placed in front of the temple of Quirinus, the venerable founder of the Roman nation. Cæsar had extended the limits of the empire both in Gaul and Africa, and to this, the highest of all public services, a special honour was assigned, though it had been rarely conceded even to the great est conquerors. Sulla was the last Roman emperor who had been permitted to advance the pomerium, or extend the bounds of the city. This peculiar distinction was now accorded to Cæsar.² The bold design attributed to him of turning the Tiber to the west from the Mulvian bridge, and enlarging the area of the Campus Martius, seems a mere wild rumour of the day.³ It does not appear whether he really

¹ Lucan, i. 95. :

“Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri.”

² Dion, xliii. 50. ; Gell. xiii. 14. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 23, and the commentators.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 30. : “Sed casu sermo a Capitone de urbe augenda. A ponte Mulvio Tiberim duci secundum montes Vaticanos : campum Martium coëdificari : illum autem Campum Vaticanum fieri quasi Martium campum.” The project, if such it may be called, seems to have been to lead the Tiber with a bold sweep to the foot of the Vatican hill, and so back to its old channel near the Pons Triumphalis. The space thus added to the Campus Martius would have remained an open area for public exercises, while the actual Campus would have been covered with buildings, perhaps inclosed in the walls.

made use of the honourable privilege accorded to him. We know for certain that he did not extend the walls themselves, but it is possible that he may have advanced the sacred limits outside them, within which the auspices might be taken, so as to include some portion of the Campus Martius.

In due time the conqueror himself returned to Italy. Faithful to the prescriptions of the republic at the moment that he was trampling it under foot, he abstained from entering the city before the day of the triumph which had been again decreed him. This last victory over Roman citizens was cloaked under the specious title of a conquest in Spain,¹ and a similar designation was given to the triumphs subsequently granted to his lieutenants Fabius and Pedius. On this occasion Cæsar gratified the populace with a show and a festival not less magnificent than in the year preceding; the most remarkable incident in the ceremony was the rehearsal of scenic entertainments in a variety of languages,² for the amusement, not of the Romans alone, but of the multitude of foreigners from all parts of the world who had followed in the wake of the conqueror's victories. To the eye of the far-sighted statesman this might justly appear the greatest step that had ever yet been taken towards the fusion of mankind into one nation. But the Romans in general gave little heed to this and similar prognostics of social revolution; they were much more interested in the singular phenomenon of a knight named Laberius appearing on the stage and reciting a dramatic composition of his own. The profession of the actor was one from which the Roman's pride revolted; he considered it a mark of degrading frivolity in the Athenian so to cultivate art at the expense of dignity.³ But certainly in the succeed-

Cæsar returns to Rome, and celebrates his last triumph.

¹ Liv. *Epit.* cxvi. ; Vell. ii. 56.

² Suet. *Jul.* 39. : "Ludos . . . per omnium linguarum histriones." The significance of this as well as many others of Cæsar's measures is proved by their imitation by Augustus. See Suet. *Oct.* 43.

³ There was no such feeling in the early ages of the republic, as is elaborately shown by Macrobius, *Saturn.* ii. 10. It is probable that the Romans

ing generation we find that knights, and even senators, came frequently on the stage of their own accord, till it became necessary to make decrees to interdict the practice. Laberius, it is said, was a rude asserter of republican sentiments, and Cæsar resolved to break his spirit by harshness. He requested him to make this public appearance, and, with a refinement of cruelty, offered him apparently a large sum of money, that he might seem to have been bribed thus to degrade himself. The request of the master of the Roman people was already felt to be a command. Laberius went through his task, but avenged himself by introducing into it some pathetic lines, in which he threw on his instigator all the infamy of the act.¹

More honours continued still to be heaped upon the favourite of fortune. A decree was passed that Cæsar should receive the designation of father of his country, the highest compliment a really free state could ever bestow upon a citizen.² A second conferred upon him the style of imperator, not in the usual way as an appendage to his other names and titles, implying authority over the soldiers, but as a constant prefix to denote a permanent and more general application.³ His person was invested with legal sanctity, like that of the tribunes of the people, the consulship was assigned to him for ten successive years, and, to crown all, the office of dictator was confirmed to him for life.⁴ Other distinctions, which in modern times would be supposed to gratify none but the most paltry vanity, received importance from the place they held in the estimation of the people. Such were the triumphal robes which Cæsar was solemnly authorized to wear on all occasions in public, and the crown of laurel, which it was said was

first conceived their dislike of the actor's profession from the contempt they were led to entertain for Greek fashions.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 39. The lines are preserved by Macrobius, *Sat.* ii. 7.

² Suet. *Jul.* 76. ; comp. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 106. ; Dion, xlv. 4. ; Florus, iv. 2. 91. ; Liv. *Epit.* cxvi.

³ Suet. *l. c.* ; Dion, xliii. 44.

⁴ Suet. *l. c.* ; Plut. *Cæs.* 57. ; Dion, xliii. 45. ; Appian, *l. c.*

Cæsar receives the appellation of father of his country, with other honours.

peculiarly acceptable to him to conceal the premature loss of his hair.¹ The right of coining money was assigned to certain of the higher magistrates of the republic, and the noblest names of the nation of kings have thus been stamped upon the most durable of historic monuments. But Cæsar's was the first human face which the Romans allowed to be impressed upon their coinage.² This privilege, which has since become one of the most distinctive marks of regal power, was followed by another of similar significance. Cæsar had declined the offer of his friends to form a body-guard for his personal protection; but the senate adopted the sacred formula of swearing by his name, and bound itself by a solemn oath to watch over his safety.³ Like most men who have risen by their own acts to a great and unexpected elevation, Cæsar believed in destiny. But he threw himself upon it with a resolution and unreserve which no other perhaps has equalled. At every step of his ascent to power he was ready to stake his life upon its success, to become the Cæsar of his imagination or to perish; and when he had attained the object of his aspirations he was no less prepared to sacrifice existence to the full enjoyment of all its charms. Perhaps it was this consciousness that he must soon perish, and that his work must perish with him, that unnerved his arm for the execution of the Herculean task of reconstructing the commonwealth. When his contemporaries observed the contemptuous indifference with which, living in the midst of perils, he renounced all armed protection, nor took even the ordinary precautions for the care of his health, they surmised that life had lost its interest for him, and had already lasted as long as he felt it could conduce to his pleasure or glory.⁴ The extravagant visions in which he indulged of isolated

¹ Dion, xliii. 43.; Suet. *Jul.* 45. Baldness was opprobrious among the Romans, inasmuch as it was supposed to be the result of excess. Comp. Plin. *H. N.* xi. 47.

² Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm.* vi. 7. No undoubted coin of Cæsar bears his head before the year ν . c. 710.

³ Suet. *Jul.* 84. 86.

⁴ Suet. *Jul.* 86.

works of public utility seem to betray the restless and feverish excitement which gradually crept over him. He planned, it is said, the emptying of the lake Fucinus, the draining of the Pomptine marshes, the construction of a canal from Rome to Tarracina,¹ of a new road across the Apennines, and of a magnificent harbour at Ostia, the erection of a superb temple to Mars, the cutting of the isthmus of Corinth;² while at the same time his mind was wandering to the scenes of warfare with which it had been so long familiar, and new visions of conquest were opening before him in grand but misty proportions.³ Meanwhile the recklessness of his humour betrayed itself in a demeanour more and more haughty and contemptuous. Sulla, he bluntly said, was a fool for resigning the dictatorship.⁴ But nothing offended the senators more bitterly than his not rising from his seat to receive them, when they came to communicate to him the honours they had lavished upon him in his absence. It was to the upstart foreigner Balbus that they were willing to attribute this wanton insult; the Spaniard, it was said, had plucked Cæsar by the sleeve when he was about to rise to his visitors, and bade him remember that he was their master.⁵ The Romans, in the progress of refinement among them, were very strict observers of social etiquette. Courteousness in its members one among another is the very essence of an aristocracy. Cæsar had exacted due homage to himself with scrupulous precision. When his chariot passed in the triumphal procession by the

¹ Mr. Long, in his *Notes on Plutarch*, points out some engineering difficulties which would oppose such a project. Indeed, the fall of the Tiber from Rome to the sea is said to be now only fifteen feet, and it is difficult to suppose that the bed of the river in its course through the city is not higher at the present day than it was eighteen hundred years ago. The fall from Rome to Tarracina would be only a few inches to the mile, and a slight rise of the sea level with a south-westerly gale would overflow the Pomptine marshes. The Romans were not sufficiently skilful to overcome such obstacles.

² Suet. *Jul.* 44.; Plut. *Cæs.* 58.; Dion, xlv. 5.

³ Suet. *Jul.* l. c.

⁴ Suet. *Jul.* 77.: "Sullam nescisse literas qui dictaturam deposuerit." The play on words cannot be preserved effectively in English

⁵ Suet. *Jul.* 78.; Plut. *Cæs.* 60.; comp. Dion, xlv. 8

bench occupied by the tribunes, one of them, by name Pontius Aquila, had rudely kept his seat to mark his independence. The dictator remarked bitterly on the affront, and when any one came to him to solicit a favour, was wont to say ironically, *I confer it, as far as the tribune Pontius will suffer me.*¹

Yet this pride and haughtiness, the fretful indications of a mind ill at ease within itself, were still tempered by gleams of the polished urbanity which had distinguished the accomplished statesman of earlier times. The true Roman gentleman was eminently a man of easy and conciliatory manners, of unaffected good humour and literary taste. His conversation sparkled with the most refined wit, or if at times his raillery would appear rude to modern ideas, it served at least to exercise and enliven the general equanimity of his temper. The practice of rhetorical discussion was a discipline of forbearance, and taught men more genuine respect for each other's characters, as it gave them a deeper insight into them, than the vapid generalities of our polite conversation. Such a gentleman was Cæsar, such was Cicero. One of the orator's letters preserves a curious record of the visit which the dictator paid him at the end of December in this year. Cicero had recently published a work in praise of Cato.² We may conjecture that it was not written in such a tone as would really offend Cæsar, for no man, as has been shrewdly observed, was more easily flattered by the pretence of refusing to flatter him.³ But Cicero had felt, or at least affected to feel, some apprehension of how it might be received. He had consulted Balbus and Oppius as to the effect it would produce upon the great man. He might smile when he was told that Hirtius was commissioned to reply to it: but he was probably both flattered and reassured when he found that Cæsar himself

Cæsar's urbanity: he visits Cicero in his villa at Puteoli.

¹ Suet. *l. c.* His villa at Naples was confiscated and bestowed by the dictator on his favourite Servilia. Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 21. He became one of the conspirators against Cæsar's life. Dion, xlvi. 38.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 113.

² Cic. *ad Att.* xii. 4.

³ Shakspeare, *Julius Cæsar*, act ii. sc. 1.

had found leisure in Spain to write a laboured invective against the subject of his encomiums.¹ The conqueror's sword he could neither resist nor parry, but he might trust to his address to appease or cajole him in a literary controversy. Cicero was residing at this time at his marine villa near Puteoli. Amidst the ruin of the commonwealth, and the overthrow of public interests, he had recently catered for his own domestic comforts by espousing in second nuptials a maiden, young, wealthy, and high born. He had reasoned himself, with the assistance of his friends,² into resignation under the loss of his darling child Tullia, the wife, though latterly divorced, of P. Dolabella. He had withdrawn almost entirely from public affairs, and was devoting himself to his favourite studies, when Cæsar, who had been visiting at the house of his kinsman Philippus in the immediate neighbourhood, invited himself to dine with him.³ The dictator, on this occasion, was attended by a guard of two thousand soldiers, besides many friends and followers of various ranks. Cicero was much perplexed how to accommodate such a guest. The soldiers were encamped on the estate, but tables were spread in several rooms for the more distinguished members of the retinue. Cæsar continued transacting business with Balbus till one o'clock; he then walked on the sea-shore, arrived at his host's villa at two, and took a bath. While he was thus refreshing himself, an attendant was not afraid to recite for his amusement a scurrilous epigram against him by the fashionable poet Catullus.⁴ In Roman society such verses and the

¹ It was composed in two books or orations, which obtained the name of Anti-Catones. Cicero says with reference to it: "Collegit vitia Catonis sed cum maximis laudibus meis" (*ad Att.* xii. 40.). He proceeds, "*Itaque misi librum ad Muscam ut tuis librariis daret: volo enim eum divulgari.*" Landor (*Imag. Convers.* ii. 18.) brands this as "the worst action of Cicero's life." It is little extenuation of its selfishness to say that Cato, whose weaknesses he was so willing to have exposed or exaggerated for the magnification of his own merits, was never an intimate friend of Cicero.

² See the elegant letter of Sulpicius, in the correspondence. Cic. *ad Div.* iv. 12.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 52.

⁴ Catull. xxix. or lvii. The author of the disgusting lampoon apologized afterwards, and was pardoned. Suet. *Jul.* 37.

imputations they conveyed for the most part excited only a smile. Satire had overreached itself. It was not worth while to punish ribaldry which no one heeded. Cæsar listened without emotion. He then anointed and dressed, and took his place at the table; and, having provided beforehand for the full and secure indulgence of his appetite, eat and drank heartily and cheerfully.¹ Nor was the dinner a bad one, adds the narrator, with complacency; and, what is more, it was seasoned with much good and pleasant conversation, to his own share in which he evidently looks back with satisfaction. Politics were shunned: the subjects discussed were wholly literary. The great man was well pleased, and showed himself to be so.

There is one circumstance, however, in Cicero's relations with Cæsar, which may give rise to some grave speculations. It appears that the former, in his anxiety to pay court to the conqueror on his return from Spain, addressed to him an elaborate letter of praise and congratulation. The scruples which he expressed to his friend Atticus, and the excuses he made to himself for his apparent subservience, need not detain us. The circumstance most important for us to observe is, that in this epistle the writer urged Cæsar to avenge the commonwealth by conducting an expedition against the Parthians. After some consultation with Balbus and Oppius, Cicero abstained from sending what he had written; his advisers had recommended him to expunge the suggestion relative to Parthia, and he became dissatisfied with the letter altogether.² The indignity under which the commonwealth still laboured while the ghost of Crassus roamed unavenged, might point many idle appeals to public sensibility. Cicero might amuse himself with painting it in his most glowing colours, and believe that he was

Cicero writes a letter urging Cæsar to invade Parthia, but withdraws it.

¹ Cic. *l. c.*: “ἐμετικὴν ἀγεβας, itaque edit et bibit ἀδεῶς et jucunde.” See the notes of Manutius and Schutz in explanation of this custom, which was considered, as in this instance, as complimentary to the host. Comp. Cic. *pro Deiot.* 7.; Senec. *Consol. ad Helv.* 9.

² Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 27. 30.

leading the popular sentiment, while in fact he was only obeying the suggestion of more crafty intriguers than himself. For to arm against Parthia would be to suspend the progress of administrative reform, it would be to remove Cæsar from Rome, the citadel of his strength, and entangle him in an enterprize of no ordinary peril. All this his friends immediately perceived, and they detected perhaps in their correspondent's harangue a deep plot for their patron's overthrow. They may have acquitted Cicero himself of any evil design.¹ They were content to parry the fatal counsel, and doubtless they would continue to employ all their influence in diverting Cæsar from any such undertaking. The same idea, however, was now continually presented to him from various quarters. The Roman people, it was affirmed, were deeply interested in seeing it realized. There can be little doubt that Cleopatra, disconcerted by the haughtiness of her admirer's subjects, would lend all her fascinations to a scheme for withdrawing him into the east. The project was flattering moreover to Cæsar's personal ambition, and to the passion for war which exercised undiminished sway over him. The difficulties of the task of civil reform were becoming more and more arduous: he would have rejoiced perhaps in any excuse for tearing himself away from a scene where his views were thwarted at every step; his increasing contempt for the people who obstructed while they flattered him, must have sometimes tempted him to abandon his schemes for their welfare, and plunge blindly into an unknown future.

The plan which Cæsar was now meditating had assumed, perhaps, no definite shape in his own mind. According to one version which has been given of it, he proposed to direct his arms in the first instance against

Schemes of conquest attributed to Cæsar.

¹ Cicero acknowledges to his correspondent that his counsel to Cæsar was a mere compliment: "Quid enim aliud argumentum epistolæ nostræ nisi *κολακία* fuit?" The letter was not sent; but Balbus and Oppius probably communicated Cicero's views to their patron, and he replied that he would not leave Rome till he had settled the government. On this Cicero remarks, "Idem ego suadebam in illa epistola;" but from a hint which follows, it would appear that he had so managed as to suggest a different course.

the Dacians, to protect Thrace, and even Asia Minor, which were exposed to their predatory incursions, and proceed from thence into the east.¹ Another and bolder conception was also ascribed to him, that of first overwhelming the Parthians, and then returning along the coasts of the Euxine, in the track of Pompeius, subduing all the nations between the Caucasus and the Carpathian mountains, and assailing the German barbarians in the rear.² Both one and the other of these supposed schemes is coloured apparently by the ideas of a later generation. But that Cæsar had resolved upon some extensive project of conquest in the East admits of no doubt. So long accustomed to the absolute authority of the proconsular camp, and the immediate accomplishment of every political and military conception, the delays and embarrassments which impeded the path even of a dictator in the city became irksome and intolerable to him. At the close of the year 709, he issued orders to his legions to cross the Adriatic and assemble in Illyricum, there to await his arrival. He contemplated an absence from Italy of considerable duration. He provided beforehand for the succession of consuls and prætors for the two following years.³ On the first of January he entered upon his fifth consulship, in which he was associated with M. Antonius: at the same time he obtained the designation of Hirtius and Pansa for the year 711, and that of Decimus Brutus and Munatius Plancus for 712. Though the people had waived the right of suffrage in his favour for a period of ten years, he considered himself precluded from wielding the consular fasces while absent from the spot where the auspices were to

Cæsar's fifth
consulship,
Jan. 1. 710.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 44.

² Plut. *Cæs.* 58.

³ Drumann (iii. 681.) collects the authorities principally from scattered intimations in Cicero's letters. Suetonius (*Jul.* 41.) says that the dictator shared the right of appointing the higher magistrates, except the consuls, with the people. These latter he selected without any foreign intervention. But Dion remarks that in point of fact, all the superior offices were filled at his recommendation, though the ordinary forms of popular election were maintained. Dion, *xliii.* 47. 51.

be taken, and other local functions to be exercised. The prætors appointed for the year 710 were sixteen in number, and among them were M. Brutus and C. Cassius. Lepidus, who had accepted the government of the Hither Spain and Gallia Narbonensis, was replaced in the mastership of the horse by Domitius Calvinus. In the assignment of the provinces, which was no longer made by lot, but depended upon the dictator's sole appointment, conspicuous men of either party were favoured almost indiscriminately. Asinius Pollio received the charge of the Further Spain, together with the task of confronting the hostile attempts of Sextus Pompeius. Among the other proconsuls and proprætors of the same or the following year were D. Brutus, Trebonius, and C. Cassius, whose names it is important to remark on this occasion, on account of the faithless return they were soon to make for the confidence now reposed in them.

There was no difficulty, it would seem, in effacing the memory of Pompeius from the minds of his late adherents, and the constitutional reforms which Cæsar carried into effect were so moderate and reasonable as to give little cause of serious anger to the party he had beaten in the field. It may be presumed, however, that the nobles were more sensibly offended by the elevation of new men into their own class. It is true that many of them might have cause to resent the establishment of a new régime, under which there was no room for them to enjoy the preferments they had been wont to monopolize. But some at least of the dictator's most bitter enemies had not even these personal grounds for hostility against him. The real motive of their hatred, in almost every case, was no other than wounded vanity; accustomed to regard all of their own class as their equals, and the most conspicuous of every other as their inferiors, the nobles were indignant at seeing one man rise to a permanent pre-eminence among them, while they sank themselves undistinguished into the common mass of the citizens. The forms of the constitution, strained as they had been to recognize the establishment of the dictatorship for

Cæsar adopts
C Octavius as
his heir.

life, had thrown all real power into the only hands which at the time were competent to wield it. Yet Cæsar himself was not perhaps satisfied with this splendid tribute to his acknowledged superiority. If, however, he really longed for the glittering title of king, which some at least of his adherents were willing to have conferred upon him, it must not be supposed that he was seeking to gratify his vanity by the assumption of an empty name. Of human feelings none is more natural than that which prompts a man to seek the perpetuation of his own privileges and honours after death in the person of his heirs. Cæsar, indeed, had no legitimate or acknowledged children. The person nearest to him in blood was a great-nephew. Satisfied with the talents and temper the young man exhibited, it was to him that he looked for a successor to his name and station. The object of this dangerous favour was C. Octavius, whose father had been head of the distinguished house whose name he bore. The elder Octavius married Atia, a daughter of Cæsar's younger sister Julia,¹ but had died when his only son had scarcely attained the age of four years. The child had been carefully brought up under the care of the mother and grandmother; his stepfather, L. Marcius Philippus, had watched over him with paternal interest, and from an early period Julius Cæsar himself had taken a share in his education. The object of all these regards had been born in the year 691, memorable for the conspiracy of Catilina, and the consulship of Cicero. Accordingly, he was now in his nineteenth year, at which age the noble youth of Rome had generally entered already upon their military career. But the extreme delicacy of his health had frequently prevented him from taking part in his great-uncle's exploits. From this cause he had been compelled to abstain from following him into Spain in his campaign against Afranius, and on his recent expedition in that quarter had

¹ Julia, the younger of the dictator's two sisters, was married to M. Atius Balbus, by whom she had a daughter Atia, wife of C. Octavius, and mother of the future Augustus. She died A. U. 702 or 703, and her grandson pronounced her funeral panegyric, being then in his twelfth year.

been an eye-witness of only a few of his operations. Elated by the distinction with which he was treated by the foremost man of the state, the young Octavius had presumed to solicit the appointment to the mastership of the horse as early as the year 709. But the dictator considered him too young to be thrust all at once into so conspicuous a position, and refused his request. Among Cæsar's reforms he had made no attempt to fuse the two ancient orders of the people together. On the contrary, he studiously kept the patrician and plebeian houses distinct, and confirmed the monopoly of certain offices which the former possessed. He reserved the patrician rank as a sort of order of nobility, for the reward of personages whom he wished to honour.¹ Accordingly, it was a conspicuous mark of favour when he caused the senate to raise the Octavian house to the superior rank. Cæsar now directed the young aspirant to resume his literary studies at Apollonia in Illyricum under accomplished teachers, and familiarize himself at the same time with the exercises and habits of the camp which was there established. Conspicuous for the graceful beauty of his mouth and chin, the expression of which was of almost feminine delicacy, and not less for the breadth of his commanding brow and the expressive lustre of his eyes, the person of the young Octavius was well calculated to engage the favour of the legions, and to become the darling of the most devoted Cæsarians. The dictator himself might rejoice in the good fortune which had given him such an heir, to whom to bequeath, if fate might so far favour him, the prize for which he had done and suffered so much; in the fond hope, that what he already felt, perhaps, to be a disappointment to himself might become a source of more genuine enjoyment to his successor.

But Cæsar might have had another motive for wishing to consolidate the power he had obtained by acquiring a title which he might transmit to his posterity. He had done no more than lay the first

The royal title
a symbol of
hereditary
power.

¹ The same policy was maintained by his successors in the supreme power Drumann, iv. 254.

foundations of the great edifice which he contemplated in his own imagination; and he might be anxious to bequeath its completion to one whom he had himself bred to inherit his views together with his station. The title of dictator had never descended from one generation to another: there were no associations connected with it as an hereditary office, no prestige of traditional veneration to blind men's eyes to the naked usurpation of supreme power. But the appellation of King seemed in itself to legitimize its possessor's claim to rule. It was the recognized symbol of hereditary sovereignty. It dazzled men by its brilliancy, and prevented them from looking too curiously into the fact which it really represented. Cæsar might conceive that it was only under the shelter of this illusion that the successor to his principles of administration could maintain the position in which he could carry them into effect. But even if he was conscious of cherishing any wish for the title of King, he concealed it with studious care. It was in the counsels of his friends, at least, that the idea of obtaining it appeared to originate;¹ and it was perhaps first suggested to them by the craft of his enemies, who sought thereby to exasperate the nation against him. While there were, as Cæsar well knew, a hundred poniards ready to bury themselves in his bosom, he was aware that they were restrained by the consideration that, popular as he still was with the army, the provinces, and the mass of the citizens, his assassination might only be the signal for a general massacre of all his real and supposed enemies. It required a series of dark and artful intrigues to warp the affections of these classes from the person of the dictator, and there might seem no readier method of overthrowing a victorious adversary than to fasten upon him the charge of affecting the kingly title.

However this may be, it happened that one morning a laurel garland, with a diadem attached, was found affixed to

Dion (xliv. 9.) says of Cæsar's friends: βασιλέα αὐτὸν προσηγόρευον καὶ πολὺ τοῦτο τοῦνομα καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς διεθρύλλουν. Comp. Plut. *Brut.* 9.: αἴτιαι δὲ τούτων οἱ Καίσαρος κόλακες. κ. τ. λ.

Cæsar is saluted by the title of King.

Cæsar's statue before the rostra. The tribunes, Marullus and Cæsetius, indignantly tore it down, and punished the convicted perpetrator of the scandal, pretending that they were acting in the spirit of the dictator's own sentiments. The populace, it was observed, expressed great satisfaction at their conduct, and saluted them with the title of the new Brutuses.¹ Cæsar only lamented in public, as on the deaths of Pompeius and Cato, that they had deprived him by their activity of the opportunity of proving his loyalty to the republic. A short time afterwards, on the 26th of January, the dictator had assisted at the great Latin festival on the Alban mount, preliminary to his expedition against the foreign enemies of the republic. On the same occasion he had enjoyed the honours of an ovation decreed to him by the senate: a gratuitous indulgence to his passion for personal display, for he had gained no new victory to justify it. The most sanguine of his adherents determined to take this opportunity of trying the temper of the people a second time, when their enthusiasm might be supposed to be excited by beholding their champion in his highest glory. It might be remembered that the popular chief Saturninus, on the last occasion on which the fatal title had been bruited in the ears of the Romans, had been urged by his own adherents to assume it.² Accordingly, officious voices were hired to salute him, as he passed, by the title of King. But as they dropped one by one into silence no others were heard to take up the cry: on the contrary, a low and stifled murmur sufficiently indicated the disapprobation of the people. *I am no king, but Cæsar*, exclaimed the dictator hastily.³ The tribunes seized some persons who had joined in this salutation, and threw them into prison. The dictator, however, thought fit to rebuke them for their superfluous or invidious zeal, in which he detected a scheme for bringing him under unjust

¹ Dion, xliv. 9.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 108.; comp. Suet. *Jul.* 79.; and Plut. *Cæs.* 61., *Anton.* 12., whose narratives apply in part to a different occasion.

² Florus, iii. 16.

³ Dion, xliv. 10.; Suetonius and Plutarch, *ll. cc.*

suspicious : he played upon the word Brutus, which signifies a fool, and declared that they well deserved the name they were so proud of, if they supposed he was unaware of the intrigue to which they had lent themselves. Nor did his anger confine itself to these sharp words. Helvius Cinna, indeed, one of their colleagues, went as far as to propose that they should be punished with death ; but Cæsar allowed himself to be appeased by their deposition from their offices.

Cæsar's friends, however, were not yet satisfied that the coveted distinction was beyond his reach. They sought to familiarize the people gradually with the idea of royalty by suggesting it repeatedly to their imaginations. Perchance the sight of the white linen band, the simple badge of Oriental sovereignty, might disabuse them of their horror at an empty name. On the fifteenth of February, the day of the Lupercalia, Cæsar was seated in his golden chair before the rostra, to preside over the solemn ceremonies of that popular festival.¹ The Julian flamens were elevated to the same rank as those of the god Lupercus, or Pan. Antonius the consul was at their head, and next to the dictator occupied the most conspicuous place in the eyes of the multitude. Possibly the novelty of the sight of the one consul stripped to his skin, with only a narrow girdle round his loins, waving in his hand the thong of goat's-hide, and striking with it, as he ran rapidly through the principal streets, the women who presented themselves to the blow, which was supposed to avert sterility, was still more attractive than that of the other in the laurel crown and triumphal robes, which use had rendered familiar.² When Antonius had run his course, he broke through the admiring multitude, and approached the seat of the dictator. He drew from beneath his girdle a diadem, and made as if he would offer it to him, exclaiming that it was the gift of the Roman people. The action was hailed by some clapping of hands ; but it was faint and brief, and easily betrayed that it was

Antonius offers him a royal diadem, which he rejects.

¹ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 109., and the authorities above cited.

² Plut. *Anton.* 12. ; Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 34. 42.

preconcerted. But when Cæsar put away from him the proffered gift, a much louder burst of genuine applause succeeded. Antonius offered it a second time, again there was a slight sound of applause, and again on Cæsar's rejection of it a vehement expression of satisfaction. The pulse of the city had once more been felt, and once more the symptoms had proved unfavourable. *I am not a king*, repeated Cæsar, *the only king of the Romans is Jupiter*. He ordered the diadem to be carried to the Capitol and suspended in the temple of the god as a trophy, commemorative of the gracious offer of the people and his own modest refusal. He even caused it to be inserted in the fasti, that on the fifteenth day of February the Romans presented a diadem to Cæsar, and Cæsar declined it.¹

Among other intrigues to keep the idea of the royal title constantly before the people, a report was studiously spread that the Sibylline books declared that Parthia could be conquered only under the auspices of a king.² Whatever had been the origin of the genuine Sibylline verses, on which so much of the Roman state religion was grounded, those compositions, it was acknowledged, had perished in the Sullan conflagration of the Capitol. The oracles, which at this period went under that name, were supposed to be fragments collected by subsequent research, or restored from memory, to replace the primitive vaticinations. Whatever confidence had been placed by the people in the original documents, neither the circumstances of the case nor the temper of the times, it might be imagined, would allow of faith being reposed in their modern substitutes. When the government ventured, with the sanction of the priests, to whom they were entrusted, to produce

The Sibylline oracles declare that Parthia can only be conquered by a king.

¹ Compare besides the authorities above, Liv. *Epit.* cxvi. ; Vell. ii. 56. ; Zonar. x. 11. ; Flor. iv. 2. 91. Nicolaus of Damascus, a panegyrist of the Cæsarian house, asserted that the people actually saluted Cæsar as king, and conjured him to accept the diadem. Antonius, he insinuated, urged him to make himself king in the hope of being named his heir. See the recently discovered fragment of the *Vita Cæs. Octav.* published from a MS. in the Escorial by Duebner in Didot's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* Nieol. Dam. *fr.* ci. § 20.)

² Dion, xliv. 15. ; Suet. *Jul.* 79. ; Cie. *de Divin.* ii. 54.

from them any alleged predictions with reference to the policy of the day, the manœuvre might have been presumed transparent to the meanest apprehension. Yet we have seen the nobles once before shrink from offending the popular belief even in these doubly spurious oracles; and now the most disastrous consequences were anticipated by Cæsar's enemies from the bare rumour of such a prophecy existing. The Quindecimviri, or college of fifteen priests, to whose care the sacred deposit was committed,¹ deliberately examined their records, and affirmed that the fact was so. Upon this Cæsar's friends proposed to obtain a decree of the senate to confer upon the dictator the title and authority of king over the foreign subjects of the commonwealth:² it could be easily foreseen that such a step would carry him more than half way to the achievement of his ultimate design of becoming king of the citizens also. And if the question were once brought formally under the notice of the senate, it would be impossible for the malcontents to avoid giving expression to their opinions. They must array themselves decisively in opposition to their master's interests, or allow their silence to be interpreted into consent. The apprehension of being reduced to this dilemma served perhaps to hasten the catastrophe which had been long in contemplation among them.³

The discontent which had spread through the ranks of the Roman nobility was founded, as we have seen, rather on personal envy of the dictator's pre-eminence, than on political hostility to his measures. His unexam-
A conspiracy is formed against Cæsar's life.
 pled clemency had been of little avail to disarm such a feeling as this. Even if he had resorted to the bloody policy of his predecessors, and cut off by proscription every leader of the party opposed to him, he would have been not the more safe from the machinations of his own principal adherents.⁴ Both Antonius and Dolabella had already been

¹ Drumann, ii. 493. not. 72., iii. 692. not. 41.

² Appian, *B. C.* 110., who adds that Cæsar repressed their zeal.

³ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 113.

⁴ Vell. ii. 56. : "Adjectis etiam consiliariis cædis, familiarissimis omnium, et fortuna partium ejus in summum evectis fastigium." Comp. Suet. *Jul.* 83.

subjected to the imputation of plotting against their patron's life.¹ But a much more extensive conspiracy had now been formed against him; not less than sixty, or even eighty,² persons are said to have connected themselves with it, and some of the most conspicuous of these were the very men who had appeared most to merit Cæsar's confidence by a long course of faithful services. Every party leader must make enemies, when he comes to power, of many of his ancient adherents by the unavoidable mortification of their self-love. Among the conspirators against Cæsar's life were some, perhaps, who thought themselves inadequately repaid for their early devotion to his interests. But such could not have been the case with Decimus Brutus, who had recently received the government of the Transalpine Gaul, who had been latterly appointed to the Cisalpine, and who was already designated for the consul of a future year. Such could not have been the case with Trebonius, who had only just descended from the ivory chair, and was about to assume the administration of a province. Another of Cæsar's favourite officers, who now became a traitor to him, was Minucius Basilus; this man had been prætor in the last year, but Cæsar not having the power of assigning to him a province, had hoped to compensate for the disappointment by a grant of money. Basilus, it is said, had resolved in his mortification to starve himself to death.³ C. Cassius found him in this desponding mood, and when he opened to him the plot against the dictator's life, easily persuaded him to live for vengeance. Publius Casca had been recommended by the dictator to a seat on the tribunitian bench; he, it is said, was disappointed at not rising at once to a still higher office. L. Tillius Cimber had also been re-

Cicero (*Philipp.* ii. 14.) asserts it as notorious that Antonius had consulted with Trebonius about taking Cæsar's life. Such a charge, however, from such a quarter, does not deserve much attention. The charge against Dolabella is still less substantial. Plut. *Anton.* 11. It was part of the policy of Cæsar's enemies to raise suspicions in his mind against his adherents.

² More than eighty, according to Nicolaus: *fr.* ci. § 19.

³ Dion, xliii. 47.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 113.

cently preferred to the government of Bithynia. This man indeed might entertain a private grudge against the dispenser of these honours, on account of his brother, who having been banished from the city, could not obtain Cæsar's intervention for the reversal of his sentence.¹ But of all Cæsar's adherents who now turned against him, his old lieutenant Servius Galba, to whom he had been forced to refuse the consulship, was the only one, perhaps, who had failed to reap riches or advancement from the establishment of his power.²

Even the chiefs of the senatorial party who had arrayed themselves against Cæsar in the field, had betrayed no reluctance to accept office under his sway. It was not the destitute or the disappointed among them, but those whom he had gratuitously honoured and promoted, who at last raised their hands for his destruction. The most active of the conspirators, and perhaps the original author of the design, was C. Cassius, who had recently been appointed prætor. In this dignified magistracy there were now sixteen associates; but the first place in rank and importance, the wardenship of the city, with its six attendant lictors, had been contested between Cassius and Brutus, and it was in favour of the latter that Cæsar had decided.³ The rich province of Syria, however, which was promised to the disappointed suitor, might have sufficed to obliterate any feelings of pique at this repulse. The cry of liberty and the republic, which was in the mouths of all the conspirators, could have little real influence on the sentiments of Cassius, whose avowed Epicurean principles, no less than his late political conduct, might vouch for his indifference to party. He had been known to express the utmost horror at

Character of Cassius, the author of the conspiracy.

¹ Plut. *Brut.* 17., *Cæs.* 66.; Appian, *l. c.*

² Cic. *Philipp.* xiii. 16.; Suet. *Galb.* 3. The testimony of Nicolaus, an admirer of the Cæsarian dynasty, may be deemed invalid in such a matter; it must be stated, however, that that writer fully confirms the general opinion of the unworthy motives which influenced the chiefs of the conspiracy, while he allows that among their followers there were some honest enthusiasts swayed by the authority of their names. Nicol. Dam. *l. c.*

³ Plut. *Brut.* 7., *Cæs.* 62.

the prospect of a new Pompeian ascendancy under the championship of Cnæus, whom he branded, at least in his correspondence with Cicero, as a monster of cruelty.¹ But he was by nature vain and vindictive; his temper fluctuated between mean subservience and rude independence; the ascendancy which Cæsar's unruffled equanimity exerted over him embittered his selfish spirit, and, in his passionate resolve to overthrow, at all hazards, the supremacy which galled him, he seems to have looked no further, to have taken no precautions, but thrown the die without calculating the chances.

If the conspirators and their principal instigator evinced any forethought, it was in seeking for their projected tyrannicide the sanction of the name of Brutus. Atticus, who, amidst the public commotions, amused himself with genealogical studies, had flattered M. Junius Brutus by tracing his descent from a supposed third son of the founder of the republic, whose elder brothers perished, as was well known, childless by the axe of the licitor.² Servilia, the mother of Brutus, derived her lineage from the renowned Ahala, whose dagger had avenged the ambitious projects of Spurius Mælius. But so far from inheriting the zeal of his imputed progenitor, the Brutus of the expiring republic had acquiesced in Cæsar's usurpation with less apparent reluctance than perhaps any other member of the Pompeian party. Despondent in her hour of distress, he had been the last to join, the earliest to desert, the unfurled banner of the republic. After Pharsalia he was the first to seek refuge in the camp of the victor; in the city he was the foremost to court the friendship and claim the confidence of the dictator; he was zealous in serving his interests by the discharge of important offices; nor did he blush to govern Cisalpine Gaul for Cæsar while his uncle still held Utica

¹ Cic. *ad Div.* xv. 19. He wrote to Cicero, A. U. 709: "Malo veterem et elementem dominum (Cæsarem) habere quam novum et crudelem (Cn. Pomp.)."

² Comp. Corn. Nepos, *Att.* 18.; Plut. *Brut.* 1. Cicero maintains this popular derivation of his hero (*Tusc. Qu.* iv. 1., *Phil.* i. 1.). But Plutarch allows that its accuracy was disputed.

against him.¹ A feeble panegyric of the sturdy sage whom he had abandoned while he affected to adopt his principles and emulate his practice, seemed to Brutus a sufficient tribute to his virtues. He disparaged the merits of Cicero, and exalted the services of Cato in the suppression of Catilina; but both his depreciation and his praise were blown to the winds by the caustic irony of Cæsar's reply.² His consort Claudia he had divorced to espouse the philosopher's daughter Porcia, a woman of more masculine spirit than his own. But thus doubly connected with strength and virtue, Brutus failed nevertheless to acquire the firmness which nature had denied him. Although in his habits a professed student, he could not resolve to withdraw to the shades of philosophy from the fiery glare of a season of revolution. The thirst of lucre still beset him; the victor caressed and the vanquished courted him; he was a greater man to-day than yesterday, and the path of official distinction seemed safe and flowery. With Brutus, by circumstances a revolutionary partizan, by temper a sophist, the conspiracy would never have originated; the admission of his inherent weakness is the fairest extenuation of his crime. But the deaths of all their more distinguished leaders had elevated him to undue importance among the

¹ Plutarch assures us that his government of this province was a great blessing to it: *εὐτυχία τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας . . . καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀτυχημάτων πᾶσα καὶ παραμυθία Βροῦτος ἦν*. Cæsar was exceedingly gratified at witnessing the beneficial results of his administration. Comp. Cic. *Orat.* 10. 34.

² Cicero's letter to Atticus, in which this subject is mentioned (*ad Att.* xii. 21.), is curious: "Catonem primum sententiam putat (Brutus) de animadversione dixisse; quam omnes ante dixerant, præter Cæsarem: et quum ipsius Cæsaris tam severa fuerit, qui tum prætorio loco dixerit, consularium putat leniores fuisse, Catuli, Servilii, Lucullorum, Curionis, Torquati, Lepidi, Gellii, Volcatii, Figuli, Cottæ, L. Cæsaris, C. Pisonis, etiam M'. Glabronis, Silani, Murenæ designatorum consulum." Brutus, it seems, sought to enhance Cato's merit by a deliberate falsification of history. Cicero goes on to explain why the capital sentence was ascribed to Cato's advice, namely, because, though the whole party spoke and voted for it, his arguments were considered the most forcible and effective. Middleton (*Life of Cicero*) supposes that it was from Brutus's account, rather than Cicero's, that Sallust drew up his own narrative. He was a contemporary and probably a witness of the scene, and required no written record to remind him of that awful debate.

remnant of his party. His uncle's renown seemed to shed its light upon him, and he was supposed to inherit the political spirit of the hero whose disciple he had avowed himself in the tranquil walks of science. The name of Brutus forced its possessor into prominence as soon as royalty began to be discussed. The Roman people were neither moralists nor genealogists, but they had imbibed from the traditions of four hundred and fifty years an unreflecting horror of the mere title of king, and admiration not less blind for the name of the first of the Consuls.

The weakness of Brutus's character may be estimated by the means which were employed to work upon him. A bit of paper affixed to the statue of the ancient hero with the words, *Would thou wert alive*, billets thrust into his hand inscribed, *Brutus, thou sleepest, thou art no Brutus*, shook the soul of the philosopher to its centre.¹ His vanity had already been excited by a compliment attributed to Cæsar, which was no doubt reported to him, *Brutus only waits for this dry skin*;² implying that he of all the Romans was the most capable of succeeding to pre-eminence. Cassius, who was brother-in-law to Brutus, and admitted to his familiar intimacy, watched narrowly the effect of these incentives to his ambition, and led him gradually to the point at which he could venture to disclose the deed which was in contemplation. Brutus, adroitly plied, embraced the schemes of the conspirators, and assumed the place of chief adviser, which was, at least in appearance, tendered to him. The renowned name became at once a charm of magic potency. It raised the sick Ligarius from his bed.³ A pardoned partizan of Pompeius, the clemency of Cæsar rankled in his bosom. *How sad for Ligarius*, said Brutus to him, *to be disabled at such a moment*. The sick man raised himself on his elbow and replied, *If thou hast any project worthy of Brutus, behold, I am well again*. Ligarius was admitted to the secret, and took an

He is cajoled by the conspirators,

and induced to assume the lead among them.

¹ Plut. Brut. 9., Cæs. 62.; Dion, xliv. 12.

² Plut. Brut. 8., Cæs. l. c.

³ Plut. Brut. 11.

active part in the deed which followed. We learn with pleasure that the conspirators did not venture even to sound Cicero.¹ Favonius withheld his countenance from them, and declared that it was better to acknowledge a master than to plunge again into the miseries of civil war.² The fatal intrigue was now ripening to its execution. As long as Cæsar remained at Rome his fearless demeanour exposed him almost undefended to the daggers of assassins, for he had dismissed the guard which had at first surrounded him, and he appeared daily in the forum and the curia, with no other attendance than that of friends and casual suitors. If the statement is correct that he had assembled as many as sixteen legions in Illyricum, he must have sent almost every disposable soldier out of Italy.³ But from the moment he should leave the city and assume the command of his armies, his security would be guaranteed by the fidelity of the troops; an attack upon the cherished life of the imperator would be difficult of execution, and sure of prompt punishment. Once intoxicated with the splendour of royalty in the provinces, he would never consent to return a citizen to Rome. He had promised, it was said, to restore the ancient towers of Ilium, the cradle of the people of Æneas and Romulus; possibly he might transfer thither the throne which the proud nobility forbade him to establish in the Capitol.⁴ Or, if the charms

¹ Plut. *Cic.* 17. : ἀλλ' ἔδεισαν οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἐνδεᾶ τόλμης. Antonius, indeed, tried to fasten the charge upon him. Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 11, 12., *ad Div.* xii. 3.

² Plut. *Brut.* 12.

³ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 110. The same writer, however, speaks afterwards of one legion quartered at Rome in the island of the Tiber (c. 118.).

⁴ Suet. *Jul.* 79. : "Valida fama percrebruit, migraturum Alexandriam vel Ilium, translatis simul opibus imperii." Lucan, ix. 998. :

"Restituam populos, grata vice mœnia reddent
Ausonidæ Phrygibus, Romanaque Pergama surgent."

The Ode of Horace (*Od.* iii. 3.), in which he deprecates a transfer of the seat of empire, shows how deep an impression this rumour had made, though I cannot imagine that Augustus could have seriously contemplated it, or that Horace would have so earnestly denounced it, if he had. See the commentators on Horace, *l. c.*

of Cleopatra should still retain their power, he might take up his abode in Alexandria, and transfer the seat of empire to the shrine of the Macedonian conqueror.

Cæsar's preparations for his departure were almost complete. The senate was convened for the Ides of March, the fifteenth day of the month, and at that meeting, it was confidently expected, the odious proposition would be openly made for conferring the royal name and power on the dictator in the provinces. The conspirators determined to make their attack upon him as soon as he should enter the assembly. Among the floating stories of the day was a prediction that the Ides of March should be fatal to Cæsar. He had received, it appears, intimations from more than one quarter of the danger which threatened him; but he resolutely rejected all advice to guard himself against it,¹ relying, as he declared, implicitly on the good sense or gratitude of the citizens. It had long been the fixed principle of his philosophy that the only way to enjoy life was to banish the fear of death.² On the eve of the fatal day he was entertained by Lepidus, and when, in the course of conversation, some one started the question, *What kind of death is the best?* it was remarked that he cut short the discussion abruptly with the reply, *That which is least expected.* The constant tradition of antiquity declared that, among many prognostics of an impending catastrophe, his wife had revealed to him in the morning an ominous dream, and when she prevailed upon him to consult the sacrificers, the signs of the victims were fearfully inauspicious.³ Whether his own superstitious feelings gained the ascendancy, or whether he was overcome by the entreaties of Calpurnia, he consented at

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 86.

² Plut. *Cæs.* 58.; Vell. ii. 57. Certain expressions currently attributed to Cæsar at this period of his career, as in Cic. *pro Marc.* 9, "Satis diu vel naturæ vixi vel gloriæ," have been supposed to indicate that he was dissatisfied with life, and reckless of the perils of his position.

³ Suetonius (*Jul.* 81.) relates the occurrence of various prodigies. Comp. Plutarch, *Cæs.* 63.; Dion, xliv. 17.

last to send Antonius to dismiss the senate, or to excuse his absence. At this moment Decimus Brutus came to attend him on his way to the place of meeting. On hearing the dictator's reluctant avowal of his scruples, he was struck with consternation at the prospect of the victim's escape; for the conspirators meanwhile were in momentary apprehension of discovery. Brutus himself, tormented by fear or conscience, had failed to conceal his agitation since he had embarked in the enterprize, and his nervous excitement was shamed by the firmness of his wife, who pierced her own thigh and long concealed the wound, to extract his secret from him by this proof of her self-control.¹ With Porcia indeed the secret of the tyrannicides was secure; but not so with many of the wild unprincipled men to whom it had been confided; every moment of delay made the danger of its divulgement more imminent. Under pretence of escorting the son of Cassius, who had just assumed the gown of manhood, the conspirators assembled early, and proceeded in a body to the portico before the theatre of Pompeius, the place assigned for the meeting of the senate being a hall immediately adjacent.² It had never been the ordinary custom of the Romans to wear arms in the city, and when the commotions of Milo and Clodius were put down, a special enactment had been introduced to check such a practice, which seemed to be creeping in through the licence and perilousness of the times. But the Roman senator carried his iron stylus in a little case, and in the place of the implement of writing the conspirators had furnished themselves each with a dagger. While awaiting the arrival of the dictator, Brutus and Cassius occupied themselves as prætors with listening to casual applications, and the freedom with which the former expressed himself, rebuking those who boasted that Cæsar would reverse his decisions, was especially remarked. But as the morning wore on the conspirators were exposed to redoubled risks. A senator, addressing Casca with

¹ Plut. *Brut.* 13.

² Suet. *Jul.* 80.: "Senatus idibus Martiis in Pompeii curiam edictus est." Plut. *Brut.* 14.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 115.

a significant smile, said, *You have concealed your secret from me, but Brutus has revealed it.* In another moment Casca would have pressed his hand and communicated the design, but the other went on to allude to his meditated competition for the ædileship, and the conspirator saw that he was undiscovered. Popilius Lænas whispered to Brutus, *What you have in hand despatch quickly,* and was immediately lost in the crowd. It was never known to what he referred, but the conscious assassins were disconcerted and alarmed.¹

Meanwhile, Decimus Brutus had recovered his presence of mind. He saw that all was lost unless Cæsar could be brought to the spot where the ambush awaited him. He rallied him on the weakness of Calpurnia, hinted some friendly disparagement of the hero's own resolution, and assured him that so favourable a moment might not again arrive for the sanction of his views and wishes by the decree of the subservient senators. Cæsar yielded, and quitted his house. Hardly had he turned his back when a slave besought an audience of Calpurnia, declared to her that there was some design in agitation against her husband's life, and desired to be kept in confinement till the event should prove his assertion.² As Cæsar proceeded along the Forum and Velabrum from the mansion of the chief pontiff to the theatre of Pompeius, more than one person, it seems, pressed towards him to warn him of his doom. But the conspirators to whom that part of the business was assigned crowded closely about him, and the press of his attendants was almost too great to allow of a mere stranger's approach. One man, indeed, succeeded in thrusting a paper into his hand, and earnestly exhorted him to read it instantly. It was supposed to have contained a distinct announcement of the impending danger, but Cæsar was accustomed to receive petitions in this way, and paid no immediate attention to it, though he had it still rolled up in his hand when he entered the senate house. As he was borne along in his litter (for he affected sickness to countenance the excuse which

Cæsar enters
the senate
house.

¹ Plut. *Brut.* 14–16.

² Plut. *Cæs.* 64.

Calpurnia had persuaded him to send to the senate) he observed complacently to the augur Spurinna, who had foreboded evil on that fatal day, *The Ides of March are come; Yes, muttered the sage, but not yet passed.*¹

At the moment when Cæsar descended from his litter at the door of the hall, Popilius Lænas, the same who had just before spoken so mysteriously to Brutus, approached Cæsar assassinated. him, and was observed to enter into earnest conversation with him. The conspirators regarded one another, and mutually revealed their despair with a glance. Cassius and others were grasping their daggers beneath their robes; their last resource was to despatch themselves. But Brutus, observing that the manner of Popilius was that of one supplicating rather than warning, restored his companions' confidence with a smile.² Cæsar entered: his enemies closed in a dense mass around him, and while they led him to his chair kept off all intruders. Trebonius was specially charged to detain Antonius in conversation at the door. Scarcely was the victim seated when Tillius Cimber approached with a petition for his brother's pardon. The others, as was concerted, joined in the supplication, grasping his hands and embracing his neck. Cæsar at first put them gently aside, but, as they became more importunate, repelled them with main force. Tillius seized his toga with both hands, and pulled it violently over his arms. Then P. Casca, who was behind, drew a weapon and grazed his shoulder with an ill-directed stroke. Cæsar disengaged one hand and snatched at the hilt, shouting, *Cursed Casca, what means this? Help,* cried Casca to his brother Lucius, and at the same moment the others aimed each his dagger at the devoted object. Cæsar for an instant defended himself, and even wounded one of the assailants with his stylus; but when he distinguished Brutus in the press, and saw the steel flashing in his hand also, *What! thou too, Brutus!* he exclaimed,³ let go his hold of Casca,

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 81.; Dion, xliv. 18.; Val. Max. viii. 11. 2.

² Plut. *Brut.* 16.

³ Καὶ τὸ τέκνον, is the expression given by Dion and Suetonius. Plutarch

and drawing his robe over his face made no further resistance. The assassins stabbed him through and through, for they had pledged themselves, one and all, to bathe their daggers in his blood. Brutus himself received a wound in their eagerness and trepidation. The victim reeled a few paces, propped by the blows he received on every side, till he fell dead at the foot of Pompeius's statue.¹

only says that on seeing Brutus's dagger Cæsar resisted no longer. The "Et tu, Brute," with which we are familiar from Shakspeare, has no classical authority. See the commentators on *Julius Cæsar*. But some such exclamation seems natural; while the allusion to the pretended parentage of the assassin has an air of later invention.

¹ Plut. *Cæs.* 66., *Brut.* 17.; Suet. *Jul.* 82.; Val. Max. iv. 5, 6.; Dion, xliv 19.

CHAPTER XXII.

REFLECTIONS UPON CÆSAR'S ASSASSINATION.—HIS PERSON, CHARACTER, AND ABILITIES.—CÆSAR REPRESENTS THE VIRTUES AND DEFECTS OF HIS AGE.—INFLUENCE OF THE OLD ETRUSCAN DISCIPLINE UPON THE ROMANS: IT IS GRADUALLY SUPPLANTED BY THE CIVILIZATION OF THE GREEKS.—CHARACTER OF GREEK CIVILIZATION IN ITS DECAY.—PHILOSOPHY AND FREE-THINKING INTRODUCED INTO ROME.—DECAY OF THE OLD ITALIAN FAITH, AND RISE OF ORIENTAL SUPERSTITIONS.—INFLUENCE OF GREEK IDEAS UPON THE PRINCIPLES OF ROMAN LAW.—LIBERAL TENDENCIES OF CICERO AND THE CONTEMPORARY JURISCONSULTS.—INFLUENCE OF GREEK LITERATURE UPON THE ROMANS.—CONFLICT BETWEEN THE GREEK AND ITALIAN SPIRIT: ENNIUS, NÆVIUS, LUCILIUS.—SPIRIT OF IMITATION DIFFUSED OVER ROMAN LITERATURE.—STUDY OF THE GREEK RHETORICIANS: ITS EFFECT UPON ROMAN ELOQUENCE.—DECAY OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE.—FAMILIARITY WITH THE COURTS AND STANDING ARMIES OF THE EAST DEMORALIZES THE PROCONSULS AND THE LEGIONS.—FATAL EFFECTS OF THE OBSERVATION OF ROYALTY ABROAD.—CONCLUDING REMARKS

CÆSAR was assassinated in his fifty-sixth year. He fell pierced with twenty-three wounds, only one of which, as the physician who examined his body affirmed, was in itself mortal.¹ In early life his health had been delicate, and at a later period he was subject to fits of epilepsy, which attacked him in the campaign of Africa, and again before the battle of Munda.² Yet the energy and

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 86.

² Suet. *Jul.* 45.; Plut. *Cæs.* 17.; Dion, xliii. 32.; Appian, *B. C.* ii 101. Comp. Sir Henry Halford's *Essays*, p. 61.: "Many attacks of epilepsy are symptomatic only of some irritation in the alimentary canal, or of some eruptive disease about to declare itself, or of other occasional passing ills. So far Julius Cæsar was epileptic But these attacks were of no consequence in deteriorating his masculine mind." Napoleon, as is well known, had more

habitual rapidity of all his movements seem to prove the robustness of his constitution, at least in middle life. It may be presumed that if he had escaped the dagger of the assassin, he might, in the course of nature, have attained old age; and against any open attack his position was impregnable. He might have lived to carry out himself the liberal schemes which he was enabled only to project. But it was ordained, for inscrutable reasons, that their first originator should perish, and leave them to be eventually effected by a successor, within a quarter of a century.

The judgment of the ancients upon this famous deed varied according to their interests and predilections. If, indeed, the republic had been permanently re-established, its saviour would have been hailed, perhaps, with unmingled applause, and commanded the favour of the Romans to a late posterity. Cicero, though he might have shrunk from participating in the deed, deemed it expedient to justify it, and saluted its authors in exulting accents, as tyrannicides and deliverers.¹ But the courtiers of the later Cæsars denounced it as a murder, or passed it over in significant silence. Virgil, who ventures to pay a noble compliment to Cato, and glories in the eternal punishment of Catilina, bestows not a word on the exploit of Brutus.² Even Lucan, who beholds in it a stately sacrifice to the

than one attack of the same kind. Michelet's description is picturesque (*Hist. de France*, i. 50.): "J'aurais voulu voir cette blanche et pâle figure, fanée avant l'âge par les débauches de Rome, cet homme délicat épileptique, marchant sous les pluies de la Gaule, à la tête des légions, traversant nos fleuves à la nage, ou bien à cheval, entre les litières où ses secrétaires étoient portés." Suetonius adds that Cæsar was disturbed in his latter years by nocturnal terrors.

¹ Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 4. 6. 14., *Philipp.* i. 14., *de Off.* i. 31., ii. 7., iii. 4.: "Num se astrinxit scelere si qui tyrannum occidit quamvis familiarem? Populo quidem Romano non videtur, qui ex omnibus præclaris factis illud pulcherrimum existimat."

² Virg. *Æn.* viii. 668.:

"Et te, Catilina, minaci
Pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem;
Secretosque pios; his dantem jura Catonem."

gods, admits the detestation with which it was generally regarded.¹ Augustus, indeed, wisely tolerant, allowed Messala to speak in praise of Cassius; but Tiberius would not suffer Cremutius to call him with impunity the last of the Romans.² Velleius, Seneca, and, above all, Valerius Maximus, express their abhorrence of the murder in energetic and manly tones. It was the mortification, they said, of the conspirators at their victim's superiority, their disappointment at the slowness with which the stream of honours flowed to them, their envy, their vanity, anything rather than their patriotism, that impelled them to it.³ The Greek writers, who had less of prejudice to urge them to palliate the deed, speak of it without reserve as a monstrous and hateful atrocity.⁴ Again, while Tacitus casts a philosophic glance on the opinions of others, and abstains from passing any judgment of his own, Suetonius, in saying that Cæsar perished by a just retribution, imputes to him no legal crime, nor extenuates the guilt of his assassins.⁵ From Livy and Florus, and the epitomizer of

¹ Lucan, vii. 596.:

“Vivat, et ut Bruti procumbat victima, regnet.”

Comp. vi. 791., and viii. 609.

² Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34.

³ Vell. ii. 56.; Senec. *de Ira*, iii. 30.; Val. Max. i. 7. 2., iii. 1. 3., &c.

⁴ Dion, xlv. 1. 20, 21., &c.; Appian, *B. C.* iv. 134.

⁵ Suet. *Jul.* 76.: “Jure cæsus existimetur.” As this writer's judgment has been cited in justification of the assassination, it may be well to examine it more closely. On referring to the context of this passage, it will be seen that Suetonius had no idea of vindicating the obsolete principle of a barbarous antiquity, that regal usurpation authorized murder (see Liv. ii. 8.),—a principle which the opponents of senatorial ascendancy repudiated and resented; but only expressed his own personal indignation at the extravagant vanity of the usurper. Suetonius knew and cared but little for the legal traditions of the commonwealth; but he indulged in splenetic mortification at greatness and its outward distinctions. At the conclusion of his biography he repeats the common remark that all the assassins perished by violent deaths, evidently with the complacency of one who thought them *jure cæsi*, quite as much as their victim. I subjoin the whole passage.

“Prægravant tamen cætera facta dictaque ejus, ut et *abusus dominationis* et jure cæsus existimetur. Non enim honores modo nimios recepit, ut continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam, præfecturamque morum, insuper

Trogus, we may infer that the sentiments expressed by Plutarch were the same which the most reasonable of the Romans generally adopted; the moralizing sage declared that the disorders of the body politic required the establishment of monarchy, and that Cæsar was sent by Providence, as the mildest physician, for its conservation.¹ On the whole, when we consider the vices of the times, and the general laxity of principle justly ascribed to the later ages of Greek and Roman heathenism, it is interesting to observe how little sympathy was extended by antiquity to an exploit which appealed so boldly to it.

The accounts we have received of Cæsar's person describe him as pale in complexion, of a tall and spare figure, with Cæsar's person. dark piercing eyes and an aquiline nose, with scanty hair, and without a beard. His appearance, at least in youth, was remarkably handsome, and of a delicate and almost feminine character. He continued, even in later years, to be vain of his person, and was wont to hint that he inherited his beauty from his divine ancestress. His baldness, which he strove to conceal by combing his locks over the crown of his head, was regarded by the ancients as a deformity, and a slight puffing of the under lip, which may be traced in some of his best busts, must undoubtedly have detracted from the admirable contour of his countenance. We

prænomen imperatoris, cognomen Patris Patriæ, statuum inter reges, suggestum in orchestra; sed et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est; sedem auream in curia, et pro tribunali, tensam et ferculum Circensi pompa, templa, aras, simulacra juxta Deos, pulviuar, flaminem, Lupercos, appellationem mensis a suo nomine."

It was not the *dominatio* itself, but the *abusus dominationis*, that Suctonius deemed worthy of death; his truculent virtue was inflamed, not by the successive consulships, the perpetual dictatorship, &c., least of all by the surname of Father of his Country, which a Camillus and a Cicero had borne, but by the divine honours affected by Cæsar. The words *jure cæsus* may be borrowed from a legal formula, but the writer, I repeat, uses them with no reference to a legal, but to a moral retributive justice.

¹ Senec. *Qu. Nat.* v. 18.: "A Tito Livio positum in incerto esse utrum eum magis nasci reipublicæ profuerit an non nasci." Flor. iv. 2. 92.; Eutrop vi. fin.; Plut. *Cæs.* 69.

can only infer indistinctly his appearance in early life from the busts and medals which remain of him ; for all of these belong to the period of his greatness and more advanced age. In the traits which these monuments have preserved to us, there is also great diversity. Indeed, it may be said that there is a marked discrepancy between the expression of the busts and that of the medals. The former, which are assuredly the most life-like of the two, represent a long thin face, with a forehead rather high than capacious, furrowed with strong lines, giving to it an expression of patient endurance and even suffering, such as might be expected from frequent illness, and from a life of toil not unmingled with dissipation. It is from the more dubious evidence of the latter that we derive our common notions of the vivid animation and heroic majesty of Cæsar's lineaments.

The temptations to which the spirited young noble was exposed from the graces of his person were not combated by any strictness of moral principle, perhaps not even by a sense of personal dignity. In periods His loose morality. of great social depravity, such as especially degraded the class to which Cæsar belonged, it is by the women even more than by the men that profligacy is provoked and encouraged. The early age at which he became notorious as the gallant of the matron Servilia may show that he imbibed the rudiments of vice in the school of a proficient in intrigue. From that time he persisted without shame or scruple in the pursuit of pleasure in whatever shape it seemed to court him. His amours were celebrated in verse and prose, in the epigrams of Catullus and the satires of Cæcina and Pitholaus. His countrymen enumerated with horror the connexions which shocked their national prejudices. When they repeated from mouth to mouth that Cæsar intrigued with the consorts of a Crassus, a Pompeius, a Gabinius, or a Sulpicius, they manifested neither sympathy for the injured husband nor indignation at the heartless seducer, still less disgust at the sensual indulgence. But the corruption of a Roman matron, of a wife by the sacred rite of the broken bread, was a public scandal,

hateful both to gods and men; it might bring a judgment upon the nation itself; the culprit was denounced as a national offender. If such austere sentiments were not universally felt, it was at least easy to feign them; the domestic rival might be conveniently branded as a public delinquent, and the circulation of the stories against Cæsar's moral conduct, however ample the occasion he gave for them, was doubtless part of a system of organized warfare against him. The same remark applies also to the current tales of his intrigues with foreign princesses. These, too, were stigmatized, not as private indulgences, but as public crimes. The more constant the attachment he manifested to a stranger, the votary of strange divinities, the more flagrant the guilt imputed to him. Eunoë, queen of the Mauretanian Bogudes, was the object of only a passing desire; but Cleopatra, as we have seen, established a lasting sway over him. Though he despised these prejudices, the foundation of which he hardly fathomed, and defied the clamour they excited, he had reason to repent of his indulgences from the handle they gave for more infamous charges, the only attacks which seem to have seriously annoyed him; but which, easily made and common as they were, require some proof, of which they possess not a shadow, before I can be expected to record them against him.¹

The coarse habits of the age were peculiarly exemplified in the debauchery of the table. Excess in eating as well as in drinking was common, and passed almost un-
 His temper-
 ance and gen-
 erosity. reproved. Custom had sanctioned the abuse, and the union of sage philosophical discussion with indulgence of the vilest gluttony must provoke a smile at the "follies of the wise." Cæsar took the manners of the day as he found them; but he was not addicted to licentious excess in these respects, and among the class of riotous young men who

¹ Dion, xliii. 20. These charges seem, after all, to rest solely on the authority of C. Memmius, a scurrilous profligate (Suet. *Jul.* 49. 73.), from whom they were taken by Catullus, Cicero, and others. For the character of Memmius comp. Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 433.; Plin. *Epist.* v. 3.; Gell. xix. 9.

made themselves conspicuous in undermining the institutions of the country, he alone, in the words of Cato, came sober to the task of destruction.¹ Nor was there any petty cupidity in the eagerness with which he grasped the spoils of the conquered provinces. The pearls of Britain, the statues and gems of Asia, the hoarded gold of Gades and Antioch, the slaves of exquisite figure and curious accomplishments, which became the ransom of his victories, were, in his hands, the instruments of a lofty ambition, not objects of sordid avarice. He was more liberal in giving than rapacious in seizing. Mamurra, Balbus and many others, could attest his readiness to enrich his favourite servants, and in instituting Octavius his principal heir, he reduced the inheritance by a legacy of 300 sesterces to every Roman citizen.²

The gentleness of Cæsar's manners in his intercourse with his associates presents an amiable feature in the character of a man so much their superior. Few public men ever made or retained so many personal friends, ^{His clemency.} and in this respect he is favourably contrasted with the most eminent of his rivals, Crassus and Pompeius. The clemency which he exhibited towards his adversaries cannot, in fairness, be ascribed merely to policy. The Romans themselves never so disparaged it, and when they remembered how effectively his successor wielded the sword of proscription for the maintenance of his power, they might reasonably regret and applaud the mildness of their elder master. We may venture, indeed, to surmise that if Cæsar had attained his dangerous

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 53. : "Verbum M. Catonis est, unum ex omnibus Cæsarem ad evertendam rempublicam sobrium accessisse." He goes on to tell a pleasing story in illustration of his moderation. Comp. Vell. ii. 41. : "Magno illi Alexandro sed sobrio neque iracundo simillimus."

² 300 sesterces = about 3*l.* The number of the urban citizens we have seen on a recent occasion amounted to 170,000, and was probably considerably larger at Cæsar's death. He also bequeathed to the people his gardens on the other side of the Tiber, in which Cleopatra had been lodged. Suet. *Jul.* 83. ; Plutarch, *Brut.* 20. ; Appian, ii. 143. ; Dion, xlv. 35. According to the latter, however, Octavius affirmed that the legacy to the citizens was much smaller; viz. 30 drachmas to each, instead of 75.

eminence in early youth, ne would have been less scrupulous as to the means of protecting himself; but there seems reason for believing that, by the time he had climbed the summit of his ambition, the veteran of pleasure and adventure had begun to feel the hollowness of gratification, and to shrink from doing violence to his better nature. Cæsar, indeed, had too many objects of interest around him to become absorbed in any one. The sphere even of his literary engagements embraced almost every known subject of intellectual occupation. His skill and spirit in historical narration are sufficiently attested by the works which have descended to us under his name; and it must be remembered that, at a time when mere dexterity in composition was a rare and difficult accomplishment, the publication of only a few books in terse and vigorous language implied of necessity an extended acquaintance with the masters of literature. Cæsar's historical style claims to be favourably contrasted with the roughness of Cato and Varro, and even with the artificial rhetoric of Cicero and Sallust, if it may not be compared with the chastened elegance of Livy, or the sententious gravity of Tacitus. But in its freedom, ease and openness it presents an unbroken reflection of the mind from which it emanated, confident in its simplicity and superior to artifice. In the wordy contests of the bar and the forum, it was declared by his countrymen that Cæsar might have rivalled the great orator himself, if he had not preferred to throw himself into action. He composed, moreover, a treatise on grammar, and also the celebrated satire on Cato, an essay which seems to have made a great impression on the judgment of his contemporaries. Though destitute, perhaps, himself of the lively humour which charms society,¹ he was a shrewd observer and a profound thinker, and he made a collection of wise and witty sayings, storing, like Lord Bacon, for the basis of a new structure of philosophy the condensed experience of past ages.

¹ In this sense the observation attributed to Niebuhr (*Lectures on Roman History*, ii. 45.), that not one witty saying of Cæsar is recorded, is quite true. But his serious retorts were often smart as well as severe.

In early youth he had written tragedies after the Greek model: during his rapid march from Italy into Spain before his last campaign, he amused himself with composing verses, perhaps in a lighter and more original vein, under the title of his *Journey*. As chief pontiff he compiled an official work on the subject of augury; and that he took some actual part in the reformation of the calendar effected by his learned associates may be surmised from the special work he devoted to the science of astronomy.

But while other illustrious men have been reputed great for their excellence in some one department of human genius, it was declared by the concurrent voice of antiquity that Cæsar was excellent in all. He had ^{Universality of his genius.} genius, understanding, memory, taste, reflection, industry and exactness.¹ *He was great*, repeats a modern writer, *in every thing he undertook; as a captain, a statesman, a lawgiver, a jurist, an orator, a poet, an historian, a grammarian, a mathematician and an architect.*² The secret of this manifold excellence was discovered by Pliny in the unparalleled energy of his intellectual powers, which he could devote without distraction to several subjects at once, or rush at any moment from one occupation to another with the abruptness and rapidity of lightning.³ Cæsar could be writing and reading, dictating and listening all at the same time; he was wont to occupy four amanuenses at once, and had been known on occasions to employ as many as seven together.⁴ And as if to complete the picture of the most perfect specimen of human ability, we are assured that in all the exercises of the camp his vigour and skill were not less conspicuous. He fought at the most perilous moments in the ranks of the soldiers; he could manage his charger without the use of reins,⁵ and he saved his life at Alexandria by his address in the art of swimming.⁶

¹ Cic. *Philipp.* ii. 44.

² Drumann, iii. 746.

³ Comp. Cicero's remarkable expression (*ad Att.* viii. 9. 4.): "Sed hoc répas horribili vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia est."

⁴ Plin. *H. N.* vii. 25.

⁵ Plut. *Cæs.* 17.; Suet. *Jul.* 57.

⁶ Suet. *l. c.*: "Si flumina morarentur nando trajiciens, vel innixus inflatis utribus."

But the province of the historian must be kept distinct from that of the biographer. For the former the survey of

Cæsar represents his age in his qualities and defects. Cæsar's character derives its chief interest from the manner in which it illustrates the times wherein he occupied so prominent a place. The disposition and conduct of the great man we have been contemplating correspond faithfully with the intellectual and moral development of the age of which he was the most perfect representative. He combined literature with action, humanity with sternness, free-thinking with superstition, energy with voluptuousness, a noble and liberal ambition with a fearful want of moral principle. In these striking inconsistencies, which none but himself could blend in one harmonious temperament, he represented the manifold conflicting tendencies which appeared in various proportions in the character of the Roman nobility, at a period when they had thrown off the formal restraints of their Etruscan discipline, and the specious indulgence of Hellenic cultivation lured them into vice, selfishness and impiety.

The ruling idea of the Etruscan institutions. The ruling idea of the Etruscan institutions was their immediate derivation from a divine authority. The Lucumo or military chieftain was at the same time the priest and augur of the national religion. Under the marvellous fiction of the apparition of the dwarf Tages, who was declared to have sprung from the soil to teach the worship claimed by the gods, he represented the archives of his creed as inspired and infallible. All the political and social institutions of his country he invested with the same divine sanction; places, not of worship only, but of ordinary abode, the walls of cities no less than the precincts of temples, domestic customs and public ceremonies, family relations and official personages, births, marriages and funerals, games, spectacles and sacrifices, all were inaugurated and sanctified by holy and mysterious formulas. The minute details into which a ceremonial law so comprehensive necessarily ran demanded for their requirement the devotion of a particular profession, and even of an hereditary caste. The Etruscans

divided mankind into two classes, the teachers and the believers; and the former of these was easily led to pretend to a peculiar sanctity, and perhaps to believe in it. The claims, however, which they advanced upon the submission of the human intellect required the production of some apparent proofs. The Etruscan augurs asserted that they possessed the art of foretelling events by divination. According to them the secrets of the gods were not imparted directly by means of inspired oracles, but were to be learned by man through a holy discipline of observation and experience. They inquired, under the direction of technical rules, into the hidden properties of nature, particularly those of the electric phenomena,¹ and whatever progress they made in real knowledge they had the art of turning their discoveries to the credit of their institutions.

It was from these teachers that the ancient Romans derived the ritual part of their religion. But, though they embraced with superstitious awe the manifold ceremonies of the Etruscan cult, they never allowed themselves to be so completely enchained by their dogmatic formalisms as the people from whom they derived them. Their race from the first was too mixed in its character to be exclusively enthralled by the ideas of any one of its component elements. The Roman priests and diviners never succeeded in separating themselves as a distinct caste from the rest of the people. Though in the primitive ages the patrician claimed exclusive possession of all the religious secrets of the nation, the progress of political enfranchisement introduced the plebeians to a share in this as in all other privileges. Though the science of augury continued for centuries to be assiduously cultivated, and its in-

The Romans adopt the Etruscan discipline under certain limitations.

¹ Cic. *de Divin.* i. 41, 42.; Diodor. Sic. v. 40.; Senec. *Nat. Qu.* ii. 32.: "Hoc autem inter nos et Tuscos, quibus summa persequendorum fulminum est scientia, interest. Nos putamus, quod nubes collisæ sunt, ideo fulmina emitti; ipsi existimant, nubes collidi, ut fulmina emittantur." He proceeds to expound and controvert the teaching of the Etruscans on this subject. Compare Micali, *L'Italie, &c. trad. de Raoul-Rochette*, ii. 246. foll.

fallibility strenuously maintained, bold spirits were never wanting to defy its conclusions whenever they were strongly opposed to any obvious expediency. Still the Roman people continued to boast, on the whole with justice, of the soundness and devotedness of their faith. To this they rejoiced to attribute the success of their arms and policy. The unbelieving Greeks admired it with a sigh.¹ The superior civilization of the Etruscans exercised a dominant influence over Rome, not in religious matters only, but in manners, arts and literature. It was from Etruria that she imported her music, and her stage-players, who were properly singers.² The genius of the Etruscans, though it appears never to have turned towards poetry,³ excelled in works of scientific information, as well as in the cultivation of the arts. So late as the fifth century it was still the fashion for the youth of Rome to be regularly trained in the literature of Etruria, as at a later period in that of Greece.⁴

The effect of the theocratic discipline to which the Romans so far subjected their imaginations, impressed a marked colour upon their national character for several centuries. The history of no nation presents such a picture of blind devotion to the public interest; such entire submission of the citizen to the claims of the community, such heroic abnegation of all selfish views. Brutus and Manlius offered up their sons on the altar of the commonwealth. Curtius and Decius made the more generous sacrifice of their own lives. Regulus kept his word with Carthage, to maintain the honour of his country, rather than his own. Fabricius rejected the bribes of Pyrrhus. Cincinnatus relinquished, at the call of patriotism, the simple leisure earned by a life of public service.

¹ Polyb. vi. 56.; Dionys. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 18, 19.

² See Niebuhr, *H. R.* i. 133. E. T.

³ Niebuhr refers to Varro, *L. L.* iv. 9.: "Volusius qui tragœdias Tuscas scripsit;" these were probably translations or adaptations from the Greek drama for performance in the Greek theatres at Fœsulæ and elsewhere, in the latest period of Etruscan cultivation.

⁴ Liv. ix. 36.: "Habeo auctores vulgo tam Romanos pueros sicut nunc Græcis ita Etruscis literis erudiri solitos."

These stories, whatever be their actual truth, serve at least to paint the heroic ideal of the nation. The legend of the contest with Brennus, and the final triumph of patient resolve in the extremity of disaster, was enacted in real life throughout the mortal agony of the second Punic war. The manners of the old Roman heroes corresponded to their military virtues. Simple, frugal, and honest in their private conduct, they were just and generous, according to their own principles, in their dealings with enemies. Such at least was the boast of their own countrymen, and such qualities could not have been wholly alien to the practice of a people who paid so much homage to them in theory. But against this high tone of moral feeling there were grave counterbalancing faults to be set. The passion of the Romans for conquest hardened their hearts against the natural sentiment of compassion. The cruelty they learned in conflict with the enemy in the field, they exercised with no less harshness at home on their slaves, their children, their wives and their parents. The ordinary punishments of the law were sanguinary and relentless. The patrician creditor confined and tortured his plebeian debtor.¹ The superstitious terrors of the people required to be allayed by human sacrifices. The principles of the religion learned from Etruria fostered intolerant claims to the exclusive favour of the deities. To reject and persecute foreign forms of worship was long held by them as a religious principle, and the gradual relaxation of their bigotry only marked a decline in the vital influence of their creed. It was on this principle that their pride of nationality was founded, and in this it found its strongest support. The Romans regarded all foreigners as barbarians, long before they had any pretensions, like the Greeks, to superior refinement of their own. In their early language, as in their original sentiments, the names of stranger

¹ The fragment of the XII. Tables on this subject, "Secanto; si plusve minusve secuerint se fraude esto," may possibly be interpreted of a division of the debtor's estate rather than of his body; the severities which the creditor was allowed to inflict on the person of his debtor are sufficiently notorious without pressing the literal sense of these words.

and enemy were synonymous. The effect of their religious training, had it continued to exercise its primitive sway over them, would have been to isolate their ideas and narrow the sphere of their sympathies, till they sank into exhaustion, evacuated of all life and energy. Austerity in its decay becomes debasing hypocrisy. The Romans would have been the victims, like the Egyptians and the Mexicans, of a formal civilization, and a rigid ritual. The progress of their social development would have been mere corruption. No expansion of the heart or the intellect could have sprung up among them, without the infusion of more genial principles of national life.

The domination of a priestly caste may maintain the outward forms of a ritual and a dogmatic creed long after the vitality of belief has become extinct. If the Etruscans gave no direct indication of having secretly fallen away from the faith of their ancestors, yet as it was impossible for the class to which the interpretation of the Divine will was assigned, to continue long deceived as to the impostures they practised, so we can hardly doubt that the Etruscan discipline had gradually relaxed its hold of the popular mind at the period of the Roman conquest. Still less had the external respect which the Etruscans maintained for their form of worship prevented the seeds of corruption of manners from germinating in an atmosphere of wealth, luxury and security. There is reason to believe that they only fell before the Romans because they had already succumbed to the blandishments of licentious voluptuousness. The state of the arts in the later period of their glory testifies to great sensual refinement,¹ such as is rarely found in conjunction with the masculine virtues required to withstand the assault of so vigorous an enemy as their youthful neighbours then were. The stories of their depravity which the Greeks adopted and circulated, may be gross exaggerations:² nevertheless, it is hardly reasonable

Internal corruption of the Etruscans.

¹ Micali, iv. 276.

² Theopompus and Timæus in Athenæus, xii. 14., referred to by Niebuhr, *H. R.* i. 139., who discredits them on the ground that no licentious represent-

to doubt their reflecting an image of the truth; for the Greeks had no particular temptation like the Romans, either themselves to defame them, or to take a pleasure in hearing them defamed. Undoubtedly the Romans in their turn would have trodden the same downward path of unbelief and corruption as their predecessors, even if they had been able to preserve themselves untainted by the Hellenic ideas, which gave in fact the most vehement impulse to their moral decline. The loosening of moral and religious ties, the spread of luxury, the growth of impure and extravagant tastes, were all subjects of complaint to the sages of the republic, before the conquest of Sicily and Magna Græcia, and still more of Greece beyond the sea, opened the flood-gates of free-thinking and evil-living by which Rome was so rapidly inundated.¹

What had the descendants of the great masters of art, literature, and philosophy, to offer to the young aspirants for the honours of civilization? The old age of nations, it has been observed, is rarely venerable.² In the man advancing years, while they subdue the mind and bow the bodily frame, often elevate the character by chastening the passions. But in nations the active spirit of intellectual progress is generally succeeded by fretful restlessness in the pursuit of sensual gratification. The masculine appetites of instinct are replaced by conscious pruriency of imagination. Selfishness succeeds to self-devotion, pleasure is idolized instead of virtue, the subtle refinements of wit supplant the discipline of the understanding. In the sixth century of the city, the literature of Greece was still brilliant, but it had renounced every noble tendency. The taste for the æsthetic arts had given way to a demand

Degraded state of Greek intellect and morals in the sixth century of the city.

ations are to be found on any Etruscan works of art. But recent investigators affirm the contrary. See Quarterly Review, vol. lxxvii. p. 392.

¹ Sallust, *Fragm. Hist. ap. Augustin. Civ. D.* ii. 18.: "Ex quo tempore majorum mores non paulatim ut antea, sed torrentis modo præcipitati." Comp. Liv. xxxix. 6.; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 7.; Vell. ii. 1.

² Compare Duruy, *Hist. des Romains*, ii. 4., from whom this image has been borrowed.

for merely sensual enjoyments. Painting, sculpture, and music, had become lifeless refinements upon the spontaneous creations of the past age of invention. Poetry had dwindled from the sublime proportions of the Epic and the Drama to the compact neatness of the Epigram, and it had lost even more in spirit than in form. Greek literature, as it recommended itself to the admiration of the Roman conquerors, was the sickly product of an Oriental court, rather than the vigorous offspring of Athenian freemen. Voluptuous luxury reigned supreme in all the arrangements of private life; it was as cooks, parasites, buffoons and panders, that the Greeks ministered to all the tastes which their rude masters had yet developed; they appealed to a frivolous philosophy to dignify pleasure with the name of virtue, and declared to an admiring auditory that the gratifications of the table are worthy of the wise man's most serious attention.

While this feeble corruption pervaded the arts and literature, the manners and morals of the Greeks, their religion, the most important element in all civilization, suffered more than all the rest in the general decay. The Greeks, notwithstanding the brilliancy of their mythology, and the inexhaustible fertility of their invention in discovering objects for every human character and disposition to worship, had never been a believing people. Even in the simple age of the Homeric poems, their heroes are represented as defying the authority of omens and appealing against them to the tribunal of conscience and reason.¹ It was in vain that the characters assigned to the rulers of the world were brought more into harmony with the demands of the understanding; that the deification of War, Lust and Deceit, gave way to the more decorous worship of Compassion and Vigilance, Chastity and Renown, Persuasion and Concord.² The early appeal to Reason was never suffered to succumb before the pretensions of Tradition. Shadowy as

Decay and fall
of the religion
of the Greeks.

¹ As in the famous line (*Il. μ.* 243.):

εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

² Constant, *Polythéisme Romain*, i. 18., from Pausanias.

were the foundations of the religious usages of the Greeks, which in their case it would be preposterous to dignify with the name of beliefs, they could make no show of resistance to the assaults of the intellect, and the bold speculations of trained dialecticians. Reason had settled into atheism at a time when science was content to believe that the sun was about the size of the Peloponnesus. The sceptics of the age of Pericles were hardly prompted to deny a first cause by any experimental amplification of the domain of secondary ones. If these heartless speculations provoked a transient reaction on the side of belief, the faint reclamations of the followers of Socrates in favour of Providence and God were soon swept away in the torrent of vulgar admiration which hailed the exaltation of Pleasure in the philosophy of the Garden. The general estimation which this system acquired, could not fail to prove fatal to all the higher virtues which depend on the principle of faith. Patriotism, honour, even common probity, had

Fatal influence of philosophy upon the principles of faith and morals.

no longer any solid ground to stand upon; the affections which obey human instinct alone retained their influence, and even these were degraded and sensualized. The Epicureans built up the edifice of materialism of which Aristotle had laid the foundations. Infidelity was now fortified by empirical researches into the causes of things, and even the founders of the system of the Stoics could hardly sustain themselves above the universal denial of a state of future retribution. According to them the soul of the perfect sage passed, indeed, after death into the sun and stars, or the luminous regions between our atmosphere and the heavens, there to enjoy divine intuitions till the day of the general conflagration; but on the prospects of the common herd their silence was gloomy and ominous. Their barren ideal of virtue had no attraction for the multitude. It remained among the Greeks the curious speculation of a few subtle visionaries; nor did it make way even in the more congenial soil of the Roman mind till it descended from the height of its extrava-

gant conceptions to a more just and practical view of human nature.

It was in the middle of the sixth century of the city, that Ennius began to familiarize the Romans with the models of Grecian literature. Himself a native of Magna Græcia, he had imbibed on subjects of popular belief the lax notions prevalent among the learned wherever the Greek language was spoken. His imitations were not confined to the old masters of epic and tragic song. While he felt the poetic beauty of the ancient mythology which he set himself to reproduce in Roman verse, he was so little imbued with any reverential feeling towards it, that he translated at the same time the Sacred History of Euhemerus,¹ an author who had been denounced in his own age and country for impiety, in degrading the popular conceptions of the divinities into the mere deification of illustrious mortals. The Romans, unsuspecting as yet of the consequences of tampering with received dogmas, showed less indignation at this profanity, than their corrupt predecessors in the same school.² Even while the ideas imported from beyond the sea continued silently to undermine the forms of popular belief, the moral principles which are based on an instinctive sense of responsibility and apprehension of future retribution were too deeply rooted in the serious Italian mind to be easily shaken. It happened, however, that at the close of the same century, the Athenians sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate the remission of a sum which the republic had commanded them to pay to a neighbouring state.³ Unfortunately the men whom

¹ Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* i. 42.; Plut. *de Isid. et Osir.* Opp. vii. 420. Reiske; Lactant. *de fals. Relig.* i. 2.

² Constant, *Polyth. Rom.* ii. 17.

³ Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 37.; Gell. vii. 14., xvii. 21. There is some reason to question the authenticity of this story, but it may serve at least to represent the undoubted fact of the jealousy with which Greek literature was regarded by the Romans of that age, and the hostile measures they adopted against it. In the book entitled *Suetonius de claris Rhetoribus* (in prine.), the decree of the senate is copied, by which, it is said, the rhetoricians and philosophers were expelled the city in the year *u. c.* 592. Comp. Gell. xv. 11.

they commissioned to plead the cause of justice before the tribunal of power were precisely the best qualified, by the parade of their specious sophistry, to confirm the principles of remorseless tyranny. The envoys were the most eloquent representatives of the three great philosophical schools, Diogenes of the Stoic, Critolaus of the Peripatetic, and Carneades of the Academic. While the senate deliberated or haughtily deferred the question, these clever disputants amused themselves with haranguing the youth of Rome on the most recondite subjects of human inquiry, and found among them an eager and curious audience. The novelty of their topics was even less seductive than the charm of their conversation. The subtleties of logic, and the graces of rhetoric, were equally new to their admiring pupils. They agreed in laying down the broad principles of materialism, and upon this foundation the Academic raised his bewildering labyrinth of doubt and indifference, confusing right and wrong, truth and falsehood, and holding up Expediency as the only unchangeable pole-star of human wisdom.

Among the wise men of the elder generation one alone sounded the alarm at the licentiousness of this fashionable teaching. Cato the Censor, then approaching his eightieth year, exerted all the authority of his age and reputed wisdom to obtain the speedy settlement of the affair in suspense, and the dismissal of the dangerous negotiators.² His long experience of men and things had confirmed in him the antique prejudices of his childhood. The Greeks, he was wont to say, are the parents of every vice; whenever they shall introduce their literature among us, they will scatter the seeds of universal corruption.⁹ His solemn warnings made a strong impression upon the sena-

Cato warns the Romans against Greek literature.

¹ Ælian, *V. H.* iii. 17.

² Plut. *Cat. Maj.* 22.; Quintil. *Inst.* xii. 1.

³ Plin. *H. N.* xv. 4., xxix. 7. Plut. *Cat. Maj.* 23. He remarks upon this: ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν αὐτοῦ δυσφημίαν ὁ χρόνος ἀποδείκνυσι κενήν, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς τε πράγμασιν ἢ πόλιν ἤρθη μεγίστη, καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνικὰ μαθήματα καὶ παιδείας ἔπασσαν ἔσχεν οἰκείως.

tors; the philosophers were dismissed in all haste, but their lessons were not so easily forgotten. The fatal taste had been implanted, and new successors arrived to cultivate it. Every art and science of Greek civilization soon had its foreign professors at Rome, and they all conspired together to overthrow the prejudices on which the salutary belief of the nation had so long been nourished.

The relaxation of the bonds of religious belief had overtaken the Greeks in the impotence of old age, and the vices to which it gave the rein were those of national decrepitude and degradation. It only sank them more deeply into the meannesses and cowardly trickeries of a people of slaves. They exercised their newly-acquired licence in devising shifts to escape chastisement rather than in steeling themselves against remorse for deeds of rapine and cruelty. But when the same pernicious science of false reasoning was introduced into Rome, it found there a people of heroes and conquerors, just at the dawn of national consciousness, just beginning to replace mere instinct by a serious sense of duty, and to ask themselves, what was the natural bent of their genius, and the responsibility it entailed upon them? The spirit of irreligion was all they wanted to silence every rising scruple, and encourage them to devote all their youthful energy and enthusiasm to the career of conquest, tyranny and plunder. It let them loose upon the world irresistible and relentless. Their strength was that of giants, and their vices were those of giants also. Pride, ambition, rapacity and violence were installed in the vacant thrones of the mild Saturn and the bounteous Ops, of the just Jupiter and the steadfast Terminus.

The tone of free-thinking in religious matters which became fashionable among the educated men at Rome corresponded in its bold assurance with the spirit of enterprize which marked at this epoch their political career. They threw themselves into the new paths of science, not indeed as curious speculators or patient seekers of the truth, but with all the thor-

Free-thinking
introduced at
Rome.

The tone of
free-thinking
harmonizes
with the spirit
of the age.

ough-going intrepidity which signalized their public character. The moral feelings of the Romans were as coarse and blunt as their nervous sensibilities.¹ They did not feel the sacrifice, so painful to tender and scrupulous consciences, of rejecting the supports of faith and tradition. They beheld without misgiving the restraints of ancient principles give way before the advance of all-conquering reason, and regarded every new licence they acquired as a province wrested from the dominion of the enemy. Crimes of violence and rapacity revelled in a presumed impunity, as regards both divine and human laws, on a scale unparalleled perhaps in all human history. In the meanwhile the barriers of antique severity were swept rapidly away. The immense treasures of Greece and Asia were poured in overflowing streams into Rome. Luxury came before refinement. Art was adopted as fashionable before intelligence had learnt to appreciate it. The fastidious patrician patronized all the masters of ancient literature; but the models from Alexandria or Cyrene which he selected to imitate show how little he could discriminate between their merits. Civilization continued long to be the mere exterior polish of a small educated class, and was courted and caressed as an ornament rather than felt as the humanizer of the heart.

But superstition was at hand to avenge religion, as it always will, sooner or later. The first symptoms of the decay of the old Italian traditions, comparatively pure and austere as they were, were followed at a short interval by the introduction of hideous and brutal mysteries of foreign origin. The overthrow of the faith of the Greeks in a divine Providence just, wise and beneficent, had been succeeded by a vulgar addiction to magic, the belief, that is, in the powers of evil, the science, as the Hindoos define it, of the fallen angels.² When man has once

Introduction of
Oriental super-
stitions.

¹ The Romans, says Augustin (*Civ. D.* ii. 12.), forbade the poets to bring the magistrates into contempt, but imposed no restraint on their ridiculing the gods. He refers to an expression of Seipio in Cicero's work on the republic, and adds: "Poetas Romanos nulli Deorum pepercisse."

² Constant, *du Polythéisme Romain*, i. 105.

lost his hold of the idea of retribution and compensating good, he has no resource but to prostrate himself before the powers of evil, of which he is conscious around him and within him. This spirit of fear may indeed co-exist along with the spirit of love, and thus even in the laws of the Twelve Tables we find that the practices of magic were authoritatively interdicted.¹ But it was when the gods of Greece had fallen into utter contempt, that devil-worship first reared itself ostentatiously by the side of their temples. The Babylonian sorcerers and astrologers had followed the Macedonian armies into the west. The magician Osthanes, under the patronage of Alexander, taught the occult sciences of Persia to the Greeks.² Mystic rites, ostensibly connected with the respectable names of familiar deities, were promanaded from land to land, and the curious and dissatisfied were seduced into initiation in them by the promise of superior illumination or extraordinary powers. It was at the time when the attack of Ennius upon the divinity of the rulers of Olympus had attracted general notice, that an obscure native of Greece brought first to Etruria, and shortly afterwards to the more congenial soil of Rome, the mysterious orgies of Bacchus, which had already obtained an infamous celebrity in the East. The horrible wickednesses which were perpetrated at the initiations, at which the passions of the youth of either sex were inflamed by wine and music, secrecy and security, had been practised by the devotees without remorse for some time, before they were discovered by the revelations of a slave to her lover, for whose purity or safety she was concerned. The matter was laid before the consuls, and the results of a thorough investigation exposed to the shuddering multitude. The Bacchic orgies were denounced as a monstrous association of debauchery, branching out into adulteries, murders, and possibly seditious combinations. Through them the crime of poisoning, it was said, had become familiar to the Roman matrons; and after the first root of the evil had been extirpated in the city, the inquisition which was

¹ Plin. *H. N.* xxviii. 4., xxx. 3.

² Plin. *H. N.* xxx. 2.

made throughout the rest of Italy brought no less than two thousand such miscreants to justice.¹

It was one thing, however, to proscribe an indecent cult, and visit its devotees with condign chastisement, another to eradicate the moral want and to stifle the spiritual disquietude which impelled men to slake at such impure sources their thirst for a fixed belief. The Bacchanalia, though constantly interdicted, continued to reappear in the city. The Thracian or Orphic mysteries, in which Jupiter was said to be worshipped under the title of Sabazius, caused hardly less scandal to the political defenders of the pristine institutions.² Æsculapius and Cybele were admitted to the honours of the national religion,³ and other foreign divinities were placed, by a curious analogy, on the footing of tributaries to the state.⁴ The monsters of Egypt, however, were more rigidly proscribed: the senate overthrew their altars; but their foreign adherents, supported doubtless by the secret favour of the populace, as often surreptitiously restored them.⁵ Rome meanwhile overflowed with the impure spawn of superstition. Conjurers, soothsayers, astrologers and fortune-tellers filled every street, and introduced themselves into every domestic establishment.

They are proscribed, but continue to reappear.

¹ Liv. xxxix. 8. 19. 41.; Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 15.; Val. Max. i. 3. 1.: comp. Augustin, *C. D.* vii. 21.; Tertull. *Apolog.* 6. A. U. 557.

² Val. Max. i. 3. 2.: "C. Cornelius Hispullus prætor peregrinus . . . edicto Chaldæos . . . abire . . . jussit. Idem qui Sabazii Jovis cultu simulato mores Rom. inficere conati sunt domos suas repectere cogit." A. U. 614.

³ Liv. xxix. 14.; Ovid. *Met.* xv. 625.

⁴ Tertull. (*ad Nation.* i. 10.) calls them, "vectigales Dei." The government demanded a tribute for permission to worship them.

⁵ Representations of Egyptian rites are said to be found on some Etruscan vases. Heyne, *Opusc.* vi. 194.; comp. Tertull. *l. c.*: "Ceterum Serapim et Isidem et Harpocratem et Anubim prohibitos Capitolio Varro commemorat, eorumque statuas a senatu disjectas, non nisi per vim popularium restructas. Sed tamen et Gabinius Consul Kal. Jan. cum vix hostias probaret, præ popularium cœtu, quia nil de Serape et Iside constituisset, potiorem habuit senatus censuram quam impetum vulgi, et aras institui prohibuit." Cicero (*de Leg.* ii. 8.) denounces the public celebration of foreign rites, but allows them to be cultivated in private.

The dreams of Cæsar and Pompeius were gravely related.¹ Cicero collected the records of supernatural phenomena:² Vatinius invoked the shades of the dead, and read, it was said, the will of the gods in the entrails of a murdered child.³ Sextus demanded the secrets of futurity of the Thessalian sorceress:⁴ Figulus, the Etruscan augur, obtained the reputation of a prophet;⁵ Appius Claudius consulted the oracle of Delphi.⁶ The belief in portents and omens exercised an unconscious sway over thousands who openly derided all spiritual existences, and professed atheists trembled in secret at the mysterious potency of magical incantations.

Nevertheless, though some of the wisest statesmen combined to sap the foundations of the vulgar belief, though Cicero wrote in disproof of the science of divination,⁷ and even Cato the Censor had wondered how one augur could meet another without a smile,⁸ the formal usages of the Roman religion continued for ages to survive the encroachments of free-thinking upon the faith they originally symbolised. Nor was the resistance less obstinate which the fundamental prescriptions of social life opposed to the elements of innovation. The relations of family and property among the Romans were determined on

Austere principles of the old Roman law of family: 1. Of marriage.

¹ If, that is, we may suppose Plutarch and others to have drawn from contemporary authorities.

² Cic. *de Divin.* i.

³ Cic. *in Vatin.* 6.

⁴ Lucan, vi. in fin.

⁵ Suct. (*Oct.* 94.) asserts as a current tradition, that Figulus predicted to the father of Augustus that his son should become lord of the world. Comp. Dion, xlv. 1.

⁶ Lucan, v. 70. See above.

⁷ In the second part of the treatise *de Divinatione* Cicero argues in his own person against the possibility of any discovery of future events, and particularly against the whole Etruscan discipline of augury (see ii. 12.): "Ut ordiar de haruspicina quam ego reipublicæ causa communisque religionis colendam censeo; sed soli sumus; licet verum exquirere," &c.

⁸ Cic. *de Divin.* ii. 24. This remark was directed against the encroachments of the Etruscan religious ministry of which Cato entertained an old-fashioned jealousy. It does not appear that he was otherwise than a believer in the efficacy of rites which he deemed strictly national. The same cannot be said of Cicero.

a peculiarly artificial system. The first principle of their law was the paramount right of the state over the citizen. Whether as head of a family or as proprietor, he had no natural rights of his own; his privileges were created by the law as well as defined by it. The state, in the plenitude of her power, delegated a portion of her own irresponsibility to the citizen, who satisfied the conditions she required, in order to become the parent of her children; but at the same time she demanded of him the sacrifice of his free agency to her own rude ideas of political expediency. The right of contracting the union which she dignified with the name of proper matrimony, was restricted to persons duly qualified, not only by the ordinary and reasonable conditions of mature age, consent of parents, distance of blood and actual celibacy, but by the status also of citizenship.¹ The modes in which such a marriage might be contracted were three: *confarreatio*, a simple but solemn religious ceremony; *coemptio*, a symbolical representation of the primitive usage of bargain and sale; and *use*, a remnant of the rude state of society, when it was first thought expedient to hallow by an honourable title the faithful cohabitation of a definite period. By one of these modes the woman passed from her parent's family into that of her husband, and became a participator in all its religious and social privileges. She thus became entitled to the style of housewife (*mater-familias*), more venerable than that of matron (*matrona*), which belonged in strictness to the female connected with the male by a lower tie.² She was delivered, in legal phrase, into her husband's hands; his dominion over her was recognized as absolute; he became master of her person and her goods almost as if by the right of conquest; alone, or at a later period, with the

¹ The restriction was originally still more closely limited. It was in the year *v. c.* 310 that the tribune *Canuleius* effected the authorization of marriage between patricians and plebeians. *Liv.* iv. 2.

² *Heinecc. Antiq. Rom.* i. 10. 1. *Cicero* says, *Topic.* 3.: "Genus enim est uxor, ejus duæ formæ; una matrum familias earum quæ in manum conveniant, altera earum quæ tantummodo uxores habentur."

concurrence of her next of kin, he could condemn her to death.¹ In her civil relation to him she assumed no other footing than that of her own children. She inherited from him as an adopted daughter, and after his death received a legal guardian in one of her new kinsmen, or whomsoever her husband might appoint by will.

The same austerity presided over the old Roman ideas of the parental authority. Within the sanctuary of the family mansion the father ruled supreme. He exercised the power of life and death over his children as over his wife.² The father could sell his child, and, if the child recovered his freedom by emancipation, could sell him again even to the third time, before he finally escaped altogether from the parental dominion.³ The Roman jurists remarked with truth that the extent to which the authority of the parent over the child was sanctioned by their law, was unknown to the institutions of any other state.⁴ But this authority was never supposed to be founded in any natural principle; it was merely the creation of state policy: it followed as a corollary upon the idea of civil marriage, and had no place where the union of the parents, as in the *contubernium* or *concubinatus*, though sanctioned and protected by the law, was not consecrated by the title of just or proper matrimony. It was intimately connected with a religious idea, according to which the head of each family was bound to the maintenance of the sacrifices peculiar to it. Each civil household formed an unit in the aggregate which composed what may be denominated the political family, the *gens* of the Roman community. Whether originally connected in blood, or united only by legal fiction, identity of patronymic

¹ The authorities referred to are Dionys. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 25.; Gell. ii. 23.; Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 13.; Suet. *Tib.* 35.; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 1., xiii. 32.; Val. Max. vi. 3. 8.

² Besides the jurists see Dionys. ii. 26, 27.; Val. Max. v. 2.; Senec. *de Clem.* i. 15.; Sallust, *P. C.* 39.

³ Dionys. ii. 27.

⁴ Gaius, i. 55.: "Fere enim nulli alii sunt homines qui talem in filios suos habent potestatem qualem nos habemus."

and participation in the same duties, obligations, and religious services, maintained the bond of clanship between the several members of these independent societies.

A system so artificial as this could only flourish in a peculiar and exceptional state of society. As soon as an opening was effected for the influx of new modes of thought, it was assuredly doomed to perish, however circumstances, for a while, might retard its fall. The free operation of the principles of natural equity could not fail to undermine by degrees the prejudices upon which such a system rested. But the extreme tenacity of forms which characterized the ancient Romans, involved the early progress of all new ideas among them in great obscurity. When it suited Cicero's views to adopt the tone of social conservatism, he could complain of the great luminaries of Roman jurisprudence, even of the generation before his own, for the tendency they had shown to relax the primitive strictness of the law of family. Undoubtedly, the burden of maintaining the family sacrifices had become more and more grievous as the interest in their significance and the number of the clan had diminished. The illustrious Scævola was charged with lending the authority of his name, not, indeed, to the overthrow of the old principles, but to a liberal construction of the law regarding them.¹ The examples of Clodius and Dolabella, who resorted openly to a legal fiction to obtain their adoption into foreign houses, show the laxity which pervaded the ideas of their time.² Clodius himself had allowed the sacrifices of his own family to fall into desuetude;³ a demagogue would not have laid himself open to animadversion in this respect, if he had had any reason to fear the prejudices of the people. The women of Rome declaimed against the tyranny of the old law, which placed them

Undermined
by the laxer
principles
of natural
equity.

¹ Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 19. Comp. *pro Murena*, 12.: "Sacra interire illi (maiores) noluerunt, horum (jutorum) ingenio senes ad coemptiones faciendas, interimendorum sacrorum causa, reperti sunt."

² Cic. *pro Dom.* 13.; Suet. *Tib.* 2.; Dion, xxxviii. 12., xlii. 29.

³ Cic. *pro Dom.* 12.

upon so unequal a footing with their husbands in the nuptial relation. The men themselves united with their consorts in demanding greater mutual facilities for divorce. *Confarreatio* allowed the husband, indeed, to put away the wife in some strictly limited cases, and by means of a solemn religious process; but it gave the wife no licence to emancipate herself.¹ Such restrictions were incompatible with the prevailing laxity of morals, and it is probable that in the time of *Cæsar* this particular form of marriage had already become almost obsolete.² But *coemptio*, or the fictitious purchase of the wife from her parents, admitted of remancipation or the restitution of the symbolic purchase-money on the part of the wife; and this was the form of which the Roman women so freely availed themselves, under the influence of passion, caprice, or pecuniary interest.³ This facility of separation could not fail to introduce new regulations in the wife's favour in the settlement of the dowry, and in other not less important respects.⁴ At the same time the influence of public opinion imposed limits upon the actual exercise of the parental power. By new exceptional provisions, the child obtained independent property, together with the means of transferring and bequeathing it. But it is impossible to assign the exact date of any of these innovations; and all we can assume with certainty of the time which we are now considering is, that in practice the principles of equity and natural reason were beginning to temper the harsh formalities of the old law throughout the social relations.

Still more rigid and exclusive were the ideas which originally regulated the tenure of property. The cupidity of the simple warriors of ancient Rome was limited to lands and houses, slaves and animals.⁵ These, ac-

Original law of property.

¹ *Festus*, in voc. *Diffarreatio*.

² Compare what *Tacitus* says of it in the time of *Tiberius* (*Ann.* iv. 16.).

³ See on this subject *Cælius's* letter to *Cicero*, *ad Div.* viii. 7.

⁴ *Cic. pro Murena*, 12.: "Mulieres omnes propter infirmitatem consilii majores in tutorum potestate esse voluerunt: hi (jcti) invenerunt genera tutorum quæ potestate mulierum continerentur." *Comp. Gaius*, ii. 118.

⁵ *Ulpian. Regul.* tit. 19. 1.

ordingly, were the only objects which the primitive Roman law recognized as property. For these the citizen fought and conquered; these the state secured to him by placing all the modes of procedure regarding them under the sanction of religious forms. These she denominated things *mancipi*, or *handhold* property, and threw the protection of the law over them for the benefit of her citizens only. No length of occupation could obtain the guarantee of the law to any such property in the hands of an alien.¹ In the course of time, however, other wants made themselves felt. The precious metals, ornamental stuffs, pictures, statues and trinkets of all kinds acquired a value in the eyes of the plunderers of the world's treasures. All such objects accordingly were thrown together in one multifarious class, distinguished from the first by the negative particle only. They were things *ne-mancipi*, not-handhold. While the sale and transfer of the former class of objects were placed under the guarantee of the state, which thought to protect the purchaser from fraud, by requiring the strict execution of the letter of the contract,² the latter were only to be acquired at the risk of the buyer. He was obliged to secure himself against deception by his own ingenuity; no religious and sacramental ceremonies intervened to hallow such random transactions; the mere passing from hand to hand, bare tradition, as the jurists phrased it, was a sufficient mode of procedure. In short, the transfer of things not-handhold followed the law of nature, while that of the others was retained within the magic circle of the law of the city.

But it was found impossible to leave so large and increasing a portion of the objects of value in so unprotected a state. By degrees the decisions of the prætors founded

¹ XII. Tab. 5.

² According to the formula, "Uti lingua nuncupasset ita jus esto." XII. Tab. 6. Comp. Cic. *de Orat.* i. 57., *de Off.* iii. 16., where he tells a curious story, from which it appears how completely the law failed in its object. Compare Troplong, *de l'Influence du Christianisme sur le Droit Civil des Romains*, p. 19.

Affected by the decisions of the prætors. on the principles of equity accumulated into a new body of law regarding them. By the side of the civil law, which established the original exclusive definition of handhold or Quiritary dominion, there grew up a new system of natural property under the sanction of the prætorian edicts. This secondary law was applicable to the great mass of provincial territory. While the *ager Romanus* might be held in full or Quiritary possession, under the guarantees of mancipation and usucaption, the soil of the provinces was supposed, by a fiction of the law, to pertain exclusively to the state, and its actual holders were regarded in the light of occupiers and tenants. In real fact this tenant-right was equivalent to actual possession; it was perpetual and irrevocable, and might be transferred by exchange, sale, gift, or succession. But, inasmuch as it did not come under the primitive idea of property, it failed to realize the full dominion which alone was qualified as Quiritary tenure. Accordingly, such property could only be transferred under the forms of equity, and the vast extent and magnitude of the transactions of this kind daily occurring, contributed rapidly to enhance the importance of this new branch of law, and to diffuse a general knowledge of its principles and respect for them.

The attempt to infuse the more liberal spirit of natural reason into the strict forms of the original law could not fail to produce much confusion and inconsistency, and give a fair handle to the sarcasms with which a clever advocate might find it convenient to assail the whole system. In the speech for Murena, Cicero audaciously characterizes the civil law as a mass of fictions and incongruities, and declares, with all the presumption of the successful pleader, that the science is not worth the three days' study which would suffice to master its real principles.¹ But his testimony is less exceptionable to the fact that the most illustrious juriconsults of his own and the previous generation combined to exalt the estimation of equity over strict law. Such were the views of Sulpicius and of the

Gradually modified by the principles of natural reason.

¹ Cic. *pro Mur.* 12, 13.

orator Crassus.¹ Scævola, we have already seen, impelled the tendency of public opinion in the same direction. And Cicero himself, though on some occasions he did not scruple to become the advocate of antiquity, was on the whole a partizan of liberal innovation, and his influence contributed in no slight degree to the progress of the new ideas on these subjects.² He professed to base his administration of justice in his province on the principles of humanity and reason. As a philosopher and a statesman, he declared that the source and rule of right were not to be sought in the laws of the Twelve Tables, but in the depths of human intelligence; that equity is the true idea of law, the supreme reason engraved in the nature of man, written on his heart, immutable and eternal, beyond the jurisdiction of the senate, bearing sway over all mankind; this law the deity alone has conceived, established and promulgated.

These noble sentiments constituted, as it were, the essence which the wisest of the Romans had distilled from the records of Greek philosophy. Above all others it bore the flavour of the mind of Plato, and of the mild Cicero's pure morality. and liberal masters of the Academic school. This was the great boon which Greece proffered to her conquerors, to counteract in some degree the malign influence of so many of her lessons. We shall have occasion hereafter to trace the steps by which the Roman law was humanized by the Greek Philosophy. The sect of the Stoics, just now beginning to excite attention and compel admiration at Rome, became, by the logical character of its speculations, and the lofty sense it inculcated of justice and duty, an efficient instrument in this salutary reform. For the present we must be content with observing the progress of humanity in its action on a few of the most refined and intelligent class. The pure morality of

¹ Cic. *Philipp.* iv. 5. of Servius Sulpicius: "Jus civile semper ad æquitatem et facilitatem referebat." Of Crassus (*de Orat.* i.): "Multa tum contra scriptum pro æquo et bono dixit."

² Cic. *ad Att.* vi. 1. *de Leg.* ii. 5, 6., *de Fin.* iii. 20., *de Off.* i. 7., *de Rep.* i. 17., iii. 17.: "Natura enim juris explicanda est nobis, neque ad hominibus repetenda natura."

Cicero's treatise on Duties, and the practical exhibition of benevolence and natural piety which characterizes his ethical and religious writings,¹ could not have sprung from the bosom of a society which was totally unable to appreciate them.

It may be presumed however that the evil which the Romans imbibed from their Greek teachers penetrated deeper into the heart of society than the good. Laxity of principle and indifference of belief had their attractions for the vulgar, while the nobler lessons of philosophy, its ideas of equity and natural right, would only be appreciated by the refined and educated. The priests, who belonged to this latter class, might shrink from the atrocity of human sacrifices,² and extenuate the literal signification of the most scandalous of the national dogmas; the nobles might soften the rigour of ancient law; but to the common people these silent changes were offensive or unintelligible. The literature of Rome, adopted as it was from Greece, was an instrument for enlarging men's

The beneficial effects of Greek philosophy confined to a small class.

¹ Such, for instance, as the treatises *de Senectute*, *de Amicitia*, *de Natura Deorum*.

² The Romans affirmed that human sacrifices had been abolished by the elder Brutus (Maerob. i. 7.). But on three occasions, at least, such victims were demanded at a much later period; namely, in the year v. c. 527 (Oros. iv. 13.), and again, v. c. 536 (Liv. xxii. 57., "minime Romano saero"); and once more, v. c. 640 (Plut. *Qu. Rom.* p. 284.). Soon after this the rite was denounced by a decree of the senate. Plin. *H. N.* xxx. 3., A. v. c. 657. But compare xxviii. 3.: "Boario vero in foro Græcum Græcamque defossos, aut aliarum gentium eum quibus tum res esset, etiam nostra ætas vidit." Dion Cassius, indeed, asserts that a sacrifice of this kind took place at the triumph of Julius Cæsar (xl. 24.), and adds that he cannot find that any oracle required it. The statements of the Greeks on any subject of this kind are to be received with caution, both on account of their ignorance of Roman manners and their prejudice against them. Thus Eusebius (*Paneg.* 13.) affirms that human sacrifices were continued at Rome to his day, alluding, perhaps, to the words of Laetantius (*de fals. Rel.* i. 21.): "Etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano (Jupiter Latiaris);" which undoubtedly refers only to a libation of the blood of gladiators. Dion's statement may be some misconception of the nature of a military punishment. In ancient times the consul, prætor, or dictator, could devote to Mars a victim selected from the legion. Liv. viii. 10. The story of the human sacrifices of Octavius at the capture of Perusia (Suet. *Octav.* 15.), is dubious and obscure.

ideas, and refining their sentiments; but it remained a dead letter to the mass of the citizens, to whom the glaring spectacles of the circus and amphitheatre proved more attractive than the intellectual culture of a conquered foe.

It was towards the end of the second Punic war that Upper Italy first became filled with Greek settlers. They came indeed, in the first instance, in the train of conquest, and in the condition of slaves. But their well-trained talents soon secured them ascendancy, and they made their captors captive.¹ Throughout the sixth century of the city the foreign professors of science and literature were flocking into Rome. Archagathus, the first Greek physician, came in the year 534, and the schools of grammar and rhetoric were represented at the end of the century by Crates of Mallus, the commentator on Homer. The Greek language was first rendered fashionable by Scipio Africanus and his friend Lælius. Paulus Æmilianus,² and in the next generation Scipio Æmilianus,³ were celebrated for their interest in the literature of Greek antiquity. It was with a verse of Homer that the latter predicted that Rome should one day perish, like sacred Ilium.⁴ Early in the century commenced the adaptation of Greek metres to the Latin tongue.⁵ Ennius and Livius, under the patronage of the

Influence of
Greek on
Roman litera-
ture.

¹ Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1. 156.:

“Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit.”

² Plut. *Æmil.* 28.; Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 40. 30.

³ Scipio Æmilianus was adopted by the son of the elder Africanus, and bore his cognomen also. Each of them had a friend named Lælius, and both Scipios and both Lælii were equally distinguished for their zeal for Greek literature.

⁴ *Iliad*, vi. 448.

ἔσσεται ἡμῶν ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλη Ἴλιος ἱρή.

See Appian, *Pun.* 132.

⁶ Porcius Licinius, apud Gell. xvii. 21., speaks of a foreign Muse.

“Pœnico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu
Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.”

Comp. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1. 161.

“Serus enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis;
Et post Punica bella quietus quærere cœpit
Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Æschylus utile ferrent.”

liberal nobles of the day, rendered their countrymen familiar with the models of the Epos and the Drama.¹ But these innovations were not unresented. There are not wanting indications of a struggle between the old school and the new, the domestic and the foreign, in literature as in religion and law. The Romans possessed, indeed, even at that early time, a literature of their own, which many of them were ill disposed to see superseded by an exotic growth. No nation, perhaps, was ever so rich in ballad poetry, or had more completely woven into verse the whole circle of its ancient traditions. The rhythm indeed was rugged, and the strain homely;² but the subject was rendered dear by its appeal to family associations. The contempt with which the imitators of the Greeks, such as Ennius, regarded these rude but interesting essays in heroic poetry, excited, we may believe, a dogged spirit of opposition. The victory of the Hexameter over the Saturnian verse symbolized a sweeping revolution of ideas, and obliterated the cherished recollections of many centuries. Obscure as is the history of this long-forgotten contest, it would

appear that Nævius was the champion of the old Roman literature. He was the enemy and traducer of Scipio, and, on the other hand, the friend of the elder Cato;³ the satiric poetry, of which he was the earliest known author, continued to be the most genuine production of the Roman muse;⁴ his dramatic pieces seem, from the titles of many of them, to have predicted the manners of the urban populace;⁵ he contended for the rude purity of the old language assailed in form and substance by innovation on all sides; and he felt that with himself that purity would perish. It was with this feeling, assuredly, that he composed

¹ Suct. *de ill. Gramm.* 1. : "Antiquissimi doctorum, qui iidem et poetæ et semi-Græci erant, Livium et Ennium dico."

² Hor. *l. c.* :

"Sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius."

³ Cic. *de Senect.* 14.

⁴ Quintil. i. : "Satira tota nostra est."

⁵ As, for instance, Agitatoria, Ariolus, Bubulcus, Cerdo, Figulus, Fullones, Lignaria, Tunicularia. Duruy, *H. des Romains*, ii. 26.

for himself an epitaph, filled with a mournful presentiment of this impending change. *If immortals, he said, might weep for mortal men, the divine Camœnæ would weep for Nævius the poet: for since he has descended to the receptacle of the dead, men have forgotten at Rome the use of Latin speech.*¹

The melancholy strain of Nævius is strikingly contrasted with the tone of exultation in which his victorious rival speaks also from his tomb. *Let no man, exclaims Ennius, weep for me! For why? I live in the mouths of my countrymen.*² The influence of the Hellenizing school now became predominant. The career which Ennius had marked out was followed by a long succession of writers, chiefly dramatic, who devoted themselves to the adaptation or servile imitation of Greek models. Cæcilius, Pacuvius, Plautus and Terence refined successively upon the language and taste of their predecessors. Accius alone ventured to compose a few pieces on Roman subjects, but these fell speedily into oblivion. But meanwhile the mantle of Nævius had fallen upon Lucilius, whose satiric vein was inflamed with genuine indignation against the encroachment of foreign ideas. Respected as he was in his lifetime, and long admired after his death, the indiscriminate severity with which he censured his contemporaries seems to bespeak the impugner of certain principles, rather than of personal vices. All the great poets of his day fell equally under his lash; for all of them offended equally against the independence of the Roman muse.³ He exercised the freedom of his

Ennius.

Lucilius.

¹ Nævius apud Gell. i. 24.:

“Mortales immortales flere si foret fas,
Flerent Divæ Camœnæ Nævium poetam:
Itaque postquam est Oreino traditus thesauro,
Obliti sunt Romæ loquier Latina lingua.”

² Ennius apud Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 15.:

“Nemo me lachrymis decoret, nec funera fletu
Faxit: cur? volito vivus per ora virum.”

Gell. xvii. 21.

pen even upon Æmilianus and Lælius, but kept his raillery within such bounds as to escape the persecution which had befallen Nævius.¹ Bitter were his sarcasms on the old Roman or Sabine patricians, who deserved rather from their manners to be deemed Greeks,² and he exposed, we may believe, with rude scorn the sophistry and impiety of the foreign philosophers.³ Accordingly, Lucilius made a deep impression upon his age in rallying the austere virtues of the nation around the principles of antiquity. Many a grave master of a Roman household, disgusted with the loose morality of the Greek models of taste, involved in one sweeping condemnation all who cultivated the detested language,⁴ and long resisted the current of fashion, in training his children in the frugal habits and modest discipline of his ancestors.⁵

But the seductions of the most harmonious, flexible and copious of languages proved irresistible. Even Lucilius himself could not refrain from interweaving Greek words with the homely staple of his Latin style. In the common intercourse of life Greek became a fashionable vehicle of expression. The example of Cicero in his letters confirms the allusions of Lucilius to the prae-

Imitative character of the Roman literature.

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In the common intercourse of life Greek became a fashionable vehicle of expression. The example of Cicero in his letters confirms the allusions of Lucilius to the prae-

¹ Hor. *Sat.* ii. 1., and the Scholiast in loc. He also attacked M. Scævola. Cic. *de Orat.* i.

² Lucil. apud Cic. *de Fin.* i. 3.:

“Græcum te, Albuti, quam Romanum atque Sabinum,
Maluisti dici.”

³ Lactant. *div. Inst.* v. 15. “Lucilius apud quem disserens Neptunus de re difficillima, ostendit non posse id explicari, nec si Carneadem ipsum Orcus remittat.”

⁴ Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 66.: “M. Cicero senex nostros homines similes esse Syrorum venalium, ut quisque optime Græce sciret, ita esse nequissimum.”

⁵ Horace alludes to the old-fashioned practical education of some of the Roman youth even in his day. (*Ars Poet.* 325.) Cicero says (*de Leg.* ii. 23.) that in his childhood the XII. Tables were committed to memory: “quas nunc nemo discit.” Varro, apud Non. in v. Assa voce: “In conviviis pueri modesti ut cantarent carmine antiquo in quibus laudes erant majorum,” i. e. the old family ballads: comp. Dionys. *A. R.* i. 79. Cicero would revive the recital of these family records, as a commendable but obsolete practice (*de Leg.* ii. 24.).

tice of mingling the two languages freely together in familiar conversation. The Roman nobles, when they sate down gravely to the composition of their own historical memoirs, adopted sometimes the idiom of the vanquished foreigner in preference to their own; ¹ or, if they aspired to the distinction of greater originality, still devoted themselves to the imitation of his most illustrious authors. This premature introduction to the best of models proved more fatal to the excellence of the Romans in poetry, than in any other walk of literature. Imagination is seldom found to survive the birth of self-consciousness and reflection. The noblest poetical compositions of the age of Cæsar were mere imitations or paraphrases. Sublime invention and vigorous powers of versification were cramped in Lucretius by the trammels of a subject unworthy of his genius, to which he was attracted by an undue admiration of foreign models. The formal adaptations of Catullus, elegant as they are, fall far short of his occasional pieces in the charms of genuine simplicity. Whenever, indeed, the Romans ventured to rely on themselves alone, their productions may rank among the noblest efforts of the true poetical temperament.

This rage for imitation, however, conduced undoubtedly to the diversion of the mind from politics and the real business of life, and thus became an engine of no mean importance in preparing the Roman people for a monarchical usurpation. The general diffusion of literary taste among the nobility enlarged the circle of their interests, and, immersed in the study of writers of an age long past away, they could forget the troubles and perils of their

¹ Albinus, Lucullus, and perhaps Sulla, wrote their memoirs in Greek. The dictator adopted the name of Epaphroditus when he addressed himself to Greek correspondents. Polyb. xl. 6.; Plut. *Lucull.* 1. The son of the elder Scipio Africanus wrote an historical work in Greek. Cic. *Brut.* 19. Of the familiar use of Greek in common speech we have two remarkable instances. It will be remembered that Cæsar, on seeing Brutus among his assassins, is said to have exclaimed in Greek, *καὶ σὺ τέκνον*, and Casca's call for aid was in the same language, *ἀδελφέ, βοήθει*. Suet. *Jul.* 82.; Plut. *Cæs. Brut.*

own. One intellectual occupation alone remained, which recalled them habitually to the scenes of daily life, and bound them fast to the wheel of political excitement. The Roman noble was by position and education an orator. From his early youth he was instructed in eloquence as an art; he was drilled and disciplined for the business of the forum, at least as carefully as for the camp. To the Roman people he must address himself in the language of the people themselves; he might clothe his harangue in more fashionable phraseology for the perusal of his associates: but he must speak so as to be understood by a homely and uneducated populace. Whatever allowance we may make for the revisal which Cicero probably bestowed on his written orations, they still remain, on the whole, an imperishable monument of the spoken language of the nation. Accordingly, the skill of the political orator appeared in nothing more than in combining a technical knowledge of the rules of rhetoric with a pure and idiomatic Latin style. It was the great merit of the mother of the Gracchi that she had bred up her children in the simplicity of their native tongue, of which they availed themselves effectively in their popular harangues.¹ Q. Catulus also and L. Crassus were celebrated for their vernacular diction at a time when the study of Greek models had corrupted most of their contemporary speakers.² But these illustrious men had themselves drunk deep of the fountains of foreign art: the persuasiveness of their eloquence was derived in no slight degree from their acquaintance with the empirical science of the rhetoricians. They had renounced the control of the antique prejudices which were still striving to restrict the studies of the Roman youth, and stood in the first rank as patrons of the modern or liberal style of oratory. For in this department of intellectual exertion, also, there was the same

¹ Cic. *Brut.* 58.: "Legimus epistolas Corneliæ matris Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone matris."

² Cic. *Brut.* 35.: "Fuit in Catulo sermo Latinus, quæ laus dicendi non mediocris ab oratoribus plerisque neglecta est." Of Crassus (c. 58.): "Latine loquendi et sine molestia diligens elegantia."

struggle between the old and new, the domestic and foreign element, as we have already remarked in so many others. In the flourishing period of the Roman commonwealth, the art of speaking was in fact the art of governing. It was only in the familiar society of the rulers of the state that mysteries so important were to be sought and communicated.¹ From the first the nobles regarded with jealous apprehension the pretensions of the Greek rhetoricians who opened their public schools for instruction in eloquence. The foreign intruders were repeatedly ordered to quit Rome; but the taste they had inspired, the interests they had developed, were not to be repressed: the young aspirants for forensic hon-
taught by the rhetoricians.
 ours repaired to schools of art beyond the sea and returned from Athens and Apollonia, Mytilene and Rhodes, partizans of the Attic or Asiatic style respectively, but equally contemptuous towards the old homely Italian. Ultimately, even Roman teachers began to give public instruction in the art of rhetoric;² but either they were not qualified to compete with the Greek professors, or fashion refused to countenance them. When Cicero as a young man wished to avail himself of the Latin exercises over which Plotius presided, his advisers recommended him rather to train himself for public life by declaiming in Greek.³

But the decay of the ancient ideas was still more apparent in another quarter. The vitals of the republic were corrupted in the corruption of her legions. In the course of the last two centuries a great change had
Decay of military discipline.
 taken place in the composition of the Roman armies, a still greater in their habits and sentiments. In an

¹ Cic. *Brut.* 72. : "Nec id solum domesticæ consuetudinis, ut dudum de Læliorum et Muciorum familiis audiebamus."

² Suet. (*de Cl. Rhet.* 1.) cites the edict of the censors, A. U. 662, by whom the Latin rhetoricians were branded as pernicious innovators. It does not appear that they were expelled, or their schools closed. Plotius and his principal followers, Gniphio, Otacilius, and Clodius, were freedmen. The Romans did not consider their profession creditable to a man of ingenuous birth. See Ellendt, proleg. in Cic. *Brut.* p. xv.

³ Cic. *Ep. ad Titinimum*, apud Sueton. *de Cl. Rhet.* 2.

cient times only the wealthier citizens had served in the legions, armed and equipped according to the class assigned to them by the censors. They were wont to go forth a few days' journey from their homes, and return at the close of a few weeks' campaign to take part in the elections or ceremonies of the city, and enjoy the sweets of domestic life. Originally the state had afforded her defenders no pay for a service demanded alike from all who could maintain themselves in the field by their own means. Occasions, indeed, had frequently occurred when the citizens had resisted the consul's summons, and refused to serve till their complaints were redressed by the senate; but when once enlisted and bound by their military oath, and still more their military training, their conduct had been as exemplary as their courage, and the Roman emperor had rarely had to contend against the mutinous spirit of his generous soldiery. But this admirable discipline seems to have been first broken down in the long series of years during which the legions were occupied in the conquest of Spain. Removed so long and so far from their own hearths and the associations connected with them, demoralized at the same time by the repeated licence to plunder, the vigorous exertions of Cato and Scipio *Æmilianus* could restore only for a moment a healthy tone of obedience in the camps of the conquerors.¹ Meanwhile, the rapid decrease of the middle class of citizens from which the soldiers of the republic were drafted, rendered the recruitment of the legions constantly more difficult. It was in vain that C. Gracchus, among the various measures of his tribunate for conciliating the favour of the commons, sought to bribe them to military service by making the state pay for their clothing. This was a great step, at least in principle, towards the conversion of the temporary service of the citizen into the establishment of a standing army. But the reform of Marius struck a deeper blow at the institutions of the infant republic. He opened the ranks to all classes of citizens with-

¹ Vell. ii. 5.; Florus, ii. 18.

out pecuniary qualification.¹ Important as this change was, its necessity was so distinctly felt that it does not appear to have roused the decided opposition of the nobles. The *proletaries* of over-crowded Rome won the great victories over Jugurtha and the Cimbri; but the new recruit, without home and acres, wife and family, transferred to his leader the devotion he owed to the state. The camp and not the city became the centre of his dearest interests. The names of the senate and people by which he was sworn were speedily forgotten, but he loved his centurion and he worshipped his eagles. Military service now became the profession of a life; the manners and sentiments of the paid swordsman corresponded with his occupation; the legionary was known in the Suburra by his gait and language, as surely as by his arms and accoutrements. Whenever an expedition was announced which promised booty, such as those to the opulent regions of the east, the ranks of the army were crowded with volunteers, unprincipled and imperious; the veteran despised the reward of a few acres of land, and quitted his plough to buckle on his sword, at the call of a favourite commander.² He claimed as his own the spoils of the conquered enemy, and, if balked of his prey, refused to follow in the pursuit. A proconsul, such as Lucullus, who strove to temper the severities of war with clemency and moderation, was baffled by the mutinous spirit of his troops, and checked in the mid career of victory. The audacity of the private soldier was encouraged by the example of centurions and tribunes: the imperator found it, for the most part, easier and more profitable to give the rein to licence than to curb it. Meanwhile, the cohorts transplanted from the banks of the Tiber took root on the margin of the Nile and the Orontes. The garrisons of the Syrian frontier were transferred, through a series of years, to the command of each successive proconsul. The troops which Gabinius carried into Egypt fixed their

¹ Sallust, *B. J.* 86.; Flor. iii. 1.; Val. Max. ii. 3. 1.

² Compare Liv. xxxix. 22.

abodes there after his return to Rome.¹ The soldiers of the republic compared themselves with the regular battalions which guarded the thrones of Oriental monarchs; they envied the splendour of their equipments and the lavish profusion of their pay; above all, the honours rendered to them by nobles, and the fear they inspired in the people.

In the healthier days of the commonwealth the senate had been described as an assembly of kings: in dignity and substantial power every member of that august order had deemed himself the equal or the superior of monarchs on their thrones. The consul who went forth from Rome at the head of his fellow-citizens to overthrow the dynasties of Greece and Asia, had returned to resume his place in the city with the proud simplicity of a private senator. But these antique virtues were rapidly corrupted by contact with the forms and shows of royalty. The series of years to which the proconsul's command became frequently extended, weaned him from his attachment to home, and accustomed him to pomp and power inconsistent with republican manners. Surrounded by officials whose fortunes depended on his favour, supported by a soldiery which acknowledged no law but his word, and fawned upon by courtiers and vassal potentates, he forgot the sentiments of his birth, and resigned himself to the charms of sovereignty. Sulla was fascinated, like the Spartan Pausanias, by the allurements of Asiatic pomp and the contagious example of despotism. Pompeius dreamed, in his Alban villa, of the guard of state and the robe of honour, and the silken canopies of Syria and Armenia. The East was the grave of many a great Roman virtue, and we have traced a change even in the character of Cæsar from the fatal seductions of the capital of Egypt.

Such was the general decay of principles and corruption of manners which marked the era of the foundation of the

¹ Cæs. *B. C.* iii. 110.; Duruy, *Hist. des Romains*, ii. 44. The vanquished legionaries of Crassus were content to take up their abode in Parthia.

imperial government. It contained, indeed, elements both of good and evil, and the progress of this history will derive some of its chief interest from the attempt to discriminate between them. We have beheld a nation, still full of life, still instinct with energy, just arrived at the culminating point of its glories in the career most appropriate to its genius; the conquered world lies prostrate at its feet, and for a moment it seems to have achieved the second and greater triumph over its own passions. The task now lies before it of consolidating its acquisitions and imparting civilization to its subjects. In modern times all moral and political speculation is forward-looking, and is full of anticipations of new discoveries in happiness and knowledge. But the Roman statesmen and philosophers, with their strong practical instincts, took no such comprehensive survey of the destinies of their race. Cicero's writings may, I believe, be searched in vain for a single expression of reliance on the progressive improvement of mankind. The two poles of his philosophy, between which he wavers with perpetual oscillation, are regret for the past and resignation to the present. Cæsar, while the unseasoned fabric of his own institutions was tottering around him, derived no consolation from belief in a providential government of the world. At the moment of launching his country, as faith might have fondly persuaded him, on a career of tranquil expansion and comprehensive culture, the founder of the empire closed his eyes to the future and shrank from even guessing at the end. The old beliefs of the primitive ages, which had done something at least to temper prosperity and sweeten the ills of life, had perished to a poisonous core in a shrivelled husk. The science of ethics was apparently exhausted. It had finished its career in blank disappointment, and there was no faith or courage to commence it afresh. Alexander wept on the margin of the eastern Ocean that there were no more lands to conquer; Cæsar, from the furthest bourn of philosophic speculation, may have confessed with a sigh that within the visible horizon of human intuitions there were no more provinces for reason to in-

Concluding
remarks.

vade. The Great Disposer had yet another leaf to turn in the book of His manifold dispensations ; but the rise and progress of a new religion, with vigour to control the jarring prejudices of nations and classes, asserting supernatural facts, and claiming divine authority, appealing with equal boldness on the one hand to history, on the other to conscience, shaping an outward creed, and revealing inward ideas, the law of the simple and the science of the wise, exalting obedience in the place of ambition, and expanding patriotism into philanthropy, was the last offspring of the womb of Time that Cæsar could have imagined, or Cicero have ventured to anticipate.

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