

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

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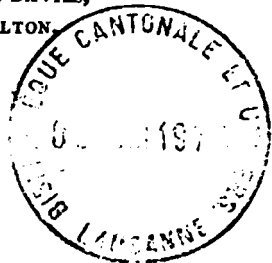
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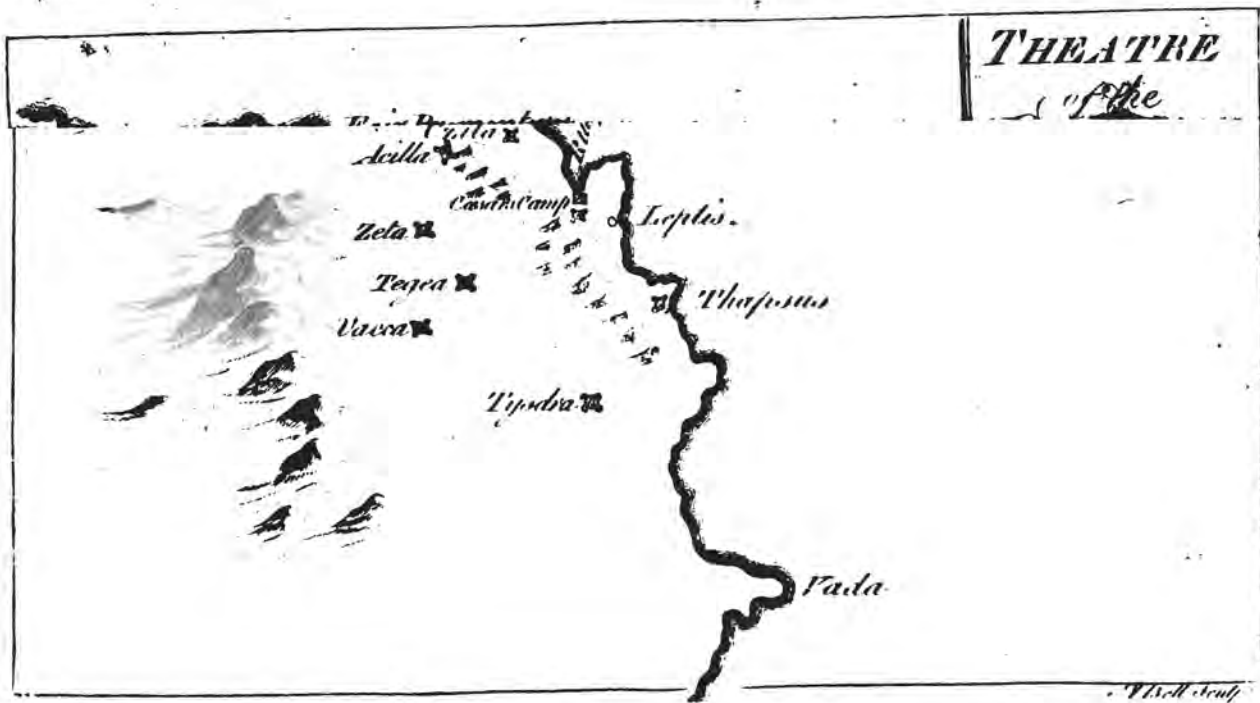
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IN the famous battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar lost no more, by his own account, than two hundred men, among whom were thirty Centurions, officers of distinguished merit. There were killed of the enemy fifteen thousand, taken twenty-four thousand, with a hundred and eighty stand of colours, and nineteen Roman eagles or legionary standards; and on this occasion were cut off a number of Senators and

many of the equestrian order *, the flower of the Roman nobility, in whose fall the sinking fortunes of Rome were now deprived of their most likely support.

Pompey, when he was told that Cæsar's troops had already forced his entrenchments, changed his dress, mounted on horseback, and having passed through the rear gate of the camp, made his escape to Larissa. On the road he fell in with about thirty horsemen of his own army, who joined him. At the gates of Larissa he received what he wanted for his journey, but declined entering the town, saying, that he would do nothing to make a breach betwixt the inhabitants of that place and the victor †. From thence he passed by the valley of Tempé to the coast, where he rested only one night in a fisherman's cottage. Next morning he put off from the shore in a small boat, with a few of his attendants, and coming in sight of a trading vessel, made signals, and was taken on board. In this ship he steered for the bay of Strymon, came to an anchor before Amphipolis, and, probably to conceal his further intentions, issued a proclamation addressed to all the districts of Macedonia, and requiring new levies to be made, and all the youth of the province to assemble. But having received some supplies of money, he remained only one night at this place. His wife Cornelia, and Sextus, the youngest of his sons, being at Mitylené, in the island of Lesbos; thither he proposed to sail, and, without having settled his plan any farther, was

* Appian de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

† Dio. Cass. lib. xlii, c. 2.

anxious to save this part of his family from falling * into the hands of his enemies. Having taken them on board, and being joined by some galleys of the fleet, after a delay of some days, occasioned by contrary winds, he set sail, continued his voyage to the coast of Cilicia, and from thence to Cyprus. He meant to have landed in Syria; but being informed that the people of Antioch, upon the news of his defeat, had published a resolution to admit none of his party, he dropt that intention, and contented himself with what aids and reinforcements he obtained on the coasts of Cilicia and Cyprus. There he seized the money which was to be found in the coffers of the farmers of the revenue; and having borrowed, or otherwise procured, considerable sums, armed two thousand men, and having shipping sufficient to transport them, continued his voyage to Egypt.

The late king, Ptolomy Auletes, had been indebted for his restoration to the Romans and the patronage of Pompey; and the kingdom being now on a respectable footing, having a considerable military force in the field, this Roman leader, though of the vanquished party, flattered himself, that in the gratitude of the Egyptian court he might find some means to reinstate his affairs.

On the death of that Ptolomy, who had been restored to his throne by Gabinius, two factions had arisen in Egypt. The king leaving four children, Ptolomy the elder, Cleopatra, Arsinoë, and Ptolomy the younger, had by his will bequeathed his crown

* Cæsar, Appian, Plutarch.

to Ptolomy the eldest of his sons, together with Cleopatra the eldest daughter. This brother and sister being by the laws permitted, and by the father's will destined, to marry, were in the capacity of husband and wife associated on the throne. But the council of the young king, not satisfied with a mere participation of sovereignty, proposed to set aside the will by excluding Cleopatra. In execution of this design, having obliged her to leave the kingdom, and to fly for protection into Syria, they had taken post with a great army at Pelusium to prevent her return, she being said to have assembled a numerous force in Asia for that purpose *. Pompey, observing the ensigns of a royal army upon the shore, concluded that the king was present, came to an anchor, and sent a message to announce his arrival, and his desire to join his forces with those of Egypt.

The council of Ptolomy consisted of three persons; Achilles, who commanded the army; Photinus, an eunuch, who had charge of the finances; and Theodotus of Samos, who was the preceptor or literary tutor of the young king. These counsellors, knowing that the Romans had been named executors of the late king's will †, and in this capacity might restore Cleopatra to her share in the throne, and that Pompey, in name of the republic, might assume the supreme direction in Egypt, were greatly alarmed upon receiving his message, and came to a resolution to have him destroyed. By this atrocious action they expected at once to rid themselves

* *Cæsar de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.*

† *Cæsar, ibid.*

of a dangerous intruder, and to merit the favour of a rival, who, by this decisive stroke, was to become sovereign of the empire, and fully able to reward those who should take a seasonable part in his quarrel.

With this intention Achilles, with a few of his attendants, came on board in a small boat, and delivered a message from Ptolomy, inviting Pompey to land. In the mean time some Egyptian galleys, with an intention to secure him, drew near to his ship; and the whole army, with the king at their head, were drawn out on the shore with great ostentation of pomp to receive him. The diminutive size of the boat, and the mean appearance of the equipage which came on this errand, seemed disproportioned to the rank of Pompey; and although Achilles made an apology, alleging, that deeper vessels could not go near enough to land on that shallow part of the coast, Pompey's friends endeavoured to dissuade him from accepting of an invitation so improperly delivered; but he answered, by quoting two lines from Sophocles, which implies, that *whoever visits a king, though he arrive a free man, must become a slave*. Two of his servants went before him into the boat to receive their master; and with this attendance he put off from the ship. His wife Cornelia, and Sextus the youngest of his sons, with some other friends, remained upon deck, sufficiently humbled by the preceding strokes of fortune, anxious for the future, and trembling under the expectations of a scene which was in acting before them.

Soon after the barge had left the ship, Pompey, looking behind him, observed among the Egyptian

soldiers a person whose countenance he recollected, and said to him, Surely, fellow-soldier, you and I have somewhere served together. While he turned to speak these words, Achilles beckoned to the other soldiers, who, understanding the signal to put the Roman general to death, pierced him with their swords. Pompey was so much prepared for this event, that he perceived the whole of his situation at once, and sunk without making any struggle, or uttering a word *. This was done in the presence of the king of Egypt and of his army, who were ranged on a kind of amphitheatre formed by the shore. The vessel in which the unhappy Cornelia with her family was left, and the little squadron which attended it, as if they had received a signal to depart, cut their cables and fled.

Thus died Pompey, who for above thirty years enjoyed the reputation of the first captain of his age. The title of *Great*, originally no more than a mere expression of regard from Sylla, continued, in the manner of the Romans, to be given him as a name of distinction, or a memorial of the occasion on which he received it. He attained to more consideration, and enjoyed it longer than any other Roman citizen; and was supplanted at last, because, for many years of his life, he thought himself too high to be rivalled, and too secure to be shaken in his place. His last defeat, and the total ruin which ensued upon it, was the consequence of an overweening confidence, which left him altogether unprepa-

* App. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii. Plat. in Pom. Livii epitome, lib. cxiii.

red for the first untoward event. The impression of his character, even after that event, was still so strong in the minds of his enemies, that even Cæsar himself overlooked all the other remains of the vanquished party to strike at their head, and seemed to think his victory still incomplete, while such a person was yet alive to renew the conflict.

The accounts which Cæsar received at Larissa made him believe that Pompey must have passed into Asia; and he accordingly, on the third day after the battle of Pharsalia, set out in pursuit of him with a body of horse, ordering a legion to follow. In passing the Hellespont, he was saluted by some galleys which guarded the Straits, under Lucius Cassius*. These surrendered themselves, and, with their leader, made offer of their service to the victor. From thence he continued his march by the coast of Ionia, receiving the submission of the towns in his way. And being come into Asia, he had intelligence of Pompey's operations in Cyprus, of his departure from thence, and of his continuing to steer for the coasts of Egypt. In order to be in condition to follow him thither, he put into the island of Rhodes, where he provided transports sufficient to embark the legion which he had ordered to follow him from Thessaly, and another from Achaia, with eight hundred horse. To these he joined a convoy of ten armed galleys of this island, and some Asiatic ships †.

* This person is sometimes taken, but erroneously, for Caius Cassius, destined to act an important part in the sequel of this History.

† Cæ. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

With this force Cæsar set sail for Alexandria, and arrived after a passage of three days *. Here he learned the catastrophe of Pompey's life ; and had presented to him by the courtiers of Ptolomy, who were impatient to recommend their own services, the head of the deceased severed from the body, with his seal, which was known throughout the empire, being that with which his signature was usually put to all letters, acts, and public writings : but Cæsar either really was, on this occasion, or affected to be, seized with a momentary compunction ; he is said to have turned away from the sight, and to have wept †. This able actor probably had tears, as well as words, at command ; and could sanctify, under the most specious appearances, the evils which his ambition had produced. From this event, however, which he thus affected to bewail, and no sooner, he became secure, and seems to have dated the termination of the war. He accordingly landed without precaution, and being detained at first by the usual periodical winds of the season, became entangled in difficulties, or engaged in pleasures, which occasioned a very unaccountable stay, suspended the expectations of the whole empire, and gave to those of the opposite party leisure to rally their forces, or to consult their own safety in different ways.

In this interval, Cato, who, upon the march of Pompey into Thessaly, had been left to command

* App. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii. The two legions which he led in this service amounted only to three thousand two hundred men ; so much had the army in general suffered in their late campaigns. † App. Ibid.

on the coast of Epirus, and whose quarters, after the battle of Pharsalia, became a place of retreat to many who escaped from the field, or who, at the time of the action, had been detached on different services, assembling great part of the fleet at Corcyra, and, with his sea and land forces united, still preserving the aspect of a vigorous party, was joined by Cicero, Cnæus the eldest son of Pompey, Afranius, Labienus, and other persons of distinction. Among these Cicero, as being the first in rank, was offered the command; and having declined it, narrowly escaped with his life from the fury of young Pompey, who considered his refusal as a desertion of the cause, and as an act of perfidy to his father, whose fate was yet unknown*. But Cicero, being protected by Cato and others, who were present, escaped into Italy; and declining the command of an army, reserved, for scenes in which he was better qualified to act, talents which had, on former occasions, procured him so much consideration with his fellow-citizens. It appeared that Cato had even disapproved of Cicero's having at all appeared in arms, or having joined either party in this war, and that he wished him to have devoted his life and his abilities entirely to those duties of a civil nature, which he was better qualified to render to his country, in the Senate, and in the popular assemblies, than in the field.

It is probable that Cato had already taken his own resolution not to submit to Cæsar, nor to survive the fall of the commonwealth; but he treated with great

* Plut. in Vita Ciceronis. Dio. Cass. lib. xlii, c. 10—12.

candour such as chose to make their peace, and to retire from the storm which had overwhelmed the republic. Having staid a sufficient time at Corcyra, to receive on board such of the vanquished army as chose to take refuge in the fleet ; and having afterwards, for the same purpose, put into Patræ, near the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth, he still gave every one his option to continue in arms, or to retire. He seems to have supposed that Pompey was gone into Egypt, and he determined to follow him ; hoping, that after the junction of this great reinforcement, he might, either there or in the province of Africa, renew the war with advantage. Being, in pursuance of this design, arrived in the African seas, but west of the frontier of Egypt, he met the unhappy Cornelia, with the young Sextus Pompeius, who had recently beheld the death of the husband and the father near the shore of Pelusium. The account which he received of this event, determined him not to continue his voyage any farther to the eastward ; but to return towards the Roman province of Africa, where the friends of the republic under Varus, in consequence of the defeat of Curio, and the alliance of Juba, still kept the ascendant, and had lately received an accession of strength by the junction of Scipio and of Labienus, who had escaped from Pharsalia. But the periodical winds which about the same time began to detain Cæsar at Alexandria, made it impossible, or at least dangerous, for him to continue his voyage along a coast that was covered to a great extent by the famous shoals and sand-banks of the Syrtes. For these, per-

haps, and other reasons which are not mentioned, Cato landed at Berenicé ; and from thence conducting his army, then consisting of ten thousand men, in small divisions, through the deserts of Barca, and round the bay of the Syrtes, and having, during thirty days, encountered with many difficulties from the depth of the sands and the scarcity of water, he at last effected his march to the frontier of the Roman province *.

Cæsar, at the time when he passed with his army into Macedonia, had left Italy and the western provinces in a state not likely, in his absence, to create any trouble. But the uncertain, and even unfavourable, aspect of his affairs, for some time after his landing in Epirus, had encouraged those who disapproved of his usurpation, to question the validity of his acts, and to disregard his arrangements. The army in Spain having mutinied, deserted from Q. Cassius, and put themselves under the command of M. Marcellus Æserinus, who, however, did not openly declare himself for either party, till after the event in Pharsalia was finally decided in favour of Cæsar.

At Rome it is probable that, upon the late remove of the Senate and Consuls, few citizens of any note had remained besides those who were inclined to Cæsar's party, or at least such as were indifferent to either ; and that some persons, even of the last description, thought they had an interest in his success, as being their only safety against the menacing declarations of his adversary, who, in all his proclama-

* Strabo, lib. xvii, p. 836.

tions, treated neutrality between the parties as treason to the commonwealth. But the uncertain condition of Cæsar's fortunes, while the event of the war remained in suspense, and still more after his defeat at Dyrrachium, encouraged or tempted numbers, even in the city of Rome, to declare for Pompey. Marcus Cælius, who, in the preceding year, had, upon disgust, or hopes of promoting his own fortune, gone with Antony and Curio to join Cæsar, and who was now, by the influence of the prevailing party, elected one of the Prætors ; being moved by a fresh disgust taken to the party he had joined, or by its apparent decline in the field, openly declared himself against Cæsar's measures, offered protection to debtors against the execution of his laws relating to bankrupts, drove his own colleague Trebonius by force from the Prætor's tribunal, and gave such an alarm, as that such of the Senate as were then at Rome, thought themselves under the necessity of giving the acting Consul, Isauricus, the usual charge to guard the commonwealth as in times of extreme danger. Upon this decree, the Consul took arms to preserve the peace, and Cælius was obliged to leave the city. About the same time Milo, who still lay under sentence of banishment, ventured, at the head of an armed force, to land on the coast of Campania, and attempted to make himself master of Capua. While he was engaged in this enterprise, he was joined by Cælius ; but both were soon after surrounded and cut off by the forces which Cæsar had left for the protection of Italy*.

* Liv. Epitome, lib. cxi. Dio. Cass. lib. xliij, c. 22—26.

These disturbances, and every appearance of opposition to the party of Cæsar, were again easily suppressed upon the news of his victory in Pharsalia. The populace, who generally range themselves on the victorious side, and who are equally outrageous in every cause they espouse, celebrated this occasion, by pulling down the statues of Pompey and of Sylla. There was either no regular Senate, and no assembly of the People to resist the torrent with which fortune now ran on the side of military government, or the names of Senate and People were, without debate or difference of opinion, put to decrees, by which the supreme power of life and death, over the supposed adherents of the vanquished party, was committed to the victor. By these decrees, the power of making war or peace, and of naming commanders and governors in all the provinces, was committed to Cæsar alone. He was, by a new and unheard of resolution, which laid that foundation of imperial sovereignty, which we shall find so often repeated, made Consul for five years, Dictator for twelve months, and vested with the sacred character of Tribune for life. He alone was appointed to preside in all public assemblies, except those of the tribes, in which the other tribunes bore an equal part with himself.

When these decrees were presented to Cæsar, then in Egypt, he assumed the ensigns and power of dictator, and appointed Antony, then stationed in Italy, general of the horse, or second in command to himself in the empire. The reputation of Cæsar's clemency had encouraged many, who had recently opposed him, to lay down their arms, and to return

to their habitations, trusting to this character of the victor, or to other considerations specially applicable to themselves. Cicero, in particular, returned into Italy, and in the neighbourhood of Brundisium, waited for Cæsar's arrival. Caius Cassius, whom we must always distinguish from his namesakes Quintus and Lucius, and who commanded the fleet which had been assembled for Pompey from the coasts of Syria and Cilicia, having sailed to Sicily, while the army yet lay in Pharsalia, surprised and burnt the shipping, amounting to thirty-five vessels, of which twenty were decked, which Cæsar had assembled at Messina, and was about to have forced that town to surrender, when he was informed of the defeat of his party in Thessaly, desisted from his enterprise, and set sail for the coast of Asia. Here he waited for Cæsar at the mouth of the Cydnus, without being determined whether he should attempt to destroy or submit to the victor. From the correspondence of Cassius with Cicero, it appears that, like this distinguished senator, he was about to withdraw from the ruins of a party which he could no longer support. Cicero, nevertheless, afterwards ascribes to him a design of killing Cæsar at this place, if the prey had not escaped him by going to a different side of the river from where he was expected to land. Upon this disappointment Cassius made his submission, and delivered up his fleet*. Quintus Cicero went to Asia to make his peace with Cæsar; and many, expecting him in Italy, resorted thither on the same errand. In

* Cæsar de Bello Civil. lib. iii.

this number, it was reported, though without foundation, that Cato and L. Metellus meant to present themselves as persons who had done no wrong, and who came openly to resume their station in the commonwealth. Upon this report, Cæsar, apprehending the difficulties that might arise to himself from the presence of such men ; that they might greatly embarrass his government by opposing it, or that, in order to rid himself of such troublesome guests, they might reduce him to the necessity of pulling off the mask of moderation and clemency, which he had hitherto assumed ; chose rather to prevent their coming, than to contend with them after they were come ; and sent positive orders to Antony, to forbid Cato, Metellus, or any other person, to whom he had not given express permission, to set their foot in Italy*.

Such was the state of affairs at the end of the year of Rome 705, and at the beginning of the following year, which is dated in the Dictatorship of Caius Cæsar. While he himself still remained in Egypt, the government of Italy continued in the hands of Antony.

There was no longer any apparent difference of opinion at Rome. All orders of men vied in demonstrations of joy for the success of the victor, and for the ascendant which his party had gained. Many still probably hoped to have the form of the republic preserved, while no more than the administration of it should pass from the ruined party to those who were now in power ; but in the first steps of the pre-

U. C. 706.
C. Julius
Cæsar Dict.
Iterum M.
Antonius
Mag. Eq.

* Cæsar de Bello Civil. lib. iii, ep. 6. et 7.

sent government they found themselves disappointed. The usual election of magistrates, which, even in the height of the war, had never been omitted, now, at the end of it, and when no enemy any where appeared to disturb the ordinary course of affairs, were all of them, except that of the Tribunes, entirely suspended or laid aside. All government centered in the person of Antony, and the administration of course was altogether military. He himself, immersed in debauch, passed the greatest part of his time in the company of buffoons and prostitutes; frequently shifted the scene of his frolics from the town to the country, and travelled through Italy with a field equipage, and a numerous train of carriages, for the accommodation of his female attendants. In these processions he himself is said to have sometimes appeared in a chariot drawn by lions*. And in the midst of such petulant affectations, as he was ungracious and arrogant to citizens of the highest rank, so he was indulgent to the troops under his command, and deaf to all the complaints which were made of their violence or rapine. Being equally apt to indulge disorder and license in others, as he was to set the example in his own practice, his retainers frequently alarmed the city with outrages, whether of rape, robbery or murder, and stunned the pacific inhabitants of Italy with terror, in apprehension that, upon the arrival of Cæsar, the number of such disorderly masters, destined to sport on the ruins of the commonwealth, was to be still farther increased.

* Plut. in Vit. Antonii, p. 74, 75.

The worst men, as usual, were the most forward in paying their court to the prevalent party: And among these, the nearest relations became spies or informers against one another. Fears or complaints uttered in private were reported as crimes. A general silence and distrust ensued, and all parties wished or dreaded the arrival of Cæsar, according as they expected to lose or to gain by the suppression of former establishments. In this interval of gloomy suspense, men discovered their sad apprehensions, by propagating the fiction of strange and supposed ominous appearances, or by magnifying things natural, into prodigies and alarming presages*.

Meanwhile, the daily expectation of Cæsar's arrival, for some time suspended all the usual operations in the city, and suppressed the hopes and designs of his opponents in all parts of the empire: but his unexpected stay at Alexandria, and the unfavourable reports of his situation, which were sometimes brought from thence, began to turn the tide of popularity at Rome, and encouraged the remains of the late republican party, now forced to take refuge in Africa, again to lift up its head †.

Dollabella, a young man of Patrician extraction, observing the road which others had taken, by becoming Tribunes of the People, to arrive at power in the commonwealth, procured for himself, in imitation of Clodius, an adoption into a Plebeian family, to the end that he might be legally qualified to hold this office; and having accordingly succeeded in this

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlii, c. 26,

† Cicero ad Attic. lib. xi, ep. †6.

design, he proceeded to revive the wild projects by which the worst of his predecessors had endeavoured to debauch the lower ranks of the People. Among these, he proposed a reduction of house rents, and even an abolition of debts. Being opposed by Tribellius, one of his colleagues, their several retainers, as usual, exhibited a scene of violence in the streets; and although the Senate passed a decree to suspend every question or subject of debate until the arrival of Cæsar, these Tribunes continued to assemble the People, kept them in a ferment by opposite motions, and filled the public places with tumult and bloodshed *. And to finish an interlude so congenial to the peace, Mark Antony, now representing the person of his absent commander, under pretence that such disorders could not be restrained without a military force, took possession of the city with an army; and, while he sometimes favoured one party, and sometimes the other, continued to govern the whole at discretion †.

The troops about the same time became mutinous in their quarters; and these disorders rose or fell according to the reports that were propagated from Asia or Egypt relating to the state of Cæsar's affairs. The spirits and hopes of the late Republican party, which yet had some footing in Africa and Spain, likewise fluctuated in the same manner. It is highly probable, that if Cæsar had pressed on the other remains of those who opposed him with the same ardour with which he pursued their unfortunate leader,

* Eight hundred citizens were killed in these frays.

† Dio. Cass. lib. xlii, c. 29.

or if he could have returned to the capital immediately on the death of his rival, that party never would have attempted, or would not have been able to renew the contest; but the leisure which he left them, and the dubious aspect of his own affairs for some time in Egypt, encouraged and enabled them to recover a strength, with which they were yet in condition to dispute the dominion to which he aspired.

Cato, who, with the remains of the republican army and fleet from Epirus, had arrived on the coast of Africa, being informed that Varus still held the Roman province on this continent in the name of the Republic; that Scipio was there; and that the king of Numidia persevered in the alliance he had formed against Cæsar, determined to join them. At his arrival, Scipio and Varus being on bad terms, the command of the army was, by the general voice, made over to him. But as at Rome all the gradations, whether civil or military, were blended together, and Scipio was of consular rank, while Cato had been no more than prætor, he rejected such a trespass on the order which was established, and made a part in a system which they all exposed their lives to preserve. His acceptance indeed might have tended more to increase than appease animosities. Neither Pompey nor Scipio ever considered him as their personal friend; his services they knew were intended to the Republic, not to themselves, and would turn against them whenever they came to make that use of their advantages to which it is likely they were both inclined. Pompey was accordingly ever suspicious of Cato, and in the last part of the campaign

in Thessaly, left him behind on the coast. Scipio adopted the same conduct with respect to this partizan of the commonwealth, and joined to the motives of distrust, which actuated Pompey, a jealousy excited by the preference which the army had recently given him. In order that this supposed rival might not interfere in his counsels, he assigned or suffered him to take a separate station at Utica, where, though in appearance retired, he continued to be the principal support of the cause. The inhabitants of this place were obnoxious to the successors of Pompey; having formerly received Curio with the forces of Cæsar, and ever favoured his interest, they were now by the opposite party doomed to destruction, and saved only at the intercession of Cato, who, in this extremity of political evils, ever set himself against every measure that tended to increase the sufferings of mankind by unnecessary acts of revenge or cruelty.

The spirit of the Republic thus apparently reviving in Africa, and the party being in condition to receive all those who fled to them for protection; with the alliance of Juba, the most powerful prince of that continent, they soon became formidable both by sea and land; and if they could have resolved to invade Italy, were probably in condition, while Cæsar was absent, to have regained the capital of the empire. Young Pompey, in this state of affairs, having passed into Spain, was favourably received by his father's adherents or clients in that province, and profiting by the misconduct of Quintus Cassius on the

part of his enemies, was likely to assemble a considerable force.

Gabinus, who commanded for Cæsar on the coast of Illyricum, attempting to penetrate by land into Macedonia, was cut off by Octavius, who had assembled a remnant of Pompey's army on the confines of that kingdom. Domitius Calvinus, whom Cæsar had appointed to command in Bithynia, had received a defeat from Pharnaces the son of Mithridates; and, in general, the state of his affairs in other parts of the empire was such, while he himself continued unheard of in Egypt, as to raise a suspicion of some misfortune, supposed to be the only way of accounting for so long stay in that country, and for the seeming neglect of all the advantages he had gained by a conduct hitherto in every instance so decisive and rapid. Pompey it was said had fallen by treachery in Egypt, and so might Cæsar. It was now the middle of June, and there was no intimation received in Italy of the time at which he might be expected to return. He had written no letters since the middle of December, nor had any one come from his quarters at Alexandria since the middle of March*.

The imperfect accounts which remain of what passed in Egypt during this interval, are as follows: Cæsar, at his arrival, had found Ptolomy the young king, and Arsinoë, one of his sisters, under the direction and in the keeping of Ganimedes and Pothinus, two eunuchs, who had the care of their education. From his manner of receiving the present of

* Cicer. ad Att. lib. xi, ep. 16, et 17.

Pompey's head, these officers conjectured that they had gained nothing by the murder of one of the rivals, who were engaged in this contest for the Roman empire ; and that this action, although it freed Cæsar of an enemy whom he respected and feared, was not to be publicly avowed or rewarded by him. They dreaded, therefore, the interposition of this dangerous man in their affairs, even more than they had dreaded the usurpation of Pompey.

The troops now in Egypt were the remains of that army with which Gabinius had restored the late King, Ptolomy Auletes, and which were left to secure his establishment. They were recruited by deserters from the Roman provinces, and by banditti from Syria and Cilicia. They retained the form of the Roman legion ; but had precluded themselves from any prospect of return to the Roman service by mutiny, in which they had murdered two Romans of high rank, the sons of Bibulus, then Proconsul of Syria. Numbers of the men were married, and had families in Egypt ; they held the lives and properties of the people at discretion, and were in the habit of disposing of the offices at court, and even of the crown itself, at their pleasure. A party of this insolent rabble, then in garrison at Alexandria, and in the character of guards to the person of the present king, took offence at the parade with which Cæsar landed, and were offended with the number and show of his lictors, by which he seemed to encroach on the majesty of their sovereign ; and to threaten them with all the severities of a Roman discipline, which they had violated. Frequent tumults arose on this

account, and numbers of Cæsar's attendants were murdered in the streets. The westerly winds were then set in, and he finding himself detained in a place where he was exposed to so much insult, ordered a reinforcement of troops from Asia, and had called upon Mithridates of Pergamus in particular to bring all the forces he could assemble in that quarter to his relief. At the same time, the party of Cleopatra, the exiled sister of Ptolomy, applied to Cæsar for protection. She herself, being still in Syria, ventured to pass into Egypt, came to Alexandria by sea, and is said to have been carried into the presence of Cæsar, wrapped up in a package of carpet.

In this manner, it is pretended that Cæsar became first acquainted with the person of this celebrated woman, then in the bloom of youth, and possessed of those allurements by which she made different conquerors of the world, in their turns, for a while renounce the pursuits of ambition for those of pleasure. She is supposed at this time to have become the mistress of Cæsar, and to have made him, though turned of fifty years, to forget the empire, the republic, the factions at Rome, and all the armies which in Africa and Spain were assembling against him. Under the dominion of his passion for this celebrated woman, he took a resolution to carry into execution the destination which had been made by the late king, and, in the quality of Roman Consul, and representative of the Roman people, to whom this office had been intrusted by the will, he commanded both parties to lay down their arms, and to submit their claims to his own arbitration.

Pothinus, fearing the total exclusion of the young king, his pupil, in favour of Cleopatra, called Achilles with the army to Alexandria, in order to defeat Cæsar's purpose, and in order to oblige him to leave the kingdom. This army consisted of twenty thousand men, inured to bloodshed and violence, though long divested of the order and discipline of Roman troops. Cæsar hearing of their approach, though not in a condition to meet them in the field, without regard to their threats seized and fortified a quarter of the town, in which he proposed to defend himself. The young Ptolomy being in his power, was prevailed on to dispatch two persons of distinction with a message to Achilles, signifying the king's pleasure, that he should not advance; but the bearers of this message, as being supposed to betray the interest of their master, in whose name they appeared, were by the orders of Achilles seized and slain. Cæsar, however, being still in possession of Ptolomy's person, represented Achilles as a rebel and an outlaw, and still, in name of the king, issued repeated orders and proclamations against him.

Achillas being arrived at Alexandria, entered the city, and endeavoured to force Cæsar's quarters; but being repulsed, took possession of that part of the town which was open to him, and blocked up the remainder both by sea and by land. The city being thus divided, the Egyptians and Romans fought in the streets, and from the houses which they severally occupied. Cæsar, as he despaired of being able to receive any succours by land, endeavoured to keep open his communication by sea, and sent pressing or-

ders to Syria, Cilicia, Rhodes, and Crete, for reinforcements of men and of ships. Having early discovered that Pothinus, who was still in his power, corresponded with the enemy, he ordered him to be put to death; continued to strengthen his division of the town by additional barriers; and in order to prevent surprise, demolished and cleared away many of the buildings adjoining to his works. Achilles, unacquainted with such an antagonist as Cæsar, finding so much unexpected resistance, sent for reinforcements, and a supply of stores and warlike engines, from every part of the kingdom. He traversed, with breast-works, the streets leading to Cæsar's quarters, and demolishing the houses in his way, effected a chain of works parallel to those of Cæsar, having a parapet and covered way, with frequent elevations and towers. He exhorted the Egyptians to exert themselves for the independency of their kingdom; observing, "That the Romans were gradually assuming the sovereignty of Egypt; that Gabinius had come as an auxiliary, but acted as a master; that Pompey, on being defeated in Thessaly, came into Egypt*, as to a property which he had a right to employ in repairing his ruined fortunes; that Pompey had fallen in vain, if Cæsar were tamely suffered to succeed him; that if this intruder were allowed to keep possession of the city, until his succours should arrive from Asia, all Egypt for the future must expect to be enslaved by the Romans."

* Hirtius de Bello Alexandrino.

The danger to which Cæsar was exposed, arose no less from the remains of the republican party now assembling against him in Africa, than it did from the force with which he was actually assailed in Egypt. If Scipio had been apprised of his condition in this country, he might in a few days have transported a body of troops by sea to Alexandria, and, in conjunction with the Egyptians, who would now have accepted of any assistance against Cæsar, have possibly recovered the fall of their party at Pharsalia ; but the best opportunities are sometimes lost, because it is not supposed that an enemy could be so ill advised, or so rash as to furnish them.

The scene in Egypt was frequently changing by the intrigues and the treachery of different parties in the court. Ganimedes, who had the charge of the young princess Arsinoë, being hitherto, as well as the young king, lodged in the quarters of Cæsar, found means to make his escape, together with his ward ; and finding the troops disposed to lay hold of Arsinoë as a branch of the royal family, employed assassins to put Achilles to death ; and, in the name of the princess, took on himself the command of the army. His abilities as an officer, which were very considerable, and his bounty, secured to him the affection of the soldiers. He continued the attack on Cæsar's quarters in all the ways which were already begun by his predecessor. The town being furnished with water by subterraneous passages from the neighbouring heights, he uncovered the conduits which led to Cæsar's division of the town ; and, to render the water unserviceable, forced into the reservoirs great

quantities of brine from the sea. The loss, however, was soon made up from wells, in which, at a moderate depth, the besieged found a tolerable supply of water.

While Cæsar thus counteracted the arts which were employed to distress him, the eighteenth legion, with a considerable supply of provisions, military stores, and engines of war, being arrived on the coast, but unable to reach Alexandria on account of the winds, he thought proper himself to embark and put to sea, in order to cover this reinforcement, while they made for the port. On this occasion, he was attacked by the Egyptian fleet; but gained a victory, destroyed a great part of the enemy's ships, and brought his own reinforcement safe into harbour. The Egyptians, with great ardour, set to work in all the docks on the Nile, to repair the loss they had now sustained, and were soon masters of a fleet, consisting of twenty-two vessels of four tier of oars, five of five tier, and many of smaller dimensions. Cæsar had to oppose them, nine galleys from Rhodes, eight from Pontus, five from Lycia, and twelve from the coast of Asia. Five were of five tier of oars, and ten of four tier. The remainder were of smaller dimensions, and most of them open, or without any deck. With these forces, having once more engaged off the mouth of the harbour, the Egyptians were again defeated, with the loss of one galley of five tier of oars, another of two tier taken, and three sunk. The remainder retired under cover of the mole, and of the towers of the Pharos.

Soon after this action at sea, Cæsar attacked the

Pharos, forced the enemy to fly from thence ; most of them swimming across the harbour, many were killed, and six hundred taken. He forced them at the same time to abandon the tower, which commanded the entrance of the mole on that side. As he pursued them in their flight, and as the mole itself became crowded with his soldiers, who advanced to push the attack, or who came unarmed from the ships, and all the stations around, to witness the scene ; the Egyptians seeing these crowds, laid hold of the opportunity, mounted the mole, threw those who were upon it into confusion, forced them over the quay into the water, or into their boats. Cæsar himself endeavouring to escape in this manner, and finding that the boat into which he had stepped, being aground and overloaded, could not be got off, he threw himself into the water, and swam to a ship. In this tumult, he lost four hundred men of the legions, and an equal number of the fleet. The Egyptians recovered all the ground they had lost, got possession again of the tower at the head of the mole, and of the island which secured their ships.

In such operations, with various events, the parties in Egypt passed the winter and spring. Cæsar still retained the person of Ptolomy in his possession, and made use of his name to countenance his own cause, or to discredit that of his enemies ; but the king being extremely averse to have this use made of his authority, and desirous to recover his liberty, entered into a concert with some officers of his army, to find a pretence for his release. In pursuit of their design, they conveyed secret intimation to

Cæsar's quarters, that the troops were greatly disgusted with Ganimedes, and that if Ptolomy should make his appearance in person, they would certainly submit to his orders, and commit the whole settlement of the kingdom to the arbitration of Cæsar. The king was instructed to affect a great dislike to this proposal, and with tears entreated that he might be allowed to remain in the palace. Cæsar, either being deceived by these professions, or believing the name of the king to be no longer of much consequence, consented to let him depart; but this artful boy, as soon as he was at liberty, laid aside his disguise, laughed at the supposed credulity of those he had deceived, and urged the attack on the Roman quarters with great animosity.

While affairs at Alexandria were in this situation, accounts were brought that Mithridates of Pergamus, whom Cæsar had commissioned to procure succours from Asia, was actually arrived at Pelusium with a considerable force; that he had reduced that place, and only waited for instructions from Cæsar how to proceed. These accounts were brought to both parties about the same time, and both of consequence determined to put their forces in motion. Ptolomy, leaving a proper guard on his works, embarked his army on the Nile, having a considerable navigation to make by the different branches of that river. Cæsar, at the same time, put his army on board in the harbour, and, having an open course by the coast, outstript the king, and arrived at Pelusium before him. There, being joined by Mithridates, he was in condition to take the field, and to contend with all

the forces of Egypt. Ptolomy, to prevent the return of Cæsar by land to Alexandria, had taken a strong post on one of the branches of the Nile; but here, after a few skirmishes, he was attacked, defeated, and driven from his station. Endeavouring to make his escape by water, the barge * which carried him being overloaded, it sunk, and he himself, with all his attendants, were drowned.

Immediately after this action, in which the Egyptian army was routed and dispersed, Cæsar, escorted by a small party of horse, returned to Alexandria, and having received the submission of the inhabitants, made such arrangements as he thought proper in the succession to the kingdom. He placed Cleopatra on the throne, in conjunction with her younger brother; and, to remove any further occasion of disturbance to this settlement, he ordered her sister Arsinoë to be transported to Rome. He left great part of the army to support this new establishment in Egypt, and he himself, after this singular episode, in the midst of the conquest of the Roman empire, marched with the sixth legion by land into Syria. At Antioch he received such reports of the state of affairs, as required his presence in different quarters. Nine months were elapsed, since any orders or directions had been received from him. During this time, the factions of the city, the relaxation of discipline in the army, and the threats of invasion from Africa, had placed his affairs in such a state of hazard, as to urge his immediate appearance in Italy

* Hirt. de Bello Alex.

and at Rome ; but he thought it of consequence to his authority to leave no enemy behind him in the field *, nor to suffer the remains of disorder in any of the provinces through which he was to pass. Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, to whom Pompey had assigned the kingdom of the Bosphorus, imagining that the civil wars, in which the Romans were engaged, made a favourable opportunity for the recovery of his father's dominions, had passed with an army into Pontus, and from thence invaded the Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia, which had been separately allotted by the Romans to two of their dependant allies, Dejotarus and Ariobarzanes. At the instance of these princes, Domitius Calvinus, who had been commissioned by Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, with three legions to receive the submission of the Asiatic provinces, which had been till then in the interest of Pompey, dispatched to Pharnaces a messenger, requiring him instantly to withdraw his troops from Armenia and Cappadocia ; and, in order to give the more weight to this message, he himself at the same time took the field with one Roman legion, joined by two legions which had been formed by Dejotarus in the Roman manner, and two hundred Asiatic horse. He at the same time ordered Publius Sextus and C. Prætorius to bring up a legion which had been lately raised in Pontus, and Q. Patifius to join him with some light troops from Cilicia.

These forces being assembled at Camana in Cappadocia, the messenger, who had been sent to Phar-

* Hirt. de Bello Alex.

naces, returned with an answer, that the king was willing to evacuate Cappadocia; but that, having a just claim to Armenia, in right of his father, he would keep possession of that province until the arrival of Cæsar, to whose decision he was willing to submit his pretensions. Domitius, not being satisfied with this answer, put his army in motion towards Armenia. While he advanced, Pharnaces endeavoured to amuse him with negotiations, and to put him off his guard, by permitting the country to receive him with all the appearances of peace and security. When he arrived at Nicopolis, the capital of Armenia, the order of Cæsar to march into Egypt was delivered to him; but being unwilling to quit the prey which seemed to be already in his power, risked a battle with the forces of Pharnaces, was defeated, and, with the remains of his army, was obliged to fly by the route of the mountains which separated Armenia from the Roman province.

Elated with this victory, Pharnaces, at the time of Cæsar's departure from Egypt, had returned into Pontus, had taken possession of the principal towns, and with great severity exercised the sovereignty of the kingdom. Meantime, Cæsar being arrived at Antioch, dispatched Trebonius from thence with an account of his own operations, and with instructions to those who were intrusted with his affairs in Italy*, proceeded himself by sea to Tarsus, where he received, as has been mentioned, the submission of Caius Cassius, who waited for his coming; and who, ac-

* Cicæ. ad Attic. lib. xi, ep. 23.

ording to the account of Cicero, till then was undetermined, whether he should make his peace with the victor, or attempt to assassinate him. At Tarsus, he held a convention of the principal inhabitants of Cilicia, and from thence marched into Cappadocia, stopped at Comana to make the necessary arrangements in that province, and continued his route to the frontiers of Galatia and Pontus.

Hither Dejotarus, who had espoused the cause of Pompey, had fought under his banners in Pharsalia, and who, by the gift of that unfortunate leader, still retained the sovereignty of Galatia, came to make his submission. He laid down his diadem, and the ensigns of royalty; and, presenting himself in the habit of a suppliant, pleaded, "That, in the late war; the eastern part of the empire being subject to Pompey, the princes of that quarter had not been free to choose their party; that he was himself not qualified to decide in a question on which the Roman People was divided; that he thought it his duty to follow the Roman standard wherever it was erected, without considering by whom it was carried." Cæsar, rejecting the plea of ignorance or incapacity, insisted, "That any prince in alliance with the Romans could not be ignorant who were Consuls in the year that succeeded the Consulate of Lentulus and Marcellus, and who were actually in the administration of the State at Rome; that they could not be ignorant who was at the head of the republic, and in possession of the capital, and of the seat of empire; and who of consequence was vested with the authority of

“ the commonwealth. But that he, as a private
“ man, and in consideration of this prince’s age, his
“ character, and the intercession of his friends, was
“ willing to forgive the part which he had taken a-
“ gainst himself.” He desired him, therefore, to
resume the crown and other ensigns of royalty, and
to keep possession of his kingdom, reserving the dis-
cussion of the title, by which he held any particular
territory, to a future day.

Being joined by a legion which Dejotarus had
lately formed in the Roman manner, Cæsar’s force
now consisted of this, together with the remains of
the two legions which had escaped with Domitius
from Nicopolis, and of the sixth, which had accom-
panied himself from Egypt, now reduced by the
sword, and by the fatigues of service, to no more
than a thousand men. With this army he advanced
towards Pontus. Upon his approach, Pharnaces
sent forward a messenger to present him, in honour
of his late victories, with a crown of gold, and made
offers of submission, expecting to appease him, or
to occupy the time with delays, until Cæsar should
be obliged, by the necessity of his affairs, to give his
presence elsewhere. “ Come not against me,” he
said, “ as an enemy : I never took part with Pom-
“ pey, nor declared war against Cæsar. Let me
“ not be treated with more severity than Dejotarus,
“ who did both.” Cæsar replied, That he would lis-
ten to Pharnaces when he had acted up to his profes-
sions ; that he had forgiven Dejotarus, and many
others, with pleasure, the injury done to himself ;
but that he could not so easily overlook the insults

which had been offered to the Roman State ; and that he did not pardon wrongs done in the provinces of the Roman Empire, even by those of his own party. “ Your not having joined with Pompey,” he said, “ has saved you from being a partner in his “ defeat, but was not the cause of my victory.” With this reply to the messages of Pharnaces, Cæsar demanded the instant surrender of Pontus, and full reparation of all the damages sustained by any Roman citizens settled in that kingdom. Pharnaces professed an intention to comply with these demands ; but under various pretences delayed the performance of what he promised to do. He had fixed on a hill in the neighbourhood of Ziecla, a place become famous by the victory which his father Mithridates had there obtained over a Roman army under the command of Triarius ; and there, in order to secure himself, repaired his father’s lines, and seemed to be determined to maintain this post.

Cæsar, having lain for some days within five miles of the enemy, advanced to an eminence separated from the camp of Pharnaces only by a narrow valley sunk between steep banks. He came upon this ground in the night, and began to intrench himself as usual, having a party under arms to cover the workmen. As at break of day the greater part of his army appeared to be at work, this seemed to be a favourable opportunity to attack them ; and Pharnaces began to form for this purpose. Cæsar, imagining that he only meant to give an alarm, and to interrupt his workmen, even after he was in motion, did not order the legions to desist from their work,

nor to arm : but seeing him descend into the valley, and attempt to pass it in the face of his advanced guard, he sounded to arms, and was scarcely formed when the enemy had passed both banks of the ravine or gulley to attack him.

The troops of Pharnaces began the action with an ardour that was suited to the boldness with which they had advanced ; and Cæsar's contempt of their designs had nearly exposed him to a defeat. But the action, which was doubtful every where else, was decided by the veterans of the sixth legion, before whom the enemy first began to give way, hurried with precipitation down the declivity, and fell into a general rout. Pharnaces fled with a few attendants, and narrowly escaped being taken *. This victory gave Cæsar an opportunity to compare his own glories with those of Sylla, of Lucullus, and of Pompey ; and was, on this account, probably regarded by him with singular pleasure. " How cheap is fame," he said, " when obtained by fighting against such an enemy † ?" And in the triumphs which he afterwards led in the sequel of these wars, the trophies of this particular victory were distinguished by labels, containing the words, " I came, I saw, I vanquished ‡."

From the peculiar ostentation of the ease with which this victory was obtained, while it was considered by Cæsar as a measure of his own superiority to Sylla and Pompey, we may suspect that vanity,

* Hirtius de Bello Alex. Velleius. Florus. Liv. Epitome, &c.

† Appian. de Bello Civil. lib. ii, p. 185.

‡ The famous words, *Veni, vidi, vici.*

not less than dominion, was the spring of that emulation from which he had raised such a flame in the empire *. Having, by this defeat, extinguished all the hopes and pretensions of Pharnaces, he restored Domitius Calvinus to his command in that quarter, and to a general inspection of affairs in Asia. This province, which had furnished a principal supply to the public revenue of the State, as well as to the private fortune of Roman adventurers, was now made to pay large contributions in name of arrears of what had been promised to Pompey, or of forfeiture for offences committed against the victorious party.

Cæsar, having issued his orders for the contributions thus to be levied in Asia, set out on his way by Galatia and Bithynia towards Greece; he landed at Tarentum, having been near two years absent from Italy. Many citizens of Rome had waited near twelve months at Brundisium in anxious expectation of his coming, and under great uncertainty of the reception they were to meet with. Cicero, being of this number, set out for Tarentum as soon as he heard of Cæsar's arrival, and met him on the road. When he presented himself, Cæsar alighted from his carriage, received him with marks of respect, and continued to walk and to discourse with him aside for some time. There is no particular account of what passed between them in this conversation. On the part of Cicero, probably, were stated the reasons which he assigns, in a letter to Atticus, for his own

* Sueton. in Vit. Cæsar. c. 37.

conduct before the battle of Pharsalia, bearing, that he had been averse to the war ; that he thought the republic had nothing to gain by the victory of either party ; and that he joined Pompey, more influenced by the opinion of others, than decided in his own *. Under these impressions, though courted by Cæsar, who wished to have the credit of his name in support of the measures now to be taken at Rome, he chose to withdraw to a life of retirement, and devoted his time to literary amusements and studies. At this time he probably composed most of his writings on the subject of eloquence, as he did some time afterwards those which are termed his philosophical works †.

Cæsar arrived at Rome in the end of the year seven hundred and six of the Roman æra, in which he had been named a second time Dictator. This year, as has been related, he had passed chiefly in Egypt. Being elected, together with M. Emilius, Consul for the following year, he applied himself, for a little time, in the quality of civil magistrate, to the affairs of state ; endeavoured to restore the tranquillity of the city, which had been disturbed in his absence, and to wipe away the reproach which the levities of Antony had brought on his party. He stifled the unreasonable hopes of a general abolition of debts, with which Dolabella had flattered the more profligate part of the community. He told the people, on this occasion, that he himself was a debtor ; that he had expended

U. C. 706.
C. Jul. Cæsar, M. Emilius Lepidus.

* Cicer. ad Att. lib. xi, ep. 14.

† Cicer. ad Attic, lib. xv, ep. 19.

his fortune in the public service, and was still obliged to borrow money for the same purpose. With respect to the general policy of the city, and the case of insolvent debtors, he revived the laws which he himself had procured, about two years before, in his way from Spain to Epirus. But while he appeared to be intent on these particulars, his thoughts were chiefly occupied in preparing to meet the war which the remains of the ancient senate and of the republican party were resuming against him in Africa.

This province, in which Varus, supported by the king of Numidia, had been hitherto able to keep his station as an officer of the commonwealth, was now become the sole or the principal refuge of those who made any efforts to preserve or to restore their freedom. Three hundred citizens, many of them senators, and emigrants from Italy, as well as settlers in that province, had assembled at Utica, and considering every other part of the empire as under the rod of a violent usurpation, stated themselves as the only legal remains of the Roman republic; held their meetings under the denominations of Senate and People; authorised the levies that were made in the province, and contributed largely to supply the expence of the war. Many officers of name and of rank, Labienus, Afranius and Petreius, as well as Scipio and Cato, with all the remains they had saved from the wreck at Pharsalia, were now ready to renew the conflict on this favourable ground. The name of Scipio was reckoned ominous of success in Africa; and that of Cato, even if the origin or occasion of the present contest were otherwise unknown, would be

held a sufficient mark by which to distinguish the side of justice, and the cause of the republic.

These representatives of the republic, having a considerable force at sea, and having access to all the ports, not only of Africa, but likewise of Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, had furnished themselves in abundance with all the resources of war *. They had mustered ten legions, which, according to the establishment of that time, may have amounted to fifty thousand Roman foot. They had twenty thousand African horse, a great body of archers and slingers, with a hundred and twenty elephants. They expected to be joined by the king of Numidia, who, to the established character of his countrymen for stratagem and valour, joined the glory of his late victory over Curio; and was supposed to muster, at this time, besides numerous bodies of horse, of archers, of slingers, with a great troop of elephants, thirty thousand foot, armed and marshalled, for the most part, in the manner of the Roman legion †.

The army already in Africa, as well as the remains of the sea and land forces of Pompey, who were lately arrived from Macedonia, were willing, as has been mentioned, to have placed Cato at their head. But the established order of the commonwealth, for which all the party contended, requiring that Scipio, who was of consular rank, should have the preference, Cato, who had no more than the rank of Prætor, and who could not be accessory to the infringement of

* Dio. Cass. lib. lxxii, c. 5.
African.

† App. de Bello Civ. lib. ii. Hirt. de Bell.

any established or constitutional form, declined the command. By this circumstance we are deprived of an opportunity to judge how far the military abilities of this eminent personage kept pace with his integrity, judgment, and courage, in civil and political affairs*.

Scipio, who was now the officer of highest rank opposed to Cæsar, and who had the supreme command of all the forces which appeared for the republic, whilst the coasts of Italy were exposed to his attempts, and the condition of Cæsar himself, if his situation at Alexandria had been known, gave sufficient opportunities for enterprise, nevertheless took all his measures for a defensive war.

Such was the state of affairs in Africa, when Cæsar, who with all his military character and authority, frequently experienced the difficulty of commanding mere soldiers of fortune, who had been taught to divest themselves of civil principle, or regard to public duty, was likely to perish in a mutiny of his own army, and to end his career by the swords which he himself had whetted against the republic.

The legions, which after the defeat of Pompey had been ordered into Italy, becoming insolent in the possession of a military power which they saw was to be formed on the ruins of the commonwealth, and feeling their own importance, especially in the long absence of their leader in Egypt, would not be com-

* Guichard does not scruple to say, that, even in his separation from the main army, his military abilities greatly outshone those who were at the head of it. *Vid. Mémoire d'Antiquités Militaires.*

manded by subordinate officers ; nor did they, on the return of Cæsar himself, discontinue the habits of disorder and licence in which they had for some time been indulged. Being stationed in the neighbourhood of Capua, whence it was expected they should embark for Africa, they decamped without orders, and marched towards Rome ; paid no regard to the authority of Sallust, who, in the rank of Prætor, with which he had been vested by Cæsar, endeavoured to stop them, killed many officers and persons of rank who ventured to obstruct their march, and threw the city itself into great consternation. On the approach of this formidable body, Cæsar is said to have wavered in his resolution. He had some troops attending his person, and there was a legion which Antony had stationed in the city on occasion of the late commotions. With these he at first proposed to meet and resist the mutiny ; but he recollected, that even these troops might be infected with the same spirit of disobedience, and that if he were not able to command by his authority, and were forced to draw the sword in one part of his army against the other, the whole foundations of the power he had erected must fail. While he was agitated by these reflections, he sent an officer with orders to inquire for what purpose the mutinous legions advanced ? This officer was told, “ That they would explain themselves to Cæsar.” Having this answer, and expecting their arrival at the gates, Cæsar, in order that they might appear to do by his permission, what they were likely to do without it, sent them another message, informing them that they had his leave to

enter the city with their arms. They accordingly came in a body, and took possession of the field of Mars; where Cæsar, contrary to the advice of his friends, had gone to receive them in person. Being raised on a conspicuous place, they crowded around him; and, from many different quarters at once, complained of the scanty rewards they had received *, enumerated their services, and the hardships they had suffered, and with one voice demanded their instant discharge. Cæsar knowing that they only meant to extort some concessions, which they hoped the consideration of the war, which was still impending in Africa, would oblige him to make; that they were far from wishing to be dismissed, or to resign those arms to which they owed their own consequence, and on which they grounded their present presumption, affected to comply with their request, owned that their demand was highly reasonable; adding, that the service for which they had been hitherto retained was now at an end, and that he was sensible they were worn out, and unfit to contend with new fatigues. In concluding a speech which he made to this purpose, he addressed them as a mere assembly of people, with the appellation of *Quirites*, or fellow-citizens; and observed how proper it was that those, who had served out their legal time, should receive the accustomed dismissal. In speaking these words, he was interrupted by a general cry, that they were not *quirites* or citizens, but soldiers, in condition to dispose of the empire. It is alleged, that the name of

* Dio. Cass. c. 51—53.

Roman citizens *, though the most respectable form of address in the political assemblies at Rome, carried contempt to these military adventurers, and insinuated a state of degradation from that in which they affected to stand. An officer who was prepared for the occasion, or who wished to improve this sentiment in favour of Cæsar, desired to be heard; made an apology for what was past, and offered to pledge himself for the duty and future obedience of the troops. He was answered by Cæsar, That the services of this army were now of little moment to him; that as they desired their dismissal, while by their own confession they were yet in condition to serve, he had taken his resolution, and should instantly dismiss them with the usual rewards. "No man," he said, "shall complain that in time of need I employed him, and now at my ease forget the reward that is due to him. Such as continue in the service until the public tranquillity is fully restored shall have settlements in land; such as have received promises of money at any time during the war, shall be paid now, or in a little time hereafter, with interest." He concluded, however, with saying, That as he asked no man to remain in the service, so he should not reject the duty of those who were willing to abide by their colours; that he was sensible how much he owed this indulgence to their present requests, and to their merit on former occasions." The whole with one voice desired to be comprehended in this act of indulgence, and went

* Quirites, Roman citizens.

headlong into all the extremes of submission, as they had lately gone into every excess of disorder and insolence: Cæsar was thus again in full possession of his power; but he did not venture to punish the authors of the mutiny. It was safer, and perhaps more effectual, to reward such as were conspicuous in any particular merit; he therefore selected a few to be distinguished by immediate effects of his bounty, and put the remainder in motion towards Africa, where they might have an opportunity of earning future rewards and the pardon of past offences, and where they might spend against enemies that fury which, at every interval of leisure to recollect their own pretensions and their importance, they were so likely to turn against their leader*.

The year was now, according to the vulgar computation at Rome, and in consequence of the usual intercalations being neglected, nominally advanced to the middle of December, but was in reality little past the autumnal equinox †, or was in the end of December, when Cæsar, having made the proper arrangements in the city, and, in the manner related, appeased the mutiny which threatened to overturn his power, was again in motion to carry the war into Africa. The season, which was thought unfit for operations at sea, and which had actually forced his antagonists' ships into port, gave him the opportunity he wished for to effect the passage of his army into that province. He knew that the enemy's fleet could not continue to cruize for any time to observe his

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlii, c. 51--55.

† Plut. in Vita Cæsaris, p. 154.

motions; and that, with the advantage of a favourable wind, he might easily escape them. He had chosen the same opportunity, and in the same season, two years before, to transport his army into Macedonia against Pompey, who, trusting to the numbers and vigilance of his fleet, suffered himself to be surprised, and to be dispossessed of a country which he occupied with so superior a force.

Cæsar having gained so much on that occasion, by the rapidity of his motions, now made war with many accumulated advantages of reputation and power, which increased his boldness, and facilitated his success. Having ordered troops and shipping from different quarters of Italy to assemble at Lillybæum, from which place he had the shortest passage to Africa, he himself arrived there on what was nominally the seventeenth of December, though in reality but a few days after the autumnal equinox; and although he found no more of his army arrived than one legion, or five thousand men, of the new levies, and six hundred horse, he ordered these, notwithstanding, to embark on board such ships as were then in the harbour; and if the wind had served, would have instantly sailed, even with this small force, trusting that he might be able to surprise some port on the opposite shore, and prepare a safe landing-place for the troops he had destined to follow. But while he continued windbound at Lillybæum, he was joined successively by a number of legions, which he ordered to embark as fast as they arrived; and, that they might be clear of the harbour, and ready to put to sea with the first fair wind, sent the transports

with their complement of troops on board, to lie under an island, a little way advanced from the mainland.

Being in this state of readiness with six legions, or about thirty thousand foot, together with two thousand horse; and the wind coming fair on the twenty-eight of December, or, as it is computed, on the twelfth of October, he himself went on board, and leaving orders for the troops that were still in motion towards Lillybæum to follow him without delay, he set sail for the nearest land in Africa. Not knowing of any port to which he might safely repair, he could not, as usual, assign a place of general rendezvous, in case of separation, and only gave orders to the fleet to keep close together; deferring the choice of a landing-place till after he should have observed the coast, and seen in what part of it the enemy were least guarded against a descent. But soon after he got to sea a storm arose, which dispersed the fleet; he himself, with the ships which still kept him company, after being tossed four days in a passage of no more than twenty leagues, got under the land near the promontory of Mercury, and from thence, to avoid the forces of the enemy, which were stationed at Utica and round the bay of Carthage, steered to the southward.

The coast of Africa, from this cape or promontory to the bottom of the great Syrtes, over three degrees of latitude, or about two hundred miles, extends directly to the south. It abounds with considerable towns, which, on account of their commerce, were anciently called the *Emporiæ*; and by their wealth,

tempting the rapacity both of the Numidians and of the Carthaginians, were long a subject of contention between these powers. Adrumetum lay on one side of a spacious bay, bounded by the head of Clupea on the north, and that of Vada on the south. The southern coast of this bay contained, besides Adrumetum, the following sea-ports: Ruspina, Leptis, and Thapsus; the bay itself extending from the first of these places to the last about thirty-six miles. Scipio had secured Adrumetum and Thapsus, being the extremities of the line, in which the others were included, with considerable forces. In order to render the province unfit for the reception of an enemy, he had laid waste the country, and had collected all the provisions and forage into these and other places of strength for the use of his own army.

Considius, an officer of the republican army, being stationed at Adrumetum, with two legions, and Virgilius, with a proper force at Thapsus, the intermediate ports of Ruspina and Leptis, as well as many of the inland towns, were intrusted to the keeping of their own inhabitants. But these, on account of the general devastations lately committed by order of Scipio, were extremely disaffected to his party, and inclined to favour any enemy against him.

Cato, as has been mentioned, was stationed at Utica, as the last retreat of the Roman Senate, the centre of all their resources, and the seat of their councils.

Scipio had collected the main body of his army near to the same place, supposed to be the princi-

pal object of any attempt that might be made from Italy.

Labienus and Petreius had separate bodies, at proper stations, to guard the inlets of the coast round the bay of Carthage; and were so posted, that they could easily join, and cross over a neck of land to the bay of Adrumetum, upon any alarm of an enemy from that side.

Varus, having the command of the fleet, had kept the sea during summer and the approach of autumn, but had not withdrawn to Utica, and laid up his ships for the stormy season.

Cæsar, however, according to his custom of taking opportunities when his enemies were likely to be off their guard, venturing to sea, even in this season, seems to have had no information to direct him on his approach to the coast, besides the general report that the enemy were strongest and most to be avoided in the bay of Carthage. In this belief he passed the head-lands of Clupea and Neapolis, and stood in to the bay of Adrumetum. Being seen from the shore, he was followed by Cn. Piso from Clupea, with three thousand Numidian horse, and was to be opposed at Adrumetum by Considius, with a force greatly superior to what he could land from the few ships that were now in his company. But

N. C. 6.
Jul. Cæsar
Dictat.
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so little had he attended to the superior strength of the enemy, or so much was he determined to brave it, that he went on shore near Adrumetum on the nominal first of January, or about the middle of

October, with no more than three thousand foot

and an hundred and fifty horse. This hazardous step his high reputation seemed to require or to justify. The enemy might not be apprised of his present weakness, it being occasioned by the accidental separation of his fleet. They were likely to be awed by his name, and to hesitate in their deliberations against him long enough to give time for the junction of the remainder of his army. In this confidence, he supported the courage of his own people, by proceeding against the enemy with his usual rapidity and decision.

The garrison of Adrumetum, upon this sudden appearance of a force which came to attack them, were thrown into some confusion, and Considius, not perceiving he had to do with an enemy so inferior in point of numbers, and instead of taking measures to crush him before he should receive any reinforcement, thought of nothing but how to secure himself from surprise; shut his gates, manned his walls, and placed all the troops under his command at their posts of alarm. Cæsar, to confirm him in this disposition, sent him a menacing summons to surrender at discretion; and afterwards, at the suggestion of Plancus, who had been in habits of intimacy with Considius, endeavoured to corrupt or to gain him by a more insinuating message; but this officer, being more a man of integrity than he had shewn himself a skilful warrior, ordered the bearer of the message to be put to death, and sent the letter unopened to Scipio.

Cæsar being thus disappointed of any return to his message, and suspecting that his attempt to cor-

rupt the commander of the forces at Adrumetum might betray his own weakness, after only one night's stay in this dangerous situation, determined, on the day after he landed, to remove to some place of greater security. With this view he moved to the southward, and though harassed in his rear by the enemy's horse, continued his march without any considerable interruption or loss. As he advanced to Ruspina, a deputation from the inhabitants of that place came forward to meet him, with offers of every accommodation it was in their power to supply, and of an immediate reception into their town. He accordingly encamped one night under their walls; but being inclined to see more of the coast, and not being in condition to divide his little force, he proceeded with the whole to Leptis. Here he was received with equal favour; and having entered the town, took measures to protect the inhabitants from the licentiousness of his own people. The harbour was convenient for the reception of his transports; and a few of them accordingly, having some cohorts of foot and troops of horse on board, it being now the third day after he himself had debarked, appeared in the offing, and made their way to the port.

By this arrival Cæsar was alarmed with an account that numbers of the fleet, after they had parted company, appeared to be steering for Utica; a course by which they must either run into the hands of the enemy, or lose much time before they could correct their mistake, or recover their way to the southward. In a state of anxious suspense, occasioned by these circumstances, he seems to have deliberated, whether

it were not proper for him to reembark ; and in consequence of his doubts, probably, though under pretence of the want of forage, he still kept his cavalry on board, and with great difficulty continued to supply them with fresh water from the land. But as soon as he determined to keep his footing in Africa, he landed his cavalry, and took the necessary measures to procure supplies of provisions by sea. He sent back the empty transports to receive such part of his army as might be arrived at Lillybæum, after his own departure, and ordered ten galleys from the harbour at Leptis to cruize for the missing ships of the embarkation which was still at sea. At the same time he dispatched expresses to Sardinia and other maritime provinces, with orders to hasten the reinforcements of troops or the supplies of provisions which were expected from thence ; and having intelligence that the enemy had some magazines in the island of Cercina, near the coast of Africa, he sent thither Crispus Sallustius, the celebrated historian, now acting under him in a military rank, to endeavour to secure those magazines for the use of his army.

Cæsar being determined to keep both the ports of Ruspina and Leptis, which the enemy seemed to have abandoned to him, he was now, by the recent junction of so many cohorts, in condition to garrison Leptis, while himself, with the principal force of his little army, returned to Ruspina, from which to observe the motions of his enemy. This place being unprovided of necessaries for the support of his troops, he determined to try what provisions could

be found in the neighbourhood until the arrival of his transports, or until he should be enabled to penetrate farther into the country. For this purpose he advanced with the whole of his little army to forage, followed by all the carriages that could be collected together, and had them loaded with corn, wood, and other necessaries, to form some species of magazine for the troops he intended to place in the town. As soon as he had effected this service, it appeared that he had taken the resolution to go in person in search of the transports, on board of which the greater part of his army was dispersed. And with this view having destined ten cohorts to remain at Ruspina, he himself, with seven others, which made the whole of his strength on the present occasion, went down to the harbour, which was about two miles from the town, and embarked in the night.

The troops which were to be left at Ruspina, being so few, without the leader in whom their confidence was chiefly reposed, surrounded with numerous armies who were likely to assemble against them, were aware of their danger. They had now been three days on shore, and the enemy had full time to be apprised of their situation and of their weakness. The presence of their general had hitherto supported their courage; and they relied on his abilities to repair the effects whether of mistake or temerity; but in his absence they lost all hopes, and expected to become an easy prey to their enemies.

Cæsar, however, fully determined to put to sea, having past the night on board, still continued at anchor; when, at break of day, being about to weigh,

some vessels came in sight, and were known to be a part of the fleet which he so anxiously looked for. These were soon followed by other ships which appeared successively, and brought him the greater part of the six légions with which he had originally sailed from Lillybæum. Being thus prevented in his intended excursion, he returned to Ruspina, in a kind of triumph, and took post between the town and the shore.

In the mean time, it appears that Labienus and Petreius, commanding the cavalry and light troops of Scipio's army, in the angle that is formed by the promontory of Clupea, between the bays of Carthage and Hadrumetum, having intelligence that Cæsar was landed, with the utmost diligence assembled their forces, and marched towards the coast from which they had received the alarm.

Cæsar had taken a defensive station behind the town of Ruspina, the place which he chose for the resort and safe reception of his convoys and reinforcements by sea; but he was far from limiting his plan of operations to the defence of this place. On the fourth or fifth day after his landing, although by his own account he had yet no intelligence of the enemy's motions, he thought proper to continue the alarm he had given, and marched from Ruspina with a body of thirty cohorts, or about fifteen thousand foot, and four hundred horse, to penetrate into the country, to observe its nature, or to extend the source of his own supplies. After he had begun his march for this purpose, and was about three miles from his camp, the parties advanced fell back on the main

body, and informed him that they had been in sight of an enemy. Soon after this report clouds of dust began to rise from the plain, and about noon an army appeared in order of battle. To observe them more clearly, Cæsar, after he had made the signal for the cohorts to form, and to be covered with their helmets, advanced with a small party of horse. He saw bodies of cavalry in every part of the field; and from the imperfect view which could be had of them, as the air was clouded with dust, he supposed their line to consist entirely of horse. He thought himself secure against such an enemy, provided he could sufficiently extend his front, or cover his flanks. For this purpose he divided his small body of cavalry to the right and the left; and that he might not be outlined, diminished the depth to increase the length of his ordinary column. In making this disposition, however, he had mistaken the enemy's force; it did not consist, as his imperfect view led him to believe, entirely of cavalry, but of troops of horse interspersed at intervals with bodies of foot: and he had not seen considerable detachments, which were sent under cover of the hills to turn his flanks, and fall upon his rear.

Under these disadvantages on the part of Cæsar, the action began in front by a scattered charge of the Numidian horse, who advancing in squadrons, at full gallop, from the intervals at which they were placed among the infantry, threw their javelins and darts, and presently retired to their former situation. In this retreat, under cover of the infantry whose in-

tervals they occupied, they instantly rallied, and prepared to repeat the charge.

While Cæsar's infantry was occupied in front with this unexpected mode of attack, his horse were defeated on the wings; and the enemy, in consequence of the disposition they had made, being already on his right and his left, even began to close on his rear, and, by the superiority of their numbers, were every where enabled to continue the impression they made; his men, to shun the arrows and darts of the enemy, giving way, were pressed from the flanks to the centre; so that they were forced into a kind of circle, or formless crowd, without any distinction of front or rear, and were galled with a continual discharge of missiles, which did great execution*.

This renowned commander, who so far had suffered himself to be surprised and over-reached, in a most difficult situation, took the benefit of that confidence which his known ability and presence of mind ever procured him from his troops. Recollecting that the enemy must have weakened their line in every part, by attempting to stretch it over so great a circumference, he prevailed on his legions again to extend their ranks, ordered the cohorts to face alternately to the right and the left, and making a front in both directions, charged the enemy on the opposite sides, and drove them in both ways to a distance from the line of his march. Without attempting, however, to improve his advantage, or to

* Cæsar's copiiis in orbem compulsis, intra cancellos omnes coniecti pugnare cogebantur.

urge the pursuit, he took the opportunity of the enemy's flight to effect his own retreat, and fell back to the camp behind Ruspina, from which he had moved in the morning.

The speedy march of Labienus and Petreius, from a distance which could not be less than eighty or a hundred miles, accomplished by the fourth or fifth day after the arrival of Cæsar, and their disposition on the day of battle, to avail themselves of their numbers and manner of fighting, was able and spirited. But the event is sufficient to show, that the use of mere missile weapons, in the open plain, against troops who are armed and disciplined for close fight, although it may harass and distress an enemy, cannot against resolute men have any decisive effect.

In about three days after this encounter, Cæsar had intelligence that Scipio himself was advancing with the whole force of his infantry, consisting of eight legions, or about forty thousand men, and four thousand regular horse; an army which he was not in condition to oppose in the field, and which obliged him, contrary to his usual practice, to adopt a plan of defence. Ruspina lay along the coast, and at the distance of two miles from the shore. As his army lay behind the town, covering part of the space between it and the sea with the fortifications of his camp, he threw up an intrenchment from his camp on one side, and from the end of the town on the other, quite to the shore; so that, by means of the town in front, the fortifications of his camp and these lines in flank, the whole space between Ruspina and

the sea was inclosed with his works. The harbour too was thus secured from any attempts of the enemy. And in order to man and defend these fortifications, he landed his engines from the galleys, and brought the mariners to serve them on shore.

The choice of this situation, cooped up in a narrow place, without any secure communication with the country, in case the enemy had seized their advantage, or in case the reinforcements which he himself had expected from the sea had by any accident been long delayed, might have exposed this invader of Africa to the greatest calamities. He himself would not have neglected to hem in an enemy so posted with a line of circumvallation; but the undertaking was too vast for those who were opposed to him, and he was suffered in safety to wait the arrival of his reinforcements, and to collect some immediate supply of provisions from the neighbouring country, as well as to receive convoys which he had ordered from every maritime province.

While Cæsar remained in this position, Scipio arrived at Adrumetum, and having halted there a few days, joined Labienus and Petreius in the station they had chosen, about three miles from the town of Ruspina. Their cavalry immediately overran the country, and interrupted the supplies which Cæsar derived from thence. The space he had inclosed within his intrenchments, being about six square miles, was soon exhausted even of forage or pasture, and his horses were reduced to feed on sea-weed, which was washed or steeped in fresh water, in order to purge it as much as possible of its salt.

To encourage the hopes which Scipio entertained from all these circumstances, the king of Numidia, with a powerful army, was on the march, and likely to join him before Cæsar could receive any considerable addition to his present force; but whatever might have been the consequence of this junction, if it had really taken place, it was delayed for some time by one of those strokes of fortune to which human foresight cannot extend. Publius Sittius, a Roman citizen, who had been an accomplice with Cataline in his designs against the republic, and who, on this account, had fled beyond reach of the Roman power, had assembled a band of warriors or lawless banditti, at the head of which he made himself of importance on the coasts of Africa, and was admitted successively to join the forces of different princes in that quarter. Being now in the service of Bogud, king of Mauritania, and being disposed to court the favour of Cæsar, or hoping to make his peace at Rome by means of a person so likely to be at the head of the Roman State, he persuaded the king of Mauritania to take advantage of Juba's absence, and with such troops as he had then on foot to invade the kingdom of Numidia. Juba being about to join Scipio near Ruspina, when the news of this invasion of his own country overtook him, found himself obliged not only to return on his march, but to call off from his allies great part of the Numidian light troops, who were already in their camp.

Scipio, though thus disappointed of the great accession of force which he expected to receive by the junction of Juba, and though even somewhat redu-

ced in his former numbers, still continued to act on the offensive; and in order to brave his enemy, or, as usual, to derive some species of triumph from the supposed offers of battle, repeatedly drew forth his army on the plain between the two camps. In repeating these operations, he advanced still nearer and nearer to Cæsar's intrenchments, and seemed to threaten his camp with an attack. In return to this insult, or to take off its effects, Cæsar knowing the strength of his own works, affected to hear of the enemy's approach with indifference; and without stirring from his tent, in which he was employed in dictating letters, gave orders for the ordinary guards, which lay without the intrenchments, not to be decomposed, but as soon as the enemy approached them, deliberately to retire behind the parapet; and Scipio, upon this reception, when seemingly most bent on assaulting the lines, being satisfied with the supposed display of his prowess, returned to his camp.

During this suspension of any serious operation, and while Juba was still detained in Numidia by the diversion which Sitius had occasioned in his kingdom, Cæsar had frequent deserters from the African army, and received deputations from different parts of the country, with professions of attachment to himself as the relation of Marius, whose memory was still entire and popular in that province. Among these advances, which were made to him by the natives of the country, he had a message from the inhabitants of Acilla, a place situate about ten miles from the coast, and equally distant from A-

drumetum and from Ruspina, offering to come under his protection, and inviting him to take possession of their town. The people of this place, like those of most other towns in the province, were extremely disaffected to Scipio, on account of the severities which he exercised in the devastation of their country on the approach of Cæsar; and as they dreaded a continuation or repetition of the same measures, they were desirous to put themselves in a posture of defence against him. Cæsar accepted of their offer, and sent a detachment of his army, who turning round the enemy's flank, after a long night's march, entered the town without opposition. Considius having intelligence of what was in agitation at Acilla, sent a detachment at the same time from Adrumetum to secure the place; but coming too late, and finding the enemy already in possession of the town, he brought forward more forces on the following day, and endeavoured, but in vain, to dislodge them.

While Cæsar was thus endeavouring to extend his quarters in Africa, and to enlarge the means of subsisting his army, Crispus Sallustius succeeded in the design upon which he had been sent to the island of Cercina, and was able to furnish a considerable supply of provisions from thence. There arrived at the same time from Allienus, the officer stationed at Lillybæum to forward the embarkations, a large convoy and fleet of transports, having on board two entire legions, the thirteenth and fourteenth, together with eight hundred Gaulish cavalry, a thousand archers and slingers, with a large supply of provi-

sions. As soon as these troops were landed, the transports were sent back to Lillybæum, in order to receive the remainder of the army, which was still expected to arrive at that place. These supplies and reinforcements at once relieved Cæsar's army from the distress they were suffering; and by so great an accession of strength, amounting to twelve thousand men, put him in condition to break from the confinement under which he had for some time remained, and to act on the offensive.

The first object that presented itself in pursuit of this plan, was the possession of some rising grounds in the neighbourhood of Ruspina, which Scipio had neglected to occupy, and from which he could seize his opportunity to annoy the enemy. To gain this point, he decamped after it was dark, on the supposed twenty-sixth of January or tenth of November, and turning by the shore round the town of Ruspina, arrived in the night on the ground which he intended to occupy. This was part of a ridge, which runs parallel to the coast, at a few miles distance from the shore, and which, on the north of Ruspina, turns in the form of an amphitheatre round a plain of about fifteen miles extent. Near the middle of this plain stood the town of Uzita, on the brink of a deep marshy tract, which is formed by the water of some rivulets that fall from the mountains, and having no determinate channel spread upon the plain in that place. Scipio had posted a garrison in the town, and had occupied the ridge on one side of the amphitheatre beyond the marsh, but had neglected the heights, of which Cæsar now took possession.

It seems, that on these heights there remained a number of towers, or a species of forts constructed by the natives in the course of their own wars. In these Cæsar was furnished with a number of separate lodgments, which he joined by lines, in order to continue his communication with the camp he had left, and with the port of Ruspina.

He had, in one night, made a considerable progress in these works, but being observed at the break of day, Scipio, in order to interrupt him, advanced on the plain, and formed in order of battle, about a mile in front of his own encampment; Cæsar, notwithstanding this movement of the enemy, did not at first think it necessary to discontinue the works he had begun; but Scipio seeming to come forward with intention to attack him, while so great a part of his army was at work, he ordered the whole under arms, still keeping the advantage of his ground on the heights. Some parties of cavalry and light troops came near enough to skirmish between the two armies; and Labienus being advanced on the right beyond the main body of Scipio's forces, Cæsar sent a detachment round a village to attack him, and obliged him to retire in disorder, after having narrowly escaped being entirely cut off. This flight of Labienus spread so great an alarm over Scipio's army, that the whole, with precipitation, withdrew to their own camp. Cæsar also returned to his post, and without any further interruption, proceeded in the operations he had planned. As soon as these were completed on the following day, he again formed in order of battle, to return the de-

fiance which the enemy so often had given him while he lay in the lines of Ruspina ; and observing that Scipio remained in his camp, he marched on to the town of Uzita, which lay between the two armies. Scipio being alarmed for the safety of this place, at which he had deposited some part of his magazines, advanced to sustain the troops he had posted in the town ; and Cæsar, believing that an action was likely to follow, made a halt, with the town of Uzita before his centre, having both his wings extended beyond it to the right and the left. Scipio, not to extend his front beyond the walls of the town, drew up his army in four lines, consisting of many separate bodies interspersed with elephants ; but as Cæsar declined to attack the garrison, supported as it was by Scipio's army, Scipio was unwilling to expose any part of his line by advancing beyond the town. And both armies having remained in this posture till sunset, returned at night to their respective camps.

Cæsar still persisting in his design to oblige the enemy to hazard a battle in defence of Uzita, projected double lines of approach from his present camp to the town. As the place was accessible to the enemy, and when their army should be drawn up in order of battle, might be made a part of their line, it was impossible for Cæsar to invest the town, or even to approach the walls, without hazard of being attacked on his flanks from the field, as well as in the centre from the town itself. In order, therefore, to cover the approach which he intended to make to the walls, he carried on from his camp on

the hills two intrenchments on the right and the left, inclosing a space of sufficient breadth to embrace the town. Between these parallel lines his troops advanced to the walls with perfect security, or under cover from any attacks that might be made on their flanks. As soon as this lane was effected to within the necessary distance of the walls, he threw up in front a breastwork opposite to the ramparts of the town, and from thence began to construct the works that were usually employed in the reduction of fortified places.

During the dependence of this siege, both parties received great reinforcements. Scipio was joined by the King of Numidia, who having repelled the enemy who attempted to invade his own kingdom, now came with three bodies of regular infantry, formed in the manner of the Roman legion, eight hundred heavy armed or bridled cavalry, with a great multitude of light or irregular troops. Cæsar's army, on the appearance of this new enemy, were much discouraged; but on seeing that Scipio, even after he was joined by the king of Numidia, still remained on the defensive, they resumed their former confidence, and were themselves soon after reinforced by the arrival of two more legions, the ninth and the tenth, who on their first approach to the coast, mistook for an enemy some galleys which Cæsar had stationed off the harbour of Thapsus, and under this mistake stood off again to sea, where they suffered many days from sickness, want of provisions, and of water.

These legions having been the principal authors of the late mutiny in Italy, are said to have now come without orders, intending to evince their zeal, and to court their general's favour, at a time when their services might be not only acceptable, but necessary to his safety. The principal historian of this war*, however, relates only, that Cæsar having observed Tribunes and Centurions of these legions to have occupied entire transports with their own equipage, to the exclusion of the troops which were then so much wanted for the service, took this opportunity to execute a piece of justice, which he had thought proper to remit, or to defer on a former occasion: That in this mind he dismissed several officers of these legions from the service, with the following terms of reproach: "For you, who have incited the troops of the Roman people to mutiny against the republic, who have plundered the allies, and been useless to the state; who, in place of soldiers, have filled transports with your servants and horses; who, without courage in the field, or modesty in your quarters, have been more formidable to your country than to her enemies, I judge you unworthy of any trust in the service of the republic, and therefore order you forthwith to be gone from the province, and to keep at a distance from all the stations of the Roman army."

The other incidents, which are dated by historians after the commencement of the siege of Uzita, do not serve to make us acquainted with its pro-

* Hirtius.

gress, or with the detail of its operations. The season we are told was stormy, and Cæsar's army, in order to crowd the more easily on board of the transports, had left great part of their equipage behind them in Sicily, and were now without any covering, besides their shields, exposed to heavy rains and hail, accompanied with thunder and fire, which, to their great amazement, instead of the ordinary flashes of lightning, became, in some degree, stationary, or for a sensible time continued to flame on the points of their spears*. While this storm continued, the ground upon which they lay was overflowed with water, or washed with continual torrents from the hills. Cæsar, nevertheless, persisted in the attack of Uzita, and seemed still to flatter himself that the defence of this place would lay the enemy under some disadvantage, which might furnish him with an opportunity to decide the war. The armies were accordingly often drawn out in order of battle, and were present at partial engagements of their cavalry or irregular troops, but without any general action.

In the midst of the great expectations which must have attended the operations of this siege, Cæsar had one of the many occasions, on which he was ever so ready to commit his genius, his reputation, and his life, in acts of seeming temerity, which persons of inferior ability may admire, but never can

* This circumstance, of the flaming points, is cited by a modern officer, to discredit the narration, but is in reality a strong confirmation. It is an appearance now understood among the phenomena of lightning or electricity, but could not then be known any otherwise, than as a fact. Voyez *Melange de Remarques sur tout sur Cesar*, par Le General de W. a Varsovie.

safely repeat. Varus, with a fleet of fifty galleys, had surprised and burnt the greater part of his shipping at Leptis, and was in chase of Aquila, an officer of Cæsar's marine, who, with an inferior squadron, was flying before him to the southward. Cæsar apprehended that the enemy, in consequence of this advantage, if not speedily checked, must soon become masters of the sea, so as to cut off all his supplies and reinforcements from the coast. He knew that reputation gained or lost on small occasions, often decides the greatest affairs; and that adverse circumstances, which, if suffered to accumulate, may obscure the brightest fortune, can, if seasonably encountered, by daring efforts of resolution and courage, be actually turned to advantage. He instantly therefore went in person to Leptis, and from thence put off in a barge: having overtaken his own squadron which was flying before the enemy, he ordered them to change their course, and to steer directly against their pursuers. Varus was struck with this unaccountable change in the conduct of his enemy, and supposing them to have come in sight of some powerful support, discontinued the chase, put about, and crowding sail, steered for the port he had left. Cæsar, in his turn, gave chase, overtook some of the heaviest sailors that fell astern, and forced the remainder to take refuge in the harbour of Adrumetum. Here he presented himself with an air of defiance; and having effected this apparent change in the state of his affairs at sea, with peremptory orders to his fleet not to resign the advantage which they had gained by this flight of the

enemy, he returned to the attack of Uzita. In such actions the fortunate often succeed, because the attempt appears to be incredible ; and men of great ability may no doubt venture into the midst of difficulties, with which persons of inferior capacity are by no means fit to contend.

Cæsar, notwithstanding that by this stroke of address, or of fortune, he preserved his communication with the sea, and received considerable supplies from thence, as well as from the country around him, in which he was favoured by the natives ; yet being greatly circumscribed by the superiority of the enemy's light troops, he suffered considerably in his camp from scarcity of provisions ; and being in his present operations against Uzita, to fight with a numerous army in detail, behind the walls of a fortified town, without being able to engage them upon equal terms in any decisive action, he took his resolution to discontinue the siege, and remove to a more advantageous station ; or proceed to some enterprise in which he was more likely to succeed. He accordingly decamped in the night, set fire to the wood and straw that was amassed upon the ground, left the lanes he had fortified with so much labour, and marching by the shore, placed his baggage between the main column of his army and the sea, and thus covered it from the enemy, who he expected were to follow him by the ridge of hills which overlooked the line of his march.

The retreat of Cæsar was sufficient to confirm the leaders of the republican party in the hopes they had formed, of being able to wear him out by a di.

latory war. They followed him accordingly by the heights, and having observed that he stopped at Agar, a town which he held by the affections of the natives, they took post on three several heights, at the distance of about six miles from his camp. In this position, they were not able to hinder him from making in the contiguous villages and fields a considerable acquisition of provisions and forage, which greatly relieved his army; but, to prevent his further excursions into the country, and to secure its produce to their own use, they had sent two legions, under the command of Caius Mutius Reginus, with orders to take possession of the town of Zeta, which lay about twenty miles from Agar, and on the right at some distance beyond their present camp. Cæsar had intelligence from the natives, that these troops now posted at Zeta, were frequently employed abroad in collecting provisions and forage, and that they might easily be cut off, and the town be surprised. He accordingly formed a design for this purpose; and with a view to the execution of it, removed from the plain of Agar, and fortified a strong camp on a height nearer to the enemy. Here leaving a sufficient guard for his lines, he put the remainder of the army in motion in the night, passed by the enemy's stations, and surprised the town of Zeta, which he entered by break of day, while the greater part of the garrison had left the place in perfect security, and were scattered in foraging parties over the neighbouring country. Having placed a sufficient detachment to secure this new acquisition, he set out upon his return, and having no hopes of be-

ing able to pass the enemy unobserved, made a disposition to force his way through any impediment they might oppose to his march. The night could no longer be of any advantage to him; he set out, therefore, by day, leading the governor of Zeta, with P. Atrius, who belonged to the association of Utica, his prisoners, together with some part of Juba's equipage, and a train of camels, loaded with plunder which he had taken in the place he had recently surprised.

The enemy were by this time apprised of his motions. Scipio was come out of his lines; and, not far from Cæsar's route, had posted himself in order of battle. Labienus and Afranius, with a great power of cavalry and light infantry, had taken possession of some heights under which he was to pass, and were preparing to attack him on his flanks, and on his rear. Cæsar was aware of these difficulties; it was nevertheless necessary to encounter them. He trusted, that the head of his column might force its way; and he placed his whole cavalry to cover the rear of his march. When he came abreast of the enemy, being assailed, as usual, by the African cavalry with peculiar efforts of agility and cunning, he made a halt: and in order, by some great exertion, if possible, to clear his way, and procure to his own people some respite in pursuing the remainder of their march undisturbed, he ordered the legions to lay down the loads which they usually carried, and to charge the enemy. They accordingly put all the Africans to flight; but no sooner resumed their march, than they were again attacked, and repeatedly forced to renew

the same operations. They had already been detained four hours in passing over a hundred paces, or less than half a quarter of a mile, from the place at which they were first attacked. The sun was setting, and the enemy were in hopes of being able to oblige them to halt, for the night, on a field which was destitute of water. Scipio, for this purpose, still kept the position which he had taken in the morning, and from thence observed, and occasionally supported, the operations of the light troops.

Cæsar perceived the danger to which he must be exposed, if he should halt on this ground, and saw the necessity of continuing his march : but observing, that as often as the cavalry in his rear was engaged, whether they repulsed or gave way to the enemy, he was obliged to halt in order to support them, or give time to recover their station, he thought proper to change his disposition, brought forward the horse to the head of his column, and substituted a chosen body of foot in the rear, who, notwithstanding an incessant discharge from the enemy, continued to move, and enabled him, though slowly, to effect his retreat with a regular and uninterrupted pace. In this manner, extricating himself from the great danger to which he had been exposed, he regained his camp, near Agar, with a very inconsiderable loss.

Having thus got possession of Zeta, a post on the flank or rear of his enemy, Cæsar formed successive designs on Vacca, Sarsura, and Tysdra, places similarly situated round the scene of the war. His design on the first of these places was prevented by the Numidians, who, having intelligence of his coming,

entered before him, and reduced the town to ashes. Both armies being in motion for some days, he forced Sarsura ; but advancing to Tysdra, with the same intention, he thought proper, upon observing the strength of the place, not to make any attempt against it; and, on the fourth day, having returned to his station near Agar, the enemy likewise resumed their former position.

While Cæsar remained at this post, he received a reinforcement of four thousand men, consisting chiefly of the sick, who had been left behind the army in Italy, and who now in health, rejoined their legions, together with a body of four hundred horse, and a thousand archers and slingers. With this accession of strength, he formed a design on Tegea, which was occupied by a detachment of the enemy, supported by the whole of their army. Being encamped at the distance of a few miles behind the town ; and having advanced on the plain, in hopes to force or surprise the place, he was observed by Labienus and Scipio, who came forward, at the same time, about four miles beyond their own station, in order to sustain their detachment. These, consisting of four hundred horse, divided themselves on the right and the left of the town ; and the main armies being formed in order of battle, with this post between them, Cæsar gave orders that the party of horse, which ventured to shew themselves without the walls of Tegea, should be attacked. The events which followed this first encounter, brought into action several detached bodies, both of horse and of foot, which were sent from the different sides to sustain the parties enga-

ged, but did not lead to any general or decisive action; and both armies retired at night to their respective lines.

In many of these partial engagements which happened in this campaign, Cæsar's cavalry gave way to that of the Africans. In one of their flights, Cæsar met an officer, who was running away with his party, and affecting to believe him under a mistake, took hold of his bridle, "You are wrong," he said, "for here is the way to the enemy." Even the legions stood greatly in awe of the Numidian irregulars, by whom they were, on many occasions, surprised with some new feat of agility or cunning; and they were considerably intimidated by the number and formidable appearance of the elephants, which they knew not how to withstand. To fortify the minds of his men, and to prepare them to meet such antagonists, Cæsar had a number of elephants brought to his camp, armed and harnessed like those of the enemy. He exercised his horses in presence of these animals, taught his men in what places to strike where the beast was vulnerable, and how to elude his fury. He likewise made some change in the usual exercise of the legion itself, such as might the better qualify his men to baffle or repel the artful and desultory attacks of the Numidians; and as he frequently employed his regular troops in foraging parties, he inured them by degrees to depart from their usual forms, without losing their courage, and to recover from any casual disorder into which they might be thrown: To show his own confidence in the superiority of his men, he frequently made an offer of battle on equal

ground ; and, in the manner that was, in their turns, common to both parties, drew a species of triumph from his enemy's declining to fight.

In these operations the campaign drew on to the middle of February, and had lasted about five months ; during this time Cæsar had surmounted very great difficulties, arising from the dispersion of his fleet, the uncertainty of his communication with Italy, and the scarcity of provisions in a country laid waste or possessed by his enemies. He was now become master of many towns on the coast, and of a considerable extent of territory ; but from the many objects which required his attention in different parts of the empire, he remained under great disadvantage in supporting a dilatory war, in which it appeared that Scipio and Labienus were resolved to persist. In order, if possible, to break their measures, he formed a design upon Thapsus, their principal garrison and sea-port on the southern boundaries of the province. With this view he decamped in the night from his station near Agar, and directing his march to the southward, arrived before Thapsus on the following day. As he had formerly, in order to secure his convoys against any attempts from this place, blocked up the harbour with his ships, he now seized all the avenues which led to the town, and invested it completely from the land.

Scipio and Juba, greatly interested to preserve a place of so much consequence to themselves, put their armies in motion, and, to counteract that of Cæsar, followed him by the route of the hills. Seeing him invest Thapsus, they took their first posts on

two separate heights, about eight miles from the town. Cæsar, with his usual industry and dispatch, executed lines both of circumvallation and of countervallation. By these lines, which were in the form of a crescent, terminating at both ends on the shore, he embraced the town, and proposed to encamp his army between them. Scipio was sufficiently acquainted with the ground, to know that there was near the harbour a narrow channel, or salt-pit, separated from the sea by a second beach or sand-bank, which it was possible the enemy might not have observed, and by which he might still have an entry to the town, or be able to throw in his succours. He therefore advanced with his whole army; and while he made a feint to interrupt Cæsar in the works he was carrying on, sent a party to occupy the sand-bank, or to throw themselves into the town of Thapsus by that communication. Cæsar, however, had already taken possession of this passage, and shut it up with three several intrenchments or redoubts, so placed as to secure it at once against any sallies from the garrison, as well as attacks from the field.

The combined army, on being thus disappointed of any communication with the town of Thapsus, remained all the day under arms, and gave the enemy an opportunity, which he often affected to desire, of terminating the war by a battle. But Cæsar, either because he had not sufficiently fortified his intrenchments to secure his rear from the town, or because he would not choose that moment to fight, when the enemy was best prepared to receive him, made no advances to engage on that day.

Scipio, remaining on the same ground all night, took his resolution to encamp, and at break of day appeared to be forming the usual intrenchments. Cæsar had then probably completed his own works; and thinking the opportunity fair, or being determined not to suffer the enemy to effect a lodgment in his presence, he made the usual signal to prepare for action; and leaving a proper force to man his own intrenchments against the town, drew out the remainder of his army to the field, ordered part of his fleet to get under sail, to turn a head-land in the rear of the enemy; and as soon as the action began in front, to alarm them with shouts, or a feint to land and to attack their rear. Having made these dispositions, he put his army in motion, and being come near enough to distinguish the posture of the enemy, observed, that their main body was already in order of battle, with the elephants disposed on the wings; and that numerous parties were still at work on the lines, within which they meant to encamp. He halted, and made a disposition suitable to that of the enemy. His centre consisted of five legions, his wings each of four; the tenth and second legions composed the right wing, the eight and ninth composed the left. Five cohorts, together with the cavalry, were selected to support the archers and slingers, that were to begin the attack by galling the enemy's elephants. Cæsar himself went round every division on foot, exhorted the veterans to be mindful of the high reputation which they had to support, and recommended to the new levies to take example from those who were already possessed of so much glory,

and who were, by long experience, instructed in the arts to be practised in a day of battle.

While Cæsar was thus employed, the legions of Scipio appeared to reel; they at one time retired behind their imperfect works, again changed their purpose, and came back to their ground. Many of Cæsar's officers, and many of the veteran soldiers, well acquainted with this sign of distraction and irresolution, called aloud for the signal of battle. But he himself, possibly to whet their ardour, as well as to keep them in breath, again and again halted the whole line.

In this situation of the two armies, Cæsar is said to have been seized with a fit of the epilepsy, to which he was subject; a disease which, although it seems to attack the seats of understanding and of sense, or suspends, for a time, the exercise of every faculty in the most alarming manner, does not appear, if this report may be credited, to effect any lasting diminution of the rational powers, nor in the intervals of fits to be inconsistent with their highest measures, and their ablest exertions. The tale, however, is not consistent with the narration of Hirtius. This historian, although he allows that the troops, in the last part of their motion to engage, acted without any orders; and while Cæsar wished them to advance more deliberately, that they forced a trumpet on the right to sound the usual charge, and that the whole line, without any other signal, overwhelmed by force all the officers who ventured to restrain them, continued to rush on the enemy: yet he observes that Cæsar, instead of being out of condition to act, took his

resolution to excite an ardour which he could not control ; and, in order that he might bring his whole army at once with united force into action, commanded all his trumpets to sound, and himself, mounting on horseback, rode up with the foremost ranks. The battle began on the right, where the enemy's elephants being galled with a shower of arrows and stones, reeled back on the troops that were posted to sustain them, trod part of the infantry under foot, and broke over the unfinished intrenchments in their rear.

The left of Scipio's army being thus routed, the main body soon after gave way ; and the whole fled to the camp which they had formerly occupied ; but, in their flight, being thrown into confusion, and separated from their officers, they arrived at the place to which they fled, without any person of rank to rally or command them. In this state of consternation they threw down their arms, and attempted to take refuge in the camp of their Numidian ally. But this being already in possession of the enemy, they continued their flight to the nearest heights ; and having already thrown away their arms, awaited their fate in a state of helpless despair. When they saw the troops that pursued them advance, they made signs of submission, and saluted the victors with a shout ; but in vain. They were instantly attacked by the victorious army of Cæsar, who, though affecting clemency on former occasions, now seemed to be actuated with a paroxysm of rage and thirst of blood ; contrary to the orders and entreaties of their general, they put the whole of this unarmed

and defenceless multitude to the sword. They are said, on this occasion, to have seized the opportunity of satiating their revenge on some of their own officers who had offended them. One was actually murdered; another being wounded, fled to Cæsar for protection; and many persons of distinction, Senators and Roman Knights, though of Cæsar's party in this contest, observing their danger, thought proper to withdraw to some place of concealment, till the present fury of the troops should abate.

In the beginning of this memorable action, the garrison of Thapsus had sallied, but was repulsed with loss. When the contest was over, Cæsar, to induce the town to surrender, displayed the trophies of victory he had gained; but had no answer. On the following day, he drew up his army under the walls of the town; and having made a speech to the legions, in which he thanked them for their good behaviour; without any reproach for the disorder and cruelty of the preceding day, he declared what were to be the rewards which he intended, at a proper time, for the veterans; and, by some immediate mark of his favour, distinguished a few who had signalized themselves. He appointed Caius Rubellius, with three legions, to continue the siege of Thapsus, and Cn. Domitius, with two others, to reduce Tysdra; and having sent forward M. Messala, with a body of horse on the road to Utica, he himself followed with the remainder of the army*.

* Hirt. de Bello Afric.

At Utica were assembled, from every part of the empire, all who were obnoxious to Cæsar, or who, from a zeal for the republic, had refused to submit to his power. On the third day after the battle of Thapsus, towards night, a person who had escaped from the field coming to Utica, this unhappy convention of citizens was struck with the greatest alarm. Under the effects of their consternation; they met in the streets, ran to the gates, and again returned to their habitations. They crowded together in the public places, and separated by turns, and passed the night in extreme perplexity. Cato represented to them, that the accounts they received might be exaggerated, and endeavoured to compose their fears. As soon as it was day he called them together, and laid before them a state of the place, of the works, military stores, provisions, arms, and numbers of men; and having commended the zeal which they had hitherto shown in defence of the republic, exhorted them now to make the proper use of the means they still had of defending themselves, or at least of making their peace in a body: declared, that if they were inclined to submit to the victor, he should impute their conduct to necessity; but if they were determined to resist, he should reserve his sword for the last stake of the republic, and share with them in the consequences of a resolution, which he should love and admire. He contended, that they were now to consider themselves as assembled, not in Utica, but in Rome; “ That the force of the republic was yet very great, “ and might still, as on former occasions, rise again

“ from its ruins; that the forces of Cæsar must still
“ be distracted or separated, to make head against
“ enemies who were appearing in different parts of
“ the empire; that in Spain his own army had de-
“ serted from him, and the whole province had de-
“ clared for the sons of Pompey; that Rome, the
“ head of the commonwealth, was yet erect, and
“ would not bend under the yoke of a tyrant; that
“ his enemies were multiplying while he seemed to
“ destroy them, that his own example should in-
“ struct them; or rather, that the courage which
“ he exerted in the paths of guilt and of infamy,
“ should animate those who were either about to
“ die with honour, or to secure for their country
“ blessings in which they themselves were to share.”

At this assembly, a resolution was accordingly taken to defend the city of Utica, and numbers of slaves, who were set free by their masters for this purpose, were armed and enrolled. But it soon appeared, that the assembly consisted of persons unable to persist in this resolution, and who were preparing separately to merit the favour of the conqueror by an entire and early submission. They soon made a general profession of this design, expressed their veneration of Cato, but confessed, that they were not qualified to act with him in so arduous a scene; assured him, that if they were permitted to send a message to Cæsar, the first object of it should be to intercede for his safety; and that, if they could not obtain it, they should accept of no quarter for themselves. Cato no longer opposed their intentions; but said, that he himself must not be included in

their treaty; that he knew not of any right Cæsar had to dispose of his person; that what had hitherto happened in the war only served to convict Cæsar of designs which were often imputed to him, and which he always denied. He will now, at least; own, he said, that his opponents were not mistaken in the suspicions they suggested against him.

While matters were in this state, a party of Scipio's horse, which had escaped from the field of battle, appeared at the gates of the town, and were with difficulty, by Cato's entreaties, diverted from a frantic resolution, of putting every Roman citizen, who offered to submit to Cæsar, as well as the inhabitants of the place, to the sword. Being dissuaded from this act of violence, and furnished with some money for their immediate subsistence, they continued their retreat. Most of the Senators, who were present, took shipping, and escaped. Lucius Cæsar undertook to carry to his kinsman a petition from such of the Roman citizens as remained; and said to Cato, at parting, that he would gladly fall at the victor's feet to make *his* peace. To which Cato answered, "If I were disposed to make my peace with Cæsar, I should repair to him in person; but I have done him no wrong; I am not an object of his pardon, and shall not request what it were insolence in him to offer me as a favour." He, however, on this occasion, observed to his own son, that it would not become him to leave his father. "At a fit time," he said, "you will put yourself on the victor's mercy, but do not take part in public affairs; the times do not afford a station in which

“ it would be proper for you to act.” “ And why,” said the young man, “ will you not take the benefit of the victor’s clemency for yourself, as well as for me?” “ I was born to freedom,” he said, “ and cannot, in my old age, be reconciled to servitude. For you these times were destined ; and it may become you to submit to your fate.” Having passed the day in aiding his friends to procure the means of their escape, he went to the bath, and supped as usual, without any marks of dejection or affectation of ease ; and being retired to his chamber, after some time which he employed in reading, he killed himself. His attendants, upon hearing a noise which alarmed them, burst open the door, and would have dressed the wound, but he tore it up with his own hands, and expired in making this effort *. Every one, through the day, had been anxious to know what was the design which Cato covered under the appearance of so much concern for others, and of so little care for himself. On the first report of his death, multitudes crowded to the door of his quarters, and gave the most unfeigned demonstrations of dejection and sorrow. The colony of Utica, though originally hostile to his cause, and still in the interest of Cæsar, ordered a public funeral, and erected his statue in the place of interment.

Cato died in the vigour of life, under fifty : he was naturally warm and affectionate in his temper ; and, according to his poetic encomiast †, compre-

* Dio. Cass. Appian. Plutarch. Hirtius de Bello Africano.

† Non sibi sed toto genitum, se credere mundo.

hensive, impartial, and a citizen of the world. But his country, his friend, and those who were placed within his reach, formed that world to him, in which he was to take an effective part. He professed to believe, with the sect whose tenets he embraced, that it might or might not, in particular circumstances, be expedient for a man to preserve or lay down his life; but that, while he kept it, the only good or evil incident to him consisted in the part which he took, as a friend or an enemy to those with whom he was connected. He had long foreseen the dangers to which the republic was exposed, and determined to live only while he could counteract the designs that were formed against it *. The leader of the successful party thought proper to apologize for himself, by decrying the virtues of Cato; but the bulk of mankind, in his own and the subsequent ages, were equally pleased to extol them; and he has given the rare example of a merit, which received its praise even amidst the adulation that was paid to his enemies †; and was thought, by the impartial, equally above the reach of commendation or of censure ‡.

* Sed vere laudari ille vir non potest, nisi hæc ornata sunt; quod ille ea, quæ nunc sunt, et futura viderit, et ne fierent contenderit, et facta ne videret, vitam reliquerit. Cicer. ad Att. lib. xii, ep. 4.

† See the writings of Virgil and Horace.

‡ Cujus gloriæ neque profuit quisquam laudando, nec vituperando quisquam necavit, quæ utrumque summis præditi fecerint ingenia. Frag. Livii ex Hieronym. Prolog. lib. xi, in Oseam.

CHAP. XXIX.

Arrival of Cæsar at Utica.—Wreck of the republican party.—Servility of the Roman people.—Magnificence and administration of Cæsar.—His last campaign in Spain.—Death of the elder of Pompey's sons.—Cæsar's return, triumphs, honours, and policy in the state.—Spirit of the times.—Source of the conspiracy against Cæsar.—Its progress.—Death of Cæsar.

WHEN Cæsar was informed, on his march from Thapsus, that of all the principal men of the opposite party, Cato alone remained at Utica to receive him, he was at a loss to interpret his conduct, and possibly might have found it difficult to determine how he should deal with an antagonist, whom he neither could reconcile to his usurpation, nor treat as a criminal. The character of generosity towards his enemies, which Cæsar had assumed, laid him under some obligation, in point of consistency, to treat the person of Cato with respect; and the opportunity he would have had, in that instance, of exercising his clemency with so much lustre, could not have escaped him. In the busiest scene of his life he had not any party object, nor any party quarrel to maintain; he had repeatedly sacrificed personal animosity to ambition; and when he took the field against the republic, he had few private resentments to gratify: he knew that an affectation of reluctance

in shedding the blood of Roman citizens, the reverse of what remained so much an object of horror in the memory of Sylla, was the likeliest means to palliate the effects of this destructive war, and to reconcile the people to his usurpation. In the bulk of his fellow-citizens he had found either a mere rubbish to be removed from the way of his ambition, or tools with which he might work in removing it; they were either the dupes of his policy, or open to the imputations of sinister designs or unreasonable obstinacy which he cast on his opponents. In Cato, perhaps, alone, he found a measure of estimation, which, with all his abilities and prosperous fortune, he could not pretend to slight, and a penetration, which, without any management for his person, had ever treated his intrigues as a system of villainy devised for the ruin of the commonwealth. Cato therefore alone, of all his antagonists, he possibly hated beyond the possibility of reconciliation *.

Caesar was in reality, according to the representation of his friend Curio, neither sanguinary nor scrupulous of blood, but in the highest degree indifferent to both, and ever ready to do whatever was most likely to promote his own designs. As he had already sufficiently provided for the reputation of clemency, he now made a freer use of his sword, and in proportion as he approached to the end of the war, or saw the means of extirpating those who were most likely to withstand his pretensions, he dipped his hands with less scruple in the blood of

* Et cuncta terrarum subacta præter atrocem animum Catonis.

his enemies. As he pursued Pompey into Egypt, under a decided impression that the death of this rival was material to the establishment of his power in Italy, so it is likely that he now hastened to Utica as a place at which he might crush the remains of a republican spirit in the empire. On hearing of the death of Cato, however, he made use of an expression which served either to discover the resolution he had taken with respect to him, or to preserve the aspect of generosity at no expence. "I must be allowed," he said, "to envy this man the splendour of his death, as he has refused me the honour of preserving his life." Having passed through Uzita and Adrumetam, which surrendered to him on his march, and being met by numbers who came to make their submission, he arrived at Utica in the evening, and continued all night without the gates.

Marcus Messala had already taken possession of the town. Cæsar himself entered on the following day; and having ordered the people to attend him, made a speech, in which he thanked the colony of Utica for their faithful attachment to his cause; but spoke of the Roman citizens*, who had been assembled at this place, and contributed to support the war against him, in terms which sufficiently shewed that he was no longer to court the reputation of mercy. Appian says, that as many of them as fell into his hands were by his order put to death. Hirtius relates, that he only confiscated their effects, and that this sentence was afterwards changed into a li-

* Those who were with Cato assumed the character of Roman Senate at Utica.

mitted fine, amounting in all to two hundred thousand sesteria, or about a million and a half sterling, to be paid in three years, at six separate payments.

From this general wreck of the republican party in Africa, the leaders continued their flight in different directions. Many who surrendered themselves were spared; but most of those, who, in their attempts to escape, fell into the enemy's hands, either killed themselves, or by Cæsar's orders were put to death*. Afranius and Faustus Sylla, having joined a party of cavalry that fled by Utica from the field of battle, were intercepted by Silius, and defending themselves, with the loss of many of their party, were taken. In a few days after this event, these prisoners, under pretence of a riot in the camp, were put to death.

Scipio, with Damasippus, Torquatus, and Plætorius Rustianus, endeavoured to escape by sea into Spain. After being tossed some days with contrary winds, they ventured to put into Hippo, on the coast of Numidia, where they met with a squadron of Cæsar's fleet, commanded by Silius. Their vessel being boarded, they were asked with impatience, Where is the general? Scipio himself made answer, *The general is well*; and in uttering these words stabbed himself, and went headlong into the sea.

Juba, with Petreius, having escaped from the field of battle at Thapsus, lay concealed by day, and continued their flight in the night towards Zama, a place which, at the breaking out of the war, the king of Numidia had fortified, and made the residence of his women and the repository of his treasure and

* Dio. Cass. lib. xliiii, c. 12. Appian. de Bello Civile, lib. ii. Florus. Eutropius. Hirtius.

most valuable effects. He knew that if he should be taken captive by a Roman general, the consequence was being led in triumph, and possibly afterwards put to death. He had therefore provided this retreat in case of an unfortunate issue to the war; intending it merely as a place at which he might die in state. With this intention he had raised, near to the royal palace, a pile of wood on which he meant to consume whatever could mark or adorn the victor's triumph; and it was his purpose, while he set these materials, and with them the whole city on fire, to commit himself and his women to the flames.

The inhabitants of Zama had some intimation of this design, and, upon the approach of the king, unwilling to have the exit of a vanquished prince celebrated in their city by such an offering, shut their gates and refused him admittance. They likewise had the humanity to refuse delivering the women into his hands, under an apprehension that he meant they should be a sacrifice to his jealousy, or be involved in his ruin.

Juba finding himself thus disobeyed, even by his own subjects, retired to one of his country seats; and having ordered a splendid entertainment, at the close of it he and Petreus fell together by their own swords. The kingdom of Numidia was converted into a Roman province, and the government of it was committed to Sallust the historian. The son of the king, yet an infant, was reserved to make a part in the procession of the victor's triumph*. The fur-

* Plut. in Cas.

niture and ornaments of his palaces being sold, produced a considerable sum of money. Great contributions were raised, at the same time, in those parts of Africa which had been already reduced to the condition of a Roman province. The inhabitants of Thapsus were made to pay fifty thousand Roman sestertia *; those of Adrumetum, eighty thousand; those of Leptis and Tyadra paid the quotas exacted from them in corn and oil.

Cæsar having, in this manner, closed a scene in which he had destroyed fifty thousand of his opponents, who might be supposed to be the most obstinate adherents of the republican party, and having joined to the empire a territory, which, by the report afterwards made in the assembly of the people, was fitted to yield an annual tribute of three hundred thousand medimni of grain, and three hundred thousand weight of oil †, he embarked at Utica, on the fifteenth of June, and in three days after his departure from thence, arrived in the island of Sardinia; a part of his dominions, said Cicero, as a taunt to this upstart sovereign, which he had not hitherto seen. Before his departure from Africa, he had made the necessary arrangements respecting the army; and, although he had recently availed himself of the services of the legions who had mutinied in Italy, and seemed to have forgotten their offence, yet he took the benefit of the present prosperous state of his affairs to indulge his resentment; and that they might not communicate with other

* About L. 400,000.

† Plut. in Cæsar.

factionous spirits in the empire, have leisure to overrate their own services, or to set an example to the rest of the army of exorbitant demands, he ordered them to be broke and disbanded in Africa. The remainder of the troops who had given him the victory in that country, he ordered, after receiving the necessary refreshments, to proceed in the voyage to Spain, where he still had, from the sons and adherents of Pompey, some resistance to apprehend.

Leaving the army therefore to pursue this course, Cæsar himself took shipping again in the island of Sardinia on the twenty-ninth of June; and, being some time detained by contrary winds, arrived at Rome on the twenty-sixth of the following month*; having, since the time of his departure from Italy, on the expedition to Africa, in which he had so many difficulties to surmount, spent no more than six months.

The news of Cæsar's victory had been some time received. The principal supports of the republic had fallen at Thapsus and at Pharsalia; and as the sons of Pompey, though favourably received by their late father's adherents in Spain, were not yet supposed to be in condition to resist the victor, the revolution in his favour seemed to be complete, and every part of the Roman empire subjected to his power. Nothing now remained but that he should take possession of that sovereignty to which he aspired, and in which, it soon after appeared, that to him there was a charm, even in the flattery of the obsequious, as well as in the possession of power.

* Hirt. de Bello Afr. c. 86.

Whatever distress the surviving members of the commonwealth may have suffered on the loss of their relations and friends, who had fallen in the late bloody contentions, or whatever mortification they may have felt on the loss of their own political importance, as partners in the empire of the world, no symptoms of aversion, or unwilling submission, appeared on the part of the people; all orders of men hastened to pay their court to the victor, and, by their servile adulations, to anticipate the state of degradation into which they were themselves soon to be reduced.

In the name of the Senate and People, a continual thanksgiving of forty days was decreed for the late victory at Thapsus. The power of Dictator was conferred on Cæsar for ten years, and that of Censor, which gave the supreme disposal of honours and rank in the commonwealth, and which, on account of the abuse to which it was subject, had been some time discontinued, was now, under a new title, that of Inspector of Manners*, restored in his person. At the same time the nomination of some of the officers of state, formerly elected by the people, was committed to him. He was, in the exercise of these powers, to be preceded by seventy-two Lictors, triple the number even of those who used to attend the Dictators, and he was to enjoy, for life, many of the inferior prerogatives, which, under the republic, served to distinguish the first officers of state; such as that of giving the signals for the horses to start, or

* Præfectus Morum.

for the other sports to begin at the games of the Circus; and that of delivering his opinion before any one else in the Senate. It was likewise ordered, that he should have in that assembly a gilded chair of state, placed next to that of the Consul; and, as if it were intended to join ridicule with these extraordinary honours, it was decreed, that as the conqueror of Gaul, in his triumphs he should be drawn by white horses, to put him on a foot of equality with Camillus, to whom this distinction had been given, as the restorer of his country from its destruction by the ancestors of that nation; that the name of Catulus should be erased from the Capitol, and his own be inserted, as the person who had rebuilt that temple and citadel of Rome; that a car, like that of Jupiter, should be placed for him in the same temple, and near to the statue of the god himself; and that his own statue, with the title of a demi-god, should be erected on a globe representing the earth.

It is said that Cæsar refused many of the honours which were decreed to him; but in these, which he no doubt encouraged, or favourably received, he sufficiently betrayed a vanity, which but rarely accompanies such a distinguished superiority of understanding and vigour of mind. Though in respect to the ability with which he rendered men subservient to his purpose; in respect to the choice of means for the attainment of his end; in respect to the plan and execution of his designs, he was far above even those who are eminent in the history of mankind; yet in respect to the end which he pursued, in respect to the passions he had to gratify, he

was one merely of the vulgar, and condescended to be vain of titles and honours which he himself had extorted by force, and which he has shared with persons of the meanest capacity. Insensible to the honour of being deemed the equal in rank to Cato and Catulus, to Hortensius and Cicero, and the equal in reputation to Sylla, to Fabius, and to the Scipios, he preferred being a superior among profligate men, the leader among soldiers of fortune, and to procure by force from his fellow-citizens a deference which his wonderful abilities must of themselves have made unavoidable, and still more if he had possessed the magnanimity to despise it.

Cæsar, soon after the distinctions now mentioned were bestowed upon him, addressed himself to the Roman Senate and People, in a speech which, being supposed to proceed from a master, was full of condescension and lenity, but, from a fellow-citizen, was marked with insult and contumely. A speech delivered on so remarkable an occasion was likely to be in substance preserved; and under the government of his successors, by whom he was ever styled the *divine* Julius*, or numbered with the gods, it was not likely to get abroad but with a view to do him honour. "Let no man," he said, "imagine, that, under the favour of my exalted situation, I am now to indulge myself in acts, or even in expressions of severity; or that I am to follow the example of Marius, of Cinna, of Sylla, or of most others, who, having subdued their enemies, dropt,

* *Divus Julius.*

“ in the height of their fortune, that character of
 “ moderation under which they had formerly en-
 “ ticed men to their party. I have appeared all a-
 “ long in my genuine character, and now, in the
 “ height of my power, have no change to make in
 “ my conduct *. The more my fortunes advance,
 “ the more I will endeavour to use them properly.
 “ My sole object, while I endeavoured to rise above
 “ my enemies, was to secure for myself a situation
 “ in which I might exercise virtue with dignity and
 “ safety ; and I shall not now imitate the examples
 “ which I myself have so often condemned, nor sully
 “ the splendour of my victories by an illiberal use of
 “ my power.

“ As the favours of fortune are won by vigour, so
 “ they are preserved by moderation, and should be
 “ most carefully preserved by those who enjoy the
 “ greatest share of them. I covet sincere affection
 “ and genuine praise ; not the adulation that springs
 “ from fear, and is the disguise of hatred. These
 “ are my serious thoughts, confirmed on reflection ;
 “ and you shall find me governed by them in all the
 “ actions of my life. I do not mean to be your lord
 “ or your tyrant, but your chief and your leader.
 “ When the State has occasion for my authority, you
 “ shall find in me a Dictator and a Consul ; but on
 “ ordinary occasions, no more than a private man †.

“ I have spared many who were repeatedly in arms
 “ against me, I have shut my ears to informations
 “ of the hidden designs of other, and have destroy-

* Dio. Cass. lib. xliii, c. 15, &c.

† Ibid.

“ ed all letters and papers which could lead to a de-
“ tection of my secret enemies. To most of you I
“ can have no resentment ; and I do not incline to
“ raise prosecutions even against those who may
“ think they have incurred my displeasure. Live,
“ therefore, with me from this time forward in con-
“ fidence, as children with their father. I reserve
“ to myself the power of punishing the guilty, as far
“ as justice requires ; but will protect the innocent,
“ and reward the deserving.

“ Let not these appearances of military force a-
“ harm you. The troops which are quartered in the
“ city, and which attend my person, are destined to
“ defend, not to oppress the citizens ; and these
“ troops I trust know, upon every occasion, the li-
“ mits of their duty.

“ Uncommon taxes have lately been levied in the
“ provinces and in Italy, but not for my private use.
“ I have in reality expended my own fortune, and
“ contracted immoderate debts in the public ser-
“ vice ; and, while I myself have borne so great a
“ part of the burden, am likewise made to bear
“ the blame of what others have imposed.” He
concluded with assurances, that the arrears which
were due to the legions, and the other debts of the
public *, should be paid with the least possible in-
convenience to the People.

In this speech was conveyed, not the indignant
and menacing spirit of Sylla, who despised the very
power of which he was himself possessed ; but the

* Dio. Cass. lib. xliii, c. 15, &c.

conscious state and reflecting condescension of a prince who admired and wished to recommend his own greatness. The Roman People, in former instances of usurpation, had experienced sanguinary and violent treatment, and they now seemed to bear with indifference the entire suppression of their political rights, when executed by hands that refrained from proscriptions and murders. But as Cæsar seemed to think his present elevation the highest object of human wishes, there were some who, although now silent, thought their own present subjection the lowest state of degradation and misery. "What should I do in such times?" says Cicero to his correspondent, "books cannot always amuse me. I go into any company, affect to be noisy, and laugh, to conceal my sorrow*."

The populace were gratified with shows, processions, and feasts, and with the bounties which they received in money. Cæsar had four separate triumphs in one month. The first for his conquest of Gaul, at which Vercingetorix, the prince of the Arverni, by a custom cruel and odious in all its parts, was led in chains, and afterwards put to death. The second for his victory in Egypt, at which Arsinoë, the sister of the queen, was exhibited in fetters, and by her youth and beauty excited a general compassion, which preserved her life. A third for the defeat of Pharnaces, where the trophies, as has already been mentioned, were marked with the words, *I*

* Cic. ad Familiar. lib. ix, ep. 26. Miraris, tam exhilaratam esse servitutem nostram. Quid ergo faciam?—ibi loquor quod in solum ut dicitur, et gemitum in risus maximos transfero.

came, *I sæv, I vanquished*. The last for the overthrow of the king of Numidia, in which the infant son of that prince was carried in procession. This captive having received a literary education at Rome, became afterwards, according to Plutarch, an historian of eminence*.

Although triumphs were not to be obtained for the defeat of fellow-citizens, and nothing in these processions had a reference to Pompey, yet the effigies of many considerable Senators, who had fallen in the civil war, were carried before the victor's chariot.

In these processions, Cæsar is said to have carried to the treasury, in all sixty thousand talents in money †; two thousand eight hundred and twenty-two chaplets or crowns of gold, weighing twenty thousand four hundred and fourteen pounds ‡. He at the same time distributed to each private man of the army, five thousand denarii or drachmas, about one hundred and sixty-one pounds sterling; to each Centurion double: to the Tribune, quadruple: to the People, an Attic mina of an hundred drachmas, or about three pounds four shillings and sevenpence a man §.

The soldiers who walked in these processions, in chanting their ballads and lampoons, took the usual petulant liberties with their leader, alluded to the disorders of his youth and to the crimes of his age; and shewed that they were not deceived by the professions which he made of a zeal for the liberties of

* Plut. in Cæs. Dio. Cass. † About L. 10,000,000.

‡ The Roman pondo consisted of ten ounces, about L. 800,000.

§ Appian. Sueton.

the people. "If you observe the laws," they said, "you shall be punished; but if you boldly transgress them all, a crown is your reward." These appearances of freedom in the troops, perhaps flattered the People with some image of the ancient familiarity of ranks which subsisted in times of the republic; but the licence of mere soldiers of fortune brings too often the reverse of freedom to the People; and in whatever degree the inhabitants of Rome were qualified to judge of their own situation, it is likely that the pageants, which now entertained them, were part of the means which Cæsar employed to reconcile them to his usurpation, and to divert their thoughts from the subversion of every privilege they had derived from their ancestors. Farther to secure these effects, he continued to multiply shows and public diversions. He himself, at the close of his triumphs, walked in procession to celebrate the opening of magnificent edifices he had built, and in his return at night from this ceremony, attended by multitudes of the People, was lighted by torches borne on elephants*. At the same time he erected theatres, and exhibited dramatic performances in different parts of the city, and amply indulged the taste of the populace for entertainments of every sort. He introduced not only gladiators to fight in single combat, but parties on foot and on horseback to engage in considerable numbers on opposite sides, and in respect to the actual effusion of blood, to furnish no mean representation of war. Among these, he

* Dio. Cass. Suetonius.

shewed the manner of fighting from elephants, having forty of these animals properly mounted, and the manner likewise of fighting at sea, having vessels on a piece of water which was formed for the purpose. In most of these battles, the parties engaged, being captives or malefactors otherwise condemned to die, but now armed against one another with promise of life to the victor, gave a serious exhibition of the utmost efforts they could make for mutual destruction.

Among the other articles of show and expence which composed the magnificence of these entertainments, are mentioned the blinds or awnings of silk, a material then of the highest price, which were spread over the public theatres to shade the spectators from the sun, and to enable them undisturbed, from under these delicate coverings, to enjoy the sights of bloodshed and horror which were presented before them. Two human sacrifices, we are told, were at the same time offered up in the field of Mars, by priests specially named for this service. Of this shocking exhibition, the historian does not explain the occasion *. The whole was attended by a feast, to which the People were invited, and at which twenty thousand benches or couches were placed for these numerous guests †. So great was the concourse from the country to this entertainment, that multitudes lay in the streets, or lodged in booths erected for the occasion. Many were trampled under foot, and killed in the crowds. Among those

* Dio. Cass. lib. xliii, c. 24.

† Plut. in Cæsar.

who perished in this manner, two Roman Senators are mentioned.

This method of gaining the people by flattering their disposition to dissipation and idleness, was already familiar at Rome. It had been employed under the republic in procuring favour, and in purchasing votes by those who aspired to the offices of state. It was now extended by Cæsar to effect the revolution he had in view, and to reconcile the populace of Rome, who had for some time governed the empire, to the loss of their political consequence, in being deprived of a power which they were indeed for a considerable period unworthy to hold. It is probable, that the arms of Cæsar were not more successful in subduing those who opposed him in the field, than these popular arts were in gaining the consent of his subjects to the dominion he was about to assume.

From this time forward, this successful adventurer took upon himself all the functions of government, and while he suffered the forms of a Senate and popular assemblies to remain, availed himself of their name and authority, without consulting with either, affixing, without their knowledge, and without scruple, the superscription of particular Senators to the decrees or edicts, which he sent abroad into the provinces*. “My name,” says Cicero, “is often prefixed to public deeds which are sent abroad, as having been moved or drawn up by me, and

* It is well known, that the *Senatûs Consulta* bore the names of the Senators by whom they were proposed.

“ which come back from Armenia or Syria as mine,
 “ before I have ever heard of them at Rome. Do
 “ not imagine I am in jest ; for I have letters from
 “ persons, whose names I never heard of before,
 “ thanking me for the honour I have done them in
 “ bestowing the title of king *.”

Equally absolute in the city as in the provinces, Cæsar placed whomsoever he thought proper on the rolls of the Senate; and, without regard to birth, declared some to be of Patrician rank. He recalled some who had been driven into exile for illegal practices, and reinstated in their ranks many whom the Censors had degraded †. In all the elections, he named half the magistrates, or in a mandate, addressed to the Tribes, took upon himself to direct the People whom they were to choose ‡. In the exercise of so much power, he became reserved and difficult of access, familiar only with persons whom he himself had raised, and who had talents amusing or serviceable, without any pretensions to alarm his

* Ante audio Senatûs consultum in Armeniam et Syriam esse perlatum, quod in meam sententiam factum esse dicatur, quam omnino mentionem ullam de ea re esse factam. Atque hoc nolim me jocare putes, nam mihi scito jam, a regibus ultimis allatas esse literas, quibus mihi gratias agant, quod se mea sententia reges appellaverim; quos ego non modo reges appellatos, sed omnino natos nesciebam. Cicero ad Familiares, lib. ix, ep. 15.

† At this time, he with much difficulty was persuaded, at the intercession of the Senate, to permit the return of Caius Marcellus, who at Athens, on his way into Italy, was, upon motives which have not been explained, assassinated by one of his own attendants. This Marcellus was Consul, U. C. 709.

The words of Cæsar's mandate were, “ Cæsar Dictator tribui, &c. &c. “ commendo vobis illum, &c. &c. ut vestro suffragio suam dignitatem teneat.” Sueton. in Cæsa.

jealousy *. Nevertheless, if the Romans could have overlooked what was offensive in his manner, or illegal in the powers which he had thus usurped, many of his acts were in themselves, as might have been expected from so able a personage, worthy of a great prince, and tending to reform abuses, as well as to facilitate the summary proceedings of the despotical power he had assumed.

Among the first acts of this reign, the law of Sylla, by which the children of the proscribed had been excluded from holding any office in the state, was repealed. The judiciary law, which had undergone so many alterations, and which, in its latest form, admitted some of the inferior class of the People † on the roll of the judges or jurymen, was now reformed, so as to limit the exercise of the judicature to the Senators and Knights. A scrutiny was made into the titles of those who had been in the practice to receive corn at the public granaries, and their numbers were greatly reduced ‡. Of the companies which had been multiplied for factious purposes, many were abolished, and the original corporations of the city alone were permitted to remain. Many

* Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. iv, ep. 9. lb. lib. vi, ep. 14.

† The Tribuni Aërarii.

‡ The leaders of faction under the republic, and no one probably more than Cæsar himself, in order to increase the numbers of their partisans, had augmented this list, and it was undoubtedly become a great abuse. Dion Cassius says, it was at this time reduced by Cæsar to one-half. Suetonius specifies the numbers from three hundred and twenty thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand. Plutarch and Appian state the reduction, so as to be understood of the numbers of the whole people in comparing the muster taken before the civil war with the one now made.

punishments, for the better restraining of crimes, were increased. To the ordinary punishment of murder, was joined the confiscation of the whole estate of the murderer; to that of some other crimes, the confiscation of one half. The kalendar was reformed upon the principles established by the Egyptian astronomers. The reckoning by lunar months, and the use of irregular intercalations, which had been frequently made for party and political purposes, had so deranged the terms, that the festivals to be observed by reapers did not happen in summer, or those of the vintage in autumn. To restore them therefore to their proper dates in the kalendar, no less than an intercalation of sixty-seven days, or above two months, was required. This intercalation was made in the present year, between the months of November and December, so that the name of December was transferred from the time of the autumnal Equinox, to that, where it still remains, of the winter solstice.

Under the government of Cæsar, from whom little severity of manners was to be expected, sumptuary laws were framed to restrain the expence of the table; and he himself expressed great zeal to correct the abuse which prevailed in this article. Being sensible that Italy was greatly depopulated by the distractions of the commonwealth, and by the devastations of the late civil war, he took measures to restore the numbers of the people, both by detaining the natives of Italy at home, and by inviting foreigners to settle. He gave premiums to those who had families, as if any premium could compen-

sate the want of that domestic security and freedom which render the establishment of a family the principal charm of human life. This charm, indeed, his project of dominion was likely to mar, and the natural substitutes with him were pains and restraints; and of this kind, he ordered, that no citizen above twenty nor under ten, except belonging to the army, should remain out of Italy above three years at a time; and that the sons of Senators, except in the family or retinue of public officers, should not go abroad; that all landholders in Italy should employ no less than one-third freemen on their lands; that all practitioners of liberal arts, particularly foreign physicians settling at Rome, should be admitted on the rolls of the People; and at the same time he extended the privilege of Romans to whole cities and provinces in different parts of the empire*; by these means seeming to increase the number of citizens, or at least the number of those who were to bear this title. Sensible that he himself had become dangerous to the republic, by having his power as a provincial officer improperly prolonged, he took measures to prevent a similar danger to the government, of which he himself had now acquired the possession, limiting the duration of command in the provinces, if with the title of *Proprætor*, to one year, or with that of *Proconsul*, to two years; a regulation, in which he shewed how well he understood the nature of the ladder by which he himself had mounted to his present elevation, and how much

* Dio. Cass. Sueton. Appian.

he desired to withhold the use of it from any one else who might be disposed to tread in his steps, or to dispute his own continuance in the height he had gained.

While this successful adventurer, on a supposition that all government had devolved on himself, was providing for the security of his power, and on a supposition that he had no enemy left in the field, or that the remains of the adverse party in the provinces might be extinguished by his officers, was betaking himself to civil affairs and to popular arts, he had reports from Spain which convinced him, that his own presence might still be necessary to repress a party, which began in that country to resume its vigour under the sons of Pompey. He had sent Didius, with the fleet and army, from Sardinia, to secure the possession of Spain; but this service was found to be more difficult than was at first apprehended. He himself had, in appearance, upon the defeat of Afranius and Petreius, reduced this province; but many humours had broke out in it, while he was afterwards so much occupied in other parts of the empire. Even the troops of that country which had joined his standard, mutinied, or, during the uncertain state of his fortunes in Thessaly and Egypt, became refractory to the orders of his officers; and though, upon the death of Cassius Longinus, and the succession of Trebonius, their discipline was in appearance restored, yet consciousness of the heinous offence they had committed against the victor, made them doubt of his forgiveness; and joined with the inclination and respect which they yet en-

tertaind for the family of his rival, determind them to take part against him. They had open'd a secret correspondence with Scipio, while he was yet at the head of a powerful army in Africa, and encourag'd him to send a proper officer into Spain, to take the command of such forces as could be rais'd in the province.

The person sent for this purpose was the eldest of the two sons of Pompey, who, in his way, put into the island of Majorca, and was there detain'd by sickness, or remain'd some time in expectation that he might prevail on the natives to espouse his cause. The troops on the continent of Spain, in the mean time, even before the young Pompey arriv'd to take the command of them, had declar'd themselves openly against Cæsar, and eras'd his name from their bucklers. They oblig'd his lieutenant Trebonius to fly from their quarters, and own'd T. Quintus Scapula and Q. Apronius for their generals.

In this posture of affairs young Pompey arriv'd in Spain, put himself at the head of this army, and either receiv'd or forc'd the submission of the principal towns. He was likewise strengthen'd by the accession of all the Roman settlers in the province who retain'd any zeal for the republic, and by the remains of former armies who had been levied by his father, especially such of that army which had serv'd under Afranius on the Segra as were left in Spain; and by many officers of rank, who, having escap'd from Thessaly or Africa upon the late calamities of their party, had taken refuge in this country. Among these, Labienus and Varus, with as many as

could be saved from the massacre at Thapsus, were assembling anew under the memorable, though unfortunate standard of Pompey. The two brothers, Cnæus and Sextus, were joined together; and supported by the name of their father, which was still in high veneration, had assembled thirteen legions. Among these were two legions of native Spaniards, who had deserted from Trebonius; one that was raised from the Roman colonists in Spain; and a fourth, which had arrived from Africa with the elder of the two brothers*.

Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Pedius or Didius †, the officers of Cæsar, being unable to contend for possession of the province, remained on the defensive, and by the reports which they made to their commander, represented the necessity of his own presence for its entire recovery.

The continuance of the dictatorial power in Cæsar's person, had superseded the usual succession in the offices of State. Lepidus still remained in his station of general of horse; and, with a council of six or nine Præfects being left to command at Rome, Cæsar himself set out in the autumn for Spain. He ordered troops from Italy to reinforce those already employed in this service, and, in twenty-seven days after his departure from Rome, arrived at Saguntum ‡.

Upon the news of Cæsar's approach, Cnæus Pompeius had assembled all his force on the Bœtis, now

* Hirtius de Bell. Hisp. † Dio. Cass. *ibid.* c. 81.

‡ App. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii, or, as Strabo writes, at Obulio, lib. iii, p. 160.

the Guadalquivir, posted his brother Sextus with a proper garrison at Corduba, and himself endeavoured to reduce Ulia, a town which still held out against him in that neighbourhood. Cæsar's first object, upon his arrival in Spain, was to preserve this place from falling into the enemy's hands. For this purpose, he detached eleven cohorts under the command of L. Julius Pacitæcus, with orders, if possible, to throw themselves into the town. The night, in which they marched for this purpose, being stormy and dark, they passed the first posts of the enemy unnoticed. But approaching the walls, they were challenged by the sentries there placed by the besiegers; and the officer who led the van of Cæsar's reinforcement, having answered in a low voice, that they were a detachment ordered by Pompey to the foot of the wall in search of some entry, by which, under the cover of the night, they might surprise the garrison, they were suffered to pass; and presenting themselves at one of the gates, upon a signal that had been agreed upon, they were admitted into the town.

While Cæsar thus reinforced the garrison of Ulia, he himself, to make a diversion in their favour, marched up to Corduba, cut off a party that had been sent from thence to observe his motions, and threatened the town with a siege. Sextus, who was in the place, being alarmed, sent pressing representations to his brother, who accordingly abandoned his lines before Ulia, and marched to his relief. Both armies encamped on the Guadalquivir*. The

* The Bætia.

parties that were sent forward from each to scour the country, or to cover their respective quarters, were engaged in daily skirmishes. But the two brothers being in possession of the principal stations, and in condition to protract the war, continued to act on the defensive. Cæsar, on his part, made some movements in order to disconcert them, and to find, if possible, an opportunity of coming to action; but the country being hilly, and the towns generally built upon heights, every where furnished strong posts for the enemy, and prevented his making any progress. The winter at the same time approaching, exposed his army to considerable hardships, from a season which even there had severities, and from the scarcity of provisions. Under these disadvantages he undertook the siege of Allegua, and on the twentieth of February, after an obstinate resistance, obliged that town to surrender*.

Our accounts of these operations, which are ascribed to Hirtius, and which, with his other performances, are annexed to Cæsar's Commentaries, being less perfect than other parts of the same collection, all we can distinctly learn from them is, that after a variety of different movements, which gave rise to frequent skirmishes, the armies, in the month of March, came to encamp in the plain of Munda, about five miles from each other; that Cæsar was about to leave his station, when, in the morning of his intended departure, he had intelligence, that the

* Hirtius de Bell. Hisp.

enemy had been under arms from the middle of the preceding night, and were meditating some attempt on his camp. This intelligence was followed by the sudden appearance of their army on some elevated grounds near the town of Munda; but as they still shewed no disposition on their part to enter the plain, Cæsar, after some hesitation, advanced to attack them on the heights.

In the army of Pompey, together with the flower of a warlike people, the natives of Spain, were assembled many veterans of the Roman legions, injured to blood; many Roman citizens of rank, now pushed to despair, or warned, by the fate of their party at Thapsus, not to expect safety from the mercy of a victorious enemy, and not to have any hopes but in their swords. Under these impressions, they waited for Cæsar's approach with a proper countenance, and on the first onset repulsed and put to flight the troops by whom they were attacked. In this extremity, Cæsar ran into the ranks of his own men, said, *they were delivering him over to boys*; laid hold of a sword and a shield, and calling out that *this then should be the last day of his life, and of their services*, took a place in the ranks as a mere legionary soldier. In this manner he renewed the action, and being reduced to the necessity of animating his men with the example of his own personal valour, committed his fortune and his life to the decision of a contest, in which he acted as a legionary soldier, and in which his ability as an officer could no longer have any share; but while the event was still in suspense, Bogud, an African, commanding a body

of horse in the service of Cæsar, having made an attempt to pierce into Pompey's camp, drew Labienus from his post in the field to cover it. This error*, committed by a veteran officer in the heat of action, turned the fortune of the day against himself. The troops, who till then valiantly sustained Cæsar's attack, believing that Labienus deserted them, instantly fled in disorder. The slaughter from thenceforward, turned, as usual, entirely against those who fled. Thirty thousand fell upon the field, and among them three thousand Roman citizens of high condition, with Labienus and Attius Varus at their head. Seventeen officers of rank were taken, and thirteen Roman eagles or legionary standards.

Cæsar acknowledged, that having on other occasions fought for victory, he had now been obliged to fight for his life. He had a thousand men killed, and five hundred wounded, before the enemy gave way. Part of the vanquished army retired into the town of Munda, part into the camp, and in their respective posts prepared to defend themselves to the last extremity. Cæsar on the approach of night took possession of all the avenues by which either might escape; and it is said that the troops he employed in this service, instead of traverses of earth or stone to obstruct the highways, raised up mounds from the bodies of the dead.

Early in the morning of the following day, Cæsar, having left the town of Munda in this manner block-

* It is obvious that he ought to have left the camp and all its contents to their fate, until the principal event was decided.

ed up or invested, set out for Corduba, which Sextus, the younger of the two Pompeys, upon the news of the battle, had already abandoned.

Cnæus, on seeing the rout of his own army, fled with a small party of horse on the road to Carteia *. Here he had collected most of his shipping and naval stores; but the news of his defeat having arrived before him, the people were divided in their inclinations. Part had already sent a deputation with an offer of their services to Cæsar; part still adhered to the family of Pompey; and from these opposite dispositions had proceeded to actual violence and bloodshed in the streets. Cnæus himself was wounded in one of their scuffles, and expecting no safety in a place in which so many of the inhabitants had declared against him, took ship, and put to sea with thirty galleys. He was pursued by Didius, who commanded Cæsar's squadron at Gades; and being obliged in a few days to stop for a supply of water, of which he had been ill provided at his sudden departure from Carteia, he was overtaken, most of his ships destroyed, and he himself obliged to seek for safety on shore. Soon after his landing, he dismissed his attendants, or was deserted by them; and encountering a party of the enemy, though weakened by his wounds and loss of blood, he continued with great valour to defend himself, until he was overpowered and slain. His head, according to the barbarous custom of the times, was sent to the conqueror, and exposed at Hispalis.

* Now Gibraltar.

In the preceding operations of the war every circumstance contributed to the fall of the republic, and to the success of Cæsar. In the very outset of the contest, half the nobility, ruined by prodigality and extravagance, had been desirous of anarchy and confusion. Citizens high in civil rank, and with fortunes entire, were generally glad to forego their political importance in exchange for ease and safety, under which to enjoy the pleasure of their villas or country retreats. Even the arms which should have protected the commonwealth, were in the hands of mere soldiers of fortune, who were inclined to favour that side from which they looked for the establishment of military government; they fought to procure great power and estates for themselves, not to preserve laws which gave the security of property and the superiority of wealth to others. Many of the Senators indeed perceived the impending ruin, and were prevailed upon to make some efforts for the preservation of the State, but on most occasions too hastily despaired of the cause. It was not thought honourable or safe for a citizen to survive his freedom. Upon this principle, the friends of the republic, in considerable numbers, while they escaped from their enemies, perished by their own hands.

Soon after the action at Munda, Scapula, one of the officers lately at the head of the republican party in Spain, turned the practice of suicide into a kind of farce. Having retired to Corduba from the field of battle, he ordered a magnificent pile of wood to be raised and covered with carpets; and having given an elegant entertainment, and distributed his

money among his attendants and servants, mounted to the top of this fabric, and while one servant pierced the master with his sword, another set fire to the pile. Thus the victories of Cæsar were completed even by his enemies; and while he made a fresh step to dominion at every encounter, they who opposed him went headlong, and abandoned their country to its ruin.

The province of Spain, under a proper conduct of its force and resources, if it had not been able to stop at once the career of Cæsar's victories, was surely sufficient to have given him more trouble than any other part of the empire. Its natives, brave, and addicted to war, were inferior to the Romans only in policy and discipline. They had been averse to the party of Cæsar, and would not, even in its highest prosperity, prefer it to the cause they had originally espoused. Being mixed with the remains of Roman armies which had been broken and dispersed in the field, they still maintained every place of defence against the conqueror, and, within the walls of cities to which they retired, defended themselves to the last extremity.

Cæsar, having been employed part of the spring and the following summer in subduing this scattered enemy, prepared to leave the province. He assembled the principal inhabitants at Hispalis; and having upbraided them with their animosity to himself and the Roman people, he put them in mind of his early connection with their country, as Quæstor and as Prætor, and of his repeated good offices in the qualities of Senator and Magistrate; having

made a proper establishment for the government of the province, he set out for Italy *, and arrived at Rome in October †. There, although it was contrary to the practice of former ages to admit of triumphs where the vanquished were fellow-citizens, he took a triumph for his late victory at Munda; and the more to amuse the people, who, whatever be the occasion, are captivated with such exhibitions, he appointed separate processions on the same account, to Q. Fabius Maximus, and to Didius, who had acted under him in that service.

These triumphs, over the supposed last defenders of the public liberty, and over the perishing remains of the family of Pompey, so long respected at Rome, instead of the festivity which they were intended to inspire, were attended with many signs of dejection. But none took upon him to censure, or was qualified to stem the torrent of servility by which all orders of men were carried. The same succession of games and entertainments were ordered as in the former year. The Senate and People, indeed, had no longer any concessions to be added to those already made to the conqueror, and it was difficult to refine on the language of adulation, which they had so amply employed in former decrees; but something to distinguish the present situation of affairs, to shew the

* Antony had set out from Rome to meet Cæsar, but to the great surprise and alarm of every body, returned unexpectedly to Rome. Cicero ad Att. xii, 18.

It was known afterwards, that Antony returned under the surprise of an order given by Cæsar, to oblige him to pay for houses, &c. bought at Pompey's sale. Cicero Phil. ii, 29. Ibid. xxii, 29.

† Velleius Paterculus.

ardour of some to pay their court, and to disguise the discontent and the sorrow of others, was thought necessary on the present occasion. A thanksgiving was appointed, and ordered to continue for fifty days. The anniversary of the twentieth of April, the day on which the news of the victory at Munda was received at Rome, was ordered to be for ever celebrated with games of the circus *. Even they who felt a secret indignation at the elevation of a single person to act as lord of the commonwealth, concurred, in appearance, with these resolutions in honour of Cæsar †. They flattered themselves, that they were hastening his ruin; that in such draughts the full cup was most likely to nauseate, and provocation, when carried to extreme, might possibly excite revenge in the spirits of free men, if any yet remained.

In the concessions which were made to Cæsar, whether suggested by his friends or by his enemies, there was no attempt to preserve any appearance of the republic, or to veil the present usurpation. The Senate, in presenting their several decrees, waited upon Cæsar in a body, as subjects to acknowledge their sovereign; were received by him on his chair of state, and in all the form of a royal ceremony, stretching forth his hand to each as they approached. While he carried the external show of his elevation to this height, Pontius Aquila, one of the Tribunes, being seated in the exercise of his office, had suffered him, in one of his processions, to pass without rising from his place. This he greatly resented. "Must

* Dio. Cassius.

† Plutarch. in Cæs.

“ I,” he said to those who attended him, “ resign the government to this Tribune ?” And for some days, in granting requests or petitions, he still affected to guard his answers ironically, by saying, “ Provided that Pontius Aquila will permit *.” The Consulship was offered to him for ten years, but he declined it, as he destined this, with other titles of distinction, for the gratification of those who had served him in the war. He had assumed the title of Consul in his late triumph, but immediately after resigned it to Q. Fabius Maximus.

Such, from henceforward, was to be the manner of conferring honours under the monarchy of Rome. Hitherto, for some time back, families became noble in consequence of having had an ancestor admitted into the Senate, or in consequence of his having borne any of the higher offices of State, such as that of Consul or Prætor. And the descendants, instead of titles, recited the names of a father and grandfather who had been in these offices, and in place of ensigns armorial, erected in their halls the effigies or images of such ancestors. Cæsar, that he might have more frequent opportunities to gratify his retainers, paid no regard to the customary establishments of the Senate ; increased its numbers at pleasure, inserting in the rolls such persons as were agreeable to himself, amounting in all to about nine hundred. For the same purpose, he augmented the number of Prætors to fourteen, and that of Questors to forty ; and even, without requiring that his friends

* Sueton. in Cæs. c. 78.

should pass through these inferior offices, rewarded them at pleasure with the titular honours of Consular, Prætorian, Patrician, &c. * ; and extended his munificence likewise to the provinces, by admitting aliens separately, or in collective bodies, to the privilege or appellation of Roman citizens.

In the midst of examples, which seemed to throw a ridicule on the ancient forms of the republic, as well as to substitute a military government in their stead, Cæsar was pleased to name himself, together with Mark Antony, as Consuls for the following year. This compliment paid to the civil establishment, by condescending to bear the name of legal office, though very illegally assumed, flattered the citizens with hopes that he meant to govern under some form of a republic †. Nothing, however, followed to gratify these hopes ; the state which he affected, his dress, his laurel wreath, the very colour and height of his buskins, which was noticed, the seal which he chose to make use of, being the impression of a Venus armed, in ostentation of his supposed celestial extraction ; the numerous guards and retinue, exceeding two thousand men, with which he was constantly attended ‡ ; the satisfaction with which he seemed to receive the forced servility of those whom his sword had subdued, betrayed a mind which, though possessed of real superiority, had not sufficient elevation to disdain the false appearance of greatness.

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlii, c. 47.

† Appian.

‡ Cicer. ad Att. lib. xiii, ep. 52.

On the last day of the year, Q. Fabius Maximus, who had been a few months Consul, died before he had vacated the office ; and about noon of the same day, Cæsar, who had assembled the Tribes, ordered them to take the form of the centuries, and to elect Caninius Consul for the remainder of the year, which was only part of a day. Plutarch says, That Cicero exhorted the People to be speedy in paying their court to this new Consul : “ for this magistrate, he “ said, may be out of office, before we can reach “ him.” And Cicero himself, referring to this far-
cical election, writes in a letter to one of his friends, “ We have had a Consulate, during which no one ei-
“ ther ate or drank, and yet nothing extraordinary
“ happened ; for so great was the vigilance of this
“ magistrate, that he never slept all the time he was
“ in office. You may laugh at these things,” he says ; “ but if you were here, you would cry *.”

On the following day, Cæsar, with all the powers and ensigns of Dictator, took possession of the Consulate in conjunction with Antony. He intended, after having held this title for a few days in his own person, to resign it in favour of Dolabella, though a young man, still far short of the legal age. The execution of this intention, however, was some time delayed, at

U. C. 709.
C. J. Cæ-
sar, Dict.
4to, M. E.
Lepidus,
M. E. C.
Octavius,
Mag. Eq.
Cn. Domi-
tius Calvi-
nus in se-
quentem
annum de-
signatus
non iniit.

* Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. vii. ep. 30. Ita Caninio Consule acito, neminem prandiasse. Nihil tamen eo Consule mali factum est. Fuit enim mirifica vigilantiâ qui toto suo Consulatu somnum non viderit. Hæc tibi ridicula videntur, non enim ades. Quæ si videris lachrymas non teneres.

the request of Mark Antony, who, being jealous of Dolabella, endeavoured to obstruct his preferment.

Cæsar, now uniting in his own person all the powers of the State, whether of legislation or magistracy, passed the winter in forming projects to embellish the capital, and aggrandise the empire; and among regulations for the better government of the city, besides the sumptuary laws formerly mentioned, and now revived, respecting expence of the table, we read of his prohibiting the use of litters, of purple, and of pearls, except to persons of a certain rank, and to them only at great festivals, and on remarkable occasions. For the better execution of his regulations respecting the table, he appointed inspectors, with orders to seize all illicit articles of provision; and if any thing of this sort were known to escape in the markets, he sent officers to seize them from the very tables on which they were served. And to check the luxury of the times in other articles, he imposed duties on the importation of foreign commodities.

Under the ordinary pretence, that the laws were become too voluminous, he ordered them to be digested into a code, with a view to simplify and to reduce them into a narrower compass; in this measure attempting a reformation which mankind, in certain situations, generally wish for, but which no individual can accomplish without the exercise, and the strongest temptations to extend and to perpetuate, in himself, the possession of absolute power.

In the same spirit of despotical government, with which Cæsar abridged the laws, he acted at once as

legislator and judge. As an instance of his severity in the latter capacity, it is mentioned, that he annulled a marriage, because it had been contracted no more than two days after the woman had parted from a former husband ; and, what is more characteristic of his dangerous usurpations, that citizens were degraded, or Senators expelled, at his discretion.

His mind, at the same time, entertained projects of great variety and extent. To drain the Pontine or great marshes, which rendered the air so unhealthy, and so much land unserviceable in the neighbourhood of Rome ; to cut across the isthmus of Corinth, to erect moles, and form harbours on the coast of Italy ; to make highways across the Apennines ; to build a new theatre that should surpass that of Pompey ; to erect public libraries, and make a navigable canal from the Anio and the Tiber to the sea at Teracina ; to build a magnificent temple to Mars. These projects are justly mentioned as meritorious in the sovereign of a great empire ; and it must be confessed, that the love of dominion would be but a wretched passion, if there were not something of this sort to be done after the toils of ambition were over.

The measure which of all others contributed most to the honour of Cæsar, did we suppose him entitled to punish those who opposed him, was the general indemnity which he granted. Some he even employed in the administration of government, and promoted in the State. He placed Caius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, in particular, for this year, on the list of Prætors, and intrusted them with the high-

er jurisdiction of the city. To the widows of many who died in the field against himself he restored their portions, and to the children gave part of their patrimony*. He replaced the statues of Sylla and of Pompey, which the populace, in flattery to himself, had thrown down; "and by this means," says Cicero, "he the more firmly established his own."

It appeared, on many occasions, that Cæsar meant to contrast his own conduct with that of Sylla †; his own clemency with the bloody executions performed by the other. The comparison, no doubt, is obvious, or must occur to every person who reads their story. Sylla had been excited, by extreme provocations, to turn his arms against a party in possession of the capital, and he drew his sword to punish injuries done no less to the republic, and to its most respectable members, than to himself. While he was master of the State, he acted like a person who did not care how odious he rendered despotic power, for he did not mean to retain it. But he mixed, with the resentment of a personal enemy, the high views of a noble citizen, who proposed to reform the State by clearing it of many corrupted and dangerous subjects. When he had accomplished this purpose, he disdained the pageantry of high station, was above receiving the adulation which proceeds from servility, or wishing to enjoy a con-

* Sueton. Dio. lib. xli. i.

† Quoniam reliqui crudelitæ odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere, præter unum L. Syllam quem imitaturus non sum. Hæc nova sit ratio vincendi, ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Cicero ad Att. lib. ix, ep. 7.

tinual precedence in the management of affairs, which requires no extraordinary compass of mind. Embarked by fortune on a tempestuous sea, when he had conducted the vessel into port, he quitted the helm; and after having been master, was not afraid to place himself among his countrymen as a fellow-citizen; and in this state of equality his greatness of mind secured to him a distinction, which no degree of precedency, and no measure of prerogative, could have bestowed.

To this character, that of Cæsar, in many particulars, may be fairly considered as a contrast. He himself had stirred up the disorders which produced the civil war in which he engaged. He had no injuries either public or private to resent; his affected clemency, in sparing a few captives, in the beginning or in the course of his operations, was belied by the wantonness with which he entered on a war, in which the blood of many thousands of his fellow-citizens was to be unnecessarily shed*. If he had

* It is said that 400,000 Romans perished in this contest.—If the author has been formerly censured for giving to Sylla too much credit for his resignation; in this comparison with Cæsar the meaning cannot be misunderstood. The steps of Sylla, in wading (as the Poet expresses himself*) through slaughter, were horrid: but his resignation shewed, that they were not made to come at a throne, and may have been made in execution of public justice. But Cæsar had no pretence to justice; and for his clemency, there is a degree of idiotism in applying the term to him after his massacre in Gaul, for the subjugation of an innocent people; or rather for the nurture of an army in blood, that he might employ them afterwards in terrifying and enslaving his own country.

• ————— *nor circumscribed alone*

Their growing virtues, but their crimes confined:

Forbad to wade through slaughter to a throne,

And shut the gates of mercy on mankind.

GRAY'S Elegy, in a Country Church-yard.

been reluctant in the shedding of blood, his mercy would have appeared, in avoiding so destructive a contest, not in ostentatiously sparing a few of the many whose lives his lust of dominion had wantonly brought into hazard. His clemency should have appeared at the Rubicon, not at Corfinium; in leaving his country to enjoy its liberties, not merely in sparing those whom no man in his senses would destroy, a people who were willing to submit, and whom he desired to govern.

Cæsar used to ridicule the resignation of Sylla as an act of imbecility *; and he himself indeed, even after all occasion of great exertion was over, seemed to enjoy that pre-eminence which the other disdained. The degree of vanity which he is said to have indulged in accepting the frivolous honours which were now conferred upon him by acts of the Senate, is indeed scarcely to be credited. Among these have already been mentioned a decree, that he should have precedency of all magistrates, and the privilege of being always dressed in the triumphal robes; of having a gilded chair of state, and a place of distinction at all the public games; that he should be allowed to deposit a suit of armour in the temple of Jupiter Fere-trius, an honour appropriated to those who, like Romulus, had killed, with their own hands, a leader of the enemy; that his lictors should have their fasces always bound with laurel; that he himself, in coming from the Latin festivals, should enter the city on

* Syllam nescisse literas qui dictaturam deposuerit. Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. lib. lxxvii.

horseback ; that he should have the title of Father of his Country, and be so designed on the coins ; that the anniversary of his birth-day should be kept as a festival ; that statues should be erected to him in all the towns of Italy, and in the temples of the city ; that the statues, without any consideration of his title to these honours, should be adorned with the civic and obsidionary crowns ; the first a badge worn only by those who had saved a fellow-citizen in battle, the second by those who had delivered the city itself from a siege *.

The senate and people observing, that these distinctions were agreeable to Cæsar, subjoined, that his robe should be cut in imitation of that of the ancient kings of Rome ; that he should have an escort of knights and senators ; that it should be permitted to swear by his destiny ; that all his decrees without exception, should be ratified ; that, at the end of five years, a festival should be held in honour of him, as of a person of divine extraction ; that an additional college of priests should be established to perform the rites which were instituted for that occasion ; that in all gladiatorian sports, whether at Rome or in the provincial towns, one day should be dedicated to him ; that a crown of gold, set with gems, like those of the gods, should be carried before him into the Circus, attended with a thensus or car like that on which the idols of the gods were carried in procession ; that he should have the title of Julian Jove, have a temple erected for himself, in conjunc-

* Dio. Cass. lib. lxiv, c. 4.

tion with the Goddess of Clemency; and, to complete the ridicule of these institutions, that Mark Antony should be appointed the priest of this sacred fane*.

From these particulars, which, to characterize the ambition of the person to whom they refer, and the manners of the age, are selected from those mentioned by the original historian †, it was no longer to be doubted, that Cæsar wished to establish a monarchy on the ruins of the republic. He himself is said to have betrayed an arrogance unworthy of a great mind; and to have been so unguarded in his expressions, as to say, That the republic was but a name; that his words should be carefully observed, for that he meant every word should have the force of a law.

To so much affectation of a kingly state, joined to the possession of absolute power, nothing was wanting but the title of King. This Cæsar himself evidently appeared to have the vanity to desire. His retainers and flatterers, on different occasions, endeavoured to surprise the people into a concession of royalty; but notwithstanding the powers of Sovereign, which he exercised without control, and the honours of divinity, which were decreed to him by general consent, his influence was not sufficient to reconcile the Roman people to the name of King. One of his emissaries, willing to suggest the propriety of bestowing this title, or to insinuate Cæsar's purpose of assuming it, had bound the head of one

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlv, c. 6.

† Dio. Cass. lib. xlv, c. 6.

of his statues with a royal fillet, Marullus and Cæsetius, two of the Tribunes in office, affecting great zeal for the honour of Cæsar, as well as for the majesty of the Roman State, made inquiry after the author of an insinuation so derogatory to both; and receiving information of the guilty person, in order to check such attempts for the future, sent him to prison. This officious interposition of the Tribunes, though pretending to vindicate Cæsar himself from so odious an imputation, he received with marks of displeasure; and hearing these officers extolled, under the appellation of *Bruti*, as the champions of the public freedom, "Brutes indeed," he said they were; but took no further notice of the matter.

Soon after this incident, some one, or a few in the assembly of the people, saluted him with the title of King. But on hearing, instead of acclamations, a general murmur of dislike, he silenced this unseasonable piece of flattery, saying, That his name was *Cæsar*, and not *King*. Here too the Tribunes again interposed, and raised prosecutions against the authors of such treasonable expressions. But in this instance Cæsar lost his patience, and complained in the senate, that factious men, under the pretence of discharging the public office of magistracy, propagated insinuations injurious to his character, and tending to alarm the people with false apprehensions. Such offences, he said, merit capital punishment; but he should be satisfied with degradation from their office. This sentence accordingly the senate made haste to pronounce; and from thenceforward it was not doubted, that Cæsar, though

indirectly, aspired to the title, as well as the power of a monarch.

This opinion was still further confirmed, when, on the sixteenth of February*, at the *Lupercalia*, (a festival, which being continued down from barbarous ages, served as a monument of primæval rudeness, rather than simplicity), the same piece of flattery, in making tender of a crown, was renewed by Mark Antony, then in the office of Consul, and the chief confident of Cæsar.

It was the custom in this festival of the *Lupercalia*, for the first officers of State, and the first of the nobles, to present themselves naked in the streets, carrying thongs of undressed hide, with which they ran through the crowd, and struck at those who happened to be placed within their reach. The stroke was thought a remedy, in particular, for barrenness in women; and numbers of this sex accordingly crowded in the way to receive it.

In the ceremony now to be performed, Mark Antony bore his part as Consul; and Cæsar sat on his gilded chair of state, in his triumphal robes, to behold the spectacle. Antony stopped before him, and presented him with a royal crown, saying, "This crown the Roman people confer upon Cæsar by my hands." A few of the spectators seemed to applaud; but Cæsar, perceiving that the people in general, by their silence, gave signs of displeasure, pushed away the crown with his hand; and upon this action received from the people, by an

* Cicero. *Philippicæ*, ii, c. 34.

universal shout of applause, an unquestionable explanation of their former silence.

To try the effect of a moderation which was so much applauded, Antony threw himself upon the ground at Cæsar's feet, repeated his offer of the crown, and hoped that the people might join him in pressing the acceptance of what was so modestly refused; but in this with no better success than in the former attempt.

That the merit of this refusal, however, might not be forgotten, or that the offer might be held equal to the actual investiture of the crown, an entry was made in the Fasti or public records, by the directions of Antony, bearing, "That the Consul, having, by the order of the Roman people, presented a crown, and offered to confer the majesty of King on Caius Julius Cæsar, perpetual dictator, he had declined to receive it *."

The Roman republic had, for some time, subsisted in a very disorderly state; citizens having dominion over many other nations, scarcely admitted any species of government among themselves. The inhabitants of Rome, assuming the prerogatives of a collective body, of which the members now not only extended over all Italy, but were dispersed throughout the empire, generally assembled in tumults, whose proceedings, at every convulsion, nothing but force could regulate or control; accordingly, the immediate prospect was that of a government of force, either in the hands of a multitude that could not be resisted,

* Cicero, Philipp. ii, c. 34.

or in the hands of those by whom such disorders had been suppressed. All who wished to preserve the republic, endeavoured to extend the ordinary prerogatives of the Senate, and to prevent as much as possible, these ill-constituted assemblies of the People from deliberating on matters of State; and it might, no doubt, have been still better for the empire, if the spirit of legal monarchy could at once have been infused into every part of the commonwealth; or if, without further pangs or convulsions, the authority of a Prince, tempered with that of a Senate, had been firmly established. But men do not at once change their habits and opinions, nor yield their own pretensions upon speculative notions of what is suited to the state of their age or country. Cæsar aspired to dominion in order to gratify his personal vanity, not to correct the political errors of the times; and his contemporaries, born to the rights of citizens, still contended for personal independence and equal pretension to power, however impossible it might be for the future to preserve any species of republic among such a people, or at the head of such an empire.

Ever since the expulsion of Tarquin, the name of King had been odious at Rome. The most popular citizens, as soon as they became suspected of aspiring to kingly power, became objects of aversion, and were marked out as a butt to the detestation of their country. Thus fell Manlius Capitolinus, the Gracchi, Apuleius, and others who were loaded with this imputation.

The Romans, accustomed to see vanquished kings the sport of popular insolence, led in triumph, put to death, or, if suffered to live, made to languish in obscurity and neglect;—accustomed to see kings, who were their own allies, submitting their cause to the judgment of the Roman People, or even in the streets of Rome, suing for favour, considered monarchy itself as an appurtenance of servility and barbarism; and the project to give a king to the Romans as an attempt to degrade them into barbarians and slaves.

The maxim, which forbids assassination, even of usurpers, in every case whatever, is the result of prudent reflection, and has a tendency to allay the jealousy, and to mitigate the cruelty of persons, who, by violent measures, which laws cannot restrain, may have incurred the resentment of mankind. Even tyrants, it is supposed, are cruel from fear, and become merciful in proportion as they believe themselves safe. It were unwise, therefore, to entertain any maxim which would keep the powerful in a continual state of distrust and alarm, or ever ready to stain the sword which they wield with blood. This prudential morality, however, was entirely unknown in the ancient republics, or could not be observed, without surrendering the freedom for which their citizens were taught to contend. Amongst them the People were obliged to consider, not what was safe, but what was necessary; and could not always defend themselves against usurpations, neither by legal forms, nor by open war. It was thought allowable, therefore, to employ artifice, surprise, and

secret conspiracy, against an usurper ; and this was so much the case at Rome, that no names were held in greater veneration, than those of citizens who had assassinated persons suspected of views dangerous to the commonwealth ; or who, by any means whatever, rendered abortive the project of adventurers who attempted to arm any party against the legal constitution of their country.

Cæsar, having attempted to join the title of King with the powers of perpetual Dictator, had reason to distrust a People who were actuated by such apprehensions. He was to an uncommon degree the object of private as well as of public resentment, having usurped the government over those whom he had cruelly injured ; over the fathers, the brothers, and sons of those who had fallen by his sword. He accordingly, for some time, took the precaution to have a military guard attending his person ; but, grown familiar with those he had offended, inured to adulation, and secure in his own personal courage, he dropt this precaution, and began to reign with the confidence of a lawful monarch. Although he had incurred so much resentment, he disdained to stand in awe of it, and ventured to join the confidence of innocence with the highest measures of guilt. This conduct indeed was uncommon, and the effect of a daring courage, though scarcely consistent with the penetration and masterly skill with which he had hitherto conducted his affairs. It may serve to confirm, what has already been observed, that, among the many accomplishments which Cæsar possessed, and together with the abilities which

rendered him superior to every direct opposition, he was actuated by a vanity which bordered on weakness. Misled, perhaps, by this passion, he persisted in his emulation to the glory of Sylla, and would shew to the world, that he who had not resigned his power could walk the streets of Rome, unattended, with as much safety as the other, who had had the magnanimity to restore the constitution of his country; joined to this weakness, he had too mean an opinion of those who composed the commonwealth, greatly sunk indeed in their political character, but not fallen into that state of personal weakness, which his security and contempt of their resentment seemed to imply.

Still many citizens of noble extraction were found, who thought that their former condition as members of the republic might be recovered. Some had been stunned with their fall, but not quite overwhelmed; others, who, on specious pretences, had even assisted in obtaining the victories of Cæsar, detested the monarchy to which those victories led. In the first period of the civil war many imagined, that the contest was to end in substituting one party for another, not in the entire subversion of the republican government; and they were inclined, as soon as fortune should declare in favour of either party, though adverse, to be reconciled with those that prevailed*. But when it evidently appeared, that Cæsar, by suppressing the last remains of opposition to himself in every part of the empire, meant to es-

* Cicero ad Familias.

establish a monarchy in his own person, a secret indignation filled the breasts of all those who, upon a foot of family consequence, or personal ability, had any pretensions to political importance. To such persons the dominion of an equal appeared insufferable. Many of them, in conferring the extravagant honours which had been decreed to Cæsar, affected servility as the mask of a sullen displeasure, which, conscious of a tendency to betray itself, took the disguise of an opposite extreme.

The question respecting the expedience of monarchical government, did not enter into the deliberations of any one. If it had been urged, that a King was necessary; it would have been asked, Who gave the right to Cæsar? If the People in general were corrupt; did the bankrupts, and outlaws, and soldiers of fortune, who formed the court of Cæsar, deserve a better name? If the great, the able, and experienced citizens, who were qualified to support the republic, were now no more, by whose sword had they perished? or if the republic, by the disorders which prevailed in it, was ripe for destruction, who had been through life the most distinguished promoter of those disorders? If the corrupt arts, the treasons, the murders, encouraged or even executed by Cæsar, had made a change of government necessary, the first act of that new government, for the instruction of mankind, ought to have been to punish the author of so many disorders and crimes, not to reward him with a crown.

Many of Cæsar's officers, and the nearest to his person, were as much in this mind as any other citi-

zens ; and on this supposition, so familiar was the thought of proceeding to the last extremities against him, that, when Antony came to meet Cæsar on his return from Spain, Trebonius ventured to sound his inclinations respecting a design on Cæsar's life, as a person under whom the republic was no longer safe *. Although Antony did not adopt the measure, he did not betray Trebonius, nor did he appear to be surprised at the proposal. It was afterwards suggested, that Antony should be invited to a share in the conspiracy which soon after broke out ; and the proposal was dropt only on account of the refusal which he had already given to Trebonius ; so readily was it believed, that every noble Roman would rather share in the government of his country, as an independent citizen, than as a retainer to the most successful usurper.

It is well known, that a conspiracy accordingly was, at this time, forming against the life of Cæsar, although the first steps and the consultations of the parties are no where minutely recorded. The principal authors of it were Caius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, then Prætors in the city ; Decimus Brutus and Trebonius, who had both served in high ranks under Cæsar himself, and of whom the first was destined by him to the command in Cisalpine Gaul, and to the Consulate in the following year.

Of these Caius Cassius was early noted for a high and impetuous spirit. It is observed, that, being a boy when Sylla was at the height of his power, he

* Cicero, Philipp. II, c. 14.

struck the son of the Dictator for having said, That his father was the master of the Roman People. The tutor of young Sylla having carried a complaint to Pompey, the boys were called, and questioned on the subject of their quarrel, "Do but repeat your words again," said Cassius ;" "and in this presence I will strike you." He had distinguished himself in Syria by collecting the remains of the unfortunate army of Crassus, with which he repelled the attempt of the Parthians to invade that province. He followed Pompey in the civil war, and commanded a squadron of the fleet on the coast of Sicily at the time of the battle of Pharsalia. From thence he sailed for the coast of Asia, and waited for the victor, when he was expected to arrive from Alexandria, professing his intention to drop all further opposition against him, but with a secret design, according to Cicero, to have put Cæsar to death, if he had not debarked on a different side of the Cydnus from that on which Cassius had taken his station to receive him *.

Marcus Brutus was the nephew of Cato by his sister Servilia ; and so much a favourite of Cæsar, who was said to have had an intrigue with his mother, that he was by some supposed to be his son. The father of Brutus, in the civil wars of Sylla, had been on the side of Marius, and having fallen into Pompey's hands, was by him put to death. The son retained so much resentment on this account, that he never accosted or saluted Pompey till after

* Cicero. Philipp. ii, c. 11.

the civil war broke out ; when, thinking it necessary to sacrifice all private considerations to the public cause, he joined him in Macedonia, and was received with great marks of distinction. This young man, either on account of his uncle Cato, or on account of the expectations generally entertained of himself, was by all parties held in high consideration. Being taken prisoner at the battle of Pharsalia, he was not only spared by the victor, but sent into the province of Cisalpine Gaul with the title of Governor ; where, during the war in Africa against Scipio and the king of Numidia, he remained, perhaps, rather under safe custody than high in the confidence of Cæsar. He was in this year, together with Caius Cassius, who had married his sister, promoted to the dignity of Prætor ; and though of less standing than Cassius, had the precedence, by a supposed partiality of the person who now disposed of all preferments and honours in the commonwealth. This circumstance was supposed, at the time that Brutus and Cassius were actually framing their conspiracy, to have occasioned a breach between them, and possibly helped to blind those who ought to have kept a watchful eye on their motions.

Cassius is reputed to have been the prime mover in the design against Cæsar's life ; and to have been the author of anonymous calls to vindicate the freedom of Rome, which were posted up, or dropt in public places ; and which, from the prevailing spirit of discontent, found a ready acceptance. Labels were hung upon the statues of the ancient Brutus, and billets were dropt, in the night, upon the

judgment-seat of the Prætor of this name, exciting him to imitate his ancestors, by restoring the republic; "You sleep, you are not Brutus:" and on the statues of his supposed ancestor, the elder Brutus, was written, "Would you were alive!" These expressions of a secret disaffection, and prognostics of some violent design, either escaped the attention of Cæsar, or were despised by him; but were easily understood by persons who looked for a deliverance from the indignities to which they felt themselves exposed. While Cassius and Marcus Brutus entered into a formal concert on this subject, numbers pined under the want of that consideration to which they thought themselves born; many were provoked by particular instances of vanity or arrogance in the present Dictator*; and upon the least hint of a design against him, were ready to join. "I am sorry you should be ill at so critical a time," said Brutus to Legarius. "I am not ill," said the other, "if you have any intentions worthy of yourself †."

Great numbers daily acceded to the plot; of whom

* Cæsar had, about this time, a visit from the queen of Egypt, who lived with him at his gardens on the Tiber (Cicero, ad Attic. lib. xiv). Many who overlooked his usurpation, and the violence he did to the constitution of his country, were scandalized at the intimacy in which he lived with a strange woman. Being accustomed to the distinctions of a court, and considering Cæsar as the monarch, she treated the citizens, who were still admitted to him on a foot of equality, as dependents and subjects. He himself, with all his state, was polite. As an apology for having made Cicero wait too long in his anti-chamber, he accosted him, with saying, "How can I hope to be tolerated, when even Marcus Tullius Cicero is made to wait? If any one could forgive it, he would; but the world must detest me." Cleopatra, it is probable, made no such apology when she gave cause to complain of her arrogance.

† Sueton. in Cæsare.

the following, besides Brutus and Cassius, are the principal names upon record : Cæcilius and Bucolianus, two brothers, Rubrius Rex, Q. Legarius, M. Spurius, Servilius Galba, Sextius Naso, Pontius Aquila. These had ever been on the side of the Senate, or in the last conflict adherents of Pompey. The following had acted in the war under Cæsar himself : Decimus Brutus, C. Casca, Trebonius, Tullius Cimber, Minucius, and Basilius * ; they are said, in all, to have amounted to sixty †. Cicero was known to detest the usurpation of Cæsar ; to mourn over the fall of the commonwealth, over the humiliation of the Senate, and the diminution of his own political importance ; but he was not consulted in this design. The authors of it relied on his support, in case they should be successful ; but they knew too well his ingenuity in suggesting scruples and difficulties, to bring him into their previous deliberations on so arduous an enterprise.

The conspirators, in forming their project, generally sounded the minds of persons before they made any formal or direct proposal. Thus, Brutus being in company with Statilius, Favonius, and Labio, proposed, among other problematical questions, some doubts concerning the expediency of assassinating tyrants. Favonius observed, that such actions led to civil war, and that this was worse than mere usurpation. Statilius said, that no wise man would engage in so hazardous an enterprise to restore the government of knaves and fools, then calling them-

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

† Sueton. in Cæsare.

selves the republic of Rome. Labio contended warmly with both ; and Brutus changing the subject, thought no more of Statilius or Favonius, but in private communicated the design to Labio, by whom it was immediately embraced.

As so many were concerned, and as they remained some time undetermined in the choice of a time and place for the execution of their purpose, it is singular that the conspiracy should have come to such a height undiscovered. But Cæsar did not encourage informers ; his great courage preserved him from the jealousies by which others in less dangerous situations are guided. He trusted to his popularity, to his munificence, to the professions of submission which were made to him, and to the interest which he supposed many to have in the preservation of his life. He had not only dismissed the guards, which at his return to Rome had attended him, and was commonly preceded only by his Lictors and the usual retinue of his civil rank ; but had suffered the veterans to disperse on the lands which had been assigned to them, and unfurnished Italy of troops, having transported the greater part of the army into Macedonia, reserving only a small body under Lepidus in the suburbs of Rome. His own mind, though pleased with the appearances, as well as the reality of greatness, it is probable, was well nigh satiated with the pageantry of state. His thoughts became vacant and languid in the possession of a station to which he had struggled through so much blood ; and his active spirit still urged him to extensive pro-

jects of conquest*. He accordingly planned a series of wars, which were not likely to end but with his life. He was to begin with revenging the death of Crassus, and reducing the Parthians. He was next to pass by Hyrcania and the coasts of the Caspian Sea into Scythia; from thence, by the shores of the Euxine Sea into Sarmatia, Dacia, or by the Danube into Germany; and from thence, by his own late acquisitions in Gaul, to return into Italy †; for this purpose, he had already sent forward into Macedonia seventeen legions and ten thousand horse ‡.

As this sovereign of the empire, whatever may have been the extent of his projects, was likely to be employed some time in the execution of them, he thought proper to anticipate the election of magistrates at Rome, and to arrange, before his departure, the whole succession to office for some years. Dion Cassius says, that his arrangement was made for three years; Appian, for five years. It is certain that he fixed the succession to office for at least two subsequent years. Hirtius and Pansa were destined to the Consulate in the first; Decimus Brutus and Plancus, in the second §. He continued to increase the number of magistrates, that he might have the more opportunities to gratify his retainers and friends. The Quæstors, as has been mentioned, he augmented to forty, the Ædiles to six, the Prætors now to sixteen. Among the latter he named

* Dio. Cass. Appian. Plutarch.

† Plutarch. in Cesare.

‡ Appian. de Bel. Civil. lib. ii.

§ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 6.

Ventidius, a native of Picenum, who had been taken and led in triumph, while the people of that district, with the other Italians, in support of their claim to be enrolled as citizens, were at war with Rome. Ventidius had subsisted by letting mules and carriages. In the pursuit of this business he had followed the army of Cæsar into Gaul; and becoming known to the general, was gradually trusted and advanced by him. His career of preferment continued up to the dignity of Consul, and he himself, as has been formerly observed, came at last to lead, in the capacity of a victorious general, a procession of the same kind with that in which he had made his first entry at Rome, as a captive.

This arrangement, in which Cæsar, by anticipating the nomination of magistrates, precluded the citizens from the usual exercise of their rights of election, made the subversion of the republic more felt than any of the former acts of his power, and gave the leaders of the conspiracy a great advantage against him. The prospect of his approaching departure from Rome, which was fixed for the month of March, urged the speedy execution of their purpose. The report of a response or prediction, which some of the flatterers of Cæsar had procured from the College of Augurs, bearing, that the Parthians were not to be subdued but by a king*, appeared to be the prelude of a fresh motion to vest him, in his intended expedition to the east, with the title, and with the ensigns of royalty, to be borne, if not in the city, at

* Dio. Cæs. lib. xlv, c. 15.

least in the provinces *, in order to qualify him, in terms of the supposed prophecy, to become the conqueror of Parthia.

A meeting of the Senate being already summoned, for the Ides, or fifteenth of March, the proposal to bestow on Cæsar the title of King, as a qualification for his intended enterprise, was expected to be the principal business of the assembly. This circumstance determined the conspirators in the choice of a place for the execution of their design. They had formerly deliberated, whether to pitch upon the Campus Martius, and to strike their blow in the presence of the Roman People assembled, or in the entry to the theatre, or in a street through which Cæsar often passed in the way to his own house †. But this meeting of the Senate seemed now to present the most convenient place, and the most favourable opportunity. The presence of the Senate, it was supposed, would render the action of the conspirators sufficiently awful and solemn; the common cause would be instantly acknowledged by all the members of that body; and the execution, the moment it was done, would be justified under their authority. Although some might be disposed to resist, they were not likely to be armed; and the affair might be ended by the death of Cæsar alone, or without any effusion of blood beyond that which was originally intended.

It was at first proposed that Antony, being likely to carry on the same military usurpations which Cæsar had begun, should be taken off at the same time;

* Zonaras, lib. x, c. 14.

† Sueton. in Cæsare.

but this was overruled. It was supposed that Antony, and every other Senator or citizen, would readily embrace the state of independence and personal consideration which was to be offered to them; or if they should not embrace it, they would not be of sufficient numbers or credit to distress the republic, or to upset the balance of parties in which the freedom of the whole consisted. It was supposed that the moment Cæsar fell, there would not be any one left to covet or to support an usurpation which had been so fatal to him. "If we do any thing more than is necessary to set the Romans at liberty," said Marcus Brutus, "we shall be thought to act from private resentment, and to intend restoring the party of Pompey, not the republic."

The intended assembly of the Senate was to be held in one of the compartments of Pompey's theatre, fitted up for this purpose. It was determined by the conspirators, that they should repair to this meeting, as usual, either separately, or together in the retinue of the Consuls and Prætors; and that being armed with concealed weapons, they should proceed to the execution of their purpose as soon as Cæsar had taken his seat. To guard against any disturbance or tumult that might arise to frustrate their intentions, Decimus Brutus, who was master of a troop of gladiators, undertook to have this troop, under pretence of exhibiting some combats on that day to the People, posted in the theatre, and ready at his command for any service*.

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlv, c. 15.

During the interval of suspense which preceded the meeting of the Senate, although in public Marcus Brutus seemed to perform all the duties of his station with an unaltered countenance ; at home he was less guarded, and frequently appeared to have something uncommon on his mind. His wife Porcia suspected that some arduous design respecting the State was in agitation ; and when she questioned him, was confirmed in this apprehension, by his eluding her inquiries. Thinking herself, by her extraction and by her alliance, entitled to confidence, she bore this appearance of distrust with impatience ; and, under the idea that the secret which was withheld from her, must be such as, upon any suspicion, might occasion the torture to be employed to force a confession ; and supposing that she herself was distrusted more on account of the weakness than of the indiscretion of her sex, she determined to make a trial of her own strength, before she desired to have the secret communicated to her. For this purpose she gave herself a wound in the thigh, and while it festered, and produced acute pain and fever, she endeavoured to preserve her usual countenance, without any sign of suffering or distress. Being satisfied with this trial of her own strength, she told her husband the particulars, and with some degree of triumph added, “ *Now you may trust me ; I am the wife of Brutus and the daughter of Cato ; keep me no longer in doubt or suspense upon any subject in which I too must be so deeply concerned.*” The circumstance of her wound, the pretensions which she otherwise had to confidence, drew the secret from her

husband, and undoubtedly from thenceforward, by the passions which were likely to agitate the mind of a tender and affectionate woman, exposed the design to additional hazard of a discovery and of a failure.

But the morning of the Ides of March, the day on which this conspiracy was to be executed, arrived, and there was yet no suspicion. The conspirators had been already together at the house of one of the Prætors. Cassius was to present his son that morning to the people, with the ceremony usual in assuming the habit of manhood; and he was, upon this account, to be attended by his friends into the place of assembly. He was afterwards, together with Brutus, in their quality of magistrates, employed, as usual, in giving judgment on the causes that were brought before them. As they sat in the Prætor's chair, they received intimation that Cæsar having been indisposed over-night, was not to be abroad; and that he had commissioned Antony, in his name, to adjourn the senate to another day. Upon this report, they suspected a discovery; and while they were deliberating what should be done, Popilius Lænas, a senator whom they had not intrusted with their design, whispered them as he passed, "I pray that God may prosper what you have in view. Above all things dispatch." Their suspicions of a discovery being thus still farther confirmed, the intention soon after appeared to be public. An acquaintance told Casca, "You have concealed this business from me, but Brutus has told me of it." They were struck with surprise; but Brutus

presently recollected that he had mentioned to this person no more than Casca's intention of standing for *Ædile*, and that the words which he spoke probably referred only to that business ; they accordingly determined to wait the issue of these alarms *.

In the mean time Cæsar, at the persuasion of Decimus Brutus, though once determined to remain at home, had changed his mind, and was already in the street, being carried to the senate in his litter. Soon after he had left his own house, a slave came thither in haste, desired protection, and said he had a secret of the greatest moment to impart. He had probably overheard the conspirators, or had observed that they were armed ; but not being aware how pressing the time was, suffered himself to be detained till Cæsar's return. Others, probably, had observed circumstances which led to a discovery of the plot, and Cæsar had a billet to this effect given to him as he passed in the street : he was entreated by the person who gave it instantly to read it ; and he endeavoured to do so, but was prevented by the multitudes who crowded around him with numberless applications ; and he still carried this paper in his hand when he entered the senate.

Brutus and most of the conspirators had taken their places a little while before the arrival of Cæsar, and continued to be alarmed by many circumstances which tended to shake their resolution. Porcia, in the same moments, being in great agitation, exposed herself to public notice. She listened with anxie-

* Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

ty to every noise in the streets; she dispatched, without any pretence of business, continual messages towards the place where the senate was assembled; she asked every person who came from that quarter if they observed what her husband was doing. Her spirit at last sunk under the effect of such violent emotions; she fainted away, and was carried for dead into her own apartment. A message came to Brutus in the senate with this account. He was much affected, but kept his place*. Popilius Lænas, who a little before seemed, from the expression he had dropped, to have got notice of their design, appeared to be in earnest conversation with Cæsar as he alighted from his carriage. This left the conspirators no longer in doubt that they were discovered; and they made signs to each other, that it would be better to die by their own hands than to fall into the power of their enemy. But they saw of a sudden the countenance of Lænas change into a smile, and perceived that his conversation with Cæsar could not relate to such a business as theirs.

Cæsar's chair of state had been placed near to the pedestal of Pompey's statue. Numbers of the conspirators had seated themselves around it. Trebonius, under pretence of business, had taken Antony aside at the entrance of the theatre. Cimber, who, with others of the conspirators, met Cæsar in the portico, presented him with a petition in favour of his brother, who had been excepted from the late indemnity; and in urging the prayer of this peti-

* Plut. in. Bruto.

tion, attended the dictator to his place. Having there received a denial from Cæsar, uttered with some expressions of impatience at being so much importuned, he took hold of his robe, as if still farther to press the entreaty. *Nay*, said Cæsar, *this is violence*. While he spoke these words, Cimber flung back the gown from his own shoulders; and this being the signal agreed upon, called out to strike. Casca aimed the first blow. Cæsar started from his place, and in the first moment of surprise, pushed Cimber with one arm, and laid hold of Casca with the other. But he soon perceived that resistance was vain; and while the swords of the conspirators clashed, in their way to his body, he wrapped himself up in his gown, and fell without any further convulsion or struggle. It was observed, in the superstition of the times, that in falling, the blood which sprung from his wounds sprinkled the pedestal of Pompey's statue. And thus having employed the greatest abilities to subdue his fellow-citizens, with whom it would have been a much greater honour to have been able to live on terms of equality, he fell, in the height of his security, a sacrifice to their just indignation; a striking example of what the arrogant have to fear in trifling with the feelings of men whom they ought to respect, and at the same time a lesson of jealousy and of cruelty to tyrants, or a warning which they are but too willing to take in the exercise of their power, not to spare those whom they may have insulted by their vile usurpations.

When the body lay breathless on the ground, Cassius called out, there lies the most worthless of men *. Brutus called upon the senate to judge of the transaction which had passed before them, and having addressed himself to Cicero by name †, was proceeding to state the motives of those who were concerned in it, when the members who had for a moment stood in silent amazement, rose of a sudden, and began to separate in great consternation. All those who had come to the senate in the retinue of Cæsar, his lictors, the ordinary officers of State, citizens and foreigners, with many servants and dependents of every sort, had been instantly seized with a panic; and, as if the swords of the conspirators were drawn against themselves, had already rushed into the streets, and carried terror and confusion wherever they went. The senators themselves now followed. No man had presence of mind to give any account of what had happened, but repeated the cry that was usual on great alarms, for all persons to withdraw, and to shut up their habitations and shops. This cry was communicated from one to another in the streets. The people, imagining that a general massacre was somewhere begun, shut up and barred all their doors as in the dead of night, and every one prepared to defend his own habitation.

Antony, upon the first alarm, had changed his dress, and retired to a place of safety. He believed that the conspirators must have intended to take his life together with that of Cæsar; and he fled in the

* Cic. ad Famil. lib. xii, ep. 1. Nequisissimum occisum esse.

† Philippica ii, c. 12.

apprehension of being instantly pursued. Lepidus repaired to the suburbs, where the legion he commanded was quartered; and uncertain whether Cæsar's death was an act of the Senate, or of a private party, waited for an explanation, or an order from the surviving Consul, to determine in what manner he himself should proceed *. In these circumstances a general pause, or an interval of suspense and silence, took place in every part of the city.

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

CHAP. XXX.

General consternation on the death of Cæsar.—Tumultuary assembly of the people.—Declarations of Cinna and Dolabella.—Appearance of Brutus and Cassius in the forum.—Their return to the capitol.—Meeting and debate in the senate.—Act of oblivion.—Speech of Brutus to the people.—Funeral of Cæsar.—Insurrection of the people.—Policy of Antony.—Appearance of Octavius.—His dissension with Antony.—Both have recourse to arms.—Aspect of things.—Antony proceeds to expel Decimus Brutus from the Cisalpine Gaul.

IN the general consternation, occasioned by the death of Cæsar, the authors of this important event appeared to be no less at a loss what to do next, than the other members of the Senate, on whom it was brought by surprise. The difficulty or danger of executing the first part of their design had appeared so great, that they looked no further, or they possibly imagined that with Cæsar's life every impediment to the ordinary course of affairs would be removed; and that the Senate and People, restored to their authority and privileges, would naturally recur to their usual forms. But finding themselves deserted in the Senate, and not knowing to what dangers they might still be exposed, they wrapped up the left arm in their gowns; a preparation which the Romans, in the habit of using a shield, generally

made when alarmed with any prospect of violence. And thus in a body, with their swords yet stained with blood, went forth to the streets proclaiming security and liberty, and inviting every one to concur with them in restoring the commonwealth. They were joined by many who, though not accessory to the conspiracy, were pleased to embark with them in the present state of their fortunes. Of these are particularly mentioned the following names: Lentulus Spinther, Favonius, Acquinas, Dolabella, Murex, Peticus, and Cinna. But observing that the People in general were not forward in espousing their cause; and knowing that, besides the legion which Lepidus commanded in the suburbs, there were in the city numbers of veterans, who having received grants of land from Cæsar, either had not yet gone to take possession of them, or having been at their settlements, had returned to pay court to their patron before his departure from Rome; and suspecting that Antony, now the sole Consul and supreme officer of State, was likely to exert the powers of a magistrate against them; and being on every side beset with dangers of which they knew not the extent, they determined to take refuge in the Capitol, and with the gladiators of Decimus Brutus, who had already taken possession of that fortress, to wait the issue of this general scene of suspense.

Multitudes of the People, observing that the persons who had occasioned this general alarm were themselves on the defensive, and no way inclined to extend the effusion of blood, ventured forth into

the streets, and many crowded together in the Forum or ordinary place of resort *. The first person that took any public part upon this occasion was Cinna, the son of him who had been a leader of the Marian party, brother-in-law to Cæsar by a former wife, and now, by his nomination, advanced to the dignity of Prætor. This relation of the deceased, to the surprise of every one, tore the Prætor's gown from his own shoulders; declared that in this act he then abdicated his office, as having been unwarrantably obtained, not by free election, but by the nomination of an usurper; and he proceeded to make a harangue to the People, in which he treated Cæsar as a tyrant, extolled the conspirators as the restorers of liberty to their country, and proposed that they should be invited to assist in the assembly of the People, and have the proper safeguards to their persons, which the present occasion made necessary.

Dolabella, who had been nominated by Cæsar to succeed in the office of Consul, which he himself was about to vacate, thinking that the intended succession was now open to him, reversed the first part of Cinna's conduct, by assuming the robes and ensigns of Consul, to which he had no other title than his being named by the late usurper; but joined with the abdicated Prætor in applauding the authors of that usurper's death, expressed his wish that he

* Applan says, that the friends of the conspirators, by distributing money, andeavoured to form a party among the populace. The necessity of this expedient is sufficient, if real, to shew how desperate the attempt was of restoring democratical government to the inhabitants of Rome, composed of the refuse of Italy and of the provinces, collected to enjoy the rewards of idleness and faction.

himself had been a partner in the glory of their action, joined with Cinna, in proposing that these restorers of liberty should be instantly met in a regular assembly of the People, and that the anniversary of the present day should be observed for ever, as a festival sacred to the restoration of the commonwealth.

The partisans of Cæsar, yet unacquainted with the extent of their own danger, had absented themselves, and the audience consisted chiefly of persons to whom these proposals were agreeable. The motions that were now made by the late Prætor Cinna, and the pretended Consul Dolabella, accordingly prevailed, and the leaders of the conspiracy were invited to descend from the Capitol. But of this invitation only Marcus Brutus and Cassius took the benefit. Having joined the multitude, they severally addressed themselves to those who were present with an air of dignity and consciousness of merit, as being the procurers of that liberty which the People were now to enjoy, and by which they were thus already enabled to act for themselves. They contrasted the late usurpation of Cæsar * with the free constitution of the republic; observed, that with respect to themselves, unsupported as they were with any military force, they could not, in supplanting the usurper, have entertained any wish to succeed in the possession of his power; that they could have no object besides the restoration of the laws and the freedom of their country. And they ex-

* Appian, de Bello Civili, lib. ii. Dio. Cass. lib. xlv, c. 91.

horted the audience, in terms rather popular, than really applicable to the present state of affairs, to make the same use of their deliverance from an usurped and violent domination which their ancestors, at the expulsion of Tarquin, had made of a corresponding event. They specified the merit which many persons had in this enterprise, particularly that of Decimus Brutus, who had furnished the company of gladiators, which, in entering on this business, made the principal part of their strength; and observed, that, notwithstanding the splendid fortune to which this citizen might have aspired under Cæsar's influence, he had preferred the freedom of his country and the restoration of the commonwealth. They turned the attention of the audience on the case of Sextus Pompeius, the only surviving son of the great Pompey, now unjustly deemed an outlaw and a rebel *. "In the person of this young man," they said, "you have the last of a noble family, who, in the late ruinous contest, have sacrificed themselves for the republic; even he is still beset by the emissaries of the late usurper, who, pretending public authority, are armed for his destruction, with swords yet red with the blood of his father and of his brother." They moved the People, that so unjust a war should be instantly suspended, and that this young man should be restored to the rights of his ancestors; that the

* This young man having absconded for some time after the defeat and death of his brother at Munda, had again appeared in Spain at the head of a considerable force, and defeated Asinius Pollio, who had been employed by Cæsar against him.

Tribunes Cæsetius and Marullus, being unjustly degraded by Cæsar, in violation of that sacred law, which he himself, upon much less palpable grounds, had made his pretence for a civil war, should now be restored to their dignities.

In these fond anticipations of freedom, the authors of this attempt to restore the popular forms, enjoyed for once the fruits of their labour, and spoke to a numerous assembly of the Roman People, seemingly unrestrained and unawed by force. The city, however, had not yet recovered from the consternation occasioned by the recent event. The present assembly was not sufficiently attended by persons on whom the conspirators could rely for their safety. It was thought most prudent, therefore, that Brutus and Cassius should return to their friends in the Capitol, and that from this place they should treat of an accommodation with Antony, and with the other leaders of the opposite party.

On the following day, Antony, seeing that the restorers of the commonwealth remained in the Capitol, and abstained from violence against any of the supposed friends and adherents of Cæsar, ventured abroad from his lurking-place, and resumed the dress and ensigns of Consul. In this capacity he received a message from the conspirators, desiring a conference with himself and with Lepidus. Antony, though in times of relaxation and security, extravagant, dissipated, and in appearance incapable of serious affairs * ; yet in arduous situations he general-

* If I am not mistaken, says Cicero, upon this occasion, he minds eating and drinking even more than mischief. (Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 3, quem quidem ego æpularum magis arbitror rationem habere, quam quidquam mali cogitare). How much he was mistaken will soon appear.

ally belied these appearances, was strenuous, cautious, and able. He did not yet perceive how far the party of Cæsar was or was not extinguished with its leader. The only military force in Italy was at the disposal of Lepidus, of whom he was jealous. In his answer, therefore, he assumed an appearance of moderation and of regard for the commonwealth, and proposed to refer every question to the Senate, which he had already called to deliberate on the present arduous state of affairs.

In expectation of this meeting of the Senate, all parties were busy in consultations, and in soliciting support to their interest. The friends of the conspirators were in motion all night visiting the Senators, and preparing measures for the following day. The veterans of Cæsar, both officers and legionary soldiers, apprehending that the grants of land lately made to themselves might be recalled, went to and fro in the streets, and made application wherever they had access, with representations and even with threats. They at the same time provided themselves with arms, and prepared to overawe the Senate by their numbers.

In the course of the same night, Lepidus had marched into the city with the legion he commanded, and took possession of the Forum. To the people who assembled around him, he lamented the death of Cæsar, and inveighed against the authors of this unexpected event. By thus disclosing his mind, he encouraged the partisans and retainers of the late Dictator to come abroad, and rendered the streets and passages exceedingly dangerous for those who

were supposed to be of the opposite party. Cinna, who, to evince his zeal for the reviving republic, had resigned the office of Prætor, which Cæsar had conferred upon him, was attacked on his way to the Senate, and narrowly escaped with his life.

While others had scarcely got over the first effects of surprise and terror, the supposed dissipated Antony bethought himself of a circumstance, which, more than any other, for some time directed the course of public affairs. By his credit with Calpurnia, the widow of Cæsar, he got possession of all his memorials and of all his writings, and had secured an immense sum of money, which had been deposited by him in the temple of Ops*.

On the following day, being the eighteenth of March, the Senate, as soon as it was light, assembled in the temple of the Earth. The veterans beset the doors †. Dolabella presented himself, ushered in by the Lictors, and took possession of one of the Consul's chairs. Antony being seated in the other, moved the Assembly to take into consideration the present state of the commonwealth. He himself professed great zeal for the republic, and a disposition to peace ‡. The greater part of those who spoke after Antony justified or extolled the act of the conspirators, and moved that they should have public thanks and rewards for their services. This

* Cicero says, septies milles H. S. about six millions Sterling, Philip. ii. c. 37. 4000 Talents, Plut. in Anton.

† Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 14. Nonne omni ratione veterani qui, armati aderant, cum presidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt?

‡ Ibid. Philip. i. c. 1.

they supported by a charge of usurpation and tyranny against Cæsar. Upon this point, however, Antony thought proper to interpose; reminded the Senators how nearly many of them were concerned in this question. "They who are to vote in it," he said, "will please to observe, that if Cæsar shall be found to have acted with legal powers, his acts will remain in force; if otherwise, all the proceedings that took place during his administration must be erased from your records; and his body, as that of a traitor and a tyrant, made fast on a hook, must be dragged through the streets, and cast into the Tiber. This sentence would affect the remotest parts of the empire, or would extend, in its application, farther perhaps than we should be able to enforce it by our arms. Part indeed is in our power. Many of us hold offices, or are destined by Cæsar's nomination to offices, either at home or abroad. Let us begin with divesting ourselves of what we now hold; and with renouncing our expectations for the future. After we have given this proof of our disinterestedness, our allies abroad will listen to us, when we talk of recalling the favours granted to them by the late Dictator."

By this artful turn, which was given by Antony to the subject now under deliberation, many, who in the late arrangements made by Cæsar, held places in the Senate or magistracy, or who were by his appointment destined to succeed into high situations at home or abroad, were greatly disconcerted. Some of those who were actually in office, as retainers of

the late usurpation, made haste to resign their powers, and laid down the ensigns of magistracy on the steps where they sat ; but Dolabella, who, in consequence of a destination made, though not fulfilled by Cæsar, had recently assumed the consular robes, and who, being under the legal age, had no hopes of being re-elected by the free voice of the People, notwithstanding his declaration in favour of the authors of Cæsar's death, pleaded for the necessity of sustaining all the acts and decrees of the usurper.

While the Senators were thus engaged in debate on the terms of their first resolution, relating to the act of the conspirators and the death of Cæsar, the People who had assembled in great multitudes in the market-place, became impatient to know what was passing, and pressed on the steps of the temple where the Senate was met, with some attempts to force or break open the doors *. On this occasion, Antony and Lepidus thought proper to go forth, under pretence of appeasing the tumult ; but with a real intention to observe what, in this critical state of affairs, was the prevailing disposition of the People, and with a full resolution to be governed in their own measures, by what seemed to be the will of the multitude. Finding the humour of the majority, and the disposition of the troops, such as they desired, menacing and sanguinary against the conspirators, they endeavoured to inflame their passions, employing signs and gestures of indignation, rather than words which could not be heard. Among other expressions or gestures of this nature, Antony

* Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

laid open his bosom, to shew the armour with which he had thought necessary, in the Senate, and amidst so many concealed enemies, to guard his own life. By this, and other signs which he made, he insinuated that Cæsar had fallen in consequence of his excessive confidence, and of the clemency with which he had spared those who became his assassins.

From this scene, which passed in the streets, Antony returned to the Senate; where the debate* being still continued, Dolabella alleged the confusion which must arise from a general suspension of magistracy, or the disorders attending general elections at so critical a time, and insisted, that all the magistrates now in office should remain. Cicero pleaded for a general amnesty and oblivion for the past; enumerated the evils which had been brought on the republic, by the contentions and by the vindictive spirit of party; proposed that none should be questioned for Cæsar's death, nor any one be called to account for any violence committed under his authority; that the arrangements made by Cæsar himself should continue; that every one destined to office, should in his turn succeed according to that destination; and that all the provisions made for the army should be fully secured to them †.

After some opposite opinions on the question had been delivered, Antony concluded the debate with a tone of more authority than he had hitherto assumed. "While you deliberated," he said, "on the conduct which you were to hold with respect to the conspirators, I chose to be silent; but when

* Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

† Dio, Cass. lib. xlv, c. 54.

“ you changed the question, and proposed to con-
“ demn the dead, I ventured only to make one ob-
“ jection, which being removeable by yourselves,
“ ought to have been the least of all your difficulties.
“ And yet I find it is sufficient to stop your pro-
“ ceedings! What are we to think of the remain-
“ ing objections? The whole fabric of the empire
“ rests at this moment on establishments made by
“ Cæsar : at home on the arrangements he has made
“ in the succession to office ; abroad on the grants
“ of possessions or immunities made by him to prin-
“ ces, cities, corporations, and provinces, and on
“ the several conditions he has, in return, stipulated
“ with them on behalf of the Roman People. Imagine then, upon the subversion of what he has
“ established, what scenes of confusion must follow.
“ It is true, confusion at a distance may not affect
“ you ; but the scene in Italy will be sufficient to
“ occupy your utmost attention. Will the veterans,
“ do you think, who have not yet laid down their
“ arms, or not discontinued the use of them, of whom
“ many thousands are now in this city, will they al-
“ low themselves to be stripped of the grants which
“ were made to them in reward of long, dangerous,
“ and faithful services? You have heard their voice
“ last night in the streets. You have heard their
“ menaces against the authors of our present dis-
“ tresses. Will they behold with patience the body
“ of their favourite leader dragged with ignominy
“ in the streets? Will they bear with an indignity,
“ which, though done to his memory, must involve
“ a forfeiture of all that they themselves have re-

“ ceived, or a disappointment of all they expect in
“ reward of their services? Will the Roman Peo-
“ ple in general submit to have the principal author
“ of their present greatness stigmatized by your de-
“ crees as a criminal, and to have his assassins re-
“ warded with honours?—The proposal to me, in
“ all its parts, appears wild and impracticable. Let
“ the conspirators, if you will, escape with impunity,
“ provided they are sensible of the favour that is
“ shewn to them; but talk not of rewards to them;
“ nor, under pretence of censuring the conduct of
“ your late Dictator, wildly open a scene of confu-
“ sion, by subverting all your present establishments.
“ My opinion is, that the acts of Cæsar, without ex-
“ ception, should be ratified, and that all affairs
“ should be suffered to move on in the channels in
“ which he has left them. On these preliminary con-
“ ditions I will submit to an accommodation, and
“ agree that we think no more of the past.”

In delivering this speech, Antony having perceived so powerful a support in the legion which now had possession of the Forum, in the veterans, and in the promiscuous multitudes of people who were assembled round the doors of the Senate, expressed himself with assurance and great vehemence. A decree was accordingly passed, by which all prosecutions, on account of Cæsar's death, were prohibited; all his acts, for the sake of peace, were confirmed; all his plans ordered to be carried into execution; and all the grants of land, which had been made by him to the veterans, specially ratified*.

* Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

This decree being to be carried to the Comitium or popular assembly for their assent on the following day, and the accommodation of parties being so far advanced, the conspirators intimated an inclination to address themselves to the People; and were instantly attended by great numbers, who to hear them assembled on the ascent of the Capitol*. Brutus spoke from the steps. He explained the motives upon which his friends and himself had thought proper to betake them to their present retreat; and, in speaking on this subject, complained of the outrage which had been offered to Cinna, who, though not concerned in the death of Cæsar, was attacked, for having been supposed to approve of what they had done. He enumerated the distresses which had afflicted the commonwealth, from the time at which Cæsar commenced hostilities to the present hour; “ a period, during which the best blood of the re-
“ public,” he said, “ was continually shedding, in
“ Spain, in Macedonia, and in Africa, to gratify the
“ ambition or vanity of a single man. These things,
“ however,” continued he, “ we consented to over-
“ look, and in suffering Cæsar to hold the higher
“ offices of State, became bound, by our oath of
“ fidelity, not to call any of his past actions in ques-
“ tion. If we had likewise sworn to submit our-
“ selves to perpetual servitude, our enemies might
“ have some colour for the accusation of perjury,
“ which we are told is now laid to our charge; but
“ the proposal of any such engagement we should

* Cicero, ad Atticum, lib. xv, ep. 1.

“ have rejected with indignation, and we trust that
“ every Roman citizen would have done so also.
“ Sylla, after having gratified his revenge against
“ many who were no doubt his own enemies, at the
“ same time that they were enemies of the public,
“ at last restored the commonwealth; but Cæsar,
“ without any pretence, besides the gratification of
“ his own ambition, continued, in the city and in
“ the provinces, to usurp all the powers of the em-
“ pire. The treasury he treated as his property, and
“ the magistrates of Rome as his creatures, to be
“ placed or displaced at his pleasure. One of the
“ last acts of his life, in preparing for his departure
“ from Rome, was to fix the succession of magis-
“ trates for a number of years; in order that in his
“ absence you might not, by choosing your own offi-
“ cers, recover the habit of exercising that freedom,
“ and of enjoying those rights, of which he meant
“ to deprive you for ever.”

From this account of Cæsar's usurpation, Brutus proceeded to speak of the grants which had been made to the veterans. “ He acknowledged the long
“ and faithful services which those men had per-
“ formed against the enemies of the commonwealth
“ in Gaul, in Germany, and in Britain; approved of
“ the provision which had been made for them, and
“ assured them of his concurrence in carrying this
“ provision into its full effect. At the same time,
“ he lamented the sufferings of those who had been
“ stripped of their ancient possessions, to make way
“ for those new grants; proposed that they should
“ have a compensation from the Treasury, and thus

“ hoped that the justice of the commonwealth would
“ be employed in equally protecting the rights of
“ every citizen.”

This speech was received with applause ; and on the following day the act of oblivion being confirmed by the People, and the children of Antony having been sent * as hostages to the Capitol, the conspirators came down from thence, and were received in the Forum with loud acclamations. After parties had saluted each other with mutual congratulations and expressions of friendship, Cassius retired to sup with Antony, and Brutus with Lepidus. The republic seemed to revive. The nobles in general expressed their satisfaction in the present state of affairs, and extolled the authors of Cæsar's death as the restorers of freedom to their country. Many, however, who had shared in the late usurpation, having tasted of military power, and being unable to acquiesce in the condition of mere citizens, however dignified, or to accommodate themselves to the restraints and formalities of legal government, were likely to prove but ill members of the reviving republic. Antony, in particular, considered himself as the successor of Cæsar, and could not for a moment cease to devise the means of retaining the sovereignty, and of holding or granting at pleasure the dignities and emoluments of the State.

The senate had weakly, under the shew of moderation, resolved to confirm the late dictator's will, and to ratify all his acts, both public and private ; they

* *Clæar. Philip. i. c. 1.*

had decreed that the remains of the deceased should be honoured with a public funeral, which was to be conducted in the manner which his friends should think proper.

Antony was prepared to take advantage of these circumstances, towards preserving the party of Cæsar both in the army and in the city, not doubting that while this party prevailed, he himself should remain at its head. For this purpose, he published Cæsar's will, in which he knew that there were many clauses likely to gratify the people, and to inflame their minds against his assassins. Among these, were a legacy of money to be distributed to the inferior citizens, at the rate of twenty-five Attic drachmas, about two pounds ten shillings a man *; or, according to Octavius, quoted by Dion Cassius, 300 H. S. about the same sum; together with an assignment of his gardens on the river, as public walks for the service and pleasure of the people. Many legacies were likewise bequeathed to private persons. The principal inheritance, together with the name of Cæsar, was devised to Octavius, grandson to his sister Julia. The remainder, in case of the failure of this young man, was destined to Decimus Brutus, who, in the mean time, together with Mark Antony, was made guardian of the young Cæsar, and executor of the will.

Upon the publication of this deed, the partisans of Antony took occasion to extol the munificence and generosity of the deceased towards the Roman

* Appian. de Bello Civili, lib. 2.

people, to blacken the conduct of the conspirators, representing that of Decimus Brutus, in particular, as equal to parricide ; and Antony, in this manner, having secured the public attention and favour, proceeded to celebrate the funeral with all the honours that were due to a public benefactor, and to a common parent of the people.

Cæsar's body, in the general consternation, had been left for some hours on the spot where it fell. It was at last borne on a litter, by a few slaves, to his own house. In this confusion, one of the arms, all over bloody, was left hanging over the side of the litter ; and this circumstance, though at the time in appearance unnoticed, yet remained with a deep impression on the minds of those who beheld it. On examining the body, there were found twenty-three wounds, sufficiently ghastly, although no more than one or two were mortal. Antony determined to exhibit this spectacle to the people, accompanied with that of the robes, which were pierced and torn in the struggle with which Cæsar fell, and all over stained with his blood. He likewise ordered a solemn dirge to be performed, with interludes of music, agreeable to the practice at Roman funerals, and suited to that particular occasion. He himself prepared to speak the oration ; and a day being fixed for the solemnity, a pile was raised in the Campus Martius, near to the tomb of Julia, the daughter of the deceased, and the wife of Pompey. Although it was intended that the body should be consumed on this pile in the Campus Martius, the funeral oration was to be spoken from the Rostra in the

Forum, and a couch was placed there, adorned with ivory and gold, on which was laid the corpse, with an effigy of the deceased, covered with purple, and over it a trophy, on which was to be hung the robes in which he was killed. The whole of this pageant was covered up, and adorned with a gilded canopy of state. In bearing it to the Forum, the pall was carried by magistrates then in office, or by persons who had passed through the highest stations of the commonwealth. But in the procession, the streets were so crowded, that no order could be kept, and multitudes, who ought to have passed in regular procession, hurried by the shortest ways to the place at which the obsequies were to be performed*.

Antony began the funeral oration, with an apology for intruding on the patience of many, who possibly took no particular concern in the catastrophe of Cæsar's life. "Had Cæsar been a private man," he said, "I should have proceeded to his funeral in silence; but one who has died in the first station of the republic, is entitled to public notice. And my own station as Consul, were I qualified for the task, would have imposed on me a special duty on this occasion; but in this instance, the eulogium of the dead must proceed from a higher authority than mine. The senate and the people of Rome have spoken, and they have left to me only the task of repeating what they have said." After these words, he read over the decrees of the senate and people, enumerating the titles, dignities, honours, and powers, which had been conferred on

* Sueton. in Cæsar.

Cæsar. He spoke of the lustre of his family, the graces and accomplishments of his person, and of his singular abilities; gave a general account of the wars in which he had been engaged; his splendid successes, and the accession of glory and of empire he had procured to the Roman State: and when he had gained so far on the attention of his audience, he addressed himself to the popular part in particular. “When you were oppressed,” he said, alluding to the overbearing influence of Pompey, “by a faction which engrossed all the powers and dignities of the commonwealth, Cæsar generously interposed in your behalf. When this faction had withdrawn themselves from the allegiance that was due to the sovereignty of the Roman people; and when they had actually armed first the provinces of Spain, afterwards Macedonia, Greece, Asia, Africa, and all the eastern parts of the empire against you, he braved the storms of winter and the superior force of such an enemy; he dispersed the cloud which had gathered over your heads; he carried the glory of your arms into Asia, Africa, Egypt, and yet a third time into Spain. His enemies every where experienced his valour in battle, and his clemency in victory. He pardoned many who were repeatedly in arms against himself; and when he dreaded the effects of an excessive lenity towards those who appeared to be incorrigible, he sought for pretences to forgive his enemies, under the shew of gratifying his friends, whom he encouraged to solicit him for pardon.

“ On the subject of his administration in the
“ State, I need not make any observation to you.
“ You were witnesses of his conduct. Descended
“ of your ancient kings, he had more glory in re-
“ fusing a crown that was offered to him, than they
“ had in wearing it with all its honours.—You loved
“ him—You set him at the head of your priesthood—
“ at the head of your army—at the head of the repub-
“ lic:—you declared his person sacred as that of your
“ Tribunes—you declared him the father of his coun-
“ try—you shewed him to the world, adorned with
“ the ensigns of sovereign power—your Dictator—
“ your Guardian, and the terror of your enemies.
“ But he is now no more.—This sacred person is now
“ breathless before you. The father of his country
“ is dead : not, alas ! of disease—not of the decline
“ of years—not by the hands of foreign enemies—
“ not far from his own country—but here within
“ your walls, and in the Roman Senate, in the vi-
“ gour of health, in the midst of all his designs for
“ your prosperity and glory. He who often repel-
“ led the swords of his enemies, has fallen by the
“ hands of treacherous friends, or by the hands
“ of those whom his clemency had spared.—But
“ what availed his clemency ? what availed the laws
“ with which he so anxiously guarded the lives of
“ his fellow-citizens ? His own he could not guard
“ from traitors. His mangled body, and his grey
“ hairs clotted with blood, are now exposed in that
“ Forum which he so often adorned with his tri-
“ umphs ; and near to that place of public debate,

“ from which he so often captivated the people of Rome with his eloquence *.

At this passage, it is said that Antony began to change the tone of lamentation³ into that of rage; that he raised his voice to indignation and threats, but that he was checked by a general murmur of the Senators; and that he thought proper again to soften his expressions. “ The gods,” he said, “ are masters of the fortunes of men. It is our part to forget the past, to look forward to the future, to cultivate peace among ourselves, and to accompany this hero with songs of praise to the mansions of the blest.” Having spoke these words, he tucked up his robe, and disengaged his arms as for some vehement action; and standing over the bier in which the effigy was laid, uncovered it; but, as appalled at the sight, or struck into silence, he held up the torn and bloody garment to view, sunk again into a sorrowful tone, and prayed that it were possible for him to redeem that precious life with his own. Being interrupted with a general cry of lamentation from the People, he made a pause to hear the interlude. At a passage of the hymn, in which Cæsar was personated in the following words, “ *For this I spared, that they might murder me;*” a general cry of indignation burst from the multitude; and, at the same time, the effigy of the dead, with all its wounds and stains of blood, being raised to view, the People could no longer be restrained. Part ran to avenge his blood on the persons of the

* Dio, Cass. lib. xlv, c. 49.

conspirators, and part tore up the benches and tribunals of the magistrates, dismantled the Senate-house, brought into heaps the spoils of the supposed enemies of Cæsar, and forgetting the preparations which had been made for a funeral pile in the field of Mars, brought the most precious combustible materials they could find to light a fire in the Forum itself, and there to consume the body of the dead.

From this beginning, the People continued during the whole night to bring fresh materials. The officers who had attended the procession, stripped off the robes in which they were dressed, and cast them in the flames. Women crowded to the pile, and threw upon it, as a sacrifice to the manes of the dead, the ornaments of their own persons, the gorgets and the prætextas of their children. The People, in general, appeared to be seized with a degree of phrenzy, of which, neither the measure of their attachment to Cæsar in his lifetime, nor the manner in which they had received the first accounts of his death, had given any adequate expectations: they ran through the streets denouncing vengeance on his enemies, and proceeded to violence against every person who was represented as such. Helvius Cinna being mistaken for Cornelius of the same name, who, on the preceding day, had declared his approbation of the conspiracy, was put to death by the populace, his body torn in pieces, and his head carried in procession on the point of a spear*.

* Sueton. in Cæs. Plut. *ibid.* Appian. Dio. Cass. &c.

The perpetrators of this murder being led by the retainers and dependents of Caesar's family, snatched lighted brands from the funeral pile, and attacked the houses of Brutus, Cassius, and the other conspirators. They even attempted to demolish Pompey's theatre, in which Caesar had been killed, and lighting many fires at once in different parts of the city, threatened the whole with immediate conflagration and ruin.

In these riots, though partly projected by Antony, the public disorder was carried to a greater height than he had foreseen or wished. His intention was to incite a popular cry against the authors of Caesar's death, and to check the Senate in any opposition they were likely to give in the execution of his own designs. But when the crimes which were committed began to reflect dishonour on the party of Caesar, and when all persons of property were alarmed, and the city itself was threatened with destruction, he found himself obliged to interpose the authority of magistrate, and put an end to tumults of so dangerous a nature. For this purpose, in concert with Dolabella, he issued an edict, prohibiting the populace to assemble in arms on any pretence whatever, and posted guards in different parts of the town to secure the observance of it.

The Consuls having by these means restored the peace of the city, and dispersed all the crowds which had assembled, except that which still remained at the place of Caesar's funeral, where the populace continued for some time to feed the pile, Antony made a journey to the country, and remained in

Campania great part of April and May. During this time, he was assiduous in his visits to the quarters and new settlements of the veterans, on whom he was for the future to rely for support in the pretensions which, it is probable, he had already conceived, and which were much too high for the safety of the commonwealth. In his absence, one Ematius, who had formerly assumed the name of Marius, and under this popular designation had been busy in disturbing the public peace, and who, upon this account, had by the late Dictator himself been driven from the city, now again appeared, affected to lead in the riotous honours which were paid to the memory of Cæsar, and, attended by the populace, erected an altar or monument on the spot where the corpse had been burnt, and drew multitudes thither as to a place of devotion. On this occasion, Dolabella, who had offended many of the more respectable citizens, by assuming, without any regular authority, the dignity of Consul, now recovered their favour by a vigorous exercise of his power against this impostor, gave orders that Ematius should be put to death, many of his accomplices thrown from the Tarpeian rock, and the monument or altar they had erected should be razed to the ground*.

By these executions, the peace of the city seemed to be re-established, and even the commonwealth itself in some measure restored. Both the Consuls affected the character of ordinary magistrates, shew-

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlv, c. 50. and 51. App. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

ed a proper deference to the Senate, and in all things endeavoured to give satisfaction to the friends of the republic. Antony, in particular, upon his return to the city, consulted the principal Senators apart upon every motion which he proposed to make, and referred the determination of every question to the free discussion of their body at large. He affected to have no secrets; and though empowered by the late act of the Senate to carry into execution the different articles of Cæsar's will, and to complete all his intended arrangements, he did not, under these titles, propose any measure but what was generally known and approved*.

In pursuance of this system of moderation, it was proposed by Antony himself, that Sextus, the remaining son of Pompey, who, under the authority of the late Dictator, had been declared an outlaw, should be restored to his country, and have a compensation in money for the losses which had been sustained by his family. To provide for the future safety of the commonwealth, as well as for that of private persons, it was proposed from the same quarter, that a law should be enacted to abolish for ever the name and power of Dictator. At the same time, this popular magistrate declared his concurrence in all the honorary votes which had passed in favour of Brutus and Cassius, and in every act which had a tendency to mitigate the animosity of Cæsar's party, to pacify the veterans, and to incline them, without any further disturbance, to settle on the

* Cicero, *Philipp.* 1. c. 21.

lands which had been assigned as the reward of their services.

The Senate, in order to terminate as soon as possible every occasion of public uneasiness or alarm, although they greatly disapproved of rewarding in the troops as a public service, what was in fact the overthrow of the republic itself, and had reason to dread the precedent, yet hastened to the performance of all Cæsar's engagements, in order to deprive the veterans of any pretence for multiplying their demands, or remaining any longer in arms.

These circumstances had a very favourable aspect, and the storm which threatened the city and the commonwealth appeared to be laid. Many had foretold, that the permission of a public funeral to Cæsar would have dangerous consequences; and during the late tumults and riots thought themselves sufficiently justified in these predictions. But their apprehensions now appeared to have been groundless, and the authors of the late moderate counsels, in which the Senate was induced to temporise, and to make concessions in such matters as were of less moment, in order to appease the animosity of parties, and to obtain their consent in matters of more consequence, were now highly applauded.

All the conspirators, in the height of the late disorders which arose on account of Cæsar's funeral, had withdrawn from the city, and, under different honourable pretences which were expressly furnished to them by the Senate, continued to absent themselves from Rome. Many of them had been formerly named to the government of provinces, and now

proceeded to take possession of their lots. Decimus Brutus, on this occasion, repaired to the Cisalpine Gaul, Trebonius to Asia, and Tullius Cimber to Bithynia.

Marcus Brutus had been appointed to the government of Macedonia, and Cassius to that of Syria; but those chiefs of the conspiracy being actually in office as Prætors, could not, agreeably to the forms of the republic, take possession of provinces until the expiration of their year, nor could they regularly absent themselves from the city, without some decree from the Senate to dispense with their attendance as officers of State. Under the present favourable aspect of public affairs, and after the Consuls had given such evident proofs of their respect for the commonwealth, it was supposed that the authors of the late revolution might now return in safety to the capital; and Cicero himself, on this occasion, was so confident of the perfect restoration of peace to the republic, that in writing to Atticus, he assures him, that "Brutus may now walk the streets of Rome with a crown of gold on his head." In this, however, with all his penetration, he had overrated the professions, and mistaken the designs of Antony, now in the supreme direction of affairs. This profligate adventurer, the more dangerous that he was supposed, by his debaucheries, disqualified for any deep or arduous design, had assumed the disguise of moderation and deference to the Senate, merely to conceal his intentions, until he should have formed a party on which he could rely. He had so far imposed on the public, by

seem^{ing} to be alarmed with danger to his own person from the riots which he affected to suppress after the funeral of Cæsar, that the Senate permitted him to arm his friends; and suffered him, under their own authority, to assemble a powerful body of men, amounting to some thousands, chiefly composed of officers who had served under the late Dictator, and who now submitted to act as the guards of Antony's person*. Being thus strengthened, when the return of Brutus and Cassius was mentioned to him, it appeared that these were not the associates with whom he meant to co-operate in the State. "They cannot be safe," he said, "in the midst of so many of Cæsar's retainers and friends †."

Antony was greatly awed by the abilities of Brutus and Cassius, by the respect which was paid them by the public, by their credit with the Senate, and by their determined resolution to maintain its authority. In order, therefore, to fortify himself against them, he maintained a continual correspondence with the veterans of the late Cæsar's army, courted their attachment, and stated himself as their protector and leader. In this quality, he made his visit to their settlements in Campania, where, it has been observed, he passed the greater part of the months of April and May. At his return, he endeavoured to strengthen himself still more, by entering into a concert with Lepidus, who, in the station of second in command to Cæsar, or general of the horse

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. i.

† Cicero ad Familiae. lib. xi, ep. 1.

to the Dictator, remained at the head of all the military forces in Italy. He became engaged to obtain for Lepidus the dignity of Chief Pontiff; and, in order to cement the union of their families, proposed a marriage of his own daughter with the son of this officer. He had been averse to the promotion of Dolabella, and, at the death of Cæsar, would have opposed his assuming the dignity of Consul, if he had not been prevented at first, by the uncertainty of his own situation, and afterwards, by the countenance which this intruder into public office began to receive from the Senate itself. In these circumstances, to dispute the accession of Dolabella would be to throw him entirely into the hands of the republican party; he thought proper, therefore, to disguise his inclinations, and took measures to gain him, or at least to set him at variance with the authors of the late conspiracy. For this purpose, he made him an offer of his services to procure an appointment to command in any of the more advantageous provincial situations.

Notwithstanding that Cassius was already appointed to the government of Syria, Antony, according to agreement, undertook to support the pretensions of Dolabella, and to aid him in supplanting Cassius at the meeting of the Senate, which was to be held on the first of June. Having, in this manner, set his rivals at variance among themselves, and, with great industry and application, strengthened himself by his coalition with Lepidus and Dolabella, the one at the head of the army, the other his own colleague in the principal office of the State; and ha-

ving secured the attachment and support of the veteran soldiers recently settled in Italy; he no longer kept any terms with the senatorian party, or with the friends of the republic. Having formerly obtained a resolution of the Senate to confirm all the acts, and to maintain the arrangements which had been devised by Cæsar, and being master of the papers and memorials in which these were contained, he brought extracts and quotations from them in support of his several proposals, without producing the originals; and in this form commenced, in the name of the dead, a reign more arbitrary than that of the living Cæsar had been. As he had never communicated to any one the papers or memorials from which these authorities were drawn, he expunged or he inserted whatever he thought proper, or even, without taking this trouble, framed his quotations on every subject to the purpose which he meant to serve. He made Cæsar's memorials to seem with intended laws and acts of the Senate, and of the People; with grants and forfeitures of lands; with the pardon of crimes and recalls from banishment; with orders for levying contributions from princes, states, and private persons; with compositions to be exacted from towns and corporations, for the ransom of their possessions, liberties, and franchises; and even with distinct resolutions and decisions relating to matters which took their rise after Cæsar's death*. His wife Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, likewise availed herself of this valuable

* Cicer. Phillip. ii, c. 38.

mine, and sold offices and commissions, together with entire provinces and kingdoms *, to those who were willing to pay her the price, which she set upon her good offices, in having such grants inserted among the memorials of Cæsar.

Among the acts of Antony during this Consulate, is mentioned a change which he made in the judiciary law, by which he obtained, that a certain number of Centurions, or military men, should be entered on the rolls of the judges, instead of the revenue officers †, whom Cæsar had excluded. Relying on this and other artifices, which procured him the support of the army, he rose every day in his presumption; and while he incited Dolabella to persist in supplanting Cassius in the province of Syria, he himself proposed to supplant Marcus Brutus in his nomination to the government of Macedonia. By this appointment, he meant to place himself at the head of the army, which Cæsar, to be in readiness for his Asiatic or Parthian expedition, had transported into Macedonia; and it appeared afterwards to be his design, as soon as he had obtained the command of this army, to procure an appointment to supersede Decimus Brutus in the province of Cisalpine Gaul, and under pretence of expelling him from thence, to retransport this army again into Italy.

In order to obtain acts for so much of these purposes as he was then about to execute, he summoned all the members of the Senate ‡ to assemble on

* Cicer. ad Atticum, lib. xiv, ep. 12.

† Tribuni Aerarii.

‡ Cicero ad Attic. lib. xv, ep. 6.

the first of June. He had brought into the city, to overawe this assembly, great numbers of the veterans, on whom he himself, besides confirming the settlements which had been assigned to them by Cæsar, had bestowed considerable favours. At this meeting of the Senate, few of the members, who were inclined to oppose the Consul, thought that they themselves could with safety attend. Even Hirtius and Pansa, though named for the Consulate of the following year, and protected by the dignity which belonged to that destination, thought proper to absent themselves*.

At a call of the Senate, so ill attended, Antony obtained for himself, without opposition, the government of Macedonia, with the command of the well-appointed army which had been destined for Asia, but which, from the period of Cæsar's death, had remained inactive in that province. He at the same time obtained for Dolabella the province of Syria to the exclusion of Cassius; and by these several arrangements, stated himself and his colleague as in open enmity with the leaders of the republican party, whom they had lately affected to court, but whom they now proceeded to strip of the preferments and honours which had been assigned to them by the commonwealth.

Under pretence of making compensations to Cassius and Brutus for the loss of the provinces of Macedonia and Syria, of which they were now deprived, Antony procured them appointments which

* Clcer. ad Attic. Philip. 1, c. 2.

they considered as an additional insult ; that of Brutus, to inspect the supplies of corn from Asia ; and that of Cassius, to superintend the supplies of the same kind which were brought from Sicily.

While the Senate complied with Antony in his demands on these several subjects, they endeavoured to restrain his abuse of the supposed will and memorials of Cæsar. For this purpose they appointed a committee of their own number to inspect the contents of those papers, and to attest the reality of such notes and instructions as were to be carried into execution under the authority of the Senate. Antony, however, paid no regard to this appointment, nor even suffered the committee to meet in discharge of the duty for which they were named.

About this time *, and alarmed by these violences, Cicero, who had hitherto maintained some degree of neutrality or moderation between the parties, withdrew from the city. He had, before the death of Cæsar, under pretence of superintending the education of his son at Athens, intended to settle in Greece, and had obtained Cæsar's consent, and the leave of the Senate for this purpose. On Cæsar's death, having hopes that the republic was about to revive, he took his resolution to remain at Rome ; but being now satisfied that these hopes were vain, or, in his own figurative expression, observing, *that, although the tree had been cut down on the Ides of March, its roots were yet entire, and made vigorous shoots*, he resumed his former design of absençing

* The middle of June.

himself; and instead of applying again to the Senate for leave, accepted from Dolabella, the newly appointed governor of Syria, a commission of lieutenancy in that province, which he was to employ as a pretence for crossing the Ionian sea. In execution of this design, he arrived on the twenty-sixth of June at Antium, where he found Brutus, with his wife Porcia, and his mother Servilia, with other persons of distinction. He gave it as his opinion, that Brutus and Cassius, for the sake of peace, should accept of the commissions assigned to them as inspectors of the supplies of corn from Sicily and Asia, and should repair to their several provinces for that purpose. While the company were yet deliberating on this subject, they were joined by Cassius, who, upon Cicero's repeating what he had said, answered, with a stern countenance, 'That he would not go into Sicily, nor accept as a favour what was intended as an affront. He complained, that opportunities had been lost of rendering effectual the first and principal step which had been taken to deliver the commonwealth, and was inclined to blame Decimus Brutus for some part of this neglect. Cicero censured the conduct of the whole party, for not having secured the completion of a business that was so successfully begun. "You ought," he said, "immediately upon the death of Cæsar, to have assumed the government, to have called the Senate by your own authority, and to have taken advantage of the spirit that was generally raised among the People for the recovery of their legal constitution."

In the result of this conference, Brutus and Cas-

sus, as well as Cicero, took their resolution to depart from Italy; and the two former, with so much resentment of the indignity which they had suffered in their appointment to inspect the importation of corn, that they engaged Servilia* to employ her influence in having this appointment expunged from the public acts or records of the Senate. Before their departure, they wrote a joint letter to Antony, conveyed in expressions that were guarded and polite; but demanding an explanation of the terms on which they stood with him, and of the purposes for which he had assembled the veterans of Cæsar in such numbers at Rome. Some time after this letter was sent, they drew up a joint edict or manifesto, setting forth the cause of their absence from the capital, and protesting against the violence which was daily offered to the constitution of their country.

In answer to this letter, and to the paper with which it was followed, Antony issued a manifesto full of invective and contumely, and which he transmitted, under a formal address, to the Prætors Brutus and Cassius, accompanied with a letter in the same style. The originals of these several papers are lost; but in reply to the last, we find addressed to Antony, and signed by Brutus and Cassius, the following original preserved among the letters of Cicero.

“ Brutus and Cassius, Prætors, to Antony, Consul, &c.

* The mother of Brutus.

“ We have received your letter, which, like your
“ manifesto, is full of reproach and of threats, and
“ very improper from you to us. We have done
“ you no injury ; and if we were inclined to hostili-
“ ties, your letter should not restrain us. But you
“ know our resolutions, and you presume to threaten
“ us, to the end that our pacific conduct may be
“ imputed to fear. We wish you all the preferments
“ and honours which are consistent with the freedom
“ of the commonwealth. We have no desire to quar-
“ rel with you ; but we value our liberties more than
“ we value your friendship. Consider well what
“ you undertake, and what you can support. Do
“ not be encouraged so much by the length of Cæ-
“ sar’s life, as warned by the short duration of the
“ power he usurped. We pray to God, that your
“ designs may be innocent, or, if they be not inno-
“ cent, that they may be as little hurtful to yourself
“ as the safety of the commonwealth can permit *.”

These altercations, as might be expected, led to an open breach. The Prætors wrote to Decimus Brutus, Trebonius, and Cimber, to put their several provinces in a state of defence, and to make what further provision they could of men and money, as for a war that could not be avoided. Cicero, in continuing his voyage to Greece, had arrived on the sixth of August at Leucopetræ, beyond Rhegium, and had set out from thence ; but being put back, was met by some citizens at Rhegium, just arrived from Rome, who brought him copies of the edicts

* Cicero, ad Famil. lib. ii, ep. 3. Dated 4th of August.

or manifestos issued by Cassius and Brutus, with a report, that a full meeting of the Senate was expected on the first of September; that Brutus and Cassius had sent circular letters requesting the attendance of all their friends; that Antony was likely to drop his designs; that the cause of the republic, bearing so favourable an aspect, his own departure was censured, and his presence was earnestly wished for.

Upon these representations, Cicero took his resolution to return to Rome, and arrived again at Pompeii, on the nineteenth of August*. Here, among the accounts of what had passed in the Senate on the first of that month, he was informed that Piso, the father of Calpurnia, and father-in-law of the late Cæsar, had, notwithstanding this connection and his interest in the remains of the late usurpation, vigorously opposed the measures of Antony; and, on that occasion, had acquired great distinction as a man of ability, and as an upright citizen; but that not being properly supported in the Senate, he had declined any further struggle, and had absented himself on the following day.

Cicero, though not greatly encouraged by these reports, continued his journey to Rome; and having arrived on the last of August, found that the expectations which he had been made to entertain of Antony's intentions were void of foundation; and that the outrages this adventurer was likely to commit were such, as to make it extremely unsafe for any

* Cicero, ad Att. lib. xvi, ep. 7.

distinguished friend of the republic to come in his power. For this reason, Cicero, on the first of September, sent an excuse to the Senate, pleading the ill state of his health, which obliged him to remain shut up in his own house. Antony considered his absence from the meeting as an affront to himself, or as giving too much countenance to the suspicions which were entertained of his violent intentions. Under this impression he burst into rage, and sent an officer to require the attendance of Cicero, threatening, if he persisted in his supposed contumacy, to pull down his house about his ears; the ordinary method of forcing those to submission, who shut themselves up, or took refuge in their dwellings from any sentence of the law. He was dissuaded, however, from attempting to execute his threat; and being himself absent from the Senate on the following day, Cicero ventured to take his seat, and, in the absence of the Consul, delivered that oration which is entitled the first Philippic. In this speech he accounted for his late retirement from the capital, and for his present return, in terms strongly reflecting on the conduct and administration of the present Consul.

Antony, in his turn, greatly exasperated by the accounts he received of Cicero's speech, prepared to reply at a subsequent meeting of the Senate; and delivered himself accordingly with great acrimony against his antagonist. These mutual attacks thus made in the absence of parties, produced from Cicero that famous oration which is entitled the second Philippic; a model of eloquence in the

style of ancient invective, but which, though put in the form of an immediate reply to imputations supposed to be made in his own presence, never was at all delivered, and is to be considered as little more than a rhetorical pleading in a fictitious case. The offence, however, which was given by the publication of this invective, made a principal part in the quarrel, which the parties never ceased to pursue, till it ended with Cicero's life.

While the Consul Antony in this manner threw off the mask of a legal magistrate, and acted in some measure as a person who succeeded to the military usurpation erected by Cæsar, a new actor appeared on the stage of public affairs, from whose youth, nothing important, it was thought, could, for some time, be expected. This was Caius Octavius, the grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar, by his niece Attia, and the son of Octavius, who, in the course of State-preferments, had arrived at the dignity of Prætor; and in this rank, having governed the province of Macedonia, died suddenly on his return from thence. His widow, the mother of this young man, married Philippus, a citizen of moderate parts, but upright intentions. In the house of Philippus the young Octavius was brought up, and passed his early years, while his grand-uncle was engaged in the most active parts of his life, and while he was insinuating himself by intrigues, or forcing his way at the head of armies, to the sovereignty of the Roman empire. Elevated by his connection with this relation to a high situation, and to higher views, he had followed him in the late campaign against the sons of Pom-

pey in Spain, and was already marked out, though a minor, to succeed Lepidus, under the Dictator, as general of the horse.

Upon the return of Cæsar into Italy, and after the army destined for the war in Asia had been transported into Macedonia, the young Octavius was sent to Apollonia, as a place at which he might continue his studies, and his military exercises, and be in the way to join the army, and to attend his uncle in the projected expedition to the East.

After this young man had been about six months at Apollonia, a messenger arrived in the beginning of the night with accounts of Cæsar's death, bearing, that he had fallen in the Senate; but without determining whether he fell by the hands of a few, or in the execution of a general resolution of the whole body. The young man was greatly dejected and perplexed in his thoughts. The military men then about him advised him to repair to the quarters of the army in Macedonia, and to put himself at their head. But his stepfather Philippus, and his mother Attia, in their letters, had cautioned him against this or any other ambitious design: they advised him to return into Italy in the most private manner, and warned him to avoid giving any umbrage to the partisans of the republic, who had now got the ascendant at Rome, and would not allow any person whatever to tread in the dangerous steps of his late uncle.

Octavius accordingly embarked for Italy; and as he knew not what might be the disposition of the troops who were then stationed at Brundisium; he

chose to land at Lupia, a place at some little distance, and on the same coast. Here he received farther accounts from Rome, with particulars of the conspiracy; the proceedings of the Senate; accommodation of the parties; the tumults that arose at Cæsar's funeral; the will, and his own share in it: but his friends still persisted in recommending a private station, and advised him even to drop his pretensions to the name and inheritance of Cæsar. But this youth, though only turned of eighteen, took upon him to decide for himself in this matter. He sent an officer to sound the disposition of the garrison at Brundisium; and finding that they were inclined to revenge the death of their late favourite leader, and that they resented the other proceedings of the republican party, he proceeded in person to Brundisium in the most public manner, and was met at the gates by the troops, who received him with all the honours thought due to the son and representative of Cæsar.

From this time forward, Octavius assumed the name and designation of his late uncle. He was soon after attended by persons of all ranks from the neighbourhood of Brundisium, and set forward to Rome with a retinue, to which, as he passed on the way, he received continual accession of numbers. The veterans, in general, who had grants of land, flocked to him; complained of the remissness of Antony in suffering the assassins of his own friend and benefactor to go unpunished, and declared their resolution to be revenged, as soon as any person appeared to lead them. Octavius thanked them for

their grateful respect to his father's memory, but exhorted them to moderation and submission. He wished to know the state of parties more exactly before he should declare himself; and on his journey to Rome, young as he was, employed all the caution and wariness of age for the security of his own person, lest any disguised enemy should have insinuated themselves amongst a multitude of professed friends, who were yet generally unknown to him. At Terracina, about fifty miles from Rome, he received a report, that the Consuls had superseded Brutus and Cassius in the provinces of Macedonia and Syria, and by the same account had assigned them inferior stations, at Cyrene and Crete; that many exiles were recalled, particularly Sextus Pompeius; and that, under pretence of executing the intentions of Cæsar, many new members were admitted into the Senate*.

Octavius, upon his arrival at Rome, found his stepfather and his mother under great apprehensions of danger to his person from the power of the Senate, and from the general disposition which appeared in the late act of indemnity that was passed in favour of those who had borne an active part in Cæsar's death. And these apprehensions were strongly confirmed by the neglect of Antony, who took no notice of his arrival, and did not pay that attention which from him might be thought due to the name of Cæsar; but notwithstanding these unpromising appearances, this young person neither desponded nor ex-

* Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

posed himself by any hasty act of presumption. He said, "That, being so young a man, and in a private station, he could not expect that the first advances should be made to him from the Roman Consul; that he would soon convince the Senate of his dutiful intentions towards them; that all the world must applaud in him the endeavours he should make to bring the authors of his father's death to justice; that the act of indemnity, in favour of the assassins, had passed when there was no one to oppose it; but that a charge of murder, when directly brought *, could not be slighted by the Senate, by the Roman People, nor even by Antony himself; that to decline the inheritance which was left to him, would be disrespectful to the memory of Cæsar, and injurious to the Roman People, in whose behalf he was made executor of his father's will. Cæsar," he said, "has distinguished me, and honoured me; and I had rather die, than appear unworthy of such a father." His friends were silenced by the appearance of so much discretion and resolution. They broke off the conference with an advice, which already appeared to be unnecessary, That he should do nothing rashly, nor embrace violent measures, where prudence might equally gain his purpose.

Next morning this young man, attended by a numerous company of his friends, repaired to the Forum, and presented himself before the Prætor C. Antonius, in order to declare in form his acceptance

* Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

of the inheritance of his late uncle, and in order to be solemnly invested with the name of Cæsar. From thence he went to Pompey's gardens, where the Consul then resided; and after being made to wait, for some time, in a manner that sufficiently discovered, on the part of Antony, a dislike to his visit, he was at last admitted to a conference.

The young Octavius, having been educated as the nearest relation to Cæsar, and destined to inherit his fortunes, had conceived the extent of his own importance from the height of Cæsar's power; he considered the sovereignty of the empire, in some measure, as his birthright, and his own interest as the central point to which all public transactions should tend. In this conference with Antony, he is said to have betrayed more of this character than suited his present condition, or than could be reconciled with the discretion with which he had acted on other occasions. He entered with the Consul on a review of his conduct as an officer of State, from the death of Cæsar to the present moment; thanked him for the regard he had in some things shown to his father's memory, and with equal confidence censured and arraigned him in others. "You did well," he said, "in resisting the motion which was made in the Senate to thank the murderers of my father and your own benefactor and friend; and you did well in depriving Brutus and Cassius of the important provinces of Macedonia and Syria; but why preclude my just resentments by an act of indemnity in their favour? Why assign any provinces at all to such persons? Why suffer Decimus Brutus, in particu-

“ lar, with so great a force, to keep possession of
“ Gaul? This is not only to spare, but to arm them
“ against me.” He concluded by demanding restitu-
tion of the money which Antony had seized in the
temple of Ops * ; to the end that he might, without
delay, pay off to the Roman People the legacies be-
queathed to them by Cæsar.

Octavius, in this first specimen of his boldness
and address, although he ventured to insult the Ro-
man Consul, paid court to the army and to the Peo-
ple ; and perhaps wished for the reputation of having
quarrelled with Antony on the subject of his remiss-
ness in avenging the death of Cæsar, and from his
own impatience to pay off the contents of his will.
Antony, being surprised and piqued at the arrogance
of his speech and of his pretensions, endeavoured to
check his ambition, by putting him in mind, that
although he was named the heir of Cæsar’s estate,
he must not pretend to inherit his dignities ; that the
Roman constitution acknowledged no hereditary
powers ; that he ought to remember in whose pre-
sence he stood ; that the Roman Consul must be
equally indifferent to his approbation, or to his cen-
sure. “ To me,” he said, “ it was owing that your
“ relation was not declared an usurper and a tyrant ;
“ consequently, to me it is owing that you have any
“ other inheritance by him besides the disgrace of
“ being related to a traitor, whose body had been
“ dragged through the streets, and cast into the Ti-
“ ber. As to any money which may have been

* Plut. in Antonio. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

“ lodged in the treasury : of that,” he said, “ Cæsar
“ had already diverted too much to his own private
“ uses ; that when his receipts came to be examined,
“ and when the sums not accounted for came to be
“ claimed, much public money might be found
“ among his effects ; that Cæsar himself, if living,
“ could not refuse to make up his accounts ; and
“ that a proposal was actually in forwardness to have
“ them stated and examined.”

From these altercations, Octavius and Antony parted on very ill terms, and were publicly known to have quarrelled. Octavius, from an affected zeal to put the People in possession of the legacy bequeathed to them by his father, brought his own effects to sale. Antony, on his part, affected to promote the inquiry into the applications of public money, and gave out, that the heirs of the late Dictator would have great sums to refund, and little reversion. These heirs, in return, pleaded the late decree of the Senate and People, ratifying all Cæsar’s acts, and consequently precluding all inquiries into this, or any other part of his administration ; but as Antony could fabricate acts of Cæsar, when wanting, to his purpose, so he could set aside or evade the most formal authority when it stood in his way.

In the mean time, the friends of the republic rejoiced at a breach which seemed to weaken their enemies, and gave them hopes, that a competition for the succession to Cæsar’s power would divide the army, and thus shake the foundation on which that power itself was supported. In this contest, Antony, by his age, his character of magistrate, and

by his great personal influence in the commonwealth, having so much the advantage, they thought it safest to promote the interest of his antagonist, who was in a private station, a minor, under the direction of relations inclined to moderation, and strongly possessed with deference to the Senate. Antony, by his arrogance, and the public contempt with which he treated the heir of Cæsar, gave offence to the very party from which he himself hoped for his principal support. Having already obtained all the ends which he proposed to himself in courting the Senate, he pulled off the mask, and set them at defiance. Octavius, on the contrary, while he endeavoured to supplant his antagonist in the favour of the People, affected great deference to the Senate, and regard to the commonwealth. He even changed his language in public respecting the conspirators, and to their friends affected a desire to be reconciled with them. Being at the country-house of Philippus at Tusculum, near to that of Cicero, he took this opportunity to pay his court to a person of so much consideration in the republican party; accosted him with the title of Father, and mentioning his friends of the late conspiracy with respect, affected to put himself entirely under his protection*. Cicero being either the dupe of these artifices, or willing to encourage Octavius against Antony, seemed to listen to his professions; notwithstanding that Philippus, who was interested to save the republic, at the same

* Cic. ad Attic. lib. xiv. ep. 11. Modo venit Octavius in proximam villam Philippi, mihi totus deditus.

time informed him that he did not believe this artful boy was sincere *.

While the young Cæsar thus strove to ingratiate himself with the party of the Senate, his chief reliance was on the People. He opened an office for the payment of the late Dictator's legacy to every one who claimed a share of it; and as these liberalities were ascribed to the deceased, and could not be made a charge of corruption against himself, he did not scruple to extend them beyond the letter of the will. He endeavoured at the same time to make it be believed, that by the oppressions of Antony he was straitened for means to perform his duty in this respect to the People; enjoined his agents to hasten the sale of his own effects at any price, and continually brought new articles to the market in order to raise money with this pious intention †. Being introduced to the People by one of the Tribunes, he delivered a harangue, in which he apprised them of his purpose to exhibit shows and theatrical entertainments in honour of his late father's memory ‡. And meant at these entertainments to have seated himself in his late uncle's chair of state; but in this particular had the mortification of being forbid by the Tribunes §.

Although the Senators in general promoted the claims of Octavius, and considered him as a zealous confederate against Antony, who was the principal object of their fears, the conspirators saw in him the

* Cic, ad Attic. lib. xii, ep. 15.

† Appian, de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

‡ Ibid. lib. xv, ep. 1.

§ Ibid. ep. 2.

representative of their late enemy, and the leader of Cæsar's army. They endeavoured to put their friends on their guard against him, and by all means in their power to counteract his popular arts. For this purpose the public entertainments, which were this year to have been given by Brutus in the quality of Prætor, were provided and exhibited in his absence with great splendour. These exhibitions, from animosity to the young Cæsar, rather than from a regard to Brutus, were brought on by C. Antonius, the brother of the present Consul, who being Prætor, presided in the place of his absent colleague, and who was desirous on this occasion to divide with Octavius the popular favour even in behalf of Brutus, with whom he was not any more than his brother on good terms *.

As in such festivals, the object of the giver was to ingratiate himself, so the applause with which the entertainment was received, was considered as an indication of his success, in any project he had in view with the People. On the present occasion, the Tereus of Accius being brought on the stage, and every sentiment of liberty applicable to the times being greatly applauded, this was considered as an intimation of popular favour to the deliverers of their country, and to Brutus in particular, the giver of the feast. His friends, of course, thought this a favourable opportunity to make trial of their strength; and as the Roman People, still supposed to be the sovereigns of the world, were accustomed,

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

like other despotical masters, to decide on the greatest affairs as matters of occasional pastime, and in the midst of their pleasures, the aristocratical party raised a cry, that the restorers of public liberty should be recalled to their country *. But this cry was not returned by the audience, and the performance itself was stopped by the clamours of the opposite party, until the proposal now made in favour of the conspirators should be withdrawn.

Brutus and Cassius, finding their party among the People so little able to support them, saw no security but in the possession of territory, which, in case of an open attack from their enemies, might supply them with money and arms for their defence. They determined, therefore, notwithstanding the late arrangements, by which they were superseded, to repair to the provinces to which they had been originally destined; Cassius to Syria, and Brutus to Macedonia and Greece. They were encouraged in the execution of this purpose by the divisions and quarrels which arose in the opposite party. Observing that the adherents of the late Cæsar were ranged on different sides; some with Octavius, and others with Antony; that the army itself, though extremely averse to disputes, which tended to disturb them in the possession of the advantage they had gained, were likely to hesitate or to divide in the choice of their leader; these restorers of the commonwealth left Italy with some hopes, that a sem-

* Cicero ad Att. lib. xvi, ep. 2.

blance of public freedom might return in the dissension of its enemies.

Meantime, the officers whom Antony had assembled as a guard to his own person, ventured to expostulate with him on a breach which was so likely to weaken their party, and they exhorted him to act in concert with Octavius, at least until they had obtained a just revenge against the assassins of Cæsar. On this occasion Antony entered into the reasons of his past conduct, and accounted for the concessions which he had made to the Senate, as necessary to obtain the conditions on which the present flourishing state of the party depended. He reminded his friends, that it was by his means that Cæsar's grants had been ratified; that it was by his means that, notwithstanding the late act of indemnity, the conspirators had been expelled from the city, and stripped of their provinces. But whatever mask he had hitherto been obliged to assume, for the future, he assured them, that being possessed of a proper force, he would appear undisguised, and give sufficient proof of his regard to Cæsar's memory, and to the interest of his surviving friends. In compliance with the entreaties which were now made to him at this conference, he soon after had an interview with Octavius; at which they were, in appearance, reconciled to each other: but their pretensions were far from being sufficiently adjusted to render any agreement between them of long continuance. Octavius aspired to a degree of consequence which Antony by no means thought necessary to admit in so young a person. His undoubted

title to the inheritance of Cæsar, and the attachment of Cæsar's personal friends, made Antony consider his advancement as altogether incompatible with the success of his own designs. Effects of their jealousies and animosities accordingly in the sequel appeared, such as rendered an open breach again unavoidable.

A vacancy having happened in the college of Tribunes*, Octavius, though far short of the legal age, was presented by his friends as a candidate for this station. Antony, to cross them, without specifying any particular case, published an edict in general terms, threatening with prosecution any person who should make a proposition to the People contrary to law; and by these means prevented their farther proceeding in this design.

Soon after this act of authority, on the part of Antony, to check the ambition of the young Cæsar, men armed as for an assassination were discovered in the Consul's house. They were not brought to any public examination; but it was given out that they had been suborned by Octavius. Whether this plot was fabricated, in order to load an enemy with the odium of it, and to justify the measures which were meditated against a person supposed to have aimed at the Consul's life, or whether it was by Antony himself actually believed to be real, is uncertain. It occasioned a considerable ferment in the city, and the parties reasoned upon it as they were severally inclined. The friends of Antony

* Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

persisted in accusing Octavius, and others recriminated, urging as a proof of Antony's design on the life of Cæsar, his having recourse in this manner to a forgery, which was evidently intended to exasperate the army and the People against his antagonist, and to justify the violence which he himself, with the first opportunity, meant to employ *. Cicero, however, says, that people of judgment believed the plot on the part of Octavius to have been real, and that they approved of it †.

In the late interval of military usurpation, the Senators in general, though willing to resume the government, were actually unable to bear the load which it was likely to lay on their shoulders. They rejoiced at the breach between Octavius and Antony; but if these adventurers should continue to quarrel about the spoils of the commonwealth, the greater part of those who had any interest in defending it were no more than a prey to the conqueror. Clouds hung over their councils on every side. The officers who had served under Cæsar in the late civil war, were posted at the head of armies in the most advantageous situations. Asinius Pollio was governor in the farther province of Spain, Lepidus in the nearer; Plancus commanded in Gaul, and Antony in Macedonia. The veterans remained in the neighbourhood of Rome with swords in their hands, anxious for the settlements which had been lately assigned to themselves by Cæsar. These they did not believe to be secure without the destruction

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

† Cic. ad Famil. lib. xii, ep. 23.

of every law and of every form which could be cited to favour the claims of the former proprietors.

Antony made rapid advances to the military usurpation he had in view. Having availed himself so far of his first appointment, as to get possession of the numerous and respectable army which Cæsar, on their way to the Parthian war, had transported into Macedonia, he proceeded to execute the exchange he had projected of this province for the Cisalpine Gaul; and, under pretence of expelling Decimus Brutus from thence, had ordered the army of Cæsar to be transported back into Italy. Soon after the detection of the supposed plot of Octavius, he himself departed from Rome, and set out for Brundisium. The troops which he had ordered from Macedonia were already arrived at that place; and as he had intelligence that Octavius had his emissaries employed to seduce them, he hastened to prevent the effect of this design, and to secure his own authority. He professed to employ this army merely in gaining possession of the province which had lately been decreed to him by the People. But, in the desire of occupying, with an army, that very station from which the late Cæsar had so successfully invaded the republic; and which, according to the expression of Cato on the nomination of Cæsar to that province, was in reality the citadel or commanding station which gave possession of Rome; he sufficiently evinced the designs which he had formed against the republic, and no less alarmed the supposed heir of Cæsar's fortunes, who expected to be the

first victim of his power, than it threatened the republic itself with a new and dangerous usurpation.

Under these impressions, while Antony took the road to Brundisium, Octavius repaired to Campania, and, by large donations * in money, engaged the veterans who were settled at Calatia, Casilinum, and Capua, to declare for himself. With this powerful support, he published his intention to withstand the Consul, and took measures to procure the authority of the Senate against their common enemy. He professed great zeal for liberty, and affected to put himself entirely under the direction of Cicero, now the most respectable of all the remaining members of the Senate. He entreated this experienced counsellor to favour him with an interview at Capua. "Once more," he said, in his letter upon this occasion, "save the republic." At their conference it was deliberated whether Octavius should throw himself into Capua with three hundred veterans who had joined him, and there intercept Antony on his return to Rome; or should cross the Apennines, to give the legions, who were marching from Brundisium by the opposite coast, an opportunity to execute the project of defection, which he believed they were meditating in his favour. In this question he affected to be determined entirely by Cicero, who advised him, in preference to either of the schemes he had mentioned, to move with all the force he could assemble directly to Rome †.

* Five hundred Denarii, i. e. about L. 16.

† Cicero ad Attic. lib. xvi, ep. 8.

In compliance with this advice, Octavius having assembled ten thousand men, without waiting to array, or even to have them completely armed, advanced with the utmost dispatch to prevent Antony, who about the same time had set out from Brundisium, and directed his march without intermission towards Rome*.

The city was thrown into a great alarm by this unexpected approach of two hostile armies. Some expressed their fears of Antony, others of Octavius, and some of both. It was uncertain whether these partisans advanced in concert to oppress the republic, or in competition to contend for its spoils. Many appearances favoured the latter supposition; and the late reconciliation gave some credit to the former.

Octavius, having the advantage of a shorter march, arrived before his antagonist; and being within two miles of the gates, was there received by Canutius, one of the Tribunes, whom he soon after sent back into the city, with assurances, that he had assembled his party not to second, but to oppose the designs of Antony; and that his purpose was to employ all the force he could raise for the defence of the commonwealth. The Tribune Canutius, in reporting what passed with Octavius, exhorted all who wished to preserve the republic to lend their assistance in execution of this design.

Upon these assurances, delivered by a Tribune of the People, the gates were thrown open to Octa-

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

vius, and he entered the city, though not in a military form, yet followed by a numerous band of attendants, who were armed, though with weapons concealed. With this company he took possession of the temple of Castor and Pollux, and prepared to explain himself to a numerous concourse of people, who were hastening into the area or court before the temple. Being introduced by the Tribune into this assembly, as a person who had matters of great moment to communicate respecting the state of public affairs and the designs of Antony, he began his speech by commemorating the merits of his late adoptive father, with the ingratitude and injustice of Antony; declared, that although he had assembled his friends merely in his own defence, he was ready to employ them in the service of his country, and submitted himself entirely to such directions as he should receive from the powers established by law in the commonwealth; observed, that they could not possibly doubt of his inclination to be employed, at least against his own personal enemies.

It was probably in this speech, that Octavius, being to make a solemn asseveration, pointed to the statue of Julius Cæsar, with these words, "So may I arrive at my father's honours *!" He had two opposite and irreconcilable parties to please on this occasion, and had not learned, that the only safe course in such cases is silence. He offended the partisans of the republic by the veneration he expressed for Cæsar, and by his wish to tread in his

* Cicero ad Atticum, lib. xvi, c. 15.

steps ; and in this, perhaps, committed the only public indiscretion with which he is chargeable in any part of his conduct. But what was in reality a more dangerous effect of this error, he offended the military part of his audience by the regard he affected to entertain for the civil government of the State, and by his open declaration of war against Antony. By this declaration, military men found themselves not invited to enter, as they expected, on the secure possession of the rewards and honours which had been promised to them ; but called upon to fight for empire against their late fellow-soldiers, commanded by an officer now at the head of the commonwealth, from whom they had high expectations as a friend, and much to fear as an enemy.

Soldiers of fortune being thus disappointed of the spoils which they expected to seize, and of the rewards which were due for services past, some of them absolutely renounced the party of Octavius ; others, under pretence of providing arms and necessaries for the field, or pleading various excuses, applied for leave to return to their own habitations. The greater part of the veterans actually withdrew : but Octavius, young as he was, did not sink under this untoward aspect of his force. He had ordered levies in Etruria, and in the district of Ravenna. These levies, upon the reputation of the ascendant he had gained in the city, succeeded apace, and induced military adventurers from every quarter to espouse his cause.

Many who had served under Julius Cæsar, being accustomed to the life of a soldier, though destined

for landholders in Italy, were not yet rooted in the condition of citizens, or in that of husbandmen. They had yet fresh in their memories the licence and the spoils of war. These allurements they saw offered anew under the auspices of a leader who bore the name of Cæsar, and whose munificence was recently brought to the proof. Many, therefore, even of those who had lately fallen off from Octavius, being unwilling that others should engross the harvest in which they themselves had been invited to partake, again repaired to his standard; and, as fast as they arrived, were sent into different quarters, to be armed, arrayed, and furnished with all necessaries for immediate service*.

Octavius from thenceforward conducted himself between the parties with great address: To the veterans he talked of avenging Cæsar's death: to the friends of the republic he set forth the dangerous designs of Antony, professing to sacrifice all private resentment to his zeal for the commonwealth †. On occasion of the Tribunitian elections, he even promoted the interest of Casca, though noted for having struck the first blow at Cæsar ‡, and affected in all things to be governed by the Senate.

Under this aspect of things, what hopes could be entertained for the republic? Could Statesmen intrust the age or the intention of this crafty boy, nursed, as they observed, in the midst of usurpa-

* Dio. Cassius, lib. xiv, c. 12. Appian de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

† Cicero ad Attic. lib. xv, ep. 12.

‡ Ibid. lib. xvi, ep. 15.

tion ; and who, by arming himself without any legal authority, had given but too palpable evidence of an assuming and audacious spirit? The Senators stood in awe of Antony, and were afraid to provoke him. If they should do so, Octavius did not yet appear to be in condition to cope with the Roman Consul ; and if his force were sufficient, his designs were likely to be equally dangerous to the commonwealth with those of his rival. The latter, with a numerous army, had all the authority of government in his hands.—The dispositions of Pansa and Hirtius, the Consuls named by Cæsar for the ensuing year, were yet unknown.—Although many things, therefore, were transacted in name of the Senate, this order of men scarcely ventured to resume their ordinary functions, and still trembled under the rod which Cæsar had lifted against them, even while it hung in suspence between the different divisions of his remaining party *. Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar, had ventured to oppose Antony. Cicero and Publius Servilius afterwards followed this example. “ But all that we have gained,” said Cicero, “ is no more than this, that the Roman people may perceive, that whoever contends for liberty is not safe at Rome.” These Senators, therefore, together with L. Cotta, L. Cæsar, and L. Sulpicius, had, in despair, upon seeing Antony put himself at the head of an army, absented themselves from the public assemblies.

* Cicero ad Attic. lib. xiv, ep. 5. et 6. Ibid. ad Dolabellam, post 17.

It was evident from every circumstance, that the fate of the empire was to be determined by the sword. The legions feeling their own consequence, were in haste to assume the character of masters, and treated with equal contempt, in their turns, the different persons who proposed to command them. Of the five legions which had been quartered in Macedonia, four were already landed at Brundisium when Antony arrived at that place. They turned out on his coming, but did not receive him with the usual acclamations and shouts. As having suspended their judgment, until they should know what gratuities they were to receive in reward of their services, they closed in profound silence round the platform from which he was to speak. When he mentioned four hundred sestertii, or between three and four pounds a man * ; this being far short of the rewards that were expected for giving a new master to the commonwealth, he was answered with signs of derision. In return to this insolence, the Consul, trusting to the authority with which he was vested, assumed a tone which tended rather to exasperate than to overawe his audience. He reproached these legions with ingratitude for the favour he had recently done them, in changing their destination from Parthia to the Cisalpine Gaul ; and with treachery, in having suffered to remain among them the emissaries, whom he said it was known a presumptuous boy had employed to debauch them from their duty. " These," he continued, " shall not escape me ; in

* Dio. Cass. lib. 45, c. 13 ; or according to Appian, 100 = 16a.

“ the mean time prepare yourselves for a march into
 “ the province which is allotted for your station.”

Antony, while he was speaking, had the mortification to see entire cohorts, with their officers, withdraw from his presence, uttering words of contempt and of scorn. Seeing the desertion likely to become general *, and being greatly provoked, he dismissed the audience, sentenced three hundred officers and private men to immediate death, and stood by while they perished under the hands of his Lictors, who were the executioners. Fulvia, who had attended him in his journey to Brundisium, is said to have been present likewise at this scene, and to have satiated her revenge of the insults offered to her husband, with so near a view of the executions, as to have her clothes stained with blood †.

The offence that was taken at these cruelties gave ample encouragements to the agents of Octavius, who, notwithstanding the threats of Antony, still continued to negotiate in the quarters of his army. Papers were dropt and handed about, containing a contrast of Antony's parsimony with the liberality of Octavius. A search was made for the authors of these libels; but the bad success with which it was attended, served only to show the general disaffection of the troops. The accounts, at the same time, which were brought of the progress which Octavius made in the settlements of the veterans, and of his reception at Rome, gave Antony a just sense of his own danger, and made him change his tone. In a second

† Cicero, ad Attic. lib. xvi, ep. 8.

‡ Ibid. Phillip. iii, c. 2, et 4.

address to the army, he made an apology for his recent severities. They knew, he said, his character, that it was neither sordid nor severe; that the sums he had mentioned were no more than a present to signalize their meeting, and an earnest of his future munificence. He did not, however, at this time, make any addition to his former bounty, lest it should seem to be extorted.

The soldiers, in appearance satisfied with these declarations, accepted with respect the sum which had been offered to them; submitted to the changes which had been made among their officers, and marched off in divisions by the coast of the Adriatic towards Ariminum. Antony himself, with an escort of cavalry and infantry, composed of men the bravest and most attached to his person, whom he had selected from the army, set out for Rome. At his arrival the horse were quartered in the suburbs; he himself, attended by a body of foot, entered the city, had a regular guard mounted in the court of his own house, ordered centinels to be posted, gave the parole, and made every disposition to prevent surprise, as in a military station. Being still vested with the office of Consul, he summoned the Senate to meet on the twenty-fourth of September; and, in the proclamation or summons, declared, that if any Senator absented himself on that day, he should be deemed an accessory to the plot against the Consul's life, which had been lately discovered, and an accomplice in the other wicked designs known to be in agitation against the republic.

Notwithstanding this pompous threat, Antony himself did not attend at the time appointed; but, by another proclamation, again summoned the Senate to meet on the twenty-eight of the same month. He intended, on this day, to obtain a decree against Octavius; whom, in all his manifestos, he qualified with the name of Spartacus; as having, without any legal authority, presumed to levy war, and to act in open defiance of the State *; but, as he entered the porch of the Senate-house, a messenger arrived with accounts that the Legio Martia had deserted with its colours to Octavius. Before he had recovered this shock, another messenger came with a like account of the fourth legion. He entered the assembly, but very much disconcerted, and unprepared to act in circumstances so different from those with which he laid his account. He avoided the mention of Octavius; and pretending to have called the Senate for form's sake, without any particular business, made a short speech, and adjourned. From this meeting, hearing that one of the revolted legions had taken post at Alba, he instantly repaired to that place, in hopes of reclaiming them; but was received with a discharge of arrows or stones from the battlements, and obliged to retire. Fearing that the remainder of the army would follow this example, he ordered them an additional gratuity of five hundred sestertii, or about four pounds a man. And to give them an immediate prospect of action, which is often the most effectual means of

stifling dangerous humours in an army, he declared his intention to make war on Decimus Brutus, in order to dislodge him from the province of Gaul. In pursuance of this intention, he ordered his equipage for the field, and set up his standard at Tibur *, to which place he expected that all his friends and adherents would repair.

Antony, being joined by the last of the troops from Macedonia, had still three legions belonging to that army; and these, together with the veterans settled in the neighbourhood of Tibur, who came with their ensigns and colours to offer their services, amounted in all to four legions, besides the ordinary attendance of irregular troops, and the crowds of people that flocked to his standard. With this formidable aspect, having for a few days overawed the city, and drawn around him the greatest part of the Senate, and of the Equestrian order, with many even of those who had so lately declared for his rival, and who, in the contest of such parties, ever yield to the present impression, and are the property of him who can best work on their fears; he set out on his march to Ariminum, the last station of Italy on the frontier towards Gaul.

Octavius at the same time had assembled his forces at Alba, consisting of the two legions which had lately come over to him from Antony, one legion of new levies, together with two of the veterans lately re-embodied, which, not being full, were completed with the choice of his new-raised men. He

* Tivoli.

made a report to the Senate of the number and description of the troops he had thus assembled, and received their thanks and congratulations. It is nevertheless probable, that his services were received by this body with great distrust of their own situation, and of his designs.

Had the Senate been free to determine on whose swords they were to rely for defence, those of Cassius and Brutus, originally drawn in their cause, must have appeared the preferable choice. Uncertain, however, of the effect of any direct or public resolution in favour of those who were the authors of Cæsar's death, they left the correspondence to be maintained with them to private persons; and Senators accordingly wrote in their separate capacity, to recommend perseverance and the utmost exertion of their zeal. "Such is the state of the republic," says Cicero to Cassius; "even in the calmest times, scarcely able to support itself. What must it be in the present storm? All our hopes are in you. But if you have withdrawn yourselves merely for your own safety, we cannot have hopes, not even in you. If you intend any thing worthy of your own character, I wish I may live to see the effect. The republic, at any rate, must revive under your efforts*." He adjured Decimus Brutus, by the example of Octavius, who, although in a private station, raised armies for the State; he adjured him by the example of the faithful legions who deserted from Antony, to stand by the commonwealth; and

* Cicero ad Familiarem lib. xii, ep. 2.

in the present crisis to exert himself to the utmost, without waiting for orders from the Senate *.

Cicero had already proclaimed his animosity to Antony, and, besides his zeal for the republic, had a particular interest in abetting any party that could be formed against him. Hearing that this enemy was gone from the city, and that all the forces in its neighbourhood had declared for Octavius, or, as he flattered himself, for the Senate, he ventured, on the ninth of December, to return to Rome †, earnestly bent on the measures that were to be taken in this arduous state of affairs.

* Cicero, ad Familiar. lib. xi, ep. 7.

† Ibid. ep. 5.

 CHAP. XXXI.

Situation and address of Octavius.—Meeting of the Senate.—Progress of Antony.—His march into Gaul.—Message of Octavius to Decimus Brutus.—New Consuls Hirtius and Pansa.—Meeting of the Senate.—Deputation to Antony.—His answer.—Declared an enemy.—Advance of Hirtius and Octavius to raise the siege of Mutina.—Brutus and Cassius confirmed in the command of all the Eastern Provinces.—Progress of the war in Gaul.—Siege of Mutina raised.—Junction of Antony and Lepidus.—Consulate of Octavius.

WHEN Antony left Rome to take possession of the Cisalpine Gaul, Octavius was in arms at the gates of the city, and, though a mere youth under age, was furnished with every art which age itself could bestow, to qualify him for the part he was to act. He had gained upon the army by donations and promises; upon the Senate in general, by public professions of duty and of zeal for the republic; and on particular members, by attentions and flattery. The legions, which had lately come over to him from Antony, having exhibited a mock fight, he ordered them, on that occasion, a special gratuity of five hundred sestertii, or four pounds a man; saying, That as this was but the representation of a battle, the reward was proportional; but if he should ever have occasion to employ them in real fights, they

should have as many thousands *. In this situation, it became necessary for the Senate, either to authorise and to avail themselves of this ultroneous support ; or, by refusing it, to drive the veterans, and all the military faction which still revered the name of Cæsar, into measures immediately fatal to the republic.

Upon the march of Antony towards Gaul, Octavius had already sent a message to Decimus Brutus † with assurances of his aid in retaining that province, and of his co-operation every where else in supporting the authority of the Senate. Hitherto men stood in awe of Antony, as being vested with the authority of Consul, and threatening to treat his opponents as rebels to the State. Even Hirtius and Pansa, destined to succeed in the Consulate of the approaching year, it was supposed, would scarcely venture to take possession of the office without his consent, or the usual form of his abdication ; but the prospect of a vigorous support from Octavius, relieved many from their fears of his antagonist, and determined them on the part they were to act.

The Senate being assembled by one of the Tribunes on the nineteenth of December, for the purpose of taking measures to enable the Consuls elect in safety to enter on the possession of their office ; a manifesto was produced from Decimus Brutus, of which no copy remains, but probably stating his right to the province of Gaul, and representing the injustice of Antony in attempting to dislodge him

* Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

† Dio. Cass. lib. xlii, c. 15.

by force. Octavius was at the same time introduced by the Tribune, and pronounced a panegyric on Brutus *. Cicero, in a speech which is still extant, extolled the conduct of the young Cæsar in arming the veterans, as a generous effort to defend the republic, made at the expence of his private fortune, and at the hazard of his life. He applauded the two legions who had lately deserted from Antony; and warmly urged the Senate to support Decimus Brutus in his province. He moved, that thanks should be given to these officers, and to the troops who adhered to them; and that the Consuls, on the first of January, should move the Senate further to consider of the rewards that were due to the army, for the faithful services which they had rendered to the commonwealth. These public propositions he blended with a continual and vehement invective against Antony †. And having obtained decrees of the Senate to the several effects he had proposed, these he carried also to the Comitia or assembly of the People for their approbation, and there likewise supported them with a repetition of the same topics, urged with all the usual force of his eloquence ‡.

In the mean time, Antony, being arrived on the frontier of Gaul, dispatched an officer to Decimus Brutus, with a copy of his own commission from the Roman People, and with an order to evacuate the province. To this message he had for answer, that Decimus Brutus held his command by authority of

* Cicero ad Famil. lib. xi, ep. 6. Ibidem, Philipp. iii, c. 5.

† Cicero, Philipp. ii.

‡ Ibid. Philipp. iv.

the Roman Senate, who alone, by the laws, were entitled to dispose of the provinces; and that he would not surrender what the laws of his country had enjoined him to defend. Antony, after having to no purpose exchanged repeated messages on this subject, continued his march into the province, and forced Brutus, with two legions and some new levies, which were under his command, to throw himself into Mutina *, where he had formed some magazines from the stores and provisions he was able to collect in the neighbourhood, and where he proposed to wait for the succours which he was made to expect from Rome. In the mean time Antony advanced to Bononia † and Claterna, took possession of these places, and proceeding to invest Mutina, prepared to besiege it in form.

Such was the posture of affairs in the end of December, about ten months after the death of Cæsar ‡. On the first of January, the Consuls Pansa and Hirtius, being to enter on the exercise of their office, proceeded to the Senate from the temple, where they had performed the usual sacrifices; and agreeably to the order of the nineteenth of December, moved this assembly to take under consideration the present state of the republic §. Pansa having proposed the matter as it stood for deliberation, called upon his father-in-law, Q. Fusius Calenus, to deliver his opinion. This Se-

U. C. 710.
C. Vibius
Pansa, C.
Hirtius,
both killed.
Octavius
succeeded
Pansa. Up-
on his re-
signation,
C. Carinus
succeeded
Octavius.
Q. Pedius
succeeded
Hirtius.
Ventidius
succeeded
Pedius,
who died
in office.

* Modena.

† Bologna.

‡ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

§ Ibid. lib. iii.

nator being disposed to favour Antony, advised, that they should not, rashly, take any violent resolution against a person who was but now retired from office; that they should first send him a deputation, with instructions from the Senate to lay down his arms, and return to his duty. This motion was vehemently opposed by Cicero, who, in a speech still extant *, insisted that Antony was already in effect declared an enemy, and ought to be reduced by force, not gained by negociation and treaty. He recounted the violences committed by him in his late Consulate, particularly the acts which he promulgated under the pretence of Cæsar's will and memorials. "From the foundation of Rome to this present hour," he said, "Antony alone has had the impudence to present himself in this assembly, escorted by a military force. The kings never attempted it. The boldest adventurers, and they who were most forward to revive the kingly power, never ventured so far. I remember Cinna; I have seen Sylla; and, last of all, Cæsar. These were the persons, who, since the expulsion of Tarquin, made the greatest advances to kingly power. I do not say that they were unattended in the Senate, or that their attendants were always unarmed; but they were followed only by a few, and with weapons concealed. This daring assassin has made his parade in the streets with a military force, moving in cohorts under arms, in all the form of a regular march.

* Cicero, Philipp. v.

“ He posted a body of archers with their quivers full, and had chests of spare arrows for immediate and continued action, on the very steps by which Senators were to ascend to their meeting in the temple of Concord. You have ordered public thanks to the troops who have drawn their swords against him : you have extolled the generous magnanimity of a noble youth, who, without waiting for your commission, brought a hasty power to cover the city from his violence ; and are you now deliberating, whether you are to soothe his fury with negociation, or to meet it with force * ? If you send deputies to his camp, no matter with what message, you will appear to surrender yourselves to him ; you will appear to distrust your own cause ; you will damp the ardour of your own troops ; and you will every where throughout the empire shake the faith of the provinces.”

Such was the purport of Cicero’s speech respecting the conduct of Antony, the merits of Decimus Brutus, of Lepidus, of Octavius, of the legions, and of the veterans ; and of L. Egnatuleius the Tribune, who led the Legio Martia in the late choice which they made of their party. In the close of his speech, he moved, That suitable honours should be decreed to each ; that the Senate should ratify all the proceedings of Brutus in defending the province of Gaul ; that Lepidus should have a statue erected to him ; that Octavius should have the rank of Proprætor, be confirmed in his present command, and be

* Cicero, Philip. v.

entitled to sue for the offices of State before the legal age; that three years of the age appointed by law should be dispensed with in behalf of Egnatuleius; that the veterans who had taken arms under Octavius, and the legions who had deserted from Antony to join the standard of the commonwealth, should have the gratuities that were promised to them by Octavius; and at the end of the present war should have grants of land, and a perpetual exemption to themselves and their children from every military service. In his encomium on Brutus, he insinuated the praise that was due to the disinterested part he took in the conspiracy against Cæsar; but, not to offend the partisans of the dead now attached to Octavius, he declined entering fully on that subject. He pledged himself for the future behaviour of Octavius. "This admirable young man," he said, "having once tasted of true glory, having found himself held forth by the Senate, by the People, and by all orders of men, as a citizen dear to his country, and as the guardian of the commonwealth, never can place any other species of distinction or honour in competition with this. If Julius Cæsar had found himself, at so early a period of life, in such an illustrious point of view, he never would have climbed into power by misleading the populace, nor have betaken himself to measures incompatible with the safety of his country. The mind of this young man is perfectly known to me. Love of the republic, respect to the Senate, deference to good men, the desire of real glory, are his ruling passions. I will there-

“ fore venture to pledge my honour in the most
“ positive assurances to you, to the Roman People,
“ and to the commonwealth. I promise, I under-
“ take, I engage, that C. Cæsar will persevere in the
“ conduct which he now holds towards the republic,
“ and that he will always be what you wish, or what
“ you ought to desire, on every occasion that he
“ should continue to be.”

Octavius, we may suppose, had in some measure blinded Cicero with his flattery ; yet in this panegyric there was probably more of what the orator wished his pupil to adopt, than of what he believed to be his original intention ; but this designing young man was not to be caught in such snares. He knew too well how to retort these artifices ; even at an age when others scarcely knew that such arts are practised ; and the experienced Cicero, with all the penetration and wit for which he is celebrated, was the dupe of a youth, who possessed the deepest of all artifices, that of suffering himself in appearance to be deceived, while in reality he practised on the cunning of others for his own purpose *.

L. Piso, with a considerable party in the Senate, inclined to moderate the resolutions that were proposed against Antony. He contended, that no Roman citizen could be condemned unheard ; that for the present, no more could be done than appoint a day of trial for the accused, and cite him to answer for himself. The time of the first meeting being already spent in this debate, the Senate adjourned ;

* Cicero. Philip. v.

and the subject being resumed on the following day it is said * that Fusius Calenus, with a torrent of abuse and reproach, retorted on Cicero the invective which, on the preceding day, he had pronounced against Antony. He reminded him of the obscurity of his birth, and accused him of a presumption, which was supported only by a talent for declamation, often employed by him against the most honourable citizens, never in bringing real criminals of State to account. "What have you done," he said, "accosting Cicero, either at home or abroad, to merit the high degree of consideration to which you lay claim? In what war have we ever prevailed under your auspices? What accession of territory have you ever gained to the empire of Rome? Even in respect to your boasted talent for speaking, you do but impose upon the world the labours of retirement for the prompt effusions of eloquence; and you publish harangues, which you had neither the invention to conceive, nor the courage to deliver in the face of any public assembly, or in the midst of any real affairs." In this strain of abuse, he accused Cicero of having forced Cataline into rebellion, and of having put to death, without any trial, Cornelius Lentulus, and other Roman citizens of rank; of having lighted the fire of dissension among the leaders of the present unhappy divisions which tore the republic, and of having blown up the flames which still continued to consume the State; of having meanly abandoned the cause of Pompey upon his defeat in Pharsalia, and

of having instigated assassins to take away the life of Cæsar, even after he himself had implored his mercy, and accepted of his protection. He reproached him with a fresh instance of ingratitude; in this attempt to turn the arms of the republic against a late Consul, to whose clemency he himself was indebted for his life. Having mixed this invective with the defence, and even with the praises of Antony, he concluded with calling upon the Senate to consider how absurd it would be to declare war upon a magistrate, who acted by commission from the Roman People, at the head of an army of which they had given him the command, and in the very province which they had committed to his government; and this merely in support of a young man, who presumed, without any public authority, to levy war against a Roman officer of the highest rank, and in favour of a rebel, who had presumed forcibly to retain a province, which the Roman People had ordered him to surrender. "Such men," he said, "were indeed the enemies of the republic; but he did not move for any formal declaration against them. The times," he observed, "will not suffer us to do all that ought to be done." He moved only that messengers should be instantly dispatched to all the parties at war in this unfortunate contest; that all of them should be required to lay down their arms, and to submit to the decisions of the Senate; that if any one of them should disobey, it would then be full time to declare him a public enemy, and to give to the Consuls the usual and regular charge of consulting the safety of the commonwealth, and of doing

whatever was necessary to reduce disorderly subjects to their duty*.

Such are the abuses of an admired art, as vile and odious in its falsehoods, as in the genuine effusions of truth it is noble and respectable; and this speech, compared with some of the former, which were delivered relating to the same persons and things, may serve to exhibit the variety of colours with which any subject or character may be covered in debate, and by which the mind may be misled, and public assemblies perplexed in their councils. The majority of the Senate were aware, however, of Antony's designs, and knew the danger of suffering him to obtain a military establishment, or the possession of a formidable army within the Alps; and they would probably have come to a resolution abundantly severe, if one of the Tribunes had not interposed, and, for the present, forbid their proceeding any further on the subject.

The Senate was again adjourned to the following day, and, in the mean time, the relations and family of Antony, his mother, his wife, his children, and intimate friends, went into mourning, passed the night in visiting the principal citizens, or in accosting the People, as they passed in the streets, to implore their protection. When the Senate was about to assemble, this company of suppliants took their station on the steps of the temple, in which they were to meet, and embraced the knees of the members as they passed.

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlv, c. 18. lib. xlvi, c. 28.

This solemn council, when met, on coming to the question, took, as is common on such occasions, a middle course between the extremes which had been urged in debate. They so far treated Antony as a friend, as to order a deputation of their own members to attend him in his camp; but the message which they sent by this deputation sounded more like a declaration of war, than an overture of reconciliation, or a prelude to peace*. They commanded him † not to disturb in his government Decimus Brutus, whom they qualified with the appellation of Consul-elect; not to lay siege to Mutina; not to lay waste the province; not to make any levies of forces, or presume to continue in arms against the authority of the Senate.

L. Piso, Philippus, and Servius Sulpicius, being deputed to carry these orders, had further in charge to signify to Decimus Brutus, and to the troops under his command, the entire approbation of the Senate, and the high esteem and honour ‡ in which they were held on account of their conduct. The Senate at the same time entered, on their own records, the honorary decrees which had been passed in favour of Decimus Brutus, Octavius, Egnatuleius, and the army, in the terms which had been proposed by Cicero; and resolved, that the gratuities already paid by Octavius to the veterans, and to the

* Cicero ad Familiar. lib. xii, ep. 24.

† Decimus Brutus was already destined to succeed in the Consulship of the following year.

‡ Cicer. Phillip. vi.

legions who had lately come over from Antony, should be refunded from the Treasury ; that lands should be assigned, and, after the present war, a perpetual exemption be given to them from all military service.

When the deputies were gone with the message which they had received from the Senate, the party of Antony at Rome endeavoured to alarm the People, and to load his enemies with all the consequences that were likely to follow from the late resolutions. They extolled the happy effects of moderation and peace ; insinuated that Antony, being a person of a daring and impetuous spirit, ought not to have been rashly incensed ; that his party was strong, and, in case of a rupture, would be joined by numbers of desperate men, for whom no attempt was too arduous, and against whom the friends of the republic could not be too much on their guard *.

While the People were amused with such discourses at Rome, Servius Sulpicius, one of the three deputies, and the very person on whom the Senate chiefly relied for the effect of their commission, died on the journey. The other two were kindly received by Antony, and admitted, without any jealousy or distrust, to visit the approaches he had made, and the works he had erected, against the town of Mutina.

While the siege was continued without interruption, the commissioners being received with affected submission to the orders of the Senate, were told,

* Cicer. Philip. vii.

that Antony would evacuate the province, disband his army, and return to a private station ; that he would forget the past, and agree to a sincere reconciliation, provided that the legions then under his command, with his cavalry and his guards, were properly rewarded, accommodated with grants of land, and put upon the same footing in all other respects with the troops of Octavius ; provided that the arrangement of the provinces, which he had made in conjunction with Dolabella, should be confirmed ; that the acts founded on the will and memoirs of his late colleague should be ratified ; that no account should be required of the money which had been lodged in the temple of Ops ; that the Septemviri, or commissioners of the treasury, should not suffer for what they had done in delivering the treasure from thence ; that a general indemnity should pass in favour of all his adherents ; that his act relating to the courts of judicature should not be repealed : Upon these conditions he should agree to evacuate the Gallia Togata *, while he retained the Comata †, with six legions, to be completed with draughts from the troops now under Decimus Brutus ; that he should be allowed to retain this force as long as Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius should remain under arms ; and that, at any rate, he should retain his division of the province for five years.

In this plan of accommodation, Antony paid his court to the army, and, even in the concessions he made, endeavoured to frustrate the principal articles,

* Within the Alps. † Beyond the Alps.

by means of the conditions which he took care to subjoin ; and, in order more effectually to defeat the purpose of his antagonists, he sent to Rome, in the company of the deputies of the Senate, his own Quæstor, of the name of Cotyla, with instructions to solicit his interest, and to intrigue with the Senators and principal citizens *. Complaining of the ascendant his enemies had gained in the city, “ With what countenance,” he said, “ can they arraign the administration of Cæsar, while they submit to that of Cicero ? If they allege that Cæsar was an usurper, what is this Cicero, who pretends to dictate to the Roman Senate, and to suspend the orders of the Roman People ? Let him know that I claim the province of Gaul, in consequence of an appointment from the highest authority in the State, and he may be assured that I shall treat Decimus Brutus as a rebel, if he persist in withholding it from me. The life of this traitor shall atone for that noble blood which was shed in presence of the Roman Senate, and shall expiate the guilt in which Cicero is fast involving the Senate itself †.”

Antony, in this commission to his Quæstor, and in his public declarations, joined with the insolence of the matter, affected expressions of submission to the Senate ; and made a variety of proposals, either to gain time, or to insinuate himself into favour with the army, whose interest he pretended to have greatly at heart. The deputies who had been employed

* Cicer. Philip. viii.

† Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

on this unsuccessful mission, incurred much public censure. It was unworthy of L. Piso and of L. Philippus, it was said, to hold any intercourse with a rebel, who refused the most immediate compliance with the orders that were sent to him *. Under this sense of the matter, at a meeting of the Senate, it was moved, that war should be declared against Antony, and that every Senator should assume the military habit. This motion was agreed to, even by Lucius Cæsar, uncle to Antony; a decree was framed upon it, and passed without opposition, by which the army under his command were required by a certain day to lay down their arms †.

Upon this resolution, obtained by those who strove for the preservation of the commonwealth, great rejoicings were made over all Italy, and it did not then appear from whence any real danger could arise to the authority of laws, which were so properly supported. The Consuls, it was observed, acted with great vigour; the Senate, the middling class, and the citizens in general, expressed great zeal ‡. The people crowded to have their names enrolled in the levies which were ordered ||. The reputation which Cicero gained in bringing public affairs into this situation, set him at the head of the commonwealth; but while it placed the whole administration of the State in his hands, it made him an object of great animosity to the opposite party, and of some envy to many persons of principal consider-

* Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii, ep. 4.

† Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii, c. 29, 30. Cicer. Philipp. viii.

‡ Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii, ep. 4.

|| Ibid. lib. xi, ep. 8.

ation in his own. It was under the impression of these circumstances, he complained, that Senators of the first rank were lukewarm, were timid, or ill affected to the cause of the republic*.

The conduct of the war was committed to the Consuls, and, jointly with them, to Octavius, in the rank of Proprætor. Orders were likewise dispatched to Lepidus and to Plancus, to co-operate with these officers. The first was yet in the province of Narbonne, on his march into Spain; the other was posted on the Rhone †. The treasury being so much exhausted by the late embezzlements, that there was not money sufficient for the immediate service, it was agreed that all citizens should pay the five-and-twentieth part of all their effects; that the Senators should pay, over and above, a certain rate for all the houses or tenements they either possessed or let to tenants; and that in aid of these supplies, requisitions of money and of arms should be made through all the towns of Italy.

In the mean time, Octavius, without waiting for the authority with which the Senate had lately invested him, had followed Antony across the Apennines, and took post with his army at the Forum Cornelii ‡, on the road from Ariminum || to Mutina §. The messages which passed between the Senate and Antony, as well as the delays which the Consuls, under the pretence of winter, made in advancing with their forces, gave him some degree of

* Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xi, ep. 8.

† Imola. || Rimini.

‡ Dio. Cass. lib. xlv, c. 39.

§ Now Modena.

uneasiness. Pansa was employed at Rome in conducting the new levies. Hirtius, though destined to take the field, and to join Octavius, was still detained by indisposition *. In the mean time, Antony continued the siege of Mutina without intermission.

Octavius, after having sent many pressing messages to hasten the march of the Consul, was at last joined by him at the Forum Cornelij, and they advanced together; forced the posts which Antony had established at Claterna and Bononia, and encamped at the latter of these places †. Here they were still separated by the Rhenus and Lavinius from the army of Antony, which covered the siege of Mutina, and were precluded from any communication with the town. The country being flat, they endeavoured to give notice of their presence by lights elevated on poles from the highest trees; and lest these signals should not be observed, they employed dexterous swimmers to pass through the enemy's stations by the channels of the rivers, and proceed to the town with intelligence of approaching relief, engraven on plates of metal.

Upon this information, Brutus was confirmed in his resolution of defending the place to the last extremity, and prevailed on the garrison, under the prospect of effectual succours, to persevere in the toils and dangers of their present service ‡.

The Senate, notwithstanding they trusted that the preservation of the republic would be taken up

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlv, c. 35, 36.

† Cicero. ad Famil. lib. xii, ep. 5.

‡ Dio. Cass. lib. xlv, c. 35, 36.

as the common cause of all those who could hope to partake in its honours, and believed that the present Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, though appointed by Cæsar, were sincerely embarked in its cause; and notwithstanding the confidence they placed in Octavius as opposed to Antony, they still relied chiefly on those who had taken an active part against the late usurpation of Cæsar, and looked to Brutus and Cassius for a principal support against the remains of that military faction. On this account, they had annulled the proceedings of Antony relating to the distribution of the eastern provinces, reinstated Marcus Brutus in the government of Macedonia, and Cassius in that of Syria; and, by these appointments, placed the whole resources of the commonwealth on the east, from the Hadriatic to the utmost boundary of the empire, under their authority*.

Marcus Brutus and Cassius had left Italy in the preceding autumn. Brutus had passed through Lucania. Thither Porcia accompanied him, with the melancholy prospect of parting, perhaps for ever. While she endeavoured to conceal her grief, she was betrayed into tears by the sight of a picture, which represented the parting of Hector and Andromaché. One of the company, without observing Porcia's distress, repeated from Homer the lines from which the hint of this picture was taken. *My father, my mother, and my brother, are, Hector, all in thee* †. "But I cannot reply," said Brutus,

* Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. iii.

† "Ἐκταρ ἀταρ σὺ μοι ἴσσι' πατέρα καὶ πότνια μητέρα,
'Ἦδι κρητύλλητος." — Iliad. lib. vi, v. 429.

“ in the words of Hector, *Go to thy maids, and mind thy loom*; for although Porcia is deficient in strength of body, in her mind she is formed to great affairs*.”

Brutus, having embarked at Elea, sailed into Greece, where he was received with every mark of respect. Here he seemed to devote himself entirely to study; but had his agents employed to provide what was necessary to meet the storm, which he had reason to expect. He sent Herostratus into Macedonia, to sound the disposition of the troops in that province, and drew about himself all the young Romans who were then at Athens, attending the different schools which still supported the reputation of that place.

While Brutus remained in Greece, he received a sum of money, amounting to sixteen thousand talents, recently collected from the revenues of Asia†; and besides the new levies he had ordered, was joined by different bodies of troops already in the province or its neighbourhood. Of these, some had served under an officer named Apuleius; others under Vatinius in Illyricum. Some had been stationed under Caius Antonius at Apollonia‡. And a considerable part of Dolabella's forces, who were marching under Cinna into Asia, followed the same example||. As Brutus was considered in Macedonia and Thessaly as reviving the party of Pompey,

* For these particulars, Plutarch quotes young Bibulus, the son of Porcia by a former husband, who was present. Plutarch in Bruto.

† Cic. Philip. xiii.

‡ Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii, c. 27.

|| Plutarch. in Bruto.

many who had served under that leader, and were yet dispersed in those parts, flocked to his standard; so that he soon appeared at the head of a considerable army, amounting to four legions complete, with a detached body of five hundred horse. A great convoy, with spare arms, which Cæsar had provided for the Parthian war, and which, by the order of Antony, were then to be again returned into Italy, were intercepted by him at Demetrias. Upon the order of the Senate to put him in possession of Macedonia, the greater part of the province, then under the command of Hortensius, acknowledged his authority. At his departure from Athens, many of the young Roman nobility, with the ardour of ingenuous youth, made a part of his retinue, and among these, the son of Marcus Tullius Cicero, who, though with a genius for letters inferior to that of his father, became nevertheless distinguished as a soldier in the course of the war*. And to him we may join also Horatius Flaccus, though less a soldier, and of meaner extraction, no less ennobled, though only by his wit.

Cassius, at the same time, had gone with the utmost dispatch into Syria, to prevent Dolabella, who was sent by the opposite party to take possession of that province. He had received some supplies of men and of money from Trebonius, then commanding at Smyrna, and prevailed with part of the cavalry of Dolabella, on their march through the province of Asia, to abandon their leader. With these forces, he advanced into Cilicia, reduced the city of

* Plutarch in Bruto.

Tarsus, and continued his march, with a respectable appearance, into his intended province.

At the arrival of Cassius, the forces of Syria were divided, and the opposite parties had actually committed hostilities against each other. The troops which had been stationed there by Julius Cæsar, had, even before his death, mutinied, and had put Sextus Julius, a young man who commanded them, to death. Having thus set one party at defiance, they declared for the other, took orders from Cæcilius Bassus, one of Pompey's officers, who, having escaped from Pharsalia, then lay at Tyre, and in this change of their leader, embraced the cause of the republic. They defeated Staius Murcus, whom Cæsar had ordered, with three legions, to reduce them, and made it necessary to bring against them a reinforcement of three legions more from Bithynia, under Marcus Crispus. This officer had accordingly arrived with this reinforcement to the party of Cæsar, and was actually engaged in the siege of Apamea, to which Bassus had retired, when Cassius arrived in Syria.

There were now in this province, engaged on opposite sides, no less than eight legions. Upon the arrival of Cassius, the two legions under Bassus submitted to his command; and soon after the other six, moved by the authority of his commission from the Senate, or gained by his personal character and address, followed this example. Four more legions, who, intending to join Dolabella, were marching from Egypt through Palestine *, were intercepted,

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii, c. 26, 27, 28.

and forced to receive his orders as governor of Syria. His army, by these different accessions, amounted to twelve legions.

Upon the first suspicion that Brutus and Cassius intended to possess themselves of such important provinces, Dolabella, to whom, by the influence of Antony, the command in Syria had been assigned, set out from Rome, and with all possible diligence, joined some troops that were placed to receive him on the side of Macedonia, passed the Hellespont, and continued his route to the East. In passing through the province of Asia, he had an interview at Smyrna with Trebonius, professed a friendship for him, affected great respect for his associates in the conspiracy against Cæsar, and a zeal for the restoration of the commonwealth. After this conference with the governor of the province, he put his army in motion with the most pacific appearances on the route to Ephesus ; and having by these means put Trebonius off his guard, he returned in the night, surprised the city of Smyrna, seized on the person of the governor, and, with many insults, put him to the torture *, continuing him under it for some days, in order to extort a discovery of the treasure which he supposed to be hid in some part of the province ; but on the third day, Dolabella having satiated his mind with these cruelties, gave orders that Trebonius should be strangled, his head severed from the body, and exposed on the point of a spear, while the limbs were dragged through the streets.

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii, c. 29.

This murder, being committed on the person of a Roman officer, within the very province in which he was appointed to command, raised a general indignation. Dolabella was declared a public enemy by the Senate. The conduct of the war against him was committed to Caius Cassius, who being now at the head of the armies in Syria, was, together with Marcus Brutus, authorised by formal decrees to retain all the forces they had assembled, and all the resources of which they were possessed, and to employ them according to their own judgment, where the service of the republic seemed most to require their exertions*.

Thus the flames of war, which were already lighted in Italy, began to extend, and were soon communicated to every part of the empire. The opposite armies before Mutina continued during the winter to observe each other, and in their attempts to give or to withhold relief from the besieged in that town, had frequent skirmishes or partial engagements. The chief direction of affairs at Rome, in the mean time, had devolved upon Cicero, who incited the Senate and the People, with all the powers of his eloquence, against Antony. The soldiers in general, with their officers, were notwithstanding inclined to favour this declared enemy of the commonwealth. Ventidius, in particular, who professed to range himself under Octavius, was in reality warmly attached to his rival; and in order to serve him, actually formed a design to surprise Cicero, and the other heads

* Cicero. Philip. xi.

of the republican party at Rome. For this purpose, he assembled a body of veterans in the neighbourhood, and advanced towards the city; but his design being suspected, and the persons against whom it was directed having taken the alarm, and withdrawn to places of safety, he turned away to the Picenum, and there waited the issue of the campaign*.

The Senate, meanwhile, as in full possession of the republic, devised laws, to prevent for the future a return of the abuses which led to the present disorders, alluding to the progress of Cæsar and Pompey. They resolved, that no extraordinary commission of any kind should be given to any single person, or any provincial appointment prolonged beyond a single year †. But while they were thus employed, separate addresses were presented to them from Lepidus and from Plancus, warmly recommending an accommodation with Antony †. Cicero made his observations on this conduct, in a letter to Plancus of the thirteenth of the kalends of April, or twentieth of March; but he delivers himself to Lepidus on the same subject with more warmth, alluding to some recent honours which had been received by this officer, and for which he neglected to make the proper acknowledgments. "I am glad," he said, "that you wish to reconcile your fellow-citizens. If you could procure them peace without slavery, you would perform a meritorious service to your country, and acquire much honour to your-

* Cicero. Philip. xii. Ibid. ad Familiar. lib. x. ep. 16.

† Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. c. 39.

† Cicero. Philip. xii.

“ self; but if, under the title of peace, we are again
“ to become the slaves of a profligate villain, be as-
“ sured that every man in his senses will prefer death.
“ In my opinion, therefore, it will be wise in you to
“ desist from a proposal, which neither the Senate,
“ the People, nor any good man can approve *,”

Notwithstanding these sentiments, publicly declared by a person then supposed to be at the head of the republic, numbers in the city and in the Senate had espoused the cause of Antony. Piso, at whose house the wife and children of this supposed public enemy were entertained, openly corresponded with him. The Consul Pansa proposed a fresh deputation to be sent to him with overtures of peace, and his party in the Senate insidiously offered to devolve the honour of this deputation upon Cicero himself, who rejected the offer, with proper animadversion on the danger to which his life must be exposed in the camp of his personal enemy, and discussed with his usual eloquence the weakness of the council itself, as well as the great impropriety of suffering himself to be employed in it.

While this measure was in agitation, Hirtius and Octavius appear to have joined in a message to Antony, informing him of what had been proposed in the Senate, and desiring a cessation of arms, with liberty to convey some supply to the garrison of Mutina, until the event of the Senate's deliberations should be known. Antony replied in terms calculated to insinuate himself into the favour of the late

* Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. x, ep. 6.—27.

Cæsar's party, and to gain the affection of the army; but full of reproach and contumely against those who pretended to espouse the cause of the commonwealth, and against the authors of the present councils at Rome. In this he alluded to a late decree of the Senate, which was expressed in terms of indignation against the murderers of Trebonius, and to a commission or warrant, which empowered Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius to execute public justice against Dolabella on this account. In reference to these measures, " I know not (said Antony, in his
" answer to Hirtius and Octavius) whether I should
" receive more satisfaction from the death of that
" villain Trebonius, than I feel indignation at the
" unjust sentence passed against Dolabella. That
" the Roman Senate should value the life of that
" vile Trebonius, more than they did that of Cæsar
" himself, the father of his country, is surely pro-
" voking enough; but what must I feel, when I see
" you Hirtius, whom Cæsar has raised and adorned
" so much, that I am persuaded you scarcely know
" yourself? and when I see you, young man, who
" have no pretence to consideration besides the
" name of Cæsar, which you have boldly assumed,
" contributing all in your power to blast the me-
" mory of Cæsar? and when I see you both endea-
" vouring to oppress his friends, committing your-
" selves, with all the powers of the commonwealth,
" into the hands of Marcus Brutus and of Caius Cas-
" sius, who were his murderers; and when I see you
" joined against me to rescue from justice this as-
" sassin, Decimus Brutus, who had so aggravated a

“ part in the same crime?—But the camp and
“ the head quarters of Pompey it seems are to be
“ restored, and to bear anew the name and the au-
“ thority of a Roman Senate, where the exile Ci-
“ cero is to be set up at the head of this reviving
“ faction.

“ You are employed in avenging the death of
“ Trebonius; I am employed in avenging the death
“ of Cæsar; and we, who were once the friends of
“ Cæsar, like a troop of gladiators belonging to the
“ same master, are now to part, and from opposite
“ sides to fight and to cut one another’s throats
“ under the auspices of Cicero, who is become
“ director of the shew! But for me, I have taken
“ my resolution, and will neither suffer the veterans
“ to be stript of their just rewards, nor the wrongs,
“ which are intended to myself and to my friends,
“ to be carried into execution. If in this I am sup-
“ ported, and succeed, life will be sweet; if I fail,
“ the thought of what you are to suffer, from the
“ very party you are now endeavouring to raise up
“ against me, will even then be some consolation.
“ If the faction of Pompey be so insolent in its ruin,
“ I choose that you, rather than I, should expe-
“ rience the effect of its recovery, and of its return
“ to power.”

Antony, in all his discourses, affected to be in good understanding with Lepidus and with Plancus, who, he insinuated, were in concert with himself, and embarked in the same cause*. But whatever

* Cicero. Philip. xlii.

secret correspondence these officers may have held together, they and Pollio likewise professed the highest duty to the Senate, and affection to the commonwealth. Plancus having, for some time after the commencement of the war, declined any open declaration, now informed the Senate in a public address, That he had hitherto been taking measures to render the declaration he should make of real moment to the republic ; that he had remained silent so long, not from any hesitation in the choice of his party, but from a desire more effectually to serve that party which he had long since embraced ; that before he declared himself, he had secured the co-operation of his own officers, the affections of his army, and of the whole province in which he was stationed ; that he was now at the head of five complete legions well affected to the commonwealth, and, in consequence of his liberalities, attached to himself ; that the whole province was unanimous in the same cause ; that the People, with a zeal which a concern for their own freedom or safety could not surpass, had taken arms in support of the Roman republic ; that he was ready to obey the orders of the Senate, either to retain his command, or resign it to any person they should appoint to receive it from him ; that he would either remain in his post, or advance upon the enemy ; and by the last of these measures, if it should be thought expedient, he would cheerfully draw upon himself the whole weight of the war : for that provided he could, by any means, re-establish the commonwealth, or defer its ruin, the manner of doing it was indifferent to

to him. Others, he said, had declared themselves for the Senate, while that body, being greatly alarmed, was lavish of its commendations and of its rewards; but that if he had missed the time in which his declarations were likely to have been most highly valued, he had chosen the occasion on which his efforts promised the greatest benefit to the public, a consideration which should be to him a sufficient reward for the highest service he could perform*.

Pollio, at the same time, wrote to Cicero, expressing a violent detestation of Antony's faction, and of the designs of their leader. To be connected with such a person in any cause, he said, would be grievous; that even his having acted under Caesar himself, being contrary to his disposition, he said, and to his principles, was, notwithstanding the circumstances which obliged him to it, now become serious matter of regret. The experience of his condition under that usurper had made him more sensible of the value of freedom, and of the misery of dependence and servitude. "If any one for the future," he continued, "shall pretend to usurp such powers, he shall find in me an open and a declared enemy. There is no danger to which I will not expose myself in the cause of freedom †."

While the party of the Senate appeared to gain such accessions of strength by the declaration of so many military officers in the different provinces, Decimus Brutus was reduced to great straits at Mutina; and waited, under many circumstances of dis-

* Cicero ad Famil. lib. x. c. 8.

† Ibid. c. 31.

gress, for the opening of a campaign, in which he expected that his own fate, and that of the republic, might soon be determined. On the approach of the proper season, the Consul Pansa, with the levies he had made, amounting to four legions, marched towards Gaul, and being arrived at Bononia on the fourteenth of April, was next day to have joined his colleague, who had taken post with Octavius, to observe, and to impede the progress of the siege. To facilitate their junction, Hirtius had detached the legion which was called the *Martia*, with two *Prætorian* bands, to occupy the passes, and to strengthen the van of Pansa's army, in case they should be disturbed on their march. Antony, at the same time, having intelligence of their route, marched in the night with two chosen legions, the second and third, two *Prætorian* cohorts, being veteran and experienced troops, with a numerous body of irregulars and horse. He took post at a village, which was called the *Forum Gallorum*, and posting the horse and irregulars in open view in the field, at some distance from the village, he placed the legions and irregular infantry in ambuscade under the cover of the houses.

When Pansa's army, led by the detachment which Hirtius had sent to receive them, came in sight of Antony's horse and irregulars, they could not be restrained until the posture and strength of the enemy were examined. They broke from their ranks, and, without waiting till the village should be visited, they rushed through a defile in a wood or morass to intercept the enemy, who, appearing to consist of

horse and light infantry alone, could, as they apprehended, have no hopes of safety but by endeavouring to escape, which it was necessary by an immediate attack to prevent. As the foremost of Pansa's army were passing in the most disorderly manner from this defile, in pursuit of their supposed prey, Antony, with the legions, placed himself in their way, and forced them to halt, and even to fall back with great slaughter. Pansa himself was dangerously wounded, and his army obliged to take refuge in the camp from which they had marched in the morning. Here, too, Antony attempted to force them, but was repulsed; and fearing that his own retreat might be cut off, took his resolution to retire, and endeavoured, without loss of time, to rejoin the main body of his army which lay before Mutina.

Antony was soon justified in his apprehensions of the danger to which the further pursuit of his victory over Pansa might have exposed him; for Hirtius, having intelligence of the movement he had made in the night, though too late to prevent its effects, had, with twenty cohorts of veterans, left his own camp, arrived at the Forum Gallorum, and was in possession of the very ground on which Pansa had been defeated, when Antony, returning from the pursuit of his victory, fell, in his turn, into the same snare which he himself, a few hours before, had so successfully laid for his enemy; he was accordingly surprised and defeated with great slaughter, and with the loss of the eagles or standards of both the legions, and of sixty ensigns of the cohorts. After this disaster he himself, having fled with the cavalry,

arrived about ten at night in his camp before Mutina *, and from thence sent detachments abroad to collect the remains of his scattered party, or to facilitate their retreat †.

Pansa having been carried to Bononia on account of the wounds he had received, Hirtius took the command of his division of the army, and effected its junction with his own, and with that of Octavius.

In this state of affairs, Antony being considerably weakened by his loss in the late action, and the enemy being greatly reinforced by their junction, he determined to keep within his lines, to continue the blockade of Mutina, and to await the effect of the distress into which he had already reduced the besieged. The straits to which Decimus Brutus, with the garrison, was exposed, at the same time hastened the endeavours of Hirtius and Octavius to force the enemy to battle. For this purpose, or in order to relieve the town, they made a feint to throw in succours on a side which the besiegers had deemed inaccessible, and which, on this account, they had but slightly guarded. Antony, alarmed by this attempt to render abortive all the labours he had sustained in the preceding blockade, drew forth his army to oppose them, and by this movement exposed himself to the hazard of a general engagement. While he was making his disposition to receive the enemy in the field, his lines were attacked by a sally from the town, and it became necessary to divide his forces. He himself, with that part of his army

* Cicero, ad Familiares, lib. x, ep. 59.

† Appian, de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

which remained with him to make head against Hirtius and Octavius, was defeated, fled to his camp, and, being pursued thither, continued to give way, until the action ended by the death of the Consul Hirtius, who, after he had forced the intrenchments of the enemy, was killed; and fell near to the Prætorium or head-quarters of their general.

Upon this event, Octavius, on whom the command devolved, not having those qualities of a soldier which were necessary to replace the Consul, suffered the victorious army, thus checked by the loss of their leader, to be driven back from the ground they had gained, and left the enemy again in possession of his own works and encampment. In the operations of the preceding day, however, Antony, feeling all the effects of a defeat, and not being in condition to continue the siege, resolved to decamp in the night; and executed this resolution unobserved and unmolested, either from the town of Mutina or the camp. Here the personal courage of Octavius began first to be suspected, or appeared more fit for the council than for the field. It must, however, for the present, be left undetermined, whether much of what is imputed to cowardice in the sequel of this history, was not rather a part of his general character for address and good management, with which he shunned the risk of his own cause and that of his party, in the unnecessary exposure of his own person. He had other motives, on the present occasion, to restrain his efforts; and Decimus Brutus, though in the morning he had observed that the lines of the besiegers seemed to be evacuated, yet,

as he had no intelligence from the camp, remained all that day in suspense. Even after he had received information of what had passed, of the various events of the action, and of the Consul's death, he was discouraged in finding, that he was from thenceforward to depend on Octavius for support and co-operation in the war; and being greatly alarmed by the neglect which this young man had shown in not joining him the moment the communication between them was open; while he was not in condition to act alone, having neither cavalry nor baggage horses, and the troops being greatly reduced by the hardships they had suffered, he was obliged to remain inactive, so that the enemy were permitted to effect their retreat undisturbed*.

On the second day after the battle, Decimus Brutus, being sent for by Pansa, the surviving Consul, to Bononia, to concert the future operations of the war, learned, on his way, that this Consul also was dead of his wounds.

By these delays Antony had got two days' march a-head, and, without halting, reached the fens of Sabatta on the coast of Liguria. Here, the country being of difficult access, he thought himself secure, and made a halt, to deliberate on the part he had to act. At the same time Ventidius, who, upon the news of the defeat of his friend at Mutina, had passed the Apennines by hasty marches, followed and joined him at this place †.

In the first accounts of Antony's defeat which

* Cicero ad Familiares lib. vi, ep. 13. † Ibid.

were carried to Rome, it was reported, that his army had been entirely routed ; that he himself had escaped from the field of battle with only a few broken remains of his infantry unarmed ; and that to recruit his numbers, wherever he passed, he had broken open the work-houses, and set loose and inlisted the slaves *.)

Upon these representations most of the Senators were greatly elated ; and, amidst the acclamations of the People, ordered a feast of thanksgiving, which was to last for sixty days, and renewed the proclamation in which Antony, with all who had served under his command, were declared to have forfeited all the rights of citizens, and to be enemies of their country †.

The commonwealth being deprived of its legal head by the death of both the Consuls, Decimus Brutus, as next in succession, according to the arrangement which had been made for the ensuing year, became the principal object of consideration with the Senate ; and being supposed most deeply interested in the preservation of the republic, was the person on whom they chiefly relied for the support of their cause. The Senators, accordingly, seemed to drop at once the high regard which they had hitherto paid to Octavius, and overlooking his pretensions and his influence over the army, vested in Decimus Brutus the command of all their forces, whether in Italy or in Gaul.

* Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi, ep. 10.

† Dio. Cass. lib. xlvi, c. 59.

Thus ended the connection of the young Cæsar with the friends of the republic, an alliance which had, on both sides, probably been equally insincere. The young man, pretending to have his eyes opened by this conduct of the Senate, and supposing that the party of Antony was less hostile to himself than that which had now gained the ascendant in the commonwealth, he slighted the instructions which were sent to him to take his orders from Brutus, retained the command not only of the troops which had hitherto followed his own standard, but the command likewise of a legion which had been raised for the republic by Pansa *. He refused to co-operate with Decimus Brutus in pursuing their recent advantage against Antony, and had influence enough with different bodies of the army, particularly with the fourth legion and the Martia, to hinder their obeying the orders they had received from Rome †.

In this manner, as the respect which was paid to Octavius by the Senate vanished with the occasion which they had for his services; so all the professions he made of concern for the republic, and of zeal for its restoration, disappeared, with the interest which led him to make those professions. And Decimus Brutus, the person now acknowledged by the Senate as Consul Elect, and head of the republic, for whose relief Octavius affected to have assembled his forces, was left by him to finish the remains of the war against Antony, at the head of such troops

* Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi, c. 20.

† Ibid. ep. 10.

as had any degree of attachment to himself, or to the cause of the republic.

Decimus Brutus, when the war broke out, had a military chest of forty thousand sestertia, about three hundred and twenty thousand pounds; but the whole was now expended, and his own credit likewise exhausted. He was, from this time forward, ill supported at Rome, all motions made in his favour being opposed by the party of Octavius, as well as by that of Antony. The troops which adhered to him amounted to seven legions; these he subsisted by such means as he himself could command. He advanced to Dertona on the fourth of May*; and from thence continuing his march till within thirty miles of the enemy, he received intelligence, that Antony, in a speech to his army, had declared his intention to pass the Alps, and to cast himself entirely on the friendship of Lepidus, in whose disposition towards himself he professed to have great confidence; that this proposal being disagreeable to the army, they had declared their resolution to remain in Italy, and exclaimed, That here they would conquer or perish; that Antony had been disconcerted by this declaration, and had continued a whole day undetermined as to his future operations; but in order to conform himself to the inclination of the army, and, if possible, to keep his footing in Italy, he was about to surprise Pollentia, a fortified place on the Tenarus, and had detached Trebellius with a body of cavalry for this purpose.

* Cicero, ad Familiares, lib. xi, ep. 10. 19.

Decimus Brutus, upon this intelligence, sent forward three cohorts to prevent the design on Pollentia; and these having effected their march in time to secure the place, the enemy, by this disappointment, notwithstanding their late resolution to remain in Italy, were under a necessity of passing the Alps*. They undertook this difficult march so ill provided with every necessary, that, according to Plutarch, they had no subsistence but what was found on the route as they passed, consisting chiefly of wild herbs, fruits, and animals not commonly used for human food; but Antony himself discovered a patience and a force of mind, which no man, judging by his usual way of life, could have expected from him; and, by his own example, supported the spirits of his men through the greatest distresses †.

Lepidus, in consequence of the Senate's instructions, or of his own desire to be at hand to take such measures as the state of the war in Italy might require, had discontinued the march of his army into Spain, and returning through the province of Narbonne, had passed the Rhone at its confluence with the Soane; and now, hearing of Antony's march, descended on the left of this river, and took a situation to intercept him, not far from the coast at the Forum Vocontium, on a small river called the Argenteum, which empties itself into the sea at Forum Julii ‡.

In the mean time, Antony had passed the Alps, and on the fifteenth of May arrived with the first

* Cicero, ad Familiares, lib. xi. ep. 13. † Plutarch, in Antonio. ‡ Frejus.

division of his army at Forum Julii, four-and-twenty miles from the station of Lepidus. Ventidius having followed about two days' march in the rear of Antony, and having again joined him at this place, their forces consisted * of the second legion entire, with a considerable number of men, but without arms; the broken remains of many legions, together with a body of cavalry, of which, this part of the army having suffered least in the late action, Antony had still a considerable force. But in this position many deserted from him, and his numbers were daily diminishing: Silanus and Culeo, two officers of rank, were among the deserters.

Such was the posture of affairs, on the twenty-first of May, when Lepidus gave to Cicero the strongest assurances † of zeal for the commonwealth. Plancus, at the same time, had taken post on the Isere ‡, had thrown a bridge over that river, and waited for the arrival of Decimus Brutus, whom he expected to join him by the most ordinary passage of the Alps §: but while he lay in this position he received a message from Lepidus, informing him of Antony's approach, and expressing great distrust of many in his own army, whom he suspected of a disposition to join the enemy. Upon these representations, Plancus marched on the twentieth of May, as appears from his dispatches to Rome of this date; expected to join Lepidus in eight days, and hoped, by

* Cicero ad Familiar. lib. x, ep. 17.

† Ibid.

‡ Isara.

§ Probably by Mount Ceris, or the channels of the Dorea Baltea and the Isere.

his presence, to secure the fidelity of the army, which began to be questioned. He wrote, with great confidence, of the zeal and affection of his own troops; and was pleased to say, that he himself, unsupported by any other force, should be able to overwhelm, as he expresses himself, the broken forces of Antony, though joined by the followers of that muleteer Ventidius *.

In the mean time, the armies of Antony and Lepidus being posted in sight of each other, frequent messages passed between the leaders; and as no hostilities were committed, the soldiers conversed freely together, though without any apparent effect †. Lepidus still professed to govern himself by the orders of the Senate, and to employ his army in support of the commonwealth. But while he preserved these appearances, he sent an order to countermand the junction of Plancus; and having convened his own army, as usual, around the platform ‡, from which it was the custom to harangue the troops, he addressed them in a speech, in which he repeated his professions of duty to the republic, and urged a vigorous exertion in the war. It had not yet appeared to what point these professions were tending, when he was answered with exclamations, which he probably expected, from some leading persons among the soldiers, in which they declared the wishes of the army for peace. Two Roman Consuls, they

* Cicer. ad Famil. lib. x, ep. 15.

† Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

‡ The Suggestum, most commonly raised of turf.

said, had been already killed in this unnatural quarrel. The best blood of the republic had been spilt, and the most respectable citizens declared enemies of their country; that it was time to sheathe the sword: "for our parts," they said, "we are determined that our arms from henceforward shall not be employed on either side*." From this audience the army of Lepidus proceeded to invite Antony into their camp, and presenting him to their general as a friend, terminated the war between them by a coalition, in appearance forced upon Lepidus, but probably previously concerted with himself.

Antony being now joined with Lepidus in the command of an army, which had come to oppose himself, and by his popularity, or superior ability, having got the ascendant of his colleague; found himself again in possession of a great force, composed of the remains of his own late defeat, three legions that had joined him under Ventidius, and seven of which the army of Lepidus consisted †.

Plancus, being still upon his march, persisted in his intention to join Lepidus, notwithstanding he had received an order or instruction from himself to the contrary; but having, at last, received positive information of his defection, and considering the danger to which he himself must be exposed with inferior numbers against two armies united, he returned to his post on the Isere, and sent pressing

* Ciccr. ad Famil. lib. 1, ep. 21.

† Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

instances to hasten the march of Decimus Brutus, and of other succours from Italy*.

Lepidus, even after the reception of Antony into his camp, addressed the Senate in a solemn declaration, still asserting his affection to the commonwealth, and representing the late change of his measures as the effect of necessity imposed upon him by the troops, who, in a mutinous manner, refused to make war on their fellow-citizens. While he made these professions, he recommended to the Senate the example of the army, exhorted them to drop all private animosities, to make the public good the rule of their conduct, and in respect to the recent defection of the legions he commanded, not to treat as a crime, the humane and merciful disposition which fellow-citizens had exercised towards each other †.

At the same time dispatches arrived from Plancus and Decimus Brutus, both treating the pretended mutiny of the army in Gaul as a mere artifice of their general to conceal his own dispositions ‡. The city was greatly alarmed, and such of the populace as still affected a zeal for the authority of the Senate, demolished the statues which had been lately erected to Lepidus. The Senators, incensed not only at his treachery, but at the false professions with which he presumed to address them on the subject, proceeded to declare him a public enemy, and resolved, that all his adherents, who did not return to their duty before the first of September, should be invol-

* Cicer. ad Famil. lib. x, ep. 11.

† Ibid. ep. 35.

‡ Ibid.

ved in the same sentence. Private instructions were sent, at the same time, to Marcus Brutus, and to Caius Cassius, urging them to hasten the march of their forces for the defence of Italy and the capital of the empire *.

During these transactions, Octavius remained inactive on the Po. The demise of the two Consuls opened a new scene to his ambition. This event came so opportunely for his purpose, and his own character for intrigue was so much established, that he was suspected of having had an active part in procuring the death of those officers. It was said, that he employed an assassin to dispatch Hirtius in the heat of battle; and that Pansa's wound, not being otherwise mortal, he suborned the person who dressed it, to render it so by an injection of poison. A surgeon, named Glyco, was actually taken into custody on this account; the suspicion remained against Octavius till the last moment of his life, and even made a part in the grievous reproaches with which his memory continued to be loaded after his death †. It was rejected, however, at the time, even by Marcus Brutus, who warmly interceded with Cicero in behalf of Glyco, as a person who was himself a great sufferer by Pansa's death, and who bore such a reputation for probity as ought to have secured him against this imputation ‡. The testimony of Marcus Brutus, when given in favour of Octavius, must, no doubt, be admitted as of the

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. i, c. 10.

‡ Cicero. ad Brutum, ep. 6, edit. Olivet. tom. 9.

greatest authority, and may be allowed, in a great measure, to remove the whole suspicion.

Octavius himself gave out, that Pansa, when dying of his wounds, desired to see him in private, gave him a view of the state of parties, and advised him no longer to remain the tool of those who meant only to demolish the party of Cæsar, in order that they themselves might rise on its ruins. But from the detail of what passed in the interval between the battle of Mutina and the death of Pansa, of which Decimus Brutus sent an account to Cicero, it does not appear that Octavius could have seen Pansa. And it is probable, that this pretended advice of the dying Consul was fabricated afterwards, to justify the part which Octavius took against the Senate *. The supposed admonition of Pansa, at any rate, was probably not necessary to dissuade Octavius from continuing to support the republic any longer than his own interest required. This was the great rule of his conduct, and if, until that hour, he continued to believe, that the Senate intended to raise him on the ruin of Antony's party, in order that he might become their own master, and sovereign of the empire, he fancied surely what was not probable, and what they never professed to be their intention. The restoration of the republican government, and of the Senate's authority, implied, that individuals were to be satisfied with receiving the honours of the republic in their turn; and in this prospect, Octavius himself affected to

* Cicero, ad Familiares lib. xi, ep. 13.

acquiesce, so long as it suited with the state of his fortunes, to act the part of a mere citizen or constituent member of a free state.

The Senate undoubtedly sustained a great loss in the death of the Consuls. Though trained up under Cæsar, and not possessed of any remarkable share of political virtue, they were men probably of moderate ambition, tenacious of the dignities to which they themselves and every free citizen might aspire, but not covetous of more. They were likely, therefore, to take an ordinary part in the civil establishment of their country, and by the dignity of their characters, to overawe the more desperate adventurers, whose views and successes were inconsistent with the safety of the commonwealth.

If the Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, had lived, even with such abilities as they possessed, they might have kept Lepidus within the bounds of his duty; they might have prevented Antony from recovering the defeat which he had lately received at Mutina, and might have obliged Octavius, if not to drop his ambitious designs, at least to defer the execution of them to a more distant period. But, immediately after the death of these magistrates, it became evident, that this young man was dissatisfied with his situation and with the party he had apparently joined; and accordingly, not only kept at a distance from Decimus Brutus, but seemed determined not to take any part in the farther operations of the war. The prisoners that were in his hands he treated as friends, and by suffering them, without any exchange or ransom, to join their own army, gave hopes that he was

ready to treat on reasonable terms of a reconciliation with their leader. He, at the same time, took measures with the Senate that seemed to prognosticate a rupture, and, in particular, made application for a triumph, in which neither his age, his rank, nor his share in the late action, or victory obtained over Antony, in any degree supported his claim; and having failed in this attempt, he declared his intention to sue for the office of Consul.

Octavius, in aspiring to a station for which he was so far from being legally qualified by his age, affected to insist that Cicero * should be associated with him in the office †, and should take the whole administration on himself. For his own part, he said, that, in this association, he aspired only to the title of Magistrate; whilst the world must know, the whole authority of government, and all the glory to be reaped in the public administration, would redound to his colleague; that, in this request, and in that he had made for a triumph, he had no object but to gain a situation in which he might lay down his arms with honour, as having such a public acknowledgment of the services ‡ he had endeavoured to render to the commonwealth.

Cicero, according to the testimony of Dion Cassius, fell into the snare which was thus laid for him by this artful boy, that he accordingly supported his pretensions to the Consulate, and was willing to

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlvi, c. 42.

† Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

‡ Cicero. ad Brutum, ep. 10.

become the ostensible colleague and the tutor of this reviving Cæsar.

Octavius afterwards boasted of the artifice he had employed in this piece of flattery to Cicero, as the only means he had left, at that time, to secure the formal continuance of his military command *. But the Senators, and the partisans of the conspirators in particular, were greatly exasperated. The proposition appeared so strange, that no Tribune, no person in any office, not even any private citizen, could be found to move it †. The animosity of Cicero to Antony had already, they thought, carried him too far in flattering the presumption of this aspiring young man. If he should prevail on the present occasion, all that the Senate had hitherto done to restore the constitution would be fruitless. A person who presumed to claim the office of Consul at an age so improper, and so far short of that which the law prescribed, was likely, when possessed of this power, to set no bounds to his usurpations. In order, therefore, to elude his project, they deferred the elections, and, in the mean time, appointed ten commissioners, under pretence of inquiring into the abuses committed in Antony's administration, and of distributing to the army the gratuities, and of executing the settlements devised for their late services, but probably with a real intention to vest these commissioners with the chief direction of affairs, until it could be determined who should succeed in the office of Consul, and who should be intrusted with the

* Plut. in Cicer.

† Cicer. ad Brutum, ep. 19.

safety of the republic. The partisans of the commonwealth were now, in appearance, superior to their enemies, but, from their recourse to such indirect measures, seemed insecure in possession of the superiority they had gained *.

The Senate, in order to exclude Octavius from this commission, without giving him any particular reason to complain of their partiality, at the same time left out Decimus Brutus; and by this equal exclusion of persons at the head of armies from the management of affairs, in which the armies were so much concerned, they enabled Octavius to fill the minds of the soldiers with distrust of the civil power, and to state the interests of the civil and military factions as in opposition to each other †. He no longer, therefore, disguised his aversion to the Senate; complained, that they treated himself with disrespect; called him a boy who must be amused ‡, decked out with honours, and afterwards destroyed ||. “ I am excluded,” he said, “ from the present commission, not from any peculiar distrust in me, but from the same motive from which Decimus Brutus is also excluded, a general distrust of every person who is likely to espouse the interests of military men; and, from these exclusions, it is evident what is intended with respect to the army, and with respect to the expectations entertained by the veterans, of a just reward for their services §.”

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

† Cicer. ad Familiar. lib. xi, ep. 20.

‡ Ibid. ep. 21.

§ Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum.—This last word is ambiguous. This saying was imputed to Cicero, but is peremptorily denied by him.

§ Sueton. in Octavio, c. 12.

Upon the junction of Antony with Lepidus, the Senate felt the necessity of paying a little more attention than they had lately done to the interests of Octavius. Instead of appointing him to act under Decimus Brutus, as they at first intended, they now joined him in the command of the army; and, in this new situation, required him to co-operate in defending Italy against the united forces of Antony and Lepidus.

Octavius instantly communicated to the army these orders of the Senate, with insinuations of the hardships which they were now to undergo on being sent on a fresh service, before they had received the rewards which were promised and due to them for the former; and he proposed, that they should send deputies to the Senate with proper representations on this subject.

A number of Centurions were accordingly selected, to carry what was rather a mandate than a request of the army to Rome. As they delivered their message in name of the legions, without any mention of Octavius, this was thought a favourable opportunity to negotiate directly with the troops, without consulting their leader; and the Senate accordingly sent a commission for this purpose, with hopes that they might be able to detach the army from their general, or that at least they might be able to engage, in their own cause, those legions, in particular, who had deserted from Antony, with such earnest professions of zeal for the commonwealth.

Octavius, to counteract this design before the commissioners employed in the execution of it ar-

rived in his camp, drew forth his army, and in a speech complained of this and of the former injuries he had received from the Senate: " Their intention," he said, " is to cut off separately all those who were attached to the public service under Caesar. When they have accomplished this purpose, the army too must fall at their feet *. They will recall the grants of land which have been made to you, and will deprive you of the just reward of all your faithful services. They charge me with ambition; but what evidence is there of my ambition? Have I not declined the dignity of Prætor, when you offered to procure it for me?— My motive is not ambition, but the love of my country; and for this I am willing to run any hazard to which I myself may be exposed; but cannot endure, upon any account, that you should be stript of what you have so dearly bought by your labours in the public cause. It is now become evident, that, in order to prevent the most dangerous powers from coming into the hands of your enemies, and in order to ensure the rewards to which you are so justly entitled, it is necessary that your friends should be raised to the head of the commonwealth. In the quality of Consul, I shall be able to do justice to your merits; to punish the murderers of my father, to be revenged of our common enemies, and at last to bring these unhappy domestic dissensions to an end †."

* Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. iii.

† Ibid.

This harangue was returned with acclamations of joy, and a second deputation, to be escorted by four hundred men, was instantly appointed from the army, demanding the Consulate for their general. The officers employed in this service were repeatedly admitted to audiences in the Senate *. In answer to the objections which were drawn from the defects of their general's age and title, they urged former precedents; that of Scipio, of Dolabella, and the special acts relating to Octavius himself, in whose favour ten years of the legal age had been already dispensed with. One of the officers in this singular deputation, while the Senate proposed a delay in order to deliberate on the matter, is said to have shown the hilt of his dagger; and some one of the party who escorted the deputies, in resuming his arms at the door of the Senate-house, was heard to say, in girding the belt of his sword, *If you will not confer the Consulate on Octavius, this shall.* To these menacing insinuations, Cicero, who had jests imputed to him, on occasions that were equally serious to himself and to the republic, is said to have replied, *Nay, if you pray in that language, you will surely be heard.*

While the Senate delayed giving any direct answer to this military demand, they again sent a deputation of their own members with money to be distributed to the legions, hoping, by this means, to divert them from the project which they had formed in favour of their general. But Octavius, being se-

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlv, c. 42.

cretly apprised that a sum of money was sent to corrupt his army, and observing that the soldiers were impatient at having no immediate return to their own message, chose not to wait the trial of this dangerous experiment, separated the legions into two columns, marched directly to Rome; and on his way being met by the deputies of the Senate, he commanded them, at their peril, not to approach the army, or to interrupt its march.

Upon the news of his approach, the city was thrown into great consternation. The Senate, believing they had erred in offering too little money to the troops, ordered the former bounty to be doubled*. They yielded the matter in dispute, resolving that Octavius should be admitted to the Consulate; or, according to Dion Cassius, that he should have the title and ensigns of Consul, but without the actual power; that he should have a place in the Senate among those who had been Consuls; that he should be Prætor at the first elections, and Consul at the following†. And thus having done enough to shew their fears, but not to disarm, or to lull the ambition of this presumptuous young man, they sent new deputies, with every symptom of trepidation and alarm, to intimate these resolutions.

Soon after this deputation from the Senate was dispatched, two legions, lately transported from Africa, and ordered for the defence of the city, having arrived at the gates, the Senators, with their party

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

† Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii, c. 41.

among the People, resumed their courage: they were even disposed to recall their late concessions, and began to exclaim, that it were better to perish in defending their liberties, than, without any struggle, to fall a prey to their enemies. In this humour persons of every condition assumed the military dress, and ran to their arms.

There were now at Rome three legions, with a thousand horse; one legion having been left there by Pansa when he marched towards Gaul. These troops were posted on the side from which the enemy was expected, on the Janiculum, and covering the bridge which led from thence to the city. Gallies were ordered to be in readiness at Ostia, to convey the public treasure beyond the sea, in case it should become necessary to take this measure to save it: and it was determined to seize the mother and sister of Octavius *, who were then supposed to be at Rome, and to detain them as hostages. But this intention was frustrated by the timely escape of these women, who, apprehending some danger, had already withdrawn from the city. Their flight being known, such an early precaution taken by themselves, or their friends, in this matter, was considered as the evidence of a long premeditated design, of which they were apprised, on the part of their relation.

Under this impression, and that of the superior force with which it was known Octavius was prepared to assail them, the senators again lost hopes of

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

being able to withstand him ; but they flattered themselves, that the subsequent resolution they had taken to resist, would not be known in time to prevent their first conciliatory message to the army from being delivered. Their concessions were accordingly published among the troops ; but appearing to be forced, were received with contempt, and served only to encourage the presumption of the soldiers, and to hasten their march. As the army drew near to the gates, all the approaches were deserted by those who had been placed to defend them, and the advanced guard of Octavius passed almost through the whole breadth of the city, to the Mons Quirinalis, without being met by any person in the quality either of friend or of enemy. But, after a little pause, numbers of his own party among the People having gone forth to receive him, the streets were instantly crowded with persons of all ranks, who hastened to pay their court *.

This unwelcome guest having halted his army during the night in the first streets which they entered, on the following day, with a proper escort, and amidst the shouts and acclamations of the multitude, took possession of the Forum. The troops which had been assembled to oppose him, at the same time left their stations, and made an offer of their services. Cornutus, one of the officers who commanded those troops, with a hopeless fidelity to the trust which was reposed in him, having in vain endeavoured to prevent their defection, killed him-

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

self. Cicero is said to have desired a conference with his young friend, and intended colleague in the future Consulate ; but, when he seemed to presume on his former connection, was coldly answered, That he had been too slow in his present advances.

In the following night a rumour was spread, that the Martia and the fourth legion, which made a part in the army of Octavius, but supposed to be particularly attached to the Senate, on account of the late honorary decrees which had passed in their favour, had declared against the violent measures of their leader ; that they offered to protect the Senate and People in their legal assemblies, and in any resolutions they should form on the present state of the republic. Numbers of Senators believed this report, and were about to resume their meetings. Crassus, one of the Prætors, set out for the Picenum, where he had considerable influence, in order to assemble what forces he could raise to secure the success of this design ; but before morning this report was known to be groundless, and all orders of men returned to their former dejection and submission.

At break of day, Octavius removed the army from the streets of Rome into the Campus Martius. He did not suffer any acts of cruelty to be committed, or make any inquiry after those who had been forward in opposing his claims. He affected the clemency of his late uncle ; but, like him too, without any scruple, laid his hands on the public treasure, made a distribution to the army of the sums which had been at first decreed to them ; and engaged for

himself, soon after, to add from his own estate what had been successively promised. Having ordered that the election of Consuls should immediately proceed, he withdrew with the army, affecting to leave the People to a free choice. And being himself elected, together with Q. Pedius, whom, without any mention of Cicero, he had recommended for this purpose, he returned in solemn procession, to offer the sacrifices usual on such occasions, and entered on his office on the twenty-first of September, the day before he completed his twentieth year*.

On this occasion the young Cæsar, in the capacity of Consul, made a speech to the troops, acknowledging their services; but avoided imputing to their interposition the honours which he had recently obtained in the city. For these honours he returned his thanks to the Senate, and to the assemblies of the People. These he accosted as the sovereigns of the empire; and was answered by an affected belief of his sincerity.

In the same spirit of servility with which so many honours had been decreed to Julius Cæsar, it was enacted, that Octavius should for ever take rank of every Consul, and the command of every general, even at the head of his own army; that he should have an unlimited commission to levy troops, and to employ them where the necessities of the State might require †; that his adoption into the family of Cæsar should now be ratified in the most solemn manner

* Vell. Paterculus, lib. ii, c. 65.

† Dio. Cass. lib. xlv, c. 39.

by the assembly of the *Curiaë*; a form which the laws of the republic required in every such case, and in which he had been formerly prevented by the intrigues of Antony; that the act declaring Dolabella an enemy of his country should be repealed, and an inquest set on foot for the trial of those who had been concerned in the death of Julius Cæsar.

Before the tribunal established for this purpose, numbers were cited, and upon their non-appearance condemned. Among these were Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius. In giving sentence against them, the judges affected to shew their ballots; and a citizen, of the name of Silicius Coronas, being of the number, likewise held up his ballot into view; but, in the midst of this tide of servility and adulation, had the courage to acquit the accused. His conduct for the present passed without any notice, but he was reserved, with silent resentment, as an object of vengeance to be afterwards inflicted*.

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

CHAP. XXXII.

Proceedings of the new consul.—State of the eastern provinces.—Interview of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, with their coalition.—The proscription or massacre.—Death of Cicero.—Sequel of the massacre.—Succession of consuls.—Severe exaction of taxes.—State of Sextus Pompeius.—Movements of Antony and Octavius respectively.—Both bend their course to the east.—Posture and operations of Brutus and Cassius.—Their arrival and progress in Europe.—Campaign at Philippi.—First action, and death of Cassius.—Second action, and death of Brutus.

THE republic, of which Octavius was now, in appearance, the legal magistrate, had declared open war against Antony and Lepidus; and in consequence of this declaration, the forces of Decimus Brutus and of Plancus, as has been mentioned, had advanced to the Rhône and the Isere, but had been obliged again to retreat, in order to avoid coming to action with a superior enemy. It was considered, therefore, as the first object of the Consul, to reinforce that army of the republic, and to carry the decrees of the Senate into execution against those who presumed to dispute their authority. He accordingly marched from the city as upon this design; but it soon after appeared, that he had been some time in correspondence with those supposed enemies of their country; that he intended to join them against the

Senate, and, with their forces united, to resist the storm which was gathering against them in the East, under the governors of Macedonia and Syria.

While the siege of Mutina was still in dependence, Marcus Brutus had drawn his forces towards the coast of Epirus, with intention to pass into Italy; but having received a report that Dolabella, then in the province of Asia, had transported a body of men from thence to the Chersonesus *, and that he seemed to intend the invasion of Macedonia, he was obliged to return for the defence of his own province; and from thenceforward, by the state of the war in Syria, was hindered, during some time, from taking any part in the affairs of the West.

Dolabella, in consequence of his appointment to supersede Cassius, and after the murder of Trebonius, had assembled a powerful squadron of ships on the coast, to accompany the march of an army with which he proposed to expel his antagonist from the province of Syria †. His operations, however, began in that quarter with his receiving a great check to his hopes in the defeat of his squadron; his galleys having been dispersed, and all his transports taken by Lentulus, who had served under Trebonius, and who now commanded the fleets of Brutus and Cassius in those seas ‡. Notwithstanding this defeat of his forces at sea, Dolabella advanced by land into Cilicia; and while his antagonist lay in Palestine, to intercept the legions which were co-

* Cicer. ad Brutum, ep. ii.

† Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii, ep. 12.

‡ Ibid. ep. 15.

ming to join him from Egypt, he made considerable levies, took possession of Tarsus, reduced the party which Cassius had left at Æga, and proceeded to Antioch; but finding the gates of this town were shut against him, he continued his march to Laodiceæ, where he was admitted; being determined to make a stand at this place, he again assembled the remains of his shipping, in order to bring his supply of stores and provisions by sea*. Having encamped and intrenched his army close to the walls of Laodiceæ, he threw down part of the ramparts, to open a communication between his camp and the town †.

Cassius having intelligence of the progress made by his rival in the province, and of his dispositions to secure Laodiceæ, prepared to dislodge him from thence. For this purpose he advanced to Pallos, at the distance of twenty miles from the enemy's station, and took measures, by cutting off his supplies both by sea and by land, to reduce him by famine. In execution of this design, he endeavoured to procure shipping from every part of the coast, extending from Rhodes to Alexandria; but found that most of the maritime States of Asia were already drained by his enemy, or were unwilling to declare themselves for either party. The port of Sidon was the first from which Cassius obtained any supply of vessels; but the officer who commanded them having ventured with too small a force to appear be-

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii, c. 30.

† Cicer. ad Famil. lib. xii, ep. 13.

fore Laodicæa, was unable to cope with the navy which Dolabella had collected from the remains of his late defeat; and, though he defended himself with great obstinacy, and with great slaughter of the enemy, after many ships were sunk on both sides, suffered a capture of five galleys with all their crews. Notwithstanding this check, Cassius was soon after joined by squadrons from Tyre, Aradus, and even from Cyprus. The governor of this island, contrary to the orders of Cleopatra, his sovereign, who had assembled her fleet to support Dolabella, ventured to change their destination, and to take part with his enemies*.

With this accession of force, Cassius being again in condition to block up the harbour of Laodicæa, presented himself for this purpose, and two engagements followed; in the first of which the advantage was doubtful; in the second, the victory declared for Cassius, and rendered him master of the coast. Holding his enemy therefore blocked up by sea, he continued to press upon the town from the land, and, by the fifth of June, had reduced the besieged to great distress; but while he seemed to rely entirely on the effects of this circumstance †, he had a secret correspondence with the garrison, and on a day concerted with the officer on duty, was admitted into the place.

Dolabella, finding that the town was already delivered up, chose to fall by the sword of one of his

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

† Cicero. ad Famil. lib. xii, ep. 13.

own men, of whom he requested the favour to save him, by this last act of attachment, from falling into the hands of his enemies. The troops who had served under him acknowledged the authority of his rival, and took the oath of fidelity usual in ranging themselves under a new general. Cassius seized what money he found in the public treasury, or in the temples at Laodicæa, laid the citizens under a heavy contribution, and put some of those who had been most forward in serving his enemy to death*.

Such was known, some time before the battle of Mutina, to be the event of affairs in Asia; and the fortunes of Marcus Brutus and Cassius, they being supposed to have twenty legions under their command, with all the resources of the Eastern Empire, were still in a thriving condition, when Octavius, soon after his nomination to the office of Consul, under pretence of urging the war against Antony and Lepidus, had taken his departure from Rome, leaving his colleague Pedius in the administration of the city. To him he had given instructions to obtain, as of his own accord, the revocation of the acts by which Antony and Lepidus had been declared public enemies. He incited the army, at the same time, to demand a reconciliation of parties, and administered an oath to them, in which they swore not to draw their swords against any of the troops who had ever served under Julius Cæsar. As the Consul Pedius made no mention of his colleague in making his motion in favour of Antony and Lepidus,

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

the Senate, not knowing how far it might be agreeable to Octavius, referred the whole matter to himself; and, upon his having signified his approbation, proceeded to revoke their former decree of attainder*. By these means Octavius, without appearing himself as the author of this change, transferred the imputation of treason from Antony and Lepidus to Brutus and Cassius, with their adherents in the late conspiracy against the life of Cæsar.

As soon as the state of parties was thus transformed, Octavius congratulated the Senate on the wisdom of their measures, and from thenceforward treated with Antony and Lepidus as friends, corresponded with them on the subject of the commonwealth, and invited them, without loss of time, to return into Italy.

Under pretence of duty to the will of the Senate in this new arrangement, Plancus separated his army from that of Decimus Brutus, and espoused the cause which the republic itself, under the authority of the Consuls, was pleased to adopt. Pollio likewise followed this example.

In consequence of these separations, Decimus Brutus was left singly to withstand the force of so many personal enemies who were united against him, and now supported with the authority of the State itself. He still had ten legions, of which the four with which he had defended the city of Mutina during the preceding winter, were not yet recovered from the sufferings of that service. With the other

* *Dio. Cass. lib. xlv, c. 44.*

six, being raw and undisciplined troops, he did not think himself in condition to dispute the field with so many veteran armies; and he determined therefore to withdraw by Illyricum into Macedonia, and to join himself with the forces which were raised for the republic in that province. But in the execution of this design he found, that in civil wars armies are not easily retained on the losing side, and had occasion to observe, that soldiers by profession are seldom hearty in behalf of civil institutions against a professed intention to govern by force. On pretence of the hardships of the proposed march, he was deserted, first by the new levies, and afterwards by the main body, with all the irregulars, who, except a few Gaulish horse, departed with their colours displayed to join the enemy. Of those who remained, he, under the deepest impressions of despair, allowed as many as were so disposed to provide for themselves; and with only three hundred horsemen who adhered to him, set out for the Rhine, intending to make his intended retreat through Germany. But, in proportion as difficulties multiplied on his way, the little troop which attended him gradually diminished; and being reduced to ten, he imagined that, with so few in his company, he might even pass through Italy itself undiscovered. He accordingly disguised himself, and returned to Aquileia: but being there seized, though unknown, as a suspicious person, and being conducted to an officer of the district who knew him, he was by the orders of Antony put to death*.

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iii.

Thus, while all the military powers of the East were assembled under Marcus Brutus and Cassius, with a professed design to restore the republic, those of the West were equally united for a contrary purpose. Antony and Lepidus having passed the Alps, descended the Po, and advanced towards Mutina. Octavius being already in that neighbourhood with his army, they met, with five legions of each side, on the opposite banks of the Levinus, not far from the scene of their late hostile operations against each other. The leaders agreed to hold a conference in a small island formed by the separation and reunion of two branches of the river. To the end that they might have equal access to this island, bridges were laid on the divisions of the Levinus by which the island was formed. The armies drew up on the opposite banks; and as the recent animosities of Antony and Octavius still left some remains of distrust between them, Lepidus first entered alone into the place that was intended for their conference; and having seen that no snares were laid by either party, he made the signal agreed on, and was joined by the other two without any attendants.

Octavius now met with Antony in a character more respectable than that in which he had formerly appeared, and, with the dignity of the Roman Consul in office, had the place of honour assigned to him. They continued their conference during this and the two following days *; and at the expiration of this time made known to their armies, that

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

they had agreed on the following articles : That Octavius, in order to divest himself of every legal advantage over his associates, should resign the Consulate ; that the three military leaders, then upon an equal footing, should hold or share among them, during five years, the supreme administration of affairs in the empire ; that they should name all the officers of State, magistrates, and governors of provinces ; that Octavius should have the exclusive command in Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, Lepidus in Spain, and Antony in Gaul ; that Lepidus should be substituted for Decimus Brutus in the succession to the Consulate for the following year, and should have the administration at Rome, while Octavius and Antony pursued the war against Brutus and Cassius in the East ; that the troops, at the end of the war, should have settlements assigned to them in the richest districts and best situations of Italy. Among the last were specified the neighbourhoods of Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibona.

To strengthen this agreement, the daughter of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, by Clodius her former husband, was betrothed to Octavius. He was said to have already made a different choice, and consequently to have had no intention to fulfil this part of the treaty * ; but the passions, as well as the professions, of this young man, were already sufficiently subservient to his interest †.

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlvj, c. 54, 55, 56.

† Ibid.

While the willing co-operation of armies was secured by the publication of the several articles which concerned themselves, the circumstances which chiefly distinguished this famous coalition, was the secret resolution, then taken, to extinguish at once all future opposition to the Cæsarian party, by massacring all their private and public opponents. They drew up a list, of which the numbers are variously reported, comprehending all those who had given them private or public offence; and in which they mutually sacrificed their respective friends to each other's resentment. Antony sacrificed his uncle Lucius Cæsar to the resentment of Octavius; who, in his return, sacrificed to that of Antony, not only Cicero, but Thoranius also, his own guardian, and formerly his father's colleague in the office of Prætor*. Lepidus gave up his own brother L. Paulus; and all of them agreed to join with these private enemies every person supposed to be attached to the republican government, amounting in all to three hundred Senators and two thousand of the Equestrian order, besides many persons of inferior note, whose names they deferred entering in the list until their arrival at Rome. They meant, as soon as they should be in possession of the capital, to publish the whole list for the direction of those who were to be employed in the execution of the massacre. But as there were a few whose escape they were particularly anxious to prevent, they agreed that the execution should begin, without any warning, by the murder of twelve

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

or seventeen of their most considerable enemies, and among these was included Marcus Tullius Cicero *, whose recent speeches had so grievously offended Antony, and whose name was no longer of any use to Octavius. They ratified the whole by mutual oaths; and having published all the articles, except that which related to the massacre, the plan of reconciliation between the leaders was received by the armies with shouts of applause, and was supposed to be the beginning of a period in which military men were to rest from their labours, and to enjoy undisturbed the most ample reward of their services.

This atrocious confederacy, known by the name of the Second Triumvirate, having thus planned the division or joint administration of an empire, which, of two of them at least, each hoped in the end to engross for himself, they proceeded to Rome, with an aspect which, to those who composed the civil establishment of the commonwealth, was more terrible than that of any band which had ever been formed for its ruin.

In former times, individuals rose to the head of parties or factions, and brought armies to their standard, by the natural ascendant of superior abilities; and, if they prevailed, either disdained the advantages of usurped dominion, or knew how to employ their powers in exertions or pursuits not unworthy of human reason. But in this instance, persons obscure, or only known by their profligacy, were followed by armies, of whom almost every individual

* Sueton. in Octav. c. 27.

in his place adopted the project of enslaving his country. The spirit of adventure pervaded the meanest rank of the legions, and every soldier grasped at the fruits that were to be reaped in subduing the commonwealth. If no person had offered to put himself at their head, they themselves would have raised up a leader whom they might follow in seizing the spoils of their country.

Lepidus, noted for his want of capacity, being in the station of Prætor when Cæsar took possession of Rome, and being the only Roman officer of State who was willing to prostitute the dignity of his rank, by abetting the violence which was now done to the constitution, was intrusted with power, and the command of an army, merely because he brought the name and authority of a magistrate to the side of that usurpation. The use of his name had been likewise convenient to Antony, in the late junction or coalition of their armies; and was now necessary or convenient to both the other parties in forming their union, as he held a kind of balance between them, and was to witness transactions in which neither was willing to rely on the unattested faith of the other.

Antony, possessed of parts which were known chiefly by the profligate use which he made of them, seeking to repair by rapine a patrimony which he had wasted in debauch; and though, greatly beyond expectation, strenuous when pressed by necessity, yet ever relapsing, in every moment of ease or relaxation, into the vilest debauchery or dissipation.

Octavius, yet a boy, known chiefly by acts of perfidy and cunning above his years; equally indifferent

to friendship or enmity, apparently defective in personal courage, but followed by the remains of Cæsar's army, as having a common cause with themselves in securing the advantages which they severally claimed by inheritance from him. This adventurer was now about the twentieth year of his age, had been already two years at the head of a faction, veering in his professions and in his conduct with every turn of fortune; at one time, reconciled with the authors of Cæsar's death, and courting the Senate, by affecting the zeal of a citizen for the preservation of the commonwealth: at another time, courting the remnant of his late uncle's adherents, by affecting concern for their interests, and a solicitude for the security of the grants they had obtained from Cæsar: at variance with Antony on the score of personal insults and incompatible pretensions, even charged with designs on his life; but now, in appearance, reconciled to him, from considerations of interest or present conveniency. He had already, in the transactions of so short a life, given indications of all the vilest qualities incident to human nature, perfidy, cowardice, and cruelty; but with an ability or cunning which, if suffered to continue its operations, was likely to prevail in the contest for superiority with his present or any future rivals in the empire.

Such was the received description of persons who had now parcelled among themselves the government of the world, and whose infamy was exaggerated by the fears of those who were likely to suffer by the exercise of their power. Under the domi-

nion of such a junta, if any one were left to regret the loss of public liberty, or to feel the state of degradation into which citizens were fallen ; if any one could look forward through the terrors of impending murder, to the prospect of future evils ; to them surely a scene of expectation was opening, the most gloomy that ever had presented itself to mankind : persons, apparently incapable of any noble or generous purpose, coveting power as a licence to crimes, supported by bands of unprincipled villains, were now ready to seize and to distribute, in lots among themselves, all the dignities of the State, and all the patrimony of its members.

In human affairs, however, the prospect, whether good or bad in extreme, is seldom verified in the completion ; and human nature, when seemingly driving to the wildest excess, after a series of events and struggles, settles at last in some sort of mediocrity, beyond which it is sometimes pushed by occasional starts and sallies, but in which it cannot have a permanent duration. The first entry of this Triumvirate on the scene of their government, indeed, was such as could not be supported throughout in the sequel of any tyranny or usurpation whatever.

The Triumvirs being on their way to Rome, their orders for the immediate execution of seventeen of the principal Senators had been received before their arrival, and several were accordingly surprised and murdered in their houses, or in the streets. The first alarm appearing the more terrible, that the occasion of such murders was unknown, struck all orders of men with a general amazement and terror.

The streets were presently deserted, and hushed in silence, except where armed parties skulked in search of their prey, or by the cries which they raised, gave mutual intimation of the discoveries they made. Persons who found themselves pursued, attempted to set the city on fire, in order to facilitate their own escape. Pcdius, the Consul, continued all night in the streets, endeavouring to prevent the calamity of a general conflagration. In order to quiet the minds of those who were not aimed at in this execution, he published the names of the seventeen, with assurances that the executions were not to proceed any further *. It has been supposed, that the design was no farther communicated to this magistrate, and that if he had survived, he would have opposed the extremes to which it was carried; but, on the following night, he died of the fatigue he had incurred on this occasion, and the public assurances he had given were attended with no effect.

The Triumvirs marched in divisions towards the city, and made their entries separately on three successive days. As they arrived, they severally occupied their quarters with guards and attendants, and filled every public place with armed men, and with military standards and ensigns. In order to ratify the powers they had devised for themselves, they put the articles of their agreement into the hands of the Tribune Publius Titius, with instructions, that they should be enacted in the public assembly of the Roman People, and put in the form of a legal commis-

* Appian. de Bell, Civ. lib, iv.

sion, or warrant, for the government they had usurped. By the act which passed on this occasion, the supreme power or sovereignty of the republic, during five years, without any reserve or limitation, was conferred on Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus; and a solemn thanksgiving being ordered for the events already passed, which led to this termination, the citizens in general, under the deepest impressions of terror and sorrow, were obliged to assume appearances of satisfaction and joy.

As the first act of this government, two lists or proscriptions were delivered to the proper officers of the army, and posted in different parts of the city; one a list of Senators, the other a list of persons of inferior rank, on whom the troops were directed to perform immediate execution. In consequence of these orders, all the streets, temples, and private houses, instantly became scenes of blood*. At the same time, there appeared on the part of the Triumvirs a manifesto, in which, having stated the ingratitude of many whom the late Cæsar had spared, of many whom he had promoted to high office, and whom he had even destined to share in the inheritance of his fortunes, and who, nevertheless, conspired against his life, they alleged the necessity they were under of preventing the designs of their enemies, and of extirpating a dangerous faction, whom no benefits could bind, and whom no considerations, sacred or profane, could restrain. "Under the influence of this faction," they said, "the perpe-

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlv. Appian. lib. iv.

“ traitors of a horrid murder, instead of being called
 “ to an account, are intrusted with the command
 “ of provinces, and furnished with resources of men
 “ and of money, to support them against the efforts
 “ of public justice, and against the indignation of
 “ the Roman People. Some of these murderers,”
 they continued, “ we have already chastised; others,
 “ being at the head of powerful armies, threaten to
 “ frustrate the effects of our just indignation. Ha-
 “ ving such a conflict to maintain in the provinces,
 “ it would be absurd to leave an enemy in posses-
 “ sion of the city, and ready to take advantage of
 “ any unfavourable accident that may befall us in
 “ defence of the commonwealth. For this reason,
 “ we have determined to cut off every person who
 “ is likely to abet the designs of such traitors at
 “ Rome, and to make this desperate faction feel the
 “ effects of that war which they were so ready to
 “ declare against us and our friends.

“ We mean no harm to the innocent, and shall
 “ molest no citizen, in order to seize his property.
 “ We shall not insist on destroying even all those
 “ whom we know to be our enemies; but the most
 “ guilty, it is the interest of the Roman People, as
 “ well as ours, to have removed, that the republic
 “ may no longer be torn and agitated by the quar-
 “ rels of parties who cannot be reconciled.

“ Some atonement likewise is due to the army
 “ insulted by the late decrees, in which they were
 “ declared enemies to the commonwealth.

“ We might,” they concluded, “ have surprised
 “ and taken all our enemies without any warning,

“ or explanation of our conduct ; but we prefer this
“ open declaration of our purpose, that the innocent
“ may not, by mistake, be involved with the guilty,
“ nor beyond what is necessary even be alarmed.”
They concluded this fatal proclamation, with a prohibition to conceal, rescue, or protect any person whose name was proscribed ; and they declared, that whoever acted in opposition to this order, should be considered as one of the number, and involved in the same ruin. They declared, that whoever produced the head of a person proscribed, if a free man, he should receive twenty-five thousand Attic drachms or denarii, and if a slave, should have his liberty, with ten thousand of the same money ; and that every slave killing his master, in execution of this proscription, should have his freedom, and be put on the rolls of the People, in the place which was occupied by the person he had slain.

At the time that this proclamation and the preceding lists were published, armed parties had already seized on the gates of the city, and were prepared to intercept all who attempted to escape. Others began to ransack the houses, and took their way to the villas and gardens in the suburbs, whither it was likely that any of the proscribed had retired. By the disposition they made, the execution began in many places at once, and those who knew or suspected their own destination, like the inhabitants of a city taken by a storm, felt as surrounded by enemies from whom they were to receive no quarter. To many, it was observed by historians, that their own nearest relations were objects of terror, no less

than the mercenary hands that were armed against them. The husband and the father did not think himself secure in his concealment, when he supposed it to be known to his wife or to his children. The slaves and freedmen of a family were become its most terrible enemies. The debtor had an interest in circumventing his creditor ; and neighbours in the country mutually dreaded each other as informers and spies. Besides the price that was put upon the head of every person proscribed, the money which the master of a family was supposed to have in his house, was considered as an additional reward to the treachery of his domestics. The first citizens of Rome were prostrate at the feet of their own slaves, imploring protection and mercy, or perished in the wells or common sewers, where they sought for concealment.

Persons having any private grudge or secret malice, took this opportunity to accomplish their ends. Even they who were inclined to protect or conceal the proscribed, were terrified with the prospect of being involved in their ruin. Many, who themselves, contrary to expectation, were not in the fatal list, enjoyed their own safety, in perfect indifference to the distress of their neighbours ; or, that they might distinguish themselves by their zeal for the prevailing cause, joined the executioners, assisted in the slaughter, or plundered the houses of the slain.

There were killed, in the beginning of this massacre, Salvius, one of the Tribunes of the People, together with Minucius and Annalis, both in the office of Prætors. Silicius Coronas, a person already

mentioned, who being one of the Judges at the citation of Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius for the murder of Julius Cæsar, had ventured, in the presence of Octavius, to hold up into view the ballot by which he acquitted them, and who, although at that time in appearance overlooked, now perished among the proscribed.

Many tragic particulars, in these narrations, seem to be copied from former examples of what happened under Marius, Cinna, and Sylla, of persons betrayed by their own servants, their confidants, and nearest relations, and with a treachery and cruelty, which seemed to increase with the corruptions of the age; but yet not without instances of heroic fidelity and generous courage, of which human nature itself still appears to be susceptible, even in the most degenerate times.

The slave of one of the proscribed, seeing soldiers come towards the place where his master lay concealed, took the disguise of his master's clothes, and presented himself to be killed in his stead. Another slave agreed to personate his master, and being carried in his litter, was killed, while the master himself, acting as one of the bearers of the litter, escaped. Another having been formerly branded by his master for some offence, was easily suspected of a desire to seize this opportunity of being revenged; but he preferred the opposite part. While his master fled, he put himself in the way to stop his pursuers, produced a head, which he had severed from a dead body in the streets, and passing it for that of

his master, delayed the pursuers, and procured him sufficient time to escape.

The son of Hosidius Geta saved his father by giving out that he was already killed, and by actually performing a funeral in his name. The son of Quintus Cicero, though, in the former part of his life, often on bad terms with his father and with his uncle, and often undutiful to both, ended his days in an act of magnanimity and filial affection; persevering in the concealment of his father, notwithstanding that the torture was applied to force a discovery, until the father, who was within hearing of his cries, burst from his concealment, and, together with the son, was slain*.

Quintus Cicero, who perished in this manner, having been in the country, or having escaped from the city on the first alarm of these murders, was for a little time in concealment with his brother Marcus. The brothers are mentioned as being at Tusculum together, and as setting out from thence for Astura, another of Cicero's villas on the coast, intending to embark for Greece; but as Quintus was entirely unprovided for the voyage, and his brother unable to supply him, they parted on the road in agonies of grief. In a few days after this parting, Quintus having put himself under the protection of his own son, received, though in vain, that striking proof of his filial affection and fidelity, which has just been mentioned.

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

Marcus Cicero having got safe to Astura, embarked, and with a fair wind arrived at Circeii. When the vessel was again about to set sail, his mind wavered; he flattered himself that matters might yet take a more favourable turn; he landed, and travelled about twelve miles on his way to Rome*: but his resolution again failed him, and he once more returned towards the sea. Being arrived on the coast, he still hesitated, remained on shore, and passed the night in agonies of sorrow, which were interrupted only by momentary starts of indignation and rage. Under these emotions, he sometimes so-laced himself with a prospect of returning to Rome in disguise, of killing himself in the presence of Octavius, and of staining the person of that young traitor with the blood of a man, whom he had so ungratefully and so vilely betrayed. Even this appeared to his frantic imagination as some degree of revenge; but the fear of being discovered before he could execute his purpose, the prospect of the tortures and indignities he was likely to suffer, deterred him from his design; and, being unable to take any resolution whatever, he committed himself to his attendants, was carried on board of a vessel, and steered for Formiæ†. Having another villa near to this place, he was again landed, and being fatigued with the motion of the sea, went to rest; but his servants, according to the superstition of the times, being disturbed with prodigies and unfavourable presages, or rather being sensible of their master's

* *Plot. in Cicero.*† *Ibid.*

danger, after a little repose, awaked him from his sleep, forced him into his litter, and hastened again to embark. Soon after they were gone, Popilius Lænas, a Tribune of the legions, and Herennius, a Centurion, with a party who had been for some days in search of this prey, arrived at the villa. Popilius had received particular obligations from Cicero, having been defended by him when tried upon a criminal accusation; but these were times, in which bad men could make a merit of ingratitude to their former benefactors, when it served to ingratiate them with those in power. This officer, with his party, finding the gates of the court and the passages of the villa shut, burst them open; but missing the person they sought for, and suspecting that he must have taken his flight again to the sea, they pursued through an avenue that led to the shore, and came in sight of Cicero's litter, before he had left the walks of his own garden.

On the appearance of a military party, Cicero perceived the end of his labours, ordered the bearers of his litter to halt; and having been hitherto, while there were any hopes of escape, distressed chiefly by the perplexity and indecision of his own mind, he became, as soon as his fate appeared to be certain, determined and calm. In this situation, he was observed to stroke his chin with his left hand, a gesture for which he was remarked in his moments of thoughtfulness, and when least disturbed. Upon the approach of the party, he put forth his head from the litter, and fixed his eyes upon the Tribune with great composure. The countenance of a man

so well known to every Roman, now worn out with fatigue and dejection, and disfigured by neglect of the usual attention to his person, made a moving spectacle even to those who came to assist in his murder. They turned away, while the assassin performed his office, and severed the head from his body.

Thus perished Marcus Tullius Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Although his character may be sufficiently known from the part which he bore in several transactions, of which the accounts are scattered in different parts of this history, yet it is difficult to close the scene of his life, without some recollection of the circumstances which were peculiar to so distinguished a personage. He appears to have been the last of the Romans, who rose to the highest offices of State by the force of his personal character, and by the fair arts of a republican candidate for public honours. None of his ancestors having enjoyed any considerable preferments, he was upon this account considered as obscure, and with reluctance admitted by the nobility to a participation of rank with themselves. It was however impossible to prevent his advancement, so long as preferments were distributed according to the civil and political forms of the republic, which gave so large a scope to the industry, abilities and genius of such men. Under those forms, all the talents of a citizen were allowed to have some effect, and all the variety of useful qualifications were supposed to be united in forming a title to consideration with the public; the qualifications of a warrior were united

with those of a citizen, and even the talents of a lawyer and barrister, with those of a Senator and Counsellor of State. The law required * that the same person should be a warrior and statesman; and it was at least expedient or customary, that he should be also a barrister, in order to secure the public favour, and to support his claim to preferments and honours.

Cicero was by no means the first person at Rome, who with peculiar attention cultivated the talents of a pleader, and applied himself with ardour to literary studies. He is nevertheless universally acknowledged, by his proficiency in these studies, to have greatly excelled all those who had gone before him, so much, as to have attained the highest rank in the commonwealth, without having quitted the gown, and to have made his first campaign in the capacity of Roman Proconsul, and above ten years after he had already exercised the supreme executive power in the State.

To the novelty of this circumstance, as well as to the novelty of his family-name in the list of officers of State, was owing some part of that obloquy which his enemies tried to employ against him; and it may be admitted, that for a Roman he was too much a mere man of the robe, and that he possibly may have been less a statesman and warrior, for having been so much a man of letters, and so accomplished a pleader.

* Ten or fifteen years' military service was required, as a qualification for the higher officers of State. Vid. Polyb. ubi supra.

Cicero, whether we suppose him to have been governed by original vanity, or by a habit of considering the world merely as a theatre for the display of his talents, and for the acquisition of fame, more than as a scene of real affairs, in which objects of serious consequence to mankind were to be treated, was certainly too fond of applause, courted it as a principal object even in the fairest transactions of his life, and was, by this means, too much dependent on the opinion of other men, to possess himself sufficiently amidst the difficulties which occur in the very arduous situation which fell to his lot. Though disposed, in the midst of a very corrupt age, to merit commendation by honest means, and by the support of good government, he could not endure reproach or censure, even from those whose disapprobation was a presumption of innocence and of merit; insomuch that, even where he thought his own conduct the most meritorious, he felt the unpopularity of his actions, with a degree of mortification which greatly distracted his mind, and shook his resolution. Being, towards the end of his life, by the almost total extirpation of the more respectable citizens and members of the Senate who had laboured with himself for the preservation of the commonwealth, left in a situation which required the abilities of a great warrior, as well as those of the ablest statesman, and in which, even such abilities could not have stemmed the torrent which burst forth to overwhelm the republic, it is not surprising that he failed in the attempt. The catastrophe, indeed, it must be owned, in looking back to the different

stages of its approach, may in some degree be imputed to himself. In his desire to temporise and please opposite parties, he sometimes forwarded the most dangerous designs of Pompey, sometimes of Cæsar, or of both together. Upon the death of the latter, in order to conciliate his party, he moved that his acts should be confirmed, and his projects carried into execution, and thereby threw absolute power into the hands of Antony; and even when this storm might have blown over, or wore out by his own violence, he raised it afresh, and from a more dangerous quarter, by the countenance and support he procured to a new Cæsar. It is evident, that in temporising with such parties, nothing is to be gained, and in opposing them, the fall at least may be honourable.

Antony, at the same time that he gave orders for the death of Cicero, gave directions that not only his head, but his right hand likewise, with which he had written so many severe invectives against himself, should be cut off*, and brought to him as an evidence of the execution.

In the course of these murders, the heads of the slain were usually presented to the Triumvirs, and by their orders set up in conspicuous places, while the bodies were cast into the river, or suffered to be exposed in the streets. Antony, having more numerous resentments to gratify than either of his colleagues, had the heads of his enemies brought to him frequently, even as he lay on the couch at his

* Plut. in Cicerone.

meals. That of Cicero was received by him with the joy of victory; he gazed upon it with singular pleasure, and ordered it, together with the hand, to be exposed on the rostrum from which this admirable orator had so often declaimed, and where these mangled parts of his body were now exposed to the view of a multitude, that used to crowd to his audience *. Fulvia, too, had her enemies on this occasion, and received the bloody tokens of their execution with a savage avidity and pleasure, which, to those who judge of propriety from modern customs, or who form their opinions of the sex from the manners of modern times, will scarcely appear to be credible. When the head of Cicero, in particular, was brought to her toilet, with a peculiar and spiteful allusion to the eloquence, by which she herself, as well as her present and former husband, had been galled, she is said to have forced open the jaw, and to have pricked and tore the tongue with the point of a bodkin, which she took from her hair.

In this horrid scene of revenge and cruelty, rapacity too had its share; many persons were proscribed, merely that their estates might be brought into the coffers of the Triumvirs; and many persons were threatened with proscription, to induce them to ransom their lives with money †. The list received frequent additions, and underwent many alterations, some names being scratched out, and others inserted; a circumstance, by which persons of any consi-

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

† Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii.

derable property, as well as those who were obnoxious to any of the persons in power, were kept in the most anxious state of suspense and uncertainty. Many who were spared by the public usurpers of government, fell a sacrifice to the resentment of their private enemies, or to the avarice of those who wished to possess themselves of their property * ; and the names of some persons who had thus, without any previous authority, been put to death, were afterwards inserted in the list of the proscribed, in order to justify the murder.

The troops were sensible of their own importance on this occasion, and set no bounds to their pretensions. They solicited grants of the houses of persons reputed to be of the opposite party ; or, being the only buyers at the frequent sales which were made of forfeited estates, obtained the possession of them by a kind of fictitious purchase. Not satisfied with the price which was paid them for the blood of the proscribed, or with the extravagant gratuities which they frequently received, they were, under various pretences, hastening to seize every subject that tempted their avarice. They intruded themselves as relations into families with which they had no connection, and laid claim to inheritance which no one ventured to dispute ; they plundered at discretion the houses of the rich, or murdered indiscriminately those who offended them, or who stood in their way to the possession they coveted ; they at the same time encouraged, by their example, fugi-

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii, c. 12. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

tive slaves, and disorderly persons of every denomination, who, forming themselves into bands in the disguise of soldiers, engaged in the same practices, and perpetrated similar crimes.

The Triumvirs, whose principal object it was to secure the government, though nowise interested in these extreme disorders, which far exceeded what they originally projected, not daring to restrain the military violence, lest it should recoil on themselves, left for some time the lives, as well as the properties of the People, entirely at the mercy of the troops; and citizens, who were reputed to have any effects in reserve, were fain to adopt some soldier as a son and heir, in order to obtain his protection.

Such are the particulars which are recorded of this horrid transaction, which, however monstrous in those who gave rise to it, far exceeded the bounds of what they proposed to have done. When the evil had in some measure spent its force, its authors were willing to divert the attention of the public, or to efface the melancholy impressions which remained. For this purpose, Lepidus and Plancus being about to enter on the office of Consul for the following year, on some slight pretence of a victory gained by the army in Gaul, entered the city in procession; but the Triumvirs, suspecting that the People were more inclinable to dejection than triumph, enjoined them, by a formal proclamation, to give on that day all the demonstrations of joy which generally made part in the reception that was given to victorious generals*.

* Appian. ut supra.

The soldiers indeed were not wanting, as usual, in the petulant sarcasms and familiar abuse, in which they availed themselves of their present consequence: they sung, in their procession, scurrilous ballads, alluding to examples of parricide as well as murder committed by their chiefs in the late proscription; by Lepidus and Plancus, that of their own brothers; by Antony and Octavius, that of their nearest relations and friends *. But at the disposal of such censors as these, every citizen who was likely to frown on their crimes, every person whose countenance gave signs of dejection or sorrow, every possessor of land, and every father of a family, had reason to tremble for their own persons, their possessions, and the safety of their children.

Such was the aspect of affairs in Italy; but there were still some rays of hope, which shone from a distance. Not only Brutus and Cassius, in their provinces of Macedonia and Syria; but Cornificius in Africa, and Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, still held up the standard of the republic, and offered places of refuge to its friends. Sextus Pompeius stationed ships on the coast to receive them, and published rewards for the rescue or protection of his father's adherents, and of the other unfortunate remains of the commonwealth †. Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, though abandoned to destruction, was suffered to escape by the soldiers of the army, from partiality to himself or to their general. Lucius Cæsar was

* De Germanis non de Gallis triumphant Consules.

† Appian. ut supra. Dio. Cass. lib. xvii, c. 12.

protected by his sister, the mother of Antony. Messala escaped to Brutus. Many others, whose names only are known, took refuge with one or other of the parties, who were still in condition to aim at the restoration of freedom, or to contend for the sovereignty of the empire.

Lepidus and Plancus being entered on the office of Consul, had in charge from the Triumvirs, as the first object of their subordinate magistracy, the raising of money to supply the further exigencies of the war. Great sums had been expected to arise from the sale of the estates of the proscribed; but the purchase of such estates was justly reckoned invidious among a certain class of the People, who declined being partakers in the spoils of innocent and respectable citizens; and it was dangerous for an ordinary citizen to appear to be rich, or in condition to make any purchase; inso-much, that they who had murdered the owners were almost the only buyers of their estates when brought to market; and the money which arose from that quarter, fell greatly short of the expectations which had been entertained from the sales.

It was computed, that two hundred millions Roman money, were yet wanting to supply the expence of the war*. In order to make up this deficiency, the male sex chiefly having hitherto suffered by the public exactions, a contribution was levied from such women related to the opposite party as were supposed to be rich. At the same time persons

* Appian. ut supra.

of every rank, whose estates exceeded one hundred thousand * Roman money, were commanded to give an account of their effects, in order to be assessed in a tax equal to a fiftieth of their stock, and one year's income of their ordinary revenue †.

To enforce these exactions, hitherto unusual in Italy, much violence was necessary. The rents of houses in the city, and the produce of lands in the country, were sequestered, leaving only one-half for the subsistence of the owners. In this manner, great sums of money were levied from the peaceable part of the commonwealth; but as the Triumvirs had already incurred a very heavy debt in their military operations, and in bounties to secure the troops in their interest, and had in prospect an arduous and expensive war against Brutus and Cassius, armed with the forces, and supported by the treasures of the East, the first sums which came in were far from being sufficient for their purpose. Additional exactions were accordingly made, under the denomination of fines or forfeitures, from those who were alleged to have given in a false state of their effects.

In the manner of the late sanguinary proscriptions, the Consuls published lists of all who had incurred this penalty, and ordered their effects accordingly to be seized. The inhabitants of the towns were obliged to find subsistence for the troops that were quartered on them, and the country was pillaged, under pretence of a search that was made for

* About eight thousand pounds.

† Appian. ut supra.

the property of rebels. While the soldiers subsisted by these irregular means, their pay accumulating in the hands of their leaders, together with the advantages which they expected at the end of the war, operated as a pledge of their attachment and perseverance in the cause *.

Although few men were now left in Italy, who could forget their own personal dangers, so far as to think of the commonwealth, or who could be suspected of any design to restore the ancient government, yet this was made the ordinary ground of suspicion against those whom the Triumvirs wished to oppress; and the desire to remove it, led all orders of men to affect a veneration for the memory of Cæsar, and to vie in their protestations of zeal to avenge his death. The anniversary of this event was made a day of mourning. A shrine was erected on the place of his funeral, and was declared to be a public sanctuary and a place of refuge even to criminals. The divine or monarchical honours which were thus paid to the memory of the dead, preserved in the minds of the People that disposition to endure a master which was thought favourable to the living usurpers, and which the division of power between them might have otherwise diminished †.

Agreeably to the model of Julius Cæsar's arrangements, preparatory to his intended expedition into Asia, the Triumvirs, before the departure of Octavius and Antony on the service to which they were

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii, c. 14, 15.

† Ibid. lib. xlv, c. 18, 19.

destined, fixed the succession to all the offices of State for some years. They had under their command an army of forty legions, which they now separated into two divisions *. The one, under the direction of Antony, was assembled on the eastern coast, to be in readiness to cover Italy on that side, or to pass into Macedonia, and to carry the war against Brutus and Cassius into that province. The other was destined to remain in Italy, in order to secure the head of the empire, and to withstand the attacks which might be attempted by sea from Sicily or Africa, which were still in the possession of the opposite party.

Sextus Pompeius, the last of the family of the great Pompey, in consequence of the resolutions passed in his favour soon after Cæsar's death, had set out from Spain as admiral of the Roman navy, and fixing his station in Sicily, had a numerous fleet, and mustered considerable land forces †. With these in the war which immediately followed, he wished to co-operate with the combined armies of the two Consuls, Hirtius and Pansa; but was prevented by a doubt which arose, whether the veterans of Cæsar, who composed great part of that army, would act in concert with a son of Pompey ‡? Upon the coalition of Octavius with Lepidus and Antony, he again became an exile, but continued in possession of Sicily, a province which, by the present division of the empire, was comprehended in the lot of Octavius.

* Appian. ut supra.

† Dio. Cass. lib. xviii, c. 17.

‡ Cicer. Philip. xiii.

Cornificius, by commission from the Roman Senate, still held the province of Africa, and refused to surrender it to Sextus, an officer who had been sent by Octavius, in consequence of the late distribution, to take possession of it in his name. The dispute being likely to end in a war, the opposite parties applied to the neighbouring princes for aid; but the lieutenant of Octavius having his commission from the ostensible authority then established at Rome, or being known to represent the triumphant party, was acknowledged by most of the African powers in alliance with the Romans. Being joined by their forces, he came to an action with his antagonist near Utica, and obtained a victory, in which Cornificius was killed. Lælius and Roscius, two officers of rank in the vanquished army, perished by their own hands*. As many as could find shipping, escaped to Sextus Pompeius, then master in the neighbouring ports of Sicily.

Soon after this event, Octavius, being desirous to dislodge the remains of the republican party from an island of so much importance to Rome, sent Salvidienus with a fleet, towards the straits of Messina, while he himself marched by land to Rhegium. A sea-fight soon after ensued, from which the fleets retired with equal loss. That of Octavius put into some port of the neighbourhood, which, by the historian, is called Balanus, to refit; and he himself, being arrived at Rhegium, was meditating a descent upon the opposite shore, when he received pressing

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv, p. 622, &c. Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 21.

instances from Antony to join him at Brundisium, that they might endeavour to repel the storm which was gathering from the East, and which seemed to threaten their establishments in Italy with the greatest hazard*.

Marcus Brutus, after fortune seemed to have declared for the republican party at Mutina, thinking himself at liberty to attend to the affairs of the East, and to support Cassius in his struggle for the possession of Syria, had passed with his army into Asia, in order to cut off all supplies from Dolabella, and to avail himself of the resources, for the pay and subsistence of the army, which were still to be found in that opulent province. While he was employed in the execution of this design, the important events already mentioned took place in that quarter. Cassius had prevailed in Syria, got entire possession of the province, was acknowledged as general by all the armies which had been assembled by either party beyond the boundaries of Cilicia; and he was meditating an expedition into Egypt, to punish Cleopatra for the part she had taken against himself in his contest with Dolabella, and to raise a contribution in her country for the farther support of the war.

In the mean time, the victory obtained at Mutina, on which Brutus relied for the safety of Rome, though even by an army which till then was reputed on the side of the commonwealth, made a great change to its prejudice, giving an opportunity to its enemies to declare themselves, and to unite their

* Appian. ut supra.

forces: insomuch that, by the coalition of Octavius and Lepidus with Antony, all the remaining armies of the West were joined; not only to subdue the capital, but to carry the war into Macedonia and Asia, the last retreat of the republican interest: and the opposite divisions of East and West in the empire were now at issue for the sovereignty of the whole.

Brutus being informed of these circumstances, and of the late proscriptions, sent a message to Cassius, with pressing instances to divert him from his design against Egypt, and to turn his forces to the rescue of the commonwealth from the hands of tyrants, and to avenge the innocent blood which had been so profusely shed in Italy, and in the streets and mansions of Rome.

Upon these representations, Cassius having left a legion to secure the possession of Syria, marched to the westward, and in his way raised large contributions for the support of the war. Among the other measures which he took for this purpose, he surprised Ariobarzanes in his palace, and obliged him to deliver up the money then in his treasury. He pillaged the city of Tarsus; and, upon account of the support which the inhabitants of that place had given to Dolabella, again subjected them for the future to a heavy contribution*.

About the middle of winter, Brutus and Cassius, with their armies, joined at Smyrna. These restorers of the republic had parted some months before at Pireus, one bound for Syria, the other for Macedonia; but more like exiles than Roman officers of

* Appian. ut supra.

State, without any men, shipping, or money, and under great uncertainty of their success, in obtaining possession of the provinces on which they had their several pretensions. Their affairs now bore a different aspect; they had a numerous fleet, and a mighty land force, large sums of money already amassed, with the resources of a territory the most wealthy of any part in the Roman empire*. Brutus proposed that they should, without delay, transport their forces into Europe, and prevent the Triumvirs from getting any footing in Macedonia or Greece: but Cassius contended, that they had yet enemies or allies of doubtful fidelity in Asia, and that it would be imprudent to leave any such behind them, or to forego the treasure which they might yet command in that country, and which would enable them to reward and to encourage their armies.

Brutus, influenced by these considerations, accordingly marched into Lycia, while Cassius proceeded to execute a project he had formed for the reduction of Rhodes. His fleet being on their way to turn the Capes of Asia, in order to support him in this design, the Rhodians, trusting to their superior skill and reputation as mariners, assembled all the ships they could muster, and, near to the harbour of Lindus, ventured to engage those of Cassius; but with all their seamanship, being inferior in number and weight of ships, they were defeated with considerable loss. Cassius beheld the engagement from a high land on the continent, and as soon

* Plut. in Bruto.

as the ships could be again refitted *, ordered the fleet to Loryma, a fortified harbour in the continent, over against the island of Rhodes; from thence he embarked his army. He himself, with eighty galleys, escorted the transports in their passage, landed on the island, and invested the capital both by sea and by land.

The Rhodians, having trusted entirely to the defence of their shipping, were unprovided of all things necessary to withstand a siege. Cassius, by surprise, or by the treachery of a party within the walls, soon became master of the place, laid it under a severe contribution; and having left an officer of the name of Varus to command in the island, returned to the continent, with a great accession of reputation and wealth.

Brutus at the same time had forced the passes of the mountains leading into Lycia, and advancing to Xanthus, summoned the town to surrender. This place had of old acquired renown by the obstinate resistance of its inhabitants, or by the desperation they had shewn, when forced by Harpalus, the general of Cyrus, and by Alexander in his way to the conquest of Persia †. Upon the advance of Brutus, they razed their suburbs, and removed every building which might cover the approaches of an enemy. The walls were surrounded by a ditch fifty feet deep; and this being the first impediment which Brutus had to encounter, he began the attack with a continual labour to fill it up; and to effect a passage for his en-

* Appian. ut supra.

† Ibid. lib. iv.

gines to the foot of the rampart. Having accomplished this object, he proceeded to cover his workmen with galleries, and to erect the engines usually employed in making a breach. He was opposed by the besieged in repeated sallies, in the last of which, his works were set on fire, and reduced to ashes.

In the mean time two thousand of the besiegers, pursuing the party who had made this sally, entered the city promiscuously with them, and not being properly supported, suffered the gates to be shut, and themselves to be cut off from relief. Being instantly surrounded by the inhabitants, numbers of them were killed, and the remainder forced into a temple, where they endeavoured to defend themselves.

This circumstance produced the most vigorous efforts on the part of the Romans, to force the walls, that they might rescue their friends, or make a diversion in their favour. They applied scaling-ladders to the battlements, and forcing-engines to the gates; and having at last made their way into the town, that they might at once terrify the inhabitants, and give notice of approaching relief to their own party, they raised a mighty shout as they entered the streets, and continued to urge their fury, in every direction, with fire and sword. The inhabitants, unable to resist this storm, retired to their houses, and there, with a resolution to maintain their ancient fame, determined to perish by their own hands, rather than submit to the enemy. In execution of this purpose, the father of a family, beginning with the

slaughter of his wife and his children, proceeded to kill himself.

While the people of Xanthus were employed in such acts of desperation, Brutus hearing the cries of anguish and of murder, supposed that his troops had refused to give quarter, and were killing the wretched inhabitants of the place, without distinction of sex or age. In order to put the speediest stop to so horrid a scene, his first thought was to bring off the troops, by sounding a general retreat; but being informed that the people were perishing, not by the cruelty of his army, but by their own desperation, he ordered to be proclaimed a general freedom and protection to all the inhabitants; but so long as any considerable number of the citizens remained, the officers who approached them, even with an offer of quarter, were answered with threats, or, by showers of darts and of arrows, were obliged to keep at a distance. The temples and public buildings were, with great difficulty, saved from fire; but besides a few women and slaves, none of the inhabitants could be rescued from the general destruction.

Brutus, greatly afflicted with this piteous catastrophe, marched with reluctance towards Patara, where the inhabitants were supposed to be infected with the same desperate spirit; and, to prevent the necessity of such fatal extremities, sent a message to prevail on the people to surrender, and to accept of his protection. At this place, however, the example of Xanthus appeared much too horrid to be followed; and the inhabitants submitted to pay the contributions which were exacted from them.

Lentulus, at the same time, who commanded the fleet which had been employed in transporting the army of Cassius into the island of Rhodes, forced his way into the harbour of Andriaca, the port of Myra, by breaking the chain which was stretched across the entrance; and this place being reduced, the inhabitants of Lycia sent offers of submission, and of their service in the war, agreed to pay a certain tribute, and to join the fleet with their galleys. Lentulus being accordingly reinforced with a great accession of ships, set sail for Abydus, the shortest passage into Europe, where he was ordered to wait the arrival of the land-forces.

At the same time, upon a report that the Queen of Egypt, with a numerous fleet, was at sea, to effect a junction with Octavius and Antony, Murcus, commanding another squadron belonging to Brutus and Cassius, had been stationed at the Cape of Tenarus to intercept her; but being informed that the Egyptian fleet was dispersed, or had suffered much in a storm, he weighed from Tenarus, and steered for Brundisium, where he took possession of an island at the mouth of the harbour, and in that station expected to prevent the transportation of any troops from Italy to Macedonia or Greece. He had however arrived too late for this purpose. Great part of Antony's army had already effected its passage, and he himself, with the remainder, waited for a favourable wind, to run or to pass unnoticed in the night.

In this state of the war, Brutus and Cassius, having accomplished the services in which they had been

severally engaged, again assembled their forces on the right of the Meander. It is said, that they began their conference on bad terms, the effect of a jealousy which had been industriously raised between them; but there did not appear in the sequel, any consequences from which to infer disagreement; and their joint forces, without delay, began to move towards Europe, in order to check the advances which they were informed the enemy had already made towards Greece. Having passed the Hellespont, they marched, by the isthmus of Cardia, to the coast of the bay of Melanus; here they made a halt for some days, to muster and to review their forces. The army of Cassius consisted of nine legions, that of Brutus of eight, amounting to about eighty thousand men, formed in the manner of the Roman infantry. Brutus had four thousand Gaulish and Lusitanian horse; two thousand cavalry, made up Thracians, Illyrians, Parthians, and Thessalians. Cassius had two thousand Gauls and Spaniards, and four thousand Parthian archers, in the manner of their country, mounted on horseback. They were followed likewise by some princes of Galatia, at the head of their respective forces. The whole, by this account, amounted to near one hundred thousand men. Many of the legions had been formed under Cæsar, and could not be retained in their present service, without frequent liberalities, and without a prospect, at the end of the war, of settlements, not inferior to those which were enjoyed or expected by the troops of the opposite side. The wealth of Asia, however, having put their leaders in condition

to perform what was at present expected from them, all former engagements were now fulfilled, as the best earnest that could be given of future gratuities.

At the close of this muster, Cassius and Brutus, with all the officers of senatorian rank, of whom numbers were then present, being assembled on a platform, raised as usual to some height from the ground, were surrounded by the army, who crowded as usual in expectation of a speech from their leaders; and it was supposed, that what they were to deliver, so far as it could be heard or communicated, might have the effect of a manifesto, or proclamation, respecting the cause in which they were engaged, and their own intentions. Cassius spoke for himself, for his colleague, and the body of Senators who attended them; addressing this motely assemblage of native Romans and aliens, of citizens and soldiers of fortune, collected from different parties, as if it were an assembly of the Roman People deliberating on their public rights. He mentioned the mutual confidence that was natural between officers and men engaged, as they were, in a common cause; enumerated their resources, with the other advantages they possessed, and took notice of the punctual discharge of all former engagements, as the best security which could be given of a fixed intention to make a suitable provision for every soldier who should contribute to bring the war to a favourable issue. "The unjust reproaches of our enemies," he said, "we could easily disprove, if we were not, by our numbers, and by the swords which we hold in our hands, in condition to despise them. While Cæsar

“ led the armies of the republic against the enemies
“ of Rome, we took part in the same service with
“ him, we obeyed him, we were happy to serve un-
“ der his command. But when he declared war on
“ the commonwealth itself, we became his enemies;
“ and when he became an usurper and a tyrant, we
“ resented, as an injury, even the favours which he
“ presumed to bestow upon ourselves. Had he been
“ to fall a sacrifice to private resentment, we should
“ not have been the proper actors in the execution
“ of the sentence against him. He was willing to
“ have gained us with preferments and honours ;
“ but we were not willing to accept, as the gift of
“ a master, what we were entitled to claim as free
“ citizens. We conceived, that, in presuming to
“ confer the honours of the Roman republic, he en-
“ croached on the prerogatives of the Roman People,
“ and insulted the authority of the Roman Senate.

“ Cæsar cancelled the laws, and overturned the
“ constitution of his country ; he usurped all the
“ powers of the commonwealth, set up a monarchy,
“ and himself affected to be a King. This our an-
“ cestors, at the expulsion of Tarquin, bound them-
“ selves and their posterity, by the most solemn
“ oaths, and by the most direful imprecations, never
“ to endure. The same obligation has been entail-
“ ed upon us as a debt by our fathers ; and we, ha-
“ ving faithfully paid and discharged it, have per-
“ formed the oath, and averted the consequences of
“ failure from ourselves, and from our posterity.

“ In the station of soldiers, we might have com-
“ mitted ourselves, without reflection, to the com-

“ mand of an officer, whose abilities and whose va-
“ lour we admired ; but, in the character of Roman
“ citizens, we have a far different part to sustain.
“ I must suppose, that I now speak to the Roman
“ People, and to citizens of a free republic ; to men
“ who have never learned to depend upon others for
“ gratifications and favours, who are not accustom-
“ ed to own a superior, but who are themselves the
“ masters, the dispensers of fortune and of honour,
“ and the givers of all those dignities and powers
“ by which Cæsar himself was exalted, and of which
“ he assumed the entire disposal. Recollect from
“ whom the Scipios, the Pompeys, even Cæsar him-
“ self, derived his honours : from your ancestors,
“ whom you now represent, and from yourselves, to
“ whom, according to the laws of the republic, we,
“ who are now your leaders in the field, address
“ ourselves as your fellow-citizens in the common-
“ wealth, and as persons depending on your plea-
“ sure hereafter for the just reward and retribution
“ of our services : Happy in being able to restore
“ to you what Cæsar had the presumption to appro-
“ priate to himself, the power and the dignity of
“ your fathers, with the supreme disposal of all the
“ offices of trust that were established for your
“ safety, and for the preservation of your freedom ;
“ happy in being able to restore to the Tribunes of
“ the Roman People the power of protecting you,
“ and of procuring to every individual that justice
“ which, under the late usurpation of Cæsar, was
“ withheld, even from the sacred persons of those

“ very magistrates on whom their fellow-citizens relied for safety.

“ A lawless usurper is the common enemy of all good men ; but the task of removing him can be the business only of a few. As for those who were concerned in the death of Cæsar, the Senate and the People of Rome, as soon as it was proper for them to pronounce their judgment, have, by the rewards and honours which they have bestowed upon them, declared their full approbation. But that Senate, and those honourable citizens, are now become a prey to assassins and murderers ; they bleed in the streets, in the temples, in the most secret retreats, and in the arms of their families ; or they are dispersed and fly wherever they hope to escape the fury of their enemies. Many are now present before you, happy in your protection, happy in witnessing the zeal which you entertain for the commonwealth, for the rights of your fellow-citizens, and for your own. These respectable citizens, we trust, will soon, by your means, be restored to a condition, in which they can enjoy, together with you, all the honours of a free people, concur with you in bestowing, and partake with you in receiving, the rewards which are due to such eminent services as you are now engaged to perform *.”

Such is the substance of what we receive as the speech of Cassius on this memorable occasion ; and

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv.

although we may not consider these compositions as the genuine record of what was spoken, yet as they contain the ideas and reasonings of times so much nearer than ours to the date of the transactions to which they refer, it is undoubtedly fit, and often instructive, to retain the argument on which they are founded. At the close of this speech, it is said that Cassius resumed the comparison of the forces and resources of the opposite parties, stated to his own army their equality by land, and their superiority by sea; remarked the facility with which they were to be supplied with all necessaries; and concluded with a promise, to pay an additional gratuity of fifteen hundred sesterces to every individual man*.

After this solemnity, the army resumed its march, and continued to advance, in separate columns or small divisions, by the route of Ænos and Doriscus, whilst Cimber, with a squadron of galleys, having a legion and a considerable detachment of archers on board, sailed towards the coast of Macedonia, with orders to pitch upon a proper station within the mountains of Pangeus, a ridge which stretching from Thrace southward, terminated in the bay of Strymon, opposite to the island of Thasus †. The leaders of the main army, upon their arrival on the river Nessus, found that the usual passage of the mountains at Symbolus was already seized by Saxa and Norbanus, officers serving under Antony, who, with the first division of his army from Italy, had traver-

* About L. 12.

† See Plate IV.

sed Macedonia, and were now actually in possession of this pass, at which they proposed to resist or retard the further progress of their enemies westward in Europe.

Here the eastern armies were accordingly stopped, and were likely to end their career in Thrace, while their antagonists continued in possession of Macedonia, and preserved the most convenient retreat for their shipping in the bay of Strymon. They were relieved, however, from this apprehension by Ruscolpis, a Thracian prince, who attended them, and who pointed out a different route from that which the enemy had obstructed. Under this guide they marched three days among the mountains, and having crossed the summit, descended in the track of a river towards Philippi, a town which was situate on the eastern boundary of the plains of Amphipolis. This march would have led the army of Brutus and Cassius into the rear of the station occupied for Antony by Saxa and Norbanus, and would have cut off their retreat, if by timely intelligence they had not been warned to consult their own safety. These officers, on hearing of the enemy's approach, withdrew from their post, fell back no less than forty or fifty miles * to Amphipolis; and having put this place in the best posture they could for defence, determined to await the arrival of Octavius and Antony, who were hastening to fix the scene of the war at a distance from Rome.

* 350 stadia.

Brutus and Cassius took post at Philippi, on the declivity of the mountains, near to the pass which Saxa and Norbanus had lately abandoned. They encamped about two miles * from the town, on two separate eminences, about a mile † asunder. On their right was Philippi, covered by the mountains; on the left an impassable marsh, which reached about nine miles from their camp to the sea ‡. In their front, the country from Philippi, westward to Amphipolis, extending about forty or fifty miles, was flat and subject to floods and inundations of the rivers. The fleet was in harbour at Neapolis, near where the marsh, which covered the left of Cassius's camp, terminated in the sea; and Cimber had fixed on that place as the port for which all their convoys should steer, and by which they expected to be plentifully supplied with necessaries from Asia, and the coasts of the Ægean sea. They formed, at the same time, a magazine in the island of Thasus, out of the reach of the enemy, at which to lodge in safety the surplus of their provisions and stores.

Antony and Octavius had been employed, during the winter, in transporting their forces into Macedonia; and having effected their passage, notwithstanding the vigilance of the enemy's fleet, their army advanced by rapid marches to the river Strymon, in order to preserve Amphipolis, and to have as much as they could of the fertile plains of Macedonia in their rear. Octavius had been taken ill, and remained behind at Dyrrachium. Antony, upon his

* Eighteen stadia.

† Eight stadia.

‡ Seventy stadia.

arrival at Amphipolis, having found the town in a posture of defence, fixed upon it as a place of arms for the security of his heavy baggage and stores. From thence he advanced upon the plain, through a march of some days, and pitched in full view of Philippi, and within a mile of the enemy's stations.

It was the object of the Triumvirs to bring the war to a speedy issue, as they foresaw the difficulty of being long able, without any supply of provisions from the sea, to maintain so numerous an army by the sole resources of the neighbouring country. Brutus and Cassius, on the contrary, perceived their own advantage, and were determined to protract the war. They fortified their camps with great care, and joined them to each other, to the town of Philippi on the one side, and to the morass on the other, with such works as formed a continued chain to cover their communication, over an extent of twelve miles from the town of Philippi, in front of their own camps, and behind the morass to the port of Neapolis.

Antony's camp being on the plain, and in a low situation, was overlooked by the enemy, and subject to be overflowed by the torrents which fell from the hills. He made every possible effort to bring his antagonists to action, and by his forwardness in pressing them to a battle, raised the courage of his own troops, and assumed, as is common with those who act offensively, the appearance of superiority, whether of force or of valour. While he yet continued in this posture, Octavius, though not entirely recovered from his illness, joined him from Dyrrachium. They took two separate stations opposite

to those of the enemy ; Octavius opposite to Brutus, and Antony to Cassius. The number of legions on both sides were equal ; but those of Antony and Octavius were not complete. In cavalry they were unequal ; that of Brutus and Cassius amounting to twenty thousand, while that of Octavius and Antony was no more than thirteen thousand.

Antony and Octavius, in order to force their antagonists to a battle, or to cut off their communication with the sea, formed a design to pierce the morass, and to seize upon the heights beyond it on the left of Cassius's camp. In the work which they carried on for this purpose, they were covered by the cane or reeds, which grew to a great height in the marsh ; and in ten days, without being observed, by means of timbers, hurdles, and earth, which they sunk as they advanced, accomplished a passage, and sent in the night a party of their army to occupy the opposite heights, to make lodgments, and to intercept the communication of their antagonists with the port of Neapolis, from which they received their daily supplies.

As soon as Brutus and Cassius perceived this advantage gained by the enemy, they took measures to recover it, and to open their own access again to the sea. For this purpose they, in their turn, traversed the morass in a line which crossed the passage which the enemy had made, and pierced their highway with a deep and impassable ditch. Having, in this manner, cut off the enemy's parties that had passed the morass from any succours or supplies from their main body, they were about to force

them, when Octavius and Antony endeavoured to recover their passage; and, to divert the attention of the enemy from what they were doing in the marsh, drew forth their whole armies in order of battle on the plain.

While Octavius was still confined by sickness, his lieutenant or next in command took his place in this movement, and advanced toward the intrenchment of Brutus. The light troops began to skirmish on the ascent of the hill. And, notwithstanding it was the resolution of both leaders in the republican army not to hazard a battle, except in defence of their own intrenchments, the legions of Brutus observing, from their parapet, what passed between the advanced parties in front, were so animated or incensed, as not to be restrained. They accordingly quitted their lines, attacked the wing on which Octavius was supposed to command, drove them back to their ground, and continuing the pursuit, even forced them in their camp. Octavius himself, having been carried from his bed to a litter, narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands.

On the other wing Antony likewise had advanced towards the camp of Cassius; but as he was observed, at the same time, beginning to work in the morass, this movement of his army was considered as no more than a feint to favour the other design. Cassius, to divert him from his operation in the marsh, drew forth his army likewise; and having greatly the advantage of the ground, did not suppose that the enemy, in such circumstances, would venture upon a general action. In this how-

ever he was disappointed. Antony seeing Cassius expose his front, discontinued his work in the morass, mounted the height in his presence, forced him to retire, even took and pillaged his camp, and thus showed, in his turn, the consequence of a vigorous attack upon troops, who, trusting to the effect of position, leave the whole advantage of impetuosity to their enemy.

These separate actions, or the preparations which were made for them, had filled up the greater part of the day. It was already dusk, and the field, for the most part, was covered with clouds of dust; so that no one could see to a distance. Those who commanded on the right in both armies, having put those who were opposed to them to flight, thought that the event was decisive in their own favour. But Brutus on the one side, and Antony on the other, being informed of what had passed on the other wings of their respective armies, neither of them attempted to preserve the advantage he had gained. Disqualified by fatigue or surprise from renewing the contest, they severally passed each other on the plain, and hastened back to their former stations.

Cassius, after the rout of his division, with a few who adhered to him, had halted on an eminence, and sent Titinius to the right, with orders to learn the particulars of the day on that side. This officer, while yet in sight, was met by a party of horse emerging from the clouds of dust that covered the field. This party had been sent by Brutus to learn the situation of his friends on the left; but Cassius,

supposing them to be enemies, and believing that Titinius, whom he saw surrounded by them, was taken, instantly, with the precipitant despair which, on other occasions, had proved so fatal to the cause of the republic, presented his breast to a slave, to whom he had allotted, in case of any urgent extremity, the office of putting an end to his life. Titinius, upon his return, imputing this fatal calamity to his own neglect in not trying sooner to undeceive his general by proper signals, killed himself, and fell upon the body of his friend *. Brutus soon after arrived at the same place, and seeing the dead body of Cassius, shed tears of vexation and sorrow over the effects of an action so rash and precipitant, and which deprived the republic and himself, in this extremity, of so necessary and so able a support. *This, he said, is the last of the Romans.*

The surviving leader of the republican party, in order to prevent the impression which the sight of a funeral so interesting was likely to make on the army, ordered the body of Cassius to be carried to the island of Thasus, and there privately interred. He himself spent the night in re-assembling the troops who had been dispersed, formed both armies into one body, and drew the whole into one camp. He still kept his ground at Philippi, and endeavoured to support the courage of the troops, and to replace the activity and military skill of his unfortunate colleague. In his addresses to the army, he set forth the advantages they had gained as more than

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlvii, c. 34. Appian. lib. iv.

sufficient to compensate their losses. He represented the precarious condition of the enemy, who, having already exhausted the province of Macedonia in their rear, were obliged to bring their provisions from Thessaly, which was at a greater distance, and not likely to supply them so long. "The sea-ports," he observed, "being every where blocked up, and their convoys intercepted by a fleet of above two hundred and sixty sail, the prospect of what they must speedily suffer will make them impatient for action. They will provoke," he said, "they will attempt to insult you; but this appearance of courage is a mere effect of despair. Only wait the result of these circumstances, and perseverance will insure your success." He supported these exhortations by giving the army full satisfaction in all their claims or pretensions, and with an additional gratuity to every man of a thousand sesterces*.

The leaders of the other side, at the same time, were equally employed in what was necessary to palliate the sufferings, or to raise the hopes of their own army. Though not equally in condition to make present donations, they amply supplied this defect with expectations and promises. They declared their intention of giving an additional gratuity of five thousand sesterces to each private man †, five times as much to the Centurion, and the double of this sum to the Tribune. "Judge ye," said Antony, in his address to the army, "who has suffered

* About L. 8.

† About L. 40.

“ most by the mutual pillage of yesterday? You,
“ who have left all your effects behind you in Italy,
“ or the enemy, who came to their ground loaded
“ with the spoils of Asia? Their own general, by
“ killing himself, has proclaimed your victory. And
“ we declare you victorious, by bestowing upon you
“ the rewards of valour to which you are entitled.
“ If the enemy are pleased to dispute your claim to
“ these rewards, let them meet us again in the field.
“ They shall have an opportunity to-morrow, and
“ for some days to come: if they shrink from the
“ contest, and remain behind their intrenchments,
“ I shall leave you to determine who is victorious,
“ or who has been vanquished in the trial of force
“ we have had.”

Antony and Octavius accordingly drew forth their army for many days successively, and notwithstanding their affectation of triumph, were greatly embarrassed with the resolution which appeared to be taken by the enemy, not to hazard a battle. They began to suffer greatly for want of provisions, and felt the approach of winter, which, in a marshy situation, threatened them with growing inconveniences. Brutus, to hasten the effects of the season, had turned the course of a river from the hills, and laid under water part of the plain on which they encamped *. At the same time a recent calamity, which befell them at sea, increased these distresses, and diminished their hopes of relief.

On the same day on which the late battle was

* Zonaras, c. 19, p. 385.

fought at Philippi, Domitius Calvinus had sailed from Brundisium, having on board of transports two legions, of which the *Martia* was one, with two thousand men of the *Prætorian bands**, and a body of horse, convoyed by some galleys, or ships of force. Being met at sea by the fleet of Brutus, consisting of one hundred and thirty sail, under Murcus and *Ænobarbus*, a few of the headmost and best sailing ships escaped; but the remainder being surrounded, had no resource but in the valour of the troops, who endeavoured to defend themselves with their swords, grappling and lashing their transports to the ships of the enemy; but in this attempt, being galled with missiles from the armed galleys, particularly with burning darts, by which some of the transports were set on fire, the others, to avoid the flames, were obliged to keep at a distance; and the greater part of them suffering extremely, without being able to annoy the enemy, were sunk or destroyed. Calvinus himself, having been five days at sea, with difficulty escaped to Brundisium.

These tidings had their effect in both armies. In that of Brutus they inspired an unseasonable ardour, and a disposition to commit the cause of the party to the hazard of a battle; in that of Antony and Octavius, they still further impressed the necessity of a speedy decision. These leaders, to amuse their own troops, and to provoke the enemy, had seized, in the night, a post on the declivity below the ground

* It is probable, that the troops quartered at Rome, to awe the city, already began to be so distinguished.

which was lately occupied by Cassius. They were suffered to make a lodgment upon it by Brutus, who had not any apprehension that he could be annoyed from a situation which was so much lower than his own. On the following day, however, it appeared, that their intention in seizing this post was to cover a movement, which they proposed to make to their right on the edge of the morass: this they accordingly executed, and pitched again in two separate encampments. In their new position they were observed to sound the morass, and either intended a feint, or had a real design, by effecting a communication with the opposite side, again to cut off every intercourse of Brutus with his ships. But finding that all the heights on the opposite side were now secured against them by intrenchments, they dropped that intention, and endeavoured, by frequent alarms, and by exposing their own parties on the plain, to engage their antagonist in a general action.

Brutus, in the meantime, having secured his own communication with Neapolis, by a proper disposition of posts from his present encampment to the sea; and trusting that his enemies must, upon the approach of winter, be obliged to evacuate Macedonia, or to separate their army for the convenience of finding subsistence; persisted in his resolution to protract the war. In this conjuncture, he wrote to his friend Pomponius Atticus in the following terms: “ My object is secure; for either I shall, by my
“ victory, rescue the Romans from the servitude in-
“ to which they are fallen, or perish in the attempt,
“ and in my death escape from slavery. So far have

“ I done my part, and wait for the issue in which
 “ public freedom or death is to follow. As for An-
 “ tony, who has chosen to become the retainer of
 “ Octavius, rather than a sharer with us in the equal
 “ rights of a citizen, he has a different alternative;
 “ either now to perish with this young man, or,
 “ being the dupe of his artifices, to become here-
 “ after the subject of his usurpation *.”

The troops of Brutus, however, could not be reconciled to this dilatory plan; they began to complain that a victorious army, as they styled themselves, should be cooped up behind intrenchments, and should be insulted like women; even the officers, pretending to reason on the state of the war, censured their commander for losing the opportunity, which so great an ardour in the army gave him, of deciding the contest at a blow. They alleged, that even if the attempt should prove unsuccessful, he might still return to the execution of his defensive and dilatory operations.

Brutus was aware that the army, now under his command, having been trained up as mere soldiers of fortune, had no principle of attachment to either side; that it was necessary to consult their inclinations, as well as to flatter their hopes. He remembered that Cassius had been obliged, in many things, to abate the usual rigour of his discipline; and being himself of a mild and indulgent nature, he yielded to those who were under his command; or not being able to stem the torrent which daily increased, he

* Plutarch, in Brutus

suffered the impatience of his own men to hurry him into a risk of all his fortunes. In about twenty days after the former action *, overcome by mere importunities, he drew forth his army on the declivity before his encampment ; the enemy, at the same time, according to their usual practice, were forming upon the plain ; and both sides foresaw the approach of a general engagement.

Historians introduce their accounts of the last action at Philippi, with a detail of forms and solemnities, which, on other occasions, they have either omitted to mention, or which were not equally practised. As soon as the parole or word for the day was given over the different divisions of the respective armies, a single trumpet sounded the signal of battle ; and was followed by a numerous band, which played an air, while the legions were dressing their ranks, and while the men were trying and handling their arms.

Brutus, being on horseback, passed along the lines of his own army, and exhorted his men not to quit the advantage of the ground on which they stood, by advancing too far to meet the enemy. “ You have promised me a victory,” he said ; “ you have forced me to snatch it now, rather than to wait for a more secure possession of it hereafter. It is your business to fulfil your own expectations and mine.”

On the other side, Antony and Octavius were happy in having their fortunes, in some measure desperate, brought to the chance of a battle. They put

* Plutarch, in Bruto.

their army in mind, that this was what all of them wished : " You are poor and distressed," they said, " but in the enemy's camp you will find an end " to your sufferings, and the beginning of riches " and plenty. From us, who are your leaders, you " may expect the rewards which are due to valour, " and every effect of a disposition in us which is " sufficiently liberal, but which victory alone will " give us the power to indulge in the manner that " we wish."

In these preparations the day being far spent, and noon about three hours already past, the trumpets on both sides having sounded a general charge, made a sudden pause, and sounded again, while both armies being in motion, struck upon their bucklers, advanced with a mighty shout, and, under a shower of missile weapons of every sort, closed with their swords. They continued long to struggle on the same spot, with all the fury that kindles in the use of short weapons. The places of those that fell in the first rank were continually supplied from the ranks behind them ; and the place of action began to be chocked up with heaps of the slain. No stratagem is said to have been practised, or any accident to have happened, to determine the fate of the day on either side ; but, after a severe contest, the army of Brutus began to give way, at first slowly, and almost insensibly ; but being urged with growing violence, they were thrown into some confusion, and, beginning to run, gave up the day without hopes of recovery. In the disorder that followed, numbers, who fled to the camp, finding the entrances obstruct-

ed by the crowds that pressed for admission, despaired of safety there, and passed on to the heights in its rear. Octavius pushed on to the enemy's camp, in order to secure, or to keep in awe those who had taken refuge within it. Antony pursued those who were dispersed on the heights, and at the approach of night, made the necessary dispositions to hinder those who were within the intrenchment, or those who were in the field, from rallying or assembling again; and employed parties of horse all night to scour all the avenues in search of prisoners.

Brutus himself being cut off from the camp, and closely followed; Lucilius, one of his company, to give him time to escape, affecting to personate his general, and falling behind, was taken. This captive, supposed to be Brutus himself, being conducted to Antony, to whom he was known, met with a reception not unworthy of his generous artifice. "You intended," said Antony to those who brought the prisoner, with a politeness which seemed to refute some of the imputations on his character, "You intended to bring me an enemy, but you have brought me a friend *."

Brutus, in the mean time, having in the dark passed a brook that ran between steep and rocky banks covered with wood, made a halt with a few friends, on the opposite side, as in a place of safety. Being yet uncertain of the extent of his loss, he sent an officer to observe the field, and with orders, if any

considerable body of the army were yet together, to light a blaze as a signal or token of its safety. This officer accordingly made his way to the camp, and finding it still in the possession of his friends, lighted the blaze ; but lest it should not be observed, he himself attempted to return to his general, fell into the enemy's hands, and was slain.

As, from the signal now made, it appeared to Brutus and the small company who attended him, that the camp was still in possession of their own people, they thought of making their way thither ; but recollecting that the greater part of the army were dispersed, they doubted whether the lines could be defended until they could reach them, or even if they should be maintained so long, whether they could furnish any safe retreat. While they reasoned in this manner, one of their number, who had gone to the brook for water, returned with an alarm that the enemy were upon the opposite bank ; and saying, with some agitation, " We must fly.—" " Yes," replied Brutus, " but with our hands, not with our feet." He was then said to have repeated, from some poet, a tragic exclamation in the character of Hercules ; *O Virtue! I thought thee a substance, but find thee no more than an empty name, or the slave of Fortune.* It is impossible that Brutus could think that the value of virtue depended on the event of a battle ; but the vulgar, in their traditions, willingly lend their own thoughts to eminent men in distress. The thoughts of Brutus are expressed in his letter to Atticus already quoted : *I have done my part, and wait for the issue, in which death or freedom is to fol-*

low. If he had ever thought that a mere honourable intention was to insure him success, it is surprising he was not sooner undeceived. Being now to end his life, and taking his leave of the company then present, one by one, he said aloud, That he was happy in never having been betrayed by any one he had trusted as a friend. Some of them, to whom he afterwards whispered apart, were observed to burst into tears; and it appeared that he requested their assistance in killing himself; for he soon afterwards executed this purpose, in company with one Strato and some others, whom he had taken aside.

This catastrophe, as usual, set the imaginations of men to work; and many prodigies and presages were believed to have preceded it. A spectre, it was said, had presented itself in the night to Brutus, when he was about to pass the Hellespont, told him it was his evil genius, and was to meet him again at Philippi; that here it accordingly again appeared on the eve of the late action.

Brutus was then about thirty-seven or forty years of age*. Next to Cato, he, of all the Romans, was supposed to have acted from the purest motives of public virtue. Cassius had too much elevation of mind to endure a master; but Brutus was likewise too just to have usurped on the rights of his fellow-citizens, even if they had been in his power. His character, however, in some respects, is questionable; and we may not, through the disguise of man-

* Liv. Epitome, lib. cxliv. Val. Paternulus, c. 72.

ners so different from our own, be able to ascertain the truth. Cicero, who is at once the principal author of his fame and of the exceptions which are taken against it, charges him with an uncommon degree of arrogance, and complains of the tone which, while yet a young man, he took even with himself*. He likewise relates some particulars of a loan which one Scaptius had transacted for Brutus in the island of Cyprus, and of which the payment was exacted under the proconsulate of Cicero, with circumstances of uncommon avarice and cruelty; and that in this he even presumed to demand that the Roman Proconsul should support him with all his authority. The loan was usurious, and, in exacting the payment of it, the Senate of Salamis, in the island of Cyprus, had been surrounded by a party of cavalry, and shut up from the use of food. Cicero writes of this proceeding to Atticus, with every expression of blame and indignation; and yet Brutus, then a young man, continued to be held in the highest veneration and esteem by persons who were acquainted with these particulars. "If you should have no other advantage," says Atticus, in writing to Cicero, "from your present government, but the opportunity of gaining the friendship of Brutus, this alone will be enough." And Cicero himself frequently mentions Brutus, after this transaction, with peculiar expressions of admiration and love †. So

* Ad Attic. lib. v, ep. 21, et lib. vi, ep. 1. Ad me autem etiam, cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, *ακατανεκτος*, solet scribere.

†. Vid. lib. de Claris Oratoribus, cap. 3, &c. &c. This book is expressly dated after the return of Cicero from Cilicia.

that we must either suppose Brutus to have been innocent of this extortion and cruelty committed by his agent in Cyprus, or that such proceedings, though contrary to law, were so much authorised by the practice of the times, as to stain the manners of the age much more than the characters of individuals. Of these conjectures, perhaps, both are in part to be admitted: the law of the republic forbidding the interest of money under the denomination of usury, inflamed, rather than prevented the evil. Under this prohibition, the necessitous borrower was made to pay for the risk and obloquy which the lender incurred by transgressing the law, as well as for the use of his money. It was impossible to prevent by laws what is necessary in the common course of human affairs: persons having occasion for money must borrow, and persons having money will lend, in order to reap the benefit of it. It appears to have been customary with towns in the provinces, with corporations, and with dependent princes, to borrow money at exorbitant interest from the rich at Rome; and probably to employ that money in making presents to gain the powerful*. Pompey had great sums owing to him in Asia, and likewise received great presents from thence. These we must admit to have been great abuses; but individuals are not always accountable for the abuses of their age, even where they have not corrected them in their own practice.

Brutus and Cassius, the last unsuccessful leaders of the republican party, even after it became a crime

* Cicero, ad Attic. lib. v. ep. 21.

to mention their names with respect, were revered in secret by every person who had any memory or conception of the ancient republic, and will, in every age, be held in estimation by those who conceive that merit is to be valued independent of fortune. Even Antony, it is said, when the death of Brutus was reported to him, expressed the highest respect for his memory, covered his remains with the imperial robe which he himself had wore in the field, and ordered his obsequies to be performed with the highest marks of distinction and honour* ; in this instance probably acting from policy, or, under all the vices of dissipation and profligacy with which he was charged, knowing how to seize the occasion of gaining public esteem, by splendid pretensions to generosity and candour.

Octavius, who far excelled his colleague in the ordinary arts of discretion and policy, is represented as greatly inferior to him in his behaviour on the present occasion. It is said that he ordered the head of Brutus to be carried into Italy, and exposed on Cæsar's tomb ; and, among other proofs of insolence and cruelty which he gave in the present prosperous tide of his fortunes, that having among his prisoners a father and a son of the name of Florus, he ordered that one of them should be put to death, and that they should cast lots, or fight, to determine which should be spared. Under this cruel sentence, the father entreated that he himself might die. Octavius attended to see the execution ; and, after the

* Plut. in Antonio et Bruto.

death of the father, likewise witnessed that of the son, who killed himself*.

That part of the vanquished army which fled to the heights, being about fourteen thousand men, hearing of the death of the last of their leaders, surrendered themselves, and were equally divided between Octavius and Antony. Those who remained in the camp, or at any of the out-posts of the army, likewise laid down their arms. Of the persons of rank who partook in the wreck of their party at Philippi, some escaped by sea, and joined Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, now the sole refuge of those who adhered to the commonwealth. Others killed themselves, or in the late action had refused quarter, and fought till they were slain. Among the first were Livius Drusus, the father of Livia, afterwards the wife of Octavius. Among the second were two young men of distinguished names; Cato, the son of him who died at Utica, and Lucius Cassius, nephew of the late general. Labeo, with great deliberation, prepared a grave for himself in his tent, wrote to his family at Rome, gave directions about his affairs, and then submitted himself to a person whom he had retained to put an end to his life.

It appears to have been a point of honour among the Romans of this age, to perish by their own hands, rather than by that of an enemy, otherwise they could have easily, when fortune appeared to

* Sueton. in Octav. c. 14. Dio. Cass. dates this particular after the battle of Actium.

have declared against them, forced their antagonists to bestow that death which they afterwards obtained with great reluctance from their friends: and perhaps, in forcing matters to this extremity, they might have turned, on occasion, the fortune of battle. Cæsar seems to have owed victory, at times, to efforts of this sort, and his party in general prevailed by their perseverance under checks and difficulties, as much as by the advantage they took of the favours of fortune *.

* See the history of the Campaigns on the Segra at Dyrrachium, and in Africa.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Immediate consequences of the event at Philippi.—New partition of the empire made by Octavius and Antony.—Their separation.—Progress of Octavius at Rome.—His friends Mæcenas and Agrippa.—Alarm and distress in Italy on the dispossession of the inhabitants to make way for the troops.—Jealousy of Fulvia and Lucius Antonius.—Blockade and reduction of Perusia.—Progress of Antony in Asia.—His stay at Alexandria.—Return to Italy.—Accommodation with Sextus Pompeius.—Return of Octavius and Antony to Rome.—Their policy.

AMONG the immediate consequences of the late event at Philippi, is mentioned the death of Porcia, the wife of Brutus, and the daughter of Cato. Being suspected of an intention to kill herself, watched by her servants, and anxiously precluded from the ordinary means of effecting that purpose, she is said to have swallowed burning coals, and expired. This was alleged to have happened on hearing of her husband's death; but Plutarch cites a letter of Brutus, extant in his own time, from which it appeared that this catastrophé preceded the death of Brutus, and was imputed to negligence of the servants, who attended her in the delirium of a fever*.

* Plut. in Bruto.

By the battles which had been fought in different parts of the empire, by the late massacre in Italy, and by the event of the war at Philippi, the last pillars of the commonwealth seemed to be removed, or but a few of its citizens were left who had any zeal, or were qualified to take any active part for its preservation. Octavius and Antony, upon the seeming removal of every obstruction from their way, without paying any regard to the pretensions of Lepidus, made a new partition of the empire. Octavius, to his former lot, had an addition of Spain and Numidia; Antony, that of the farther Gaul and the province of Africa*. It was agreed betwixt them, that Antony should prosecute the remains of the war in the East, and raise the necessary contributions to enable them to fulfil their engagements to the army: that Octavius should return into Italy, conduct the war against Sextus Pompeius, repress the designs of Lepidus, in case he should be dissatisfied with the present arrangement, and in proper time proceed to settle the veterans on the lands which had been allotted to them. These articles were committed to writing, and the ratifications exchanged. Antony having received from Octavius a reinforcement of two legions, departed for Asia, and Octavius set out on his return to Rome.

When accounts of the victory at Philippi were received in the city, a thanksgiving was ordered; and, instead of being limited to fifty or to sixty days, as in the late decrees which had passed in honour

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 2.

even of Julius Cæsar, this festival was now to be continued for an entire year. In proportion to the approaches which the republican party made to its final extinction, the few who remained to partake in its ruin, affected a joy which kept pace with their sorrow, and disguised their fears in profuse expressions of pretended attachment and zeal for the honour of those who now had them at their mercy.

Under such an affectation of gladness, covering extreme anxiety or terror, the pacific inhabitants of Italy looked for the arrival of an army which was to be gratified with their richest possessions. They remembered what had passed at former military entries into Rome, and they anticipated the sufferings which were to be expected from a young man who had, during some time, and from mere craft and policy, assumed an air of moderation, and employed every artifice to forward his purpose; but in proportion as he became secure of his end, threw off his original mask, and concurred in *usurpations the most bloody* of any that had been known in the history of mankind. Octavius being detained by sickness on his way to the city, these gloomy apprehensions, which preceded his coming, gained force from delay. It was supposed that he deferred his arrival only while he adjusted his plan, or took measures to render its effects more certain. Every one exaggerated the evil, but no one thought of a remedy. Such was the present state of a helpless Senate and People, the remains of a commonwealth, insatiate of riches or power, and distinguished by pride, even after they lost their vigour, and were unable to dis-

charge the functions which the preservation of such a state required.

The new Cæsar gave notice to the Senate, that he was detained on his way by sickness, accepted the decree of a continued thanksgiving for the late victory obtained at Philippi, but desired to have it understood, that this honour was conferred on account of the exemplary justice which he had done on the assassins of his father. The cunning, so often noticed, with which he sometimes dropt this pretence, or with which he occasionally resumed it, as the object of all his pursuits, forms a striking part in his character. He at one time co-operated with the conspirators, declared it to be his intention, in conjunction with them, to restore the republic, and accordingly joined in the resolutions which were taken at Rome in favour of Decimus, as well as of Marcus Brutus and Cassius; he promoted the election of Casca into the office of Tribune; he raised an army to resist the usurpations of Antony, and took into his councils the most vehement partisans of the Senate. “*Even Servius Galba, holding the very dagger with which he murdered Cæsar,*” said Antony to him in his letter during the siege of Mutina, “*is now employed in your camp* *.” As he often, however, on former occasions, courted the army, by affecting a pious intention to avenge his father’s death, so he now recurred to the same pretence, as the most likely to counterbalance the favour that was paid to the memory of Brutus and

* Cicer. Philip. Antony to Octavius and Hirtius.

Cassius, and the general regret which attended the catastrophe or last ineffectual scene that was acted in behalf of the commonwealth.

U. C. 712.
L. Antonius,
P. Servilius,
Vatica Isauricus.

About this time, Octavius was known to have in his councils two officers of distinguished merit, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa and Caius Cilnius Mæcenas; both well qualified in their respective parts, to support him in the pretensions he had formed on the empire. The first, by his courage and military abilities, was qualified to supply or to conceal the defects of his patron as a soldier; the second, by his industry, his temper, his choice of friends, and his fitness to soften the manners of the times, by diverting the minds of men from objects of public distress to the elegant and amusing occupations of literature, well qualified to smooth the difficulties which might remain in the way of an usurped administration. Although it had not yet appeared in what degree this successful adventurer was to commit his affairs to such able hands, his discernment in choosing them might be considered as the presage of a reign not depending on accidents, but founded on a real ascendant of understanding and judgment.

Upon the arrival of the young Cæsar at Rome, he gave assurances to the Senate of his intention to avoid all unnecessary acts of severity*. But the first object of his administration being to settle the veterans on the possessions which they had been made to expect at the end of the war, he was very soon led in-

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 3.

to a scene of much trouble, and involved in great difficulties.

At the formation of the Triumvirate, the army had been flattered with the hopes of being settled on the most fertile lands, or in the wealthiest cities of Italy. In order to fulfil these expectations, it was necessary to dispossess the ancient inhabitants; and as this was now to be done without any pretence of forfeiture, or delinquency of any sort, the unhappy sufferers pleaded, that the lands intended for the army should be taken by lot, or in equal proportions throughout every part of the empire. But the soldiers were untractable, and not to be satisfied but by immediate possession of the lots which had been specially assigned as the reward of their services. A general order was accordingly issued for the present occupiers of those lands to remove. The victims of this severity repaired to Rome in entire families; persons of every sex, age, and condition, crowded the streets, took shelter in the temples and other places of public resort, and filled the city with complaints and lamentations*. “The ancient inhabitants of Italy, citizens of Rome,” they said, “were stripped of their possessions, and turned out to perish with their children, to make way for ad-

* Publius Virgilius Maro is said to have been of this injured train. Having had a small property in land near Mantua, he was stripped of it to make way for an officer of the legions; a wrong to which he so tenderly alludes in his Eclogue, (*Nos patriæ fines et dulcia linquimus arva, Nos patriam fugimus*). But being recommended to Mæcenas by Asinius Pollio, who commanded in that part of Italy, he obtained, from the respect that was due to his fine genius, a protection which humanity and justice owed equally to every other person that was involved in this calamity.—Appian, de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

“venturers who had subverted the laws of their
“country, and who were to perpetuate the military
“usurpation they had established. The same vio-
“lent hands which had stripped the Roman People
“of their sovereignty, were now to be let loose on
“their property. The innocent, who had taken no
“part in the late troubles, were to be sacrificed,
“merely because their possessions suited the con-
“veniency of those who had already brought so ma-
“ny evils on the commonwealth. They had been
“promised protection from this party; but were
“now to suffer, from their pretended protectors and
“friends, greater evils than any conquered province
“had ever endured from the worst of its enemies.”

To these complaints both the army and its leaders were equally insensible, and proceeded, in particular instances, to acts of violence, which the object in view might not have required. Armed parties employed in the execution of this measure, by their indecision in distributing the lots; individuals, by quitting those which were at first assigned, in order to exchange them for others; and numbers being let loose without any specific grant or assignment to make free with such lands as suited their conveniency, kept the mind of the people in a state of suspense and apprehension, from which no one was exempt. In these disorders, the leader himself was obliged to connive at what he could not restrain, and give way to a violence to which he owed the possession of his power*.

* Appian. lib. v.

The army, now considering the lands of Italy as their property, looked upon every person inclined to protect the ancient inhabitants as their enemy, resented every delay that was made in gratifying their desires, and were equally insolent to their own officers as they were to the People. A party being assembled in the Campus Martius to receive their dismissal and their assignments of land; and having some time waited for Octavius, from whom they expected satisfaction in these particulars, became impatient and clamorous, laid violent hands on Nonius, a Centurion, who endeavoured to pacify them, and even threw him into the river, where he perished. They afterwards dragged the dead body on shore, and placed it in the way by which it was expected their general should pass, to serve as a warning, that he himself should not slight their displeasure. Octavius being informed, before he came abroad, of this menacing insult, which had been offered to his authority, saw the necessity of not appearing to be moved. He passed the dead body without seeming to observe it, made the intended distribution of land to the troops; and affecting to consider the murder of Nonius as the effect of a private quarrel, in which he was not to take any part, left this dangerous meeting with a mild exhortation, that they should *not weaken their own cause by quarrelling among themselves.*

The cohorts which Octavius retained for the ordinary guard of his own person, treated him, on occasion, with equal disrespect. As an instance of this sort, it is mentioned, that one of their body ha-

ving, at the public theatre, seated himself on the Equestrian bench, and the audience being scandalized at this act of presumption, the soldier was removed by order of his general; but his companions being made to believe that he was carried away to be put to death, placed themselves in the way of Octavius, as he passed from the theatre, and, with clamours and threats of instant revenge, demanded their fellow-soldier to be restored. He being produced accordingly, they called upon him to declare what usage he had met with; and when they were told by himself that no violence had been offered to him, they alleged that he was hired to conceal the truth, and to betray the honour of the army, and were scarcely to be appeased by his repeated asseverations to the contrary.

In these dangerous times, enormities which were committed by disorderly persons of any denomination being imputed to the soldiers, were suffered to pass with impunity. Robbery and murders became frequent, and the city of Rome itself, as well as the provincial towns, was infested by vagabonds, who, either from necessity, or from the licence of the times, subsisted by rapine. No property was safe, and the condition of persons of all parties equally insecure. At Rome the rent of houses fell to a fourth, and whole streets appeared to be deserted*.

In this distracted scene, nevertheless, there were persons who envied Octavius the hateful pre-eminence which he seemed to enjoy. Among these

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 9.

Manius, the person intrusted with the affairs of Mark Antony, Lucius, the brother of Antony, now in the office of Consul, and Fulvia his wife, aspiring to a share of the government, became impatient of an administration from which they thought themselves unfairly excluded. Not only L. Antonius, in the capacity of Consul, but the others also, in right of the absent Triumvir, thought themselves entitled to more consideration than they now enjoyed.

The power of distributing the lands and other rewards to the army, it was observed, gave Octavius a signal advantage over his colleague, and fixed the expectations of all men upon him alone. By these means he filled Italy with his own retainers and friends; and Fulvia, in particular, complained that her husband should be thus deprived of the fruits of a victory, which had been obtained chiefly by his conduct and valour. She appealed to the legions, presented herself at their quarters, and, with her children in her arms, implored, what she was pleased to call, a matter of right in behalf of their parent and her own husband.

In this manner, persons representing the absent Triumvir endeavoured to divide the party, and to add to the scene of political confusion already subsisting, a breach and opposition of interest among those who commanded the army. The country, at the same time, suffered from the interruption that was given by the fleets of Domitius Ahenobarbus and Sextus Pompeius, from the opposite ports of Illyricum and Sicily, to the importation of corn and other necessaries; and this circumstance, joined to

the precarious state of property, and the other causes which discouraged industry, completed the distresses of Italy.

The People, although they were willing to submit to any government, were not likely to be long able to endure their present oppressions. The friends of Antony endeavoured to load Octavius with the blame of these evils, and thought this a favourable opportunity to wrest the government out of his hands. To gain the soldiers, they found fault with the provision he had made for them as too scanty; and they joined in the complaints that were made by the sufferers, who were dispossessed of their property to make way for the soldiers. To other parties, they affected a design to restore the republic; and Lucius Antonius, in the character of Roman Consul, called upon the remaining friends of the commonwealth to appear in support of their legal magistrate. He professed his intention to make war even on his own brother, as well as on Octavius, if he should persist in support of the present usurpations, or should attempt to obstruct the restoration of freedom. But, notwithstanding his professions of respect for the laws, affecting to believe that his own person was in danger, he put a numerous body of attendants under arms, and presented himself in the streets at the head of a military force; a measure that was ever considered at Rome as the intimation of a design to set the laws at defiance, and to usurp the government.

Octavius, greatly provoked by these attacks which were made upon him by the representatives of An-

tony, repudiated the daughter of Fulvia, whom, at the formation of the Triumvirate, he had betrothed merely to serve a political purpose, and whom he now returned to her family, with express declarations of his never having had any correspondence with her as his wife. Fulvia, affecting to consider this insult as a prelude to greater injuries, appealed to Lepidus in behalf of his absent colleague, and withdrew to Prænesté, whither great numbers of all ranks and conditions, both civil and military, willing to distract the authors of their present distresses, flocked to her standard. Here she put herself at the head of an army, held regular councils, and, with a dagger by her side, gave the parole, and frequently harangued the troops.

In this immediate prospect of a rupture, preparations for war, and representations to Antony, the absent Triumvir, were equally made on both sides. It was yet uncertain how the army itself might divide between the parties. Octavius was likely, by his presence, to command the superior number; but great part of the forces now in Italy had been levied in the name of Antony, and still, according to the custom of those armies, bore his name on their shields. The two legions which were to have been transferred to Octavius, to replace those which he had given to his colleague in Macedonia, were still retained by Lucius Antonius for his brother. The provinces of Gaul, with considerable armies, ready to march into Italy, were under the government of Ventidius, of Plancus, and of Asinius Pollio, who were the peculiar adherents of Antony, and no way

likely to abandon his cause. Antony himself, by the superiority of his military character, had, in the course of his joint operations with Octavius, greatly surpassed him, and had acquired a high degree of reputation with the troops. It was therefore necessary for his rival to proceed with great caution, and not rashly to draw upon himself, in this quarrel, the weight of his colleague's authority, nor to disgust the army, by appearing to be the aggressor in a war between their leaders.

Such contests were certainly in general disagreeable to the legions, who, having subdued the republic, hoped now, at their ease, to share in its spoils. It was necessary, therefore, for Octavius, if a war should ensue, to make it appear to be the work of his enemies. For this purpose he formed at Rome a council of the principal officers; proposed that they should make inquiry into the grounds of the present dissension, and oblige those who were in fault to submit their pretensions to equitable judgment.

Fulvia and her partisans called this military convention by a ludicrous name, which we may translate *the Ammunition Senate**, and refused to submit their cause to so new a tribunal.

The army in general was alarmed at the prospect of seeing the civil war again break forth. Two legions that had served first under Cæsar, and afterwards under Antony, being now quartered at Ancona, sent a deputation to Rome, with entreaties that the parties would avoid a rupture. The depu-

* *Senatus Caligatus.*

ties who came on this business were referred by Octavius to L. Antonius, who, he said, was the aggressor; and in consequence of this reference, attended by a great concourse of people, they proceeded to Prænesté, where the heads of the opposite party were assembled, and beseeched them to spare the republic, already too much afflicted with civil dissensions. They were told for answer, "That
 " Octavius was the aggressor; that while his col-
 " league was raising money for the benefit of the
 " army, he was artfully changing the inhabitants of
 " Italy, and occupying all the important stations of
 " the empire with his own retainers and creatures;
 " that the money, which, under pretence of support-
 " ing the war against Sextus Pompeius, had been
 " taken from the treasury, was by Octavius diverted
 " from its use, and employed in corrupting the
 " troops of his friend; that the estates of the pro-
 " scribed, under the pretence of sales, at which, be-
 " sides the creatures of Octavius, there was no man
 " to purchase, had been actually employed by him
 " for the same purpose; that, if he really meant to
 " avoid a rupture, he ought to do nothing without
 " consulting the friends of his colleague, who were
 " equally entitled with himself to share in the fruits
 " of their common victory obtained at Philippi.
 " But I know," said Lucius Antonius, "the false-
 " hood of Octavius; while he amuses you with the
 " hopes of a negotiation and treaty, and with pro-
 " fessions of having nothing at heart besides your
 " interest, he is arming himself with the utmost dili-
 " gence, and has reinforced the garrison of Brundi-
 " sium, with an evident purpose to obstruct the re-

“ turn of his own colleague, and your principal friend, into Italy.”

Octavius being in possession of the capital, in order that he might appear to have, not only the authority of government, but the countenance likewise of all the more respectable citizens of Rome on his side, called an assembly of Senators, at which he invited the Equestrian order also to attend. He represented to this assembly the calamities which were now impending over Italy from the jealousy and restless ambition of a few persons, who called themselves the friends of Mark Antony, and he exhorted the audience, with one accord, to join him in averting these evils. He accordingly obtained a deputation to be sent to Prænesté, where the heads of the opposite party were assembled, to remonstrate against their procedure. This measure, however, did not produce any effect, besides that which the crafty author proposed by it, that of transferring, as much as possible, to his enemies, the blame of such evils as were expected to follow.

While Octavius thus endeavoured to muster the citizens of Rome of his side, the expedient of a military congress, proposed by some officers of the army, was likely to be of more weight in the business. This order of men, perceiving themselves about to be involved in a quarrel, were extremely averse to risk all the advantages they had already obtained, without any prospect of gain. And the expedient they suggested was readily embraced by their chiefs. Gabii, being half way from Prænesté to Rome, was fixed upon as the place at which they should meet ;

but on the day on which they were to open their conference, parties of horse having been, from some remains of distrust, without any concert, sent forward on both sides, to escort their deputies, and mutually to observe each other, and having met unexpectedly on the highway, and from misunderstanding coming to blows, numbers were killed or wounded, and the intended convention was dropped.

Each of the parties, in consequence of this accident, published a manifesto, and began to assemble in a hostile manner. Lucius Antonius had ordered new levies, and with these, joined to the troops already on foot under the authority of his brother, and who were now stationed in the nearer province of Gaul, under Calenus, he proposed to assemble an army of no less than eleven legions.

Octavius ordered six legions under Salvidienus, from Spain; and having already four in Italy, with a considerable body of troops, which, under the designation of Prætorian bands, made the ordinary guard of his person, he took the field to prevent the designs of his enemies.

The nobles or citizens of rank were divided; but the greater part, who had yet any hopes of having the civil government restored, thought themselves safer in the party of an actual Roman Consul, even such as Lucius Antonius was, than in that of Cæsar, who now held no regular office in the State. Numbers accordingly repaired to the camp of their nominal magistrate.

Sextus Pompeius, on the eve of a contest thus

likely to divide his enemies, might have been of considerable consequence, or might have obtained for himself advantageous terms from either party. His forces had been greatly augmented by an accession almost equal to two legions, the remains of the wreck at Philippi, which had escaped with Murcus. He might have got a footing in Italy, and by the favourable disposition of many who felt the oppression of the present government, or dreaded the future effects of its tyranny, might have held a species of balance between the contending parties. He, nevertheless, either under the notion of leaving his enemies to waste their strength against each other, or not having a sufficient genius for such arduous enterprises, suffered the opportunity to escape, and contented himself with endeavouring to secure the possession of Sicily and Sardinia, which he vainly hoped to retain as a patrimony independent of Rome.

Ænobarbus, the other remaining leader or representative of the republican party, who was still hovering on the opposite coast of Italy with the remains of a fleet, which he had commanded under Brutus and Cassius, made frequent descents, and plundered the recent settlements of the veterans. He even forced his way into the harbour of Brundisium, there took some galleys belonging to Octavius, and laid waste the adjacent country ; but, while he was acting in a manner equally hostile to both parties, the divided forces of the Triumvirs, indifferent to every external enemy, began to assemble against each other in the field. Lepidus declared for

Octavius, and these two having left the city together, Lucius Antonius presented himself at the gates, and was admitted. This Consul having assembled the People, declared that his intention was to restore the republic. His brother, he said, for the future desired no illegal powers, and was ready to join in calling Octavius and Lepidus to account for the tyranny they had lately exercised against the ancient and unoffending proprietors of land in Italy.

In the mean time, the issue of this contest appeared, in a great measure, to depend on the movements that were making on the side of Spain and of Gaul. Salvidienus being on his march to join Octavius, was closely pursued by Asinius and Ventidius, who had declared for Antony. Agrippa, on the part of Cæsar, passed the Po in order to join Salvidienus; and having succeeded in this design, they obliged Asinius and Ventidius to remain on the defensive, expecting the arrival of the Consul, who was on his march to support them.

When Antonius came to a pass of the Apennines, on the Flaminian way, he found the gorges of these mountains already occupied by Agrippa and Salvidienus: not attempting to force them, he fell back to Perugia, and sent orders to Ventidius to join him by some other route; but Octavius having got possession of Sentinum and Nursia, two posts on the opposite sides of the mountains, effectually prevented the junction of his enemies, assembled all his own forces in the neighbourhood of Perugia, and invested Antonius in that place. Here he effected lines of circumvallation, extending about fifty stadia, or

six miles, and placed his army between two parallels, equally strong, against any attempts that were likely to be made from the garrison, or from the field.

Lucius Antonius being thus shut up in Perugia during the autumn, or part of winter, and all the efforts of Fulvia, Asinius, Ventidius, and Plancus, to succour him being ineffectual, he was reduced, from want of provisions, to the greatest extremities, and offered to capitulate.

Octavius, in accepting this offer, took measures, with his usual address, to divide his enemies, or to sow the seeds of future jealousy among them. He affected to distinguish the regular troops, which had been formed to serve under his colleague Mark Antony, from the adventurers, or rather supposed disorderly persons, who had taken a part in this insurrection. The first, from pretended respect to his colleague in the Triumvirate, he allowed to withdraw with honour; the others he required to surrender at discretion. In complying with this requisition, L. Antonius himself set the example, went forth in person to receive the victor's commands, and being courteously treated, alleged his duty as a civil magistrate, or his desire to restore the republic, as an apology for his conduct, and implored mercy for those who had embarked with him in the same design. Octavius replied, "That as his enemies had
" surrendered themselves at discretion, he should
" make no remarks on the truth of their plea, nor
" talk of conditions, where he was not to be bound

“ by a treaty ; that he must now consider not only “ what his enemies had merited, but what was due “ to himself.” Having found among his prisoners some of the veterans who had served under the late Cæsar, he was disposed to have ordered them all to immediate execution ; but observing that *this measure* was extremely offensive to his own army, he confined his severities to the Roman citizens, who, he pretended, had on this occasion acted with equal animosity to the army, and to himself. To avenge the supposed injury now done to the army, all persons not of the military profession, found under arms, were put to death. Of these, Cannutius, C. Flavius, Clodius Bythinicus, and others, are mentioned by Appian *. This Cannutius is said by Dion Cassius to have been the Tribune, who, presenting Octavius to his first audience from the People, contributed so much to the rise of his fortunes. .

The greater part of these executions were performed in the presence of Octavius himself, and in the manner of sacrifices offered in form upon an altar, erected to the manes, or to the shade, hereafter to be called the deity of Julius Cæsar †. In this form of devotion, however detestable, these murders were supposed, in that age, to carry an aspect of duty, which sanctified the cruelty with which they were ordered, or with which this pretender to filial piety witnessed the scene. Four hundred of the Senatorian and Equestrian order are said, by Dion Cassius and Suetonius, to have stained this altar with their

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

† Divus Julius.

blood *. The magistrates and council of Perugia, being separately ordered to execution, implored for mercy, but had one general answer, *You must die* †. The town itself, whether by the desperation of its inhabitants, or by the outrage of those who were now become masters of it, was set on fire, and burnt to the ground. The country around being deserted, or laid waste with fire and sword; and cleared of its former inhabitants, became a prey to such followers of the army as chose to occupy it ‡.

At the date of this odious transaction, Octavius was no more than twenty-three years of age; and though, in former examples of cruelty, his youth may have been overruled or misled by the party rage of his colleagues, yet, in this instance, he himself betrayed a merciless nature, in the effects of which he had no other person to share, or to divide the blame §; and the world began to dread more from the separate power which he was about to establish, than they did from the joint usurpation, in which he bore a part, with men, of whom the one was contemned for want of capacity, and the other detested for his profligate manners.

Before the breaking out of this war in Italy, Domitius Calvinus and Asinius Pollio had been destined Consuls; and the year following that in which these transactions took place, is accordingly dated or inscribed with their names. They were prevented,

U. C. 715.
L. Dom.
Calvinus,
Asinius
Pollio.

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 14.

† Sueton. in Octav. c. 15.

‡ Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 14. et 15.

§ Livii Epitome, lib. cxxvi.

however, by this breach between the adherents of Antony and of Cæsar, from taking any formal possession of their office.

Pollio holding his commission from Mark Antony, although he had no opportunity to act, was understood to join with the brother in the late division of their parties. While the war continued, being stationed in his province, which was the district of Venetia, he carried on a correspondence with Ænobarbus, and representing Lucius Antonius, with his title of Roman Consul, as legal head of the republic, endeavoured to engage that officer on his side; but, in the event of the war, this correspondence was discontinued, and the military adherents of Antony being dispersed or cut off, his relations and retainers fled in different directions.

Fulvia, escorted by three thousand horse, took the road to Brundisium, and from thence, with Planus and some other attendants, under the convoy of five galleys, passed into Greece*. Julia, the aged mother of Antony, took refuge with Sextus Pompeius in Sicily. Thither likewise fled Tiberius Claudius Nero, with his wife Livia Drusilla, and her infant son, persons often to be mentioned in the sequel of this history, as principal sharers in that very power which now seemed to be raised by Octavius on the ruin of their own fortunes. Others had recourse to the protection of Ænobarbus on the coast of Apulia.

While the relations of Antony in Italy were engaged in this unfortunate contest, he himself had

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

passed from Greece, through Asia, into Egypt, where believing all his difficulties were at an end, he indulged his natural disposition to pleasure and dissipation. At Ephesus he had assembled the principal inhabitants of the Asiatic province, and representing the occasion which obliged his colleagues and himself to make a demand for money, proposed a contribution. "They were about to disband the army," he said, "consisting of no less than twenty-eight legions, to whom were due great arrears of pay, together with deserved rewards and gratuities for past services. One of my colleagues," he continued, "is gone into Italy to provide settlements for this numerous army, or rather to remove the inhabitants of that country, in order to make way for them. The task of finding supplies of money lies upon me; and I am persuaded you will own we are very moderate, when we demand no more than you gave to our enemies. Necessity, however, obliges us to exact, in one year, what Brutus and Cassius levied in two." "You will please then to order," said one of the audience, "two summers and two harvests in this wonderful year; for you, who can command us to pay the tax of two years in one, can likewise order the fruits of both years to be gathered in one *."

Antony, who paid more regard to wit than to the considerations either of humanity or justice, was pleased with this answer, and agreed that the proposed subsidy should be levied in two years instead

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

of one *. From Ephesus, he travelled by the coast towards Syria, laid heavy contributions, disposed of lands and country palaces, of which he made gifts to his retainers and followers. He received frequent applications for such favours from those who attended him, under pretence that the estates, which they coveted, were either deserted or occupied by an enemy. To his cook, in particular, he is said to have given the grant of a large possession, for having pleased him in the dressing of a supper. In his own behaviour, he exhibited that dissipation and extravagance, into which he ever relapsed in the moments of triumph and relaxation, and shewed in the gaiety and festivity of his court, a perfect contrast to the melancholy with which the inhabitants of every province were seized on his approach †. He had probably seen Cleopatra in Italy, during her intimacy with Julius Cæsar; and now, supposing himself come to replace that successful adventurer as head of the empire, he thought of this prize also as the reward of his labours, and, with all his ambition, possibly considered her as the principal object of his journey to the East. In order to heighten the scene of their meeting, with a farce to consist of a supposed quarrel and reconciliation, he affected to believe a report of her having ordered her fleet from Cyprus to join that of Cassius in the late war, and he sent her a formal summons to meet him in Cilicia, and to give in her answers to this specific accusation.

* Plut. in Antonio.

† Ibid.

Cleopatra accordingly appeared on the Cydnus on board of a splendid galley, with a numerous retinue, and dazzled the Roman Triumvir with the profusion of her ornaments, the elegance of her equipage, and the charms of her person. She was now about nine and twenty years of age, and being acquainted with the language and manners of different nations, particularly instructed in the literature of the Greeks, and being in the maturity of wit and beauty, she joined the arts of a coquet, with all the accomplishments which became the birth and the high condition of a queen. Being invited to sup with Antony, she pleaded that he should begin with accepting her invitation. At their first entertainment, observing that his raillery savoured of the camp, she humoured him in his manner, and even surpassed him in the vivacity and freedom of her speech.

From thenceforward Antony laid aside all business, followed the queen of Egypt to her kingdom, leaving his own provinces exposed to an enemy, by whom they were soon after assailed and overrun; and while this storm was raging in the East, and whilst his brother, with his other adherents in Italy, were struggling for his share in the government of the empire, and obliged to fly or submit to his rival, he passed the winter at Alexandria in frolic and dissipation*. To gratify the jealousy of Cleopatra, he ordered Arsinoë, her sister and competitor for the throne, who had hitherto been confined at Mi-

* Plut. in Antonio.

letus, to be put to death. In every other particular he suffered himself to be governed by her caprice, and with the ensigns and attendance of a Roman Consul, and first officer of State in the empire, lived like a boy under the influence of his first amour. The course of his pleasures, however, was in a little time effectually interrupted, by a report of what had befallen his affairs in Syria and the Lesser Asia.

Pacorus, the son of the king of Parthia, had passed the Euphrates with a great army, had overrun Syria, and was making hasty advances in Cilicia. He was conducted in this expedition by Labienus, a Roman officer *, who, on the part of Brutus and Cassius, had resided at the Court of Parthia, while the fate of the empire yet remained in suspense at Philippi, and who now persuaded the Parthians to attempt the conquest of opulent provinces in their neighbourhood, which, together with the Roman republic itself, were become the possession of mere adventurers, unacknowledged and unsupported by the laws of the commonwealth.

Upon this alarm, Antony had assembled the naval forces of Asia and of Egypt, and had sailed with two hundred galleys for the coast of Phœnicia; when the misconduct and distress of his relations in Italy were reported to him, and in order to re-establish his interest at Rome, and save the remains of his power, shewed him the necessity of directing thither the armament which he had fitted out against

* Supposed to be the son of him who served under Julius Cæsar in the reduction of Gaul, and afterwards against him in the civil war.

the Parthian invaders of his province *. Having committed the command of his forces in Asia therefore to Ventidius, he steered for Greece. Upon his arrival at Athens, he was received by Fulvia, whose salutations were, probably, less flattering than those to which he had been lately accustomed in Egypt. The husband and the wife, on this occasion, were mutually disposed to blame and to recriminate. He complained of the flame which had been so unseasonably raised in his affairs in Italy, and she of his notorious infidelities to her bed, and of his remissness in the care of his own interest. She was supposed, in fomenting the late quarrel with Octavius, to have acted so much from jealousy of Cleopatra, as to have industriously created troubles in Italy, in order to hasten the return of her husband from Egypt.

At Athens, Antony was likewise met by Scribonius Libo, the father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius, who, under pretence of conducting Julia, the mother of Antony, in safety to her son, brought overtures of an alliance, and proposals of a concert for the conduct of their operations on the opposite coasts of Italy against Octavius, now supposed the common enemy of both. To this proposal, however, Antony made no decisive reply. In the late partition of the empire, Italy was not made a part in the separate lot of any of the Triumvirs; but being equally open to all of them, Antony professed being on his way thither, not as an enemy of Octavius, but

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Plut. in Antonio.

as his colleague in the government, equally interested with himself to preserve the capital of the empire undisturbed. In answer to Libo, therefore, he acknowledged his obligation to Sextus Pompeius, for the honourable manner in which he had treated his relation; assured him, that if an opportunity offered, he should be happy to return the favour; and that if he were obliged to make war on Octavius, he should be glad of Pompey's assistance; or, in case matters were amicably settled, should not neglect his interest in any accommodation that followed.

Octavius being informed of this interview, seized the opportunity which it gave him of raising suspicions against Antony in the minds of the veterans. He published the intelligence he had received of his correspondence with the head of the Pompeian faction, and represented it as a prelude to some scheme for restoring the enemies of the late Cæsar, for re-establishing the ancient possessors of land in Italy, and, consequently, for dispossessing the veterans of the settlements recently made in their favour. By spreading these reports in the army, he took measures to secure its attachment, and was in condition to maintain his possession of Italy, in case he should find it necessary to refuse his colleague a free admission into any of the ports at which it was expected he might present himself.

Soon after the reduction of Perugia, a considerable body of Antony's forces stationed at the foot of the Alps, being deprived of a head by the death of Calenus, who had commanded them; Octavius repaired to the quarters of those troops, gained them

ever to his own interest, and, in order to secure their fidelity, made the necessary change of their officers. By these means, after he had supplanted the party of his rival in all the towns which they held in Italy, he now dispossessed them of the Cisalpine Gaul, for which their leader had so long contended against the Senate.

At the arrival of Antony in Greece, Octavius could muster a land force greatly superior to any that could be formed against him, even by the junction of his rival with Ænobarbus and Sextus Pompeius; but he was so much inferior in shipping, that if their fleets should unite, they must be masters of the sea, and prevent all the importations by which Italy was supplied from abroad. To sow the seeds of some jealousy between them, or to counteract the intrigues of Antony with Scribonius Libo and with Sextus Pompeius, he made offers of marriage to Scribonia, the sister of Libo, and aunt of Pompey's wife; and this proposal being favourably received by the brother, he sent Mucia, the mother of Sextus Pompeius, with an honourable retinue, to engage her son likewise to promote the intended alliance. By these means, he hoped to amuse, or to soften, the animosity of that family against himself; or at least, by these appearances of a friendly correspondence with Sextus Pompeius, in his turn, to alarm Antony, and thus to disconcert any plan which his rival, in the prospect of a breach with himself, might have formed for a coalition with the remains of the republican party. This marriage with Scribonia was the second project of the same kind which Octavius had formed

before the age of twenty-four, merely to lull the vigilance, or to blunt the animosity of his antagonists, while he himself continued to pursue his principal object with unremitting attention and ardour.

Antony, in every comparison with Octavius, not only had the advantage of years, but was reckoned the better soldier; and having had the principal share, if not the whole honour of the victory at Philippi, had great authority in the army, and was likely, wherever he appeared, to be favourably received by the troops who had formerly any where served under his own command. These, however, upon his approach to Italy, under various pretences, were sent by his crafty rival into the distant provinces. Lepidus too, although he had hitherto acquiesced in the late partition of the empire, by which he had been stript of his equal share in the power of a Triumvir; yet, as he was suffered to retain the title, and might throw his weight into the scale of either of the other two parties, or furnish a pretence for some part of the army to secede from his rival, it was thought proper, on the present occasion, to remove him to a distance. For this purpose, the government of the Roman province in Africa was assigned to him, and he himself, with six legions of doubtful inclinations, was dismissed to take possession of that command.

While Octavius was thus strengthening himself in Italy, or removing every object of distrust from his way, Antony, with a less pacific appearance than he had hitherto preserved, set out from Athens, and leaving Fulvia ill at Sicyon, joined at Corcyra his fleet, which had come round the Peloponnesus, and

from thence sailed with two hundred galleys for the coast of Italy. In his passage he was joined by *Æno-barbus*, who considered the supposed enemy of *Octavius* as a friend, and they steered together for *Brundisium*. As there was no war declared, *Antony* expected to be freely admitted into port; but being disappointed in this expectation, he landed at some distance from the harbour, and invested or blocked up the town by sea and by land. Having thus committed hostilities, he no longer hesitated in accepting the alliance of *Sextus Pompeius* against *Octavius*, and proposed to that leader of the *Pompeian* party to make a descent some where on the opposite coast of Italy, to distract the forces of their common enemy, while he himself continued the siege of *Brundisium*.

Sextus Pompeius accordingly, notwithstanding that the marriage of his relation *Scribonia* with *Octavius* had taken place, not suffering himself to be imposed upon by this artifice, landed at *Thurio*, in the Bay of *Tarentum*, made himself master of that place, and of the country from thence to *Consentia*. He, at the same time, sent *Menas*, one of his admirals, into *Sardinia*, who got possession of that island, and gained to his party two legions which were stationed there.

Octavius sent *Agrippa* to oppose *Pompey*, while he himself advanced for the relief of *Brundisium*, but in a manner which renewed the suspicions of his personal courage. Being taken ill on the march, he stopped short at *Canusium*, and suffered *Brundisium* to fall into the hands of his rival. His lieutenant

Agrippa was more successful; pressed upon the enemy, who had landed near Tarentum, obliged them to abandon their conquests, and to take refuge in their ships.

After Antony had got possession of Brundisium, it soon appeared that this unprofitable quarrel between the two chiefs was equally disagreeable to the armies on both sides; and each of the leaders, in order to exculpate himself to the troops, endeavoured to load his antagonist with the blame. Antony complained, that, without any offence on his part, the ports of Italy had been shut up against him. Octavius recriminated; accusing Antony of a correspondence with the Pompeian party; and justified his own conduct, in the order he had given to shut the port of Brundisium; alleging, that this precaution was taken, not against Antony or the troops in his service, but against Ænobarbus, one of the assassins of Cæsar, with whom Antony had effected a junction, to make war upon Italy.

In whatever manner these representations were received by the troops, as those of the opposite sides had frequent intercourse, their mutual inclinations to peace became known to each other; and officers, who had access to both the leaders, made formal proposals to effect a reconciliation between them. Antony, to evince his willingness to spare the blood of the legions, dismissed Ænobarbus, under pretence of employing him to execute a commission in Bithynia, and at the same time sent instructions to Sextus Pompeius to withdraw from the coast.

In this disposition of the parties, accounts were received of the death of Fulvia, an event which greatly facilitated the negotiation for peace, as it gave hopes of cementing the alliance of parties by a family connection. It was accordingly proposed, that the sister of Octavius, now the widow of Marcellus, should be married to Antony; and upon this basis a treaty was framed, including a new partition of the empire, by which all the East, from the Euphrates to Codropolis on the coast of Illyricum, was assigned to Antony. The West, from thence to the Ocean and the British Channel, was assigned to Octavius. Italy, as the seat of government, and the principal nursery of soldiers for the supply of their armies, was to be equally open to both. Lepidus was suffered to remain in the possession of his province in Africa. *Ænobarbus* was included in this treaty, and declared at peace with the heads of the empire; but *Sextus Pompeius*, notwithstanding his late confederacy with Antony, and his newly contracted relation with Octavius*, was still to be treated as an enemy. He was to be counteracted by Octavius, while the war with the Parthians was supposed sufficient to occupy the forces of Antony.

Upon the conclusion of this treaty, the leaders gave mutual entertainments, and the troops, released from the unprofitable task of making war on each other, returned to the more agreeable occupation of exacting the rewards of their services. They understood, that Antony had gone into Asia to raise

* *Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 28. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.*

the money which was wanted to pay off their arrears, and to satisfy their claims : they had manifold scores, in which they stated the rewards and gratuities which they had been made to expect on different occasions ; and they now became clamorous, in particular, for the sums which had been so liberally promised them before the battle of Philippi. The same violence which they had been taught to employ against the civil government of their country, they were ready at times to turn against their commanders. They addressed their exactions, on the present occasion, chiefly to Antony. From him they required an account of the money he had collected in Asia ; and surrounding him in a mutinous manner, would not have abstained from violence to his person, if they had not been pacified by Octavius, who, having been the instrument of former liberalities, had credit enough with the army to make them acquiesce in the apology which was made for the delay of their payment, and in the fresh assurances which were now given, that all the promises which had been formerly made to them should be faithfully performed.

All discontents for the present being suspended, the legions submitted to be sent into different quarters, and the leaders, with every appearance of a perfect reconciliation, set out for Rome. They made their entry into the city together, on horseback, and dressed in triumphal robes : they were received by the People, of every rank and condition, with demonstrations of joy ; which, under the sense of deliverance from the prospect of intestine war, so re-

cently impending, was very general, and very sincere.

The pacific appearances with which the joint sovereigns of the empire thus made their entry at Rome, were confirmed by the actual marriage of Antony with Octavia; and it was expected, that the late rivals, now become brothers, by this happy transaction, were to govern for the future with much cordiality and mutual confidence. Antony, to evince the sincerity of this intention on his own part, put Manius, the confidant of his brother and of Fulvia, to death, as being the supposed author of the late tumults in Italy; and, probably the more fully to shew how far he was willing to sacrifice every consideration to his present connection, he betrayed a secret correspondence which Salvidienus, an officer serving under Octavius, had maintained with himself during the siege of Brundisium. This officer, in consequence of the detection, being condemned for treachery, killed himself*.

Upon the faith of these public renunciations of all partial attachments, Octavius and Antony, in the character of collegiate sovereigns, passed the remainder of the present year, and the whole of the following, at Rome, with great appearance of concord. This circumstance was in some measure ascribed to the discretion of Octavia, who, during the same period, was delivered of a child to Antony, and by the birth of this new relation, gave an additional pledge for the continuance of their union; but, notwith-

* Livi Epitome, lib. cxvii.

standing these flattering appearances, Italy suffered under the distresses of a war still subsisting with Sextus Pompeius and the other exiles, who were in possession of Sicily and Sardinia.

This remnant of the family, and partisans of Pompey, exasperated by the treatment they had received from both parties in the late quarrel and reconciliation, and now possessed of a considerable naval force, blocked up the ports of Italy, and prevented the usual importation of corn. The inhabitants of many towns were reduced to great distress. Those of the metropolis, in particular, became outrageous, and, in contempt of the military force by which they were governed, rose in tumults, pulled down the houses of persons to whom they imputed their sufferings, and even attacked the Triumvirs themselves with reproaches and violence. Being furnished with arms, they resisted the troops which were employed to quell them, and, in their frequent conflicts, covered the highways with the slain.

The Triumvirs were inclined to end these troubles, by urging with vigour the war against Pompey, in order to oblige him to open the seas; but for this purpose a great reinforcement of shipping was necessary; and a tax was imposed, in order to defray the expence of a fleet. A public burden, coming so unseasonably, greatly increased the general discontent. The inhabitants of Rome, although they had suffered themselves to be stript of their political consequence as Roman citizens, still felt the wants of nature, and were provoked by exactions that affected their property and means of subsistence; they took courage from the disorder of the times,

and now ventured to censure an usurpation, which they had not dared to resist. “ Italy, the head of the empire,” they said, “ long used to exemption from all taxation, was not only torn by domestic wars, but impoverished by an extortion that was practised to support quarrels, not with foreign enemies, but with Romans, and to gratify the vanity or emulation of fellow-citizens, who exhausted all the strength of the commonwealth, merely to appropriate the government of it to themselves: for this, so many respectable citizens had been proscribed ; for this, sword and famine were still permitted to rage ; and the children of the first families of Rome, in order to revenge their personal wrongs, and even to be supplied with food, were forced to act the part of banditti, and of pirates.”

The populace of Rome, instigated by these representations, tore down the proclamation in which the new tax was announced ; and seeming to recover their former consequence, though now under the government of military force, they became more riotous and dangerous than they had been in the utmost abuse of their political freedom, and in the height of their democratical power.

It became necessary, on account of the riots, and the growing scarcity of bread, to open a negotiation with Sextus Pompeius, as the speediest means of relief from the present distress. Octavius once more availed himself of the relation he had acquired to the family of Pompey by his marriage with Scribonia, invited his father-in-law Libo to a visit in Italy,

and by his means proposed an interview between the parties, to be held at Puteoli in the Bay of Naples.

Sextus having agreed to this proposal came with his fleet upon the coast. Antony and Octavius went to Puteoli by land, attended by many of the principal citizens, and a numerous military escort. In order that the parties might meet in safety, it was proposed, that each should have a separate platform, erected on piles to be driven in the sea, reaching, on the one side, from the shore, on the other, from Pompey's ship, so as to bring the parties sufficiently near to hold their conference, though still with such a space or interval betwixt them, as might mutually secure them from any insult or violence.

These preparations being completed, the fleet of Sextus Pompeius ranged itself on the one side, and the land force of the Triumvirs on the other. As the interests of all men were involved in the issue, their expectations were greatly raised. The shores, the cliffs, the high lands, were covered with spectators, who gazed on the scene, and anxiously waited for the event. At the first conference, the Triumvirs offered Pompey a safe return to Rome, with an equivalent for his father's estate. He demanded admission into the Triumvirate, instead of Lepidus, who appeared in effect to be already excluded. As they parted without any agreement, equal dissatisfaction appeared among their adherents and followers on both sides. Pompey feared the defection of many who had hitherto adhered to him; and as he had lately put Murcus, a principal officer of his

own party, to death, from a jealousy of this sort, he was inclined to believe that many of his followers were disposed to accept of any terms, and to treat for themselves apart.

The distresses of Italy, on the other hand, strongly urged the Triumvirs to make the necessary concessions; and both parties came to a second interview, with better inclinations to adjust their pretensions. It was accordingly agreed, that Pompey should remain in possession of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica; that the Peloponnesus should likewise be ceded to him, and a sum of money be paid in compensation for the losses of his family *; that all the exiles now under his protection, except such as were actually concerned in the death of Cæsar, should be restored to their country, and to a fourth part of their former estates; that the navigation of the seas of Italy should be free, and vessels immediately suffered to pass from Sicily, and all the neighbouring countries, which were accustomed to supply the Italians with corn.

This treaty being ratified, was transmitted to Rome, and committed to the keeping of the Vestal Virgins. Every cause of hostility or distrust between the parties being thus done away, their platforms were joined by a bridge of planks, and they embraced each other. Those who were near enough to see this signal of peace raised a shout, which was returned from the multitudes which crowded the

* 15,500,000 Drach. or Denarii, about L. 500,000. Zonoras, lib. x, p. 285, c. 21.

ships and the neighbouring shores. Every one, as having suffered under the distresses and hardships which were now brought to an end, took a part in the joy which was occasioned by the present event.

Historians, seeming to feel for those who were concerned in this transaction, have exerted their genius in describing it; and, among other particulars, have recorded, that friends or relations, who had been long separated, being to meet in peace, crowded with great ardour to the strand; that persons who had no such particular motive, being seized with the general contagion, pressed to have a nearer view of the scene; that numbers were suffocated in the crowd; that many from the boats and ships leapt into the sea, and waded or swam to land, and were met from the shore by others who expected to recover their relations and friends; that shouts of joy, or cries of despair, were raised, according as they were severally successful or disappointed in this expectation; that parents and children, disappointed in their hopes of meeting each other, tore their hair, and fell into agonies of grief; the whole exhibiting, though in a supposed termination of public calamities, a lively expression of the distress which the late troubles had occasioned, and striking marks of the wounds which were recently open, and bleeding in the vitals of the commonwealth, or ranking in the bosom of every private house*.

At the close of this scene, the leaders mutually invited each other to a feast. Pompey, by lot, gave

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 37. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

the first entertainment on board his ship: he made an apology for the want of accommodation; and playing on the word *Carinæ*, which signified a ship, and was the name also of a noted street at Rome, in which his father had a palace now occupied by Antony, "This," he said, "is now my *Carinæ*." While the company were yet on board, Menas, once the slave of the great Pompey, but now emancipated, and the first sea-officer in the fleet of his son, whispered him, that then was the time to revenge the death of his father and of his brother, and to recover the rank of his family, by dispatching these authors of all their calamities. "Let me cut the cable," he said, "and put to sea; I promise you that none of them shall escape." "This might have been done by Menas, without consulting me," said Sextus; "but my faith is sacred, and must not be broken."

The guests accordingly were suffered to depart, without having, in any way, been made sensible of the danger they ran; and they gave entertainments in their turns. At these feasts, additional articles were thought of, to confirm the treaty, and to regulate the measures of the future administration. To strengthen the coalition of parties, the daughter of Sextus Pompeius was betrothed to Marcellus, the nephew of Octavius, and now the step-son of Antony. The succession to the Consulate was fixed for four years. Antony and Libo were named Consuls for the first year; Cæsar and Pompey were to follow; next Ænobarbus and Sosius; and last of all, Antony again with Cæsar. Under the admini-

stration of these last, it was supposed, in terms which the Triumvirs still affected to employ, that the public order and public tranquillity might be so well restored, that the republic would no longer need the interposition of extraordinary powers, and might be left to run its usual course.

Sextus Pompeius set sail for Sicily; the *collegiate* sovereigns of the empire returned to Rome; and, in their entry to the city, passed through multitudes, who, on the present occasion, gave very sincere demonstrations of joy. The People flattered themselves, that they were now to experience no more of their late distresses—no more civil dissensions—no more tearing of the father or the child from his family, to serve in the wars—no more oppression and cruelty from the licentiousness of armies—no more desertion of slaves—no more devastation of their lands—no more interruption of agriculture—no more famine. In the presence of exiles, who lately fled from the swords of their fellow-citizens, but who were now restored to the enjoyment of peace and security, they might perceive, it was said, the surest evidence of a general act of oblivion for all offences, and a termination of all party animosities and disputes.

Octavius and Antony, during the remainder of their continuance together at Rome, passed their time in literary amusements, and in the fashionable pastimes of the age, cock-fighting and quail-fighting *. They conducted affairs of State with so

* Plut. in Antonio.

much concord and silence, that no public transaction is mentioned, besides the completing of the aqueducts projected by Julius Cæsar, and the celebration of the festivals, which had been vowed for the destruction of those who had conspired against his life *.

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 52, 53.

 CHAP. XXXIV.

Alarm of the Parthian invasion of Syria.—Arrangements of Octavius and Antony.—Departure of the latter, and residence at Athens.—State of the commonwealth.—Marriage of Octavius with Livia.—War with Sextus Pompeius.—Actions near the straits of Messina.—Agrippa succeeds to the command of Octavius's fleet.—His victory at sea.—Flight of Sextus Pompeius.—Breach between Octavius and Lepidus.

SUCH was the state of affairs at Rome, when the accounts which had been successively received from Syria, made the presence of Antony appear to be necessary in that part of the empire which had been specially committed to his care. His lieutenant Desidius Suxa, in opposing the Parthians under Pacorus and Labienus, had suffered a defeat, and being unable to brook his misfortune, had killed himself. In consequence of this catastrophe, the province of Syria was overrun by the enemy. Tyre, and all the principal towns on the coast, were already in their hands, and the province of Cilicia lay open to their inroads.

Upon this report, Antony sent forward Ventidius, to collect such forces as yet remained in the province of Asia, and to give some present check to the immediate progress of the enemy, while he himself proposed to follow, and to conduct the war in per-

son. Before his departure, he obtained in form, from the Senate and People, an act to confirm all arrangements which the Triumvirs had made respecting the revenue, or any other department of the State. In concert with his colleague, he made up the roll of the Senate, and marked out the succession of Consuls and other titular magistrates for the eight subsequent years. In their choice of persons for these several honours, each was careful to balance the nomination of his rival with an equal number of his own retainers and clients, or persons over whom he had entire influence; and in this silent competition for power, were named for the offices of State, on one side and the other, mere aliens, soldiers of fortune, persons who had but recently obtained their freedom, or confidential slaves, manumitted on purpose to serve this occasion*.

These arrangements being made, Antony, attended by his wife Octavia, set out for Athens. Here he learned, that the war in Syria was in a great measure at an end; that Pacorus, the son of the king of Parthia, with Labienus, having attacked Ventidius in his camp, were repulsed; that in their retreat they had been afterwards pursued, routed in different encounters, and dispersed; that Pacorus himself was killed †; that Labienus had fled, in disguise, in-

* One Maximus, being in the nomination for the office of Quæstor, was claimed, and adjudged to be a slave; another person of the same condition was discovered in a high station, and, as a punishment due for his presumption, was thrown from the Tarpeian rock. Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 34.

† Plut. in Antioho.

to Cyprus, was discovered, taken, and put to death; that the Parthians had abandoned all their conquests in Syria and in Palestine, and were hastening to re-pass the Euphrates.

Antony, upon this termination of a war, which so much alarmed his division of the empire, probably would have been inclined to resume his station in Egypt; but as the presence of Octavia rendered a visit to Cleopatra improper, his residence was fixed for the present at Athens. From thence he distributed to his officers their several stations and provinces, and disposed of kingdoms on the eastern frontier to princes who solicited his protection: that of Pontus he bestowed on Darius the son of Pharnaces, and grandson of Mithridates; that of the Jews and Samaritans, on Herod; that of Pysidia, on Amyn-tas; and that of Cilicia, on Polemon. During the winter, having dropped all the retinue of a Roman officer of State, he resigned himself to ease, domestic pleasures, or the conversation of the learned *, and seemed to have become the sober parent of a family.

But notwithstanding this wonderful appearance of moderation and reform, some species of extravagance and dissipation ever mingles in the history of Antony's life. And some of his frolics, even in this interval of wisdom, have made part in the subjects of obloquy and reproach, which his enemies, to justify their own cause, have thrown upon his memory; and which they have been able, by becoming the victorious party, to fix upon his name for ever. He

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. p. 714.

is said, at some of his entertainments, to have personated Bacchus, the young and irresistible conqueror of the world, and to have carried this extravagance so far, that the Athenians, now become finished courtiers, were induced to pay their devotions, by gravely proposing a marriage between himself and their goddess Minerva. To show that he carried some humour and some reason in his madness, he accepted the match; but under condition that the bride should be accompanied with a suitable portion; and in this jest turned the servility of his flatterers to profit, by exacting ten millions of drachmas*.

But in whatever manner Antony passed his supposed leisure at Athens, Octavius, whose conduct, on most occasions, is a manifest contrast to that of his colleague, did not fail to avail himself of the advantages of his situation in Italy, the supposed head of the empire, and of the bent of the times to monarchy, by uniting, as much as possible, all the channels of influence in his own person.

The concerts of the first Cæsar with Pompey and Crassus, though named a Triumvirate, were the mere effects of a private combination, to overrule the public councils, and to dispose of every preferment, and place of emolument or trust. But the powers now exercised by Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, though extorted by force, had, in form at least, the sanction of a legal appointment, and were of the nature of those extraordinary commissions which had been

* About L. 300,000. *Dis. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 39.*

frequently given in every age of the republic, and which were not improperly calculated for singular occasions, or uncommonly arduous state of affairs. A commission of Triumvirate, in so great an exigency of the State, professedly given to restore its tranquillity, and to re-establish public order, if it had been freely granted, was no way repugnant to former precedents, or disagreeable to the analogy of Roman forms; insomuch, that if the People had been less corrupted, the government of the republic might, by a single abdication, have been in effect restored.

The titles of Senate and People, of Consul, Prætor, and other magistrates or officers of State, were still retained, and continued to bear the appearance of ancient formalities, whether in the legislature or in the exercise of executive power. The same members which formed the ancient political body seemed to exist, though much debilitated, and unfit to perform their functions. The Senate consisted of persons willing to acknowledge, or disposed to favour, the present usurpation: such persons only indeed were now to be found. Those of a different character had fallen in the civil wars, or perished under the late executions and massacres; and if they had still remained, would not have been suffered to take a part in the government, by those who, under the title of Triumvirs, had engrossed the supreme direction. Even the pretended Comitia were no longer those overbearing conventions, in which multitudes, assembled in a tumultuary manner, assumed the prerogatives of the Roman People, disposed of elections, or carried their own mandates into execution

with the irresistible force of numbers. This part of the republican constitution was become a mere name, employed to ratify the acts of the Triumvirs, and to confirm their nomination of persons to office. The forms of popular assembly, or Comitia, however, as well as those of the Senate, were retained, to give a sanction to deeds which might not be supposed of permanent authority, without the usual seal, or well known initials of the Senate and People of Rome *.

As the supreme power, and the exercise of every public function, both at Rome and in the provinces, were now vested in this pretended commission, the ordinary offices of State were filled up merely for the sake of form, or rather that there might be an opportunity to gratify the vanity of particular persons, by their advancement to public honours. The titles of Prætorian and Consular rank, retained by those who had filled those offices in the commonwealth, were come, as we have mentioned, to resemble the titles of honour by which the nobles are distinguished in the monarchies of modern Europe; and men had, for some time, begun to covet the office, not on account of the power it conferred, but for the sake of the title it was to leave behind with the persons by whom it had once been possessed.

For this reason, the ancient denominations of office were not likely to be discontinued at Rome, even upon the establishment of monarchy, or despotism itself. The regular term of a year, indeed, was already no longer annexed to the idea of magistra-

* S. P. Q. R.

cy. The honour of having been Consul or Prætor for a few months, for a few days, or even for a few hours, gave the titles and precedency that was wished for; and many, as soon as they had taken possession of the office, were removed, to make way for others, destined to be honoured with the same distinction.

In this manner, during the joint residence of Octavius and Antony at Rome, Asinius Pollio, and Domitius, holding the Consulate, were made to resign it, in order that two others might be admitted for a few days, of whom one was L. Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades in Spain, and the first of his family that ever had a place even on the rolls of the People as a citizen of Rome. But this new citizen had followed Julius Cæsar in his wars, and amassed a considerable fortune in his service. To others, the dignity of Prætor and of Edile, vacated on purpose, was transferred for a few hours. These preferments gave no claim, as in the former times of the republic, to the government of provinces; they gave no influence, and, during their short continuance, scarcely implied any function in the city.

In this general abuse of the civil institutions, now reduced to mere titles and forms, the Tribunes of the People, by means of the superstitious regard which was paid to their persons, still retained a part of their consequence; and Octavius, instead of attempting to reduce it, affected to revere this sacred repository of the People's rights, in defence of which it was said that Julius Cæsar made war on the Senate; and instead of attempting to remove the sa-

cred fence with which these officers were provided against violence to their persons, he availed himself of it, by having his own name inscribed in their list; in this, as in many other particulars, discovering an admirable discernment of the means which were necessary to palliate and to secure a recent usurpation; and seeming to profit by the experience of his late uncle, who, after he had overcome every serious resistance, fell a sacrifice to trifles, or to the provocation he gave in the mere violation of forms, and to the frivolous ostentation with which he assumed the state of a monarch.

About this time is dated a considerable alteration made in the Roman law, by the addition of a rule respecting the effect of last wills. This rule is ascribed to Falcidius *, one of the colleagues of Octavius in the college of Tribunes. Hitherto Roman citizens were free to bequeath their fortunes at pleasure, and to divide them in any proportion among their friends or acquaintance, whether relations or strangers; and property held a course in its passage, by succession, from one generation to another, which excluded no person whatever from the hopes of inheritance, provided he could obtain the regard of his fellow-citizens. As it was the practice of every testator, even when he had no motive for disinheriting his nearest relations, to give some testimony in his will to the merit of every friend who survived him, it was reckoned an honour to be mentioned in many wills; and persons who

* Lex Falcidia.

had not the ordinary means of amassing a fortune, either in the government of provinces, or in the farm of the revenues, might nevertheless become rich by an extensive and well-supported course of good offices in the city. This practice is possibly less suited to monarchy, than it is to republics, and least of all to despotical governments, where the master wishes to leave no will independent of his own. He can awe the living, but the dying escape from his influence. This feeling perhaps already began to take place in the minds of the rulers at Rome, and in the minds of those who courted their favour; and it may have suggested the law of Falcidius, by which testators were not suffered to dispose, by will, of more than three-fourths of their effects: the other fourth was assigned to the heir at law.

While Antony yet resided at Athens, Octavius passed into Gaul, on a progress to review his armies, or to make the proper disposition of his force in the provinces; and it began to appear, that the late treaty which had been concluded with Sextus Pompeius, was no more than a temporary expedient to procure relief to the inhabitants of Italy from the distress which they suffered in the scarcity of provisions. The articles of treaty were never fully performed by either party. The domestic, or rather political, alliance which Octavius had contracted with Sextus Pompeius, in his marriage with Scribonia, by whom he had issue a daughter, afterwards so famous by the name of Julia, was likewise, about this time, broke off, to make way for what appears at last to be a marriage of

U. C. 715.
Ap. Claudius Pulcher and C. Norbanus Flaccus.

choice with Livia, a name already mentioned, and to be often repeated in the subsequent parts of this history.

This sacred connection had hitherto appeared to Octavius merely as the means of obtaining some political end ; and he had already, in difficult transactions, twice availed himself of this expedient, although it is remarked by historians, as an evidence of his youth, that, until his marriage with Livia, his beard was not sufficiently grown to need the use of a razor. In this alliance, however, he seems to have had a different object ; and was so far from being led by utility alone, that he not only overlooked the want of this recommendation, but likewise got over many other more serious difficulties which stood in his way.

Livia Drusilla was the daughter of Livius Drusus, a citizen who had been in open enmity with Octavius and his party ; and who, in despair, after the battle of Philippi, with other adherents of the republic, had fallen by his own hands. The daughter had been married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, who was also a declared enemy of the Cæsarean faction ; and who, in the late contest of parties in Italy, put himself at the head of the ejected landholders of Campania, joined Lucius Antonius, and, as has been mentioned, on the reduction of Perusia, fled with his family into Sicily, where he took refuge with Sextus Pempeius. Being included in the general treaty of reconciliation which was framed at Baiæ, he returned to Rome. His wife had already born him a son, afterwards well known by the name of

Tiberius, was again with child, and six months gone in her pregnancy, when it was proposed, that she should part from her present husband, and in the embraces of Cæsar bring forth the child of whom she was then pregnant. The priests being consulted on the legality of this transfer, desired to know whether the pregnancy of Livia was well ascertained; and being informed that it was certain, made answer, That as there could arise no doubt concerning the parentage of her offspring, her separation from Tiberius Claudius, and her union with Octavius, were equally lawful.

The change which now took place in the family of Octavius, by his repudiating Scribonia, was considered as the prelude to a war with her relation Sextus Pompeius. Many articles of the late treaty had never been carried into execution. The Peloponnesus, under pretence of the time required to recover some arrears which were said to be due to Antony in that province, had not, according to agreement, been delivered to Pompey. In justification of other infractions of the treaty, it was urged against him, that, contrary to the faith he had pledged, his fleet had been considerably augmented, and his cruizers suffered to commit depredations on the traders of Italy. Some pirates being taken, and threatened with the torture, alleged in their own vindication, that they acted under his orders. The confessions of these men being published, with complaints and remonstrances, an altercation ensued, which was likely to end in hostilities and open war.

After these complaints had become mutual between Octavius and Sextus Pompeius, the rupture was hastened by the defection of Menas, one of Pompey's officers, the same person who proposed to carry off Antony and Octavius, by cutting the cable while they were at dinner on board of his master's ship. This officer, being intrusted with the command of a fleet in the ports of Sardinia, upon some disgust he had taken to his own master, entered into a correspondence with Octavius, made offer of his service, and proposed to surrender the island. This act of perfidy became known only by the acceptance and execution of the offer. Octavius thus obtained the possession of Sardinia, and received this fugitive Greek with sixty galleys into his own service; rewarded his treachery by employing him in the same rank which he possessed under his former leader, and by conferring upon him the golden ring, or well known-badge of nobility at Rome*.

As this transaction took place while the treaty was yet supposed to be in force, Pompey demanded that the traitor should be delivered up to him, and the island of Sardinia restored; but was answered, that in the matter of which he complained, he himself had been the aggressor, by giving refuge to deserters and fugitive slaves.

Pompey, on receiving this answer, no longer deferred the measures which were necessary to do himself justice †. He sent Menecrates, who succeeded Menas in the chief command of his fleet, to the sea

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 45. Orosius, Appian. &c. † Zonaras, lib. x, c. 23.

of Campania, with orders to make reprisals and to plunder Vulturum, or any other place he could reach on the coast.

Octavius, on his part, had been some time endeavouring to supply his want of shipping, had built some vessels in the ports of Italy, which, with the addition of those he received by the desertion of Menas, put him in condition to enter on the war with advantage. He had ordered his equipments at two separate stations; the one at Tarentum, the other on the coast of Etruria; and, being now to make war on Sicily, he proposed to bring his naval forces together at Rhegium, in the straits, and opposite to Messina. Thither he likewise directed a powerful land army to march, and having a short passage into the island, to begin the war, by expelling Pompey from the principal seat of his power. He himself came round to Rhegium with that division of his fleet which had been fitted out at Tarentum. Calvisius commanded the other division, and made sail from the coast of Etruria to the same place.

Sextus Pompeius, having notice of the disposition which was thus made to attack him, likewise divided his forces. He himself took post at Messina to observe Octavius, and sent Menecrates to intercept Calvisius, and to prevent the junction of their fleets.

Menecrates accordingly came in sight of his enemy in the evening of the same day, lay that night under the island Ænaria, now Ischia, while Calvisius came to anchor near Cumæ on the contiguous

coast. Next morning, at break of day, both fleets got under sail ; but Calvisius, having orders to bring his division safe to the general rendezvous at Rhegium, was desirous to avoid an engagement, and kept under the land. Menecrates, steering the same course, kept abreast of the enemy, till perceiving their design to avoid him, by lying close to the shore, he too stood in with the land, to attack them.

Calvisius, finding an action unavoidable, and thinking himself inferior in the skill of his mariners, determined to bring his ships to anchor close to the shore, where they could not be surrounded, and where his men, if attacked, having smooth water, might use their swords as on solid ground ; and he accordingly formed a line in the direction of the coast, turning the prow and the beak of his ships to the sea.

In this position the squadron of Octavius received the shock of the enemy, and on the right, where Calvisius himself commanded, made a good defence, but in the centre, many of the ships were forced from their anchors, and stranded or burnt. Menecrates, in coming to engage, distinguishing the galley of Menas, his ancient rival, and the traitor to their common master, bore down upon him, and, in the shock, bore away the beak of the enemy's galley ; but, in passing along the side, as the vessel brushed, lost all the oars of his own ship. They afterwards grappled, and fought till both the commanders were wounded ; and Menecrates, finding himself disabled, and in danger of being taken, went headlong into the sea. His galley instantly struck, and was towed

off by the enemy. This event, although the advantage was otherwise greatly on the side of Pompey, dispirited the whole squadron; and Demochares, who succeeded Menecrates in the command of Pompey's fleet, neglecting the advantage he might have reaped from the situation and loss of the enemy, withdrew to the island of Ænaria, and from thence, on the following day, set sail for Sicily. Calvisius, having endeavoured to repair his damage, continued his voyage, under the land, towards the straits of Messina.

Octavius, at the same time, not knowing of this action, but being impatient to effect the junction of his fleets, made sail from Rhegium, and stood to the northward. When the greater part of the fleet had passed the port of Messina, he was observed by Sextus Pompeius, who put to sea, and attacked his rear. Octavius nevertheless continued on his way through the gut, and would have declined an action, if it could have been avoided; but finding himself in danger of suffering an absolute defeat from the enemy, who taking advantage of his continuing under way, pressed on his rear as in actual flight, he made a signal to halt; and from the same motives which had determined Calvisius to form under the land, making a like disposition, he hoped, that by being at anchor, his men might engage under less disadvantage with an enemy who were greatly superior in the management of their ships. In the event, however, he was much more unfortunate than Calvisius, and had great part of his fleet either stranded or burnt. He himself, while his ships were still en-

gaged, regardless of the doubts which were already entertained of his courage, left Cornificius to continue the fight, got on shore, and with a number of men, who had escaped from the wrecks, took refuge on the neighbouring hills.

At the approach of night, the lieutenant of Octavius, while the enemy still pressed upon him, seeing the danger of having all his ships forced on shore before morning, made a signal for the remains of the squadron to cut their cables, and stand out to sea. In making this movement, his own galley grappled with that of Demochares, and having disabled her, obliged the commander to move into another ship. At this instant the other division of Octavius's fleet, commanded by Calvisius, appeared to the northward; being seen first from the enemy's fleet, occasioned a sudden pause in the action.

Pompey, believing this to be a fresh enemy, whom, after so much loss and fatigue, he was not in condition to engage, took his resolution, to the great surprise of the squadron he had vanquished, to relinquish his prey, and retire to Messina.

Cornificius again came to anchor in the place of action, and being joined by Calvisius, passed the night in taking an account of his damage, in saving such ships as could be got off, or in removing the baggage and stores from such as were ashore. Octavius, at the same time, made fires on the hills, to assemble the stragglers who had escaped from the wrecks; of whom many repaired to his signals, without arms or necessaries of any sort.

Towards morning, a gale of wind arose from the

south, and rolled a great sea through the straits. It continued to blow all day and the following night ; during which time, Menas being an experienced mariner, had not only originally come to an anchor with his division, as far as he could from the land, but continued all night to ease his anchors, by *plying* against the wind with his oars. Of the rest of the fleet, such ships as were near the land having drove in the night, many perished on the rocks. At break of day the wind abated ; but, from the effects of the storm which had blown in the night, the strand was covered with dead bodies, and with the fragments of ships. The vessels that were still afloat, being about one half of the fleet, having stopped for a little time, to save as many as they could from the wrecks, set sail in a very shattered condition for Vibo. Here they arrived without any molestation from the enemy, who were contented to have made their own way in safety to Messina. Octavius himself having beheld the wreck of so many of his ships, took the route of Campania by land, and made the necessary dispositions to frustrate any attempts which Pompey might make on the coast.

The summer having been spent in these undecisive operations, both parties prepared for a vigorous renewal of the contest in the following spring. Pompey himself continued to alarm the coast of Italy during the winter, while he sent Apollophanes, one of his officers, to make a descent upon Africa. Octavius gave orders to repair the loss of his ships, and to recruit his land-forces. He had recourse to the assistance of

U. C. 706.
M. Agrippa, L. Caminius Gallus, T. Statilius,

Antony, who had hitherto expressed a dislike to the war, and was probably jealous of the accessions of power which Octavius was likely to gain by the destruction of Sextus Pompeius.

Antony, however, upon this requisition from his colleague, set sail from Greece, and appeared at Tarentum with a fleet of three hundred ships, though still undetermined, it is supposed, which side he should take in the present contest. But Octavia, who had accompanied her husband to Tarentum, had the address to turn the scale in favour of her brother. She undertook to be the mediator of their differences, went on shore, and procured an amicable interview betwixt them. At this meeting they made an exchange of sea and land forces. Antony gave to Octavius one hundred and twenty ships, and had in return twenty-thousand legionary soldiers. To confirm the removal of all their suspicions, Julia, the infant daughter of Octavius by Scribonia, was, on this occasion, betrothed to Antyllis, one of the sons of Antony by Fulvia; and a daughter of Antony was betrothed to Domitius. These schemes of alliance, projected in the infancy of the parties, never took effect, but were among the artifices with which the parents endeavoured to amuse each other.

Octavius and Antony now agreed, with very little hesitation, that Pompey had forfeited the Consulate, the priesthood, and all the other advantages which had been ceded in his favour by the late treaty; and they made new arrangements respecting the succession to office, in behalf of themselves and their

friends. The principal object in these arrangements was the gratifying their adherents with titles of rank. In the preceding year, no less than sixty-seven persons had passed through the office of Prætor. This dignity, as well as that of Consul, was frequently, for the sake of the title, taken up and resigned in the same day. The office of *Ædile*, which used to be of so much consequence under the republic, as it gave an opportunity to court the favour of the People with entertainments and shows, being now of no value on this account, and, though still expensive, being lowest in the ranks of place, was generally declined*.

The period for which the pretended commission of the Triumvirs had been granted by the Roman Senate and People being now about to determine, Octavius and Antony, without having recourse to the same form of appointment, resumed the exercise of their power for five years longer. And having, in appearance, amicably settled the several points in dispute betwixt themselves, they separated in pursuit of their respective objects; Octavius being intent on the war with Sextus Pompeius, and his colleague on that with the Parthians. But, to the great danger of their future agreement, Antony was no longer attended by Octavia, who had hitherto served as the principal bond of their union, in continual danger of being broken by the jealousies and extravagancies of her husband. She had born him a child, was again pregnant, and being unable to at-

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 43—53,

tend him in the dangers or fatigues to which he was likely to be exposed in the Parthian war, was prevailed on to remain in Italy, and to fix her residence at Rome *.

In the prospect of an approaching campaign, Agrippa was recalled from Gaul, where he had been employed by Octavius in the preceding summer, and during the miscarriages on the coast of Italy. This officer, although of mean extraction, rose to the highest honours which could, in this state of his country, be attained by a citizen. As he was not born to the dignity and pretensions of a Roman Senator, he cannot be accused, with others, of having betrayed that character; but coming forward amidst the ruins of a fallen republic, and after the extinction of those virtues which were necessary to its preservation, he appears among the first who understood and possessed the habits and accomplishments which are required in support of a monarchy; submission without servility or baseness, application, fidelity, and courage; estimating honours by his nearness to his prince, and merit by the degree in which he could promote his service †. He had in the preceding summer obtained some victories on the Rhine, and was the first Roman, after Julius Cæsar, who had passed that barrier of the German nations. Upon his arrival at Rome he might have had a triumph on account of these services; but more actuated by zeal and respect for his master,

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 46, &c.

† Vell. Pater. lib. ii, c. 79.

than by personal vanity, he said, that it did not become him to triumph while the prosperity of Cæsar was yet in suspense.

Agrippa was by his genius qualified for the execution of magnificent works, as well as for the steady and able conduct of military operations. Observing, that the disasters of the preceding year were to be imputed, in some measure, to the want of harbours and proper retreats for shipping on the western coast of Italy, he made it his first object to supply this defect, by opening a communication from the sea to the lakes in the neighbourhood of Baiæ, which were spacious within, and when thus rendered accessible by navigable entries, might furnish every convenience for the reception and construction of fleets. In describing the masonry which was necessary in the formation of these communications, mention is made of the peculiar advantage derived from the use of burnt earth taken from the neighbouring mountains; and which being used for sand in the composition of mortar, made an excellent cement for buildings which were to remain under water*.

While the summer passed in the execution of these works, and in the construction of ships, to encounter an enemy who was so formidable at sea, Menas, repenting of his late desertion, entered into a correspondence with his former master; and being assured of pardon, withdrew with some galleys from the fleet of Octavius, then under the command of Calvisius, and returned to his former service.

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii, c. 48, 49, 50, 51, 52.

Octavius took this occasion to supersede Calvisius, upon an imputation of neglect, and appointed Agrippa to succeed him in the conduct of the war.

About a year was spent in the equipment of a fleet and in training the mariners, which, for the convenience of harbours and docks, was executed, as before, at two separate stations; one at Tarentum, under Statilius Taurus, where the ships which had been furnished by Antony still remained; the other in the new harbour of the Lucrine lake, near Puteoli, under the command of Agrippa.

U. C. 717.
L. Gellius
Poplicola,
L. Munatius
Plancus, M. Cocceius
Nerva, P. Sulpicius
Querinus.

Lepidus, to second the operations of Octavius, had assembled his forces on the coast of Africa; and it was concerted that Sicily should be invaded in three places at once: at Lilybæum, the nearest part to Africa, by Lepidus; at Mylæ, on the northern side of the island, by Agrippa; and at Taurominium, on the eastern coast, by Statilius Taurus. It was projected that the armaments equipped for these different services should be at their places of destination as nearly as possible about the first of July.

While these preparations were making, Octavius, residing chiefly at Tarentum or at Cumæ, left the administration of civil affairs at Rome in the hands of Mæcenas, who, though not vested with any office of magistracy, or any other public character besides that of a person in the confidence of his master, possessed a supreme authority. Octavius himself, when the plan of the war was ripe for execution, joined that division of his forces which was led by Agrippa,

and sailed from Puteoli at the appointed time ; but after he had cleared the bay of Naples, and weathered the promontory of Minerva, he met with a storm, by which many of his ships were damaged, and he was forced to put back into the port he had left.

This accident was likely to disconcert the operations of the campaign, or to delay the invasion of Sicily for another season. But the complaints of the people in Italy, suffering under the obstruction that was given by Pompey to the importation of corn, called for an immediate relief. Some of the projected operations of the campaign were already begun, and required to be supported. Lepidus had sailed with the first division of his army, and had landed in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum ; and Statilius Taurus had advanced from Tarentum to *Leucopetræ*, opposite to Taurominium, the place at which he was ordered to make his descent. Urged by these considerations, Octavius, with such repairs as he could accomplish, in about thirty days after he had returned into port, again put to sea. At Strougylé he learnt that Pompey, with the greater part of his fleet, lay off Mylæ, to guard that access to the island of Sicily. Thinking this, therefore, a favourable opportunity to push his other attack from *Leucopetræ* to Taurominium, he himself returned to the coast of Italy, landed at Vibo, went from thence by land to *Leucopetræ*, and put the squadron from that place in motion for their intended descent on the opposite coast.

While Octavius was thus employed at one extremity of the Straits, Agrippa, on the other, had come

come to action with Pompey's fleet off the harbour of Mylæ, and obliged them to retire into port with the loss of thirty ships*. This circumstance still further confirmed Octavius in his intention to pass with his army into Sicily; and he, accordingly, without meeting with any obstruction, arrived at Taurominium, and landed his forces.

Sextus Pompeius, in the mean time, having had intimation of this design, soon after the action at Mylæ, had withdrawn in the night to Messina; and having put fresh men on board his ships, steered for Taurominium, and came in sight of the harbour soon after the enemy had disembarked. By the unexpected appearance of a fleet much superior to his own, Octavius was greatly alarmed; and leaving the command of the forces he had just landed to Cornificius, he ordered his ships to slip their cables, and make what sail they could to recover the harbour of Leucopetræ, on the Italian shore. He himself went on board a small pinnace, in order the better to escape the pursuit of the enemy, and with a very few attendants landed in a creek on the coast of Italy. His ships were dispersed, part taken, and many stranded among the rocks; but he himself made his way in the night to Leucopetræ, where a division of the army, under Messala, waited for the return of the ships, in which they were to follow the former embarkation.

Octavius, without being disconcerted by this dis-

* Orosius, lib. vi, p. 266.

aster, or by a consciousness of the part which he himself had acted, and which served to confirm all the former imputations of cowardice, without loss of time sent immediate dispatches to all the stations of his troops, to give notice of his safe arrival in the camp of Messala. Before he shifted his wet clothes, or took any food, he made all the necessary arrangements; sent a pinnace to Cornificius, whom he had left in the command of the army in Sicily, with orders to defend himself to the last extremity; and another to Agrippa, with instructions to move as soon as he could, by sea or by land, to the relief of those who were beset by the enemy at Taurominium. And he ordered Carinas, who with three legions lay embarked at Vibo, to sail without loss of time, and to join Agrippa at Liparé.

While Pompey was passing with his fleet along the coast from Messina to Taurominium, he had ordered a great body of horse on the shore to keep pace, as nearly as possible, with the motion of his ships; and as they approached to Taurominium, while he himself should block up the harbour, to lay waste the country, or to restrain the foraging parties of the enemy.

Cornificius, whom Octavius had left in the command of his forces at this place, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, took his resolution to depart from the coast, and, if possible, to join Agrippa, who, he had reason to believe, might by this time have effected his landing at Mylæ, on the opposite side of the island. He accordingly endeavoured to convey intelligence of his design, and requested

Agrippa to come forward to meet him with a proper force, and with the necessary supplies for the relief of his troops, and to favour his junction.

The route by which Cornificius was most likely to avoid Pompey's stations, led by the skirts of Mount *Ætna*, and over barren tracts, that were still covered, instead of soil, with pumice and lava, which had been discharged from the mountain, and which were not any where covered with vegetation, or supplied with water. His way over this species of soil lay through difficult passes, occupied by the natives, who either harassed his rear, or disputed his passage in front. But after having undergone great labour and distress, and having lost a considerable part of his army by fatigue or by famine, he was met by *Laronius*, with a reinforcement of troops and supply of provisions from Agrippa; and, upon the appearance of this relief, was suffered by the enemy to continue the remainder of his march undisturbed.

Thus the two separate divisions of the army of *Octavius*, with which he intended at once to have attacked the opposite sides of the island, were assembled together on the northern coast. Hither he himself soon after repaired, and began his operations by land at the head of twenty-one legions, twenty thousand horse, and above five thousand light or irregular infantry.

Pompey was yet strong in the neighbourhood of *Messina*, or in that angle of the island which pointed towards Italy. The ground being rugged and mountainous in the interior parts, forming a ridge from Mount *Ætna* to the head of *Pelorus*, his quar-

ters were accessible only, or chiefly, by the roads on the coast, leading from Mylæ on the one hand, and from Taurominium on the other, to Messina. Of these communications he was still master, by means of the fortresses which he possessed at Mylæ and at Taurominium. As he supposed that Lepidus, from the side of Africa, would attempt to cooperate with the forces of Octavius from Italy, he had stationed at Lilybæum a part of his fleet, and a considerable body of troops, commanded by Plennius, to oppose the descent and advances of the enemy on that quarter. The officer who had charge of his fleet on this station, had suffered the first embarkation of Lepidus to escape, and to effect their landing; but being so fortunate as to intercept the second, he in a great measure disconcerted the intended operations of the enemy on that side.

Lepidus, accordingly, with that part of his army which he had landed in Sicily, remained inactive in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, until having accounts that Octavius was arrived in the island, that he had united together the different divisions of his army at Mylæ, and had obliged Sextus Pompeius to collect all his force in the neighbourhood of Messina, he supposed that the country from thence might be open to him; and he accordingly, notwithstanding that Plennius, with a considerable body of Pompey's force, remained behind him at Lilybæum, marched from one end of the island to the other; and having effected his junction with Octavius, confirmed him in the resolution to press upon Pompey

at once with their united forces, both by sea and land.

In execution of this plan, Agrippa made a feint to land at the head of Pelorus ; and having drawn the attention of the enemy to that quarter, favoured the design of Octavius, who, in the mean time, surprised and took the fortress of Mylæ. The combined army of Octavius and Lepidus having gained this important advantage, continued still further to press upon Pompey, made movements which threatened to invest Messina itself, and to cut off the communications of his fleet and army with the country in the neighbourhood of that city. In order to avoid these inconveniences, Pompey found himself under a necessity to hazard a battle either by sea or by land, or wherever his antagonists presented an opportunity the most likely to procure him relief. He himself relied chiefly on his naval force ; and accordingly, without seeking for any advantage of situation or surprise, presented himself to the enemy near to Naulochus, between the promontories of Mylæ and Pelorus, and was there met by Agrippa.

The fleets which were now to engage, consisted of about three hundred ships on each side. When formed in order of battle, their lines were nearly of equal extent. The construction of ships was the same ; and they advanced deliberately on smooth water, without any circumstance that appeared to prognosticate the victory on either side. The armies, at the same time, were drawn up on the shore, and in sight of the scene which was to be acted before

them. After an obstinate fight, in which the fleet of Pompey already suffered considerably, seventeen of his ships at once withdrew from the action, and stood away for the Straits of Messina. Those that were nearest the land ran upon the shore, and were wrecked or taken; the remainder being farther at sea, and cut off from their own harbours, struck, and delivered themselves up to the enemy.

The progress of the action at sea was accompanied from the land with shouts or acclamations on the one side, and with silent affliction, or with cries of despair, on the other. Twenty-eight ships of Pompey's fleet were sunk; above two hundred and fifty, being the whole that remained besides the seventeen which fled to Messina, were stranded, taken or burnt*. Octavius lost only three ships.

Pompey, perceiving the extent of his calamity, was seized with despair; and, without having given any orders in camp, made haste to Messina. The army he had left in the field, seeing themselves deserted by their leader, went over to the enemy. He himself, at Messina, made a feint of mustering his forces, as for an obstinate defence. He called in all the ships which any where remained on the coast, and all the forces that could be found on the island †. But, in the midst of these pretended arrangements for a vigorous resistance, he had taken in secret his resolution to depart from Sicily; and having a vessel prepared for his reception, went on board with his daughter, and a few persons whom he had chosen to attend him in his flight.

* Orosius, lib. vi, c. 18.

† Appian, de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

As soon as the vessel, in which it was known that Pompey had embarked, appeared under sail, all the ships which were then in the harbour put to sea, with intention to follow whatever course he should steer; but without receiving any orders or intimation of a place at which to re-assemble, in case of separation. The unfortunate leader observing, among the ships which followed him, some that were commanded by officers in whom, in the present state of his fortunes, he could not confide, wished to separate from them, gave out that he meant to avoid the coasts, and, in order to deceive them, in the night, extinguishing his lights, rowed close to the shore of Italy, and turning round the head-lands till he was opposite to Corcyra, stood over for that island, from thence to Cephalonia, and last of all to Lesbos, where he landed at Mytilené, a place at which he had resided with his mother Cornelia, during the campaign between his father and the first Cæsar in Thessaly, and from whence he had been carried, about twelve years before this date, to partake in the catastrophe of his father's fortunes on the coast of Egypt. At Mytilené, notwithstanding the memory of those discouraging circumstances, and the low state of his own affairs, he met with a hospitable reception, and passed the winter in humble expectation of protection from Antony, to whose generosity he intended to commit himself.

Octavius, in the mean time, suspecting that Pompey must have taken refuge in some part of the provinces which were in the jurisdiction of his colleague, was cautious not to awaken his jealousy, by presuming to violate his sanctuary, or by pretending to an-

ticipate the resolutions he might be inclined to take on the subject of this suppliant*.

After the only remaining leader of the Pompeian party had made so wretched an exit from Sicily, Plennius, who, soon after the departure of Lepidus from the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, had set out with six legions to join his commander, and who had come too late to be comprehended in the surrender of the army at Naulochus, threw himself into Messina, more with an intention to obtain favourable terms for the troops under his command, than with any hopes to retrieve the affairs of his master.

At this time Lepidus being near to Messina, while Octavius still remained at Naulochus, invested the place, and, without consulting his colleague, granted the terms which were asked by Plennius, took possession of the town, and incorporated with his own army the troops which had served under that officer. In concluding this treaty, and in taking the advantage of it to strengthen himself, without the concurrence or participation of Cæsar, he had earnest remonstrances made to him by Agrippa, who had come with his victorious fleet to Messina; but it soon after appeared that Lepidus not only thought himself entitled to decide in that instance, but, upon the accession of strength which he had gained, began to form much higher pretensions. He now reckoned under his own standard twenty-two legions, with a numerous body of horse, and propo-

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlii, c. 18.

sed not only to keep possession of Messina, but to claim the whole island of Sicily as an appendage of his province in Africa. He accordingly sent detachments to secure the principal towns.

Octavius, already provoked at the precipitation with which Lepidus had, without his concurrence, granted a capitulation to the troops at Messina, loudly complained of the measures which he took to appropriate the island of Sicily to himself, without the consent of his associates in the empire; alleged that he had been called thither as a mere auxiliary, and had borne no part of the expence incurred in the war. Lepidus, on his part, complained of the injustice which had already been done to himself in withholding Spain, his original lot in the partition of the provinces; and said, if it were supposed that Africa, with the addition of Sicily, were more than an equivalent for Spain, he was willing to surrender them both in exchange for that province.

This dispute being likely to end in a serious quarrel, the ordinary intercourse between the two camps was discontinued, and precautions were taken by their respective officers, as in the presence of an enemy. Meantime, both armies saw with dislike the symptoms of an open rupture, and of a fresh war, in which soldiers, without any prospect of advantage, even to the victors, were mutually to imbue their hands in blood, in order to decide a question of mere jealousy or emulation between their leaders.

In comparing the pretensions or prospects of the

chiefs to be engaged in this quarrel, the preference, in the esteem of both armies, was certainly due to Octavius. To his possession of Spain and the two Gauls, he joined that of Italy, with the metropolis, or seat of the empire. He bore the name of Cæsar, was at the head of that formidable military power, which had broken the force of the republic, *extinguished* the authority of the Senate, and held the property of land in Italy at discretion. By his means, the retainers of the party had obtained the preferable lots in the late distribution of settlements and military rewards.

Lepidus, on the contrary, without any faction attached to his person, and without any high reputation, had been placed in the command of armies by the appointment or sufferance of others. The origin of his merit with Julius Cæsar, which consisted in prostituting the dignity of Prætor to his first usurpations in the city, was an act of baseness. His place from thenceforward, in the military arrangements which ensued, was matter of course, or due merely to his rank, without any regard to abilities or merit. His being admitted as a third in the present division of the sovereignty, proceeded solely from the mutual jealousies of the other two, who wished for a person to witness their transactions, and to hold some species of balance between them. In the choice which they made of Lepidus, not his personal merit, but his want of any pretensions, that could interfere with either in the design which they severally entertained of possessing the empire, was a principal recommendation.

In this comparison, Octavius was conscious of a superiority, in the opinion even of the troops who had been enlisted to serve under the command of his rival. He accordingly thought this a favourable opportunity, while Antony was at a distance, and no enemy existing either in Sicily or Italy, to avail himself of the weakness and incapacity of Lepidus, to strip him of his share in the empire, and to seize upon the province of Africa, and the army now in Sicily, as an accession to his own strength. For this purpose, he employed proper agents in the camp of Lepidus, gained many of his principal officers by presents, and by the expectation of greater rewards. Having much contempt for the character of their leader, and thinking the way sufficiently prepared for an open declaration, he presented himself with a party of horse in the front of their camp, entered as a friend, with a few attendants; and mounting an eminence, from which he might be heard by the crowds that assembled around him, he complained of the steps which had been taken by their general toward a rupture between the two armies, and expressed his sincere desire that all differences might be removed, without engaging in new scenes of blood so many valiant men, who had deserved so well of their leaders.

It appears that numbers of officers and soldiers in the camp of Lepidus were prepared for the part they were to act on this occasion; they applauded the concern which Octavius expressed for the armies, and declared themselves willing to obey his com-

mands. Others, though not in the concert, followed this example, ran to their arms, and hastened to present Octavius with their colours, in token that they received him as their general.

Lepidus, to whom this visit and its consequences were altogether unexpected, being roused by such an indignity, ran forth to the streets of the *camp*, sounded to arms; and, as many of the troops were unapprised of what had passed, or, from mere habit, were disposed to obey his command, without considering who was their enemy, attacked Octavius, obliged him to repass through the gate at which he had entered, and to place himself under cover of the cavalry, who were waiting to receive him, and whose protection was now necessary to reconduct him in safety to his own camp.

In this manner the design to supplant Lepidus, on the point of success, appeared to be frustrated. But the transaction had made too deep an impression to be so slightly removed. The doubts which had been raised, and the choice now to be made of a leader, was generally decided in favour of Cæsar. The effect of this decision accordingly appeared in a great desertion from the army of his rival, either then, or during the subsequent night. The legions, lately come over from the service of Sextus Pompeius, beginning to desert their new leader, Lepidus threw himself, with the usual guards of his person, in the way to stop them. But finding that the very body with which he expected to prevent this desertion joined those who were going over to the enemy,

he mixed entreaties and threats, laid hold of an ensign-staff, and attempted by force to stop the officer, in whose hands it served to conduct a body of men from their station. "*Dead or alive,*" said the bearer, "*you shall quit your hold.*" The cavalry at the same time mounted their horses; but, without leaving their ground, sent a message to Octavius, desiring to know, whether he chose that Lepidus should be secured, or put to death? Having for answer, that Cæsar had no design upon the person of Lepidus, they moved away, without any further notice of their general.

The unfortunate Triumvir, seeing the defection of his army complete, and having no longer any friends or retinue to attend his person, laid aside his imperial robes, and, in the ordinary dress of a citizen, walked towards the camp and the tent of his rival. Multitudes followed him, to gratify their curiosity, in seeing what was to pass in so new a scene. A person who, the moment before, had been at the head of a great army, and reputed a third in the sovereignty of the empire, was now, by the sudden desertion of his own troops, reduced to the condition of a private man, and was to appear as a suppliant before an antagonist whom he had recently set at defiance. To complete the scene of his humiliation, in entering the presence of Octavius, he would have thrown himself on the ground, but was prevented by the courtesy of his rival, who, content to strip him of his command, and of his personal consequence, would not accept this mark of abasement,

and gave him leave to return into Italy, where he continued afterwards to live many years, equally neglected by those against whom he had been made the instrument of injustice or cruelty, as by those who had made him their tool.

END OF VOLUME FOURTH.