and Flamininus (Rizzoli) is to be published by the Classical Press of Wales. Most of his articles on Plutarch were collected in his *Plutarch and History* (Classical Press of Wales and Duckworth, 2002).

PLUTARCH

Fall of the Roman Republic

Revised Edition

Translated with Introduction and Notes by
REX WARNER
Revised with translations of Comparisons and a Preface by
ROBIN SEAGER
With Series Preface by
CHRISTOPHER PELLING

1958 REV. 2005

PENGUIN BOOKS

5
CAESAR

[100[1]–44 BC]

The life of Caesar displays much the same merits and defects as that of Pompey. The intrigues that determined the shifting balance of power at Rome in the sixties and fifties are again neglected, but again Plutarch is admirable on such matters as the consequences of Julia's death, the growth of anarchy at Rome before the Civil War, and the increasing tactlessness shown by Caesar the dictator. In his accounts of Caesar's wars he is naturally heavily dependent on the *Bellum Gallicum*, the *Bellum Civile* and the other works of the Caesarian corpus, but it is to his credit that he also consulted other sources, including some, like Tanusius, hostile to Caesar. The most insidious feature of the work as a whole is the assumption, by no means of course peculiar to Plutarch, that Caesar had planned from the outset of his career to overthrow the republic and seize absolute power. This view has found favour in some countries at certain times, but there is nothing to be said for it. Caesar was always daring and ambitious – his social and financial circumstances were such that he had to be, if he was going to make a career at all. But until 59 his successes, though striking (especially his election as *pontifex maximus*), in no way strained the normal framework of Roman public life. As for his position after 59, it could hardly have come about, whatever his plans, had not Cato and his friends by their short-sighted opposition from 62 on driven Pompey into Caesar's arms. The belief that Caesar thought himself born to rule alone leads Plutarch into repeated exaggerations of his early importance and suppressions of his reliance on the help of others. In the sixties Caesar, like many more, climbed on the Pompeian bandwagon, but Plutarch says

nothing of this. Later his belief in Caesar's monarchical designs makes him oversimplify the conflict between Pompey and Caesar and deters him from any discussion of what Caesar, as dictator, had in mind for the constitution and himself.

1. After Sulla had seized power, he wanted to make Caesar divorce his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, who had previously held the entire government in his hands; but he could not persuade Caesar to do this either by promises or by intimidation, and so he confiscated her dowry.[2] The reason for Caesar's hatred of Sulla was his relationship to Marius. Julia, a sister of Caesar's father, was the wife of the elder Marius and the mother of Marius the Younger, who was therefore Caesar's cousin.[3] At the beginning, when so many people were being killed[4] and there was so much to do, Caesar was overlooked by Sulla; but, instead of being content with this, he presented himself to the people as a candidate for a priesthood,[5] though he was still only a mere boy. Sulla, without openly objecting, took measures to see that he was not elected and discussed the question of whether or not to have him put to death. When some of his advisers said that there was no point in killing a boy like him, Sulla replied that they must be lacking in intelligence if they did not see that in this boy there were many Mariuses.

This remark was reported to Caesar and for some time he went into hiding, wandering from place to place in the Sabine country. In the end he became ill and while he was going from one house to another at night, he fell into the hands of some of Sulla's soldiers who were searching the district and arresting those who were in hiding there. With a bribe of two talents Caesar persuaded their leader, Cornelius, to let him go, and then went immediately to the sea and sailed to King Nicomedes in Bithynia. He stayed for a short time with the king and then on his voyage back was captured near the island of Pharmacusa by some of the pirates who even at that time controlled the seas with their large fleets of ships and innumerable smaller craft.[6]

2. First, when the pirates demanded a ransom of twenty talents, Caesar burst out laughing. They did not know, he said, who it

was that they had captured, and he volunteered to pay fifty. Then, when he had sent his followers to the various cities in order to raise the money and was left with one friend and two servants among these Cilicians, about the most bloodthirsty people in the world, he treated them so highhandedly that, whenever he wanted to sleep, he would send to them and tell them to stop talking. For thirty-eight days, with the greatest unconcern, he joined in all their games and exercises, just as if he was their leader instead of their prisoner. He also wrote poems and speeches which he read aloud to them, and if they failed to admire his work, he would call them to their faces illiterate savages, and would often laughingly threaten to have them all hanged. They were much taken with this and attributed his freedom of speech to a kind of simplicity in his character or boyish playfulness. However, the ransom arrived from Miletus and, as soon as he had paid it and been set free, he immediately manned some ships and set sail from the harbour of Miletus against the pirates. He found them still there, lying at anchor off the island, and he captured nearly all of them. He took their property as spoils of war and put the men themselves into the prison at Pergamum. He then went in person to Junius,[7] the governor of Asia, thinking it proper that he, as praetor in charge of the province, should see to the punishment of the prisoners. Junius, however, cast longing eyes at the money, which came to a considerable sum, and kept saying that he needed time to look into the case. Caesar paid no further attention to him. He went to Pergamum, took the pirates out of prison and crucified the lot of them, just as he had often told them he would do when he was on the island and they imagined that he was joking.

3. By this time Sulla's power was declining[8] and Caesar's friends were urging him to return. First, however, he set sail for Rhodes to study under Apollonius, the son of Molon. Cicero also had been a pupil of Apollonius, who was a famous master of oratory and had the reputation of being a very good man as well. It is said that Caesar's natural ability as a political speaker was of the highest order, and that he took the greatest pains to cultivate

it, so that in this field the second place was indisputably his. He did not aim higher than this, since his main efforts were directed towards becoming the first power in the state and the greatest soldier; and so, because of the campaigns and the political activities by means of which he made himself supreme, he never, as a speaker, reached the full height which nature intended him to reach. And he himself, at a later time, in his reply to Cicero's essay on Cato, begs his readers not to compare the plain style of a soldier with the eloquence of an orator who was not only naturally gifted but had had plenty of time to cultivate his gifts.

4. After he had returned to Rome, he prosecuted Dolabella for maladministration in his province and many of the Greek cities supplied him with evidence.[9] Dolabella was acquitted, but Caesar, in return for the support which he had received from the Greeks, acted as their advocate when they prosecuted Publius Antonius for corrupt practices before Marcus Lucullus, the praetor of Macedonia.[10] His intervention was so effective that Antonius appealed to the tribunes in Rome, claiming that he was not getting a fair trial in Greece with Greeks as his accusers.

In Rome Caesar won a brilliant reputation and great popularity by his eloquence in these trials. He had an ability to make himself liked which was remarkable in one of his age, and he was very much in the good graces of the ordinary citizen because of his easy manners and the friendly way in which he mixed with people. Then there were his dinner parties and entertainments and a certain splendour about his whole way of life; all this made him gradually more and more important politically. At first his enemies thought that this influence of his would soon come to nothing, once he stopped spending money, and they stood aside and watched it grow among the common people. Later, however, when it had become too great for anything to be done about it and was plainly aimed directly at a complete revolution in the state, they realized that it is always wrong to consider that something which begins in a small way cannot rapidly become important if it is left unchecked because of being underrated and so receives the advantage of continuity. Certainly Cicero, who is thought to have been the first to have

seen beneath the surface of Caesar's political programme and to have feared it as one might fear the smiling surface of the sea, and who understood how powerful a character was hidden behind Caesar's agreeable, good-humoured manners, said that, in general, he could detect in everything that Caesar planned or undertook in politics a purpose that was aiming at absolute power. 'On the other hand,' he said, 'when I notice how carefully arranged his hair is and when I watch him scratching his head with one finger, I cannot imagine that this man could conceive of such a wicked thing as to destroy the Roman constitution.' This, however, belongs at a later date.

5. The first proof he had of the people's goodwill towards him was when he stood for the post of military tribune at the same time as Gaius Popilius and came out above him on the list.[11] A second and clearer example of their favour appeared when, after the death of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, he made a brilliant public speech in praise of her in the forum, and was bold enough to display in the funeral procession images of Marius himself.[12] These had not been seen since the time that Sulla came into power, Marius and his friends having been branded as public enemies. On this occasion there were some who shouted out against Caesar for what he had done, but the people shouted them down in no uncertain manner. They welcomed Caesar with loud applause and showed the greatest admiration for him for having, after such a long time, brought back to Rome, as it were from the dead, the honours due to Marius.

It was an ancient Roman tradition to pronounce public speeches at the funerals of elderly women; but it was not the usual thing in the cases of young women, and Caesar was the first to do it, when his own wife died.[13] This also was an action which made him popular. It brought him much sympathy from the people, who regarded him as a tender-hearted man, full of feeling, and liked him for it.

After the funeral of his wife he went out to Spain as quaestor to one of the praetors, called Vetus. He always had the greatest respect for Vetus and gave his son the appointment of quaestor

under him, when he, in his turn, became praetor.[14] When he had completed his service in this post, he married Pompeia as his third wife.[15] (By Cornelia he had a daughter who was afterwards married to Pompey the Great.[16])

He spent money recklessly, and many people thought that he was purchasing a moment's brief fame at an enormous price, whereas in reality he was buying the greatest place in the world at inconsiderable expense. We are told, for instance, that before entering upon public office he was 1300 talents in debt. Then, on being appointed curator of the Appian Way, in addition to the official allowance he spent vast sums of his own money on it. And, when he was aedile,[17] he provided a show of 320 pairs of gladiators fighting in single combat, and what with this and all his other lavish expenditure on theatrical performances, processions and public banquets he threw into the shade all attempts at winning distinction in this way that had been made by previous holders of the office.[18] The result was to make the people so favourably disposed towards him that every man among them was trying to find new offices and new honours to bestow upon him in return for what he had done.

6. There were two parties in Rome – one that of Sulla, which, since his time had been all powerful, the other that of Marius, which was then in a very low state indeed, with its numbers all scattered and scarcely daring to show their heads.[19] It was this party which Caesar wished to revive and make his own; and so, during his aedileship, when these great personal displays of his were at their height, he had images of Marius made in secret and figures of Victory carrying trophies and brought them to the Capitol by night and had them set up there. When the sun rose all these figures could be seen glittering with gold and constructed with the most exquisite craftsmanship; there were inscriptions too commemorating Marius' victories over the Cimbri.[20] And all who saw them were amazed at the daring of the man who had set them up – it was quite obvious who he was. The news soon spread and brought everyone together to see the sight. There were some who shouted out that this revival of honours which by laws and decrees were properly dead and

done with was a sign that Caesar was aiming at securing supreme power in the state for himself; that, after he had previously softened up the people's feelings, he was now making this experiment to see whether, as a result of his lavish personal displays, they had become sufficiently tame to put up with his humour and to allow him to indulge in these innovations. On the other hand, Marius' party took heart and encouraged each other; it was amazing how many of them there were who suddenly showed themselves openly, and they filled the Capitol with the noise of their applause. Many burst into tears of joy at the sight of Marius' features; they praised Caesar to the skies and declared him to be, more than anyone, worthy to be Marius' relation. But when the senate met to discuss the matter, Lutatius Catulus,[21] who at that time was one of the most respected people in Rome, rose up and attacked Caesar. He ended his speech with the memorable words: 'You are no longer working underground, Caesar. Your artillery is planted in the open and it is there for the capture of the state.' Caesar, however, defended himself against these charges and convinced the senate that they were baseless. His admirers then became even more elated and urged him not to climb down for anybody's sake. The people, they said, would be glad to see him triumph over everyone and be the first man in the state.

7. It was at this time too that Metellus,[22] the chief pontiff, died. This priesthood was very much sought after and two of the most distinguished men in Rome with the greatest influence in the senate, Isauricus[23] and Catulus, were candidates for the office. Caesar, however, would not give way to them. He turned to the people and put himself forward as a rival candidate. Since there seemed to be very little in it so far as the feelings of the electors were concerned, Catulus, who, with his greater reputation in the first place was most disturbed at the prospect of this uncertainty, sent to Caesar and tried to bribe him with a large sum of money to stand down and abandon this project for putting himself in the public eye. Caesar replied that he would fight the election to the end, even if he had to borrow more money than Catulus had offered him.

On the day of the election Caesar's mother came with him in tears to the door of their house, and Caesar, after kissing her goodbye, said: 'Today, Mother, you will see your son either as high priest or as an exile.' The contest was a close one, but, when the votes were taken, Caesar came out on top, and this made the senate and the nobles afraid that he would go on to lead the people forward on a course of violent extremism.

This was why Piso[24] and Catulus found fault with Cicero for having spared Caesar when, at the time of Catiline's conspiracy, he had given his enemies a hold over him. Catiline[25] had planned not only to overthrow the constitution but to destroy the whole government and produce a state of complete chaos. He himself had been driven out of the city, this reverse being due to evidence against him of a minor character, before his final plans had come to light; but he left Lentulus and Cethegus behind to organize the conspiracy in his absence. Whether or not Caesar secretly gave these men any help or encouragement we do not know; but after they had been overwhelmingly proved guilty in front of the senate and Cicero, as consul, asked each senator to give his opinion on how they should be punished, all the other senators, until it came to the turn of Caesar, were in favour of the death penalty;[26] but Caesar rose up and, in a long and carefully worded speech, objected to this. He stated that, in his view, except in the case of the most extreme emergency, it was unprecedented and unjust to put to death without trial men of high rank and of famous families; what he recommended was that they should be put into chains and kept under arrest in whatever cities of Italy Cicero himself might select until the war against Catiline had been won; after that the senate, in a time of peace and in an atmosphere of calm, should decide what was best to be done in each individual case.

8. Caesar's views seemed so humane in themselves and the speech with which he backed them up was so powerful that not only did he win the support of subsequent speakers in the debate, but many too of those who had spoken before him took back the opinions which they had expressed previously and came over to his side – until it came round to Cato[27] and to

Catulus, who vigorously opposed him. Cato's very violent speech helped to fix suspicion on Caesar himself and the effect of his attack was that the conspirators were handed over to the executioner, and while Caesar was leaving the senate, many of the young men who at that time were acting as Cicero's bodyguard ran up with drawn swords ready to make an end of him. However, Curio,[28] so it is said, threw his toga round him, and got him away safely; and Cicero himself, when the young men looked at him to see what his wishes were, shook his head – either because he was frightened of the people or because he thought the murder would be entirely unjust and illegal.

As for this story, if it is a true one, I cannot understand why Cicero did not mention it in the book he wrote about his consulship. Certainly, however, he was blamed afterwards for not having made use of this best of all opportunities for getting rid of Caesar and for having shown excessive fear of the people, who were devoted to Caesar. In fact, a few days later, when Caesar attended a meeting of the senate and while attempting to clear himself of the suspicions felt against him met with a most hostile and noisy reception, the people, seeing that the session of the senate was lasting longer than usual, came up in a tumultuous mob and surrounded the senate house, shouting out for Caesar and demanding that he should be let go. This was why Cato, who feared above all things that there might be a revolution starting from the poorer classes who, with their hopes fixed on Caesar, were kindling a fire among the general population, persuaded the senate to give them a monthly ration of grain – which meant an addition to the expenditure of the state of 7½ million drachmas a year.[29] Nevertheless, this was a measure which definitely had the effect of removing the great fear that was felt at the time; it weakened and dispersed Caesar's power just at the right moment. He had been elected praetor for the next year[30] and could have been more formidable still in this office.

9. As it happened there were no disturbances during his praetorship.[31] There was only a somewhat unfortunate affair which concerned his domestic life. Publius Clodius came from a

patrician family and was distinguished both for his wealth and for his powers as an orator; but in his capacity for behaving quite outrageously he surpassed all the most notorious evil livers of his time. This man was in love with Caesar's wife Pompeia, who did not reject his advances. However, the women's part of the house was closely supervised and Caesar's mother, Aurelia,[32] was a person of strict respectability. She never let the young wife out of her sight and so made it difficult and dangerous for the lovers to meet.

The Romans have a goddess whom they call 'the Good Goddess', the same one as the Greeks call 'the Women's Goddess'. The Phrygians claim this goddess as their own and say that she was the mother of King Midas; the Romans say that she was one of the nymphs called Dryads and was married to Faunus; the Greeks say that she is that one of the mothers of Dionysus whose name must not be spoken. And this is why the women, when they are celebrating her festival, cover the tents with branches of vine and, in accordance with the myth, have a sacred snake enthroned at the goddess's side. It is not lawful for a man to be present at the rites nor even to be in the house where they are being celebrated. The women perform the sacred ceremonies by themselves and these ceremonies are said to be very much like those of the Orphics. When the time for the festival comes, the consul or praetor at whose house it is being held goes away, as does every male creature in the household. His wife then takes over the house and arranges the decorations. The most important ceremonies take place by night; the women play together among themselves during the night-long celebrations, and there is much music as well.

10. On this occasion, when Pompeia was in charge of the celebrations, Clodius, who was still beardless and therefore thought that he would escape notice, dressed himself up as a female flute-player and, looking just like a young woman, arrived at the house. He found the door open and was brought inside quite safely by the maid on duty who was in the secret. The maid then ran off to tell Pompeia; time passed and Clodius lacked the patience to stay where he had been left. He began to

wander about the house, which was a very large one, trying to avoid the lights, and was accosted by one of Aurelia's servants who, as one woman to another, asked him to come and play with her. When Clodius said 'no', she dragged him forward and asked him who he was and where he came from. Clodius said that he was waiting for Pompeia's girl, Abra (the name of the maid who had introduced him), but his voice gave him away. Aurelia's servant shrieked and ran off to where the lights and the crowd were, crying out that she had caught a man. The women were in a panic. Aurelia put a stop to the sacred rites of the goddess and covered up the holy things. She then ordered the doors to be shut and went all over the house with lighted torches in search of Clodius. He was found hiding in the room belonging to the maid who had let him into the house and, when it was discovered who he was, the women drove him out of doors. They then went away immediately while it was still night and told their husbands what had happened. As soon as it was day then word was going about the city that Clodius had committed sacrilege and owed satisfaction not only to those who had been outraged by his conduct but also to the city and to the gods. One of the tribunes,[33] therefore, officially indicted Clodius for sacrilege and the most influential members of the senate banded themselves together against him. They gave evidence of a number of shocking crimes which he had committed, among which was adultery with his sister, who was the wife of Lucullus.[34] The people, however, set themselves against this party of the nobility and their defence of Clodius was very useful to him so far as the jury were concerned, who took alarm and were terrified of the numbers of his supporters. Caesar divorced Pompeia at once, but when he was called as a witness at the trial, he said that he knew nothing about the charges against Clodius. This seemed a most surprising thing to say and the prosecuting counsel asked: 'In that case, why did you divorce your wife?' 'Because,' said Caesar, 'I considered that my wife ought not to be even suspected.' Some say that in giving this evidence Caesar really meant what he said; according to others he was acting in order to please the people, who were determined to save Clodius. At any rate Clodius was acquitted

of the charge. Most of the jurymen handed in their votes in illegible writing so that they might avoid the risks both of violence from the people, if they condemned him, and of contempt from the nobility, if they acquitted him.

11. Directly after his praetorship Caesar received Spain as his province.[35] However, he found it very difficult to arrange matters with his creditors who tried to prevent him leaving the city and were extremely importunate. He therefore turned for help to Crassus, who was the richest man in Rome and who needed Caesar's vigour and fire for carrying out his own political campaign against Pompey. Crassus met the demands of those creditors who were most difficult to deal with and would not be put off any longer, and gave his personal guarantee for 830 talents. So Caesar was able to set out for his province.

There is a story that while he was crossing the Alps he came to a small native village with hardly any inhabitants and altogether a miserable-looking place. His friends were laughing and joking about it, saying: 'No doubt here too one would find people pushing themselves forward to gain office, and here too there are struggles to get the first place and jealous rivalries among the great men.' Caesar then said to them in all seriousness: 'As far as I am concerned, I would rather be the first man here than the second in Rome.'

It is also said that at another time when he was in Spain and had some leisure, he was reading some part of the history of Alexander and, after sitting for a long time lost in his own thoughts, burst into tears. His friends were surprised and asked him the reason. 'Don't you think,' he said, 'that I have something worth being sorry about, when I reflect that at my age Alexander was already king over so many peoples, while I have never yet achieved anything really remarkable?'

12. Certainly, as soon as he reached Spain he set to work immediately. In a few days he raised ten cohorts in addition to the force of twenty cohorts which was there already. He then marched against the Callaici and the Lusitani and, after conquering them, went on as far as the outer sea, subduing the

tribes which before then had been independent of Rome. These military successes of his were followed up by equally good work in civilian administration. He established good relations between the various cities. One of his most notable achievements was to solve the problem of the existing ill-feeling between debtors and creditors. He ordered that the creditor should take two-thirds annually of the debtor's income, and that the owner of the property should retain the use of the rest and so go on in this way until the whole debt was paid off. By these measures he had acquired a great reputation by the time he left his province. He had become rich himself and he had made his soldiers rich as a result of his campaigns, and he had been saluted by them as 'Imperator'.

13. The law was that those who desired the honour of a triumph had to wait outside the city, while candidates for the consulship had to be present in the city in person. Caesar, who arrived at Rome just at the time of the consular elections,[36] was therefore in a dilemma and sent to the senate asking permission for his name to be put forward for the consulship by his friends, while he himself remained outside the city.[37] Cato, however, first opposed the request by insisting that it was illegal, and then, when he saw that many senators had been won over by Caesar's attentions, managed to get a vote on the matter put off by wasting time and speaking for the entire day. Caesar then decided to forgo the triumph and to try for the consulship. He entered the city and immediately adopted a policy which deceived everyone except Cato. This was to effect a reconciliation between Pompey and Crassus, the two most powerful people in Rome. Caesar brought these men together, making them friends instead of enemies, and used their united power for the strengthening of himself. So before anyone was aware of it, he had, by an action which could be called a simple piece of kindness, succeeded in producing what was in effect a revolution. For the cause of the civil wars was not, as most people think, the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey; it was rather their friendship, since in the first place they worked together to destroy the power of the aristocracy and only when

this had been accomplished quarrelled amongst themselves. Cato often prophesied what would happen and at the time was considered merely bad-tempered and interfering; afterwards, however, he was thought to have been a wise counsellor, though an unsuccessful one.

14. So Caesar, armed and supported by the friendship of Pompey and Crassus, pressed on towards the consulship and, with Calpurnius Bibulus,[38] was triumphantly elected. As soon as he entered upon his office he proposed various measures for the allotment and redistribution of land – measures that would have come better from some revolutionary tribune of the people than from a consul.[39] He encountered stiff opposition from all the most respectable elements in the senate. This was just the excuse that he had long been looking for. He vigorously protested that it was against his will that he was being driven to put matters before the Assembly of the People, but that the senate's high-handed and stubborn behaviour left him no other course than to devote himself to the people's interest. He then hurried out of the senate and stood up to speak before the People's Assembly, with Crassus on one side of him and Pompey on the other. He asked them whether they approved of his laws and, when they said that they did, he called upon them to give him their help and to defend him against those who were threatening to resist him with their swords. This they promised to do, and Pompey actually added that, if it was a question of swords, he could produce a sword and a shield as well. The nobility were deeply offended by this mad and boyishly impulsive remark of Pompey's – so unworthy of his own dignity and so lacking in the respect properly due to the senate; the people, however, were delighted with it.

Caesar went on to gain a still firmer hold over Pompey's power and influence. He had a daughter, Julia, who was engaged to Servilius Caepio,[40] and he now engaged her to Pompey, saying that he would arrange that Servilius could marry Pompey's daughter – though she too was engaged already, having been promised to Faustus, the son of Sulla. And shortly afterwards Caesar married Calpurnia, a daughter of

Piso,[41] and got Piso elected as consul for the following year. At this Cato violently protested and exclaimed that it was an intolerable state of affairs to have the government prostituted by marriage alliances and to see men pushing each other forward to high positions and the commands of provinces and armies by the means of women.

As for Caesar's colleague Bibulus, so far from having any success in his efforts to obstruct Caesar's legislation, he, and Cato with him, was often in danger of being killed in the forum. So he shut himself up in his house and stayed there for the rest of his term of office. And Pompey, directly after his marriage, filled the forum with armed men and helped the people to pass Caesar's laws and to give him, as his consular province to be held for five years, Gaul on both sides of the Alps, together with Illyricum and an army of four legions.[42] Cato attempted to speak against these proposals, but Caesar had him led off to prison. He imagined that Cato would appeal to the tribunes, but he walked on his way without saying a word and when Caesar saw that not only were the nobility displeased but the people too, out of respect for Cato's good qualities, were following him in silence and with downcast eyes, he himself privately asked one of the tribunes to get him released.

Out of the whole number of senators, only a very few used to attend the meetings presided over by Caesar; the rest showed their hatred of his proceedings by staying away. There was a very old senator called Considius who told Caesar that his colleagues did not come to these meetings because they were afraid of his armed soldiers. 'Then why,' said Caesar, 'aren't you equally afraid and why don't you stay at home?' 'Because,' said Considius, 'old age has deprived me of fear. I do not have to give much consideration to the little amount of life that is left to me.'

But the most disgraceful political action of the time was considered to be the election to the tribuneship, during Caesar's consulship, of Clodius – the man who had attempted to seduce his wife and who had broken in on the secret nocturnal ceremonies. Clodius was elected in order that he might dispose of Cicero; and Caesar did not set out on his campaign until, with

the help of Clodius, he had raised a party against Cicero and driven him out of Italy.[43]

15. So much for the accounts of Caesar's career before his Gallic campaigns. After this he seems, as it were, to have made a new start and to have entered upon a different way of life and of achievement. And the period of the wars which he now fought and of the campaigns by which he subjugated Gaul proved him to be as good a soldier and a commander as any of those who have been most admired for their leadership and shown themselves to be the greatest generals. In fact, if we compare him with such men as Fabius and Scipio and Metellus,[44] or with those who were either his contemporaries or lived a little before his time, such as Sulla, Marius, the two Luculli, or even with Pompey himself, whose fame for every kind of military excellence was, at this period, in full flower and reaching up to the skies, we shall find that Caesar's achievements surpass them all. He may be considered superior to one because of the difficulty of the country in which he fought; to another because of the extent of his conquests; to another because of the numbers and strength of the enemy forces which he defeated; to another because of the savage treacherous character of the tribes whose goodwill he won; to another because of the reasonable and considerate way in which he treated prisoners; to another because of the gifts he gave to his soldiers and his acts of kindness to them; and he surpassed them all in the fact that he fought more battles than any of them and killed greater numbers of the enemy. For, though his campaigns in Gaul did not last for as much as ten complete years, in this time he took by storm more than 800 cities, subdued 300 nations, and fought pitched battles at various times with 3 million men, of whom he destroyed one million in the actual fighting and took another million prisoners.

16. His ability to secure the affection of his men and to get the best out of them was remarkable. Soldiers who in other campaigns had not shown themselves to be any better than the average became irresistible and invincible and ready to confront

any danger, once it was a question of fighting for Caesar's honour and glory. There are many examples of this: Acilius,[45] for instance, who in the naval battle off Marseilles boarded an enemy ship and had his right hand cut off with a sword, but still kept hold of his shield with the other hand and struck his enemies in the face with it till he drove them all back and got possession of the ship. Then there was Cassius Scaeva[46] who, in the battle of Dyrrhachium, had one eye shot out with an arrow, his shoulder transfixed with one javelin and his thigh with another; he had received on his shield 130 darts and javelins and then called out to the enemy as though he intended to surrender. When two of them came up to him, he cut off the shoulder of one of them with his sword, struck the other one in the face and forced him to run away, and got off safely himself with the help of his comrades. Then there was the occasion in Britain when some of the leading centurions had got themselves into a marshy place with water all round and were being set upon by the enemy. An ordinary soldier, while Caesar himself was watching the fighting, rushed into the thick of it and, after showing the utmost daring and gallantry, drove the natives off and rescued the centurions. Finally, with great difficulty, he made his own way back after all the rest, plunged into the muddy stream, and, without his shield, sometimes swimming and sometimes wading, just managed to get across. Caesar and those with him were full of admiration for the man and shouted out to him in joy as they came to meet him; but the soldier was thoroughly dejected and, with tears in his eyes, fell at Caesar's feet, and asked to be forgiven for having let go of his shield. Then, too, in Africa, Scipio[47] captured one of Caesar's ships in which Granius Petro,[48] who had been appointed quaestor, was sailing. Scipio gave the other passengers over to his soldiers as booty but told the quaestor that he would spare his life. Granius, however, said that with Caesar's soldiers the custom was to give, not to receive, mercy, and so plunged his sword into his body and killed himself.

17. It was Caesar himself who inspired and cultivated this spirit, this passion for distinction among his men. He did it in the first

place because he made it clear, by the ungrudging way in which he would distribute rewards and honours, that he was not amassing a great fortune from his wars in order to spend it on his personal pleasures or on any life of self-indulgence; instead he was keeping it, as it were, in trust, a fund open to all for the reward of valour, and his own share in all this wealth was no greater than what he bestowed on his soldiers who deserved it. And secondly, he showed that there was no danger which he was not willing to face, no form of hard work from which he excused himself. So far as his fondness for taking risks went, his men, who knew his passion for distinction, were not surprised at it; but they were amazed at the way in which he would undergo hardships which were, it seemed, beyond his physical strength to endure. For he was a slightly built man, had a soft and white skin, suffered from headaches and was subject to epileptic fits. (His first epileptic attack took place, it is said, in Corduba.) Yet so far from making his poor health an excuse for living an easy life, he used warfare as a tonic for his health. By long hard journeys, simple diet, sleeping night after night in the open and rough living he fought off his illness and made his body strong enough to resist all attacks. As a matter of fact, most of the sleep he got was in chariots or in litters: rest, for him, was something to be used for action; and in the daytime he would be carried round to the garrisons and cities and camps and have sitting with him one slave who was trained to write from dictation as he went along, and behind him a soldier standing with a sword. He travelled very fast. For instance on his first journey from Rome, he reached the Rhône in seven days.

He had been an expert rider from boyhood. He had trained himself to put his hands behind his back and then, keeping them tightly clasped, to put his horse to its full gallop. And in the Gallic campaigns he got himself into the habit of dictating letters on horseback, keeping two secretaries busy at once, or even more, according to Oppius.[49] It is said too that Caesar was the first to arrange for what amounted to conversations with his friends by letters, when, owing to the numbers of things he had to do or because of the very size of the city, he could not

spare the time to see them personally on matters that required a quick decision.

He was not in the least fussy about his food, as is shown by the following story. When Valerius Leo was entertaining him to dinner at Milan, he served up asparagus dressed with myrrh instead of with olive oil. Caesar ate this quite calmly himself and reprimanded his friends when they objected to the dish. 'If you didn't like it,' he said, 'there was no need to have eaten it. But if one reflects on one's host's lack of breeding it merely shows that one is ill-bred oneself.' There was also an occasion when he was forced to take refuge from a storm in a poor man's hut. When he found that this consisted of only one room, and even this room was scarcely big enough to accommodate one person, he said to his friends that honours should go to the strongest, but necessities should go to the weakest, and so he told Oppius to lie down there, while he himself and the others slept under the projecting roof of the doorway.

18. His first war in Gaul was against the Helvetii and Tigurini.[50] These tribes had set fire to their 12 cities and 400 villages and were pushing forward into the Roman part of Gaul, just as the Cimbri and Teutones had done in the past.[51] They were considered to be just as brave as those former invaders and just as numerous. There were 300,000 of them in all, of whom 190,000 were fighting men. The Tigurini were crushed at the River Arar, not by Caesar himself, but by Labienus,[52] acting under Caesar's instructions. Then the Helvetii unexpectedly attacked Caesar on the march, while he was leading his army towards a friendly city. He succeeded, however, in falling back on to a strong position where he brought his men together and drew them up in order of battle. When a horse was brought to him he said: 'After I have won the battle, this horse will come in useful for the pursuit. But now, let us get at the enemy.' And so he led the charge on foot. There was a long and hard struggle before he pushed back the enemy's line, but the hardest work of all was at their rampart of wagons. Here not only did the men themselves stand firm and fight, but their wives and children too joined in the resistance and, fighting to the death, were cut

down with the men. It was midnight before the battle was over. Caesar crowned this great victory by an act more noble still. This was his settlement of the natives, more than 100,000 of them, who had survived the battle, and whom he compelled to go back again to the land which they had left and to the cities which they had destroyed. His reason for doing this was because he feared that, if the land were left unoccupied, the Germans would cross the Rhine and take it for themselves.

19. His second war was fought directly in the interests of the Gauls.[53] It was against the Germans, although previously, in Rome, Caesar had made the German King Ariovistus an ally.[54] However, the Germans were quite intolerable neighbours to the tribes under Caesar's control. It appeared certain that, once they got the chance, they would not remain content with what they had, but would spread over the frontiers and occupy Gaul. Caesar saw that his officers were frightened of the Germans – particularly those young men of good families who had come out with him under the impression that a campaign under his leadership would mean easy living and easy money.[55] So he called them to a meeting and told them to go back to Rome; they must not run any undue risks, he suggested, in their present cowardly and soft state of mind; he himself proposed to take just the tenth legion with him and to march against the barbarians; he did not expect to find the enemy any stronger than the Cimbri had been, and he would not be found a worse general than Marius. As a result of this the tenth legion sent a deputation to him to thank him for his words, and the men of the other legions were furious with their own commanders. The whole army was now willing and eager for action and they followed Caesar on a march lasting for many days. Finally they camped within twenty miles or so of the enemy.

The very fact that they had approached so near had had a damaging effect on the morale of Ariovistus. He had never imagined that Romans would attack Germans; in fact he thought it unlikely that they would put up a resistance when the Germans attacked. So he was now amazed at Caesar's daring, and at the same time he noticed a lack of confidence in

his own men. The German spirit was still more discouraged by the prophecies made by their holy women, who used to foretell the future by observing the eddies in the rivers, and by finding signs in the whirling and in the noise of the water. These women warned them not to fight a battle until the appearance of the new moon.

Caesar learned of these prophecies and saw that the Germans were making no move against him. He decided that it would be a good thing to engage them while they were in this disheartened state rather than to sit still and wait until the time suited them. So, by making attacks on their entrenchments and on the hills where they were encamped, he stung them into action and induced them to come down from the hills in a fury to fight the matter out. The result was a brilliant victory for Caesar. He pursued the enemy for forty miles, as far as the Rhine, and filled the whole of the plain with the bodies of the dead and their spoils. Ariovistus, with a few followers, succeeded in getting across the Rhine. The number of killed is said to have been 80,000.

20. After this action Caesar left his army among the Sequani to spend the winter.[56] He himself wished to attend to affairs in Rome and so came south to the part of Gaul along the Po which was part of his province. (The river called the Rubicon is the boundary between Cisalpine Gaul and the rest of Italy.) Here he fixed his quarters and employed his time in political intrigues. Many people came to see him and he gave each one what he wanted; everyone left him with something in hand for the present and with hopes for more in the future. So, during all the rest of the time of his campaigns in Gaul, he was, quite unobserved by Pompey, doing first one, then the other of two things – conquering the enemy by the force of Roman arms, and subduing the Romans and making them his own by means of the money which he had got from the enemy.

But when he heard that the Belgae (who were the most powerful of the Gauls, occupying a third of the whole country) had revolted and got together enormous numbers of armed men, he turned back at once and marched as quickly as possible

to the scene of action.[57] He fell upon the enemy as they were engaged in plundering the Gauls who were in alliance with him and, meeting with only a feeble resistance, routed the largest and most closely organized of their armies. The destruction was such that lakes and deep rivers were filled up with dead bodies and became passable to the Romans. Of the tribes who had revolted, all those who lived by the Ocean submitted without any fighting at all. Caesar then marched against the Nervii,[58] the most savage and the most warlike people in these parts. They lived in thickly wooded country and, after they had put their families and possessions in some place out of the way in the depths of the forest, they suddenly fell upon Caesar with a force of 60,000 men at a time when he was fortifying a camp and had no idea that the battle was impending. They routed Caesar's cavalry, surrounded the seventh and twelfth legions, and killed all their centurions. In all probability the Romans would have been destroyed to the last man if Caesar himself had not snatched up a shield, forced his way through to the front of the fighting, and hurled himself on the natives; and if the tenth legion, seeing his danger, had not charged down from the high ground and cut their way through the enemy's ranks. As it was, Caesar's personal daring had its effect; in the fighting his men went, as the saying is, beyond themselves – though even then they never made the Nervii turn and run, but cut them down fighting on to the end. Out of 60,000 only 500 are said to have survived the battle, and out of their governing body of 400 only 3 remained alive.

21. At the news of these victories the senate in Rome decreed sacrifices to the gods and public holidays and festivals to last for fifteen days – a longer period than had ever before been devoted to the celebrations of any victory.[59] The state had been, it was felt, in great danger, with so many nations breaking out into revolt at once, and the affection felt for Caesar by the Roman people made the victory all the more glorious because it was his.

Caesar himself, once he had settled matters in Gaul, again spent the winter[60] by the Po and occupied himself with looking

after his interests in Rome. Candidates for office came to get his backing and after bribing the people with the money which he gave them, won their elections and went on to do everything likely to increase his power. Not only this, but there came to meet him at Luca most of the men of highest rank and greatest influence in Rome, including Pompey, Crassus, Appius the governor of Sardinia and Nepos the proconsul of Spain.[61] There were actually 120 lictors in the place and more than 200 members of the senate. The conversations which they held here resulted in the following arrangements: Pompey and Crassus were to be made consuls for the next year;[62] Caesar was to have money voted to him and to have his command renewed for another period of five years. To all right-thinking people it seemed a fantastic thing that those who were getting so much from Caesar should be urging the senate to give him money, as though he had none. Though 'urge' is not the right word. It was rather a question of compulsion, and the senate groaned at the decrees for which it voted. Cato was not there. They had purposely got him out of the way by sending him on a mission to Cyprus.[63] Favonius,[64] however, who was a devoted follower of Cato, finding that normal methods of opposition were being quite ineffectual, came running out into the streets and with loud shouts tried to get the people to listen to his objections. No one paid him any attention. Some were overawed by Pompey and Crassus, and nearly everyone wanted to please Caesar. So they did nothing, living in hopes of future kindnesses from him.

22. Caesar then went back again to his forces in Gaul and found the country involved in a serious war.[65] Two great German nations, the Usipes and the Tenteritae, were aiming at taking land for themselves and had just crossed the Rhine. With regard to the battle fought against these tribes Caesar's own account, given in his 'Commentaries', is as follows: the natives had sent ambassadors to negotiate with him and then, during the period of truce, had attacked him on the march, with the result that with their 800 cavalry they routed his own force of 5,000 cavalry, who were taken off their guard; that afterwards

they sent another deputation to him to deceive him for the second time, but he had kept the deputation under arrest and, taking the view that it was sheer simplemindedness to keep faith with people who had shown that they could not be relied upon themselves to keep a treaty, he had led his army against the natives. Tanusius,[66] however, says that, when the senate voted holidays and sacrifices to celebrate this victory, Cato declared that in his opinion Caesar ought to be surrendered to the natives; so, he said, they would clear Rome of the guilt of breaking a truce and would bring the curse which must follow such an action home to the man who was responsible for it.

Of those who had crossed the Rhine into Gaul, 400,000 men were cut to pieces. The few who managed to get back again found refuge with the German tribe called the Sugambri. This gave Caesar a pretext for invading Germany, and he was in any case anxious to win the fame of being the first man in history to cross the Rhine with an army. So he began to bridge the river, wide as it was, and, at this particular point of its course, very swollen and rough and swift-flowing. Trunks of trees and other timber were swept down the stream and kept battering and tearing away at the supports of the bridge; but Caesar intercepted these by driving great piles of wood into the river bed to form a screen across the channel; so he bridled and yoked the rushing river and in ten days the bridge stood there finished – something that had to be seen to be believed.

23. Next he brought his army across the river. No one dared to offer any opposition. Indeed even the Suevi, the leading nation in Germany, took themselves and their belongings out of the way and hid in deep wooded valleys. Caesar burned and ravaged the country that belonged to hostile tribes, encouraged those who had remained constantly on good terms with Rome, and then, after having spent eighteen days in Germany, retired again to Gaul.

But his expedition against Britain[67] was peculiarly remarkable for its daring. He was the first to bring a navy into the Western Ocean and to sail through the Atlantic Sea with an

army to make war. The reported size of the island had appeared incredible and it had become a great matter of controversy among writers and scholars, many of whom asserted that the place did not exist at all and that both its name and the reports about it were pure inventions. So, in his attempts to occupy it, Caesar was carrying the Roman empire beyond the limits of the known world. He twice crossed to the island from the coast of Gaul opposite and fought a number of battles in which he did more harm to the enemy than good to his own men; the inhabitants were so poor and wretched that there was nothing worth taking from them. With the final result of the war he was not himself wholly satisfied; nevertheless, before he sailed away from the island, he had taken hostages from the king and had imposed a tribute.

In Gaul he found letters from his friends in Rome which were just going to be sent across to him. They informed him of the death of his daughter; she had died in childbirth at Pompey's house.[68] Both Pompey himself and Caesar were greatly distressed at this, and their friends were disturbed too, since it seemed to them that the bond of relationship was now broken which had preserved peace and concord in a state which was, apart from this bond, falling to pieces. And the baby died too, only surviving its mother for a few days. As for Julia herself, the people took up her body and, in spite of opposition from the tribunes, carried it to the Field of Mars, where the funeral was held and where she lies buried.

24. Caesar's forces were now so large that he was forced to quarter them in many different areas for the winter. He himself, as was his usual plan, went back in the direction of Italy. It was at this moment that once again the whole of Gaul broke out into revolt.[69] Great armies were raised and went about trying to destroy the winter quarters of the Romans and attacking their fortified camps. The largest and strongest rebel army, under Abriorix, wiped out the whole army of Cotta and Titurius,[70] together with its commanders, and then, with a force of 60,000 men, surrounded and besieged the legion commanded by Cicero.[71] Cicero's camp was very nearly taken by storm, and

every man in it was wounded in the course of a most gallant defence against what seemed to be impossible odds.

Caesar was far on his way when he heard the news of what had happened. He turned back at once, got together 7,000 men in all and hurried to the relief of Cicero. The besiegers, however, got to know of his approach and, feeling nothing but contempt for his small force, came out to meet him and to destroy him. Caesar deceived them by constantly avoiding battle and, when he had found a suitable position for one who was fighting with a small force against superior numbers, he began to fortify a camp. He kept his soldiers from making any attacks on the enemy, and made them act as though they were afraid, building up the ramparts and barricading the gates. This strategy had the effect of making the enemy despise him all the more, until the time came when their confidence led them to make a disorderly attack on the camp. Caesar then led his men out, and routed the enemy, killing great numbers of them.

25. This victory led to the collapse of the many revolts that had started in this part of Gaul; and at the same time Caesar himself, during the winter, was going everywhere and taking strict precautions against any kind of revolutionary activity. Three legions had come to him from Italy to replace the men who had been lost. Two of these had been under the command of Pompey, who now lent them to Caesar, and the other one had been recently recruited from the part of Gaul around the Po.

Nevertheless, in the remoter districts there now began to appear the first signs of the greatest and most dangerous of all Caesar's wars in Gaul. The seeds of this war had for a long time been sown in secret and had been tended by the most powerful men among the chief military nations of the country; and now the movement had gained strength; large bodies of young men had assembled in arms from all parts of Gaul; great sums of money had been brought together into one place; there were strong cities involved in the revolt and areas of country which were very difficult to invade. It was also winter, and at this time of the year the rivers were frozen, the forests were covered in

snow, and the plains had been converted into lakes by the torrents from the hills, so that in some parts the tracks had been obliterated by the deep snow and in others, because of the floodwater from streams and marshes, it was impossible to be sure of whether a march was practicable or not. All these difficulties made it seem impossible for Caesar to deal with the rebellion.[72] There were many tribes in revolt, the leading ones being the Arverni and the Carnuntini. Vergentorix had been chosen as supreme commander for the war. His father had been put to death by the Gauls because they thought he was aiming at making himself an absolute ruler.

26. He had divided his total force into a number of divisions, appointed commanders for each of them and was winning over to his side the whole country round about as far as the watershed of the Arar. He knew that there was now a party working against Caesar in Rome and his plan was to seize this opportunity and bring all Gaul into the war. And in fact, if he had done this a little later, when Caesar was involved in the civil war, Italy would have been in the same state of panic as it was in the days of the Cimbri. However, things happened differently. Caesar, who more than any man was gifted with the power of making the right use of every factor in warfare and particularly of seizing the right moment for action, set out immediately he received the news of the revolt and marched back over the same roads by which he had come. The very vigour and speed of his march in such wintry conditions was a sufficient advertisement to the natives that an unconquered and unconquerable army was bearing down upon them. It had seemed incredible that for a long time even one of his messengers or letter-carriers could have got through; yet here he was himself with his entire army, ravaging their land, reducing fortresses, subduing cities and receiving the allegiance of those who came over to his side. This was the situation until even the nation of the Aedui came into the war against him. Up to this time the Aedui had called themselves the brothers of the Romans[73] and had been treated with particular distinction; the fact that they now joined the rebels caused the greatest discouragement in Caesar's army.

Because of this Caesar moved into another area. He crossed through the territory of the Lingones with the idea of reaching the Sequani, who were a friendly tribe and stood like a barrier between Italy and the rest of Gaul. It was here the enemy fell upon him, after surrounding him with tens of thousands of men. Caesar was willing enough to engage them and, after a long time and much slaughter, he overpowered the natives and gained what amounted to a complete victory. At the beginning, however, he seems to have suffered a reverse, and the Arverni still show a short sword hanging up in a temple and claim that it was taken from Caesar. Caesar himself saw this sword later, and smiled, and when his friends urged him to have it taken down, he would not allow it, because he considered it as consecrated.

27. Most of those who escaped from the battle took refuge with their king in the city of Alesia. The place was regarded as impregnable because of the size and strength of the walls and the great numbers of its defenders. Caesar besieged it, however, and, while doing so, was threatened from outside by a quite indescribable danger. Three hundred thousand men, the best fighting troops from every nation in Gaul, assembled together and marched to the relief of Alesia. In the city there were not less than 170,000 fighting men. Caesar now found himself caught between two enormous forces; he was himself besieged and was compelled to build two systems of fortification, one facing the city and one facing the relieving army, since he knew well that, if the two forces should combine, everything would be over with him.

There are many reasons why Caesar's peril at Alesia became justly famous. It affords more examples of his daring and skill than any other struggle in which he was engaged. But perhaps the most remarkable thing of all was that, when he joined battle with and defeated the enormous army outside the city, not only the inhabitants of the city itself but even the Romans who were guarding the interior line of fortifications were unaware of what was going on. The first they knew of the victory was when they heard from Alesia the cries of the men and the lamentations of

the women, who could see from there the Romans in the further lines carrying into their camp great numbers of shields decorated with gold and silver, breastplates stained with blood, drinking cups and tents made in the Gallic fashion. So quickly did this huge army melt away and vanish, like a ghost or a dream, most of them being killed on the spot.

More trouble remained both for Caesar and for the defenders of Alesia, but in the end they were forced to surrender. Vergentorix, the supreme leader in the whole war, put on his most beautiful armour, had his horse carefully groomed and rode out through the gates. Caesar was sitting down and Vergentorix, after riding round him in a circle, leaped down from his horse, stripped off his armour and sat at Caesar's feet silent and motionless until he was taken away under arrest, a prisoner reserved for the triumph.

28. Caesar had long ago decided that Pompey must be removed from his position of power; and Pompey, for that matter, had come to just the same decision about Caesar. Crassus, who had been watching their struggle, ready to take on the winner himself, had been killed in Parthia;[74] so that now the field was clear. The man who wanted to be on top had to get rid of the one who at present held that position: the man who was for the moment on top had, if he wished to stay there, to get rid of the man he feared before it was too late. It was only recently that Pompey had come to fear Caesar. Up till this time he had despised him. It was through his influence, he thought, that Caesar had grown great, and it would be just as easy to put him down as it had been to raise him up. But Caesar's plan had been laid down from the very beginning. Like an athlete he had, as it were, withdrawn himself from the ring and, in the Gallic wars, had undergone a course of training. In these wars he had brought his army into perfect condition and had won such fame for himself that he had now reached a height where his own achievements could challenge comparison with the past successes of Pompey. He made use too of every argument and circumstance that was to his advantage. Some of these were given to him by Pompey himself, some by the general state of

affairs and by the collapse of good government in Rome. Here things had gone so far that candidates for office quite shamelessly bribed the electorate, actually counting out the money in public, and the people who had received the bribes went down to the forum not so much to vote for their benefactors as to fight for them with bows and arrows and swords and slings. Often, before an election was over, the place where it had been held was stained with blood and defiled with dead bodies, and the city was left with no government at all, like a ship adrift with no one to steer her. The result was that intelligent people could only be thankful if, after such a mad and stormy period, things ended in nothing worse than a monarchy. In fact there were many people who actually ventured to declare in public that there was now no other possible remedy for the disease of the state except government by one man, that this remedy was available from the gentlest of physicians (meaning Pompey) and ought to be taken. As for Pompey, so far as words went he put on a show of declining the honour, but in fact did more than anyone else to get himself made dictator. Cato was able to grasp the situation and persuaded the senate to appoint Pompey as sole consul, hoping that he would be satisfied with this more legal form of monarchy and not grasp the dictatorship by force.[75] At the same time the senate voted that his period of government over his provinces should be prolonged.[76] He had two provinces – Spain and all Africa. These were governed by officers appointed by him and he maintained armies in both provinces for which he received 1,000 talents a year from the treasury.

29. Caesar now sent to Rome asking to be allowed to stand for a consulship and to have his own provincial commands prolonged also. At first Pompey himself did not declare himself either way; but Marcellus and Lentulus[77] opposed Caesar's requests. They had always hated Caesar and they now used every means, fair or foul, to dishonour and discredit him. For instance, they took away the rights of Roman citizenship from the people of Novum Comum, which was a colony recently established by Caesar in Gaul,[78] and Marcellus, during his

consulship, had a senator from Novum Comum who had come to Rome beaten with rods. 'I am putting these marks on you,' he said, 'to prove that you are not a Roman. Now go away and show them to Caesar.'

However, by the time that the consulship of Marcellus was over Caesar was already in a most lavish way making available to public figures in Rome the wealth which he had won in Gaul. He paid the enormous debts of the tribune Curio; and he gave the consul Paulus[79] 1,500 talents with which he added to the beauty of the forum by building the famous Basilica which was erected in place of the one known as 'the Fulvia'. Pompey now became alarmed at the party which was forming and came into the open. Both he and his friends began to work for having Caesar replaced by a successor in his provincial command, and he sent to him to ask for the return of the troops whom he had lent to him for the war in Gaul.[80] Caesar sent the soldiers back, after giving each man a present of 250 drachmas. The officers who brought these troops back to Pompey publicly spread rumours about Caesar which were in themselves neither likely nor true, but which had the effect of warping Pompey's judgement and filling him with false hopes. It was Pompey, according to these officers, who was really the idol of Caesar's army, and while Pompey, because of the festering disease of envy in Roman politics, was having some difficulty in controlling things in Rome, the army in Gaul was there, ready for him to use, and, if it once crossed over into Italy, would immediately come over to him, so unpopular had Caesar become because of his innumerable campaigns and so greatly was he suspected of planning to seize supreme power for himself. All this fed Pompey's vanity. On the assumption that he had nothing to fear, he took no measures for the raising of troops, and imagined that he was winning the war against Caesar by speeches and by resolutions of the senate, though in fact all these resolutions meant nothing to Caesar at all. It is said that one of Caesar's centurions, who had been sent by him to Rome, was standing outside the senate house and, when he was told that the senate would not give Caesar an extension of his command,

he clapped his hand on the hilt of his sword and said: 'This will give it to him all right.'

30. Yet the demands made by Caesar certainly looked fair enough. What he suggested was that he should lay down his arms and that Pompey should do the same thing; they should then both, as ordinary private individuals, see what favour they could find from their fellow citizens. He argued that those who wanted him to be disarmed while Pompey's own forces were strengthened were simply confirming one man in the tyranny which they accused the other one of aiming at.

When Curio, on Caesar's behalf, put these proposals before the people, he was loudly applauded. Indeed some people actually loaded him with garlands of flowers as though he were some victorious athlete. Antony,[81] too, who was a tribune, produced in front of the people a letter which he had received from Caesar on these points and, in spite of the consuls'[82] efforts to suppress it, read it aloud. In the senate, however, Pompey's father-in-law, Scipio,[83] proposed a motion that Caesar should be declared a public enemy if he had not laid down his arms before a certain date. And when the consuls put the question, first, whether Pompey should disband his troops, and then whether Caesar should, only a very few senators voted for the first proposal and nearly everyone voted for the second. But when Antony once more demanded that both should lay down their commands, the senate welcomed this proposal unanimously. Scipio, however, violently protested against it and the consul Lentulus shouted out that in dealing with a robber what was required was arms, not votes. So for the time being the senate broke up and the senators put on mourning because of this failure to come to an agreement.

31. Soon letters came from Caesar which were even more moderate in tone. He agreed to give up everything else, only asking for Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum with two legions which he should retain till he stood for his second consulship. The orator Cicero, too, who had just come back from Cilicia,[84] was

working for a reconciliation and trying to make Pompey take up a less rigid attitude, and Pompey agreed to the proposals except that he still insisted that Caesar's soldiers should be taken from him. Cicero then approached Caesar's friends and tried to arrange a compromise by which they would agree to accept the provinces already mentioned and a force of only 6,000 soldiers. This was a figure which Pompey, on his side, was inclined to accept, but the consul Lentulus would not hear of it. He went out of his way to insult Antony and Curio and drove them out of the senate in disgrace. So of his own accord he gave Caesar the best possible excuse for taking action and supplied him with excellent material for propaganda among his troops.[85] For Caesar could now show his soldiers these distinguished men of high office in the state who had fled from Rome in hired carts and dressed as slaves, as they had had to do in their fear when they slipped out of the city.

32. Caesar had with him at the time no more than 300 cavalry and 5,000 legionary soldiers. The rest of his army had been left on the other side of the Alps and was to be brought up to him by officers who had been sent back to do so. He saw, however, that the very beginning and the first stages of his enterprise did not require the use of large forces for the time being. Better results could be obtained by surprise, daring and taking the quickest advantage of the moment; it would be easier, he thought, to strike panic into his enemies by acting in a way which they never expected than it would be to force them back after having first made all the preparations for a regular invasion. So he ordered his centurions and other officers to take just their swords, leaving their other arms behind, and to occupy the large Gallic city of Ariminum; they were to avoid all disturbance and bloodshed as far as they possibly could. He put Hortensius[86] in command of this force and himself spent the day in public, watching gladiators at their exercises. In the late afternoon he had a bath, dressed and went into the banqueting hall where he spoke for a little time with the guests who had been invited to dinner. When it was beginning to get dark he rose from the table and, after addressing a few polite words to the

majority of his guests, whom he begged to remain there until he came back, he went away. He had already given instructions to a few of his friends to follow him, not all on the same route, but some on one way and some on another. He himself got into one of the hired carriages and, setting out at first on a different road, finally turned and took the road to Ariminum. When he came to the river (it is called the Rubicon) which forms the frontier between Cisalpine Gaul and the rest of Italy he became full of thought; for now he was drawing nearer and nearer to the dreadful step, and his mind wavered as he considered what a tremendous venture it was upon which he was engaged. He began to go more slowly and then ordered a halt. For a long time he weighed matters up silently in his own mind, irresolute between the two alternatives. In these moments his purpose was constantly changing. For some time too he discussed his perplexities with his friends who were there, among whom was Asinius Pollio.[87] He thought of the sufferings which his crossing of the river would bring upon mankind and he imagined the fame of the story of it which they would leave to posterity. Finally, in a sort of passion, as though he were casting calculation aside and abandoning himself to whatever lay in store for him, making use too of the expression which is frequently used by those who are on the point of committing themselves to desperate and unpredictable chances, 'Let the die be cast,' he said, and with these words hurried to cross the river. From now on he marched at full speed and before dawn had made his way into and occupied Ariminum. It is said too that on the night before he crossed the river he had an unnatural dream. He dreamed that he was committing incest with his own mother.

33. Ariminum was captured and the broad gates of war were opened on every land and sea alike. The boundaries of the province were down and so was all law and order in the state. Men and women had, on other occasions in the past, fled from one part of Italy to another in terror; but now the impression was rather one of whole cities on the move in a panic-stricken course from one site to the next. Rome was, as it were, inundated as people came in from all the surrounding towns,

escaping from their homes. The authority of magistrates and the eloquence of orators were ineffective to exert control, and in this great and stormy tempest the city nearly allowed itself to go under. On every side violently opposed feelings were expressed in violent action. Those who were pleased with what had happened did not keep their feelings to themselves; they were constantly meeting, as was inevitable in a large city, others who viewed the situation with fear or anger, and their own easy confidence with regard to the future naturally led to quarrels. Pompey's own state of mind was already sufficiently disturbed and it was made all the more confused by what he had to listen to from other people. Some attacked him for having armed Caesar against himself and the state, while others blamed him for having allowed Lentulus to insult Caesar just at the time when Caesar was prepared to give way and to accept a reasonable settlement. Favonius told him that now was the time for him to stamp on the ground – a remark prompted by the fact that Pompey had previously made a boastful kind of speech to the senate in the course of which he had said that there was no need for them to waste their time bothering about preparations for the war, since, when it came, he had only to stamp with his foot upon the earth in order to fill the whole of Italy with armies.

Even so, Pompey at this time had more troops available to him than Caesar had. But no one would allow him to use his own judgement. Inaccurate and panic-stricken reports kept on coming in to the effect that Caesar was already close at hand and sweeping everything before him. Under the influence of these reports Pompey gave way and allowed himself to be carried along in the general stream. He issued an edict declaring that the city was in a state of anarchy, and abandoned Rome. His orders were that the senate should follow him and that no one should remain behind except those who preferred tyranny to freedom and to their own country.

34. The consuls fled at once, without even making the sacrifices usual before leaving. Most of the senators fled too, taking as much of their own property as they could lay their hands on and hurrying off with it as quickly as if they had been robbing

their neighbours. Even some of those who previously had been very much on Caesar's side now became so startled that they were unable to think clearly, and, though there was no need for them to do so, joined in the great rush out of the city. And a sad sight it was indeed to see Rome, with this tempest bearing down on her, like a ship abandoned by the crew and allowed to drift into any rocks that lay in her way. Still, sad as it was to leave the city, people were prepared, for Pompey's sake, to think that in exile they were at home, and they left Rome feeling that it had become Caesar's camp. Even Labienus,[88] one of Caesar's greatest friends, who had been a deputy commander to him and had fought for him with the greatest gallantry in all the Gallic wars, now left him and came over to Pompey.

Caesar sent Labienus' money and baggage after him.[89] He then marched against Domitius who was holding Corfinium with a force of thirty cohorts.[90] Caesar pitched his camp near the city and Domitius, despairing of being able to defend the place, asked his doctor, who was a slave of his, to give him poison. He took the dose that was given him and drank it with the intention of putting an end to his life. Soon afterwards he heard that Caesar was behaving with the most remarkable kindness to his prisoners; he then began to bewail his fate and to reproach himself for having been too hasty in coming to his resolution. His doctor, however, cheered him up by informing him that what he had drunk was not poison at all, but only a sleeping draught. Domitius was delighted. He got up and went to Caesar who gave him his right hand to guarantee his pardon. Domitius deserted him, however, and went back to Pompey. When the news of these events reached Rome, people became easier in their minds and some of the fugitives came back to the city.

35. Caesar took over the army of Domitius and also overran and incorporated in his own forces all the contingents of troops which were being raised for Pompey in the various cities. He was now strong and formidable enough and he marched directly against Pompey himself. Pompey, however, did not wait for him. He fled to Brundisium, sent the consuls and the army over

in advance to Dyrrhachium, and soon afterwards, as Caesar drew near, sailed off himself.[91] (All this will be described in detail in my *Life of Pompey*.) Though Caesar would have liked to pursue him at once, he had no ships; so he turned back to Rome. In sixty days and without any bloodshed he had become master of the whole of Italy.

He found the city in a more settled state than he had expected. Many members of the senate were still there, and he addressed them in a courteous and deferential way, inviting them to send a deputation to Pompey to discuss reasonable terms for a peace. No one, however, would act on this proposal – either because they were frightened of Pompey, whom they had abandoned, or because they thought that Caesar's words were only spoken for effect and that he did not really mean what he said.

When Metellus,[92] the tribune, tried to prevent Caesar from taking money from the state reserve and began to cite various laws, Caesar told him that there was a time for laws and a time for arms. 'As for you,' he said, 'if you don't like what is being done, get out of the way for the present. War has no use for free speech. But when I have laid down my arms and come to terms, then you can come back again and make your speeches to the people. And let me point out that in saying this I am giving up my own just rights. In fact you are my prisoner, you and all the rest of the party acting against me whom I have in my hands.' After saying this to Metellus, Caesar went towards the doors of the treasury and, as the keys could not be found, sent for smiths and ordered them to break the doors down. Metellus once again began to object and there were some who applauded him for doing so. Caesar then raised his voice and threatened to kill him if he did not stop interfering. 'And, young man,' he said, 'you know well enough that I dislike saying this more than I would dislike doing it.' These words had their effect. Metellus went off in a fright and for the future all Caesar's demands for material for the war were promptly and readily obeyed.

36. He now marched into Spain.[93] He had decided first of all to drive out of that country Pompey's commanders, Afranius

and Varro,[94] and to gain possession of their armies and provinces. He would then march against Pompey without having to leave any enemy forces behind his back. In this campaign he often took the personal risk of being cut off and captured, and his army was in the greatest danger because of lack of food; yet he went on relentlessly following up the enemy, offering battle and hemming them in with fortifications, until by main force he had made himself the master of their camps and of their forces. The commanders, however, got away and escaped to Pompey.

37. When Caesar returned to Rome, his father-in-law, Piso, urged him to send a deputation to Pompey to discuss terms of peace; but Isauricus, with the idea of pleasing Caesar, spoke against this proposal. The senate then appointed Caesar dictator.[95] In this capacity he recalled exiles, gave back their civil rights to the children of those who had suffered under Sulla, relieved the burdens of debtors by remitting some of the interest on their debts, and, after dealing with a few other public measures of the same kind, within eleven days resigned from his position of supreme power. He had himself declared consul with Servilius Isauricus as his colleague, and then set out for the war.

With 600 picked cavalry and 5 legions he hurried by forced marches past the rest of his army and put to sea at the time of the winter solstice at the beginning of January.[96] This month corresponds nearly enough to the Athenian Poseideon. After crossing the Ionian Gulf, he captured Oricum and Apollonia, and sent back his transports to Brundisium for the soldiers who had been left behind on the march. These soldiers were no longer as young as they had been; they were tired out by the number of campaigns in which they had fought; and they were full of complaints against Caesar so long as they were on the road. 'Where on earth will this man take us in the end? He keeps dragging us around, as though we could never get tired out and never feel anything. Even swords get worn out with striking, and after such a long time of service one takes some care of one's shield and breastplate. Our wounds, if nothing

else, ought to make Caesar realize that the men he commands are human beings and that we are subject to the same pains and sufferings as other mortals. Not even the gods can put back the winter or make the stormy season at sea non-existent. Yet this man goes on taking risks as though he were running away from his enemies instead of chasing after them.'

So they talked as they marched on without hurrying towards Brundisium. But when they got there and found that Caesar had set sail, they changed their tune. They cursed themselves as traitors to their commander-in-chief; they cursed their officers for not having made them march more quickly; and, sitting on the cliffs, they looked out over the open sea towards Epirus, watching for the ships which were to take them across to their commander.

38. Meanwhile at Apollonia Caesar was in difficulties and his mind was in a most disturbed state. The army he had with him was not big enough for him to be able to engage the enemy, and the rest of his army across the sea was taking a long time to arrive. Finally he decided on a most dangerous plan, which was to embark without anyone's knowledge in a twelve-oared boat and to make the crossing to Brundisium, though the enemy with their large fleets were in complete command of the sea.[97] So he went aboard at night after disguising himself in the dress of a slave, and, throwing himself down on the bottom of the vessel as though he were a person of no importance, stayed there quietly. The River Aoüs was carrying the boat down to the sea, and usually there was a morning breeze which drove back the waves and made the mouth of the river calm; but on this occasion the breeze had been overpowered by a strong wind which had got up during the night and was blowing from the sea. So the river boiled up angrily at the point where it was confronted with the oncoming breakers of the sea; what with the roughness of the water, the great din and the violent swell beating the current back, the master of the boat found it impossible to force his way forward and ordered the crew to come about with the intention of going back again. Caesar, seeing what he was doing, came forward and disclosed himself. The

master of the boat was terrified at seeing him there, but Caesar took him by the hand and said: 'Go ahead, my friend. Be bold and fear nothing. You have got Caesar and Caesar's fortune with you in your boat.' The sailors forgot about the storm. They put all the strength they had into their rowing and did their utmost to force their way down the river. However, it proved an impossible task, and, after the ship had taken in a lot of water and Caesar had put himself into great danger at the very mouth of the river, he very reluctantly allowed the captain to put about. When he got to land he was met by his soldiers who came crowding round him, full of complaints at the way he had behaved and indignant at the fact that he seemed to have thought that he could not conquer with their aid and theirs alone; instead of this, they said, he had got worried and risked his life for the sake of the army across the sea, as though he could not trust the army which he had with him.

39. After this Antony[98] sailed in with the forces from Brundisium and this gave Caesar sufficient confidence to challenge Pompey to battle. Pompey was in an excellent position and could get ample supplies both by land and sea, while Caesar from the very beginning was badly off for supplies and later on was in very serious difficulties because of shortage of food.[99] His soldiers, however, dug up some kind of root which, when mixed with milk, they used for food. On one occasion they made the mixture into loaves, ran up to the enemies' outposts, and threw the loaves inside or tossed them from hand to hand, shouting out that as long as the earth produced such roots they would not give up blockading Pompey. However, Pompey tried to prevent both these loaves and the words which had accompanied them from reaching the main body of his troops. For his soldiers were out of heart. They were thoroughly frightened of the ferocity and physical toughness of their enemies, who seemed to them to be like some species of wild beasts.

Desultory fighting was constantly taking place around Pompey's fortifications and in all these engagements Caesar had the better of things, except on one occasion, when his men were so badly defeated that he was in danger of losing his camp.

To this attack of Pompey no sort of resistance was made by Caesar's men. The trenches were filled with their dead bodies and others, driven back in headlong flight, fell in front of the walls and ramparts of their own camp. Though Caesar met them and tried to make them turn back, his efforts were entirely unsuccessful. When he attempted to grasp hold of the standards himself, the standard bearers threw them away, so that the enemy captured thirty-two of them. Indeed Caesar himself was very nearly killed. He had seized hold of the arm of one of the men running past him, a big strong fellow, and was telling him to stop and to turn round and face the enemy, when the man, in his panic-stricken state of mind, raised his sword to cut Caesar down. But before he could strike the blow, Caesar's shield-bearer lopped his arm off at the shoulder. At this time Caesar must have considered his own position quite desperate. For when Pompey, for some reason or other (possibly over-caution), instead of putting the finishing stroke to his great success, retired as soon as he had driven the routed enemy inside their camp, Caesar, who was with his friends, remarked to them as he was leaving them: 'Today the enemy would have won, if they had a commander who was a winner.' He then retired to his tent and lay down. This was the most miserable night that he had ever passed and he spent it in hard and perplexed thinking. He came to the conclusion that his strategy had been all wrong. The fertile country and rich cities of Macedonia and Thessaly were there before him, but instead of carrying the war in that direction, he had settled down here by the sea, over which the enemy had complete command, and the result was that so far from besieging the enemy with his army he was being besieged himself through lack of provisions. So he passed this disturbed night in gloomy reflection on the extreme difficulty of his position, and in the morning he broke camp. He had decided to lead his army into Macedonia against Scipio.[100] He would then either draw Pompey after him into a district where he would fight without his present advantage of being supplied by sea, or else he would overpower Scipio, if Scipio were left without support.

40. This new move of Caesar's filled Pompey's soldiers and the officers by whom he was surrounded with confidence. They assumed that Caesar was defeated and was running away, and were eager to get their hands on him. Pompey himself was more cautious and did not want to risk a battle on which so much would depend. He was excellently supplied with everything necessary for a long war, and he thought that a war of attrition was the best way to deal with Caesar's army, which, in his view, could not retain its zest and vigour for long. Caesar's best troops were certainly experienced and showed a fighting spirit in all engagements that was irresistible; but the years were having their effect on them – years of long marches, of building camps, of blockading cities, of spending whole nights under arms. Further hardships were more than their physical strength could stand, and, as their strength failed, so did their willingness to go into action. At this time, too, it was said that some kind of an infectious disease was raging through Caesar's army, a disease caused by the bad food they had to eat. And – most important consideration of all – since Caesar was both short of money and short of provisions, it seemed likely that before long his army would break up of its own accord.

41. For these reasons Pompey was against fighting a battle. No one, however, agreed with him except Cato, whose motive was to spare the lives of his fellow citizens. Cato, indeed, even at the sight of the enemy dead in the last battle, who came to the number of a thousand, had burst into tears and turned away with his face covered up. But all the rest were indignant with Pompey for avoiding battle. They goaded him on by giving him such nicknames as 'Agamemnon' and 'King of Kings', implying that what he really wanted was to hold on to his supreme command and satisfy his own vanity by having so many other commanders serving under him and constantly coming to his tent. Favonius, who affected Cato's way of speaking his mind freely, was fool enough to go about complaining that this year too they would not be able to enjoy the figs of Tusculum simply because of Pompey's passion for holding on to power. Afranius, too, had just arrived from Spain. His bad generalship there had

made him suspected of having been bribed to betray his army. Now he kept asking why they would not fight with this merchant who was supposed to have bought the provinces from him. So, with all this kind of talk, Pompey was reluctantly driven to follow Caesar and to offer battle.

Meanwhile Caesar's march had been a difficult one. No one would sell him provisions, since, after his recent defeat, no one thought much of his chances. But his capture of the Thessalian city of Gomphi enabled him not only to provide food for his soldiers but also, in a somewhat unusual way, to restore them to health. In this city they came upon a great quantity of wine which they drank extremely freely. After this they went on marching in a merry kind of drunken orgy and, as the result of being intoxicated, changed the whole habit of their constitution, shook off their illness and became quite well again.

42. When both armies had entered the plain of Pharsalus and encamped there, Pompey again began to think along the lines of his previous resolution, which was against fighting. He was also affected by some unlucky apparitions and by a vision which he saw in the night. He dreamed that he saw himself in his theatre being applauded by the Romans . . . * But those who were with him were so confident and so certain of a victory that still remained to be won that Domitius and Spinther and Scipio were already quarrelling bitterly among themselves as to who should succeed Caesar as chief pontiff.[101] Many people too were sending to Rome to make arrangements for renting in advance houses that would be suitable for praetors and consuls, on the assumption that as soon as the war was over they would be holding these offices. The cavalry in particular were impatient for battle. What with the shining armour, the well-fed horses and the personal beauty of the riders, this was a splendidly equipped force, and so far as numbers went they had every reason to be confident, since there were 7,000 of them to

* Translator's footnote: Some words or sentences have fallen out of the text. The dream is more fully described in the *Life of Pompey*.

Caesar's 1,000. The numbers of the infantry too were unequal. Pompey had 45,000 against Caesar's 22,000.

43. Caesar called his soldiers together and told them that Corfinius was bringing him two legions and was close at hand, and that besides these were fifteen cohorts under Calenus[102] stationed at Athens and Megara. He asked them whether they wanted to wait for these reinforcements or whether they would face the decisive battle by themselves unaided. The soldiers all shouted out asking him not to wait for the others, but on the contrary, to use all his skill as a general to bring them to close quarters with the enemy as soon as possible.

When he was holding a service of purification for the army and had just sacrificed the first animal, the professional prophet in attendance at once said that there would be a decisive battle with the enemy within three days. Caesar asked him whether he could see in the animal's entrails anything which suggested a favourable result, and the prophet replied: 'That is a question which you yourself are best fitted to answer. What the gods reveal is that there will be a complete change and a revolution from the present state of affairs to the opposite. Therefore, if you think that you are doing well as things are now, you must expect bad fortune; but if you think that you are doing badly, then your fortune is good.'

And on the night before the battle, as Caesar was making the rounds of his sentries about midnight, a bright flaming light was seen in the sky which seemed to pass over Caesar's camp in a blaze of fire and then to fall into the camp of Pompey. It was observed too during the morning watch that a kind of panic and confusion seemed to have broken out among the enemy.

Nevertheless, Caesar was not expecting to fight at all on that day. He had begun to break camp with the intention of marching to Scotussa,

44. when, just as the tents had been struck, his scouts rode up and told him that the enemy were coming down into the plain to give battle. Caesar was delighted at the news. He made his

prayers and vows to the gods and then drew up his line in three divisions. He put Domitius Calvinus[103] in command of the centre; Antony commanded the left wing and he himself took the right, where he intended to fight with the tenth legion. He saw, however, that the enemy cavalry were being drawn up opposite him and, since he considered both their fine appearance and their numbers formidable, he gave instructions for six cohorts from the rear of the whole army to move round to him out of sight of the enemy. He placed this force behind the right wing and told them what to do when the enemy cavalry charged.

On the other side Pompey himself commanded the right wing and Domitius[104] the left, while Pompey's father-in-law Scipio commanded the centre. All the cavalry were concentrated on the left wing, with the idea of encircling the enemy's right and thoroughly routing the division where Caesar himself was in command. They thought that no formation of infantry, in whatever depth, could resist them, and expected that the enemy must necessarily be broken and shattered by the shock of so many horsemen all charging together.

When both sides were ready to give the signal for battle Pompey ordered his infantry to stand still in close order with their arms at the ready and to wait for the enemy's attack until they were within the range of a javelin's throw. This is another of the points where Caesar criticizes Pompey's generalship, saying that he appears not to have been aware that when the first contact with the enemy is made with an impetus and on the run, it gives extra force to the blows and is a most important element in the general kindling up and firing of the men's spirits.

As Caesar himself was just about to order his line to advance and was already going up towards the front, his eyes fell first on one of his centurions, a man who had proved reliable to him in the past and who had had experience of many campaigns. He was now urging on the men under his command and challenging them to compete with him in showing courage in action. Caesar called out to him[105] by name and said: 'Well, Gaius Crassinius, what are our prospects? How are we feeling about it?' Then Crassinius stretched out his right hand and shouted at the top

of his voice: 'We shall win, Caesar, and win gloriously. And as for me, you shall praise me today, whether I am alive or dead at the end of it.' With these words he charged forward at the double and, followed by the 120 soldiers under his command, was the first man to engage the enemy. He hacked his way through the first rank and was still pressing forward, cutting down men on all sides of him, when he was stopped by a blow of a sword which was thrust into his mouth with such force that the point came out at the back of his neck.

45. So the two infantry armies joined battle and fought hand to hand. And now Pompey's cavalry rode up on the flank in a proud array and deployed their squadrons in order to encircle Caesar's right wing. Before they could charge, the cohorts which Caesar had posted behind him ran forward and, instead of hurling their javelins, as they usually did, or even thrusting at the thighs and legs of the enemy, aimed at their eyes and stabbed upwards at their faces. Caesar had instructed them to do this because he believed that these young men, who had not had much experience of battle and the wounds of battle but who particularly plumed themselves on their good looks, would dislike more than anything the idea of being attacked in this way and, fearing both the danger of the moment and the possibility of disfigurement for the future, would not be able to stand up to it. And in fact this was exactly what happened. They could not face the upward thrusts of the javelins or even the sight of the iron points; they turned their heads away and covered them up in their anxiety to keep their faces unscarred. Soon they were in complete disorder, and finally, in a most disgraceful way, they turned and fled, thereby ruining everything, since the cohorts who had defeated the cavalry at once swept round behind the infantry, fell on their rear, and began to cut them to pieces.

When Pompey, from the other wing, saw his cavalry routed and scattered, he was no longer the same person as before, and no longer remembered that he was Pompey the Great. Looking more like a man whom some god has deprived of his wits, he went off, without saying a word, to his tent and there sat down

and waited for what was to come, until his whole army was routed and the enemy had begun to attack the fortifications of his camp and were fighting with the detachments who were guarding it. At this point he seemed to come to his senses. The only words he uttered were, so they say, 'What, into the camp too?' and, with these words, he took off his general's clothes and, changing into other clothes more suitable for a fugitive, stole away. I shall describe in my *Life of Pompey* what happened to him later, and how he put himself into the hands of the Egyptians and was murdered.

46. Caesar, when he came up to Pompey's camp and saw the dead bodies already lying on the ground and others still being cut down, groaned aloud and said, 'They made this happen; they drove me to it. If I had dismissed my army, I, Gaius Caesar, after all my great victories, would have been condemned in their law courts.'[106] Asinius Pollio says that these words, which Caesar afterwards wrote down in Greek, were spoken at the time in Latin. He also says that most of the dead were servants who were killed when the camp was taken, and that not more than 6,000 of the regular soldiers lost their lives. Most of those who were taken alive Caesar incorporated in his own legions, and he gave a free pardon to a number of prominent people. Among these was Brutus, who afterwards killed him. It is said that Caesar was very distressed when Brutus was not to be found, and that he was particularly delighted when, in the end, he was brought to him alive and well.

47. There were a number of signs from heaven foreshadowing this victory, and the most remarkable of these appeared at Tralles. Here, in the temple of Victory, there stood a statue of Caesar. The ground all round the statue was naturally hard and was paved with slabs of stone; yet through this, they say, a palm tree shot up at the base of the statue. Then, at Patavium, there was a well-known prophet called Gaius Cornelius, who was a fellow-citizen and an acquaintance of Livy the historian. On the day of the battle this man happened to be sitting at his prophetic work and first, according to Livy, he realized that the

battle was taking place at that very moment and said to those who were present that now was the time when matters were being decided and now the troops were going into action; then he had a second look and, when he had examined the signs, he jumped up in a kind of ecstasy and cried out: 'Caesar, the victory is yours!' Those who were standing by were amazed at him, but he took the garland from his head and solemnly swore that he would not wear it again until facts had proved that his art had revealed the truth to him. Livy, certainly, is most emphatic that this really happened.

48. To commemorate his victory Caesar gave the people of Thessaly their freedom. He then went in pursuit of Pompey.[107] On reaching Asia he gave their freedom to the people of Cnidus – an act of kindness done for the sake of Theopompus, the author of the collection of fables. He also cut down by a third the taxes of all the inhabitants of the province of Asia.

He arrived at Alexandria just after Pompey's death.[108] When Theodotus came to him with Pompey's head, Caesar refused to look at him, but he took Pompey's signet ring and shed tears as he did so. He offered help and his own friendship to all who had been friends and companions of Pompey and who, without anywhere to go to, had been arrested by the King of Egypt. And he wrote to his friends in Rome to say that, of all the results of his victory, what gave him the most pleasure was that he was so often able to save the lives of fellow citizens who had fought against him.

As for the war in Egypt, some say that it need never have taken place, that it was brought on by Caesar's passion for Cleopatra and that it did him little credit while involving him in great danger. Others blame the king's party for it, and particularly the eunuch Pothinus, who was the most influential person at the court. He had recently killed Pompey, had driven out Cleopatra, and was now secretly plotting against Caesar. Because of this, they say, Caesar now began to sit up for whole nights on end at drinking parties, in order to be sure that he was properly guarded. Even openly Pothinus made himself intolerable, belittling and insulting Caesar both in his words

and his actions. For instance, the soldiers were given rations of the oldest and worst possible grain, and Pothinus told them that they must put up with it and learn to like it, since they were eating food that did not belong to them; and at official dinners he gave orders that wooden and earthenware dishes should be used, on the pretext that Caesar had taken all the gold and silver in payment of a debt. The father of the present king did in fact owe Caesar 17½ million drachmas, and, though Caesar had previously remitted part of this debt to the king's children, he now demanded 10 million for the support of his army. Pothinus suggested that for the time being he should go away and attend to more important matters, promising that later on they would be delighted to pay the money; but Caesar told him that Egyptians were the last people he would choose for his advisers, and secretly he sent for Cleopatra from the country.

49. Cleopatra, taking only one of her friends with her (Apollodorus the Sicilian), embarked in a small boat and landed at the palace when it was already getting dark. Since there seemed to be no other way of getting in unobserved, she stretched herself out at full length inside a sleeping bag, and Apollodorus, after tying up the bag, carried it indoors to Caesar. This little trick of Cleopatra's, which showed her provocative impudence, is said to have been the first thing about her which captivated Caesar, and, as he grew to know her better, he was overcome by her charm and arranged that she and her brother should be reconciled and should share the throne of Egypt together. Everyone was invited to a banquet to celebrate the reconciliation, and, while the banquet was in progress, a servant of Caesar who acted as his barber and who, because of his unexampled cowardice, was in the habit of looking into everything, listening to every scrap of gossip and generally having something to do with everything that was going on, managed to find out that the general Achillas and the eunuch Pothinus were plotting together against Caesar. Once Caesar had discovered this, he set a guard round the banqueting hall and had Pothinus killed. Achillas, however, escaped to the camp and

involved Caesar in a full-scale war and one that was very difficult to fight, since he had a great city and a large army against him and only a few troops with which to defend himself. First of all the enemy dammed up the canals and he was in danger of being cut off from his water supply. Then they tried to intercept his communications by sea and he was forced to deal with this danger by setting fire to the ships in the docks. This was the fire which, starting from the dockyards, destroyed the great library. And thirdly, he was hard pressed during the fighting that took place on Pharos. He had sprung down from the mole into a small boat and was trying to go to the help of his men who were engaged in battle, but the Egyptians sailed up against him from all directions, and he was forced to throw himself into the sea and swim, only just managing to escape. This was the time when, according to the story, he was holding a number of papers in his hand and would not let them go, though he was being shot at from all sides and was often under water. Holding the papers above the surface with one hand, he swam with the other. (His small boat had been sunk immediately.)

Finally, however, after the king had gone over to the side of the enemy, Caesar marched against him and defeated him in battle. Many fell in this battle and the king himself was one of the missing. Caesar then set out for Syria. He left Cleopatra as Queen of Egypt, and a little later she had a son by him, whom the Alexandrians called Caesarion.[109]

50. From Syria he went to Asia when he heard that Domitius[110] had been defeated by Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, and had fled from Pontus with the few troops that remained. He heard too that Pharnaces was making the fullest possible use of his victory: he was in control of Bithynia and Cappadocia, was aiming at taking over the country called Lesser Armenia and was encouraging all the princes and tetrarchs there to revolt. So, with three legions, he marched against him immediately. He fought him in a great battle near the city of Zela, drove him out of Pontus and annihilated his army. In describing the sharpness and rapidity of this battle Caesar wrote to Amantius,

one of his friends in Rome, and used just three words: 'Came, saw, conquered.' In Latin, however, the words have the same inflexional ending, and this gives them a remarkable effect of brevity and concentration.[111]

51. After this he crossed over to Italy and came to Rome. It was now a year since he had been chosen dictator for the second time though previously this office had never been held for a whole year.[112] And for the following year he was proclaimed consul.[113] People spoke badly of him because, after his soldiers had mutinied and killed two men of praetorian rank, Galba and Cosconius,[114] the only reprimand which he gave to them was to address them as 'Citizens' instead of 'Fellow-soldiers'; after which he gave each man 1,000 drachmas and a large allotment of land in Italy. Other things which were held against him were the irresponsible behaviour of Dolabella,[115] the greed of Amantius, the drunkenness of Antony and the conduct of Corfinius, who enlarged and refurnished Pompey's house, as though it was not grand enough for him. All these things caused much ill-feeling at Rome. Caesar was quite aware of what was going on and disapproved of it, but, because of the general political situation, he was forced to make use of those who would do his will.

52. After the battle at Pharsalus, Cato and Scipio had escaped to Africa, where, with the help of King Juba,[116] they got together a considerable force. Caesar decided to make an expedition against them and crossed over to Sicily about the time of the winter solstice.[117] Here he pitched his own tent on the beach, wishing to make it clear immediately to his officers that they need have no hopes of wasting time by staying in the island. And as soon as the wind blew from the right quarter, he embarked and put to sea with 3,000 infantry and a few cavalry. He landed this force without being observed and then put to sea again, since he was anxious about the larger part of his army. He found them, however, already at sea and brought them all into camp.

He discovered that the enemy were deriving much encouragement from an ancient oracle to the effect that the family of the Scipios must always be victorious in Africa. Here it is difficult to say whether Caesar was in a jesting spirit making a mock of the Scipio in command of the enemy, or whether he was quite seriously trying to appropriate the prophecy for himself. What he did was this. He had with him a man who was a completely negligible character except that he belonged to the family of the Africani. (He was called Scipio Sallustio.) This man Caesar put at the head of his troops in battle as though he were the commander. And Caesar was forced to engage the enemy often and to seek battle with them, since there was not enough food for his men or provisions for his horses.[118] In fact they had to feed the horses on seaweed with the salt washed out of it and a little grass mixed with it to make it palatable. The fast-moving Numidians were everywhere in great numbers and controlled the country. There was one occasion when Caesar's cavalry were off duty and were being entertained by an African who was dancing and playing the flute at the same time in a most remarkable manner. The cavalry-men had given their horses to their servants to hold and were sitting on the ground enjoying the performance, when the enemy suddenly swept all round them and attacked, killing some of them on the spot, and chasing the rest of them, who were flying in disorder, right up to their camp. If Caesar himself, with Asinius Pollio, had not come outside the ramparts to their aid and stopped their flight, the war would have been over then and there. There was also an occasion in another battle when the enemy had got the better of things in the fighting and Caesar, so it is said, seized hold of the standard-bearer who was running away and, gripping him by the neck, made him face about saying: 'Look, that's where the enemy are.'

53. Scipio was encouraged by these successes to risk a decisive action. He left Afranius and Juba encamped each a short distance from the other and himself began to fortify a camp beyond a lake near the city of Thapsus, with the idea that this camp should serve the entire army as a base from which to go into action and as a place into which they could retreat. But while

he was engaged on this operation, Caesar, marching with incredible speed, made his way through thick woods which disguised his approach, outflanked one division of the enemy, and attacked another from the front. After routing them, he made full use of his opportunity and of the fortune which was going his way. At the first attack he captured the camp of Afranius, and at the first attack he overran and sacked the camp of the Numidians, from which Juba ran away. So in a small part of a single day he made himself master of three camps and killed 50,000 of the enemy without losing as many as fifty of his own men.

This is the account given by some authorities of the battle. Others say that Caesar was not present personally at the action: he began to suffer from an attack of his usual illness just as he was drawing up his troops and ordering them to their positions, and, being aware at once that the illness was coming on, and finding that he was already losing the use of his faculties, he was carried, before they entirely left him, to a tower nearby, where he rested while the battle was going on. Of the men of consular or praetorian rank who survived the battle, some killed themselves as they were being rounded up and others, who were captured, were put to death by Caesar.

54. Cato was in command of the city of Utica and for that reason had taken no part in the battle.[119] Being extremely anxious to capture him alive, Caesar hurried to Utica, but found that he had committed suicide. The news clearly had a disturbing effect on Caesar, though it is difficult to say exactly why. Certainly he exclaimed: 'Cato, I must grudge you your death, as you grudged me the opportunity of giving you your life.' But the essay which he wrote later attacking Cato after his death does not bear the traces of a kindly or forgiving temper. After such a pitiless outpouring of anger against the man when he was dead, one can scarcely imagine that he would have spared him when he was alive. And yet from the kindness which he showed to Cicero and Brutus and very many others who had fought against him it may be inferred that even this essay was written not so much out of his hatred for Cato as from a desire

to justify his own policy. The essay came to be written because Cicero had composed a work in praise of Cato, which he entitled *Cato*. This was widely read, as was natural considering that it was the work of so great a master of oratory writing on such an excellent theme. Caesar, however, was annoyed, since he considered that Cicero's praise of the dead Cato amounted to an attack upon himself; and so he wrote his own essay, called *Anti-Cato*, in which he put down everything that could be said against him. Both essays have many admirers, just as Cicero and Caesar have.

55. On his return to Rome from Africa Caesar's first reaction was to make a speech to the people in order to impress them with the extent of his victory. He claimed that he had conquered a country large enough to supply the public every year with 200,000 Attic bushels of grain and 3 million pounds of olive oil. He then celebrated three triumphs – one for Egypt, one for Pontus, and one for Africa.[120] The last of these was officially for his victory over King Juba and not for his victory over Scipio. On this occasion Juba, the son of the king and a mere infant, was carried in the triumphal procession, and indeed he was the most fortunate of captives, since instead of growing up as a barbarous Numidian he won a place for himself in the end among the most learned historians of Greece.[121] After the triumphs Caesar gave large rewards to his soldiers and entertained the people with banquets and shows. He gave a feast to the whole people at one time, using 20,000 dining couches for the occasion; and he provided gladiatorial shows and naval battles in honour of his daughter Julia, who had died long before this.

After the shows a census of the people was taken. The old lists had contained 320,000 names: now there were only 150,000 – a measure of the disaster caused by the civil wars and of the great loss suffered by the people of Rome. And this is leaving out of the account all the misfortunes which had overtaken the rest of Italy and the provinces.

56. When all this business was over Caesar was declared consul for the fourth time and set out for Spain against the sons of

Pompey.[122] Though they were still young men, they had got together an amazingly large army and showed that they had the daring and courage to command it. In fact they put Caesar into a position of extreme danger. The great battle was fought near the city of Munda. In this battle Caesar, seeing his men being pressed back and making only a feeble resistance, ran through the ranks among the soldiers and shouted out to them: 'Are you not ashamed to take me and hand me over to these boys?' It was only with great difficulty and after exerting himself to the utmost that he broke the enemy's resistance. He killed over 30,000 of them, but he lost 1,000 of the best troops in his own army. As he was leaving the battlefield he said to his friends that he had often before struggled for victory, but this was the first time that he had had to fight for his life. He won this victory on the day of the feast of Bacchus, the day on which, it is said, four years previously Pompey had set out for the war. The younger of Pompey's sons escaped, but after a few days the head of the elder was brought in by Deidius.

This was Caesar's last war. The triumph which he held for it displeased the Romans more than anything else had done.[123] For this was not a case of his having conquered foreign generals or kings of native tribes; on this occasion what he had done was to annihilate the children and the family of one who had been the greatest of the Romans, and who had met with misfortune. It did not seem right for Caesar to celebrate a triumph for the calamities of his country and to pride himself upon actions for which the only possible excuse that could be made in the eyes both of gods and of men was that they had been forced upon him. Previously too he had never sent dispatches or messengers to make an official announcement of victory in the civil wars; instead he had given the impression of being ashamed to take any credit for such actions.

57. Nevertheless, the Romans gave way before his good fortune and accepted the bit. The rule of one man would give them, they thought, a respite from the miseries of the civil wars, and so they appointed him dictator for life. This meant an undisguised tyranny; his power was now not only absolute but

perpetual. Cicero made the first proposals in the senate for conferring honours on him, and, great as they were, it could be maintained that they were not after all too great for a man. But others, in a kind of spirit of competition among themselves, proposed the most extravagant additions with the result that they made Caesar unpopular and hateful to even the least politically minded among the citizens because of the quite extraordinary pretentiousness of the titles decreed for him. His enemies are thought to have joined with his flatterers in getting these measures passed. They wanted to have every possible pretext to act against him and to appear to have good reasons on their side when they came to make an attempt upon his life. And certainly, in other ways, once the civil wars were over, no one could charge him with doing anything amiss. Indeed it is thought perfectly right that the temple of Clemency was dedicated as a thank-offering for his humane conduct after his victory. He not only pardoned many of those who had fought against him, but gave to some of them honours and offices besides – to Brutus, for instance, and to Cassius, both of whom were now praetors.[124] Pompey's statues too, had been thrown down, but Caesar would not tolerate this and had them put up again. It was on this occasion that Cicero said that Caesar, in setting up Pompey's statues, had firmly fixed and established his own. And when Caesar's friends advised him to have a bodyguard, many of them volunteering to serve in it themselves, Caesar refused to have anything to do with it. It was better, he said, to die once than always to be in fear of death. To surround himself with people's goodwill was, he thought, the best and the truest security, and so he again sought the favour of the people by giving them feasts and allowances of grain, and gratified his soldiers by founding new colonies, the most important of which were at Carthage and at Corinth. It so happened that these two cities had, in earlier days, both been captured at the same time,[125] and now they were both restored at the same time.

58. He dealt with the ruling class by promising praetorships and consulships in the future to some of them, and by winning over others with various offices and honours.[126] All were encouraged

to hope for his favour, since his great desire was to rule over subjects who accepted his rule. Thus, when the consul Maximus[127] died, Caesar made Caninius Rebilius consul for the one day that remained of the term of office.[128] Many people, it appears, went to the new consul to congratulate him and to escort him down to the forum, and this was when Cicero remarked: 'We'd better hurry, or he will be out of office before we get there.'

Caesar was born to do great things and to seek constantly for distinction. His many successes, so far from encouraging him to rest and to enjoy the fruits of all his labours, only served to kindle in him fresh confidence for the future, filling his mind with projects of still greater actions and with a passion for new glory, as though he had run through his stock of the old. His feelings can best be described by saying that he was competing with himself, as though he were someone else, and was struggling to make the future excel the past. He had made his plans and preparations for an expedition against the Parthians; after conquering them he proposed to march round the Black Sea by way of Hyrcania, the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus; he would then invade Scythia, would overrun all the countries bordering on Germany and Germany itself, and would then return to Italy by way of Gaul, thus completing the circuit of his empire which would be bounded on all sides by the ocean. While this expedition was going on he proposed to dig a canal through the isthmus of Corinth, and had already put Anienus in charge of this undertaking. He also planned to divert the Tiber just below the city into a deep channel which would bend round towards Circeium and come out into the sea at Terracina, so that there would be a safe and easy passage for merchantmen to Rome. Then too he proposed to drain the marshes by Pomentium and Setia and to create a plain which could be cultivated by many thousands of men. He also intended to build great breakwaters along the coast where the sea is nearest to Rome, to clear away all the obstructions which were a danger to shipping at Ostia, and to construct harbours and roadsteads big enough for the great fleets which would lie at anchor there.

All these were projects for the future.

59. His reform of the calendar, however, and the corrections made in the irregularity of reckoning time were not only studied by him with the greatest scientific skill, but were brought into effect and proved extremely useful.[129] In very ancient times there had been great confusion among the Romans with regard to the relation of the lunar to the solar year, with the result that festivals and days of sacrifice gradually got out of place and finally came to be celebrated at the very opposite seasons to what was originally intended. Nor was the confusion confined to the remote past. Even at this time most people were completely ignorant on these subjects; only the priests knew the proper time, and they, without giving any notice, would suddenly insert in the calendar the intercalary month known as Mercedonius. It is said that this month was first put in by King Numa who thus managed to find an unsatisfactory and short-lived remedy for the error in the adjustment of the sidereal and solar cycles. I have dealt with this subject in my *Life of Numa*. Caesar, however, put the problem before the best scholars and mathematicians of the day and, out of the various methods of correction already in use he formed a new method of his own which was more accurate than any of them. It is the one still used by the Romans, and it seems that they, better than all other people, have avoided the errors arising from the inequality between the lunar and solar years. Yet even this gave offence to those who looked at Caesar with envious eyes and resented his power. Certainly Cicero, the orator, when someone remarked that the constellation Lyra would rise next day, remarked: 'No doubt. By order' – implying that even the risings of the stars were something that people had to accept under compulsion.

60. But what made Caesar most openly and mortally hated was his passion to be made king. It was this which made the common people hate him for the first time, and it served as a most useful pretext for those others who had long hated him but had up to now disguised their feelings. Yet those who were trying to get this honour conferred on Caesar actually spread the story among the people that it was foretold in the Sibylline books

that Parthia could only be conquered by the Romans if the Roman army was led by a king;[130] and as Caesar was coming down from Alba to Rome they ventured to salute him as 'King', which caused a disturbance among the people. Caesar, upset by this himself, said that his name was not King but Caesar.[131] These words were received in total silence, and he went on his way looking far from pleased. Then there was an occasion when a number of extravagant honours had been voted for him in the senate, and Caesar happened to be sitting above the rostra. Here he was approached by the consuls and the praetors with the whole senate following behind; but instead of rising to receive them, he behaved to them as though they were merely private individuals and, after receiving their message, told them that his honours ought to be cut down rather than increased. This conduct of his offended not only the senate but the people as well, who felt that his treatment of the senators was an insult to the whole state. There was a general air of the deepest dejection and everyone who was in a position to do so went away at once. Caesar himself realized what he had done and immediately turned to go home. He drew back his toga and, uncovering his throat, cried out in a loud voice to his friends that he was ready to receive the blow from anyone who liked to give it to him. Later, however, he excused his behaviour on account of his illness, saying that those who suffer from it are apt to lose control of their senses if they address a large crowd while standing; in these circumstances they are very subject to fits of giddiness and may fall into convulsions and insensibility. This excuse, however, was not true. Caesar himself was perfectly willing to rise to receive the senate; but, so they say, one of his friends, or rather his flatterers, Cornelius Balbus,[132] restrained him from doing so. 'Remember,' he said, 'that you are Caesar. You are their superior and ought to let them treat you as such.'

61. Another thing which caused offence was his insulting treatment of the tribunes. The feast of the Lupercalia was being celebrated and at this time many of the magistrates and many young men of noble families run through the city naked, and,

in their jesting and merry-making, strike those whom they meet with shaggy thongs. And many women of high rank purposely stand in their way and hold out their hands to be struck, like children at school. They believe that the effect will be to give an easy delivery to those who are pregnant, and to help the barren to become pregnant. According to many writers this was in ancient times a shepherds' festival, and has also some connection with the Arcadian Lycaea. Caesar, sitting on a golden throne above the rostra and wearing a triumphal robe, was watching this ceremony; and Antony, who was consul at the time,[133] was one of those taking part in the sacred running. When he came running into the forum, the crowd made way for him. He was carrying a diadem with a wreath of laurel tied round it, and he held this out to Caesar. His action was followed by some applause, but it was not much and it was not spontaneous. But when Caesar pushed the diadem away from him, there was a general shout of applause. Antony then offered him the diadem for the second time, and again only a few applauded, though, when Caesar again rejected it, there was applause from everyone. Caesar, finding that the experiment had proved a failure, rose from his seat and ordered the wreath to be carried to the Capitol. It was then discovered that his statues had been decorated with royal diadems, and two of the tribunes, Flavius and Marullus,[134] went round the statues and tore down the decorations. They then found out who had been the first to salute Caesar as king, and led them off to prison. The people followed the tribunes and were loud in their applause, calling them Brutuses – because it was Brutus who first put an end to the line of kings in Rome and gave to the senate and the people the power that had previously been in the hands of one man. This made Caesar angry. He deprived Marullus and Flavius of their tribuneship and in speaking against them he insulted the people at the same time, frequently referring to them as Brutes and Cymaeans.

62. It was in these circumstances that people began to turn their thoughts towards Marcus Brutus. He was thought to be, on his

father's side, a descendant of the Brutus who had abolished the monarchy; on his mother's side he came from another famous family, the Servilii; and he was a son-in-law and a nephew of Cato.[135] But his own zeal for destroying the new monarchy was blunted by the honours and favours which he had received from Caesar. It was not only that at Pharsalus after Pompey's flight his own life had been spared and the lives of many of his friends at his request; he was also a person in whom Caesar had particular trust. He had been given the most important of the praetorships for this very year[136] and was to be consul three years later. For this post he had been preferred to Cassius, who had been the rival candidate. Caesar, indeed, is said to have admitted that Cassius had the better claims of the two for the office. 'But,' he added, 'I cannot pass over Brutus.' And once, when the conspiracy was already formed and some people were actually accusing Brutus to Caesar of being involved in it, Caesar laid his hand on his body and said to the accusers: 'Brutus will wait for this skin of mine' – implying that Brutus certainly had the qualities which would entitle him to power, but that he would not, for the sake of power, behave basely and ungratefully.

However, those who were eager for the change and who looked to Brutus as the only, or at least the most likely, man to bring it about, used, without venturing to approach him personally, to come by night and leave papers all over the platform and the chair where he sat to do his work as praetor. Most of the messages were of this kind: 'You are asleep, Brutus' or 'You are no real Brutus.' And when Cassius observed that they were having at least something of an effect on Brutus' personal pride, he redoubled his own efforts to incite him further. Cassius, as I have mentioned in my *Life of Brutus*, had reasons of his own for hating Caesar;[137] moreover, Caesar was suspicious of him, and once said to his friends: 'What do you think Cassius is aiming at? Personally I am not too fond of him; he is much too pale.' And on another occasion it is said that, when Antony and Dolabella were accused to him of plotting a revolution, Caesar said: 'I'm not much afraid of these fat, long-haired people. It's the other type I'm more

frightened of, the pale thin ones' – by which he meant Brutus and Cassius.

63. Fate, however, seems to be not so much unexpected as unavoidable. Certainly, before this event, they say that strange signs were shown and strange apparitions were seen. As for the lights in the sky, the crashing sounds heard in all sorts of directions by night, the solitary specimens of birds coming down into the forum, all these, perhaps, are scarcely worth mentioning in connection with so great an event as this. But the philosopher Strabo says that a great crowd of men all on fire were seen making a charge; also that from the hand of a soldier's slave a great flame sprang out so that the hand seemed to the spectators to be burning away; but when the flame died out, the man was uninjured. He also says that when Caesar himself was making a sacrifice, the heart of the animal being sacrificed was missing – a very bad omen indeed, since in the ordinary course of nature no animal can exist without a heart. There is plenty of authority too for the following story: a soothsayer warned Caesar to be on his guard against a great danger on the day of the month of March which the Romans call the Ides;[138] and when this day had come, Caesar, on his way to the senate-house, met the soothsayer and greeted him jestingly with the words: 'Well, the Ides of March have come,' to which the soothsayer replied in a soft voice: 'Yes, but they have not yet gone.' And on the previous day Marcus Lepidus[139] was entertaining Caesar at supper and Caesar, according to his usual practice, happened to be signing letters as he reclined at table. Meanwhile the conversation turned to the question of what sort of death was the best, and, before anyone else could express a view on the subject, Caesar cried out: 'The kind that comes unexpectedly.' After this, when he was sleeping as usual by the side of his wife, all the doors and windows of the bedroom flew open at once; Caesar, startled by the noise and by the light of the moon shining down on him, noticed that Calpurnia was fast asleep, but she was saying something in her sleep which he could not make out and was groaning in an inarticulate way. In fact she was dreaming at that time that

she was holding his murdered body in her arms and was weeping over it. Though some say that it was a different dream which she had. They say that she dreamed that she saw the gable-ornament of the house torn down and for this reason fancied that she was weeping and lamenting. (This ornament, according to Livy, was put up by decree of the senate as a mark of honour and distinction.) In any case, when it was day, she implored Caesar, if it was possible, not to go out and begged him to postpone the meeting of the senate; or if, she said, he had no confidence in her dreams, then he ought to inquire about the future by sacrifices and other methods of divination. Caesar himself, it seems, was somewhat suspicious and afraid; for he had never before noticed any womanish superstition in Calpurnia and now he could see that she was in very great distress. And when the prophets, after making many sacrifices, told him that the omens were unfavourable, he decided to send for Antony and to dismiss the senate.

64. At this point Decimus Brutus,[140] surnamed Albinus, intervened. Caesar had such confidence in him that he had made him the second heir in his will, yet he was in the conspiracy with the other Brutus and Cassius. Now, fearing that if Caesar escaped this day the whole plot would come to light, he spoke derisively of the prophets and told Caesar that he ought not to give the senate such a good opportunity to complain that they were being treated discourteously; they had met, he said, on Caesar's instructions, and they were ready to vote unanimously that Caesar should be declared king of all the provinces outside Italy with the right of wearing a diadem in any other place except Italy, whether on sea or land; but if, when they were already in session, someone were to come and tell them that they must go away for the time being and come back again when Calpurnia had better dreams, it would be easy to imagine what Caesar's enemies would have to say themselves and what sort of a reception they would give to Caesar's friends when they tried to prove that Caesar was not a slave-master or a tyrant. If, however, he had really made up his mind to treat this day as inauspicious, then, Decimus Brutus said, it would be

better for him to go himself to the senate, speak personally to the senators, and adjourn the meeting.

While he was speaking, Brutus took Caesar by the hand and began to lead him towards the door. And before he had gone far from the door a slave belonging to someone else tried to approach him, but being unable to get near him because of the crowds who pressed round him, forced his way into the house and put himself into the hands of Calpurnia, asking her to keep him safe until Caesar came back, since he had some very important information to give him.

65. Then there was Artemidorus, a Cnidian by birth, and a teacher of Greek philosophy who, for that reason, had become acquainted with Brutus and his friends. He had thus acquired a very full knowledge of the conspiracy and he came to Caesar with a small document in which he had written down the information which he intended to reveal to him. But when he saw that Caesar took each document that was given to him and then handed it to one of his attendants, he came close up to him and said: 'Read this one, Caesar, and read it quickly and by yourself. I assure you that it is important and that it concerns you personally.' Caesar then took the document and was several times on the point of reading it, but was prevented from doing so by the numbers of people who came to speak to him. It was the only document which he did keep with him and he was still holding it in his hand when he went on into the senate. (According to some accounts, it was another person who gave him this document, and Artemidorus was kept back by the crowd all along the route and failed to get near Caesar at all.)

66. It may be said that all these things could have happened as it were by chance. But the place where the senate was meeting that day and which was to be the scene of the final struggle and of the assassination made it perfectly clear that some heavenly power was at work, guiding the action and directing that it should take place just here. For here stood a statue of Pompey, and the building had been erected and dedicated by Pompey as one of the extra amenities attached to his theatre. Indeed it is

said that, just before the attack was made on him, Cassius turned his eyes towards the statue of Pompey and silently prayed for its goodwill. This was in spite of the fact that he was a follower of the doctrines of Epicurus; yet the moment of crisis, so it would seem, and the very imminence of the dreadful deed made him forget his former rationalistic views and filled him with an emotion that was intuitive or divinely inspired.

Now Antony, who was a true friend of Caesar's and also a strong man physically, was detained outside the senate house by Brutus Albinus, who deliberately engaged him in a long conversation. Caesar himself went in and the senate rose in his honour. Some of Brutus' party took their places behind his chair and others went to meet him as though they wished to support the petition being made by Tillius Cimber[141] on behalf of his brother who was in exile. So, all joining in with him in his entreaties, they accompanied Caesar to his chair. Caesar took his seat and continued to reject their request; as they pressed him more and more urgently, he began to grow angry with them. Tillius then took hold of his toga with both hands and pulled it down from his neck. This was the signal for the attack. The first blow was struck by Casca,[142] who wounded Caesar in the neck with his dagger. The wound was not mortal and not even a deep one, coming as it did from a man who was no doubt much disturbed in mind at the beginning of such a daring venture. Caesar, therefore, was able to turn round and grasp the knife and hold on to it. At almost the same moment the striker of the blow and he who was struck cried out together – Caesar, in Latin, 'Casca, you villain, what are you doing?' while Casca called to his brother in Greek: 'Help, brother.'

So it began, and those who were not in the conspiracy were so horror-struck and amazed at what was being done that they were afraid to run away and afraid to come to Caesar's help; they were too afraid even to utter a word. But those who had come prepared for the murder all bared their daggers and hemmed Caesar in on every side. Whichever way he turned he met the blows of daggers and saw the cold steel aimed at his face and at his eyes. So he was driven this way and that, and like a wild beast in the toils, had to suffer from the hands of

each one of them; for it had been agreed that they must all take part in this sacrifice and all flesh themselves with his blood. Because of this compact even Brutus gave him one wound in the groin. Some say that Caesar fought back against all the rest, darting this way and that to avoid the blows and crying out for help, but when he saw that Brutus had drawn his dagger, he covered his head with his toga and sank down to the ground. Either by chance or because he was pushed there by his murderers, he fell down against the pedestal on which the statue of Pompey stood, and the pedestal was drenched with his blood, so that one might have thought that Pompey himself was presiding over this act of vengeance against his enemy, who lay there at his feet struggling convulsively under so many wounds. He is said to have received twenty-three wounds. And many of his assailants were wounded by each other, as they tried to plant all those blows in one body.

67. So Caesar was done to death and, when it was over, Brutus stepped forward with the intention of making a speech to explain what had been done. The senators, however, would not wait to hear him. They rushed out through the doors of the building and fled to their homes, thus producing a state of confusion, terror and bewilderment amongst the people. Some bolted their doors; others left their counters and shops and could be observed either running to see the place where Caesar had been killed or, once they had seen it, running back again. Antony and Lepidus, who were Caesar's chief friends, stole away and hid in houses belonging to other people. Brutus and his party, on the other hand, just as they were, still hot and eager from the murder, marched all together in one body from the senate house to the Capitol, holding up their naked daggers in front of them and, far from giving the impression that they wanted to escape, looking glad and confident. They summoned the people in the name of liberty, and they invited the more distinguished persons whom they met to join in with them. Some of these did join in the procession and go up with them to the Capitol, pretending that they had taken part in the deed and thus claiming their share in the glory of it. Among these

were Gaius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther who suffered later for their imposture.[143] They were put to death by Antony and young Caesar, and did not even have the satisfaction of enjoying the fame which caused their death, since no one believed that they had taken part in the action. Even those who inflicted the death penalty on them were punishing them not for what they did but for what they would have liked to have done.

Next day Brutus and his party came down from the Capitol and Brutus made a speech.[144] The people listened to what he said without expressing either pleasure or resentment at what had been done. Their complete silence indicated that they both pitied Caesar and respected Brutus. The senate passed a decree of amnesty and tried to reconcile all parties. It was voted that Caesar should be worshipped as a god and that there should be no alteration made, however small, in any of the measures passed by him while he was in power.[145] On the other hand, provinces and appropriate honours were given to Brutus and his friends.[146] Everyone thought, therefore, that things were not only settled but settled in the best possible way.

68. But when Caesar's will was opened and it was discovered that he had left a considerable legacy to each Roman citizen, and when the people saw his body, all disfigured with its wounds, being carried through the forum, they broke through all bounds of discipline and order.[147] They made a great pile of benches, railings and tables from the forum and, placing the body upon this, burned it there. Then, carrying blazing brands, they ran to set fire to the houses of the murderers, while others went up and down through the city trying to find the men themselves to tear them to pieces. They, however, were well barricaded and not one of them came in the way of the mob. But there was a man called Cinna, one of Caesar's friends, who, they say, happened to have had a strange dream during the previous night. He dreamed that Caesar invited him to supper and he declined the invitation; Caesar then led him along by the hand, though he did not want to go and was pulling in the opposite direction. Now when Cinna heard that they were burning Caesar's body in the forum he got up and went there

out of respect for his memory, though he felt a certain amount of misgiving as a result of his dream and was also suffering from a fever. One of the crowd who saw him there asked who he was and, when he had learned the name, told it to another. So the name was passed on and it was quickly accepted by everyone that here was one of the men who had murdered Caesar; since among the conspirators there was in fact a man with this same name of Cinna.[148] The crowd, thinking that this was he, rushed on him and tore him limb from limb on the spot. It was this more than anything else which frightened Brutus and Cassius, and within a few days they withdrew from the city. What they did and what happened to them before they died has been related in my *Life of Brutus*.

69. Caesar was fifty-six years old when he died. He had survived Pompey by not much more than four years. As for the supreme power which he had pursued during the whole course of his life throughout such dangers and which at last and with such difficulty he had achieved, the only fruit he reaped from it was an empty name and a glory which made him envied by his fellow-citizens. But that great divine power or genius, which had watched over him and helped him in his life, even after his death remained active as an avenger of his murder, pursuing and tracking down the murderers over every land and sea until not one of them was left and visiting with retribution all, without exception, who were in any way concerned either with the death itself or with the planning of it.

So far as human coincidences are concerned, the most remarkable was that which concerned Cassius. After his defeat at Philippi he killed himself with the very same dagger which he had used against Caesar.[149] And of supernatural events there was, first, the great comet, which shone very brightly for seven nights after Caesar's murder and then disappeared; and also the dimming of the sun. For the whole of that year the sun's orb rose dull and pale; the heat which came down from it was feeble and ineffective, so that the atmosphere, with insufficient warmth to penetrate it, lay dark and heavy on the earth and fruits and vegetables never properly ripened, withering away

and falling off before they were mature because of the coldness of the air.

But, more than anything else, the phantom which appeared to Brutus made it clear that the murder of Caesar was not pleasing to the gods. The story is as follows: Brutus was about to take his army across from Abydos to the mainland on the other side of the straits, and one night was lying down, as usual, in his tent, not asleep, but thinking about the future. (It is said that of all military commanders Brutus was the one who needed least sleep, and had the greatest natural capacity for staying awake for long hours on end.) He fancied that he heard a noise at the entrance to the tent and, looking towards the light of the lamp which was almost out, he saw a terrible figure, like a man, though unnaturally large and with a very severe expression. He was frightened at first, but, finding that this apparition just stood silently by his bed without doing or saying anything, he said: 'Who are you?' Then the phantom replied: 'Brutus, I am your evil genius. You shall see me at Philippi.' On this occasion Brutus answered courageously: 'Then I shall see you,' and the supernatural visitor at once went away. Time passed and he drew up his army against Antony and Caesar near Philippi. In the first battle he conquered the enemy divisions that were opposed to him, and, after routing them, broke through and sacked Caesar's camp. But in the night before the second battle the same phantom visited him again. It spoke no word, but Brutus realized that his fate was upon him and exposed himself to every danger in the battle. He did not die, however, in the fighting. It was after his troops had been routed that he retired to a steep rocky place, put his naked sword to his breast and with the help of a friend, so they say, who assisted him in driving the blow home, killed himself.

6

CICERO

[106–43 BC]

The life of Cicero makes no serious attempt to present the problems that confronted a 'new man' when he tried to make his way in Roman politics or to explain why Cicero, alone in his generation, was successful in surmounting them. Indeed, Cicero's rise to the consulship *suo anno* receives almost no comment, though Plutarch does seem to understand that the orator was elected largely for negative reasons. He says nothing, however, of Cicero's chief difficulty: the fact that his candidature had received support both from Pompey and from Pompey's enemies, so that Cicero was obliged to spend much of 63 uneasily acting on behalf of the *boni* while pretending to defend the interests of Pompey. But Plutarch had Cicero's works on his consulship, as well as various speeches and letters that have not survived, and so his account of the Catilinarian conspiracy contains valuable additional information, clarifying in particular the tergiversation of the consul designate Silanus. He also preserves some useful examples of Cicero's inability to resist the temptation to make smart remarks, no matter what the consequences. But the account of Cicero's fateful quarrel with Clodius and its results is careless and inaccurate, with nothing on the attitudes of Pompey or of Clodius himself. As in the other lives that deal with this period, the political detail of the fifties is ignored, and in the last, most vital stage of Cicero's career, when he tried in vain to exploit the young Octavian and use him to rid the state of Antony before casting him off in his turn (just as the Catonians had tried to use Pompey against Caesar), Plutarch shows no understanding of his policy.

121. *Numerius*: N. Magius.
122. *no transports available*: Cf. Caesar, *Bellum Civile*, 1.29.1.
123. *Labienus . . . Brutus*: T. Labienus, *tr. pl.* 63; on him cf. Syme, *JRS* 28, 1938, 113 ff. M. Iunius Brutus (Q. Servilius Caepio Brutus), *pr.* 44, the assassin of Caesar; his father, legate of the rebel proconsul M. Lepidus in 77, had been captured and killed by Pompey at Mutina.
124. *Caesar also showed himself merciful as a conqueror*: On Caesar's clemency cf. e.g. Cicero, *Att.* 8.9.4, 8.11.5; 9.7c.1; Caesar, *BC* 1.13.5, 1.18.4, 1.23.3.
125. *Vibullius*: L. Vibullius Rufus, cf. *MRR* II, 271.
126. *found himself . . . seek a battle*: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 3.42, 44.
127. *Afranius*: L. Afranius, *cos.* 60.
128. *Scipio*: Metellus Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law.
129. *Domitius Ahenobarbus*: The consul of 54.
130. *lost his forces in Spain*: Cf. *MRR* II, 266.
131. *Spinther, Domitius and Scipio . . . chief pontiff*: Caesar, *BC* 3.82 f.
132. *Lucius Calvinus*: Actually Cn. Calvinus, *cos.* 53, 40.
133. *Crassianus . . . 120 men*: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 3.91, 99, who gives the name as Crastinus.
134. *Asinius Pollio*: C. Asinius Pollio, *cos.* 40, the historian of the civil wars.
135. *Lentuli*: The consuls of 57 and 49.
136. *his father*: Ptolemy Auletes, whose claim to the throne had been ratified by Caesar with Pompey's approval in 59 (*MRR* II, 188) and who had been restored by Pompey's friend Gabinius in 55 (*MRR* II, 218).
137. *his sister*: Cleopatra.
138. *Different opinions were expressed*: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 3.104.1.
139. *Septimius*: L. Septimius, who had served as a centurion in the pirate war.
140. *Lucius Lentulus*: Lentulus Crus, the consul of 49.
141. *But after Marcus Brutus had killed Caesar and come into power*: In 43 or 42.

COMPARISON OF AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

1. *funeral obsequies . . . Sulla's son Faustus*: Pompey's role at Sulla's funeral is not mentioned in the Life, but is treated at *Sulla* 38.

The marriage of Pompeia and Faustus Sulla does not appear in the Lives of either Pompey or Sulla.

CAESAR

1. *[100–44 BC]*: Cf. Gelzer, *Caesar*, 1 n. 1; Badian, *Studies*, 140 ff.
2. *confiscated her dowry*: The marriage took place in 84 and was dissolved in 82. Cf. Gelzer, *Caesar*, 20 f.
3. *Caesar's cousin*: See the stemma in Gelzer's *Caesar*.
4. *so many people were being killed*: On the Sullan proscriptions cf. *Sulla*, n. 51.
5. *priesthood*: The office of *flamen Dialis*.
6. *on his voyage back . . . smaller craft*: In 75; Plutarch's account is confused, cf. Gelzer, *Caesar*, 21 ff.
7. *Junius*: M. Iuncus, *pr.* 76, cf. *MRR* II, 98.
8. *Sulla's power was declining*: Sulla had been dead for three years.
9. *Dolabella . . . with evidence*: Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, *cos.* 81. The province was Macedonia; the trial took place in 77.
10. *Marcus Lucullus, the praetor of Macedonia*: Rather C. Antonius, *cos.* 63. His misdeeds in Greece dated to *c.*84 when he served there under Sulla. M. Terentius Varro Lucullus (brother of Lucius), *cos.* 73, was not governor of Macedonia but peregrine praetor in 76.
11. *The first proof . . . on the list*: For 71. C. Popillius, *tr. pl.* probably 68 (cf. *MRR* II, 130 n. 4, 141 n. 8).
12. *brilliant public speech . . . Marius himself*: In the year of his quaestorship, 69.
13. *his own wife died*: In the same year.
14. *Vetus . . . praetor*: C. Antistius Vetus, *pr.* 70, who governed Further Spain in 69. Antistius Vetus, *q.* 61, *tr. pl.* 56. (His quaestorship is omitted from *MRR* II, 180 and Index, 530, though see 214 n. 2.)
15. *married Pompeia as his third wife*: Probably in 68. Daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus, *cos.* 88, whose wife was a daughter of Sulla.
16. *By Cornelia . . . Pompey the Great*: In 59.
17. *when he was aedile*: In 65.
18. *provided a show . . . holders of the office*: On the importance of lavish expenditure in the aedileship cf. Gelzer, *RN*, 57, 111, 115.
19. *There were two parties . . . show their heads*: There was a number of prominent senators devoted to maintaining the relics of Sulla's constitutional settlement and therewith their own supremacy, but

to speak of Sullan and especially of Marian 'parties' is completely misleading.

20. *Marius' victories over the Cimbri*: Cf. Plutarch's life of Marius.
21. *Lutatius Catulus*: Q. Lutatius Catulus, *cos.* 78, son of Marius' colleague of 102.
22. *Metellus*: Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, *cos.* 80; he died in 63.
23. *Isauricus*: P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, *cos.* 79.
24. *Piso*: C. Calpurnius Piso, *cos.* 67, prosecuted by Caesar in 63.
25. *Catiline*: On the alleged conspiracy of L. Sergius Catilina, *pr.* 68, see Cicero's speeches *In Catilinam*, *Pro Murena* and *Pro Sulla*, and Sallust's monograph.
26. *Whether or not Caesar . . . death penalty*: Cf. Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae* 51 and Cicero's *Fourth Catilinarian*.
27. *Cato*: Cf. Sallust, *BC* 52.
28. *Curio*: C. Scribonius Curio, who later served Caesar well as *tr. pl.* 50.
29. *7½ million drachmas a year*: As tribune in 62, cf. *MRR* II, 175.
30. *elected praetor for the next year*: 62.
31. *during his praetorship*: On the contrary the disturbances were sufficient to provoke the passing of the *senatus consultum ultimum* and Caesar's temporary suspension from office; cf. *MRR* II, 173.
32. *Caesar's mother, Aurelia*: See the stemma in Gelzer's *Caesar*.
33. *One of the tribunes*: The court which tried Clodius was constituted by a law of Q. Fufius Calenus (*tr. pl.* 61, *cos.* 47), cf. *MRR* II, 180.
34. *wife of Lucullus*: Clodius had three sisters (cf. Syme, *RR*, table I) who married Q. Metellus Celer (*cos.* 60), L. Lucullus (*cos.* 74) and Q. Marcius Rex (*cos.* 68).
35. *Caesar received Spain as his province*: Hispania Ulterior.
36. *at the time of the consular elections*: Summer 60.
37. *Caesar, who arrived at Rome . . . outside the city*: Cf. *MRR* II, 185.
38. *Calpurnius Bibulus*: M. Calpurnius Bibulus, Cato's son-in-law.
39. *So Caesar . . . from a consul*: On Caesar's legislation cf. *MRR* II, 187 f. On the authorship of the laws cf. Pocock, *A Commentary on Cicero In Vatinium*, 161 ff.
40. *Julia . . . Servilius Caepio*: Cf. *Pompey*, n. 82.
41. *Piso*: L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, *cos.* 58.
42. *Pompey, directly after his marriage . . . army of four legions*: Cf. *Pompey*, n. 84.
43. *But the most disgraceful . . . out of Italy*: Cf. Seager, *Latomus* 24, 1965, 519 ff.

44. *Fabius and Scipio and Metellus*: Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, *cos.* 233, 228, 215, 214, 209, whose strategy contributed much to the defeat of Hannibal (cf. *MRR* I, 243); either P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, *cos.* 205, 194, who won the final victory over Hannibal at Zama in 202 (cf. *MRR* I, 317), or P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus, *cos.* 147, 134, who destroyed Carthage in 146 and Numantia in 133 (cf. *MRR* I, 467, 494); probably Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, *cos.* 109, who fought Jugurtha (cf. the life of Marius and Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum*).
45. *Acilius*: Not recorded in Caesar, *BC* 2.4–7.
46. *Cassius Scaeva*: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 3.53.
47. *Scipio*: Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, *cos.* 52, commander of the Pompeian forces in Africa after Pompey's death; cf. *MRR* II, 275, 288, 297.
48. *Granius Petro*: Cf. *MRR* II, 296.
49. *Oppius*: On C. Oppius cf. Gelzer, *Caesar*, Index, s.v.
50. *His first war . . . Tigurini*: In 58. Cf. Caesar, *BG* 1.1–30.
51. *These tribes . . . in the past*: Cf. *Marius*, nn. 21, 22.
52. *The Tigurini . . . Labienus*: Contra Caesar, *BG* 1.12. On Labienus cf. *Pompey*, n. 123.
53. *His second war . . . the Gauls*: So Caesar said, cf. *BG* 1.31–33. On the campaign, also in 58, cf. *BG* 1.34–54.
54. *Caesar had made the German King Ariovistus an ally*: In 59.
55. *Caesar saw that his officers . . . easy money*: Cf. Caesar, *BG* 1.39.2. Cicero's friend C. Trebatius Testa is a good example, cf. Gelzer, *RN*, 117, *Caesar*, 138.
56. *spent the winter*: Of 58/7.
57. *scene of the action*: On the campaign cf. Caesar, *BG* 2.1 ff.
58. *Caesar then marched against the Nervii*: Cf. *Caesar*, *BG* 2.15–19, 28–32.
59. *At the news of these victories . . . any victory*: Cf. Caesar, *BG*, 2.35.4.
60. *spend the winter*: Of 57/6.
61. *to meet him at Luca . . . proconsul of Spain*: Cf. *Pompey*, n. 95.
62. *the next year*: 55.
63. *sending him on a mission to Cyprus*: In 58, by a law of Clodius. Cf. *MRR* II, 198.
64. *Favonius*: M. Favonius, *pr.* 49.
65. *involved in a serious war*: On the campaign of 55 against the Usipetes and Tencteri cf. Caesar, *BG* 4.1–19.
66. *Tanusius*: On Tanusius Geminus, a historian hostile to Caesar, cf. Peter, *HRR* II, LXV f. and the fragments ibid. 49 ff.

67. *his expedition against Britain*: On the British expeditions of 55 and 54 cf. Caesar, *BG* 4.20–38; 5.8–23.
68. *died in childbirth at Pompey's house*: August 54.
69. *Gaul broke out into revolt*: Winter 54/3. Cf. Caesar, *BG* 5.25–52.
70. *Abriorix . . . Titurius*: Ambiorix, chief of the Eburones; L. Aurunculeius Cotta and M. Titurius Sabinus, cf. *MRR* II, 225 f.
71. *Cicero*: Q. Tullius Cicero, *pr.* 62, the orator's younger brother; cf. *MRR* II, 226.
72. *rebellion*: On the rebellion of Vercingetorix which broke out in 52 cf. Caesar, *BG* 7. Plutarch omits the campaign of 53.
73. *the Aedui . . . the Romans*: On the relationship between Rome and the Aedui, which Caesar exploited as a pretext for intervention in Gaul, cf. Caesar, *BG* 1.14, 33, 43, 45; 2.15; 5.7; 6.12.
74. *Crassus . . . killed in Parthia*: 9 June 53, cf. *MRR* II, 230.
75. *Cato was able . . . by force*: In 52, cf. *MRR* II, 234.
76. *should be prolonged*: For 5 years, cf. *MRR* II, 238. The statement that he controlled Africa is false.
77. *Marcellus and Lentulus*: M. Claudius Marcellus, *cos.* 51. L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, *cos.* 49.
78. *they took away the rights . . . established by Caesar in Gaul*: By a law of Vatinius in 59, cf. *MRR* II, 190.
79. *Curio; and he gave the consul Paulus*: C. Scribonius Curio, *tr. pl. suff.* 50, cf. *MRR* II, 249. L. Aemilius Paullus, *cos.* 50, cf. *MRR* II, 247.
80. *to ask for the return . . . war in Gaul*: Each commander was to give up one legion for the defence of Syria; Pompey gave a legion loaned to Caesar in 53, so that in fact Caesar lost two legions, Pompey none.
81. *Antony*: The future triumvir, *tr. pl.* 49, cf. *MRR* II, 258.
82. *in spite of the consuls'*: C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.
83. *In the senate . . . Scipio*: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 1.2.6.
84. *Cilicia*: Which he had governed in 51.
85. *he gave Caesar . . . among his troops*: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 1.7, 22.
86. *Hortensius*: Q. Hortensius, *pr.* 45, cf. *MRR* II, 267.
87. *Asinius Pollio*: C. Asinius Pollio, *cos.* 40, the historian of the civil wars.
88. *Labienus*: Cf. *Pompey*, n. 123.
89. *Caesar sent Labienus' money and baggage after him*: Cf. *MRR* II, 268.
90. *marched against Domitius . . . force of thirty cohorts*: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, *cos.* 54. Cf. Caesar, *BC* 1.15–20, 23–25; *MRR* II, 261 f.

91. *He fled . . . sailed off himself*: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 1.29.1.
92. *When Metellus*: Cf. *Pompey*, n. 120.
93. *marched into Spain*: On the Spanish campaign cf. Caesar, *BC* 1.30–2.22.
94. *Afranius and Varro*: L. Afranius, *cos.* 60, legate of Nearer Spain, and M. Terentius Varro, legate of Hispania Ulterior; cf. *MRR* II, 266, 269.
95. *Piso . . . Isauricus . . . appointed Caesar dictator*: L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, *cos.* 58; cf. Gelzer, *Caesar*, 222. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, *cos.* 48, 41, son of the consul of 79. Caesar was named dictator before his return to Rome, while he was still at Massilia, by the praetor M. Aemilius Lepidus (the future triumvir). Cf. Caesar, *BC* 3.1 f.; *MRR* II 256 f.
96. *January*: In 48. Cf. Caesar, *BC* 3.3–9.
97. *Finally he decided . . . command of the sea*: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 3.5.2.
98. *After this Antony*: Cf. *MRR* II, 280.
99. *shortage of food*: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 3.17, 42.
100. *Scipio*: Pompey's father-in-law, who was bringing forces from Asia to Greece; cf. *MRR* II, 275.
101. *succeed Caesar as chief pontiff*: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 3.83.
102. *Corfinius . . . Calenus*: Probably Q. Cornificius, *quaestor pro praetore* in Illyricum, cf. *MRR* II, 276. Q. Fufius Calenus, *cos.* 47, a legate; cf. *MRR* II, 281.
103. *Domitius Calvinus*: The consul of 53 and 40.
104. *Domitius*: The consul of 54. He was killed in the battle (Caesar, *BC* 3.99.5).
105. *Caesar called out to him*: On C. Crastinus cf. Caesar, *BC* 3.91, 99.
106. *They made this happen . . . their law courts*: Cf. Suetonius, *Iul.* 30.4.
107. *He then went in pursuit of Pompey*: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 3.102.1.
108. *He arrived at Alexandria just after Pompey's death*: Cf. Caesar, *BC* 3.106.
109. *she had a son . . . Caesarion*: Caesar's paternity is very doubtful, though cf. Gelzer, *Caesar*, 257 n. 1.
110. *Domitius*: Domitius Calvinus.
111. *So, with three legions . . . brevity and concentration*: On the campaign cf. *Bellum Alexandrinum* 34 ff.
112. *for a whole year*: The traditional period, when one was specified, was 6 months; none had been laid down for Sulla (*dict.* 82–81).

113. *proclaimed consul*: For 46.
114. *Cosconius*: C. Cosconius, *pr.* ?54 (*MRR* II, 273); Galba cannot be identified.
115. *Dolabella*: P. Cornelius Dolabella, *tr. pl.* 47, *cos. suff.* 44, Cicero's son-in-law; cf. *MRR* II, 287.
116. *King Juba*: Father of the historian (*Sulla*, n. 31); cf. Gelzer, *Caesar*, Index s.v.
117. *winter solstice*: Of 47. On the campaign cf. the *Bellum Africum*.
118. *Caesar was forced . . . for his horses*: Cf. *BAfr.* 8, 9, 20, 24.
119. *Cato was in command . . . no part in the battle*: Cf. *MRR* II, 298.
120. *He then celebrated . . . Africa*: 20 September–1 October 47, cf. *MRR* II, 293. Plutarch omits the triumph for the conquest of Gaul.
121. *Juba, the son of the king . . . historians of Greece*: On him cf. *Sulla*, n. 31.
122. *set out for Spain against the sons of Pompey*: For 45, without a colleague (*MRR* II, 304). On the campaign cf. the *Bellum Hispaniense*. On Cn. Pompeius Magnus, killed at Munda, cf. *MRR* II, 298, 309. The younger son was Sex. Pompeius Magnus Pius, *cos. des.* 35, the opponent of Octavian.
123. *The triumph . . . anything else had done*: Early October 45.
124. *Brutus, for instance, and to Cassius, both of whom were now praetors*: M. Iunius Brutus and C. Cassius Longinus, the assassins, urban and peregrine praetors respectively in 44. Cf. *MRR* II, 320 f.
125. *at the same time*: In 146, by Scipio Aemilianus and L. Mummius respectively.
126. *He dealt with . . . offices and honours*: Cf. Syme, *RR*, 61 ff.
127. *consul Maximus*: Q. Fabius Maximus, *cos.* 45.
128. *Caninius Rebilius . . . term of office*: C. Caninius Rebilus, *cos.* 31 December 45. Cf. Cicero, *Fam.* 7.30.1 f.
129. *His reform of the calendar . . . proved extremely useful*: On Caesar and the calendar cf. Gelzer, *Caesar*, 289.
130. *Yet those who . . . led by a king*: Cf. Cicero, *De divinatione* 2.110.
131. *said that his name was not King but Caesar*: 'Non Rex sum sed Caesar': like Caesar, Rex was a Roman cognomen, used by one branch of the Marcii.
132. *Cornelius Balbus*: L. Cornelius Balbus of Gades, *cos. suff.* 40, defended by Cicero in 56 (cf. the *Pro Balbo*); cf. Gelzer, *Caesar*, Index s.v.

133. *Antony, who was consul at the time*: In 44. The Lupercalia took place on 15 February.
134. *Flavius and Marullus*: L. Caesetius Flavus and C. Epidius Marullus, cf. *MRR* II, 323.
135. *son-in-law and a nephew of Cato*: Cf. Syme, *RR*, table II.
136. *most important of the praetorships for this very year*: The urban praetorship of 44.
137. *Cassius . . . hating Caesar*: Cf. Plutarch, *Brut.* 8.
138. *the Ides*: 15 March.
139. *Marcus Lepidus*: M. Aemilius Lepidus, *cos.* 46, 42, Caesar's master of horse and the future triumvir.
140. *Decimus Brutus*: D. Iunius Brutus Albinus, *cos. des.* 42.
141. *Tillius Cimber*: L. Tillius Cimber, *pr.* ?45.
142. *Casca*: C. Servilius Casca, *tr. pl.* 44.
143. *Gaius Octavius . . . for their imposture*: C. Octavius Balbus, cf. Valerius Maximus, 5.7.3; Appian, *BC* 4.85.
144. *Brutus made a speech*: Cf. Syme, *RR*, 97 ff.
145. *It was voted . . . while he was in power*: 17 March; cf. Cicero, *Phil.* 1.2, 31.
146. *provinces . . . given to Brutus and his friends*: Brutus and Cassius were first offered posts in connection with the corn supply in Sicily and Asia, though not till 5 June, then, about 1 August, the minor provinces of Crete and Cyrene. Cf. *MRR* II, 320 f.
147. *when the people saw his body . . . discipline and order*: Cf. Syme, *RR*, 98 f.
148. *Cinna*: C. Helvius Cinna, *tr. pl.* 44, poet and friend of Catullus, was murdered by mistake for the praetor L. Cornelius Cinna, brother of Caesar's first wife and son of the consul of 87. Cf. *MRR* II, 320 f., 324.
149. *After his defeat at Philippi . . . against Caesar*: The second battle of Philippi was on 23 October 42, cf. *MRR* II, 360 f.; the first, after which Cassius killed himself, shortly before.

CICERO

1. *born and bred in a fuller's shop*: Cf. Gelzer, *RN*, 15.
2. *Scaurus or Catulus*: M. Aemilius Scaurus, *cos.* 115; Q. Lutatius Catulus, *cos.* 102, and his homonymous son, *cos.* 78.
3. *his quaestorship in Sicily*: In 75.
4. *but in poetry . . . neglected and unknown*: For the fragments of Cicero's poetry cf. Morel, *Frag. Poet. Lat.*, 66 ff.
5. *Mucius Scaevola*: Q. Mucius Scaevola the augur, *cos.* 117; after