

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I THE INSURRECTION OF CATILINE.

It was in the first place expensive indulgence, and, in the next, the want of means occasioned by it, with a fair opportunity at the same time, (for the Roman forces were then abroad in the remotest parts of the world,) that led Catiline to form the atrocious design of subjugating his country. With what accomplices (direful to relate!) did he undertake to murder the senate, to assassinate the consuls, to destroy the city by fire¹, to plunder the treasury, to subvert the entire government, and to commit such outrages as not even Hannibal seems to have contemplated! He was himself a patrician; but this was only a small consideration; there were joined with him the Curi, the Porci, the Syllæ, the Cethegi, the Antronii, the Varguntei, the Longini, (what illustrious families, what ornaments of the senate!) and Lentulus also, who was then prætor. All these he had as supporters in his horrid attempt. As a pledge to unite them in the plot, human blood² was introduced, which, being carried round in bowls, they drank among them; an act of the utmost enormity, had not that been more enormous for which they drank it. Then would have been an end of this glorious empire, if the conspiracy had not happened in the consulship of Cicero and Antonius, of whom one discovered the plot by vigilance, and the other suppressed it by arms.

The revelation of the atrocious project was made by Fulvia, a common harlot, but unwilling to be guilty of treason against her country. The consul Cicero, accordingly, having convoked the senate, made a speech against the accused, who was then present in the house; but nothing further was effected by it, than that the enemy made off, openly and expressly declaring³ that he would extinguish the flame raised

¹ Ch. I. To destroy the city by fire] *Distringere incendiis urbem*. So *ad distringendam libertatem*, Sen. Benef., vi., 34, where Lipsius would read *destringendam*.

² Human blood] See Sall., Cat., c. 22.

³ Openly and expressly declaring] *Seque palam professo incendium*, &c. The passage is evidently corrupt. Madame Dacier would strike out *professo*; Grævius would eject *palam*, and read *ex professo*, adverbially. Gronovius would

against him by a general ruin. He then set out to an army which had been prepared by Manlius in Etruria, intending to advance under arms against the city. Lentulus, meanwhile, promising himself the kingdom portended to his family by the Sibylline verses, disposed throughout the city, against a day appointed by Catiline, men, combustibles, and weapons. And not confined to plotting among the people of the city, the rage for the conspiracy, having excited the deputies of the Allobroges, who happened then to be at Rome, to give their voice in favour of war, would have spread beyond the Alps, had not a letter of Lentulus been intercepted through the information of Vulturcius. Hands were immediately laid on the barbarian deputies, by order of Cicero; and the prætor was openly convicted in the senate. When a consultation was held about their punishment, Cæsar gave his opinion that they should be spared for the sake of their rank, Cato that they should suffer the penalty due to their crime. Cato's advice being generally adopted, the traitors were strangled in prison.

But though a portion of the conspirators were thus cut off, Catiline did not desist from his enterprise. Marching, however, with an army from Etruria against his country, he was defeated by a force of Antonius that encountered him on the way. How desperate the engagement was, the result manifested; for not a man of the rebel troops survived. Whatever place each had occupied in the battle, that very spot, when life was extinct, he covered with his corpse. Catiline was found, far in advance of his men, among the dead bodies of the enemy; a most glorious death, had he thus fallen for his country.

CHAP. II. THE WAR BETWEEN CÆSAR AND POMPEY.

Almost the whole world being now subdued, the Roman empire was grown too great to be overthrown by any foreign power. Fortune, in consequence, envying the sovereign people of the earth, armed it to its own destruction. The outrages of Marius and Cinna had already made a sort of

read *segue palam professus, &c.*, which Vossius, Rupertus, and apparently Duker, approve, and which seems to be the only reasonable way of correcting the ~~pas~~ ~~esse~~.

prelude within the city, as if by way of trial. The storm of Sylla had thundered even further, but still within the bounds of Italy. The fury of Cæsar and Pompey, as with a general deluge or conflagration, overran the city, Italy, other countries and nations, and finally the whole empire wherever it extended; so that it cannot properly be called a *civil* war, or war *with allies*; neither can it be termed a foreign war; but it was rather a *war consisting of all these, or even something more than a war*. If we look at the leaders in it, the whole of the senators were on one side or the other; if we consider the armies, there were on one side eleven legions, and on the other eighteen, the entire flower and strength of the manhood of Italy; if we contemplate the auxiliary forces of the allies, there were on one side levies of Gauls and Germans, on the other Deiotarus, Ariobarzanes, Tarcondimotus¹, Cotys, and all the force of Thrace, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Macedonia, Greece, Ætolia, and all the East; if we regard the duration of the war, it was four years, a time short in proportion to the havoc made in it; if we attend to the space and ground on which it was conducted, it arose within Italy, whence it spread into Gaul and Spain, and, returning from the west, settled with its whole force on Epirus and Thessaly; hence it suddenly passed into Egypt, then turned towards Asia, next fell upon Africa, and at last wheeled back into Spain, where it at length found its termination. But the animosities of parties did not end with the war, nor subsided till the hatred of those who had been defeated satiated itself with the murder of the conqueror in the midst of the city and the senate.

The cause of this calamity was the same with that of all others, excessive good fortune. For in the consulship of Quintus Metellus and Lucius Afranius, when the majesty of Rome predominated throughout the world, and Rome herself was celebrating, in the theatres of Pompey, her recent victories and triumphs over Pontus and Armenia, the overgrown power of Pompey, as is usual in similar cases, excited among the idle citizens a feeling of envy towards him. Metellus, discontented at the diminution of his triumph over Crete²,

¹ Ch. II. Tarcondimotus] A prince of Cilicia; Cotys, a king of Thrace.

² At the diminution of his triumph over Crete] *Ob imminutam Creteæ triumphum*. "Not complaining without reason, for the greatest ornament of his triumph, the captive leaders, had been kept back by Pompey." Vell. Pat., ii., 40 Dion. Cass., lib. xxxvi.

Cato, ever an enemy to those in power, calumniated Pompey, and raised a clamour against his acts. Resentment at such conduct drove Pompey to harsh measures, and impelled him to provide some support for his authority. Crassus happened at that time to be distinguished for family, wealth, and honour, but was desirous to have his power still greater. Caius Cæsar had become eminent by his eloquence and spirit, and by his promotion to the consulate. Yet Pompey rose above them both. Cæsar, therefore, being eager to acquire distinction, Crassus to increase what he had got, and Pompey to add to his, and all being equally covetous of power, they readily formed a compact to seize the government. Striving, accordingly, with their common forces, each for his own advancement, Cæsar took the province of Gaul, Crassus that of Asia, Pompey, that of Spain; they had three vast armies¹, and thus the empire of the world was now held by these three leading personages. Their government extended through ten years. At the expiration of this period, (for they had previously been kept in restraint by dread of one another,) a rivalry broke forth between Cæsar and Pompey, consequent on the death of Crassus among the Parthians, and that of Julia, who, being married to Pompey, maintained a good understanding between the son-in-law and father-in-law by means of this matrimonial bond. But now the power of Cæsar was an object of jealousy to Pompey, and the eminence of Pompey was offensive to Cæsar. The one could not bear an equal nor the other a superior. Sad to relate, they struggled for mastery, as if the resources of so great an empire would not suffice for two. Accordingly, in the consulship of Lentulus and Marcellus, their first bond of union being broken, the senate, that is, Pompey, began to think of a successor to Cæsar in the consulate; nor did Cæsar refuse to comply with their wishes, if regard were but had to him at the following election. But the consulship, which ten tribunes of the people, with Pompey's approbation, had recently decreed him in his absence, was now, as Pompey remained neutral, refused him. It was insisted "that he should come and sue for it according to ancient usage." He, on the

¹ Three vast armies] *Tres maximos exercitus*. These words are without verb in the original. "Some verb," says Grævius, "such as *habuere*, must have been lost out of the text; or the three words must have been an interpolation."

other hand, demanded what had been decreed him, and declared, that unless they adhered to their word, he would not part with his army. A decree was accordingly passed against him as an enemy.

Cæsar, provoked at these proceedings, resolved to secure the rewards of arms by means of arms. The first scene of action, in this civil war, was Italy, of which Pompey had occupied the strongholds with light garrisons. But they were all overpowered by the sudden advance of Cæsar. The first signal for battle sounded from Ariminum, when Libo was expelled from Etruria, Thermus from Umbria, and Domitius from Corfinium. The war would have been finished without bloodshed, if Cæsar could have surprised Pompey at Brundisium; and he would have surprised him, had he not escaped by night through the barricade of the besieged harbour. Dishonourable to relate! he that was recently at the head of the senate, the arbiter of peace and war, fled across the sea, over which he had once triumphed, in a single vessel that was shattered and almost dismantled. Nor was Pompey driven from Italy sooner than the senate was forced from the city, which Cæsar having entered, when it was almost evacuated from fear of him, created himself consul. The sacred treasury, too, as the tribunes were slow in unlocking it, he ordered to be broken open, seizing the revenue and property of the Roman people before he seized their empire.

Pompey being driven off and put to flight, Cæsar thought it better to regulate the provinces before proceeding to pursue him. Sicily and Sardinia, to be assured of corn, he secured by means of his lieutenant-generals. In Gaul there were no remains of hostility; for he himself had established peace in it. But Marseilles, when he wished to pass through it in his way to the Spanish armies of Pompey, ventured to shut her gates against him. The unhappy city, desirous of peace, fell into a war through fear of war. But, as it was fortified with walls, he left it to be reduced for him in his absence. The men of this Greek city, in opposition to the effeminacy of its character¹, ventured to break through the

¹ In opposition to the effeminacy of its character] *Non pro mollitie nominis.* "Not in accordance with report, which represented all the Greeks, not excepting those of Marseilles at that period, as unwarlike and spiritless; for that the people of that city had then degenerated from their former reputation for valour, shown by Bos on Cic., Ep. Att., x., 12." *Duker.*

enemy's lines, to set fire to their machines, and engage them with their vessels. But Brutus, to whom the conduct of the siege had been intrusted, defeated them by land and sea, and utterly subdued them. At length, when they surrendered, everything was taken from them, except, what they valued above everything, their liberty.

In Spain, a doubtful, varied, and bloody contest awaited Cæsar with Petreius and Afranius, the generals of Pompey, whom, when they were lying encamped at Ilerda, near the river Sicoris, he attempted to besiege, and to cut them off from the town. In the mean time, by an overflow of the river in the spring, he himself was prevented from getting provisions. Thus his camp was assailed by famine, and the besieger was himself in a manner besieged. But when the river subsided, it left the plains free for devastation and contest. Cæsar then pressed fiercely upon the enemy, and, having overtaken them as they were retreating to Celtiberia, forced them with a mole and line of circumvallation, and consequent privation of water, to capitulate.

Hither Spain was thus secured; nor did Farther Spain long resist. For what could one legion do, after five had been defeated? Varro, therefore, readily submitting, Cadiz, the Strait of Gibraltar, the Ocean, and everything else, acknowledged the superior fortune of Cæsar. Fortune, however, in Illyricum and Africa, made some attempt against him in his absence, as if on purpose that his successes might be made more striking by something unfavourable. For when Dolabella and Antony, who were ordered to secure the entrance to the Adriatic, had pitched their camps, the former on the Illyrian, the latter on the Curictan shore¹, at a time when Pompey was master of a vast extent of sea, Octavius Libo, Pompey's lieutenant-general, suddenly surrounded both of them with a large force from the fleet. Famine forced Antony to surrender. Some flat boats sent to his assistance by Basilus, such as want of ships had obliged them to make, were caught, as it were, in a net, by means of ropes stretched under the water, through a new contrivance of the Cilicians

¹ Curictan shore] *Curictico litore*. "From Curicta, a town at the entrance of the Adriatic, called by Ptolemy *Κούρικτα*." *Salmasius*. The copies vary greatly; some have *Coreyraeo*; others *Cretico*.

in Pompey's service. Two of them, however, the tide brought off; but one, which bore some men of Opitergium, struck upon the shallows, and underwent a fate deserving to be remembered by posterity. A party of something less than a thousand men¹ sustained, for a whole day, the weapons of an army that entirely surrounded them; and, when their valour had no way of escape, they agreed, in order to avoid a surrender, and at the instigation of the tribune Vulteius, to kill one another.

In Africa the valour of Curio was equalled by his ill-fortune; for, being sent to secure that province, and elated with the conquest and rout of Varus, he was unable to make a stand against the sudden arrival of king Juba and the Mauritanian cavalry. After he was defeated, he might have fled; but shame prompted him to die with the army which was lost by his rashness.

But fortune now summoning the pair of combatants, destined to contend for the empire of the world, Pompey fixed on Epirus for the seat of warfare, nor was Cæsar slow to meet him; for, having settled everything in his rear, he set sail, though the middle of winter obstructed his passage by unfavourable weather, to pursue the war; and, having pitched his camp at Oricum, and finding that part of his forces, which had been left with Antony for want of ships, made some delay at Brundisium, he grew so impatient, that, to get them over, he attempted to sail alone in a spy-boat at midnight, though the sea was tempestuously agitated by the wind. A saying of his to the master of the boat, who was alarmed at the greatness of the danger, is well remembered; "What dost thou fear? Thou carriest Cæsar."

When the forces of Cæsar and Pompey were assembled from every quarter, and their camps were pitched at no great distance, the plans conceived by the generals were widely different. Cæsar, naturally daring, and eager to bring the affair to a conclusion, displayed his troops, and challenged and harassed the enemy, sometimes by besieging their camp, which he had inclosed with a wall of sixteen miles in circuit; (but what hurt could a siege do to those who, from the sea being open, had abundance of supplies?) sometimes by fruitless attacks on Dyrrachium, (a place which even its situation

¹ A thousand men] Not in one boat; thought it would seem to be so from the text.

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