**Appian, *The Civil Wars*, 3.43–3.51, 3.74–3.75, 3.80–3.81, 3.86–3.94, 5.12–5.13; 5.127–5.132**

### 3.43–3.51

**3.43**

In the meantime, four of the five Macedonian legions had joined Antony at Brundisium. They blamed him because he had not proceeded against the murderers of Caesar and made him mount the platform, without applause, implying that they required explanations on this subject first. Antony was angry at their silence. He did not keep his temper, but berated them for not being grateful and that they had not expressed thanks for being transferred from the Parthian expedition to Italy. He blamed them because they had not arrested and delivered to him the emissaries of a rash youth (his term for Octavian) who had been sent among them to undermine their loyalty. Those men he would find out himself, he said; but the army he would lead to the province voted to him, the prosperous Gallic country, and would give 100 denarii to each man present. They laughed at his meanness, and when he became angry, they broke out in tumult and went away. Antony rose and departed, saying, "You shall learn to obey orders." Then he asked the military tribunes to supply him the names of the disruptive men (for it is customary in Roman armies to keep at all times a record of the character of each man). From these he chose by lot a certain number according to military law, and he put to death not every tenth man, but a smaller number, thinking that he would quickly terrify them. But the others were turned to rage and hatred instead of fear by this act.

**3.44**

In view of these facts, the men whom Octavian had sent to tamper with the soldiers’ loyalty, distributed the greatest possible number of leaflets throughout the camp, urging them to reflect on Antony's stinginess and cruelty, and to recall the memory of the elder Caesar and share the service of his heir and his generous gifts. Antony tried to find these agents by promising large rewards for information and threats against those who helped them, but as he caught no one he became angry, believing that the soldiers were sheltering them. When the news came of what Octavian was doing among the colonised veterans and at Rome, he became alarmed, and going before the army again he said that he was sorry for what he had been compelled by military discipline to do to a few instead of the much larger number who were punishable by law, and that they must know very well that Antony was neither mean nor cruel. "Let us forget ill-will," he continued, "and rest satisfied with these faults and punishments. The 100 denarii which I have ordered to be given you is not a bounty, for that would be unworthy of the fortune of Antony, but a small present to mark our first meeting; but it is necessary to obey the laws of our country, and of the army, in this matters as in all others." When he had thus spoken he did not as yet add anything to the bounty, that it might not seem that as general he had been defeated by his troops; but they, whether moved by penitence or by fear, took what was given them. Antony, however, being still angry at the mutiny, or from some other suspicion, changed their military tribunes, but the rest of the army he treated well because he had need of their services, and he sent them ahead of him in detachments along the coast road to Ariminum.

**3.45**

Antony selected from the whole number a praetorian cohort of the men who had the best physique and character, and marched to Rome, intending to go on from there to Ariminum. He entered the city in an arrogant manner, leaving his troops encamped outside the walls. But the troops that accompanied him were ready for action, and they mounted guard over his house by night under arms, and he gave them a password and relieved them regularly, just as in a camp. He called the Senate together in order to make complaint of the acts of Octavian, and just as he was entering it he learned that the so-called Martian legion, one of his four on the road, had gone over to Octavian. While he was waiting at the entrance, wondering what to do, it was announced to him that another legion, called the Fourth, had followed the example of the Martian and changed sides. Disconcerted as he was, he entered the Senate House, pretending that he had convened them about other matters, said a few words, and immediately departed to the city gates, and from there to the town of Alba, in order to persuade the deserters to come back to him. They shot arrows at him from the walls, and he retreated. To the other legions, he forwarded 500 denarii per man. With the soldiers he had with him, he marched to Tibur, taking the equipment customary to those who are going to war; for war was now certain, since Decimus Brutus had refused to give up Cisalpine Gaul.

**3.46**

While Antony was at Tibur nearly all the Senate, and the greater part of the equestrian order, and the most influential plebeians, came there to pay their respects. These persons, arriving while he was swearing into his service the soldiers present and also the discharged veterans who had flocked in (of whom there was a large number), voluntarily joined in taking the oath that they would not cease in friendship and loyalty to Antony; so that one would have been at a loss to know who were the men who, a little while before, had decried Antony at Octavian's public meeting.

With this brilliant send-off, Antony started for Ariminum, which lies on the border of Cisalpine Gaul. His army, exclusive of the new levies, consisted of three legions summoned from Macedonia (for the last had now arrived). There was also one of discharged veterans, old men, who appeared nevertheless to be worth twice as much as the new levies. Thus Antony had four legions of well-disciplined troops, and the auxiliaries who usually accompanied them, besides his body-guard and the new levies. Lepidus with four legions in Spain, Asinius Pollio with two, and Plancus in Transalpine Gaul with three, were believed to support Antony.

**3.47**

Octavian had two legions both equally capable, which had deserted from Antony to him, one legion of new levies, and two of veterans, not complete in numbers or in arms, but these also filled up with new recruits. He brought them all to Alba and sent a letter to the Senate, which congratulated him in such a way that no one would have been at a loss to know who were those who had lately ranged themselves with Antony; but it regretted that the legions had not come over to the Senate itself instead of to him [Octavian]. It [the Senate] praised them and Octavian nevertheless, and said that it would vote them whatever was needful as soon as the new magistrates had entered office. It was plain that the Senate would use the legions against Antony; but having no army of its own anywhere, and being unable to enlist one without consuls, it postponed all business until the new consuls should come in.

**3.48**

The soldiers of Octavian furnished him lictors provided with fasces and urged him to assume the title of propraetor, because he was their leader and they had always served under magistrates. He thanked them for the honour, but referred the matter to the Senate. When the soldiers wanted to go before the Senate en masse he prevented them and would not even allow them to send a delegation, believing that the Senate would vote these things to him voluntarily; "and all the more," he said, "if they know of your eagerness and my hesitation."

They were reconciled to this course with difficulty. The leading officers complained that he ignored them, and he explained to them that the Senate was moved not so much by good-will toward him as by fear of Antony and had no army of its own; "and that will be the case," he continued, "until we bring down Antony, and until the assassins, who are friends and relatives of the Senators, collect a military force for them. Knowing these facts I falsely pretend to be serving them. Let us not be the first to expose this deception. If we usurp the magistrates they will accuse us of arrogance and violence, whereas if we are modest they will probably give it of their own accord, fearing that I accept it from you." After he had thus spoken he witnessed some military exercises of the two legions that had deserted from Antony, who ranged themselves opposite each other and gave a complete representation of a battle, except only the killing. Octavian was delighted with the spectacle and was pleased to make this a pretext for distributing another 500 denarii to each man, and he promised that in case of war he would give them 5,000 denarii each if they were victorious. Thus, by means of lavish gifts, did Octavian bind these mercenaries to himself.

**3.49**

Such was the course of events in Italy. In Cisalpine Gaul Antony ordered Decimus Brutus to depart for Macedonia in obedience to the decree of the Roman people, and for his own safety. Decimus, in reply, sent him the letters that had been furnished him by the Senate, as much as to say that he cared no more for the command of the people than Antony did for that of the Senate. Antony then fixed a day for his compliance, after which he should treat him as an enemy. Decimus advised him to fix a later day lest Antony should too soon make himself an enemy to the Senate. Although Antony could have easily overcome him, as he was still in the open country, he decided to proceed first against the cities. These opened their gates to him. Decimus, fearing that he for his part should now be unable to enter any of them, fabricated letters from the Senate calling him back to Rome with his army and retired towards Italy, admitted by all as they thought he was departing, until he arrived at the wealthy city of Mutina. Here he closed the gates and possessed himself of the property of the inhabitants for the support of his army. He slaughtered and salted all the cattle he could find there in anticipation of a long siege, and awaited Antony. His army consisted of a large number of gladiators and three legions of infantry, one of which was composed of recent and still untried recruits. The other two had served under him and were entirely trustworthy. Antony advanced against him with fury, and encircled Mutina with ditches and walls.

**3.50**

Decimus, then, was besieged: but at Rome, at the beginning of the new year, the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, convened the Senate on the subject of Antony immediately after the sacrifices had been performed. Cicero and his friends urged that Antony be now declared a public enemy, since he had occupied Cisalpine Gaul with an armed force against the will of the Senate and made of it a point of attack on the republic, and had brought into Italy an army given to him to use against the Thracians. They also spoke of his seeking the supreme power as Caesar's successor, because he publicly surrounded himself in the city with such a large body of armed centurions, and converted his house into a fortress with armed guards and passwords, and for appearing to them more overbearing in the rest of his behaviour than was befitting of an annual magistrate. Lucius Piso, who had charge of Antony's interest in his absence, a man among the most distinguished in Rome, and others who sided with him on his own account, or on Antony's, or because of their own opinion, thought that Antony should be given a trial because it was not the custom of their ancestors to condemn a man unheard, nor was not decent to declare a man an enemy today who was a consul yesterday, and especially when Cicero himself, as well as others, had so often sung his praises. The Senate, which was about equally divided in opinion, remained in session until nightfall. Early the next morning it reassembled to consider the same question and then the party of Cicero was in the majority and Antony would have been voted a public enemy had not the tribune Salvius adjourned the sitting to the following day; for among the magistrates the one who has the veto always prevails.

**3.51**

Cicero’s party not only reviled Salvius and insulted him in the coarsest manner, but hastening out tried to inflame the people against him and summoned him to answer before them. He set forth to obey the summons undismayed until he was restrained by the Senate, who were afraid that he would make the people change their mind by reminding them of Antony; for the Senators were aware that they were condemning an illustrious man without a trial, and that the people had given him this very Gallic province. But since they feared for the safety of the assassins, they were angry with Antony because he had made the first movement against them after the amnesty, for which reason the Senate had previously called in the help of Octavian against him. Although Octavian knew this he desired nevertheless to take the lead in humbling Antony. Such were the reasons why the Senate was angry with Antony. Although the vote was postponed by the command of the tribune, they passed a decree praising Decimus for not abandoning Cisalpine Gaul to Antony, and directing Octavian to assist the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, with the army he now had. They awarded him a gilded statue and the right to declare his opinion among the consulars in the Senate even now, and the right to stand for the consulship itself ten years before the legal age, and voted that the state should pay the legions that deserted from Antony to him the same amount that he promised to give them if they should be victorious.

After passing these decrees they adjourned, so that Antony might in fact know from the votes taken that he was declared a public enemy and that on the following day the tribune would no longer interpose his veto. The mother, the wife, and the son of Antony (who was still a young man), and his other relatives and friends went around the whole night visiting the houses of influential men and pleading with them. In the morning they put themselves in the way of those going to the Senate House, fell at their feet with wailing and lamentation and in mourning garments, crying out alongside the doors. Some of the Senators were moved by these cries, this spectacle, this so sudden change of fortune. …

### 3.74–3.75

**3.74**

In Rome, Cicero read to the people the report of the consul, and to the Senate alone that of Octavian. For the victory over Antony, he proposed them to vote a thanksgiving of 50 days, – a longer festivity than the Romans had ever decreed even after the Gallic or any other war. He induced them to give the army of the consuls to Decimus, although Pansa was still alive (but he was not expected to survive), and to appoint Decimus the sole commander against Antony. Public prayers were offered that Decimus might prevail over him. Such was Cicero's passion and want of decorum in reference to Antony. He confirmed again, to the two legions that had deserted from Antony, the 5,000 denarii per man previously promised to them as the rewards of victory, as though they had already conquered, and gave them the perpetual right to wear the olive crown at the public festivals. There was not a word about Octavian in the Senate’s decrees, and his name was not even mentioned; he was forthwith disregarded as though Antony were already destroyed. Letters were also sent to Lepidus, to Plancus, and to Asinius Pollio to continue the campaign by moving towards Antony.

**3.75**

Such was the course of events at Rome. In the meantime, Pansa was dying of his wound, and he summoned Octavian to his side, and said: “I loved your father as I did myself, yet I could not avenge his death, nor avoid joining the majority, whom you have also done well to obey, although you have an army. At first they feared you and Antony, and especially Antony, as he also seemed to be very keen to continue the policy of Caesar, and they were delighted with your quarrels, thinking that you would mutually destroy each other. When they saw you the master of an army, they complimented you as a young man with specious and trivial honours. When they saw that you were more proud and self-restrained in respect of honours than they had supposed, and especially when you declined the magistracy that your army offered you, they were thrown into disarray and appointed you to the joint command with us in order that we might draw your two experienced legions away from you, hoping that when one of you was defeated the other would be weakened and lacking allies, and so the whole of Caesar's party would be eliminated and that of Pompey be restored to power. This is their chief aim.”

### 3.80–3.81

**3.80**

… In Italy, Octavian, although he considered it an insult that Decimus, instead of himself, was chosen to hold the command against Antony, concealed his anger and asked the honours of a triumph for his achievements. But being spurned by the Senate as though he were seeking honours beyond his years, he began to fear that if Antony were destroyed he would be despised even more, and so he desired the reconciliation with Antony, which Pansa on his death-bed had recommended to him. Accordingly, he began to make friends of the stray officers and soldiers from Antony's army, recruiting them among his own troops, or if they wished to return to Antony allowing them to do so, in order to show that no incurable hatred lay behind his attack. He also camped near to Ventidius, Antony's friend, who had command of three legions, frightening him, but making no hostile moves, and in like manner gave him the opportunity either to join himself or to go on unmolested with his army to Antony and chide him for failing to realise their common interests. Ventidius took the hint and proceeded to join Antony. Decius also, one of Antony's officers, who had been captured at Mutina, Octavian treated with honour, allowing him to return to Antony if he wished. When Decius asked what Octavian’s sentiment toward Antony was, he said that he had given plenty of hints to people who had their wits about them, but that more would still be insufficient for the stupid.

**3.81**

After conveying these hints to Antony, Octavian wrote still more plainly to Lepidus and Asinius concerning the insults to himself and the rapid advancement of the murderers, causing them to fear that to satisfy the favour of the Pompeian faction, each of Caesar’s followers would individually suffer the same fate as Antony, since he was suffering the consequences of his thoughtlessness and failure to see this danger. Octavian advised that, for the sake of appearances, they should obey the Senate, but that they should plan together for their own safety while they could still do so. They should reprimand Antony for his conduct; that they should follow the example of their own soldiers, who did not separate even when they were discharged from the service but, in order that they might not be exposed to the assaults of enemies, preferred for the sake of strength to settle together in groups upon the conquered territory, rather than to enjoy their own homes as individuals. This is what Octavian wrote to Lepidus and Asinius. But the first soldiers of Decimus fell sick by reason of excessive eating after their famine, and suffered from dysentery, and the newer ones were still untrained. Plancus soon joined him with his own army, and then Decimus wrote to the Senate that he would hunt down Antony, who was now a wanderer even though some naval actions had already taken place.

### 3.86–3.94

**3.86**

But Octavian incited the army to anger against the Senate, both on account of its continued insults towards himself, and for requiring the soldiers to undertake a second campaign before paying them the 5,000 denarii per man which it had promised to give them for the first. He advised them to send a deputation and ask for the money, and they sent their centurions. The Senate understood that the men had been advised to this course by Octavian and said that they would make answer also by deputies. They sent these, under instructions, to address the two legions, which had deserted from Antony, when Octavian was not present and to advise the soldiers not to rest their hopes on a single person, but on the Senate, which alone had permanent power, and to go to the camp of Decimus, where they would find the promised money. Having delivered these instructions to the deputies, they forwarded half the bounty and appointed ten men to oversee the distribution, to whom it did not add Octavian even as an eleventh. As the two legions refused to meet them without Octavian, the deputies returned without achieving anything. Octavian no longer expressed his view through others, nor thought he should delay any further, but assembled the army and came before them and told them the insults he had suffered from the Senate, and its manoeuvring against the friends of Caesar, who were being eliminated one by one: he told them also to beware against being transferred to a commander who was an enemy to their party and being sent to one war after another to be killed or set in opposition to each other. This, he said, was the reason why, even though they had all participated in the battles at Mutina, the rewards were given to only two legions, in order to induce disagreement and sedition among them.

**3.87**

“You know, too,” he said, “the reason why Antony was lately defeated: you have heard what the Pompeians in the city did to those who had received certain gifts from Caesar. What confidence can you have of keeping the lands and money you have received from him, or what confidence can I have in my own safety, while the close associates of the murderers are so powerful in the Senate? For my part, I shall accept my fate whatever it may be, for it is a noble thing simply to suffer in one’s country’s service; but I fear for you, so many brave men, who are risking danger on behalf of me and my father. You know that I have been free from ambition from the time when I declined the praetorship which you offered me with the insignia of that office. I see only one path of safety now for both of us, which is for me to obtain the consulship by your help. In that case all my father's gifts to you will be confirmed, the colonies that are still due to you will be founded, and all your rewards will be paid in full; and I should bring the murderers to punishment and release you from all other campaigns.”

**3.88**

At these words the army cheered enthusiastically, and immediately sent their centurions to ask for the consulship for Octavian. When the Senate in reply pointed out his age, the centurions replied, as they had been instructed, that in the olden times Corvinus had held the office and at a later period the Scipios, both the elder and the younger, before the legal age, and that the country profited much from the youth of each. They instanced, as recent examples, Pompey the Great and Dolabella and said that it had been granted to Caesar himself to stand for the consulship ten years before the legal age. While the centurions were arguing with much boldness, some of the Senators, who could not endure that centurions should use such freedom of speech, rebuked them for exceeding the bounds of military discipline. When the army heard of this, they were still more exasperated and demanded to be led immediately to the city, saying that they would hold a special election and raise Octavian to the consulship because he was Caesar's son. At the same time, they heaped constant praise on Caesar’s name. When Octavian saw their state of eagerness, he led them directly from the assembly, eight legions and sufficient cavalry, and the auxiliary troops that were serving with the legions. Having crossed the river Rubicon from Gaul into Italy – the stream that his father crossed in like manner at the beginning of the civil war – he divided his army in two parts. One of these divisions he ordered to follow without haste. The other and better one, consisting of picked men, made a forced march, hurrying in order to take the city unprepared. Meeting a convoy on the road with part of the money which the Senate had sent as a present to the soldiers, Octavian feared the effect it might have on his mercenaries, so he secretly sent forward a party to scare away the convoy, and they took to flight with the money.

**3.89**

When the news of Octavian's approach reached the city there was immense confusion and panic. People rushed about in confusion, and some moved their wives and children and whatever else they held most dear to the country or to the fortified parts of the city, for it was not yet known that he aimed only at securing the consulship. Their fears knew no bounds when they heard that an army was advancing with hostile intentions The Senate was inordinately terrified since they had no military force at their disposal. As is usual in cases of panic they blamed each other. Some complained that they had insolently deprived Octavian of the command of the campaign against Antony, others that they had treated with contempt his demand for a triumph, a request which was not unjustified; others because they had resented him the honour of distributing the money; others because he had not been made an additional member of the board of ten: still others said that they had made the army hostile because the gifts voted to them had not been promptly or paid in full. They complained especially of the inopportune time for such a strife, at a time when Brutus and Cassius were far away and their forces not yet organised, while their enemies Antony and Lepidus were hanging on their flanks. When they thoughts of the possibility that these two would come to an agreement with Octavian, their fear reached a climax. Cicero, who had so long been in evidence, was nowhere to be seen.

**3.90**

There was a sudden change on all hands. Instead of 2,500 denarii, 5,000 were to be given; instead of two legions only, the entire eight were to be paid. Octavian was appointed to make the distribution instead of the ten commissioners, and he was allowed to be a candidate for the consulship in absentia. Messengers were hastily despatched to tell him these things. Directly after they had left the city the Senate repented. They felt that they ought not to be such terrified cowards, nor accept a new tyranny without bloodshed, or accustom those seeking office to gain it by violence, or serving soldiers to dictating to their country. Rather should they arm themselves as best they could and confront their attackers with the constitution, for there was some hope that, if they were confronted with the constitution, not even they would bear arms against their country. If they should do so, it would be best to endure a siege until Decimus and Plancus should come to the rescue, and to defend themselves to the death rather than submit to a fundamentally incurable slavery. They recounted the fine old sentiments of the Romans on freedom, and the suffering they had endured when their liberty was at stake.

**3.91**

As both the legions summoned from Africa happened to arrive in the harbour on this very day, it seemed as though the gods were urging them to defend their freedom. Their regret for what they had done was confirmed; Cicero again made his appearance, and they proceeded to alter all their decisions. All men of military age were enlisted and the two legions from Africa, with their thousand cavalry, and another legion that Pansa had left behind – all these were assigned to their proper places. Some of them guarded the hill called the Janiculum, where the money was stored, others held the bridge over the Tiber, and the city praetors were put in command of the separate divisions. Others prepared small boats and ships in the harbour, together with money, in case they should be defeated and have to escape by sea. Their morale was high as they set about these tasks, hoping in this way to strike terror into Octavian in return, and either convince him that he should seek the consulship from them and not from his army, or repulse him firmly. They hoped also to change those of the opposite faction as soon as it became a contest for liberty. They searched, both publically and privately, for Octavian’s mother and sister, but they did not discover them. They were greatly disturbed at finding themselves deprived of such important hostages, and as the Caesarians no longer made concessions they concluded that they were responsible for so effectively concealing the women.

**3.92**

While Octavian was still giving audience to the messengers, it was announced to him that the decrees had been rescinded. The messengers withdrew, and returned in embarrassment. With his army still more exasperated, Octavian hastened to the city, fearing something evil might befall his mother and sister. He sent horsemen in advance to tell the agitated population to not be afraid, and in the general state of amazement siezed the area just beyond the Quirinal Hill. Now another wonderful and sudden change took place. Patricians flocked out and saluted him; the common people ran also and took the good order of the soldiers for a sign of peace. On the following day, Octavian advanced toward the city, leaving his army where it was, and having with him only an appropriate bodyguard. Here, again, detached crowds met him along the whole road and greeting him, with every sign of friendliness and spineless readiness to serve. His mother and sister, who were in the temple of Vesta with the Vestal Virgins, embraced him. The three legions, in spite of their commanders, sent delegations to him and changed sides. One of the generals in command of them, Cornutus, killed himself; the others allied themselves with Octavian. When Cicero learned of the truce he sought an interview with Octavian through friends. When it was granted, he defended himself and dwelt much upon his proposing Octavian for the consulship, as he had done in the Senate on a former occasion. Octavian answered ironically that Cicero seemed to be the last of his friends to greet him.

**3.93**

The next night a rumour gained currency that two of Octavian's legions, the Martian and the Fourth, had gone over to the side of the republic, saying that they had been deceived and led against their country. The praetors and the Senate put faith in this report heedlessly, although the army was very near, thinking that with the assistance of these two legions, as they were the bravest, it would be possible to hold out against the rest of Octavian's army until some force from elsewhere should come to the rescue. The same night they sent Manius Aquilius Crassus to Picenum to raise troops, and ordered Apuleius, one of the tribunes, to run through the city and proclaim the good news to the people. The Senators assembled by night in the Senate House, and Cicero received them at the door, but when the news was contradicted he took flight in a litter.

**3.94**

Octavian laughed at them and moved his army nearer to the city and stationed it in the Campus Martius. He did not then punish any of the praetors, not even Crassus, who had rushed off to Picenum, although the latter was brought before him just as he was caught, in the disguise of a slave. He pardoned them all in order to acquire a reputation for clemency, but not long afterward they were listed among the proscribed. He ordered that the public money on the Janiculum or elsewhere be brought to him, and the amount which had been previously ordered to be paid to the army on the motion of Cicero, he distributed, namely 2,500 denarii per man, and promised to give them the remainder later. Then he withdrew from the city until consuls should be chosen by the comitia. He was elected, together with Quintus Pedius, the man whom he desired to have as his colleague, and who had given to him his own share of Caesar’s inheritance. He entered the city again as consul, and as he offered the sacrifices, twelve vultures were seen; the same number, they say, that appeared to Romulus when he laid the foundations of the city. After the sacrifices, he had his adoption by his father ratified again, according to the *lex curiata.* It is possible to have adoption ratified by the people, for the parts into which the tribes, or local divisions, are divided are called *curiae*, just as, I suppose, the similar divisions among the Greeks are called *phratriae*. Among the Romans this was the method of adoption most in accordance with law in the case of orphans; and those who follow it have the same rights as real sons in respect of the relatives and the ex-slaves of the persons who adopt them. Among the other splendid accessories of Caesar was a large number of freedmen, many of them rich, and this was perhaps the principal reason why Octavian wanted the adoption by a vote of the people in addition to the former adoption which came to him by Caesar's will.

### 5.12–5.13

**5.12**

… As Octavian was journeying to Rome his illness became acute at Brundisium, and a rumour circulated that he was dead. When he recovered, he returned to the city and showed to Antony's friends the letters Antony had written. The Antonians directed Calenus to give Octavian the two legions, and wrote to Sextius in Africa to turn that province over to him. Both men complied while, as it appeared that Lepidus had not been guilty of any serious wrong, Octavian transferred Africa to him in exchange for his former provinces. He also sold the remainder of the property confiscated under the proscriptions. But the task of assigning the soldiers to their colonies and dividing the land was one of exceeding difficulty. For the soldiers demanded the cities which had been selected for them before the war as prizes for their valour, and the cities demanded that the whole of Italy should share the burden, or that the cities should cast lots with the other cities, and that those who gave the land should be paid the value of it. There was no money and they came to Rome in crowds, young and old, women and children, to the forum and temples, lamenting, saying that they had done no wrong for which they, Italians, should be driven from their fields and their hearthstones, as if they had lost a war. The Romans mourned and wept with them, especially when they reflected that the war had been waged, and the rewards of victory given, not on behalf of Rome, but against themselves and for a change of the constitution; that the colonies were established with the purpose of preventing the Republic from ever lifting its head because mercenaries, ready to do the bidding of men in power, had been settled alongside them.

**5.13**

Octavian explained to the cities the necessity of the case, but he knew that it would not satisfy them; and it did not. The soldiers encroached upon their neighbours in a violent manner, seizing more than had been given to them and choosing the best lands. Nor did they cease even when Octavian reprimanded them and made them additional gifts, because they had no respect even for their rulers, who had need of them to make their power a reality. The five years' term of the triumvirate were going by, and army and rulers needed the services of each other for mutual safety. The rulers depended on the soldiers to guarantee their power, while, for the possession of what they had received, the soldiers depended on the men who had given them the land to continue in power. Believing that they had no security of ownership unless the grantors enjoyed security of power, they fought for them, from necessity, with good-will. Octavian made many other gifts to these soldiers who were in difficulties, borrowing from the temples for that purpose, for which reason the affections of the army were turned toward him, and the greater thanks were bestowed upon him both as the giver of the land, the cities, the money, and the houses, while the disposed malevolently denounced him, an onslaught he endured to win the thanks of the army.

### 5.127–5.132

**5.127**

Octavian neither pursued Sextus Pompey nor allowed others to do so; either because he was wary of encroaching on Antony's dominions, or because he preferred to wait and see what Antony would do to Sextus Pompey and make that a pretext for a quarrel if he should do wrong (it having long being suspected that because of their ambition, he and Antony would fall out with each other once other rivals were out of the way); or, as Octavian later said, because Sextus Pompey was not one of his father's murderers.

He now brought his forces together; he had 45 legions, 25,000 cavalry and some 40,000 light-armed troops, with 600 warships. He had also an immense number of merchant-vessels, which nevertheless he sent back to their owners. To the soldiers he awarded the prizes of victory, paying part of the money and promising the rest later. He distributed crowns and other honours to all, and granted pardon to the Pompeian leaders.

**5.128**

With all this success, he was prosperous beyond words, and of his great prosperity Fortune became jealous. His army revolted, especially his own troops, and they demanded to be discharged from service and that rewards should be given to them equal to those given to the veterans who had fought at Philippi. Octavian knew that the two struggles could not be compared. He nevertheless promised to pay them fairly, and to include the soldiers serving under Antony when he too should return. As to their breach of discipline, he reminded them, in a threatening tone, of the laws of their ancestors, of their oaths and of the punishments. As they gave little heed to what he said, he abandoned his threatening tone to avoid any trouble from the newly acquired troops, and said that he would discharge them at the proper time in conjunction with Antony. He said, also, that he would not engage them in any more civil wars, which had fortunately come to an end, but in war against the Illyrians and other barbarous tribes, who were disturbing the peace which had been gained with so much difficulty; from which war the soldiers would acquire great riches. They said that they would not go to war again until they had received the prizes and honours of the previous campaigns. He said that he would not even now postpone the honours, but that he had distributed many prizes, and now gave to the legions additional crowns, and to the centurions and tribunes purple-bordered togas and the status of decurion in their native towns. While he was distributing other awards of this kind, the military tribune Ofillius exclaimed that crowns and purple togas were toys for children, that the rewards for soldiers were lands and money. The multitude cried out "Well said"; whereupon Octavian left the platform in anger while the soldiers gathered round the tribune, praising him and abusing those who did not join with them. Ofillius said that he alone would suffice to defend so just a cause but after saying this he disappeared the following day, and it was never known what became of him.

**5.129**

The soldiers no longer dared to give utterance to their complaints individually, but joined together in groups and called for their discharge. Octavian appeased their leaders in various ways and released, if they wished to be discharged, those who had served at Philippi and Mutina because they were overdue for it. These, numbering 2,000, he dismissed and sent out of the island at once, to prevent the spread of disaffection. To those only who had served at Mutina he added, that, although they were discharged in this way, he would fulfil the promises made to them at that time. He came before the rest of the army and called upon them to bear witness that the mutineers had broken their oaths by being released from service against the wishes of their military commander. He praised those who remained with him, encouraged them to expect a speedy release, so that nobody would regret it, and that they would be discharged rich, but for the moment he would give each of them 500 denarii. Having thus spoken, he exacted tribute from Sicily to the amount of 1,600 talents, appointed propraetors for Africa and Sicily, and assigned a division of the army to each of these provinces. He sent back Antony's ships to Tarentum. A part of the army he sent in advance of himself to Italy in ships, and took the remainder with him when he departed from the island.

**5.130**

When he arrived at Rome, the Senate voted him unbounded honours, giving him the privilege of accepting all, or such as he chose. The Senate and the people went out a long way to meet him, wearing garlands on their heads, and escorted him, when he arrived, first to the temples, and then from the temples to his house. The next day he made speeches to the Senate and to the people, recounting his exploits and his policy from the beginning to the present time. These speeches he wrote down and published in a pamphlet. He proclaimed peace and good-will, said that the civil wars were ended, remitted the unpaid taxes, and released the farmers of the revenue and the holders of public leases from what they owed. Of the honours voted to him, he accepted an ovation and annual festivals on the anniversary of his victory, and a golden statue to be erected in the forum, with the garb he wore when he entered the city, to stand on a column covered with the rams of captured ships. The statue is still there, bearing the inscription:

PEACE, LONG DISTURBED, HE RE-ESTABLISHED ON LAND AND SEA."

**5.131**

When the people desired to transfer the office of *pontifex maximus* from Lepidus to himself, which the law bestowed on one person for life. He would not accept it, and when they prayed that Lepidus might be put to death as a public enemy he would not allow it. He sent sealed letters to all the armies, with instructions to open them all on a day designated and to execute the orders. These orders concerned the slaves who had run away during the time of conflict and joined the armies. Sextus Pompey had asked for them to be given their freedom, which the Senate and treaty had granted but they were all arrested on the same day and brought to Rome. Octavian returned them to their Roman and Italian masters, or to the heirs of the same. He also gave back those belonging to Sicilian masters. Those whom nobody claimed he caused to be put to death in the cities from which they had absconded.

**5.132**

This seemed to be the end of the civil dissensions. Octavian was now 28 years of age. Cities joined in placing him among their gods. At this time Italy and Rome itself were openly infested with bands of robbers, and what was occurring was more like raiding than furtive robbery. Sabinus was chosen by Octavian to deal with the problem. He executed many of the captured brigands, and within one year brought about a condition of absolute security. At that time, they say, originated the custom and system of cohorts of night watchmen still in force. Octavian was much admired for such a swift and unexpected restoration of order. He allowed the annual magistrates to administer public affairs, in many particulars, according to the customs of the country. He burned the writings which contained evidence concerning the civil conflict, and said that he would restore the constitution entirely when Antony should return from the Parthian campaign, for he was persuaded that Antony, too, would be willing to lay down his office now that the civil wars were over. Thereupon he was chosen tribune for life by acclamation, the people urging him, by the offer of this perpetual magistracy, to give up his former one. This he accepted, and at the same time he wrote privately to Antony about their power. Antony gave instructions to Bibulus, who was leaving him to meet with Octavian. He also appointed governors to take charge of his provinces in like manner as Octavian had done, and he had thoughts of joining the latter in his expedition against the Illyrians.

**Cicero, *Second Philippic* 88–97**

**[88]**

But let us return to the auspices, about which Caesar was about to speak in the Senate on the Ides of March. Tell me: what would you then have said? I heard, indeed, that you had come down prepared, because you thought that I intended to speak about the fabricated auspices, though it was still necessary for us to obey. The fortune of the Roman people eliminated the business of that day. Did the assassination of Caesar also put an end to your opinion respecting the auspices? However, I have now reached a point where more important matters arise than those which I had begun to discuss. What an escape that was of yours! What an alarm you had on that memorable day! What little confidence you had that your life would be spared, so conscious were you of your wickedness. But after you had fled, you retired secretly to your home, thanks to the kindness of those men who wanted you to be safe – if, that is, you would show more sense than you do!

**[89]**

How in vain have my very accurate prophecies of future events always been! I told those liberators of ours in the Capitol, when they wanted me to go to you to urge you to defend the republic, that as long as you were afraid you would promise everything, but that as soon as you had stopped being afraid you would be yourself again. Therefore, while the rest of the men of consular rank were going to and fro to you, I held to my opinion. Nor did I see you at all that day, or the next; nor did I think it possible for an alliance between virtuous citizens and a most unprincipled foe could be confirmed by any treaty. The third day I came into the temple of Tellus, even then very much against my will, as armed men were blockading all the entrances.

**[90]**

What a day that was for you, Mark Antony! Although you suddenly appeared to me as an enemy, still I pitied you because you envied yourself.

**[91]**

All that fine panegyric was yours, that burst of pathos was yours, that exhortation was yours. It was you –yes, you – who hurled those firebrands, both those with which Caesar was nearly burned, and those by which the house of Lucius Bellienus was set on fire and destroyed. It was you who launched those attacks on our houses, criminals and slaves for the most part, which we repelled by violence and our own personal efforts. And yet you, as if you had wiped off all the soot and smoke in the ensuing days, carried those excellent resolutions in the Capitol, that no document conferring any exemption after the Ides of March, or granting any favour, should he published. You remember yourself, what you said about the exiles; you know what you said about the exemption. But the best thing of all was, that you removed the title ‘dictator’ from the constitution for all time. By this action it appeared to show that you had conceived such a hatred of kingly power that you took away all fear of it for the future, on account of the name of the last dictator.

**[92]**

To other men the republic now seemed re-established, but it did not appear so at all to me, as I was afraid of every sort of shipwreck, as long as you were at the helm. Have I been deceived? Or could he be unlike himself for a longer time? While you were all looking on, documents were fixed up over the whole Capitol, and exemptions were being sold, not merely to individuals, but to entire communities. Citizenship was also being given now not to single persons only, but to entire provinces. Therefore, if these acts are to stand – and stand they cannot if the republic stands too – then, conscript fathers, you have lost whole provinces; and not only the revenues, but the actual empire of the Roman people has been reduced by a market this man [Antony] held in his own house.

**[93]**

Where are the 700 million sesterces which appear in the accounts at the temple of Ops? A sum lamentable indeed, as to the means by which it was acquired, but still one which, if it were returned to its original owner, might save us from taxes. And how was it, that when you owed 40 million sesterces on the Ides of March, you had ceased to owe them by 1 April? Those things are quite countless which were purchased from your friends, with you not being unaware of it. But there was one decree which stands out: the decree posted up in the Capitol affecting King Deiotarus, a most devoted friend to the Roman people. And when that decree was posted up, there was no one who, amid the outrage, could restrain from laughter.

**[94]**

For whoever was a more bitter enemy to another than Caesar was to Deiotarus? He was as hostile to him as he was to this order, to the equestrian order, to the people of Massilia, and to all men whom he knew to look on the republic of the Roman people with attachment. King Deiotarus, who neither in Caesar’s presence or far away, could ever obtain any justice or favour while Caesar was alive yet became quite an influential man with him when he was dead. Caesar, when in the king’s presence, had called for him though he was his host, made him submit his accounts of his revenue, demanded money from him; assigned part of his kingdom to a Greek he had brought with him and deprived him of Armenia, which had been given to him by the Senate. While he was alive Caesar deprived him of all these things; now that he is dead, he gives them back again.

**[95]**

And in what words? At one time he says, “that it appears to him to be just” at another, “that it appears not to be just”. What a strange combination of words! But he [Caesar] – for I always supported Deiotarus in his absence – never said that anything which we were asking for on his behalf seemed to him to be just. A bond for ten million sesterces was entered into in the women's apartment (where very many things have been sold, and are still being sold), by his ambassadors, well-meaning men, but timid and inexperienced in business, without my advice and without the advice of the king's other friends. And I advise you to consider carefully what you intend to do with regard to this bond. For the king himself, of his own accord, without waiting for any of Caesar's memoranda, recovered his own rights through his own courage and energy the instant that he heard of Caesar’s assassination.

**[96]**

In his wisdom, he knew that it was always the rule that those things which the tyrant had taken, might be recovered when the tyrant was killed. Therefore, no lawyer – not even that man who is your lawyer alone, who is arranging these matters on your behalf – will say that payment is due on that bond for property which has been recovered before the bond was signed. Deiotarus did not buy from you, but, before you might sell him his own property, he had taken possession of it himself. He was a man – but we, indeed, deserve to be despised because we hate the author, but defend his actions.

**[97]**

Why do I speak of the innumerable handwritten notes, the countless memoranda which have been brought forward? There are imitators who sell forgeries of these things openly as if they were handbills of gladiatorial shows. Therefore, there are now such heaps of money piled up in Antony’s house that it is weighed out instead of being counted. But how blind is avarice! Lately, too, a document has been posted up by which the wealthiest cities in Crete are exempt from paying tax; and it is decreed that at the end of Marcus Brutus’ proconsulship, Crete shall cease to be a province. Are you in your right mind? Should you not be fettered? Was it possible for there really to be a decree of Caesar's exempting Crete after the departure of Marcus Brutus, when Brutus had no connection whatsoever with Crete while Caesar was alive? But by the sale of this decree (that you may not think that nothing of significance was achieved) you have lost the province of Crete. There was nothing in the whole world which anyone wanted to buy that this fellow [Antony] was not ready to sell.

**Sallust *The Catiline Conspiracy* 10–16, 18–21, 33–39, 51–54**

### 10–16

**10**

[1] But when our country had grown great through hard work and just dealing, when great kings had been defeated, savage tribes and mighty peoples subdued, when Carthage, Rome’s rival in her quest for empire, had been annihilated, and all seas and lands were open, then Fortune began to grow cruel and to bring confusion into all our affairs. [2] Those who had found it easy to bear hardship and dangers, anxiety and adversity, found leisure and wealth, desirable under other circumstances, a burden and a curse. [3] Hence the lust for money first, then for power, grew upon them; these were, I may say, the root of all evils. [4] For avarice destroyed honour, integrity, and every other virtue; and instead taught men to be insolent and cruel, to neglect the gods, and to set a price on everything. [5] Ambition drove many men to become false; to have one thought locked in the breast, another ready on the tongue; to value friendships and enmities not on their merits but by the standard of self-interest, and to show a good front rather than a good heart. [6] At first these vices grew slowly; from time to time they were punished. Finally, when the disease had spread like a deadly plague, the state was changed and her government, once second to none in equity and excellence, became cruel and intolerable.

**11**

[1] But at first men's souls were motivated less by avarice than by ambition – a fault, it is true, but not so far removed from a virtue. [2] For both the noble and the base long for glory, honour, and power, but the former mount by the true path, whereas the latter, being destitute of noble qualities, rely upon craft and deception. [3] Avarice implies a desire for money, which no wise man covets; steeped as it were with deadly poisons and reduces a man’s health and weakens his moral fibre. It knows no bounds and can never be satisfied, nor can either plenty or want make it less. [4] But after Sulla, having gained control of the state by arms, brought everything to a bad end after a good beginning, all men began to rob and pillage. One [man] coveted a house, another lands; the victors behaved without moderation or restraint, but shamefully and cruelly wronged their fellow citizens. [5] Besides all this, Sulla, in order to secure the loyalty of the army which he led into Asia, had allowed it a luxury and indulgence that would not have been tolerated by our forefathers; and in the intervals of leisure those charming and voluptuous lands had easily demoralised the warlike spirit of his soldiers. [6]  It was there that an army of the Roman people first learned to indulge in women and drink; to admire statues, paintings, and embossed vases, to steal them from private houses and public places, to pillage shrines, and to desecrate everything, both sacred and secular alike. [7] These soldiers, therefore, after they had won the victory, stripped their enemy bare. In truth, success tries the souls of even the wise; how then should men of depraved character like these show restraint in their hour of victory?

**12**

[1] As soon as wealth came to be held in honour, and an easy way to renown, military commands, and political power, virtue began to lose its lustre. Poverty was now considered a disgrace and blameless life as a sign of ill nature. [2] Therefore as the result of riches, luxury and greed, united with insolence, took possession of our younger generation. They pillaged, squandered; set little value on their own property, and coveted the goods of others. They disregarded modesty, chastity, everything human and divine; in short, they were utterly thoughtless and reckless.

[3] It is worth your while, when you look upon houses and villas reared to the size of towns, to pay a visit to the temples of the gods built by our god-fearing forefathers. [4] But they adorned the shrines of the gods with piety, their own homes with glory, while from the defeated they took nothing except the power of doing harm. [5] The men of today, on the contrary, basest of creatures, with supreme wickedness are robbing our allies of all that those brave conquerors had left them; they act as though oppression is the only way to rule an empire.

**13**

[1] Why should I mention things which are incredible except to those who have seen them: that a host of private men have levelled mountains and built upon the seas? [2]  Such men, it seems to me, have treated their riches as a mere plaything. For while they might have enjoyed it honourably, they made haste to squander it shamefully. [3] Equally strong was their passion for lewdness, gluttony, and the other attendants of luxury; men prostituted themselves like women, and women offered their chastity for sale. To please their palates they ransacked land and sea; they slept before they needed sleep; they did not wait until they felt hunger or thirst, cold or weariness, but their self-indulgence anticipated all these things. [4] Such were the vices that incited the young men to crime, as soon as they had run through their property. [5] Their minds, habituated to evil practices, could not easily refrain from self-indulgence, and so they abandoned themselves more and more recklessly to every means of acquisition and expenditure.

**14**

[1] In a city so great and so corrupt, Catiline found it a very easy matter to surround himself, as with a bodyguard, with gangs of criminals and reprobates of every kind. [2] For whatever wanton, glutton, or gambler had wasted his inheritance in play, feasting, or debauchery; anyone who had bankrupted himself might buy immunity from disgrace or crime; [3] men who had been convicted of murder or sacrilege, or feared prosecution for their crimes; those, too, whom made a trade of bearing false witness or shedding the blood of their fellow citizens; in short, all who were hounded by disgrace, poverty, or an evil conscience – all these were nearest and dearest to Catiline. [4] And if any innocent man happened to become friendly with him, daily intercourse and the temptations of vice soon made him as bad or almost as bad as the rest. But most of all, Catiline sought the intimacy of the young; [5] their minds, still pliable and impressionable, were easily ensnared. [6] By carefully noting the passion which burned in each, according to his time of life, he found mistresses for some, bought dogs and horses for others; in short, he spared neither expense nor his own decency, provided he could make them submissive and loyal to himself. [7] I am aware that some have believed that the young men who frequented Catiline's house did not handle their chastity very honourably; but this rumour was credited more for other reasons rather than because there was any evidence of its truth.

**15**

[1] Even in his youth, Catiline had engaged in many shameful intrigues: with a maiden of noble birth, with a priestess of Vesta and other affairs equally unlawful and immoral. [2] He ended by falling in love with Aurelia Orestilla, in whom no respectable man ever found anything to praise except her beauty. It is generally believed that when she hesitated to marry him because she was afraid of his stepson, then a grown man, he murdered his son in order to clear an impediment for this criminal marriage. [3] In fact, I think that this was his special motive for hastening his plot; [4] for his guilt-stained soul, at odds with gods and men, could find rest neither waking nor sleeping, so cruelly did conscience torture his frenzied mind. [5] Hence his pale complexion, his bloodshot eyes, his gait now fast, now slow; in short, his face and his every glance showed a distraught man.

**16**

[1] To the young men whom he had ensnared, as I have described, he taught many forms of wickedness. [2] From their number he supplied forgers and men to commit perjury; he thought nothing of damaging their honour and their fortunes or of exposing them to danger; then, when he had ruined their good reputation and modesty, he made bigger demands upon them. [3] If there was no immediate motive for wrongdoing, he nevertheless caused innocent people to be attacked or killed as well as the guilty; indeed, he preferred to be needlessly vicious and cruel rather than to allow their hands and spirits to grow weak through lack of practice.

[4] Relying upon such friends and accomplices as these, Catiline formed the plan of overthrowing the government, both because his own debt was enormous and because the greater number of Sulla's veterans, who had squandered their property and looking back regretfully to the loot which past victories had brought them, were eager for civil war. There was no army in Italy and Pompey was waging war in distant lands. Catiline himself had high hopes as a candidate for the consulship; the Senate suspected nothing; everything was peaceful and quiet; this was his golden opportunity.

### 18–21

**18**

[1] Now, even before that time, a few men had conspired against the state, and among them was Catiline. [2] I shall give as true an account as I am able.

In the consulship of Lucius Tullus and Manius Lepidus, the consuls elect, Publius Autronius and Publius Sulla, had been prosecuted and punished under the law against bribery. [3] A little later Catiline was charged with extortion and prevented from standing for the consulship, so was unable to enter his name within the specified number of days. [4] There was at that same time a young noble called Gnaeus Piso, a man of the utmost recklessness, poor, and given to intrigue, who was being goaded on by need of funds and an unprincipled character to overthrow the government. [5] Piso revealed his plans to Catiline and Autronius; they in concert with him began, about the fifth of December, to make preparations to assassinate the new consuls, Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, in the Capitol on the first of January; they then proposed that they themselves should seize the fasces and dispatch Piso with an army to occupy the two Spanish provinces. [6] Upon the discovery of their plot, they postponed its execution until the fifth of February, [7] and this time they plotted the destruction not merely of the consuls but of many of the Senators. [8] Had Catiline not been in a great hurry to give the signal to his accomplices in front of the Senate House, on that day the most dreadful crime since the founding of the city of Rome would have been perpetrated. But because the armed conspirators had not yet assembled in sufficient numbers, the affair came to naught.

**19**

[1] Piso was afterwards, through the efforts of Crassus, who knew him to be a bitter enemy of Pompey, sent as quaestor, with praetorian powers, to Nearer Spain. [2] The Senate, however, had been quite willing to give him the province, since they were glad to remove the shameless fellow to a distance from Rome. Moreover, many of the aristocracy thought they had in him a safeguard against Pompey, whose power was even then becoming formidable. [3] Now this Piso was killed, while marching through his province, by the Spanish cavalry who formed part of his army. [4] Some say that the barbarians could not endure the injustice, arrogance and cruelty of his conduct as governor. [5] Others say that the horsemen, who were old and devoted retainers of Pompey, attacked Piso at his instigation. They point out that the Spaniards had never before committed such a crime, but had endured many cruel rulers. We shall not attempt to decide this question, and enough has been said about the first conspiracy.

**20**

[1] When Catiline assembled the men whom I mentioned, although he had often had long conferences with them individually, he thought that it advisable to address them as a group and encourage them. Accordingly, withdrawing to a private room of the house and excluding all witnesses, he made the following speech:

[2] "If I had not already tested your courage and loyalty, in vain would a great opportunity have presented itself; high hopes and power would have been placed in my hands to no purpose, [3] nor would I with the aid of cowards or inconstant hearts grasp at uncertainty in place of certainty. But because I have learned in many and great emergencies that you are brave and faithful to me, my mind has had the courage to set on foot a mighty and glorious enterprise, and also because I perceive that you and I hold the same view of what is good and evil; [4] for agreement in likes and dislikes – this, and this only, is what constitutes true friendship.

[5] As to the plans which I have formed, they have already been explained to you all individually. [6] But my resolution is fired more and more every day, when I consider under what conditions we shall live if we do not take steps to liberate ourselves. [7] For ever since the state came under the jurisdiction and sway of a few powerful men, it is always these men who receive tribute from kings and rake in taxes from every people and nation. All the rest of us, energetic and able, nobles and commons, are but a crowd of nobodies without influence or authority, and subservient to those who would be afraid of us in a free state . [8] Because of this, all influence, power, rank, and wealth are in their hands, or wherever they wish them to be; to us they have left danger, defeat, prosecutions, and poverty. [9] How long, brave comrades, will you endure this? Is it not better to die courageously, than ignominiously to lose our wretched and dishonoured lives as the playthings of other men’s insolence? [10] Assuredly (I call on gods and men to witness it) victory is within our grasp. We are in the prime of life, we have stout hearts; whereas our opponents are enfeebled by age and soft livings. We need only to strike; the rest will take care of itself. [11] What man with the spirit of a man can endure that our tyrants should abound in riches, to waste in building out into the sea and in levelling mountains, while we lack the means to buy the necessities? They have two or even more houses joined together, while we have not a home to call our own. [12] They collect paintings, statues and engraved vases, tear down new buildings and erect others, in short misuse and torment their wealth in every way; yet, with the utmost extravagance, they cannot exhaust it. [13] But we have destitution at home and debt everywhere else, misery now and a hopeless future to look forward to. In short, what have we left, save only the wretched breath of life?

[14] Awake then! Here, here before your eyes, is the freedom for which you have often longed, and with it riches, honour, and glory; all of which Fortune offers as the prizes of victory. [15] The circumstances, the dangers, your need, the splendid spoils of war, these speak louder than any words of mine. [16] Use me either as your leader or as a soldier in the ranks; my soul and my body shall be at your service. [17] These very schemes I hope to help you carry out as your consul, unless indeed I delude myself and you are content to be slaves rather than masters."

**21**

[1] When these words fell upon the ears of men who had manifold misfortunes, but neither means nor any honourable hope, although disturbance of the status quo was in itself an ample reward, yet many of them asked him to explain the conditions under which war would be waged, what the prizes of victory would be, and what resources or hope they could have and from what quarter. [2] Thereupon Catiline promised them the cancellation of debts, the proscription of the rich, offices, priesthoods, plunder, and all the other spoils that war and the license of victors can offer. [3] He added that Piso was in Nearer Spain, Publius Sittius of Nuceria in Mauretania with an army, both of whom were accomplices in his plot. Moreover, Gaius Antonius was a candidate for the consulship, whom he hoped he would have as his colleague; and since Antonius was an intimate friend of his and was in desperate straits, he could count on his co-operation, when as consul, he would launch his undertaking. [4] Thereupon he heaped abuse upon all good citizens and praised each of his own followers by name. He reminded them either of their poverty, or of their ambition, of the prosecutions that threatened them or the disgrace they had incurred, and many of Sulla’s victories, which had brought them booty. [5] When he saw that their spirits were thoroughly roused, he dismissed the meeting, urging them to have his candidacy at heart.

### 33–39

**33**

[1] "We call gods and men to witness, general, that we have taken up arms, not against our fatherland nor to bring danger upon others, but to protect ourselves from wrong; for we are wretched and destitute, many of us have been driven from our country by the violence and cruelty of the moneylenders, while all have lost repute and fortune. None of us has been allowed, in accordance with the usage of our forefathers, to enjoy the protection of the law and retain our personal liberty after being stripped of our possessions, such was the inhumanity of the moneylenders and the praetor. [2] Your forefathers often took pity on the common people of Rome and relieved their distress by decrees, and not long ago, within our own memory, because of the great amount of their debt, silver was paid in copper with the general consent of the nobles. [3] Often the commons themselves, either motivated by a desire for political power or incensed at the arrogance of the magistrates, have taken up arms and seceded from the patricians. [4] But we ask neither for power nor for riches, the usual causes of war and quarrels among human beings, but only for freedom, which no true man gives up except with his life. [5] We implore you and the Senate to rescue your unhappy fellow citizens, to restore the legal protection, of which the praetor's injustice has deprived us, and not force us to ask how we may sell our lives most dearly."

**34**

[1] To this address Quintus Marcius replied that if they wished to make any request to the Senate, they must lay down their arms and come to Rome and humbly present their petition; the Senate of the Roman people, he said, had always been so compassionate and merciful that no one had ever asked it for help and been refused.

[2] But on the way Catiline sent letters to many of men of consular rank and to the most prominent of the other nobles, saying that since he was beset by false accusations and unable to cope with the intrigues of his personal enemies, he was resigning himself to fate and was on his way to exile at Massilia (Marseilles); not because he confessed to the dreadful crime with which he was charged, but in order that his country might be at peace and that no dissension might arise from a struggle on his part. [3] A very different letter was read in the Senate by Quintus Catulus, who said that it had been sent to him in Catiline's name. The following is an exact copy of this letter:

**35**

[1] "Lucius Catiline to Quintus Catulus. Your eminent loyalty, known by experience and grateful to me in my extreme peril, lends confidence to my plea. [2] I have therefore resolved to make no formal defence of my unusual conduct; that I offer an explanation is due to no feeling of guilt, and I am confident that you will be able to recognise it as the truth. [3] Maddened by wrongs and insults, since I had been robbed of the fruits of my toil and energy and unable to maintain a position of honour, I followed my usual custom and took up the general cause of the unfortunate. It was not that I could not pay my personal debts from my own estate (and as for the loans raised on the security of others, the generosity of Orestilla would have discharged them with her own resources and those of her daughter), but because I saw unworthy men elevated to honourable positions, and realised that I was an outcast because of baseless suspicion. [4] It is for this reason that, in order to preserve what honour I have left, I have adopted measures which are honourable enough considering my circumstances. [5] I would write more but word comes that I am threatened with violence. [6] Now I commend Orestilla to you and entrust her to your protection. Shield her from wrong, I beg you in the name of your own children. Farewell."

**36**

[1] Catiline himself, after spending a few days with Gaius Flaminius near Arretium, where he supplied arms to the populace, which had already been roused to revolt, hastened to join Manlius in his camp, taking with him the fasces and the other emblems of authority. [2] As soon as this became known at Rome, the Senate pronounced Catiline and Manlius public enemies and named a day before which the rest of the conspirators might lay down their arms and escape punishment, excepting those under sentence for capital offences. [3] It was also voted that the consuls should enlist troops and that Antonius should at once pursue Catiline with an army, while Cicero defended the capital.

[4] At no other time in its history has the condition of the empire of Rome, as it seems to me, been more pitiable. The whole world, from the rising of the sun to its setting, had been subdued by her arms and rendered obedience to her; at home there was peace and an abundance of wealth, which mortal men deem the chiefest of blessings. Yet there were Roman citizens who from sheer perversity were bent upon their own ruin and that of their country. [5] In spite of the two senatorial decrees, not one man of all that great number was led by the promised reward to betray the conspiracy, and not a single one deserted Catiline's camp; such was the potency of the malady that, like a plague, had infected the minds of many of our countrymen.

**37**

[1] This insanity was not confined to those who were implicated in the plot, but the whole body of the lower orders, through desire for change, favoured the designs of Catiline. [2] In this they seemed to act as the populace usually does; [3] in every country those who have no means envy the good, exalt the disreputable, hate what is old and established, long for something new, and discontented with their own lot, desire a general upheaval. Amid turmoil and rebellion, they maintain themselves without difficulty, since poverty has nothing to lose.

[4] But the city populace in particular acted with desperation for many reasons. [5] To begin with, all who were especially conspicuous for their shamelessness and impudence, those too who had squandered their possessions in riotous excesses, and those whom disgrace or crime had forced to leave home, had all flowed into Rome till it was a cesspool. [6] Many, too, who recalled Sulla's victory, when they saw common soldiers risen to the rank of Senator, and others become so rich that they feasted and lived like kings, hoped that they too, if they took up arms, might find victory a source of profit. [7] Besides this, the young men who had maintained a wretched existence by manual labour in the country, tempted by public and private doles had come to prefer idleness in the city to their hateful toil; these, like all the others, stood to gain by public disorder. [8] Therefore it is not surprising that men who were beggars and without character, with limitless hopes, should respect their country as little as they did themselves. [9] Moreover, those to whom Sulla's victory had meant the proscription of their parents, loss of property, and curtailment of their rights, looked forward in a similar spirit to the issue of a war. [10] Finally, all who belonged to another faction than that of the Senate preferred to see the government overthrown rather than be out of power themselves. [11] Such, then, was the evil which after many years had returned upon the state.

**38**

[1] For after the tribunician power had been restored in the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, various young men, whose age and disposition made them aggressive, attained this important office; they thereupon began to excite the common people by attacks upon the Senate and then to inflame their passions still more by bribes and promises, thus making themselves conspicuous and influential. [2] They were strenuously opposed by most of the nobility, ostensibly in behalf of the Senate but really to maintain their own privileged position. [3] For, to tell the truth in a few words, all who after that time attacked the government used specious pretexts, some maintaining that they were defending the rights of the commons, others that they were upholding the prestige of the Senate; but under pretence of the public welfare, each in reality was working for his own advancement. [4] Such men showed neither self-restraint nor moderation to gain their ends, and both parties used their success ruthlessly.

**39**

[1] When, however, Pompey had been dispatched to wage war against the pirates and Mithridates, the power of the commons was lessened, while that of the few increased. [2]  They secured the magistracies, the provinces and everything else; being themselves rich and secure against attack, they lived without fear and by threats of prosecution terrified opponents, in order that while they themselves were in office they might manage the people with less friction. [3] But as soon as the political situation offered hope of a revolution, then the old fighting spirit aroused their courage. [4] If Catiline had been victor in the first engagement, or had merely held his own, great bloodshed and disaster would have fallen upon the state; the victors would not have been allowed to enjoy their success for long, but when they had been worn out and exhausted, a more powerful adversary would have wrested both supreme power and freedom from them. [5] Yet even as it was, there were many outside the ranks of the conspiracy who, when hostilities began, went to join Catiline. Among them was Fulvius, a Senator's son, who was brought back and put to death by order of his father.

[6] Meanwhile at Rome, Lentulus, following Catiline's directions, was working, personally or through others, upon those whose character or fortune he thought marked them ripe for revolution – and not merely citizens, but all sorts and conditions of men, provided only that they could be of any service in war.

### 51–54

**51**

[1] "Fathers of the Senate, all men who deliberate upon difficult questions ought to be free from hatred and friendship, anger and pity. [2] When these feelings stand in the way the mind cannot easily discern the truth, and no mortal man has ever served at the same time his passions and his best interests. [3] When you apply your intellect, it prevails; if passion possesses you, it will take control of you and reduce your mind to impotence. [4] I might mention many occasions, Fathers of the Senate, when kings and peoples under the influence of anger or pity have made errors of judgment. But I prefer to remind you of times when our forefathers, controlling their emotions, have acted justly and properly. [5] In the Macedonian War, which we waged with King Perses, the great and glorious state of the Rhodes, which owed its growth to the support of the Roman people, was unfaithful and turned against us. But after the war was over and the question of the Rhodes was under discussion, our ancestors let them go unpunished for fear that some might say that the wealth of the Rhodes, rather than to punish King Perseus for his wrongful conduct, had led to the declaration of war. [6] So, too, in all the Punic Wars, although the Carthaginians both in time of peace and in the course of truces had often committed many outrages, the Romans never retaliated when they had the opportunity. They inquired what conduct would be consistent with their dignity rather than how far the law would allow them to go in taking vengeance. [7] You also, Fathers of the Senate, must beware of letting the guilt of Publius Lentulus and the rest have more weight with you than your own dignity, and of taking more thought for your anger at the expense of your reputation. [8] If a punishment commensurate with their crimes can be found, I am willing to support a departure from precedent; but if the enormity of their guilt surpasses all men's imagination, I should advise limiting ourselves to such penalties as the law has established.

[9] "The greater number of those who have expressed their opinions before me have deplored the misfortune of the Republic in great eloquent phrases. They have dwelt upon the horrors of war; the wretched fate of the conquered, the rape of maidens and boys, children torn from their parents' arms, matrons subjected to the will of the victors, temples and homes pillaged, bloodshed and fire; in short everything filled with weapons and corpses, gore and grief. [10] But what, in god’s name, was the purpose of such speeches? Was it to make you detest the conspiracy? You think that a man who has not been moved by a crime so monstrous and so cruel will be roused by an eloquent speech! [11] That can never be; no mortal man thinks his own wrongs unimportant; many, indeed, resent them more than is right. [12] But not all men, Fathers of the Senate, are allowed the same freedom of action. If the humble, who pass their lives in obscurity, commit any offence through anger, it is known to few; their fame and fortune are alike. But the actions of those who hold great power, and pass their lives in a lofty station, are known to all the world. [13] So it comes to pass that in the highest position there is the least freedom of action. [14] We must avoid partiality and hatred, and above all anger; for what in others is an outburst of temper, this in a ruler is termed arrogance and cruelty.

[15] "For my own part, Fathers of the Senate, I consider no tortures sufficient for the crimes of these men; but most people remember only that which happens last, and in the case of criminals forget their guilt and talk only of their punishment they have received, if it is a little more severe than common. [16] I have no doubt that Decimus Silanus, a gallant and brave man, was led by patriotism to say what he did say, and that in a matter of such moment he showed neither favour nor enmity; so well do I know the man's character and moderation. [17] Yet his proposal strikes me, I will not say cruel (for what could be cruel in the case of such men?) but as out of keeping with the traditions of our Republic.

[18] “For surely, Silanus, it was either fear or the gravity of the offence which impelled you, a consul elect, to suggest a form of punishment that is without precedent. [19] As regards fear, it is needless to speak, especially since, thanks to the precautions of our distinguished consul, we have such strong guards under arms. [20] So far as the penalty is concerned, I can say with truth that amid grief and wretchedness death is a relief from suffering, not a punishment; that it puts an end to all mortal ills and leaves no room either for sorrow or for joy.

[21] "But, in the name of Heaven! why did you not, Silanus, add the recommendation that they first be flogged? [22] Was it because the Porcian Law forbids it? Yes, but there are other laws which provide that Roman citizens, even when found guilty, shall not lose their lives, but shall be permitted to go into exile. [23] Was it because it is more grievous to be flogged than to be killed? But what punishment is harsh or too excessive for men convicted of so great a crime? [24] If, however, it was because flogging is the lighter punishment, what consistency is there in respecting the law in the lesser point when you have disregarded it in the greater?

[25] “But, you may say, who will complain of a decree which is passed against traitors to their country? The lapse of time and the impulse of Fortune, which controls the destinies of all men, will one day produce a change of feeling. [26] Whatever befalls these prisoners will be well deserved; but you, Fathers of the Senate, are called upon to consider the precedent that you establish for others. [27] All bad precedents have originated in cases which were good; but when the control of the government falls into the hands of incompetent or bad men, your new precedent, which you established by inflicting an extraordinary penalty on guilty men who deserve and merit it, will be used against innocent men who do not deserve it.

[28] "The Spartans, after they had conquered the Athenians, set up thirty men to carry on their government. [29] These men began at first by putting to death without a trial the most wicked and generally hated citizens, and the people rejoiced and declared that it was well done. [30] But afterwards their licence gradually increased, and the tyrants slew good and bad alike at pleasure and intimidated the rest. [31] Thus Athens was reduced to slavery and had to pay a heavy penalty for its foolish rejoicing. [32] Within our own memory, when the victorious Sulla ordered the execution of Damasippus and others of that kind, who had become prominent at the expense of the state, who did not approve this action? All declared that those criminal intriguers, who had threatened the country with their civil strife, deserved their fate. [33] But that was the beginning of great bloodshed; for whenever anyone coveted a man's house in town or country, he contrived to have him enrolled among the proscribed. [34] Thus those who had rejoiced at the death of Damasippus were themselves before long hurried off to execution, and the massacre did not end until Sulla glutted all his followers with riches.

[35] "For my own part, I fear nothing of that kind will be taken by Cicero or in this present age, but in a great nation there are many different characters. [36] It is possible that on some future occasion, when someone else is consul and is likewise in command of an army, some falsehood may be believed to be true. When the consul, with this precedent before him, shall draw the sword in obedience to the Senate's decree, who shall limit or restrain him?

[37] "Our ancestors, Fathers of the Senate, were never lacking either in wisdom or courage, and yet pride did not keep them from adopting foreign institutions, provided they were honourable. [38] They took their offensive and defensive weapons from the Samnites, the badges of their magistrates for the most part from the Etruscans. In short, whatever they found suitable among allies or foes, they put in practice at home with the greatest enthusiasm, preferring to imitate rather than envy the successful. [39] But in that same age, following the Greek custom, they flogged citizens and inflicted the supreme penalty upon those found guilty. [40] Afterwards, when the state reached maturity and because of its large population factions prevailed; when the blameless began to be oppressed and other wrongs of that kind were perpetrated: then they devised the Porcian Law and other laws, which allowed the condemned the alternative of exile. [41] This seems to me, Fathers of the Senate, a particularly cogent reason why we should not adopt a new policy. [42] Surely there was greater merit and wisdom in those men, who from small resources created this mighty empire, than in us, who can barely hold what they gloriously won.

[43] “Do I then recommend that the prisoners be allowed to depart and swell Catiline's force? By no means! This, rather, is my advice: that their goods be confiscated and that they themselves be kept imprisoned in the strongest of the free towns. Further, that no one hereafter shall refer their case to the Senate or bring it before the people, under pain of being considered by the Senate to have designs against the welfare of the state and the common safety.”

**52**

[1] After Caesar had finished speaking, the rest briefly expressed their adherence to one or another of the various proposals. But Marcus Porcius Cato, when called upon for his opinion, spoke to the following effect:

[2] "My feelings are very different, Fathers of the Senate, when I turn my mind to the plot and the danger we are in, and when I reflect upon the recommendations of some of our previous speakers. [3] The speakers appear to me to have dwelt upon the punishment of these men who have plotted war on their country, parents, altars, and hearths; but the situation warns us rather to take precautions against them than to argue about what we are to do with them. [4] For in the case of other offences you may proceed against them after they have been committed; with this, unless you take measures to prevent it being committed, it is too late. Once it has been done, it is useless to invoke the law. Once a city has been taken, nothing is left to the defeated.

[5] "In the name of the immortal gods I call upon you, who have always valued your houses, villas, statues, and paintings more highly than your country; if you wish to retain these cherished possessions, whatever they may be, if you even wish to provide peace for the enjoyment of your pleasures, wake up while there is still time and lend a hand to defend the Republic. [6] It is not a question of misappropriated taxes or the wrongs of our allies; our lives and liberties are at stake.

[7] “Many a time, Fathers of the Senate, I have spoken at great length in the Senate House; I have often deplored the extravagance and greed of our citizens, and in that way I have made many men my enemies. [8] I, who had never, in my own conscience, excused myself for any transgression, could not readily condone the sins prompted by other men’s passions. [9] But although you paid little attention to my words, the state was still strong; its prosperity supported your neglect. [10] Now, however, the question before us is not whether our morals are good or bad, nor how great or glorious the empire of the Roman people is, but whether all that we have, however we regard it, is going to remain ours, or whether we and it together are to fall into the hands of the enemy. [11] At this point does anyone talk to me of clemency and compassion? But in very truth we have long since ceased to call things by their true name. It is precisely because squandering the goods of others is called “largesse”, and criminal daring is called “courage”, that the Republic is brought to such a predicament. [12] Since such is the fashion of the time, let these men, by all means, be liberal at the expense of our allies, let them be merciful to plunderers of the treasury; but do not let them be generous of our blood, and in sparing a few criminals bring ruin upon all good men.

[13] “In fine and finished phrases did Gaius Caesar a moment ago before this body speak on the subject of life and death, regarding as false, I presume, the tales which are told of the Lower World, where they say that the wicked take a different path from the good, and dwell in regions that are gloomy, desolate, unsightly, and full of fears. [14] Therefore, he recommended that the property of the prisoners be confiscated, and that they themselves be imprisoned in the various towns, doubtless through fear that if they remained in Rome the supporters of the plot or a hired mob would rescue them by force. [15] As if, indeed, there were bad characters and criminals only in Rome and not all over Italy, or as if their reckless violence would be less likely to succeed where there are fewer resources to oppose it. [16] “Therefore, this advice is utterly futile if Caesar fears danger from the conspirators; but if amid such universal fear he alone has none, I have the more reason to fear for myself and for you. [17] Be assured, then, that when you decide the fate of Publius Lentulus and the rest, you will at the same time be passing judgment on Catiline's army and all the conspirators. [18] The more vigorous your action, the less will be their courage; but if they detect the slightest weakness on your part, they will all be here immediately, filled with reckless daring.

[19] “Do not suppose that it was by force of arms that our forefathers raised our country from obscurity to greatness. [20] If that were so, we should have a much fairer state than theirs, since we have a greater number of citizens and allies, more arms and horses, than they possessed. [21] But there were other qualities that made them great, which we do not possess at all: hard workers at home, just ruler abroad, in the council-chamber, an independent spirit free from guilt or passion. [22] In place of these, we have extravagance and greed, public poverty and private opulence. We extol wealth and foster idleness. We make no distinction between good men and bad, and ambition usurps all the rewards of virtue. [23] And no wonder! When each of you schemes for his own private interests, when in your homes you are slaves to pleasure and to money or influence in the Senate House. The natural result is that when an attack is made on the Republic, there is no one there to defend it.

[24] “But I let that pass. Citizens of the highest rank have conspired to set fire to their native city. The Gauls, the bitterest enemies of the Roman people, have been called to arms. The leader of the enemy with his army descend upon us. [25] Do you still hesitate and doubtfully ask yourselves what is to be done with enemies taken within your walls? [26] I suggest you take pity on them (they are young men, led astray by ambition), and even let them go, taking their army with them! [27] But mind what you are doing with your clemency and compassion: if they should resort to war, you may have reason to regret your attitude. [28] No doubt the situation is a terrible one, you say, but you are not afraid of it. On the contrary, you do fear it exceedingly, though from slothfulness and weakness of spirit you hesitate, waiting for someone else to act, doubtless trusting to the immortal gods, who have often saved our Republic in moments of extreme danger. [29] Vows or womanish supplications will not secure the help of the gods; it is always through watchfulness, vigorous action, and wisdom in counsel that success comes. When you abandon yourself to cowardice and baseness, it is vain to call upon the gods; they are offended and hostile.

[30] “In the days of our forefathers Aulus Manlius Torquatus, while warring with the Gauls, ordered the execution of his own son, because he had fought against the enemy contrary to orders. [31] That gallant young man paid the penalty for too great valour with his life. [32] Do you hesitate what punishment to inflict upon the most ruthless traitors? No doubt, their past life mitigates this crime! [33] By all means spare Lentulus because of his high rank, if he ever spared his own chastity, his good name, or showed any respect for anyone, god or man. Pardon the youth of Cethegus, if this is not the second time that he has made war upon his country. [34] And what shall I say of Gabinius, Statilius, and Caeparius? They would never have formed such plans against the Republic if they had ever respected anything.

[35] "Finally, Fathers of the Senate, if (Heaven help us!) there were any room for error I should be quite willing to let you learn wisdom by experience, since you scorn my advice. But as it is, we are completely encircled. Catiline with his army is at our throats; other foes are within our walls, in the very heart of Rome. Neither preparations nor plans can be kept secret; therefore the more need for acting quickly. [36] This, then, is my recommendation: whereas our country has been subjected to serious danger through the abominable plot of wicked citizens, and whereas they have been proven guilty by the testimony of Titus Volturcius and the envoys of the Allobroges, and have confessed that they have planned murder, arson, and other fearful and cruel crimes against their fellow citizens and their country, let those who have confessed be treated as though they had been caught red-handed in capital offences, and be punished in accordance with ancient customs."

**53**

[1] As soon as Cato had taken his seat, all the ex-consuls, as well as a great part of the other Senators, praised his proposal and lauded his courage to the skies, while they reproaching one another for their faintheartedness. Cato was hailed as great and noble, and a decree of the Senate was passed in accordance with his recommendation.

[2] For my own part, as I read and heard of the many illustrious deeds of the Roman people at home and abroad, on land and sea, it happened that I was seized by a strong desire of finding out what quality in particular had enabled such great accomplishments. [3] I knew that often with a handful of men they had encountered great armies of the enemy; I was aware that with small resources they had waged wars with mighty kings; also that they had often experienced the cruelty of Fortune; that the Romans had been surpassed by the Greeks in eloquence and by the Gauls in warlike glory. [4] After long reflection I became convinced that it had all been accomplished by the eminent merit of a few citizens; that it was due to them that poor men had triumphed over rich, and a few over a multitude. [5] But after the state had become demoralized by extravagance and idleness, it was the Republic in its turn that was enabled by its greatness to sustain the shortcomings of its generals and magistrates, and for a long time, as when mothers are exhausted by child-bearing, no one at all was produced at Rome who was great in merit. [6] But within my own memory there have been two men of towering merit, though of diverse character – Marcus Cato and Gaius Caesar. As regards these men, since the occasion has presented itself, it is not my intention to pass them by in silence, or fail to give, to the best of my ability, an account of their disposition and character.

**54**

[1] In birth, age and eloquence, they were about equal; in greatness of soul they were evenly matched, and likewise in renown, although the renown of each was different. [2] Caesar was held great because of his benefactions and lavish generosity, Cato for the uprightness of his life. [3] The former became famous for his gentleness and compassion, the austerity of the latter had brought him prestige. Caesar gained glory by giving, helping, and forgiving; Cato by never stooping to bribery. One was a refuge for the unfortunate, the other a scourge for the wicked. The good nature of the one was applauded, the steadfastness of the other. [4] Finally, Caesar had schooled himself to work hard and sleep little, to devote himself to the welfare of his friends and neglect his own, to refuse nothing which was worth the giving. He longed for great power, an army, and a new war to give scope for his brilliant merit. [5] Cato, on the contrary, cultivated self-control, propriety, but above all austerity. [6] He did not vie with the rich in riches nor in intrigue with the intriguer, but with the active in good works, with the self-restrained in moderation, with the blameless in integrity. He preferred to be, rather than to seem, virtuous; hence the less he sought fame, the more it pursued him.

**Plutarch *Sulla* 7–10, 31**

### 7–10

**7**

[1] At the time in question, he [Sulla] viewed the consulship as a trivial matter in comparison with things to come, his thoughts soared to the Mithridatic War. But possessed by ambition and a lust for glory – those never ageing passions – Marius set himself up as a rival to Sulla. He was now overweight, and in the recent campaigns had given up service on account of his age, yet Marius had set his heart upon foreign wars beyond the seas. [2] And when Sulla had set out for his camp on unfinished business, Marius stayed at home and nurtured that most fatal feud, which did Rome more harm than all her wars together had done. The heavenly powers did forewarn them: flames broke out of their own accord from the poles which carried the military standards, and was hard to extinguish; and three ravens brought their young into the street and ate them, and then carried the remains back again into their nest; [3] and after mice had gnawed consecrated gold in a temple, the keepers caught one of them, a female, in a trap, and in the very trap she gave birth to five young ones and ate three of them. But most important omen of all, out of a clear and cloudless sky there rang out the blast of a trumpet, prolonging a shrill and dismal note, so that all were amazed and terrified at its loudness. The Etruscan wise men declared that the portent signified a change of conditions and the advent of a new age. [4] For according to them there are eight ages altogether, each with different customs and ways of life, and to each of these the god has assigned a definite number of years, which is accomplished by the revolution of a great year. And whenever one great year ends and another begins, some wonderful sign appears, either on earth or in the sky. It is clear at once to those who have studied such matters, that men of a different kind, with different modes of life have been born into the world, and to show whether they will be of more or less concern to the gods than their predecessors were. [5] All things and especially the art of divination, they say, undergo great changes as one age succeeds another. At one time, it rises in esteem and its predictions come true, because the gods send clear and unmistakable signs, while in another age, it does poorly, since it invariably has to rely on guesswork and tries to grasp the future by means of faint and blind senses. Such, at any rate, was the tale told by the wisest of the Etruscans, who were thought to know much more about it than the rest. [6] Moreover, while the Senate was busied with the soothsayers about these matters, and holding its session in the temple of Bellona, a sparrow came flying in, in plain view of everyone, with a grasshopper in its mouth, dropped part of the grasshopper and left it there, and then flew away with the rest. From this, the diviners interpreted this as signifying conflict and dissent between the landowners and the urban masses; for the masses were noisy like a grasshopper, while the sparrow might represent those who live on the land.

**8**

[1] Marius now made alliance with Sulpicius who was a tribune of the people, a man whose consummate villainy was second to none, so rather than ask whether he surpassed anyone else in wickedness, people tended to ask under what circumstances he displayed greater wickedness than usual. For the combination of cruelty, recklessness, and greed in him was entirely untroubled by a sense of shame or wrong, since he sold Roman citizenship to freedmen and aliens at public auction, and counted out the price on a table which stood in the forum. [2] Moreover, he maintained 3,000 swordsmen, and surrounded himself with a body of young men of the equestrian order who were ready for anything, and whom he called his anti-senate. Further, though he got a law passed that no Senator should incur a debt of more than 2,000 drachmas, he himself left behind him after death a debt of three millions drachmas. This man was now let loose upon the people by Marius. After throwing everything into chaos through force and the sword, he proposed certain vicious laws, and particularly one offering Marius command of the Mithridatic War. [3] To prevent voting on these, the consuls decreed suspension of public business, but Sulpicius attacked them with a mob as they were holding an assembly near the temple of Castor and Pollux, and cut down large numbers of them in the forum, including the young son of the consul Pompeius[[1]](#footnote-1), although Pompeius himself managed to escape unnoticed. Sulla, however, after having been pursued into the house of Marius, was forced to come out and rescind the decree suspending public business; [4] and it was because he did this that Sulpicius, although he deposed Pompeius, did not take the consulship away from Sulla, but merely transferred the expedition against Mithridates to Marius’ command. He also sent military tribunes at once to Nola, who were to assume command of the army and take it to Marius.

**9**

[1] But Sulla succeeded in making his escape and reached the camp first. When his soldiers learned what had happened, they stoned the tribunes to death. In return, Marius and his partisans in the city went about killing the friends of Sulla and plundering their property. People began to flee and change sides, with some making their way from camp to city, others from Rome to the camp. [2] The Senate was not its own master, but was governed by the commands of Marius and Sulpicius, and when it learned that Sulla was marching against Rome, it sent two of the praetors, Brutus and Servilius, to order him to halt. These men addressed Sulla with too much boldness, whereupon his soldiers would have gladly torn them to pieces, but contented themselves with breaking their fasces, stripping them of their senatorial togas, insulting them in many ways, and then sending them back to the city. In Rome, a terrible dejection was produced by the mere sight of them, stripped of their praetorial insignia, and by their announcement that there was no way to prevent conflict – that war was inevitable.

[3] Marius and his partisans, then, busied themselves with preparations for war; while Sulla, at the head of six full legions, moved with his colleague from Nola. Sulla was aware that his army was eager to march at once against the city, although he himself wavered in his own mind, and feared the danger. But after he had offered a sacrifice, Postumius the soothsayer learned what the omens were, and stretching out both hands to Sulla, begged that he might be bound and kept a prisoner until the battle, assuring him that he was willing to undergo the extremist penalty if all things did not speedily come to a good issue for him. [4] It is said, also, that Sulla himself had a dream in which he saw a goddess whom the Romans learned to worship from the Cappadocians, whether she is Luna, or Minerva, or Bellona. This goddess stood by his side and put into his hand a thunderbolt, and naming his enemies one by one, told him to strike them with it; and as they were struck they fell, and vanished away. Encouraged by the vision, he told his colleague about it, and at break of day continued on towards Rome.

[5] When he had reached Pictae, he was met by a delegation from the city, which begged him not to advance to an immediate attack, since the Senate had voted that he should have all his rights. He therefore agreed to encamp there, and ordered his officers to measure out the ground, as was usual, for the camp, so that the delegation returned to the city believing that he would do so. But no sooner were they gone than he sent forward Lucius Basillus and Caius Mummius, who seized for him the city-gate and the walls on the Esquiline Hill; then he himself followed hard after them with all speed. [6] Basillus and his men burst into the city and were forcing their way along, when a crowd of unarmed people pelted them with stones and tiles from the roofs of the houses, stopped their further progress, and drove them back to the city wall. But by this time Sulla was at hand, and seeing what was going on, shouted orders to set fire to the houses, and seizing a blazing torch, led the way himself. He also ordered his archers to use their fire-bolts and shoot them up at the roofs. [7] He did not stop to think before issuing these commands, but in the heat of the moment, he let anger dictate events. He thought only of his enemies, and without any regard or even pity for friends and family and relations, used fire to aid his return to Rome, which made no distinction between the guilty and the innocent. Meanwhile Marius, who had been driven back to the temple of Tellus, made a proclamation calling the slaves to his support under the promise of freedom; but with the enemy’s advance, he was overpowered and fled the city.

**10**

[1] Sulla now called together the Senate, and had a death sentence passed on Marius and a few others, including Sulpicius, the tribune. But Sulpicius was killed, after he had been betrayed by a slave, to whom Sulla first gave his freedom, and then had him thrown down the Tarpeian rock. Moreover, he set a price on the head of Marius, an act both ungrateful and undiplomatic, since it was in his house that he had found refuge and surrendered himself a little before this, and had been released unharmed. [2] And yet had Marius at that time not let Sulla go, but given him up to be killed at the hands of Sulpicius, he might have been absolute master in Rome. Nevertheless, Marius spared his life, and when after a few days he had given Sulla the same opportunity, he did not obtain similar mercy. By these proceedings, Sulla won the secret dislike of the Senate; but the people's hatred and indignation was made clear to him by their actions. [3] For instance, they ignominiously rejected Nonius his nephew, and Servius, who were his candidates for offices, and appointed others, whose preferment they thought would be most irritating to him. But he pretended to be pleased at this, saying that the people, in doing as it pleased, enjoyed a freedom which was due to him, and in order to appease the hatred of the masses allowed Lucius Cinna, a political opponent, to be elected consul, after binding him by solemn oaths to be favourable to his policies. [4]  And Cinna went up to the Capitol with a stone in his hand and took the oaths, and then, after praying that if he did not maintain his goodwill towards Sulla, he might be cast out of the city, as the stone from his hand, he threw the stone upon the ground in the sight of many people. But as soon as he had entered upon his office, he tried to subvert the existing order, and had an impeachment prepared against Sulla, and appointed Virginius[[2]](#footnote-2), a tribune of the people, to prosecute the case. But Sulla, ignoring both Virginius and the court, set out against Mithridates.

### 31

**31**

[1] Sulla now busied himself with slaughter, and filled the city with more murders that anyone could count or determine. Many, too, were killed as a result of private feuds. Although they had nothing to do with Sulla, he gave his consent in order to gratify his supporters. At last one of the younger men, Gaius Metellus, had the courage to ask Sulla in the Senate when these evils were going to end, and how much further he would go before they might expect these things to finish. [2] "We do not ask you," he said, "to free from punishment those who you have decided to kill, but to free from suspense those who you have decided to save." And when Sulla answered that he did not yet know whom he would spare, Metellus said in reply, "Well, then, let us know who you are planning to punish." This Sulla said he would do. [3] Some people, however, say that it was not Metellus, but Fufidius, one of Sulla's fawning followers, who made this last speech to him. Be that as it may, Sulla at once proscribed 80 men, without communicating with any magistrate. And despite the general outrage, a day later he proscribed another 220, and then on the next day, the same number again. [4] Referring to these measures in a public speech, he said that he was proscribing those who came to mind, and those who now escaped his memory, he would proscribe at a later date. He also proscribed anyone who sheltered and saved a proscribed person, making death the punishment for such acts of kindness. Not even brothers, sons, or parents were exempt from this ruling. On the other hand, Sulla offered any one who killed a proscribed person two talents as a reward for this murderous deed, even if a slave slayed his master, or a son his father. And what seemed the harshest measure, he took away the civil rights from the sons and grandsons of those who had been proscribed, and confiscated the property of all. [5] Moreover, proscriptions were made not only in Rome, but also in every city of Italy, and neither temple of God, nor guest-friend’s hearth, nor paternal home was free from the stain of bloodshed. Husbands were butchered in the embraces of their wives, and sons in the arms of their mothers. Those who fell victims to political resentment and private hatred were as nothing compared with those who were butchered for the sake of their property, and, even the executioners were prompted to say that his great house killed this man, his garden that man, his warm baths another. [6] Quintus Aurelius, a quiet and inoffensive man, who thought his only share in the general calamity was to condole with others in their misfortunes, came into the forum and read the list of the proscribed. Finding his own name there, said, "Alas, I am undone! My Alban estate is prosecuting me." And he had not gone far before he was dispatched by someone who had been following him.

**Plutarch *Pompey* 14–15, 20, 47–48**

### 14–15

**14**

[1] Pompey now asked for a triumph, but Sulla opposed his request. The law, he said, permitted only a consul or a praetor to celebrate a triumph, but no one else. That is why the first Scipio, after conquering the Carthaginians in Spain in far greater conflicts, did not ask for a triumph as he was not consul, nor even praetor. [2] And if Pompey, who had scarcely grown a beard, and who was too young to be a Senator, should ride into the city in a triumph, it would not only make his own government altogether abhorrent, but also Pompey's honour. This was what Sulla said to Pompey, declaring that he would not allow his request, but would oppose him and thwart his ambition if he refused to listen to him.

[3] Pompey, however, was not cowed, and suggested that Sulla reflect that more people worshipped the rising sun than the setting sun, implying that his own power was on the increase, while that of Sulla was decreasing and fading away. Sulla did not hear the words distinctly, but seeing, from their looks and gestures, that those who did hear them were amazed, he asked what it was that had been said. When he found out, he was taken aback by Pompey’s boldness, and cried out twice in succession: "Let him triumph!"

[4] Further, when many showed displeasure and indignation at the idea, Pompey, we are told, was all the more eager to annoy them, and tried to ride into the city on a chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought many from Africa which he had captured from its kings. But the gate of the city was too narrow, and he therefore gave up the attempt and changed back to horses. [5] Moreover, when his soldiers, who had not profited as much as they expected, were inclined to kick up a fuss and impede the triumph, he said he did not care at all, but would rather give up his triumph than give in to them. Then Servilius, a man of distinction, and one who had been most opposed to Pompey's triumph, said he now saw that Pompey was really great, and worthy of the honour. [6] And it is clear that he might also have been easily made a Senator at that time, had he wished it; but he was not interested in this, as they say, since he was only after surprising and unusual forms of glory. For instance, it would have been nothing particularly amazing for Pompey to be a Senator before he was of age for it; but it was a dazzling honour for him to celebrate a triumph before he was a Senator. And this went quite a long way towards winning him the favour of the masses; for the people were delighted to have him still classed among the equestrian order after a triumph.

**15**

[1] Sulla, however, was annoyed at seeing the rise in Pompey’s power and reputation, but being ashamed to obstruct his career, he kept quiet. But when, against his direct wishes, Pompey got Lepidus elected consul by canvassing for him and using his own popularity with the people to gain support for him, Sulla could restrain no longer. When he saw Pompey going off through the forum with a throng, Sulla said: [2] “I see, young man, that you rejoice in your victory. Indeed, it was a generous and noble act that Lepidus, the worst of men, to be elected consul by a larger vote than Catulus, the best of men, because you influenced the people to take this course. Now, however, it is time for you to be wide awake and watchful of your interests, as you have been making your enemy stronger than yourself." But Sulla showed most clearly his hostility to Pompey by the will which he drew up. [3] For whereas he bequeathed gifts to other friends, and made some of them guardians of his son, he omitted all mention of Pompey. And yet Pompey bore this with great composure, and loyally, insomuch that when Lepidus and others tried to prevent the body of Sulla from being buried in the Campus Martius, or even from receiving public burial honours, Pompey came to the rescue, and saw that he received a safe and honourable burial.

### 20

**20**

[1] When Pompey had exhausted most of his private resources and spent them on the war, he asked the Senate for money, threatening to come back to Italy with his army if they did not send it. Lucullus was consul at this time, and was not on good terms with Pompey, since he was conscious to win command of the Mithridatic War for himself. Therefore, he made great efforts to have the money sent, for fear of furthering Pompey's desire to let Sertorius go, and march against Mithridates, an enterprise which it was thought would bring great glory and involve little danger. [2] But in the meantime Sertorius was treacherously killed by his friends, and Perpenna, the ringleader among them, attempted to carry on his work. Although he had the same resources and equipment, he lacked equal judgement in the use of them. Accordingly, Pompey took the field against him at once, and perceiving that he had no fixed plan of campaign, sent out ten cohorts as a decoy, giving them orders to scatter at random over the plain. [3] When Perpenna attacked these cohorts, and was engaged in their pursuit, Pompey suddenly appeared with all his army and joining battle, won a complete victory. Most of Perpenna's officers perished in the battle, but Perpenna himself was brought before Pompey, who ordered him to be put to death. Some people allege that Pompey showed ingratitude or unmindfulness of what had happened in Sicily, but in fact exercised great forethought and excellent judgement for the safety of Rome. [4] For Perpenna, who had come into possession of the papers of Sertorius, offered to produce letters from the most powerful men at Rome, who had desired to overthrow the existing order and change the form of government, and had therefore invited Sertorius to invade Italy. Pompey, therefore, fearing that this might stir up greater wars than those now ended, put Perpenna to death and burned the letters without even reading them.

### 47–48

**47**

[1] At this time Caesar had returned from his campaigns and instituted a policy which brought him the greatest favour for the present and power for the future, but proved most injurious to Pompey and the city. He was a candidate for his first consulship, and seeing that, while Crassus and Pompey were at odds with each other, if he attached himself to the one he would make an enemy of the other. He therefore sought to reconcile them with one another, a thing which was honourable in itself and conducive to the public good, but he undertook it for the wrong reasons and with all the skill of a practised master of intrigue. [2] For those opposing forces which prevented the city from rocking to and fro, like a boat, were united into one, they created an irresistible imbalance that overpowered and overthrew everything. Therefore Cato wisely told those who blamed the downfall of the city on the later disagreement between Pompey and Caesar that they wrongly laid the blame on what had merely happened last, [3] for it was not their falling out nor their hostility, but their alliance which was the first and greatest evil to befall the city.

Caesar was, indeed, elected consul; but he at once began to court the poor and needy by proposing measures for the founding of colonies and the distribution of lands, thereby lowering the dignity of his office and making the consulate a kind of tribunate. [4] And when he was opposed by his colleague Bibulus, and Cato stood ready to support Bibulus with all his might, Caesar brought Pompey on the rostra before the people, and asked him in so many words whether he approved the proposed laws: and when Pompey said he did, "Then," said Caesar, "in case any resistance should be made to the law, will you come to the aid of the people?" [5] "Yes, indeed," said Pompey, "I will come, bringing, against those who threaten swords, both sword and shield." Never up to that day had Pompey said or done anything more vulgar and arrogant, as it was thought, so that even his friends apologised for him and said the words must have escaped him on the spur of the moment. However, his subsequent actions made it clear that he had now wholly given himself up to do Caesar's bidding. [6] For to everybody's surprise he married Julia, the daughter of Caesar, although she was betrothed to Caepio and was going to be married to him within a few days; and to appease Caepio’s anger, Pompey promised him his own daughter in marriage, although she was already engaged to Faustus the son of Sulla. Caesar himself married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.

**48**

[1] After this, Pompey filled the city with soldiers and carried all things by force as he pleased. As Bibulus the consul was going down into the forum with Lucullus and Cato, the crowd fell upon him. The lictor’s fasces were broken and somebody threw a basket of manure over Bibulus’ head, and two of the tribunes who were escorting him were wounded. [2] When they had thus cleared the forum of their opponents, they passed the law concerning the distribution of lands; and the people, caught by this bait, became tame at once in their hands, and ready to support any project, not meddling at all, but silently voting for what was proposed to them. [3] Thus Pompey got the acts and decrees of his ratified, which were questioned and contested by Lucullus; Caesar received both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years, together with four complete legions; and it was decided that the consuls for the following year should be Piso, Caesar’s father-in-law, and Gabinius, who was the most extravagant of Pompey's flatterers.

[4] While this was going on, Bibulus shut himself up in his house and for the eight months remaining of his consulship did not appear in public, but issued edicts which were full of accusations and smears against Pompey and Caesar. Cato, as though inspired and possessed by a spirit of prophecy, foretold in the Senate what the future would bring to the city and to Pompey; while Lucullus renounced the struggle and went into retirement, claiming that he was too old for politics; whereat Pompey remarked that if one is too old for politics, one ought also be too old for luxurious living.

[5] However, Pompey himself also soon gave way weakly to his passion for his young wife, devoted himself for the most part to her, spent his time with her in villas and gardens, and neglected what was going on in the forum, so that even Clodius, who was then a tribune of the people, despised him and engaged in the most daring measures. [6] For after he had driven Cicero into exile, and sent Cato off to Cyprus under pretence of giving him military command, and Caesar had gone off to Gaul, and when he saw that he was the people’s favourite, because all his political measures were undertaken to please them, he straightway attempted to repeal some of Pompey’s administrative arrangements. He took away Pompey’s prisoner, Tigranes, and kept him in his own company; and he prosecuted some of Pompey’s friends, using them as a way of testing Pompey’s power. [7] Finally, when Pompey appeared at a public trial, Clodius, having at his beck and call a rabble of the lewdest and most arrogant louts, stationed himself in a conspicuous place and put to them such questions as these: "Who is the dissolute general?" "Who is the man that seeks another man?" "Who scratches his head with one finger?" And they, like a chorus trained in responsive song, as he shook his toga, would answer each question by shouting out "Pompey."

**Plutarch *Caesar* 6–7, 13–14, 29–32, 57–58**

### 6–7

**6**

[1] There were two political groups in Rome, that of Sulla, which had been all powerful since his day, and that of Marius, which at that time was in an altogether lowly state, being cowed and scattered. This party Caesar wished to revive and to make it his own, and therefore, when the ambitious efforts of his aedileship were at their height, he had images of Marius secretly made, together with trophy-bearing Victories, and these he ordered to be carried by night and set up on the Capitol. [2] At day-break those who saw all these objects glittering with gold and fashioned with the most exquisite art (and with inscriptions detailing Marius’ Cimbrian victories) were amazed at the daring of the man who had set them up (for it was evident who had done it). The fame of it soon spread, and attracted everyone to see the sight. [3] But some people cried out that Caesar was aiming at securing supreme power in the state when he thus revived honours which had been buried by laws and decrees, and that this proceeding was a test of the people, whose feelings towards him he had previously softened, to see whether they had been made docile by his ambitious displays and would permit him to amuse himself with such innovations. [4] The followers of Marius, however, encouraged one another and it was incredible how many of them there suddenly turned out to be. The Capitol was filled with their applause. [5] Many, too, were moved to tears of joy when they saw the features of Marius. Caesar was highly praised by them, and regarded as above all others worthy of his kinship with Marius. [6] But when the Senate met to discuss these matters, Lutatius Catulus, a man of the highest repute at that time in Rome, rose up and denounced Caesar, uttering the memorable words: "In his desire to overthrow the government, Caesar is no longer undermining the walls but now he is bringing up his siege engines” [7] Caesar, however, defended himself against this charge and convinced the Senate of his innocence, whereupon his admirers were still more elated. They urged him not to lower his pretensions for any man, since the people would be glad to have him overcome all opposition and be the first man in the state.

**7**

[1] At this time, too, Metellus, the *pontifex maximus*, or high priest, died. Isauricus and Catulus were candidates for the priesthood, which was an object of great ambition, and though they were most illustrious men and of the greatest influence in the Senate, Caesar would not give way to them and presented himself to the people as a rival candidate. [2] The favour of the electors appeared to be about equally divided, and therefore Catulus, who, as the worthier of Caesar's competitors, dreaded more the uncertainty of the issue, sent and tried to induce Caesar to desist from his ambitious project, offering him large sums of money. But Caesar declared that he would carry the contest through even though he had to borrow still larger sums.

[3] The day for the election came, and as Caesar's mother accompanied him to the door in tears, he kissed her and said, "Mother, today you’ll see your son either *pontifex maximus* or an exile." [4] The contest was close-fought, but when the vote was taken Caesar prevailed, and thereby made the Senate and nobles afraid that he would be a disruptive influence on the common people*.* [5] Therefore Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero for having spared Caesar when he was vulnerable during the affair of Catiline. [6] Catiline, namely, had purposed not only to subvert the constitution, but to destroy the whole government and throw everything into confusion. However, he was expelled from the city, having been overwhelmed by proofs of lesser crimes before his most far-reaching plans were discovered; but he left Lentulus and Cethegus behind him in the city to promote the conspiracy in his place. [7] Now, whether or not Caesar secretly gave these men any encouragement or resources is uncertain; but after they had been overwhelmingly convicted in the Senate, and Cicero the consul asked each Senator to give his opinion on the manner of their punishment, the rest, until it was Caesar’s turn, urged that they be put to death. [8] Caesar rose in his place and delivered a long and studied speech against this. He pleaded that to put to death without legal trial men of high rank and brilliant lineage was not, in his opinion, traditional or just, except in the direst of emergencies. [9] Instead they should be bound and kept in custody, in Italian cities of Cicero’s own choice, until the war against Catiline had been brought to a successful end. Then later, the Senate could, in a time of peace and at their leisure, vote upon the case of each one of them.

### 13–14

**13**

[1] Now, since those who petitioned for the privilege of a triumph must remain outside the city, while those who were candidates for the consulship must be present in the city, Caesar was in a great dilemma, because he had reached Rome at the very time for the consular elections. He sent a request to the Senate that he might be permitted to offer himself for the consulship in absentia, through the agency of his friends. [2] Cato, being backed by the law, at first opposed his request; and then, when he saw that many Senators had been won over by Caesar's attentions, he made it his business to gain time, and went on wasting the whole day in speaking. Caesar decided to give up the triumph and try for the consulship. [3] So as soon as he entered the city he assumed a policy which deceived everyone except Cato. This policy was to reconcile Pompey and Crassus, the two most influential men in the city. [4] There had been a quarrel between them, which Caesar now succeeded in making up, and by this means strengthened himself by the united power of both, and so under the cover of an action which carried all the appearance of a piece of kindness and good-nature, caused what was in effect a revolution in the government. [5] For it was not, as most men supposed, the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey that brought on the civil wars, but rather their friendship, since they worked together for the overthrow of the aristocracy in the first place, and then, when this had been accomplished, did they fall out with one another. [6] And Cato, who often foretold what was to come of their alliance, got the reputation of a morose and troublesome fellow at the time, but afterwards that of a wise, though unfortunate, counsellor.

**14**

[1] Caesar, however, protected and surrounded by the friendship of Crassus and Pompey, entered the canvass for the consulship; [2] and as soon as he had been triumphantly elected, along with Calpurnius Bibulus, and had entered upon his office, he proposed laws which were becoming, not for a consul, but for a most radical tribune of the people; for to please the masses he introduced proposals for allotments and distributions of land. [3] In the Senate the opposition of the best and honourable men gave him the pretext which he had longed wished for. He loudly protested how much against his will it was to be driven to seek the support from the people, and how the Senate’s insulting and harsh conduct left no other course possible for him than to devote himself to the popular cause and interest. He hastened before the people, [4] and placing Crassus on one side of him and Pompey on the other, he asked them if they approved his laws. They declared that they did approve them, whereupon he urged them to give him their aid against those who threatened to oppose him with swords. [5] They promised him their support, and Pompey actually added that he would come up against swords with sword and shields too. [6] At this impulsive and mad speech, unworthy of the high esteem in which Pompey stood and unbecoming to the respect which was due to the Senate, the aristocrats were distressed but the people were delighted.

[7] Moreover, Caesar tried to avail himself still more of the influence of Pompey. He had a daughter, Julia, who was betrothed to Servilius Caepio. This daughter he betrothed to Pompey, and said he would give Pompey's daughter in marriage to Servilius, although she too was not free, but had been promised to Faustus, the son of Sulla. [8] And a little while afterwards Caesar married Calpurnia, a daughter of Piso, and got Piso elected consul for the coming year, although here too Cato vehemently protested, and cried out that it was intolerable to have the supreme power prostituted by marriage alliances and to see men helping one another to powers and armies and provinces by means of women.

[9] As for Caesar's colleague, Bibulus, since he gained nothing by obstructing Caesar's laws, but often ran the risk with Cato of being killed in the forum, confined himself to his house for the remainder of his term of office. [10] Pompey, however, immediately after his marriage, filled the forum with armed men and helped the people to enact Caesar's laws and secured Caesar the government of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, together with Illyricum and four legions for five years. [11] Cato, of course, tried to speak against these measures, but Caesar had him led off to prison, supposing that he would appeal to the popular tribunes, [12] but Cato walked off without a word. Caesar saw not only that the most influential men were displeased, but also that the populace, out of respect for Cato's virtue, were following him in silence and with downcast looks, he secretly asked one of the tribunes to let Cato go.

[13] Of the other Senators, only a very few used to go with Caesar to the Senate; the rest, being disgusted, stayed away. [14] Considius, a very aged Senator, once told Caesar that his colleagues did not come together because they were afraid of the armed soldiers. "Why, then," said Caesar, "don’t you stay at home out of the same fear?" [15] To this Considius replied: "Because my old age makes me fearless. I do not have to give much consideration to the little amount of life that is left in me." [16] But the most disgraceful public measure of the time was thought to be the election to the tribuneship, during Caesar's consulate, of the notorious Clodius, who had violated Caesar’s marriage and the sacred rites. [17] He was elected, however, for the overthrow of Cicero; and Caesar did not set out on his campaign until, with the help of Clodius, he had raised a successful faction against Cicero and driven him out of Italy.

### 29–32

**29**

[1] Consequently, Caesar canvassed by proxy for a consulship, and likewise for an extension of time in which to hold his own provinces. At first Pompey made no response, while Marcellus and Lentulus opposed these plans; they hated Caesar on other grounds, and went beyond all bounds in their efforts to bring dishonour and abuse upon him. [2] For instance, the inhabitants of Novum Comum, a colony recently established by Caesar in Gaul, were deprived of Roman citizenship by them; and Marcellus, while he was consul, beat with rods a Senator of Novum Comum who had come to Rome, telling him that he put these marks upon him to prove that he was not a Roman, and told him go back and show them to Caesar.

[3] But after the consulship of Marcellus, Caesar, in a most lavish way, let everyone involved in Roman politics draw freely on the money which he had won in Gaul. He freed Curio, the tribune, from his enormous debts, and gave the consul Paulus 1,500 talents, out of which he adorned the forum with the famous Basilica, erected in place of the Fulvia. [4] Under these circumstances Pompey took fright at the coalition, and openly now, by his own efforts and those of his friends, tried to have Caesar’s command be passed to a successor in his provincial command. He also sent a demand to Caesar for the return of the soldiers whom he had lent him for his war in Gaul. Caesar sent the soldiers back, after making a present to each man of 250 drachmas. [5] But the officers who brought these men to Pompey publicly spread rumours about Caesar which were neither reasonable nor true, and effectively ruined Pompey himself by filling him with false hopes. They told him that Caesar's army longed to see him, and that while it was proving difficult for him to control affairs in the city because of the festering disease of envy in Roman politics, the forces in Gaul were ready to serve him, and had but to cross into Italy when they would at once be on his side; so unpopular had Caesar become because of the innumerable campaigns, and so suspicious of him were they made by their fear of a monarchy. [6] All this fed Pompey's vanity, and he neglected to provide himself with soldiers, as though he had no fears; while he felt that he was carrying the day against Caesar with speeches and resolutions of the Senate, but he was merely getting measures rejected which meant nothing to Caesar. We are told that one of the centurions sent to Rome by Caesar, as he stood in front of the Senate House and learned that the Senate would not give Caesar an extension of his term of command, slapped the handle of his sword and said: "But this will give him it!"

**30**

[1] However, the demands which came from Caesar certainly had a striking resemblance of fairness. He demanded that if he laid down his arms, Pompey should do the same, and that both, once they had become private citizen, should find what favour they could with their fellow citizens. He argued that if they took away his forces from him, but confirmed Pompey in the possession of his, they would be accusing one of seeking a tyranny and making the other a tyrant. [2] When Curio laid these proposals before the people in behalf of Caesar, he was loudly applauded, and some people actually cast garlands of flowers upon him as if he were a victorious athlete. [3] Antony, too, who was a tribune, brought before the people a letter of Caesar's on these matters which he had received, and read it aloud, in defiance of the consuls. [4] But in the Senate, Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey, introduced a motion that if by a certain day Caesar did not lay down his arms, he should be declared a public enemy. [5] And when the consuls put the question whether Pompey should disband his soldiers, and again whether Caesar should, very few Senators voted for the first, and all but a few for the second; but when Antony again demanded that both should give up their commands, the Senate welcomed this proposal unanimously. [6] Scipio, however, violently protested against it, and the consul Lentulus cried out that in dealing with a robber what was required was arms, not votes; whereupon the Senate broke up, and the Senators put on the garb of mourning in view of the disagreement.

**31**

[1] But presently letters came from Caesar in which he appeared to take a more moderate position, for he agreed to surrender everything else, but demanded that Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum together with two legions should be given him until he stood for his second consulship. The orator Cicero, too, who had just returned from Cilicia was working to broker a reconciliation, trying to make Pompey take a less rigid attitude. Pompey agreed to the proposal, but still insisted on taking away Caesar's soldiers. [2] Cicero also tried to persuade the friends of Caesar to compromise and come to a settlement on the basis of the provinces mentioned and only 6,000 soldiers. Pompey was ready to yield and grant him these terms however the consul, Lentulus, would not let him, but actually heaped insults upon Antony and Curio and drove them disgracefully from the Senate, [3] thus providing Caesar with his most plausible pretexts for taking action, and the most effective means for inciting his soldiers. Caesar could show them how men of repute and high office had fled the city on hired carts dressed as slaves, as they had had to do in fear when they slipped out of Rome.

**32**

[1] Caesar had with him not more than 300 cavalrymen and 5,000 legionaries; for the rest of his army had been left beyond the Alps, and was to be brought up to him by those whom he had sent for the purpose. [2] He saw, however, that the beginning of his enterprise and its initial step did not require a large force at present, but must take advantage of the golden moment by showing amazing boldness and speed, since he could strike terror into his enemies by an unexpected blow more easily than he could overwhelm them by an attack in full force. [3] He therefore ordered his centurions and other officers to take just their swords, leaving behind the rest of their arms, and to occupy Ariminum, a large city of Gaul, and to avoid commotion and bloodshed as far as possible. He entrusted this force to Hortensius.

[4] Caesar himself spent the day in public, attending and watching the exercises of gladiators; but a little before evening he bathed and dressed and went into the banqueting hall. Here he held brief conversations with those who had been invited to supper, and just as it was getting dark went away, after addressing courteously most of his guests and bidding them await his return. To a few of his friends, however, he had previously given directions to follow him, not all by the same route, but some by one way and some by another. [5] He himself mounted one of his hired carts and drove at first along another road, then turned towards Ariminum. When he came to the river which separates Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy (it is called the Rubicon), he began to reflect, now that he drew nearer to the fearful step and was agitated by the magnitude of his ventures. He checked his speed, and [6] then came to a halt. For a long time he weighed matters up in silence as his resolution wavered back and forth, and his purpose suffered change after change. [7] For some time, too, he discussed his doubts with his friends who were present, among whom was Asinius Pollio, estimating the great evils for all mankind which would follow their crossing of the river, and the fame of it which they would leave to posterity. [8] But finally, with a sort of passion, as if abandoning calculation and casting himself upon the future, and uttering the phrase with which men usually prelude their plunge into desperate and daring fortunes, "Let the die be cast," he hastened to cross the river; and from now on marched at full speed and before daybreak he dashed into Ariminum and took possession of it. [9] It is said that on the night before he crossed the river he had an unnatural dream; in which he was having sex with his own mother.

### 57–58

**57**

[1] However, the Romans gave way before the good fortune of the man and accepted the bit, and regarding the monarchy as a respite from the evils of the civil wars, they appointed him dictator for life. This was frankly a tyranny, since the monarchy, besides the element of irresponsibility, now took on that of permanence. [2] It was Cicero who proposed the first honours for him in the Senate, and their magnitude was, after all, not too great for a man. However; others Senators added excessive honours and vied with one another in proposing them, thus rendering Caesar odious and obnoxious even to the mildest citizens because of the pretentiousness and extravagance of what was decreed for him. [3] It is thought that the enemies of Caesar, no less than his flatterers, helped to force these measures through, in order that they might have as many grievances as possible against him and might be thought to have the best grounds for any attempt they should make upon his life. [4] For since the civil wars were over, he had nothing else that he could be charged with. In fact, they had good reason to decree a temple to Clemency, in gratitude for the mild use he made of his victory. [5] For he pardoned many of those who had fought against him, and to some like Brutus and Cassius he even gave honours and offices – both of them became praetors. [6] The statues of Pompey, which had been thrown down, he set up again, at which Cicero said that in setting up Pompey's statues Caesar firmly fixed his own. [7] When his friends thought it best that he should have a bodyguard, and many of them volunteered for this service, he would not consent, saying that it was better to die once for all than to be always expecting death. [8] To surround himself with the people’s good will was, he thought, the best and most reliable protection he could have, and he again courted the common people with banquets and distributions of grain, and his soldiers with new colonies, the most famous of which were Carthage and Corinth: which as before they had been ruined at the same time, so now were restored and repopulated together.

**58**

[1] As for the nobles, to some of them he promised consulships and praetorships in the future, others he appeased with a variety of other powers and honours. Everyone had their hopes raised by him, since he ardently desired to rule over willing subjects. [2] Therefore, when Maximus the consul died, he appointed Caninius Revilius consul for the one day still remaining of the term of office. [3] To him, as we are told, many were going with congratulations and offers of escort, whereupon Cicero said: "Let us make haste, or else the man's consulship will have expired."

[4] Caesar's many successes, however, did not change his natural spirit of enterprise and ambition to the enjoyment of what he had worked so hard to achieve, but served as fuel and incentive for future achievements, and raised in him plans for greater deeds and a passion for fresh glory, as though he had used up what he already had. [5] What he felt was therefore nothing else than a competition with himself, as if he had been another man, and a sort of rivalry between what he had done and what he intended to do. [6] For he planned and prepared to make an expedition against the Parthians; and after subduing these and marching around the Euxine Sea by way of Hyrcania, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus, to invade Scythia; [7] and after overrunning the countries bordering on Germany and Germany itself, to come back by way of Gaul to Italy, and so to complete this circuit of his empire, which would then be bounded on all sides by the ocean. [8] During this expedition, he intended to dig through the isthmus of Corinth, and had already put Anienus in charge of this work; he intended also to divert the Tiber just below the city into a deep channel, give it a bend towards Circeium, and make it empty into the sea at Terracina, which would give merchants a safe as well as an easy passage to Rome; [9] and besides this, to convert marshes about Pomentinum and Setia into a plain which many thousands of men could cultivate; and further, [10] to build breakwaters which should barricade the sea where it was nearest to Rome, to clear away the hidden dangers on the shore of Ostia, and then construct harbours and roadsteads sufficient for the great fleets that would visit them. And all these things were in the planning stage.

**Plutarch, *Life of Antony* 54–56**

**54**

[1] Octavian Caesar considered that Octavia had been treated badly so when she returned from Athens, he ordered her to live in her own house. But she said that she would not leave the house of her husband and she even begged him, unless he had some other reason to make war on Antony, to ignore the way she had been treated by him: it would be terrible to hear that one of the two greatest leaders brought the Romans into civil war because he loved a woman, while the other had done it out of protectiveness. [2] Her actions supported what she said. She lived in Antony’s house just as if he were there; she looked after not only her own children but also those of Fulvia with generosity and kindness. She also welcomed friends of Antony who were sent to Rome either to gain office or conduct business, and she did what she could to help them gain what they needed from Octavian. However, without any wish to do so, she was harming Antony by her behaviour; because he began to be hated for doing wrong to such a woman.

[3] People also began to hate him for what he did for his children in Alexandria. It appeared to be theatrical and over the top, and to show hatred for Rome. He filled the gymnasium with a crowd, he then placed on a silver platform two golden thrones, one for himself and the other for Cleopatra. He added thrones also for the children. [4] First he announced that Cleopatra was Queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Libya, and Coele-Syria, and that Caesarion was to rule with her. Caesarion was considered to be a son of Julius Caesar, who had made Cleopatra pregnant. Secondly he said that his sons by Cleopatra were to be named ‘Kings of Kings’, and to Alexander he gave Armenia, Media and Parthia (once it was conquered); to Ptolemy he gave Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. [5] In this meeting he displayed his sons in the dress of their kingdoms: Alexander in the clothing of the Medes, upright crown with a tiara, and Ptolemy in boots, short cloak, and broad-brimmed hat with a diadem. Ptolemy was wearing the dress of those kings of Macedon who followed Alexander the Great; Alexander on the other hand wore the traditional costume of the Median and Armenian kings. [6] When the boys had embraced their parents, one was given a guard of Armenians, the other of Macedonians. Cleopatra, at this meeting and at others later, in public wore the sacred robe of Isis, and was called the ‘New Isis’.

**55**

[1] Octavian reported all this to the Senate, and was making accusations against Antony before the people, hoping to stir up the people of Rome against Antony. Antony, too, kept sending counter-accusations against Octavian. The most important of these charges were that first of all he took over Sicily from Sextus Pompey, but had not shared any part of the island with him; secondly Antony claimed that he had kept for his own use the ships he had been lent by Antony for the war; also Antony said that after removing his colleague Lepidus and humiliating him, he had held onto the army, the territory, and the money which had belonged to Lepidus; [2] finally that he had given nearly all the land in Italy to his soldiers, leaving nothing for the soldiers of Antony. In answer to this, Octavian claimed that he had removed Lepidus from his position as *triumvir* because he had been misusing his power; furthermore he said that he would share with Antony his gains in war, when Antony shared Armenia with him. He declared that Antony’s soldiers should have no share of the land in Italy, since they had the land in Media and Persia, which they gained for Rome by fighting bravely under their commander.

**56**

[1] Antony received Octavian’s reply while delaying in Armenia; and immediately he ordered Canidius to take 16 legions and march down to the sea. He himself went to Ephesus with Cleopatra. His fleet was being collected there; there were 800 warships with merchant vessels; of these Cleopatra provided 200 warships, as well as 20,000 talents, and supplies for the whole army during the war. [2] But Antony, advised by Domitius and others, ordered Cleopatra to sail to Egypt and there anxiously wait for the result of the war. Cleopatra however was afraid that Octavia would again bring an end to the disagreements between the two men, and bribed Canidius with a great deal of money to put her case to Antony; he was to say that it was not fair to drive away from the war a woman who had contributed so much money and supplies; [3] nor was it right for Antony to demoralise the Egyptians, who were a large part of his fleet; and besides, there was no reason to think that Cleopatra was less intelligent than any of the other kings campaigning with him; she had after all ruled a large kingdom by herself for quite a long time, and being so long with Antony, she had learned how to deal with important matters. Canidius put these arguments to Antony and they were successful (since it seemed that fate had decided that Octavian Caesar should succeed in all things). Then they sailed to Samos with the entire fleet and there enjoyed themselves in pleasures. [4] All the kings, rulers, tetrarchs, peoples, and cities between Syria, the Maeotic Lake, Armenia, and Illyria had been ordered to send or bring their preparations for the war to Samos. In the same way all the dramatic artists were ordered to go there too. So the rest of the world was in a state of fear and anxiety about the coming war while this one island was filled with the sound of music and flutes for many days; theatres were filled up and choirs competed. [5] Every city also sent an ox for the sacrifice. The kings with Antony competed with one another in the extravagance of their gifts and entertainments. So people started saying “If they celebrate the preparations for war so lavishly, how will they celebrate their victory when they win?”

**Suetonius, *Deified Julius* 28–33, 38–43**

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### 28–33

**28**

He took equal pains to win the support of kings and provincial authorities everywhere, offering some captives by the thousand, and sending auxiliaries to others whenever they asked, without permission from the Senate or Tribunes. He adorned the main cities of Greece and Asia with fine public works, as well as those of Italy, Gaul and Spain. All were still dazed by his actions and puzzled as to their purpose, when the consul Marcus Claudius Marcellus announced that he intended to bring a matter of vital public interest before the Senate, and subsequently proposed that, since the Gallic war had ended, and peace was now established, Caesar be relieved of his governorship before the end of his term, a successor appointed, and the army of conquest disbanded. Further he proposed that Caesar be prohibited from standing for the consulship, unless he appeared at Rome in person, since Pompey’s actions had not annulled the previous statute. Here he referred to Pompey’s bill regulating official privileges, which debarred absentee candidates from office. Pompey had neglected to exclude Caesar’s name from his bill, and had not corrected the oversight before the bill was passed and the law, engraved on its bronze tablet, deposited at the Treasury.

Not content with trying to deprive Caesar of his command and the privilege previously voted him, Marcellus also proposed that the colonists Caesar had settled at Novum Comum under the Vatinian Act should lose their citizenship, on the basis that it had been done to further Caesar’s ambitions, and was unauthorised in law.

**29**

Provoked by these measures, Caesar, who had often been heard to remark that, now he was the leading man in Rome, it would be harder to push him down to second place than from second to lowest of all, resisted stubbornly. He persuaded the tribunes of the people to use their vetoes, and also enlisted the aid of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, Marcellus’ co-consul.

In the following year, when Gaius Claudius Marcellus Minor succeeded Marcus Claudius Marcellus his cousin as consul, and attempted the same measures, Caesar heavily bribed the other consul, Aemilius Paullus, and Gaius Curio, the most impetuous of the tribunes, to secure their support.

Realising the relentless nature of the opposition, which even included the new consuls-elect, he made a written appeal to the Senate asking to retain the privilege granted him by the commons, or else for all the other commanders to be required to resign as well. He was confident, it was thought, of mobilising his veterans whenever he wished, more swiftly than Pompey his new levies. He finally proposed a compromise, offering to relinquish eight legions and quit Transalpine Gaul, but retain two legions and Cisalpine Gaul, or at a minimum one legion and Illyricum, until he was elected as consul.

**30**

But after the Senate’s refusal to intervene on his behalf, and his opponents’ declaration that compromise was unacceptable in a matter of such national importance, Caesar crossed into Cisalpine Gaul. He held his regular assizes there, and halted at Ravenna determined on war if the Senate took drastic action against the tribunes of the people who had used their vetoes on his behalf.

And this indeed became the pretext for civil war, though other motives are suspected. Pompey used to say that Caesar desired general turmoil and confusion because he lacked the means to complete the schemes he had planned, or give the people what they expected on his return. Others say that he feared the necessity of accounting for his actions, in which he had disregarded the laws, the auspices, and all vetoes, during his first consulship. Certainly, Marcus Portius Cato had often pledged to impeach him, the moment his army was disbanded. And it was repeated, openly, that if he was out of office on his return, he would be tried in a court ringed with armed men, as Milo had been.

Asinius Pollio’s comment in his *History* renders this more plausible, where he says that Caesar, at Pharsalus, watching his enemies fly or be killed, said in these exact words: ‘They chose this; they would have condemned me, Gaius Caesar, despite my victories, if I had not sought the army’s help.’

Some claim that the constant exercise of power made him enamoured of it; and that, having weighed his enemies’ strength against his own, he grasped this chance of seizing dictatorship, and fulfilling the dreams of his youth. Cicero, it seems, held that opinion, writing in the third book of his *De Officiis* (*On Duty*), that Caesar was forever quoting Euripides’ lines in his *Phoenissae* (*The Phoenician Women*), which Cicero translates as:

‘If force is ever justified, to gain supremacy
By force is right: in all things else, cherish piety.’

**31**

Thus, when word came to him that the tribunes’ veto had been disregarded, and that they had fled the city, he sent a few cohorts on ahead in secret and disarmed suspicion, while concealing his intentions, by appearing at a public show; inspecting the plans for a gladiatorial school he wished to build; and dining as usual surrounded by a crowd of guests. Then, at dusk, he commandeered some mules from a local bakery, harnessed them to a carriage, and set off quietly with a few of his staff. Though the carriage-lights guttered and he lost his way for a time, he found a guide at dawn, and returned to the road on foot through narrow back-lanes.

He then overtook his advanced guard at the River Rubicon, which formed the boundary between Gaul and Italy. There he paused for a while and, realising the magnitude of the step he was taking, turned to his staff, to remark: ‘We could turn back, even now; but once over that little bridge, and it will all come down to a fight.’

**32**

As he stood there, undecided, he received a sign. A being of marvellous stature and beauty appeared suddenly, seated nearby, and playing on a reed pipe. A knot of shepherds gathered to listen, but when a crowd of his soldiers, including some of the trumpeters, broke ranks to join them, the apparition snatched a trumpet from one of them, ran to the river, and sounding the call to arms blew a thunderous blast, and crossed to the far side. At this, Caesar exclaimed: ‘Let us follow the summons, of the gods’ sign and our enemy’s injustice. The die is cast.’

**33**

And crossing with the army, he welcomed the tribunes of the people, who had fled to him from Rome. Then, in tears, he addressed the troops and, ripping open the breast of his tunic, asked for their loyalty. It is even said that he promised every man there promotion to the Equestrian Order, and the 4,000 gold pieces that went with it, but that is a simple misunderstanding. Because, during his speech of exhortation, he kept pointing to his left hand and crying out that he would gladly reward those who helped champion his honour with the very ring from his finger, the soldiers at the fringe of the crowd, who could see more clearly than they could hear, misinterpreted his gesture. So the word went round that he had promised them the right to wear a knight’s gold ring, and the estate to support it.

### 38–43

**38**

Caesar gave every infantryman of his veteran legions 240 gold pieces as bounty, over and above the 20 paid to them at the start of hostilities. He also granted them land, though to avoid evicting existing owners these farms were scattered about the country.

Every member of the commons received not only ten pecks of grain and a ten pound jar of oil, but also the three gold pieces he had promised at first, as well as another gold piece because of the delay in payment. He also remitted a year’s rent to tenants in Rome paying 20 gold pieces rent or less, and to those in the rest of Italy paying up to 5 gold pieces.

He added to all this a public banquet, and a distribution of meat, as well as two mass luncheons to celebrate his Spanish victory: two, because he judged that the liberality of the first failed to do his generosity credit, and so it was followed five days later by another more lavish one.

**39**

He mounted a whole series of diverse public shows, including a gladiatorial contest, stage-plays in every ward in Rome performed in several languages, races in the Circus, athletic competitions, and even a mock naval battle.

At the gladiatorial event in the Forum, a praetorian, Furius Leptinus, fought it out with Quintus Calpenus, a barrister and former Senator. The sons of Asian and Bithynian leaders danced a Pyrrhic sword dance.

One of the plays was a farce written and acted by a Roman knight, Decimus Laberius. After his performance on stage he received 5,000 gold pieces then his Equestrian’s gold ring was returned to him (as he had forfeited his rank by appearing on stage) so that he could walk from stage to orchestra and take his place among the fourteen rows above reserved for the Order.

The Circus Maximus was extended at either end for the races, and a wide ditch dug all round. Young noblemen raced two and four-horse chariots, or pairs of horses, leaping from back to back. The Troy-game, a mock battle supposedly introduced by Aeneas, was performed by two troops, one of younger, one of older boys. And wild-beast combats were presented five days running, ending in a battle between two armies, each with 500 infantry, 30 cavalry, and 20 elephants. The barrier and end-posts were removed to allow for this, so that the two camps could be pitched facing each other.

There were three days of athletics, held in a temporary purpose-built stadium on the Campus Martius.

To mount the naval battle, a lake was dug in the Lesser Codeta. It was fought between vessels with two, three, and four-banks of oars, allocated from the Tyrian and Egyptian fleets, and heavily manned with warriors.

The throng of spectators, drawn from every quarter of the city, was so vast that many visitors had to sleep in tents pitched in the streets and thoroughfares, while the crush of people was such that many died, including two Senators.

**40**

Turning next to public affairs and the ordering of the state, Caesar reformed the calendar, which the College of Priests had allowed through their negligence to fall into disorder, adding days or months as it suited them, such that the festivals for the corn harvest and the grape vintage no longer fell in summer and autumn respectively.

He regulated the calendar year by the sun’s course, increasing it from 355 to 365 days and abolishing thereafter the intercalary month that followed February, while adding a leap day every fourth year. Then, to align the next New Year’s Day to the seasons correctly, he inserted two months between November and December, for that year only, so that including the intercalary month, in the old style, it comprised fifteen months.

**41**

To fill the Senate vacancies he enrolled new patricians, and increased the quota of praetors, aediles quaestors, and minor officials, reinstating those downgraded by the censors or convicted of corruption by a jury. He arranged the elections with the commons on the following basis: that apart from the consuls, half the magistrates should be chosen by the people, while the other half were his personal nominees. He announced his choices in memos to the tribes of voters, in the following manner: ‘Caesar the Dictator, to such and such a tribe. I recommend so and so to you, to receive your vote.’ And he even admitted to office the sons of men who had been proscribed.

He also restricted jury-service to two orders, the equestrian and the senatorial, disqualifying the treasury tribunes from serving.

Caesar altered the method and location of registering the grain entitlement. Assisted by the city landlords the list was completed street by street, and the number of those entitled to a free allocation of grain was reduced from 320,000 to 150,000. To obviate the need for this exercise in future he allowed the praetors to update their register when anyone died with the name of someone not yet on the list.

**42**

Since the city population had been depleted by the allocation of 80,000 citizens to overseas colonies, no citizen between the ages of twenty and forty, unless he was restricted by army service, could now absent himself from Italy, legally, for more than three successive years. And no Senator’s son could travel abroad except as a member of a magistrate’s household or staff. And at least a third of the cattlemen employed by graziers must be free-born. Caesar also conferred citizenship on all medical practitioners and teachers of liberal arts in Rome, as an inducement to them to continue in residence there, and to others to do the same.

He disappointed those agitators who sought the cancellation of outstanding debts, but did decree that creditors had to accept a valuation of their debtors’ assets at pre-war prices, while deducting from the principal any interest already paid in cash or committed by way of bank guarantees, which had the effect of reducing the debt by about a quarter.

Caesar dissolved all the guilds except the ancient ones. He increased the penalties for crime, and since the rich committed offences with less compunction because they suffered exile but no loss of property, he punished the murderers of freemen by seizing the whole of their property, as Cicero records, and others by a loss of half their property.

**43**

He administered justice extremely strictly and conscientiously, dismissing Senators convicted of extortion from the order. He even annulled the marriage of an ex-praetor whose wife wed him the day after her previous divorce, despite there being no suspicion of adultery.

He imposed import duties on foreign wares. He forbade the use of litters, and the wearing of scarlet robes and pearls except on set days by those of a suitable age and status. And he specifically enforced the law against luxury, by posting inspectors in various parts of the market, to seize and impound delicacies on sale in violation of the law, occasionally sending guards and lictors into dining-areas to remove any dishes served which had escaped their net.

**Suetonius, *Deified Augustus* 26–28**

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**26**

He received offices and honours himself, some before the usual age, and some newly created and for life. He seized the consulship at 19, marching against Rome as the city were his enemy, and sending messengers ahead to demand the appointment be confirmed in the army’s name. When the Senators hesitated to obey, Cornelius, the leader of the deputation and a centurion, parted his military cloak to show the hilt of his sword, and said loudly: ‘This will make him consul, if you don’t.’

He was consul once more 10 years later and again after a year’s lapse. He then held the consulship for a further eight-year period, but for a long time declined the opportunities offered, before asking for a twelfth term 18 years later and a thirteenth three years afterwards because he wanted to hold the highest office when his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius, respectively, came of age and were introduced to public life.

The sixth to the tenth consulships he held for the full year’s term, while the rest were held for three, four, six or nine months only, while the second lasted only a few hours, since after seating himself, early on New Year’s Day, on the ivory curule chair in front of the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, he resigned the office to another.

He was absent from Rome for the start of four of his consulships, beginning the fourth in Asia Minor, the fifth on Samos, and the eighth and ninth at Tarraco (Tarragona).

**27**

He was a member of the Second Triumvirate for 10 years, an arrangement designed to restore order to the State, and while he initially opposed his colleagues plans for proscription, once begun he carried it through more ruthlessly than either of the others. While they were frequently influenced by personal interventions, and pleas for mercy, Augustus alone demanded none be spared. He even added Gaius Toranius to the list of proscribed persons, his guardian and his father Octavius’ colleague as *aedile*.

Julius Saterninus added that when the process of proscription had ended, Lepidus addressed the Senate, justifying their actions, and encouraging the hope of greater leniency thereafter, since enough pain had been inflicted. But Augustus declared that, on the contrary, he had consented to ending proscription, only if he were given a free hand in future. Nevertheless, he later exhibited regret for his inflexibility by making Titus Vinius Philopoemen a knight, for concealing his patron, who was on the list of the proscribed.

Augustus, as triumvir, was universally detested for many of his actions. Once, while addressing his soldiers, seeing that a crowd of civilians had been admitted to the gathering, and that a knight, Pinarius, was making notes, he thought him overly inquisitive, took him for a spy, and had him stabbed there and then. Again because Tedius Afer, a consul elect, made a spiteful comment about some action of his, he threatened him with such menaces that Afer subsequently leapt to his death. When Quintus Gallius, a praetor, paid his respects while clutching some folded writing-tablets under his robe, Augustus suspected he was grasping a concealed weapon. Not daring to search him there and then in case he was wrong, he presently had a squad of officers and soldiers drag him from the tribunal. Though Gallius was tortured as if he were a slave, and though he confessed to nothing, Augustus tore the man’s eyes out with his own hands, before ordering his execution. He himself claims, however, that Gallius asked for an audience, only to make a treacherous attack upon him, and that the man was first imprisoned then sent off into exile, later drowning in a shipwreck, or being ambushed by brigands.

Augustus was granted the powers of a tribune for life, and either once or twice chose a colleague to share the five-year periods of office. Though without the title of Censor, he was also tasked by the Senate with the lifelong supervision of public morals and the legal code, and by virtue of this carried out a census on three occasions, the first and third times with a colleague and the second time alone.

**28**

Augustus twice considered restoring the Republic: firstly after the death of Mark Antony, when he recalled his rival’s often-repeated charge that the failure to do so was his fault; and again when, exhausted from persistent illness, he summoned the Senators and magistrates to his house, to report to them on the overall state of the empire. On reflecting, however, that both his own life and the security of the State might be jeopardised, if authority were divided, he decided to retain power in his own hands. The results equalled his intention, often stated, and even published in an edict, in which he declares: ‘May it be my privilege to establish the State on a firm and secure basis, and harvest, from that, the fruits of my desire; that I may be called the creator of the best of governments, and maintain the hope, in dying, that the traces of the foundations I have laid will yet remain.’ He did so establish the State, making every effort to obviate any dissatisfaction with the new regime.

Since Rome’s architecture was inadequate to the demands of empire, and the city was vulnerable to fire and flood, he so adorned it that he could rightly boast that what he had found as brick he left as marble. And indeed he secured it for posterity, inasmuch as human foresight can achieve such a thing.

**Links to the prescribed archaeological evidence**

**Denarius of Sulla 84–83 BC (Ghey, Leins & Crawford 2010 359.2.1)**

LACTOR 7 B17a

<http://numismatics.org/crro/id/rrc-359.2>

**Denarius of Sulla 82 BC (Ghey, Leins & Crawford 2010 367.3.1)**

LACTOR 7 B17b

<http://numismatics.org/crro/results?q=RRC+367%2F3>

**Denarius of** C**aesar 48–47 BC (Ghey, Leins & Crawford 2010 452.4.1)**

<http://numismatics.org/crro/id/rrc-452.4>

**Denarius of Caesar 47–46 BC (Ghey, Leins & Crawford 2010 458.1.1)**

LACTOR 7 B163

<http://numismatics.org/crro/id/rrc-458.1>

**Denarius of Brutus 43–42 BC (Ghey, Leins & Crawford 2010 508.3.1)**

LACTOR 7 B171d

<http://numismatics.org/crro/id/rrc-508.3>

**Denarius of Antony 43 BC (Ghey, Leins & Crawford 2010 488.1.1)**

LACTOR 7 C6a

<http://numismatics.org/crro/id/rrc-488.1>

**Denarius of Octavian and Antony 39 BC (Ghey, Leins & Crawford 2010 529.2.1)**

LACTOR 7 C13

<http://numismatics.org/crro/id/rrc-529.2c>

**Denarius of Octavian with Agrippa 38 BC (Ghey, Leins & Crawford 2010 534.3.1)**

<http://numismatics.org/crro/id/rrc-534.3>

1. Quintus Pompeius Rufus [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. *according to Cicero, his name was Marcus Vergilius* [↑](#footnote-ref-2)