

accordance with the general tendency of men to desist from anger towards the dead when the source of irritation is no longer present, and to revert to compassion and recollection of their good qualities. Then they weighed up their present position. Although they lacked respect for Perperna because he held no magistracy, and thought that Sertorius' ability was the only thing that had saved them, both they and the natives who supported them (particularly the Lusitanians, thanks to Sertorius' great reliance on them) reluctantly declared for Perperna. But when Sertorius' will was opened and Perperna was named a legatee, their anger and hatred against him were roused still further, because he had committed such an unspeakable deed against a man who was not merely his commander and superior officer but also his friend and benefactor. They would actually have resorted to violence if Perperna had not bestirred himself to win over some with bribes and others with promises, while cowing yet others with threats and actually putting some to death to terrify the rest. He also went and addressed the civilian population, whipping up support like a popular politician and freeing those of their number who had been imprisoned by Sertorius; and to the Spaniards he gave back their hostages. By these methods they were brought under control and obeyed him as a commander (for in this he was reckoned the best after Sertorius), but even then they continued to resent him, because as he gained confidence he showed himself savage in inflicting punishment and put to death three of the Roman aristocrats who had accompanied him in his flight to Sertorius, along with his own nephew.

115. On Metellus' departure to other regions of Spain, because he thought it no longer unreasonable to leave Perperna to Pompeius, skirmishes and exploratory attacks took place over a period of days between Perperna and Pompeius, neither of whom deployed his full army. However, on the tenth day a great battle broke out, the reason being that they had decided to settle matters by a single encounter; Pompeius thought little of Perperna's generalship and Perperna, doubting that he would long enjoy the loyalty of his army, committed virtually his entire force to battle. Pompeius quickly gained the upper hand over a feeble commander and a demoralized army. In the general and undifferentiated rout, Perperna hid in some scrub, more afraid of his own side than of the enemy. He was captured by some cavalry and dragged to Pompeius, being cursed by his own people for murdering Sertorius, and shouting that he had plenty to reveal to Pompeius about the civil war in Rome – whether because this was really true or because he wanted to be brought unharmed to him. But Pompeius,

surely because he was afraid that Perperna would reveal something unexpected and start further trouble in Rome, sent orders to have him put to death before he set eyes on him. Pompeius was considered to have acted extremely prudently in the matter, and this was another feather in his cap. This was the end of the Spanish war, which coincided with the end of Sertorius' life and would surely not have been brought to such a swift and simple conclusion while he remained alive.

116. In Italy, at this same time, Spartacus, a Thracian who had once fought against the Romans and after being taken prisoner and sold had become a gladiator in a troop which was kept to provide entertainments at Capua, persuaded about seventy of his fellows to risk their lives for freedom rather than for exhibition as a spectacle. With them, he overpowered their guards and escaped. Then he equipped himself and his companions with staves and daggers seized from travellers and took refuge on Mount Vesuvius, where he allowed many runaway domestic slaves and some free farm hands to join him. With the gladiators Oenomaus and Crixus as his subordinates he plundered the nearby areas, and because he divided the spoils in equal shares his numbers quickly swelled. The first commander sent against him was Varinius Glaber, and the second Publius Valerius;¹⁸³ instead of legionary forces they had anyone they could quickly conscript on the way, because the Romans did not yet class the affair as a war, but as a kind of raid akin to piracy, and they were defeated when they attacked him. Spartacus himself actually captured Varinius' horse from under him; so nearly was a Roman general taken prisoner by a gladiator. After this, people flocked in still greater numbers to join Spartacus: his army now numbered 70,000 and he began to manufacture weapons and gather stores.

117. The government in Rome now despatched the consuls with two legions. Crixus, at the head of 3,000 men, was defeated and killed by one of them at Mount Garganus, with the loss of two-thirds of his force. Spartacus, who was eager to go through the Apennines to the Alpine regions, and then to Celtic lands from the Alps, was intercepted and prevented from escaping by the other consul, while his colleague conducted the pursuit. But Spartacus turned on each of them and defeated them separately.¹⁸⁴ In the aftermath they retreated in confusion, while Spartacus, first sacrificing 300 Roman prisoners to Crixus, made for Rome with 120,000 foot soldiers after burning the useless equipment and putting all the prisoners to death and slaughtering the draught animals to free himself of all encumbrances;

and although a large number of deserters approached him he refused to accept any of them. When the consuls made another stand in Picenum, there was a further great struggle and on that occasion also a great Roman defeat. Spartacus, however, changed his mind about marching on Rome because he was not yet a match for the defenders and his troops did not all have soldier's arms and equipment (no town had joined their cause, and they were all slaves, deserters and human flotsam). He seized the mountains around Thurii, together with the town itself, and then prevented traders bringing in gold and silver, barred his own men from acquiring any, and bought exclusively iron and bronze at good prices without harming those who brought them. As a result they had plenty of raw material and were well equipped and made frequent raiding expeditions. They again confronted the Romans in battle, defeated them, and on that occasion too returned to camp laden with booty.¹⁸⁵

118. The war had now lasted three years and was causing the Romans great concern, although at the beginning it had been laughed at and regarded as trivial because it was against gladiators. When the appointment of other generals was proposed there was universal reluctance to stand, and no one put himself forward until Licinius Crassus, distinguished both for his family and his wealth, undertook to assume the post, and led six legions against Spartacus;¹⁸⁶ to these he added the two consular legions when he reached the front. He immediately punished the latter for their repeated defeats, making them draw lots for every tenth man to be put to death.¹⁸⁷ According to some, this was not what happened; instead, when he himself had suffered defeat after engaging the enemy with his whole force he had them all draw lots for the tenth place and put to death up to 4,000 men without being in the least deterred by their numbers. Whatever the truth, he established himself in the eyes of his men as more to be feared than a defeat at the hands of the enemy, and forthwith won a victory over 10,000 of Spartacus' men who were encamped separately somewhere. He killed two-thirds of them and marched confidently against Spartacus himself. After winning a brilliant victory, he pursued Spartacus as he fled towards the sea with the intention of sailing across to Sicily, overtook him, and walled him in with ditches, earthworks, and palisades. 119. Spartacus then tried to force his way out and reach the Samnite country, but Crassus killed almost 6,000 of his opponents at the beginning of the day and nearly as many more at evening, at the cost of three dead and seven wounded from the Roman army; so effective had their punishment been in altering their will

to win. Spartacus, who was waiting for some cavalry that were on their way to him, no longer went into battle with his full force, but conducted many separate harassing operations against his besiegers; he made sudden and repeated sorties against them, set fire to bundles of wood which he had thrown into the ditches, and made their work difficult. He crucified a Roman prisoner in no-man's land to demonstrate to his own troops the fate awaiting them if they were defeated. When the government at Rome heard of the siege and contemplated the dishonour they would incur from a protracted war with gladiators, they appointed Pompeius, who had recently arrived from Spain, to an additional command in the field, in the belief that the task of dealing with Spartacus was now substantial and difficult. 120. As a result of this appointment Crassus pressed on urgently with every means of attacking Spartacus, to stop Pompeius stealing his glory, while Spartacus, thinking to forestall Pompeius, invited Crassus to negotiate. When Crassus spurned the offer, Spartacus decided to make a desperate attempt, and with the cavalry which had by now arrived forced a way through the encircling fortifications with his whole army and retired towards Brundisium, with Crassus in pursuit. But when he discovered that Lucullus, who was on his way back from his victory over Mithridates,¹⁸⁸ was there, he despaired of everything and, at the head of a still large force, joined battle with Crassus. The fight was long, and bitterly contested, since so many tens of thousands of men had no other hope. Spartacus himself was wounded by a spear-thrust in the thigh, but went down on one knee, held his shield in front of him, and fought off his attackers until he and a great number of his followers were encircled and fell. The rest of his army was already in disorder and was cut down in huge numbers; consequently their losses were not easy to estimate (though the Romans lost about 1,000 men), and Spartacus' body was never found. Since there was still a very large number of fugitives from the battle in the mountains, Crassus proceeded against them. They formed themselves into four groups and kept up their resistance until there were only 6,000 survivors, who were taken prisoner and crucified all the way along the road from Rome to Capua.¹⁸⁹

121. Crassus accomplished this in a space of six months and because of it immediately acquired a reputation to match that of Pompeius. He would not disband his army, because of Pompeius' refusal to do so, and they both announced their candidacy for the consulship. Crassus had held the praetorship, in accordance with Sulla's law, but Pompeius had held neither praetorship nor quaestorship and was only thirty-four years old; he had also

promised to restore to the tribunes many of their former powers.¹⁹⁰ They were elected, but even after this would not dismiss their armies and kept them near the city. They both made excuses, Pompeius claiming that he was waiting for Metellus' return to celebrate his Spanish triumph, Crassus saying that Pompeius ought to be the first to disband. The population of Rome, who discerned the seeds of fresh civil war and were afraid of a pair of armies encamped outside the city, begged the consuls, as they sat in state in the forum, to be reconciled with each other. At first they both refused, but when some persons gifted with divine inspiration foretold the most terrible consequences if the consuls continued to disagree, the crowd wailed, and in deep dejection, still remembering the disasters of the time of Sulla and Marius, made another appeal to them. Crassus relented first, stepped down from his seat and went over to Pompeius with his hand outstretched in reconciliation, whereupon Pompeius stood up and went quickly towards him. After they had grasped each other's hands there was general acclamation, and the assembly did not break up before the consuls had given official notice that they would dismiss their armies. Thus a dispute which threatened to develop into yet another serious internal conflict was firmly settled, and this point in the civil wars was reached approximately sixty years after the killing of Tiberius Gracchus.

BOOK II

1. After the period of Sulla's autocracy, and the subsequent activities of Sertorius and Perperna in Spain, the Romans became involved in further civil struggles of a similar kind. These culminated in the war between Gaius Caesar and Pompeius Magnus in which Pompeius was destroyed by Caesar, while Caesar was himself murdered in the senate-house by a group of men who thought he was behaving like a king. How this came about, and how Gaius and Pompeius were killed, is the subject of this second book of the civil wars.

Pompeius had recently cleared the sea of the pirates, of whom there were vast numbers everywhere, particularly at that time. Next he had subdued Mithridates, king of Pontus, and was in the course of making political arrangements for Mithridates' kingdom and for the other nations he had brought under Roman control in the east.¹ Caesar, on the other hand, was still a young man,² he spoke powerfully, was effective in action, and had unlimited daring and expectations. In pursuit of his ambition he was also prodigal beyond his means, so that at this period when he was aedile and praetor³ he fell into debt and made himself the darling of the crowd, because the common people always approve of men who are generous with their money.⁴

2. Gaius Catilina,⁵ who was well known for his distinguished reputation and illustrious birth, was an unstable character believed to have once killed his own son because he was in love with Aurelia Orestilla, who would not agree to marry someone who had a child. A sometime friend, follower and fanatical partisan of Sulla, he too had been driven into poverty by his ambition. Still courted by powerful men and women, he stood for the consulship in the hope of using it as a route to monarchical power.⁶ Although he had great hopes of being elected, he was defeated because of this suspicion