

defend himself, until he was overpowered and slain. His head, according to the barbarous custom of the times, was sent to the conqueror, and exposed at Hispalis.

In the preceding transactions of the war, every day was a triumph, and the fall of the republic, and to the success of Cæsar. In the very outset of the contest, half the nobility, ruined by the loss of their estates, had been desirous of anarchy and confusion. Citizens high in civil rank, and with fortunes entire, were generally glad to forego their political consequence in exchange for ease and safety. Even the arms which should have protected the commonwealth, were in the hands of mere soldiers of fortune, who were to be seen on that side from which they looked for the establishment of military government; they fought to procure great power and estates for themselves, not to preserve laws which gave property and the security of wealth to others. Many of the senators indeed perceived the impending ruin, and were prevailed upon to make some efforts for the preservation of the state, but on most occasions too hastily despaired of their cause. It was not thought necessary for a citizen to survive his freedom. Upon this principle, the friends of the republic, while they escaped from the enemy, were ruined by their own hands.

Soon after the action at Munda, Scapula, one of the officers lately at the head of the republican party, abandoned the practice of suicide into a kind of rancour. Having retired to Corduba from the field of battle, he ordered a magnificent pile of wood to be raised and covered with carpets, and as the usual elegant entertainment, and distributed his money among his attendants and servants, he mounted to the top of this fabric, and while his servants pierced the master with his sword, another set fire to the pile. Thus the victories of Cæsar were completed by his enemies; and while he gained a fresh step at every encounter, they who opposed him went headlong, and abandoned their country to its ruin.

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

Cæsar, having been employed part of the spring and the following summer in subduing this scattered enemy, prepared to leave the province. He assembled the principal inhabitants at Hispalis; and having upbraided them with their animosity to himself and to the Roman people, he put them in mind of his early connexion with their country, as quæstor and as prætor, and of his repeated good offices in the capacity of senator and magistrate; having made

defence, he set out for Italy,<sup>1</sup> and arrived at Rome in October.<sup>2</sup> Although it was contrary to the practice of former ages to admit of triumphs where the vanquished were fellow-citizens, he took a triumph for his late victory at Munda; and the more illustrious the trophies, whatever be the occasion, are captivated with such exhibitions, he appointed separate triumphs, on the same day, to Publius Mucianus, and to Didius, who had acted under him in that service.

These triumphs, over the supposed last defender of the public liberty, and over the perishing remains of the liberty of Pompey, so long respected at Rome, instead of the festivity which they were intended to inspire, were attended with many disagreeable effects. The people took upon him to censure, or was qualified to stem, the torrent of servility by which all orders of men were carried. The same succession of games and entertainments were ordered as in the former year. The senate and people indeed had no longer any objections to be added to those already made to the conqueror, and it was difficult to refine on the language of adulation, which they had so amply employed in former decrees; but some thought it necessary in the present situation of affairs, to show the ardour of some to pay their court, and to disguise the discontent and the sorrow of others, was thought necessary on the present occasion. A thanksgiving was appointed, and ordered to continue for fifty days. The anniversary of the twentieth of April, the day on which the news of the victory at Munda was received at Rome, was ordered to be for ever celebrated with games of the circus.<sup>3</sup> Even they who felt a secret indignation at the elevation of a single person to act as lord of the commonwealth, concurred in appearance, with these resolutions in honour of Cæsar.<sup>4</sup> They thought that the full cup was most likely to nauseate, and that extreme provocation was most likely to rouse the spirits of the people, if any yet remained.

In the concessions which were made to Cæsar, whether suggested by his friends or by his enemies, there was no attempt to preserve any appearance of the republic, or to veil the present usurpation. The senate, in presenting their several decrees, waited upon him in a body as subjects to a monarch, and their sovereign; were received by him on his chair of state, and in all the form of a royal ceremony, stretching forth his hand, and as they approached. While he carried the external show of his elevation to this height, Pontius Acquilla, one of the tribunes, being desirous to exercise his office, had suffered him, in one of his processions, to pass, without rising from his place. This he greatly resented. "Must I," he said to those who attended him, "see the government to this tribune?" And for some days, in granting requests or petitions, he affected to guard his answers and orders, by saying, "Provided that Pontius Acquilla will permit."<sup>5</sup> The consulate was

by appointment

1 Anton had set out from Rome to visit Cæsar, but to the great surprise and alarm of every body, returned unexpectedly to Rome. Cicero ad Att. xii. 18. It was known afterwards, that Antony returned under the surprise of an order given by Cæsar to oblige him to pay for houses, &c. bought at Pompey's sale. Cicero. Phil. ii. 29. Ibid. xxxi. 23.  
2 Velleius Paterculus. 3 Dio. Cassius.  
4 Plutarch in Cæs. 5 Sueton. in Cæs. c. 78.

the garrison, they were suffered to pass, and presenting themselves at one of the gates, upon a signal that had been agreed upon, they were admitted into the town.

While Cæsar thus reinforced the garrison of Ulia, he himself, to make a diversion in their favour, marched up to Corduba, cut off a party that had been sent from thence to observe his motions, and threatened the town with a siege. Sextus, who was in the place, being alarmed, sent pressing representations to his brother, who accordingly abandoned his lines before Ulia, and marched to his relief. Both armies encamped on the Guadalquivir.<sup>5</sup> The parties that were sent forward by them to scour the country, or to cover their quarters, were engaged in daily skirmishes. But the two brothers, being in possession of the principal stations, and in condition to protract the war, continued to act on the defensive. Cæsar, on his part, made some movements in order to disconcert them, and to find, if possible, an opportunity of coming to action; but the country being hilly, and the towns generally built upon heights, every where furnished strong posts for the enemy, and prevented his making any progress. The winter at the same time

C. J. Cæsar, approached, and exposed his army to considerable hardships from the severity of the season, and from the scarcity of provisions. Under these disadvantages, he undertook the siege of Allegua, and on the twentieth of February, after an obstinate resistance, obliged that town to surrender.<sup>6</sup>

Our accounts of these operations, which are ascribed to Hirtius, and which, with his other performances are annexed to Cæsar's Commentaries, being less perfect than other parts of the collection, all we can distinctly learn from them is, that after a variety of different movements, which gave rise to frequent skirmishes, the armies in the month of March came to encamp in the plain of Munda, about five miles from each other; that Cæsar was about to leave his station, when in the morning of his intended departure, he had intelligence, that the enemy had been under arms from the middle of the preceding night, and were meditating some attempt on his camp. This intelligence was followed by the sudden appearance of their army on some elevated grounds near the town of Munda; but as they showed no disposition to come into the plain, Cæsar, after some hesitation, advanced to attack them.

In the army of Pompey, together with the flower of a warlike people, the natives of Spain, were assembled many veterans of the Roman legions, inured to blood; many Roman citizens of rank, now pushed to despair, or warned, by the fate of their party at Thapsus, not to expect safety from the mercy of a victorious enemy, and not to have any hopes, but in their swords. Under these impressions, they waited for Cæsar's approach with a proper countenance, and on the first onset repulsed and put to flight the troops by whom they were attacked. In this extremity, Cæsar ran into the ranks of his own men; said, *they were delivering him over to boys*; laid hold of a sword and a shield, and calling out that *this*

*then should be the last day of his life, and of their services*, took a place in the ranks as a mere legionary soldier. In this manner he renewed the action, and being reduced to the necessity of animating his men with the example of his own personal valour, committed his fortune and his life to the decision of a contest, in which his ability as an officer could no longer have any share; but while the event was still in suspense, Bogud, an African, commanding a body of horse in his service, having made an attempt to pierce into Pompey's camp, drew Labienus from his post in the field to cover it. This accident turned the fortune of the day. The troops, who till then valiantly sustained Cæsar's attack, believing that Labienus deserted them, instantly fled in disorder. The slaughter from thence forward turned as usual entirely against those who fled. Thirty thousand fell upon the field, and among them three thousand Roman citizens of high condition, with Labienus and Accius Varus at their head. Seventeen officers of rank were taken, with thirteen Roman eagles or legionary standards.

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

Early in the morning of the following day, Cæsar having left the town of Munda in this manner blocked up or invested, set out for Corduba, which Sextus, the younger of the two brothers, upon the news of the battle, had already abandoned.

Cnæus, on seeing the rout of his own army, fled with a small party of horse on the road to Carteia.<sup>7</sup> Here he had collected most of his shipping and naval stores; but the news of his defeat having arrived before him, the people were divided in their inclinations. Part had already sent a deputation with an offer of their services to Cæsar; part still adhered to the family of Pompey, and from these opposite dispositions had proceeded to actual violence and bloodshed in the streets. Pompey himself was wounded in one of their scuffles, and expecting no safety in a place, in which so many of the inhabitants had declared against him, he took ship, and put to sea with thirty galleys. He was pursued by Didius, who commanded Cæsar's squadron at Gades; and being obliged in a few days to stop for a supply of water, of which he had been ill provided at his sudden departure from Carteia, he was overtaken, most of his ships destroyed, and he himself obliged to seek for safety on shore. Soon after he landed, he dismissed his attendants, or was deserted by them; and falling into the hands of the enemy, though greatly weakened by his wounds and loss of blood, he continued to

5 The Bætis.

6 Hirtius de Bell. Hisp.

7 Now Gibraltar.