

PART TWO

SPECIAL NOTES

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Note 1.The Month of Brutus' Birth.

For the month in which Brutus' birthday fell we have two references.

1.- Plut. Brut. 24, 3 καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἡμέρα καθ' ἣν ἐγενόνηται πρῶτον ὁ Βρούτος

2.- App. IV, 134. Βρούτον δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ γενεθλιαζόντ' ἀφασί...

(The curious fact that these two passages recount the same incident at a birthday party but place the party in different years does not effect the present question⁽¹⁾).

Plutarch's passage refers to the occasion when Brutus met Appuleius, coming from Asia, at Carystus in 44 B.C.⁽²⁾ This

must have been at the earliest about the end of September or beginning of October; for the meeting with Appuleius did not take place until Brutus had spent some time in Athens where, having left Italy after the middle of August, he did not arrive until about the middle of September.

Appian's reference cannot be so closely dated. The visit to Samos which it describes probably occurred in 48 B.C. after Pharsalus i.e. after June.⁽³⁾

There are however two other considerations which help us to be more precise.

(a) Cic. Att. XV, 13, 4: "De Bruto te nihil scire dicis sed Servilia venisse M. Scaptium eumque non qua pompa ad se tamen clam venturum sciturumque me omnia"⁽⁴⁾.... obviously indicates that by then Brutus had begun his pro-Republican activities and had sent Scaptius from Athens to inform his friends at Rome. The above letter was written on Oct. 25th by which day Scaptius had just arrived in Rome. Allowing him three weeks⁽⁵⁾ for a fairly rapid journey, which in the circumstances he

(1.- See p. 46. note 1. : (2.- See p. 152. : (3.- See p. 45.
 (4.- For text see p. 342 . : (5.- cf. Cic. Fam. XIV, 5, 1.

would certainly make, he must have been sent off by Brutus about Oct. 2nd or 3rd. The first step towards actual preparation for civil war was Brutus' interview with Appuleius⁽¹⁾; which must therefore have occurred a day or two before the departure from Athens of Scaptius i.e. about Oct. 1st; the interview coincided with Brutus' birthday.

(b) The two battles of Philippi fall apparently between about October 3rd and 23rd⁽²⁾; the second was certainly on the 23rd. If Brutus' birthday had fallen between the battles Plutarch would probably have mentioned it; for he mentions Cassius' birthday which was the day of the first battle⁽³⁾.

It is a fair assumption then that Brutus was born at the very end of September or beginning of October. This is of some importance in regard to fixing the year of his birth⁽⁴⁾.

(1.- See p.152 : (2.- See Special Note 30 . pp 406ff .
 (3.- Brut. 40,2 cf. App. IV,113 : (4.- See Special Note 2. p.290f.

Note 2. The Year of Brutus' Birth.

The ancient authorities affording evidence on the difficult question of what year Brutus was born in are these:

1.- Cicero.Brut.94,324: 'Hortensius....annis ante decem causas agere coepit quam tu (i.e. Brutus) es natus.'

2.- Vell.Pat.II,72,1: 'Hunc exitum M. Bruti partium septimum et tricesimum annum agentis fortuna esse voluit.'

3.- Livy. epit.124: 'M. Brutus et ipse vitam finit....annorum erat circiter XL, inter quos Q. Hortensius occisus est.'

From 1. As Hortensius began his career as an advocate in 95 B.C. (cf.Cic.Brut.64,230) Brutus was born in 85 B.C.

From 2. As Brutus died at the end of 42 B.C. in his 37th year, he was born in 79 or 78 B.C. But as his birthday probably fell before the battle of Philippi which ended with his death, he must have completed his 36th year in 42 B.C. and was therefore born in 78 B.C. 79 B.C. given by some authors e.g. Tyrrell and Purser and Nipperday (see below) is therefore a wrong deduction.

From 3. As Brutus was "about 40" when he died in 42 B.C. he was born about 82 B.C. But the text of this passage is hopelessly corrupt and therefore cannot be considered. Personally I do not think that the original epitome had any reference at all to Brutus' age, which seems hardly important enough to be mentioned in a brief summary (only about 70 words) of Livy's account of the whole of Philippi campaign. In any case, the passage does not support either of the first two references more than the other.

To settle the discrepancy between the Cicero and Velleius passages, arguments of different sorts have been brought forward, especially by the following scholars.

1. Nipperdey in Rhein. Mus. XIX (1864) pp. 290 ff. - called below N.

2.- Bywater in *Lecturae de M. Br.*

2. Bynum in *Leben des M. Brutus* (1898) pp.6ff - called below B.
 3.-O. Seeck in *Rhein Mus.* LVI. (1901) pp.631 ff- " " S.1.
 4. P.Groebe in *Hermes* XLII (1907) pp.304 ff. - " " G.
 5.-O. Seeck in *Hermes* XLII.(1907) pp.505 ff. - " " S.2.
 6. Tyrrell & Purser in *Cic.'s Corr.* vol VI².(1933)
 pp. CIX.f. - " " T.& P.⁽¹⁾

The following are their different arguments, each accompanied by an identification symbol and followed by an argument, usually my own, against it.

A. In Support of Cicero and the year 85 B.C.

Arguments based on Brutus' steps in the *cursus honorum*.

1. Brutus was quaestor in 53 B.C. (*Aur.Vict.*82); the minimum age for quaestorship was 30; therefore Brutus was born at latest in 84 B.C. (G.)

Against this S.2. argues that authority for Brutus' quaestorship is weak. The only reference is *Aur.Vict.*82, who is by no means trustworthy. S.2. wishes to emend the passage in *Aur.Vict.* It reads: "Quaestor in Galliam proficisci noluit quod is bonis omnibus displicebat. Cum Appio socero in Cilicia fuit".... From the "is" in the second clause Seeck argues that the name of Caesar should appear in the first and he thinks that either "Quaestor" is a corruption of "Cum Caesare", or that "cum Caesare" has fallen out after the similar word "Quaestor". Thus he thinks the passage should read either "Cum Caesar in Galliam.....", in which case there is no reference at all to Brutus having filled the quaestorship, and his invitation to Gaul was simply as

(1.- The question is also discussed by G. Walter in *Rev. des Quest. Hist.* Jan. 1934. pp. 458-460, but he has nothing worthwhile to add to the arguments of the above scholars.

a legatus¹; or "Quaestor cum Caesare in Galliam.....", which would mean that Brutus was quaestor in 58 B.C. when Caesar went to Gaul, and that is clearly impossible.

Against these counter arguments of Seeck's I put forward the following. Emendations must always be suspect especially when so uncalled for as these are. The difficulty of the "is" is quite simply and adequately met by changing it to "id"; with "quod" before it and "bonis" after it, "id" could very easily become "is". In any case Seeck's deductions from his alternative readings are not inevitable. I have given evidence in Note 8 pp. 316ff. to show, independently of Aurelius Victor, that Brutus was quaestor in 54 or 53 B.C. And I do not agree that even if the second suggested reading is correct, Brutus' quaestorship must be dated in 58 B.C. Caesar had a series of quaestors during his term in Gaul, and the "cum Caesare" need not be limited to the actual travelling to Gaul in Caesar's company in 58 B.C.²

2. Brutus was praetor in 44 B.C: the minimum age for the praetorship was 40 : therefore Brutus was born at latest in 85 B.C. (G.)

Against this S.2. argues that the praetorship cannot be used as evidence, because it came at a time, when legal formalities regarding age-limits were freely dispensed with by the Dictator, Caesar. That is perfectly true, as Dolabella's

(1.- Could appointment as legatus (which was nominally made by the Senate, though actually on the recommendation of the commander to whom he was to be assigned) be given to one who was not yet a Senator? I think not; and if not, Brutus must have been quaestor before he could be appointed as legatus to Caesar (if he ever were). See App. B.C. i, 38 and in general Mommsen, Staatsrecht ii p. 673 ff. (Caesar in 58 was not yet using such a free hand in these matters as he did later). (This note I owe to Mr. A.F. Giles.)

(2.- In B.G. V, 53 Caesar names L. Roscius as his quaestor in 54 B.C. but in V, 25 he mentions that in that year he had more than one quaestor.

consulship and many other cases show. But Dolabella was a very different man from Brutus. In 46 to 44 B.C. - as I think I have shown - Brutus was still the same convinced Republican that he had always been; he did not accept personal favours from Caesar, and would not, I am sure, have stood for a praetorship, if he had not been of the legal age and had not been quaestor before. Cassius, who was his colleague in the praetorship of 44 B.C. had been quaestor in 53 and was therefore eligible for the higher office.

B. Arguments in support of Velleius, and the year 78 B.C.

1. Velleius is a good authority because (a) he lived during the reign of Augustus and therefore near to Brutus (S.1.); and (b) he is usually accurate in dates. cf. II, 53,3, where he reprehends other historians for carelessly misdating Pompey's death. (B).

Both these arguments are completely disposed of by (G) who makes a long list, containing 42 of Velleius' chronological references, of which only 5 are certainly correct and no less than 28 are demonstrably wrong; and one of those in which he errs, by no less than 10 years, is the date of birth of Augustus! Many of these errors, of course, may be due not to Velleius but to his text. But it is his text we are dealing with.

2. Velleius does not admit of easy emendation and Cicero does (N. S1.) That hardly requires an answer. Are we to condemn a passage because ingenious scholars can emend it easily? Nipperdey to make the date 79 B.C. wishes to change the 'decem' to 'sedecim' in Cicero: S.1. to make it 78 B.C. wishes to introduce a 'septem'!

3. Cicero's 'decem' is simply a round figure ("indefinite statement" T. & P.) and therefore should not outweigh the more obvious accuracy of Velleius.

But why should Cicero use 10 and not 20 as a "round figure"

for 17? (T. & P. think it 16, dating Brutus' birth in 79.) The context, besides, does not make it seem a round figure.

4. Descriptions of Brutus in ancient authors favour 79 or 78 B.C. rather than 85 B.C. e.g.

Plut.Brut.3,1. calls him *μεγαλειον* in 58 B.C. (B.and S.1.)

App.II.112 " " *νεανις* " 44 B.C. (S.1.)

Corn.Nep: Att.8,2. " " *adolescens* " 44 B.C. (B.)

But such terms are used with notorious looseness in all ancient authors. Cicero (Phil.II.46.118.) refers to himself as 'adolescens' at the time of his consulship, when he was 43!

5.- Brutus is younger than Caelius and Calvus who were born in 82 B.C.(N) This is based on the assumption that the list of orators given in Tacitus, Dialogus 17 is in chronological order. viz.- Cicero, Caesar, Caelius, Calvus, Brutus, Asinius and Messalla. I feel that such strict chronological accuracy cannot safely be attributed to the list. Tacitus probably thought of the seven orators in three groups viz:- Cicero and Caesar; Caelius, Calvus and Brutus; Asinius and Messalla: his groups are in order, but that the order within the middle group is not meant to be strict is shown by a second list in para.38:- Cicero, Caesar, Brutus, Caelius and Calvus. In any case Caelius was born not in 82 B.C. but in 85 B.C. at the latest and perhaps even as early as 88 B.C. (cf. Groebe l.c. p.305 note 1.) :Calvus and he were born on the same day, according to Pliny N.H. III,165. Thus if, as I have suggested, Brutus, Caelius and Calvus form a sort of contemporary group, this argument favours 85 B.C. for Brutus' year of birth, rather than 78 B.C.

6. In 85 B.C. Servilia, Brutus' mother, was only 10 years of age. (B.) Bynum assumes that of the two marriages of Livia, Servilia's mother, that with M. Porcius Cato preceded that with Q. Servilius Caepio, and that, in consequence, Cato Uticensis was older than Servilia: Cato was born in 95 B.C. and Servilia, therefore, at the earliest at the end of 95 B.C.

Modern authorities, however, agree, with good reasons, that the order of the marriages was the reverse and that Servilia was born before Cato. cf. Munzer P.W. vol II.p. 1817 who gives her birth as about 100 B.C.

7. Servilia would not be likely to bear one child in 85 B.C., ~~no more~~ no more before her first husband's death in 78 or 77 B.C., and then three more in her second marriage after 77 B.C. (B.)

This argument takes for granted that Junia and Tertia were daughters of Servilia's second husband, whereas I think that their father was Brutus, her first husband, and therefore that Servilia's childbirths did go on at regular and reasonable intervals from 85 until about 79 B.C. (cf. S. Note 4. pp. 301ff).

8. In 85 B.C., Caesar was only 15 years old, and therefore the rumour that he was Brutus' father could not have arisen, if Brutus had been born in that year. (B. and S.1.) When G. dismissed the scandal as a mere baseless rumour, S.2. rightly enough replied that it was not the truth of the story, but the possibility of it that affected the present question. But as I have shown (pp. 1ff.) the story did not arise until long after the time of Brutus and Caesar, when dates and other minor details had become lost in mists which surrounded the almost legendary figures of the Deified Father of the Empire and his murderer, the ideal Champion of Liberty.

9. Cassius was older than Brutus and Cassius being

quaestor in 53 B.C. must have been born in 85 B.C. at the very earliest and possibly as late as 83 B.C. References for Cassius being older than Brutus are Plutarch Brut. 29,1 and 40,6. Appian IV.89 and 119. The difference in age however is nowhere represented as great. Always it is Cassius' military experience rather than his age that is emphasised as greater than Brutus'. I see no difficulty in thinking that Cassius was born, say in October of 86 B.C.⁽¹⁾ and Brutus, as we know, in autumn of the next year. Cassius may quite well have waited till he was 32 before becoming quaestor, and a difference of about a year between the two is quite sufficient to satisfy the passages, referred to above, in Plutarch and Appian.

10. If born in 85 B.C., Brutus would be old enough in 63 B.C. to remember the events of that year and would not have made the blunders he did in his "Cato". (see p.267f).

His blunders, however, were not so manifold as is often imagined (see p.268); and, if born in 85 B.C., he was probably abroad in Athens at the time of the Catilinarian Conspiracy. (see p. 8).

It must be apparent from the foregoing that whether Cicero's date or Velleius' is to be accepted has not hitherto been settled. M. Gelzer, Brutus' latest biographer in P.W. vol.X. p.974. accepts the year 85 B.C. but has no fresh evidence to offer. Of all the above arguments those in favour of 78 B.C. have, I think, been adequately refuted, whereas Groebe's deductions from the quaestorship and praetorship of Brutus although not conclusive are rather more convincing, and one has an inevitable preference for Cicero as an authority especially after Groebe's demonstration of Velleius' chronological

(1.- His birthday was certainly in October. cf. Plut.Brut.40,2: App.IV,113 fin.

frailties. In favour of Cicero's date I suggest the following arguments, which are, I think, impressive.

1. If Brutus were born in 78 B.C. there is no period in his life after his 19th year (i.e. after 59 B.C.) when he could have spent more than a few months studying in the university town of Athens. Cicero's references to his studies in Athens lead us to think that his residence there was of at least two years' duration, and it does not seem probable that he could have spent these years there and returned to Rome by his 19th year. For he was certainly in Rome in 59 B.C.
2. Brutus was a moneyer in 59 B.C. or less probably, 58 B.C., the normal age for which office was about 27. (see p.14.). It is impossible that he could have filled the office at the age of 19 or 20.
3. I have argued - I think convincingly - that Junia and Tertia were Brutus' full-sisters and not his half-sisters (Note 4.) and no one, I think, will deny that their order of birth was Brutus, Junia and Tertia. Their father died, at the latest, early in 77 B.C., if not in 78 B.C., and it is impossible that, if his first child had been born in the autumn of 78 B.C., he could have begotten two others before his death. Even if, as is most unlikely, Junia were born before Brutus, it does not seem probable that, after Brutus' birth in autumn of 78 B.C., the father, busy in Cisalpine Gaul with military activities, could beget a daughter.

On the basis of these considerations, combined with a predilection for Cicero and a preference for the arguments from Brutus' later offices - his moneyership in 59 or 58 B.C. and his quaestorship about 53 B.C. - I think that 85 B.C. should be accepted as the year of his birth.

Note 3. Brutus' Descent from Lucius Junius Brutus.

It must be noted first that the claim of the later Bruti to be descended from the first Consul was not originated by M. Brutus. It had existed for several generations before him; Accius had composed his "Brutus" on the theme of the overthrow of the royal dynasty in honour of Decimus Junius Brutus, consul in 138 B.C.,^(1.) and the latter's dissolute son was publicly reprovved on the score of his ancestry by the orator Crassus.^(2.) Yet in Brutus' own times the question of his descent was considered by some debatable. What rendered it suspect was the famous story of Lucius Brutus' execution of his sons for treason to the new Republic^(3.) and the obvious implication thereof that the first consul died without living issue. Posidonius,^(4.) the Stoic author of a Universal History, defended the claim on the grounds that the Bruti of his day - 135 B.C. circ. to 51 B.C. - had a marked facial resemblance to the statue of Lucius, and he put forward the theory - if it was more than a theory, we do not know the authority for it - that Lucius had another son, who, being an infant when his brothers were put to death, lived and survived his father. After M. Brutus' death, as we should naturally expect, the claim was further opposed by writers of imperial tendencies, and their chief representative was Dionysius of Halicarnassus^(5.) (ob. 7 B.C.). Insisting that he himself was following the best authorities, he urged, in addition to the story of Lucius Brutus' dying without issue, that, whereas the first consul was a patrician, the later Bruti never held the consulship until it was thrown open to the plebs but had supplied aediles and plebeian tribunes.^(6.) The

(1.) - Schol. on Archias XI.27. (Stangl.197) : (2.) - Cic.de Or.55,225.
 (3.) - Livy II,5,5-8. : (4.) - Plut.Brut.1,5. : (5.) - V,18,1.
 (6.) - d'Addozio (op.cit.p.8.) points out further that both Cicero and Livy name Bruti as tribunes of the plebs and Festus mentions a Brutus as a plebeian aedile.

later Bruti, it was said, were descended from a plebeian
 steward.^(1.)

The problem is no more soluble now than it was then.^(2.)
 Even Niebuhr's theory that Lucius Brutus was a plebeian,
 though it would answer the objections of Dionysius, would not
 prove that Lucius was our Brutus' ancestor unless we accept
 also the story of his infant son. It does not, therefore,
 seem worth while to pursue the question further. The
 importance of the claim is the effect it had on Brutus'
 sentiments and decisions and through them on the course of
 Roman History. That Brutus sincerely believed in it is
 shown by his having a statue of Lucius among those of his
 ancestors,^(3.) and by his showing in his house a family tree,^(4.)
 composed by Atticus, in which the course of the descent was
 traced, while he shows that he had confidence enough in the
 claim to avow it publicly by the coins he issued at the time
 of the first and second triumvirates.^(5.) That his own con-
 temporaries in the main accepted it is proved by Atticus'
 tree, by Cicero's frequent references to his distinguished
 ancestry and - of wider import - by the anonymous appeals
 made to him on the same score in February 44 B.C.^(6.) Although
 Cicero made ironical reference to it privately to Atticus,^(7.)
 that was merely the natural reaction of a 'novus homo' and
 his other allusions to it on more public occasions^(8.) show that

(1.- Plut.Brut.1,4. : (2.- Lectures on His.Rome.Eng.ed.of L.
 Schmitz. (Lond.1870) Lect.22.p.124-5. : (3.- Cic.Phil.II,11,26.
 (4.- Nepos.Att. 18,3 f. Cic.Att.XIII,40,1. Munzer in Hermes.40.
 (1905) pp.50-100 accuses Atticus of composing such genealogies
 more to please contemporary nobles than with any real historical
 purpose cf. also Munzer. Rom. Adels.(1920). p.336 and note.
 (5.- See pp.14ff and Special Note 6 pp.312.
 (6.- See p.87 above. : (7.- Att. l.c. (8.-esp. in Phil,II,26.
 When Cicero wrote "Brutus" 16,62 in strong disapproval of falsified
 family records, he was tacitly excepting Atticus' family tree of the
 Bruti: for in the same work he refers to Brutus' descent from L. Bru-
 tus. e.g.14,53:97,331.

he did not believe it to be false and that he expected that his public would be of the same opinion.

Note 4. Who was the father of Junia and Tertia?

It is unfortunate for the purposes of family identification that Servilia's two husbands, Marcus Junius Brutus and Decimus Junius Silanus were members of the same gens. It is naturally impossible to say offhand in which marriage her two daughters, Junia and Junia Tertia, were born. Nor do the ancient writers give us any help. Not even Cicero can be found stating or even indirectly implying who their father was. It may be said at once, however, that a reading of Cicero's letters prepares us, with its picture of the closest intimacy between the two women and Brutus,^{1.} to expect that they were his full sisters.

Two reasons may be advanced for the opposite view. First, those who think that Brutus was born in 79 or 78 B.C. must consider Junia and Tertia to be daughters of Silanus, since they were younger than Brutus and there was no time for them to be born between Brutus' birth and the death of his father. This, however, need not be considered if my contention is accepted that Brutus was born in 85 B.C..

Secondly, several scholars^{2.} think that Tertia's name means that she was the third daughter; and there is no indication that Brutus had a third sister. But there is no indication that Brutus had a third half-sister; Cicero, who frequently mentions Junia and Tertia, nowhere indicates the existence of another daughter of Servilia. Münzer^{3.} has made ingenious use of an inscription found in Cos in 1902 by R. Herzog, which reads

ὁ δᾶμος ἐτίμασε | Ιουνίαν Δέκμου θυγατέρα | γυναῖκα δὲ
Ποπλίου | Σέρουλιου (sic) Ποπλίου υἱοῦ | Ἰσαυρικοῦ ἀνθυπάτου

1.- cf. especially pp. 120:131: 190 above.

2.- cf. especially Drumann in D.G. IV, 54, 11. Münzer in P.W. X p. 1110 no. 192 and Rom Adels. pp. 351 f.

3.- Rom. Adels. pp. 354 f.

He thinks that this Junia, who was a daughter of a Decimus Junius and wife of a P. Servilius Isauricus, was the third daughter of Servilia and Decimus Junius Silanus, whose existence he regards as necessary to explain the name of Tertia. One may immediately accept his identification of the Servilius Isauricus of the inscription with P. Servilius Isauricus, ^{(1.} governor of Asia in 46 B.C., son of the consul of 79 B.C., P. Servilius Vatia who won the title of Isauricus by his victory over the pirates in 78 B.C., ^{(2.} but there are serious objections to his assumption that the Decimus of the inscription was Silanus and that Junia was daughter of him and Servilia. Apart from the great difference in age there would have been between such a daughter of Silanus and Isauricus who was a contemporary and friend of Cato, ^{(3.} there is a letter of Cicero which makes it very improbable that Isauricus could have been married to a half-sister of Brutus. After Caesar's death, this Isauricus at first supported the Senate and Cicero against Antony, ^{(4.} but later he opposed Cicero violently in the Senate. In April Cicero wrote a letter ^{(5.} to Brutus in Macedonia, in which he described the difficulties which were being caused him by Lepidus and Servilius Isauricus. The former was married to Brutus' half-sister or sister Junia and of him Cicero says "The unprincipled and vacillating conduct of your relation Lepidus (who chooses, after his brother, his closest connexions as the special objects of his hate) I now believe you thoroughly perceive from the letters of your friends." ^{(6.} Of

(1.- cf. Cic. Fam. XIII, 66-72. : (2.- P.W. II² p.1811.no.93.
 (3.- cf. Cic. Att. I, 19, 9: II, 1, 10 : Q. Fr. II, 3, 2. : (4.- Cf. Cic. Fam. XII, 2, 1 : Phil VII, 9, 27 : XII, 2, 5 : XIV, 4, 11. : (5.- Brut. II, 2 of April 11th.
 (6.- Brut. II, 2, 1. T. & P.'s translation of "Lepidi, tui necessarii, qui secundum fratrem adfinis habet, quos oderit proximos, levitatem et inconstantiam animumque semper inimicum rei publicae iam credo tibi ex tuorum litteris esse perspectum".

Isauricus: "Here I am having trouble enough with that madman Servilius, whom I have put up with longer than my personal position could really brook; but put up with him I did for the country's sake, to avoid providing unscrupulous citizens with a man - by no means a sound man but still one of noble birth - round whom they could concentrate. Yet they do that all the same. But I thought he should not be estranged from the Republican cause. However, I've done with putting up with him. For he has begun to show such insolence as to treat everybody like slaves." ⁽¹⁾ It seems to me incredible that Cicero, after mentioning Lepidus' kinship with Brutus, would not have mentioned also that of Servilius had it been the same - as Munzer thinks it was - or that, if the two men had been related to Brutus, his descriptions of them would have been so different in tone.

Before we discuss the interpretation of Tertia's name we may note objections to the supposition that she and Junia were only half-sisters to Brutus. First, if they, along with another sister, were half-sisters to him, it is very surprising that Cicero, who so often mentions them in connection with Brutus, never anywhere introduces the third member of their family. ⁽²⁾ Secondly, it would be again surprising if Servilia, after bearing Brutus in 85 B.C., had no more children in six or seven years by her first husband and then rapidly bore three daughters to her second in about three or four years. ⁽³⁾ Thirdly

(1.- *ibid*, 3. "Ego hic cum homine furioso satis habeo, negotii, Servilio, quem tuli diutius quam dignitas mea patiebatur, sed tuli rei publicae causa, ne darem perditis civibus hominem, parum sanum illum quidem sed tamen nobilem, quo concurrerent, quod faciunt nihilo minus; sed eum alienandum a republica non putabam. Finem feci eius ferendi. Coeperat enim esse tanta insolentia ut neminem liberum duceret."

(2.- Especially if, as Munzer assumes, she and her husband were in Rome after Caesar's murder, and the husband playing a prominent part in politics.

(3.- This point has already been suggested by Bynum, but as an argument that Brutus was born in 78 B.C. see p. 295 above.

if Tertia were Silanus' daughter she could not have been born, since she was the youngest of the three, before about 72 B.C. She had a son to Cassius, who assumed the toga virilis on the Ides of March 44 B.C.⁽¹⁾ and was born, therefore, in 58 B.C. so that Tertia must have been married in 59 when she was thirteen. Munzer accepts that chronology without perturbation⁽²⁾ and it cannot be categorically denied, but it is at least surprising that after bearing a child at the age of 13 or 14 - and having a miscarriage at the age of 28⁽³⁾ - she should have lived to be nearly 93!⁽⁴⁾

Considering these improbabilities and the failure to prove the existence of a third daughter of Silanus, one feels it necessary to assume that Tertia may mean not only "third daughter" but "third child"⁽⁵⁾. Once more, however, incontestable proof cannot be given from other instances. Munzer⁽⁶⁾ who gives a very comprehensive list of freeborn women who bore the name - Tertia Aemilia, wife of the elder Scipio Africanus (Val. Max. VI, 7,1) Mucia Tertia, wife of Pompey the Great (Asc. Scaur. 17 K.) Volasennia Tertia, wife of M. Nonius Balbus (C.I.L. X 1435-1437) Tertia Saufeia (C.I.L. I², 289) Tertia Aerilia C.f. Rufi uxor (C.I.L. I², 2080) Tertia Basilina L. f. (C.I.L. I², 1410) and Cupieinnia L. f. Tertulla (C.I.L. I², 1297) - admits that in none of these cases can the meaning of the name be shown, since we know nothing of their brothers and sisters. Two others occur L. Paullus, the victor at Pydna had a daughter who was still a small girl (admodum parva)⁽⁷⁾ when her father held his second consulship in his 60th year. It does seem probable in her case

(1.- Plut. Brut. 14, 2. : (2.- Rom. Adels. p. 352.
 (3.- In May 44 B.C. Cic. Att. XIV, 20, 2.
 (4.- She died "in the 64th year after Philippi". Tac. Ann. III, 76.
 (5.- This is assumed by e.g. Shuckburgh op. cit. IV. p. XXXVIII note 1. and Smith's Dict. Biog. (under Silanus) who think that Silanus had by Servilia two daughters and a son M. Junius Silanus.
 (6.- Rom. Adels. p. 351. : (7.- Cic. de div. I, 46, 103.

the name meant "third daughter" not "third child", as she was almost certainly the youngest of his family of four sons and three daughters. But of the six children - three of each sex - of Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul in 79 B.C., Tertia was married before her sisters and to an older man than they⁽¹⁾; which does suggest that she was "third child" rather than third daughter. It is my belief therefore that Tertia was the third child of M. Junius Brutus and Servilia, that Junia and she were full sisters to Brutus - and that to Silanus Servilia bore no children.

(1.- cf. P.W. IV, p.108. no. 72 and D.G. II, 313.

Note 5.Brutus' Adoption.

Before the Vettian plot in 59 B.C. Brutus had been adopted by a Quintus Servilius Caepio⁽¹⁾. Although no ancient author, not even Plutarch, mentions the adoption directly, it is proved beyond doubt by the very frequent application of the name Caepio to him, in contemporary as well as later writings, in official language as well as less formal compositions. His adoptive name is given variously by different authors. In a formal motion put to the Senate Cicero calls him Q. Caepio Brutus⁽²⁾; and the same designation is found on many of the coins issued by him in the East in 43 - 42 B.C.⁽³⁾ and on an inscription⁽⁴⁾ that therefore seems to have been his official name after adoption and accords with the statement that he used as a nomen Caepio, which was really a cognomen⁽⁵⁾. But in a quotation from a legal document we find the 'Brutus' omitted once⁽⁶⁾. Less formally he is called by Cicero simply Caepio⁽⁷⁾; and once Q. Caepio hic Brutus (= "Q. Caepio, I mean Brutus")⁽⁸⁾. Appian gives his name as Μάρκος Βρούτος, ὁ Καιπίων ἐπίκλην⁽⁹⁾; and Dio as ὁ Καιπίων ὁ Βρούτος. ὁ Μάρκος⁽¹⁰⁾. These designations can only be explained on the basis of an adoption, and it is a moral certainty that his adoptive father's name was Q. Servilius Caepio, - for the cognomen Caepio was, outside the Servilian gens, very rare⁽¹¹⁾ - and the adoptive father must have been some

(1.- Cic. Att. II, 24, 2 : (2.- Cic. Phil. X, 11, 25 : (3.- B.M. Catal. Coins Rom. Rep. vol II pp. 471 ff. Nos. 38 (has Q. missing): 41-47: 52-56: and 85. On the other coins of the same period he is called 'M. Brutus'; but his different moneymen always preserve the same name in their coins. : (4.- I.G. VII, 383. : (5.- auct. de praenominibus (in Kempf's ed. of Val. Max. p. 587 ff.).
 (6.- Cic. Fam. VII, 21. : (7.- Fin III, 2, 8. and Att. II, 24, 3.
 (8.- ib. 2. : (9.- II, 112. : (10.- xli, 63, 6.
 (11.- It was used by branches of the Fannian and Rustian clans e.g. Fannius Caepio, who with L. Murena plotted against Octavian (Vell. II, 91: Seneca. de brev. vit. IV, 5; de clem. I, 9, 6.) and Rustius Caepio, who by his will ordered his heir to pay a sum of money to new senators each year. (Suet. Dom. 9.2.).

relation of Brutus' mother.

That, unfortunately, is all we can say with certainty about the adoption. How and when it was made and who his adoptive father was, are still matters of conjecture. With regard, however, to the manner of the adoption we may conjecture with reasonable confidence. Had it been an adoption in the common modern sense of the word i.e. to provide a guardian for Brutus when his father died (as Bynum op.cit. 13-14 seems to think, judging from where he mentions it), it would surely have been an important enough event in his life to be mentioned by Plutarch, and Cicero's Q. Caepio hic Brutus ("Q. Caepio, Brutus I mean") indicates that the name was not a familiar one and suggests that the adoption had been recently made. It seems more probable that he was adopted by some relative in his will to preserve the name of the Caepio family, as Octavian was adopted by Caesar.

The question of the date of the adoption is naturally, therefore, involved with that of the identity of the Caepio concerned, and here we have a difficult problem. From various pieces of evidence it is possible to imagine that there were four distinct men, called Servilius Caepio, in the period we are dealing with.

(A) The Caepio who was on such intimate terms with his brother Cato. (Plut. Cat. min. 1.1.1.; 3 fin; 8,1; 11.). Plutarch's description of the children of Livia (Cat. min. 1.1.) leaves some doubt whether this Caepio was a half-brother or full-brother of Cato. By his separation of Servilia, as a ^ἡ **ἑτερομήτριος** sister of Cato, from the others, Caepio, Cato and Porcia - he seems to indicate that she was of a different marriage from them, and that Caepio and Cato were full-brothers, Caepio having been born a Porcius Cato and become a Servilius Caepio by adoption. This is the opinion of e.g. Cichorius (Festgabe für Bezold (Bonn 1924) pp. 64 ff.) despite Plutarch's notorious inaccuracy in such family descriptions.

This Caepio died rather suddenly at Aenos in Thrace, when on the way to Asia, in 67 B.C. (Plut. Cat. min. 11) and his heirs were Cato and a young daughter. (ib. 11, 4.)

(B) A Caepio was legate with Pompey against the pirates in 67 B.C. (Florus I, 41, 10.) Cichorius (l.c.) thinks he may have been the same man, mentioned, under the name of Servilius, as being in Pompey's service in Pontus in 65 B.C. (Plut. Pomp. 34, 5.).

(C.) The Caepio who in 59 B.C. was engaged to Caesar's daughter, Julia, but was, in the interests of high politics, discarded to make room for Pompey. (see p. 14). (cf. Suet. Jul. 21. and Plut. Caes. 14, 3., where he is called Servilius Caepio; Plut. Pomp. 47, 4 and App. II, 14 where the name given is simply Caepio, and Dio. 38, 9, 1. where no name is mentioned.) Suetonius adds that he had during 59 B.C. been a strong supporter of Caesar against his colleague Bibulus.

(D.) Our M. Brutus or Q. Caepio Brutus.

The connections between these individuals have been the subject of enquiry by several scholars, of whom the most important to us are - Munzer in P.W. II. p. 1779. and Rom. Adel. p. 338f; Cichorius op. cit.; and M. Gelzer in P.W. X. p. 976. 1. Munzer identifies (A) and (B) as one man, regarding (A) as Servilia's full-brother and Cato's half-brother. When this man died at Aenos in 67 B.C. while acting as Pompey's legate, he adopted (D), whom Munzer also identified with (C), thinking that is, that Brutus was the rejected betrothed of Julia.

This theory is quite improbable on both scores. On Plutarch's evidence regarding his will (given above) (A) could not have adopted Brutus in that will; and Brutus could not have been (C), Julia's fiancé for these reasons: (i) His own attitude at the time as shown by his coins and his being involved in the Vettian affair was anti-Caesarian as well as anti-Pompeian.

(ii) He was at the time, and had been since his boyhood, under the influence of Cato, the triumvirs' most bitter

opponent.

(iii) He would not have assisted Caesar against Bibulus, since the latter was a friend and son-in-law of Cato, being married to Porcia, who was very dear to Brutus and later became his wife.

(iv) Brutus is never referred to as Servilius Caepio (cf. the first paragraph of this note), which is the name Suetonius and Plutarch apply to Julia's betrothed.

(v) No ancient author mentions Brutus as engaged to Julia and Plutarch was bound, since he knew the details of it, to have mentioned it in his life of Brutus, had he been the person concerned.

2. Gelzer thinks that Servilia had two full-brothers of whom (A) was one, dying in 67 B.C. and the other was (B.C.) (regarded as one man, i.e. Pompey's legate and Julia's fiancé) who died in 59 B.C. and adopted Brutus (D) in his will.

The chief objection to this is that it supposes that in 59 B.C. Caesar had chosen as his prospective son-in-law a man of nearly 50 years of age - he must have been much older than Cato, who was born in 95 - who had never apparently been more than a quaestor. It is even an objection to imagine that a Servilius Caepio - and the last of that distinguished family - should have reached that age without filling any of the higher offices.

3. Cichorius thinks that there were four distinct individuals. (A) was Cato's full brother - born a Porcius Cato and adopted into the Servilius Caepio family. He died in 67 B.C. (B) was a full brother of Servilia and half-brother of Cato, who served with Pompey in 67 B.C. and in 65 B.C. and had a son (C), engaged to Julia in 59 B.C. This son died in 59 B.C. before his father who thereupon adopted Brutus (D) in his will and then died himself in the same year.

My objections to this are (i) that it relies too much upon Plut. Cat. min. 1, 1. for its details regarding (A), and has, therefore, to introduce another, quite unevicenced

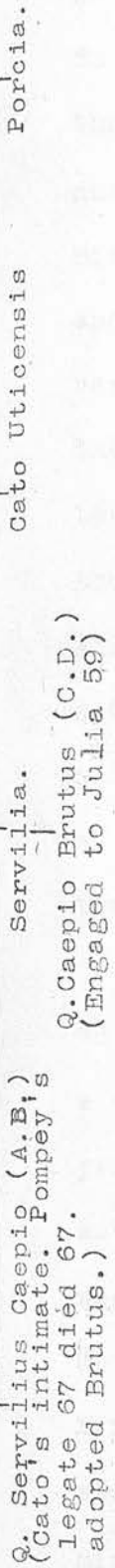
adoption into the Servilian gens. I think it easier to believe with Gelzer that Servilia had two full brothers. (ii) I cannot accept the identification of the Caepio of 67 B.C. with the Servilius of 65 - though that is a minor point. The objections regarding the improbability of a Servilius, brother of Servilia, living until 59 without becoming praetor or consul is of more importance.

My opinion is that Cichorius' version with the amendments suggested, regarding the relationship of Caepio (A) to Cato and the identification of the legates of Pompey in 67 and 65 B.C., is at present the most acceptable: nor do I see how a better solution can be found on the present evidence. New inscriptions may in the future help to solve the problem, as Munzer suggests.

The different versions may be most easily understood from the following family tables, which I have composed from the different scholars' statements. They contain only the individuals necessary for the present problem.

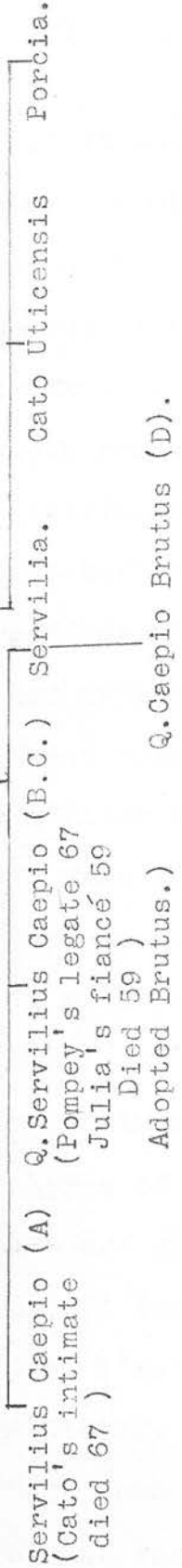
1.- According to Munzer.

Q. Servilius Caepio, 1st husb. of Livia - 2nd husb. - M. Porcius Cato.



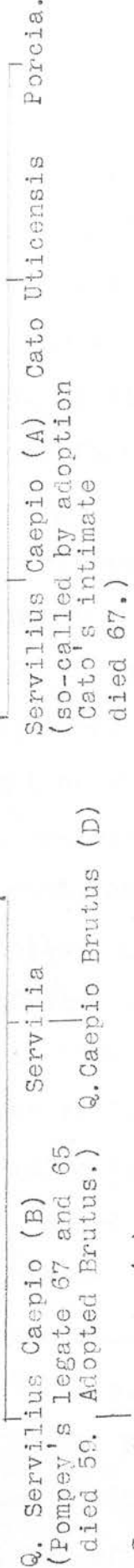
2. According to Gelzer.

Q. Servilius Caepio 1st husb. of Livia - 2nd husb. - M. Porcius Cato.



3. According to Cichorius.

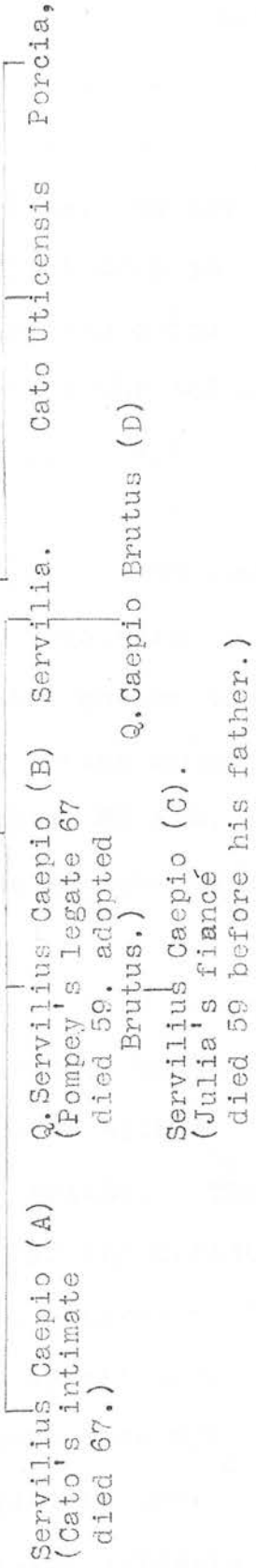
Q. Servilius Caepio 1st husb. of Livia - 2nd husb. - M. Porcius Cato.



Servilius Caepio (C)
(Julia's fiancé 59:
died 59, before his father.)

4. - My own version.

Q. Servilius Caepio 1st husb. of Livia - 2nd husb. - M. Porcius Cato.



Note 6.Brutus' Coinage in 59 or 58 B.C.

The suggestion that the coins described on p.14~~f~~ do not belong to the period of 59 - 58 B.C. but to 43 -42 B.C. is adequately refuted by Grueber (op.cit. p.480 note 1.) He says: "Babélon (vol II.p.112.) says that Cohen and other numismatists are wrong in classing the above coins to circ. 58 B.C., as it was not till after the murder of Caesar, that Brutus struck money and would glorify himself as the descendant of the assassin of kings. This statement is not borne out either by the fabric or style of the coins and is against the evidence of finds. In style the coins very closely resemble the others of the period, to which they are attributed .. and we know that the issue must have taken place before 44 B.C. as specimens occurred in no less than five finds viz:- Cadriano, San Cesario, Carbonara II, Villola and Callechio, all of which were buried before that date. These coins were therefore struck by Brutus as an ordinary officer of the mint, and probably about 59 B.C., as he left Rome in the following year and, as we have said, took no⁽¹⁾ part in public affairs until 49 B.C."

It will be seen that Grueber has not decided between 59 and 58 B.C. as the year of Brutus' moneyership, and it is a question whether a decision is possible. For either year the types of the coins are equally appropriate. The authorities are agreed that the minimum age for the office was 'about 27' (cf. Grueber op.cit.I.p.lxiii; Lenormant. La Monnaie dans l'antiquité" III.p.161; Babélon op.cit.I.p. xxxv.; Mattingly, Roman Coins, p.29.) but there does not seem to have been the same strict ruling regarding the minimum age as for the later offices. It seems unlikely,

(1.) Perhaps "no important part" would be more accurate. cf. pp. 21-35 above.

however, that Brutus would have left Rome, as he did in 58 B.C., before the tenure of his office was completed, so that I incline to favour 59 B.C. The suggestion that the office was of two years' duration would argue as much against 59 as 58 B.C. but I agree with Grueber (*op. cit.* I. p.lxvii.) that the suggestion is improbable. It is put forward to explain the fact that for the thirty eight years before 49 B.C. we possess the names of only 59 ordinary moneyers - less than two per year, although we know that three officials served together each year. Such a continuance of official power, however humble, for more than one year is quite out of harmony with the normal Roman practice, even among the other prequaestorial offices, and the fewness of moneyers' names can adequately be accounted for by the supposition that all three did not actually issue coins under their names, but that one or even, at times, two confined their duties to general supervision.

Note 7.Brutus' Loan to Salamis.

Two mistakes are commonly made in connection with Brutus' loan to Salamis - concerning the place where the loan was made, and the identity of the lender. The facts are:-

1. The loan was made in Rome.

Some writers imagine that the loan was contracted while Brutus was in Cyprus e.g. Heitland op.cit. III.p.153 f. and Ferrero op.cit. II.p.49 f. If that had been the case there would have been no need for the two Senatusconsulta of 56 B.C.; for the lex Gabinia applied only to loans made in Rome. (cf. C.A.H. IX.p.345.).

2. It was Brutus who lent the money.

It is sometimes thought that Scaptius and Matinius were not simply agents of Brutus but were the creditors of the Salaminians, Brutus being a guarantor for the latter whose patron he was. (cf. Bynum op.cit.p.17: Gelzer P.W. X.p.978. and Walter Rev. Quest. Hist. Jan 1934 p.471-2.). The mistake arises from a misunderstanding of Cic.Att. VI,1,5. where the real circumstances are made quite clear.

Cicero is telling Atticus how Scaptius, in his third interview with him, revealed the fact that Brutus was the real money-lender. He says "And now here is the latest about the Salaminians - and I realise that it is as much news to you as it was to me. For I never heard from Brutus that the money was his own. On the contrary (quin) I still have his memorandum in which is written, "The Salaminians owe money to M. Scaptius and P. Matinius, friends of mine." ; he commends these two to me and even adds, as if to spur me to greater endeavour, that he has gone surety for them (i.e. for the Salaminians) for a large sum." (Nunc cognosce de Salaminiis, quod video tibi etiam novum accidisse tanquam mihi. Numquam enim ex illo audivi illam pecuniam esse suam. Quin etiam libellum ipsius habeo, in quo est: 'Salaminii pecuniam debent M. Scaptio et P. Matinio, familiaribus meis;' eos

mihi commendat; ascribit etiam, et quasi calcar admovet, intercessisse se pro eis magnam pecuniam.)

The real story is as given on pp. 21f and 31ff .

1. Brutus among his requests to Cicero, when he left for his province, told him that the Salaminians owed money to his friends Scaptius and Matinius; commending their case to him, he gives an added reason for him to support them, in that he himself is involved as a guarantor.
2. Scaptius in the first two interviews allows the fiction to be upheld,
3. but seeing that Cicero is not going to be otherwise moved, in the third interview he reveals the truth - whether with or without Brutus' orders and approval we do not know - that Brutus is the real creditor.
4. Cicero in disgust and amazement at Brutus' duplicity tells the whole story to Atticus.

A further proof that Brutus is the real creditor is shown, when Atticus says Brutus is even more than willing to lose a little on the transaction (*Brutum cupere aliquid perdere Att. VI,2,7.*)

The error arises from a mistaken view of the "libellus" of *Att. VI,1,5*, line 3. Those who err, think it is a communication Cicero has just received from Brutus admitting that "he has gone surety for them for a large sum". It is, in fact, the list of commissions received by Cicero from Brutus presumably before he left Rome and Cicero mentions it here to contrast the statement in it with the revelation just made by Scaptius that Brutus is the moneylender. The contrast is marked by the 'quin'.

Scaptius and Matinius are merely agents of Brutus in Cyprus, in the same position as the other Scaptius and Gavius in Cappadocia, and there is no reason for describing them, as G. Walter (*Rev. Quest. Hist. Mar. 1934. pp. 471-2*) does, as wealthy bankers.

Note 8.Brutus' Quaestorship.

Born in the autumn of 85 B.C. Brutus became eligible for election to the quaestorship in 54 B.C., and we should therefore expect him to have held that office in that or the following year. When we find a reference in an ancient authority supporting that expectation, we are naturally tempted to accept it immediately; but unfortunately the author concerned, Aurelius Victor, is very unreliable⁽¹⁾ and there is no support elsewhere for his statement. The passage in question reads "Quaestor in Galliam proficisci noluit quod id bonis omnibus displicebat; cum Appio socero in Cilicia fuit."⁽²⁾ The obvious deductions to be made from that are that Brutus was quaestor in 53 B.C.; that he refused an invitation from Caesar to serve in that capacity in Gaul; and instead went with Appius Claudius to Cilicia.⁽³⁾

There is nothing inherently impossible or even improbable in any of these deductions. Although Caesar does not seem to have taken any notice of Brutus since the Vettian affair in 59 B.C., he had himself been absent from Italy since the end of that year and it is quite comprehensible that looking for a quaestor for 53 B.C. he should choose the son of his former mistress, who was, besides, an able and promising young man, whom it might be profitable to win over from the Senatorial party, to which he had attached himself. He may even have been prompted to send the invitation by Servilia. That Brutus should decline the invitation is no less understandable, when we consider what his attitude to the triumvirs had always been, and in any case Caesar's stock in the city was at this

1.- See Appendix 1 p.418ff. (2.- Aur.Vict.82,3-4 for suggested emendations see p.291f above. (3.- It may be thought however that "quaestor" refers only to first sentence and that Aurelius means that Brutus was with Appius as "legatus". That, however, is very improbable. In 52 and 51 B.C. Brutus was in Rome; if he was in Cilicia with Appius it was in 53 B.C., the year of his quaestorship.

time low. Again, if he were quaestor in 53 B.C. - the year in which his father-in-law began his period in command in Cilicia, it would be natural enough for Brutus to accompany him.

In answering the three questions raised by Aurelius' reference - (a) whether he was quaestor at all (b) if so, whether he refused an invitation from Caesar and (c) if so, whether he served in Cilicia with Appius Claudius - there are other elements to be considered.

(a) Was he ever quaestor?

If he were not, it would be very surprising. A political career was inevitable to him; and he had already taken the first short step towards it by his moneyership in 59 B.C. In later years, moreover, he showed such respect for the formalities of the constitution, that one cannot but think that he must have been quaestor, before he stood for the praetorship of 44 B.C. There is however more definite evidence than that. A passage in Asconius⁽¹⁾ makes it most probable - textual difficulties unfortunately prevent complete certainty - that in 52 B.C. Brutus was a member of the Senate; he is reported to have been involved in a debate with Q. Metellus Scipio concerning the trial of Milo for the murder of P. Clodius, in which he also showed his interest by his unofficial defence of the accused.⁽²⁾ Now, apart from the

(1.- Asc. in Mil.30. "Post diem tricesimum fere quam erat Clodius occisus Q. Metellus Scipio in senatu contra Q. Caepionem con-questus est de hac caede P. Clodi." The MSS. read M. Caepionem, and the emendation of Manutius to Q. is accepted by A.C. Clark in the Oxford Text. No M. Caepio is known to us and even if that were the correct reading, it still might refer to M. Brutus. That Asconius elsewhere (in Mil.36 : in Scaur.17) uses the name M. Brutus, is not an objection to my identification: "Q. Caepio" was only used on very formal occasions (e.g. in Phil. X Cicero uses "M. Brutus" in the body of the speech and "Q. Caepio" in the formal resolution moved at the end), and probably Asconius derived his information for this passage from some official document.

(2.- See p. 26. above.

quaestorship the only means of entry to the Senate was by "adlectio" by the Censors. That practice was apparently adopted by the censors of 61 B.C. ^{(1.} but Brutus could not possibly have been enrolled by them at the age of 23 or 24; and there were no other censors in office until 50 B.C. ^{(2.} It is evident therefore that if - as is extremely probable - the Caepio mentioned by Asconius is M. Brutus, then Brutus must have been quaestor before 52 B.C. and therefore, considering the age limit, in 54 or 53 B.C. The fact that neither Cicero nor Plutarch mentions his quaestorship does not so much disprove it as indicate its uneventful nature. In 53 B.C. Cicero had no interest in the young Brutus, ^{(3.} and Plutarch has nothing at all to say of him between 56 and 50 B.C. ^{(4.}

(b) Did he refuse an invitation from Caesar?

On this point I can find no other evidence to offer; but though, as I indicated above, the story is not an improbable one, we must remember the tendency of tradition after the deaths of Caesar and Brutus to exaggerate the intimate connections between them. ^{(5.}

(c) Was he with Appius Claudius in Cilicia?

If he was, it is at least certain that he did not remain in the province throughout Appius' governorship, as his activities in Rome during 52 and 51 B.C. show. ^{(6.} It is a fact, on the other hand, that we know of no activity at Rome which can be dated in 53 B.C.; but the apparent significance of that is discounted by the fact that the same is true of 54 and 55 B.C. ^{(7.} Some significance may be seen in Cicero's

(1.- Dio XXXVII,46,4. : (2.- cf. C.A.H. vol IX p.523 note 1.
 (3.- See p. 28 .above. : (4.- See Appendix 1 p.417 below.
 (5.- cf. pp.2:42:et al. . : (6.- Yet Walter (op.cit.Mar.1934.p.569) thinks he returned from Cilicia with Appius. He may have been misled by Att. V,17,6 fin "sed hoc Bruto nostro velim dicas illum fecisse non belle, qui adventu meo quam longissime potuerit discesserit." But the "illum" refers to Appius and the "dicas" shows Brutus was in Rome with Atticus.
 (7.- except, of course, for his marriage with Claudia which probably came in one of these years.

letters from Cilicia in 50 B.C. These contain many uncomplimentary references to Appius' rule in the province and also to Brutus' money-lending there, but never does Cicero suggest that the two had been there together. In Att. VI, 1,2, for instance, he says concerning his predecessor's régime "Quid dicam de illius praefectis, comitibus, legatis? etiam de rapinis, de libidinibus, de contumeliis?"; and in the next section of the same letter, he goes in to discuss Brutus' financial affairs, which have disgusted him greatly, without mentioning what, if true, he could hardly have failed to mention, that Brutus had at one time been a member of Appius' suite. ^{(1.} The fact that, since quaestors were appointed to the provinces by lot, it would have been something of a coincidence for Appius to obtain his own son-in-law means nothing; managing the lots was an easy matter for him. ^{(2.} Again Plutarch's silence may suggest something; had Brutus served with his father-in-law in Cilicia it might have seemed worthy of comment by his biographer; but Plutarch does not even mention that Appius was his father-in-law!

The problem does not seem soluble. On the evidence of Aurelius alone one cannot accept as a fact Brutus' service with Appius especially as it could so easily arise from confusion between Appius' own residence in Cilicia, Brutus' connections with the Cypriotes and his later stay in Cilicia, and their own relationship.

On the whole, therefore, one may assume this much with safety regarding Brutus' quaestorship. He was quaestor, probably in 53 B.C.; and he may have served with Appius Claudius in Cilicia or as one of the eight quaestors, whose duties lay in Italy.

(1.- Yet, is there anything of significance in the fact that in the passage quoted Cicero mentions praefecti, comites and legati, but not quaestors?
 (2.- For instance, Caesar had both the sons of his fellow-triumvir Crassus with him in Gaul at different times and his own relation Antony later.

Note 9.Brutus' Return to Rome from Cisalpine Gaul.

On March 8th 45 B.C. Cicero in Astura asked Atticus, who was in Rome and therefore au courant with such matters, when Pansa, who was to succeed Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul, intended to leave the city for his province. ^{(1.} Atticus seems to have been unable to tell him at that time and four days later Cicero asked that he be informed as soon as his correspondent found out. ^{(2.} Two days later - March 14th Cicero knew that Pansa was to leave that very day and his question then is, when Brutus is expected in Rome - approximately. ^{(3.} He assumes that Atticus knows, where Brutus is awaiting his successor, and can therefore easily calculate, when he will reach the city. ^{(4.} Again Atticus seems to have been unable to answer the question and on March 23rd we find Cicero calculating for himself, that Brutus will arrive about April 1st, assuming that he is following the usual custom of awaiting his successor on the very threshold of the province. ^{(5.} He wants Atticus to verify his calculation, for he thinks that by then he must know where Brutus is waiting for Pansa. ^{(6.} Cicero intends, if his calculation is correct, to remain in the country and not attend Brutus' reception. ^{(7.} Two days later - March 25th - he is replying to Atticus' remonstrances, that he ought to attend it ^{(8.} and we must therefore assume that Atticus has confirmed Cicero's conjecture, and that Brutus is in fact expected to arrive in Rome about April 1st. The next reference to Brutus in the letters is on May 3rd, when he has been staying at or near ^{(9.} Cumae, and with no evidence to the contrary it is to be assumed that he did reach Rome early in April.

①.- Att.XII,14,4."scribes ad me velim,..Pansa quando." :
 ②.- ib.17."Pansae profectionem scribes,cum scies." : ③.- ib.19,3.
 "Pansa,si hodie,ut putabas,profectus est,posthac iam incipito scribere ad me de Bruti adventu quid expectes,id est,quos ad dies".
 ④.- ibid."Id,si scies ubi iam sit,facile coniectura adsequere."
 ⑤.- ib.27,3."Si,ut consuetudo est,in prima provincia circiter Kal. adfuturus videtur." : ⑥.- ibid. "De Bruto tamen,si quid habebis. Scire enim iam puto ubi Pansam exspectet."
 ⑦.- ibid. : ⑧.- ib.29,1. : ⑨.- ib.36,2.

There is one further passage which seems - and has been thought - to refute the above argument. On May 4th Cicero says that he has just had a letter from Brutus which did not reach him at Astura until the thirteenth day after it was written. (1. Tyrell and Purser; (2. following Schmidt; (3. have assumed that Brutus was still in Gaul. I think that Brutus was really much nearer Cicero than that and that the latter mentions the time taken to deliver the letter because it was so unusually long. Cicero's mention of Brutus' arrival on the last day of May, (4. refers to his arrival in Tusculum not in Rome, as the letter written on the following day clearly shows. (5.

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- (1.- Att. XII,37,1. I agree with T. & P. and Schmidt that the words "quae litteraedie" should be transposed to refer to Brutus' letter and not to those of Atticus, which were posted, as the first sentence of the letter shows one on the same day and the other on the day before Cicero's reply.
 (2.- op.cit.vol V,p.55. : (3.- Briefwechsel p.280.
 (4.- Att. XIII,3,2. : (5.- ib.4,2. Yet Bynum (op.cit.p.33) thinks Brutus did not return from Gaul until the beginning of June. Gelzer (P.W. X.pp.985 f.) thinks as I do, but gives no detailed argument.

Note 10.Brutus' Speeches on and after the Ides of March.

In May 44 B.C. Brutus published a speech, originally delivered at the time of Caesar's murder, which Cicero calls "orationem..habitam in contione Capitolina". (Att.XIV,1b,2.). The exact occasion of this speech is very difficult to determine because of the confusion in the accounts given by our Greek authorities, Nicolaus, Plutarch, Appian and Dio, of the events of the Ides of March and the two days following. These authors mention speeches, made then by Brutus, thus:-

Nicolaus.

1. In Forum on 15th March after descent from Capitol (26b.) Apparently Nic. regarded this as an important speech since he dealt with it in some way in his "Concerning Public Speeches."

Plutarch.

1. On Capitol on 15th March after retiral thereto from murder. (Brut.18,5.)
- (1.
2. In Forum on 15th March after descent from Capitol (after 1.) (ibid. 5-6.)

Appian.

- (2.
1. In Forum on 15th March after descent from Capitol (II,122).
2. On Capitol on 16th March after meeting of Senate in Temple of Tellus (II,137-141)

Dio.

1. In Forum on 15th March before retiral to Capitol. (xliv,21,1).
2. On Capitol on 16th March at time of meeting of Senate in Temple of Tellus (xliv,34,2-3.)

It is evident from the above that Brutus made two speeches, one in the Forum, the other on the Capitol. Nicolaus'

(1.- Plutarch in Caes.67,3. inconsistently places this speech on 16th March.

(2.- I disagree with Rice Holmes (R.R.III,p.568) who thinks that Appian indicates the 16th for this speech. He refers to App. II 125 and 126. 122 gives a clear account that it was the 15th.

silence regarding the second is explained by a huge lacuna in his text. The former speech (in the Forum) presents no real difficulties. It was delivered in the afternoon of 15th⁽¹⁾ March after Brutus and Cassius had descended from the Capitol, where they had taken refuge after the murder. Dio, who alone disagrees with that, gives a very condensed account in which the previous retreat to the Capitol is not mentioned.

The occasion of the other speech (on the Capitol) is more difficult to determine. The lacuna in Nicolaus is very unfortunate, as his account, so far as it goes, has an air of greater accuracy than the others, and in one point at least he was right, where they are demonstrably wrong. (see below) . Plutarch makes Brutus' Capitoline speech the first one, delivered on the afternoon of the 15th before the descent to the Forum for the speech there; and from his more detailed description of it he seems to regard the Forensic speech as the more important. One cannot believe that Brutus would publish the former and not the latter. Appian and Dio come nearer to agreement. Both say the conspirators made a speech on the Capitol on the 16th about the time of the Senate's session in the Temple of Tellus; but whereas Dio puts it during that meeting and seems to regard it as of less moment than the Forensic oration of the 15th, Appian places it after the meeting and his attitude towards the speeches is the reverse; although he gives a fair summary of the first, consisting of half a section, he gives a verbatim version of the second, which occupies five full sections. Regarding the dating of the speech, however, Dio does support Appian and, with no evidence to the contrary from Nicolaus, one would be prepared to accept their statement of it against the sketchy and inconsistent accounts of Plutarch, but unfortunately both

(1.- Rice Holmes (R.R.III,p.568) agrees with this date - the 15th but he had apparently forgotten his note on the subject, when, in A.R.E.I.,p.2, he said "Brutus and Cassius ventured on the following day to descend and address the assembly in the Forum."

Appian and Dio - and Plutarch as well - have made an obvious blunder in a point of some importance. All three indicate that the meeting of Senate in the Temple of Tellus, convened by Antony, was held on the day following the murder (16th) whereas we know from Cicero that it was the 17th (cf. Phil. II, 35, 89. "Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris." i.e. 2 days after Caesar's murder. cf. also Att. XIV, 10, 1: 14, 2, in which he refers to the Liberalia.). Nicolaus, on the other hand, had evidently given the correct version in the lacuna, for his narrative extends beyond the morning of the 16th without introducing the meeting.

From this mass of disagreement two questions finally evolve regarding the speech Brutus published in May.

(a) Was it the one given in the Forum on 15th March? That has been suggested by several scholars (e.g. T. & P. vol V. p. 274 note on Att. XV, 1b, 2.) and there is one curious circumstance which may lend this suggestion some support. We should expect that of his two speeches Brutus would publish the more important one; and Plutarch and Dio definitely - and perhaps also, as I have suggested, Nicolaus - seem to regard the Forensic oration as the more important. Despite that, however, I do not see how the identification can be reconciled with Cicero's description that it was "delivered in the assembly on the Capitol". A possible reason for publishing the Capitoline speech in May rather than the other is given below. I believe therefore that the published speech was the one, described by Appian and Dio as given on the 16th March. But there is still a difficulty. How to interpret Dio and Appian in the light of their chronological blunder?

(b) Are we, since the meeting of Senate must be postponed to the 17th, to put back the speech with it? or shall we leave it on the 16th? The question cannot, so far as I see, be determined with certainty. If we put it back to the 17th, as I have done in my text, one might wonder why the conspirators

let the 16th go past without an effort to win over the people. On the other hand, both Appian and Dio indicate a very close connection between the speech and the meeting of Senate, as if the former were inspired by the latter. Both indicate a strong desire on Brutus' part to conciliate the veterans by this speech, and my own impression is that having made his full declaration on the 15th, Brutus let the 16th go past without more words and on the 17th decided once more to address the people, because of the prominence being given by then to the claims and complaints of the veterans. It may be further - though this is mainly conjecture - that when he published this speech in May 44 B.C., his purpose was not to record an important public utterance of his own but to broadcast, for purposes of propaganda, his party's policy regarding the veterans. That they did give special attention in their declarations of policy to Caesar's old soldiers is shown by the edict, which he and Cassius issued as praetors during April (App.III,2,fin.). That would explain satisfactorily why Brutus chose to publish the Capitoline speech rather than the one delivered in the Forum, which, as the authorities seem to agree and as we should naturally expect, since it come first and on the day of the murder, was more momentous.

Note 11. The Movements of Brutus and Cassius from April 12th to June 8th 44. B.C.

On April 12th or 13th Brutus left Rome and was seen in the course of the next day or two near Lanuvium; on June 8th he and Cassius entertained Cicero at Antium. Their movements between these dates have, I think, been misunderstood in one or two points. The following table shows the extent of our certain knowledge:

April 12th or 13th	:	Brutus leaves Rome.
" 15th	:	Cicero has heard that Brutus has been seen near Lanuvium. (Att. XIV,7,1.)
" 19th	:	Brutus definitely is at Lanuvium. (ib.10,1.)
Until May 20th(circ)	:	Brutus remains at Lanuvium. (ib.11,1:15,4:19,5)
May 20th (circ.)	:	Brutus leaves Lanuvium. (ib. XV,3,3.)
" 22nd	:	Cicero has heard that Brutus is in his (Cic.'s) house at Astura. (ibid.).
June 6th	:	Brutus is at Antium. (ib. 10)
" 8th	:	Brutus and Cassius entertain Cicero at Antium. (ib.11,1.).

There are three questions on which the letters of Cicero give us inadequate evidence. 1. Did Cassius leave Rome with Brutus? 2. Was Cassius with Brutus at Lanuvium from April 14th onwards? 3. Where was Brutus between his stay at Astura (circ. May 21st) and June 6th, when he was in Antium?

1. Did Cassius leave Rome with Brutus?

It is usually thought, without any examination, that the two Republicians left the city together. The fact that they held a joint conversation with Antony just before leaving (Att. XIV, 6,1.) may seem to support this idea, but it is only Brutus, whom Cicero speaks of being seen at Lanuvium (Att.XIV,7,1:10,1) Perhaps for fear of attracting the veterans' attention they left separately to make their party as small as possible.

2. Was Cassius with Brutus at Lanuvium?

Authors of histories of the period and editors of Cicero's

letters have all agreed in thinking not only that Cassius left Rome with Brutus but that the two were together all the time until June 8th, but none of them has, I think, examined the question closely enough. For in Att. XIV,7,1: and 10, 1. Cicero speaks only of Brutus being at Lanuvium and does not mention Cassius. In Att. XIV,11,1: 15,4: and 19,6. it is Brutus, whom Cicero wants to stay in his house at Astura and not Cassius and Brutus; and in Att. XV,3,3. Brutus, without, Cassius, has been living in the house. It seems inevitable that, had Cassius been living with Brutus at the time, he would have been included by Cicero in these references and invitations. Again, in Fam. XI,1, which is a letter from Cicero to Cassius, written on May 3rd, no mention is made of Brutus, as we should have expected had the two been together. Furthermore Cassius' wife, Tertia, had a miscarriage on May 9th circ. (Att. XIV,20,3.), which must, I think, have occurred at Antium not Lanuvium; for it is unlikely that after it she would have travelled to Antium, where she was on June 8th (Att.XV,11,1.) The only thing which may point to Brutus and Cassius having been together at Lanuvium is the edict issued jointly by them about May 9th (Att. XIV,20,4.) but if the evidence regarding the edict is examined, it will be seen that not only is there no need for them to have been together when it was published, but the assumption that they were in separate towns is at least satisfactory, if not necessary, to explain a curiosity in Cicero's references to it. In Att. XIV, 20,3. and 4. Cicero shows (a) that it was Brutus who really drafted the edict and (b) that some little time elapsed between the drafting and the publication of it - for in 3 Cicero says that he has recently (nuper) (i.e. a week or two before.) experienced Brutus' stubborn preference for his own literary style in connection with the edict, whereas in 4 he expresses approval of the edict, as if it had been published no more than a day or two before. This lapse of time may be explained, if we imagine that Brutus first composed his

version, having scorned to accept Cicero's help, sent it to Cassius for his approval and assent and then published it after receiving it back from him. I do not feel therefore, that the joint edict of May 9th (circ.) can be allowed to outweigh the very convincing negative evidence of all Cicero's letters from April 13th to June 6th. It remains to be said that in my opinion, when Brutus stopped at Lanuvium, Cassius went on to his own villa at Antium, being joined there later by his colleague. Unless we imagine that Cassius was in Antium, we have no reason to account for Brutus' going there. Had Cassius been at Lanuvium with Brutus, surely they would have remained there instead of going further south to Antium, thus making the journey longer for their friends, who visited them, as, for instance, on June 8th. There is certainly no reason whatever to think that Lanuvium was any less safe for them than Antium: apparently they were never in any danger in the country towns.

3. Where was Brutus between May 20th (circ.) and June 6th?

Again previous writers and editors have all assumed, without real consideration, that after his stay in Cicero's villa at Astura Brutus returned to Lanuvium and joined Cassius later at Antium, or rather accompanied Cassius to Antium. If my assumption, that Cassius was in Antium more or less all the time after his departure from Rome until June, is correct, the question of when he was joined by Brutus must affect that of Brutus' stay at Astura. A glance at the relative positions on the map of Lanuvium, Astura and Antium and the knowledge, that Brutus was at Lanuvium early in May and at Antium early in June (Att. XV, 10 dated June 5th) suggest that, when he stopped at Astura about May 22nd, he had already left Lanuvium finally for Antium to join Cassius. I think that Brutus had decided that he and Cassius would require to be nearer each other to settle their problems for the future; and his immediate reason for joining his colleague may have been the news that Antony was gathering veterans in the city, which was the main theme of the letter they did send jointly to Antony at the end of May. Cicero had heard the news by

May 14th (Att. XIV,22,2 fin.)

The points which have made others think, that Brutus returned from Astura to Lanuvium before doubling back to Antium are these.

1. In Att. XV,4,2,(of May 24th) Brutus has been asking Atticus, when Cicero is expected to arrive at Tusculum from Arpinum; and Cicero assumes that Brutus wants that information because he wishes himself to see Cicero and obtain his advice regarding his proposed visit to Rome on June 1st; Cicero did not look forward to the interview. Now, if Brutus were really intending to see Cicero either at Tusculum or Lanuvium (i.e. either by visiting or entertaining him), it would certainly indicate that Brutus was at Lanuvium, when Cicero was to arrive at Tusculum (i.e. on May 27th.) for Lanuvium and Tusculum are near enough for such a visit, whereas Tusculum and Antium are not. But when Cicero did arrive at Tusculum on May 27th there is no evidence that he saw Brutus either there or at Lanuvium. On the contrary Brutus wrote to him to ask his advice on May 24th or 28th (Att. XV, 5,1.) which suggests that they were not within visiting distance. Cicero's assumption that Brutus' reason for asking the date of his arrival at Tusculum was a desire to see him himself must have been wrong; and his real reason was probably that he wanted to arrange a meeting between Cicero and Lucius Caesar at Nemus near Tusculum. (Att.XV,4b, 5.)

2. On June 2nd or 3rd Cicero, commenting on the "cura annonae" appointment, says (Att. XV,19,1.) that perhaps after all it would be better for Brutus to be working as a corn commissioner than idling by the banks of his Eurotas. This, however, does not mean that Brutus was actually in Lanuvium, when Cicero wrote that sentence. Cicero mentions the Eurotas at Lanuvium, because the greater part of Brutus' time, since he left Rome, had been spent there, and because he

wants to make a playful jest at the grandiloquent nomenclature of Brutus' property. He means "Brutus would be better acting as corn-commissioner than idling by his Eurotas as he has been doing"; not "as he is doing". Further Brutus and Cassius were probably together by this time - witness their joint letter to Antony at the end of May - and if they were at Lanuvium on June 2nd we must ask again why they went to Antium before June 5th, thereby making their visitors' journey to see them on June 8th so much longer.

3. About June 20th Cicero says to Atticus (Att XV,20,2.)

"postea vero quam tecum Lanuvii vidi nostros tantum spei habere ad vivendum quantum accepissent ab Antonio"....

This has been taken to mean that Cicero and Atticus (tecum) saw Brutus and Cassius at Lanuvium at the end of May (i.e. after Cicero's arrival at Tusculum on May 27th), by translating "After you and I saw our heroes possessing no more hope than they received from Antony". The proper translation is "After you and I saw that our heroes had no more hope"... Thus it no more means that Cicero actually saw Brutus with his eyes at Lanuvium than in the previous sentence of the same letter "quo die audivi illum tyrannum in contione 'clarissimum virum' appellare" means that Cicero actually heard with his ears the speech of Antony to which he refers; and Att. XIV,11,1. (contionem legi) shows that Cicero did not hear it.

In the table below I have given a detailed account of Brutus' movements at this time. The three problems I have discussed above are interesting rather than important; and even without the details of proof, I feel that a careful reading of Cicero's letters of the period makes my answers to the questions formulated seem more acceptable on grounds of common-sense. It should be noted further that, if I am right, the letter from Brutus and Cassius to Antony at the end of May (Fam. XI,2.) should be addressed from Antium, not from Lanuvium, as editors give it.

Another interesting little problem in Cicero's letters of this time is the mention he makes in Att. XV,9,2. of an embassy, which Atticus had undertaken. The full reference is "Tu quid egeris tua cum tristi tum etiam difficili ad consiliandum legatione vehementer expecto". ("I am dying to hear how you fared on your advisory embassy - a sad one as well as difficult.") "Consiliandum" is not found elsewhere in Cicero, and Boot suggested "conciliandum", which Tyrrell and Purser, in their note on the passage. (vol.V.p. 292) describe as "tempting but unnecessary and therefore wrong." I agree with them that it is wrong; for the passage, surrounded in the context by references to Brutus, must refer in some way to his affairs and, as there was a definite break between him and Antony, marked by the letter to Antony (Fam XI,2.), neither party was likely to be seeking a reconciliation so soon. "Consiliandum" is therefore the proper reading, meaning that Atticus was intending to visit Brutus and Cassius to consult with them regarding their future. This is the interpretation of Tyrrell and Purser, but I disagree with them in their idea that Brutus and Cassius were at Lanuvium; as I have tried to show in the previous note they were more probably at Antium. The full circumstances were these. On May 30th - 31st Atticus visited Cicero at Tusculum and returned on the 31st to Rome. (Att. XV, 8,1.). That he went to Rome, when he left Cicero is shown by a reference in Att XV,8,1 which Cicero wrote on the day he left - "nisi igiturplures quibus singulis ut quidque accidisset dares litteras". This shows that Cicero knew Atticus to be in Rome, where he would hear of anything as soon as it happened. Further on June 2nd Cicero received a letter from Atticus describing a riot at his house in Rome (Att. XV,9,2.) If therefore, Brutus and Cassius had been

at Lanuvium Atticus would surely have gone over to see them from Tusculum, which was nearby; and, if he had done so, he would have told Cicero of the result of his visit in the same letter, in which he mentioned the riot in Rome, so that there would have been no need for Cicero to ask about it.

I think, therefore, that when Atticus left Cicero at Tusculum on May 31st he returned to Rome, meaning to make a journey in a day or two to Antium, there to consult with Brutus and Cassius and give them his advice in their "unhappy and difficult" position. He did not, however, do so; as Cicero shows in Att. XV, 10, 1, of June 5th or 6th "O iniquum tuum tempus qui ad eum (i.e. Brutus) ire non possis." Perhaps the news of the proposed corn-commissions and the riot at his house, probably the work of veterans angered by his friendship with Brutus, made him feel it inadvisable to go to see the conspirators for a time.

Note 13. Table of Brutus' Movements in Central Italy in
April to August 44 B.C.

April 13th (circ.)	Brutus leaves Rome. (1.)
April 13th (circ.) - May 20th (circ.)	Brutus lives in his villa at Lanuvium. (2.)
May 20th (circ.)	Brutus leaves Lanuvium for Antium to join Cassius. (4.)
May 21st - 23rd (circ.)	Brutus stays in Cicero's villa at Astura. (3.)
May 23rd (circ.)	Brutus returns to Antium. (4.) (not to Lanuvium.).
May 23rd - June 15th (circ.)	Brutus lives at Antium. (5.)
June 15th (circ.)	Brutus visits Naples and returns to Antium. (6.)
June 17th (circ.) - June 25th.	Brutus lives at Antium.
June 25th (6.30.a.m.)	Brutus leaves Antium for Nesis or Naples. (7.)
June 25th - August 10th (say)	Brutus lives at Nesis or Naples. (8.)
August 12th (say)	Brutus leaves Nesis for South. (9.)

- (1.- Att.XIV,7,1.on April 15th Cicero had heard of Brutus being at Lanuvium. see p.119 . : (2.- ibid.10,1. : (3.- ib.XV,3,3,fin.
(4.- I think, in disagreement with others, that when Brutus stayed at Astura, he had finally abandoned Lanuvium and made his headquarters with Cassius at Antium. see pp.123f. and 328f. .
(5.- Att. XV,10 fin. "vel Antium vel Circeios" may suggest a visit, actual or projected by Brutus and/or Cassius to Circeii; if made it was very short for they were both in Antium two or three days later. Att. XV,11,1. : (6.- Plut. Brut.21,3 and Cic. Att. XV,19,1. "Quid autem se refert Brutus? see p.135 and note 2.
(7.- Att. XV,24, "Brutum H. IS profectum; that he had been at Antium until this departure is suggested by the facts that (a) we have no indication of his being elsewhere since Att. XV,19,1 and (b) Servilia had been with him. Att. XV,24 cf. XV,11,1.
(8.- That he was at Nesis is shown by Att. XVI,1,1 and that he had gone there from Antium is shown by the fact that, immediately after he left Antium, Cicero expected to meet him on his own way to Greece i.e. when he reached Puteoli. Att.XV,25. fin. of June 25th cf. XV,27,2: 29,1 fin. For Naples, cf. Att.XVI,7,1, "qui Brutum Neapoli reliquisset," which may mean no more than in the bay of Naples.
(9.- The date is conjectural. It must be after August 4th when Brutus and Cassius wrote to Antony and before August 16th, for on 17th Brutus was at the river Hales.

August 12th - 19th

Brutus at mouth of R.Hales
near Velia.⁽¹⁾

August 20th (circ.)

Brutus leaves Velia and
Italy.⁽²⁾

(1.- Att. XVI, 7, 5.

(2.- For date cf. Cic.Phil. X, 4, 8. "Eundem...vidi Veliae cedentem Italiae. see pp.148 and 341f.

Note 14. Should Brutus have raised war in Italy in 44 B.C.?

It is necessary to examine a criticism levelled against Brutus and Cassius regarding their conduct between April and September 44 B.C. M. Gelzer (P.W. vol.X.p.994-5.) suggests that, had they adopted a more vigorous policy and embarked upon a real campaign for the Republican cause, there would have rallied round them sufficient volunteers to ensure success over the attempts of Antony. The vacillation and general 'faiblesse' of their conduct in these months is frequently criticised also by Ferrero⁽¹⁾ (vol. III.p.49 f. and p.63) and by Tyrrell and Purser (vol. VI.p.CXX f.) by Richards (p.172) and others. I am, however, convinced that the truest appreciation is that of Rice Holmes (A.R.E.p.17 note), who asks "of what use would volunteers have been against veterans?"

Gelzer is quite right in thinking that Brutus and Cassius could have gathered many volunteers to their standard. Even in Rome, as I have suggested, (p.137) there were those, who in private felt bound to their cause and were prevented from giving open expression to their feelings by the overwhelming presence of the veterans and Antony. Even the staunchest believer in Caesar of them all, Matius Calvena, was concerned to have Brutus' good opinion of himself rather than Antony's⁽²⁾.

In the country districts Brutus and Cassius were assured of the support of the large majority of the citizens. Gelzer's evidence of that is, however, not the best available. He cites Cic. ad Brut.2,4,4, where we learn that volunteers were flocking to Brutus in Macedonia in sufficient numbers

(1.- Ferrero's opinion that Cassius was the prime mover of the two in these months is incomprehensible to one who has read Cicero's letters of the period.

(2.- Cic.Att.XIV,5,1."Calvena moleste fert suspectum esse se Bruto."

to make Pansa, the consul, jealous; Cic.Att. XV,1,3, where Cicero says that in Mid-May 44 B.C. Hirtius was as nervous of the arms of "our heroes" as of Antony's; and Dio 46,31,4, which describes the success of the Senate's attempts to gather resources with which to oppose Antony in Cisalpine Gaul. Of these references the last is, as Rice Holmes points out, quite irrelevant, as M.Brutus was not involved in the occasion; the second shows only that Hirtius was afraid that Brutus and Cassius might have recourse to arms, and does not imply that he thought they would have any chance of success; and the first reference deals with a time - April 43 B.C. - when Brutus had already established his position in Macedonia and could offer volunteers some prospect of a fair return for their risks. There is, however, plenty of other evidence that the Republican cause was well supported in Italy. e.g. Att. XIV,6,2, (of April 12th 44 B.C.) - "the country people are jumping for joy"; and ibid. 20,4 - "a leader....which is the one thing the country-towns and loyal citizens want." In Fam. XI,2,1. Brutus mentions that the country people have been assembling in the towns in his support; in Fam XI,19,2 it is seen that Vicetia in Cisalpine Gaul showed great attention to both Brutus and his kinsman, Decimus; from Phil. II,41,107. we learn that Teanum in Campania and Puteoli adopted Brutus and Cassius as patrons; and in Phil.X,3,7 Cicero says that Brutus could have had a "praesidium Italiae cunctae", and later in ad.Brut.1,15,5 that Brutus "declined its services when Italy offered them to him".

These passages leave no room for doubt that, if Brutus

1.- Yet this same Teanum gave a rapturous welcome to Octavian, when he spent a night there early in November of the same year, 44 B.C. (Att.XVI,11,6) He was then assuming the position of a military leader of the Senate's party against Antony - the position which might have been Brutus'. Octavian's chances, however, did not depend entirely on the support of the country people; he had a share of the veterans behind him.

had raised a standard and a war-cry of Republican Liberty, many would have flocked to join him. But their value as evidence to condemn Brutus for inertia is completely discounted by one comment of Cicero's "Cui si esse in urbe tuto licebit, vicimus. Ducem enim novi belli civilis aut nemo sequetur aut ii sequentur qui facile vincantur." ("If, he (i.e. Brutus) can but live safely in the city, we have triumphed. For, as the leader of a fresh civil war, he would have no followers at all or at best only such as would be easily defeated") (Att. XIV,20,3 fin.). The passage is Cicero's estimate of the situation in May 44 B.C. and it agrees completely with the policy which, as I have tried to show, Brutus followed consistently throughout the months of his so-called vacillation in Italy. He realised that a civil war, which his own nature abhorred in any case, would be worse than useless in Italy, where he would have been opposing a mob of untrained enthusiasts against the majority of the Caesar's hardy and disciplined veterans; and Antony's generalship was superior to that of all the conspirators together. Even Brutus' war-cry would have been no more effective than Antony's; for though Brutus might rouse supporters with "Liberty for Rome", Antony could guarantee to call out the veterans and others besides with "Vengeance for Caesar."

For these reasons Brutus is to be congratulated rather than condemned for refusing to be blinded by the zealous enthusiasm of others who had not estimated the situation as well as he had himself. The policy he adopted and maintained in the most praiseworthy manner in the face of a series of bitter disappointments had, as its salient and essential feature, his own return in peace to Rome, and that Cicero, forming his estimate independently, agreed with him

precisely⁽¹⁾, is sufficient proof of the correctness of Brutus' judgement and sufficient justification of the policy he pursued, despite the idleness and apparent feebleness in which it involved him.

(1.- When Cicero later paints a more glowing picture of Italy's enthusiasm in 44 B.C. he has ulterior motives for doing so. In Phil. X,3,7 he is emphasising Brutus' patience in avoiding civil war; and in ad Brut. I,15,5 he is defending his own recent conduct by exaggerating the faults in Brutus'.

Note 15.

Brutus' edict in July 44 B.C.

The story of the issue of Brutus' edict is told on pp.143f. Cicero received a copy of it from the Rhegians at Leucopetra (Phil. I,3,8. Att. XVI,7,1.) and it seems reasonable to identify this edict with the one described by Velleius Paterculus II,62,3. "testati edictis libenter se vel in perpetuo exilio dum reipublicae constaret concordia nec ullam belli civilis praebituros materiam." J.D.Denniston,⁽¹⁾ however, thinks that there were two distinct edicts, the first published in July which Cicero received, the second described by Velleius and published just before the departure of Brutus and Cassius from Italy. He gives three reasons for thinking so - (1) That the context of Velleius suggests that the edict immediately preceded their departure; (ii) That Cicero's description of the edict he received as "plenum aequitatis"⁽²⁾ is a "singular way of characterising such a complete withdrawal from public life"; and (iii) The Rhegians expressed a hope that Brutus and Cassius would shortly be able to return to Rome, as a consequence, presumably, of the edict, which, Denniston thinks, shows that the first edict contained a demand to be allowed to return to Rome. Denniston's theory has already been refuted by Rice Holmes in A.R.E. I, pp.267 f., but, as I do not agree entirely with all of the latter's arguments, I offer an independent criticism.

Denniston's first argument is not convincing; for not only does it assume wrongly, that Brutus and Cassius left Italy together, but as Rice Holmes suggests, Velleius, even

(1.- in his edition of Cic.Phil.I & II (1926)pp.76 f.

(2.- Cic.Phil. I,3,8.

when he aims at chronological exactitude - and I do not think he attempts to be very exact here - is not to be trusted (cf. p. 293 above). Denniston's second point is not properly disposed of by Rice Holmes, who argues that Brutus and Cassius were not really withdrawing from public life but were going to assume the government of important provinces. It is not clear whether the provinces meant are Macedonia and Syria, as the word "important" seems to indicate, or Crete and Cyrene: if the former, I think the statement completely wrong, as Brutus and Cassius had formulated no designs on these provinces when they issued their edict in July. In any case, it is not their intentions that Cicero describes as "plenum aequitatis", but their professed readiness to go into exile. Nevertheless Denniston's argument is unsatisfactory. Cicero could quite well have said, "They ask only relief from the cura annonae (or perhaps from their praetorships), and in turn are willing to go into exile. That's fair enough!" Denniston's third argument is quite absurd. Brutus and Cassius could not demand in an edict leave to return to Rome. Nothing prevented their return except fear of the veterans, which no edict could remove. The hope that they might get back to Rome arose from the atmosphere of optimism temporarily raised by their generous offers and by Antony's apparent friendliness, as shown by his speech in the Forum.

The most cogent reason for thinking that there was only one edict at the time, is the fact that Cicero, in his letters and Philippics, mentions only one.

Note 16. The Date of the Departures of Brutus and Cassius
from Italy.

It is necessary first to say that Brutus and Cassius did not leave Italy together. Dio's account seems to indicate that they did: "Then despairing of the Republic and at the same time fearing him, they departed"⁽¹⁾; and that is also the impression derived from Nicolaus,⁽²⁾ Appian,⁽³⁾ Suetonius⁽⁴⁾ and Florus⁽⁵⁾: From these authors, however, accuracy in such a detail cannot be expected. To them all that matters is that Brutus and Cassius left Italy, and the fact that Cassius did not leave until after Brutus is of no importance. That Cassius did not go with Brutus is proved by Cicero's account "The fleet of Cassius followed a few days afterwards"⁽⁶⁾ (i.e. after Brutus). The question of what Cicero meant by "a few days" is discussed below.

The date of Brutus' departure from Italy seems to be approximately but indubitably fixed by Cicero's statement that, when he saw him at Velia on August 17th, he was then "just leaving Italy"⁽⁷⁾. From that statement we may assume that Brutus left Velia about August 20th, but whether he made any calls at other Italian ports and, if so, how long he stayed at them and when he actually made his last stop on Italian soil, we have no means of knowing. Schmidt,⁽⁸⁾ however, suggests that Brutus was still in Italy as late as the end of October. He bases his idea on his own reconstruction of a very corrupt passage in the letter

(1.- xlvi, 20, 4. : (2.- 31. : (3.- III, 24: IV, 57. : (4.- Aug. 10, 1. : (5.- II, 17, 4. : (6.- Phil. X, 4, 8. "Cassii classis paucis post diebus consequabatur."
(7.- ibid. "Eundem vidi postea Veliae cedentem Italia.". For the date cf. Att. XVI, 7, 5: "Nam XVI Kal. Sept. cum venissem Veliam",...
(8.- Rhein Mus. liii. (1898) p. 235.

Cicero wrote to Atticus on October 25th. "De Bruto te nihil scire dicis, sed Selicia venisse M. Scaptium eumque non qua pompa ad se tamen clam venturum sciturumque me omnia: quae ego statim." ^(1.) The crux at "non qua pompa" does not affect

the present question. The MSS reading "Selicia" is obviously corrupt and the emendation to "Servilia" is practically

certain. ^(2.) The passage thus means that Brutus had sent Scaptius with very confidential news of his activities to his mother, who was to receive his messenger secretly. Even Atticus had no knowledge of his activities and Cicero was to receive information only through Servilia. Schmidt is not satisfied with the simple emendation "Servilia" for "Selicia" and suggests very ingeniously "Servilia Scylletio", assuming that Scaptius had been sent from Scylletium or Scylaceum on the south coast of Bruttium. He thinks that Brutus had left Velia soon after his interview with Cicero on August 17th, but had lingered on until the end of October in the south of Italy. Brundisium being in Antony's hands, he had stayed at Scylaceum. The very ingenuity of the emendation and its very arbitrary assumptions must make it suspect, but there are other objections to the inference it involves. Less than a week later on November 1st or 2nd - Cicero speaks of Brutus as quite off the stage of home politics "O Brute, ubi es? quantam ^(3.) ἐνκαρτίαν amittis!"

which certainly suggests that Brutus had been for some time overseas. Again had Brutus been in Italy still, when Cicero wrote to Cassius, ^(4.) surely he would have made reference to him.

Thirdly, I have shown elsewhere ^(5.) that Brutus must have started

(1.- Att. XV, 13, 4. : (2.- "Eadem" of the next sentence shows it must be a woman's name cf. T. & P.'s note (vol. VI² p. 22). That Scaptius did act in concert with Servilia is shown by Brut. I, 18, 1.

(3.- Att. XVI, 8, 2. : (4.- in September and October. Fam. XII, 2 and 3. : (5.- See pp. 154 note 4. .

his open activities in Greece by the first week in November (for news of them was in Rome by November 28th) and he spent some time in Athens, attending lectures and preserving a peaceful front before that. (1. He must therefore have left Italy for Athens some weeks, at least, before the end of October. Further, if Scaptius had been sent from south Italy, what need was there for all the secrecy of his visit to Servilia? Surely the secrecy was occasioned by the fact that the news Scaptius brought was of the real beginning of Brutus' work in Greece; that is after his interview with Appuleius. (2.

Now, with regard to the rather more debated point of when Cassius left, the question hinges on the interpretation of Cicero's "paucis post diebus". A literal rendering of these words is insisted on by several eminent scholars including Groebe, (3. Charlesworth (4. and J.D. Denniston. (5. It may be said that in the passage, in which he uses the words, it is quite possible that Cicero is sacrificing verbal accuracy for the sake of dramatic effect. He is painting a pathetic picture (6. of the departure of the tyrannicides from the land, whose liberty they had won back, and when he dwells on the shame, which he himself felt that he could return to the city while they must go into exile, it is certainly true that mention of the fact that Cassius had lingered on behind his colleague for more than a few days would have spoiled the effect he was striving for. Admitting the possibility that Cicero does not mean to be taken literally, we may find support for the admission in the letters, which Cicero wrote to Cassius late in

(1.- Plut.Brut.24,1. : (2.- See p.152 . : (3.- op.cit.I, p.431. : (4.- C.A.H. vol X.p.10. : (5.- op.cit.p.118.
 (6.- Phil X,4,8. "O spectaculum.....luctuosum.

September and early in October⁽¹⁾. The editors of the letters, including Schmidt⁽²⁾, Tyrrell and Purser⁽³⁾ and Shuckburgh⁽⁴⁾ agree that Cassius was in Italy, when Cicero wrote these letters to him. That is also the view of Rice Holmes⁽⁵⁾ and Ferrero⁽⁶⁾, but they do not give any detailed arguments from the content of the letters. I think the following points convincing enough. The first of the two letters, written towards the end of September, is an answer to one from Cassius in which he had complimented Cicero on his first Philippic oration, delivered on September 2nd.⁽⁷⁾ Thus Cassius was less than a fortnight's journey from Rome, and where, then, could he be if not in the south of Italy? An exchange of letters, such as they made, is inconceivable if we imagine Cassius to have already gone overseas, and it implies further an intimate knowledge on Cicero's part of Cassius' whereabouts, which he did not possess after the latter's departure. Anyone who compares these two letters with the later group of February, noting in the latter such sentences as "tu quid ageres, quid acturus, ubi denique esses, nesciebam"⁽⁸⁾ or "quo minus de te certum haberemus quid ageres maximeque ubi esses"⁽⁹⁾, and the absence of such expressions in the earlier group, will, I think, believe that the difference was caused by Cassius' departure from Italy. Again would Cicero have spoken of giving Cassius advice after the latter's departure?⁽¹⁰⁾ And, if Cassius had already gone, would he have urged him to decide his future conduct from the dictates of his own heart,⁽¹¹⁾ rather than from Cicero's words?

(1.- Fam.XII,2 and 3. : (2.- Cass.p.22n. : (3.- vol. VI¹.pp.11 and 15) : (4.- op.cit.pp.135 and 137. : (5.- A.R.E.I,p.44 note 7. (6.- op.cit.vol.III.p.107 note †. : (7.- Fam XII,2,1. "laetor tibi probari sententiam et orationem meam." : (8.- Fam.XII,4,2. (9.- ib.5,1. ; (10.- Fam. XII,3,1. "utinam haberem quid vobis darem consilii." (11.- ibid. 2 fin. "malo te ipsum tecum loqui quam nostra dicta cognoscere."

My own opinion, therefore, regarding Brutus' and Cassius' departures from Italy is that Brutus left about August 20th from Velia and Cassius not until some time in October.

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Note 17. The Intentions of Brutus and Cassius when they
left Italy.

The assertion made by Schwartz^(1.) that, when Brutus and Cassius were gathering ships in Campania in June and July 44 B.C., they had already made up their minds to raise a civil war in the East has already been denied by Gelzer^(2.) and Rice Holmes.^(3.) Schwartz based his statement on (a) the gathering of the ships and (b) Antony's accusations that they were in touch with the provinces. Gelzer has shown that Antony's accusations were unfounded, because Antony himself let them drop. His objection, however, to the other reason - that Brutus' ships were small (*minuta navigia* in Att. XVI,1,3.) - has been shown by Rice Holmes to be invalid, because Cicero also says that Brutus' fleet contained some triremes and several excellent ships (*luculenta navigia* in Att. XVI,4,4.)^(4.) while Cassius' fleet was "plane bella". At the same time Rice Holmes agrees with Gelzer against Schwartz, advancing the superior arguments that (a) the ships were intended as protection against pirates and (b) that Brutus' original intention in leaving Italy, on Cicero's direct testimony, had been to go to Asia as corn-commissioner and there is no evidence that he had changed his mind. Yet Rice Holmes elsewhere^(5.) suggests that, when Brutus did leave Italy, he had the definite intention of making an attempt upon Macedonia. The whole question of the intentions of Brutus and Cassius regarding civil war between April and October 44 B.C. is involved enough to require a special note.

(1.- Hermes XXXIII (1898) p.192. : (2.- P.W.X.p.998. : (3.- A.R.E. I.p.197. : (4.- The explanation of these contradictory statements is given on p.140 note 2 . i.e. the first was made before, the second after, Cicero had seen the fleet at close quarters. (5.- op.cit. p.23.

It has been already shown that they never seriously contemplated a war against Antony in Italy,⁽¹⁾ and I have tried to show that that attitude was the correct one.⁽²⁾ What we have to decide is when they formed the intention of starting a war in the East, when in particular, they made up their minds to take possession quite without legal leave, of Macedonia and Syria. In May Brutus had only one alternative in mind, if it should prove impossible for him to return to Rome, - exile, with no thought of war.⁽³⁾ When the insulting "cura annonae" was foisted upon them at the beginning of June, Brutus decided to accept it,⁽⁴⁾ and, when he began to gather ships on June 9th, his proposed destination was Asia,⁽⁵⁾ where his corn commission centred; his ships were meant as a protection against pirates.⁽⁶⁾ We shall see below whether that decision was altered by later events. Cassius' decision regarding the corn-commission is not so easy to determine. At the conference on June 8th, he declared from the start that he would not accept the commission but would go to Achaëa, and, as he had assumed a bellicose expression it looks as if he meant in Achaëa to start a war.⁽⁷⁾ He too began to gather ships and Rice Holmes thinks that his original intention was to go on from Achaëa to Syria and assume the government of that province. I regard that as improbable. Rice Holmes is on his own admission merely inferring from later events; and if Cassius, who was in a vile temper, really meant that he would take action in Syria, why should he say mildly that he would go only to Greece. All that he could have meant by his bluster was that he would defy the decree of the Senate, appointing him corn-commissioner

(1.- p.118f above. : (2.- pp.335ff. above. : (3.- Att. XIV,19,1.
 (4.- ib.XV,11,2 fin. : (5.- ib.12,1. "Noster..in Asiam...ait se
 iturum...Navigia colligebat." : (6.- ib.XVI,1,3: 2,4.:
 (7.- ib.XV,11,1.:12,1. : (8.- op.cit.p.17.

in Sicily and go to Greece. Whether his declaration meant that he would raise a war there or that he meant simply to retire into exile is neither clear nor important; for Cicero, who had the best chance to judge his real intentions, held little account either of his warlike looks or his wild statements, and as late as July 10th did not expect him to go to Greece at all but to Sicily where, as Brutus intended to do in Asia, he would fulfil the humble duties laid upon him. So in July it is obvious in the case of Brutus and probable - though he tried to pretend otherwise - in that of Cassius, that they meant to accept the corn commission and sail to Asia and Sicily, if no change took place to allow them to return to Rome. Antony's accusations that they had been tampering with provinces - not so far as we know, specifically named - were probably baseless because, as mentioned above,⁽¹⁾ Antony did not press his charges beyond a mere slanderous statement. Doubtless they communicated with their friends abroad, especially Trebonius, but not with any improper motive, or perhaps one should say, not with any clearly formulated intentions.

Events at the end of July and beginning of August caused a decided change in their attitude. They had apparently begun to feel that the 'cura annonae' would after all be too irksome, and in the edict of the end of July, besides declaring themselves to be willing to go into exile, asked to be relieved of the commissions. Both their offer and their request, however, were violently rejected by Antony. How did this attitude of his affect their former decision? Where, in short, when they did sail, were they making for? It seems highly probable, as Gelzer, has suggested, that their departure was made with the official cognisance of the Senate. We know that the question of

(1.- Att. XVI, 4, 4. "Nam Cassii classem...non numero ultra fretum."
 (2.- p. 346

travelling expenses for a legate of Cassius was debated in the Senate⁽¹⁾, which means that Cassius must have been at least claiming to be departing on public business⁽²⁾; and Brutus, who had sailed some weeks before him must almost certainly have made similar pretensions. This preservation, therefore, of an official pretext for their voyages precludes the possibility that they were going into exile; and in any case had Brutus been going in peace never to return surely he would have taken his dearly loved wife with him⁽³⁾. It is most likely, therefore, that, when they sailed, they allowed it to be thought that they were going either to Asia and Sicily for the corn commissions, or to their provinces of Crete and Cyrene; but it is uncertain which of the alternatives they claimed as their destination. The leisurely journey Brutus intended to make⁽⁴⁾, especially with a long halt at Athens, might indicate that his professed destination was Crete; since it was very late in the year to take so long for the voyage to Asia, where his duties were for 44 B.C. Yet even in July when his intention had been to go to Asia as corn commissioner, he had meant to make a leisurely voyage.

Their pretended destination was, however, unimportant, if, as I think probable, it was not their real one. We have to decide if, when Brutus sailed from Italy, he was making

(1.- Fam. XII, 3, 2. : (2.- Gelzer (P.W. X.p.999) has pointed this out but he does not make the statement, which Rice Holmes (op. cit.p.44 note 7.) attributes to him, that they had departed to Macedonia and Syria with the Senate's consent, but merely that they had left Italy with it.

(3.- I anticipate a possible objection, based on Cic.Brut.I, 17, 7 and I, 9. that Porcia was too ill to travel, by suggesting that Plutarch, using her son's memoir, was bound to have mentioned the fact in his detailed account of her parting from her husband (Brut, 23.)

(4.- Att. XVI, 4, 4. "tarde est navigaturus consistens in locis pluribus."

not for Asia or Crete, as he claimed, but for Macedonia by way of Athens; or in other words we must decide whether his decision to take over Macedonia was made in Italy before sailing or in Athens after and as a result of his encouraging reception there. The Greek historians give us a little guidance. (1. Plutarch seems to indicate that his attendance at lectures in Athens was a mere cloak for his military preparations, which must mean that the latter were decided upon beforehand. (2. But Dio's account reads as if the decision were made in Athens. (3. Appian seems rather to agree with Plutarch though his account is vague. When, however, we realise the mistakes Dio makes in other points in this connection - in saying that Brutus and Cassius left Italy together and in attributing their departure to fear of Octavian (4. - we naturally tend to prefer Plutarch and Appian. Brutus himself admitted that Appuleius, the quaestor of Asia, was the first man to encourage him to attempt to gather an army, (5. but this cannot mean that it was Appuleius, who put the thought into his mind; for, even before he met him, he must have been feeling his way towards beginning the war, since he went to Carystus deliberately to meet Appuleius and try his feelings. (6. All that Brutus' compliment to him means is that it was he, who gave him a real start, by his gift of money, in preparations for a war he had already decided upon either recently in Athens or earlier in Italy. Events in Italy in July - August must also be taken into consideration. Antony's recent conduct both in its general resemblance, in

(1.- Brut.24,1-2. : (2.- xlvii,20,4:21,1. : (3.- IV,57.

(4.- Dio xlvii,20,3. Nicolaus, (31) makes the same mistake regarding Octavian. It is obvious from Cicero's letters in April to July 44 B.C. that Octavian did not bulk large in the thoughts of the tyrannicide: Antony was their arch-enemy, when they left.

(5.- Cic. Phil. X,11,24. : (6.- Plut.Brut.24,3.

a less dignified manner to Caesar's, and in particular by his threats and insults to themselves in edict and letter, had, on the evidence of their own reply to him,^{1.} put the idea of civil war against him into the minds of Brutus and Cassius, and they were bound moreover to realise the probability of clash between Antony and Decimus Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul.^{2.} I think, therefore, that before they left they had made a definite decision to raise forces in the East to oppose Antony, and that when Brutus sailed his destination was not Crete or Asia, as he may have pretended, but Athens and thence ultimately Macedonia. His intention was to make a thorough examination of the attitude of people in Athens and Macedonia, and it was in keeping with his nature, that he should not reveal his true intentions, until he was sure that his plans had a chance of success.

One more point remains to be considered. If Brutus' halt at Athens was for purposes of reconnaissance with a view to seizing Macedonia, why did Cassius, whose eventual hopes lay in the more distant Syria, remain in Italy for six or seven weeks after Brutus had gone^{3.} The reason may have been some private concern, of which we have no notice; but had it been so, we should have expected some reference to it in the letters Cicero wrote to him during his delay.^{4.} I suggest that his delay in starting was part also of their plan to keep their intention secret as long as possible to prevent Antony or Dolabella from taking steps to oppose their attempts. It was possible for Brutus to sail to Athens and

1.- Cic.Fam.XI,3,3."Nos si alia hortarentur,ut bellum civile suscitare vellemus,litterae tuae nihil proficerent."

2,- cf. Cic.Att,XV,10. "Si vero aliquid de Decimo gravius,quae nostris vita..?" written as early as June 5th or 6th.

3.- See Special Note 16 p.343ff. : 4.- Fam. XII, 2 and 3.

stop there for a time while still keeping up the fiction that he was on his way to Crete or Asia. Cassius, on the other hand, could hardly sail towards Syria or even accompany Brutus to Athens and still claim to be going to Sicily or Cyrene. In order, therefore, to keep their intentions secret until Brutus had time to find out the extent of his chances, Cassius remained behind and did not sail until October.

Note 18.

The Allocation of Macedonia and Syria for 43 B.C.

In connection with Brutus' activities in Macedonia in 44 -43 B.C. the question has been asked, what legal right he had to the province. The answer is undoubtedly that he had none at all, but before we can give the reason for that, the whole problem of the allocation of Macedonia and, in a less degree, of Syria must be reviewed. The crux of the problem concerning Macedonia was solved when it was shown that Appian (III,2:7:8:12:24. IV,57) and Florus (II, 17,4) were wrong in saying that Caesar before his death had promised the province to Brutus for his pro-praetorian year and Syria, for the same year, to Cassius. Unfortunately the fact that they were proved wrong was for a long time not readily accepted despite the convincing arguments of Schelle⁽¹⁾; Schwartz⁽²⁾; Groebe⁽³⁾; and Sternkopf⁽⁴⁾. It is now, however, widely admitted by scholars⁽⁵⁾. The best of their arguments are these. In Att. XV,9,1. (ait eodem tempore (i.e. on June 5th 44 B.C.) decretum iri ut et eis (i.e. Brutus and Cassius) et reliquis praetoriis provinciae decernantur) Cicero shows that until June 5th no provinces for 43 B.C. had been allotted to the praetors of 44 B.C. If Caesar had provided that Brutus and Cassius were to receive Macedonia and Syria, and if that provision had been altered after his death in favour of Antony and Dolabella - as it must have been if it were made - mention of the fact was bound to have been made in Cicero's correspondence. Further if Brutus and Cassius had ever had any such connection with Macedonia and Syria, Cicero would certainly

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- (1.- Beit.zur Gesch.d.Todeskampfes d. röm Rep. (1891).
 (2.- Hermes XXXIII (1898) pp.226-7. : (3.- D.-G.IV,p.434.
 (4.- Hermes xlvii (1912) pp. 340-347.
 (5.- e.g. Rice Holmes A.R.E. p.189 et al. C.A.H. vol. X.pp. 8 - 9 :10.

have mentioned it in the tenth and eleventh Philippics, in which he attempted to justify their seizure of these provinces. These proofs are quite conclusive and hardly require the culminating suggestion of Sternkopf⁽¹⁾, indicating how Appian came to make his mistake. He suggests that Appian in his authority read a list of the conspirators who held provinces after Caesar's death - Decimus Brutus, Trebonius, Tillius Cimber, Brutus and Cassius - and assumed that, as the first three had received theirs from Caesar, the last two had also⁽²⁾. It may be said in passing that Fam. XII,4,2. (Dolabella...vituperabatur...quod tibi (i.e. Cassius) tam cito succederet) cannot be regarded as evidence that Cassius had any legal right to Syria. The proper explanation of the passage is given by Tyrrell and Purser in their note on it: it is a witticism⁽³⁾.

When that point - Appian's error - is disposed of, the history of the different provincial allocations made in 44 B.C. so far as they concern Brutus, is simple.

1. Macedonia was allotted to Antony and Syria to Dolabella, some time before April 18th.

cf. Appian III,8:12:24:25:27. IV,57 et al. Dio xlv,15,2: xlvii,29,1. cf. Cic.Fam.XIV,9,3 and Nic.30 who only mentions Antony. Phil. VII,1,3 also shows that Antony had at one time had Macedonia to his name.

The date "before April 18th" is fixed by Fam. XIV,9,3 of that day, where Cicero dismisses the prospect of Parthian war with "Sed Dolabella et Nicias viderint". i.e. Dolabella and his freedman can attend to a Parthian war, since they will be looking after Syria. It is natural to suppose that the two consuls received their provinces at the same time.

(1.- l.c. pp.344-5. : (2.- Hall (edition of Nicolaus p. 95) also suggests attractively that Appian's error may have been caused by the vague phrase of Nicolaus (28 fin) "Μακεδονία βεούτος ἐφ' ἑδρας ἦν" or by a similar phrase in Nicolaus' source. : (3.- op.cit. vol.VI,p.70.

Whether the allotment of Macedonia was made by Caesar before his death, as Schwartz⁽¹⁾ and Ferrero⁽²⁾ think, or by the Senate between the Ides of March and April 18th is from our point of view unimportant, but I hardly think that the arguments of these two scholars have disposed of Dio's definite statement. Syria need concern us no further as no alteration was made in its allocation.

2. Antony exchanged Macedonia for the two Gauls by a lex tribunicia on June 1st or 2nd.

cf. Livy, epit.117, where the lex is called "de permutatione provinciarum". and Cic. Phil.V,3,7 where it is called "lex tribunicia de provinciis." That these two descriptions indicate the same law is simply proved by Sternkopf in Hermes⁽³⁾ xlvi. pp.357-77.

The exchange is mentioned also by Appian III,30:37:49:63 et al. and Dio xlv,25,1:xlvi,23,4, who, however, err in thinking that Cicero was in Rome at the time, while Dio makes the additional mistake of assuming that the exchange was made in the Senate.

Besides receiving the two provinces of Gaul, Antony also had his proconsular period of command extended to five years, and was allowed to retain the Macedonian legions⁽⁴⁾.

3. On June 5th Brutus and Cassius were given the "cura annonae" in Asia and Sicily by the Senate for the rest of 44 B.C.

cf. Cic.Att. XV,9,1:10:11,1-2:12,1.

Appian III,6 fin.

Servilia undertook to have the commission revoked; but there is no indication of the extent or result of her efforts. We have however, already seen that she was almost certainly unsuccessful⁽⁵⁾. At the same meeting of the Senate

(1.- Hermes XXXIII (1898) p.187. : (2.- op.cit.vol III.pp.326-8.
 (3.- cf. also Rice Holmes A.R.E. p.192-196 : (4.- see page 128.
 (5.- see page 133 note 3.

it had been expected that the praetors of 44 B.C., including Brutus and Cassius, would receive their provinces for 43 B.C.^{1.}, but the actual allocation was postponed.

4.-For 43 B.C. Crete and Cyrenaica (?) were allotted to Brutus and Cassius between July and September 19th, perhaps on August 1st.

That Crete was the province Brutus received is certain from Cic.Phil.II,38,97 and 13,31; XI,12,27: Plutarch,Brut.19,3.

Appian III,8,29^{2.}: Dio xlvii,21,1; xlv,32,4; xlvi,23,3: Nicolaus 28.

Regarding Cassius' province there is not the same unanimity; Plutarch (Brut.19,3) and Appian (III,8,29) agree in giving him Cyrenaica^{3.}; while Dio (xlvii,21,1) gives him Bithynia, and Nicolaus Illyricum. We can only go by the majority. The date of this allocation cannot be definitely fixed except that it was certainly before September 19th, when the second Philippic was supposed to be delivered, and after June 5th, when the allocation of praetorian provinces was first on the agenda of the Senate. Denniston^{4.} thinks that they may actually have been allotted on the earlier date, but the fact that Cicero says nothing of it in his letters of the time makes it improbable in the extreme. He would certainly have made the receipt of such trivial posts another cause for complaint. Sternkopf^{5.} suggests that we may put the date after the Ludi Apollinares (i.e. after July 13th) on the attractive grounds that Phil.II,13,31. is chronologically accurate. Groebe^{6.} suggests as the occasion the meeting of Senate on August 1st, which is probable enough but not provable.

1.-Cic.Att. XV,9,1. quoted above p. 353. .

2.- cf. Mommsen in Hermes XXVIII (1893) p.602 notes 3 and 4.

3.- That in Brut.19,3 Plutarch by $\Delta\iota\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\eta$ means Cyrenaica is shown a comparison of Plut.Ant.54,4. with Dio xlix,41,3.

4.- op.cit.p.174. : 5.- Hermes xlvii (1912) pp.384 f.

6.- op.cit.IV,p.34 note 1.

5. Macedonia was given to C. Antony in Senate on November 28th.

cf. Cic.Phil. III,10,26:X,5,10-12.

Cicero claims (l.c. 24-25) that the meeting was illegal because it was held too late in the day,⁽¹⁾ and that the lots were not fairly drawn. In the same meeting, Crete and Cyrenaica were reallocated⁽²⁾ because Brutus and Cassius were known to have now no intention of occupying them. This re-allocation is of some importance for fixing the time of Brutus' beginning of open activities in Macedonia. News of these must have been in Rome before November 28th and we may therefore presume that they had been made obvious by about the beginning of November.⁽³⁾

6. On December 20th, after Cicero's Third Philippic, the Senate decreed that all provinces were to remain under their present governors until further arrangements were made.

cf. Cic.Phil.III,15,38 "itemque a ceteris, qui provincias obtinent, obtineri ex lege Julia quoad ex senatus consulto cuique eorum successum sit."

Thus it appears that, as a reading of Cicero's Tenth and Eleventh Philippics prepares us to expect, Macedonia was never at any time, linked with Brutus' name, nor Syria with Cassius'. Their seizure, therefore, of these provinces was plainly without legal rights. Syria, until Dolabella was outlawed at the end of February or early in March 44 B.C.,⁽⁴⁾ belonged to him, and Cassius had begun his campaign to gain it long before that date. Macedonia from April until the beginning of June had been earmarked for M. Antony; when he on June 1st or 2nd gave it up for the provinces of Gaul it had remained vacant until November 28th, when it was allotted to C. Antony. This allocation was, however, declared illegal and overturned by the decree of December 20th. It is obvious, therefore, that when Brutus first

(1.- cf. Seneca. ad Seren. de tranq. an. 17,7.: (2.- Cic.Phil.III,10 25-26. cf. Sternkopf. Hermes L.C. pp.393-397. Rice Holmes A.R.E. I. pp.200-201. : (3.- See p. 154 and note. 3 .
(4.- cf. Groebe op.cit.IVp.445-446 and Rice Holmes A.R.E. I.p. 206.

turned his active attention to the province he had no legal right to do so, but we have to notice also that, when he and C. Antony fought for it in the early months of 43 B.C., Antony's legal claim was no better than his own. The decree of December 20th had removed it from his care and had appointed Hortensius to retain his command, Hortensius, of course, had no right in law to hand over his command to Brutus as he did.

It is hardly necessary to say that legal rights had, as so often, to give way before the wider issues. In taking over Macedonia and keeping C. Antony from it, Brutus was unquestionably acting in the interests of the Republic, and that is all the justification his conduct requires. Cicero in Phil XI, 12, 27-28 expresses the situation precisely: "Neque enim est (Brutus) in provinciam suam Cretam profectus; in Macedoniam alienam advolavit....Qua lege? quo iure? Eo, quod Iuppiter ipse sanxit, ut omnia, quae reipublicae salutaria essent legitima et iusta haberentur."

Note 19. The Authenticity of Cicero's Letters to M.Brutus,
especially I 16 and 17.

The course of the controversy, which ranged from the middle of the eighteenth to the close of the nineteenth century, regarding the authenticity of the extant portion of the correspondence between Cicero and Brutus is reviewed in an excellent summary in vol VI¹ of Tyrrell and Purser's edition of Cicero's letter. The controversy may now be described as closed and modern historians, without important exception, agree in accepting the letters as a source of historical evidence. It is therefore unnecessary for me to do more than declare my own belief in the genuineness of most of the letters and to refer, in particular, to the masterly defence of them by L. Gurlitt in 1883, which vindicated them in such a way as to convert completely P. Meyer, who had only two years before published what is considered the best attack ever made on them.

At the same time doubts still exist regarding two of the letters I, 16 and 17, in which Brutus abuses Cicero for his attitude towards Octavian in the summer of 43 B.C. Gurlitt believed that these two, with the exception of the final section (7) of 17, were the work of a later rhetorician, and even gives a suggestion regarding the source on which they were founded. I find myself unable to attain such certainty as he expresses, but after long consideration I have decided not to use their contents as evidence.

1.- pp. CXXV - CXXXI. : (2.- Die Briefe Ciceros an M.Brutus auf ihre Echtheit geprüft. Philologus.Suppl.IV.(1883) pp.551-630. : (3.- Untersuchung über die Frage der Echtheit des Briefwechsels.Cicero ad Brutum (Zurich 1881).
 4.- Jarhb. (1892) pp.413 ff. see p.191 note 1.
 5.- in Philol. suppl. V. (1886) pp. 591 ff.

Even the most casual reader of Cicero's 'letters to Brutus' must be struck by the enormous difference in tone and manner between these two letters and the seven others from Brutus' hand. Their complete lack of restraint (especially in 16) results in a display of feelings, a virulent abusiveness and a fecundity of words, which are unparalleled in the other letters. My suspicion of them dates back to my own first very casual reading of them and, though it has grown in the interval, I am unable to give real tangible grounds for it. That in itself is not surprising. A forger would certainly be familiar enough with the circumstances of Cicero, Octavian and Brutus to avoid blunders in matters of fact in such compositions as these are. So far, therefore, as matter goes, there is, I think, nothing to be said either for or against the letters and even obvious omissions, such as mention of Lepidus or his children, can be explained by the unusual circumstances of the letters. I have the same distrust of arguments based on style and language; for we have too few examples of Brutus' compositions to form any trustworthy estimate of what his style might be like under any given conditions. I am forced therefore, to defend my suspicion of these letters solely on the ground that inspired it, that their contents and circumstances do not accord with my estimate of what Brutus' character was. In doing so I am aware of the dangerous nature of that argument and of the risk that it may recoil on my own head and be used to prove my estimate of his character false. But that estimate is based on careful consideration of his actions and declarations during his whole life, and even if the letters were proved incontestably to be genuine I should still feel no need to alter it largely. As it is, I think it highly improbable that the man I see in Brutus wrote these letters.

The points in them, which particularly offend me, are these (i) I think it inconceivable that Brutus, who never

found it easy to give vent to his feelings should suddenly discover a prolific well of spiteful sarcasm, from which to draw the most violent abuse. (ii) The *raisons d'etre* of the letters are insufficient to explain the bitterness in them, especially when we see that Brutus had previously rebuked Cicero for his attitude to Octavian in mild, modest and dignified terms. i.e. in I,4 2 fin - 3. of about May 7th and I, 4,4-5 of May 15th.⁽¹⁾ (iii) The circumstances immediately producing the letters are also incredible. Tyrrell and Purser date 17 in the first half of June 43 B.C. and 16 in the middle of July.⁽²⁾ The story behind the letters is then this. Cicero complained to Atticus, who passed on the complaint to Brutus, that he had not heard from the latter congratulating him on the successful issue at Mutina.⁽³⁾ Brutus thereupon replies to Atticus (not Cicero!) with 17 accusing Cicero of overindulgence towards Octavian. Atticus besides passing on this letter to Cicero or Tiro - for how else could it have been published? - sends on to Brutus a quotation from a letter of Cicero to Octavian showing the lengths to which his indulgence went. This moves Brutus to the most vehement indignation and, though it is now some five or six weeks, since he wrote to Atticus and he had in the interval written in an ordinary manner to Cicero,⁽⁴⁾ he now sends off 16 to him. Apart from the suggested improbabilities, it is inconceivable that Atticus who had always been sincerely concerned to preserve friendship between Brutus and

1.-These two letters, for instance, do not even mention Octavian by name, whereas it occurs with brutal directness throughout 16 and 17. : 2.- T. & P. follow Müllemeister (*Bemerkungen zur Streitfrage über die Echtheit der Brutusbriefe I,16 and 17.* Emmerich 1897.) : 3.- Yet Brutus did so in I,4,1 which must have been in Rome by about May 17. Apparently T. & P. had overlooked this letter in their note on p.190. 4.- I,13. of July, 1st.

Cicero, should thus deliberately - he was bound to see the effect of his actions - embroil them in a bitter quarrel.

These arguments are not, I know, conclusive. Brutus may, under unusual circumstances, have found unusual freedom of expression; the mildness of his earlier rebukes may have been altered by later conditions; and Atticus may have tired of acting peacemaker. But sufficient doubt is, I think, inspired by them to render the letters too suspect for admission as evidence. It is to be noted that Tyrrell and Purser, in the statement of their opinion that the letters are genuine, are forced also to fall back on arguments based on considerations of character. They have not considered the implications regarding Atticus, but of Brutus they say, "and what we know about his character and the general tone of his correspondence would certainly incline us to consider them (i.e. I, 16 and 17) the works of Brutus^{(1.} ..."; and "when a feeble man gives way to irritability he is generally verbose."^{(2.} In short, I disagree with them on the question of these letters because I disagree with their estimate of Brutus. I do not think he was "a feeble man",

(1.- op.cit.vol.VI¹.p.CXXXI note 18. : (2.- ibid. p.180.

Note 20. The Dates of the Composition and Receipt in Rome
of Brutus' First Despatch from Illyricum.

The determination of these dates depends upon the date of the delivery of Cicero's Tenth Philippic and of the composition of his letter to Cassius - Fam XII,5. For Phil. X was delivered at a meeting of Senate, called by Pansa immediately on receipt of Brutus' despatch⁽¹⁾; and Fam. XII,5, as its references to Brutus' successes show⁽²⁾, was written immediately after the delivery of Phil X.

Ganter⁽³⁾ argues that Fam. XII,5, and therefore Phil. X, must be dated very soon after Phil. XIII and IX, which were delivered on February 2nd and 3rd⁽⁴⁾, because the events of these days were obviously very vivid in Cicero's mind, when he wrote Fam XII,5⁽⁵⁾. Accordingly he dates that letter and the speech, Phil. X, on February 4th, arguing further that the Senate did meet on that day⁽⁶⁾, and that the Senators' surprise at being summoned on the occasion of the delivery of Phil.X⁽⁷⁾, was caused by the fact that they had met on the previous day. He dates the receipt of Brutus' despatch, therefore, on February 4th, and, since it took about 10 or 11 days for a letter to reach Rome from Dyrrachium⁽⁸⁾, thinks it was composed on January 23rd, insisting that there was ample time by then, since the beginning of the year, for the campaign in Illyricum to have reached the stage, at which Brutus sent his despatch i.e. with C. Antony in Apollonia and Brutus in command of Dyrrachium⁽⁹⁾. But, as Tyrrell and Purser⁽¹⁰⁾

1.- Phil.X,1,1. "ne minimam quidem moram interposuisti"...

2.- Fam. XII,5,1. : (3.- Jahrb. (1894) pp.613-618.

4.- cf. Phil.VIII,2,6 with Nonius p. 538 no.26-27 (the fragment of a letter from Cicero to Octavian.

5.- cf. Fam.XII,5,2-3 "Erat firmissimus...improbi." and Fam. X 28,(of Feb.2nd.),3, "habemus fortem...egregii." : (6.- cf. Nonius

1.c. : (7.- Phil. X,1,1. "cum hodierno die senatum te habiturum non arbitraremur. : (8.- Brut.II,4,1.

9.- See p. 160 above. : (10.- op.cit.vol VI²,p.76.

suggest, that leaves no time at all for delays and we know of at least two certain causes of delay - C. Antony's pause in his journey to Macedonia to collect some lapsed inheritances ^(1.) and Brutus' illness at Dyrrachium. ^(2.) Rice Holmes ^(3.) advances further and convincing arguments against Ganter's reasoning: (i) That it is no more than guesswork to assume that Fam. XII,5 came very soon after Phil VIII & IX of February 3rd: "Doubtless when Cicero wrote to Cassius the events of February 2nd and 3rd (though he did not refer to them) were 'vividly present to his mind', but whoever reads the letter without prejudice will see no necessity for concluding that it was written immediately afterwards". It is surely true that Cicero could retain a vivid recollection of important events for at least a week. (ii) Even if from Nonius we assume ^(4.) that the Senate did meet on February 4th, there is nothing to show that Phil. X was delivered at that meeting. (iii) The surprise of the Senators at being summoned on the occasion of Phil. X could be explained otherwise than by the assumption that they had met on the previous day.

Both Tyrrell and Purser and Rice Holmes prefer to date Phil. X later than Ganter and the former date the letter to Cassius (Fam. XII,5) in "February (towards middle)" ^(5.). February 13th is the date given by Schmidt who argues that the first line of Fam. XII,5 shows that winter was past when it was written and spring was supposed to begin on Feb. 7th, and ^(6.) ^(7.) ^(8.)

(1.) - Phil. X, 5, 11. : (2.) - Plut. Brut. 25, 3-4. : (3.) - A.R.E. I. pp. 205-6. : (4.) - Nonius l.c. The assumption is by no means inevitable. All that Nonius tells is that Cicero descended to the Forum on Feb. 4th wearing the 'saga': Ganter thinks it reasonable to assume that he was coming from a session of the Senate. : (5.) - op.cit. vol. VI¹. p. 76. : (6.) - de Epistolis et a Cassio datis (Lipsiae 1877) p. 27. (7.) - "Hiemem credo adhuc prohibuisse..." (8.) - Varro. R.R. I, 28f.

his estimate is accepted by Ferrero.⁽¹⁾ I think with the others that Ganter has not proved his case for February 4th as the date of Phil. X, but hesitate to be so precise as Schmidt and Ferrero. No more can be said with confidence than that the probable date for Phil. X, and therefore for the receipt of Brutus' first despatch is about the middle of February and, therefore, the despatch was probably written about the beginning of February.

(1.- op.cit. vol. III, p.132. note //.

Note 21. Brutus' Campaign against C. Antony in Illyricum.

My account of the campaign in Illyricum is founded on the versions of Plutarch (Brutus 26.) Dio (xlvii,21) and Appian (III.79) with the support of Cicero in the Philippics (X,6,13: XI,11,26). The accounts of the three Greeks are as usual not exactly similar but the version, I have given in the text, is a reasonable compromise between them. The one irreconcilable point in their stories is Dio's statement the Brutus shut up C. Antony in Apollonia and besieged the city, Antony eventually being taken by betrayal, whereas Plutarch and Appian agree that the struggle ended in mobile warfare. The evidence of Cicero, where he talks of the struggle for Byllis, Amantia and Oricum, all lying South of Apollonia, shows beyond doubt that Dio's statement is wrong.

There are two unsolvable problems.

(i) C. Antony's movements before he was in Apollonia.

(a) Did he land at Dyrrachium from Italy, come to terms with Vatinius there, leave him there to look after the north part of the province and himself move to Apollonia to secure the South?

or (b) Did he land in the South at, say, Oricum and move northwards, securing what he could on the way and reaching only as far as Apollonia, when Brutus reached and took Dyrrachium?

I incline to think the latter suggestion the more probable. Apart from the fact that he had secured some hold on the towns in the south, it seems most likely that, if once he had effected a junction with Vatinius at Dyrrachium, he would have preferred to await Brutus' arrival there with united forces. (1.

(1.- Rice Holmes whose account of this campaign is very sketchy is wrong when he says (A.R.E.p.45) that Brutus drove Antony from Dyrrachium to Apollonia; there is no authority for that statement. And in his account of the end of the campaign he incomprehensibly follows Dio.

(ii) The battle between C. Antony and young Cicero near Byllis.

How did Antony's retreating force come to attack a position already occupied by the pursuers? Did Brutus send Cicero ahead and round the flank of Antony to occupy an important position in front and hold him up there? Or did Antony make a show of holding Byllis and thus make his pursuers halt and take up a position?

Tyrrel and Purser^(1.) seem to think the former view more probable as they speak of Cicero defeating Antony "who attempted to force a pass at Byllis." I rather favour the second version, as apparently does Gelzer^(2.) when he talks of Antony attempting a 'sortie' (ausfallsversuch). It does not, however, seem possible to secure any evidence for either idea.

(1.- Cicero's Correspondence vol V. p.lxii and VI p.XXXVI, note 97.

(2.- P.W. vol X. p.1003.

Note 22. Brutus' dealings with Lentulus in March-April 43 B.C.

Lentulus, quaestor of Trebonius in Asia, had in some manner escaped the attentions of Dolabella, when his governor met his death, and had fled - though he himself judging from his own extant letters would not have used that word - to Brutus in Macedonia. (1.) He must have reached there about the middle of March at the latest - for I think he must have left again by 20th March - and told Brutus of Trebonius' death and of Dolabella's rapacious cruelty in the province. (2.) It is probably his description, which, if we may judge from his letters to Cicero and the Senate, would be a very vivid one, that Brutus refers to when he says "Asiam. quam sic vexari a Dolabella audio ut iam non videatur crudelissimum eius facinus interfectio Treboni." (3.) Brutus may have heard of the murder of Trebonius before Lentulus' arrival at Dyrrachium - it was known in Rome by the end of February or beginning of March - but the details probably came to him on Lentulus' arrival. (4.) He appears to have written at once to pass them on to Cicero along with his own recent news but by April 1st had had no reply to his letter. (5.) This complaint seems to show that the letter containing his comments on Trebonius' death was written at latest on 10th or 11th March; for it took normally ten days for a letter to travel from Dyrrachium to Rome, so that Brutus could not complain of receiving no answer until at least three weeks after writing. This does not however date Lentulus' arrival at Brutus' headquarters beyond

(1.- Cic.Fam.XII,14 and 15. : (2.- ib.15,1: 14,1.
 (3.- Cic. ad Brut. II,3,5. : (4.- cf. Groebe D.-G.op.cit.
 vol.IV.p.445-6 and Rice Holmes A.R.E. p.206.
 (5.- Cic. ad Brut. II,3,1.

dispute; for we have no proof that, when he wrote his first letter about Trebonius (on March 10th or 11th), Lentulus was already with him. I think it probable, however, for if Brutus' news had come from Rome, he would not have immediately written about it to Cicero, who was bound to know it.

Brutus told Lentulus that, in consequence of the Senate's decree, he himself would not go to Asia until the war at Mutina was settled and news seems to have come from Asia that Dolabella had left the province from fear of Brutus' intervention. Lentulus thereupon left Brutus about March 20th, to return to his province, of which since Trebonius' death he automatically became deputy-governor. He travelled by the Aegean route and during his voyage he heard that Dolabella's fleet was in Lycia and that the Rhodians had ships drawn up and ready for action. He jumped to the conclusion that, as the Rhodians had a treaty with Rome to recognise the same enemies, they were preparing to oppose Dolabella, and he at once wrote to Brutus to that effect. The latter received his note just after he had sent off Brut. II,3, to Cicero on April 1st and immediately wrote of its news, either on the same day or on the next, to other friends in Rome; for his letter to them was in Rome and its contents known to Cicero, when the latter wrote Brut. II,4 in answer to Brutus' letter of April 1st. The impression Brutus had gathered from Lentulus' message was that Dolabella had tried to land at Rhodes and had been kept out; in other words, that he had left Asia:

(1.- Cic. Fam. XII, 14, 1. : (2.- *ibid.* 15, 1.
 (3.- The reason for the date is that on April 1st Brutus at Dyrrachium received a message sent by Lentulus, from the Aegean. : (4.- Cic. Fam. XII, 15, 1-2. : (5.- *ibid.* 2. "Rhodiosque navis compluris instructas et paratas in aqua habere." : (6.- *ibid.* : (7.- This paragraph is mainly conjecture in so far as it attempts to explain the contradictions in Brutus' letters of April 1st regarding Dolabella's whereabouts as being caused by a message from Lentulus. It is, I think, reasonable conjecture, since Lentulus did make the mistake about Dolabella and the Rhodians which Brutus repeated in his letters to Rome, that Brutus got his news from Lentulus.

That Cicero's son was in Ambracia in winter quarters some time before the beginning of April is made certain - assuming that my deductions regarding the date of Lentulus' stay with Brutus are correct⁽¹⁾ - by the account of Lentulus who mentions that he was absent on that duty when he himself visited Brutus at Dyrrachium.⁽²⁾ From the wording of Lentulus' statement, "iam in hiberna cum equitibus erat profectus", I think that he had gone not long before Lentulus' arrival. Thus he did not spend the winter in Ambracia but had been sent there, with an escort of cavalry, to prepare the troops and bring them to Macedonia for the summer's campaign. It hardly seems necessary in the light of Lentulus' statement, to say that Cicero was sent before the beginning of April and therefore considerably earlier than Brutus' decision, made about May 10th, to leave Illyricum and move eastwards.⁽³⁾

An interesting point emerges in connection with this in Cicero's letters. When on April 1st Brutus said to Cicero, "Your son is giving me such satisfaction by his industry endurance, hard work and great courage, in short by every kind of service, that he seems to me never to forget for a moment whose son he is,"⁽⁴⁾ he did not mention that the young man had gone to Ambracia on service. When Cicero wrote in reply on April 12th, "If my son has all the good in him you describe, I am, of course, as delighted as I am bound to be, and if you exaggerate it from affection for him, the mere fact of your being attached to him rejoices me more than I can say"⁽⁵⁾, he was still ignorant of his son's departure from Dyrrachium.

(1.- See note 22. above. : (2.- Fam.XII,14,8.

(3.- For what I consider to be the true circumstances of young Cicero's departure to Ambracia see p.185 note 1. above.

(4.- ad Brut. II,3,6. : (5.- ad Brut. II,4,6.

But later he learned of it, perhaps at last from his son who was notoriously a bad correspondent, and was displeased. Therefore he wrote to Brutus on April 16th "I should like you, my dear Brutus? to keep my son, Cicero, as much by your side as possible. He will find no better training in virtue than the observation and imitation of yourself." Like many another father he felt that a nice job in Staff H.Q. was the best place for his son. Unless some such motive lies behind that passage, it is mere meaningless twaddle, especially as he has in the lines before it been rating Brutus for being soft hearted towards C. Antony. Brutus himself did not mention young Cicero's absence to his father until May 15th, and then only in answer to Cicero's request that he should have a talk with the young man regarding his going to Rome for the priestly elections.

(1.- ibid.5,6. : (2.- ibid. I,4,6.

Note 24.Brutus in Thrace.

It has been argued that Dio (xlvii,25,1) and Appian IV,75 tell the same story. Dio says that in 42 B.C. "Brutus took over the territory of Sadales - for he had died childless (ἀπίαις) and left it to the Romans": Appian's story is "Polemocratia, the wife of one of the chieftains (βασιλίσκων), whose husband had been killed by his enemies, fearing for her son, who was still a boy, brought him to Brutus". If the two stories refer to the same incident and Polemocratia's husband was Sadales, the contradiction regarding the heir is obvious. Nevertheless ⁽¹⁾ Mommsen does consider the passages as two versions of the same story. He cites an inscription found at Bizye, ⁽²⁾

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΟΤΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΣΑΔΑΛΑ
ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΝ
ΤΟΥΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΓΟΝΕΙΣ

which refers to a Polemocratia, whose husband's name was Sadala and who had by him a son, named Cotys; and identifies this Polemocratia as the lady in Appian's story, and her son Cotys as the boy, whom Brutus sent to Cyzicus. Dio's ⁽³⁾

he would explain as meaning without a proper heir, rather than simply without an heir. He shows further that this Cotys had two brothers, Rhoemetalces and Rhascuporis, and that at different times all three eventually ruled in Thrace.

This theory is almost certainly disproved by J.W. Crowfoot. ⁽⁴⁾ He thinks that Sadala - Dio's Sadales - did

(1.- Ephemericis Epigraphica II pp.251 ff.

(2.- cf. Antiquités Helléniques II. p.784. no.1236.

(3.- See page.195.

(4.- J.H.S. XVII (1897) pp.321 - 326.

die childless in 42 B.C. and that there was therefore a break in the dynasty of his tribe - the important Odrysae. The Cotys, Rhoemetalces and Rhascuporis who later ruled were, he thinks, the sons of Brutus' ally Rhascuporis, a Sapaean, who had been the founder of the new dynasty. That a new dynasty did come into power over the Odrysae about this time is shown by three facts:

- (1.) (a) Cotys is called a Sapaean by Strabo.
- (2.) (b) The later dynasty was unpopular among the Odrysae.
- (c) Whereas the older dynasty does not apparently contain the name Rhascuporis, the later one has no Sadala.

Crowfoot shows further that there was a Cotys, a son of Rhascuporis, who also had a son Rhascuporis, by comparing two Athenian inscriptions.

(i) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΡΑΣΚΟΥΠΟΡΙΝ ΚΟΤΥΟΣ.....

(ii) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΚΟΥΤΥΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ

ΡΑΣΚΟΥΠΟΡΙΑΔΟΣ.....

which since they are by the same artist, Antignotos, probably refer to the same Cotys, despite the different spelling of the name.

The Cotys of Mommsen's inscription Crowfoot identifies as the father, not the son, of the Sadala, who died in 42 B.C., and the son of an earlier Sadala who had helped Sulla in 70 B.C.

The accompanying genealogical tables will explain the position most clearly.

It emerges then if, as I think, Crowfoot is right, that Dio and Appian are dealing with different occasions and different tribes:

(1.- XII,3,29 (C.556.) : (2.- Tacitus. Annals. III,88.
 (3.- C.I.A. III,1,552 and 555. : (4.- Cic.Ver.II,1,24.

(a) Dio deals with the Odrysaë. Their king Sadala died in 42 B.C. with no heir and left his kingdom to Rome. Brutus put on the throne his own ally Rhascouporis, the Sapæan, who founded a new dynasty. We must observe that Rhascouporis' tenure of the throne was not prejudiced with the triumvirs by his alliance with Brutus, for after Philippi his brother Rhascus secured his pardon.⁽¹⁾

(b) Appian deals with an unknown tribe, whose chieftain is also unknown⁽²⁾ but whose consort was named Polemocratia. The chieftain was killed by his enemies in 42 B.C. and his widow, thereupon, took her young son, also unnamed, to Brutus. The fate of this boy, after his deposition in Cyzicus, and of the kingdom is not known.

Further facts, which indicate that Appian could not have been referring to the Odrysaë, as Dio was, are these:

(i) He would surely have mentioned the name of the tribe and of the king, had either been of the standing of the Odrysaë, the most powerful tribe in Thrace.

(ii) He would not have described the ruler of the Odrysaë as "ΤΙΣ ΤῶΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΚΩΝ."

It does not seem unreasonable to imagine, as we must, two queens of the name of Polemocratia, one of them queen of the Odrysaë about 70 B.C., the other of a lesser tribe in 42 B.C.

(1.- App. IV, 136 init.

(2.- For suggestions connecting the legend ΚΟΣΩΝ on certain of Brutus' coins with either this chieftain or his tribe see p. 391 below.

Genealogical Tables of the Odrysaes.(a) according to Mommsen.

Sadala
(rex Thraciae in 75 B.C.)
|
Cotys
(rex Thraciae in 57 B.C. and 48 B.C.)
|
Sadala = Polemocratia
(rex Thraciae ob. 42 B.C.)

Cotys (of Bizye inscription) Rex Thraciae ob. ante 16 B.C.)	Rhoemetalces (Rex Thraciae 11 B.C. ob. ante 12 A.D.)	Rhascouporis. (rex partis Thraciae removed 19 A.D.)
Rhascouporis Rex Thraciae impubes in 16 B.C. ob. 11 B.C.	Cotys = Antonia Tryphaena (rex partis Thraciae ob. ante 19 A.D.)	Rhoemetalces. (rex partis Thraciae from 19 A.D. to at least 26 A.D.)
Liberi		

(b) according to Crowfoot.

(i) Old Dynasty : Odrysonian.

Sadala - Polemocratia
|
Cotys (of the Bizye inscription)
|
Sadala
(ob. childless in 42.)

(ii) New Dynasty : Sapaean.

Rhascouporis brother of Rhascus.
(made king by Brutus 42 B.C.)
|
Cotys Rhoemetalces Rhascouporis.

Other details as in Mommsen's.

Note 25.The Death of Porcia.

Two very different accounts have come down to us of when Porcia died. Plutarch in his life of Brutus gives both accounts. "As for Porcia, wife of Brutus, the story is told by Nicolaus the philosopher and by Valerius Maximus that she now (i.e. after her husband's death) wished to die but none of her friends would allow her (to kill herself) but rather they kept careful watch over her; however, snatching coals from the fire she swallowed them and keeping her mouth fast closed she thus made away with herself. And yet there is in existence a letter from Brutus to his friends, in which he upbraids them in regard to Porcia and mourns for her, because being neglected by them she preferred on account of her illness to depart this life. It would seem, therefore, that Nicolaus was mistaken in the time of her death (only), since her illness her love for Brutus and the manner of her death are indicated in the letter also if indeed it is genuine."^(1.)

It must be noted first that there is no suggestion there of any dubiety as to the manner of her death. It is obvious that she committed suicide and the only point, for which Plutarch calls Nicolaus in question, is in regard to the date of the calamity. It is, therefore, a mistake to describe what we may call Nicolaus' version as "the more romantic story" and to explain his difference from Plutarch as arising "from the tone of the opposition literature of the early empire and its tendency to exalt Brutus and all connected with him to a plane of heroism."^(2.) There is no

(1.- Plut.Brut.53,3-5. : (2. T. & P. vol VI, p.282, who astonishingly seem to have quite misinterpreted Plutarch and appear to think that his second version of Porcia's death excludes the detail that she had committed suicide. Their mistake arises from an overemphasis of *διὰ νόσον* and a complete neglect of *προελομένης... καταλίπειν τὸν βίον.*

reason whatever for imagining that Porcia did not commit suicide and the manner in which she accomplished it must be accepted on the authority of such early writers as Nicolaus⁽¹⁾ and Valerius Maximus⁽²⁾, even if we do not accept as genuine the letter of Brutus known to Plutarch but suspected even by him. The same story is told also by Martial⁽³⁾, Appian⁽⁴⁾ and Dio⁽⁵⁾.

Regarding, then, the date of her death: Even if, once more, Brutus' letter, quoted by Plutarch, be disregarded, we have the evidence of Cicero's letter of consolation to Brutus⁽⁶⁾. Though this letter does not give any indication that Porcia died by her own hand⁽⁷⁾ - which cannot, however, be urged as evidence against that idea, for delicacy would prevent the mention of such tragic details - yet it very obviously settles the question of the date. Porcia must have died some time in the summer of 43 B.C. about June or July. It is unprofitable to attempt to fix the date more precisely than that, for Cicero's letter is equally difficult to place; and the suggestion⁽⁸⁾ that we may place it in the early part of June, because there was a plague in Rome then⁽⁹⁾; can be no more than a suggestion. There is nothing compelling in the objection⁽¹⁰⁾ that Porcia had no reason to commit suicide, while her husband was still alive. From what we know of her conduct on several occasions - during the conspiracy, on the Ides⁽¹¹⁾ and at Velia⁽¹²⁾ in August 44 B.C. - she appears as a rather highly-strung, temperamental woman and she was moreover in bad health at the time of her death.

It is easy to explain how the mistake of dating her death after Philippi would arise; for it would be natural enough for Nicolaus to assume that her husband's death was the

(1.- cf. Plut. 1. c. : (2.- *ibid.* and Val. Max. IV, 6, 5. : (3.- I, 42. : (4.- IV, 136. : (5.- xlvi, 49, 3; Plutarch repeats the story in Cat. min. 73, 4. : (6.- Brut. I, 9. : (7.- Editors of Cicero's Letters do not make it clear enough that the subject of the letter had committed suicide. : (8.- cf. Gurlitt. Philol. suppl. IV. (1883) p. 587. T. & P. vol. VI² p. 281 note. (9.- Dio xlv, 17, 8. (10.- d'Addozio. *op. cit.* p. 174. : (11.- see p. 100 above. (12.- see p. 150 above. : (13.- see p. 341 above.

reason for her suicide and that he should not check his statement on such a detail is no more surprising.⁽¹⁾

(1.- E.Schelle in an article (Der neuste Angriffe auf die Echtheit der Briefe ad M. Brutum, Beilage zum Jahresbericht der Annenschule, 1896 - 7, Dresden.) which I have not seen, has attempted (pp.32 f.) to prove that Cic.Brut.I,9. refers not to Porcia, but to a daughter of Brutus, who died at this time. His arguments appear to have been unconvincing cf. T. & P. vol. VI.p.CXXVIII note 10. and p. 282.

Note 26. The Greek Letters of Brutus - Are they authentic?

The Greek letters, said to be by Brutus, are thirty-five in number and all are addressed to various towns and peoples in Asia. They were professedly collected by a King Mithridates who, as it were, edited them along with an answer to each of his own composition and dedicated the whole to his nephew or cousin of the same name as himself^(1.). Owing to the contempt, in which all the Greek letters have been held since Bentley's time, they have not attracted the attention of scholars to any extent. Erasmus^(2.) condemned them along with those of Phalaris, Seneca and Paulus as "declamatiunculae", and J.M. Marcks^(3.) claimed by a rather superficial examination to have proved them forgeries. In 1915 however F. Rühl^(4.) made a defence of them against him and Gelzer^(5.) was sufficiently impressed by Rühl's article to admit their authenticity. Although Rühl has certainly refuted most of Marcks' arguments against the letters, I am not persuaded by him that they should yet be admitted as historical evidence^(6.).

^(7.) Plutarch quotes three of the letters in full - no. 1 to the Pergamenians, no. 69 to the Samians and no. 25 to the Lycians; but this does not prove that the whole of Mithridates' collection or even that any collection of Brutus' Greek letters existed in Plutarch's time and was known to him;

(1.- cf. Mithridates' introductory epistle. : (2.- Opp. III, 1.p.555. : (3.- Symbola critica ad epistolographos Graecos (Bonn 1883) pp. 23 ff. : (4.- Rhein. Mus. lxx. (1915) pp. 315ff. : (5.- P.W. Xpp. 1008 ff. cf. also Gardthausen, Augustus u. s. Zeit. vol. II p.71. C.A.H., however, is still diffident. (vol. X, p.870) (6.- Between Marks and Rühl, d'Addozio (1895) studied the letters (pp.134-8) and though he does not seem to have been aware of Marcks' article - just as Rühl does not seem to have known d'Addozio's - he is very decidedly of the opinion that they are forgeries. His arguments are noted below. : (7.- Brut. 2,4-5 : (8.- Plutarch, however, does not say to whom the last mentioned letter, (no. 25) is addressed.

for he may simply have quoted those three letters from an earlier work on Brutus, that of Bibulus, for instance, or of Volumnius, which quoted these three and no others. It may be argued that Plutarch did not know all the Mithridatic collection from the fact that, although he quotes the above three in illustration of Brutus' Laconic style in Greek, he does not mention the most Laconic letter of the whole extant collection - no. 33 to Damas, which consists of eight words. And even if Plutarch did know the whole collection, as we have it, its authenticity is not thereby proved. On the other hand Marcks' curious argument that the name Mithridates could only refer to the famous Mithridates VI. Eupator of Pontus, who was dead twenty years before Brutus' campaign in Asia, is palpably absurd; there were several kings of that name in the first century A.D. (1.)

Marcks has three real arguments against the authenticity of the letters, to each of which Rühl gives a plausible answer. These arguments are given here, each followed by Rühl's counter argument and my own comment thereon.

(a) 'The letters are not such as an Emperor would have written.' Rühl insists that they are and, besides his own judgment, quotes that also of Plutarch (2.), Philostratus (3.) and Marcianus (4.): We cannot however be certain that these ancients were using the same collection as we have; and even if they were, is their opinion worth anything? Admittedly they think Brutus capable of such letters but Marcianus

(1.- cf. C.A.H. vol X. index pp.1020 f. : (2.- l.c.

(3.- Diss. fragm. p.354,24.ed.Kayser.

(4.- cf. Photius in Bibl.Cod.CLVIII, p.100 ed. Bekker. "Φεύνιχος φησι Μαρκίανον τὸν κριτικὸν συγγραφεὶά ὑπερορᾶν μὲν Πλάτωνος καὶ Δημοσθένους τὰς δὲ Βρούτου τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ ἐπιστολάς, προκρίνειν καὶ κανόνα τῆς ἐν λογῷ ἀρετῆς ἀποφάνειν."

considered Brutus a better writer of Greek letters than Plato and Demosthenes;^{1.} and Plutarch thought the letters attributed to Alexander genuine!^{2.} In any case I agree with Marcks in the case at least of no. 63, wherein Brutus informs the Bithynians that he has administered a severe reprimand to Aquila, his own legate among them. That would indeed be strange in a commanding officer, especially one so formally correct and proper as Brutus usually was.

(b) Secondly Marcks thinks that the letters are too narrowly confined in their scope to be genuine, that they should contain more than the bare demands for submission or supplies. Rühl rightly points out that there is no reason why they should and adds further that a forger would have been tempted to include from other sources just such historical details as Marcks misses here. On the other hand, if a forger were working on the basis of Plutarch's description of Brutus' laconic style and his instances of it, he would be just as brief and give as little extraneous information as these letters contain.

(c) Marcks maintains, in the third place, that the collection is in places self-contradictory especially in the letter to Cos (nos. 13; 15; 29) and to Cyzicus (nos. 35; 37; 39). Rühl shows, what is really obvious enough, that there are no real contradictions there, but that in each case the later letter could be caused by a new set of circumstances. The further suggestion of Marcks that the letters are the work of a Stoic partisan of Brutus under the Empire, written as some kind of Republican propaganda, is not acceptable, as Rühl says. They have no conceivable political significance.

Rühl admits that the letters sometimes contradict Plutarch and Appian and, when they do so, he is confident

1.- See above note. 2.- Alex. 27,5 et al.

enough, despite the reliable sources with which Plutarch especially was familiar, to claim that we must consider the historians wrong and not the letters. This is a bold contention but inevitable if the authenticity of the letters is once admitted. Unfortunately, however, the instances he chooses of disagreement are not good ones. He rightly shows that ep. 35 to Cyzicus does not contradict Plutarch Brut. 28, 2. - as Marcks thought it did. The letter indicates that τὰ ἀπὸ Βιθυνίας ὄπλα were gathered in Cyzicus and that the citizens of that town were commissioned to fetch them to the Hellespont. Plutarch's vague and general description "Brutus had a naval armament fitted out in Bithynia and around Cyzicus" fits in well enough with that. The other case, discussed by Rühl, of disagreement between Plutarch and the letters is in connection with the fate of Xanthus. Plutarch,⁽¹⁾ Appian,⁽²⁾ and Dio⁽³⁾ also, say that the destruction of that city and its citizens was the result of their own crazed determination to die and that Brutus did all he could to prevent them. In the letters, on the contrary, we find Brutus claiming to have destroyed the Xanthians himself (esp. in Nos. 11 and 43). Rühl maintains that the letters give the true version and that Plutarch, although he had the letters before him as well as some earlier author's continuous story of Brutus campaign in Lycia, preferred in this case to accept the historian's version - a whitewashed one - because it fitted in better with his general conception of Brutus' character. Actually even if we agreed with Rühl that the evidence of the letters must be accepted, it is still possible to explain the discrepancy with Plutarch; Brutus did all he could to save Xanthus in vain, but later, when writing to frighten other towns into submission by holding up the fate of Xanthus as an awful example of what happened to those who resisted him, he naturally pretended that he had been himself responsible for the destruction of the city and its inhabitants.

(1.- Brut. 31.

(2.- 1V, 80.

(3.- xlvii, 34, 3 fin.

It is useless, in the face of Rühl's contention that in cases of disagreement between the Greek historians and the letters the latter must be accepted, to give further instances of such disagreement. But it must be affirmed that if Plutarch, having a genuine collection of Brutus' letters before him which contained a great deal of valuable evidence, preferred to ignore them in favour of other sources, which sometimes were at variance with them, his value to us as a historical source must be considerably impaired. And I have shown elsewhere that in the case of Brutus in particular he deserves the highest consideration, especially for his consulting of the earlier writers.⁽¹⁾ Rühl contends further that, in any discussion regarding the authenticity of ancient writings, the onus of proof must lie with those who doubt that authenticity; but, in the case of compositions rightly held in such general suspicion as Greek epistles, one may be justified in demanding from their champions some more positive proof of authenticity than the mere defence against the attacks of others with which Rühl contents himself.

There are, however, instances in which the content of the letters is at variance not simply with Plutarch or Appian, but with obvious historical probability, if not fact, and in some cases even with the evidence derived from Cicero's letters. Before we examine these, however, it is necessary to consider the arguments of d'Addozio against the letters.⁽²⁾ First, he claims that considerable suspicion falls on them because there is no difference in language, sentiment and style between those supposed to be by Brutus and those admitted to be by Mithridates. It is obvious enough, however, that that argument is of little weight; the close parallelism may

(1.- See Appendix 1 . pp. 414 ff. : (2.- op.cit.p.136.

mean no more than that Mithridates was a clever and ingenious imitator. Secondly - and d'Addozio attaches much importance to this point⁽¹⁾ - he argues that, when Brutus has more than one letter to a single state, his later letters always recapitulate the replies given to his earlier ones; "therefore if the states' letters are fictive, those of Brutus must be considered so too." The illogic of that is again obvious. The answers of the states may very easily, though cleverly, have been based on Brutus' subsequent letters - and not vice versa. To support these two arguments d'Addozio then gives various cases of disagreement between the letters and other sources. His first case - concerning Brutus' letter to Rhodes⁽²⁾ - I have repeated below with embellishments. The question of the sack of Xanthus,⁽³⁾ which he gives next, I have discussed above. His two further points are not of much value. He finds fault with the letters because they introduce Dolabella⁽⁴⁾ as "alive and waging war" at a time when Dolabella was dead! In point of fact there is no date given in that correspondence and it might have taken place, when Brutus was in Macedonia and Dolabella still alive.⁽⁵⁾ d'Addozio then suggests that the Aquila of ep.61 ff, Brutus' envoy to the Bithynians was Pontius Aquila, who had been killed at Mutina. But, as he himself admits, identification is impossible. His final cause for rejection is a point of style and taste; "Fastidium autem Brutus movet, eadem, interdum iisdem verbis, repetendo, ac nihil, nisi ineptias, profert; nec secus loquuntur civitates, ita ut futilium verborum certamen inter se videantur."⁽⁶⁾ Although I am in complete agreement with his description, it must be admitted

(1.- "aliud maiorem movet admirationem." : (2.- ep.11.

(3.- ep.11: 25: 43. : (4.- ep.51:53:55:57.

(5.- Nevertheless the letters regarding Dolabella are, I think, historically at fault. : (6.- d'Addozio. p.137.

that it is not a conclusive argument against the letters.

The whole question of their authenticity can only be definitely settled by the indication of historical inaccuracies and, as d'Addozio^(1.) has pointed out, these are not easy to find. That however, is not surprising in the work of any forger with reasonable skill and especially of one, whose work covers so little ground and contains so few positive statements that can be compared with other writings. The following points, however, have occurred to me.

(i) Ep. 11 is a letter from Brutus to the Rhodians offering them either war and punishment such as Xanthus had suffered, or peace and the friendship which Patara enjoyed. That such a letter should ever have been written is exceedingly improbable, The subjection of Rhodes was Cassius' task alone and one cannot imagine Brutus interfering in it all; for he was always careful to give Cassius his proper place as the elder man and there was no suggestion that Brutus was a superior commander to Cassius.^(2.) Further the letter assumes that Brutus had already captured Xanthus and Patara before Cassius' attempt on Rhodes had properly begun. The historians, on the other hand, all say that the commanders set out from Smyrna on their respective campaigns at the same time, and they all, in fact, give the story of Cassius' activities before that of Brutus'.^(3.) Lentulus Spinther took part in both campaigns^(4.) and, despite his visit to Brutus in Macedonia in March - April 43 B.C.,^(5.) he seems, so far as service in Asia is concerned, to have been more attached to Cassius.^(6.) Is it not then more reasonable to think that he assisted his own commander at Rhodes and then was seconded to

(1.- ib.p.136. : (2.- cf. Plut.Brut.29,1:40,6. App.IV,89 fin.
 (3.- Plut.Brut.30,2. App.IV,65-74. Dio xlvii,33. : (4.- App.IV,
 72 fin : 82 init. : (5.- see pp. 169 and 368 above.
 (6.- Cic. Fam. XII,14,6. Also Lentulus appears to have minted
 more coins for Cassius than for Brutus. cf. Grueber B.M.Cat.
 Rom.Coins II pp.481-3.

help Brutus, because the latter had found himself in need of ships to tackle Myra and Patara? For Brutus had no fleet of any size at this time⁽¹⁾ and had, apparently, expected a purely military struggle in Lycia. It is incredible, therefore, that Brutus could have fought one battle, taken over numerous villages and forts and captured by siege two important towns, before Cassius' attack had reached a stage when ep. 11 would not be superfluous.

(ii) Ep. 17 says that Damasippus the Rhodian ναύαρχος had after the fall of Rhodes taken refuge in Patara.⁽²⁾ Appian names Mnaseas as the Rhodian ναύαρχος against Cassius, and though Rühl asserts that no discrepancy exists there, since ναύαρχος may in the latter mean "a ship's captain" and in Appian "the admiral", his argument does not impress me; for why should Brutus worry over the escape of a mere ship's captain, of whom the Rhodians had at least thirty-three⁽³⁾? Even if Rühl's assumption is correct, surely Patara was the last place on earth for a Rhodian to seek refuge in. For either, according to the epistles' version, it was already in Brutus' hands or, as the historians indicate, Brutus was besieging Xanthus, a few miles away.

(iii) Ep. 21 orders the Lycians to transport the collection of siege-engines, which they had at Caunos, over to Cassius in Rhodes. But Caunos was not a Lycian town but, situated in the so-called Rhodian Peraea or Chersonese, belonged to Rhodes.⁽⁴⁾

(iv) The letters to the Bithynians (nos. 59 -67 : especially 61) presuppose that Dolabella during his brief stay in Asia after Trebonius' murder had made demands upon that people. Actually

(1.- See p. 207 note 3 above. : (2.- App. IV, 66 fin.

(3.- ib. 66 init: 71 init. : (4.- Polybius XXXI, 7, 6.

Dolabella's activities in Asia appear to have been limited to the part south of Smyrna and, in any case, Bithynia, a separate province was in the care of Tillius Cimber, one of the conspirators, who, besides sending a fleet from his province against Dolabella,⁽¹⁾ also made a junction with Deiotarus of the neighbouring Galatia and defeated him on land.⁽²⁾ Dolabella could not have made any requisitions from his subjects; yet ep.61 says he received 250 vessels from them. (v) Epp. 51 - 57 are written as if from Brutus to the Trallians bidding them prevent Dolabella from encamping in their territory and entering their city. That could only have happened in February - April 43 B.C. and this group would therefore be the earliest of the collection. I have shown that Brutus probably had no detailed knowledge of Dolabella's activities until Lentulus visited him in the middle of March,⁽³⁾ but let us assume that he had reason to know of Dolabella's intentions regarding Tralles as early as the end of February, when news of the death of Trebonius reached Rome. By the beginning of April Brutus heard from Lentulus that Dolabella was quitting Asia and already had his fleet in Lycia.⁽⁴⁾ The correspondence with Tralles must therefore have taken place within one month and, as it involved the sending of four letters each way, that is manifestly impossible.

These cases of direct opposition by the letters to historical fact and probability persuade me that they cannot be accepted as evidence and I have taken no consideration of them in my account of Brutus' activities in Asia.

(1.- Cic.Fam. XII,13,3. : (2.- Cic.Brut.I,6,3. : (3.- see Special Note 22 pp.368 above. : (4.- ibid.

Note 27. The Coinages of Brutus and Cassius in the East.

The coins issued by Brutus and Cassius in the East are listed and described by H.A. Grueber in his "Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum", vol. II pp. 470-484, nos. 38 - 85, and illustrated in vol III, plates CXI, nos 3 - 20 and CXII, nos 1 - 9. His comments on them there, and in vol II, pp. 450-1 and 456-7 form the basis of this note, but I have had the temerity to differ from him in the interpretation of one or two of the types.

The whole series may be divided into these groups

(a) Issued by or for Brutus on the Greek Mainland. (nos. 38-61; 66-70)

(i) Before or During the Thracian campaign. (nos. 38-51)

(ii) After the Thracian campaign. (nos. 52-61 : 66-70.)

(b) Issued for Brutus alone in Asia Minor. (nos 62-65.)⁽²⁾

(c) Issued for Cassius alone in Asia Minor. (nos. 71-72.)

(d) Issued for Brutus and Cassius jointly in Asia Minor. (nos. 73-85).

Of the first group (a), the mint-place, according to Grueber,⁽³⁾ with the exception of some definitely connected with Apollonia and with Thrace, may have been one or more of the three chief towns of Macedonia - Amphipolis, Pella or Thessalonica. He himself taking into consideration questions of fabric, style and contemporary minting activities favours Thessalonica most. The moneyers of this group include L. Sestius, a son of Brutus' former commander in Cilicia, and himself a devoted admirer of Brutus, even under Augustus.⁽⁴⁾ (nos. 41-47), C. Flavius Hemicillus, perhaps the Flavius who acted as 'praefectus fabrum' to Brutus⁽⁵⁾ (nos. 55-56); Pedanius (?)

1.- cf. Babelon vol I, pp. 497-8: II pp. 112-120: 290: 316: 452-457.

2.- Grueber does not make a separate series of this group.

3.- op. cit. II, pp. 456-7. : (4.- Dio. liii, 32, 4.

5.- On these coins, however, Flavius is "legatus pro praetore".

Costa, otherwise unknown (nos. 57-61); L. Plaetorius Cestianus, also otherwise unknown (nos. 66-70). The earliest of the group (a) are probably those issued apparently by Brutus himself, since no moneyer's name appear on them.

(38-40) These have on their obverse a head of the goddess of Liberty, symbolising the motif of Brutus' whole struggle in the East, while the reverse bears either a lyre and plectrum and laurel wreath (no. 38), which, as the reverse type of the autonomous coins of Apollonia,⁽¹⁾ connects them with that city and Brutus' successes over C. Antony, or a naval type comprising an anchor and stem of a ship's prow (nos. 39-40).

⁽²⁾ Grueber admitting the difficulty of dating those with the second type of reverse, thinks that they "may relate to some naval success....possibly in connection with the arrival of C. Antony in Illyricum." There is, however, no other indication of such a success and Brutus' campaign in Illyricum was, so far as we know, purely military; for his opponent had reached Apollonia before they met.⁽³⁾ If these coins do refer to Brutus, which, despite the curious absence of his name, is almost certain, I think that they may be connected with his acquisitions at Demetrias, which included naval equipment;⁽⁴⁾ or that their reference is to successes in Lycia.⁽⁵⁾

The coins of Sestius (nos 41-47) refer with their obverse types to the moneyer's post; the subsellium and virga (no. 47) show that he was proquaestor to Brutus and the bust of Ceres (nos 41-46) may indicate a special attention on his part to the commissariat of the army. Their reverse types, except for that of the quinarius (no. 46), which with a Victory merely records Brutus' successes, give interesting biographical

(1.- cf. Cat. Greek Coins B.M. Thessaly etc. pl. XIII, 2.

(2.- op. cit. II, p. 472 note 1. : (3.- See pp. 160 and 366 above. : (4.- Plut. Brut. 25, 2. App. III, 63.

(5.- cf. nos. 62-65 in Grueber.

details of Brutus. The tripod, sacrificial axe and simpulum (of nos. 41-45) point to his office of pontifex, (1. while the apex (on 47) seems to indicate - what we have no other evidence of - that he was a flamen also. (2. The last of the (a i) group are the most interesting and puzzling of the whole coinage. They are gold coins bearing on the obverse the figure of L. Junius Brutus, walking between two lictors bearing fasces, with Brutus' cognomen in monogram and in the exergue the baffling legend ΚΟΣΩΝ, while the reverse has an eagle standing with widespread wings on a sceptre holding a wreath in its right claw. (3. Grueber interprets the reverse type simply as "emblematic of the dominant power which Brutus intended to exercise on behalf of Rome over the province under his administration and probably against his enemies at home." A more detailed and accurate interpretation would be that Brutus' power is to be used against aspirants to royalty - for the eagle treads the sceptre underfoot - and that to the rest of the world he offers peace. The obverse type is an obvious recollection of Brutus' official coinage of 59 B.C. (4. and its bearing was even more pointed after Caesar's death than during the first Triumvirate. The legend ΚΟΣΩΝ has so far defied explanation. It is usual and almost certainly right to connect these coins with Brutus' campaign in Thrace. We know from Appian (5. that during the campaign Brutus received a considerable amount of gold and silver in the royal treasury handed over to him by Polemocratia and as these coins, since they do not describe Brutus as "Imperator", cannot be dated after the Thracian campaign, it is highly probable that they were minted during it, and that the legend has some local

(1.- cf. pp. 55f. above. : (2.- cf. p. 55 note 5 above.
 (3.- op.cit.II,p.474 note 1. : (4.- cf. pp. 14f. and 312f above.
 (5.- IV,75.

Thracian reference. That much numismatists are agreed upon, but the exact meaning of ΚΟΣΩΝ is still debated. (1.) Babelon's suggestion is that the coins were struck at Cossea in Thrace, which is not impossible. (2.) Eckhel suggested that the word was the name of Polemocratia's husband and Grueber (3.) rejected this on the grounds that Mommsen (4.) had shown his name to be Sadala. Grueber was apparently, however, unfamiliar with J.W. Crowfoot's article, (5.) which manifestly disproves Mommsen's contention. (6.) The name of Polemocratia's husband may, therefore, well have been Coson, though such a name has not, so far as I know, been found in inscriptions. On the whole I incline to think that the word is either the name of Polemocratia's husband or - and perhaps preferably, since he was dead - genitive plural of her tribe's name, which was not an important one, and that, at the same time, the tribe was connected with Cossea. Grueber's final suggestion that there is confusion between ΚΟΣΩΝ and ΒΗΣΩΝ is not attractive, for the Bessi were Brutus' opponents and there is no reason why their name should appear.

The line of demarcation between the European coins minted before and those minted after the campaign in Thrace (i.e. (a) (i) and (a) (ii)) is drawn by the application in the latter of the title 'Imperator' to Brutus. For it was against the Bessi that he gained that honour. (7.) In the (a) (ii) group some repeat types noted above. L. Plaetorius, for instance, records his commander's pontificate and his own questorship in nos. 66-67, and the motif of Brutus' family

(1.- op.cit. II, p. 114. : (2.- Doct. num. vet. vol. VI, p. 23. cf. Gardthausen Aug. I, 59: II, 69. : (3.- op.cit. II, p. 475 note
 (4.- Ephem. Epigr. II, pp. 251 ff. : (5.- J.H.S. XVII (1897) pp. 321-6. : (6.- cf. pp. 372 ff above. : (7.- cf. p. 194 above..

history recurs in the portrait of Lucius Brutus on nos. 57-58. Other types are also of interest. As is to be expected, the victories in Thrace are illustrated, sometimes quite ordinarily by the usual trophies as in nos. 55-56 and 59-61, sometimes with more local application as in the reverse of nos. 52-54, where the trophy is flanked by seated figures of each sex in a vividly dejected pose, representing captives taken in Thrace; for the male wears 'braccae'. The head of Apollo occurs on several of the coins (nos. 52-54 : 55-56 :

(1. 59-61), recalling the special attention which Brutus paid to that god. He seemed to regard him as having a special influence over his own fate and his name was the watchword at the second battle of Philippi. (2. The murder of Caesar is recalled on the reverse of nos 68-70, where a Cap of Liberty is shown between two daggers with the inscription below EID.

MAR. This rather graphic type seems to have appealed especially to Dio who gives an exact description of it. (3. The remaining type in this group has perhaps attracted most attention of all. On the reverse of nos. 57-58, behind the portrait of his ancestor and on the obverse of nos. 68-70 is a portrait of Brutus himself. Apart from our interest in this type as giving a dependable contemporary likeness of Brutus, (4. the significance of the type has to be considered. We have already seen that Caesar's use of his own portrait on coins had (5. increased his unpopularity among the nobles in Rome because of the regal intentions, which were supposed to underlie it, and it has been suggested that Brutus did material damage to the

(1.- The head on nos. 59-61 is wrongly identified as a Libertas by Babelon II, p. 290. note 1. cf. Grueber op.cit. vol. II, p. 477 note 2.
 (2.- (a) App. IV, 134. Plut. Brut. 24, 4-5. (b) Similarly in the first battle the watchword was Libertas - so common in these coins.
 (3.- Dio. xlvii, 25, 3. : (4.- see pp. 273 above. : (5.- see p. 81 above.

senate's cause by displaying his portrait in a similar way.^{(1.}
 But no one who has the least understanding of Brutus' conduct since the beginning of 44 B.C. - indeed, of his whole life - can imagine that, when he allowed his own head to appear on coins, he did so in imitation of Caesar. Since the Ides of March he had been very careful that no act of his should be comparable with that of a tyrant, and it is strange that, if his portrait were resented, no trace of the resentment has come down to us in the historians or other writers. Further would it not be absurd to think that one side of a coin could have a royal significance, when the other side celebrates the act of the man who drove out the kings?^{(2.} It has been suggested that he was following the example, not of Caesar, but of M. Antony who had minted coins with his portrait in Gaul early in 42 B.C. - Brutus', of course, coming after the Thracian campaign must be dated at the end of 42 B.C. or early in 41 B.C. I think the suggestion improbable; for imitation of Antony was no less to be abhorred by Brutus than that of Caesar. Much more attractive is the theory^{(3.} that Brutus' exemplar in this respect was T. Quinctius Flaminius, consul in 198 B.C., the so-called Liberator of Greece, who "on the unique stater issued by him in B.C. 197 after his victory over the Macedonians at the battle of Cyroscephalae"^{(4.} displayed his own portrait. It is suggested that, like that of Flaminius, these coins of Brutus are not so much coins as medallions (Denkmünzen) and in support of the theory one may add the fact that there existed in Greece a hope that Brutus would be a second Flaminius to them

(1.- O.E.Schmidt. Verh. d. Vers. d. Phil. p.180. cf. Drumann - Groebe IV, p.37 and Bardt. Rom. Charakterkopfe in Briefen p.308.
 (2.- by Grueber. op.cit. vol.II.p.450. : (3.- of Gelzer.P.W. X. p.1005 f. : (4.- Grueber. op.cit. vol. II, p.340.

col 7/1

and liberate them from Rome as he had liberated Rome from Caesar:⁽¹⁾ It must however be admitted that there is a considerable difference between the issues of Flamininus and of Brutus in that the earlier one was not an official Roman coinage whereas Brutus' did claim to be so, but that difficulty may be explained away by the corresponding change in the status of Greece. One further point of interest is to be found on the portrait-coins. On nos. 57-58, Brutus' head is surrounded by the oak wreath (*corona civica*), awarded to those who had saved life in battle or had rescued the state from imminent peril. This claim is made for Brutus on the grounds of Caesar's murder and the fact that on the same coins the First Consul has also the wreath of oak, indicates a comparison between Caesar and the Tarquin.

The coins issued in Asia Minor are in three groups - (b) (c) and (d); the first are issued by Casca - whether Publius or Caius is uncertain - who acted for Brutus alone; the second by M. Aquinus, acting for Cassius alone; and the third by Lentulus Spinther and M. Servilius, who acted for both commanders.

Casca's coins (nos. 62-65) repeat on the obverse of 62 the head of Brutus but enclosed in a laurel wreath. The reverse of the same coin has a combined naval and military trophy and must be connected with Brutus' victories in Lycia, especially over the towns of Xanthus, Patara and Myra. The others (nos 63-65) repeat the naval motif with a head of Neptune on the obverse and it may be, as Grueber⁽²⁾ thinks, that Casca held a command in Brutus' fleet. On the other hand, we know that Cimber and Domitius commanded the divisions of Brutus'

(1.- Dio. xlvii, 21, 2 fin. : (2.- op.cit. vol. II, p.478 note 1.

fleet, and during the Lycian campaign, as I have suggested⁽¹⁾, Brutus had probably no fleet of his own. The reverse of nos. 63-65 has another vigorous representation of Brutus' attitude towards royal power. A Victory, bearing a palm branch, holds in both hands a broken diadem and at her feet is a broken sceptre.

Group (c) by Aquinus for Cassius is of less interest to us. (nos. 71-72). It shows, like several others the head of Libertas and a tripod on the reverse has reference either to sacrifices offered to Apollo or to a sacred office of Cassius perhaps that of 'quindecimvir sacris faciundis.'⁽²⁾

In Group (d) (nos. 73-85), Lentulus Spinther shows a fondness, in the coins which he issued for Cassius (nos. 73-79), for the head of Libertas (obv. in nos. 73-78). The only other obverse types which he employs record the sacred dignities of his two commanders: no. 79 has the tripod like the reverse of 71-72 above, pointing to Cassius' office, and nos. 80-81, minted for Brutus, indicate the latter's pontificate. Lentulus' reverse type on all of his coins, without exception, record with the capis and lituus his own office of augur, and one is not surprised at this self-expression in the author of Cic.Fam. XII,14 and 15. Libertas is a type also of all of the coins minted by M. Servilius (nos. 82-85). Those minted for Cassius (nos. 82-84) have reverse types recording Cassius' victories over Rhodes and the one bearing Brutus' name refers to his successes on land over the Lycians. Grueber⁽³⁾ is of the opinion that all of the groups (c) and (d) coins were minted at Sardes, where Brutus and Cassius had their second rendezvous in Asia.

(1.- p. 207 note 3 above. : (2.- cf. Grueber. op.cit. vol. II. p.481. : (3.- op.cit. pp.457:481, note : note 1 : p.484 note.

Brutus' name on the coins is found in no less than five different forms. His formal adoptive name "Q. Caepio Brutus" appears on some of those minted apparently by himself (nos. 52-4) and on those of Flavius (nos. 55-6) and Servilius (no. 85). A little less formally "Caepio Brutus" is found on one of his own minting (no. 38). "M. Brutus" occurs on nos. 57-8 by Costa while the simple "Brutus" is on Costa's others (nos. 59-61) and on all of those by Casca (nos. 62-5), Plaetorius (nos. 66-70) and Lentulus (nos. 80-81). The ΚΟΞΩΝ coin has the curious monogram \mathcal{R} . Three points emerge. (i) Except for Costa who varies from "M. Brutus" to "Brutus", the subordinate moneyers despite different types consistently give him the same name. (ii) There seems to have been a tendency as his career developed to abandon the formal name. In the usual grouping only Servilius' coin of those minted in Asia has the "Caepio". May this indicate that Servilius' coin (no. 85) should be placed among those of European origin? The types are at least as suitable for the earlier as the later part of Brutus' campaigns, and it may be of further significance that the only coins, which record his Lycian victories, have naval as well as military trophies (nos. 62-65), whereas Servilius' (no. 85) has a purely military trophy. Servilius may have served first with Brutus and been attached to Cassius just before the Rhodian campaign, which his Cassian coins celebrate. (nos. 82-84). (iii) The portrait-coins (nos. 57-58: 62: 68-70), as we should expect if they were used for purposes of Republican propaganda, prefer to omit the Caepio.

Note 28. The Positions of the Corpilan and Sapaean Passes.

1. The Corpilan pass is easily fixed from Appian IV,102, init., which shows that it was just beyond Doriscus, where the road bends inland to avoid the mountain Serrheion (modern: Choban Dagh). The road actually followed the route of the modern railway from Dede Agach to Gumuljina, which passes through a narrow defile between the Panair Tepesi on the North and the Choban Dagh on the South, near the modern village of Kirka. This defile with Latitude $40^{\circ} 58'$ and Longitude $25^{\circ} 49'$ must be the Corpilan pass. It is some 70 miles east of Neapolis (the modern Kavalla). D. Kalopothakes^(1.) seems to be alone in placing it elsewhere. His site, east of the correct one, is obviously wrong for two reasons (a) Brutus and Cassius reached Mt. Serrheion without opposition (App. IV,102 fin.) (b) the Corpilans, from whom the pass is named lived near the mouth of the Hebrus. (Strabo. VII,331. frag. 47 (48):58).

2. The Sapaean is more difficult to determine. There have been three sites suggested.

(a) by Heuzey^(2.) followed by Kalopothakes^(3.).

i.e. at the North end of Lake Biston (modern Boru) between the lake and the mountains: Lat. $41^{\circ} 6'$: Long. $25^{\circ} 8'$.

(b) by Besnier^(4.), followed by Kromayer^(5.) and Rice Holmes^(6.).

i.e. about six miles North-East from Kavalla between the mountains and the sea^(7.): Lat. $40^{\circ} 57'$: Long. $24^{\circ} 32'$.

(c) by P. Collart^(8.).

i.e. about seven miles South West of Xanthi (modern Eskeje)^(9.) between the main mass of mountains and a lesser group of hills.

(1.- de Thracia etc. Diss. Berol. (1893) p.20-21. : (2.- Mission Archéologique de Macédoine (1876) pp.98-99. : (3.- op.cit. l.c. (4.- Lex.de geogr.anc. (1914) p.668. : (5.- Schlachten-Atlas. etc. röm Abt. col 118 . : (6.- A.R.E. p.218. : (7.- i.e. at the ancient Symbolon. : (8.- Bull. de Corr.Hell. LIII. (1929) pp.351 ff. and LV (1931) pp.423ff. : (9.- This lesser group of hills is not shown on the maps of Kromayer and Rice Holmes.

There are really two passes with a ridge of hill between them.

Lat. $41^{\circ} 1'$ to $8'$: Long. $24^{\circ} 52'$

Let us examine first the information obtainable from ancient sources.

The accounts of Dio (xlvi, 35, 2-4) and Plutarch (Brut. 38, 1) are meagre and of little value. Dio says

Norbanus and Decidius "had anticipated them (i.e. Brutus and Cassius) by occupying all the country as far as Mt.

Pangaeum and were encamped near Philippi." Plutarch says

"Norbanus and his men were encamped in the so-called "Stena" near Symbolon". These vague accounts cannot be considered

in opposition to the more detailed description of Appian

(IV 86-105). From him we learn the following facts about

the Sapaean pass.

(i) It was in Thrace: l.c. 87: "... ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἔχωροῦν ἐπὶ Θεράκης...
and ... τὰ στενὰ τὰ Κορπίλων καὶ Σαπείων τῆς
Ρασκουπόριδος ὄντα ἄρχης...
88: ... εἰς Θεράκην ἀντὶ Μακεδονίας ὑπερβῆναι..."

(ii) It was west of the Corpilan pass: for Brutus and Cassius moving westwards came to the Corpilan pass first.

(iii) From it Norbanus could see Cimber's fleet as it sailed

round Cape Serrheion. l.c. 102: ὑπὸ γὰρ τῆς φαντασίας τῶν νέων
ὁ Νόρβανος ἐπὶ τῶν Σαπείων στενῶν ἐθορυβήθη.

(iv) It could be turned by a march of five days, ending at Philippi, the first three or four days of which were in a waterless region. l.c. 103. cf. page 216 above.

(v) There was an easy route to it from the first river the Republicans met on their circuitous march. l.c. c.104. This is the route Rhascus followed when he warned Norbanus of the Republicans' march cf. p. 217 above.

(vi) The circuitous route around it went Northwards and turned East, reaching after three or four days a stream, Harpessus, which was a tributary of the Hermus. l.c. c.104.

In the light of the above evidence we may now examine the three sites suggested and the various reasons which are given - or should have been given - for and against them. Heuzey's site at

Lake Biston may be dismissed at once. Kromayer^(1.) objects to it that (a) Being East of the river Nestos it could be easily turned by sea as the Corpilan pass was and (b) that the march to circumvent it would require much more than five days. The former reason is not, I think, very sound for Brutus' naval manoeuvre was mainly bluff; but the second is damning.

Heuzey^(2.) emended Appian's Ἐρεμὸν into Ἐβρεὸν and identified the Harpessus as the Arda, a tributary of the Hebrus. Thus the route he gives for the Republicans' march not only starts too far east but also goes too far north.

Collart^(3.) gives other objections to Heuzey's site that (c) it did not guard the route round the south of the lake which the modern road follows and which Brutus and Cassius could have used; and that (d) the position was too low lying for Norbanus to have seen from it the Republican fleet.

The choice then is between Kromayer's site near Neapolis and Collart's some 20 miles further east; and the chief difference between them is that they lie on different sides of the river Nestus. I favour Collart's site for the following reasons.

(a) The pass must be east of the Nestos, because it was in Thrace, and that river is the boundary between Thrace and Macedonia. Collart^(4.) proved this last point conclusively by his references to Strabo VII,331. frag.33 and frag.35. and to Ptolemy III,11,1-2; 12,6. The only reference opposed to these is Pliny N.H. IV,10, and Pliny was not a geographer like Strabo and Ptolemy. Kromayer's^(5.) plea, that the delimitation of Macedonia by Philip and Alexander had removed the Thracian feelings of the district, is feeble. For Appian says that

(1.- op.cit.col.118 : (2.- op.cit.p. 99. : (3.- op.cit.LIII.p.356.
 (4.- ibid. p.353 note 2. : (5.- Ant. Schlacht. IV,p.657.

both the passes were not only in Thrace but more precisely in the territory of Rhascouporis, which was certainly not in Macedonia.

(b) With a site near Kavala and west of the Nestos, as Kromayer's is, the narrative of Brutus' circuitous march does not accord. For if Brutus had been able to reach the Nestos, he could have made his march up the valley of that river - the route of the modern railway to Buk - and there would have been no shortage of water. Further the mountains near Kavala above Kromayer's site are passable by a very short march; in 1342 A.D. Cantocuzenus⁽¹⁾ of Constantinople crossed them without difficulty into the plains of Philippi, when he wished to avoid the fortified passes of Christoupolis, as Kavalla was then called. Thus, to avoid Kromayer's site Brutus could have chosen either a longer journey with plenty of water or one so short that he could dispense with water.

(c) According to Collart⁽²⁾, who has visited the region, it is more than doubtful whether Norbanus from near Kavalla could have seen the fleet at Serrheion.

(d) There is no short and easy route for Rhascus to have used when he warned Norbanus. The only easy road is round by Philippi; and from the position of the river Harpessus, which we can only fix approximately, to beyond Kavalla via Philippi is rather more than 50 miles.

Collart's site, on the other hand, agrees admirably with Appian's account. It is in Thrace, east of the Corpilan pass and from it the fleet at Serrheion would be easily visible. The details of Brutus' march are in similar accord. Held up by the enemy

(1.- cf. Collart. op.cit. LIII.p.361. : (2.- op.cit.LV.p.427.

some six miles beyond Xanthi (modern Eskeje) he turned North from the road at that town to begin his turning movement.

From Xanthi their route lay through the waterless wooded mountains at first by way of the modern road to Kursta and beyond that until, turning east, they crossed the mass of the Kushlar Dagh down to the Nestos near the modern Buk, where the modern railway crosses the river. From there to Philippi is no more than a day's march - about 28 miles - over easy ground by the route of the modern railway from Buk to Drama. That this journey would not take more than 3-4 days is shown by the testimony of Viquesnel ^{(1.} who says that he himself walked from Xanthi to the source of the Arda in 11 hours! This surely gives Brutus' men ample time for their trail-blazing; and they did not even go as far north as Arda. When Rhascus saw the Republican advanced party somewhere near Buk he had an easy route to Norbanus down the Nestos of about 25 miles.

Kromayer's objections to Collart's site are adequately refuted by the latter. ^{(2.} When he says that the position at Kavalla was the obvious one to defend being stronger than the other, we may answer that, apart from the fact that Norbanus need not have done the obvious, it is a well-known military principle to defend a place by defending another well ahead of it. It was Norbanus' task to delay the Republican advance as much as possible, and this could be done best by holding them up as soon and as often as possible. Symbolon at Kavalla was a splendid reserve position for Norbanus to fall back to if and when necessary, and he seems to have had a piquet ^{(3.} placed at it, doubtless with the intention of falling back to

(1.- Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe (Paris 1868) II, p. 299.

(2.- Ant. Schlacht. IV, p. 658 f. : (3.- See p. 217 note 2 .

it. But if he could hold up the enemy some twenty miles beyond it long enough to allow Antony to come up and occupy it in full strength, so much the better. Collart points out⁽¹⁾ further that his choice for the position is by no means a weak one.

The accounts of Dio and Plutarch do not fall out with Collart's siting of the Sapaean pass. Dio's meaning is simply that Norbanus held Symbolon - not necessarily by sitting beside it -, lost it by Brutus' turning manoeuvre and had to retire beyond it to Amphipolis. Plutarch's rather confusing version, far from showing, as Kromayer tries to insist, that the passes held by Norbanus were at Symbolon shows that they were quite distinct from it. (Brut. 38,1)

(1.- op.cit. LV.p.424.

Note 29. The Beginning of the First Battle of Philippi.

It will have been seen that my account of the beginning of the first battle of Philippi differs from that given by most previous writers⁽²⁾ in that I attribute to Brutus and Cassius the intention to fight that day, whereas others think, since the battle originated with Antony's attack on Cassius, that the Republicans were still attached to their policy of defence. The latter version takes Appian⁽³⁾ as sole authority and ignores completely what Plutarch⁽⁴⁾ says. Despite the difference between the two ancient authors and despite also Appian's more precise and detailed version of the engineering activities of Antony and Cassius, some account must be taken of Plutarch, because what he says comes from Messalla, who took part in the battle. On this officer's authority - and it must, therefore, be believed - he says that on the night before the battle Cassius, dining with his closer friends, including Messalla, spoke ruefully of the decision they had just made and compared himself with Pompey, who also had been forced by his own side into battle against his own judgment. After recounting a conversation held on the morning of the battle between Brutus and Cassius, when the preliminary signal to prepare for battle had been given, Plutarch goes on to give some details, mentioning especially Messalla, of the disposition of the Republican troops.

According to Plutarch, at the beginning of the battle the armies of Brutus and Cassius were drawn up outside their

(1.- pp. 227 above. : (2.- e.g. Kromayer (Schlachten-Atlas, röm. Abt. col. 116) and Rice Holmes A.R.E. I. pp. 85-6. Ferrero (III, p. 203) on the other hand, follows Plutarch and neglects Appian. Gelzer (P.W. X. p. 1015) makes, without explanation, a combination of the two. : (3.- IV, 110. : (4.- Brut. 39-41.

camps with the intention of attacking;⁽¹⁾ Octavian's men though drawn up in line were not properly ready to receive them, but Antony's were.⁽²⁾ The attack began by Brutus' men rushing down without waiting for orders and they easily defeated Octavian's.⁽³⁾ On the other wing Cassius, surprised and annoyed by Brutus' premature attack, acted sluggishly and allowed Antony to push round his left flank.⁽⁴⁾ Appian's version is in agreement with Plutarch's regarding the position of the Republican forces; he too says, not explicitly, that they were drawn up before their camps.⁽⁵⁾ He differs from Plutarch in two points (a) by saying that it was Antony, not Brutus, who struck the first blow and (b) by not saying that Brutus and Cassius had decided to fight.⁽⁶⁾

These two differences are easily explained by the different attitudes and interests of the two authors. Plutarch's main interest was in Brutus, Appian's in the building activities of Cassius and Antony. Plutarch, therefore, describes Brutus' intention and preparations to attack; because he has no interest in the building operations, in which his hero played no part, he barely mentions them and thereby misses the significance of Antony's attack on Cassius. He does admit that Antony took the initiative on that wing but explains it as due to Cassius' dilatoriness.⁽⁷⁾ Thus by ignoring Antony's attack he is unable to explain properly either why Brutus' men attacked without orders or how Antony managed to get round Cassius' flank and to catch him, when not fully prepared. Appian, on the other hand, a historian - and more interested in military than constitutional history - as opposed to a moralist and biographer, devoted his attention to the preliminary defensive tactics at

(1.- Brut. 40,3 : 6. : (2.- ib. 41,1 : 42,1. : (3.- ib. 42,2.
 (4.- ib. 41,2 - 42,1. : (5.- ib. 42,2 : 43,1-2. : (6.- IV,110 of
 Brutus' men "αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔνοπλους": III of Cassius "τῇ φάλαγγι... τὴν
 τῶν τὴν δεδομένην φυλασσούσῃ" (7.- Brut. 43,1-2.

the marsh, from them he was easily led to Antony's attack and once the battle has started what does it matter whether the Republican's wanted it or not? By disregarding their previous decision to fight, Appian is unable to explain how Brutus' men were fully ready and Cassius' partly when Antony attacked. It is to be noted, however, that Appian in no way denies that the republicans had decided to fight. It seems obvious then that the two versions should be combined in some such way as I have done on pages 227f. accepting from Plutarch the fact that Brutus and Cassius had decided to fight and from Appian that Antony struck the first blow.

I should mention that Dio's⁽¹⁾ account is of little value so far as the actual fighting is concerned. His description of the battle is obviously nothing more than a 'set piece' like his speeches, with even less attempt than in them to give a little 'local colour'. He does, however, agree with Plutarch that Brutus and Cassius had previous decided to give battle.⁽²⁾

(1.- xlvii, 43-45. : (2.- ib. 38, 5.

The Dates of the Battles at Philippi.

The accounts of Plutarch⁽¹⁾ and Appian⁽²⁾ make it clear that the campaign of Philippi was fought in the late autumn, with winter very close at hand. Thanks to a recently found fragment of the Fasti Praenestini we are able to give the exact date of the second battle. The last four lines of the fragment⁽³⁾ which alone concern our argument are:-

(Imp. Caesa) R AUGUSTUS VICIT PHILIPPIS POSTERIORE
 PROELIO | BRUTO OCCISO TI. CAESAR CURRU
 TRIUMPHAVIT | EX ILLURICO
 VENERI ERUCINAE EXTRA PORTAM COLLINAM

There is nothing there to give any definite date but the content of the last line is found also in a fragment of the Fasti Arvalici. The latter fragment had been assigned by Heuzen⁽⁴⁾ to 24th April, but Hülse⁽⁵⁾ has shown - as Plutarch and Appian prove - that the month should be October. Thus the last line of the Praenestine fragment refers to October 24th and the preceding lines, therefore, to October 23rd. Accordingly the second battle of Philippi was fought on October 23rd. 42 B.C.

An apparent contradiction of this by Suetonius was pointed out by G. Wissowa⁽⁶⁾. Suetonius says⁽⁷⁾ "Sed ut plures certioresque tradunt, natus est (sc. Tiberius) Romae in Palatio XVI Kal. Dec. M. Aemilio Lepido iterum L. Manutio Planco consulibus per⁽⁸⁾ bellum Philippense." This shows that according to the authorities (plures certioresque) whom Suetonius followed, the campaign of Philippi was not completed by the middle of November and Wissowa regards this as running counter to the Praenestine fragment, assuming that the second battle, according to Suetonius, must have come/

(1:- Brutus. 47: (2:- IV, 122: (3:- It is published by O. Marucchi in Not. d. Scavi. XVIII (1921) pp. 277-283. cf. also Atti della Pontif. Acad. Rom. di Arch. Ser. II. vol. XV. (1921) pp. 315 ff. C. Hülse in ibid pp. 325-336 and in Strena Buliciana 1924. pp. 193-197. Ann. Epig. 1922. 96
 (4:- p. CCXXXV: (5:- loc. cit: (6:- in Hermes LVIII (1923) pp. 374 ff: (7:- Tib. 5: (8:- Some MSS. read "post bell. Phil.," but the earlier and better have "per". "Post bell. Phil." seems rather pointless as an identification of a date. In any case if "post" is read, the possibility of discrepancy with the Fasti Praenestini disappears.

Oct. 30. (contd.).

come after November 16th. The discrepancy, however, is no more than apparent as O. Leuze⁽¹⁾ shows. Even though the second battle was fought on October 23rd. and the issue of the campaign thereby decided, the campaign was not ended then. The Republican forces were still to be rounded up, their stores collected and so on. By people in Rome - and it is from their point of view that Suetonius' authorities wrote (cf. Romae in Palatio) - the campaign would be regarded as completed only when Octavian returned to Italy or when news of his departure from Philippi for Italy reached the capital.⁽²⁾

For the date of the first battle the same accuracy cannot be attained. But from the accounts of Plutarch and Appian an interval of some three weeks may be reasonably imagined between the battles. I have, therefore, put the first battle in the first few days of October.⁽³⁾

(1:- Bursian's Bericht der Altertumswissenschaft. vol. 227 (1930) pp. 99 f

(2:- Mr. Charlesworth in C.A.H. vol. X. p. 24 accepts the arguments of Hülsem and Marucchi. cf. his note "The date is now certain." To him I am indebted for the references to Leuze's article.

(3:- Rice Holmes has a curious mistake. He gives October 23rd as the date of the first battle (ARE. I. p. 35 margin) and "about Nov. 16th?" for the second (ib. p. 87 margin). Apparently he had not seen the published inscription and was misled by the descriptions of it in Y.W.C.S. (1922-3. p. 108 & 1923-4. p. 33) to which he refers. There October 23rd. is given as "the date of the battle of Philippi." Rice Holmes assumed, to account for the Suetonius passage, that the reference was to the first battle. POSTERIORE PROELIO/BRUTO OCCISO shows that it was the second battle which occurred on October 23rd.

The Death of Cassius.

Two accounts have come down to us of how Cassius came to commit suicide. Appian⁽¹⁾ gives both of them. From his camp Cassius retired to a hill nearer Philippi, whence because of the dust - and perhaps, too, his own shortsightedness⁽²⁾ - he could not see anything except his own plundered camp. According to one version of the story, he was overcome with shame at his defeat and ordered his freedman, Pindarus, to kill him; while Pindarus shrank from the deed, a messenger arrived from Brutus telling of his success; this merely added to Cassius' sense of shame and he compelled Pindarus to despatch him. The other story says that, as he waited on the hill, a body of horsemen was seen advancing towards him; he sent his friend Titinius - Dio calls him a centurion⁽³⁾ - to find out who they were; they were men of Brutus' and on Titinius' approach surrounded him with cries of joy and congratulation. Cassius from the distance mistook their effusive welcome for the opposite, and, thinking he had sent Titinius to his death, retired with Pindarus and was found slain with his own sword.

It is difficult at this distance to pronounce in favour of either story. Plutarch⁽⁴⁾, Dio⁽⁵⁾, Velleius⁽⁶⁾, and Florus⁽⁷⁾ all give the second. Appian, on the other hand, seems to prefer the first. The second with its more dramatic element would certainly be more popular, which may tell against its probability.

Pindarus was never seen again and a suspicion arose that he had murdered his master.⁽⁸⁾ Why he should do so and how, is not obvious.

It is easy - and right - to blame Cassius for his too ready despair; and his death certainly contributed largely to his side's eventual defeat. But we should notice, also, that, according to Plutarch⁽⁹⁾, Brutus had on the morning of the battle declared to him his own intention of committing suicide in the event of defeat.

(1:- IV, 113: (2:- Plut. Brut. 43, 3: (3:- XLVII, 46, 4: (4:- Brut. 43, 3-5.
 (5:- XLVII, 46, 3-5: (6:- II. 70: (7:- II, 17, 12-13: (8:- Plut. l. c.) . . .
 (9:- l. c. 40, 3-5. cf. Flor. II. 17, 14.

Brutus' Forces at Philippi.(a) Infantry.

Brutus' legions were gathered thus:-

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1 in Greece, especially from ex-Pompeians. | (Plut.Brut.25,1.
Dio.XLVII.21,3). |
| 1 in Macedonia, in charge of L. Piso. | (Phil.X. 6,13.) |
| 3 in Illyria, in charge of Vatinius. | (App.IV.75). |
| 1 in Illyria, in charge of C. Antony. | (App.IV.75.Phil.X,6,13) |
| 2 in Macedonia, composed of natives. | (App.III.79:IV.75). |

He had, therefore, 8 legions in all at Philippi (App.IV.75:88).

but they were under strength (App.IV.88).

Notes:-

1. Cic.Phil.X.6,13. says, on Brutus' own authority, that C. Antony had only 7 cohorts. Perhaps Brutus had, before writing to Rome, cut off three cohorts from Antony's force, as Plutarch (Brut.26,2) describes.
2. Cicero in ad Brut. I,2,1 says that Brutus had only 5 legions in May 43 B.C. after defeating C. Antony, whereas according to the above table he had 6. Perhaps Cicero only counts the regular legions and omits the first one gathered in Greece.
3. Velleius II, 69,4 gives Brutus' total as 7. Appian's details make his number preferable.
4. Appian IV, 88 is clear enough despite textual difficulties. The meaning is: Brutus had 8 legions all below full strength; Cassius had eleven of which 9 were below strength. Thus they had 2 full legions and 17 incomplete (19 in all) with a grand total of 80,000 infantry.

Page 32 (contd.)

(b) Cavalry.

Appian (IV.88) says that in the review at the Gulf of Melas Brutus had the following cavalry:-

4,000 from Gaul¹ and Lusitania.

and 2,000 from Thrace and Illyria, Parthia and Thessally.

while Cassius had,

2,000 from Spain and Gaul¹.

4,000 (mounted archers) from Arabia, Persia and Media.

5,000 from Galatia.

This gives a total for the combined armies of 17,000. Later, Appian (IV,108) says that at Philippi they had between them 20,000 cavalry. Rice Holmes (A.R.E.p.85 note 2) thinks that the statements are merely contradictory. I think that the difference may be explained by the words in para. 108 "ἀλλὰ..... τοῖς Θρακίοις: i.e. 3,000 local Thracians had joined Brutus and Cassius between the review at Melas and the battle of Philippi.

(1:- That these are Western Gauls, and not from Galatia is shown by Appian's use of the word Κέλτοι. For the Galatians in the same passage he uses Γαλατῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ.

APPENDIX I.Ancient Literary Authorities for the Life of Brutus.1 Contemporary Sources.

Of contemporary sources, although several accounts of Brutus were written by men who knew him¹, the only extant author of any great importance from our point of view is Cicero. Brutus figures in varying degrees in his Epistles, his Philippic Orations and his rhetorical and philosophical treatises. Of the latter the most important are the Brutus, the Orator ad M. Brutum, the de Finibus the Academica and the Tusculan Disputations, all of which along with other works were dedicated to Brutus. From them, especially the first mentioned, in which Brutus is an interlocutor, we derive much scattered knowledge of Brutus' literary training, opinions and compositions. References are made to these works throughout this thesis and especially in chapter XIII, but, when considering the praises of Brutus contained in them, one must make allowance for the demands of mere etiquette and for Cicero's consistent and wholehearted fulfilment of them. The Philippics throw some valuable light on Brutus' work after the murder of Caesar, especially in Macedonia and against C. Antony in Illyricum, an account of which is given in Phil.X,4,9 to 7,14, and 11,23-26; the same period is referred to in Phil.XI.11,26-27 and XIII.15,30 and 16,32. Phil,X.3,6 to 4,9 describes in general terms Brutus' life in the months April to August 44 B.C. when he was in semi-retirement in Italy, and the same period is alluded to in different connections in Phil.I,3,8 to 4,10 and 15,36, Phil II.13,31 and 38,97. Other notices of Brutus especially in connection with the murder of Caesar and the events before and after it are found passim. It is a well known fact that Cicero's allusions to Antony in the Philippics though contemporary cannot for reasons of political and personal enmity be taken always at their face value and the same is sometimes true, though in a less degree and for the opposite/

1:- see pp. 414ff below.

opposite reasons, of his references to Brutus, e.g. his descriptions of the reception given to the *Ludi Apollinares* are certainly coloured by political partisan-ship⁽¹⁾. The letters of Cicero are our most valuable and sometimes our only, source of information for four different phases of Brutus' life. (a) All we know of his money-lending activities in Cyprus and Cappadocia comes from *Att.V.18,4:20,6:21,10-13:VI,1,2-8:2,7-10;3,5-7*. (b) Of Brutus in 46-45 after his return from the Civil War we have references in *Fam.XIII,10-14*, which are all letters from Cicero commending various parties and individuals to Brutus, as governor in Cisalpine Gaul; while his return from Gaul and his life thereafter until the autumn of 45 B.C. are mentioned in *Att.XII,13,1:14,4:15:17:18,2:19,3:21,1* (of his "Cato") *27,3:29,1:36,2:37,1:38,3*. *XIII,3,2:4,2:5,2* and *3* (of his "Fannius") *6,3:7,2:8* of his "Caelius": *9,2:10,3:11,1-2:12,3:14,2:16,2:17:18:22,4:23,1* and *2:25,2* and *3:33,5:36:37,3:38,1:39:40,1:41,2:44,3:46,3* (of his "Cato") *48,2*. (c) After the murder of Caesar we derive many details of Brutus' movements, activities and plans during his stay in Italy - just those details which help to give a feeling of accuracy to our estimate of him - from *Att.XIV.2,3:5,1:7,1:8,1* and *2:10,1:11,1:12,3:14,2* (of the Ides) *15,1* and *4:16,2:17,4:18,4:19,1:20,2* and *3* and *4: XV,1a, 3* and *5: 1b,2* (of his Capitoline speech) *3,3:4,3* and *5:5,1-2:6,1-3:9,1-2:10:11,1-3:12,1 & 2:16:17,1:18,2:19,1* and *2:20,2* and *3:21,1:22:23:24:25:26,1-2:27, 2&3:28:29,1* and *2: XVI,1,1and 3* and *6:2,1* and *3:3,6:4,1-2* and *4:5, 1* and *2-3:7,1* and *5-7*. *Fam.XI,2* and *3* are letters from Brutus and Cassius to Antony and *Fam XII,1* is from Cicero to Cassius. (d) After Brutus' departure from Italy we find him referred to in *Att.XV,13,4* and *XVI,8,2*. *Fam XII,2* to *12* are letters between Cicero and Cassius in which Brutus is mentioned frequently. The letters "ad Brutum" are a unique source for Brutus' activities in Illyricum after the defeat of C. Antony and contain besides many allusions to previous and current events in Italy. For the question of their genuineness, /

(1:- see p. 136f above.

genuineness, especially that of I 16 and 17, see Special Note 19 pp. 359ff. For this same period we derive some information from a few other epistles ad Familiares e.g. Fam. XII, 14 and 15 from Leutulus Spinther. Besides these four main groups there are in the letters some isolated references of value, e.g. Att. II, 24 on Brutus in the Vettian affair and Att. XI, 4, 2, on Brutus at Pharsalus. The value of the letters requires no emphasis and it may be said that although Cicero had frequent differences of opinion with Brutus, sometimes on more personal matters as in 51-50 B.C., sometimes on matters of public policy as in 44-43 B.C., he is usually very fair in his attitude to him. His complaints, if not justifiable as in 51-50 B.C., are usually understandable as in 43 B.C., when he wishes him to come to Italy. Only in the matter of Brutus' "Cato" does he seem to me over-querulous. (Att. XII, 21, 1) The pity is that a similar fairness is not displayed by some of the editors of the letters. (2)

Cornelius Nepos may also be regarded in a small degree as a contemporary source. In his life of Atticus he gives us two interesting references to Brutus; the genealogical tree of the Junians made by Atticus at Brutus' request is mentioned in 18, 3 and 8, 1-6 tells the story of Atticus' financial support of Brutus in 44-43 B.C. The friendship between the two is further noted in 9, 3; 10, 1 and 16, 1 while Atticus' regard for Servilia is mentioned in 11, 4.

2. Later Sources.

For purposes of easy treatment the writers, posterior to Brutus' time, who mention him, may be divided into these groups.

(a) Those who write directly of him. i.e. The Biographers - Plutarch and Aurelius Victor (3).

(b) More general writers in whom Brutus occurs incidentally. These include :-

1. Historians (a) Roman:- Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Eutropius, Orosius and the epitome of Livy.

(b) Greek:- Nicolaus Damascenus, Appian and Dio Cassius.

(1:- see p. 268 f. above. (2:- see pp. 276 ff. above. (3:- This name, though probably wrongly applied to the work in question, is kept for ease of reference.

- ii. Rhetoricians:- Tacitus (in the Dialogus) and Quintilian, with whom we may group the grammarians Friscian, Diomedes and Charisius.
- iii. Miscellaneous writers who make a few isolated references to Brutus or his activities - Horace, the two Plinies, Martial, Seneca, and Lucan.

(a) Biographers.

1. Plutarch. (circ.50-120 A.D.)

As an authority on Brutus Plutarch, even more perhaps than in his other Lives, must be treated with the greatest respect. Apart from the source of his general historical background which was almost certainly Asinius Pollio, perhaps through a Greek rendering,⁽¹⁾ he made use also of a group of writings by authors personally acquainted with Brutus, all of whom shared in some way in his activities. First, dealing apparently with incidents in Brutus' life as a whole was a Memoir of Brutus by his stepson M. Bibulus⁽²⁾. While this work does not seem to have been a comprehensive or coherent account of his life it supplied Plutarch with various isolated incidents, the veracity of which cannot be in question; e.g. the stories of Porcia, Bibulus' mother, in Brut.13 and 23,2-4. Bibulus served with Brutus in the East⁽³⁾ and details in §§ 24 - 53 may come from his work also. Although the general tone of these memoirs must have been pro-Brutus their partisan nature could not have been such as to distort the truth in any way concerning the relations between Brutus and the Triumvirs; for after Philippi Bibulus along with Messalla (below) accepted the victors' pardon⁽⁴⁾ and lived thereafter on very friendly terms with both Antony and Octavian. The former at one time made him commander of a fleet, and bestowed on him the governorship of Asia and he was frequently employed to act between the two⁽⁵⁾.

Secondly, Plutarch was familiar with a work called "Brutus" by the rhetorician Empylus - at one time a member of Brutus' household - /

(1):- cf. G. Thouret in Leipsiger Studien I, 203ff; Gurlitt in Philol. Supp.V.p.615 thinks the Greek intermediary was Strabo.
 (2):- Plut.Brut.13,2; (3):- cf.App.IV.104:136 fin. (4):-ibid.136 fin.
 (5):- ibid.38:V,132 fin.

which dealt with the conspiracy against Caesar. Plutarch's description of it as "brief but by no means valueless" shows that he had read it and, since he thought highly of it, had presumably used it in §§ 7-18. It may be the source of such stories as the anonymous letters in § 9: the conversation of Brutus and Cassius in § 10: Brutus' efforts to involve Ligarius § 11, Statilius, Flavonius and Labeo in § 12, 2-5, and Decimus Brutus in § 12, 4-5 and perhaps some of the details of the Ides came from it too e.g. Porcia's illness § 15, 4-6 and Brutus conduct before the murder § 14, 3-5.

Thirdly P. Volumnius, an officer who served with Brutus during all his campaigns and a man of some philosophical knowledge, wrote a work which Plutarch mentions more than once in his account of the campaign of Philippi. The valuable account of Brutus' last hours certainly comes from Volumnius, who was one of his companions, and since Volumnius had been with Brutus *ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς* his work may have dealt with all the campaigns in Illyricium, Thrace, Asia and at Philippi, and Plutarch may have drawn from it for 24 to the end. Perhaps the account of Brutus' spectre in Asia and Cassius' philosophical explanation of it came from Volumnius, to whom as a philosopher and a man interested in omens, the incident would appeal.

Lastly, a work similar to that of Volumnius was written by Messalla Corvinus, who with Bibulus (above) seems to have been the senior of the Republican under-officers. Plutarch mentions it also in his account of Philippi. The remarks

(1.- Plut. Brut. 2, 3. : (2.- ibid. 48, 1. : (3.- Plut. Brut. 48, 1.

(4.- Plutarch (l.c.) says that Volumnius does not mention the second appearance of the ghost at Philippi, which may indicate that he did mention the first appearance in Asia.

(5.- Plut. Brut. 40, 1-2: and 6: 41, 3: 45, 4. App. IV, 136 fin.

(6.- Brut. 40, 1-2 and 6: 41, 3: 42, 4: 45, 1 and 4: 53, 1-2.

made above regarding the friendly attitude of Bibulus' work towards Brutus apply equally to these last two. Of Volumnius we know nothing after Philippi but he was certainly alive under the rule of Octavian and Antony and could hardly have dared to falsify facts in favour of Brutus. Messalla rose even higher in the service of Octavian than Bibulus, but always preserved an attitude of great respect towards Brutus and Cassius, even in the Emperor's presence.^(1.)

Whether from these works or from his own instincts as a moralist, Plutarch formed a great regard for Brutus and his accounts of him are always tinged with admiration. His leanings, however, are never excessive enough to bring his work within the limits of purely partisan writing. Although he admires and respects Brutus he never bases these opinions on any distorted view of the man or his works. We find him expressing condemnation when he feels it to be necessary,^(2.) and it is obvious that he had also read writings from the opposite camp. He refers to Augustus' Memoirs,^(3.) to Nicolaus^(4.) and Valerius Maximus.^(5.) There may be times when his enthusiasm for Brutus leads him into exaggeration of his importance, as in his account of his share in Cato's expedition in Cyprus,^(6.) and he shows no sign of having appreciated Brutus' weaknesses, but there is, so far as I can see, not a single statement -^(7.) barring obvious "howlers" - to which real exception can be taken.

Remembering his particular interest in Brutus as "the last of the Romans" and the scope of the writings he used, we have nothing to be surprised at in the proportions of his work on Brutus. Before 58 B.C. he has hardly anything to tell us of - § 1 discusses Brutus' descent; § 2 his studies - because Plutarch's interest in his heroes is naturally in their adult years, unless interesting anecdotes of their youth are available; and as we have seen, Brutus' early years seem to have been singularly uneventful. Nor is there any reason to think.

(1.-) *ibid.* 53, 1-2. : (2.-) e.g. 46, 1-2. : (3.-) 41, 4. : (4.-) 53, 4 and 5.
 (5.-) 53, 4. : (6.-) See p. 18 above. : (7.-) e.g. when Deiotarus is called king of Africa. 6, 3.

that Plutarch's specialist authorities, except perhaps Bibulus - and probably not even he - would have anything to say of his early years. § 3 describes the years 58 - 56 B.C. in Cyprus. From there he passes straight to the civil war in § 4; and for the years between, though we have found a good deal to discuss,⁽¹⁾ our knowledge is derived mainly from scattered references in Cicero's letters and in the rhetorical writers. §§ 4-6 give a very sketchy account of Brutus' part in the Civil War and after up to his governorship in Gaul. Brutus' urban praetorship and his relations generally with Caesar receive one section § 7. The Conspiracy receives eleven sections (8 - 18), of which four and a half (14 - 18) deal with the events of the Ides - an indication probably of the use of Empylus. The events following the murder occupy two sections (19 - 20) and the rather dull period of Brutus' residence in Latium and Campania three (21 - 23). Of these three one (22) deals with the entry of Octavian - pointing to the use of Augustus' memoirs - and it includes a confused account, chronologically wrong, of the quarrel over Octavian between Brutus and Cicero; while the last of the three (23) is devoted almost entirely to the story - after Bibulus - of Brutus' parting from his wife. His activities in Greece, Macedonia and against C. Antony in Illyricum receive three rather long sections (24 - 26); for which Bibulus and/or Volumnius may have supplied details.⁽²⁾ § 27 discusses events in Italy, written again with special reference to Octavian. The events in Asia occupy ten sections (28 - 37) and the amount of detail given probably comes again from Bibulus or Volumnius. The remaining sixteen sections (38 - 53) deal

(1.- See Chap. III above. : (2.- Plutarch does not mention the expedition in Thrace - a clear indication that he was not using Livy to any extent (cf. epit.122) and probably that he was merely selecting material from the works mentioned above.

with the Philippi campaign on the authority - frequently acknowledged - of Volumnius and Messalla.

2. Aurelius Victor is the name usually given - probably wrongly - over a collection of short biographies 'de viris illustribus urbis Romae' which includes also famous women - Tullia Cloelia, Livia, Claudia, Cleopatra - and men of non-Roman nationality - Pyrrhus, Hannibal, Antiochus, Viriathus, Mithridates. It dates from the fourth century A.D. about the time of Eutropius and though it may preserve in some very slight degree the Livian tradition through Florus,^{(1.} it is frequently very inaccurate and cannot be considered of any great value. The account it gives of Brutus is so short as to admit of complete detailed examination. It contains sixteen statements.

1. Brutus was the imitator of his uncle, Cato.
2. He studied Philosophy at Athens.
3. He studied Oratory at Rhodes.
4. He had a love affair with the actress Cytheris.
5. He was quaestor.
6. As quaestor he refused to go with Caesar to Gaul.
7. He was with Appius Claudius in Cilicia, presumably as quaestor.
8. When Appius was prosecuted, he was not in the least involved.
9. In the Civil War, he was dragged from Cilicia against his will by Cato.
10. In the Civil War he then followed Pompey.
11. After Pharsalus he received Caesar's pardon.
12. He ruled over Gaul (Cisalpine not specified) as proconsul.
13. He killed Caesar in the Senate house with other conspirators.
14. On account of the hatred of the veterans he was sent to Macedonia.

(1.- cf. C.A.H. vol. IX, p.888.

15. He was defeated by Octavian at Philippi.

16. He offered his throat to Strato.

Omissions of important facts are too numerous and too obvious to require mention. Of these sixteen statements no more than nine have direct support from other authors - 1, 2, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 16; and most of these, especially the last six, would be known to any one with a rudimentary knowledge of the times, while it required no special study of Brutus to know that he imitated Cato, studied at Athens and was not prosecuted with Appius Claudius. Of the remaining seven statements, which have no other direct support - 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 14 -, one (5, that he was quaestor) is very probable and seems to have indirect support from Asconius;⁽¹⁾ another (9, concerning Cato's influence on him in 49 B.C.) contains a germ of truth but involves a suggestion, almost certainly mistaken, that he was unwilling to leave Cilicia;⁽²⁾ a third (14, that he was sent to Macedonia), while also containing some truth, makes a palpable error in saying he was sent, as if officially, to Macedonia - an error which reveals ignorance of the simplest facts of the period. 6 and 7 are fully discussed on pp. 316ff. where it will be seen that the former (6, that he refused to go with Caesar) may be true enough and the latter (7, that he was with Appius as quaestor) is not so probable. Of the remaining two, 3 (that he studied oratory in Rhodes) is a palpable error arising probably from a confusion with Cassius;⁽³⁾ and 4 (his love affair with Cytheris) has the air of a late invention of anti-Republicans intended to diminish his reputation for virtue.

The question of whence the author derived his seven unsupported statements is interesting, if perhaps not very valuable, speculation. Four of them (3, 7, 9 and 14)

(1.- Mil. 30. see p. 317f. above. : (2.- see p. 40, note 4. above.

(3.- cf. App. IV, 65.

probably arise from mistakes - confusions or assumptions on the author's own part; 3, as already noted, from confusion with Cassius; 7, perhaps from confusion with Brutus' money-lending, his stay in Cyprus with Cato (not otherwise mentioned) and his later service with Sestius (not clearly understood); 9 may involve the same confusion as above but may also be mere assumption from the facts that Brutus was in Cilicia and then at Pharsalus and that Cato's was the great influence on him; 14 is obvious assumption - "Brutus went to Macedonia; presumably therefore he was sent by the Senate whose cause he supported". Of the other three (4, 5, and 6) 4 is explained above as probably of anti-Republican origin; 5 and 6 may be mere conjectures founded on the previous confusion, which resulted in 7, but the story of his refusal to serve with Caesar might have occurred in a Republican work as an instance of how Brutus repelled Caesar's advances, or in an Imperial work, as an instance of the kindness Caesar used towards him.

(b) More General Writers.(i) Historians.Roman.

As a group the later Roman Historians, despite their interest in him have little to say of Brutus as an individual. Inevitably he figures largely in the story of 44 - 42 B.C. and much is said of his character. The universal attitude, however, - and it is never departed from - is that he was a noble and virtuous man, whose merits and reputation were damned irretrievably by the murder of Caesar. That verdict repeated 'ad nauseam' by later writers is the inevitable verdict of men writing under the shadow of the Imperial throne. Only Lucan, more of a poet than a historian, dares to paint a different picture.

Valerius Maximus (fl. circ. 26 A.D.) might in his nine books of *Exempla* have given some valuable details of Brutus, since he was able to use contemporary sources. But his respect for the Emperor Tiberius, to whom his work was inscribed, limited his anecdotes to simple stories about Brutus at Philippi (e.g. I,4,6 : 5,7 : V,1,11 : VI,4,5) and about Porcia (III,2,15 : IV,6,5) all of which we know from other authors.

Velleius Paterculus (scrips. circ 30 A.D.) had himself seen service in the East under Tiberius but whatever ability he may have derived therefrom to appreciate Brutus' campaigns is discounted also by the demands of Imperial times. He does, however, include Brutus in his list of men of literary talent (II,36,2). His very brief account of events in 44 - 42 B.C. (II,56 - 72) is founded on the official Augustan account. The conspiracy and the events on and immediately after the Ides are summarised in 56 - 59 : the murderers are naturally condemned as ingrates, Brutus no less than the others, (57,1 cf. 52,5), yet he gives Brutus the credit of limiting the victims to

Caesar (58,2). The farewell edict of Brutus and Cassius is described in 62 and their gathering of forces in the provinces is briefly mentioned in the same chapter, Brutus' efforts in Illyricum receiving further attention in 69,3. The Lycian campaign is dismissed in the same chapter with three words - "Brutus Lycios devicerat." Even his account of Philippi is of little value; for, despite his own military experience, the military aspect of the final campaign receives four lines - three for the first battle and one for the second - while the side issues such as Octavian's dream and the suicides of Cassius and Brutus occupy nineteen lines! The description of Brutus' death is astonishingly anatomical. He gives a good summary of what may be called the official Imperial verdict on Brutus' character - omnes virtutes unius temeritate facti abstulit (72,1). His reference to Brutus' age and his general chronological weaknesses are discussed in Special Note 2 pp. 290 ff. above.

Tacitus, whose opinion of Brutus as a man one would have valued, if only for the refreshing originality of his criticisms of his literary powers, mentions him only twice in his historical works - as the object of praise by the historian Crematius Cordus, for which Cordus was tried for treason under Tiberius (Annals IV,34.) and as not being represented by his statue at the funeral of Tertia his sister and widow of Cassius. (Tac. Ann. III,76.)

Suetonius (circ. 75 - 160 A.D.) is mainly helpful for his account of the conspiracy, the murder of Caesar and the events immediately following it. Inevitably his point of view is opposed to the conspirators and his account forms a complement to that of Plutarch. His sources because of his wide reading and his haphazard arrangement are always difficult to determine, but for the conspiracy he appears to have used at least two works of Caesarian origin. (1) a work by Cornelius Balbus, friend and

agent of Caesar, whom he quotes (81,2) on the omens preceding the Ides and (ii) either Nicolaus (see below) or his Caesarian original as is obvious from the resemblance of his story of the conspirators' deliberations with that of Nicolaus (80,4. Nic.23) When therefore he gives details not given elsewhere e.g. regarding the alleged intention of the conspirators to throw Caesar's body into the Tiber, to confiscate his property and rescind his acts, they must be regarded as of purely partisan origin, especially when they do not accord with the consistent policy and later conduct of the conspirators.⁽¹⁾ Of the events of the days after the Ides he is concerned with Caesar's will and funeral and gives no help regarding the conspirators' activities. He supplies some information about Caesar's affair with Servilia (50,2) but does not believe him to have been Brutus' father.

We are left with late epitomes of Florus (2nd cent.) Eutropius (4th cent. 363 A.D.) and Orosius (5th cent. 417 A.D.) all founded but not directly on Livy. They are however, very sketchy - Florus, for instance, omits to mention the second battle of Philippi - and their only real value is as supporting evidence. Florus described the conspiracy in II,13,92-95 and the Philippi campaign in II, 17 : Eutropius' story of the conspiracy is in VI, 25 and of Philippi in VII,3. Orosius recounts the conspiracy and the days after the Ides in VI,17,1-3; the activities of Brutus and Cassius^{in the East} very inaccurately (e.g. apud Athenas conveniunt totamque Graeciam depopulati sunt), and the Philippi campaign are given in 18,13-16.

(1. see page 97 note 4 above.

Greek (Historians).

Nicolaus of Damascus, philosopher and author of various works including a huge Universal History, who became secretary to Herod the Great, wrote a Life of Augustus, part of which has survived. It gives us our earliest account of the conspiracy and the murder of Caesar (19 - 27). In the details of actual events up to the murder he does not vary much from the normal tradition given by Plutarch, Appian and Dio, but his attitude towards the conspirators is dictated by his claimed friendship with Augustus and he denies them even the possibility of honourable political motive in their act. (19) The details he gives of the conspirators' deliberations (23), which he passed on to Suetonius, may be mere assumption; but they have an air of truth and could easily be discovered from some of the large number of conspirators after the event. For the events after the murder Nicolaus gives what seems a more accurate chronological version than the other Greeks, but it is unfortunately cut short by a huge lacuna. (2.)

Appian (fl. circ. 120 A.D.) perhaps as living further from the events is less inimical to Brutus and his colleagues than Nicolaus. He does admit that the murder of Caesar may have been prompted by other than purely personal motives but adds that if so the motives were grievously wrong (II,111). His opinion of Brutus is very much like that of the Roman historians already noted - that his virtues are outweighed by his crime against Caesar (IV,134). He shows no interest

(1.- For a slight variation - concerning Caesar's wounds - probably due to MS. corruption see p. 101 note 8 above.
 (2.- See pp. 324 above.

in Brutus before the conspiracy (II,111) and then gives a few backward glances at his earlier life e.g. his father's death, the rumour that he was Caesar's son, his pardon by Caesar after Pharsalus and his governorship in Gaul. His account of the conspiracy (II,111 - 117) does not differ much from those of Nicolaus and Plutarch and its main narrative may be derived from Pollio. Of the events from 15th to 17th March he gives a detailed story, of which the chronology is inaccurate.⁽¹⁾ Brutus' activities from March to September 44 B.C. are of small interest to him and in the little notice he gives to them he includes two errors (a) the notorious one regarding the allocation of Macedonia and Syria⁽²⁾ for 43 B.C. and (b) his idea that the 'cura annonae' foisted on Brutus and Cassius was over the whole of the provinces and was given them by the Senate as a mark of honour. (III,6.). His description of the Games of Apollo however seems to be accurate (III,23-24). These errors of Appian are typical of him for his interest was mainly in wars and his knowledge of constitutional matters sketchy and inaccurate. For Brutus' campaigns in the next two years he is an excellent and indeed our best authority. The account he gives of the struggle against C. Antony though not very full and containing one probable mistake regarding Vatinius;⁽³⁾ agrees on the whole with that of Plutarch and is much superior to Dio's (III,79 : IV,75). Brutus' other activities in Macedonia and Thrace are well summarised (IV,75). For the Lycian campaign, (IV,76 - 82), especially the attacks on Xanthus and Patara, and for Philippi (IV,87 - 138) he is indispensable. He has not the details to give of Brutus, which we find in Plutarch but these are not to be expected of him and

(1.- See pp. 322ff above. : (2.- See pp. 353f above.
 (3.- See p.159 n.3 above.

his descriptions of locality, manoeuvre and fighting are splendidly clear and graphic. I have shown that as regards an apparent variation from Plutarch concerning the first battle at Philippi, the two authors are merely writing from a different point of view. It is generally thought that Appian's main source for the period 44 - 42 B.C. was Asinius Pollio. He does not seem to have consulted the specialist works on Brutus, which Plutarch used, but for the battles Brutus fought he remains an excellent authority filling in the gaps, which Plutarch, by his narrower interest in Brutus, sometimes leaves.

Dio Cassius (fl. circ. 200 A.D.) for the life of Brutus as for other purposes is a disappointing source. His general attitude towards him is the normal one shared by Appian. Although his chief source for the period was Livy and he claimed to work hard at his sources, he makes several blunders concerning Brutus, which are only explicable if we imagine that he confused the personalities of him and Cassius. At the very beginning of his story of the conspiracy he disagrees with everyone else in thinking that Brutus was the prime mover and that it was Cassius who had to be won over by him (xliv,14,1-2); and the rest of his story (xliv,1-19) is vague and rhetorical. He thinks too that the bestowal of honours on Caesar was part of the conspirators' policy (xliv,7,2-4) - an idea only suggested by the Caesarian Nicolaus - and that the attempts to address him as king and to crown his statues were their manoeuvres too. Even in the events on the Ides he is sketchy and vague compared with the others (xliv,18 - 19) and, like Appian, his chronology of the days following is neither clear nor accurate (xliv,20 - 52) ^{(1.} Then follows the astonishing blunder of thinking that it was Cassius, not Brutus, who was urban praetor and responsible for the Games of Apollo, (xlvii,

(1.- See pp. 322 ff above.

20, 2-3) and all through the following years he seems to regard Cassius as the more important of the two though Cicero makes it clear that Brutus was. While Appian's interest is mainly in campaigns Dio's, it is generally agreed, was in constitutional matters, though for the Republic at least he is not very dependable even in that sphere. For that reason he gives the more accurate account of the provincial problem of Brutus and Cassius, and, conversely, in regard to the campaigns they fought he is of much the less value. His version of the fighting in Illyricum is brief and inaccurate (xlvi,21,4¹ -7); the Lycian campaign is similarly brief, especially for the siege of Xanthus (xlvi,34); and his story of Philippi is singularly worthless, reading, as it does sometimes, more like a rhetorical exercise than a piece of historical writing. Dio is more interested in giving lengthy diatribes on political philosophy (e.g. xlvi,39), and lists of omens (ib.40 - 41) and his descriptions of fighting, especially in the first battle at Philippi (ib. 42 - 44), are very obviously set pieces. Yet we learn some things from him, which would be otherwise lost. He alone tells of Brutus' first preliminary visit to Asia and that this is a preservation from Livy is clearly shown by a comparison of xlvi,24, 4 - 6 with epit. 122. Again he adds some details to our knowledge of the fall of Patara, though these are perhaps hardly so acceptable.² For these extra details one may accept Dio as giving Livy's version but so far as Brutus is concerned, when we find Dio in opposition to others it is impossible, considering the palpable errors he makes regarding him, to prefer him to Plutarch or Appian.

(1.- See p.36 above. : 2.- See p. 206 note 8. above.

(ii) Rhetoricians.

The references to Brutus of the rhetorical writers, Tacitus (in his Dialogus) and Quintilian are of inestimable help in the arrival at an estimate of Brutus' qualities and merits as a writer. They supply an unbiased verdict on him, free from political complications, which is necessary to balance the obviously superficial praises of Cicero. Their comments on Brutus are grouped and discussed in Chap. XIII. Here we need add only that both writers show an intimate knowledge of Brutus' works.

The grammarians, Priscian, Diomedes and Charisius preserve for us the names of Brutus' two lesser philosophical works.

(iii) Miscellaneous writers

Those writers of different sorts whom I have listed on p. 414 above make miscellaneous references to Brutus which are mentioned in appropriate parts of this thesis. They are too short and disconnected to require or deserve discussion here. One may, however, make separate mention of Lucan, who for some features of the civil war is sometimes regarded as an historical authority. He cannot be so regarded for Brutus. As the slayer of Caesar Brutus was naturally a hero to Lucan but the stories he has of him in the 'Civil War' have no foundation in fact. They are two; (i) Brutus' visit to Cato at the outbreak of the war and their long talk regarding the side Brutus is to choose (II. 234 - 325) and (ii) Brutus' vain attempt to murder Caesar at Pharsalus, though disguised as a common soldier (VII, 586 - 596).

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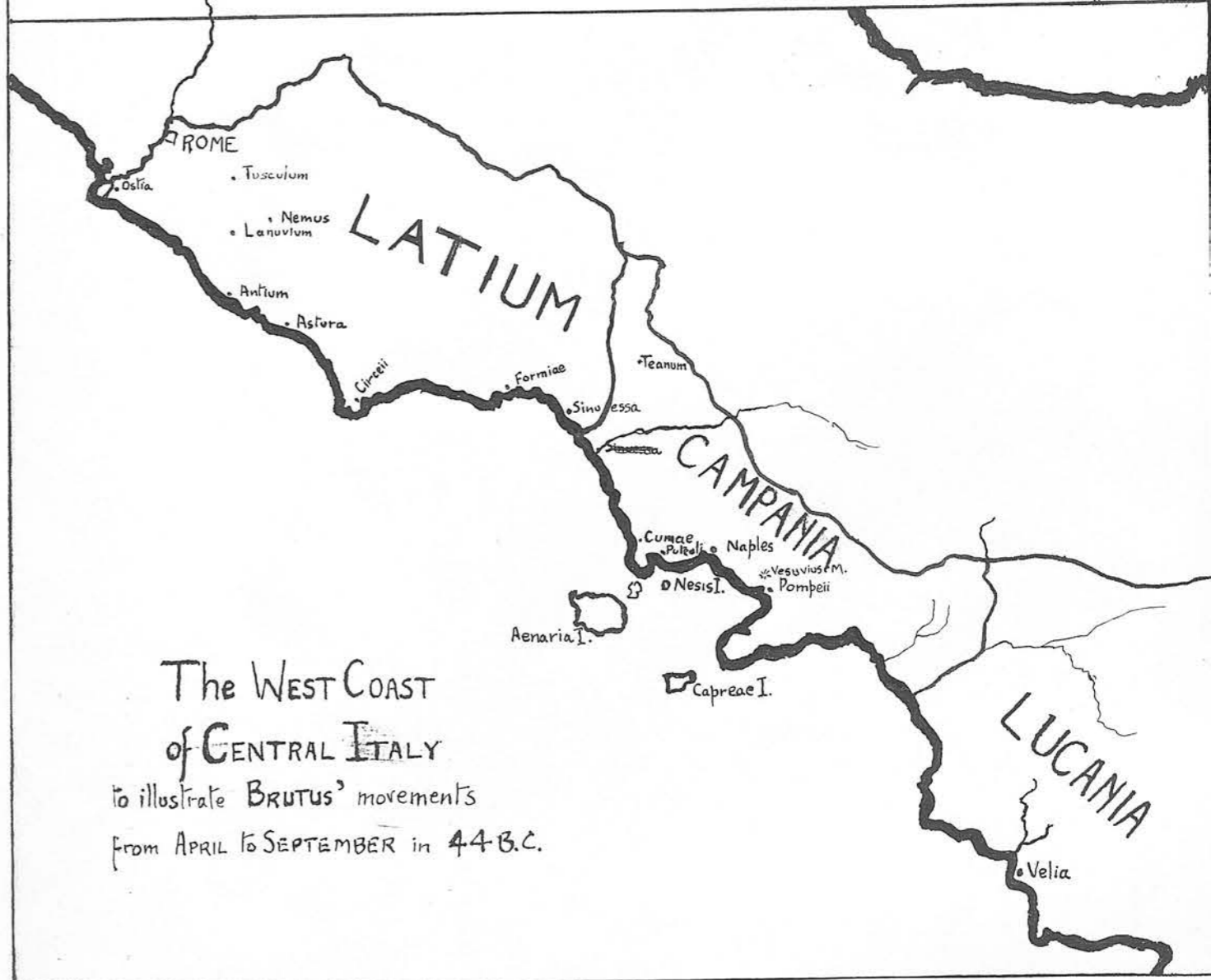
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The West Coast
of CENTRAL ITALY
to illustrate BRUTUS' movements
from APRIL to SEPTEMBER in 44 B.C.

FIGURE 1

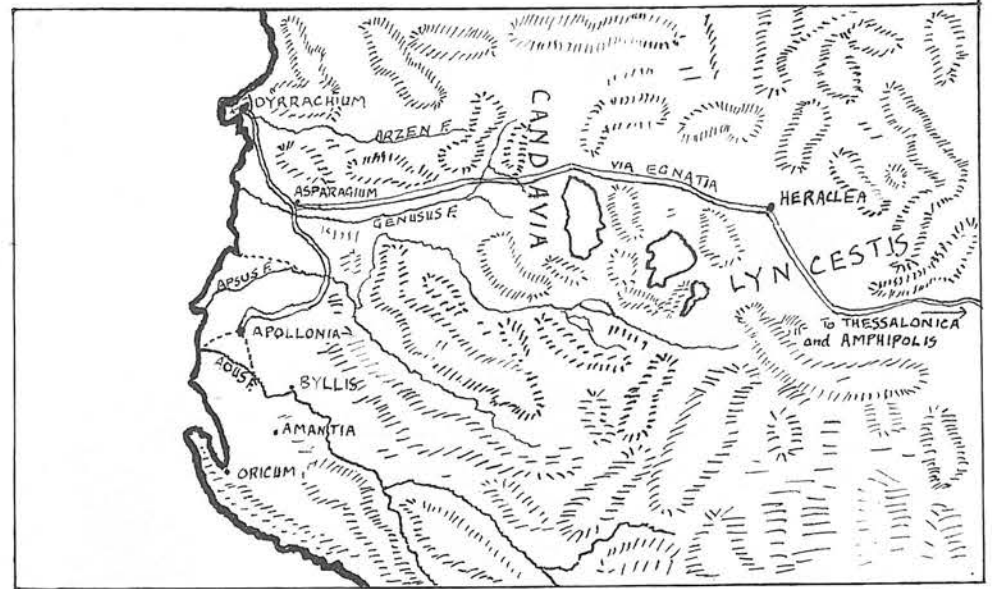


FIGURE 2.
 SOUTHERN ILLYRICUM and WESTERN MACEDONIA
 to illustrate BRUTUS' activities from JANUARY to JUNE 43 B.C.

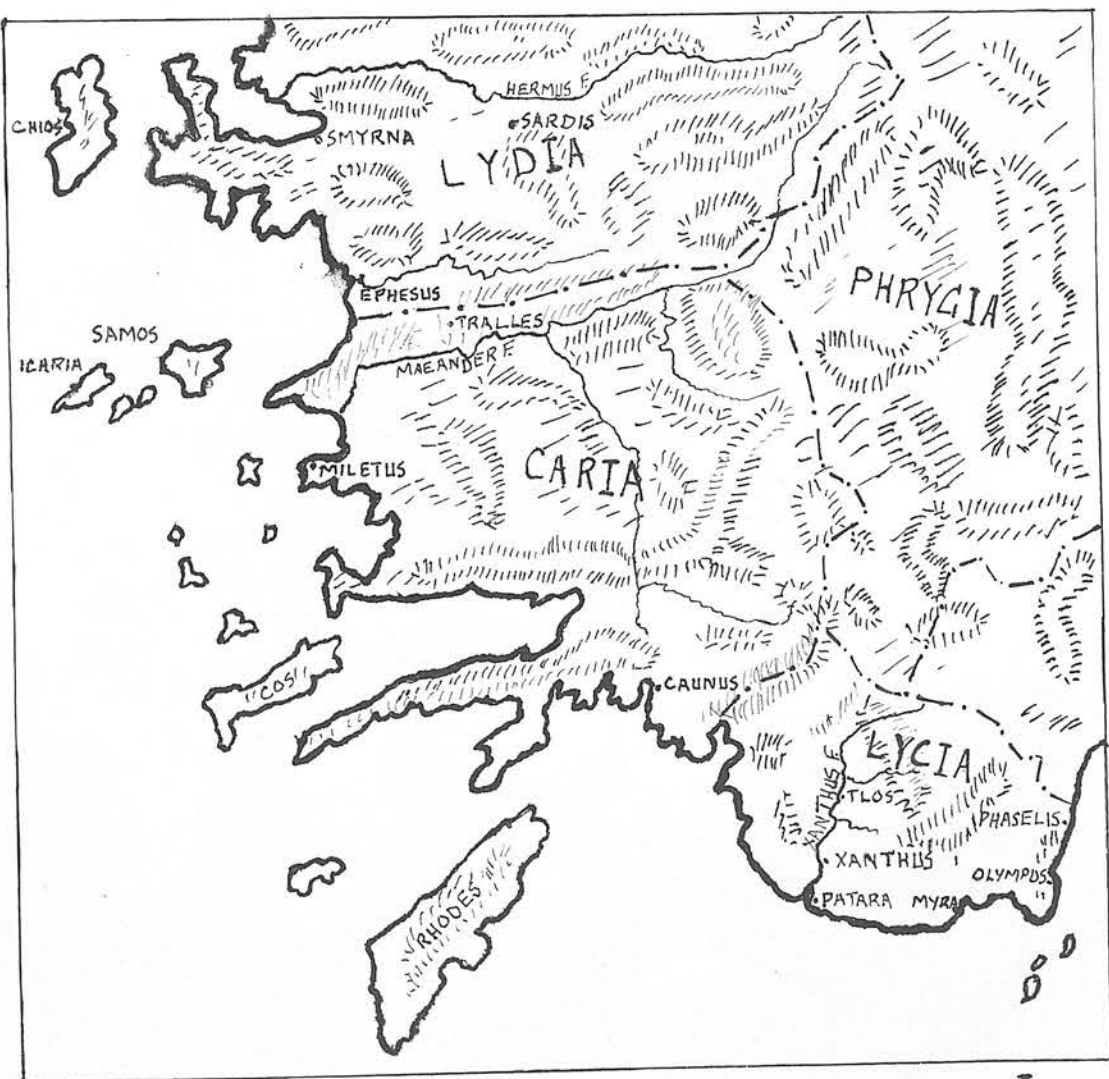


FIGURE 3
 SOUTH-WESTERN ASIA MINOR
 to illustrate BRUTUS' activities in the SUMMER of 42 B.C.

Sketch-map of the Plain of Philippi from S. Casson's 'Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria'.

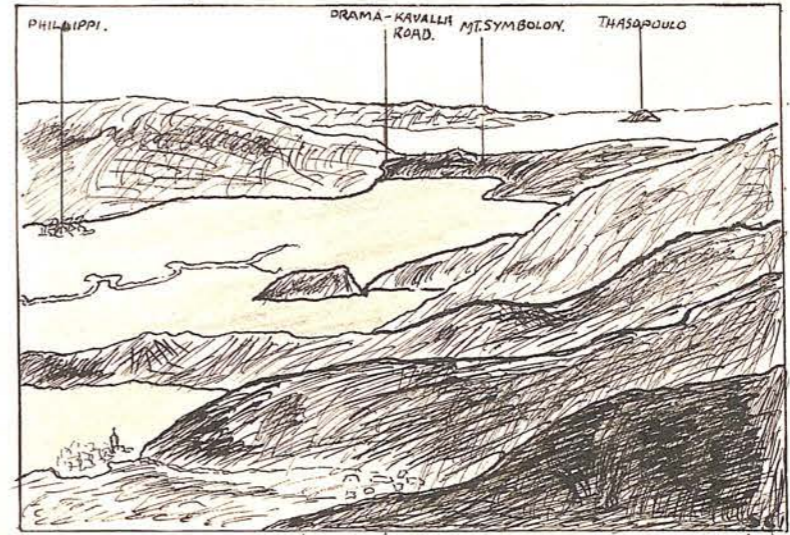
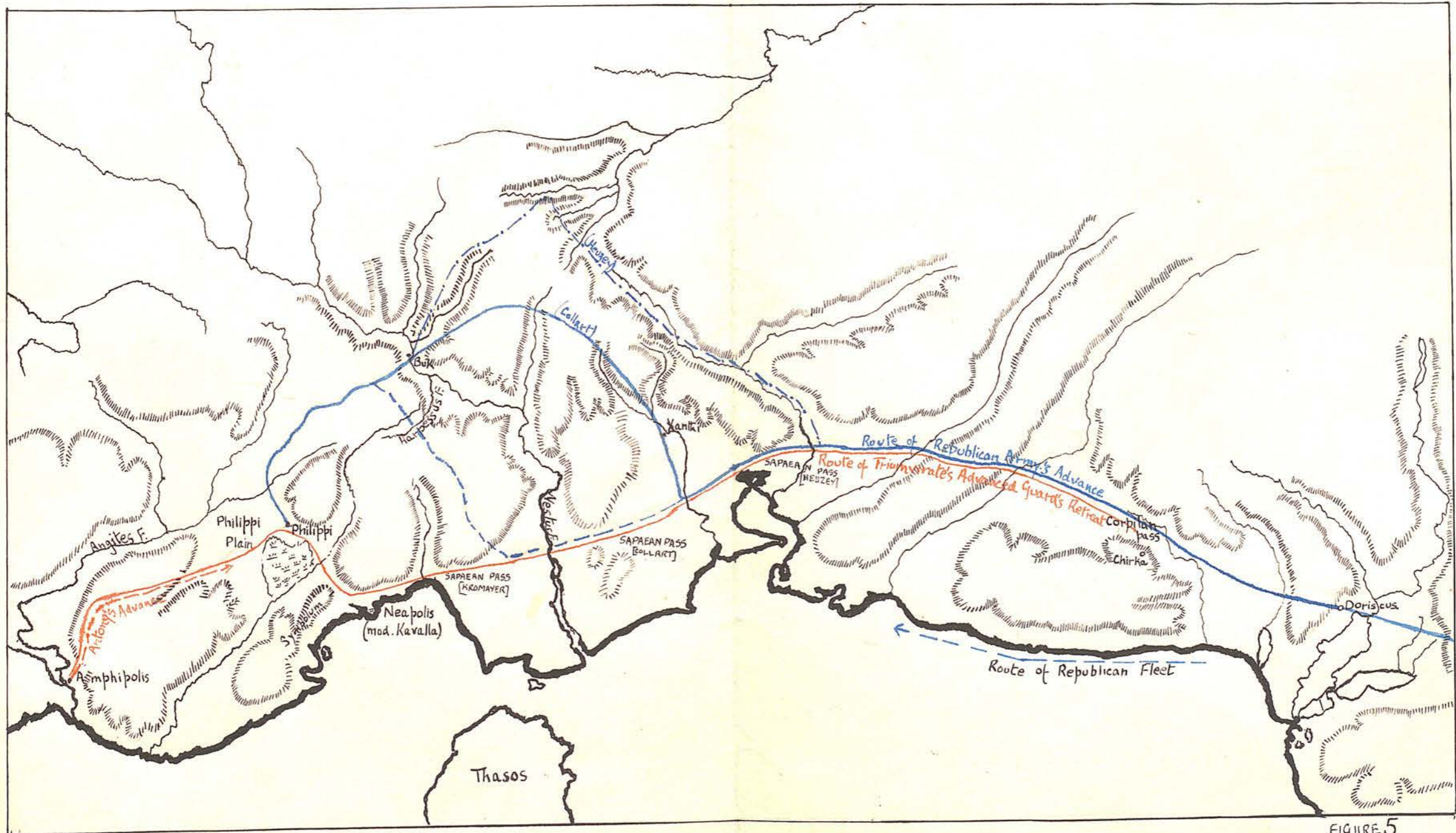
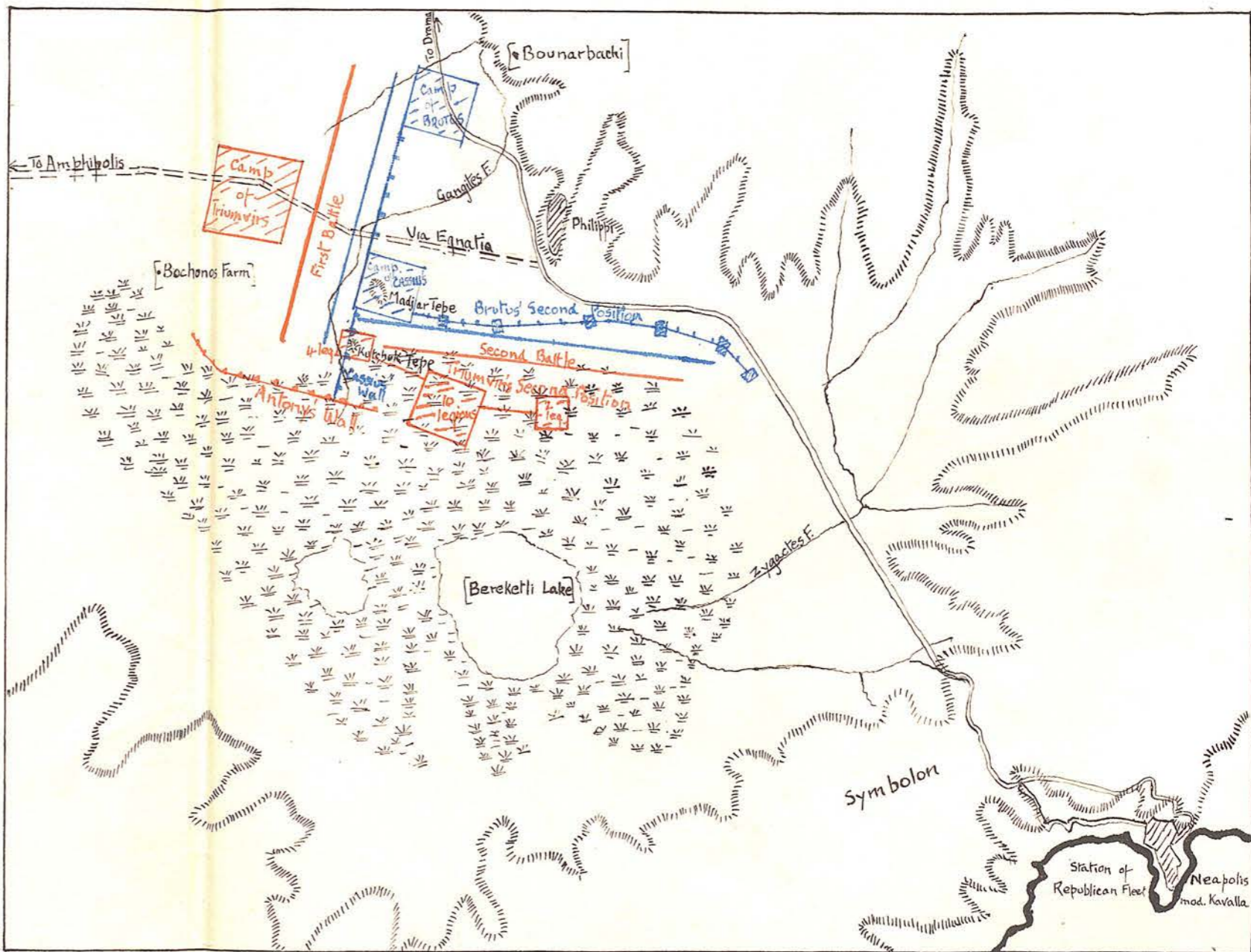


FIGURE 4.
Sketch made on Mount Pangaeum, looking south-east. Height about 1,400 ft.



The Approach of the opposing Forces to PHILIPPI

FIGURE 5.



The Battles of PHILIPPI

FIGURE 6.