

## LECTURE 2 POMPEY

### I. ASCENDANCY OF POMPEY:

1. The career of Pompey, leading to his political alliance with **Crassus**
2. The Decades of the 70's and 60's, tumultuous years with wars on all fronts
3. Ascendancy Caesar
4. **Cicero's** role in these years
5. Political Background: The model of conflict between *populares* and *optimates*/senate
  - a. The Gracchi had privileged the Popular Assemblies
  - b. Marius had privileged the consul and the army.
  - c. Sulla - had privileged the senate:
  - d. These men had defined the *Optimates* and the *Populares* and had set the precedent of civil war.
  - e. Unlike Alexandria, Carthage had no apostolic tradition (i.e. Mark did not proselytize/evangelize there).
6. The new model was more complex (and is better documented).
  - a. Personal Alliances became more influential.
  - b. Loyalties of *Optimates* and *Populares* became harder to distinguish.
  - c. Early career of Pompey demonstrates this pattern.
  - d. Any foreign conquest is for purpose of building individual power base
7. Pompey the Great: Sources:
  - a. Appian
    - i. *Civil Wars*: Spartacan Slave revolt 1.116-1.120
    - ii. *Mithridatic Wars*: Third Mithridatic War: 10:69-71; 11: 72-78; 12:79-86; 13:87-90; 14:91-96; 15:97-105; 16:106-113; 17:114-119.
  - b. Plutarch *Lives*:
    - iii. **Pompey**
    - iv. **Crassus**
    - v. **Sertorius**
    - vi. Lucullus

## 8. Ascendancy

- a. Pompeius "Magnus" is an ironic nickname, given by Sulla and his troops.
- b. Pompey supported Sulla 83 BC
- c. Sulla also called him the "teenage butcher"
- d. During the Social War, his father was an effective but unpopular consul and Sullan partisan killed by Damasippus at the behest of Marius.

## 9. Pompey entered public life by marching 3 of his father's legions into Rome in 83 to support Sulla.

- e. As a private citizen, he demanded a triumph at the age of 23, which Sulla granted to him.
- f. Although some think he lacked the instincts of a ruler he showed his ambitious, charismatic, and talented character
- g. He claimed consulship with the threat of his army
- h. He was too young for the cos. and had never held office.
- i. He would change his political position and "go popularis" to dismantle Sulla's reforms.
  - i. He restored the full powers of the tribunes.
  - ii. He staffed law court juries with senators and equestrians
  - iii. He revived the position of censor to enroll new Italian citizens in voting tribes

## 10. Rebellion of **Lepidus** 78 BC:

- a. Rebellion of **Lepidus** was the event that launched Pompey's rise to power
- b. However As consul for 78 BC (Lucius Aemilius) **Lepidus** (a patrician *popularis*) began process of dismantling Sulla's reforms:
- c. Platform:
  - i. Restoration of Proscribed
  - ii. Restoration of Grain subsidies
  - iii. (Re) Empowerment of Tribunes
- d. Senate and optimate consul for 78, Lutatius Catulus opposed **Lepidus**.
- e. To get **Lepidus** out of Rome: the senate sent him up to Faesule to restore order (resolve conflict between farmers and Marius' vets)
- f. **Lepidus** prevailed over Lutatius in a military conflict in 78 BC
- g. **Lepidus** also levied troops in Cisalpine Gaul.

- h. **Lepidus** returned and marched on Rome and demanded the consulship for 77 BC.
- i. The Senate issued the SCU and mandated Pompey to crush **Lepidus** and his revolt.
- j. Pompey succeeded.
- k. **Lepidus** fled with remainder of his troops to Sardinia.
- l. Now Pompey demanded more troops and command against **Sertorius** (see below)
- m. Would Pompey have marched on Rome for the Spanish command?
- n. The answer is a matter of debate.

## II. POMPEY IN SPAIN: WAR WITH **SERTORIUS** 77-72/71 BC

### 1. **SERTORIUS:**

- a. **Sertorius** was a brilliant military commander who had served under Marius in the Celtic Wars (*Aquae Sextiae*)
- b. Originally a Marian partisan, **Sertorius** sided with Cinna after the atrocities committed by Marius upon his return to Rome in 87 BC.
- c. With the return of Sulla from the east in 83 BC **Sertorius** (who had been proscribed) fled to Spain and fought Sullan armies there (and in Mauretania).
- d. Because of his brilliance and integrity he attracted a huge following of native subjects (in Further Spain) and Roman renegades and deserters who called him the "New Hannibal."
- e. The Romans were unable to suppress **Sertorius** and his rebel forces in Spain.
- f. **Sertorius** continued to be unwelcome in Rome even after the death of Sulla.
- g. He stayed in Spain, and continued to build up a huge following and thwarted Roman authority (and legions) for several years.
- h. The Romans had sent (Quintus Caecilius) Metellus Pius out to Spain, a former Sullan and principal senatorial commander, against **Sertorius**
- i. As mentioned (above) 77 BC Pompey had bullied the senate into giving him a command to go out and join Metellus after dispatching with **Lepidus**.

### 2. **PERPERNA:**

- a. Marcus **Perperna** was another Roman renegade in Spain who found himself forced to collaborate with **Sertorius** against Roman rule there.

- b. A Lepidan partisan, he fled Rome to Sardinia with **Lepidus** in 78 BC after **Lepidus'** defeat by Pompey.
- c. In 77 BC after the death of **Lepidus**, **Perperna** crossed over to Spain with his troops and the remaining troops of **Lepidus**.
- d. In Spain **Perperna** found competition: **Sertorius** was the much-loved, established leader and favorite of the renegades and rebels.
- e. His brilliance and popularity had defied all efforts of Metellus.
- f. The arrogant **Perperna** foolishly believed his forces and wealth entitled him to assume **Sertorius'** position as chief opponent of Metellus.
- g. However **Perperna's** own troops went over to **Sertorius** when they heard that Pompey was on the way to Spain.
- h. For 5 years **Perperna** served *under* **Sertorius** against the combined campaigning of Pompey and Metellus while all the while he was plotting to assassinate him (!).
- i. In 72 BC **Perperna** finally murdered **Sertorius** at a banquet.
- j. In doing so **Perperna** brought the war in Spain to a close: the rebels were easily defeated by Pompey, and the whole of Spain was subdued by the early part of the following year 71 BC.
- k. Pompey negotiated with **Perperna** for his life, and then repudiated his promises and murdered him.
- l. The re-conquest of Spain had taxed Pompey's military skill, and had strained his and the state's resources (**Sallust** *Hist.*).

### 3. POMPEY & METELLUS

Both Metellus and Pompey campaigned strenuously and often unsuccessfully against the remaining combined forces of (the late) **Perperna** and **Sertorius**.

- a. Pompey made several strategic blunders and had to be bailed out by Metellus
- b. However in the end it was Pompey, not Metellus, who took credit for the victory, and imposed settlement terms on Spain that promoted his own political aims.
- c. That said his policy was one of reconciliation and rehabilitation.
- d. In 71 Pompey and Metellus were recalled to Rome where they celebrated a military triumph.
- e. The return to Rome would put Pompey in the right place at the right time to take credit for crushing the Spartacan Slave Revolt

### III. SPARTACAN SLAVE REVOLT: 73-71 BC

#### 1. Events/Conditions leading to the revolt

- a. **Spartacus** was a freeborn provincial from Thrace, who may have served as an auxiliary in the Roman army in Macedonia.
- b. He deserted the army, was outlawed, captured, sold into slavery, and trained at the gladiatorial school of Batiatus in Capua.
- c. Crixus and Oenomaeus were the ringleaders of the revolt, heading-up the Gaulish and German gladiators/slaves
- d. In 73 BC He and 70 others escaped their barracks in Capua, setting up a base of resistance on Mt. Vesuvius.
  - i. "The growth of the rebel movement was not a ... carefully orchestrated phenomenon." K. Bradley
  - ii. "Freedom from slavery was the intent of the fugitives; the slavery system itself remained unaffected." K. Bradley
- e. Eventually 70,000-100,000 slaves joined.
- f. The movement had initial success against the Roman legions.
- g. More slaves were attracted to the rebellion because of:
  - i. Successes against the Roman army
  - ii. The deprivations of their servile existence
- h. In 72 BC: The Senate sent a praetor against the rebels with about 3000 recruits hastily drafted from the region around Capua.
  - i. **Spartacus** eluded them and chased them out
  - j. Next **Spartacus** defeated two forces of legionary cohorts
    - i. He wanted to lead his men across the Alps out of Italy, but the Gauls and Germans wanted to stay and plunder
    - ii. They separated from **Spartacus**, who passed the winter in Thurii in southeast Italy
    - iii. By now **Spartacus** had also raised about 70,000 slaves, mostly from rural areas
    - iv. A frightened Senate finally sent the two consuls each with two legions, against the rebels.
    - v. Gauls and Germans were defeated and Crixus was killed

#### 2. **CRASSUS:**

- a. In the fall of 72 the senate decided to dismiss the consuls and give the command to Marcus Licinius **Crassus**.
- b. g. **Crassus** had been praetor in 73 but currently held no office.

- c. **Crassus** was the rich man from an old noble plebeian (equestrian) family in Rome.
- d. Originally like Pompey, he had been a Sullan partisan, but having been insulted by Sulla he allied himself with the *populares* (especially equestrians).
- e. The senate gave **Crassus** (who was rich, rich, rich) command because he had money to raise (6!) legions
- f. So the Romans now had 10 legions in all (four standing plus **Crassus`** six)
- g. **Crassus** campaigned in southern Italy
- h. 71 BC: **Spartacus** started north:
  - i. Gauls and Germans who had become separated from him and were nearly defeated by **Crassus** before **Spartacus** rescued them
  - j. The slaves gained one more minor victory against part of **Crassus'** forces, but they were finally wiped out by his legions in a major battle in southern Italy, near the headwaters of the *Sele* River in Campania.
- k. p. Appian reports that 6000 slaves were taken prisoner by **Crassus** and crucified along the Appian Way from Capua to Rome

### 3. ENTER POMPEY: IN THE RIGHT PLACE AT THE RIGHT TIME

- a. Meanwhile, the senate recalled Pompey and his legions from Spain, and they began the journey overland.
- b. While **Crassus** was campaigning against the Spartacans along the Appian Way Pompey returning from Spain, arrived in Italy with his army.
- c. In his march toward Rome he came upon the remains of **Spartacus`** army in Etruria and captured five thousand followers who had survived the legions of **Crassus** and were attempting to flee.
- d. Pompey massacred them, and claimed for himself, the glory of suppressing the revolt (!).
- e. His attempt to take credit for ending the revolt angered and alienated **Crassus.**
- f. Pompey received a military triumph (for victory over a “foreign” enemy in Spain).
- g. **Crassus** only received an *ovatio* (minor commemoration) for the Slave War
- h. There would be a continued rivalry between **Crassus** and Pompey for public glory.
- i. Bottom line: Pompey took all the credit for neutralizing revolt-but **Crassus** had done the work.

#### IV. CONSULSHIPS OF POMPEY & CRASSUS (!) 70 BC

1. In 70 BC an uneasy, mutually advantageous alliance emerged between Pompey and Crassus.
  - a. They did not like each other but decided to pool their resources and officially ditch the Sullan (i.e. senatorial) party
  - b. Became standard bearers of anti-senatorial *populares* and defenders of equestrians.
  - c. Demanded (illegal) consulships and got them (from an intimidated senate with no legions).
  - d. They proposed a bill to repudiate Sulla's acta
    - i. Restore powers to tribunes
    - ii. Restore censors
    - iii. Restore juries to equestrians with *tribuni aerari*:
  - e. Who/what were the *Tribuni Aerari*?
    - i. *Tribuni aerari*: like equestrians but just beneath them in the census. Pompey and Crassus want 1/3 senate, 1/3 equestrians and 1/3 *tribuni aerari* to sit on juries: this would still mean an equestrian majority since *tribuni aerari* are essentially like and allied with equestrians.
    - ii. Originally paymasters to soldiers and managed contributions (indemnities) and booty taken from enemy
    - iii. Later the term was applied to equestrians in higher classes of the census (prominent) probably because they were "reliable"

#### V. TRIAL OF VERRES AND LEX AURELIA 70 BC

1. The bill of Pompey and Crassus was ratified as the Lex Aurelia because of Trial of Verres in 70 BC:
  - a. Verres was corrupt patrician/senatorial governor of Sicily
  - b. His trial was notorious thanks to Cicero, who convicted him in the courts
  - c. In this case Cicero upheld his vision of the *Concordia Ordinum*
    - i. *Concordia Ordinum*: Cicero's belief in collegial mutual cooperation between new men (equestrians) and blue blooded senatorial men.

- ii. Since **Cicero** wanted to be accepted by senatorial men but he actually prosecuted one-even if politically it might compromise his political statue, he was acting sincerely on his moral belief in eradicating corruption.(This will change)
- d. The successful conviction of **Verres** by **Cicero** was a victory for the equestrians:
- e. It led to the ratification of the *Lex Aurelia*, which consolidated into law the *acta* (arrangements) and bills of Pompey and **Crassus**.
- f. It also “put the senate on trial” for corruption: put senate under scrutiny.

## VI. POMPEY’S SPECIAL COMMANDS AGAINST PIRATES *LEX GABINIA* 67 BC

1. The people voted Pompey command to check piracy in the Mediterranean
  - a. The *Lex Gabinia* gave him the command with ***imperium infinitum*** (!), i.e. *imperium* over all Mediterranean provinces within 50 mile radius.
  - b. This authority amounted to dictatorial power.
  - c. The senate tried to oppose the command but were threatened with mob violence
  - d. Pompey cleared the seas in 90 days with 500 ships, and settled the pirates in Cilicia.
2. *Lex Calpurnia* 67 BC
  - a. The Tribune **Cornelius** proposed a bill that would be passed as the *Lex Calpurnia* in 67 BC
    - i. The original bill had to be watered down by the consul for 67 Calpurnius to get ratified: hence named after the consul rather than the tribune **Cornelius**
  - b. The Law put the senate under scrutiny (partly result of Trial of Verres)
  - c. It imposed the following rules to make the senate more transparent and accountable:
    - i. No arbitrary senatorial invocation of exceptions
    - ii. Quorum of 200 required for passage of binding legislation
    - iii. Stiffer fines for inappropriate senatorial patronage (embassies, bribes etc.)
    - iv. To make provincial governors more accountable: **praetorian edict**
    - v. **Praetorian Edict:** Work plan in writing that had to be followed through.

## VII. POMPEY'S EXTRAORDINARY COMMAND: THIRD (GREAT) MITHRIDATIC WAR 74-63 BC

### 1. Background:

- a. First Mithridatic War 74-63 BC Sulla
- b. Second Mithridatic "War" 83-82 BC Murena
- c. Third Great Mithridatic War:
  - i. Lucius Licinius Lucullus commanded from 75-66 BC
  - ii. Pompey commanded from 66-63 BC
  - iii. Mithridates committed suicide in 64/63 giving Pompey the victory.
  - iv. Once again Pompey was in the right place at the right time.

### 2. Events leading up to the Third Mithridatic War.

- a. 75 BC Nicomedes died and Romans annexed Bithynia in 75/74 BC.
- b. In response Mithridates upped the ante.
- c. As consul and governor of Cilicia Lucius Licinius Lucullus was mandated to campaign against Mithridates.
- d. Lucullus invaded Pontus
- e. Lucullus defeated Mithridates in the Battle of Cabeira of 72 BC, however Mithridates escaped into Armenia (Tigranes of Armenia was his son in law)
- f. 72-70 In Asia Minor Lucullus undertook military and economic reforms:
  - i. Restored Roman authority
- g. Without permission of the senate Lucullus campaigned all the way up into NE Armenia: took Tigranocerta and Artaxata
- h. Finally in 67/66 his legions mutinied.
- i. Senate recalled him and stripped him of his command thanks to Pompey's equestrian partisans and to Lucullus' arrogance.
- j. NB: Lucullus had done all the hard work and campaigning:
- k. In 66 BC Pompey got the Mithridatic command Roman state:

### 3. Pompey in the East: Lex Manilia 66 BC

- a. When Lucullus was relieved of duty Pompey got the Mithridatic command.
- b. The Lex Manilia of 66 BC ratified the command.

- i. Manlius, tribune, proposed giving **Pompey** complete control over the war.
  - ii. **Cicero**, as praetor, in *Pro Lege Manilia*, argued for the proposal
  - iii. Julius Caesar also supported the law.
  - iv. The senate tried to veto the law but the mob threatened
- c. **Pompey** followed Lucullus' campaign trials, and went even further north-east to Caspian Sea.
- d. Motives?
  - i. Sources (not surprisingly) are hostile: insinuate that **Pompey's** folly created opportunities for the elusive **Mithridates** to invade Italy (a standard trope in Roman historiography).
- e. War ended 64-63 with the suicide of **Mithridates**
- f. **Pompey** stayed on in Syria with his troops.
- g. Annexed Syria as province in 64 BC

#### 4. Pompey in **Palestine**.

- a. Jewish nation where conflict had erupted between two brothers
  - i. (Sons of Jannaeus of the Maccabees).
- b. Aristobolus ruled **Sadducees**: priestly caste, conservative and anti-Roman.
- c. Hyrcanus ruled **Pharisees**: peoples' party, more secular and pro-Roman.
- d. **Pompey's** support of Hyrcanus would inform course of Judaism and help to seal its fate in early imperial times.

#### 5. **Pompey's** Legacy in East

- a. Extension of Empire and Roman authority east of Euphrates
- b. Brought in money and spoils which topped up Roman treasury and bought him (more!) clients (soldiers!)
- c. Stability in East (which had been power void thanks to Roman elimination of Syrian kingdom)
- d. Excellent administrative arrangements solutions and organization of towns and tribes in east (vassal kings etc.)
- e. Global application of system of alliances: from bottom to top:
  - i. **Subject stipendiary town**: subject who were taxed; no rights.

- ii. **Latin town:** had Latin rights, were taxed
- iii. **Municipium:** had the citizenship, were taxed
- iv. **Colonia:** had the citizenship, not taxed (mostly)
- v. **Book of Revelation**

- f. **Annexation of Syria as province in 64 BC**
- g. **Extension of Cilicia**
- h. **Military Garrisons in Cyprus and Crete**

**6. In Sum: Results of Pompey's eastern campaign**

- a. **Pacification and reorganization of Asia**
- b. **Re-establishment of Roman authority in East**
- c. **New provincial territories**
- d. **Syria became a new province, with the client state of Palestine (including Jerusalem) under its control.**
  - i. **This created a stronghold against the threat of the Parthians and Armenians in the East.**
- e. **Economic prosperity for Rome.**

## LECTURE 3 ASCENDANCY CAESAR

### I. SOURCES:

- a. **Caesar**, Gallic War, Civil War
- b. Cicero, speeches and letters
- c. Coins, inscriptions
- d. Suetonius, Life of Julius **Caesar**
- e. Plutarch, Lives of **Caesar**, Pompey, **Crassus**, Cicero, **Cato the Younger**
- f. Appian, Civil Wars
- g. Cassius Dio, History (69-30 BC)

### 1. ASCENDANCY: TIME LINE

- a. **Caesar** was a *popularis* of patrician birth.
  - i. His family has come on hard times, and like many men in his situation at this time, his inclination toward the *popularis* faction was informed by this hardship
- b. He was related to Marius through his aunt (marriage)
- c. The 70`s were spent avoiding the Sullans
- d. 69 BC Quaestor in Spain.
- e. As curule aedile in 65 BC he spent lots of money on public spectacles.
- f. 63 pontifex maximus
- g. 62 BC As praetor was sent out to govern Spain
- h. 60 BC Formed First Triumvirate: political and military alliance of **Caesar**, Pompey and **Crassus**.
- i. 59 BC Consul
- j. 50`s as military governor of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul campaigned in Gaul
- k. 49-45 Civil Wars against Pompey and his partisans; dictator
- l. 44 BC Dictator for Life: *Dictator Perpetuus*; assassination.

### 2. EARLY LIFE:(SUET 1-5; PLUT 1-2)

- a. Gaius Julius **Caesar** played a decisive role in the end of the Roman Republic.
- b. Born into a patrician family, he was related through his mother to Marius.
- c. This family connection put him in political conflict with Sulla and the optimates
- d. As a result **Caesar** began his career outside Italy.

- e. After the death of Sulla (78 BC), **Caesar** returned to Rome and practiced law.
  - i. He unsuccessfully prosecuted Dolabella (old Sullan) on conspiracy charges in 78 BC
  - ii. 76 BC This political setback changed plans and sailed to Greece to study rhetoric and do business.
- f. During the voyage, he was kidnapped by pirates: after his release, he had them hunted down and crucified (Plut. 2.1-7)
- g. In 74 BC Built up army while mandated to fight Mithridates VI
- h. In 71-70 BC as Military Tribune: supported repudiation of Sullan reforms

### 3. ROME IN THE SIXTIES:

- a. **Caesar's** political ascendancy in Rome began in the 60's BC, while **Pompey** was campaigning and reorganizing the east
- b. He is famously known for incurring debt to rise up the *cursus honorum*: course of honors: career ladder of magistracies one had to attain to obtain the highest, the consulship.
- c. Appian Civil War 2.1: "While yet aedile and praetor he had incurred great debts and had made himself wonderfully agreeable to the multitude, who always sing the praises of those who are lavish in expenditure."
  - i. Quaestor 68 (67) BC
  - ii. Aedile 65 BC
  - iii. Praetor 62 BC
- d. Around 66 or 65 BC **Caesar** also made an informal political alliance with **Crassus**, who helped him financially, and with whom he was implicated in treasonous behavior, which caused scandal and complicated his early career.
- e. Subtle shifts were taking place in Rome, and new political alliances were being forged.
- f. Both **Caesar** and **Crassus** were *populares*, but as a rich money lender Crassus also had equestrian ties
- g. **Pompey**, who would eventually join them, was more conservative, and inclined to respect the idea of Republic, even if only in theory
  - i. Equestrian: social order but it also took on a political, factional relevance (thanks largely to Gaius Gracchus).

- ii. i.e. equestrians were also a political block
- iii. **Crassus** was of the equestrian order but his political base /party was popularis

- h. Cicero was becoming more obsequious to the Senate, he was willing to sacrifice his principles for the sake of his *Concordia ordinum* if necessary
  - i. *Concordia ordinum* collegiality between new men and senatorial men, not susceptible to corruption;

#### 4. POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN ROME:

- a. In 68 (67) BC **Caesar** served in Spain as Questor(Sue.7)
- b. In 65 BC **Caesar** served as aedile
  - i. Suetonius 10; Plutarch **Caesar** 5. 8-9: Expenditure of money just before and during Aedileship
- c. While **Caesar** served as aedile in Rome, **Crassus** was censor.
  - i. **Crassus** was not above cheating as censor: he enrolled Latins in Transpadanian Gaul (its inhabitants had only Latin rights) as citizens so that he could levy troops:
  - ii. This was illegal and dictatorial (NB Marius had done this)
- d. Agrarian Bill Scandal “First Try” 65 BC: In addition both **Crassus** and **Caesar** alarmed the senate and embarrassed themselves with their attempt to secure passage of a ridiculously dangerous bill into law that would mandate their authority in **Egypt** to levy troops and oversee the grain supply (Plut **Crassus** 13).

#### II. **Caesar, Crassus** and their damaging association with **Catiline**:

- 1. In 65 BC **Caesar** and **Crassus** brought more scandal upon themselves by association with a bad actor: Lucius Sergius **Catiline** who implicated them in corrupt practices (bribery and violence) in elections.
  - a. In 65 BC they were implicated in what is known as the "The First Catilinarian Conspiracy" that erupted in **Catiline's** first bid (66 BC for 65 BC) for the consulship.
  - b. In the following year 64 BC they were also involved in illegalities connected to **Catiline's** 2nd bid for the consul-ship.
- 2. Background **Catiline** 108-62 BC
  - a. Lucius Sergius **Catiline** was born to a patrician family.

- b. Following the failure of his political career he attempted a violent political uprising.
- c. There had not been a consul for over 300 years, and his family were destitute.
- d. **Catiline** hoped to restore the family's fortunes.
  - i. He had commanded legions with distinction and served the consul Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo (**Pompey's** father) in 89 BC at the siege of the rebel town of Asculum (Social War).
- e. Don't know what he was doing during the 80's but he remained secured under the Cinnan government.
  - i. Early in the 70's he saw service abroad, possibly in Cilicia with Publius Servilius Vatia, who was proconsul there from 78 B.C. until 74 B.C.
  - ii. In 73 BC he was accused of adultery with the Vestal Virgin, Fabia, who was a half-sister of Cicero's wife.
  - iii. Among those who testified in his favor was Quintus Lutatius Catulus, the consul of 78 BC and now the principal leader of the Optimates.
  - iv. **Catiline** was acquitted.
- f. **Catiline** had made his first bid for the consulship in 66 BC
  - i. On his return home as (propraetorian) governor of Africa (from 68 to 66 BC) he presented himself as a candidate in the consular elections for 65 BC but he was prevented from running in this election by consul Lucius Volcanius Tullus.
  - ii. NB while he was still in Africa an embassy had appeared before the Senate with complaints about his conduct in office: he had committed extortion.
  - iii. These complaints led to his indictment for extortion, but the case didn't come before the court until 65 BC, hence the dating of the "1st Catilinarian Conspiracy" to 65 BC.
  - iv. After a hearing where he was supported by many consuls, he was acquitted, but not in time to stand in elections for 64 BC.
- g. 64 BC: Elections for 63 BC
  - i. In 64 BC **Catiline** was accepted as a candidate for consulship.

- ii. For a second time **Caesar** and **Crassus** were embroiled in scandal by virtue of **Catiline's** corrupt use of bribery and violence in his bid.
  - iii. Cicero also ran in this year for cos. against **Catiline** and four other candidates, of whom Gaius Antonius Hybrida (uncle of Mark **Antony**) was the only serious rival.
  - iv. **Catiline** and Antonius were supported by **Caesar** and **Crassus**, and they all conspired to defeat Cicero, by any means to promote their campaign.
- h. To curb their bribery the senate proposed a bill to increase the penalties, but it was vetoed by a tribune, Q Mucius Orestius, and a partisan of **Catiline** et al.
  - i. Cicero (64 BC) took advantage of the indignation this veto had provoked in the Senate and he delivered a speech called the *In Toga Candida*, (candidates for cos. wore a whitened toga in senate) attacking his rivals (**Catiline** and Hybrida).
    - i. The speech denounced **Catiline** and portrayed him as a danger to the state
    - ii. The Optimates were moved to fear by the speech and helped Cicero (in spite of the fact that he was a new man, he supported **Pompey** and his equestrian connections) to win the election as senior consul.
3. Consulship of Cicero: Antonius came in second and with a narrow lead over **Catiline**; in 63 BC Cicero and Hybrida were consuls.
- a. There were now three main political factions in Rome:
    - i. Conservative: hard-core optimates and most of senate.
    - ii. Capitalistic equestrians (including some senators who backed and were backed by Cicero and **Pompey**).
    - iii. Hard-core populares backed by **Caesar** and **Crassus**.
    - iv. Having attained a consulship and nobility in 63 BC, Cicero was increasingly inclined to operate on behalf of the *concordia ordinum*.
    - v. I.e. He was willing to sacrifice the law to promote an even playing field between new men and senatorial men.
  - b. In 63 BC The Agrarian Land Bill Scandal re-emerged Rullus Land Bill "Second Try"

- i. Once again **Crassus** and Caesar tried to pass a bill to acquire **Egypt** for its man- power (troops) and grain.
- ii. It would give **Crassus** and **Caesar** imperium to go to "province of **Egypt**" recruit troops and oversee grain shipments.
- iii. They had the Tribune Servilius Rullus propose the bill
- iv. Bill was blocked by Cicero in a series of speeches given in 63 BC, in the senate , in which he registered his vigorous protest:
- v. Speeches were entitled *On the Agrarian Law/ de Lege Agraria*.

4. At the end of 63 BC **Catiline** survived another prosecution:

- a. The quaestor, Marcus Porcius Cato launched a prosecution of men who had profited by the Sullan proscriptions, and he charged them with murder (**Catiline** had supported Sulla in the civil war of 84–81 BC).
- b. A flood of cases swamped the Quaestio de Scicariis, the murder court, one of the seven established or reconstituted by Sulla.
- c. As a result, aediles (ex officio like **Caesar**) were forced to help the praetors and preside over the murder trials.
- d. **Caesar** prosecuted **Catiline** and he was acquitted.
- e. **Caesar** wasn't responsible for the verdict, but it shows there were powerful men willing to protect **Catiline's** interests.
- f. **Caesar's** association with **Catiline** and his intervention on his behalf in the following year would compromise him political in following years.

5. 63 BC: Elections for 62 BC:

- a. And so **Catiline** was once again eligible to stand as a consular candidate in 63 BC (for 62 BC).
- b. Again he suffered defeat, this time at the hands of Decimus **Junius** Silanus and Lucius Licinius Murena.
- c. This defeat was conclusive
- d. The consulship was not to be his by constitutional means, and the sources report this realization turned **Catiline** into an active revolutionary ready to launch a *coup d' etat* in Rome and an insurrection in Italy (Sall. 26.5).
- e. The sources report that this was the only path now left open to him.

### III. ROME IN 63 BC CATILINARIAN CONSPIRACY

#### 1. Sources:

- a. 2. four speeches given against **Catiline** (*in Catilinam*) before the Roman senate and people by Cicero,
- b. **Sallust's** monograph *De coniuratione Catilinae* or *Bellum Catilinae*
- c. Plutarch's biographies of **Caesar** and Cicero.
  - i. Both Cicero and **Sallust** both describe **Catiline's** lifestyle as licentious and immoral, and portray him as an unscrupulous criminal
  - ii. They note his persistence and courage (Cic. 2, 9; Sall. 5).

#### 2. Having achieved the consulship (in 64 BC) for 63 BC Cicero's politics were becoming increasingly shaped by his principles of the *Concordia ordinum*: as a new man and a newly minted noble, he was more inclined to support the senate.

- a. 63 BC The Catilinarian Conspiracy: Cicero had become the mouth piece/standard bearer of an equestrian senatorial coalition that regarded **Catiline** as subversive and dangerous.
- b. Cicero's exposure of the conspiracy raised his political profile
- c. The historical record has been distorted by Cicero's perspective.
- d. Scholars dispute whether (and if so to what extent) **Catiline** in his civil disobedience, planned to overthrow the Roman government in a coup and murder senators, or whether this role was imposed on him by Cicero in his speeches, and thus was nothing more than a rabble rouser and leader of an uprising that threatened the order of state
- e. His Catilinarian orations exaggerate the scope and treachery of the "plot."
- f. **Cato the Younger** (new standard bearer of the ops) made a speech which supported Cicero
- g. Thanks to Cicero in November of 63 BC the senate used the *scu* (*senatus consultum ultimum*) and imposed death.
- h. The conspiracy at Rome failed early in Dec., when **Catiline** and his private guard were defeated early in 62 BC (Sall. 59-60) by a consular army at Pistoria (Tuscany).
  - i. **Catiline** died in the battle.
  - ii. His followers arrested in Rome were executed on Cicero's instigation (opposed by **Caesar**) without a regular trial.
- i. The senate and Cicero rounded up the remnants of conspirators and condemned them to death without a trial.

- j. Cicero was hailed as the hero of the day and enjoyed short-lived celebrity with equestrians and the senate
  - i. The victory fueled his vanity and his insistence on maintaining *concordia ordinum*, sometimes to the detriment of the state.
  - ii. NB His preaching of *concordia ordinum* was falling on deaf ears in any case.
- k. By now **Crassus** and **Caesar** had sworn off **Catiline** as a liability, although Caesar interceded to try to spare the remaining conspirators in Rome charged and condemned for treason without a trial.
- l. NB **Caesar** warned the senate that the *scu* leading to a death penalty without popular appeal contravened *maiestas* laws and would have ramifications (and it did).
- m. As a money-lender **Crassus** did not like **Catiline's** debt relief schemes.
- n. Such schemes were repellent, too radical to many equestrian bankers.
- o. The end of 63 BC was marked by great fear in the senate of **Caesar's** authority and popular appeal and military backing (Plutarch 7.7-9; 8).

#### IV. FIRST TRIUMVIRATE 60 BC

##### 1. 62--60 BC Prelude: Events leading up to formation of First Triumvirate

- a. 62 BC Praetorship of **Caesar**: More scandal and irregularities:
- b. **Caesar** was also elected Pontifex Maximus in 62 BC.
- c. As such he hosted the festival of the Bona Dea, held in the house of the Pontifex Maximus and his wife Pompeia presided.
- d. An incident known as the Bona Dea Scandal brought scandal to his house. Plutarch: 9-10
  - i. The Cult of the Bona Dea was a fertility agriculture cult and men were barred from the festival.
  - ii. As a prank, Pubius Clodius (who was allegedly having an affair with Pompeia) snuck into the ceremony in drag.
  - iii. When he was discovered there was a public outcry for this act of sacrilege and suspicion fell on Pompeia.
  - iv. Caesar divorced her, saying "**Caesar's** wife must be above suspicion."
  - v. Clodius would also remember this slight when he banished Cicero in 58 BC for having contravened the *maiestas* laws in allowing the execution of **Catiline's** conspirators without trial.

- e. Suetonius (16-18) alone mentions that **Caesar** was briefly suspended from holding his praetorship for supporting a tribune who brought forth bills in spite of a senatorial veto.
    - i. A spontaneous crowd tried to intervene to support Caesar and protest the senate but **Caesar** quieted the crowd.
    - ii. A grateful and intimidated senate rescinded the decree and restored him to his office.
    - iii. The shadow of **Caesar's** implication in the conspiracy continued to follow him.
  - f. In 61 BC **Caesar** received the province of Spain (governed as proprietor) Plutarch 11-12
    - i. “Immediately after his praetorship **Caesar** received Spain as his province, and since he found it hard to arrange matters with his creditors, who obstructed his departure and were clamorous, he had recourse to **Crassus**, the richest of the Romans, who had need of **Caesar's** vigour and fire for his political campaign against **Pompey**.”
    - ii. And it was only after **Crassus** had met the demands of the most importunate and inexorable of these creditors and given surety for eight hundred and thirty talents that **Caesar** could go out to his province.”
  - g. Shadow of conspiracy follows **Caesar** in 62 BC Suet. 17.
2. In 62 BC **Pompey** also returned from campaigning in the East.
- a. He disbanded his troops in Brundisium.
  - b. 61 BC He went to Rome to ask for a triumph and for permission to run to a consulship.
  - c. He was forced to choose between the triumph and the consulship:
    - i. The law required that a commander wait outside **pomerium** (sacred boundary of Rome) for permission from the senate to have a military triumph.
    - ii. But **Cato the Younger** invoked an old law prohibiting a man from asking for the consulship in absentia.
  - d. **Pompey** chose the Triumph
  - e. After his triumph in 61 BC **Pompey** went to the senate expecting to be hailed as hero of day.

- f. He requested that the senate grant him land for his veterans and recognition/ratification of his *acta* (deeds, arrangements) in the east.
  - g. However the senate and his political adversaries-the Metelli, **Cato the Younger** and Lucullus-rejected his requests.
    - i. **Crassus** even insulted him by announcing that Cicero-not **Pompey**- was the hero of the day.
  - h. **Pompey's** Enemies:
    - i. E.g. Lucullus(**Pompey** took his Mithridatic Command),
    - ii. Q.Caelius Metellus Pius, (**Pompey** took his Spanish Spain)
    - iii. Q. Caelius Metellus Creticus (**Pompey** took his pirate command and delayed his triumph because he was insubordinate)
    - iv. **Crassus** (**Pompey** tried to take credit for subduing the Spartacan Revolt)
    - v. Quintus Metellus Celer (consul for 60: **Pompey** divorced his sister Clodia and impugned her reputation)
    - vi. **Cato the Younger**: was ideologically against **Pompey**
3. 61 BC **Caesar** restores alliance with **Crassus** because of problems with debt and creditors, in order to go out to his province (Spain) as propraetorian governor (Plut. Caes. 11-12).
- a. The following year (60 BC) **Cato the Younger** again refused **Pompey's** requests as well as a request of **Crassus** for rebates for publicani on the taxes they had paid for the privilege to farm taxes.
  - b. **Cato the Younger** also increased the severity of punishment for equestrian jurors who perjured themselves on behalf of crony equestrian *publicani*.
  - c. NB **Crassus** was a rich equestrian money-lender to whom many equestrians owed money: tax breaks meant money in his pocket.
4. 60 BC **Cato the Younger** turned against **Caesar**, who had returned from governing Spain (61 BC); he had waged successful campaigns and wanted a military triumph and a consulship (for 59 BC).
- a. To block **Caesar** Cato invoked old law on books which made this request impossible: it stipulated:
    - i. A candidate must cross *pomerium* to request permission to run for office personally with senate

- ii. A commander waiting for permission for triumph must wait with troops outside of *pomerium*
  - iii. A man cannot ask for permission to run for the consulship in absentia
- b. In sum: **Pompey** was opposed by the Optimates, including his political enemies: no land for vets and no ratification of his arrangements in the east.
  - c. **Crassus** was opposed by *Optimates*: Equestrian tax-collectors were denied a reduction of contract payments on collection of taxes in Asia.
  - d. **Caesar** was denied by *Optimates*: he was denied exception from the (nameless) law to hold triumph and stand for consulship simultaneously
  - e. **Caesar** took the consulship and invited **Pompey** and **Crassus** to form an alliance with him, which is known as the First Triumvirate (Suet.18-19).
  - f. The First Triumvirate was an informal alliance in the sense that it was not ratified by law.
  - g. With their pooled armies (**Pompey** and **Caesar**) and money (**Crassus**) the triumvirs easily prevailed over the senate and the *Optimates*.
  - h. The Triumvirs agreed on the following arrangements:
    - i. As consul **Caesar** got: Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul to command and govern ( and where he could levy troops)
    - ii. **Crassus** got rebates
    - iii. **Pompey** got land for his vets and senatorial ratification of his acta in the east.

#### 5. 59 BC CAESAR AS CONSUL:

- a. **Caesar's** consular colleague was his long-time political adversary Marcus **Bibulus** the son-in-law of **Cato the Younger**
- b. **Bibulus** was mandated to thwart **Caesar** politically by blocking his bills and proposals.
- c. He stalled passage of laws submitted as bills by the Triumvirs by interposing his veto on the grounds of inauspicious signs in the auspices
- d. In 59 BC he retired from politics after **Caesarian** partisans and vets dumped excrement on him and broke the fasces as he was addressing the crowd.
  - i. Plutarch **Cato the Younger** 32.2.: "Accordingly, the opponents of Cato were alarmed and had recourse to violence. To begin with, upon **Bibulus** himself, as he was going down into the forum, a basket of ordure was

scattered; then the crowd fell upon his lictors and broke their fasces; and finally missiles flew and many persons were wounded.”

- ii. **Fasces:** set of rods bound in the form of a bundle which contained an axe. In ancient Rome, the lictors (body guards of a magistrate) carried fasces, the symbol of a magistrate’s imperium.
- e. **Caesar** responded by ignoring the senate and allowing laws to be passed in the popular assemblies with mob violence (Dio 38.6.3).
- f. **Caesarian** Laws of 59 (Suet.19-20, 22; Plut. Caes.14; Plut. Pomp. 47-48App BC 2.13).
  - i. Provided Land (Campania) for **Pompey**
  - ii. 1/3 rebates for **Crassus`** publicani.
  - iii. (Lex Vatinia) Command in Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul for **Caesar**
- g. Lex Julia de Repetundis 59 BC addressed provincial administration:
  - i. Imposed closer supervision of praetorian edict to promote accountability of governors
- h. **Caesar** made provision for an *Acta Diurna* (daily news sheet): this was a useful tool of propaganda for **Caesar** to report on his achievements while he was away from Rome campaigning in Gaul.
- i. **Caesar** arranged for **Cato the Younger** to be sent out to govern Cypres.

## V. TRIBUNESHIP OF **CLODIUS** & BANISHMENT OF CICERO 58 BC

1. **Caesar** was ready to depart for Gaul where he would campaign for the next 10 years:
  - a. He was concerned about the damage Cicero could do to his political position and authority during his absence.
  - b. **Caesar** asked Cicero to join his campaign as land commissioner.
  - c. When Cicero refused **Caesar** offered him the position of legate.
  - d. When Cicero refused again **Caesar** asked his political partisan, Publius **Clodius** Pulcher to keep an eye on him, and restrict him if necessary.
2. Tribuneship of **Clodius** 58 BC: (Plut. Caes. 14; Cato Min. 33; Dio 38.12; 39 11; App BC 2.14).
  - a. **Clodius** was a patrician who got himself adopted by a plebs family so that he could embark on a radical, *popularis* political career.

- i. **Transitio ad plebum**: adoption of a patrician by a plebs
  - b. **Clodius** hated Cicero for two reasons:
    - i. Cicero had orchestrated the exile and downfall of his friend **Catiline**
    - ii. Cicero had been involved in prosecution of **Clodius** on morals charges for having dressed up as a woman in 62 BC to attend the women only Bona Dea rites at **Caesar's** house **Clodius** was alleged to have been having an affair with **Caesar's** wife) while **Caesar** was Pontifex Maximus (see above).
    - iii. **Crassus** got him off by bribing jurors.
  - c. As tribune **Clodius** passed a package of laws intended to enhance popular power, and undermine senate Dio 38.13; Plut. Cic. 30.1.
    - i. A true grain dole.
    - ii. Reinstatement of trade guilds (*collegia*)
    - iii. More privileges/powers to tribunes
  - d. **Clodius** also invoked a law intended to force Cicero to leave town and compromise his career: popular treason laws Vell. 2.45; Plut Cic 30-33; Plut Caes 14; Plut Pomp 48-49; Plut. Cat Min 34-35; App BC 2.15; Dio 38.12-30; 39. 1Livy Per 103;
    - i. Law stipulated that anyone who had put a Roman citizen to death without popular appeal was subject to exile (no fire and water), essentially challenging Cicero, the authority of the senate and the SCU
    - ii. NB **Caesar** warned Cicero and the senate about the future use of this law when the scu was passed to execute **Catiline** for treason.
  - e. Cicero was banished, but restored amidst great fanfare in 57 BC.
3. Mob Violence in Rome 57-56 BC; Conference of Luca 56 BC
- a. **Clodius** and his creatures terrorized **Pompey**.
  - b. **Crassus** and **Pompey** drifted apart
  - c. **Crassus** began supporting **Clodius**
  - d. There was violent conflict between **Clodius** and **Pompey's** henchman **Milo**

- e. 57 BC: Grain shortages forced the senate to give **Pompey** a five year imperium, and the right to appoint 5 legates with pro-praetorian imperium to organize shipment of grain from **Egypt**.
  - i. (Cic. Att 4.1.6-7; Plut Pomp 49.5; 50; Dio 39.9)
- f. **Caesar** responded to these events-alienation of Triumvirs and dangerous amount of power given by a fearful senate (begrudgingly) to **Pompey** to deal with mob violence:
- g. He convoked a meeting in 56 BC at Luca to reassure the people of the stability of the Triumvirate alliance, repair damages to Triumvirate, and establish some new ground rules: Plut: Crass.14. 4-6; Cato Min. 43.5-6; **Caesar** 21.3; Suet. **Caesar** 24.1).
  - i. **Crassus** was to stand for consul and get a big command, as governor of Syria, in the east to fight **Parthians**.
  - ii. **Pompey** was to get both Spains, Cyrenaica, and more legions
  - iii. **Caesar** was to get a renewal of proconsular imperium and the governorship of Gaul for another 5 years.
  - iv. Measures were taken to muzzle Cicero;
  - v. Measures were also taken to deal with violence (**Clodius** and **Milo**) in Rome.
- h. Lex Trebonia 55 BC: (Plut Crass 15; Pomp 52; Appian BC 2.18; Dio 39 33-36.)
  - i. Mandated **Crassus'** command in Syria for 5 years.
  - ii. Mandated **Pompey's** command in Spain for 5 years.
- i. Lex Pompeia Licinia: Plut **Crassus** 15.5; Cat.Min. 43.5-6; Suet **Caesar** 24.1; App BC 2.18; Dio 39.33.2-3)
  - i. Passed by **Pompey** and **Crassus** to extend for another 5 years **Caesar's** proconsular imperium and his command in his provinces (Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul) and in Illyricum.
  - ii. It did this by forbidding discussion of a successor for **Caesar** until March 1<sup>st</sup> 50 BC.

#### 4. More Violence in Rome Instability of First Triumvirate 55 BC:

- a. Cato was back in Rome having completed his term in Cyprus.
- b. **Pompey** was at this time (briefly) on bad terms with the senate.

- c. Cicero's letters insinuate that the equestrians and senate were at odds;
- d. Harassed increasingly by Clodius, **Pompey** was also intimidated and now distrustful of **Caesar**.

## 5. **Crassus'** Parthian Command 55 BC

### a. Sources

- iii. Plutarch, Life of **Crassus** 16-33.
- iv. Dio Cassius Roman History: Book 40, 26.27.
- v. Livy, Periochae 106: "Marcus **Crassus** crossed the river Euphrates, carried the war to the Parthian empire, and was defeated in a battle in which his son also fell. With the remains of his army, he occupied a hill and was summoned to a conference by the enemy leader, Surena as if to speak about a truce. However, he was captured and killed to avoid suffering the indignity of remaining alive."

### b. **Crassus** embarked on the ill-fated campaign in Mesopotamia in 55 BC

#### i. Motives? Vain glory?

- c. In 53 BC **Crassus** suffered terrible defeat at Carrhae.
- d. Roman standards were taken by Parthians.
- e. Roman historiography has probably invented Parthian treachery and exaggerated desert conditions to save face
  - i. The Parthians won because they were better fighters had better supply lines and local tribes as back-up.
  - ii. Dromedaries brought the Parthians hundreds of thousands of arrows.
  - iii. The Parthian horse archers surrounded the Roman infantry, trapped in the exposed plane (Harran).
  - iv. They rained down arrows on the Romans from hill sites shooting at them from all directions.
  - v. The cataphracts (heavily armoured cavalry) charged the legions relentlessly for a day.
  - vi. **Crassus** planned to continue the campaign but confronted by his son's death-his head had been brought to him on a spear-he ordered a retreat to Carrhae, (a town in the plain) and abandoned the wounded and the captured.

- vii. The next day, Surena sent a message to the Romans, proposing a truce.
  - viii. He would allow them to return to Syria in exchange for their surrender of all territories east of the Euphrates.
  - ix. **Crassus** refused at first to meet with Surena, but his troops threatened to mutiny if he did not.
  - x. At the meeting a Parthian provoked a violent scuffle with **Crassus**, by pulling at the reins of his horse.
  - xi. **Crassus** and his generals were killed: **Crassus** was beheaded and his hands cut off.
  - xii. After his death, the Parthians poured molten gold down his throat, in reference to his greed.
  - xiii. The remaining Romans at Carrhae tried to flee, but most were captured or killed.
  - xiv. 20,000 Romans perished and 10,000 were captured.
- f. Battle of Carrhae was one of the worst defeats in Roman history: NB Like Cannae or Orange
- g. Dio Cassius 27.3:
- i. "And the Parthians, as some say, poured molten gold into his mouth in mockery. For though a man of vast wealth, he had set so great store by money as to pity those who could not support an enrolled legion from their own means, regarding them as poor men."

## VI. Hostilities between **Pompey** and **Caesar**.

1. Background: Cic. Pro Mil 40; Dio 39. 7-8; 39.18-19; Plut Cic. 33-34; Plut Cat Min 40; See above p.14, 3; p.15, 4.
  - a. As early as from 57 BC there was mob violence in Rome;
  - b. In 57 BC **Clodius** and his creatures began terrorizing **Pompey**.
  - c. In 57 BC Crassus started moving away from **Pompey** and supported **Clodius** as **Clodius** ascended.
  - d. The violence that erupted between **Clodius** and **Pompey's** client and bodyguard **Milo** went on for 5 years.
  - e. The process of **Pompey's** harassment by **Clodius** because of Senatorial support < increasingly alienated him from **Caesar** and **Crassus** (and the populares).
  - f. The tipping point was the murder of Clodius by Milo in 52 BC.
    - i. Cicero tried to defend Milo in the courts and failed.

- ii. Fulvia, Clodius' then wife testified against Milo in the courts, and played a role in the successful conviction

## 2. Dissolution of First Triumvirate 53 BC:

- a. The deaths of **Crassus**, and Julia, **Caesar's** daughter/**Pompey's** wife in 54 BC accelerated the process of the dissolution of the Triumvirate.
- b. The balance between **Pompey** and **Caesar** was upset and relations between the two had deteriorated.
- c. As early as 53 BC there were signs that the senate was growing more alienated from **Caesar**:
- d. The Senate demanded **Caesar's** first and fifteenth legions to be deployed to Rome to be the east since **Crassus'** had been destroyed.
- e. **Caesar** obeyed, but discovered that the legions were never sent to Syria. Instead, they remained in Italy.
- f. **Caesar** must have understood that he beginning to be regarded as a threat.
- g. With only **Pompey** and **Caesar** remaining the Senate feared a civil war was imminent, and one from which a king or a dictator would emerge (!).

For 52 BC go to lecture 5: Civil War Dictatorship

## LECTURE 5 CIVIL WAR DICTATORSHIP OF CAESAR

### I. ALIENATION OF POMPEY & CAESAR:

#### 1. Sources 52 BC “Special Consulship” of Pompey and the Law of the Ten Tribunes

- i. Plut. Pomp 54;
  - ii. Plut. Cato Min. 47-48;
  - iii. Plut Caesar 28.4-5;
  - iv. App BC 2.20-25;
  - v. Dio 40.45-50;
  - vi. Suet. Caes 26.1
  - vii. Livy Per. 107
- a. Things came to a head when the senate gave Pompey sole consulship and he became a tool of the senate to oppose Caesar.
  - b. The appointment of consul without colleague gave Pompey almost dictatorial authority
  - c. Pompey's mandate was to restore law and order to Rome
    - viii. Clodius had been killed by Milo's gang of thugs
    - ix. Electoral violence was pervasive but the real mandate was to begin the process of bringing Caesar down.
  - d. Pompey, now on behalf of the senate and the *optimates* would do everything in his power to thwart Caesar.
  - e. This appointment was the final blow to any alliance there might have been between Pompey and Caesar.
  - f. Pompey refused to let Caesar re-marry his own daughter Pompeia
  - g. Pompey took treacherous measures to impugn Caesar who was now his adversary.
  - h. Pompey wanted to underline the fact that Caesar's power base in Gaul and Rome was technically illegal.
  - i. Caesar had been holding consecutive governorships of Gaul with a proconsular command (requiring consulships), repeatedly and with impunity.
  - j. Pompey also wanted to draw attention to the fact that Caesar's illegal power was a potential threat to the authority of the senate.

- k. To this end Pompey repudiated the law of the Ten Tribunes, but made Caesar exempt.
- l. What was the Law of the Ten Tribunes? Sources
- i. Cicero Att. VII.1, VIII.3; Caes. Civ. War 1.9, 32;
  - ii. Livy Perio. 107, 108; Suet. Caes. 26&28;;
  - iii. Plut. Pomp 56; App BC 2.25; Cass. Dio. 40.51
- m. Meaning of Law of the Ten Tribunes:
- i. In 52 BC Caesar had gotten all of the ten tribunes to pass a law, known as the Law of the Ten Tribunes, allowing him to ask for the consulship in absentia.
  - ii. The Law of the Ten Tribunes was a repudiation of the old law on the books, the hated law invoked by Cato the Younger to block Caesar's demands in 59 BC for a consulship and a military triumph.
  - iii. When Pompey got his "special consulship" he repealed the law of the Ten Tribunes, which would make it impossible for Caesar to request renewed consulships and governorships from his military posting in Gaul.
  - iv. This restriction put Caesar in an awkward and vulnerable position.
  - v. Had he tried by this time, to enter Rome without his troops (as a *privatus*) he would have been an easy target for his enemies.
- n. Pompey's anti-Caesarian laws: *Leges Pompeiae* 52 BC (Dio 56.1; 46.2; Caes. BC 1. 85.9).
- vi. *de Iudiciaria*: established special courts to prosecute cases of violence.
  - vii. *de Ambitu*: established a court to oversee election bribery.
  - viii. *de Provinciis*: set a gap of five years after a magistrate's year of office, before he could govern a province (compromised Caesar)
  - ix. *de Iure Magistratum*: made election in absentia illegal, compromised Caesar.
- o. When Caesar complained to Pompey about the laws, Pompey declared that Caesar would be exempt from them for the upcoming elections.
- i. However the damage was done:

- ii. The illegality of Caesar's command and his political power was called into question.
- p. The matter of the legitimacy of Caesar's command became a daily topical issue of debate in the senate.
  - i. It underlined the potential threat that Caesar with his 8 legions posed to the republic.
  - ii. The years leading up to the civil war between Pompey and Caesar were marked by conflict in the senate on the matter of Caesar.
  - iii. Caesar had his own clients whose job it was to legitimate Caesar's *acta*, since Caesar couldn't defend himself in person.
  - iv. The senate had several partisans whose job it was to undermine Caesar. Marcellus
  - v. Caesar had his own partisans whose job it was to protect his reputation in his absence **Curio**, Marcus Antonius.
- 2. 51 BC :Caesar was also able to retain his position as proconsul and imperator in the two provinces of Gaul and Illyricum under the *Lex Pompeia Licinia* (55 BC after Conference of Luca: see lecture 3)
  - a. In 51 Caesar completed his pacification of Gaul after defeating the Bellovaci and Uxellodunum.
  - b. He also began to complete his final arrangements(Caesar BC; Livy Per. 108; Suet Caesar 25; Dio 40.42)
- 3. 50 BC Recall of Caesar by senate: the Gallic war had been won; Vercingetorix had been defeated-what was the justification for his provincial commands?
  - a. 50 BC Caesar's (paid) partisan Scribonius **Curio**, (praetor) forced a vote in the senate for both Caesar and Pompey to lay down arms (Plut. Caesar 30 (puts at 49 BC); Plut Pomp. 58)
    - i. An overwhelming majority in the Senate (400 against 22) wished both Caesar and Pompey to lay down their commands before the consular elections in December 50.
  - b. Pompey was in a better position than Caesar.
  - c. If Caesar obeyed the order to lay down his command, he was no longer immune to prosecution.
  - d. **Cato** had charged him with war crimes in Germania
  - e. If Caesar refused to obey, he would be declared an enemy of the state;

- f. The Senate would be forced to appoint Pompey as commander with extraordinary powers.
  - g. If he obeyed he would be entering Rome without his military protection and surely be assassinated.
  - h. For their part the senatorial men (Marcellus) had started to foment fear by circulating rumors that Caesar would embark on a bloody rampage against Rome.
  - i. A slave/freedman was publically flogged by Marcellus to make reference to Caesar's illegal enfranchisement of Gauls in his provinces to recruit into his legions.
  - j. The senate threw down the gauntlet and ordered Pompey to "save the republic!"
4. 49 BC Senate passes *scu* and mandates Pompey's command against Caesar.
- a. In 49 BC, on the seventh of January, the Senate demanded Caesar to hand over his ten legions to a new governor.
  - b. Caesar heard the news in Ravenna, and knew that he had no choice but to wage a civil war;

## II. Civil War 49-45 BC

### 1. Sources:

- i. Livy Per 109
  - ii. Plutarch Caesar 31-33;
  - iii. Plutarch Pompey 59-62
  - iv. Caesar documented the events of the Civil War from 49 to 48 BC in his *Commentarii de bello civili* ('Notes on the Civil War') in 3 books
  - v. They cover his wars against Pompey from Caesar's crossing of the **Rubicon** to Pompey's escape from Pharsalus, and arrival and execution by **Ptolemy** in Alexandria.
  - vi. The authorship of the otherworks of the so-called *Corpus Caesarianum*, the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, *Bellum Africum* and *Bellum Hispaniense* (each consisting of one book), but they are differ in style both from the works we know Caesar wrote, and from each other.
  - vii. Suetonius suggests Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Oppius as possible authors.
2. In the night of 10/11 January 49 BC, the Thirteenth legion advanced to Rimini, where Caesar could control the passes across the Apennines.

- a. Caesar crossed the **Rubicon**, the river boundary between Italy and province of Cisalpine Gaul, leaving his province, invading Italy and thus provoking civil war. Plutarch Caesar 30-33
  - i. What other choice did he have to preserve his dignity?
  - ii. Caesar preferred the dignity of war
  - iii. Quoting his favorite poet Menander, "the die is cast" (*alea iacta est*).
- b. After crossing the **Rubicon**, Caesar quickly took Italy (49 BC)
  - i. Senate had miscalculated
  - ii. It had expected that the towns of Italy would send troops in defense of the authority of the Senate and the *libertas* (from an aspiring rex!) of the Roman People
  - iii. But Italy showed little enthusiasm to defend the senatorial constitution.
- c. Towns came out and welcomed Caesar; he responded with clemency.
  - i. Caesar doubled his legions wages to ensure victory and loyalty.
  - ii. He also acquired reinforcements (legions V, VIII, XII, XVI),
- d. Two months after the start of the Civil War, Caesar was master of Italy.
- e. The senate had no legions in Italy and was thus helpless.
- f. As early as 49 BC he began to hunt down his enemies in Apulia (Brundisium) from where Pompey and the majority of the senate had fled eastward, to Greece (17 March).
  - i. Caesar made haste to take control of the legions the Senate (without a commander) stationed in Spain.
  - ii. Caesar neutralized the army first and recruited at least fourteen new legions (numbered XVI-XXX).
- g. Then he went back to Rome, where he had not been for ten years, and pardoned rather than massacred his enemies and created a new Senate, to ratify his *acta*.
- h. Before he had convoked the senate, he proposed a law granting Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul and he returned to Hispania to take control of the legions of Pompey.

- i. After picking up several legions in Marseilles, Caesar crossed the Rhône and the Pyrenees with the legions VI, VII, VIII, X, XI, XIV, XXVIII, XXIX and XXX, and defeated the Spanish army of Pompey, led by his legates Lucius Afranius and Marcus Petreius in the Battle of Ilerda, (Barcelona 2 August 49 BC).
    - ii. He rushed to Córdoba in Andalusia, where two legions (commanded by Marcus Terrentius **Varro**) surrendered to him (September).
    - iii. Caesar would later pardon him and make him librarian of Rome
  - i. Upon his return, Caesar was made dictator. (He had been out of Rome for six months.)
3. Caesar as dictator: October 49 (1<sup>st</sup>)
- a. He had senate pass a bill of Lepidus legitimizing his dictatorship: BC 2.21.3; App BC 2.48; Dio 41.36.1-2; Plut Caes 37, 2.
    - i. He carried a program of debt relief Suet Caes 42. 2; Plut Caes 37. 1 App BC 2. 48; Dio 41. 37-38, 42.22.
    - ii. He restored exiles and sons of proscribed BC 3.1. 3-5.
    - iii. Made arrangements for provincial administration and elections for 48 BC
    - iv. He carried through Latin Festival BC 3.1-2 and 20; Dio 41.36-38; App BC 2.48; Plut Caes 37.
  - b. After 11 days he abdicated.
4. 48 BC Caesar campaigned against Pompeians in the East: Battle of Pharsalus.
- c. Sources: Plut: Caes. 37-49; Pomp. 65-80; Cic. 39.1-2; Dio 41.43-42. 40; Vell.2.51; Suet Caesar 35; Per. 109,110, 11, 112.
  - a. He brought his army across the Adriatic and after a winter engagement to besiege Pompey at Dyrrhachium won a decisive victory.
  - a. Meanwhile Pompey's armies withdraw to Thessalonica (in northern Greece).
    - i. By drawing upon the resources of the eastern provinces and some client kings, he managed to raise an army of nine legions and a fleet of 300 ships, commanded by **Bibulus**.
    - ii. Two additional legions were still on their way to Greece.

- b. In Greece Pompey managed to gather troops (mainly by drawing Roman forces from Asia Minor) and began to lay plans for the retaking of Italy.
  - i. Now, Pompey was ready to return to Italy to attack Caesar.
  - ii. Fearing this Caesar tried to send his veterans across the Adriatic: 11 legions (V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XXVII) were gathered at Brundisium.
  - iii. Despite the risks of winter navigation, seven legions crossed to modern Albania in January 48 BC.
  - iv. However Caesar's navy was defeated and the remaining four legions could not be ferried to the east.
- c. For 6 months, Pompey and Caesar remained at Dyrrhachium (modern Dürres), where they built large fortified camps across from each other.
- d. In March, Caesar's legate Marc Antony got the other four legions.
  - i. NB Italy was now defended by seven newly recruited legions: I, II, III, IIII, XXXI, XXXII and XXXIII.
- e. However the combined armies of Antony and Caesar were defeated again by Pompey's legions (7 July).
- f. Caesar marched inland, cross the Pindus Mountains and lured Pompey's army inland into battle at Pharsalus.
- g. Instead of turning around and crossing back to Italy (Pompey controlled the port), Pompey's forces decided to pursue Caesar and engage his forces at Pharsalus.
- h. In the battle of Pharsalus, Caesar's more experienced men overcame Pompey's larger army (9 August; Cassius Dio 41.52-63; Caesar Civil War 3.88-99).
  - i. Pompey had 47,000 troops: 15,000 were killed; 24,000 were captured
  - ii. Caesar had 27,000 troops: 30 centurions and 200 infantry were killed
  - iii. When Caesar surveyed the carnage on the battlefield at sunset and saw the bodies of the dead senators, he remarked: "Well, they would have it thus."
- i. Pompey's captured soldiers were enlisted in four new Caesarian legions (XXXIV-XXXVII).
  - i. They were sent to the east, to defend Syria against an uprising fomented by Pharnaces II of Pontus (see below).

- ii. Caesar's own legions were sent back to Italy (except for the Sixth): some of their soldiers had been in his service for twelve years, and were awaiting discharge, pensions and land grants.

#### 5. Caesar In Alexandria Autumn of 48 to Spring of 47 BC

- a. After his victory in Pharsalus Caesar pursued Pompey to Egypt and became involved in a dispute between Cleopatra and her brother Ptolemy for the throne.
- b. Pompey had survived the Battle of Pharsalus, and he went to Egypt in October of 48 BC, followed by Caesar and the legions VI and XXVII
- c. After hearing about Caesar's victory in Egypt the praetors of Rome made him dictator for a second time (October).\*
  - i. Caesar made Mark Antony his Master of the Horse

#### 6. Autumn of 48 BC Death of Pompey:

- a. When they arrived, they learned that Pompey had been murdered by soldiers at the behest of ministers (Caesarians) of the ten year old king Ptolemy XIII, who hoped to gain Caesar's support in Ptolemy's dynastic conflict/quarrel with his older sister Cleopatra VII.
- b. Pompey was beheaded and the young king tossed the headless corpse into the sea.
  - i. Plutarch Caesar 48.2-4;
  - ii. Dio 42.7-8;
  - iii. Caesar reports (Civil War 106.1-107-2) that he was angry at the death of Pompey because he was not given the chance to pardon (read humiliate) his rival.
  - iv. He must in fact have known that Pompey would not have accepted a pardon.

#### 7. Winter of 47 BC

- a. Eventually open warfare broke out; under house arrest for several months, Caesar met Cleopatra who smitten, had smuggled herself into his quarters in a rug (Plut: Caes 48.9-49.3; Dio 42.34'1-35.2).

#### 8. Spring of 47 BC

- a. In the spring of 47 BC, he defeated Ptolemy. The boy's body was found in the Nile (27 March).

- i. Having pacified Egypt, Caesar and **Cleopatra** were together long enough for **Cleopatra** to claim to have become pregnant with their son Caesarion.

#### 9. 47 BC War Against Pharnaces II:

- a. In Summer of 47 Caesar hurried off to Asia Minor, where Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates of Pontus, had fomented a rebellion against Roman authority, and allied himself to the tribe of the Sarmatians.
- b. Pharnaces II took advantage of the civil war between Pompey and Caesar decided to grab land and make himself the ruler of Colchis and Lesser Armenia.
- c. The Roman-friendly ruler of Galatia, Deiotarus, appealed to Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, Caesar's lieutenant in Asia, for support, and soon the Roman forces sought battle with Pharnaces.
- d. They met at Nicopolis in Anatolia, where Pharnaces II defeated the Roman army and overran Pontus.
- e. After this show of strength against the Romans, Pharnaces II to suppress revolt in his new conquests.
- f. Rapid approach of Caesar in person forced Pharnaces to turn his attention back to the Romans.
- g. At first, recognizing the threat, he made offers of submission, with the sole object of gaining time until Caesar's attention fell elsewhere;
- h. However Caesar's speed brought war quickly, and battle took place near Zela, where Pharnaces was routed but escaped with a small detachment of cavalry.
- i. Caesar himself, in a letter to a friend in Rome, said of the short war: "Veni, vidi, vici" ("I came, I saw, I conquered" veni, vidi, vici).
- j. Pharnaces II fled back to the Bosporan Kingdom, where he managed to assemble a small force of Scythian and Sarmatian troops, with which he was able to gain control of a few cities.
- k. His former governor and son-in-law Asander, attacked his forces and killed him. The historian Appian states that he died in battle; Cassius Dio says he was captured and then killed.
- l. Having defeated Pompey and neutralized Egypt and Asia, the dictator was free to return to Rome (September 47), unaware that his opponents, the last republican diehards, had been able to regroup in Africa while he had been in Egypt and campaigning in Asia Minor.
- m. Caesar completed his campaigns in Alexandria, recovered and began reorganization of Asia Minor and east.

#### 10. Caesar back in Rome 47 BC:

- a. Sources
  - i. Bell. Alex: 19-33, 41, 65-78; Bell Afr. 1-2;
  - ii. Josephus AJ 14.127-156; BJ 1.187-201;
  - iii. Plut: Caes. 49-52; Cic. 39; Suet. Caes 35;
  - iv. App BC 2.90-95; Dio 42.41-43 and 44-56
- b. Returned to Rome in September: dealt with mutiny (on **Antony's** watch) of his soldiers, and mandated more debt relief.
- c. Before the end of the year he left Rome for North Africa to impose his authority of remnants of Republican resisters (allied with Pompey)

### III. 49-46 BC: Caesar in Africa: Routing out the last Pompeians (Republicans)

#### 1. Battle of the Bagradas River 49 BC (fought by Gaius Scribonius **Curio Curio**)

- a. Caesar eventually fought for control of Numidia.
- b. He almost lost with the defeat of **Curio** by **Juba's** forces in the Battle of the Bagradas River 49 BC:
- c. After his victory he imposed punishments on the Numidian Kingdoms (**Juba I**) which had supported Pompey.
- d. 49 BC Battle of Bagradas: Caesarian setback. Sources
  - i. Plutarch, 52:1-5;
  - ii. Suetonius Caesar, 59:1
  - iii. Cassius Dio, Roman History, 42:58:1.
  - iv. Appian, Civil Wars. 2.96.
  - v. Velleius Paterculus II. 54.
  - vi. Caesar, *B Civ.* 2.23- 44 (Bagradas)
  - vii. *Bellum Africum* (Thapsus)
- e. In 49 BC Caesar sent his general Gaius Scribonius **Curio** to take Numidia from the Republicans.
- f. **Curio** landed near Utica on 19 June 49
- g. The King of Numidia, **Juba I**, a supporter of the Pompeians and his Numidian general Sabura enticed him into a trap and killed **Curio** along with a large part of his army.
  - i. **Curio** underestimated the strength of the Republican (Pompeian) governor of Africa, Publius Attius Varus.
  - ii. Nevertheless he led army in an attack that routed Varus' army, and wounded Varus, although the battle greatly depleted his (**Curios'**) troops.

- iii. Encouraged by his success **Curio** attacked what he believed to be (only) one detachment of **Juba's** army under **Juba's** prefect Sabura.
  - iv. Sabura faked a retreat while **Juba**, who was nearby, sent reinforcements (Spanish and Gallic cavalry) and moved toward theater of conflict (other side of Bagradas River).
  - v. **Juba's** prefect, Sabura ambushed, annihilated **Curio's** overconfident and exhausted armies.
- h. **Curio** was among many who died in battle.
- i. Some escaped to *Castra Cornelia* near coast.
  - ii. Caesarians tried to escape from camp to boats but most were left behind to face **Juba** who **Juba** took captives back to Numidia for display and execution.
  - iii. Pompey still alive in Macedonia Battle of Pharsalus is in 48 BC now recognized **Juba** as rex (an insult to Caesar)
  - iv. Caesar had **Juba** I declared an enemy of the state and had **Juba's** enemies Bocchus and Bogudes/Bogus, Mauretanian Caesarians who had helped **Curio** declared kings

## 2. 46BC: Battle of Thapsus

### a. Sources

- i. *Bellum Africum*
- ii. Dio Cassius 42.43 1-14. 57
- iii. Appian *Civil Wars* II 95-100
- iv. Liv. Per. 113-114;
- v. Plut. Caesar 52-54;
- vi. Plut. **Cato** Min. 57-73;
- vii. Suet Caesar 35. 2;

b. After the battle of Pharsalus of 48 BC (in which Caesar defeated Pompey), the followers of Pompey gathered under Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio in Africa.

- i. Other Pompeians/Republicans were Lucius Afranius and **Cato** the Younger, who stayed in Utica to protect it from siege (on the coast).

c. Late in 47 BC Caesar arrived in Africa: the Battle took place in of 46 BC

- i. (Plutarch 52.5) Caesar also took with him Asinius Pollo and Scipio Salustio, “a man who was a completely negligible character except that he belonged to the family of the Africani” to campaign against the remnants of Pompey's forces.
- d. **Juba** I again supported Pompeians (Plut. **Cato** minor 57f; Cass. Dio 42, 57, 1-4).
  - i. **Juba** I left Sabura in charge of defending Numidia and made for Thapsus.
  - ii. **Juba** I was ready with large numbers of troops when Caesar landed in Africa at the end of 47, but withdrew with the bulk of his army when Bocchus II and P. Sittius invaded Cirta (Numidia) (Bell. Afr. 25, 2-5).
- e. In response **Juba** left Scipio and the Pompeians at Thapsus and rushed back to defend his kingdom.
- f. However he abandoned Sabura and his kingdom when Scipio bribed him with Roman assets in Africa (Cass. Dio 43, 4, 6 to induce him to return to fight Caesar).
  - i. Sabura's campaign ended in disaster; his army was defeated and he was killed in battle probably early in 46 BC, about the same time **Juba** was defeated at Thapsus.
- g. Scipio and **Juba** assembled their armies on the north flank of the town
  - i. Emboldened by moderate successes against the Caesarians, Scipio left **Juba** and Afranius, and went to fortify another camp.
- h. Caesar rushed in: outflanking one division of Scipio and **Juba's** armies he attacked the other division from the front.
- i. Seeing the defeat of Scipio's army by the Caesarians, **Juba** fled to Numidia with his men.
- j. **Juba** was disgraced and committed suicide
  - i. **Juba** I fled without his army to his empire, where the city of Zama locked its gates to him in view of his utter defeat.
  - ii. In despair he committed suicide near Zama in single combat with Pompey's follower M. Petreius
- k. Scipio committed suicide while attempting to escape by sea.

- i. Many Pompeians died at the hands of Caesar's men (10,000)

#### 1. 46 BC Post Thapsus: Africa Nova

- i. To punish **Juba 1** for supporting Pompey Caesar annexed his kingdom (Eastern half of Numidia) as new province of Africa Nova in 45 BC
  - ii. The original province of Africa was now called Africa Vetus (old) to distinguish it from Africa Nova (new)
  - iii. Caesar appointed the historian **Sallust** as governor of new enlarged province.
  - iv. Caesar made plans to refurbish Carthage but never did because he was assassinated in 44 BC.
- m. Post Thapsus suicide of **Cato** the Younger in Utica, upon learning of Caesar's victory
- i. Plutarch's Account (**Cato** Min 68-70) has made story (gruesome-he died slowly of his stab wounds) famous.

#### 3. End of 46 Post Thapsus Caesar returned to Rome. 3rd Dictatorship

- a. After his success in Africa (late April) he was appointed dictator for ten years in late April 46 (3rd).
- b. Caesar returned to Rome to celebrate 4 triumphs for victories in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus and Africa.
  - i. Liv. Per. 115; Vell. 2.56-1-2; Suet. Caesar 37; 9.4 and 54. Plut. Caes. 55; App BC 19.144; Dio 43. 14.3, 19.24.
- c. Began his program of reforms in 46 BC and continued to work on it until his death.

#### 4. 45 BC "Constitutional" powers

- a. Caesar was sole consul until he abdicated in October
- b. In April his dictatorship stopped and he immediately started a new one, (which became Perpetual (for life) in Jan or Feb of 44 BC).
- c. Departed for Spain to neutralize remnants of Pompeians (under sons of Pompey)

#### 5. 45 BC Spanish Campaign: Background

- a. Sources

- i. **Bell. Hisp; Livy Per.115; Plut Caesar 56.4; App BC 2.103-105, 4.83, 5.143; Dio 43.28-40, 45.10.1-3;**
  - b. **The Republican forces in Hispania were headed by the sons of Pompey, Gnaeus and Sextus.**
    - i. **They were joined by other Pompeian units that had survived Thapsus (including a veteran contingent of Gallo-Germanic cavalry commanded by Titus Labienus, a Caesarian commander who had gone over to the Pompeians.**
    - ii. **Among the forces of the sons of Pompey were veterans who had served under their father, had surrendered to Caesar, (with land grants in Spain, in return for renouncing allegiance to Pompey) and then had rejoined the Pompeians when the sons of Pompey began recruiting forces.**
  - c. **Late in 46, the sons of Pompey Gnaeus, Sextus, as well as Labienus began attacking cities and colonies and controlled most of Farther Spain.**
  - d. **The Caesarians sent for help from Caesar, who was now in Rome.**
  - e. **Caesar arrived in early December (covered 1,500 miles from Rome to Obulco in less than a month).**
    - i. **Although the Pompeian forces outnumbered Caesar's army, they stalled in order to force Caesar into campaigning in the winter, while his troops had to forage.**
    - ii. **However by mid-March the Caesarians had forced the sons of Pompey into open battle with Caesar: 8 legions (40,000 men) and cavalry commanded by Bogud of Mauretania.**
    - iii. **The Pompeians had 13 legions, (including indigenous Spanish 70,000 men).**
  - f. **They had avoided battle for several months but when there were rumours of defections to Caesar, they were compelled to force battle and confront him.**
- 6. Battle of Munda (Montilla near Córdoba)45 BC:**
- a. **Caesars army was outnumbered nearly two-to-one by the Pompeian forces, which also had an advantageous position on a hill with a water barrier at the foot.**
  - b. **Caesar fought in the front line with his favorite and most experienced legion (X).**

- c. The Republicans fought hard, but gradually were out maneuvered and crushed by Caesar's Tenth Legion and the Mauritanian cavalry.
- d. Finally the Republican army confused and seeing that that all was lost retreated from the field.
  - i. After eight hours of close-up, brutal combat, the Caesarian army was victorious and the Roman civil war was ended.
  - ii. 30,000 Pompeians were slaughtered most of killed in retreat; losses on Caesar's side were much lighter (1,000).
  - iii. Titus Labienus died in battle and was granted a burial by Caesar, while Gnaeus and **Sextus** Pompeius escaped.
- e. Caesar left his legate Quintus Fabius Maximus to besiege Munda and establish Caesar`s authority in Farther Spain.
  - i. Corduba surrendered, its men (mostly armed slaves) were executed and the city was forced to pay a heavy indemnity.
  - ii. The city of Munda held out for but, surrendered, with 14,000 prisoners taken.
  - iii. Gaius Didius, Caesar`s naval commander, hunted down most of the Pompeian ships.
  - iv. Gnaeus Pompeius looked for refuge on land, but was soon taken and executed.
  - v. **Sextus** Pompeius survived and would rebel against the Second Triumvirate (43 BC).
- f. After Munda there were no more Republicans to challenge Caesar`s authority.
  - i. Upon his return to Rome, according to Plutarch (56.7), the "triumph he celebrated for this victory displeased the Romans beyond anything. For he had not defeated foreign generals, or barbarian kings, but had destroyed the children and family of one of the greatest men of Rome."

#### IV. Caesar in Absolute Power: Dictatorships Reforms and Death

1. In March of 45 BC Caesar returned to Rome and was reappointed to his 4<sup>th</sup> dictatorship.
  - a. He assumed several new titles and honors
    - i. Imperator for Life (Senate) Dio.43.44.2;
    - ii. Right to wear triumphal garb and laurel crown always

- iii. **Title of Liberator, a golden chair right to put up statue of himself in forum and temples (Dio 43.43-45)**
- b. **Celebrated a triumph in October for his Spanish victory. Livy Per. 116; Vell. 2.56.2; Suet Caes 37.1; Plut Caes 56.4; Dio 43.42.1**
- c. **Cultivated his clemency and granted pardons to enemies (Vell. 2.56.3; Suet Caes 75.1; Plut. Caes. 57.2-3; Appian BC 2.107; Dio 43.49.1, 50.1-2).**
- d. **Rather than engaging in wholesale bloodletting and profiteering, he distinguished himself by his acts of clemency and his public works.**
- e. **His goal was to restore peace, law and order Rome, clearing the way for further military campaigns in the East.**
- f. **The people welcomed his rule for its promise of domestic peace and prosperity.**
- g. **Caesar undertook more reforms in Rome.**
  - i. **What were his dynastic, constitutional plans?**
  - ii. **Did he plan to engineer a monarchy?**
  - iii. **It's difficult to establish his plans since he was assassinated in the next year.**

## **2. Reforms 46-44 BC:**

- a. **Caesar's political program included a number of popularis-style measures:**
  - i. **Debt reform**
  - ii. **building projects intended to stabilize the grain supply**
  - iii. **extension of citizen rights in the provinces (especially Gaul)**
  - iv. **establishment of overseas colonies (which held out the promise of land and a settled income for the urban poor)**
  - v. **massive public works projects throughout Italy**
- b. **Caesar also promoted measures intended to address growing problems in both Rome and its provinces:**
  - i. **For example, he reduced the number of people eligible for handouts of free grain at Rome (thus encouraging the landless poor to take part in his new colonies)**
  - ii. **Minor reforms in the system of Roman taxation among the provinces.**
  - iii. **Lex Julia Municipalis (45 BC) comprised works programs: Roads, maintenance etc. to get folks off the grain dole; Incentives to encourage municipal self-government to free**

up praetors etc. In Rome: construction of massive public complexes: Julian Forum (an extension of the Forum near the northern end) and, Julian Basilica.

- c. **Julian** Calendar (46 BC): Caesar reformed the traditional Roman calendar, which had originally been an agricultural ten month year:
- i. The change from 10 to 12 month lunar calendar occurred in the 6th century;
  - ii. According to tradition: the lunar calendar was Etruscan, and introduced to the Romans by king Tarquinius Priscus.
  - iii. In 153 BC January was made the first month of the year (Janus was associated with idea of new beginnings).
  - iv. Even with 12 months, the Roman year only totaled 355 days, with 31 days in the months of March, May, July, and October, and 29 days in all of the others (except February, which had 28).
  - v. This discrepancy meant that the official year (i.e. lunar calendar) was constantly at odds with reality (solar year).
  - vi. The pontiffs had the privilege of intercalation (adding days to the lunar calendar to make it conform to the Roman solar year)
  - vii. This discretionary power to make adjustments to the calendar, (I.e. to make it work) was potentially dangerous. Incorrect calculations had topped the number of days up to 366.5 by Caesar's day.
  - viii. Caesar fixed the number of days at 365.
  - ix. Augustus adjusted the leap year to every 4 years (Caesar's was every 3 years.)
  - x. Our calendar is the **Julian** calendar with some minor refinements instituted under Pope Gregory XIII in 1582.

d. Senatorial reform, more magistrates:

- i. Political measures Caesar instituted ensured his continued control of affairs in Rome, and have led many to speculate that he had a constitutional makeover in mind.
- ii. As Sulla had done, Caesar flooded the Senate with new appointees, including provincials, to a total of 900 members, new equestrian- clients/partisans who would presumably have followed his directives.
- iii. Caesar doubled numbers of quaestors and praetors

- iv. How do we interpret these reforms?
  - v. Do they reveal an aspiring emperor?
- e. Provinces: tax reform, praetorian edict, accountability, massive enfranchisement and promotion of provincials to Roman statecraft.
  - f. Promotion of education, culture, doctors, **Varro** as chief librarian, provincials in cultural orbit of Rome etc.
    - i. Province of Africa was enlarged to the west (Africa Nova) with the annexation of Numidia (as punishment of **Juba** for harboring Republican Pompeian partisans see above).
    - ii. **Sallust** was made governor.
3. Reforms in sum:
- a. The overall effect was to reduce the absolute dominance of the city of Rome and to integrate Rome with Italy and Italy with provinces.
  - b. Enlarged senate from 600 to 900; included Romanized provincials, giving some more unity to Roman rule.
  - c. Socio-economic reforms:
    - i. Public works projects: temples, libraries, theaters, roads, and harbors
    - ii. Colonies of Roman citizens in provinces
    - iii. Roman citizenship for intellectuals - teachers, scholars, doctors, and librarians
    - iv. He even founded schools and public libraries in the Western provinces.
    - v. Municipal reform in Italy, Julian Municipal Law -greater uniformity of local civic administration throughout Italy
  - d. **Julian** Calendar: a dictatorial move: control of calendar
    - i. This discretionary power to make adjustments to the calendar, to "make it work" was potentially dangerous.
4. Assassination 44 BC Dictatorship for Life (still his 4<sup>th</sup> )
- a. Originally, it was thought that Caesar would step down from power, in the manner of Sulla, but his continued holding of consulships and dictatorship offended and frightened the senate and traditional republicans.
  - b. Dictatorial behavior also angered the aristocracy: for example

- i. “Accepting” (probably coerced senate into awarding) the enhancement of this 4<sup>th</sup> dictatorship in late January or early February of 44 BC from a 10 year to a life-time, perpetual dictatorship and openly advertising it on his coinage.
  - ii. Renaming of the 7th month "July," after Caesar's family name, in the new calendar,
  - iii. His arrogation to himself of honors considered more appropriate for kings (portrait on coins, civic corona incident, his demeanor, visual and cultural programs some laws-sumptuary).
- c. Did Caesar intended to establish himself as a Hellenistic-style rex?  
Continued to receive more honors and Titles
  - i. Celebrated ovatio on 15 Feb. as Dict IIII
  - ii. The Accepted Prefecture of Public Morals for life
  - iii. Accepted the title of Pater Patriae
- d. Caesar’s acceptance of Dictator for life placed Rome in a perpetual state of martial law.
  - i. A temple was dedicated to Caesar's Clemency, his loyal ally **Antony** appointed as its flamen (priest).
  - ii. The old republicans saw the dictatorship and what amounted to a cult to Caesar as an affront to Roman religious and political tradition and the acts of a tyrant or a rex!.
- e. While planning an ambitious campaign against the **Parthians**, Caesar was assassinated on 15 March (called the Ides in the Roman religious calendar) by a coalition of senatorial men, republicans, stoics, political idealists, ex-Pompeians, and disgruntled former officers of Caesar.
  - i. (Suet 80-82; Plut 63.1-4; Vell.2. 57; Appian BC II.117 )
- f. The ringleaders were C. Cassius Longinus (an ex-Pompeian) and M. **Junius** Brutus (an ex-Pompeian but also a Stoic idealist, who was the descendant of the Brutus who had orchestrated the expulsion of the last tyrant king, Tarquinius Superbus).
  - i. 60-80 senators were also involved in the plot

- ii. NB the Republic had been dead for about one hundred years.
- g. The liberators failed to deliver a pre-Caesarian Republic
  - i. They did not have a plan for re-instituting the Republic, but thought rather it would return automatically.
  - ii. They had not accounted for Caesar's popularity with the people.
  - iii. Caesar had powerful supporters, E. g. Marc **Antony**, who kept the "liberators" from repudiating Caesar's reforms.
  - iv. Caesars partisans now had all the legions (!!)

### 5. Legacy of Julius Caesar

- a. Caesar was a brilliant general and administrator but had not succeeded in finding the solution to Rome's constitutional crisis.
  - b. The old system could not function effectively any longer, but folks were not ready- or perhaps not desperate enough to admit defeat or resort to "kings."
  - c. In his arrogance, Caesar had failed to pay enough respect to traditional forms and ideals.
  - d. In the end despite the years of violence and political turmoil that they had endured, the Romans were simply not yet worn out enough to accept that the old system could no longer be maintained.
  - e. It would take one more round of civil wars between Caesar's successor (grand-nephew and adopted son) **Octavian** and Marcus Antonius to propel the Romans to that critical stage.
- .....

#### Timeline Julius Caesar

88 First consulship of Sulla.

87 Marius and Cinna take Rome

86 Death of Marius.

85 Death of Caesar's father.

84 Caesar nominated flamen dialis. Marries Cornelia, daughter of Cinna.

83 Sulla returns from the east.

82 Sulla appointed dictator.

**81 Caesar in Asia.**

**78 Death of Sulla. Caesar returns to Rome.**

**77 Caesar prosecutes Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella.**

**75 Caesar in Rhodes and Asia.**

**73 Caesar appointed to the pontifical college. Returns to Rome.**

**70 First consulship of Crassus and Pompey.**

**69 Death of Caesar's aunt Julia, and also of Cornelia. He serves as quaestor in Spain.**

**67 Caesar marries Pompeia, granddaughter of Sulla.**

**65 Caesar is aedile.**

**63 Consulship of Cicero. **Catiline** 'conspiracy'. Caesar elected pontifex maximus.**

**62 Caesar is praetor. Bona Dea scandal. Caesar divorces Pompeia.**

**61 Caesar in Spain.**

**60 Caesar elected consul for 59. "First Triumvirate" of Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey.**

**59 Caesar is consul. He marries Calpurnia, and his daughter Julia marries Pompey. Caesar appointed governor in Gaul for five years.**

**58 Clodius is tribune. Caesar defeats Helvetii and Suebi.**

**58-54 Caesar writes books 1-4 of De Bello Gallico.**

**57 Caesar campaigns against Belgic coalition.**

**56 Renewal of triumvirate.**

**55 Second consulship of Crassus and Pompey. Caesar's governorship renewed for five years. He crosses the Rhine. First invasion of Britain.**

**54 Second invasion of Britain. Death of Caesar's daughter Julia.**

**53 Caesar punishes rebellious tribes in Gaul. Death of Crassus in Parthia.**

**53-51 Caesar writes books 5-7 of De Bello Gallico.**

**52 Murder of Clodius. Pompey appointed sole consul. Outbreak in Gaul of rebellion under Vercingetorix, who finally surrenders at Alesia.**

**51 End of Gallic wars. Attempts to terminate Caesar's command.**

**50 Political manoeuvres by Caesar to enable him to stand as consul for 48 without giving up his command.**

**49 Senate orders Caesar to give up his command and issues senatus consultum ultimum. Caesar crosses the **Rubicon** at the head of his troops. Pompey given dictatorial powers. Pompey leaves Italy. Caesar in Spain. Battle of Ilerda. Caesar appointed dictator (1<sup>st</sup> dict. October). Elected consul for 48. Resigns dictatorship.**

**48 Battles of Dyrrachium and Pharsalus. Death of Pompey. Caesar in Egypt with **Cleopatra**. Fighting in Alexandria. Caesar reappointed dictator (2<sup>nd</sup> dict. October).**

**47 Birth of Caesarion. Battle of Zela. Caesar returns to Rome (continues as dictator).**

**46 Caesar in Africa. Battle of Thapsus. After victory at Thapsus Caesar re-appointed dictator for ten years (3<sup>rd</sup> dict. late April). Holds quadruple triumph. Reforms the calendar. **Cleopatra** in Rome.**

**45 Caesar in Spain. Battle of Munda signifies end of civil war. After victory at Munda Caesar re-appointed dictator (4<sup>th</sup> dict. March).**

**44 late Jan early Feb Caesar designated perpetual dictator (4<sup>th</sup>). On 15 February he publicly refuses the title of king, offered to him in the name of the people. On 15 March he is assassinated.**