

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.

In sum: Pompey was opposed by the optimates, including his political enemies: no land for vets and no ratification of his arrangements in the eastern provinces, denied a consulship.

f. Crassus was opposed by optimates: Equestrian tax-collectors were denied a reduction of contract payments on collection of taxes in Asia, and faced more severe punishments for extortion.

g. Caesar was denied by optimates: he was denied a triumph and a bid for consulship simultaneously (Plutarch Cato the Younger 31. 2-5).

h. The result was the "First Triumvirate."

With their pooled armies (Pompey and Caesar) and money (Crassus) the triumvirs prevailed over the senate and the optimates.

The Triumvirs agreed on the following arrangements: after some difficulties they would be ratified by an intimidated senate (in the following year):

i. As consul Caesar would get: Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul to command and govern (and where he could levy troops).

ii. Crassus would get monetary rebates for the equestrian tax collectors (who owed him money).

iii. Pompey would get land for his vets and senatorial ratification of his acts in the east.

Caesarian Laws of 59 BC (Suet.19-20, 22; Plut. Caes.14; Plut. Pomp. 47-48; Appian Bel Civ. 2.13). (Several are unnamed)

- a. Provided Land (Campania) for Pompey
- b. 1/3 rebates for Crassus' publicani.
- c. Lex Vatinia: provided for Caesar's command in Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul for Caesar.
- d. Lex Julia de Repetundis 59 BC addressed provincial administration:
  - i. Imposed closer supervision of praetorian edict to promote accountability of governors
- e. 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.

As tribune Clodius passed a package of laws intended to enhance popular power, and undermine the senate.

- i. A true grain dole.
- ii. Reinstatement of trade guilds (collegia)
- iii. More privileges/powers to tribunes

Clodius also invoked a law intended to force Cicero to leave town and

compromise his career: popular treason laws i. The law stipulated that anyone who had put a Roman

citizen to death without popular appeal was subject to exile

(could not have no fire and water), essentially challenging

Cicero, the authority of the senate and the SCU.

- ii. Caesar warned Cicero and the senate about the future use of this law when the SCU was passed to execute Catiline for the commission of treason.

- g. Cicero was banished, but restored amidst great fanfare in 57 BC.

Caesar responded to these events-the alienation of Triumvirs and



Pompey, now on behalf of the senate and the optimates would do everything in his power to thwart Caesar.

For starters, Pompey rejected a Caesar's offer of a political marriage alliance, in refusing to allow Caesar to re-marry Pompey's daughter Pompeia.

f. Pompey also took more treacherous measures to impugn Caesar, who now his adversary.

g. Pompey wanted to underline the fact that Caesar's power base in Gaul and in Rome was technically illegal, following the strategy of the senate.

h. Caesar had been holding consecutive governorships of Gaul with a proconsular command (requiring consulships obtained in absentia), repeatedly and with impunity.

i. Pompey also wanted to draw attention to the fact that Caesar's illegal power was a potential threat to the authority of the senate.

Pompey also passed more laws aimed to harm Caesar: Leges Pompeiae 52 BC (Dio 56.1; 46.2; Caes. BC 1. 85.9).

i. De Iudiciaria: established special courts to prosecute cases of violence.

ii. De Ambitu: established a court to oversee election bribery.

iii. De Provinciis: set a gap of five years after a magistrate's year of office, before he could govern a province (compromised Caesar)

iv. De Iure Magistratum: made election in absentia illegal,

compromised Caesar's Law of the Ten Tribunes that gave Censur permission to apply for consulship while he was away fighting in Gaul.

Now when Caesar complained to Pompey about his repeal of (Caesar's) Law of the Ten Tribunes, Pompey declared that he would make an

exception for Caesar; in other words, Caesar would be exempt from the law 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 and under a magnifying glass thanks to Pompey's "discretion."

So Pompey removed Caesar's law, then when Caesar asked for Pompey why he had done that? Pompey gave Caesar an exception to show people that Caesar does illegal stuff. Pompey is basically playing chess.

Pompey's action had underlined the potential threat that Caesar with his eight legions posed to the republic.

ii. Consequently the two 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 (Curio, Marcus Antonius) whose job it was to legitimate Caesar's acts and his military command, since Caesar couldn't defend himself in person.

iv. The senate had several partisans (Marcelli) whose job it was to undermine Caesar.

50 BC Caesar's (paid) partisan Scribonius Curio, (praetor) forced a vote in the senate for both Caesar and Pompey to lay down their arms (Plut. Caesar 30; 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.

c. Pompey was in a better position than Caesar.

d. If Caesar obeyed the order to lay down his command, he was no longer immune to prosecution.

e. Cato had also charged him with war crimes in Germania.

f. If Caesar refused to obey, he would be declared an enemy of the state;

g. The Senate would be forced to appoint Pompey as commander with extraordinary powers.

h. If Caesar obeyed he would be entering Rome without his military protection and surely be assassinated.

i. For their part the senatorial partisans had started to foment fear by circulating rumors that Caesar would embark on a bloody rampage against Rome.

i . A freedman (a former slave) 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!"

Module 6:

Antipater and Mithridates of Pergamon assisted Caesar in lifting the Siege of Ptolemy and securing victory over him in battle.

The three sons of Pompey are Sextus, Gnaeus, and Labienus.

Caesar had 4 dictatorships, not 3.

"He was reappointed to his 4th dictatorship and abdicated his consulship (he had served as sole consul)."

Also, the fourth dictatorship was changed from 10 years to perpetual (lifetime).

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 (!!)

Pompey:

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

enemies^

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.

To block Caesar, Cato once again invoked the old law 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 could not ask for permission to run for the consulship in absentia

Caesar chose the consulship.

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Caesar's people dumped poop/shit/feces/fecal matter on Bibulus who was the consul alongside Caesar in 59 BC.

Now as Triumvir (with all the legions including Pompey's) Caesar responded by ignoring the senate and allowing laws to be passed in the popular assemblies with mob violence

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Clodius: Pompey and Caesar arranged the transitio ad plebem, so that he could be tribune and carry out a popularis political agenda.

- i. Transitio ad plebem: adoption of a patrician by a plebeian

Clodius also hated Cicero for two reasons:

The deaths of Julia, (Caesar's daughter and Pompey's wife) in 54 BC, and subsequently Crassus in 53 BC accelerated the process of the dissolution of the Triumvirate.

- b. Another tipping point was the murder of Clodius by Milo in 52 BC.
- c. Periochae [107.2 Publius Clodius was killed on the Via Appia, near Bovillae, by Titus Annius Milo, a candidate for the consulship. Clodius was cremated by the plebs in the building of the Senate
- d. There had been mob violence between Clodius and Pompey' bodyguard, Milo had been going on in Rome since 57 BC

Pompey's bodyguard Milo was repeatedly harassed by Clodius because of Pompey's realignment with the Senate, and he was drifting away from Caesar, he depended on Annius Milo a fellow Republican client for his protection.

- 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.

iii. After an investigation of the death of Publius Clodius had been decreed, Milo was condemned by the court and sent into exile.

So Milo killed Clodius

To suppress the riots, the senate deputized Pompey and, although he was absent at the time, elected him (sole!) consul for the third time, without a colleague (and in absentia!).

So pompey sole consul 3 times so far.

#### ALIENATION OF POMPEY & CAESAR: 52 BC

1. Dissolution of the First Triumvirate:

a. The deaths of Julia, Caesar's daughter/Pompey's wife in 54 BC, Crassus in 53 BC and the trial of Milo (Pompey's partisan) accelerated the process of the dissolution of the Triumvirate.

Things came to a head when the senate gave Pompey alone, a single consulship, in absentia (ironically) effectively making him a senatorial agent to oppose Caesar.

very ironic

Pompey's mandate was simple: restore law and order to Rome.

i. Clodius had been killed by Milo's gang of thugs.

ii. Electoral violence was pervasive, but the real mandate was to begin the process of bringing Caesar down.

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and in Rome was technically illegal, following the strategy of the senate.

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49 BC Senate passes SCU and mandates Pompey's command against Caesar.

a. In 49 BC, on the seventh of January, the Senate ordered 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.

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Reforms: Now that Caesar held absolute power, rather than engaging in wholesale blood-letting and profiteering (i.e. rather than having proscriptions), he chose to distinguish himself with acts of clemency, social reforms and public works. The propaganda was peace: his immediate goal was to restore peace, law and order in Rome, and carry out a provincial policy aimed at globalization, bringing the provinces and provincial into the orbit of Roman and Roman

government. These and other reforms he undertook (Calendar reform the promotion of imperial or state control of religious authority) look forward to Augustan Reforms.

While planning a campaign against the Parthians, Caesar was assassinated on 15 (the Ides of) March by a coalition of senatorial men, republicans, political idealists, ex-Pompeians, and some Caesarian officers. The ring leaders were: C. Cassius Longinus, an ex-Pompeian; M. Junius Brutus, an ex-Pompeian who as a Stoic, rejected the autocracy of a dictator. The association of political idealism and stoic philosophy helped the conspirators justify the murder as a struggle to restore libertas to the Republic. Arguably the Republic had been dead for one hundred years (!)

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.

Caesar made Mark Antony his Master of the Horse (47 BC)

Caesar was serving as consul with Mark Antony in 44 BC (he had been elected in 45 BC).

c. When his dictatorship became perpetual (after January 26th of 44 BC), Caesar gave his consulship to the suffet consul, Dolabella' probably to mitigate his image with the optimates

However, his dictatorial behavior in other matters (including reforms) angered the aristocracy: for example

- i. "Accepting" (probably coerced senate into awarding) the enhancement of this 4th dictatorship in late January (26th) 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).

Who assassinated Caesar? 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. The Republic had been dead for about one hundred years.

67 BC Caesar marries Pompeia, the granddaughter of Sulla.

55 BC Second consulship of Crassus and Pompey; Caesar's governorship and command are renewed for five more years; Caesar crosses the Rhine; launches first invasion of Britain.

Clodius with Caesar.

Milo is Pompey's bodyguard.

45 BC Caesar in Spain; the Battle of Munda marks the end of civil war; after victory at Munda, Caesar is re-appointed as dictator (4th dict. March).

44 BC late Jan (26th) Caesar is designated perpetual dictator (still his 4); on 15 February Caesar publicly refuses the title of king, offered to him in the name of the people; on 15 March Caesar is assassinated.