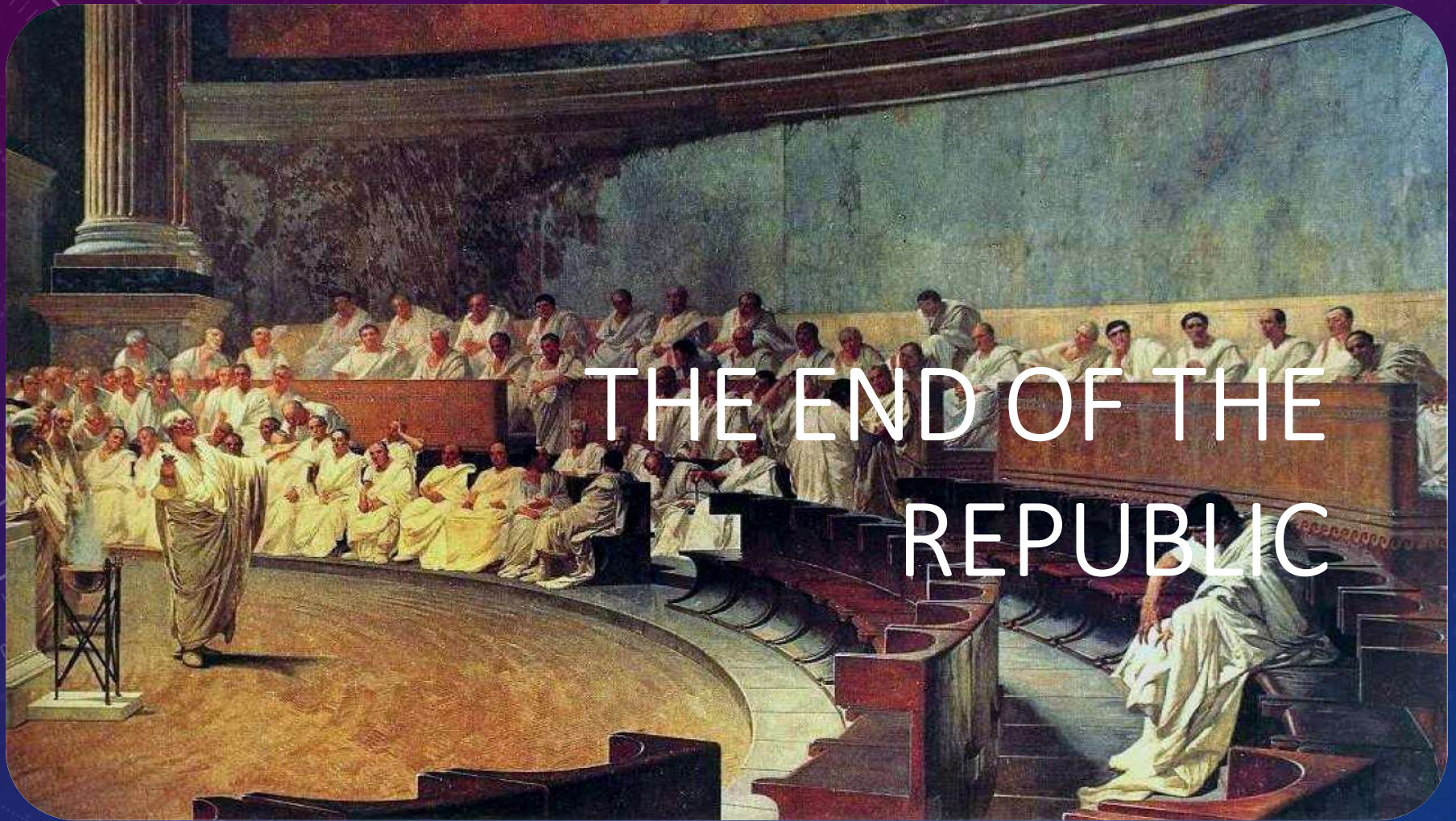


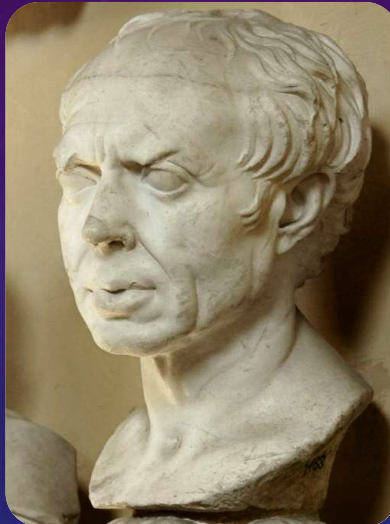


THE END OF THE REPUBLIC

Cicero Denounces Catiline, fresco by Cesare Maccari, 1882–88

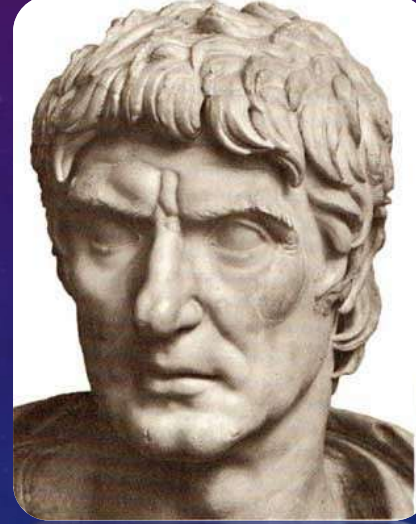
TOWARDS THE END OF THE REPUBLIC...

- From the Gracchi to Marius
- The “Social War” (90-88 BC)
- Sulla & Marius – Sulla’s March on Rome
- Clodius - Street fighting
- Catiline Conspiracy (63)
- The rise of Pompey & Caesar
 - The “1st Triumvirate”
- Caesar – dictator for life
& the murder of the tyrant
- Augustus – the foundation of the Principate
→ Empire / autocracy

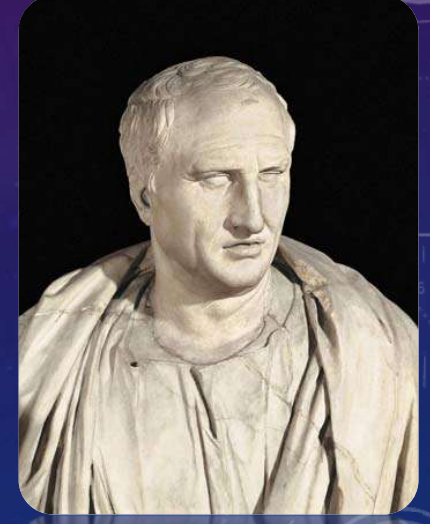


Gaius Marius
157 – 13th Jan. 86
war in Numidia
Cimbri & Teutones
7 times consul
novus homo
(equestrian origin)

army: landless poor for the army
army → loyalty to commander



**Lucius Cornelius
Sulla Felix**
c. 138 BC – 78
dictator: 82/81
Numidia: Jugurtine War
Mithridatic War



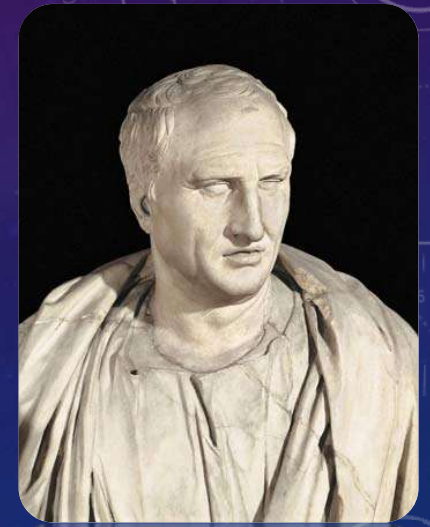
Marcus Tullius Cicero
3 Jan. 106 – 7 Dec. 43
stateman, philosopher
consul, augur,...
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TOWARDS THE END OF THE REPUBLIC...

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- Murder of the tyrant, Caesar
- Octavian - Augustus – the foundation of the Principate
→ Empire / autocracy

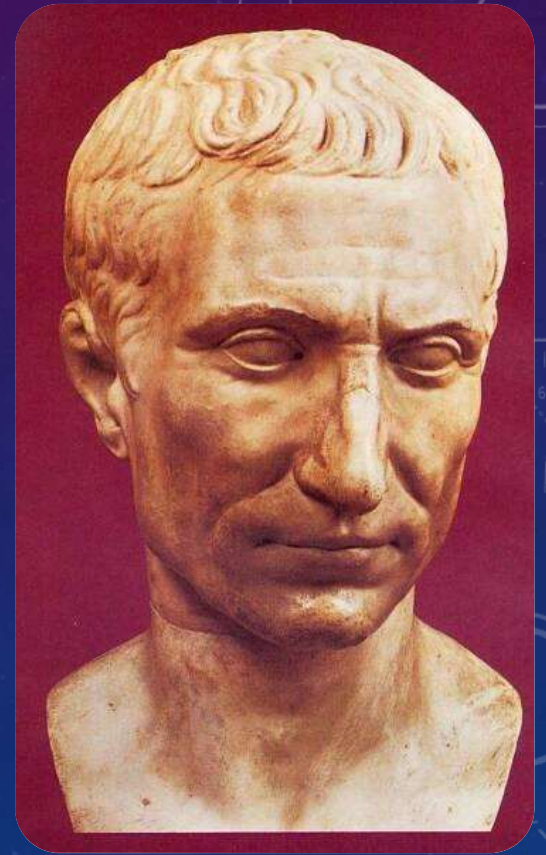


3rd Servile War, 73-71 BC



Marcus Tullius Cicero
3 Jan. 106–7 Dec. 43
stateman, philosopher
consul, augur,...
(equestrian origin)

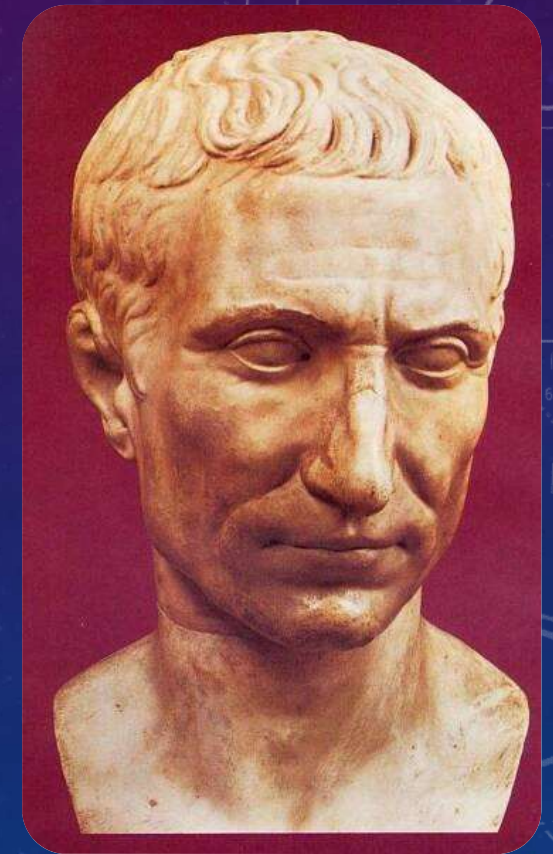
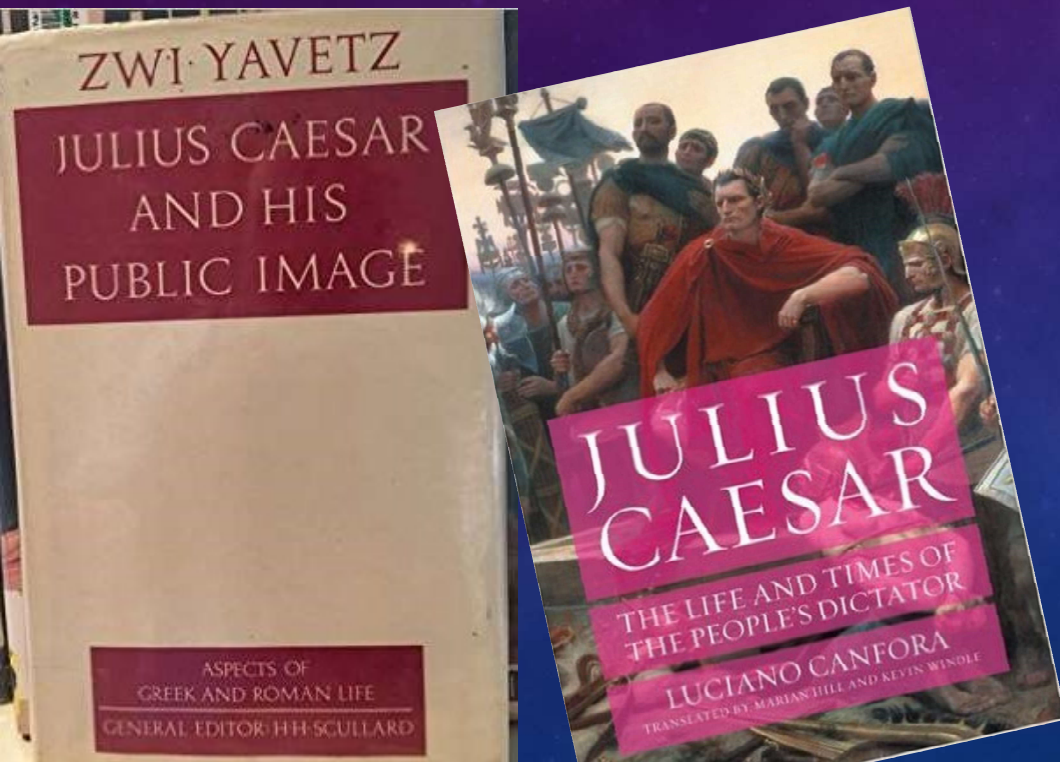
THE RISE AND FALL OF CAESAR



THE RISE AND FALL OF CAESAR

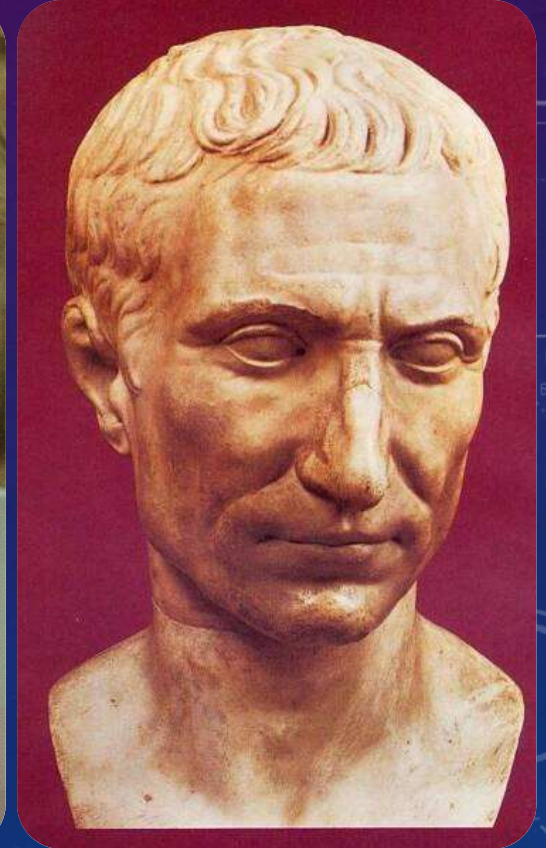
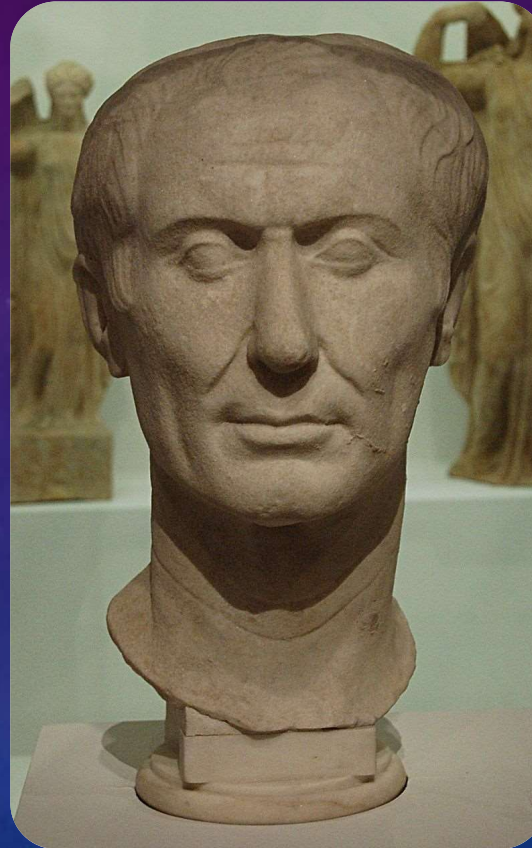
Who was Gaius Iulius Caesar?

- Charismatic politician? The people's dictator? The military genius?



CAESAR

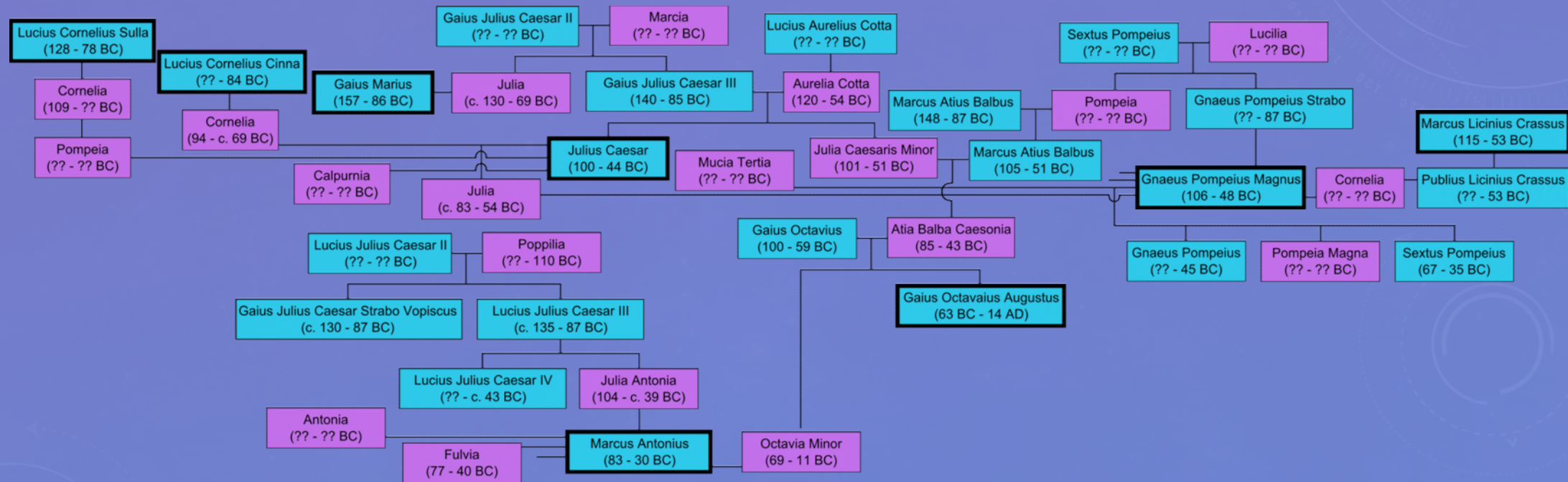
- 100, 13th July Caesar's birth
- 84 Caesar married Cornelia, daughter of Cornelius Cinna
- 75 Pirates capture Caesar (he later executes them)
- 73 Caesar becomes **pontifex**
- 69 Caesar **quaestor** (Cornelia died)
- 67 Caesar married Pompeia
- 65 Caesar **aedile**
- 63 C. Julius Caesar elected **pontifex maximus and praetor** (for 62)
- 62 Caesar departs for Spain (**propraetor**) (divorces Pompeia)
- 60 Caesar returns from Spain
- 59 Caesar **consul** with L. Calpurnius Bibulus; P. Vatinius
- 58 P. Clodius // Caesar defeats Helvetii and "Germani"
- 57 T. Annius Milo
- 56 Conference at Luca
- 55 Pompey and M. Licinius Crassus consuls // Caesar in Britain
- 54 Death of Julia
- 53 Crassus defeated and killed by Parthians at Carrhae
- 52 Death of Clodius; Pompey sole consul // Caesar defeats Vercingetorix
- 49 M. Antonius; Caesar leaves his province, crosses the Rubicon; Pompeians defeated at Ilerda (Spain) ; Caesar dictator for first time
- 48 Pompey defeated at Pharsalus; Pompey killed in Egypt
- 47 Caesar campaigns in and settles east; returns to Italy; sets out for Africa
- 46 Caesar defeats Pompeians at Thapsus (Africa); returns to Rome and triumphs; sets out for Spain
- 45 Caesar defeats Pompeians at Munda (Spain); returns to Rome
- 44, 15th March Dictator for life; Caesar murdered



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- **44, 15th March Dictator for life; Caesar murdered**



CAESAR'S FAMILY TREE



SOURCES

- Caesar, de bello Gallico, de bello civili,... (author? Caesar's intentions?) (also: bello Alexandrino, bello Hispaniensi)
- Sallust (86-34 BC)
- Cicero:
 - speeches (from 81 BC ff.),
 - letters (Nov. 68 – 28 July 43),
 - philosophical works (de legibus, etc.)
- Suetonius, *Divine Iulius Caesar*
- Plutarch's *Caesar*
- Also coins & inscriptions

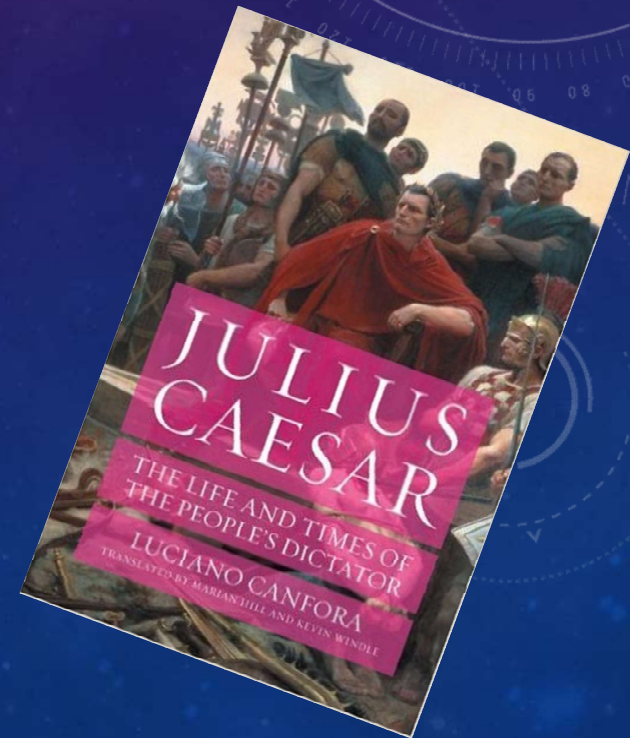


CAESAR & THE PIRATES – 75 BC

[2.1] First, when the pirates demanded a ransom of twenty talents, Caesar burst out laughing. They did not know, he said, who it was that they had captured, and he volunteered to pay fifty. [2.2] Then, when he had sent his followers to the various cities in order to raise the money and was left with one friend and two servants among these Cilicians, about the most bloodthirsty people in the world, he treated them so highhandedly that, whenever he wanted to sleep, he would send to them and tell them to stop talking. [2.3] For thirty-eight days, with the greatest unconcern, he joined in all their games and exercises, just as if he was their leader instead of their prisoner. [2.4] He also wrote poems and speeches which he read aloud to them, and if they failed to admire his work, he would call them to their faces illiterate savages, and would often laughingly threaten to have them all hanged. They were much taken with this and attributed his freedom of speech to a kind of simplicity in his character or boyish playfulness. [2.5] However, the ransom arrived from Miletus and, as soon as he had paid it and been set free, he immediately manned some ships and set sail from the harbor of Miletus against the pirates. He found them still there, lying at anchor off the island, and he captured nearly all of them. [2.6] He took their property as spoils of war and put the men themselves into the prison at Pergamon. He then went in person to [Marcus] Junius, the governor of Asia, thinking it proper that he, as praetor in charge of the province, should see to the punishment of the prisoners. [2.7] Junius, however, cast longing eyes at the money, which came to a considerable sum, and kept saying that he needed time to look into the case. Caesar paid no further attention to him. He went to Pergamon, took the pirates out of prison and crucified the lot of them, just as he had often told them he would do when he was on the island and they imagined that he was joking.

CAESAR – ELECTION SUCCESS – 72 BC

- Successfully elected military tribune for 71 BC
- *Populares*
 - Suetonius: Caesar tried “to re-establish the authority of the tribunes of the plebs, the extent of which Sulla had curtailed”
 - Also, supporting the *Lex Plotia* (*Lex Plotia de reditu Lepidanorum*)
 - Re-instated citizenship to the followers of Lepidus’ revolt (with Sertorius in Spain),
e.g. Lucius Cinna (C.’s brother-in-law).
Suet. Iul. 5; Gellius 13.3.5; Dio 44.47.4



CAESAR'S EXPENSES

1 talent = 60 mina = 3,600 shekel
= 6,000 Attic drachmae

Caesar took steps to associate himself with Pompey
– support for reforms of 70 BC, etc.; backed a bill to propose honours for Pompey (63 BC)

Pompey & M. Licinius Crassus: cos. in 70 BC

Lex Gabinia (67) → Pompey – proconsular powers in any province;

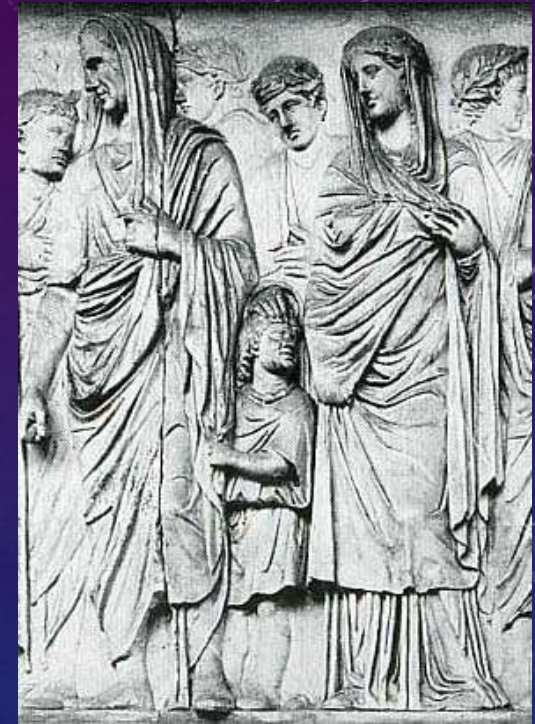
Lex Mamilia (66) → extraordinary command for Pompey against Mithridates

Plutarch, Julius Caesar 5: After the funeral of his wife, he went out to Spain [in 67 BC] as **quaestor under Vetus, one of the praetors**, whom he never ceased to hold in high esteem, and whose son, in turn, when he himself was praetor, he made his quaestor. After he had served in this office, he married **his third wife** Pompeia, having already by Cornelia a daughter who was afterwards married to Pompey the Great. He was unsparing in his **outlays of money**, and was thought to be purchasing a transient and **short-lived fame** at a great price, though in reality he was buying things of the highest value at a small price. We are told, accordingly, that **before he entered upon any public office he was thirteen hundred talents in debt**. Again, being appointed **curator of the Appian Way**, he expended upon it **vast sums of his own money**; and again, **during his aedileship** [66 BC], he **furnished three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators**, and by lavish provision **besides for theatrical performances, processions, and public banquets**, he washed away all memory of the ambitious efforts of his predecessors in the office. By these means he put the **people** in such a humour that **every man of them was seeking out new offices and new honours with which to requite him**.

PONTIFEX MAXIMUS

Caesar becomes pontifex maximus

Plutarch, Julius Caesar 7: At this time [63 BC], too, Metellus, the pontifex maximus, or high priest, died, and though Isauricus and Catulus were candidates for the priesthood, which was an **object of great ambition**, and though they were most illustrious men and of the greatest influence in the senate, Caesar would not give way to them, but presented himself to the people as a rival candidate. The favour of the electors appeared to be about equally divided, and therefore Catulus, who, as the worthier of Caesar's competitors, dreaded more the uncertainty of the issue, sent and tried to induce Caesar to desist from his ambitious project, offering him large sums of money. But Caesar declared that he would carry the contest through even though **he had to borrow still larger sums**. The day for the election came, and as Caesar's mother accompanied him to the door in tears, he kissed her and said: '**Mother, today you shall see your son either pontifex maximus or an exile.**' The contest was sharp, but when the vote was taken Caesar prevailed, and thereby **made the senate and nobles afraid that he would lead the people on to every extreme of recklessness**.



Caesar rises to prominence
– defeats P. Servilius Isauricus and Q. Latatius Catulus to the position of Pontifex Maximus



AR Denarius. Rome mint; rv.: Venus Victrix standing left, holding crowning Victory and scepter; to lower right

CAESAR'S RISE TO POWER...

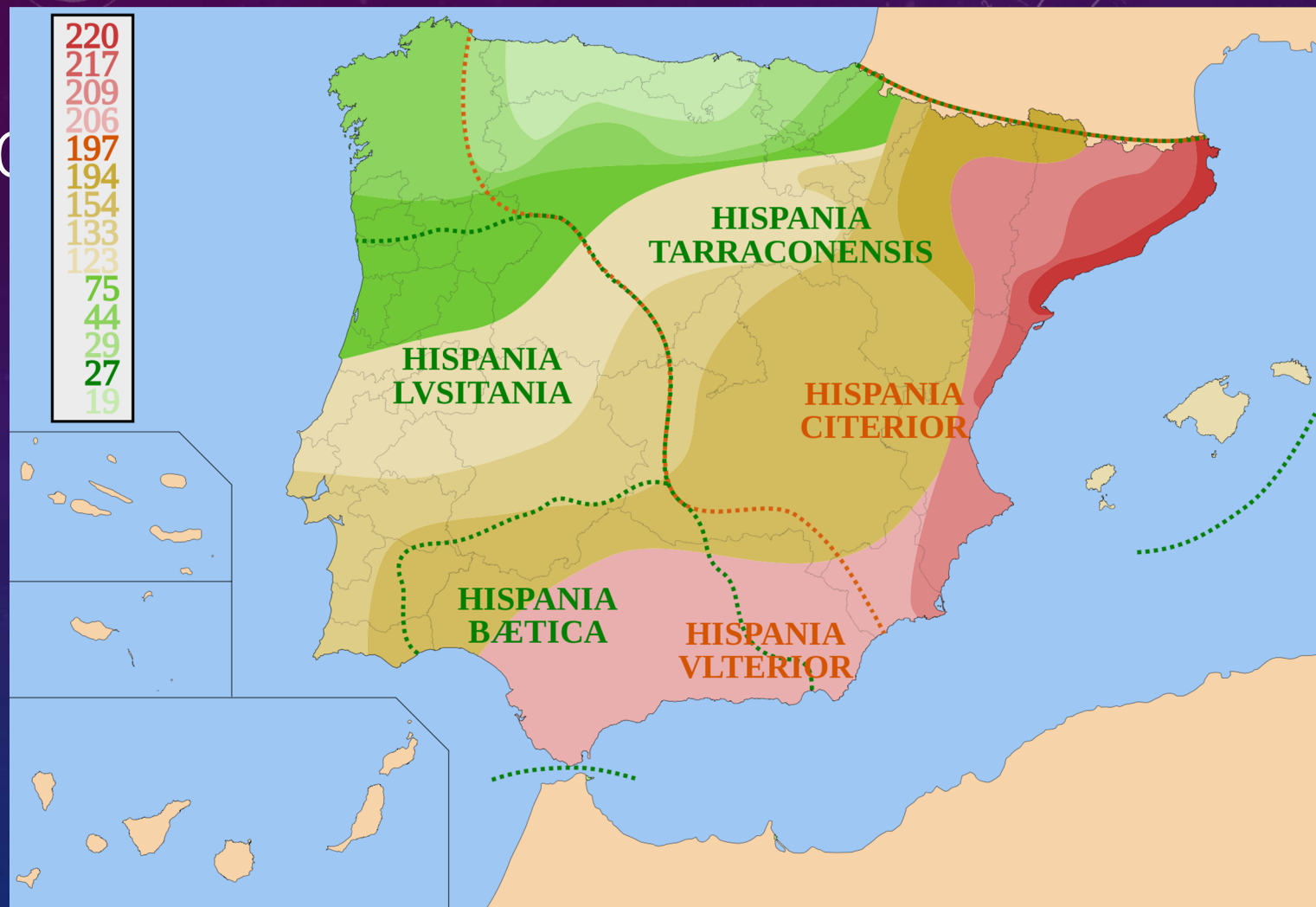
- Backed motion of tribune Q. Metellus Nepos (62) for recall of Pompey.
- Crassus stands surety for part of Caesar's heavy debts (61).
- Caesar proconsular command in Spain (61-60)
 - campaigns against the Lusitanians
- Caesar gains backing of Pompey and Crassus in the consular elections of 60 BC

“At about the same time he took to wife Calpurnia, daughter of Lucius Piso, who was to succeed him in the consulship, and affianced his own daughter Julia to Gnaeus Pompeius, breaking a previous engagement with Servilius Caepio, although the latter had shortly before rendered him conspicuous service in his contest with Bibulus.”

Suet. Div. Jul. 21



CAESAR'S RISE TO



CAESAR IN SPAIN

Plutarch, Julius Caesar 11: 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. 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. We are told that, as he was crossing the Alps and passing by a barbarian village which had very few inhabitants and was a sorry sight, his companions asked with mirth and laughter, 'Can it be that here too there are ambitious contests for office, struggles for primacy, and mutual jealousies of powerful men?' Whereupon Caesar said to them in all seriousness, 'I would rather be first here than second at Rome.' In like manner we are told again that, in Spain, when he was at leisure and was reading from the history of Alexander, he was lost in thought for a long time, and then burst into tears. His friends were astonished, and asked the reason for his tears. 'Do you not think,' said he, 'it is matter for sorrow that while Alexander, at my age, was already king of so many peoples, I have as yet achieved no brilliant success?'

1ST TRIUMVIRATE *TRES VIRI*

TERENTIUS VARRO (116-27 B.C.)

wrote a satire about it: the “*Three-Headed Monster*” (τρικάρανος)



- Desire for ratification for Pompey's settlements in the East.
- Need for land for Pompey's veterans.
- Remittance of some of the costs for a contract taken out by *publicani* for tax collecting in Asia – supporters of Crassus.
- Longer term opportunities for patronage by Crassus? – commission for land distribution.
- Backing of Crassus and Pompey for securing Caesar's consulship of 59.

1ST TRIUMVIRATE *TRES VIRI*



Caesar strikes up an alliance with Pompey and Crassus

Plutarch, Julius Caesar 13-14.1: Now, since those who sued for the privilege of a triumph must remain outside the city, while those who were candidates for the consulship must be present in the city, **Caesar was in a great dilemma**, and because he had reached home at the very time for the consular elections, he sent a **request to the senate** that he might be permitted to offer himself for the **consulship in absentia**, through the agency of his friends. But since Cato began by insisting upon the law in opposition to Caesar's request, and then, when he saw that many senators had been won over by Caesar's attentions, staved the matter off by consuming the day in speaking, **Caesar decided to give up the triumph and try for the consulship**. So as soon as he entered the city he assumed a policy which **deceived everyone** except Cato. This policy was **to reconcile Pompey and Crassus**, the most influential men in the city. These men Caesar brought together **in friendship** after their quarrel, and by concentrating their united strength upon himself, succeeded, before men were aware of it, and by an act which could be called one of kindness, **in changing the form of government...**

1ST TRIUMVIRATE *TRES VIRI*



.....For it was not, as most men supposed, the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey that brought on the civil wars, **but rather their friendship**, since they **worked together for the overthrow of the aristocracy** in the first place, and then, when this had been accomplished, they quarrelled with one another. And Cato, who often foretold what was to come of their alliance, got the reputation of a morose and troublesome fellow at the time, but afterwards that of a wise, though unfortunate, counsellor. [14] **Caesar**, however, encompassed and **protected by the friendship of Crassus and Pompey**, entered the canvass for the consulship; and as soon as he had been triumphantly elected, along with Calpurnius Bibulus, and had entered upon his office [in 59 BC], he **proposed laws which were becoming, not for a consul, but for a most radical tribune of the people**; for to gratify the multitude he introduced sundry **allotments and distributions of land**.

Triumvirate L. Calpurnius Bibulus , consul with Caesar (59)

P. Vatinius, tribune of the plebs (59)

→proposed 5-year imp. for Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum

Pompey married Caesar's daughter, Iulia

CAESAR'S CONSULSHIP

- Motion to have records of senate and assemblies published.
- Bill for distribution of land – both soldiers and civilians – no confiscations or appropriations – a commission of 20 men.
- Bill initially brought before the senate – then before the people.

“After that he communicated nothing further to the senate during his year of office, but brought directly before the people whatever he desired... Bibulus, however, would not yield, but having gained the support of three tribunes, hindered the enactment of the law. Finally, when no other excuse for delay was any longer left him, he proclaimed a sacred period for all the remaining days of the year alike, during which the people could not legally even meet in their assembly. Caesar paid but slight attention to him and appointed a fixed day for the passage of the law... But when he appeared above and attempted to speak in opposition to Caesar he was thrust down the steps, his fasces were broken to pieces, and the tribunes as well as others received blows and wounds.

-Dio Cassius 38.4.1, 6.1-3

CAESAR'S CONSULSHIP

“As for Caesar's colleague, Bibulus, since he availed nothing by obstructing Caesar's laws, but often ran the risk with Cato of being killed in the forum, he shut himself up at home for the remainder of his term of office. Pompey, however, immediately after his marriage, filled the forum with armed men and helped the people to enact Caesar's laws...”

– Plutarch Caesar 14.9-10

CONQUEST OF GAUL 58 – 51/50 BC

“Asinius Pollio thinks that they were put together somewhat carelessly and without strict regard for truth; since in many cases Caesar was too ready to believe the accounts which others gave of their actions, and gave a perverted account of his own, either designedly or perhaps from forgetfulness; and he thinks that he intended to rewrite and revise them.”

—Suetonius Divus Julius 56.4.



Origin of War ?
→ imperialism/defensive?

Caesar's motivation ?

end of Caesar's
governorship?

Reliability of our sources?

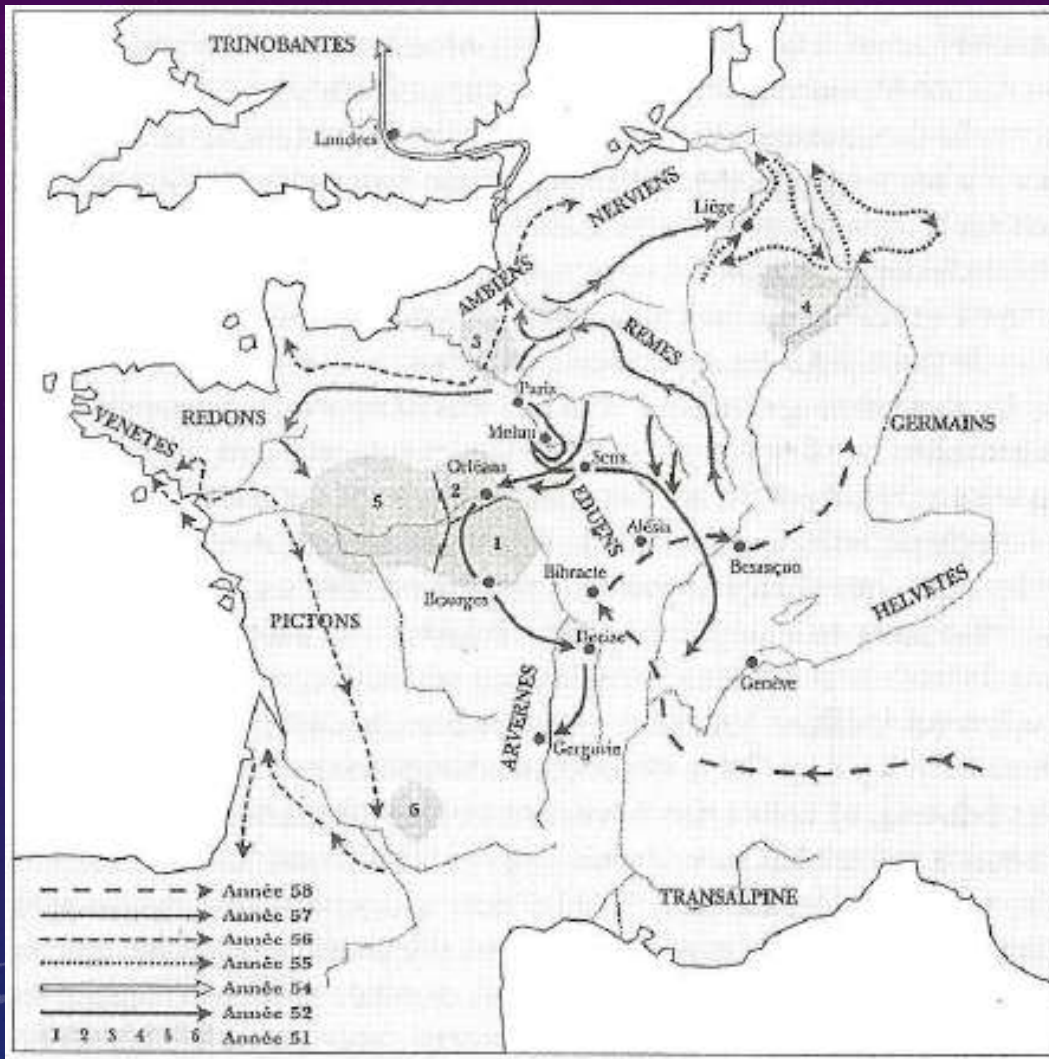
CONQUEST OF GAUL 58 – 51/50 BC

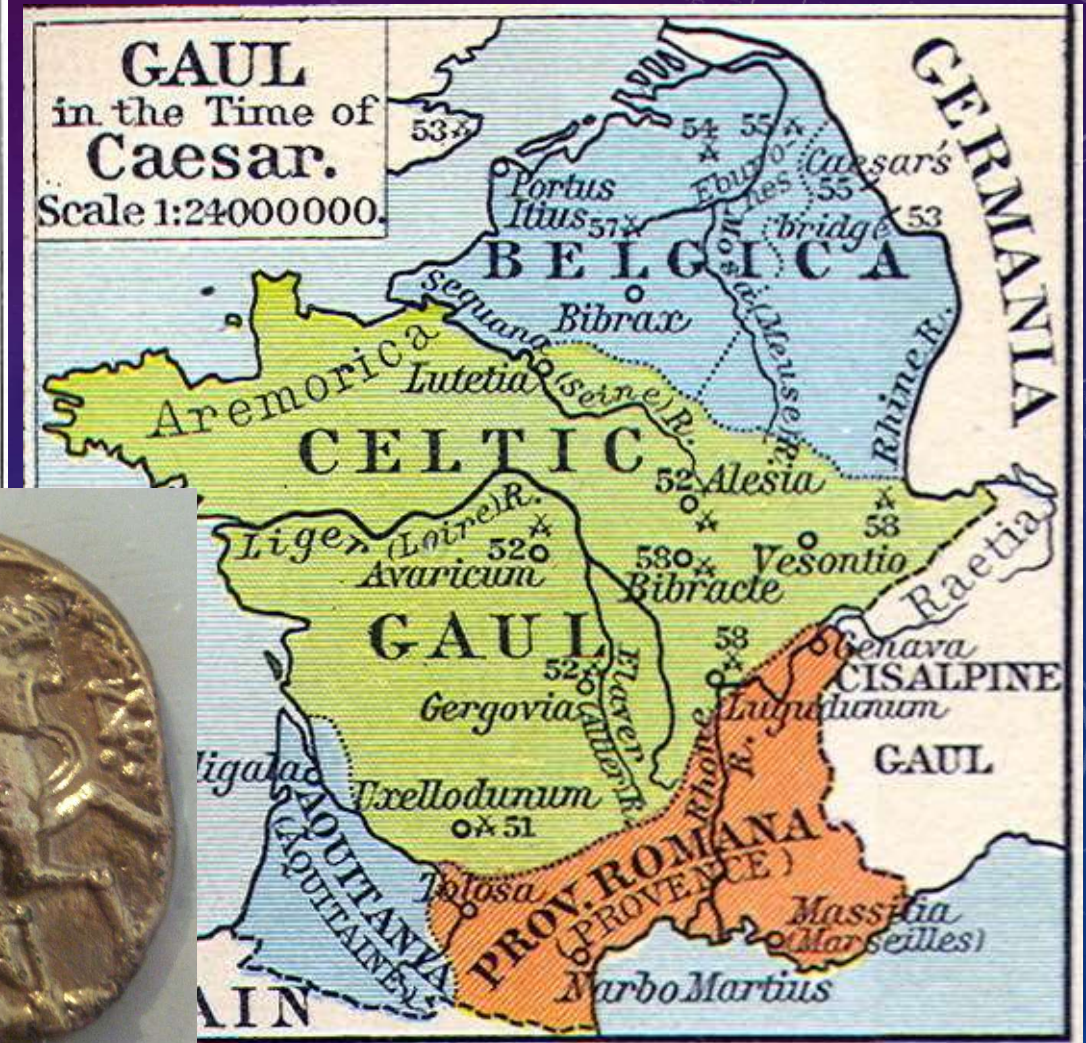
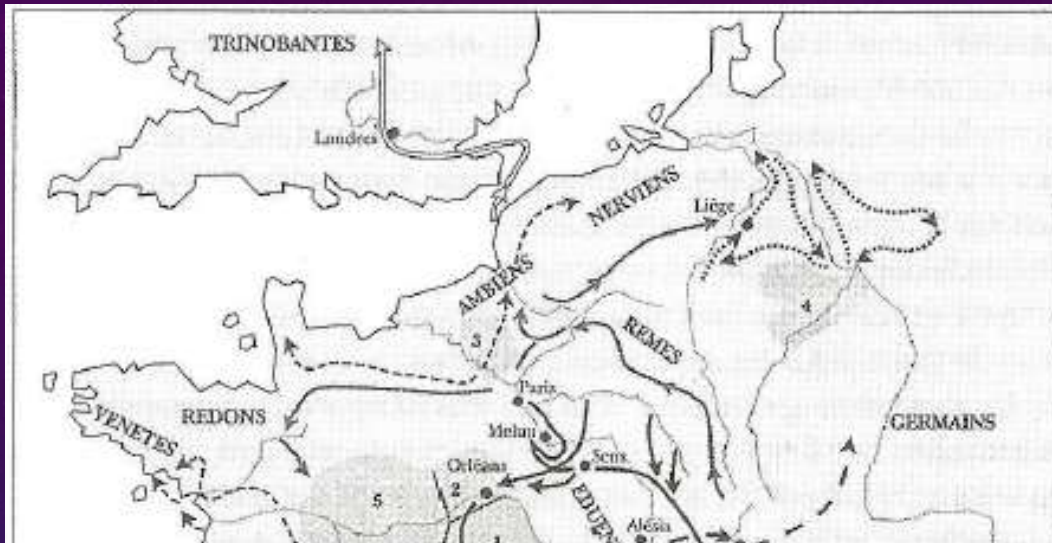
“...he was assigned Gallia Comata [long-haired] as well by the senate, since the members feared that even if they should refuse it, the people would give him this also...” – Suet. Div. Jul. 22

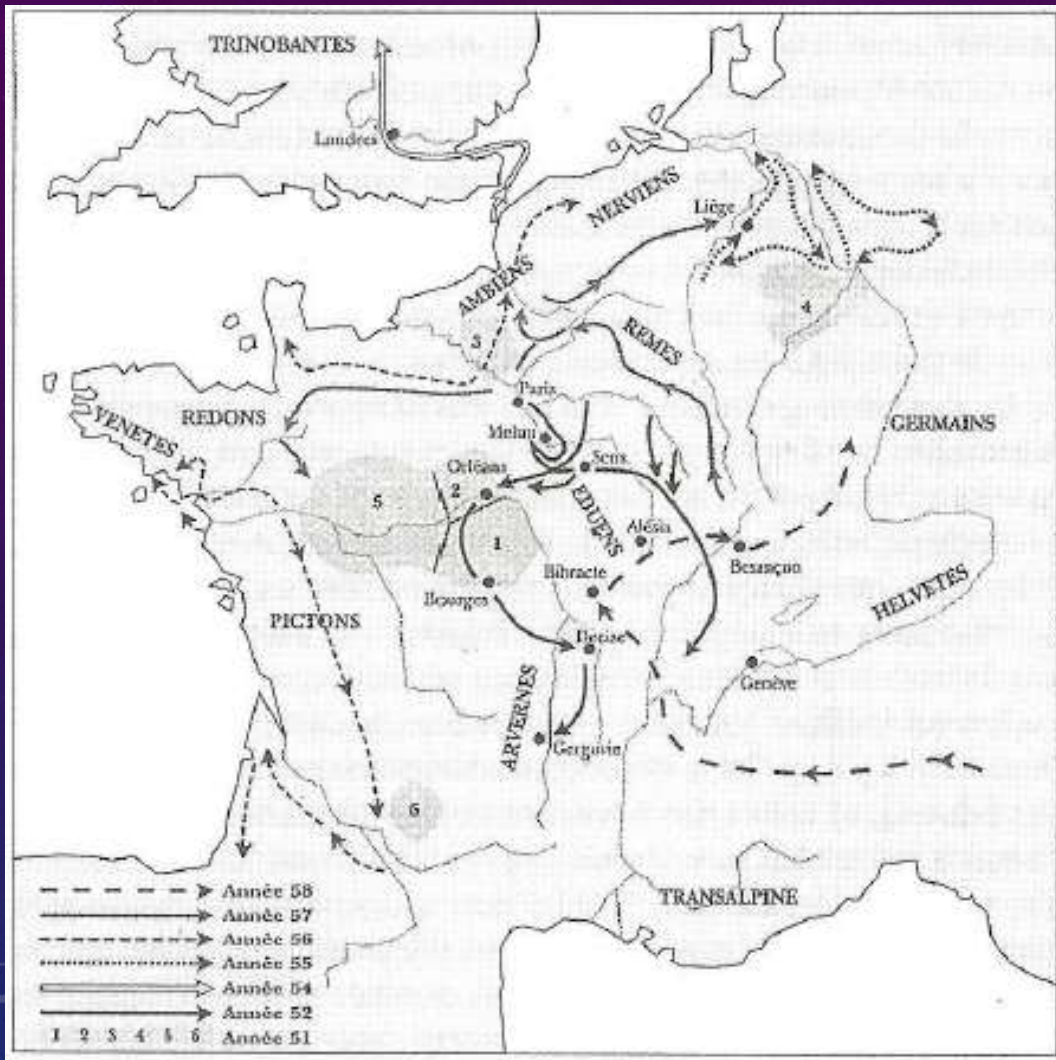


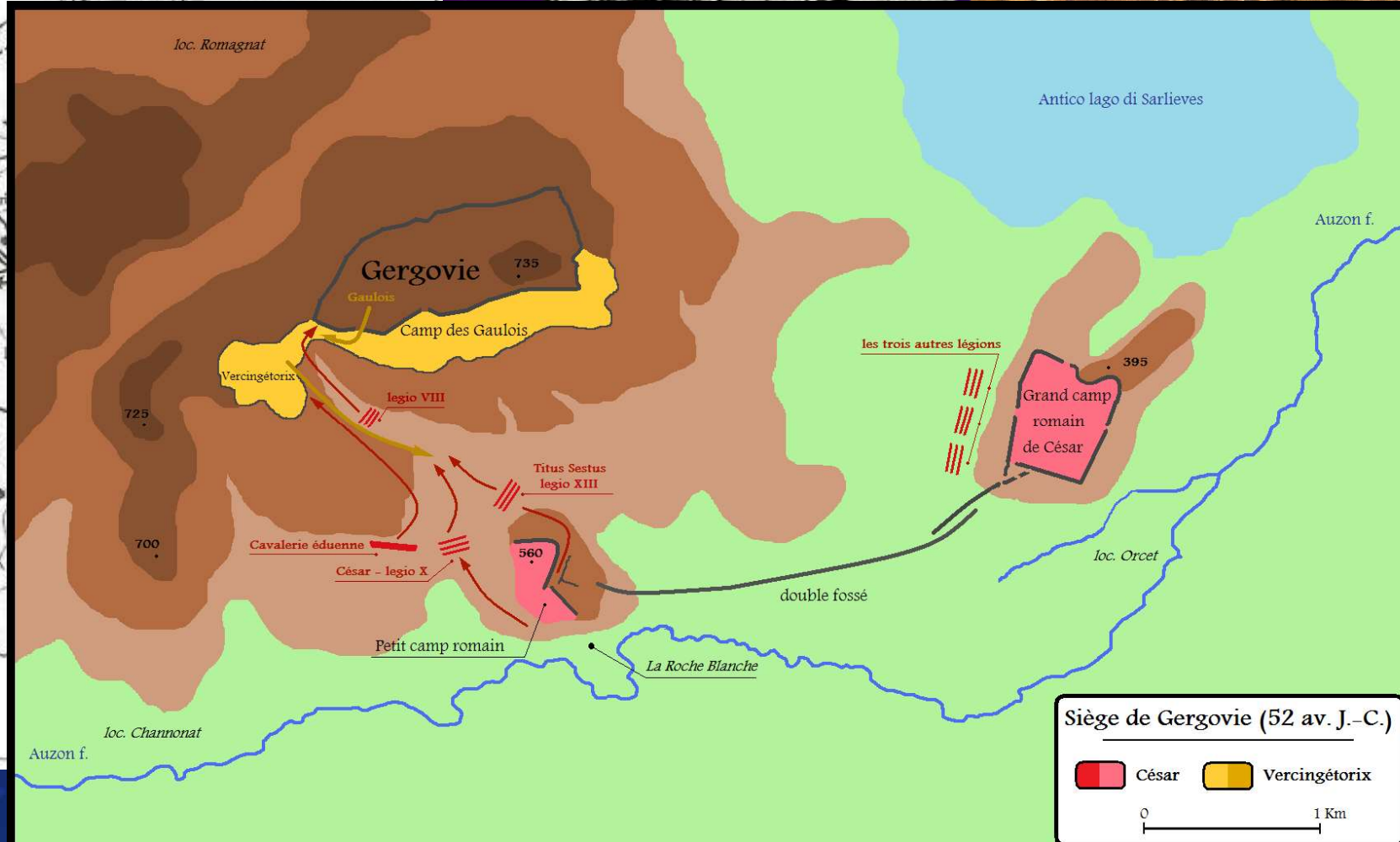
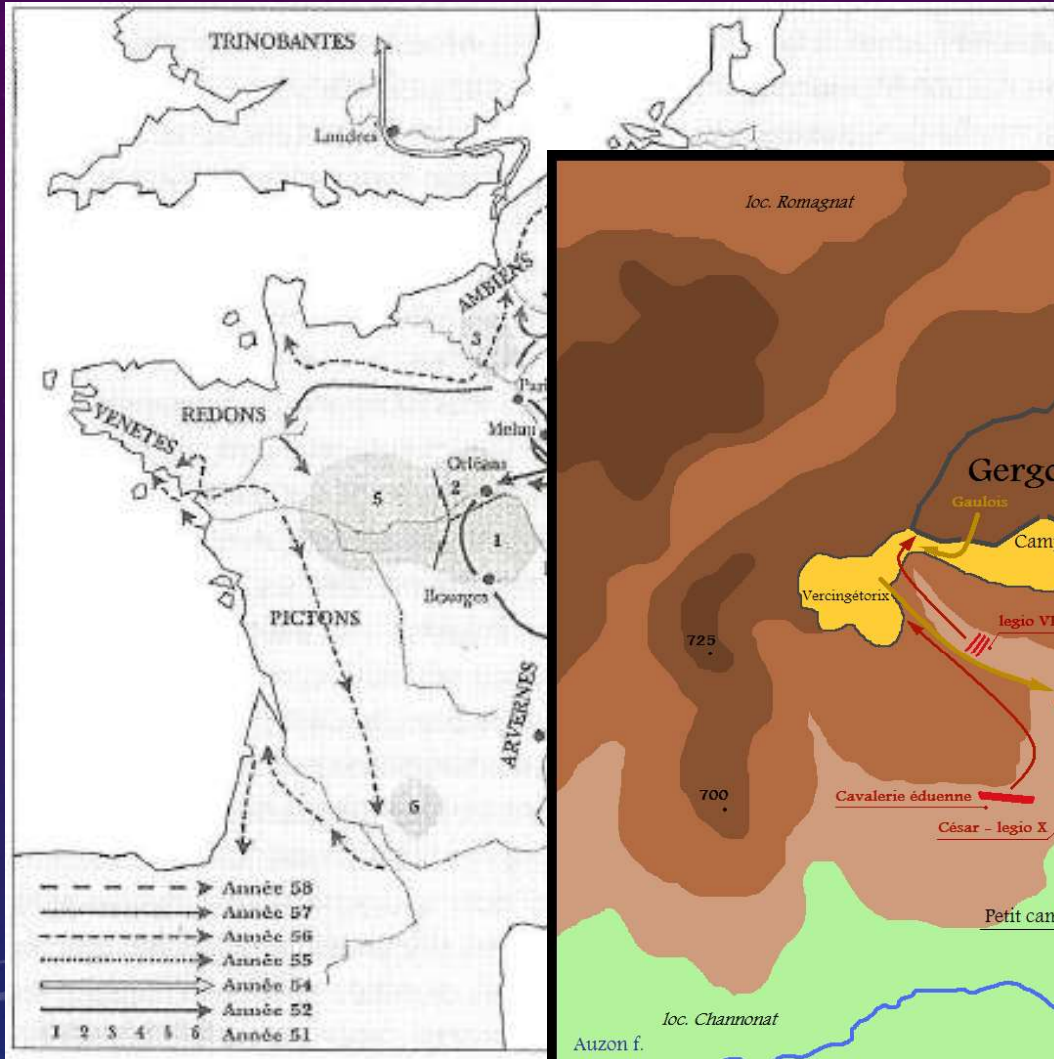
Caesar's Rhine crossing...

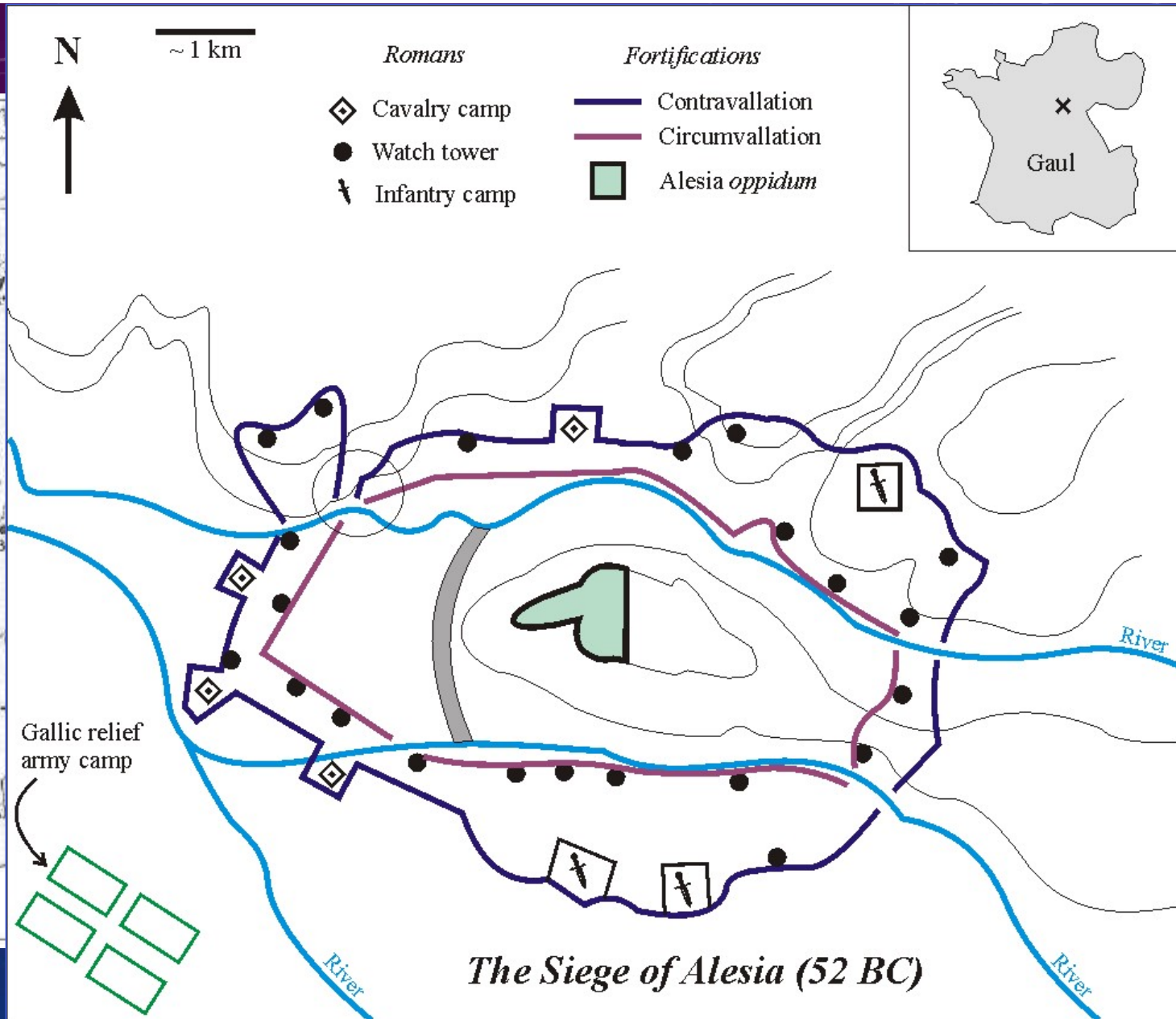
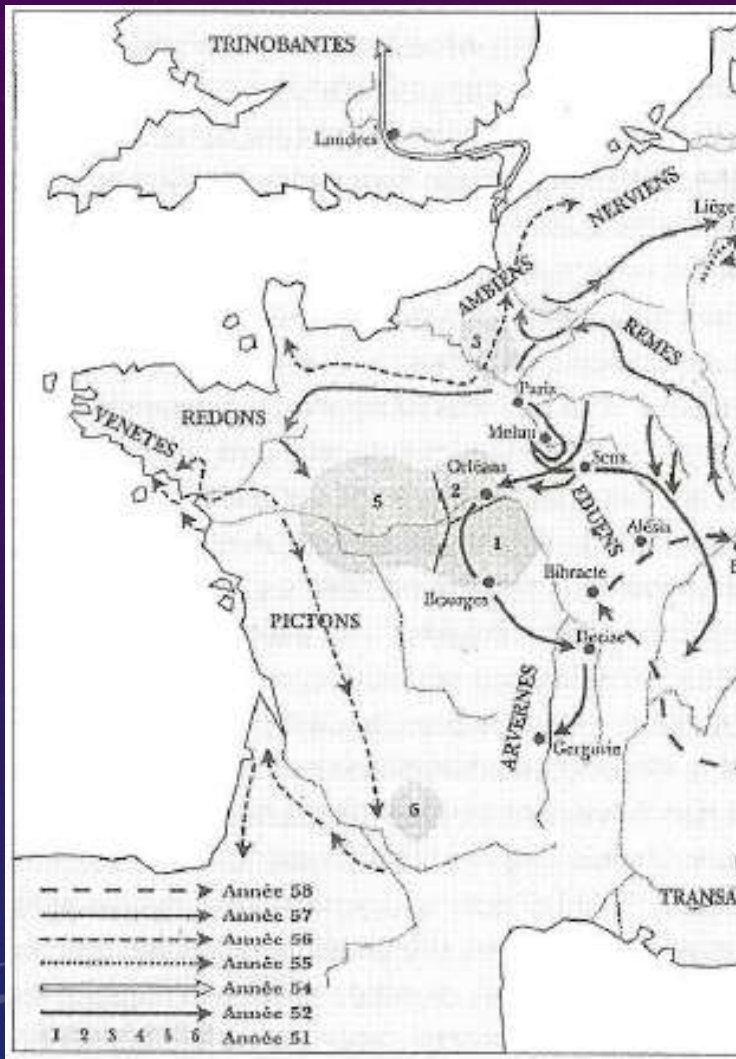


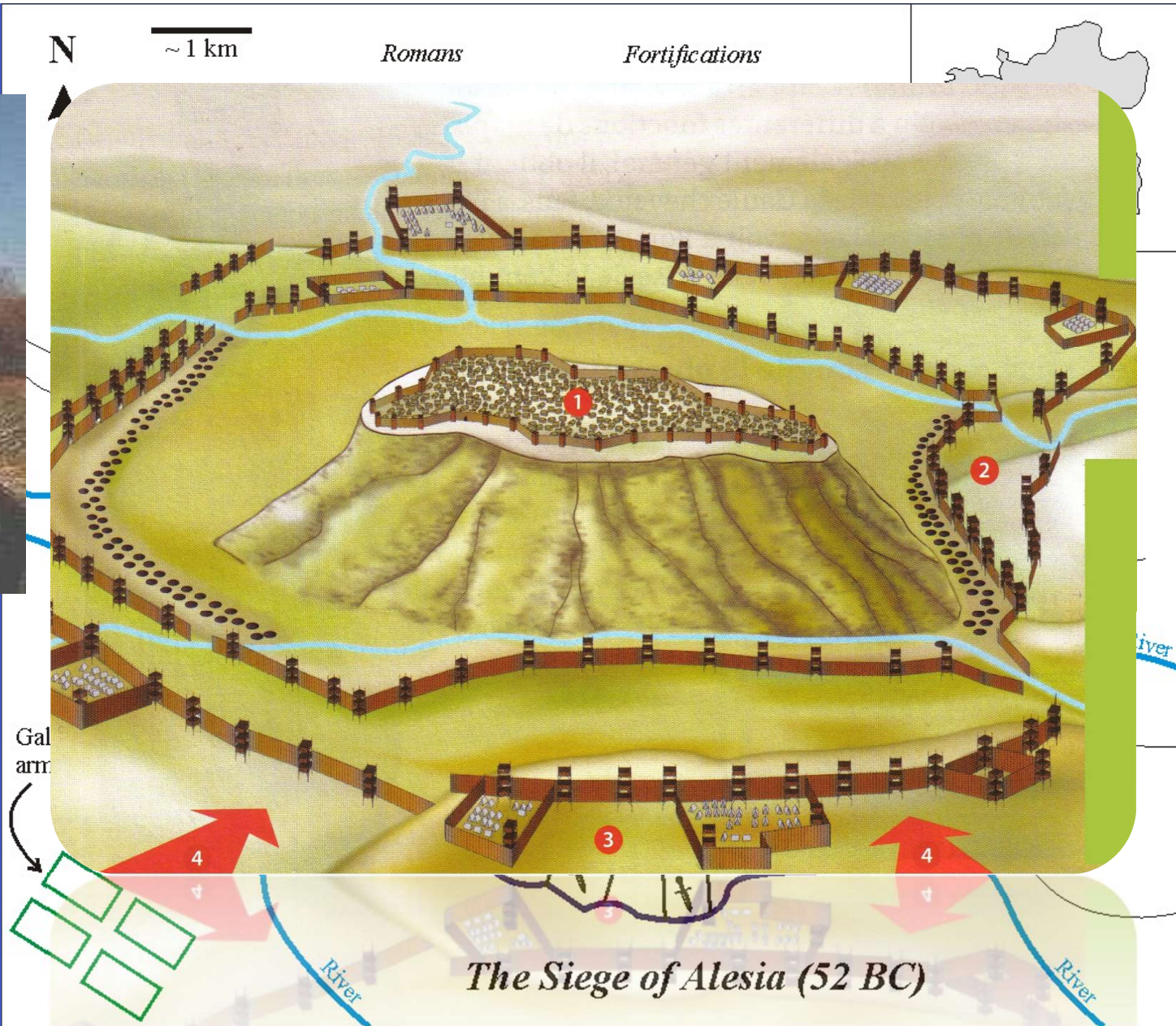












The Siege of Alesia (52 BC)



VERCINGETORIX





Denarius, 48-47 BC, ov: Clementia(?), rv.:
tropaeum with Gallic shield, carnyx,
CAESAR.

1ST TRIUMVIRATE – CONFERENCE AT LUCA – 56BC

Plutarch, Julius Caesar 21: The Roman senate, on learning of these successes, decreed sacrifices to the gods and cessation from business, with festival, for **fifteen days**, a greater number than for any **victory** before. For the danger was seen to have been great when so many nations at once had broken out in revolt, and because **Caesar was the victor**, the good will of the **multitude** towards him made his victory more splendid. Caesar himself, after settling matters in Gaul, again spent the winter [57-56] in the regions along the Po, **carrying out his plans at Rome**. For not only did the candidates for office there **enjoy his assistance**, and **win their elections by corrupting the people with money from him**, and do everything which was likely to enhance his power, but also most of the **men of highest rank and greatest influence came to see him at Luca [April, 56]**, including Pompey, Crassus, Appius the governor of Sardinia, and Nepos the proconsul of Spain, so that there were a **hundred and twenty lictors in the place and more than two hundred senators**. They held a council and settled matters on the following basis. **Pompey and Crassus were to be elected consuls for the ensuing year, and Caesar was to have money voted him, besides another five years in his provincial command**. This seemed very strange to men of understanding. For those who were getting so much money from Caesar urged the senate to give him money as if he had none, nay rather, they forced it to do so, though it groaned over its own decrees. Cato, indeed, was not there, for he had purposely been sent out of the way on a mission to Cyprus, and Favonius, who was an ardent follower of Cato, finding himself unable to accomplish anything by his opposition, bounded out of doors and clamoured to the populace. But no one gave heed to him, **for some were in awe of Pompey and Crassus, and most wanted to please Caesar**, lived in hopes of his favours, and so kept quiet.

Triumvirate renewed in 56 BC

CIVIL WAR

Caesar attempts to negotiate a settlement

Caesar attempts to negotiate a settlement
Plutarch, Julius Caesar 30-31: However, the demands which came from Caesar certainly had a striking resemblance of **fairness**. He demanded, namely, that if he himself laid down his arms, **Pompey should do the same**, and that both, thus become **private men**, should find what favour they could with their fellow citizens; arguing that if they took away his forces from him, but confirmed Pompey in the possession of his, they would be **accusing one of seeking a tyranny and making the other a tyrant**. When Curio laid these proposals **before the people** on behalf of Caesar, he was loudly applauded, and some actually cast garlands of flowers upon him as if he were a victorious athlete. **Antony**, too, who was a **tribune**, brought before the people a letter of Caesar's on these matters which he had received, and read it aloud, **in defiance of the consuls**. But in the **senate**, Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey, introduced a motion that if by a fixed day Caesar did not lay down his arms he should be declared **a public enemy**. And when the consuls put the question whether Pompey should dismiss his soldiers, and again whether Caesar should, **very few senators voted for the first, and all but a few for the second**; but when Antony again demanded that both should give up their commands, all with one accord assented. Scipio, however, made violent opposition, and Lentulus the consul cried out **that against a robber there was need of arms, not votes**; whereupon the senate broke up, and the senators put on the garb of mourning in view of the dissension.

CIVIL WAR

Caesar attempts to negotiate a settlement

But presently letters came from Caesar in which he appeared to take a more moderate position, for he agreed to surrender everything else, but demanded that Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum together with two legions should be given him until he stood for his second consulship. Cicero the orator, too, who had just returned from Cilicia and was busy with a reconciliation, tried to mollify Pompey, who yielded everything else, but insisted on taking away Caesar's soldiers. Cicero also tried to persuade the friends of Caesar to compromise and come to a settlement on the basis of the provinces mentioned and only six thousand soldiers, and Pompey was ready to yield and grant so many. Lentulus the consul, however, would not let him, but actually heaped insults upon Antony and Curio and drove them disgracefully from the senate, thus himself contriving for Caesar the most specious of his pretexts, and the one by means of which he most of all incited his soldiers, showing them men of repute and high office who had fled the city on hired carts and in the garb of slaves. For thus they had arrayed themselves in their fear and stolen out of Rome.

CIVIL WAR

Caesar's motives

Suetonius, Julius Caesar 30:

But when the **senate** declined to interfere, and his opponents declared that they would accept **no compromise** in a matter affecting the public welfare, **he crossed to Hither Gaul**, and after holding all the assizes, halted at Ravenna, intending to resort to war if the senate took any drastic action **against the tribunes of the commons who interposed vetoes in his behalf**. Now this was his excuse for the civil war, but it is believed that **he had other motives**. Gnaeus Pompeius used to declare that since **Caesar's own means** were not sufficient to complete the works which he had planned, nor to do all that he had led the people to expect on his return, **he desired a state of general unrest and turmoil**. Others say that he dreaded the necessity of rendering an **account** for what he had done in his first consulship contrary to the auspices and the laws, and regardless of vetoes; for Marcus Cato often declared, and took oath too, that he would **impeach Caesar the moment he had disbanded his army**. It was openly said too that **if he was out of office on his return, he would be obliged, like Milo, to make his defence in a court hedged about by armed men**.

CIVIL WAR

Caesar's motives

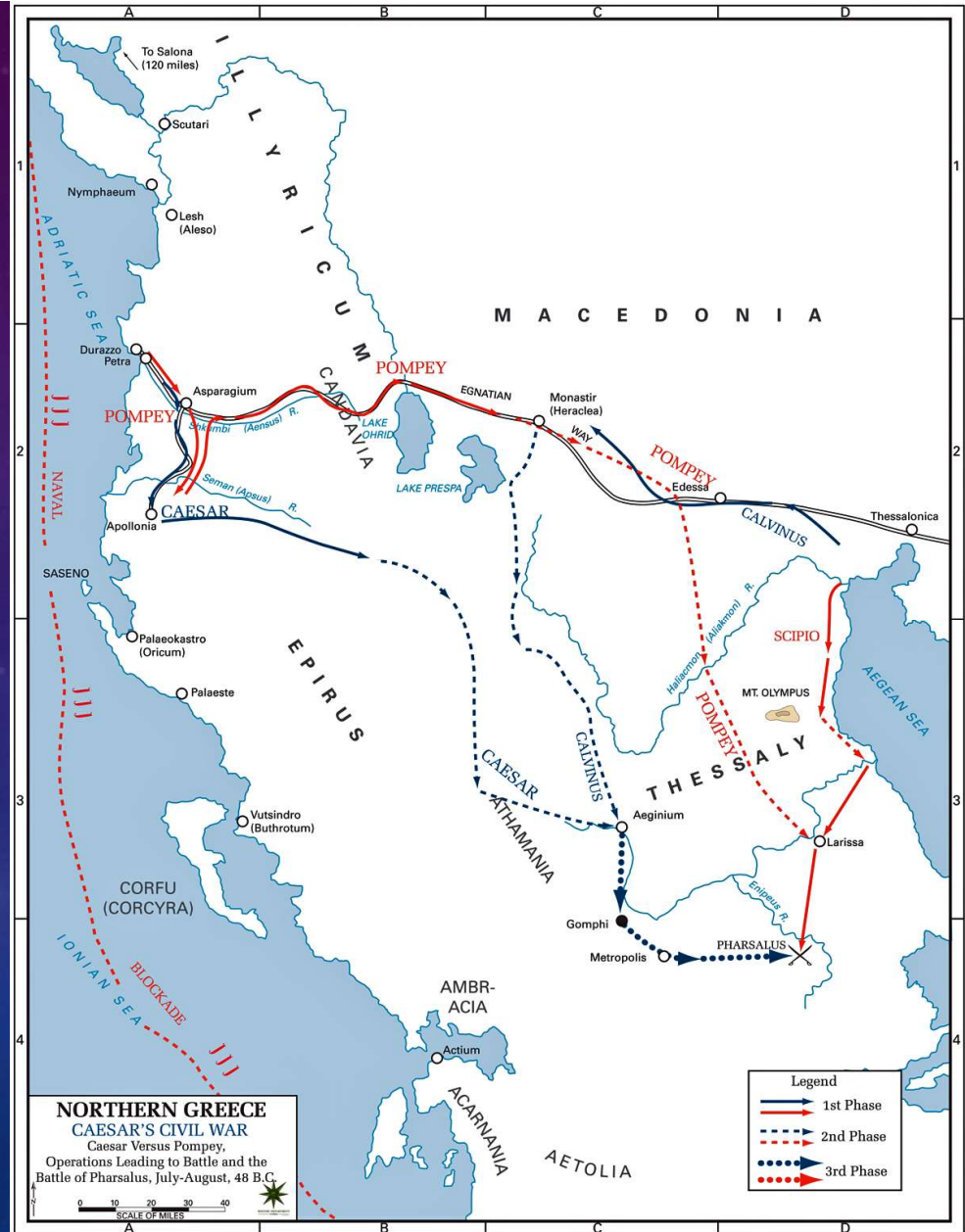
Caesar's motives

The latter opinion is the more credible one in view of the assertion of Asinius Pollio, that when Caesar at the battle of Pharsalus saw his enemies slain or in flight, he said, word for word: 'They would have it so. Even I, Gaius Caesar, after so many great deeds, should have been found guilty, if I had not turned to my army for help.' Some think that habit had given him a love of power, and that weighing the strength of his adversaries against his own, he grasped the opportunity of usurping the despotism which had been his heart's desire from early youth. Cicero too was seemingly of this opinion, when he wrote in the third book of his *On Duties* [3.82] that Caesar ever had upon his lips these lines of Euripides, of which Cicero himself adds a version: 'If wrong may e'er be right, for a throne's sake Were wrong most right: – be god in all else feared.'

PHARSALUS, MACEDONIA



- 9th August 48 BC (pre-Julian calendar)
- Caesar: only 22,000 legionaries
- Pompey: about twice.
- Pompey fled from Pharsalus to Egypt (assassinated on the order of Ptolemy XIII)
- Caesar's *commentarii de bello civili*.



CAESAR & EGYPT

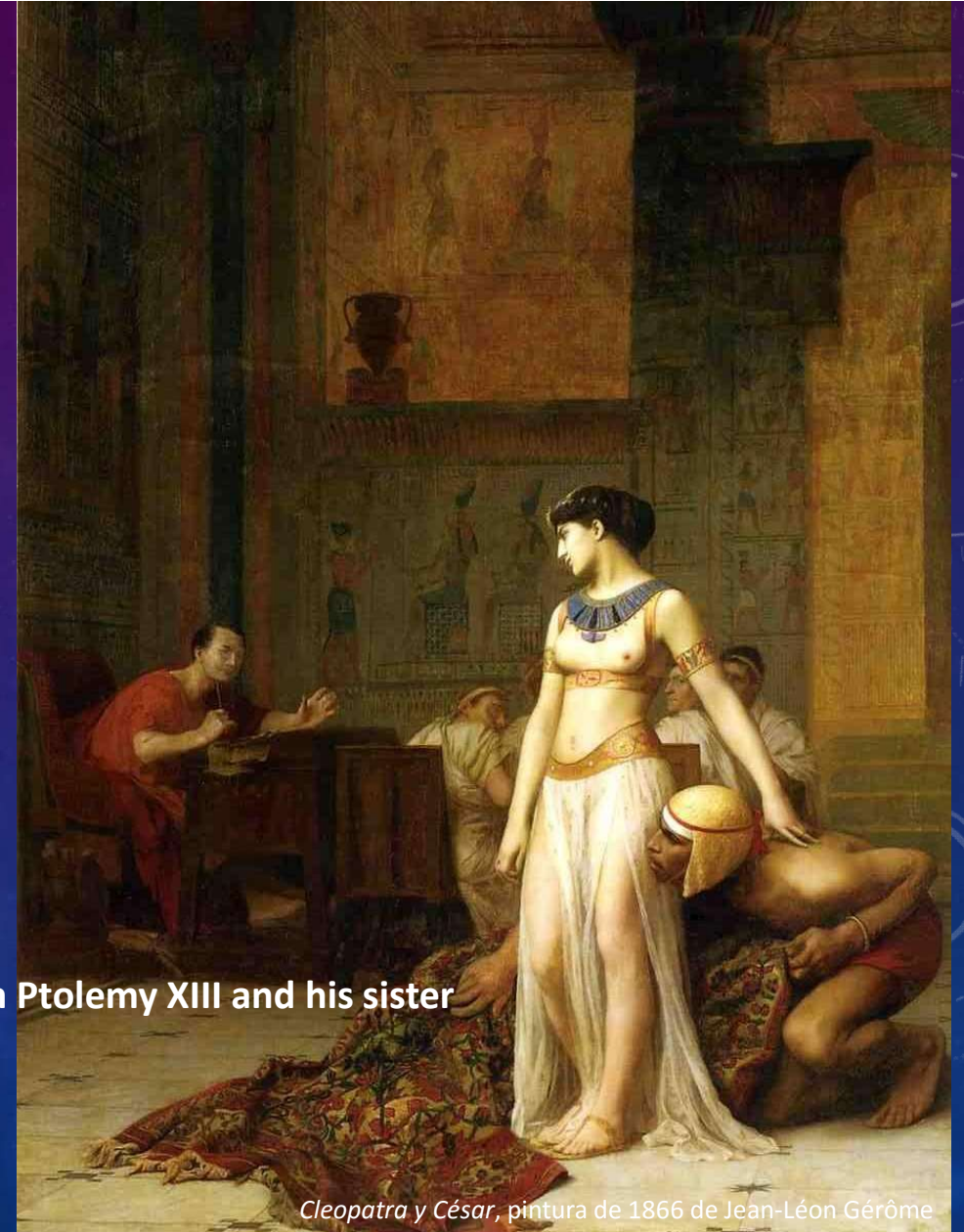


➤ In Alexandria, Caesar involved in Egyptian Civil War between Ptolemy XIII and his sister

➔ Battle of the Nile in 47 BC (Caesar & Cleopatra VII)

➔ Consequences, e.g.: independence of Egypt

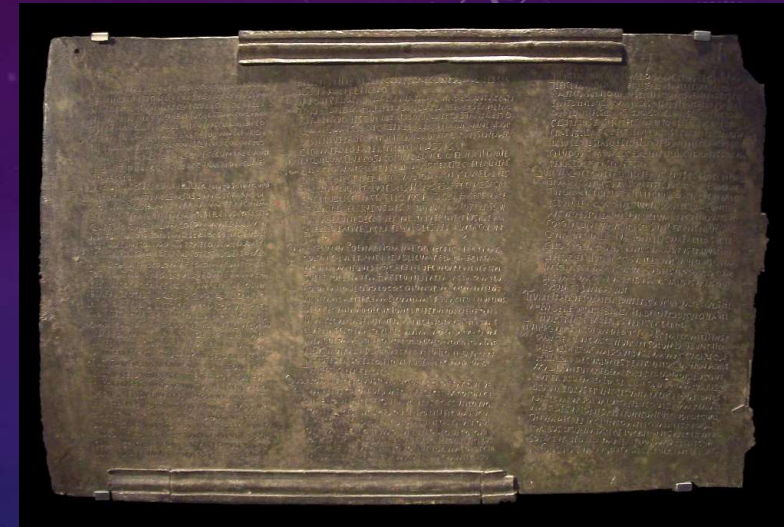
➔ Son, Kaisarion/Ptolemaios XV.



Cleopatra y César, pintura de 1866 de Jean-Léon Gérôme

CAESAR'S REFORM PROJECT

- **Political Reforms – adapt institutions to suit the size of the new ‘empire’:**
- Number of magistrates: quaestors from 20 to 40, praetors from 8 to 16, aediles: 6;
- only 2 consuls, but now also 2 suffect c consuls: 4 consuls for the post of proconsul;
- Caesar directly nominated half of the magistrates.
- The Senate: after the death of many senators in Civil War, new senators (incl. from Gaul and Spain): now about 800-900 senators, instead of Sulla's 600.
- For provincial administration: 5 year mandates (as for Caesar and Pompey): limited to just one year for propraetor and 2 years for proconsul
- Administration of Italy's municipal: framework law: *Lex Julia Municipalis* « lex Julia Municipalis ».
- Basis for Augustus' reforms



DICTATOR FOR LIFE

Plutarch, Julius Caesar 57: However, the Romans gave way before the good fortune of the man and accepted the bit, and regarding the **monarchy as a respite from the evils of the civil wars, they appointed him dictator for life**. This was confessedly a tyranny, since the monarchy, besides the element of irresponsibility, now took on that of permanence. It was **Cicero** who proposed the first honours for him in the senate, and their magnitude was, after all, not too great for a man; but **others added excessive honours** and vied with one another in proposing them, thus rendering Caesar odious and obnoxious even to the mildest citizens because of the pretension and extravagance of what was decreed for him. It is thought, too, that the **enemies of Caesar** no less than his flatterers helped to force these measures through, in order that they might have as many pretexts as possible against him and might be thought to have the best reasons for attempting his life. For in all other ways, at least, after the civil wars were over, he showed himself **blameless**; and certainly it is thought not inappropriate that the **temple of Clemency** was decreed as a thank-offering in view of his **mildness**. For he pardoned many of those who had fought against him, and to some he even gave honours and offices besides, as to Brutus and Cassius, both of whom were now praetors.



Nature of Caesar's rule?
The people's leader?
A Roman king?
A Hellenistic-style monarch?

pater patriae

clementia Caesaris

Tu quoque, Brute, filii mei.
(Suet. Caes. 80)



Carl Theodor von Piloty

Tu quoque, Brute, filii mei.
(Suet. Caes. 80)



Jean-Léon Gérôme 1867



FOR NEXT WEEK....

- Reading on Octavian/Augustus
 - Essential Reading; Zanker, Power of Images
 - Handout with ancient sources on Octavian/Augustus

