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ANCIENT ROMAN POLITICS – JULIUS CAESAR

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Abstract

Julius Caesar (JC) survived two civil wars: first, led by Cornelius Sulla and Gaius Marius; and second by himself and Pompeius Magnus. Until he was stabbed to death, at a senate session, in the Ides of March of 44 BC.

JC has always been loved or hated, since he was alive and throughout History. He was a war hero, as many others. He was a patrician, among many. He was a roman Dictator, but not the only one. So what did he do exactly to get all this attention? Why did he stand out so much from the crowd? What did he represent?

JC was a front-runner of his time, not a modern leader of the XXI century; and there are things not accepted today that were considered courageous or even extraordinary achievements back then. This text tries to explain why it's important to focus on the man; on his life achievements before becoming the most powerful man in Rome; and why he stood out from every other man.

Keywords Caesar, Politics, Military, Religion, Assassination.

Sumário

Júlio César (JC) sobreviveu a duas guerras civis: primeiro, lideradas por Cornélio Sula e Caio Mário; e depois por ele e Pompeius Magnus. Até ser esfaqueado numa sessão do senado nos Idos de Março de 44 AC.

JC foi sempre amado ou odiado, quando ainda era vivo e ao longo da História. Ele foi um herói de guerra, como outros. Ele era um patrício, entre muitos. Ele foi um ditador romano, mas não o único. Então, que fez ele para obter toda esta atenção? Por que se destacou tanto da multidão? O que representava?

JC era um homem do seu tempo, não um líder moderno do século XXI; e há coisas hoje inaceitáveis que, no passado, seriam consideradas corajosas ou extraordinárias. Este texto tenta explicar quem era o homem e o que fez para se tornar tão poderoso em Roma.

Palavras-chave César, Política, Militar, Religião, Assassinato.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation revisits Julius Caesar (JC), one of the most famous conquerors of all times. Many books were written about him, but not in a neutral way. Texts are usually attached to a political ideology. But reducing his persona to dictatorship may blind people about what he represented to his fellow romans and who he really was, as a man.

JC was a religious, political and military figure but, ultimately, he was a human being trying to survive two different civil wars. His background is relevant, so it's scrutinized. His struggles may also give some insight about what individuals can do under stress in an unstable environment.

In terms of methodology, it will be used "JC" for him and "August" for his adopted son (Gaius Octavius or Gaius Julius Caesar was probably more appropriate but also confusing during explanations, since they were both known as "Caesar" by late biographers) since his stories are, sometimes, intertwined with the propaganda of the first emperor.

The paper is divided in five parts. First, six chapters focused on JC's profile. Second, three chapters clarifying why he was an important religious figure. Third, nine chapters concerning his steps as a politician, since an elected military tribune to consul for the first time, as a conqueror in Gaul, and why civil war was inevitable from his standpoint. Fourth, two chapters to explain the concept of roman dictator and why JC might felt forced to maintain power. Fifth, five chapters about why he died and who was responsible for his death. At the end, there are seven appendix, complementary to the text.

Research was based in classical sources (but with an English translation) and more modern ones to reinforce the arguments defended in the text. Further translations were guaranteed by the author.

Part I: Profile

Julius Caesar's words according to Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 6.1: «The family of my aunt Julia is descended by her mother from the kings, and on her father's side is akin to the immortal Gods; for the *Marcii Reges* (her mother's family name) go back to *Ancus Marcius*, and the *Julii*, the family of which ours is a branch, to Venus. Our stock therefore has at once the sanctity of kings, whose power is supreme among mortal men, and the claim to reverence which attaches to the Gods, who hold sway over kings themselves.» (Rolfe, 1913a)

Gaius

JC was called *Gaius*¹ (or C. – *Caio*). It is an old Latin *praenomen* used, according to available information, since king *Gaius Cluilus* of Alba Longa;² but it existed, in some shape or form, in other dialects (Etruscan, Faliscan and Oscan).³ In Rome, most man were called that way, or it became so popular that was converted in a *gentile*.⁴

Society was patriarchal and roman marriage formula, pronounced by the bride, was *ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia* (Plutarch, Roman Question, 30)⁵, which means two things: 1) the wife followed the husband where he would go; 2) women were metaphorically all Gaias and men all Gaius in the most important moment of their lives, as citizens, when they officially started a family. Gaius was, therefore, the ultimate citizen, the *paterfamilias*.

¹ «(...) the name designated by the Romans by the letter C was originally *Gaius*; (2) that this form at Rome had passed into *Gäius* by 190 B.C., though it survived longer in some of the provinces of Italy; (3) that for some reason, not assignable at present, the customary pronunciation (of the educated classes at least) remained *Gäius* (trisyllabic) at any rate until the end of the first century of our era, and probably still longer.» (Allen, 1891: 87)

² «The change from *Gaius* to *Gäius* went unrecorded, because it was almost universally the custom to write nothing but C. The Roman who read the sign as Gaius could not know that it had ever been read otherwise. No weight can be assigned to the gentile *Gaius*. This kept its V always, but while the praenomen *Ga(n)ius* was of the highest antiquity in Latium, and from the time of *Gaius Cluilus* the Alban *rex* appears constantly in the Roman annals, the *Gania* gens is unknown at Rome before the empire, and in all probability drifted in from the south. The two names exist quite independently so far as Latin is concerned.» (Allen, 1891: 80)

³ «It is therefore pretty safe to conclude that the Oscan-speaking peoples said *Gaaviis* for *Gaius*. The Etruscan inscriptions, on the other hand, show no form with v. The dialectic testimony, accordingly stands thus: Faliscan: *Canio, Cania, Caio*. Oscan: *Gaaviis*. Etruscan: *Caie, Cai, Cae*. Umbrian, Sabine, Marsian, Volscian, etc., no evidence.» (Allen, 1891: 79-80)

⁴ «Gaius also occurs as gentile, but rarely.» (Allen, 1891: 80)

⁵ Babbitt, 1936.

JC was a *populares* – which was a political party or, at least, a group or an ideology that defended the interests of normal citizens of Rome, with laws helping the poor, regarding free provision of grain dole (or at a subsidized price), or the distribution of land to army veterans.⁶ The fact that he was named Gaius, allowed common men to identify with him and he could perhaps convince people that he was one of them, that he understood what they were going through, or that he could speak in their behalf.

It also helped the fact that JC's family was not rich. He was raised in Subura⁷, a “fervent”, “dirty” and “wet” valley “between the southern end of the Viminal and the western end of the Esquiline”, filled with “dealers in provisions and delicacies” and of “tradesmen of various sorts” (Platner, 1929). JC knew people's needs because he lived among the poor.

Julius

JC had the same name as his father and grandfather. From his paternal side, JC was a patrician. In Rome, genealogy was very important and, according to tradition, the *Julii* descended from the founder of Alba Longa, called *Iulus* (Ascanius), son of Aeneas.⁸ Centuries later, Proculus Julius⁹ was a contemporary of Romulus and played a significant role after the death of Rome's first king.

⁶ Caesar's public policies. Cf. Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 38-44 (Rolfe, 1913a).

⁷ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 46.1: «He lived at first in the Subura in a modest house (...» (Rolfe, 1913a)

⁸ Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, I, 3, 2-3: «I will not discuss the question-for who could speak decisively about a matter of such extreme antiquity? —whether the man whom the Julian house claim, under the name of *Iulus*, as the founder of their name, was this Ascanius or an older one than he, born of Creusa, whilst *Ilium* was still intact, and after its fall a sharer in his father's fortunes. This Ascanius, where-ever born, or of whatever mother-it is generally agreed in any case that he was the son of Aeneas-left to his mother (or his stepmother) the city of *Lavinium*, which was for those days a prosperous and wealthy city, with a superabundant population, and built a new city at the foot of the Alban hills, which from its position, stretching along the side of the hill, was called *Alba Longa*.» (Roberts, 1912)

⁹ Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, I, 16, 5-8: «The tradition runs that Proculus Julius, a man whose authority had weight in matters of even the gravest importance, seeing how deeply the community felt the loss of the king, and how incensed they were against the senators, came forward into the assembly and said: 'Quirites! at break of dawn, to-day, the Father of this City suddenly descended from heaven and appeared to me. Whilst, thrilled with awe, I stood rapt before him in deepest reverence, praying that I might be pardoned for gazing upon him, 'Go,' said he, 'tell the Romans that it is the will of heaven that my Rome should be the head of all the world. Let them henceforth cultivate the arts of war, and let them know assuredly, and hand down the knowledge to posterity, that no human might can withstand the arms of Rome'. It is marvelous what credit

Consequently, JC was a member of *Gens Julia* – probably the oldest, if not the most iconic, house of Rome, not only for its Alban origins, but because it traced roots to Aeneas, the hero of the mythical Trojan War, son of Goddess Venus. Perhaps because of this, JC was metaphorically called “son of Ilium”¹⁰. Or even “son of Venus”¹¹ (more likely because he had many lovers)¹².

Caesar

JC’s father was a praetor, and so was his grandfather. Apparently, the two (or at least one of them) suffered sudden deaths.¹³

See family tree, Appendix 1.

Caesar was a cognomen of the Gens Julia. Some popular explanations for its use: «(...) either because he slew in battle an elephant, which in the Moorish tongue is called *caesai*, or because he was brought into the world after his mother's death and by an incision in her abdomen, or because he had a thick head of hair when he came forth from his mother's womb, or, finally, because he had bright grey eyes and was vigorous beyond the wont of human beings.»¹⁴

JC had “keen black eyes” and was “bald”¹⁵. But August had “clear, bright eyes” (grey?), “slightly curly and inclining to golden hair and his eyebrows met”¹⁶ (thick head?). JC had coins with elephants¹⁷, was vigorous and his military campaigns prove it, or “sound of

was given to this man's story, and how the grief of the people and the army was soothed by the belief which had been created in the immortality of Romulus.» (Roberts, 1912)

¹⁰ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 81, 1: « Now Caesar's approaching murder was foretold to him by unmistakable signs. (...) a bronze tablet, inscribed with Greek words and characters to this purport: "Whenever the bones of Capys shall be moved, it will come to pass that a son of Ilium shall be slain at the hands of his kindred, and presently avenged at heavy cost to Italy."» (Rolfe, 1913a)

¹¹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 49, 3 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 50-52 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹³ Pliny the elder, *The Natural History*, VII, 54: «Two of the Cæsars, one of whom was at the time prætor, and the other had previously discharged that office, and was the father of the Dictator Cæsar, died without any apparent cause, in the morning, while putting on their shoes; the former at Pisæ, the latter at Rome.» (Bastock, 1855)

¹⁴ Aelius Spartianus, *Historia Augusta*, The Life of Aelius, 2, 3-4 (Magie, 1921).

¹⁵ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 45, 1-2 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁶ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 79, 2 (Rolfe, 1913b).

¹⁷ «Indeed, the elephant head on many of Caesar's coins and in extant marble and bronze sculptures seems for the Romans to Symbolize “Africa” and their empire there.» (Lach, 1994: 128)

health, except that towards the end he was subject to sudden fainting fits and to nightmare as well.”¹⁸ August, for the contrary, “in the course of his life he suffered from several severe and dangerous illnesses”.¹⁹

Who was ripped out of his mother belie at birth? Pliny *the elder* mentions the Caesarean section and its origins,²⁰ but he could’ve been referring to August (also called Cesar after the death of his adopted father) whose mother had a scar in form of a serpent that she didn’t show off, reason why she stopped going to public baths after the birth of her son.²¹ So, it’s possible that Atia survived some medical intervention with incision of the womb, but preferred to spread a tale about God Apollo, for religious or political reasons.

None of these accounts explain the origins of the cognomen Caesar, because it was already used before JC and August.

Mariano

JC was Gaius Marius’ nephew (name related to God Mars). This seven times’ council of Rome was married to Julia, sister of JC’s father.

See family tree, Appendix 1.

Julia could also be known as Maria, because she was Marius’ wife (*ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia* could turn into *ubi tu Marius, ego Maria*) and Caesar, as a follower of Gaius Marius, was a *mariano* and a survival of civil war (88/82 BC).

¹⁸ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 45, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 80, 1 (Rolfe, 1913b).

²⁰ Pliny *the elder*, *The Natural History*, VII.9: «Those children, whose birth has cost the mother her life, are evidently born under more favorable auspices; for such was the case with the first Scipio Africanus; the first, too, of the *Caesars* was so named, from his having been removed by an incision in his mother's womb. For a similar reason, too, the *Cæsones* were called by that name. Manilius, also, who entered Carthage with his army, was born in a similar manner.» (Bostock, 1855)

²¹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 94.4: «I have read the following story in the books of Asclepias of Mendes entitled Theologumena When Atia had come in the middle of the night to the solemn service of Apollo, she had her litter set down in the temple and fell asleep, while the rest of the matrons also slept. On a sudden a serpent glided up to her and shortly went away. When she awoke, she purified herself, as if after the embraces of her husband, and at once there appeared on her body a mark in colors like a serpent, and she could never get rid of it; so that presently she ceased ever to go to the public baths. In the tenth month after that Augustus was born and was therefore regarded as the son of Apollo. Atia too, before she gave him birth, dreamed that her vitals were borne up to the stars and spread over the whole extent of land and sea, while Octavius dreamed that the sun rose from Atia's womb.» (Rolfe, 1913b)

Mother's Ancestry

From his mother side JC was a plebeian. But there was a catch. Aurelia Cotta had royal ancestry. More specifically, she descended from the 4^o king of Rome, Ancus Marcius.

See family tree, Appendix 1.

JC wanted to be king? His grandmother was called Marcia Rex and her brother was Quintus Marcius Rex. His enemies repeatedly accused him of aspiring to the throne but he always refused the title of monarch; even as Dictator, when he had all the power, replying: «I am Cesar and no king.» (Rolfe, 1913a) but his attitudes were still considered dubious, or even outrageous.²² Was he misleading? There could be another explanation.

As *pontifex maximus*, JC lived at the *domus publica* with the *rex sacrorum*. This “king of sacrifices” had religious obligations once performed by monarchs; ranked higher²³ but was actually subordinated to the leader of the *collegium pontificum*, so that Republican freedom²⁴ could be maintained and, consequently, “had no influence upon the management of political affairs” (Schmitz, 1875b). There were years with no *rex sacrorum*, especially during civil wars, maybe because patricians didn't aspire to it and plebeians couldn't run to office.²⁵ But someone had to do the job. In theory, the *king of sacrifices* could not lead troops like JC. Was the idea of mixing the two (*pontifex maximus* and *rex sacrorum*) discussed by the religious agenda, before the Ides of March? Or was there confusion among the elite, because of the

²² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 79, 1-3 (Rolfe, 1913a).

²³ «Rex Sacrificulus, Rex Sacrificus, or Rex Sacrorum (...) considering that this priest was the religious representative of the kings, he ranked indeed higher than all other priests, and even higher than the pontifex maximus (...), but in power and influence he was far inferior to him (...). He held his office for life (...), was not allowed to hold any civil or military dignity, and was at the same time exempted from all military and civil duties (...) He lived in a *domus publica* (...)» (Schmitz, 1875b)

²⁴ Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, II, 2.1-2: «Certain public functions had hitherto been executed by the kings in person; with the view of supplying their place a 'king for sacrifices' was created, and lest he should become king in anything more than name, and so threaten that liberty which was their first care, his office was made subordinate to the Pontifex Maximus. I think that they went to unreasonable lengths in devising safeguards for their liberty, in all, even the smallest points.» (Roberts, 1912)

²⁵ «But for the same reason the patricians too appear at last to have attributed little importance to the office; whence it sometimes occurs that for one, or even for two successive years no *rex sacrorum* was appointed, and during the civil wars in the last period of the republic, the office appears to have fallen altogether into disuse. Augustus however seems to have revived it (...)» (Schmitz, 1875b)

JC's visit to Alba Longa (January)²⁶, before the scandal of Lupercalia (February) and the conspiracy of March 44 BC?

JC's Features

Suetonius claims he was a tall man with a full face. JC had fair complexion, shapely limbs²⁷ and was probably left-handed.²⁸ He did not have much hair and used to arrange it “much nicely”, while “scratching his head with one finger”²⁹. He did not lack his manners and his behavior was somewhat sophisticated.

Because of all that he was and, in general, considered vain.³⁰ But he could also be insecure about his appearance or have health problems. There are rumors about him being epileptic. He could also have skin issues, because of so much exposition to the sun in battles. Some of his coins show a thin man with many wrinkles in the neck. When crossing to Rhodes and captured by pirates (75 BC) he had a physician with him.³¹ He drank very little wine and, sometimes, denied it completely³²; which was not normal among men (Cato and Marcus

²⁶ «Not long after he was declared perpetual dictator, Caesar returned from the Alban Mount to Rome on 26th January, after celebrating the Latin Festival. We are told that he was acclaimed as king by the people and that either then or earlier his statues were decorated with a diadem (...) Was Caesar simply being acclaimed as “king of Alba”, a sort of *rex sacrorum* (...)?» (Fishwick, 1993: 69)

²⁷ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 45, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

²⁸ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 64, 1: «(...) got away to the nearest ship, holding up his left hand all the way, so as not to wet some papers which he was carrying (...); and 81, 4: «(...) he put it with others which he held in his left hand, intending to read them presently.»; and 82, 2: «(...) at the same time drew down its lap to his feet with his left hand, in order to fall more decently (...)» (Rolfe, 1913a).

²⁹ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 4, 9 «(...) when I look at his hair, which is arranged with so much nicety, and see him scratching his head with one finger, I cannot think that this man would ever conceive of so great a crime as the overthrow of the Roman constitution.» (Perrin, 1919a).

³⁰ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 45, 2 «He was somewhat overnice in the care of his person, being not only carefully trimmed and shaved, but even having superfluous hair plucked out, as some have charged; while his baldness was a disfigurement which troubled him greatly, since he found that it was often the subject of the gibes of his detractors. Because of it he used to comb forward his scanty locks from the crown of his head, and of all the honors voted him by the senate and people there was none which he received or made use of more gladly than the privilege of wearing a laurel wreath at all times.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

³¹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 4, 1: «While crossing to Rhodes, after the winter season had already begun, he was taken by pirates near the island of Pharmacussa and remained in their custody for nearly forty days in a state of intense vexation, attended only by a single physician and two body-servants; for he had sent off his travelling companions and the rest of his attendants at the outset, to raise money for his ransom.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

³² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 53, 1: «That he drank very little wine not even his enemies denied. There is a saying of Marcus Cato that Caesar was the only man who undertook to overthrow the state when sober. Even in the matter of food Gaius Oppius tells us that he was so indifferent, that once when his host served stale oil instead of fresh, and the other guests would have none of it, Caesar partook even more plentifully than usual, not to seem to charge his host with carelessness or lack of manners.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

Antoniuses were notorious for their heavy drinking); so it could be a choice or a necessity, if he had some kind of debilitating disease.

He was good with words, spoken and written: «In eloquence and in the art of war he either equaled or surpassed the fame of their most eminent representatives.»³³ Cicero declared that: «(...) his style is elegant as well as transparent, even grand and in a sense noble.»³⁴ As an orator, he: «(...) delivered himself in a high-pitched voice with impassioned action and gestures, which were not without grace.»³⁵ He left much of his work published (including speeches and literature), but not much survived (besides his written account of the Gallic Wars).

PART II: RELIGIOUS FIGURE

Julius Caesar's words according to Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 32, 1: «Take we the course which the signs of the gods and the false dealing of our foes point out. The die is cast.» (Rolfe, 1913a)

Birth

JC and August's stories seem intertwined in small but symbolic ways, especially at birth. Rome's first emperor wanted (at least at first) to be as much possible as his adopted father (regime's propaganda), even though he wasn't.

Suetonius and Plutarch wrote about JC from his teen years onwards. Not much is known from his early years. Nevertheless, Suetonius wrote that JC was called “Aegisthus” by *Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus*.³⁶ At the time, it was suggested that JC was Mucia Tertia's lover, while she was still Magnus wife (he divorced her afterwards, marrying JC's daughter, Julia).

³³ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 55, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

³⁴ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 55, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

³⁵ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 55, 2 (Rolfe, 1913a).

³⁶ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 50, 1: «At all events there is no doubt that Pompey was taken to task by the elder and the younger Curio, as well as by many others, because through a desire for power he had afterwards married [Julia] the daughter of a man [Cesar] on whose account he divorced a wife [Mucia] who had borne him three children, and whom he had often referred to with a groan as an Aegisthus.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

Was that all? Aegisthus' myth involved incest³⁷. Apparently, the baby was abandoned as birth, because his biological father was also his grandfather. There's no reason to believe that JC and Aurelia were siblings. Still, his biographers refer two strange nightmares. First, he dreamt about offering violence to his mother, after visiting the temple of Heracles and its statue of Alexander *the great*, as if the gods (he was a *pontifex*) were telling him he would conquer the mother land.³⁸ Second, before crossing the Rubicon and civil war against Magnus, he hallucinated about "having incestuous intercourse with his own mother".³⁹ JC would've not been public about those visions if they were true. He was just associating his mom to Rome and feeling guilty about invading the city. But his haters probably knew they could hurt him like this and Magnus was his biggest enemy.

See Appendix 3.

What about JC's birthday? Roman's celebrated his birthday on July 12th. There was a law, published when Marcus Antonius was consul (44 BC), that consecrated to JC the fifth month (counting from March, which represented the beginning of the year from the religious calendar's standpoint), because he had born four days⁴⁰ before the Ides of *Quintilis* (Macrobius, Saturnalia, I, 12, 34)⁴¹.

JC was a pontifex maximus and a war hero for many years, which means his birthday would be known by people for the sake of celebrating it in feasts and games over and over again. So why would Cassius Dio (who died in the third century BC, much after the events) claim that Caesar's birthday had been changed? Apparently, Apollo shouldn't be glorified in the same day as him. An Oracle by the Sibyl justified the alteration.⁴²

³⁷ Gérion, 1992: 132.

³⁸ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 7, 1-2 (Rolfe, 1913a).

³⁹ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 32, 9 (Perrin, 1919a).

⁴⁰ *Idus Quintilis* (July 15th). The romans had no "zero", therefore, they counted the day itself, like this: 15(1) *Idus Quintilis*; 14(2) *Prid. Id. Quintilis*; 13(3) *III Id. Quintilis*; and 12 (4) *IV Id. Quintilis*.

⁴¹ Macrobius, Saturnalia, I, 12, 34: «*Sequitur Iulius qui, cum secundum Romuli ordinationem Martio anni tenente principium Quintilis a numero vocaretur, nihilominus tamen etiam post praepositos a Numa Ianuarium ac Februarium retinuit nomen, cum non videretur iam quintus esse, sed septimus: sed postea in honorem Iulii Caesaris Dictatoris legem ferente M. Antonio M. filio consule Iulius appellatus est, quod hoc mense a.d. quartum Idus Quintiles Iulius procreatus sit.*» (Jan, 1852).

⁴² Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 18: «While these three men [August, Lepidus and Marcus Antonius] were behaving in this wise, they were also magnifying the former Caesar to the utmost degree. (...) And they compelled everybody to celebrate his birthday (...) Now it happened that the *Ludi Apollinares* fell on the same day, and they therefore voted that his birthday feast should be celebrated on the previous day, on the ground

So, the *Ludi Apollinares* were the problem? These were games in honor of God Apollo (Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 17) organized in Rome since the third century BC (Schmitz, 1875a). But when were they celebrated? The exact date was not always the same.⁴³ They lasted for a week? When did they started or ended *exactly*? Some years they were more lavish and longer than others, because these festivities were politically manipulated, including by Marcus Brutus.⁴⁴ Therefore, Cassius Dio's statement is scratchy. Unless the author confused JC with August, which is possible, since he would know both by Caesar.

JC was associated to Jove⁴⁵ – the most important God of Rome and of the Capitol Hill (Romulus' citadel with the incredible temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*)⁴⁶. Instead, August built a temple to Apollo at the Palatine Hill, did offers in its name, dressed like the Sun-God⁴⁷ and was regarded as “son of Apollo”⁴⁸. So what if JC did born on July 12th but August did not born on September 23rd?⁴⁹

First, while still alive, August blessed *Sextilis*⁵⁰ (not *Septembris*⁵¹) as his month, based on a political (smaller) argument, instead of his birthday.⁵²

that there was an oracle of the Sibyl which forbade the holding of a festival on Apollo's day to any god except Apollo.» (Cary, 1916).

⁴³ «*Ludi Apollinares* were instituted at Rome during the second Punic war, four years after the battle of Cannae (B.C. 212), at the command of an oracle contained in the books of the ancient seer Marcius (...) The day on which they were held varied every year according to circumstances. A few years later, however (B.C. 208), when Rome and its vicinity were visited by a plague, the *praetor urbanus*, P. Licinius Varus, brought a bill before the people to ordain that the *Apollinarian* games should in future always be vowed and held on a certain day (*dies status*), viz. on the 6th of July (...) But during the empire the day of these solemnities appears again to have been changed, for Julius Capitolinus (...) assigns them to the 26th of May.» (Schmitz, 1875a)

⁴⁴ «The conspirators' access to the people through public ceremonial had largely been closed off, but Brutus as *praetor urbanus* was responsible for sponsoring the *Ludi Apollinares* in July 44 (...) Later in the same month, Octavian took it upon himself to produce games in honor of Caesar's victory (*Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*) which also served as funeral games.» (Sumi, 2015: 142)

⁴⁵ Jupiter (*Iuppiter*) or Jove (*Iovis*) equivalent to Greek God Zeus.

⁴⁶ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 1, 1; 81, 3; and 84, 3. (Rolfe, 1913a)

⁴⁷ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 18, 2; 29,1; 31, 1; 52, 1; and 70, 1 (Rolfe, 1913b).

⁴⁸ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 94, 4: «In the tenth month after that Augustus was born and was therefore regarded as the son of Apollo.» (Rolfe, 1913b)

⁴⁹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 5, 1: «Augustus was born just before sunrise on the ninth day before the Kalends of October in the consulship of Marcus Tullius Cicero and Gaius Antonius (...)» (Rolfe, 1913b).

⁵⁰ August (month).

⁵¹ September.

⁵² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 31, 2: «(...) and in making this arrangement he called the month *Sextilis* by his own surname, rather than his birth-month *September*, because in the former he had won his first consulship and his most brilliant victories.» (Rolfe, 1913b)

Second, romans gave much importance to astrology and August acted strangely around people who could read birth charts.⁵³ His constellation was Capricorn⁵⁴ – but was that sun or moon? What he born in *Decembris*⁵⁵?

Third, He was also a traditionalist and in the old days, roman religion was less about Apollo and more about *Sol Indiges*, which was celebrated two times a year, in *Decembris* (December 11th) and in August (8th or 9th)⁵⁶. Apollo was also a twin. In the Roman Empire, at some point, *Sol Indiges* became less important than *Sol Invictus* glorified in the winter solstice (December 25th)⁵⁷.

Fourth, did August born in Rome at the Palatine hill (Ox-Heads) or in his father's hometown (Velitrae)?⁵⁸ As a politician, it was important to be a roman rather than a provincial, so he probably lied about his birth location too.

Fifth, August born in a challenging year under difficult circumstances. Lucius Sergius Catiline was still alive and considered a threat to the Republic and the Senate feared the birth of a new king,⁵⁹ so all newborn babies were in danger of being put to death. But that decree disappeared around the time Julius Caesar was elected *Pontifex Maximus*.

⁵³ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 94, 12: «While in retirement at Apollonia, Augustus mounted with Agrippa to the studio of the astrologer Theogenes. Agrippa was the first to try his fortune, and when a great and almost incredible career was predicted for him, Augustus persisted in concealing the time of his birth and in refusing to disclose it, through diffidence and fear that he might be found to be less eminent. When he at last gave it unwillingly and hesitatingly, and only after many requests, Theogenes sprang up and threw himself at his feet.» (Rolfe, 1913b)

⁵⁴ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 94, 12: «From that time on Augustus had such faith in his destiny, that he made his horoscope public and issued a silver coin stamped with the sign of the constellation Capricornus, under which he was born.» (Rolfe, 1913b)

⁵⁵ December.

⁵⁶ «Early imperial *fasti* record a public sacrifice or festival for *Sol Indiges* on August 8th and/or 9th on the Quirinal, and *agonalia* on December 11th.» (Hijmans, 2010: 2)

⁵⁷ For more information cf. Hijmans, 2010 and Hargrove, 2015.

⁵⁸ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 5-6: «Augustus was born just before sunrise on the ninth day before the Kalends of October in the consulship of Marcus Tullius Cicero and Gaius Antonius, at the Ox-Heads in the Palatine quarter, where he now has a shrine, built shortly after his death. (...) A small room like a pantry is shown to this day as the emperor's nursery in his grandfather's country-house near Velitrae, and the opinion prevails in the neighborhood that he was actually born there. No one ventures to enter this room except of necessity and after purification, since there is a conviction of long-standing that those who approach it without ceremony are seized with shuddering and terror (...)» (Rolfe, 1913b)

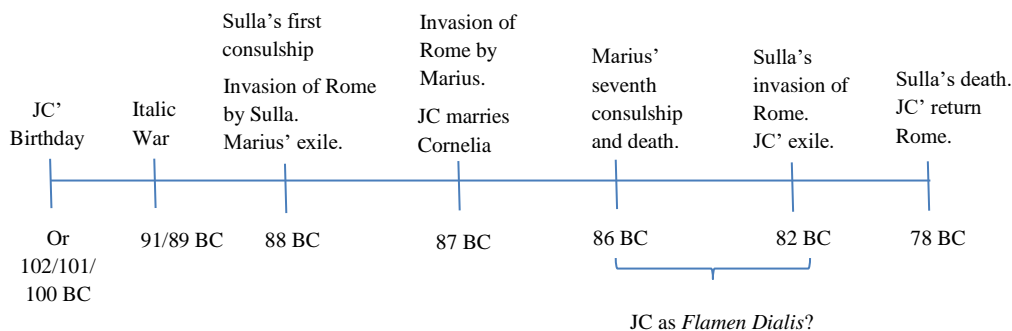
⁵⁹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 94, 3: «According to Julius Marathus, a few months before Augustus was born a portent was generally observed at Rome, which gave warning that nature was pregnant with a king for the Roman people; thereupon the senate in consternation decreed that no male child born that year should be reared; but those whose wives were with child saw to it that the decree was not filed in the treasury, since each one appropriated the prediction to his own family.» (Rolfe, 1913b)

Flamen Dialis

Was JC a *Flamen Dialis*? The story goes that he was first engaged to Cossutia, daughter of an equestrian. But why would a patrician be betrothed to a lower-rank woman? Apparently she came with a good dowry and her father was very rich, while JC's family struggling in Subura, a poor neighborhood. Why wasn't the boy living near the forum if his uncle had a good house there?⁶⁰ Because Marius, a man from *Arpinum*⁶¹, was having troubles integrating at the Senate, in spite of his political and military achievements (elected six times consul between 107 and 100 BC) and, ultimately, was considered an enemy of Rome in. When Lucius Cornelius Sulla invaded Rome, for the first time (88 BC), Marius was proscribed and his family lost everything.

See Timeline 1:

Timeline 1: From JC's Birthday to Sulla's Death



Source: Author

⁶⁰ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Marius, 32, 1: «(...) he [Marius] built a house for himself near the forum, either, as he himself said, because he was unwilling that those who paid their respects to him should have the trouble of coming a long distance, or because he thought that distance was the reason why he did not have larger crowds at his door than others. The reason, however, was not of this nature; it was rather his inferiority to others in the graces of intercourse and in political helpfulness, which caused him to be neglected, like an instrument of war in time of peace.» (Perrin, 1920a)

⁶¹ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Marius, 3, 1-2: «Born of parents who were altogether obscure – poor people who lived by the labor of their own hands (Marius was his father's name, *Fulcinia* that of his mother), it was not till late that he saw the city or got a taste of city ways. In the meantime he lived at Cirrhaeton,² a village in the territory of *Arpinum*, in a manner that was quite rude when compared with the polished life of a city, but temperate, and in harmony with the rearing which the ancient Romans gave their children.» (Perrin, 1920a)

Suetonius claims that JC lost his father at the age of sixteen and in the “next consulate” (beginning in January) he was elected *Flamen Dialis*.⁶² His luck changed when uncle Marius returned Rome in 87 BC and was elected consul for the seventh time, officially taking up his duties in January 86 BC (he died soon after); so it was in this period that JC canceled his commitment to Cossutia and decided to marry Cornelia Cinnilla, the younger daughter of Lucius Cornelius Cinna, an ally of the family.

Accordingly, JC was sixteen in January 86 BC, which means he was born in July 102 BC. But Suetonius also asserts that JC died as a “fully fifty-six years old” man⁶³ (March 44 BC), which means his birth date was 100 BC. So, which one is it? Authors are divided about this subject.⁶⁴

Suetonius⁶⁵ and Velleius Paterculus⁶⁶ seem to agree that JC was elected *Flamen Dialis* but lost his position because of Sulla, most certainly after the death of Marius and Cinna, and during the third invasion of Rome (82 BC). Yet, Plutarch claims Sulla opposed to an application that, ultimately, failed⁶⁷. What happened? JC refused to get divorce, as Sulla demanded of him, not to put Cornelia in danger but also not to lose his job.

⁶² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 1, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

⁶³ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 69, 1. (Rolfe, 1913a).

⁶⁴ «The view, originally advocated by Mommsen, and supported by the Comte de Salis, that Caesar was born in 102 BC, was controverted by A. W. Zumpt and C. Nipperdey, and has recently been examined by Professor Monroe E. Deutsch, who comes to the following conclusion: ‘that Caesar secured a dispensation during 67 BC or early 66 BC, allowing him to hold the various offices two years before the legal age, seems the simplest solution of the problem. The direct evidence is well known. Caesar was certainly born in July. According to Velleius, he was about 18 when Sulla became supreme, that is, in 82 BC. Plutarch says that he died at the age of 56 years all told. Suetonius and Appian agree that he died in his fifty-sixth year. Eutropius remarks that at time of the battle of Munda (March 17th 45 BC) – just a year before his death – he was 56.» (Holmes, 1917: 145).

⁶⁵ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 1, 1: «(...) In the course of his sixteenth year he lost his father. In the next consulate, having previously been nominated priest of Jupiter, he broke his engagement with Cossutia, a lady of only equestrian rank, but very wealthy, who had been betrothed to him before he assumed the gown of manhood, and married Cornelia, daughter of that Cinna who was four times consul, by whom he afterwards had a daughter Julia; and the dictator Sulla could by no means force him to put away his wife. Therefore besides being punished by the loss of his priesthood, his wife's dowry, and his family inheritances, Caesar was held to be one of the opposite party.» (Rolfe, 1913a)

⁶⁶ Velleius Paterculus, *The Roman History*, II, 43, 1: «Indeed, while still little more than a boy he had already been made priest of Jupiter by Marius and Cinna, but all their acts had been annulled in consequence of Sulla's victory, and Caesar had thus lost this priesthood.» (Shipley, 1924)

⁶⁷ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 1, 3-4: «Moreover, Caesar was not satisfied to be overlooked at first by Sulla, who was busy with a multitude of proscriptions, but he came before the people as candidate for the priesthood, although he was not yet much more than a stripling. To this candidacy Sulla secretly opposed himself, and took measures to make Caesar fail in it, and when he was deliberating about putting him to death and some said there was no reason for killing a mere boy like him, he declared that they had no sense if they did not see in this boy many Mariuses.» (Perrin, 1919a).

Both *Flamen Dialis* and wife (*Flaminica*) had to be patricians, thus JC married Cornelia before running to office. As a priest of Jupiter he would have a chair at the Senate-house, but not a normal toga like the others. He probably used a uniform that made him stand out, that's why: «They say, too, that he was remarkable in his dress; that he wore a senator's tunic with fringed sleeves reaching to the wrist, and always had a girdle over it, though rather a loose one; and this, they say, was the occasion of Sulla's *mot*, when he often warned the nobles to keep an eye on the ill-girt boy.»⁶⁸ It was not a fashion statement, done for vain reasons. He was acting like a *Flamen Dialis*, even though the *optimates* (opposite party) did not want him to and mocked him for it.

A *Flamen Dialis* run the citadel, at the Capitol Hill. He had important privileges, but also many ritualistic limitations.⁶⁹ As a Jupiter priest, JC was a religious figure that could not ride a horse, go to war or touch a weapon.

Pontifex and Pontifex Maximus

⁶⁸ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 45, 3 (Rolfe, 1913a)

⁶⁹ Aulus Cornelius Gellius, *Attic Nights*, X, 15, 1-25: «It is unlawful for the priest of Jupiter to ride upon a horse; it is also unlawful for him to see the "classes arrayed" outside the *pomerium*, that is, the army in battle array; hence the priest of Jupiter is rarely made consul, since wars were entrusted to the consuls; also it is always unlawful for the priest to take an oath; likewise to wear a ring, unless it be perforated and without a gem. It is against the law for fire to be taken from the *flaminia*, that is, from the home of the *Flamen Dialis*, except for a sacred rite; if a person in fetters enter his house, he must be loosed, the bonds must be drawn up through the *impluvium* to the roof and from there let down into the street. He has no knot in his head-dress, girdle, or any other part of his dress; if anyone is being taken to be flogged at his feet as a suppliant, it is unlawful for the man to be flogged on that day. Only a free man may cut the hair of the *Dialis*. It is not customary for the *Dialis* to touch, or even name, a she-goat, raw flesh, ivy, and beans. The priest of Jupiter must not pass under an arbor of vines. The feet of the couch on which he sleeps must be smeared with a thin coating of clay, and he must not sleep away from this bed for three nights in succession, and no other person must sleep in that bed. At the foot of this bed there should be a box with sacrificial cakes. The cuttings of the nails and hair of the *Dialis* must be buried in the earth under a fruitful tree. Every day is a holy day for the *Dialis*. He must not be in the open air without his cap; that he might go without it in the house has only recently been decided by the pontiffs, so Masurius Sabinus wrote, and it is said that some other ceremonies have been remitted and he has been excused from observing them. The priest of Jupiter must not touch any bread fermented with yeast. He does not lay off his inner tunic except under cover, in order that he may not be naked in the open air, as it were under the eye of Jupiter. No other has a place at table above the *flamen Dialis*, except the *rex sacrificulus*. If the *Dialis* has lost his wife he abdicates his office. The marriage of the priest cannot be dissolved except by death. He never enters a place of burial, he never touches a dead body; but he is not forbidden to attend a funeral.» (Rolfe, 1927)

What was a *pontifex*?⁷⁰ A member of the college of pontiffs led by the *pontifex maximus*.⁷¹

Gaius Aurelius Cotta was a pontiff that died around 73 BC. JC took his place (*co-optatio*), but he was elected *in absentia*⁷² for not being in Rome when things occurred. So, the uncle died and the nephew was chosen to substitute the diseased.⁷³

See family tree, Appendix 1.

Sulla, as Dictator of Rome, had appointed Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius as *pontifex maximus* (around 82 BC) and the man died sometime between 64/63 BC. That's when JC applied to the job and, against all odds, won the election, beating his two rivals⁷⁴ (Quintus

⁷⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, II, 73, 1-3: «These, from one of the duties they perform, namely, the repairing of the wooden bridge, are in their own language called pontifices; but they have jurisdiction over the most weighty matters. For they the judges in all religious causes wherein private citizens, magistrates or the ministers of the gods are concerned; they make laws for the observance of any religious rites, not established by written law or custom, which may seem to them worthy of receiving the sanction of law and custom; they inquire into the conduct of all magistrates to whom the performance of any sacrifice or other religious duty is committed, and also into that of all the priests; they take care that their servants and ministers whom they employ in religious rites commit no error in the matter of the sacred laws; to the laymen who are unacquainted with such matters they are the expounders and interpreters of everything relating to the worship of the gods and genii; and if they find that any disobey their orders, they inflict punishment upon them with due regard to every offence; moreover, they are not liable to any prosecution or punishment, nor are they accountable to the senate or to the people, at least concerning religious matters.» (Cary, 1937)

⁷¹ Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, I, 20, 4-7: «The next office to be filled was that of the *Pontifex Maximus*. [King] Numa appointed (...) all the regulations bearing on religion, written out and sealed, were placed in his charge. Here was laid down with what victims, on what days, and at what temples the various sacrifices were to be offered, and from what sources the expenses connected with them were to be defrayed. He placed all other sacred functions, both public and private, under the supervision of the *Pontifex*, in order that there might be an authority for the people to consult, and so all trouble and confusion arising through foreign rites being adopted and their ancestral ones neglected might be avoided. Nor were his functions confined to directing the worship of the celestial gods; he was to instruct the people how to conduct funerals and appease the spirits of the departed, and what prodigies sent by lightning or in any other way were to be attended to and expiated. To elicit these signs of the divine will, he dedicated an altar to Jupiter Elicius on the Aventine, and consulted the god through auguries, as to which prodigies were to receive attention.» (Roberts, 1912).

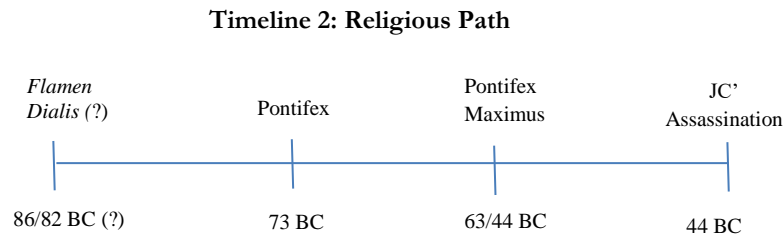
⁷² Velleius Paterculus, *The Roman History*, II, 43, 1: «Not long afterwards he was hastening to Italy to enter upon the priestly office of pontifex to which he had been elected in his absence in place of the ex-consul Cotta.» (Shipley, 1924)

⁷³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, II, 73, 3: «When one [pontiff] of them dies, another is appointed in his place, being chosen, not by the people, but by the pontifices themselves, who select the person they think best qualified among their fellow citizens; and the one thus approved of receives the priesthood, provided the omens are favorable to them.» (Cary, 1937)

⁷⁴ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 13: «After giving up hope of the special commission, he announced his candidacy for the office of pontifex maximus, resorting to the most lavish bribery. Thinking on the enormous debt which he had thus contracted, he is said to have declared to his mother on the morning of his election, as she kissed him when he was starting for the polls, that he would never return except as pontifex. And in fact he so decisively defeated two very strong competitors (for they were greatly his superiors in age and rank), that he polled more votes in their tribes than were cast for both of them in all the tribes.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

Lutatus Catulus Capitolinus and Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus); and so he became the chief priest of the roman state religion, function held until his death in 44 BC.

See Timeline 2:



Source: Author

In conclusion, JC was a religious figure, much before he was considered a political leader or a military champion. This is important, in order to understand his struggles and why he revolted against a system that he so much wanted to belong to.

As citizen of Rome, he held religious obligations for most of his life and was very much aware of rituals and traditions. Nobody knows why he started as a *Flamen Dialis* or if, or for how long, he actually worked at the Capitol Hill with his wife Cornelia. Maybe he wanted to promote peace among romans, during the first civil war (88/82 BC); or his family wanted an easy life for him (was he epileptic or sick as a young man?) but it wasn't in his veins to sit still and quiet. He definitely entering the college of pontiffs around 73 BC and ruled it from 63/44 BC.

JC died as a *pontifex maximus*, which means his assassins committed a heresy by stabbing the leader of roman state religion.

PART III: CURSUS HONORUM

Julius Caesar's words according to Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 37, 2: «I came, I saw, I conquered.» (Rolfe, 1913a)

Civic Crown

The first civil war (88/82 BC) was a clash of egos, but also of mentalities. Champion of the common people, Marius valued roman traditions and defended a conservative way of life. The *optimates* of Sulla were an elite, more open to the world and to a Greek oriented society, that they considered more cultural and sophisticated.

See Appendix 6.

JC was Marius' nephew and was probably educated by him, since his father was mostly in the army and his uncle lived in retirement for some years.

Sulla signed many proscriptions and JC was condemned to death or banishment in 82 BC. Sometime after, he received an amnesty with the help of family and friends; and entered to the roman army. He was awarded a civic crown⁷⁵ at a young age (nineteen years old?), for military achievement, before his *cursus honorum* even started.

He was an early achiever.

Military Tribune

He returned Rome after Sulla's death. But was not involved in Aemilius' revolution⁷⁶. Instead, he became a lawyer, famous among the people but disliked by the elite. He impeached someone from Dolabella's family and a man from Marcus Antonius' household⁷⁷. This is relevant, for it may explain with these young man were raised to suspect him.

Soon after, JC was elected for his first public office as a military tribune. He used his power to re-establish the authority of the tribunes of the plebs and to make emends. He even helped his brother-in-law (the same man that will conspire against him in 44 BC) returning home⁷⁸.

⁷⁵ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 2.1: «He served his first campaign in Asia on the personal staff of Marcus Thermus, governor of the province (...) at the storming of Mytilene, Thermus awarded him the civic crown.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

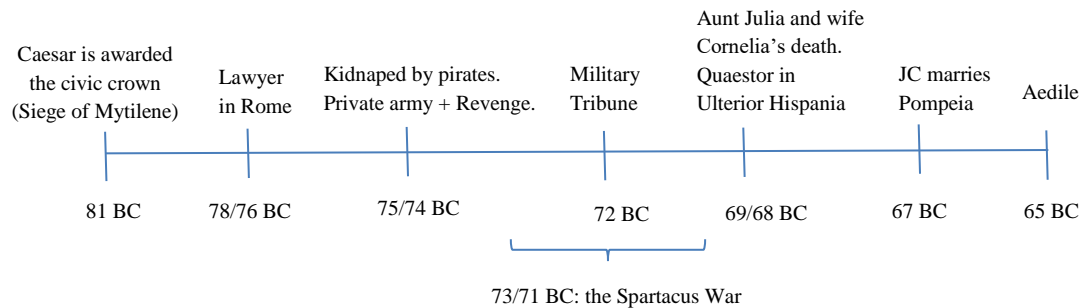
⁷⁶ Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (consul of 78 BC); father of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the triumvir.

⁷⁷ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 4, 1-9 (Perrin, 1919a).

⁷⁸ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 5, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

See Timeline 3.

Timeline 3: From Civic Crown to Aedile



Source: Author

JC was military tribune in the period of the Spartacus' war, the run-away gladiator who led a revolution of slaves against Rome. He probably fought the treat in Marcus Licinius Crassus' army.

Quaeator

Around this period, he faced crisis in his personal life, for his aunt Julia and wife Cornelia died in a short period of time. What did he do? The unexpected, by giving them big eulogies and by using their funerals to make political statements. First he made a speech in honor of Julia, but also of Marius; and a second speech to praise his spouse but also her late father, Cinna⁷⁹.

JC was elected Quaeator and served his time in Hispania Ulterior, where he cried over the statue of Alexander the Great for failing short as his age, since he was not a conqueror like his Greek hero. He returned Rome sooner than expected, crossing the Latin colonies (to do some networking) and run again for public office.

⁷⁹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 5, 2-5 (Rolfe, 1913a).

Aedile

As an Aedile, JC was a success. Not just taking good care of *Via Apia*, by doing something useful for the people of Roma, but also offering games to the people throughout the city.⁸⁰ He received public acclaim and the eternal hate of his college Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, Cato's son-in-law. He also made a spectacle of his political views, by restoring Marius' trophies to the city that had been destroyed by Sulla or during civil war.⁸¹

Praetor

Was Caesar involved in the conspiracies of Catiline? After being quaestor in Hispania Ulterior, JC was accused of plotting against the State, so that Marcus Licinius Crassus would be Dictator of Rome;⁸² but they were both elected that year (Crassus as censor and JC as aedile) so why would they rebel against a system that had chosen them?

Maybe JC was just networking in favor of his uncle, since Lucius Cotta (Aurelia's younger brother) had not been elected consul, but was accusing the winners of bribery and end up winning in the court of law, becoming *consul prior* for 65 BC. Catiline, in the other hand, was an ally of Publius Sulla (nephew of the diseased Lucius Cornelius Sulla) and Publius Paetus.

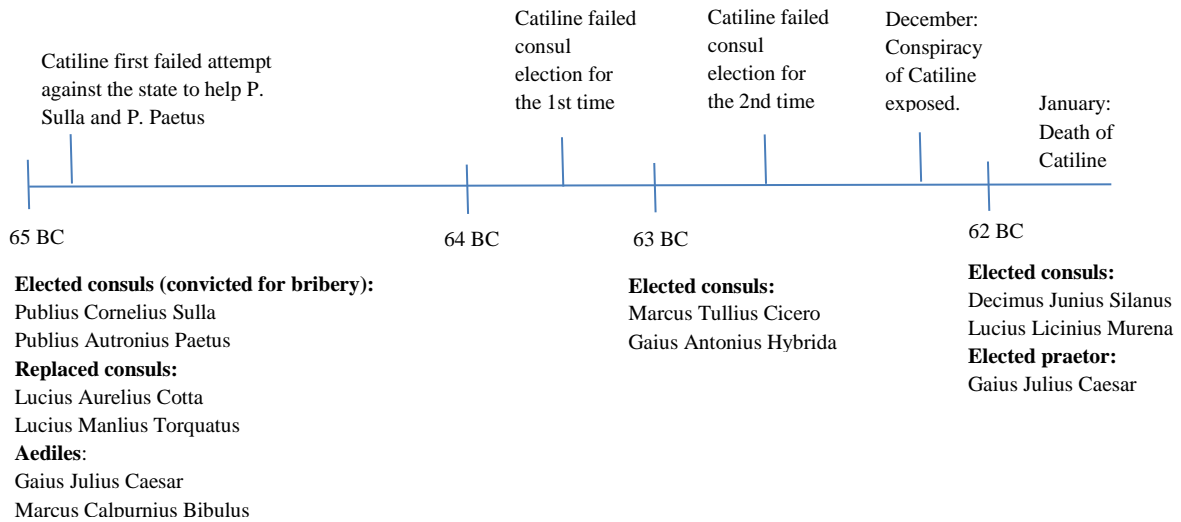
See Timeline 4.

⁸⁰ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 10 (Rolfe, 1913a).

⁸¹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 11 (Rolfe, 1913a).

⁸² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 9, 1-3: «For all that he presently made a more daring attempt at Rome; for a few days before he entered upon his aedileship he was suspected of having made a conspiracy with Marcus Crassus, an ex-consul, and likewise with Publius Sulla and Lucius Autronius, who, after their election to the consulship, had been found guilty of corrupt practices. The design was to set upon the senate at the opening of the year and put to the sword as many as they thought good; then Crassus was to usurp the dictatorship, naming Caesar as his master of horse, and when they had organized the state according to their pleasure, the consulship was to be restored to Sulla and Autronius. This plot is mentioned by Tanusius Geminus in his History, by Marcus Bibulus in his edicts, and by Gaius Curio the elder in his speeches. Cicero too seems to hint at it in a letter to Axius, where he says that Caesar in his consulship established the despotism which he had had in mind when he was aedile. Tanusius adds that Crassus, either conscience-stricken or moved by fear, did not appear on the day appointed for the massacre, and that therefore Caesar did not give the signal which it had been arranged that he should give; and Curio says that the arrangement was that Caesar should let his toga fall from his shoulder. Not only Curio, but Marcus Actorius Naso as well declare that Caesar made another plot with Gnaeus Piso, a young man to whom the province of Spain had been assigned unasked and out of the regular order, because he was suspected of political intrigues at Rome; that they agreed to rise in revolt at the same time, Piso abroad and Caesar at Rome, aided by the Ambrani and the peoples beyond the Po; but that Piso's death brought both their designs to naught.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

Timeline 4: Conspiracy of Catiline (65/62 BC)

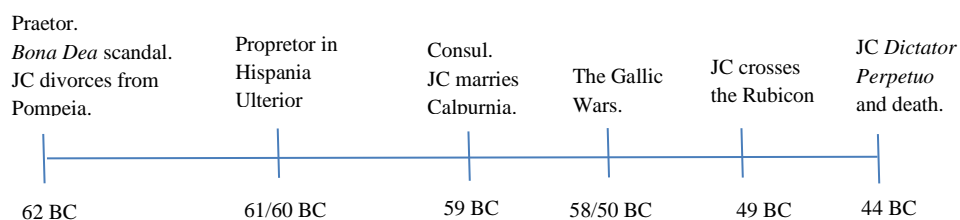


Source: Author

When the conspiracy of Catiline was exposed (December 63 BC), JC was yet again accused of conspiracy against the State. But he was already a *pontifex maximus* and had been elected praetor, some months prior (not yet in office, only in January 62 BC). This is very important, because it means he had no interest in destroying a system in which he had religious influence and guaranteed political power. Even Marcus Tullius Cicero (senior consul) knew Caesar was not a threat⁸³. So why was he a suspect? Because he probably tried to help another family member in trouble; this time Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura (consul of 71 BC), second husband of Julia Antonia (one of his cousins) and stepfather of Marcus Antonius.

See Timeline 5:

Timeline 5: From Praetor to Dictator



⁸³ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 7, 5: «Therefore Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero for having spared Caesar when, in the affair of Catiline, he gave his enemies a hold upon him.» (Perrin, 1919a).

59/53 BC: First Triumvirate
53 BC: Death of Crassus

49/45 BC: Civil War

Source: Author

Caesar was a senator and a family man (*paterfamilias*), speaking against death penalty to avoid the extremes of Marius' and Sulla's civil war, showing that, as a *pontifex maximus*, he was doing what he had tried as a *Flamen Dialis*: to promote peace among romans⁸⁴ and the rule of law⁸⁵. His speech was considered human and compassionate, convincing many of his god will⁸⁶.

Cicero and Quintus Lutatius Catulus Capitolinus opposed the proposal, and Marcus Portius Cato turned against him⁸⁷, mobilizing senators, in such a way, that Caesar was attacked in the Senate and had to run for his life with the help of friends⁸⁸. But JC was not a coward. A few days later, he returned to the Senate-house to defend himself from *optimatē's* abuse and, with the support of the people of Rome, he accomplishing just that⁸⁹.

⁸⁴ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 7, 7-8: «Now, whether or not Caesar secretly gave these men any countenance and help, is uncertain; but after they had been overwhelmingly convicted in the senate, and Cicero the consul asked each senator to give his opinion on the manner of their punishment, the rest, down to Caesar, urged that they be put to death, but Caesar rose in his place and delivered a long and studied speech against this.» (Perrin, 1919a).

⁸⁵ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 7, 8-9: «He pleaded that to put to death without legal trial men of high rank and brilliant lineage was not, in his opinion, traditional or just, except under extremist necessity; but that if they should be bound and kept in custody, in such cities of Italy as Cicero himself might elect, until the war against Catiline had been brought to a successful end, the senate could afterwards, in a time of peace and at their leisure, vote upon the case of each one of them.» (Perrin, 1919a).

⁸⁶ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 8, 1: «This opinion seemed so humane, and the speech in support of it was made with such power, that not only those who rose to speak after Caesar sided with him, but many also of those who had preceded him took back the opinions which they had expressed and went over to his (...)» (Perrin, 1919a).

⁸⁷ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 8, 2: «(...) until the question came round to Cato and Catulus. These warmly opposed Caesar's proposal, and Cato even helped to raise suspicion against Caesar by what he said.» (Perrin, 1919a).

⁸⁸ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 8, 2-3: «As a result, the men were handed over to the executioner, and many of the young men who at that time formed a body-guard for Cicero ran together with drawn swords and threatened Caesar as he was leaving the senate. But Curio, as we are told, threw his toga round Caesar and got him away, while Cicero himself, when the young men looked to him for a sign, shook his head, either through fear of the people, or because he thought the murder would be wholly contrary to law and justice.» (Perrin, 1919a).

⁸⁹ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 8, 5-7: «(...) in fact, a few days afterward, when Caesar came into the senate and tried to defend himself in the matters wherein suspicion had been fixed upon him, and met with a tumult of disapproval, the people, seeing that the session of the senate was lasting a longer time than usual, came up with loud cries and surrounded the senate-house, demanding Caesar, and ordering the

But he paid the price. How? There was an incident during *Bona Dea* of Decembris 62 BC. Only women could attend to this particular religious ceremony, but a man (Publius Clodius Pulcher) was accused of disturbing the ritual in order to meet Pompeia, JC's wife. He was a Cicero's student and Caesar, inferring that the youngster had been manipulated for political reasons, did not turn against him. But asked for divorce and left the city to Hispania Ulterior as a *proprietor*.⁹⁰

Consul

JC returned to Rome as an acclaimed governor (saluted by legionnaires as *Imperator*)⁹¹ but, after much resistance from Cato, he gave up the privilege of a triumph to apply for the consulship⁹².

As a politician, he tried to “reconcile Pompeius Magnus and Crassus, the most influential men in the city”. His idea was, again, to promote peace among romans. But this “act of kindness” was considered suspicious by men like Cato.⁹³

What to think about his? Did the philosopher foreseen the creation of the triumvirate as a “wise, though unfortunate, counsellor”?⁹⁴ Or was his type of opposition so unbearable that he pushed Caesar, Crassus and Magnus into a united front in order to overcome the obstacles created by him? It's hard to know, but Cato was famous for “consuming the day

senate to let him go. It was for this reason, too, that Cato, fearing above all things a revolutionary movement set on foot by the poorer classes, who were setting the whole multitude on fire with the hopes which they fixed upon Caesar, persuaded the senate to assign them a monthly allowance of grain, in consequence of which an annual outlay of seven million five hundred thousand drachmas was added to the other expenditures of the state. However, the great fear which prevailed at the time was manifestly quenched by this measure, and the greatest part of Caesar's power was broken down and dissipated in the nick of time, since he was praetor elect, and would be more formidable on account of his office.» (Perrin, 1919a).

⁹⁰ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 9, 1-8; and 10, 1-11; and 11, 1 (Perrin, 1919a).

⁹¹ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 12, 1-4 (Perrin, 1919a).

⁹² Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 13, 1-3: «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 Pompeius Magnus and Crassus, the most influential men in the city.» (Perrin, 1919a).

⁹³ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 13, 4-5 (Perrin, 1919a).

⁹⁴ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 13, 6 (Perrin, 1919a).

in speaking” to prevent legal action at the Senate; and for speaking about (speculative?) suspicions over man proud of their achievements); which gave him “reputation of a morose and troublesome fellow”⁹⁵.

As a senior consul (the most voted at the elections), JC defended public policies in favor of the normal people of Rome, for instance “to gratify the multitude he introduced sundry allotments and distributions of land”⁹⁶. But since that meant putting in jeopardy some privileges of the nobles, he was accused of abusing his power “as the most radical tribune of the plebs”⁹⁷. Bibulus, Cato’s son-in-law and junior consul, tried to block Caesar’s legislation but JC did not allow him too.

It’s in this period that a policy of marriages took place, since Magnus wedded Julia, Caesar’s daughter; and JC married Calpurnia, daughter of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, an ally⁹⁸.

Galic Wars (58/51 BC)

After consul for the first time, JC became proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul, Illyricum and Gallia Comata. During nine years, he revealed his ambitions, major military talents, engineering and diplomatic abilities.⁹⁹ He also shown remarkable endurance, strength and survival skills¹⁰⁰, not common, even among military leaders of his time.

See Table 1.

⁹⁵ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 13, 6 (Perrin, 1919a).

⁹⁶ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 14, 2 (Perrin, 1919a).

⁹⁷ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 14, 2 (Perrin, 1919a).

⁹⁸ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 21, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

⁹⁹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 25, 1-2: «During the nine years of his command this is in substance what he did. All that part of Gaul which is bounded by the Pyrenees, the Alps and the Cévennes, and by the Rhine and Rhone rivers, a circuit of some 3,200 miles, with the exception of some allied states which had rendered him good service, he reduced to the form of a province; and imposed upon it a yearly tribute of 40,000,000 sesterces. He was the first Roman to build a bridge and attack the Germans beyond the Rhine; and he inflicted heavy losses upon them. He invaded the Britons too, a people unknown before, vanquished them, and exacted moneys and hostages. Amid all these successes he met with adverse fortune but three times in all: in Britain, where his fleet narrowly escaped destruction in a violent storm; in Gaul, when one of his legions was routed at Gergovia; and on the borders of Germany, when his lieutenants Titurius and Aurunculeius were ambushed and slain.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁰⁰ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 57, 1: «He was highly skilled in arms and horsemanship, and of incredible powers of endurance. On the march he headed his army, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on foot, bareheaded both in the heat of the sun and in rain. He covered great distances with incredible speed, making a hundred miles a day in a hired carriage and with little baggage, swimming the rivers which barred his path or crossing them on inflated skins, and very often arriving before the messengers sent to announce his coming.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

Table 1: Some of the Gallic Wars' biggest clashes

Year (BC)	Battle
58	Battle of the Arar
58	Battle of Bibracte
58	Battle of Vosges
57	Battle of the Axona
57	Battle of the Sabris
57	Siege of the Atuatuci
57	Battle of Octodurus
55	First invasion of Britain
54	Second Invasion of Britain
54	Revolt of Ambriorix
52	Siege of Avaricum
52	Battle of Gergovia
52	Battle of Agendicum (or Lutetia)
52	Siege of Alesia
51	Siege of Uxellodunum

Source: Author

JC left an account of the Gallic Wars (*Bellum Gallicum* or *Commentarii de Bellō Gallicō*)¹⁰¹ in several volumes. It was one way to spread information and reach the public.

By choosing to write in the third person (possibly with staff's help), was he trying an objective and detailed description of the facts? He probably did not trust others to do it for him and decided to give his side of the story. Ultimately, it was considered political propaganda and, for that reason, severely criticized.¹⁰²

Caesar was already known among the romans, but the *Gallic Wars* made him a legend. His deeds were notorious, not only from a military standpoint, but mostly as symbolic act of *fear no more*. He managed to win the only foreign people that had ever invaded Rome.

Nobody, before him, had dared to face a trauma with four centuries, filled with horror stories transmitted across generations.¹⁰³ Romans probably dreaded the Gauls, at least unconsciously, so when Caesar won them so completely, he became Rome's protector.

As a military leader, JC was considered a hero. As a *pontifex maximus*, it seemed like his victories had received the Gods' seal of approval. Things were going accordingly to plan. Until everything changed.

¹⁰¹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 56, 1: «He left memoirs too of his deeds in the Gallic war and in the civil strife with Pompeius Magnus; for the author of the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars is unknown; some think it was Oppius, others Hirtius, who also supplied the final book of the Gallic War, which Caesar left unwritten.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁰² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 56, 1-4 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁰³ Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, V, 5.1-5.55 (Roberts, 1912).

Political and Personal Turnaround (54/49 BC)

JC's daughter died in 54 BC. Julia had been betrothed to Marcus Brutus (also known as Servilus Caepio¹⁰⁴, after being adopted by his uncle) until 58 BC. It's not clear if she was only engaged to him but, considering her age, she's was more likely married. Thus, she probably divorced Brutus when Caesar, as a political alliance, gave her to Magnus. If it was JC's idea or Magnus' is mere conjecture, but it's true that her second husband was delighted with the arrangement; and after a happy marriage, felt sad when she passed away.¹⁰⁵ Crassus died the following year (53 BC) and, soon later, the triumvirate (between Crassus, Magnus and Caesar) was dissolved. Civil war was around the corner.

Marcus Brutus held Magnus responsible for his father's death (in 77 BC) and didn't even address his word to him. By choosing Magnus over Caesar's side, many believed he had "put the public good above his own"¹⁰⁶. But was he saving Rome (and the Republic) from Caesar, or was he retaliating against a man who had dated his mother (Servilia) and traded his wife (Julia)? He and Magnus only had one thing in common, Julia.

In spite of opposition, when the Gallic wars were over and the land was under control, JC tried to return home. He wanted to continue his political career and expected to be elected again. His uncle Marius had been seven times consul. Magnus had been consul in 70 and 55 BC (both with Crassus) as well as 52 BC. So why not be consul twice?

¹⁰⁴ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 14, 7: «Moreover, Caesar tried to avail himself still more of the influence of Pompeius Magnus. He had a daughter, Julia, who was betrothed to Servilius Caepio. This daughter he betrothed to Pompeius Magnus (...)» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁰⁵ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 23, 1-2 (Perrin, 1919a).

¹⁰⁶ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Brutus, 4, 1-5: «Here, when the state was rent by factions, Pompeius Magnus and Caesar appealing to arms and the supreme power being confounded, Brutus was expected to choose the side of Caesar, since his father had been put to death a while before at the instigation of Pompeius Magnus; but thinking it his duty to put the public good above his own, and holding that Pompeius Magnus's grounds for going to war were better than Caesar's, he attached himself to Pompeius Magnus. And yet before this he would not even speak to Pompeius Magnus when he met him, considering it a great abomination to converse with the murderer of his father; now, however, looking upon him as his country's ruler, he put himself under his orders, and set sail for Cilicia as legate with Sestius, to whom the province had been allotted. But since there was nothing of importance for him to do there, and since Pompeius Magnus and Caesar were now about to meet in a supreme struggle, he came of his own accord into Macedonia to share the danger. It was then, they say, that Pompeius Magnus was so filled with delight and admiration that he rose from his seat as Brutus approached, and in the sight of all embraced him as a superior.» (Perrin, 1918)

«(...) the demands which came from Caesar certainly had a striking resemblance of fairness.»¹⁰⁷ But negotiations were held at distance. Marcus Antonius and Gaius Scribonius Curio were at Rome speaking for him, with difficulties facing resistance, namely from Magnus and his father-in-law Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica (adopted son of Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius, the former *pontifex maximus*).¹⁰⁸

JC's letters “appeared to take a more moderate position” and Cicero, just returned from Cilicia, “was busy with a reconciliation”.¹⁰⁹ But Antonius and Curio felt insulted by consul Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Crus (49 BC) and, in the beginning of January, run to Caesar with bad news, claiming there was no compromise possible. Cicero, in his *Philippics*, even claimed that Marcus Antonius had been “the cause of the civil war”.¹¹⁰

Civil War (49/45 BC)

By crossing the Rubicon, JC opened the doors to civil war. But did he crave it? Did he feel compelled to do so? Or was it a difficult decision for him to make? According to his biographers, he hesitated.

See Table 2.

Table 2: Caesar's sentences as crossing the Rubicon

¹⁰⁷ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 30, 1: «(...) the demands which came from Caesar certainly had a striking resemblance of fairness. He demanded, namely, that if he himself laid down his arms, Pompeius Magnus should do the same, and that both, thus become private men, should find what favor they could with their fellow citizens; arguing that if they took away his forces from him, but confirmed Pompeius Magnus in the possession of his, they would be accusing one of seeking a tyranny and making the other a tyrant.» (Perrin, 1919a).

¹⁰⁸ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 30, 2-3: «When Curio laid these proposals before the people in behalf of Caesar, he was loudly applauded, and some actually cast garlands of flowers upon him as if he were a victorious athlete. Marcus Antonius, 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 Pompeius Magnus, 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 Pompeius Magnus 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 Marcus Antonius 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.» (Perrin, 1919a).

¹⁰⁹ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 31, 1 (Perrin, 1919a).

¹¹⁰ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Marcus Antonius, 6, 1 (Perrin, 1920b).

«Even yet we may draw back; but once cross yon little bridge, and the whole issue is with the sword.» ¹¹¹
«Take we the course which the signs of the gods and the false dealing of our foes point out.» ¹¹²
<i>Alea iacta est!</i> «The die is cast.» ¹¹³ ; «Let the die be cast.» ¹¹⁴

Source: Author

Plutarch explains that, near the river that splits Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, JC “began to reflect, now that he drew nearer to the fearful step and was agitated by the magnitude of his ventures” and “he communed with himself a long time in silence as his resolution wavered back and forth, and his purpose then suffered change after change”¹¹⁵.

What made him decide? Maybe he saw the signs of an eruption of Etna.¹¹⁶

Civil war was fought between 49 and 45 BC. The period includes a significant number of battles and sieges that are still studied today by the military forces.

See Table 3.

¹¹¹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 31, 2 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹¹² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 32, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹¹³ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 32, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹¹⁴ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 32, 8 (Perrin, 1919a).

¹¹⁵ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 32, 3-8: «He therefore ordered his centurions and other officers, taking their swords only, and without the rest of their arms, to occupy Ariminum, a large city of Gaul, avoiding commotion and bloodshed as far as possible; and he entrusted this force to Hortensius. He himself spent the day in public, attending and watching the exercises of gladiators; but a little before evening he bathed and dressed and went into the banqueting hall. Here he held brief converse with those who had been invited to supper, and just as it was getting dark and went away, after addressing courteously most of his guests and bidding them await his return. To a few of his friends, however, he had previously given directions to follow him, not all by the same route, but some by one way and some by another. He himself mounted one of his hired carts and drove at first along another road, then turned towards Ariminum. When he came to the river which separates Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy (it is called the Rubicon), and began to reflect, now that he drew nearer to the fearful step and was agitated by the magnitude of his ventures, he checked his speed. Then, halting in his course, he communed with himself a long time in silence as his resolution wavered back and forth, and his purpose then suffered change after change. For a long time, too, he discussed his perplexities with his friends who were present, among whom was Asinius Pollio, estimating the great evils for all mankind which would follow their passage of the river, and the wide fame of it which they would leave to posterity. But finally, with a sort of passion, as if abandoning calculation and casting himself upon the future, and uttering the phrase with which men usually prelude their plunge into desperate and daring fortunes, "Let the die be cast," he hastened to cross the river; and going at full speed now for the rest of the time, before daybreak he dashed into Ariminum and took possession of it.» (Perrin, 1919a)

¹¹⁶ Hyde, 1916: 406.

Table 3: Some of the biggest combats of civil war (49/45 BC)

Year (BC)	Battle/Siege
49	Siege of Massilia
	Battle of Lerda
	Battle of Utica
	Battle of the Bagraclas River
48	Battle of Dyrrhachium
	Battle of Pharsalus
47	Siege of Alexandria
	Battle of the Nile
	Battle of Zela
46	Battle of Ruspina
	Battle of Thapsus
45	Battle of Munda

Source: Author

Caesar was a leader, a champion, a conqueror. He had made a successful campaign in Gaul and did win civil war. But this last set of victories did him no favors. Domestic conflict was a major blow on roman families, scattered at its core, separated by fear or belief. *Optimates* lost the fight, but so did society as a whole, because after the conflict: «(...) a census of the people was taken, and instead of the three hundred and twenty thousand of the preceding lists there were enrolled only one hundred and fifty thousand. So great was the calamity which the civil wars had wrought, and so large a portion of the people of Rome had they consumed away, to say nothing of the misfortunes that possessed the rest of Italy and the provinces.»¹¹⁷. Numbers did not lie and there was no propaganda capable of conceal that kind of suffering and overall destruction.

PART IV: DICTATOR

What was a Roman Dictator?

¹¹⁷ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 55, 5-6 (Perrin, 1919a).

Titus Livius didn't know, for sure, when the function had been created, but inferred that was during the consulship of Postumius Cominius Auruncus and T. Lartius (501 BC) and, since then, «Only man of consular rank were eligible under the law governing the appointment.»¹¹⁸ The Republic of Rome had eighty-eight dictators in total¹¹⁹; but only two in the first century BC: Sulla and Caesar. Marcus Antonius, as a consul, in 44 BC, ended with that legal possibility.

A roman dictator was a man nominated by the Senate, to whom was given exceptional yet temporary power to solve a military or political crisis. He would have more independence than a consul and more authority to punish, without appeal from his sentences. He served his country for as long as six months¹²⁰, with the help of a master of the horse (*magister equitum*). He should be proclaimed by a consul, but that solution was not always available. Caesar was appointed by a praetor (Lepidus). Sulla “proclaimed himself dictator”¹²¹ or was nominated by an interrex (Lucius Valerius Flaccus).

Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus was probably the most “virtuous” dictator of Rome, because the first time he held the title, he resigned on the sixteenth day¹²² (instead of staying for six months), lending power to the people after protecting the city from its enemies. He was famous for winning when nobody could and, for that reason, the Senate proclaimed him two times (458 and 439 BC).

Caesar Dictator

¹¹⁸ Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, II, 18, 4-6: «It is not, however, clearly ascertained in what year this office was created, or who the consuls were who had forfeited the confidence of the people owing to their being adherents of the Tarquins —for this, too, is part of the tradition —or who was the first dictator. In the most ancient authorities I find that it was T. Lartius, and that Sp. Cassius was his master of the horse. Only men of consular rank were eligible under the law governing the appointment.» (Roberts, 1912)

¹¹⁹ McCarthy, 2005: 8.

¹²⁰ Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, III, 29, 7 (Roberts, 1912).

¹²¹ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Sulla, 33, 1 (Perrin, 1916).

¹²² Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, III, 29, 3-7: «Quintus Fabius, the prefect of the City, convened a meeting of the senate, and they decreed that Quinctius, with the army he was bringing home, should enter the City in triumphal procession. The commanding officers of the enemy were led in front, then the military-standards were borne before the general's chariot, the arm followed loaded with spoil. It is said that tables spread with provisions stood before all the houses, and the feasters followed the chariot with songs of triumph and the customary jests and lampoons. On that day the freedom of the City was bestowed on L. Mamilius the Tusculan, amidst universal approval. The Dictator would at once have laid down his office had not the meeting of the Assembly for the trial of M. Volscius detained him: fear of the Dictator prevented the tribunes from obstructing it. Volscius was condemned and went into exile at Lanuvium. Quinctius resigned on the sixteenth day the dictatorship which had been conferred upon him for six months.» (Roberts, 1912)

The first time he was a dictator, “he within eleven days abdicated the sole power”¹²³; which means less time than Cincinnatus himself. Then he probably held elections, with the help of Lepidus, and was chosen consul with Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus (married to Junia Prima, daughter of Servilia and sister of Marcus Brutus).

After some time, his perspective changed. Caesar was winning battles, but civil war was dragging longer than expected, his spirit was less optimistic and things got out of hand, for not only he had to overcome his enemies, he had to outsmart his allies, especially the ones creating him problems in Rome, like Marcus Antonius and Publius Cornelius Dolabella. To a point he felt the need for growing control over the situation¹²⁴.

Caesar was entitled dictator for life.¹²⁵ But he was *Dictator Perpetuo* for only a month or two, until he was assassinated at the ides of March of 44 BC. The *moment of no return* was Lupercalia¹²⁶ on February, 15th. What happened?

According to Suetonius, Marcus Antonius placed a crown upon Caesar’s head. The leader refused it and sent it to the Capitol Hill, offering it to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*.¹²⁷ So why was this such a big deal? Because JC was accused of longing to be king, the ultimate outrage in a republican city that hated monarchy.

Apparently, JC had «(...) replied to the commons, when they hailed him as king: "I am Caesar and no king" (...)»¹²⁸ and kept on refusing the title, as many times as senators offered it. So why was he accused of craving it?

¹²³ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 37, 2 (Perrin, 1919a).

¹²⁴ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 51, 1-4: «After this, he crossed to Italy and went up to Rome, at the close of the year for which he had a second time been chosen dictator, though that office had never before been for a whole year; then for the following year he was proclaimed consul. Men spoke of him because, after his soldiers had mutinied and killed two men of praetorian rank, Galba and Cosconius, he censured them only so far as to call them "citizens" when he addressed them, instead of "soldiers," and then gave each man a thousand drachmas and much allotted land in Italy. He was also calumniated for the madness of Dolabella, the greed of Amantius, the drunkenness of Marcus Antonius, and for the fact that Corfinius built over and refurnished the house of Pompeius Magnus on the ground that it was not good enough for him. For at all these things the Romans were displeased. But owing to the political situation, though Caesar was not ignorant of these things and did not like them, he was compelled to make use of such assistants.» (Perrin, 1919a).

¹²⁵ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 57, 1 (Perrin, 1919a).

¹²⁶ «(...) *Lupercalia*, 15th February, that is during the *Parentalia*, the public celebration of the ancestors which lasted from 13th to 21st February. In those days ancestors were thought to come back to the town through the *mundus*: public activities were suspended, no marriages were celebrated, officials put their symbols down.» (Guarisco, 2015: 226)

¹²⁷ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 79, 2: «(...) at the Lupercalia, when the consul Marcus Antonius several times attempted to place a crown upon his [Caesar] head as he spoke from the rostra, he [Caesar] put it aside and at last sent it to the Capitol, to be offered to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.» (Rolfé, 1913a)

¹²⁸ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 79, 2 (Rolfé, 1913a).

First, because he had accepted other outstanding tributes. Suetonius wrote that JC: «(...) allowed honors to be bestowed on him which were too great for mortal man (...)»¹²⁹ Still, most of them must've been given to him after death.¹³⁰

Second, the answer to the question lays less on JC and more on the men offering these honors; because they were publically considered his friends or allies: Marcus Antonius, Publius Casca and Cassius Longinus.¹³¹ Were they acting according to Caesar's plan? It's hard to know, but at least Publius Casca and Cassius Longinus would be his killers, which means they hated him.

See Appendix 4.

Third, JC called Lepidus (second in command) to help him push away those people. His master of the horse hesitated. Why? Does that mean he knew what the others were up to? Was he trying to help Caesar or screwing him up? It's difficult to know, but it was at his house that JC said goodbye to his friends.

¹²⁹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 76, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹³⁰ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 67, 8: «The senate, too, trying to make a general amnesty and reconciliation, voted to give Caesar divine honors and not to disturb even the most insignificant measure which he had adopted when in power (...)» (Perrin, 1919a)

¹³¹ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGRIH F 130, 21: «Later, in the course of the winter, a festival was held in Rome, called Lupercalia, in which old and young men together take part in a procession, naked except for a girdle, and anointed, railing that those whom they meet and striking them with pieces of goat hide. When this festival came on Marcus Antonius was chosen *hegemon*. He proceeded through the Forum, as was the custom, and the rest of the throng followed him. Caesar was sitting in a golden chair on the Rostra, wearing a purple toga. At first Licinius advanced toward him carrying a laurel wreath, though inside it a diadem was plainly visible. He mounted up, pushed up by his colleagues (for the place from which Caesar was accustomed to address the assembly was high), and set the diadem down before Caesar's feet. Thereupon Caesar called Lepidus, the Master of the Horse, to ward him off, but Lepidus hesitated. In the meanwhile Cassius Longinus, one of the conspirators, pretending to be really well disposed toward Caesar so that he might the more readily escape suspicion, hurriedly removed the diadem and placed it in Caesar's lap. Publius Casca was also with him. While Caesar kept rejecting it, and among the shouts of the people, Antonius suddenly rushed up, naked and anointed, just as he was in the procession, and placed it on his head. But Caesar snatched it off, and threw it into the crowd. Those who were standing at some distance applauded this action, but those who were near at hand clamored that he should accept it and not repel the people's favor. Various individuals held different views of the matter. Some were angry, thinking it an indication of power out of place in a democracy; others, thinking to court favor, approved; still others spread the report that Antonius had acted as he did not without Caesar's connivance. There were many who were quite willing that Caesar be made king openly. All sorts of talk began to go through the crowd. When Antonius crowned Caesar a second time, the people shouted in chorus, "Hail, King"; but Caesar still refusing the crown, ordered it to be taken to the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, saying that it was more appropriate there. Again the same people applauded as before. There is told another story that Antonius acted thus wishing to ingratiate himself with Caesar, and at the same time was cherishing the hope of being adopted as his son. Finally, he embraced Caesar and gave the crown to some of the men standing near to place it on the head of the statue of Caesar which was nearby. This they did. Of all the occurrences of that time this was not the least influential in hastening the action of the conspirators, for it proved to their very eyes the truth of the suspicions they entertained.» (Hall, 1923)

PART V: JC'S DEATH

Clementia

Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 84, 2: «Saved I these men [so] that they might murder me?»¹³² (Rolfe, 1913a).

JC was a successful military leader of the first century BC. He could be hard on enemies, but for him, romans were especial. A battle field somewhere in Gaul, was not the same as swords' clashing at the *pomerium*¹³³. Caesar was a patrician, his job was to protect the city of Romulus.

As a veteran of war, he was used to pain. But as *Flamen Dialis* or *Pontifex Maximus* he might feel uncomfortable with massacres of romans throughout the city.¹³⁴ So, he choose not to make proscriptions (as Marius and Sulla did, or as Marcus Antonius and August would do).

Caesar had been proscribed as a young man (82 BC). But had obtained forgiveness from Dictator Sulla, with the help of Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus Levianus (Sulla's son-in-law), his uncle Gaius Cotta and the vestal virgins.¹³⁵ He probably was thankful to the ones that had assisted him in a moment of distress.

He had survived the hardships of the first civil war. Possibly feeling responsible for a second conflict, he might had decided to apply a policy of pardon and that why he was

¹³² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 84, 2: «At the funeral games, to rouse pity and indignation at his death, these words from the "Contest for the Arms" of Pacuvius were sung: "Saved I these men that they might murder me?" and words of like purport from the "Electra" of Atilius.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹³³ «Before 46 B.C.E., *clementia* appeared in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum* twice, with the defeated begging for the mercy of the general, but the word never appeared in his *Bellum Civile*.» (Vahl, 2007: 11)

¹³⁴ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Sulla, 31, 1-4: «Sulla now busied himself with slaughter, and murders without number or limit filled the city. Many, too, were killed to gratify private hatreds, although they had no relations with Sulla, but he gave his consent in order to gratify his adherents. (...) Sulla at once proscribed eighty persons, without communicating with any magistrate; and in spite of the general indignation, after a single day's interval, he proscribed two hundred and twenty others, and then on the third day, as many more. Referring to these measures in a public harangue, he said that he was proscribing as many as he could remember, and those who now escaped his memory, he would proscribe at a future time.» (Perrin, 1916).

¹³⁵ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 1, 2 (Rolfe, 1913a).

generous to his fellowmen: «He certainly showed admirable self-restraint and mercy, both in his conduct of the civil war and in the hour of victory.»¹³⁶

But what did romans think in return? Common people considered him kind, because they were supportive of him. They probably appreciated *clementia*, because it was not easy to live in a cruel world, where leaders spoke more about punishments and less about second chances in life.

In spite of that, the elite was distrustful and received JC's forgiveness as a form of humiliation, as if it resulted from a power dynamic¹³⁷. Apparently, *clementia* had no place in a Republic,¹³⁸ only kings had power of life and death and a generous giver could only be magnanimous for doing so.

Among unequals, *clementia* could be used. Among equals, death was better? Cato commits suicide, in a hurry, before JC's arrival, so that he may not be forgiven¹³⁹, which can only be considered an act of virtue (if Caesar was a tyrant), or a very ridiculous thing to do (if JC was generous and Cato too conceited). Cicero and Marcus Brutus admired Cato, praising him in books. JC wrote the Anti-Cato, to complain about the whole thing.

Cicero was very outspoken about his views and, according to him, the cardinal virtues were four: *iustitia* (justice), *prudentia* (prudence or being wise), *fortitudo* (strength), *temperantia* (temperance). The last would be divided in three: *modestia* (modesty), *continentia* (restrain) and *clementia* (a form of kindness conferred to someone of lesser status; a forma of domination, a position of power over the defeated) When he gave complements to Magnus, he said he had two good military virtues: *humanitas* and *mansuetudo*¹⁴⁰. About JC, he addressed *clementia* in an ironic and despising manner.

¹³⁶ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 75, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹³⁷ «It is the context of Cicero's description, however, that differentiates his notion of clemency from Caesar's. To Cicero, granting mercy to a criminal or foreign enemy, someone already socially inferior to a Roman citizen, was only virtuous in that it showed an individual's temperance and his ability to treat those of lesser standing with lenience. When applied to fellow citizens, however, clemency creates a power hierarchy among men formerly equal in standing, placing them on the same political footing as those foreigners and criminals.⁶⁸ Receiving clemency, though it resulted in forgiveness, was demeaning, especially to a Roman upper class used to sharing power.» (Liscovitz, 2013: 30)

¹³⁸ «(...) clemency's connotations, when used in connection with foreign foes, were not a problem, but showing mercy to one's fellow citizens made the relationship between the victor and the conquered more problematic. It is for this reason that *clementia* was not a part of a democratic government, such as in Athens, since all citizens were considered equal.» (Vahl, 2007: 12).

¹³⁹ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Cato the Younger, 67-72 (Perrin, 1919b).

¹⁴⁰ Vahl, 2007: 12.

JC died for allowing his enemies to outlive him. Future August, Marcus Antonius and Lepidus (second triumvirate) were less forgiving¹⁴¹. They had no *clementia*, for safety or personal reasons, and Cicero ended up dead¹⁴². Ironies of destiny.

Parricide?

Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 88, 1: «It was voted that the hall in which he was slain be walled up, that the Ides of March be called the *Day of Parricide*, and that a meeting of the senate should never be called on that day.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

The Ides of March 44 BC were called the *Day of Parricide*. Was JC killed by (some of) his children? Or was this a metaphoric reference to the death of *Patris Patriae*?¹⁴³

Officially, JC only had a daughter, but with a rich personal life, he probably did not know, for sure, if he had more kids or how many. And since he had a close relationship with some of his lovers (at least with Servilia and Cleopatra), he probably felt obliged to take care of them and their children. Available information can be gathered as following.

See Table 4.

¹⁴¹ «(...) many of the men to whom Caesar had granted life and the possession of property only a short time before crowded around him with their daggers on the fatal Ides of March. Octavian, Marcus Antonius, and Lepidus found in Caesar's death a warning that "ambition should be made of sterner stuff"; and one of their first acts after coming to power was to issue a proclamation call-ing attention to the fate that had overtaken him as the result of excessive clemency, and announcing a policy of ruthlessness for themselves (Appian, *Bellum Civile* Iv, 8-11). At the moment it seemed like a reversal of the best that Julius Caesar had stood for.» (Coulter, 1931: 524)

¹⁴² Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, *The Life of Cicero*, 46, 3-5. (Perrin, 1919c)

¹⁴³ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 76, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

Table 4: JC's potential female partners

Wives	Queens	Lovers
Cassutia (engagement/marriage?)	Nysa of Bithynia	Mucia Tertia
Cornelia Cinnilla	Cleopatra of Egypt	Servilia Caepionis
Pompeia	Eunoe of Mauretania	Junia Tertia (?)
Calpurnia		Tertulla
		Postumia
		Lollia

Source: Author

According to available information, Cossutia was betrothed to JC in his youth, or married him for a short period of time before divorce. She gave him no children.

Cornelia Cinnilla married JC and gave him a daughter. Mother died in 69 BC. Julia expired in 54 BC and none of her babies survived infancy.

JC wedded Pompeia and, after divorce, got married to Calpurnia. No offspring.

JC had many lovers. Also in Gaul? There was a Julius Sabinus claiming to be his great-grandson, even though his statements were never believed to be true.¹⁴⁴

Cleopatra was the wife of Pharaoh Ptolemy XIV. There were many plots in Egypt,¹⁴⁵ but she had an intimate relationship with Caesar and apparently bare him a son¹⁴⁶. As far as known, JC's last will had no mention to her or Caesarion. Her claims were not accepted by everyone.¹⁴⁷ August sentenced the kid to death.¹⁴⁸ She committed suicide.

JC's first foreign interest was Nysa of Bithynia. Did she bare him children? «A Pyrrhic dance was performed by the sons of the princes of Asia and Bithynia.»¹⁴⁹ in Rome when Nysa was probably still a princess. If any of her kids were Caesar's is not known. But as a

¹⁴⁴ Tacitus, *The Histories*, IV, 55: «Sabinus, over and above his natural vanity, was inflamed with the pride of an imaginary descent, for he asserted that his great-grandmother had, by her personal charms, attracted the admiration of the divine Julius, when he was campaigning in Gaul.» (Church and Brodrigg, 1876).

¹⁴⁵ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 48, 5-9; and 49, 1-10 (Perrin, 1919a).

¹⁴⁶ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 52, 1: «(...) but above all with Cleopatra, with whom he often feasted until daybreak, and he would have gone through Egypt with her in her state-barge almost to Aethiopia, had not his soldiers refused to follow him. Finally he called her to Rome and did not let her leave until he had laden her with high honors and rich gifts, and he allowed her to give his name to the child which she bore.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁴⁷ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 52, 2: «(...) Gaius Oppius, as if admitting that the situation required apology and defense, published a book, to prove that the child whom Cleopatra fathered on Caesar was not his.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁴⁸ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 17, 5: «Caesarion, too, whom Cleopatra fathered on Caesar, he overtook in his flight, brought back, and put to death.» (Rolfe, 1913b).

¹⁴⁹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 39, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

young lawyer, he did everything he could to defend her rights as queen in roman courts.¹⁵⁰ For that he was mocked.¹⁵¹ His enemies did not want him to succeed as a lawyer nor as a politician, or have access to the wealth of Bithynia through Nysa, so they made up claims about him and her father. Caesar was “greatly vexed and manifestly pained” and defended himself denying, upon oath, any affair with Nicomedes.¹⁵²

Eunoe of Mauretania, King Bogudes’ wife, was another of JC’s lovers¹⁵³, but nothing is known about the couple’s offspring.

The list of lovers include Tertulla, the wife of Crassus; Postumia, the wife of Servius Sulpicius; and Lollia, the wife of Aulus Gabinius.¹⁵⁴ There’s not much data about them. Still, it’s important to notice that Tertulla’s sons were JC’s supporters. Publius served Caesar in Gaul, perhaps between 58/56 BC, before dying in the battle of Carrhae (53 BC) with Crassus. Marcus served in the Gallic Wars after his brother; shortly afterwards, was chosen a member of the college of pontiffs; and was not included in JC’s testament probably because he died young, around 49 BC as governor of Cisalpine Gaul.

Servilia Caepionis, daughter of Quintus Servilius Caepio and Livia Drusa, was first married to a man called Marcus Junius Brutus, having a son with his name. As a widow, she remarried, sometime after 77 BC, with Decimus Junius Silanus (consul 63 BC), from who she probably had four children: Junia Prima, Junia Secunda, Junia Tertia and Marcus Junius Silanus (consul 25 BC). There were rumors that Servilia was JC’s lover, as well as her younger daughter.¹⁵⁵ But Junia Tertia was very young, so she was more likely August’s girlfriend (her nickname was Tertulla and August was also known as Caesar).¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 49, 3: «(...) when Caesar was once addressing the senate in defense of Nysa [of Bithynia], daughter of Nicomedes (...)» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁵¹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 2, 1; and 49, 1-4 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁵² Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 20, 4 (Cary, 1916).

¹⁵³ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 52, 1: «He had love affairs with queens too, including Eunoe the Moor, wife of Bogudes, on whom, as well as on her husband, he bestowed many splendid presents, as Naso writes (...)» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁵⁴ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 50, 1-2: «That he was unbridled and extravagant in his intrigues is the general opinion, and that he seduced many illustrious women, among them Postumia, wife of Servius Sulpicius, Lollia, wife of Aulus Gabinius, Tertulla, wife of Marcus Crassus, and even Gnaeus Pompeius' wife Mucia. (...) But beyond all others Caesar loved Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus, for whom in his first consulship he bought a pearl costing six million sesterces.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁵⁵ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 52, 2: «(...) Cicero wittily remarked: "It's a better bargain than you think, for there is a third off." And in fact it was thought that Servilia was prostituting her own daughter Tertia to Caesar.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁵⁶ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 69, 2: «Marcus Antonius also writes to Augustus himself in the following familiar terms, when he had not yet wholly broken with him privately or publicly: "What has made such a change in you? Because I lie with the queen? She is my wife. Am I just beginning this, or was it nine

August was JC's great-nephew, not really his son. In the other hand, Junia Tertia could be JC's daughter, considering her age (she born around 63 BC, when her mother sent a love letter to Caesar during a Senate session about Catiline¹⁵⁷). She outlived her husband Cassius Longinus (an outlaw after killing Caesar) and that apparently lived a long respected life under August protection.¹⁵⁸ But the truth is conjecture.

Was Marcus Brutus JC's son?¹⁵⁹ If he was indeed Julia's first husband, that's not possible. After checking roman coins, there's no resemblance between the two and he was not included in Caesar's last will.

See Hypothesis A (examples for comparison purposes only).

Hypothesis A: Coins from JC + Marcus Brutus + Decimus Brutus



Sources: Heritage Auctions (2011); Macquarie University (2014); Badian (2018); Starck (2014); Wildwinds (2000a; b).

years ago? What then of you — do you lie only with Drusilla? Good luck to you if when you read this letter you have not been with Tertulla or Terentilla or Rufilla or Salvia Titisenia, or all of them. Does it matter where or with whom you take your pleasure?" (Rolfe, 1913b).

¹⁵⁷ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Cato the Younger, 24, 1-2: «Cato tried to fix suspicion upon the matter and alleged that it had something to do with the conspiracy, and bade him read the writing aloud. Then Caesar handed the note to Cato, who stood near him. But when Cato had read the note, which was an unchaste letter from his sister Servilia to Caesar, with whom she was passionately and guiltily in love, he threw it to Caesar, saying, "Take it, thou sot," and then resumed his speech.» (Perrin, 1919b)

¹⁵⁸ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Brutus, 7, 1: «(...) although they were relatives, since Cassius was the husband of Junia, a sister of Brutus.» (Perrin, 1918)

¹⁵⁹ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Brutus, 5, 2: «For while he was still a young man, as it seems, Caesar had been intimate with Servilia, who was madly in love with him, and he had some grounds for believing that Brutus, who was born at about the time when her passion was in full blaze, was his own son.» (Perrin, 1918)

What about Decimus Brutus? Would a son kill his own father? Coins show no resemblance between the two (even considering the lack of accuracy of these reproductions). Besides, Decimus Brutus' mother was Sempronia. She married twice, first with Decimus Junius Brutus and, afterwards, with Aulus Postumius Albinus. She was not listed as JC's lover. Instead, she was a Catiline supporter.¹⁶⁰ But JC: «(...) named several of his assassins among the guardians of his son, in case one should be born to him, and Decimus Brutus even among his heirs in the second degree.»¹⁶¹.

Let's confirm JC's testament, before going any further:

Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 83, 1-2: «Then at the request of his father-in-law, Lucius Piso, the will was unsealed and read in Marcus Antonius's house, which Caesar had made on the preceding Ides of September at his place near Lavinium, and put in the care of the chief of the Vestals. Quintus Tubero states that from his first consulship until the beginning of the civil war it was his wont to write down Gnaeus Pompeius as his heir, and to read this to the assembled soldiers. In his last will, however, he named three heirs, his sisters' grandsons, Gaius Octavius, to three-fourths of his estate, and Lucius Pinarius and Quintus Pedius to share the remainder. At the end of the will, too, he adopted Gaius Octavius into his family and gave him his name. He named several of his assassins among the guardians of his son, in case one should be born to him, and Decimus Brutus even among his heirs in the second degree. To the people he left his gardens near the Tiber for their common use and three hundred sesterces to each man.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

In JC's first testament (before March 45 BC), young Gnaeus Pompeius was his sole heir. Was he Caesar's secret child? Mucia Tertia had three surviving children from her matrimony to Magnus, two boys and one girl. If Gnaeus, Sextus or Pompeia (See Appendix 3), all of them or none, were Caesar's biological kids it's speculative. Nobody truly knows about JC's private matters, but they were publicly discussed at length and Mucia Tertia was

¹⁶⁰ Sallust, *The War With Catiline*, 25, 1-5: «Now among these women was Sempronia, who had often committed many crimes of masculine daring. In birth and beauty, in her husband also and children, she was abundantly favored by fortune; well-read in the literature of Greece and Rome, able to play the lyre and dance more skillfully than an honest woman need, and having many other accomplishments which minister to voluptuousness. But there was nothing which she held so cheap as modesty and chastity; you could not easily say whether she was less sparing of her money or her honor; her desires were so ardent that she sought men more often than she was sought by them. Even before the time of the conspiracy she had often broken her word, repudiated her debts, been privy to murder; poverty and extravagance combined had driven her headlong. Nevertheless, she was a woman of no mean endowments; she could write verses, bandy jests, and use language which was modest, or tender, or wanton; in fine, she possessed a high degree of wit and of charm.» (Rolfe, 1921)

¹⁶¹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 83, 2 (Rolfe, 1913a).

an easy target, since she had been married to Marius's son, before wedding Magnus and was probably a regular visit to the family.

There could be another explanation. JC could be feeling guilty about Magnus' death at the hands of the Egyptians.¹⁶² But if he wanted emends, he did not get what he wanted. The youngster died at the battle of Munda or soon after (45 BC)¹⁶³ and that's why Caesar's changed his testament.

JC had a beloved cousin named Sextus Julius Caesar (son of a homonymous council of 91 BC), but he had been killed in Syria around 46 BC¹⁶⁴.

JC still had three great-nephews and they became his "heirs of first degree". The treasure was divided unevenly. Why would the (future) August be entitled to "three-fourths" of the wealth, while the remaining one-fourth was distributed to both Quintus Pedius and Lucius Pinarius? Perhaps because August was considered physically sick/diminished¹⁶⁵ and in more need of support?

If JC's great-nephews were young or weak, maybe they were considered an easy target. In this case, the testament's "second degree" beneficiaries would get it all. From their standpoint, acting together against the man and scaring off the kids could be a plan.

Last Supper

March 14th 44 BC was the night before the murder. There was a dinner at Lepidus' house in the Palatine hill.¹⁶⁶ Who was there?

¹⁶² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 48, 2: Arriving at Alexandria just after Pompeius Magnus's death, he turned away in horror from Theodotus as he presented the head of Pompeius Magnus, but he accepted Pompeius Magnus's seal-ring, and shed tears over it.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁶³ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 56, 1-6: «After these matters had been finished and he had been declared consul for the fourth time, Caesar made an expedition into Spain against the sons of Pompeius Magnus. (...) As for Pompeius Magnus's sons, the younger made his escape, but after a few days the head of the elder was brought in by Deidius.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁶⁴ Titus Livius, *Periochae*, 114: «Caecilius Bassus, a Roman man of the Pompeian faction, provoked a war in Syria, and Sextus Caesar, abandoned by a legion that had transferred its allegiance to Bassus, was killed. Caesar defeated the praetor Scipio and Juba at Thapsus and captured their camp.» (Lendering and Smith, 2003-2016)

¹⁶⁵ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 127, 10 (Hall, 1923); and Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Augustus, 80-82 (Rolfe, 1913b).

¹⁶⁶ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 87, 1: «And the day before his murder, in a conversation which arose at a dinner at the house of Marcus Lepidus, as to what manner of death was most to be desired, he had given his preference to one which was sudden and unexpected.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

JC was the guest of honor. «(...) when Marcus Lepidus was entertaining him at supper, Caesar chanced to be signing letters, as his custom was, while reclining at table, and the discourse turned suddenly upon the question what sort of death was the best; before anyone could answer Caesar cried out: "That which is unexpected."»¹⁶⁷

JC took Decimus Brutus to the Palatine with him, for he trusted him.¹⁶⁸

Lepidus was the host. He had been appointed proconsul and was soon to departure to Gallia Narbonensis. Did he like this new assignment? As governor of a wealthy province, he could become rich (or richer). It was considered a positive thing.

But as second in command, Lepidus was used to be in charge of Rome in Caesar's behalf. Recently, he had been informed of his substitution by the future August (at the time, too young and inexperienced) as master of the horse (and after, by Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus). And as long as Caesar was alive, he could not be *pontifex maximus* as an ancestor had been.

Lepidus was not openly against JC. Ten to twelve years younger, he had been under Caesar's wing, ever since Aemilius' death (his father) and was considered a good friend.

Lepidus was married to Junia Tertia. She had, at least, three siblings: Junia Prima, Junia Secunda, Marcus Brutus Silanus (consul 25 BC) and Marcus Brutus. Prima was married to Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus. Tertia was Cassius Longinus' wife.

See family tree, Appendix 2.

It would not be improbable for Marcus Brutus, Junius Silanus, Servilius Vatia and Cassius Longinus to attend that dinner.

If this is to be true, the leaders of the plot against Caesar's (Marcus Brutus, Cassius Longinus and Decimus Brutus) were all having dinner with JC and Lepidus at the Palatine Hill.

See Table 5:

Table 5: Leaders of the Plot (44 BC)

Suetonius, <i>The Lives of the Caesars</i> , Julius Caesar, 80, 4 (Rolfe, 1913a). Nicolaus of Damascus, <i>Life of Augustus</i> , FGrH F 130, 19 (Hall, 1923). Appian, <i>The Civil Wars</i> , II, 111 (White, 1913)	Marcus Junius Brutus
	Gaius Cassius Longinus
	Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus

¹⁶⁷ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 63, 7 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁶⁸ Appian, *The Civil Wars*, 2, 16: «The day before the meeting of the Senate Cæsar went to sup with Lepidus, his master of horse, taking Decimus Brutus Albinus with him to the drinking-bout. While they were in their cups the conversation turned on the question, "What is the best kind of death for a man?" Various opinions were given, but Cæsar alone expressed the preference for a sudden death.» (White, 1899)

Source: Author

Lepidus had a brother, Lucius Aemilius Lepidus Paulus. As consul (50 BC), before civil war and probably to prevent it, he had received a fortune from Caesar to guarantee his support. But he was more a Cicero's friend than a JC's ally.

Besides Paulus, Lucius Marcus Philippus (consul 56) was another possible guest, since he was married to JC's niece (Atia, August's mother).

Lucius Cornelius Cinna was brother of Cornelia Cinnilla (dead around 69 BC, was a JC's former wife). He would still be considered family. Nevertheless, he did speak against his former brother-in-law in favor of the murder¹⁶⁹ but he was part of the plot¹⁷⁰. More than that, he was probably one of his killers¹⁷¹.

See Appendix 1 and 3.

Lucius Tillius Cimber killed Caesar¹⁷² and so did Casca.¹⁷³ Could they be at Caesar's farewell dinner? They were considered Caesar's allies, so yes they could.

What about Marcus Antonius? He was the eldest son of Antonius Creticus and Julia Antonia. After his father's death, he became the stepson of Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura (consul of 71 BC), a member of Catiline Conspiracy¹⁷⁴. At some point, he was accused of conspiring against JC, but was not formally charged for doing so. In the 44 BC's Ides of March, he convinced Lepidus to negotiate with Caesar's killers, supposedly to maintain peace, but they soon changed their minds about it.

See Appendix 5.

Marcus Antonius behavior was suspicious and not reliable, which «(...)» made him odious to the multitude, and to men of worth and uprightness he was not acceptable because

¹⁶⁹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 85, 1: «Cornelius Cinna, who had the day before made a bitter indictment of Caesar (...)» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁷⁰ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 68, 6: «For there was among the conspirators a man who bore this same name of Cinna (...)» (Perrin, 1919a)

¹⁷¹ Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 50, 4: «(...) during the excitement killed, among others, Helvius Cinna, a tribune, without just cause; for this man had not only not plotted against Caesar, but was one of his most devoted friends. Their mistake was due to the fact that Cornelius Cinna, the praetor, had taken part in the attack.» (Cary, 1916).

¹⁷² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 82: «(...) Tillius Cimber, who had assumed the lead, came nearer as though to ask something; and when Caesar with a gesture put him off to another time, Cimber caught his toga by both shoulders (...)» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁷³ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 82: «(...) as Caesar cried, "Why, this is violence!" one of the Cascas stabbed him from one side just below the throat. Caesar caught Casca's arm and ran it through with his stylus, but as he tried to leap to his feet, he was stopped by another wound.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁷⁴ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Marcus Antonius, 2, 1-2 (Perrin, 1920b).

of his life in general.»¹⁷⁵. He was family, but Caesar only tolerated him and August never trusted his intentions.

Murder and/or suicide?

JC was killed at the ides of March 44 BC (March 15th), stabbed twenty-three times at a Senate meeting. The conspirators wanted to save the Republic? Apparently, this was part of an *optimates'* movement that had killed the Gracchi brothers in the second century BC for being anti-systemic had made civil war to *populares* like Marius, because they wanted to be sole masters of Rome; and were murdering JC for aspiring to the throne.¹⁷⁶

But if they were against populism and moved by ideology, why did they keep the jobs JC had chosen for them? Why were they so nervous that they wounded themselves, like they were not veterans with lots of war experience? If they were being courageous and virtuous, why did they fall over a disarmed man, with no body guards? Why did they stabbed him in the face and the eyes¹⁷⁷, the heart, the throat and the “lower parts”?¹⁷⁸ Caesar covered up, his face and body, before falling into the ground.

Overall, it looks more like a crime made for personal reasons rather than political.

¹⁷⁵ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Marcus Antonius, 9, 3 (Perrin, 1920b).

¹⁷⁶ «Like the Gracchi, the *populares* who followed their example were killed because they were accused of wanting to make themselves sole masters of Rome by the *Optimates*. Yet none of them ever attempted to pass a law that would make them kings of Rome, much less dictators for life. Rather, they had been attempting to pass laws that would benefit those whom the Senate seemed determined to ignore, namely Italians and those plebeians who found themselves on the brink of losing their right to serve in the infantry. However, while the Post-Gracchan *populares* were as eclectic in their legislative proposals as Gaius Gracchus, first Saturninus and then Sulpicius (in marked contrast with both of the Gracchi as well as their own peer Livius Drusus) sought to make an alliance with a politician by the name of Gaius Marius who was first and foremost a military commander. They did this not only to add the weight of force to their legislative proposals, but also to avoid suffering the same fate as the Gracchi. At the same time, since the patron-client relationship was a two way street, these populists pushed for the establishment of colonies inside and outside Italy for those *capite censi* that fought in the armies of their *imperator* patron (creating new property holding soldiers), and expanding Roman citizenship (which entailed the right to vote) to all those Italians who only had Latin rights, also known as *civitas sine suffragio* (which entailed the right to move to Rome and form commercial and marital contracts with Roman citizens, but not to vote). However, since the *optimates* believed that only free, native born Roman citizens, preferably those who belonged to a noble family, were fit to serve as Roman senators and magistrates, they vehemently opposed the extension of Roman rights.» (Aguirre, 2013: 97)

¹⁷⁷ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 66, 9-14 (Perrin, 1919a)

¹⁷⁸ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 82, 1-3 (Rolfe, 1913a).

They hated Caesar? Apparently, he didn't give them the attention they craved, in spite of the many honors he gave them¹⁷⁹. Were they jealous of JC's achievements? According to records, Caesar had participated in 302 battles "and was considered invincible."¹⁸⁰

Conspirators could've been more than sixty¹⁸¹ or even eighty.¹⁸² Marcus Brutus, Decimus Brutus, Cassius Longinus, Casca and Cimber. Pontius Aquila made public opposition to JC¹⁸³ and was involved in the plot. Gaius Octavius and Publius Cornelius Lentulus Spinther joined the assassins to "share the deed and laid claim to the glory"¹⁸⁴.

See Appendix 4.

¹⁷⁹ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 22: «Not long after this, the Praetor Cinna propitiated Caesar to the extent of securing a decree which allowed the exiled tribunes to return; though in accordance with the wish of the people they were not to resume their office, but to remain private citizens, yet not excluded from public affairs. Caesar did not prevent their recall, so they returned. Caesar called the annual comitia (for he had the authority of a decree to do so) and appointed Vibius Pansa and Aulus Hirtius as consuls for the ensuing year; for the year after that, Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, and Munatius Plancus. Directly after this, another thing happened that greatly aroused the conspirators. Caesar was having a large handsome forum laid out in Rome, and he had called together the artisans and was letting the contracts for its construction. In the meanwhile, up came a procession of Roman nobles, to confer the honors which had just been voted him by common consent. (...) Caesar was seated while they advanced and because he was conversing with men standing to one side, he did not turn his head toward the approaching procession or pay any attention to it, but continued to prosecute the business which he had on hand, until one of his friends, nearby, said 'Look at these people coming up in front of you.' Then Caesar laid down his papers and turned around and listened to what they had come to say. Now among their number were the conspirators, who filled the others with ill-will toward him, though the others were already offended at him because of this incident.» (Hall, 1923).

¹⁸⁰ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 22: «Then those also were excited who wished to lay hands on him not to recover liberty but to destroy the entire extant system; they were looking for an opportunity to overcome one who seemed to be absolutely invincible. For, although he had participated up to this time in three hundred and two battles in both Asia and Europe, it appeared that he had never been worsted. Since, however, he frequently came out by himself and appeared before them, the hope arose that he could be taken by treachery. They tried to bring about, somehow, the dismissal of his bodyguard by flattering him when they addressed him, saying that he ought to be considered sacred in the eyes of all and be called *pater patriae*, and by proposing decrees to that effect in the hope that he would be thus misled and actually trust to their affection, and that he would dismiss his spearmen in the belief that he was guarded by the good will of everyone. This actually came to pass, and made their task far easier.» (Hall, 1923).

¹⁸¹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 80, 4: «More than sixty joined the conspiracy against him, led by Gaius Cassius and Marcus and Decimus Brutus.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁸² Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 19: «At first a few men started the conspiracy, but afterwards many took part, more than are remembered to have taken part in any earlier plot against a commander. They say that there were more than eighty who had a share in it. Among those who had the most influence were: Decimus Brutus, a particular friend of Caesar, Gaius Cassius, and Marcus Brutus, second to none in the estimation of the Romans at that time.» (Hall, 1923).

¹⁸³ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 80, 4: «(...) in one of his [Caesar] triumphal processions rode past the benches of the tribunes, he was so incensed because a member of the college, Pontius Aquila, did not rise, that he cried: "Come then, Aquila, take back the republic from me, you tribune"; and for several days he would not make a promise to anyone without adding, "That is, if Pontius Aquila will allow me."» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁸⁴ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 67, 4-5: «Some also joined their number and went up with them as though they had shared in the deed, and laid claim to the glory of it, of whom were Gaius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther. These men, then, paid the penalty for their imposture later, when they were put to death by Marcus Antonius and the young Caesar (...).» (Perrin, 1919a)

Many men wanted JC dead. They were supposedly very private about their plans, met in secret and were angry for treachery. But story goes that JC was adverted several times¹⁸⁵ and made no precautions to avoid it¹⁸⁶.

Did Caesar commit suicide? Sometimes, the best way to revenge, is to give enemies what they want. So that they may deal with the consequences of his actions¹⁸⁷.

JC would not commit suicide because he was departing to Parthia for a new military campaign? He was a proud man that did not want his head delivered to some foreign king after a lost battle (like had happened to Crassus and Magnus). As a veteran of war with many nightmares, sick body and an age way beyond the average life expectancy, he had nothing to lose and could die at any moment.

Thus, he could've allowed his enemies to kill him, to teach them a lesson of eternity. They had been forbidden for their faults, in war and in the Republic, but still complained about his leadership. So he walked like a lamb to slaughter in the *Idus* of Mars (religious reference, important for him as a Pontifex Maximus and a former *Flamen Dialis*) to become a martyr of his people.

¹⁸⁵ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 81, 1-3: «Now Caesar's approaching murder was foretold to him by unmistakable signs. A few months before, when the settlers assigned to the colony at Capua by the Julian Law were demolishing some tombs of great antiquity, to build country houses, and plied their work with the greater vigor because as they rummaged about they found a quantity of vases of ancient workmanship, there was discovered in a tomb, which was said to be that of Capys, the founder of Capua, a bronze tablet, inscribed with Greek words and characters to this purport: "Whenever the bones of Capys shall be moved, it will come to pass that a son of Ilium shall be slain at the hands of his kindred, and presently avenged at heavy cost to Italy." And let no one think this tale a myth or a lie, for it is vouched for by Cornelius Balbus, an intimate friend of Caesar. Shortly before his death, as he was told, the herds of horses which he had dedicated to the river Rubicon when he crossed it, and had let loose without a keeper, stubbornly refused to graze and wept copiously. Again, when he was offering sacrifice, the soothsayer Spurinna warned him to beware of danger, which would come not later than the Ides of March; and on the day before the Ides of that month a little bird called the king-bird flew into the Hall of Pompeius Magnus with a sprig of laurel, pursued by others of various kinds from the grove hard by, which tore it to pieces in the hall. In fact the very night before his murder he dreamt now that he was flying above the clouds, and now that he was clasping the hand of Jupiter; and his wife Calpurnia thought that the pediment of their house fell, and that her husband was stabbed in her arms; and on a sudden the door of the room flew open of its own accord.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁸⁶ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 86.1-87, 1: «Caesar left in the minds of some of his friends the suspicion that he did not wish to live longer and had taken no precautions, because of his failing health; and that therefore he neglected the warnings which came to him from portents and from the reports of his friends. (...) About one thing almost all are fully agreed, that he all but desired such a death as he met; for once when he read in Xenophon how Cyrus in his last illness gave directions for his funeral, he expressed his horror of such a lingering kind of end and his wish for one which was swift and sudden. And the day before his murder, in a conversation which arose at a dinner at the house of Marcus Lepidus, as to what manner of death was most to be desired, he had given his preference to one which was sudden and unexpected.» (Rolfe, 1913a)

¹⁸⁷ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 89, 1: «Hardly any of his assassins survived him for more than three years, or died a natural death. They were all condemned, and they perished in various ways – some by shipwreck, some in battle; some took their own lives with the self-same dagger with which they had impiously slain Caesar.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

Funeral and divinity

JC died in the Ides, which means on March 15th. When was his funeral? Considering all the sources, it's more likely that was held on March 17th (in the day romans celebrated the Liberalia).¹⁸⁸

See Appendix 7.

After death, JC was considered a god and that his soul had taken to heaven.¹⁸⁹ Sins of JC's divinity? Maybe an eruption of Etna in 44 BC.¹⁹⁰ A solar eclipse, for many considered as a possibility, doesn't seem to have astronomic validity¹⁹¹. In the other hand, a comet¹⁹² was visible at the games of July 44 BC.¹⁹³

CONCLUSION

Caesar's biographers might not be completely neutral and contemporary sources sometimes are biased because of political ideology. So the interpretation of the facts can be difficult from a scientific standpoint. This text tries to research the story from different perspectives with resource to multiple sources, taking in consideration the older ones.

Caesar is usually hated or glorified. It's difficult to be indifferent to his *cursus honorum*, since he managed to be, simultaneously, the leader of the state, of the army and of the roman religion. Two thousand years later, he is still considered the most important roman; perhaps more famous than August himself. Culturally, he is iconic and, according to a spiritual perspective (*Divus Julius*), he wan his wars, even the ultimate one, his own death.

¹⁸⁸ «It is undisputed that 17 March 44 BCE results unanimously from the ancient reports by Nicolaus of Damascus, Suetonius, Plutarch, Appian and Cassius Dio as the historical date of Julius Caesar's funeral ceremony» (Carotta and Eickenberg, 2011: 3)

¹⁸⁹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 88-1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁹⁰ Hyde, 1916: 406.

¹⁹¹ «(...) the probable explanation of the sudden darkening reported by Servius is that it was a product of the eruption of Etna, but modern scholars have generally clung to the notion that na eclipse was indeed observed from Italy in 44. They merely note that Servius' date should be corrected from May to November (...) this is a mistaken notion (...) no eclipse had occurred in November 44 (...)» (Ramsey and Licht, 1997: 194)

¹⁹² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 88, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

¹⁹³ Ramsey and Licht, 1997: 107.

So who was JC? He was a roman patrician with royal blood. Not much is known about his birth, but he certainly had to struggle as a young man, as Marius' nephew in civil war (not easy to be a *mariano*). He was proscribed and sentenced to death at eighteen years old, but he managed to escape. After an amnesty, obtained from family and friends, he was allowed in the army and, at nineteen, received a civic crown for military achievement. He became the head of the *populare* movement, not immediately after his uncle death (at that time, the leaders were Lucius Cornelius Cinna, Marius' homonymous son and Gnaeus Papirius Carbo) but soon enough.

JC considered himself victim of persecution, since he was a child and run away (or had to distance himself) from Rome several times, in order to survive opposition. He was elected with the support of the common people, rising from military tribune to consul for the first time. After serving in Gaul as a proconsul, he crossed the Rubicon to avoid being convicted from his peers; because, after winning the battle of Pharsalus, Caesar justified his actions by stating that he had been condemned by his enemies if he had not turned to his army for help.¹⁹⁴ He won many battles and was nominated Dictator of Rome by the Senate, but his enemies' slayed him for perpetuating his power.

JC was a survival of two civil wars and had to fight for his way in, but was considered responsible for the peril of roman Republic by men like Cicero and Cato. Was he anti-systemic? He did invade Rome, but Sulla and Marius had done that previously (and Aemilius had also marched on Rome but failed doing so). Caesar was nominated *Dictator Perpetuo* by the Senate, by those same citizens that stabbed him to death at another Senate meeting – even though, as a sick man, his time was limited anyway.

Conspirators like Marcus Brutus and Cassius Longinus wanted to get rid of JC, but their motives probably had less to do with saving the Republic and more to do with personal motives; and they opened the door to a new civil war, for they had no plan for the aftermath.

Antonius ended with the roman Dictatorship, probably to make himself look good. Because, soon after, he took power with less State control and married a foreign queen (something that JC never did).

Cicero mined JC's power but helped Augustus consolidating his. Curiously enough, the younger man was a bigger threat, as he did end with the Republic and became the first

¹⁹⁴ «Hoc voluerunt; tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem.» Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 30, 4 (Ihm, 1907).

Emperor of Rome (ruling like a king, in all but the name), forever transforming the roman political regime.

JC was a man of his time. Who he was and what he did doesn't have to be consensual or liked. But studying his life journey may be useful to better understand the past, what happened and what should never happen again.

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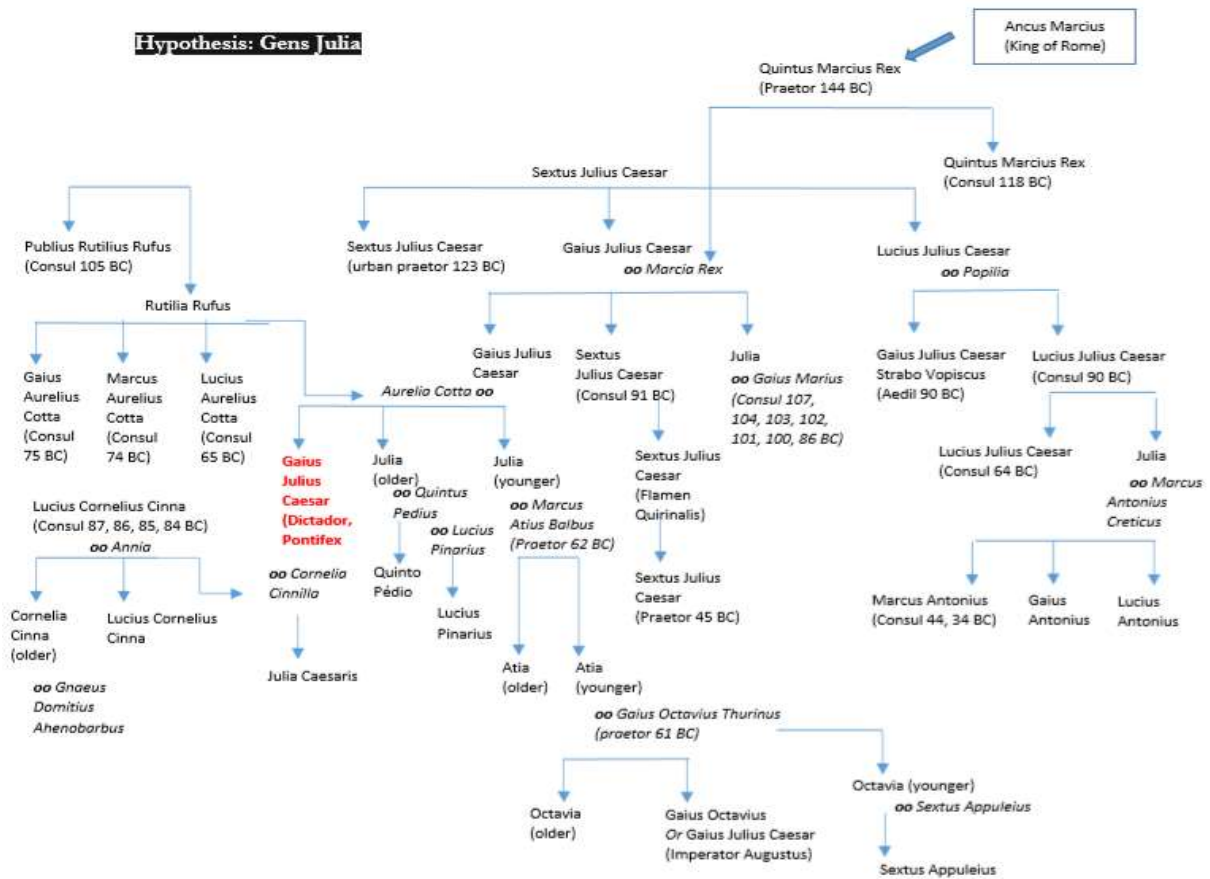
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Appendix 1

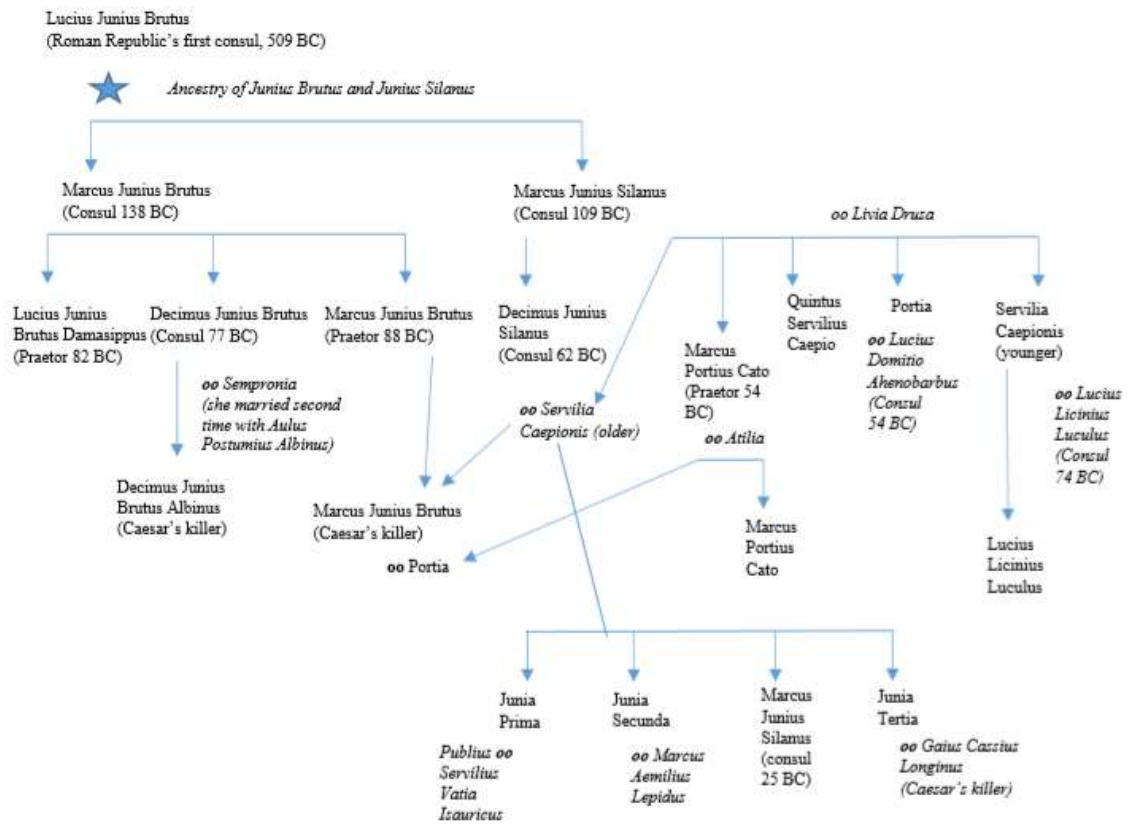
Hypothesis: Gens Julia



Source: Author

Appendix 2

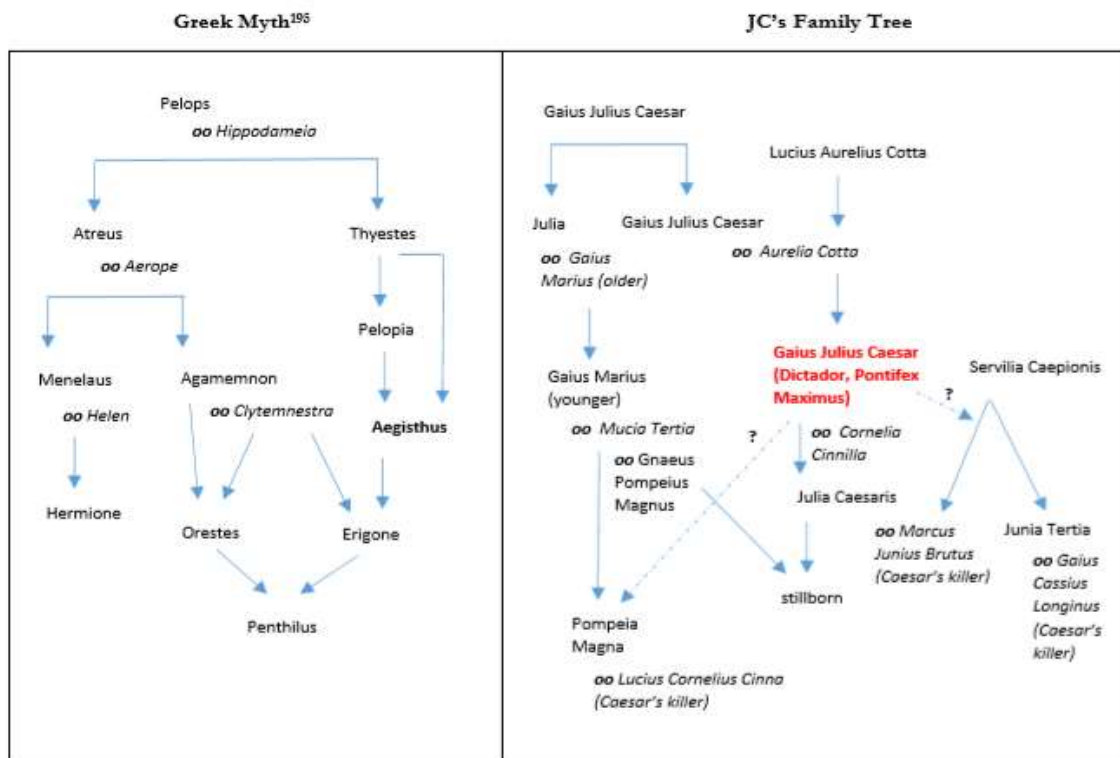
Hypothesis: Gens Junia



Source: Author

Appendix 3

Hypothesis: Greek Myth *versus* JC' Family Tree



Source: Author

Appendix 4

Plot against JC (44 BC)

Suetonius, <i>The Lives of the Caesars</i> , Julius Caesar, 80, 4 (Rolfe, 1913a).	+60
Nicolaus of Damascus, <i>Life of Augustus</i> , FGrH F 130, 19 (Hall, 1923).	+80

List of JC's Assassins

Appian, <i>The Civil Wars</i> , II, 111.	1	Marcus Junius Brutus	Leaders	
	2	Gaius Cassius Longinus		
Appian, <i>The Civil Wars</i> , II, 113.	3	Caecilius	Marcus Brutus and Cassius' faction	
	4	Bucolianus		
	5	Rubrius Ruga		
	6	Quintus Ligarius		
	7	Marcus Spurius		
	8	Gaius Servilius Galba		
	9	Publius Sextus Naso		
	10	Lucius Pontius Aquila		
	11	Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus		Caesar's faction
	12	Gaius Servilius Casca		
13	Gaius Trebonius			
14	Lucius Tillius Cimber			
15	Lucius Minucius Basilius			
Appian, <i>The Civil Wars</i> , II, 116.	16	Popilius Laena		

Source: White, 1913.

List of Supporters of Brutus and Cassius

Appian, <i>The Civil Wars</i> , II, 119.	17	Publius Cornelius Dolabella	Caesar's faction
	18	Lentulus Spinther	
	19	Favonius	
	20	Aquinius	
	21	Murcus	
	22	Paticus	
Appian, <i>The Civil Wars</i> , II, 121.	23	Lucius Cornelius Cinna	Caesar's faction

Source: White, 1913.

Opposition to JC (in Exile)

Appian, <i>The Civil Wars</i> , II, 122.	Sextus Pompeius	Marcus Brutus and Cassius' faction
	Caesetius	
	Marullus	

Source: White, 1913.

Negotiators (JC's good or bad friends?)

Appian, <i>The Civil Wars</i> , II, 124-147.	Marcus Antonius
	Marcus Aemilius Lepidus

Source: White, 1913.

Appendix 5

Did Marcus Antonius changed sides?

Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Marcus Antonius, 5, 1-2: «But when matters at Rome came to a crisis, the aristocratic party attaching itself to Pompeius Magnus, who was in the city, and the popular party summoning Caesar from Gaul, where he was in arms, then Curio, the friend of Marcus Antonius, who had changed sides and was now favoring the cause of Caesar, brought Marcus Antonius over to it. Curio had great influence with the multitude from his eloquence, and made lavish use of money supplied by Caesar, and so got Marcus Antonius elected tribune of the people, and afterwards one of the priests, called augurs, who observe the flight of birds. As soon as Marcus Antonius entered upon his office he was of great assistance to those who were managing affairs in the interests of Caesar.» (Perrin, 1920b).

Marcus Antonius and Dolabella were JC's friends?

Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 62, 9-10: «And again, we are told that when Marcus Antonius and Dolabella were accused to him of plotting revolution, Caesar said: "I am not much in fear of these fat, long-haired fellows, but rather of those pale, thin ones," meaning Brutus and Cassius.» (Perrin, 1919a)

Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Marcus Antonius, 9, 2-3: «Moreover, when Caesar had for the fifth time been appointed consul, he immediately chose Marcus Antonius as his colleague. It was his purpose also to resign his own office and make it over to Dolabella; and he proposed this to the senate. But since Marcus Antonius vehemently opposed the plan, heaped much abuse upon Dolabella, and received as much in return, for the time being Caesar desisted, being ashamed of their unseemly conduct. And afterwards, when Caesar came before the people to proclaim Dolabella, Marcus Antonius shouted that the omens were opposed. Caesar therefore yielded, and gave up Dolabella, who was much annoyed. And it would seem that Caesar abominated Dolabella also no less than he did Marcus Antonius. For we are told that when a certain man was accusing both of them to him, he said he had no fear of those fat and long-haired fellows, but rather of those pale and thin ones, indicating Brutus and Cassius, by whom he was to be conspired against and slain.» (Perrin, 1920b).

Was Marcus Antonius involved in the assassination of JC?

Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Marcus Antonius, 13, 1: « This incident strengthened the party of Brutus and Cassius; and when they were taking count of the friends whom they could trust for their enterprise, they raised a question about Antony. The rest were for making him one of them, but Trebonius opposed it. For, he said, while people were going out to meet Caesar on his return from Spain, Antony had travelled with him and shared his tent, and he had sounded him quietly and cautiously; Antony had understood him, he said, but had not responded to his advances; Antony had not, however, reported the conversation to Caesar, but had faithfully kept silence about it.» (Perrin, 1920b).

Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 66, 4: Before Caesar's death: «Well, then, Marcus Antonius, who was a friend of Caesar's and a robust man, was detained outside by Brutus Albinus, who purposely engaged him in a lengthy conversation (...）」 (Perrin, 1919a)

Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 19, 1-3: «Now when he finally reached the senate, Trebonius kept Marcus Antonius employed somewhere at a distance outside. (...) When Trebonius, then, talked with Marcus Antonius, the rest in a body surrounded Caesar, who was as easy of access and as affable as anyone could be (...)」 (Cary, 1916).

Marcus Brutus was against killing Marcus Antonius:

Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Marcus Antonius, 13, 2: «Upon this, the conspirators again took counsel to kill Marcus Antonius after they had slain Caesar; but Brutus prevented this, urging that the deed adventured in behalf of law and justice must be pure and free from injustice.» (Perrin, 1920b).

How did Marcus Antonius handle the aftermath?

Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Marcus Antonius, 14, 1-2: «This was done as planned, and Caesar fell in the senate-chamber. At once, then, Marcus Antonius put on the dress of a slave and hid himself. But when he learned that the conspirators were laying hands upon nobody, but were merely assembled together on the Capitol, he persuaded them to come down by giving them his son as hostage; moreover, he himself entertained Cassius, and Lepidus entertained Brutus. Besides, he called the senate together and spoke in favor of amnesty and a distribution of provinces among Brutus and Cassius and their partisans, and the senate ratified this proposal, and voted that no change should be made in what Caesar had done. So Marcus Antonius went out of the senate the most illustrious of men; for he was thought to have put an end to civil war, and to have handled matters involving great difficulty and extraordinary confusion in a most prudent and statesmanlike manner.» (Perrin, 1920b).

Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 34, 4-7: «When, therefore, the action of the senate also was made known, the soldiers no longer paid heed to Lepidus nor did the conspirators have any fear of him, but all hastened to become reconciled, chiefly at the instance of Marcus Antonius, and quite contrary to Lepidus' purpose. For Lepidus, while making a pretence of avenging Caesar, was really eager for a revolution, and inasmuch as he had legions also at his command, he expected to succeed to Caesar's position as ruler and to come to power; with these motives he was disposed to begin war. Marcus Antonius, perceiving his rival's favorable situation and having himself no force at his back, did not dare to begin any revolutionary movement for the time being, and in order to prevent the other from becoming stronger, he furthermore persuaded him to bow to the will of the majority. So they came to an agreement on the terms that had been voted, but those on the Capitol would not come down till they had secured the son of Lepidus and the son of Marcus Antonius as hostages; then Brutus descended to Lepidus, to whom he was related, and Cassius to Marcus Antonius, under promise of safety.» (Cary, 1916).

Did JC's Funeral changed Marcus Antonius' plan?

Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Marcus Antonius, 14, 3-4: «(...) however, he was soon shaken by the repute in which he stood with the multitude, and he had hopes that he would surely be first in the state if Brutus were overthrown. Now, it happened that when Caesar's body was carried forth for burial, Marcus Antonius pronounced the customary eulogy over it in the forum. And when he saw that the people were mightily swayed and charmed by his words, he mingled with his praises sorrow and indignation over the dreadful deed, and at the close of his speech shook on high the garments of the dead, all bloody and tattered by the swords as they were, called those who had wrought such work villains and murderers, and inspired his hearers with such rage that they heaped together benches and tables and burned Caesar's body in the forum, and then, snatching the blazing faggots from the pyre, ran to the houses of the assassins and assaulted them.»; and 15, 1: «On account of these things Brutus and his associates left the city, the friends of Caesar united in support of Marcus Antonius, and Caesar's wife, Calpurnia, putting confidence in Marcus Antonius, took most of the treasure from Caesar's house and put it in his charge; it amounted in all to four thousand talents.» (Perrin, 1920b).

Did Marcus Antonius defended JC's interests or his own?

Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 52, 2: «Marcus Antonius declared to the senate that Caesar had really acknowledged the boy [Cleopatra's son], and that Gaius Matius, Gaius Oppius, and other friends of Caesar knew this. Of these Gaius Oppius, as if admitting that the situation required apology and defense, published a book, to prove that the child whom Cleopatra fathered on Caesar was not his.» (Rolfe, 1913a)

Appendix 6

Gaius Marius' mentality.¹⁹⁵

Gaius Marius' Proscriptions (some of the most famous men of his list): see Table A.

Table A: Gaius Marius' Proscriptions (87/86 BC)

Marius' list (some of the proscriptions)	Names	Wives/Female Lovers	Male Lovers
Death penalty (but killed himself)	Quintus Lutatius Catulus (cônsul 102 BC) ¹⁹⁶	Domitia Ahenobarbi Servilia Caepiones Claudia	Roscius <i>the comedian</i> ¹⁹⁷
Death penalty (but killed himself)	Lucius Licinius Crassus <i>Orator</i> (Consul 95 BC) He was "Venus Palatine" ¹⁹⁸		
Death penalty (civil war winner + Dictator)	Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix ¹⁹⁹ (consul 88 and 80 BC; Dictator 82/81 BC)	Nicopolis Ilia Aelia Cloelia Caecilia Metella Valeria Messala	Metrobius <i>the impersonator of women</i> Roscius <i>the comedian</i> Sorex <i>the archmime</i>
Death penalty (civil war winner + <i>pontifex maximus</i>)	Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius (consul 80 BC)	Mucia Secunda (daughter of Lucius Licinius Crassus <i>Orator</i>)	Aulus Licinius Archias <i>the poet</i> ²⁰⁰

Source: Author

¹⁹⁵ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Marius, 14, 3-5: «Caius Lusius, a nephew of his, had a command under him in the army. In other respects he was a man of good reputation, but he had a weakness for beautiful youths. This officer was enamored of one of the young men who served under him, by name Trebonius, and had on made unsuccessful attempts to seduce him. ⁴ But finally, at night, he sent a servant with a summons for Trebonius. The young man came, since he could not refuse to obey a summons, but when he had been introduced into the tent and Caius attempted violence upon him, he drew his sword and slew him. Marius was not with the army when this happened; but on his return he brought Trebonius to trial. Here there were many accusers, but not a single advocate, wherefore Trebonius himself courageously took the stand and told all about the matter, bringing witnesses to show that he had often refused the solicitations of Lusius and that in spite of large offers he had never prostituted himself to anyone. Then Marius, filled with delight and admiration, ordered the customary crown for brave exploits to be brought, and with his own hands placed it on the head of Trebonius, declaring that at a time which called for noble examples he had displayed the most noble conduct.» (Perrin, 1920)

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Conte, 1999: 138.

¹⁹⁷ Catulus, *Ad Roscium Puerum* (celebrates actor Roscium in his youth) apud Cicero, *De Naturá Deorum*: «*Constiteram, exorientem Auroram forte salutans; Cum súbito a laevâ Roscius exoritur. Pace Mihi liceat, Coelestes, dicere vestrá; Mortalis visus pulchrior esse deo.*» (Dunlop, 1824: 489-490)

¹⁹⁸ Pliny *the elder*, The Natural History, 36, 3: «Already had Lucius Crassus, the orator, he who was the first to possess pillars of foreign marble, and in this same *Palatium* too, received from Marcus Brutus, on the occasion of a dispute, the nickname of the "*Palatine Venus*," for his indulgence in this kind of luxury.» (Bostock, 1855).

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Sulla, 2, 4 and 36, 1 (Metrobius); 2, 4 (Nicopolis); 6, 10 and many (Caecilia Metella); 6, 11 (Ilia); 6, 11 (Cloelia); 35, 4 and 37, 4 (Valeria). (Perrin, 1916).

²⁰⁰ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Pro Archias*, 4, 7: «The freedom of the city was given him in accordance with the provisions of the law of Silvanus and Carbo: "If any men had been enrolled as citizens of the confederate cities, and if, at the time that the law was passed, they had a residence in Italy, and if within sixty days they had made a return or themselves to the praetor." As he had now had a residence at Rome for many years, he returned himself as a citizen to the praetor, Quintus Metellus, his most intimate friend.» (Yonge, 1856)

Appendix 7

JC's Murder and Funeral

Suetonius:

1. JC is murdered at the Senate (Pompeius Magnus' Theater).
2. The conspirators intended to drag JC's body to the Tiber, but they don't follow it through.²⁰¹
3. JC's last will is unsealed (brought by the *vestal maxima*) and read at Marcus Antonius' house.²⁰²
4. JC's testament is revealed. Grand-nephews as heirs of first degree (Pinarius, Pedius and future Augustus). Some of his killers (like Decimus Brutus) as heirs of second degree. The people receives his Tiber Gardens (for common use) and 300 sesterces (to each man).²⁰³
5. Funeral is announced. A pyre is erected in the Campus Martius (near his daughter's tomb).²⁰⁴
6. Marcus Antonius' eulogy to Caesar.²⁰⁵
7. JC's body is burned at the Forum.²⁰⁶
8. Helvius Cinna is killed by the mob.²⁰⁷

Plutarch:

March 15th:

1. JC is murdered at the Senate (Pompeius Magnus' Theater).²⁰⁸
2. Brutus tries to speak but senators run away.²⁰⁹

²⁰¹ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 82, 4: «The conspirators had intended after slaying him to drag his body to the Tiber, confiscate his property, and revoke his decrees; but they forbore through fear of Marcus Antonius the consul, and Lepidus, the master of horse.» (Rolfe, 1913a)

²⁰² Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 83, 1: «Then at the request of his father-in-law, Lucius Piso, the will was unsealed and read in Marcus Antonius's house, which Caesar had made on the preceding Ides of September at his place near Lavicum, and put in the care of the chief of the Vestals.» (Rolfe, 1913a)

²⁰³ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 83, 2 (Rolfe, 1913a).

²⁰⁴ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 84, 1: «When the funeral was announced, a pyre was erected in the Campus Martius near the tomb of Julia, and on the rostra a gilded shrine was placed, made after the model of the temple of Venus Genetrix; within was a couch of ivory with coverlets of purple and gold, and at its head a pillar hung with the robe in which he was slain. Since it was clear that the day would not be long enough for those who offered gifts, they were directed to bring them to the Campus by whatsoever streets of the city they wished, regardless of any order of precedence.» (Rolfe, 1913a)

²⁰⁵ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 84, 2 (Rolfe, 1913a).

²⁰⁶ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 84, 3-5: «The bier on the rostra was carried down into the Forum by magistrates and ex-magistrates; and while some were urging that it be burned in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and others in the Hall of Pompeius Magnus, on a sudden two beings with swords by their sides and brandishing a pair of darts set fire to it with blazing torches, and at once the throng of bystanders heaped upon it dry branches, the judgment seats with the benches, and whatever else could serve as an offering. Then the musicians and actors tore off their robes, which they had taken from the equipment of his triumphs and put on for the occasion, rent them to bits and threw them into the flames, and the veterans of the legions the arms with which they had adorned themselves for the funeral; many of the women too, offered up the jewels which they wore and the amulets and robes of their children. At the height of the public grief a throng of foreigners went about lamenting each after the fashion of his country, above all the Jews, who even flocked to the place for several successive nights.» (Rolfe, 1913a).

²⁰⁷ Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, Julius Caesar, 85, 1 (Rolfe, 1913a).

²⁰⁸ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 66, 1 (Perrin, 1919a).

²⁰⁹ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 67, 1-2: «Caesar thus done to death, the senators, although Brutus came forward as if to say something about what had been done, would not wait to hear him, but burst out of doors and fled, thus filling the people with confusion and helpless fear, so that some of them closed their houses, while others left their counters and places of business and ran, first to the place to see what had happened, then away from the place when they had seen. Marcus Antonius and Lepidus, the chief friends of Caesar, stole away and took refuge in the houses of others.» (Perrin, 1919a).

3. JC's assassins joined at the Capitol Hill.²¹⁰
March 16th:

1. JC's assassins leave the Capitol Hill and Brutus speaks to the people²¹¹.
2. The Senate gives honors to JC and a general amnesty.²¹²

March 17th:

1. JC's testament is read.
2. JC's funeral. His dead body carried through the Forum (all disfigured with its wounds).
3. The people manifests violently and Helvius Cinna is killed (by mistake).²¹³
4. Marcus Brutus and Cassius Longinus run away from Rome.²¹⁴

Nicolaus of Damascus:

March 15th:

1. JC is murdered at the Senate (Pompeius Magnus' Theater).²¹⁵ None of his many friends stand by him, while being killed (except Calvisius Sabinus and Censorinus, but they run away too).²¹⁶
2. Brutus tries to speak but senators run away Crowd in disorder.²¹⁷
3. JC's assassins fled to the Capitol Hill (with a crown of gladiators and slaves).²¹⁸
4. JC's dead body abandoned in the floor, until 3 slaves put him on a litter to carry him home.²¹⁹

²¹⁰ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 67, 3-6 (Perrin, 1919a).

²¹¹ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 67, 7 «On the next day Brutus came down and held a discourse, and the people listened to what was said without either expressing resentment at what had been done or appearing to approve of it; they showed, however, by their deep silence, that while they pitied Caesar, they respected Brutus.» (Perrin, 1919a).

²¹² Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 67, 8-9 (Perrin, 1919a).

²¹³ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 68, 1-6: «But when the will of Caesar was opened and it was found that he had given every Roman citizen a considerable gift, and when the multitude saw his body carried through the forum all disfigured with its wounds, they no longer kept themselves within the restraints of order and discipline, but after heaping round the body benches, railings, and tables from the forum they set fire to them and burned it there; then, lifting blazing brands on high, they ran to the houses of the murderers with intent to burn them down, while others went every whither through the city seeking to seize the men themselves and tear them to pieces. Not one of these came in their way, but all were well barricaded. There was a certain Cinna, however, one of the friends of Caesar, who chanced, as they say, to have seen during the previous night a strange vision. He dreamed, that is, that he was invited to supper by Caesar, and that when he excused himself, Caesar led him along by the hand, although he did not wish to go, but resisted. Now, when he heard that they were burning the body of Caesar in the forum, he rose up and went thither out of respect, although he had misgivings arising from his vision, and was at the same time in a fever. At sight of him, one of the multitude told his name to another who asked him what it was, and he to another, and at once word ran through the whole throng that this man was one of the murderers of Caesar. For there was among the conspirators a man who bore this same name of Cinna, and assuming this man was he, the crowd rushed upon him and tore him in pieces among them.» (Perrin, 1919a).

²¹⁴ Plutarch, *The Parallel Lives*, The Life of Julius Caesar, 68, 7 (Perrin, 1919a).

²¹⁵ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 23 (Hall, 1923).

²¹⁶ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 26: «Those of his friends who had been present had run away, and those who were away remained hidden in their houses, or else changed their clothing and went out into the country districts nearby. Not one of his many friends stood by him, either while he was being slaughtered or afterward, except Calvisius Sabinus and Censorinus; but these also, though they offered some slight opposition when Brutus and Cassius and their followers made their attack, had to flee because of the greater number of their opponents. All the others looked out for themselves and some even acquiesced in what had occurred. They say that one of them thus addressed the body: 'Enough of truckling to a tyrant.'» (Hall, 1923).

²¹⁷ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 25 (Hall, 1923).

²¹⁸ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 25 (Hall, 1923).

²¹⁹ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 26 (Hall, 1923).

5. Decimus Brutus and Marcus Brutus descend from the Capitol Hill, with gladiators, to test the waters. Marcus Brutus speaks to the people at the Forum.²²⁰
6. Decimus Brutus and Marcus Brutus return to the Capitol Hill.²²¹
7. JC's killers send envoys. Antonius and Lepidus decide to answer on the following day.²²²

March 16th:

1. Marcus Antonius and Lepidus under arms at the Forum. Messages are exchanged.²²³
2. Lepidus wants to revenge Caesar. Marcus Antonius wants to negotiate with JC's killers.²²⁴

March 16-17th:

1. Feeling deserted, JC's killers start dispersing and coming down the Capitol Hill.²²⁵ JC's burial.

²²⁰ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 26: «These were now preparing for his burial, but the assassins had secured a number of gladiators some time previous to the deed when they were about to attack him and had placed them under arms, between the senate house and the theater in Pompeius' arcade. Decimus Brutus had got them ready under the pretext that he wished to seize one of the gladiators who were assembling in that theater, a man whom he had previously hired. (...) With these gladiators and an additional throng of slaves they descended from the Capitoline. Calling together the people, they decided to test them and the magistrates, finding out how they were regarded by them; whether they were looked upon as having ended a tyranny or as murderers (...) Meanwhile since the people were quietly awaiting the consequences, Marcus Brutus (honored throughout his whole life because of his discretion and the renown of his ancestors and the fairness which he was supposed to have) made the following speech.» (Hall, 1923).

²²¹ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 27: «After this harangue the conspirators withdrew again to the Capitoline and took council as to what ought to be done under the present circumstances.» (Hall, 1923).

²²² Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 27: «They decided to send envoys to Lepidus and Antonius to persuade them to come to them in the temple and there confer with them in planning the future of the state; and to promise them that everything which they possessed from Caesar's hands would be considered as authorized gifts, so that there would be no cause for dissent on these grounds. When the envoys arrived Antonius and Lepidus said that they would answer on the following day. These things were done in the late evening, and a greater confusion laid hold on the city. Everyone saw to his own property, deserting the public interests, for they feared sudden plots and attacks, seeing that the leaders were encamped under arms in opposition to each other; nor was it yet clear to them who would gain complete control. When night came on they dispersed.» (Hall, 1923).

²²³ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 27: «On the following day the consul Antonius was under arms; and Lepidus, having collected a considerable force of auxiliaries proceeded through the middle of the Forum, having decided to avenge Caesar. (...) Many messages were sent to those who had benefitted at Caesar's hands (...) Then his friends received many mournful entreaties (...)» (Hall, 1923).

²²⁴ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 27: «Antonius and his associates before preparing for action sent a legation to parley with the forces on the Capitoline, but later, emboldened by the amount of their arms and the number of their men, they felt justified in taking full charge of the government, and ending the disturbance in the city. First of all they took council (having asked their friends to be present) how they ought to act toward the assassins. Lepidus proposed that they should fight them and avenge Caesar. Hirtius thought that they should discuss the matter with them and come to friendly terms. Someone else, supporting Lepidus, expressed the opposite opinion, saying that it would be sacrilegious to pass by the murder of Caesar unavenged, and furthermore, it would not be safe for all those who had been his friends; 'for even if the murderers are inactive now, yet as soon as they get more power, they will go still further.' Antonius favored the proposal of Hirtius, and voted to save them. There were others who urged that they be dismissed from the city under truce.» (Hall, 1923).

²²⁵ Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*, FGrH F 130, 17: «On the first two days [15-16] while Caesar's friends were still panic stricken many men came and joined the murderers; but when colonists from the neighboring cities (whom Caesar had furnished with grants and had established in those cities) began to come in large numbers and attach themselves to the followers of Lepidus, the Master of the Horse, and to those of Antonius, Caesar's colleague in the consulship, who were promising to avenge Caesar's death, most of the conspirators' group dispersed. The conspirators being thus deserted gathered some gladiators and others who were implacably hostile to Caesar, or who had had a share in the plot. A little later, all these came down from the Capitoline, having received pledges of safety from Antonius who now had a large force, but who for the present

had given up his plan to avenge Caesar's murder (That was why they were allowed to leave Rome safely and go to *Antium*).» (Hall, 1923).