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**Level 4iii**

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## The death of Julius Caesar

Suetonius' *Twelve Caesars* is a series of twelve biographies (called *Lives*) of the first emperors of Rome, from Julius Caesar to Domitian. We are reading the end of *Julius Caesar*, the first *Life* in the series. Julius Caesar is known as an excellent general, popular with the soldiers and a hit with the ladies, but he has his faults, too, and he is eventually lynched by his friends- Suetonius will tell us he was asking for it. Suetonius emphasises his personal characteristics (over politics) and in this section he is most interested in the signs (omens, portents, dreams) that told of the forthcoming death of Caesars and the assassination itself.

This is the first death scene in the series of the Caesars, and it sets the paradigm for the deaths that follow. When Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula (etc.) die, their death scenes are all in some way like the death of Caesar. The assassination scenes (think of Caligula and Domitian) are especially like each other. If you read *Nero* last year at Latin Summer School, you might remember how Nero inverted in every way the 'good' death – which should have been cool, calm, and collected. Here we will see that Caesar's death, although it comes upon him out of the blue (arguable), is much more like that Stoic death.

To prepare for this class, I would suggest reading the *Life of Julius Caesar* (in English or your usual language), taking note of the way the eventual death is portrayed as a just desert for what Caesar had done to annoy and alienate his friends. Any translation will do, but I like Catharine Edwards, *Suetonius Lives of the Caesars* (2000) or Donna Hurley, *Suetonius the Caesars* (2011) which has good notes. As always, the Penguin edition (translated by Robert Graves, revised by J. B. Rives) is a good translation with a useful introduction. (You might also like to have a look at the life of *Caesar* in the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch, which has rather different interests.) For commentary, the only one in English is Butler and Cary (1982 but originally 1927) but like all others it is primarily a historical commentary. Part of this is supplied here. A new commentary by David Wardle is expected soon.

If you wish, I would be happy to email you the relevant part of the translation by Donna Hurley and/or an interesting article on the meaning of Caesar's last words, by Ioannis Ziogas.

### *Dramatis personae*

*Julius Caesar* the big man around town  
*Casca* two of the conspirators have this name  
*Gaius Cassius* one of the leaders of the conspiracy  
*Decimus Brutus and Marcus Brutus* two of the conspirators, the name indicates descent  
from the famous Brutus who had expelled the consuls  
*Cimber Tillius* another conspirator  
*Spurinna* the haruspex who predicted the Ides of March would be the dangerous day  
*Calpurnia* Caesar's wife  
*Antistius* the doctor who examined the corpse  
*Helvius Cinna* friend of Catullus, was lynched by the mob, being thought to be *Cornelius*  
*Cinna* who had spoken out against Caesar

[76] Praegrauant tamen cetera facta dictaque eius, ut et abusus dominatione et iure caesus existimetur. non enim honores modo nimios recepit – continuum consulatum, perpetuam dictaturam praefecturamque morum, insuper praenomen Imperatoris, cognomen Patris patriae, statuum inter reges, suggestum<sup>1</sup> in orchestra – sed et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est: sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali, tensam<sup>2</sup> et ferculum circensi pompa, templa, aras, simulacra iuxta deos, puluinar,<sup>3</sup> flaminem, Lupercos, appellationem mensis e suo nomine – ac nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit et dedit. tertium et quartum consulatum titulo tenus<sup>4</sup> gessit, contentus dicturae potestate decretae cum consulatibus, simul atque utroque anno binos<sup>5</sup> consules substituit sibi in ternos nouissimos menses, ita ut medio tempore comitia nulla habuerit praeter tribunorum et aedilium plebis praefectosque pro praetoribus constituerit qui apse<sup>6</sup> se res urbanas administrarent. pridie autem Kalendas

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<sup>1</sup> *suggestus*, -us, m. A platform serving to elevate someone above the general public

<sup>2</sup> *Tensa*, -ae f. a wagon used to transport the statues of gods to festivals. *Ferculum*, -i n. a frame, stretcher used for the same purpose.

<sup>3</sup> *puluinar*, -aris n. a cushioned couch also used for transporting gods.

<sup>4</sup> *Tenus*: prep. Always after its noun. 'as far as' so in this case it is only as far as the *titulo*- in name only

<sup>5</sup> *Bini*-ae-a (gen. binum) number distributive, each of two or two at a time, used esp. for things that come in pairs, like hands, eyes, consuls. (Answering the question how many of each or how many at a time? Look out for *terni*, coming up- three! Can be translated just 'two' and 'three' when forming a set)

<sup>6</sup> Sic- an alternative spelling for *absente*

Ianuarias repentina consulis morte cessantem honorem in paucas horas petenti dedit. eadem licentia spreto patrio more magistratus in pluris annos ordinavit, decem praetoris uiris consularia ornamenta tribuit, ciuitate donatos et quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum recepit in curiam. praeterea monetae publicisque uectigalibus<sup>7</sup> peculiares seruos praeposuit, trium legionum quas Alexandriae relinquebat curam et imperium Rufioni liberti sui filio exoleti<sup>8</sup> suo demandauit.

[77] Nec minoris inpotentiae uoces propalam edebat, ut Titus Ampius scribit, nihil esse rem publicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie; Sullam nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit; debere homines consideratius iam loqui secum ac pro legibus habere quae dicat. eoque arrogantiae progressus est ut haruspice tristia et sine corde exta<sup>9</sup> quondam nuntiante futura diceret laetiora cum uellet nec pro ostento ducendum si pecudi cor defuisset.

[78] Verum praecipuam et exitiabilem<sup>10</sup> sibi inuidiam hinc maxime mouit: adeuntis se cum plurimis honorificentissimisque decretis uniuersos patres conscriptos sedens pro aede Veneris Genetricis excepit.<sup>11</sup> quidam putant retentum a Cornelio Balbo, cum conaretur assurgere, alii ne conatum quidem omnino sed etiam admonentem Gaium Trebatium ut assurgeret minus familiari uultu respexisse.<sup>12</sup> idque factum eius tanto intolerabilius est uisum quod ipse triumphanti et subsellia<sup>13</sup> tribunicia praeteruehenti sibi unum e collegio, Pontium Aquilam, non assurrexisse adeo indignatus sit ut proclamauerit, ‘repete ergo a me, Aquila, rem

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<sup>7</sup> *uectigal, -alis* n. revenue deriving from public property

<sup>8</sup> *Exoletus, -i* m. a male prostitute or ‘favourite’

<sup>9</sup> *Extā, -orum* n. the upper internal organs of an animal

<sup>10</sup> *Exitiabilis* causing or bringing death or destruction

<sup>11</sup> *Excipio* receive (a visitor)

<sup>12</sup> *Respicio* look back, look again

<sup>13</sup> *Subsellium, -i* n. bench (here the official benches of the tribunes)



publicam!' {tribunus}, †et† nec destiterit per continuos dies quicquam cuiquam nisi sub exceptione polliceri, 'si tamen per Pontium Aquilam licuerit'.

[79] Adiecit ad tam insignem despecti<sup>14</sup> senatus contumeliam multo arrogantius factum. nam cum in sacrificio Latinarum reuertente eo inter inmodicas ac nouas populi acclamationes quidam e turba statuæ eius coronam lauream candida fascia<sup>15</sup> praeligata inposuisset et tribuni plebis Epidius Marullus Caesetiusque Flauus coronæ fasciam detrahi hominemque duci in uincula iussissent, dolens seu parum prospere motam regni mentionem siue (ut ferebat) ereptam sibi gloriam recusandi tribunos grauiter increpitos potestate priuauit. neque ex eo infamiam affectati etiam regii nominis discutere ualuit,<sup>16</sup> quamquam et plebei regem se salutanti Caesarem se non regem esse responderit et Lupercalibus pro rostris a consule Antonio admotum saepius capiti suo diadema reppulerit<sup>17</sup> atque in Capitolium Ioui Optimo Maximo miserit. quin etiam uaria fama percrebruit<sup>18</sup> migraturum Alexandream uel Ilium, translatis simul opibus imperii exhaustaque Italia dilectibus<sup>19</sup> et procuratione urbis amicis permissa, proximo autem senatu Lucium Cottam quindecimuirum sententiam dicturum ut quoniam fatalibus libris contineretur Parthos nisi a rege non posse uinci, Caesar rex appellaretur. quæ causa coniuratis maturandi fuit destinata negotia ne assentiri necesse esset.

[80] Consilia igitur dispersim<sup>20</sup> antea habita et quæ saepe bini terniue ceperant in unum omnes contulerunt, ne populo quidem iam praesenti statu laeto sed clam palamque detrectante dominationem atque assertores flagitante. peregrinis in senatum allectis<sup>21</sup> libellus

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<sup>14</sup> *Despicio* express contempt for

<sup>15</sup> *Fascia* a ribbon or 'fillet' – the white ribbon indicates royalty

<sup>16</sup> *ualeo* I am able to (he was not able to dispel)

<sup>17</sup> *Repello* repudiate, refuse

<sup>18</sup> *Percrebesco* become very widespread or commonly believed

<sup>19</sup> *Dilectus*, -us m. levying of troops, recruitment

<sup>20</sup> *Dispersim* = *disperse*, here and there

<sup>21</sup> *Ad + lego* is how one is 'admitted' to the Senate

propositus est, 'bonum factum: ne quis senatori nouo curiam monstrare uelit', et illa uulgo canebantur:

Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in curiam:

Galli bracas<sup>22</sup> deposuerunt, latum clauum sumpserunt.

Quinto Maximo suffecto trimenstrique consule theatrum introeunte, cum lictor animaduerti ex more iussisset, ab uniuersis conclamatum est non esse eum consulem. post remotos Caesetium et Marullum tribunos<sup>23</sup> reperta sunt proximis comitiis complura suffragia consules eos declarantium. subscripsere quidam Luci Bruti statuae: 'utinam uiueres!', item ipsius Caesaris:

Brutus, quia<sup>24</sup> reges eiecit, consul primus factus est:

hic, quia consules eiecit, rex postremo factus est.

Conspiratum est in eum a sexaginta amplius, Gaio Cassio Marcoque et Decimo Bruto principibus conspirationis. qui primum cunctati utrumne in Campo per comitia tribus ad suffragia uocantem partibus diuisis e ponte<sup>25</sup> deicerent atque exceptum trucidarent an in Sacra uia uel in aditu theatri adorirentur,<sup>26</sup> postquam senatus Idibus Martiis in Pompei curiam edictus est facile tempus et locum praetulerunt.

[81] Sed Caesari futura caedes euidentiis prodigiis denuntiata est. paucos ante menses, cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni ad extruendas uillas uetustissima sepulcra

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<sup>22</sup> *Bracae*, -arum trousers (worn by Gauls)

<sup>23</sup> See section 79

<sup>24</sup> *Quia*: since, because (with indic. expressing a factual reason)

<sup>25</sup> The bridge of suffrage (which must be crossed to vote- narrow enough to corner someone on, since the law of Marius (119 BCE) that had narrowed the *pons*, so no-one could stop you and pressure you on your vote)

<sup>26</sup> *adorior* I assault, accost

disicerent<sup>27</sup> idque eo studiosius facerent quod aliquantum uasculorum operis antiqui scrutantes reperiabant, tabula aenea in monumento in quo dicebatur Capys conditor Capuae sepultus inuenta est, conscripta litteris uerbisque Graecis hac sententia: quandoque ossa Capyis detecta essent, fore ut illo prognatus manu consanguineorum necaretur magnisque mox Italiae cladibus uindicaretur. cuius rei, ne quis fabulosam aut commenticiam<sup>28</sup> putet, auctor est Cornelius Balbus, familiarissimus Caesaris. proximis diebus equorum greges quos in traiciendo Rubicone flumini consecrarat ac uagos<sup>29</sup> et sine custode dimiserat comperit pertinacissime pabulo<sup>30</sup> abstinere ubertimque<sup>31</sup> flere, et immolantem<sup>32</sup> haruspex Spurrinna monuit caueret periculum quod non ultra Martias Idus proferretur. pridie autem easdem Idus auem regaliolum cum laureo ramulo Pompeianae curiae se inferentem uolucres uarii generis ex proximo nemore persecutae ibidem discerpserunt. ea uero nocte cui inluxit<sup>33</sup> dies caedis et ipse sibi uisus est per quietem interdum supra nubes uolitare, alias cum Ioue dextram iungere, et Calpurnia uxor imaginata est conlabi<sup>34</sup> fastigium domus maritumque in gremio suo confodi, ac subito cubiculi fores sponte patuerunt.

Ob haec simul et ob infirmam ualitudinem diu cunctatus an se contineret<sup>35</sup> et quae apud senatum proposuerat agere differret, tandem Decimo Bruto adhortante ne frequentis ac iam dudum<sup>36</sup> opperientis destitueret, quinta fere hora progressus est libellumque insidiarum indicem ab obuio quodam porrectum<sup>37</sup> libellis ceteris quos sinistra manu tenebat quasi mox

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<sup>27</sup> *disicio* break up, shatter

<sup>28</sup> *commenticius-a-um* made up for the purpose

<sup>29</sup> *uagus-a-um* roaming, wandering

<sup>30</sup> *pabulum, -i n.* fodder, pasture

<sup>31</sup> *ubertim* copiously (usu. in reference to weeping)

<sup>32</sup> *immolo* I offer a sacrificial victim

<sup>33</sup> *illucesco* the day dawns, the light shines

<sup>34</sup> *conlabor (collabor)* collapse

<sup>35</sup> *contineo* stay home

<sup>36</sup> *iam dudum* for a long time

<sup>37</sup> *porrigo* hold out, offer

lecturus commiscuit. dein pluribus hostiis<sup>38</sup> caesis, cum litare<sup>39</sup> non posset, introiit curiam spreta<sup>40</sup> religione Spurrinamque irridens et ut falsum<sup>41</sup> arguens quod sine ulla sua noxa Idus Martiae adessent, quamquam is uenisse quidem eas diceret sed non praeterisse.<sup>42</sup>

[82] Assidentem conspirati specie officii circumsteterunt ilicoque<sup>43</sup> Cimber Tillius, qui primas partes susceperat, quasi aliquid rogaturus propius accessit renuentique<sup>44</sup> et gestu in aliud tempus differenti ab utroque umero togam adprehendit,<sup>45</sup> deinde clamantem, ‘ista quidem uis est!’; alter e Cascis auersum uulnerat paulum infra iugulum. Caesar Cascae brachium adreptum graphio traiecit conatusque prosilire alio uulnere tardatus est, utque animaduertit undique se strictis pugionibus<sup>46</sup> peti, toga caput obuoluit, simul sinistra manu sinum ad ima crura deduxit quo honestius caderet etiam inferiore corporis parte uelata. atque ita tribus et uiginti plagis<sup>47</sup> confossus<sup>48</sup> est, uno modo ad primum ictum gemitu sine uoce edito, etsi tradiderunt quidam Marco Bruto irruenti<sup>49</sup> dixisse, ‘καὶ σὸ τέκνον;’<sup>50</sup> exanimis diffugientibus cunctis aliquamdiu iacuit, donec lecticae impositum, dependente brachio, tres seruoli<sup>51</sup> domum rettulerunt. nec in tot uulneribus, ut Antistius medicus existimabat, letale ullum repertum est, nisi quod secundo loco in pectore acceperat.

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<sup>38</sup> *hostia*, -ae f. sacrificial animal

<sup>39</sup> *lito* obtain favourable omens

<sup>40</sup> *sperno* spurn, scorn

<sup>41</sup> *falsum* ‘a false prophet’

<sup>42</sup> *praetereo* pass by

<sup>43</sup> *ilicō* in that very spot, instantly, directly

<sup>44</sup> *renuenti* and *differenti* are datives of reference – this clause is independent of the rest of the sentence. Reference to Caesar. *renuō*, reject, refuse, deny

<sup>45</sup> *adprehendō* seize, take hold of

<sup>46</sup> *pugio*, -onis m. a short dagger; *strictis* (from *stringo*) drawn

<sup>47</sup> *plaga*, -ae f. wound

<sup>48</sup> *confodio* pierce, puncture

<sup>49</sup> *irruo* rush on, attack, seize

<sup>50</sup> In Greek: ‘you too, (my) child?’. See the article by Ioannis Ziogas for discussion of the meaning.

<sup>51</sup> Diminutive of *seruus*

Fuerat animus coniuratis corpus occisi in Tiberim trahere, bona publicare, acta rescindere, sed metu Marci Antoni consulis et magistri equitum <M.> Lepidi destiterunt.

[83] postulante ergo Lucio Pisone socero testamentum eius aperitur recitaturque in Antoni domo, quod Idibus Septembribus proximis in Lauicano suo fecerat demandaueratque<sup>52</sup> uirgini Vestali maximae. Quintus Tubero tradit heredem ab eo scribi solitum ex consulatu ipsius primo usque ad initium ciuilis belli Cn. Pompeium idque militibus pro contione recitatum. sed nouissimo testamento tres instituit heredes sororum nepotes, Gaium Octauium ex dodrante et Lucium Pinarium et Quintum Pedium ex quadrante reliquo; in ima cera Gaium Octauium etiam in familiam nomenque adoptauit. plerosque percussorum<sup>53</sup> in tutoribus fili, si qui sibi nasceretur, nominauit, Decimum Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus. populo hortos circa Tiberim publice et uiritim trecenos sestertios legauit.

[84] Funere indicto rogus<sup>54</sup> extractus est in Martio campo iuxta Iuliae tumulum et pro rostris aurata aedes ad simulacrum templi Veneris Genetricis collocata intraque lectus eburneus auro ac purpura stratus et ad caput tropaeum<sup>55</sup> cum ueste in qua fuerat occisus. praeferebantur munera, quia suffecturus<sup>56</sup> dies non uidebatur, praeceptum ut omisso ordine quibus quisque uellet itineribus urbis portaret in Campum. inter ludos cantata sunt quaedam ad miserationem et inuidiam caedis eius accommodata<sup>57</sup> ex Pacuui Armorum iudicio:<sup>58</sup>

men<sup>59</sup> seruasse ut essent qui me perderent?

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<sup>52</sup> *demando* entrust, hand over to

<sup>53</sup> *percussor* (*percutio* I strike) assassin

<sup>54</sup> *rogus*, -i m. funeral pyre

<sup>55</sup> *tropaeum*, -i n. trophy of military victory

<sup>56</sup> ‘since it seemed the day was not going to be long enough’

<sup>57</sup> *accommodatus-a-um* suitable, appropriate

<sup>58</sup> Take *armorum iudicio* as the title of the work by Pacuvius.

<sup>59</sup> A contraction of *mene* (i.e. me + ne)

et ex Electra Atili ad similem sententiam. laudationis loco consul Antonius per praeconem pronuntiauit senatus consultum quo omnia simul ei diuina atque humana decreuerat, item ius iurandum<sup>60</sup> quo se cuncti pro salute unius astrinxerant, quibus perpauca a se uerba addidit. lectum pro rostris in forum magistratus et honoribus functi<sup>61</sup> detulerunt. quem cum pars in Capitolini Iouis cella cremare pars in curia Pompei destinaret, repente duo quidam gladiis succincti ac bina iacula<sup>62</sup> gestantes ardentibus cereis succenderunt confestimque circumstantium turba uirgulta<sup>63</sup> arida et cum subselliis tribunalia, quicquid praeterea idoneum aderat congegit. deinde tibicines et scaenici artifices uestem quam ex triumphorum instrumento ad praesentem usum induerant detractam sibi atque discissam iniecere flammae, et ueteranorum militum legionarii arma sua quibus exculti funus celebrabant, matronae etiam pleraeque ornamenta sua quae gerebant et liberorum bullas atque praetextas. in summo publico luctu exterarum<sup>64</sup> gentium multitudo circulatim suo quaeque more lamentata est praecipueque Iudaei, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt.

[85] Plebs statim a funere ad domum Bruti et Cassi cum facibus tetendit atque aegre repulsa obuium sibi Heluium Cinnam per errorem nominis, quasi Cornelius is esset quem grauiter pridie contionatum de Caesare requirebat, occidit caputque eius praefixum hastae circumtulit. postea solidam columnam prope uiginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit inscripsitque PARENTI PATRIAE. apud eam longo tempore sacrificare, uota suscipere, controuersias quasdam interposito per Caesarem iure iurando distrahere<sup>65</sup> perseuerauit.

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<sup>60</sup> *Ius iurandum* an oath

<sup>61</sup> Substantive use – take with *honoribus* ‘the ones who had had that honour’ – ex-magistrates

<sup>62</sup> *iaculum*, -i n. a javelin

<sup>63</sup> *uirgulta*, -orum n. pl. brushwood, twigs

<sup>64</sup> *exter-era-erum* from outside, external

<sup>65</sup> *distraho*, with *controuersias* settle disputes

[86] Suspicionem Caesar quibusdam suorum reliquit neque uoluisse se diutius uiuere neque curasse quod ualitudine minus prospera uteretur ideoque<sup>66</sup> et quae religiones monerent et quae renuntiarent amici neglexisse. sunt qui putent confisum eum nouissimo illo senatus consulto ac iure iurando etiam custodias Hispanorum cum gladiis adsectantium<sup>67</sup> se remouisse. alii e diuerso opinantur insidias undique imminentis subire semel quam cauere semper eum maluisse, quidam etiam dicere solitum ferunt non tam sua quam rei publicae interesse uti saluus esset, se iam pridem<sup>68</sup> potentiae gloriaeque abunde adeptum, rem publicam, si quid sibi eueniret, neque quietam fore et aliquanto deteriore condicione ciuilia bella subituram.

[87] Illud plane inter omnes fere constitit talem ei mortem paene ex sententia obtigisse.<sup>69</sup> nam et quondam cum apud Xenophontem legisset Cyrum ultima ualitudine mandasse quaedam de funere suo, aspernatus tam lentum mortis genus subitam sibi celeremque optauerat et pridie quam occideretur {in} sermone nato super cenam apud Marcum Lepidum, quisnam esset finis uitae commodissimus, repentinum inopinatumque praetulerat.

[88] Periit sexto et quinquagesimo aetatis anno atque in deorum numerum relatus est,<sup>70</sup> non ore modo decernentium<sup>71</sup> sed et persuasione uolgi, siquidem ludis quos primo consecratos ei heres Augustus edebat stella crinita<sup>72</sup> per septem continuos dies fulsit exoriens circa undecimam horam, creditumque est animam esse Caesaris in caelum recepti et hac de causa

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<sup>66</sup> *ideo* for this reason

<sup>67</sup> *assector* I escort, attend (the text is difficult here, this is a conjecture: other suggestions include *inspectantium* or *sectantium*)

<sup>68</sup> *iam pridem* 'long since'

<sup>69</sup> *obtingo*, to fall as one's lot; *ex sententia* to (his) liking

<sup>70</sup> *in deorum numerum relatus est*: he was transferred into the 'number' of the gods i.e. he was deified

<sup>71</sup> Take *ore* with *decernentium* - by pronouncement or decree

<sup>72</sup> *stella crinita*: a star with a tail (a comet)

simulacro eius in uertice additur stella. curiam in qua occisus est obstrui<sup>73</sup> placuit Idusque Martias Parricidium nominari ac ne umquam eo die senatus ageretur.

[89] Percussorum autem fere neque triennio quisquam amplius superuixit neque sua morte defunctus<sup>74</sup> est. damnati omnes alius alio casu periit, pars naufragio,<sup>75</sup> pars proelio, nonnulli semet<sup>76</sup> eodem illo pugione quo Caesarem uiolauerant, interemerunt.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> *obstruo*, I obstruct, I block up: the part of the senate house is enclosed

<sup>74</sup> *defungor* (in ppl) died. *Sua morte defunctus* would be to die 'in his own time' a natural death. Cf. *suo anno*- in his own year, in the year it should have been.

<sup>75</sup> *naufragium*: shipwreck

<sup>76</sup> *semet*: *se* + *met* makes it emphatic

<sup>77</sup> *interemo* a variant of *interimo*, I kill, I destroy. Take with *se* - they killed themselves.



## INTRODUCTION

### I

## THE LIFE AND WORKS OF SUETONIUS

The biographer, Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, tells us little about his own life, and other authorities do little to make up deficiencies. He mentions (*Otho* 10.1) that his father Suetonius Laetus had fought for Otho in the battle of Bedriacum in April, A.D. 69, as an equestrian military tribune in the Thirteenth Legion; and refers to himself as *adulescens* in A.D. 88 and *adulescentulus* (not necessarily different) at some unspecified time during Domitian's reign (*Nero* 57.2, *Domitian* 12.2). The younger Pliny addresses several letters to Suetonius: fairly early in Trajan's reign (1.18) he discusses a civil lawsuit which they are to handle together and encourages him not to be put off by an uncomfortable dream; and in the same book (1.24) Pliny speaks of him as *contubernalis meus* ('messmate') and as a *scholasticus*, who wants a small estate, for relaxation rather than as an occupation in itself. About A.D. 101-3 (3.8) Pliny writes to agree to the transfer of a military tribunate of a legion in Britain from Suetonius to a friend, suggesting that the former was content with the honour of the offer but had no desire to follow his father, whether into a regular military career or into the established *cursus* of administrative and financial offices. We certainly hear nothing more of subsequent military service nor of any of the posts overseas held by such equestrians as Pliny's adoptive father. Although the term *contubernalis* may be used of an exact contemporary (Suetonius himself always uses it of a member of a retinue or court) Pliny's tone of patronage, together with the few hints we have of Suetonius' actual career, justified Macé (1900, 35-43) in placing Suetonius' birth in about A.D. 69, a date which few have wished to move significantly in either direction. In 5.10 Pliny (A.D. 105-6) teases Suetonius for his delay in publishing some long-awaited work; in 9.34 (A.D. 106-8) he asks his advice about a problem of publicising by recitation a new book of verse, indicating that Suetonius has by this time mastered his own problems of publication; and in 10.94 (A.D. 111), addressing the emperor Trajan, Pliny asks for the grant to the childless (and presumably married) Suetonius of the *ius trium liberorum*, allowing him certain legal and testamentary privileges, such as Pliny had himself received (2.1). Pliny makes the point that he has admitted Suetonius *in contubernium* on the grounds of good character and scholarship. This clarifies the previous use of *contubernalis* and may well indicate that Suetonius accompanied Pliny on his mission to Bithynia in about A.D. 111, just as the poet Catullus accompanied an earlier governor to the same province under the late Republic. After this, we are informed by a somewhat suspect reference in the Augustan life of Hadrian (11.3) that Suetonius, now described anachronistically as *epistularum magister*, was removed from office, along with the praetorian prefect Septicius Clarus, for treating the empress with greater informality than court etiquette required. This alleged reason for his downfall is more likely to be true that the unsupported suggestion by E. Gizek (*Structures et idéologie dans les 'vies des douze Césars' de Suétone* (1977) 183-92),



of Suetonius' adherence to a 'Septician party' or imperial pressure-group at Hadrian's court. Septicius, a friend and correspondent of Pliny (who had evidently died in Bithynia), had the first book of the *Epistles* dedicated to him right at the beginning of the century; later, as we are informed by a Byzantine writer, John Lydus *de Magistratibus* 2.6, he received the dedication of Suetonius' *Caesars* while holding the post of praetorian prefect from which Hadrian was to dismiss him. The actual dedication has been lost, together with the opening chapters of the *Julius*. We have no further information concerning Suetonius' later life, unless the expression in *Titus* 10.2 – *Domitia iurabat*, with a somewhat derogatory comment on the dowager empress's character – can be pressed to indicate that the passage was written after her death, evidently not earlier than A.D. 129. Other works may have been written later again than this, while Suetonius was still only in his sixties.

This rather uncertain framework received some substantial support in 1952, with the discovery at Hippo Regius (Bône) in Algeria, of a fragmentary inscription (most conveniently in E.M. Smallwood, *Documents illustrating the Reigns of Nerva, Trajan & Hadrian*, no. 281) in honour of Suetonius as Hadrian's *ab epistulis* (the proper title of the post already attested by the Augustan History), and further specifying the post of *flamen*, which, if correctly allocated immediately after the name, must refer to a local priesthood in that town; then some irrecoverable appointment by Trajan, perhaps as one of the *iudices selecti*, a jury-panel of equestrians; then the mysterious *pontifex Volcanalis*; and finally the trio of palatine posts, with a *studiis* and a *bibliothecis* leading to the top post in the secretariat, as *ab epistulis*. Since the name of Hadrian is appended to the last of these only, it is likely that the earlier posts were held under Trajan, before A.D. 117. It was for some time held that the title *pontifex Volcanalis*, best known at the sea-port of Ostia, means that Suetonius held the priesthood there and was therefore a native of that city. However, apart from the fact that there was never any likelihood of an Ostian office being mentioned in an inscription so far from Rome, recent discoveries have established that there is no room for Suetonius' tenure there at the appropriate date. It is therefore probable that the title is a confusion (perhaps deliberate) for the *flamen Volcanalis*, one of the senior priesthoods at Rome, which would be much more worthy of record in a North African inscription. The local flaminiate, on the other hand, suggests that Suetonius was a native of Hippo; although Syme (*Tacitus*, pp. 780–1) has argued for the Umbrian coastal town of Pisaurum, on the strength of known Suetonii there and of a surprising reference to the town in the fragmentary life of Accius. If Suetonius was not honoured as a local boy who had made good, but for some official benefaction as imperial secretary, it is odd that the stone clearly bore no reference to this.

However this may be, Suetonius appears to have spent his boyhood in Rome, where he went to school (*Grammatici et Rhetores* 4) and where presumably he heard his grandfather relate a story about Caligula (*Caligula* 19.3) on the authority of 'the confidential courtiers', of whom he may have been one. It would not be unusual for a boy to move in this way from a provincial town to the capital, while remaining sufficiently in touch with his *patria* to return at some point to hold a local office and to be honoured with an impressive inscription when he reached the summit of his career.

Suetonius is known to us primarily as a biographer; but he also wrote on a wide variety of other subjects, all now lost, although substantial parts of several, particularly on *Terms of Abuse* and *Greek Games* (both written in Greek), have been published by J. Taillardat (Paris, 1967). Others are cited or referred to by various late Greek and Latin writers, especially the Byzantine encyclopedia, the *Suda* (ed. Adler, part iv, p. 581, s.v. Τράγκυλλος), which, like Pliny, refers to Suetonius as a scholar. The traceable fragments of these works are assembled in C.L. Roth's early Teubner edition of Suetonius (1858) and in A. Reifferscheid's *Reliquiae* (1860). None can be securely dated. Probably the earliest of the biographies are the surviving *Grammatici et Rhetores*, the former complete, the latter now containing only a historical introduction on the teaching of rhetoric and five short lives. These appear to form the opening sections of what was once a continuous work *de Viris Illustribus*, referred to by St. Jerome late in the fourth century in the preface to his own *Christian de Viris Illustribus* and in a letter to one Desiderius (*Epistulae* 47.2), and drawn on extensively for his Latin amplification of the Greek chronological tables of Eusebius. This *Chronicle* by Jerome not only gives us an idea of the rhetoricians whose lives have been lost from the surviving work, but also enables us to identify with some confidence various other extant lives, complete or fragmentary, which have been preserved in manuscripts of the authors concerned or in commentaries on their works. Thus we have part of the life of the elder Pliny, as one of a series of *Historians*, and of Passienus Crispus, one of the *Orators*, together with much more extensive treatments of some of the *Poets*, Terence, Virgil, Horace and Lucan. These last, unlike the very sketchy *Grammarians* and *Rhetoricians*, reveal something of the scale and a good deal of the plan and technique of the lives of the *Caesars*, suggesting that, after a rather tentative start with scholars of the type familiar from his own early interests, he went on to describe the more creative writers of whom much more could profitably be said. Already in these lives of the *Poets* Suetonius shows his readiness to refer to written authorities and to quote them *verbatim* (as historians proper were hardly ever prepared to do), including imperial correspondence, which he seems to have found in the files available to him or actually under his supervision, while holding his various palatine posts and of which he displays considerable first-hand knowledge (e.g. *Divus Julius* 56.6–7; *Divus Augustus* 71–2 and 101–1, etc.). The steady advance in biographical technique displayed is enough to establish the relative dating of the various groups of lives.

From the known fact that the *Caesars* were dedicated to Septicius while he was praetorian prefect, it was long taken for granted that the whole work was completed and published before the dismissal of both prefect and secretary in about A.D. 122 – a date which has recently been attacked by J. Gascou (*Latomus* 37 (1978) 436 ff.), but restored more securely than before by G. Alföldy (*Zeitschr. für Pap. und Epig.* 36 (1979) 233–253), on the basis of a fuller examination of the documents involved. I have discussed elsewhere (*Classical Quarterly* n.s. 9 (1959) 285–293) certain indications in these Lives that there is a marked change in manner between the first two and those that follow; and argued that, publishing his work book by book, Suetonius attached the dedication to the first book alone, or perhaps to the first and second books, just as Pliny somewhat earlier dedicated his first book to the same man (as it happened) and published the subsequent books over the years without further dedication. In the later Lives, direct citations from imperial letters continue indeed as late as the *Claudius*, but are restricted to the correspondence of Augustus (excluding, incidentally, those letters to his grandson Gaius



which we know were published much earlier than this). This suggests that Suetonius was able to make extracts from the files while working in the palace on Augustus' life, and at the same time copied out useful passages for use in later Lives; but, after losing his position, had no access to the letters of later emperors which he would otherwise have gone through in the same way. Likewise, the later Lives contain a large number of passages where proper names, often known to us from other sources and evidently available to Suetonius, are simply omitted, sometimes being replaced by vague and patently unjustified plural expressions. In a small number of further passages (e.g. *Nero* 18, *Titus* 6.2) Suetonius employs such anomalous phrasing as to hint at oblique criticisms of the emperor who had dismissed him. Finally, there are a handful of passages where Suetonius pauses to discuss in unusual detail the evidence for some story, which he proceeds to reject on good documentary evidence; and four of these may be taken as signs of disagreement with the historian Tacitus, whose *Annals*, dealing with these same emperors, from Tiberius to Nero, seem to have appeared only a few years earlier. In addition, the last six Lives, from *Galba* to *Domitian*, are remarkably jejune, indicating perhaps a lack of good written sources (Suetonius evidently avoided using Tacitus' *Histories* covering the same emperors), perhaps a general loss of enthusiasm for the whole project. It is certainly hard to see these latest Lives as an integral part of the original project, or written immediately after the earlier ones.

## II.

### THE VALUE OF THE DIVUS IULIUS

The *Julius*, securely dated to the period A.D. 119–122 by the dedication which we know was once attached to it, does not share most of the relative weaknesses of the later Lives; although it fails perhaps to attain the excellence of the *Augustus*. Written sources are cited in large numbers, as they seldom are in anything after *Augustus*; but it is noticeable that Suetonius avoids acknowledging (if not actually using) historical sources in general circulation, such as Sallust, Livy, Caesar himself (even the letters to Cicero and others, which Suetonius reports (56.6) as still extant, though largely in cipher) or the speeches of Cicero. The latter's letters are cited only from collections not now extant and perhaps never published (9.2 *ad Axiuum*; 55.1, *ad Nepotem*; 42.3 and 49.3, unknown). It is quite surprising that he does quote from two of Cicero's extant works, *de Officiis* and *Brutus* (30.5, 55.1 and 56.1), together with the continuation of Caesar's *Gallie War* by Hirtius (56.3); but the last three are all concerned with judgments of Caesar's literary merits, while the first is on a primarily literary matter. One further reference to Cicero (42.3) cannot be identified at all. A whole group of more obscure authors is referred to in a single chapter (9) on the supposed First Catilinarian Conspiracy, the reality of which is now regarded as highly suspect (Gelzer, 1969, 38–39 – Plutarch ignores it altogether). There is reason to doubt that Suetonius carried out all this research himself: he may well have found the authorities already quoted in some anti-Caesarean pamphlet and transferred their names *en bloc* as the only positive evidence he could find for Caesar's involvement in this unlikely enterprise. (On the whole controversy, see

R. Syme, *Sallust*, 1964 88–102, especially 96–7). Even the reference here to Cicero's assertion in *quadam ad Axiuum epistula* may suggest that Suetonius had not actually read the letter (if indeed it ever existed) and has simply accepted the dubious authority of his source. The parallel of the later Lives, including *Augustus*, suggests that he regularly refrains from acknowledging the main sources on which he depends (e.g. the *Ignotus*, as Syme calls him, who patently underlies the accounts of the Year of the Four Emperors in Tacitus, Suetonius, Plutarch and Dio Cassius), as if he does not wish to draw attention to extant authors to whom direct reference might be made by the reader – a very different system from the provision of bibliographies by modern historians. Scholarship has made little or no progress in identifying such sources underlying the *Divus Julius*; and comparison with Plutarch, Appian and Dio, all Greek writers (which makes the recognition of material even more difficult), does hardly anything to produce a solution to the problem.

Suetonius' own biographical method does not make it easy either to compare him with other ancient writers or to assess his value as a historical source. It is impossible to ascertain how far he followed a pattern supposedly laid down by Peripatetic or other Greek predecessors or rather one largely indebted to traditional Roman epitaphs or funeral speeches; but he certainly departs completely from the continuous annalistic histories of Rome composed by such writers as Livy and Tacitus. His aim is not so much to relate the history of a period of time from the point of view of one key figure, but to set out each of his subjects in isolation from the year-by-year narrative of the Roman world as a whole, using major and minor events primarily to throw light on the character of the individual. This does not mean that chronological narration is altogether avoided: in the Lives in general the period up to the time of attaining supreme power, as well as that immediately preceding the subject's death, is related in some sort of chronological framework, and in the *Divus Julius* this covers an unusually large part of the whole life, occupying sections 1–44, while a narrative of the conspiracy, the assassination and events following it is given in sections 80–85. Yet even here genuine historical narrative is reduced to a minimum, the conquest of Gaul being compressed into one short section (25), while the whole course of the civil wars becomes a series of sentences summarising the various campaigns in order (34–35). There are virtually no indications of dates; and the reader is clearly expected to be well informed already of the basic historical record into which these somewhat disconnected references are to be fitted. But once Caesar has become supreme, the chronological scheme is completely abandoned, to be replaced by a number of topics (or *species*, as Suetonius himself calls them in *Divus Augustus* 9) covering different aspects of his rule and personality, sometimes (but not often) clearly announced by a preliminary rubric. Thus in section 44.4 Suetonius announces that, before coming to Caesar's death, he will describe his *formam et habitum et cultum et mores, nec minus . . . civilia et bellica eius studia*. Each of these six items then becomes the subject of a section, following the same order as this *divisio* at the beginning. Less clearly set out, but still on the same sort of plan, are the preceding sections, which have no introductory *divisio*, on triumphs (37), benefactions to troops (38), games (39), civil reforms (40–42) and public works (44.1–3). Again, the final topic listed in section 44.4, *bellica studia*, is itself divided into several sub-sections, including severity and indulgence to his men (65–67), resulting devotion and courage (68) and rarity of mutinies (69–70); and this passes into relationships with dependants and friends (72),



followed in turn by disagreements (73–74) and by restraint and clemency (75). This whole group of sections, material for which is drawn from the whole life and not merely from the period of supreme power, is balanced by Caesar's unpopular deeds and utterances (76–79), leading logically into an account of the plot to assassinate him (80.f.). Here something like chronological narrative is at last resumed, as in most of the other Lives, until a brief *coda* introduces Caesar's attitude to death (86–87) and a summary sequel to murder and funeral, concluding with the deaths of the assassins (88–89). This pattern of topics does not confirm to any fixed scheme common to all the *Caesars*, but, as always, has been worked out to suit the individual career and personality.

Although not so pronounced as in most of the later Lives, this plan of composition still makes the *Divus Julius* very different from Plutarch's *Caesar* in the *Parallel Lives*, which may sometimes diverge briefly from the chronological pattern (e.g. 15–17, on his conduct during the Gallic wars), but never in this systematic way. It also makes the *Divus Julius* very difficult to use as a historical source, since many events are mentioned without reference to their date or context, either absolutely or in relation to other events in the same or other paragraphs. It is all too easy to miss, for example, the implication in section 44.1, with its division of *tuendo ampliandoque imperio*, that these two ideas are picked up in section 44.3, with the Dacians simply to be repelled, the Parthians to be incorporated in the Empire (cf. Appian, *Bellum Civile* 2.110, using the words *ὑπακούσασθαι* and *ὑπήκοα*). This is of course a criticism which Suetonius would have repudiated at once. His Lives were never intended to replace history: indeed, he probably assumed that his readers would be more or less familiar with the standard historians of the period, so that all he is doing is to select and rearrange material so as to throw light on the central figure's character. This concentration of attention on Caesar himself means that important events primarily concerning others are totally omitted: for example, the appointment of Pompey to his two great commands (where Caesar's attitude to the Gabinian and Manilian laws might have been considered important to his career, had they not properly belonged to Pompey's biographies), the motives of both Crassus and Pompey in forming the First Triumvirate, the death of Crassus at Carrhae, or the suicide of Cato. Although Cicero and P. Clodius are mentioned often enough, their political importance in Caesar's career is hardly touched on. For all this, the relatively large number of people mentioned in this Life, compared with others, is indicated by the fact that Suetonius finds it necessary to refer to Caesar by name once to every page and a half (in the Teubner text) – three times as often as Augustus or Caligula, who are named only once to every four and a half pages in their Lives, in which they occupy the stage more continually.

So far as historical accuracy is concerned, Suetonius' position is hard to assess. His selection of material does not appear to be governed by any definite bias, for or against; except in so far as his choice of rubrics for a particular Life to some extent dictates his attitudes and admits, for example, indications of Caesar's dominant ambition as early as section 1.3, where Sulla is made to remark on the young man's future threat to the *optimates*. It should be noted, however, that this story appears in a corresponding position in Plutarch's account (1.2), evidently being established in some common source. But in general the reader is struck by the biographer's impartiality towards his subject, as he repeats material both favourable and unfavourable, with little attempt to decide

between the two views. Nor does he often commit himself to moral or political judgments on Caesar's behaviour. Once or twice he seems to break his rule: in section 49.1–2 he three times disclaims belief in the allegations of Caesar's submission to the lust of Nico-medes of Bithynia, dismissing the evidence of Calvus, Curio and Bibulus with the words *omitto . . . praetereo . . . missa etiam facio*, while still quoting all three *verbatim*. In the same chapter (52.3) he insists *ne cui dubium sit* that Caesar's reputation for debauchery was notorious, and quotes Curio once more to support this. The whole chapter, with its unusually explicit use of evidence, has all the appearance of being derived from a single source which Suetonius has been unable to resist on account of its claims to authenticity. A distinctly hostile view of Caesar emerges in 76.1, with the curiously strong expression *praegravant tamen cetera facta dictaque eius, ut et abusus dominatione et iure caesus existimetur* – the present tenses here are exceptional in Suetonius; and it is noticeable that this sentence is an editorial comment, involving a *divisio* between deeds and words. This does not prove, however, that it is Suetonius' own sentiment, for it may have introduced a collection of hostile anecdotes in some previous source. Likewise the following chapters include similarly condemnatory remarks, as *eo arrogantiae progressus est* (77), *praecipuam et exitabilem sibi invidiam hinc maxime movit* (78.1), and *adiecit ad tam insignem despecti senatus contumeliam multo arrogantius factum* (79) – expressions which go well beyond objective reportage of facts. Whether the allegations in these chapters are altogether true or not, it is significant that Suetonius certainly found them in authorities at his disposal, evidently composed within a short time of Caesar's assassination. Elsewhere the biographer's position is much more remote. Indeed Cary, in his original Introduction to this edition of the *Divus Julius*, complained (viii) that so little attempt is made to unravel Caesar's motives at any point; and (xiii) that Suetonius does not commit himself on Caesar's possible complicity in the 'first conspiracy of Catiline' or on the rights and wrongs of the crossing of the Rubicon in 49 B.C. Apart from the fact that, by Suetonius' time if not even during Caesar's lifetime, these problems were incapable of solution, any attempt to provide an answer would have been for Suetonius to surrender one of his greatest assets – his ultimate objectivity towards his subject, despite his inevitable vulnerability to the bias of available sources, which he could never really begin to eradicate, in the *Divus Julius* or in any other Life. For the most part, he presents the evidence as he finds it, and leaves the reader to make up his mind. A less guarded approach, or a less restricted understanding of the biographer's aims, might have allowed the reader to learn something about Caesar's reasons, declared and concealed, for undertaking the conquest of Gaul; or about the occasion of the First Triumvirate, the origin of which is placed (19.2) only after Caesar's election to the consulate, while Plutarch (*Caesar* 13.2) sets it at an earlier stage, when the compact was perhaps already formed, but not known; or about the wider purposes of the Conference at Luca (24.1), which Suetonius attributes simply to fear of the intentions of Domitius. This last is a prime example of the biographer's concentration on his main figure and of his ability to ignore the consulate and provincial commands which Pompey and Crassus stood to gain by it. To deal with issues of this sort might have been to cross the tenuous line between biography and general history.

In the present state of our knowledge of the period, actual inaccuracies in Suetonius are for the most part hard to detect. The statement (11) that, apparently in 65 B.C., Caesar attempted to obtain a special command in Egypt, from where king Ptolemy had been



expelled by his subjects, seems to be placed at least six years too early; unless the reference is rather to Crassus' early project of annexing Egypt at about this date and to Caesar's hope that he might execute it. There seems general agreement that Caesar cannot really have appeared at the trial of Clodius (74.2) and disclaimed all knowledge of improprieties at the *Bona Dea* festival, before making his famous remark about 'Caesar's wife'; for the trial was in May 61 B.C., well after Caesar appears to have left Rome for his province. Exactly the same story, however, is found in Plutarch (*Caesar* 10.6), so that the mistake cannot be Suetonius' own. Gelzer (1969, 60, n.3) suggests that the remark was made at an earlier meeting, of the pontifical college, held to discuss the religious implications of the affair while Caesar, as *pontifex maximus*, was still available to express his opinion – a context in which the excessive rigidity of the remark will have been more appropriate than in court. It is more certainly wrong that Caesar sent Cleopatra back to Egypt (52.1), since several letters of Cicero (*ad Atticum* 14.8.1, etc) make it clear that the queen was still in Rome two months after the Ides of March. All this may mean is that Cleopatra received instructions to return to her kingdom not long before the murder, and simply delayed carrying them out. Butler and Cary draw attention in their Commentary to two numerical discrepancies in 68.3, on the fighting before Dyrrachium, where Suetonius' version can be checked against Caesar's own account in *de Bello Civili* 3.52–53. First is a heroic defence of a fort by *una cohors* against four Pompeian legions, where Caesar refers to *cohortibus tribus* against a single legion; but that may not be the same event, but rather the defence of the fort by Scaeva and others, which Caesar goes on to describe in 3.53.3–4. Secondly, Suetonius has *centum ac triginta milia sagittarum* picked up inside the rampart of the fort, where Caesar more plausibly writes *milia sagittarum circa triginta*. Suetonius' version is patently derived from Caesar's, but not necessarily directly, for Plutarch (*Caesar*, 16.2) has *ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα*, evidently from the same intermediary source. The error was evidently caused by a misunderstanding of the abbreviation *c* at an early stage in the transmission.

Indeed much of the material used in this section appears to have been derived from a source differing in many respects from Caesar's own (or his officer's) account: e.g. the description in 68.1 of the valour of Caesar's men when captured, with details given quite differently in *Bellum Africanum* 44–6, in Valerius Maximus 3.8.7 and in Plutarch *Caesar* 16.4, where the officer concerned is Granius Petro, quaestor designate – the centurion's name in Valerius is in fact hopelessly corrupted in the MSS. It is impossible to determine which version is preferable or who should be blamed for the discrepancies.

Again, in 83.2, Q. Pedius is classed along with Octavius and L. Pinarius as Caesar's *sorum nepotes*, when arguments from his career suggest, as Münzer pointed out (*Hermes* 71 (1936) 228), that he was almost certainly Caesar's nephew, born a year or two before 80 B.C. and thus hardly as much as twenty years younger than Caesar himself. Doubts about the date of Caesar's own birth, discussed at some length by Cary in his original Introduction (xiv–xvii), have been settled with some confidence in Suetonius' favour by E. Badian (*Journal of Roman Studies* 49 (1959) 81–89: = *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (1964) 140–56). For minor details, the error by which in 9.1 Autronius bears the praenomen *L.* rather than *P.* is too likely to be a slip in transmission for Suetonius to be held responsible; and the precise point at which Caesar was threatened

by armed youths at the end of the debate on the Catilinarian conspirators (14.2, as against Plutarch *Caesar* 8.2, Sallust *Catilinae Bellum* 49) is evidently one of emphasis rather than of fact. In general, the incidence of mistakes is just about as low as it appears to be in the other Livcs. There are of course a number of details in the *Divus Julius* which can be confirmed from no other source, such as the highly circumstantial account of Vettius' attempt to incriminate Caesar as an ally of Catiline (17.1–2, barely hinted at in Dio 37.41.2–4); the puzzling title of the province intended by Caesar's opponents to be granted to him and his colleague at the end of their consulate (see note on 19.2); or the bare statement, listed among Caesar's measures to gain popularity during the period 54–51 B.C., that Caesar doubled his legionaries' pay *in perpetuum* (26.3). None of these is improbable in itself, though the last may be a misunderstanding of some less widespread bounty, such as that to the troops after Gergovia (*Caesar de Bello Gallico* 8.4.1) or to the heroic cohort at Dyrrachium (*de Bello Civili* 3.53.5) – see the Supplementary note on 26.3. In a comparison with Plutarch's *Caesar*, clearly based on much the same material but composed entirely independently, the *Divus Julius* comes out as decidedly more accurate, fuller in circumstantial details, and, despite Plutarch's basically chronological framework, freer from confusion over dates. For example, two indications of the early development of Caesar's ambition are placed by both Suetonius (7.1–2) and Dio (37.52.2) during Caesar's visit to Gades in the course of his quaestorship; although Dio actually brings them in retrospectively in his account of Caesar's governorship some eight years later. Plutarch places the story of Caesar's dream of lying with his mother during the night before the crossing of the Rubicon (*Caesar* 32.6), and that of the comparison with Alexander the Great's achievements at the same age during the praetorship in Spain (*Caesar* 11.3), when Caesar was already at least five years older than Alexander was when he died. The two anecdotes appear to have been found loosely anchored in some source with little chronological framework, and Plutarch has used little historical sense in locating them. He is likewise thoroughly muddled about the chronology of Caesar's activities in the East about 75 B.C. (see note on 4.1); and has allowed his weakness in Latin to make him both introduce the erroneous reference to myrrh in the episode at Valerius Leo's house (*Caesar* 17.5) described by Suetonius in chapter 53 (see Supplementary note) and replace the account of Oppius' illness (see note on 53) with that of a storm (*Caesar* 17.6), although other details in his version clearly show the use of a common source.

In this life as elsewhere, Suetonius emerges as a conscientious, sensible and accurate reporter of the sources at his disposal, even if he fails to set out the full range of alternative versions as a modern historian might, and even if he realised the very limited claims to authenticity of some of these sources. He may not be strong on historical insights of his own; but the chance of a reliable version of the literary tradition available to him is evidently greater with Suetonius than with a more creative and imaginative historian such as Tacitus.



with M. Otacilius Pitholaus; cp. Macr. 2. 2. 13 *M. Otacilius Pitholaus, cum Caninius Rebilus uno tantum die consul fuisset, dixit 'ante flamines, nunc consules Diales fiunt.'*

## CHAPTER LXXVI

§ 1. honores nimios. 46 B. C. *Supplicatio* of forty days, extra lictors at triumph, *praefectura morum* for three years, dictatorship for ten years, curule chair in senate with consuls, *princeps senatus*, presidency of games in Circus, right to appoint magistrates, his chariot placed opposite the statue of Jupiter, his statue mounted on a 'likeness of the inhabited world', with inscription styling him a demigod (Dio 43. 14). 45 B. C. Triumphant garb and laurel wreath at all games (Dio 43. 43. 1), permanent title of *imperator* to descend to his sons and grandsons (43. 44. 2), offer of magistracies even those of the *plebs*, consul for ten years, commander-in-chief, supreme financial control, ivory statue and chariot to appear at public games with the statues of the gods, statue erected in temple of Quirinus, inscribed *INVICTO DEO* (cp. Cic. Att. 13. 28. 3), another statue on the Capitol by the statues of the kings (Dio 43. 45). 44 B. C. Seat with the tribunes at public games, *spolia opima*, *pater patriae* (on coinage), public sacrifice on birthday, statue in all cities and in temples at Rome, censor for life, Quintilis to be called Iulius, *sacrosanctitas*, gilded chair and garb of king, body-guard of equites and senators, quadrennial festival as demigod, priestly college entitled Julian, one day in his honour at all gladiatorial games, gilded chair and jewelled crown carried into theatres with those of the gods, temple to Caesar and his Clemency with Antony as *flamen* (Dio 44. 3-6). Cp. also App. 2. 106 for a shorter list; Liv. Epit. 116; Flor. 2. 13. 91; Plut. Caes. 57. 1. Some of these honours were offered by his enemies (Plut., l. c.; Dio 44. 7. 2); see note on Helvius Cinna (52. 3). Some offers were declined by Caesar (Dio 44. 3. 3; 44. 7. 2). See also notes which follow.\*

*continuum consulatum*. Caesar was cos. I in 59 B. C. (19 sqq.); II in 48 B. C. (B. C. 3. 1. 1); III in 46 B. C. (Dio 43. 1. 1); IV in 45 B. C. without colleagues (Dio 43. 33. 1); V in 44 B. C. (first of a run of ten consulates; Dio 43. 45. 1; App. 2. 106). Cp. also C. I. L. (ed. 2), i, pp. 27-8, 63, 64, 158-9.

*perpetuam dictaturam*. Cic. Phil. 2. 87; Liv. Epit. 116; Plut. Caes. 57. 1; App. 2. 106; Dio 44. 8. 4; Grueber, Coins R. Rep. in B.M. i, pp. 545-6 (*DICT. PERPET.* early in 44 B. C.); C. I. L. (ed. 2), i, p. 61 *caESAR DICT. in pERpETVVM* (44 B. C.).

*praefecturamque morum*. Cp. Cic. Fam. 9. 15. 5; Dio 43. 14. 4. This was conferred in 46 B. C. for three years (Dio), and made him virtual censor. The censorship for life was given him in 44 B. C.

(Dio 44. 5. 3; cp. Vell. Pat. 2. 68. 3 *ensoria nota*). Augustus refused the *praef. morum* (Mon. Anc. ch. 6).

*praenomen Imperatoris*. Cp. Dio 43. 44. 2 (hereditary title 45 B. C.). It seems not to have been used by Iulius. Only the 'acclamatorial' title is found on coins, and then only on laureate coins of 44 B. C. See Grueber, Coins R. Rep. in B.M. i, p. 543 sqq. *CAES. IMP.* Octavian took over the *praenomen* at once; cp. C. I. L. (ed. 2) i, p. 64 (A. U. C. 711) *IMP. CAESAR IIIvir R. P. C.*

*pater patriae*. Cp. 85. 1; Dio 44. 4. 4 (44 B. C.); App. 2. 106; Liv. Epit. 116; Grueber, op. cit., i, pp. 549, 552 *PARENS PAT.* (44 B. C.); C. I. L. 9. 34 (= Dessau 71) *PATRI PATRIAE* (Brundisium); 9. 2628 (= Dessau 72) *PAT. PATRIAE* (Bovianum). The title was first given to Cicero (Pis. 6), and later became a regular imperial title.

*statuam inter reges*. On the Capitol next to the statue of Brutus, founder of the Republic. Cp. Plin. 33. 9-10; 34. 22-3; Cic. Deiot. 33; Dio 43. 45. 3 (45 B. C.); Plut. Brut. 1. 3.

*suggestum in orchestra*. The orchestra, which in the Greek theatre was used by the chorus, at Rome was filled with seats. The senators were given seats there by Scipio Africanus (194 B. C. in his consulate); cp. Liv. 34. 54. 4. The theatre of Pompey was at this time the only permanent theatre in stone. *suggestus* = a raised seat on a dais, such as he was given in the senate (Flor. 2. 13. 91 *suggestum in curia*).

*fastigio*, 'elevation', 'rank'.

*sedem auream*. The emblem of royalty, on which he was seated when murdered in the *curia*. Cp. Dio 44. 6. 1; App. 2. 106 (gold and ivory); Plin. 11. 186; Cic. de Div. 1. 119; Val. Max. 1. 6. 13.

*pro tribunali*: i. e. in front of the *rostra*, as is clear from Cic. Phil. 2. 85; Plut. Caes. 61. 2; Nic. Dam. 21, though doubtless it would apply to other platforms as well, where he might preside.

*tensam*. See Fest. 500 L. *tensam ait vocari Sinnius Capito vehiculum quo exuviae deorum ludicris Circensibus in Circum ad pulvinar vehebantur. fuit autem ex ebore, ut apud Titinium in Barbato, et ex argento*; Gloss. Philox. ἄρμα θεῶν. For illustrations see H. Mattingly, Coins R. Emp. in B. M., pl. 23, no. 18 (Livian-Tiberius), pl. 30, nos. 4-6 (Agrippina I-Caligula). For Caesar's *tensa* see Dio 43. 45. 2; 44. 6. 3 (45-44 B. C.). The word is said to be derived *ex tensis loris* (Ascon.).

*ferculum*. A litter or bier on which the images of the gods were carried.

*ciroensi pompa*. The procession passed from the Capitol through the Velabrum and Forum Boarium to the Circus Maximus (Friedlaender, Eng. tr., ii, p. 36). For these processions see Cic. Att. 13. 28. 3; 13. 44. 1 *acerba pompa* (at *ludi Victoriae*—July, 45 B. C.).



**templa.** For the temple *Clementiae Caesaris* cp. 75. 1. The temple of *Iupiter Iulius* cp. Dio 44. 6. 4 (decreed 44 B.C.); 47. 18. 4 (begun 42 B.C.); 51. 22. 2 and Mon. Anc. 19 (finished 29 B.C.). Antony was appointed his *flamen* (Cic. Phil. 2. 110; Dio 44. 6. 4). Its remains are still to be seen at the east end of the Forum (Huelsen, *For. R.* (ed. 2), p. 137 (Eng. tr. 156)).

**aras:** e. g. the altar in the niche of the platform of the temple in the Forum.

**simulacra iuxta deos.** Cp. Cic. Att. 12. 45. 3 *σύνναον Quirino* (May, 45 B.C.); 13. 28. 3 *Quirini contubernalem*; Dio 43. 45. 3 (statue in Quirinus' temple, inscr. *INVICTO DEO*—45 B.C.); 43. 14. 6 (statue on Capitol, inscr. with statement that he was a demigod—46 B.C.); 44. 4 (statues in all the temples at Rome—44 B.C.); App. 2. 106 (statues in provinces and dependent kingdoms as well); Flor. 2. 13. 91.

**pulvinar.** The couch on which the images of the gods reclined. For this honour conferred on Caesar cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 110; Dio 44. 6. 4.

**flaminem.** Antony. See on *templa* above. There were also *flamines* at Ateste (C. I. L. v. 2536); Brixia (ib. 4384, 4459); Industria (ib. 7478), and doubtless in many other places. For worship of the living Caesar cp. C. I. L. x. 1271 = Dessau 6343 *beNeFICIO DEI CAESARIS* (Nola); Dittenb. Syll. (ed. 3) 760 (dedication at Ephesus by cities of Asia, 48 B.C.); I. G. 12. 2. 165-6 (Mytilene); 12. 5. 557 (Carthaea in Ceos). See also note in Deniston's ed. of Cic. Phil. i, ii, p. 167.

**Lupercos.** Cp. *lupercos Iulii* (Cic. Phil. 13. 31); Dio 44. 6. 2 (establishment of a third college of priests named *Iulii*, as overseers of the Lupercalia—44 B.C.); so too Dio 45. 30. 2. For the festival of the Lupercalia (Feb.) in honour of the primitive god Lupercus, warder off of wolves (*lupus-arceo*), see W. Fowler, *Rel. Exp. Rom. People*, pp. 478 sqq. (views of Deubner summarized).

**mensis.** Cp. Cic. Att. 16. 1. 1 and 4. 1 (44 B.C.) *nonis Iulii*; Dio 44. 5. 2; App. 2. 106; 5. 97; Plut. Num. 19. 5; Flor. 2. 13. 91; Macr. 1. 12. 34; Censorin. 22. 16. July 12 is recorded as Caesar's anniversary in *Fasti Amiternini* (C. I. L. (ed. 2), p. 244; *Fast. Ant.* ib., p. 248). Macrobius (l. c.) makes this date Caesar's birthday, but Dio (47. 18. 6) points out that July 13 was the real birthday, and that the anniversary was antedated so as not to clash with the *Ludi Apollinares*. The law making the change was proposed by Antony (Macr., l. c.).

**dedit:** e. g. Antony, *magister equitum* without having been praetor (Dio 42. 21); Dolabella, consul without having been praetor (Dio 42. 33. 3); Lepidus has a triumph without having won a victory or commanded an army in battle (Dio 43. 1. 2). Cp. also Dio 43. 50. 2-3 and 51. 3-5.

§ 2. *tertium et quartum.* See 76. 1 *continuum consulatum*.

**binos consules.** 46 B.C. Caesar and Lepidus were consuls (Plut. Ant. 10. 1; Dio 43. 1. 1 and 33. 1). On Caesar's departure from Rome early in November, he left Lepidus, who was also his *magister equitum*, in charge. No fresh consuls were appointed for the last three months of the year. Suetonius is probably confusing 46 with 47 B.C., when Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Vatinius were appointed consuls in the autumn (Dio 42. 55. 4). Caesar left Rome for Africa in November, and C. I. L. (ed. 1) i, No. 735 (*HERMIA SP(ectavit) A · D · XV · K · DEC · Q · FVF · P · VAT ·*), shows that Vatinius and Calenus were consuls by Nov. 16. In 45 B.C. Caesar was sole consul till Oct. 1, when he was succeeded by Q. Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius (Dio 43. 46. 2; C. I. L. (ed. 2), pp. 28, 63, and 158-9).

**medio tempore:** in the meantime, i. e. 46-45 B.C.

**comitia nulla.** This is incorrect; see note on *comitia* (41. 2).

**praefectosque.** The title of *praefectus* was early known at Rome in the office of the *praefectus urbi*, appointed by the kings, and after them by the consuls, during their absence from Rome (Dion. Hal. 6. 2; Liv. 3. 8. 7); in Italy it was known in the office of *praefecti* appointed by the *praetor urbanus* to govern enfranchised towns (Greenidge, *R. Public Life*, p. 302). Dio states (43. 28. 2) that six or eight *praefecti* were appointed to assist Lepidus in governing the city. If Dio is right (42. 51. 3), ten praetors had been appointed for this year. Therefore *pro praetoribus* merely = 'ranking as praetors'. The fact that with Lepidus they controlled the city does not mean that the judicial functions of the praetors were suspended. For references to *praefecti* on coins cp. Grueber, *Coins R. Rep.* in *B. M.*, i, pp. 525-6 (46 B.C.) *HIRTIVS PR ·*; pp. 537-8 (45 B.C.) *L · PLANCVS PRAEF · VRB ·*; p. 539 (45 B.C.) *C · CLOVI PRAEF ·*; p. 541 (44 B.C.) *Q · OPPIVS PR ·*; pp. 552-3 (44 B.C.) *L · CESTIVS C · NORBA PR ·*

**pridie Kal. Ian.** Q. Fab. Maximus (cos. 45 B.C. from Oct. 1) had died, and C. Caninius Rebilus was appointed as consul for one day (C. I. L. (ed. 2), i, pp. 28 and 158). This cynical jest called forth jests elsewhere. Cp. Cic. Fam. 7. 30. 1 *ita Caninio consule scito neminem prandisse. nihil tamen eo consule mali factum est; fuit enim mirifica vigilantia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit.* Another jest of Cicero's is recorded by Plutarch (Caes. 58. 1), 'Let us call upon Caninius before it is too late.' See also Dio 43. 46. 4; Plin. 7. 181, and note on *Pitholai* (75. 5). Caninius was appointed about 12.45 p.m., a genuine *postmeridianus consul*: see Sen. Apocol. 9.

§ 3. *in pluris annos.* Cic. Att. 14. 6. 2 (Apr. 44 B.C.) *consules et tribunos plebis in biennium quos ille voluit*; Dio 43. 51. 2-3 (44 B.C.; magistrates to be appointed in advance for three years during Caesar's absence in the East); App. 2. 128 and 138 (for five



years in advance). Cp. Sternkopf, *Hermes* (1912), pp. 321 sqq. (esp. pp. 334-47).

**consularia ornamenta.** This is also recorded by Dio 43. 47. 3 πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τοὺς τε ὑπατευκότας ἢ καὶ ἄλλην ἀρχὴν τινα ἄρξαντας ἐγκατέλεξεν. A foretaste of the principate, under which such honours were freely conferred; these *ornamenta* did not give entry to the Senate, but merely the privilege of wearing the *insignia* at festivals and public occasions. Suetonius probably means to imply that Caesar's practice was the same. Dio mentions the fact in connexion with the purely honorific enrolment among the patricians. See Greenidge, *R. Public Life*, p. 365; Willems, *Le Sénat*, i, p. 629.

**civitate donatos.** Cp. 42. 1; Dio 41. 36. 3 (Transpadanes—49 B.C.); Dio 41. 24. 1 (Gades—49 B.C.); cp. also Cic. Phil. 1. 24; Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie*, pp. 483-96.

**receptit in curiam.** See on 80. 2. The Senate was enlarged to 900 (Dio 43. 47. 3).

**monetae.** The names that appear on Caesar's coins are those of free-born and, in many cases, of well-known men (D. Brutus, Hirtius, Pansa, L. Plancus, etc.; see Grueber, *Coins of R. Rep.* in *B. M.* i, pp. 507-53). These slaves cannot have replaced the *Illviri monetales* (whose names appear on coins), and must have been either technical supervisors or actual workmen. Caesar therefore merely employed his own slaves as *servi publici*.

**vectigalibus.** Probably the *portoria* on imports, which he had restored (see 43. 1); he had abolished the *decimae*, at least in Asia (App. 5. 4; Dio 42. 6. 3; see Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 501). A most revolutionary step, if these slaves replaced the *publicani*. But they may have been merely local supervisors.

**trium legionum.** Cp. B. Alex. 33. 3 *legiones ibi veterana sexta secum reducta ceteras reliquit*. He had taken the sixth to Egypt with him, was followed a few hours later by another legion under Calenus (B. C. 3. 106. 1-2) and, being hard pressed, summoned two more to join him (B. C. 3. 107; Dio 42. 37. 3).

**Rufioni.** The name is a slave name; cp. Cic. Mil. 60 (*heus tu Rufio!*). The suggestion of a scandalous motive in the bestowal of the command is probably untrue. Caesar was not the man to take risks in making such an important appointment, and probably avoided giving the post to a senator for the same reason that Augustus and his successors appointed *equites*, not senators, as *praefecti* of Egypt. Cp. 35. 1 *veritus provinciam facere ne quandoque violentiorem praesidem nacta novarum rerum materia esset*.

#### CHAPTER LXXVII

**impotentiae**, 'insolence'.

**T. Ampius.** Tr. pl. 63 B.C., praet. 58 B.C. A Pompeian (B. C. 3. 105. 1; Cic. Att. 8. 11 b. 2), recalled from exile in 46 (Cic. Fam.

6. 12. 1). The last-named letter (sect. 5) shows that he was a historian or biographer: *cum studium consumas in virorum fortium factis memoriae prodendis, considerare debes nihil tibi esse committendum quam ob rem eorum quos laudas te non simillimum praebes*.

**Sullam.** Dictator 82-79 B.C. Caesar says he did not know his ABC (*nescisse literas*), i. e. was a fool.

**secum.** sc. *cum Caesare*.

**haruspice.** Cp. 59. 1 and 81. 4. Polyaeus, recording the same incident (8. 23. 32), adds that the soldiers were much encouraged. The inference is that the occasion was in one of the two Spanish campaigns, since Appian (2. 116) says that the omen occurred twice, once in Spain and again on the day of Caesar's death. The latter occasion is recorded by Plutarch (Caes. 63. 1) and Val. Maximus (1. 6. 13). Suetonius (81. 4) and Dio (44. 17. 3) merely say that the omens were unfavourable on the Ides of March. Pliny (11. 186) records the incident on yet another occasion: *Caesari dictatori, quo die primum veste purpurea processit atque in sella aurea sedit, sacrificanti bis cor in extis defuit*.

#### CHAPTER LXXVIII

**§ 1. sedens.** Cp. Liv. Epit. 116; Plut. Caes. 60. 2-3 (even the plebs were annoyed); Dio 44. 8. 2 (the discourtesy alleged to be due to indisposition); App. 2. 107; Nic. Dam. 22.

**Veneris Geneticis.** See 61 n. Both Plutarch and Appian allege that the incident occurred at the *rostra*.

**Cornelio Balbo.** L. Cornelius Balbus, born at Gades (Cic. Balb. 5. 43; Plin. 7. 136); his family supported Pompey in the Sertorian war and were enfranchised in 72 B.C. (Cic. Balb. 40). He was Caesar's *praefectus fabrum* in Spain in 61 B.C. (Cic. Balb. 63) and again in the earlier years of the Gallic wars (l. c.). He was accused in 56 of having acquired the citizenship illegally, was supported by Pompey and Crassus, defended by Cicero and acquitted. He was Caesar's confidential agent at Rome during the latter portion of the Gallic Wars and during the Civil War (see Cic. Ep. *passim*) became *praetor* early in the second Triumvirate, and consul in 40 B.C. (Dio 48. 32. 2; Plin. Ep. 7. 136; C. I. L. (ed. 2) i, p. 158). He left Memoirs (*ephemeris* Ap. Sid. Ep. 9. 14. 7) from which the story told in 81 is probably derived.

**C. Trebatium.** C. Trebatius Testa, a learned lawyer, protégé of Cicero, who recommended him to Caesar in 54 B.C. (Fam. 7. 6-22; esp. 16. 3). He survived the Civil War and was the friend of Horace, who dedicated the first poem of Satires II to him. See also note on *ius civile* (44. 2).

**§ 2. triumphanti.** On his return from Spain in 45 B.C.

**Pontium Aquilam.** T. Pontius Aquila, tr. pl. 45 B.C. and one of the conspirators (App. 2. 113; Dio 46. 38. 3). His rancour



against Caesar was probably prompted by the confiscation of his property at Naples, which was sold to Servilia the mother of Brutus (Cic. Att. 14. 21. 3; cp. Suet. 50. 2; Macr. 2. 2. 5); see R. Holmes, R. R., iii, p. 318, n. 4; Drumann-Groebe, iii, p. 638. He fell at Mutina fighting against Antony (Dio 46. 38. 2 and 40. 2; Cic. Phil. 11. 14; Fam. 10. 33. 4; 11. 13. 1).

## CHAPTER LXXIX

§ 1. *sacrificio Latinarum*. The *Feriae Latinae*, the ancient festival of the Latin League in honour of *Iuppiter Latiaris* on the summit of the Alban Mount. The festival was held in 44 B.C. on Jan. 26 (C. I. L. (ed. 2) i, p. 50, *C·IVLIVS·C·F·C·N·CAESAR·VI·DICT·III·OVANS EX MONTE ALBANO*). The usual date was April to June (C. I. L. (ed. 2) i, pp. 57-8; but Caesar intended to leave Rome for the Parthian war before the usual date of the festival. Cp. Plut. Caes. 61. 2-3 (the incident is postdated to the Lupercalia); Ant. 12. 2; Dio 44. 9. 2 (before the F. Latinae); Nic. Dam. 20; Vell. Pat. 2. 68; Liv. Epit. 116; Val. Max. 5. 7. 2.

*immodicas acclamations*. It was made the occasion of an *ovatio* (see C. I. L. above; Dio 44. 4. 3).

*Epidius Marullus, Caesetius Flavus*. Cp. Plut. 61. 3; App. 2. 108; Dio 44. 9-10. All three say that they arrested not the decorator of the statue, but the man who cried 'rex' (see below). Appian and Dio mention that Flavus and Marullus pulled away the *fascia* from the statue, but that Caesar ignored their action (Appian says he was indifferent, Dio that he swallowed his anger).

*potestate privavit*. Plutarch and Appian (ll. cc.) both agree that Caesar's action followed the arrest. Dio says that Caesar did nothing after the arrest, but that the tribunes proceeded to publish a proclamation deploring the loss of freedom of speech, whereupon Caesar took action. For their deposition from office, cp. Cic. Phil. 13. 31; Plut., l. c.; Liv. Epit. 116; Vell. Pat. 2. 68. 3. Appian (l. c.) states that Caesar moved their deposition and expulsion from the senate in the Curia; Dio (44. 10. 3; 46. 49. 2) that Helvius Cinna moved their deposition in the Comitium, while Caesar expelled them from the senate. Nicolaus of Damascus asserts that Caesar exiled them. Dio is most probably right.

§ 2. *Caesarem non regem*. Cp. Plut. 60. 1; Dio 44. 10. 1; App. 2. 108. Plutarch and Dio both make this happen after the return from the ceremony on the Alban Mount. For *rex* as an insult see Cicero, *passim* (e.g. Att. 13. 37. 2). *Rex* was also a *cognomen*; Caesar's reply may have involved a play upon the two uses of the word (cp. Hor. Sat. 1. 7. 1; Cic. Att. 1. 16. 10). See Caspari, *Class. Rev.* (1909), p. 189.

*Lupercalibus*. Feb. 15. The festival was now specially associated with Caesar. See note on *lupercos* (76. 1).

*pro rostris*. The old *rostra* stood on the south side of the Comitium, but were removed by Caesar to their present site in the Forum (Dio 43. 49. 1) and reconstructed later by Augustus. The extant remains probably belong for the most part to the Augustan reconstruction. Platner, *Topogr.*, pp. 220-6.

*admotum . . . reppulerit*. Cic. Phil. 2. 85; 3. 12, &c.; Vell. Pat. 2. 56. 4; Liv. Epit. 116; Plut. Caes. 61. 2; Ant. 12. 1; Dio 44. 11. 2-3; 46. 19. 4; App. 2. 109; Nic. Dam. 21. Plutarch and Appian state that Caesar twice refused the crown; Nic. Dam. that one Licinius first put the crown at Caesar's feet, and that Cassius put it on his knee. In Dio 46. 19. 4 (speech of Fufius Calenus) Antony is made to offer the crown by way of forcing Caesar to reject it. Velleius says that Caesar showed no sign of anger at the offer.

*consule Antonio*. He had been tr. pl. in 49 B.C.; *magister equitum* 48-46 B.C.: he quarrelled with Caesar in 45 B.C., but was reconciled after Munda. He had been appointed consul with Caesar for 44 B.C. On his departure for the east Caesar intended that Dolabella should be consul in his place, while Antony should finish his year of office (Dio 43. 51. 8). According to Nic. Dam. 21 it was rumoured that Antony hoped to be adopted by Caesar.

§ 4. *Alexandream vel Ilium*. Nic. Dam. (20) says that this was proved false by Caesar's will. For similar rumours in the time of Augustus, cp. Hor. Od. 3. 3. 17.

*exhaustaque . . . dilectibus*. For Caesar's military establishment cp. Drumann-Groebe, iii, 702 sqq.; Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie*, pp. 476-83 (250-300,000 men). Italy's exhaustion was to be further increased by civil war after Caesar's death. The increasing tendency under the principate to rely on the provinces for the supply of troops testifies to a growing exhaustion.

*procurazione urbis amicis permissa*. Probably by the continued employment of *praefecti*; see on *praefectos* (76. 2).

*L. Cottam*. Brother of C. Cotta (1. 2), praetor 70 B.C., and author of the *lex Aurelia iudiciaria* giving the juries to senators, *equites* and *trib. aerarii*; cos. 65 B.C.

*quindecimvirum*. One of the *XVviri sacris faciundis* who had charge of the Sibylline books. There had been sixteen of them since 47 B.C. (Dio 42. 51. 4).

*libris fatalibus*. A new corpus, concocted since 83, the original having been destroyed when the Capitoline temple was burned (Dion. Hal. 4. 62). For the use of such oracles cp. Dio 39. 15; Cic. Fam. 1. 1. 3 (in reference to the Sibylline oracle forbidding the restoration of Ptolemy in 56 B.C.). For Suetonius' story cp. Cic. de Div. 2. 110; Plut. Caes. 60. 1 and 64. 1; Brut. 10. 2; Dio 44. 15. 3; App. 2. 110. Cicero believes the story to be false (but cp. Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie*, p. 529, n. 1, where a different view is taken). Appian and Plutarch (Caes. 64. 1) say Caesar was to be



king in the provinces, *dictator* and *imperator* at Rome, a not improbable compromise. Plutarch dates the incident before the *Feriae Latinae*.

*Parthos*. See on 44. 3.

#### CHAPTER LXXX

§ 1. *consilia . . . habita*. Cp. 75. 5 *coniurationes*. Dio also (44. 15. 3) connects the hastening on of the plot with the Sibylline oracle. Appian (2. 113) describes a discussion between Cassius and Brutus as to the best means of countering the proposal of Cotta. From this discussion springs the plot of assassination.

§ 2. *peregrinis adlectis*. Cp. 41. 1 *senatum supplevit* and 76. 3 *quosdam e semibarbaris Gallorum recepit in curiam*.

*bonum factum*. Cp. Suet. Vitell. 14 *bonum factum; ne Vitellius Germanicus intra eundem Kalendarum diem usquam esset*. Plaut. Poen., prol. 16, provides another possible parallel, but the text is doubtful. 'A good deed! Do not show any new senator where the curia is.'

*curiam*. Probably the *curia Hostilia* rebuilt by Sulla, damaged in 52 and again rebuilt by Faustus Sulla (Dio 40. 50. 2). In 44 B.C. the senate decided to replace it by a new *curia Iulia* (Dio 44. 5. 1-2). But this was only finished in 29 B.C. (Dio 51. 22. 1; cp. Mon. Anc. 19). Cicero (de Fin. 5. 1) seems to speak of the *curia Hostilia* as still standing. It was situated on the north side of the *comitium*. See Platner, Topogr., pp. 229-30, 238-41.

*Gallos Caesar*, etc. Cp. 49. 4; 51 and sect. 3 below for popular songs in the same metre.

*bracas*. Cp. the name *Gallia bradata* (Mela 2. 5. 1; Plin. 3. 31); also Tac. H. 2. 20. 1 *bracas barbarum tegmen*.

*latum clavum*. The broad crimson stripe worn by senators.

*sumpserunt*. With the penultimate short as often in verse (cp. *dedērunt, steterunt*, etc.).

*Q. Maximo*. Q. Fabius Maximus, appointed consul for the last three months of 45 B.C. See on 76. 2 *binos consules*. He had served in Spain 46-45 B.C. and died just before completing his brief term of office (cp. 76. 2 *pridie Kal. Ian.*).

*animadverti*, 'to note the entrance of the consul'; cp. Plin. Paneg. 61 *sollemnis ille lictorum et praenuntius clamor*; also Liv. 24. 44. 10; Sen. Ep. 94. 60.

§ 3. *proximis comitiis*. The consular election at which Hirtius and Pansa were chosen (Dio 43. 51. 6; 44. 11. 4).

*utinam viveres*. For fuller details see Plut. Brut. 9. 2 (two inscriptions on the statue of L. Brutus, the founder of the Republic, and two on that of the living Brutus, sc. 'Brutus, thou sleepest', and 'Thou art not truly Brutus'. Cp. also Dio 44. 12. 3; Ap. 2. 112; Plut. Caes. 62. 2. The statue of L. Brutus was on the

Capitol by those of the kings (Dio 43. 45. 4). For a traditional portrait of L. Brutus, cp. M. Brutus's coin (59 B.C.) in Grueber, Coins R. Rep. in B. M., pl. 48. 9.

*Caesaris*. sc. *statuae*.

*Brutus quia*, etc. An anapaest in second foot of first verse, a dactyl in first foot of the second.

§ 4. *sexaginta amplius = amplius quam sexaginta*. Eutropius (6. 25) and Orosius (6. 17. 2) follow this statement. Nic. Dam. 19 gives the number as over eighty. Seneca (de Ira 3. 30. 4) states that there were more dissatisfied friends than Pompeians. Plutarch (Brut. 12. 4) and Appian (2. 114) both state that no oath was taken. The same authors (Brut. 8. 2; 10. 1 and App., l. c.) assert that Cassius was the originator. Dio (44. 13. 2 sqq.) makes Brutus the originator. The known participants were the following (see Groebe in Pauly-Wissowa, 10. 1, col. 255, and in Drumann-Groebe, iii, 627 sqq.). *Caesarians* (6). L. Minucius Basilus, D. Iunius Brutus, P. Servilius Casca, C. Servilius Casca, L. Tillius Cimber, C. Trebonius. *Pompeians* (10). M. Iunius Brutus, C. Cassius, Caecilius Bucilianus, Caecilius (brother of preceding), Q. Ligarius, Pontius Aquila, Rubrius Ruga, Sestius Naso, M. Spurius, Servius Sulpicius Galba. *Party unknown* (4). C. Cassius Parmensis, Pacuvius Antistius Labeo, Petronius, P. Turullius. Seven others have been accounted conspirators without justification (see Drumann-Groebe, iii, p. 642). Cicero was not admitted (Cic. Phil. 2. 25; Plut. Cic. 42. 1 (too old and lacking in physical courage)). Plutarch further says (Ant. 13. 1) that most of the conspirators wished to invite Antony to join them, but Trebonius said that he had already sounded him and been rebuffed.

*C. Cassio*. Quaestor to Crassus in Parthia 54-53 B.C. (Plut. Crass. 18 sqq.), where he played a distinguished part; admiral of Pompey 48-47 (B. C. 3. 5. 3; 3. 101); pardoned by Caesar at Larissa in 47 (Plut. Brut. 6. 2; Dio 42. 13. 5) and in 46 made his *legatus* (Cic. Fam. 6. 6. 10); *praetor peregrinus* in 44 (Plut. Brut. 7. 2). Plutarch (Brut. 8-9) emphasizes his hatred of Caesar, though he cannot decide whether his hatred was personal or a doctrinaire hatred of tyrants in general; cp. Dio 44. 8. 1, where Cassius is one of a small minority who vote against the award of extravagant honours to Caesar. The statement of Velleius (2. 56. 3) that his hatred was due to his having to wait for the consulship is hardly worthy of credence.

*M. Bruto*. For the legend that he was Caesar's son see note on 50. 2 *Serviliam*. He was descended from Brutus the liberator (Plut. Brut. 1); cool towards Pompey at first (Pompey had put his father to death; see Plut. Brut. 4. 1), he joined him on principle, fought at Pharsalus, with Cassius was pardoned by Caesar at Larissa in 47 B.C., and in 46 was made governor of Cisalpine Gaul (Cic. Fam. 6. 6. 10) and *praetor urbanus* for 44 B.C. He was won over by



Cassius with difficulty (Plut. Brut. 10. 2-3). Caesar was warned that Brutus was plotting against him, but refused to credit the rumour (Plut. Caes. 62. 2; Brut. 8. 1). An interesting discussion of his character in Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie*, pp. 449-57. See also note on *sexaginta amplius* (above).

**D. Bruto.** No relative of M. Brutus; served in Gaul 56-50 B.C. (see B. G. 3. 11. 5; 7. 87. 1) and at Massilia in 49 (B. C. 1. 36. 4); was governor of Transalpine Gaul 48-46 B.C. (App. 2. 48), and appointed governor of Cisalpine Gaul in 44 B.C. (App. 3. 2), and consul for 42 B.C. (Vell. Pat. 2. 58. 1). On the return from Munda he rode through Italy with Caesar (Plut. Ant. 11. 1), was present at the dinner at which Lepidus entertained Caesar on the eve of the Ides of March (App. 2. 115), and was mentioned in Caesar's will.

**tribus vocantem.** Cp. Nic. Dam. 23. At some *comitia*, presumably in 44 B.C., but otherwise unknown.

**e ponte.** The raised gangway over which the voters passed. The presiding magistrate would doubtless be seated on a tribunal, but it is quite possible that for the purpose of summoning the voters he advanced on to the *pons*. Our knowledge of the construction and procedure of the Republican *saepta* is inadequate, but that *e ponte deicere* in connexion with a meeting of the *comitia* must refer to the gangway known as the *pons* is certain; cp. Fest., p. 452. L. s. v. *sexagenarios de ponte* gives as the generally received explanation *quo tempore primum per pontem coeperunt comitiis suffragium ferre, iuniores conclamaverunt, ut de ponte deicerentur sexagenari, qui iam nullo publico munere fungerentur, ut ipsi potius sibi quam illi deligerent imperatorem*. Deutsch (Californian Studies in Class. Philol. ii, No. 14 (1916), pp. 267-78) suggests that the *pons* was one passing over the *Petronia amnis*, described by Festus (296 L) as *in Tiberim perfluens, quam magistratus auspicato transeunt, cum in campo quid agere volunt*. But it is hard to connect this with the act of summoning the tribes, and the *amnis* was a mere brook rising on the Quirinal (Platner, Topogr. 19 and 340). For the received interpretation see Drumann-Groebe, iii, p. 649, n. 2; Mommsen, Staatsr. iii, 401. 3.

**in Sacra via.** Where he lived in the official residence of the *pontifex Maximus* (see on 46).

**theatri.** The theatre of Pompey on the Campus Martius.

**Pompei curiam.** One of the *exedrae* of the Porticus Pompei adjoining the theatre. The porticus is shown on frs. 30 and 110 of the Forma Urbis. See Jordan, Topogr. d. Stadt Rom. 1, iii, pp. 530-31; Plut. Brut. 14. 1. The statue of Pompey stood here, and Caesar fell dying at its feet (Plut. Caes. 66. 4; Brut. 17. 1; App. 2. 117; Liv. Epit. 116; Vell. Pat. 2. 56. 3; Cic. de Div. 2. 23 (*in curia Pompei ante ipsius Pompei simulacrum*); Nic. Dam. 23; Dio 44. 16. 2; 49. 2, and 52. 1). Appian states that the senators were expected to join in the attack (2. 114), Dio that the con-

spirators had posted gladiators in Pompey's theatre to help in case of need (44. 16. 2). Augustus removed Pompey's statue and had the *curia* walled up as a *locus sceleratus* (Suet. Aug. 31. 5; Iul. 88).

## CHAPTER LXXXI

§ 1. *prodigiis.* Plut. Caes. 63. 1; Dio 44. 17; Virg. Georg. 1. 466 sqq.

*colonia Capua.* Founded by Caesar's Campanian law in 59-58 B. C. (20 and 42. 1 n.).

*Capys.* Cp. Liv. 4. 37. 1; Virg. Aen. 10. 145.

§ 2. *Cornelius Balbus.* See note on 78. 1.

*equorum greges.* Nothing further is known of these remarkable beasts.

*Spurinna.* Mentioned by Val. Max. (1. 6. 13) in connexion with the portent of the 'beast without a heart'. See on 77 *haruspice*.

*ultra Martias Idus.* Cp. the curious statement in Plin. 18. 273 *Caesar et Idus Martias ferales sibi notavit Scorpionis casu*.

§ 3. *regaliolum*, 'the wren, the wren, the king of all birds'. Also called *trochilus*; cp. Plin. 10. 203 *dissident aquila et trochilus, si credimus, quoniam rex appellatur avium*; cp. Fr. *roitelet*.

*supra nubes . . . iungere.* Cp. the grotesque dream of Caligula (Suet. Cal. 57. 3).

*Calpurnia.* Cp. 21. 1. The dream is recorded with slight variations by Plut. Caes. 63. 2-3; Dio 44. 17; Val. Max. 1. 7. 2; App. 2. 115; Vell. Pat. 2. 57. 2; Nic. Dam. 23. The *fastigium* (pediment) had been added to the house *honoris causa* by the senate (cp. Plut. Caes. 63 (on authority of Livy); Cic. Phil. 2. 110).

*patuerunt.* Dio and Plut., ll. cc.

§ 4. *valitudinem.* See on 45. 1; 86. 1.

*differret.* Plutarch (Caes. 63. 4) and Appian (2. 115) both say that Caesar resolved to send Antony to do this.

*Decimo Bruto.* Cp. Dio 44. 18. 1-2; Plut. Caes. 64; App. 2. 115; Nic. Dam. 23. Dio states that the senate having waited long sent Decimus to summon Caesar; Appian that Decimus was already with him and dissuaded him from sending Antony; Plutarch merely that he came and dissuaded him from his design.

*quinta hora.* About 11 a.m. The senate usually met early or at dawn (Plut. Cic. 15. 3 and 19. 1; C. Gracch. 14. 1; Brut. 19. 2; App. 2. 126).

*libellum.* Cp. Plut. Caes. 65; Vell. Pat. 2. 57. 2; App. 2. 116; Dio 44. 18. 3; Nic. Dam. 19.

*a quodam.* Plutarch (1. c.) says that the man was the rhetori-



cian Artemidorus of Cnidus; but admits that another version says that he was an unknown man, Artemidorus having despite his efforts failed to get through the crowd. Other authorities agree with Suetonius in being vague; Appian says that Artemidorus ran to the senate and found the assassination in progress.

**hostiis caesis.** According to Appian (2. 116) the first victim lacked a 'heart or as some say the upper part (*κεφαλή*) of the entrails'. Caesar laughed and said that this had happened to him in Spain. The soothsayer replied that he had been in great peril then and that the omen was worse now. Caesar bade him try fresh victims. All boded ill, and at last his enemies hurried him into the senate house ashamed to delay any longer. Cp. also Nic. Dam. 24; Flor. 2. 13. 94 and Cic. Div. 1. 119 (same story as in Appian, but gives soothsayer's name—Spurinna).

**Spurinnam.** See above (sect. 2). 'The Ides of March are come.' 'Aye, Caesar, but not gone.' The incident is recorded without mention of Spurinna in Vell. Pat. 2. 57. 1; Plut. Caes. 63. 1; Dio 44. 18. 4; App. 2. 149; and with mention of Spurinna in Val. Max. 8. 11. 2 (the prophecy had been made some thirty days before).

## CHAPTER LXXXII

§ 1. **circumsteterunt.** Before they gathered round him, they had been alarmed by seeing him in private conversation with Popilius Laenas, and feared that the plot was being revealed, whereas Laenas was merely urging some petition (App. 2. 116; Plut. Brut. 15-16). They had previously taken the precaution of keeping Antony from the senate-house (Plut. Caes. 66. 2—detained in conversation by Decimus Brutus; Brut. 17. 1—by Trebonius); so, too, Dio (44. 19. 1) and Appian (2. 117). They had considered the advisability of killing Antony, but had decided against it (Plut. Ant. 13. 2; App. 2. 114).

**Cimber Tillius.** More correctly Tillius Cimber; cp. note on *Pollio Asinius* (55. 4). *A commilito Caesaris* (Sen. de Ira 3. 30. 5) and prospective governor of Bithynia (Cic. Fam. 12. 13. 3; Plut. Brut. 19. 2). Cicero (Phil. 2. 27) expresses surprise at finding him among the conspirators. The cause seems to have been his anger at Caesar's refusal to recall his exiled brother (Plut. Caes. 66. 2; Brut. 17. 2; App. 2. 117). Cicero (Fam. 6. 12. 2) speaks of him as having great influence with Caesar. Seneca (Ep. 83. 12) describes him as quarrelsome and given to wine-bibbing. (Plutarch calls him Tullius, Appian Atilius, but there is no doubt as to the existence of a *gens Tullia*, though it appears but seldom; see C. I. L. vi, 6, p. 180.)

**aliquid rogaturus.** His brother's recall.

**ab utroque umero,** etc. As a signal (Plut. Caes. 66. 2; Dio 44. 19; App. 2. 117, where Cimber cries 'Friends, what are you waiting for?').

**ista quidem vis est.** Recorded only here.

**alter e Cascais.** P. Servilius Casca, a Caesarian (App. 2. 113); tr. pl. in 43 B. C. (Cic. Att. 16. 15. 3; Dio 44. 52. 2).

**aversum:** i. e. from behind. So, too, Appian (2. 117) 'standing over Caesar's head'.

**vulnerat.** In the throat (Plut. Caes. 66. 2), in his shoulder (Brut. 17. 2). Appian, however, says that his blow swerved and struck him in the breast, which agrees with Suetonius's *paulum infra iugulum* and accounts for the blow not being mortal.

§ 2. **brachium arreptum.** So, too, Appian (2. 117); Plutarch (ll. cc.) says that he grasped Casca's weapon, and that Caesar cried out in Latin, 'Thou villain Casca, what dost thou?', while Casca called in Greek to his brother Gaius to help him.

**graphio.** With his *stilus*, the pointed metal pen used for writing on wax. Suetonius alone mentions this incident. Dio (44. 16. 1) speaks of the concealment of their daggers *ἐν κιβωρίοις ἀντὶ γραμματείων τινῶν ἐισκομισθέντων*; i. e. in *scrinia*. Appian (l. c.) says that Caesar flung Casca from him with great force.

**toga caput obvolvīt.** Appian (2. 117) and Plutarch (Caes. 66. 4) both record the tradition that Caesar struggled hard (like a 'wild beast' says A.). Both agree that he 'muffled up his face' when struck by Brutus. Dio (44. 19. 5) mentions the fact without reference to Brutus.

**quo honestius caderet.** So, too, Appian (l. c.).

**tribus et viginti plagis.** So App. and Plut. (ll. cc.); Liv. Epit. 116; Eutrop. 6. 25; Val. Max. 4. 5. 6 (Nic. Dam. 24 says 35, Dio 44. 19. 5 'many wounds'). Plutarch says that it was agreed among the conspirators that each should deal a wound that their guilt might be equal. See note on 80. 4 *sexaginta amplius*.

**καὶ σὺ, τέκνον.** The story is mentioned only by Suetonius and Dio, and both reject it. Brutus was not Caesar's son. See note on 50. 2 *Servilium*.\*

§ 3. **diffugientibus cunctis.** The senators not in the conspiracy (App. 2. 118; Plut. Caes. 67. 1; Dio 44. 20. 1-2). Plutarch says that for the moment Brutus stood in their midst as though he would have said something. The conspirators being left alone went in a body to the Forum (Dio 44. 20. 3).

**iacuit.** At the base of Pompey's statue (Plut. Caes. 66. 4; App. 2. 117).

**tres servoli.** So, too, Appian (2. 118).

**Antistius.** Unknown.

§ 4. **in Tiberim.** Cp. Dio 44. 35. 1; App. 2. 134 (where they are said to have wished to cast away his body without burial). For *in Tiberim* cp. Suet. Tib. 75. 1; Vit. 17. 2.



*bona publicare*. Besides the real property there was a sum of 25 million denarii (Plut. Ant. 13; Cic. 43. 3).

*acta rescindere*. Cp. App. 2. 133, where Antony (March 17-18) is represented as denouncing such action; also Dio 44. 34. 1, where the assassins promise the soldiers not to rescind the *acta Caesaris*.

**M. Antoni**. Plutarch (Brut. 18. 2) says that the conspirators desired to crown the deed by the murder of Antony, but were dissuaded by Brutus, who had hopes of converting him to a better mind. Antony meanwhile escaped disguised as a slave (see also Plut. Ant. 14. 1). The conspirators went up to the Capitol, protected by their gladiators (App. 2. 120; Plut. Caes. 67. 2; Brut. 18. 2; Dio 44. 21. 2). Antony, giving his son as a hostage, persuaded them to descend (Plut. Ant. 14. 1); he invited Cassius to dine with him, while Lepidus entertained Brutus. Antony picketed the city with troops (App. 2. 125) in the meantime. Finally, after a debate in the senate on March 17-18 (Plut. Brut. 19. 1; Ant. 14. 2; Cic. Phil. 1. 2), at which Antony scared the conspirators (many of them designated for office by Caesar) by proposing fresh elections and calling attention to the danger of the soldiers showing their resentment at Caesar's death (App. 2. 128 and 133-4), a temporary agreement was patched up.

**Lepidi**. Praetor 49; governor of Hispania citerior 48-47; consul with Caesar in 46; *magister equitum* July 46-March 44 B.C. He brought troops into Rome, and spoke against the conspirators (App. 2. 118; Dio 44. 22. 2).

*destiterunt*. Cp. App. 2. 119 ad fin.

#### CHAPTER LXXXIII

§ 1 **L. Pisone**. See 21. 1. For his proposal cp. App. 2. 135-6, where a fine speech is put into his mouth.

*in Antoni domo*. A preliminary reading. For the senate decreed that the will should be read in public (App. 2. 136; Plut. Caes. 68. 1; Brut. 20. 1).

**Lavicano**. For Caesar's villas see Suet. 46. 1.

**Vestali maximae**. The senior Vestal Virgin. For the Vestals as custodians of wills cp. Suet. Aug. 101. 1; Tac. Ann. 1. 8. 1 (Augustus); Plut. Ant. 58. 2 (Antony).

**Quintus Tubero**. The prosecutor of Ligarius in 46 B.C.; see Cic. pro Lig. *passim*. He wrote a history of Rome, used by Livy (4. 23. 1; 10. 9. 10) and Dion. Hal. (1. 80. 1). Cp. also Gell. 7. 3 and 4.

**Cn. Pompeium**. As his son-in-law.

§ 2. **C. Octavium**. Afterwards Augustus. Grandson of Caesar's younger sister (see on 74. 2), he was untried as yet, but found favour with Caesar on his return from Spain in 45 B.C. (Plut. Ant. 11. 1; Nic. Dam. 15; Dio 45. 2. 7; Suet. Aug. 8. 1). He was selected to be

*magister equitum* in 44 B.C. (Dio 43. 51. 7; App. 3. 9; C. I. L. (ed. 2) i, p. 28) after Lepidus had gone to command Gallia Narbonensis. He was at Apollonia at the time of Caesar's murder (Suet. Aug. 8. 2), having gone to Epirus in advance to join him when he started for his campaign in the East.

*ex dodrante*. To three-quarters of the estate.

**Q. Pedium**. Grandson of the husband of Caesar's elder sister (see on *soror Iulia*, 74. 2). For his inheritance see also App. 3. 22; Plin. 35. 21. See p. xiv.

**L. Pinarium**. Grandson of the other husband of Caesar's elder sister. See Plin., l. c.

*ex quadrante reliquo*. To the remaining quarter.

*in ima cera*. At the end of the document.

*adoptavit*. See Suet. Aug. 8. 2; Vell. Pat. 2. 59. 1; Dio 44. 35; App. 2. 143; Liv. Epit. 116.

**Decimum Brutum**. Cp. Dio 44. 35. 2; Plut. Caes. 64. 1; App. 2. 143. This caused great indignation at the funeral.

**hortos**. They had been open to the public since Munda (Val. Max. 9. 15. 1), and lay on the right bank of the Tiber (Plut. Brut. 20. 2). For this and other public bequests, see App. 2. 143; Plut. Caes. 68. 1; Brut., l. c.; Dio 44. 35. 3; Cic. Phil. 2. 109 *signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar una cum hortis legavit*.

**trecentos sestertios**. So, too, App. 2. 143 and Plut. Brut. 20. 2 (75 drachmae = 300 sest.); Dio (44. 35. 3) gives the same figure, but says that Octavius stated the sum to be 30 drachmae = 120 sesterces.

#### CHAPTER LXXXIV

§ 1. **funere indicto**. On the proposal of Piso, at the desire of Antony; cp. Plut. Brut. 20. 1; App. 2. 136.

*in Martio campo*. Cp. the funeral of Sulla (Plut. Sull. 38. 5) and of Augustus (Suet. Aug. 100. 2-4).

*iuxta Iuliae tumulum*. Pompey had desired that she should be buried at his villa under the Alban Mount, but the people demanded that she should be buried in the Campus Martius, despite the protest of the consul, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, that it was unlawful to bury any one in consecrated ground without a decree of the senate. See Plut. Pomp. 53. 4; Dio 39. 64; Liv. Epit. 106. For the site of the monument see Huelsen, Röm. Mitteil. (1903) xviii, pp. 17 sqq., and especially p. 53. It was afterwards struck by lightning (Suet. Aug. 95).

*pro rostris*. See note on 79. 2.

**tropaemum**. An upright on which the cloak was hung. Cp. App. 2. 146 τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγύμνου καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ κοντοῦ φερομένην ἀνέσειε, λελακισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν καὶ πεφυρμένην αἵματι αὐτοκράτορος. He adds the following additional details (2. 147) ἀνέσχε τις



ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποιημένον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα ὡς ὑπτιον ἐπὶ λέχους οὐχ ἑώρατο. τὸ δ' ἀνδρείκελον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπεστρέφετο πάντη, καὶ σφαγαὶ τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι ᾤφθησαν, ἀνά τε τὸ σῶμα πᾶν καὶ ἀνὰ τὸ πρόσωπον θηριωδῶς ἐς αὐτὸν γεόμεναι.

**munera.** The gifts of private individuals, probably largely in the nature of perfumes. His clothes, armour, insignia, etc., would have been brought officially.

**omisso ordine:** i. e. not in procession.

§ 2. **cantata sunt quaedam.** Cp. App. 2. 146.

**Pacuvii Armorum iudicio.** The old tragedians were still familiar, and the topical quotation of their verses was not infrequent; cp. Cic. Sest. 120 sqq.; Att. 2. 19. 3. The words must have formed part of a lamentation by Ajax before his suicide, complaining that he had saved the Greeks in the battle for the ships, was now deprived of his just reward and compelled to seek death.

**Electra.** A translation of the play of Sophocles. Probably from the lament for Agamemnon (86-120).

**Atilii.** Cp. Cic. de Fin. 1. 2. 5 *a quibus tantum dissentio ut, cum Sophocles vel optime scripserit Electram, tamen male conversam Atilii mihi legendam putem, de quo Licinus 'ferreum scriptorem'*. An Atilius is mentioned as fifth in the canon of writers of *Palliatae*. The Atilius from whom a comic fragment is cited by Cicero (Att. 14. 20. 3) is there styled by him *poeta durissimus*. The comic writer is therefore probably identical with the translator of the *Electra*. The best MSS. read *Acili*, but Atilius has better support elsewhere.

**laudationis.** A funeral oration.

**consul Antonius.** A male next-of-kin was present in Rome; cp. note on C. Octavium (83. 2).

**senatus consultum.** Cp. 86. 1 *sunt qui putent confisum eum novissimo illo senatus consulto ac iure iurando etiam custodias Hispanorum se removisse*. *Sacrosanctitas* had been conferred on him after Munda (Dio 44. 5. 3; App. 2. 144; Liv. Epit. 116). See also note on *honores nimios* (76. 1).

**ius iurandum.** The oath involved by the *senatus consultum*. Cp. App. 2. 145 καὶ αὐθις ἀνεγίνωσκε τοὺς ὄρκους, ἢ μὴν φυλάξειν Καίσαρα καὶ τὸ Καίσαρος σῶμα πάντας ἢ, εἴ τις ἐπιβουλεύσειεν, ἐξώλειεν εἶναι τοὺς οὐκ ἀμύναντας αὐτῷ. (Not to be confused with the oath to observe the *acta Caesaris*, mentioned in 2. 106.)

**perpauea addidit.** According to Cicero (Phil. 2. 90-91) and Plutarch (Ant. 14. 3 and Brut. 20. 2) the oration was infuriating. Dio (44. 36-49) gives a very long speech of such a character, the work to a large extent of his own or some other historian's rhetorical imagination. Appian (2. 144-5) gives a short and conciliatory speech, but makes Antony highly provocative in action (a striking description which may well be based on contemporary evidence).

§ 3. **magistratus et honoribus functi.** Cp. Sulla's funeral (App. 1. 106) and that of Augustus (Suet. Aug. 100).

**pars destinaret.** So, too, Dio 44. 50; App. 2. 148. The attempt was stopped by the soldiers (Dio) or by the priests (App.) for fear of setting fire to Pompey's theatre adjoining the *porticus Pompei* or damaging the temples on the Capitol. For the *curia Pompei* see on 80. 4. The body seems actually to have been moved from the Forum, but carried back thither (App.).

**duo quidam.** Recorded only here.

**succenderunt.** For other descriptions of these events see Dio (l. c.), App. 2. 143 sqq., and Plut. Caes. 68; Ant. 14. 3; Brut. 20. 3. The place of the burning was close to the *regia* (App.), in front of the temple of Caesar, where an altar was set up on the site of the pyre (Dio 44. 51. 1). The base of the altar may still be seen in a niche in front of the platform of the temple. Platner, Topogr., pp. 183-6.

§ 4. **tibicines.** Forming part of the band of *siticines* (funeral musicians, cp. Ateius Capito ap. Gell. 20. 2) assembled to lead the funeral procession. See Marquardt, Privatl., p. 341.

**scaenici artifices.** The *siticines* were followed by the *praeeficae* (mourning women), the *praeeficae* by mimes and dancers. Cp. Dion. Hal. 7. 72; Suet. Vesp. 19. 2 *sed et in funere Favor archimimus personam eius ferens imitansque et, ut mos est, facta et dicta vivi*.

**veteranorum.** Cp. App. 2. 133-4 (they had showed their hostility to the murderers). Cp. Cic. Fam. 11. 1. 1; Dio 44. 51. 1; Cic. Phil. 2. 100-1. Antony kept the active troops under control, but hurried off the veterans to their allotments.

**arma sua.** Cp. App. 2. 148 *στεφάνους τε ἔνιοι παρ' ἐαντῶν καὶ ἀριστεία πολλὰ ἐπιθέντες*.

**bullas atque praetextas.** The *bullae* were a species of locket containing the fascinum for the aversion of the evil eye, worn by boys till the assumption of the *toga virilis*, which replaced the *praetexta* or bordered toga of boyhood. Marquardt, Privatl., pp. 122-4.

§ 5. **circulatim,** 'gathering in groups'.  
**Iudaei.** Special privileges had been given them by Caesar (Joseph. Ant. Jud. 14. 8-10; R. Holmes, R. R. iii, 507-9). For their numbers at Rome cp. Cic. Flacc. 66 *scis quanta sit manus, quanta sit concordia, quantum valeat in contionibus*.

## CHAPTER LXXXV

**domum Bruti et Cassi.** Cp. Plut. Caes. 68. 1; Ant. 14. 3; Brut. 20. 3; App. 2. 147.

**Helvium Cinnam.** Tr. pl. and a friend of Caesar. Cp. 52. 3;



Dio 44. 50. 4. For his death see Dio (l.c.); Plut. Caes. 68. 2; Brut. 20. 4; App. 2. 147; Val. Max. 9. 9. 1. Plutarch (Brut.) speaks of him as a poet; if so, he may have been the famous poet, author of the Zmyrna, and friend of Catullus. (Against this possibility see M. E. Deutsch, *Classical Journal*, xx (1925), pp. 326-36.)

**Cornelius.** Cp. 5. 1 *L. Cinnae*. According to Appian (2. 121), after the murder he came into the Forum, denounced Caesar, praised the murderers, and 'laid aside his praetorian robe, as if disdainful of the gift of a tyrant'. Cp. also Plut. Brut. 18. 4. Dio (44. 50. 4) calls him a conspirator, but Appian, who speaks of him as a relative of Caesar who came unexpectedly into the Forum, seems to imply that he had no connexion with the plot.

**pridie contionatum.** Cp. Appian's account summarized in preceding note.

**columnam.** It was thrown down by Dolabella at the end of April (Cic. Att. 14. 15. 1; Phil. 1. 5), but apparently restored, if the last sentence of the chapter is correct (cp. *longo tempore*). But it is possible that Suetonius confuses the column with the altar erected in Caesar's honour on the site of the pyre. See note on *succenderunt* (84. 3).

**lapidis Numidiosi.** Giallo antico, fashionable at Rome since the consulate of Lepidus in 78 B. C. (Plin. 36. 49).

**PARENTI PATRIAE.** For the title see note on 76. 1 *patris patriae*. For the incident cp. Cic. Fam. 12. 3. 1 (Oct., 44 B. C.).

**saorificare.** Cp. note on *templa* (76. 1) and *in deorum numerum* (88).

#### CHAPTER LXXXVI

§ 1. **neque voluisse vivere.** Cp. Cic. Marc. 25, where Cicero makes Caesar say *satis diu vel naturae vixi vel gloriae*; a rhetorical trick, no doubt, but perhaps resting on current rumour or ascertained fact. Cp. Caesar's words in sect. 2.

**valitudine.** See note on 45. 1; 81. 4.

**religiones.** Cp. 77; 81. 4.

**novissimo senatus consulto ac iure iurando.** See on 84. 1.

**Hispanorum.** So, too, App. 2. 109. In Dec. 46 B. C. Caesar had a retinue of 2,000 men (Cic. Att. 13. 52. 1). Cp. Augustus' employment of Germans and Calagurritans (Suet. Aug. 49. 1); also C. I. L. 6. 4341 (Tiberius); Suet. Calig. 58. 3 (Gaius); C. I. L. 6. 8804, 8807, 8809-10 (Claudius); 8802-3, 8805, 8808 (Nero).

**custodias removisse.** Cp. Vell. Pat. 2. 57. 1; Plut. Caes. 57. 3; App. 2. 107 and 109; Dio 44. 7. 4; 44. 15. 2. All except Dio say that Caesar would sooner die than live in perpetual fear.

**nudis stipantium.** Bentley's correction of *adinspectantium* (MSS.). It is more forcible that Ihm's *adsectantium*, a verb more

suitable to an escort of enthusiastic friends. It also supplies some explanation of the corruption.

§ 2. **quam cavere . . . solitum.** The words *semper . . . etiam* are omitted by the MSS. The added words are due to Roth, save for *semper*, which is due to Ihm. The sentence would, perhaps, be neater without *sollicitum*. But *sollicitum* has the merit of giving some explanation of the corruption, the scribe's eye having jumped from *sollicitum* to *solitum*. *semper* is necessary to balance *semel*.

**non tam sua,** etc. The words are almost an echo of the magnificent passage in Cic. Marc. 25, of which the opening words are cited above on *neque voluisse vivere*.

#### CHAPTER LXXXVII

**inter omnes fere constitit.** The tradition survives in Plut. Caes. 63. 2 and App. 2. 115, who both give the story of his staying at the house of Lepidus on the eve of his murder. The story of his remark after reading Xenophon (Cyrop. 8. 7. 25) is found only here.

#### CHAPTER LXXXVIII

**sexto et quinquagesimo anno.** So Plutarch (Caes. 69. 1) and Appian (2. 149). Dio (44. 73) merely speaks of him as over fifty. For the whole question see p. xv.

**in deorum numerum.** So Plut. Caes. 67. 3 (by decree of the senate). Dio (47. 18. 4) says that the triumvirs founded a temple on the spot where he was burned, and 51. 22. 2 mentions the foundation of this temple by Augustus in 29 B. C. Cp. notes on *templa* (76. 1), *succenderunt* (84. 3), and *columnam* (85). For sanctuaries elsewhere cp. Dio 51. 20. 6 (Ephesus and Nicaea) and Cagnat, *Inscr. Gr. ad rem Rom. pert. no. 482* (Xanthus). He is regularly spoken of as *Divus Iulius* or *Θεὸς Καίσαρ* in official parlance.

**ludis.** Cp. Dio 43. 22. 2-3; 45. 6. 4; 49. 42. 1; App. 3. 28; Plin. 2. 93; Cic. Fam. 11. 28. 6; Suet. Aug. 10. 1; Nic. Dam. 28. These games (indifferently known as *Victoriae Caesaris* or *Veneri Genetrici*) were originally held in 46 B. C. on the 24th or 25th Sept., but, after the reform of the Calendar, on July 20-30; cp. C. I. L. (ed. 2) i, p. 225 (Fast. Maff.) and p. 244 (Fast. Amitern.); see also Mommsen's note in C. I. L. (ed. 2) i, pp. 322-3.

**primos consecrato ei.** The first games in his honour after his deification. A necessary correction for the MSS. *primo consecratos*. The games in question had been in existence since 46 B. C. See previous note.

**stella crinita.** Cp. Plut. Caes. 69. 2; Dio 45. 7. 1; Plin. 2. 93-4 and 98; Sen. N. Q. 7. 17. 2; Virg. Ecl. 9. 47 and Aen. 8. 681 (cp. Serv. ad loc. 'visible for three days'); Hor. Od. 1. 12. 46; Ov. M.



15. 845; Prop. 4. 6. 30 and 59. The star appears on coins; cp. Mattingly. Coins of R. Empire in B. M., i, pp. 59, 63, 301, and pl. 6. 6-8 (coins of Augustus; reverse shows an eight-pointed star with tail and inscr. *DIVVS IVLIVS*). See also Grueber, Coins R. Rep. in B. M. ii, pp. 411-13, and pl. 105. 11 (Caesar and star on coins of 38 B. C.). It is worth noting that a star appears on coins apparently minted in Caesar's lifetime, perhaps as an indication of the divine or semi-divine honours paid him in his lifetime; cp. Grueber, i, pp. 547, 548, and pl. 54. 16 (44 B. C.). The star also appears on later coins; cp. Mattingly, i, pl. 27, 1-4; on the reverse a profile of Tiberius or Augustus with two stars.

**animam Caesaris.** Cp. Suet. Aug. 100. 4 (an ex-praetor sees Augustus soaring to heaven); a similar case in Sen. Apocol. 1; Dio 59. 11. 4 (Drusilla, Caligula's sister, seen on her way to heaven).

**simulacro.** See on *stella crinita*.

**curiam.** See note on *Pompei curiam* (80. 4); also Dio 47. 19. 1.

## CHAPTER LXXXIX

**percussorum . . . defunctus est.** Killed at *Mutina* (or soon after): L. Minucius Basilus, D. Brutus, Pontius Aquila. Killed at *Philippi*: Tillius Cimber. Suicide at *Philippi*: Both Cascas, M. Brutus and Cassius, Antistius Labeo (? perhaps killed). Executed after outlawry under *lex Pedia*: Sulpicius Galba, Ligarius, Sextius Naso (?). Killed by Antony at Ephesus (41 B. C.): Petronius; by Dolabella at Smyrna: C. Trebonius (43 B. C.); at Athens (31 B. C.): Cassius Parmensis; at Cos (30 B. C.): Turullius. For details see Drumann-Groebe, iii, 627-44. The fate of the two Caecilii and Spurius and Rubrius Ruga, is unknown.

**sua morte,** 'by a natural death'.

**damnati.** Cp. Mon. Anc. 2 *qui parentem meum interfecerunt, eos in exilium expuli, iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus*. They were not technically exiled, but outlawed (*aquae et ignis interdictio*) by the *lex Pedia*, introduced by Q. Peditius (cos. with Octavian in 43 B. C.); cp. Vell. Pat. 2. 69. 5; App. 3. 95; Dio 46. 48-9; Liv. Epit. 120 (according to which Octavian introduced the law).

**naufragio.** No known instance.

**eodem illo pugione.** Cp. Plut. Caes. 69. 2 (Cassius); Iul. Capit. in Scr. Hist. Aug. 20. 33. 4. (The nine murderers of Gordian III commit suicide with the weapons they had used to kill the emperor.)

## SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

- 1.1 **annum sextum decimum:** Mommsen's arguments (*Staatsrecht* I 568-70), seeking to reconcile Caesar's known career with the official ages for holding various offices, have been modified by the recognition of allowance made for patrician birth — see E. Badian, *Journal of Roman Studies* 49 (1959) 81, Gelzer (1969) 1 — and there is no reason to question Suetonius' dating.
- flamen Dialis:** Velleius cannot in fact be correct, since Caesar was too young and his betrothed wife was not a patrician. Suetonius' word *destinatus* is more accurate than Velleius' *creatus*, implying something more like 'nominated' (elsewhere in connection with a priesthood only in *Caligula* 12.1, where it is contrasted with *inaugurari*). Tacitus (*Annals* 3.58.2) states that Merula (whose place Caesar was to take) had no successor in 75 years (so Dio 54.36.1). The appointment, which would have blocked Caesar's career for ever, was prevented from being ratified by Sulla's victory in 83 B.C. See further L.R. Taylor, *Classical Philology* 36 (1941) 121ff. and *American Journal of Philology* 63 (1942) 393.
2. **Marci Thermi:** Flaccus' successor was in any case probably called Quintus, not Marcus — so Broughton (1952) 56, following Münzer, *Pauly-Wissowa* XV (1932) 1971-2, n. 66.
- corona civica:** Weinstock (1971) 164 shows that Appian's reference is to a second grant of the same honour in 45 B.C. (so Dio 44.4.5). L.R. Taylor, *Greece & Rome* n.s. 4 (1957) 12-13, suggests that, as when the senate had to be strengthened after the battle of Cannae (Livy 23.23.6), those who had won the civic crown might be granted early entry to the senate.
5. **tribunatu militum:** Gelzer (1952) 25, n.1; and 29 argues that Caesar returned to Rome in 73 to become a *pontifex*, and held the tribunate in 72 B.C. Broughton (1952) 125 prefers 71 B.C.
- 19.2 **silvae callesque:** P.J. Rhodes, *Historia* 27 (1978) 617-20, following J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Journal of Roman Studies* 29 (1939) 180-3 and Balsdon (1967) 67, argues that the senate at this date had no reason to be apprehensive of Caesar's power and simply wished to retain both consuls in command in Italy in case the threat of trouble from the Allobroges materialised, as had been done several times in the second century and apparently in the case of Catulus in 78 B.C. For the name of the province, cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 4.27.2, where a quaestor, *cui provincia vetere ex more calles evererant*, keeps the peace in the south of Italy with a small force of marines. Balsdon, following Willems, argued that the phrase here is the gloss of 'a researcher' on the basis of the Tacitean passage; but Suetonius clearly understood the move as an intended insult to Caesar, and the name provided seems as likely as any. Gelzer (1969)



- 84 accepts Suetonius' version.
- 22.2 **insultatum:** the word evidently bears an obscene *double entendre*, recalling *capitibus... illudere* in *Tiberius* 45 (where the sense of sexual abuse is confirmed by Tacitus, *Annals* 13.17.3). The use of *caput* for *os* in an obscene context (as in *Priapea* 22.2 and Martial 14.74.2) is unusual enough to suggest that Caesar did not intend any more than a general taunt such as Evander's words in Virgil *Aeneid* 8.570, *huic capiti insultans*; but the opposition seized on the ambiguity as a chance to question Caesar's virility.
- 23.1 **Gaio Memmio:** he was never in fact consul (see supplementary note on 73 below), being rejected in the election for 54 B.C. after revealing a shameless attempt to pervert the voting, and ending his life in exile in Athens. See Gelzer (1969) 146 for the whole episode.
- 26.3 **stipendium:** this statement clearly picks up the *divisio* in 26.2, *nullum largitionis aut officiorum in quemquam genus publice privatimque omisit*, the public examples concluding with the corn-distribution in the next note, the private running through to the communities in 28.1. All belong to the second period of his proconsulship (54–50 B.C.), when Caesar was in no position to increase the pay of any troops but his own. It has commonly been taken, however, — e.g. by G.R. Watson, *Historia* 7 (1958) 115–6 and *The Roman Soldier* (1969) 88–91 of a general increase from 112½ to 225 *denarii*, corresponding to the figure given by Tacitus, *Annals* 1.17.6 for the beginning of Tiberius' reign. Suetonius' phrase *in perpetuum* must refer to something more like this, and it looks as if he has run together the first limited measure with a universal one effected late in Caesar's period of supremacy. Gelzer (1969) 165, n.l. fails to notice the context initially connecting the reform with the Gallic command.
- 29.2 **pepigit:** the negotiation evidently took place during the few days between Cicero's approach to Rome on 4th Jan. 49 B.C. and the breakdown of talks on the 7th. Plutarch, *Caesar* 31.1 and Velleius 2.48.5 emphasize Cicero's efforts for reconciliation. Curio acted as Caesar's spokesman, apparently being empowered to negotiate beyond the actual letter mentioned above.
- 32 **iacta alea est:** the original Greek words (so Plutarch, *Pompey* 60.4), described by Appian as a common phrase, were clearly metrical; and the perfect imperative *ἀνεργίφθω* is well represented by Erasmus' *iacta esto*, which also provides better sense with *eatur*. For the translation into Latin, see supplementary note on 82.2 *καὶ σύ, τέκνον* below.
- 39.1 **omnium linguarum:** the only other language will have been Oscan, as described by Strabo 5.3.6 (C. 233), although the language appears to have become almost obsolete.
- 39.1 **pyrrhicam:** in fact, the subjects tended to be far from military (*Nero* 12.2, Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 10.29), but rather lascivious. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Hadrian 19.8 has to specify *militares*.
- 49.4 **Gallias Caesar subegit:** but manuscripts Q, D and Π (in margin) have *et quare*

- triumphat Caesar qui subegit Gallias*. One version or the other seems essential to the sense, and the repetitiveness (helping to account for the omission) is no objection in verse of this sort.
- 50.2 **tertia deducta:** most manuscripts, but not the Memmianus, add *est* to complete the sentence, perhaps rightly.
- 52.2 **Oppium:** however, fragments dealing with Scipio and Marius probably derive from a comparison of Caesar with earlier Roman generals, of which traces survive in Plutarch, *Caesar* 15.2.
53. **conditum:** Plutarch's version, likewise based on Oppius and containing good circumstantial details (the host being Valerius Leo of Milan), is not to be trusted far: his 'myrrh' is clearly the *muria* (brine) of Cato, *de Re Rustica* 7.4, where olives *conduntur... virides in muria*, and of Persius 6.20 referring to vegetables served in *muria*. However, the verb *condire*, 'flavour', is also employed, as by Cato, *de Re Rustica* 117 and the elder Pliny *Natural History* 15.16 and 29, whether with salt or with *pretiosa odoramenta*, and perhaps by Celsus 1.2.9. Howard & Jackson, in their Suetonian lexicon, have 'perfumed': Ailloud (Budé), Rolfe (Loeb) and Graves (Penguin) prefer 'rancid' or 'stale'. The latter meaning, if rather difficult to extract from *condita* ('kept in store?'), makes a better contrast with *viridis*.
- 56.1 **commentarios:** for more modern views, see C.E. Stevens, *Latomus* 11 (1952) 3–18 and 165–79; F.E. Adcock, *Caesar as man of letters* (1956) 77–100; J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Greece and Rome* n.s. 4 (1957) 23–4.
- 76.1 **honores nimios:** on all these points, and similar ones in chapters 81 and 88, see Weinstock (1971) especially 133–62.
- 82.2 **καὶ σύ, τέκνον:** the vocative *τέκνον* is primarily an epic and tragic usage (so that the phrase may in fact be a verse quotation), and need not imply relationship (as *Iliad* 9.437 and *Odyssey* 4.611). Caesar's alleged use of it may have been intended to support the story of Brutus' paternity. The source of Shakespeare's *et tu, Brute*, (*Julius Caesar* 3.1.77) is evidently remote from Suetonius' Greek, which must still be its ultimate source. The editors of Shakespeare agree in tracing the Latin phrase back no further than *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke* (printed 1595, some four years before the composition of *Julius Caesar*); although the English 'And Brutus thou, my son' appears in *Parts added to the Mirror for Princes* (1587, ed. L.B. Campbell (1946) 302) and 'What, Brutus, too?' in the anonymous *Caesar's Revenge*, perhaps as early as 1594 (see T.S. Dorsch in the Arden Edition (1955) xii–xiii and 67). There is much attraction in Malone's conjecture of an origin in the lost Latin *Epilogus Caesaris Interfecti* (1582) of Richard Edes, as explaining the rendering in Latin; but Shakespeare is unlikely to have read such a work in Latin. Another possibility is that an English play or prose work had this one phrase in Latin to match Suetonius' one in Greek. The introduction of the name *Brute* was evidently to avoid replacing the ambiguity of *τέκνον* with the much less equivocal *fili*, which was generalised to refer to any young friend only well after Suetonius' time (cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* vi.

757-8). The extant Latin play, by Muretus (c. 1544) in the manner of Seneca, avoided a direct representation of the murder (H.M. Ayres in *Publications of the Modern Language Society* 5 (1910) 210); but if *et tu Brute* comes from a similar play in iambic verse, it was probably part of a messenger-speech, since it neither starts nor finishes a line. For the rarity of quotations in Greek in any formal Latin literature (personal letters and biography being exceptional in this respect), see G.B. Townend in *Hermes* 88 (1960) 98 ff. In chapter 32 Suetonius has Caesar's words at the Rubicon, originally in Greek, in a Latin translation, which he evidently took from some intermediate source such as Pollio, who, as a historiographer, would avoid Greek. On the whole question see M. Dubuisson, *Latomus* 39 (1980) 881-90.

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