Divus Iulius:
The Life of Julius Caesar

Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus

Core Vocab (Words Used Five or More Times in the Selections)

These words will not be given in the running vocabulary and should be memorized as soon as possible.

1. ā, ab, prep. + abl. – *(away) from, by*
2. ac, atque (conj.) – *and, and also*
3. ad, prep. + acc. – *to, toward; at, near; for (the purpose of); in accordance with*
4. agō agere ēgī āctus – *to do, drive; act, discuss, debate; hold (a meeting); transact (business); spend, pass; live*
5. alius alia aliud – *other, another, different, else*
6. apud, prep. + acc. – *at the house of; at, among*
7. atque, ac (conj.) – *and, and also*
8. autem (postpositive conj.) – *but, however*
9. causa, causae f. – *cause, reason; (law) case*
10. cēterī cēterae cētera – *the rest, the remaining; other*
11. circā, prep. + acc. – *around; about, concerning; near*
12. cōnsul, cōnsulis m. – *consul,* highest elected magistrate in the Roman state
13. cum (conj. + subj.) – *when; since; although*
14. cum, prep. + abl. – *with, along with*
15. cūria, cūriae f. – *senate house, meeting place of the senate*
16. dē, prep. + abl. – *(down) from; about, concerning*
17. dēcernō dēcernere dēcrēvī dēcrētus – *to judge, decide, determine; to (issue a) decree* (of the Senate; *propose, resolve, vote; grant by decree*
18. deinde, adv. – *then, next*
19. dīcō dīcere dīxī dictus – *to say; speak, tell; call*
20. diēs, diēī m. – *day*
21. dō dare dedī datus – *to give, grant, bestow*
22. ē, ex, prep. + abl. – *out of, from; of; according to, in accordance with; since (the time of)*
23. et ... et (conj.) – *both ... and*
24. et (adv.) – *even; also, too*
25. etiam (adv.) – *even; also, too; indeed*
26. faciō facere fēcī factus – *to make, render; do*
27. ferō ferre tulī lātus – *bear; bring, carry; say, report, relate, assert*
28. fīlia, fīliae f. – *daughter*
29. gravis gravis grave – *heavy; grave, weighty, serious; harsh, severe*
30. habeō habēre habuī habitus – *to have, hold; possess; consider*
31. hic haec hoc (demonstrative pron. and adj.) – *this, the following*
32. honor, honōris m. – *honor; political office*
33. hostis, hostis m. (i-stem) – *enemy; enemy of the state;* (pl.) *the enemy*
34. īdem eadem idem – *the same*
35. Īdūs, Īduum f.pl. – *the Ides,* the fifteenth of March, July, October, and May, and the thirteenth of every other month
36. ille illa illud (demonstrative pron. and adj.) – *that; that famous; the former*
37. in, prep. + abl. – *in, on; at; among; during the course of; in the case of*
38. in, prep. + acc. – *into, onto; unto, to; until; against, toward; for, for the purpose of*
39. inquit (defective verb) – *says, said*
40. inter, prep. + acc. – *between, among, during, while*
41. ipse ipsa ipsum (intensive pron. and adj.) -- -*self, the very*
42. is ea id (weak demonstrative) – *he, she, it; this, that; such*
43. iubeō iubēre iussī iussus – *to order, bid; command*

44. magnus magna magnum – *great, large, big*
45. manus, manūs f. – *hand; band (of men)*
46. mēnsis, mēnsis m. (i-stem) – *month*
47. mīles, mīlitis m. – *soldier; soldiery*
48. multus multa multum – *much, (pl.) many*
49. nam (conj.) – *for, since*
50. nē (conj. + subj.) – *(so) that ... not, (in order) not to, lest*
51. nec (conj.) – *and ... not, nor*
52. neque ... neque (conj.) – *neither ... nor*
53. nōmen, nōminis n. – *name; clan name, gentilicium; stock, race*
54. nōn (adv.) – *not*
55. omnis omnis omne – *each, every; all*
56. pars, partis f. – *part;* pl. *(political) party;* pl. *part, rôle; duty, function*
57. pater, patris m. – *father; senator; the Elder*
58. per, prep. + acc – *through, throughout, along; during; as; by means of; through the agency of*
59. post, prep. + acc. – *after*
60. prīmus prīma prīmum – *first; chief, foremost*
61. prō, prep. + abl. – *before, in front of; at the front of, on, upon; instead of, in place of*
62. proximus proxima proximum – *nearest, closest; next, adjoining; occurring soon after; first;*
63. quam (adv.) – *than*
64. –que (enclitic conj.) -- *and*
65. quī quae quod (relative pron. and adj.) – *who, which, that*
66. quīdam quaedam quoddam (indefinite pron. and adj.) – *one, some, a certain*
67. quidem (adv.) – *in fact, indeed*
68. quisquam, quicquam (indefinite pron.) – *anyone, anything*
69. quod (conj.) – *because, (for the fact) that*
70. referō referre rettulī relātus – *to bring back; pay back; return (a favor); restore, return; relate, report; (pass.) arrive, return; to note down, inscribe, register, record; count or reckon (someone among); bring forward (a motion)*
71. rēs, reī f. – *thing; affair; circumstance; state; business, matter*
72. rēx, rēgis m. – *king*
73. saepe (adv.) – *often, frequently*
74. scrībō scrībere scrīpsī scrīptus – *to write*
75. sed (conj.) – *but*
76. senātus, senātūs m. – *the (Roman) senate*
77. sine, prep. + abl. – *without*
78. sum esse fuī futūrus (irr.) – *to be*
79. suī sibi sē sē (reflexive pron.) – *himself, herself, itself, themselves*
80. suus sua suum – *his, her, its, their (own)*
81. tempus, temporis n. – *time*
82. trēs trēs tria – *three*
83. ūllus ūlla ūllum – *any*
84. umquam (adv.) – *ever*
85. ūnus ūna ūnum – *one; alone, only; single, sole*
86. ut (conj. + ind.) – *as (if); how; when*
87. ut (conj. + subj.) – *that, so that, (in order) to, with the result that*
88. uxor, uxōris f. – *wife*
89. videō vidēre vīdī vīsus – *to see; (passive) to seem*

I. The Early Life of Caesar §1-17

annum agēns sextum decimum – idiomatic Latin; we would say *when he was 15 (years old)*, lit. 'leading his sixteenth year'. The Romans counted inclusively, meaning that what we should call a 15 year old (someone who has not yet had his/her sixteenth birthday) is to them a 'sixteen year old' (someone who is approaching his/her sixteenth birthday). The year referred to is 85/84 BCE.

patrem āmīsit – sc. *C. Iulius Caesar* as the subject of the verb; Caesar's father was also named Gaius Iulius Caesar. The beginning of this biography appears to be lost (we call this a *lacuna* in the text, a 'hole'). This beginning would have included a preface to the entire work of the *Lives of the Caesars* (most likely) and certainly an account of Caesar's birth/childhood.

sequentibusque cōnsulibus – The Romans had several ways of referring to a year, but the most common was to list the names of the two consuls, the highest magistrates in the republic, who served for a term of one year. Ablative absolute, 'in the [year of] the following consuls', i.e. *the next year*, 84/3 BCE.

flāmen Diālis – The *flāminēs* were priests attached to a specific god who also belonged to the college of *pontificēs*; there were three major *flāminēs* (of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, the deified Romulus) and twelve minor ones. The *flāmen* of Jupiter was subject to many arcane and strange rules of behavior (that would have seriously hampered Caesar's career if he had remained in the office), such as not being allowed to ride a horse or spend the night away from his house. He also had to be married to a patrician woman and could not divorce her; upon her death he ceased to be *flāmen*.

dīmissā Cossutiā – abl. abs., *with Cossutia having been dismissed*, i.e. having broken off the engagement with her

familiā equestrī sed admodum dīves – both of these phrases describe *quae*, the subject of the relative clause, but *familiā equestrī* is an ablative of quality, *from an equestrian family*, while *dīves* is simply a nominative singular adjective.

praetextātō – sc. *Caesarī*. A male child of Roman citizens would wear the *toga praetexta*, a toga with a purple stripe, until at manhood (somewhere between 14 and 18 years of age) he would assume the *toga virīlis*, the adult (plain) toga. In other words, Cossutia and Caesar were betrothed before he reached his majority.

dēspōnsāta fuerat – an alternative form to *dēspōnsāta erat* for the pluperfect passive indicative

quater cōnsulis – in apposition to *Cinnae*; in Latin, the appositive retains the case of the main noun; *the four-times consul*, or *who was consul four times*

illī – i.e., Caesar; dative of reference

mox – 'afterwards, later' as is usual in Silver Latin, not 'soon'

ut repudiāret – an indirect command dependent on the following *compellī*; *to divorce (her)*. Sulla, dictator 82-79 BCE, was opposed by Cornelia's father Cinna, and Sulla must have asked the young Caesar to divorce her as proof that Caesar was not his enemy also.

[1.1] annum agēns sextum decimum patrem āmīsit; sequentibusque cōnsulibus, flāmen 1
Diālis dēstinātus, dīmissā Cossutiā, quae familiā equestrī sed admodum dīves praetextātō 2
dēspōnsāta fuerat, Cornēliam Cinnae quater cōnsulis fīliam dūxit uxōrem, ex quā illī mox 3
Iūlia nāta est; neque ut repudiāret compellī ā dictātōre Sullā ūllō modō potuit. 4

**annus, annī m. — *year*
sextus sexta sextum — *sixth*
decimus decima decimum — *tenth*
āmittō āmittere āmīsī āmissus — *to lose*
**sequor, sequī, secūtus sum — *to follow*
flāmen, flāminis m. — *flamen, priest* (of a specific god)
Diālis Diālis Diāle — *of Jupiter*
dēstinō dēstināre dēstināvī dēstinātus — *to designate, appoint*
**dīmittō dīmittere dīmīsī dīmissus — *to dismiss, let go, send away; renounce; break off with*
familia, familiae f. — *family, household*
equester equestris equestre — *equestrian*
sed, conj. — *but*
admodum, adv. — *quite, very*
dīves, gen. dīvitis — *rich, wealthy*
praetextātus praetextāta praetextātum — *still wearing the* toga praetexta, *young*
dēspōnsō dēspōnsāre dēspōnsāvī dēspōnsātus — *to betroth*
quater, adv. — *four times*
uxōrem dūcō dūcere dūxī ductus — *to marry*
**mox, adv. — *then, next; afterwards, later*
nāscor, nāscī, nātus sum — *to be born*
**neque, conj. — *nor, and ... not*
repudiō repudiāre repudiāvī repudiātus — *to reject, repudiate; divorce*
compellō compellere compulī compulsus — *to force, compel*
dictātor, dictātōris m. — *dictator*
modus, modī m. — *way, manner, kind*
**possum posse potuī (irr.) — *to be able, can*

sacerdōtiō ... hērēditātibus – Abl. of separation with *multātus*

diversārum ... habēbātur – *He was considered [to be] of the opposite party*, i.e., Caesar was considered by Sulla's group (the Optimates) to be a member of the Populares, the party formerly headed by his uncle-by-marriage, Marius. The Optimates were the Senatorial party, supporting the traditional order of things where most important decisions of government were made by the Senate, while the Populares were the 'people's party'; although in practice both groups were made up of men from the highest ranks of Roman society, the Populares had goals that paid more lip service to popular measures such as land reform.

partium – *pars* in the plural often (as here) means *political party*.

ut, etc. – Result clause. Tr. 'so that' or 'with the result that'. The main verb in the result clause is *cogerētur*; *discēdere* and *commūtāre* are complementary infinitives dependent upon it.

ē mediō – *from sight*

quamquam, etc. – *quamquam* can mark a concessive abl. abs. Tr. 'although he was slowed down by malaria'.

per singulās noctēs – *every night*

latebrās – 'hiding place', like the lair or den of a hunted animal

sēque ... redimeret – Caesar bribed Sulla's agents who were pursuing him so that they would not turn him in.

dōnec – always means 'until' in Suetonius; never 'as long as'

per ... suōs – Tr. *per* here as 'by the agency of' or 'with help from'.

Virginēs Vestālēs – The Vestal Virgins were the priestesses of Vesta, the Roman goddess of the hearth, whose job it was to tend the sacred fire at their temple in the Forum. They swore to remain unwed and celibate (and were subject to the penalty of burial alive if found to have broken their vow) and were honored with privileges not open to other Roman women. They could intercede on behalf of the condemned and offer them sanctuary.

veniam impetrāvit – sc. from Sulla.

[1.2] quārē et sacerdōtiō et uxōris dōte et gentīlīcīs hērēditātibus multātus diversārum   1
partium habēbātur, ut etiam discēdere ē mediō et, quamquam morbō quārtānae   2
adgravante, prope per singulās noctēs commūtāre latebrās cōgerētur sēque ab   3
inquīsītōribus pecūniā redimeret, dōnec per Virginēs Vestālēs perque Mamercum   4
Aemilium et Aurēlium Cottam propinquōs et adfīnēs suōs veniam impetrāvit.   5

quārē, conj. – *wherefore, for this reason*
sacerdōtium, sacerdōtiī n. – *priesthood*
dōs, dōtis f. – *dowry*
gentīlīcius gentīlīcia gentīlīcium – *belonging to one's clan*
hērēditās, hērēditātis f. – *inheritance*
multō multāre multāvī multātus + abl. – *to fine, deprive someone of*
diversus diversa diversum – *different, varied; opposite*
discēdō discēdere discessī discessūrus – *to leave, depart*
medius media medium – *middle*
**quamquam, conj. – *although*
morbus, morbī m. – *disease, illness*
quārtāna, quārtānae f. – *quartan fever, a four-day fever: malaria*
adgravō adgravāre adgravāvī adgravātus – *to make heavy, burden*
**prope, adv. – *near; nearly, almost*
**singulus singula singulum – *single, individual; solitary; one (each)*
**nox, noctis f. (i-stem) – *night*
commūtō commūtāre commūtāvī commūtātus – *to change*
latebrae, latebrārum f.pl. – *hiding place, lair*
cōgō cōgere coēgī coāctus – *to force, compel*
inquīsītor, inquīsītōris m. – *investigator; spy*
pecūnia, pecūniae f. – *money*
redimō redimere redēmī redēmptus – *to redeem, ransom; buy off, rescue by payment*
dōnec, conj. – *until*
virgō, virginis f. – *maiden, unmarried woman; virgin*
Vestālis Vestālis Vestāle – *Vestal, of Vesta*
propinquus, propinquī m. – *relative*
adfīnis, adfīnis m. – *affine, relative by marriage, in-law*
venia, veniae f. – *forgiveness, pardon*
impetrō impetrāre impetrāvī impetrātus – *to obtain, get*

satis cōnstat – *it is generally agreed that*, lit. '(the account) tallies sufficiently', a metaphor from accounting. It introduces indirect statement (*Sullam ... prōclāmāsse*)

cum ... dēnegasset ... contenderent – *cum*-circumstantial clause

dēprecantibus ... virīs – abl. abs.

amīcissimīs – i.e., to Sulla, his closest friends

dēnegāsset – Syncopated (shortened) form of *dēnegāvisset*. The understood direct object is *veniam* (from 1.2, above).

illī – nom. pl. It refers to the *amīcissimī et ōrnātissimī virī*.

expugnātum – modifies *Sullam*

prōclāmāsse – syncopated (shortened) form of *prōclāmāvisse*, the perfect infinitive denoting action prior to the main verb in primary sequence (*satis cōnstat*)

sīve ... coniectūrā – Note the lack of parallelism (inconcinnity) between the two options: *dīvīnitus* is an adverb, *aliquā coniectūrā* abl. of means. Such deliberate avoidance of parallel constructions to create *variātiō* (interesting differentiation) is characteristic of Suetonius' style.

vincerent ... inesse – Suetonius reports Sulla's words in a nested indirect statement. Such quotations, even when not direct, are noted in the text by italics.

vincerent, habērent – These subjunctives represent the imperatives of direct speech. Render as 'they might win' or 'let them win' and 'they might have' or 'let them have'.

habērent – sc. *Caesarem*

dummodo scīrent – Clause of proviso ('provided that', 'so long as').

scīrent – Introduces a third nested indirect statement (*eum ... futūrum* [*esse*]).

eum – i.e. Caesar

quem incolumem ... cuperent – sc. *esse*

cuperent, dēfendissent – Subordinate clauses in indirect statement that are part of the original speech take their verb in the subjunctive.

optimātium partibus ... exitiō futūrum – The so-called double dative construction, consisiting of a dative of reference (*optimātium partibus*) and a dative of purpose (*exitiō*) plus a form of the verb 'to be' (*futūrum* [*esse*]). Tr. 'he would be the ruin of the Optimate party'.

[1.3] satis cōnstat Sullam, cum, dēprecantibus amīcissimīs et ōrnātissimīs virīs, 1
aliquamdiū dēnegāsset atque illī pertināciter contenderent, expugnātum tandem 2
prōclāmāsse sīve dīvīnitus sīve aliquā coniectūrā: vincerent ac sibi habērent, dummodo 3
scīrent eum, quem incolumem tantō opere cuperent, quandōque optimātium partibus, quās 4
sēcum simul dēfendissent, exitiō futūrum; nam Caesarī multōs Mariōs inesse. 5

satis cōnstat – *it is generally agreed that*
dēprecor dēprecārī dēprecātus sum – *to avert by prayer; to intercede for; plead*
amīcus amīca amīcum – *friendly*
ōrnātus ōrnāta ōrnātum – *distinguished, illustrious*
vir, virī m. – *man*
aliquamdiū, adv. – *for some time, for a while*
dēnegō dēnegāre dēnegāvī dēnegātus – *to deny, refuse*
pertināx, gen. pertinācis – *stubborn, obstinate, persistent*
contendō contendere contendī contentus – *to assert, maintain; strive; exert oneself*
expugnō expugnāre expugnāvī expugnātus – *take by storm, defeat*
tandem, adv. – *at last, finally*
prōclāmō prōclāmāre prōclāmāvī prōclāmātus – *to proclaim, shout*
sīve ... sīve – *whether ... or*
dīvīnitus, adv. – *by divine intervention*
aliquī aliquae aliquod, indefinite adjective – *some, any*
coniectūra, coniectūrae f. – *guess; interpretation*
**vincō vincere vīcī victus – *to conquer, win*
dummodo, conj. + subj. – *so long as, provided that*
**sciō scīre scīvī scītus – *to know*
incolumis incolumis incolume – *safe, unharmed*
tantō opere (also, tantopere) – *so much, so greatly*
cupiō cupere cupīvī cupītus – *to want, desire*
quandōque, adv. – *one day, some day*
**optimātēs, optimātium m.pl. – *the Optimates*, the party supporting the traditional aristocracy and
       Senatorial power
**simul, adv. – *together, at the same time, simultaneously*
dēfendō defendere dēfendī dēfēnsus – *to defend; champion; support*
exitium, exitiī n. – *destruction, ruin, downfall*
insum inesse īnfuī + dat. (irr.) – *be in, be contained in*

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sēcum – In Latin, the reflexive pronoun generally continues to refer back to the subject of the verb of speaking, not the subject of the indirect statement or any subordinate verbs in it. Therefore, *sē* here refers to Sulla (subject of *prōclāmāsse*), not his advisors (subject of *dēfendissent*).

futūrum – sc. *esse*. The forms of 'to be' are regularly left out in Latin when they are not needed. *futūrum esse* is the future active infinitive of *esse*, denoting an action that will occur after the main verb; in secondary sequence (*prōclāmāsse*), tr. 'would be'.

nam, etc. – Sulla was well-known for making such witty remarks. *Caesarī* is dat with *inesse*.

cēterum – This conjuction, equivalent to *sed* and meaning 'but', is found in this use primarily in Sallust and the post-Augustan writers.

compositā ... cīvīlī – Abl. abs. The civil discord referred to is that which occurred after the death of Sulla (see §3).

Cornēlium ... triumphālem – Dolabella had been consul in 81 and then became governor (proconsul) of the province of Macedonia. The adjective *cōnsulāris* denotes a man of 'consular' rank, i.e., one who has held the consulship. *triumphālis* likewise denotes a man who has been awarded a triumph, a victory parade held in Rome in honor of an especially successful general; it was a great honor (see §37 for more information on the triumphs of Caesar).

repetundārum postulāvit – Caesar prosecuted Dolabella on a charge of extorting money from his province. The Roman technical term for this crime is *rēs repetundae*, and cases of it would be heard by the *quaestiō dē repetundīs*, a court specially set up to hear such cases. There was no 'public prosecutor's' office at Rome, no 'district attorney', but rather any concerned citizen might stand as prosecutor. And so if a young man wished to embark upon a public career, he would often undertake a prosecution such as this to make his name; compare Cicero's prosecution of the Sicilian governor Verres. *repetendārum* here is a 'genitive of the charge': *he prosecuted Dolabella (on a charge of) extortion.*

absolūtō – sc. *Dolabellā*, abl. abs. Caesar's suit was not successful, which perhaps explains why he might want to seek the aid of a teacher of rhetoric!

Rhodum – acc. of motion towards with no preposition; as it is the name of a small island, *Rhodus* takes the locative and thus no preposition is used for motion towards; *to Rhodes.*

ad dēclīnandam invidiam – *ad* plus the gerundive to express purpose. The gerundive (*dēclīnandam*) regularly takes the place of the gerund (*dēclīnandum*) in purpose expressions (*ad, causā, grātiā*), when there is an object specified (*invidiam*); in such cases the gerundive agrees with the object in gender and number while retaining the original case. Tr. *for the purpose of deflecting ill-feeling* or *to deflect ill-feeling.*

ut ... daret – Purpose clause. Note the lack of parallelism (inconcinnity) between the two phrases that express Caesar's motives, one (*ad ... invidiam*) using *ad* + gerundive and the other *(ut ... daret)* using *ut* + subj. This *variātiō* appealed stylistically to writers not following the model of Cicero.

tunc – Limits *clārissimō*; *the most famous teacher of rhetoric of that time.* There were no universities in Roman times, so higher education consisted of studying rhetoric (public speaking) with an individual teacher, usually a Greek. Cicero studied with this Apollonius as well.

operam daret – *opera* in this expression does not denote 'work', but rather 'effort, attention'. We would say 'pay attention'.

hūc – i.e., to Rhodes

hibernīs mēnsibus – abl. of time when, *during the winter months.* Winter is the stormy season in the Mediterranean.

dum ... trāicit – Latin regularly uses a present tense verb after *dum* in past-tense sentences in place of

[4.1] cēterum, compositā sēditiōne cīvīlī, Cornēlium Dolabellam cōnsulārem et   1
triumphālem repetundārum postulāvit; absolūtōque Rhodum sēcēdere statuit, et ad   2
dēclīnandam invidiam et ut per ōtium ac requiem Apollōniō Molōnī clārissimō tunc   3
dīcendī magistrō operam daret. hūc dum hibernīs iam mēnsibus trāicit, circā   4
Pharmacussam īnsulam ā praedōnibus captus est, mānsitque apud eōs nōn sine summā   5
indignātiōne prope quadrāgintā diēs cum ūnō medicō et cubiculārīs duōbus.   6

cēterum, conj. – *but*
compōnō compōnere composuī compositus – *to compose; calm, quell*
sēditiō, sēditiōnis f. – *revolt, rebellion; unrest*
cīvīlis cīvīlis cīvīle – *civil*
cōnsulāris, cōnsulāris m. – *an ex-consul, a man who has held the consulship*
triumphālis, triumphālis m. – *one who has had a triumph*
(rēs) repetendae, repetendārum f.pl. – *extortion* (a charge against a provincial governor)
postulō postulāre postulāvī postulātus – *to demand* (s.o) *for prosecution; prosecute*
absolvō absolvere absolvī absolūtus – *to loosen, set free; acquit; pay off, finish*
sēcēdō sēcēdere sēcessī sēcessūrus – *to withdraw, go on vacation to*
statuō statuere statuī statūtus – *to set up, decide*
dēclīnō dēclīnāre dēclīnāvī dēclīnātus – *to deflect, avoid*
invidia, invidiae f. – *ill feeling, ill will, jealousy, envy*
ōtium, ōtiī n. – *leisure, idleness*
requiēs, requieī f. – *rest, quiet*
clārus clāra clārum – *bright, clear; famous*
tunc, adv. – *then, at that time*
magister, magistrī m. – *teacher, master*
opera, operae f. – *effort, attention*
hūc, adv. – *hither, to here, to this place*
dum, conj. – *while*
hibernus hiberna hibernum – *winter, of winter*
**iam, adv. – *now, already*
**trāiciō trāicere trāiēcī trāiectus – *to cross (over); stab through, pierce*
īnsula, īnsulae f. – *island*
praedō, praedōnis m. – *bandit; pirate*
capiō capere cēpī captus – *to seize, take; capture*
maneō manēre mānsī mānsūrus – *to remain, stay*
summus summa summum – *highest, greatest*
indignātiō, indignātiōnis f. – *indignation, displeasure*
**prope, adv. – *near; nearly, almost*
quadrāgintā, indecl. adj. – *forty*
medicus, medicī m. – *doctor*
cubiculārius, cubiculāriī m. – *chamberlain, attendant, servant*
**duo duae duo, dual adj. – *two*

the imperfect; tr. *while he was crossing.*

Pharmacussam īnsulam – In English we usually use 'of' in place of the appositive in these types of expressions; *the island of Pharmacussa*

ā praedōnibus – Pirates were a constant problem afflicting Roman trade and travel in the Mediterranean. One of Pompey's most useful achievements for the Romans was his campaign against the pirates in 67. Pirates generally ransomed their captives back to their relations, if they were wealthy, or sold them as slaves, if they were not.

nōn sine summā indignātiōne – Suetonius is using here the rhetorical figure called *litotes*, understatement, where a denial of a negative *(nōn sine)* serves to make a strong positive statement *(with very greatest)*.

medicō, cubiculārīs – Slaves, probably, although the doctor might have been a freedman. Caesar, as a noble Roman, would have travelled with an extensive retinue of slaves and clients; it will be explained in §4.2 where the rest of his followers have gone.
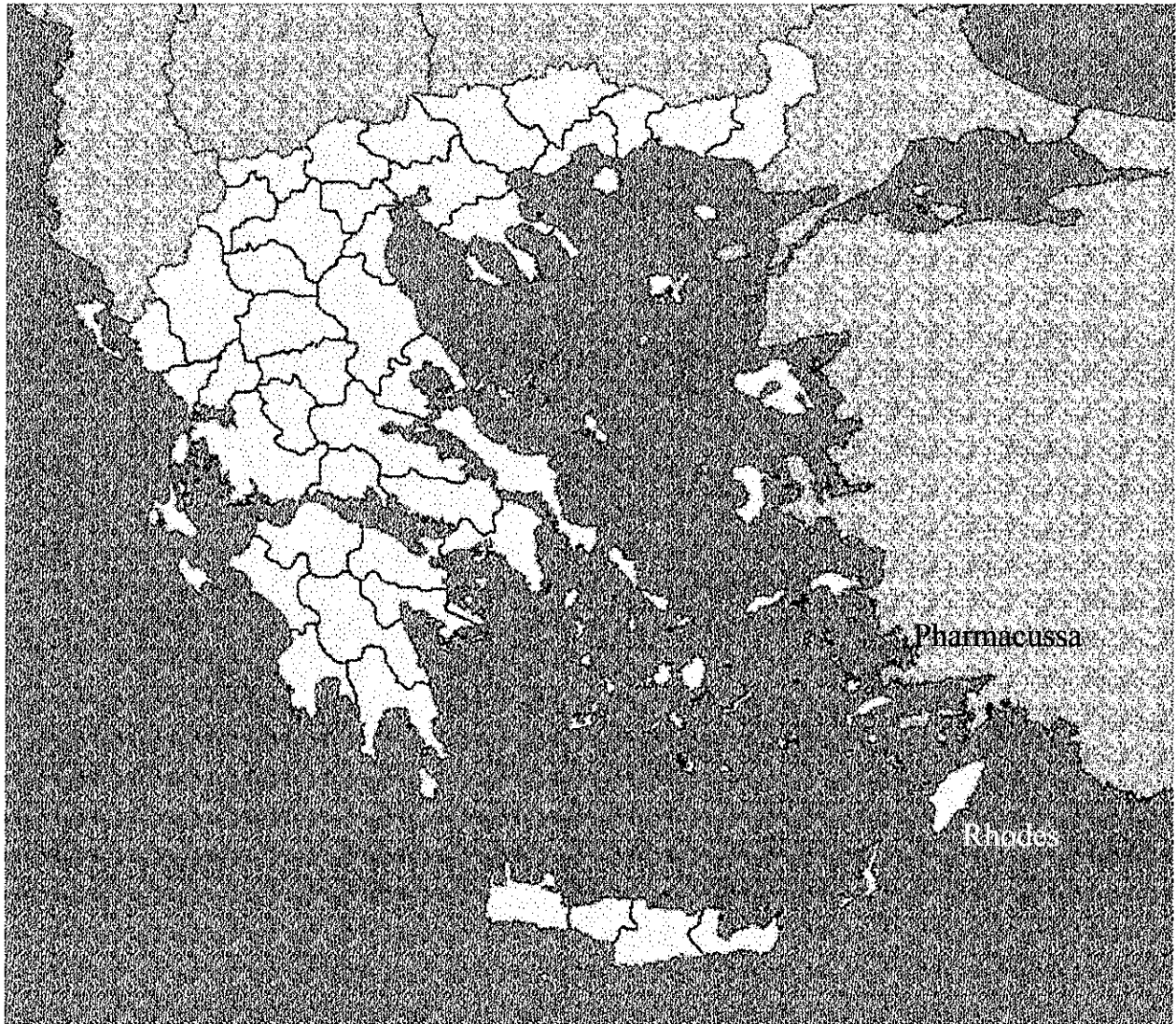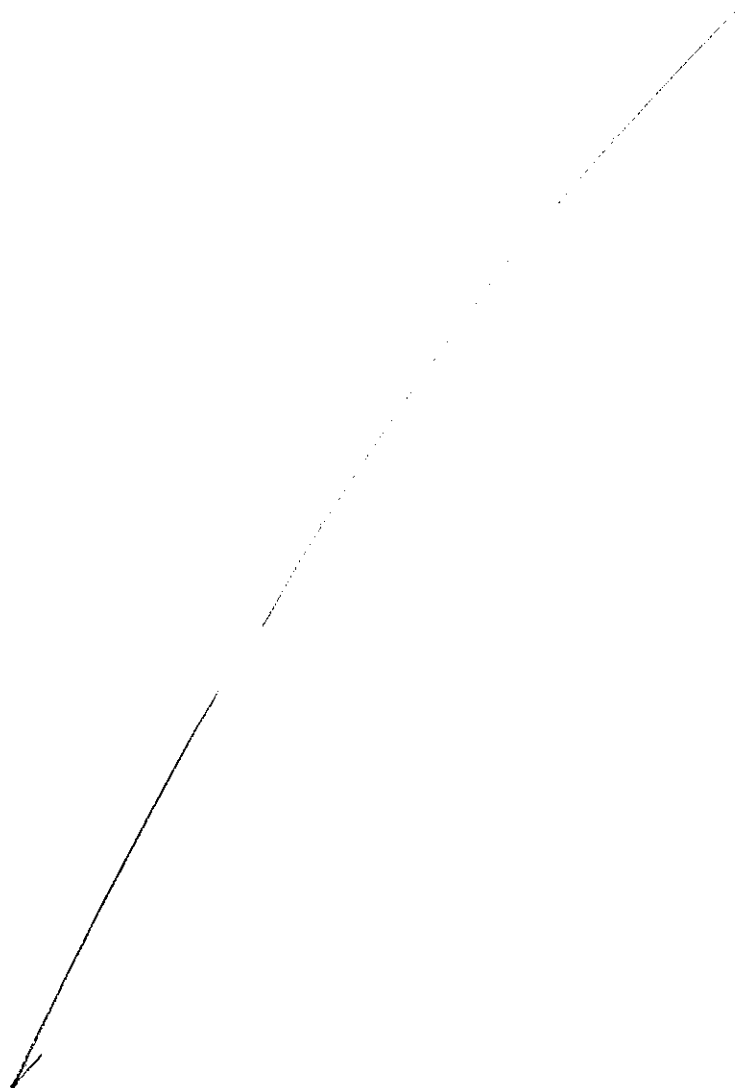
initiō – i.e., when he was first captured by the pirates

ad expediendās pecūniās – *to secure the moneys*; *ad* + gerundive to express purpose. Note the use of the gerundive *(expediendās)* in place of the gerund *(expediendum)* with the object *pecūniās*.

quibus redimerētur – *quibus* is ablative of means; its antecedent is *pecūniās*. *redimerētur* is subjunctive in a relative clause of purpose. Tr. *with which he might be ransomed*.

numerātīs ... talentīs – Abl. abs. A talent was a large unit of money, equivalent to perhaps 6,000 denarii. According to Plutarch, Caesar scorned the pirates' initial demand of 20 talents, and told them he was worth 50. This would be worth in escess of $50 million today.

nōn distulit quīn – *He immediately set off to*, lit 'he did not delay to', *litotes* (understatement).

ē vestīgiō – *instantly, straightaway;* cf. the English expression 'hot on the heels of'.

classe dēductā – Abl. abs. *dēdūcō* is the technical term for launching a ship or fleet. Caesar would have sought the ships from the harbor at Miletus.

persequerētur – Subjunctive after *quīn*.

abeuntīs – sc. *praedōnēs*. *abeuntīs* is the acc. pl. 3rd decl. i-stem ending. It is the direct object of *persequerētur*.

redāctōs – sc. *praedōnēs*. *redāctōs* is the direct object of *adficeret*. Latin authors often use a participle where in English we would use a main verb. We would say 'he subdued and punished them', but the Latin has 'he punished them having been subdued'.

adficeret suppliciō – i.e., he put them to death by crucifixion. See §74.

quod – rel. pron. referring back to *suppliciō*

minātus fuerat – for *minātus erat*

inter iocum – *as a joke*

vāstante ... Mithridāte – Abl. abs. Mithridates VI the Great was a king of Pontus, in Asia Minor, and in the early 1st c. BCE, he fought three wars against the Romans (the Mithridatic Wars), serving as the champion of those who opposed Roman expansion in Asia. Mithridates was extremely troublesome to the Romans, not only because of how difficult he proved to defeat in the wars themselves, but because of the tactics he used. Most notably, he organized a massacre of all the Romans in Asia Minor in 89/88 BCE, when his followers murdered Roman men, women, children and even slaves on a single day; this event is known as the Asiatic Vespers. Estimates of the number killed in this terroristic attack range from 80,000 to perhaps 150,000 people. Mithridates committed suicide after being defeated (for the final time) by Pompey in 63 BCE, because he (understandably) did not wish to be taken to Rome and strangled in the Tullianum prison after being paraded in a triumphal parade. Mithridates is known for having built up immunities to poison by taking small quantities of them daily, fearing assassination; according to Appian, when he went to kill himself after his defeat, he was unable to die by the poison he tried first and so asked his Gaulish bodyguard Bituitus to stab him to death instead. A semi-mythical antidote to poisons is still sometimes called a

[4.2] nam comitēs servōsque cēterōs initiō statim ad expediendās pecūniās, quibus 1
redimerētur, dīmīserat. numerātīs deinde quīnquāgintā talentīs, expositus in lītore nōn 2
distulit quīn ē vestīgiō, classe dēductā, persequerētur abeuntīs ac redāctōs in potestātem 3
suppliciō, quod saepe illīs minātus inter iocum fuerat, adficeret. vāstante regiōnēs 4
proximās Mithridāte, nē dēsidēre in discrīmine sociōrum vidērētur, ab Rhodō, quō 5
pertenderat, trānsiit in Asiam, auxiliīsque contrāctīs et praefectō rēgis prōvinciā expulsō, 6
nūtantīs ac dubiās cīvitātēs retinuit in fidē. 7

comes, comitis m. – *companion*
servus, servī m. – *slave*
initium, initiī n. – *beginning*
statim, adv. – *immediately, at once*
expediō expedīre expedīvī expedītus – *to untie; clear, settle; provide*
pecūnia, pecūniae f. – *money*
redimō redimere redēmī redēmptus – *to redeem, ransom; buy off, rescue by payment*
**dīmittō dīmittere dīmīsī dīmissus – *to dismiss, let go, send away; renounce; break off with*
numerō numerāre numerāvī numerātus – *to count (out)*
quīnquāgintā, indecl. adj – *fifty*
talentum, talentī n. – *talent*, a unit of money worth about 6000 denarii
expōnō expōnere exposuī expositus – *to put out; expose, lay open*
lītus, lītoris n. – *shore*
**differō differre distulī dīlātus (irr.) – *to delay; postpone, put off* (until a later time)
quīn, conj. + subj. – *but that, without, to*
vestīgium, vestīgiī n. – *track, trace*
classis, classis f. (i-stem) – *fleet*
**dēdūcō dēdūcere dēdūxī dēductus – *to lead down; bring down, pull down, lower; launch* (a boat, a fleet);
    found, settle, plant (a colony, colonists); *to reduce, remove; escort*
persequor, persequī, persecūtus sum – *to follow, pursue; take vengeance upon; hunt*
abeō abīre abiī abitūrus (irr.) – *to go away, depart, leave*
redigō redigere redēgī redāctus – *to drive back, reduce; bring under (the power of), subdue*
**potestās, potestātis f. – *power, control*
supplicium, suppliciī n. – *punishment*
minor, minārī, minātus sum + dat. – *to threaten*
**iocus, iocī m. – *joke*
adficiō adficere adfēcī adfectus – *to affect, inflict*
vāstō vāstāre vāstāvī vāstātus – *to lay waste, ravage*
regiō, regiōnis f. – *region*
proximus proxima proximum – *nearest, closest; next, adjoining; occurring soon after*
dēsideō dēsidēre dēsēdī – *be inactive, sit idle*
discrīmen, discrīminis n. – *crisis, danger; judgement*
socius, sociī m. – *ally*
**quō, adv. – *whither, to where, to which place*
pertendō pertendere pertendī pertensus – *to continue on; to stretch, extend; head for*
trānseō trānsīre trānsiī trānsitūrus (irr.) – *to go across, cross*
auxilia, auxiliōrum n.pl. – *auxiliaries, auxiliary troops*
contrahō contrahere contrāxī contrāctus – *to draw together; gather, assemble*
praefectus, praefectī m. – *prefect, governor*
**prōvincia, prōvinciae f. – *province*
expellō expellere expulī expulsus – *to drive out, expel*
nūtō nūtāre nūtāvī nūtātus – *to waver, totter*
dubius dubia dubium – *doubtful, hesitating*
cīvitās, cīvitātis f. – *city-state*
**retineō retinēre retinuī retentus – *to hold back, restrain, check; retain, keep*
**fidēs, fideī f. – *faith; trustworthiness, loyalty; belief*

"Mithradatum" after him.

nē ... vidērētur – Neg. purpose clause. *videō* in the passive regularly means 'seem', not 'to be seen'.

ab Rhodō – Suetonius often uses a preposition to express motion from one place to another even with the names of towns and small islands.

auxiliīsque ... expulsō – Abl. abs.

praefectō rēgis – The governor Mithridates had appointed.

prōvinciā – Abl. of separation without a preposition; *from the province*.
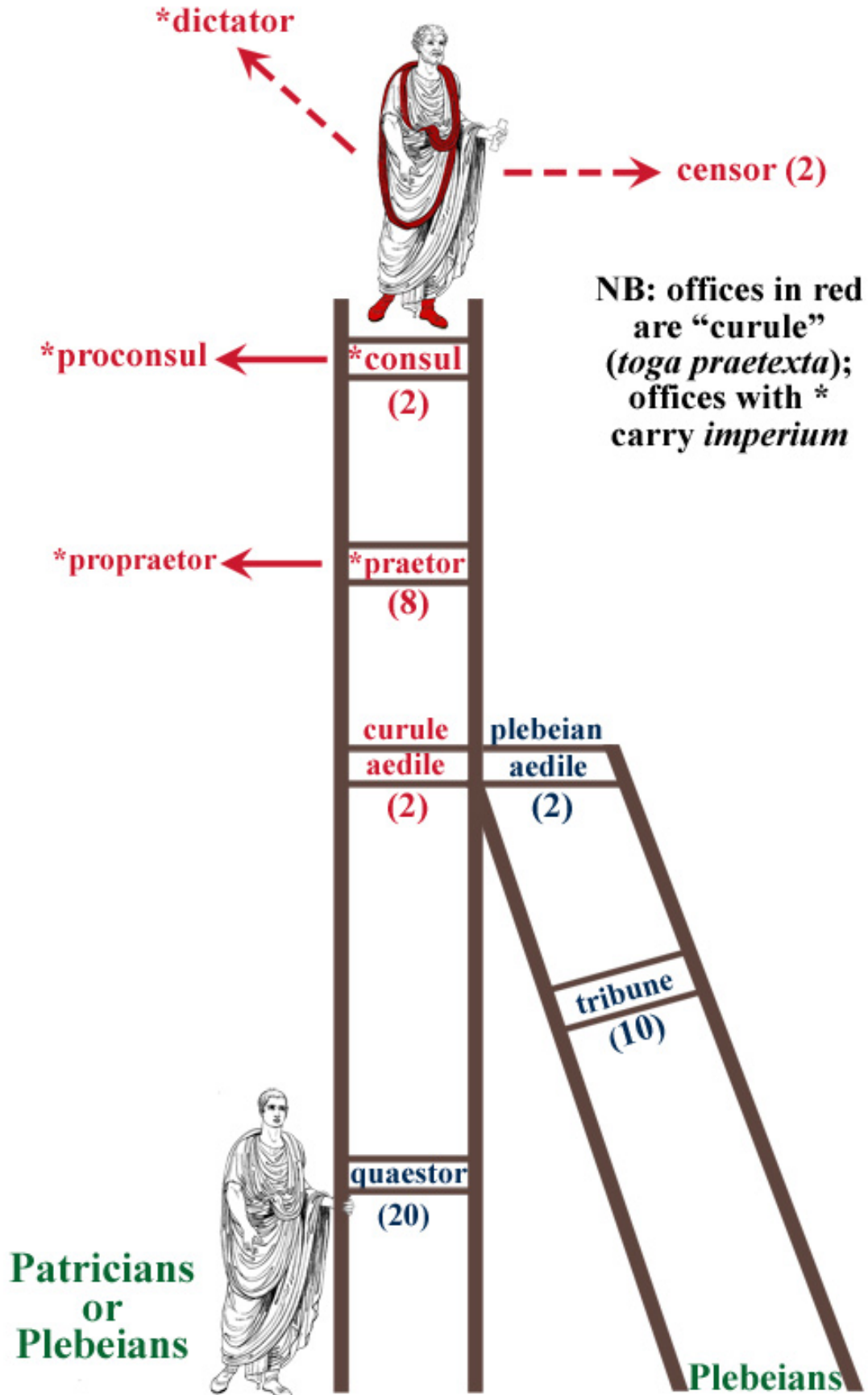
nūtantīs – Acc. pl. i-stem ending.

retinuit in fidē – I.e., Caesar kept these city-states loyal to the Romans (with his army).

There was a king reigned in the East:
There, when kings will sit to feast,
They get their fill before they think
With poisoned meat and poisoned drink.
He gathered all the springs to birth
From the many-venomed earth;
First a little, thence to more,
He sampled all her killing store;
And easy, smiling, seasoned sound,
Sate the king when healths went round.
They put arsenic in his meat
And stared aghast to watch him eat;
They poured strychnine in his cup
And shook to see him drink it up:
They shook, they stared as white's their shirt:
Them it was their poison hurt.
—I tell the tale that I heard told.
Mithridates, he died old.

A.E. Housman, from *A Shropshire Lad* LXII

ROMAN CURSUS HONORUM

*dictator

censor (2)

NB: offices in red
are "curule"
(*toga praetexta*);
offices with *
carry *imperium*

*proconsul ← *consul
(2)

*propraetor ← *praetor
(8)

curule   plebeian
aedile   aedile
(2)   (2)

tribune
(10)

quaestor
(20)

Patricians
or
Plebeians

Plebeians

image from: http://www.vroma.org/~bmcmanus/romangvt.html

quaestor – A Roman official who served duties related to the treasury at Rome or in service to a provincial governor. The quaestorship was the first rung on the ladder of the *cursus honōrum*, the series of political offices which an aspiring young man would hold as he worked his way up to the consulship, the highest political office. Once elected quaestor, a man was automatically a member of the Senate. Caesar's election was in 70/69 BCE. Take in apposition to an understood *is*: *as quaestor, he...*

Iūliam amitam uxōremque Cornēliam – The arrangement of words here (name – relation – relation – name) is called a *chiasmus*, an ABBA pattern. Often, a chiasmus is used to draw a contrast.

dēfūnctās – plural, because it modifies both *Iūliam* and *Cornēliam*.

ē mōre – *according to custom*; it was normal for old women to receive such funeral speeches, but Plutarch says that Caesar's laudation of Cornelia was the first for a young woman.

prō Rōstrīs – The Rostra was the speaker's platform in the Roman Forum. It got its name from the prows (*rōstra*) of conquered ships that were embedded in it. *prō* here means 'from (the front of)'.

dē eius ac patris suī utrāque ōrigine – *concerning the origin both of her* (Aunt Julia) *and his* (Caesar's) *father*; i.e., their mutual familial descent

ortum – sc. *est*

diīs – abl. pl. of *deus*

nam ... māter – Caesar's paternal grandmother, Marcia, was the sister of Quintus Marcius Rex (consul 118). Having the name "Marcius King," of course, does not prove descent from Ancus Marcius, fourth king of Rome, but Caesar does not have etymological scruples on the matter.

quō nōmine – *from which clan*; connective relative. In more modern English, we might say *and from this clan*.

ā Venere ... nostra – Venus was the Roman goddess of love and beauty. Roman legend says that she had a son, Aeneas, with a Trojan prince named Anchises, and that after the fall of Troy when it was defeated by the Greeks in the Trojan War (1184 BCE), Aeneas went in search of a new homeland, eventually settling in Italy. Aeneas' descendants Romulus and Remus were said to have founded the city of Rome in 753 BCE. The *gēns Iūlia* claimed to be descended from Aeneas' son, Iūlus. Caesar would make much of this legendary familial descent from the gods over his lifetime, including building a temple dedicated to her as Venus Genetrix (Venus the Ancestress) in his new forum in 46 BCE.

Iūliī – sc. *sunt*

cuius gentis – Cp. *quō nōmine* above. There is striking parallelism between the two clauses, unlike Suetonius' own preference for inconcinnity. Similarly the next sentence has also a great balancing of phrases: *et* nominative – genitive – relative clause :: *et* nominative – genitive – relative clause. The entire effect is most rhetorically pleasing.

sānctitās rēgum – Caesar's choice of the word *sānctitās* brings to mind the divinity of Rome's earliest king (Romulus), to whom he also claimed kinship: kings are the gods of people.

[6.1] quaestor Iūliam amitam uxōremque Cornēliam dēfūnctās laudāvit ē mōre prō   1
Rōstrīs. et in amitae quidem laudātiōne dē eius ac patris suī utrāque ōrigine sīc refert: 2

"amitae meae Iūliae māternum genus ab rēgibus ortum, paternum cum diīs immortālibus   3
coniūnctum est. nam ab Ancō Mārciō sunt Mārciī Rēgēs, quō nōmine fuit māter; ā Venere   4
Iūliī, cuius gentis familia est nostra. est ergō in genere et sānctitās rēgum, quī plūrimum   5
inter hominēs pollent, et caerimōnia deōrum, quōrum ipsī in potestāte sunt rēgēs."   6

quaestor, quaestōris m. – *quaestor, treasury official, a*
    low-level Roman public office
amita, amitae f. – *aunt, father's sister* (3x)
dēfūnctus dēfūncta dēfūnctum – *dead*
laudō laudāre laudāvī laudātus – *to praise, give a*
    speech in praise of
**mōs, mōris m. – *custom, habit;* (pl.) *character,*
morals
Rōstra, Rōstrōrum n.pl. – *the Rostra,* the speakers'
    platform in the Forum
laudātiō, laudātiōnis f. – *praise (speech), eulogy*
**uterque utraque utrumque – *each (of two), both*
orīgō, orīginis f. – *origin; lineage, descent; family*
sīc, adv. – *thus, so, in such a way, in this way*
meus mea meum – *my, mine*
māternus māterna māternum – *relating to one's*
    mother, maternal
**genus, generis n. – *race, stock, lineage; kind, type*
orior, orīrī, ortus sum – *to arise, come from*
paternus paterna paternum – *relating to one's father,*

paternal
**deus, deī m. – *god, deity*
immortālis immortālis immortāle – *immortal,*
    deathless
coniungō coniungere coniūnxī coniūnctus – *to join,*
    join together, unite
**māter, mātris f. – *mother*
gēns, gentis f. – *clan, family*
familia, familiae f. – *family, household*
noster, nostra, nostrum – *our, ours*
ergō, conj. – *therefore, for this reason*
sānctitās, sānctitātis f. – *sancity, sacredness, holiness*
plūrimum, adv. – *the most, very much*
homō, hominis m. – *person, human being, man*
polleō pollēre – *be strong, be powerful, have influence*
    (esp. in politics)
**caerimōnia, caerimōniae f. – *ceremony, (religious)*
rite, ritual; sancity; reverence; majesty
**potestās, potestātis f. – *power, control*

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ipsī – Take with *rēgēs*.   The placement of the adjective and noun at opposite ends of the clause (framing) provides balance.   It also enables a *word picture* to be drawn: in the phrase *quōrum ... potestāte* the word *ipsī*, referring to the kings, has been place inside the words for the gods' power (*quōrum ... potestāte*), just as the kings themselves are within the gods' power.   The placement of the words thus echoes their meaning (word picture).

rēgēs -- The most important words in any Latin sentence are to be found at the beginning and the end. By placing this word last, Caesar would be ensuring that his audience (those listening to his funeral oration for Aunt Julia) would not miss the take-away message: Caesar is descended from kings.

in Cornēliae ... locum – *in Cornelia's place*; i.e., as his wife after Cornelia had died

dūxit – sc. *uxōrem, he married*

Pompēiam – not directly related to Pompey the Great.

adulterātam ... ā Pūbliō Clōdiō – sc. *eam esse*; indirect statement dependent on *opinātus*. Tr. *that she had committed adultery with Publius Clodius*, lit. 'that she had been corrupted by'.

quem ... dēcrēverit – Clodius was one of the most notorious figures of the 1st c. BCE. He was born into the patrician *gēns Claudia*, but he renounced his birthright so that he could become Tribune of the Plebs, a powerful political office that was only open to plebeians (changing his name from Claudius to Clodius). He was one of a number of 'gang-leaders' who used terroristic violence in the mid 1st c. to intimidate political opponents (chief among them, Rome's great statesman and orator, Cicero).

quem ... tam cōnstāns fāma erat – It is difficult for us to render in English relative pronouns as subjects of indirect statements. Tr. *and the rumor that he ... was so constant.*

inter pūblicās caerimōniās – The 'public rites' referred to are the mystery ceremony of the Bona Dea, a mother goddess who was worshipped during a nocturnal ritual that could only be celebrated by women. The rite took place in December at the house of a senior Roman official and was hosted by his wife. In 62 BCE, Caesar's wife Pompeia was hosting the ritual (Caesar was praetor and also had been elected pontifex maximus, chief priest). Despite the ban on men witnessing the ritual, a rumor spread that Clodius had been seen, dressed in women's clothes, at Caesar's house during the rites. See also §74.2.

penetrāsse – Syncopated (shortened) form of *penetrāvisse*. In indirect statement, the perfect infinitive shows time before the main verb (*fāma erat*); in secondary sequence, translate *had entered.*

muliebrī veste – Abl. of manner.

ut ... dēcrēverit – Result clause. In secondary sequence (i.e., after a past-tense main verb), clauses that denote an actual result, that is, what actually happened, can have their subjunctive verb in the perfect; the imperfect subjunctive denotes a 'natural result', that is, what is the logical consequence of the main clause. The perfect subjunctive here tells us that a special commission (*quaestiō*) was actually appointed by the Senate to look into Clodius' sacrilege.

[6.2] in Cornēliae autem locum Pompēiam dūxit Quīntī Pompeī fīliam, L. Sullae neptem; 1
cum quā deinde dīvortium fēcit adulterātam opīnātus ā Pūbliō Clōdiō, quem inter pūblicās 2
caerimōniās penetrāsse ad eam muliebrī veste tam cōnstāns fāma erat, ut senātus 3
quaestiōnem dē pollūtīs sacrīs dēcrēverit. 4

**locus, locī m. – *place, spot*
**dūcō dūcere duxī ductus – *to lead, bring;* (uxōrem) *marry*
neptis, neptis f. – *grand-daughter*
dīvortium, dīvortiī n. – *divorce*
adulterō adulterāre adulterāvī adulterātus – *to defile (*by committing adultery with), *corrupt*
**opīnor, opīnārī, opīnātus sum – *to think, suppose, judge; imagine, guess, conjecture*
pūblicus pūblica pūblicum – *public, the people's, belonging to the (Roman) people*
**caerimōnia, caerimōniae f. – *ceremony, (religious) rite, ritual; sancity; reverence; majesty*
**penetrō penetrāre penetrāvī penetrātus – *to enter into, penetrate; reach*
muliebris muliebris muliebre – *womanly, woman's*
vestis, vestis f. – *clothes, clothing; garment*
**tam, adv. – *so, such*
cōnstāns, gen. cōnstantis – *constant; frequent; continual, unrelenting*
**fāma, fāmae f. – *rumor, report; reputation, fame*
quaestiō, quaestiōnis f. – *an investigatory commission, investigation*
polluō polluere polluī pollūtus – *to pollute, defile, desecrate, violate*
sacrum, sacrī n. – *sacred thing, sacred rite, rite*

quaestōrī ... obvēnit – The provinces to which magistrates were assigned were decided by lot (a lot, as in *lottery*, is a tool by which things are drawn at random). *quaestōrī* is dative with *obvēnit*; compound verbs take dative objects.

ulterior Hispānia – The province of *Hispānia* was divided into Nearer (or Hither) Hispania (*citior Hispānia*) and Further (i.e. from Rome) Hispania. The border was the river Hibērum (mod. *Ebro*).

ubi – i.e., in Further Hispania

cum ... circumīret – One of Caesar's duties as *quaestor* was to go around the province holding circuit court sessions (assizes).

mandātū – This fourth declension noun is found only in the ablative singular. Otherwise, the second declension neuter *mandātum* is used.

praetōris – Technically a *propraetor*, or a person who had already served as a praetor and was now governing a province after his term as praetor was up. The propraetor Caesar served under was named C. Antistius Vetus.

iūre dīcundō – dative of purpose, *for giving judgements*. *dīcundō* is an alterate form of *dīcendō*.

Gādīs – Gades (modern Cadiz), the oldest inhabited town in Spain, is located in the southernmost part of Spain, not far from the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar). The town was originally founded by the Phoenicians.

animadversā ... imāgine – Abl. abs.

apud Herculis templum – As a *hero* (an intermediate being between humans and gods; like humans, heroes died; like gods, they received sacrifice and worship), Hercules was entitled to temples and altars. At Rome, Hercules received sacrifice at the *Ara Maxima*; he also had a temple in Rome shared with the Muses, goddesses of the arts. This temple in Spain was probably to the Phoenician *Melkart*, identified by the Romans with Hercules.

Magnī Alexandrī – Probably an offering given to the temple by a worshipper. Alexander the Great was the Macedonian leader who, by the age of 30, had conquered most of the world known to his people, including the massive Persian empire; his realm stretched from northern Africa to India. He promoted himself as the son of Jupiter (Egyptian Ammon) and descendant of Achilles through his mother Olympias. On the side of his actual father, Philip II of Macedon, he was believed to be a descendant of Hercules.

āctum esset – Subjunctive because it is the imputed reason of Caesar's thoughts (virtual indirect statement).

in aetāte, quā – *by the age at which...* Abl. of time when with a preposition (*in aetāte*) and, as is normal, without (*quā*). Alexander conquered 'the world' by the time he was 30, then died at the age of 33. Caesar was at this time approximately the same age, as one could not hold the quaestorship until the age of 30.

missiōnem ... urbe – Caesar did not finish out his term as quaestor in Spain, but instead went back to Rome early.

[7.1] quaestōrī ulterior Hispānia obvēnit; ubi cum mandātū praetōris iūre dīcundō 1
conventūs circumīret Gādīsque vēnisset, animadversā apud Herculis templum Magnī 2
Alexandrī imāgine, ingemuit et, quasi pertaesus ignāviam suam, quod nihil dum ā sē 3
memorābile āctum esset in aetāte, quā iam Alexander orbem terrārum subēgisset, 4
missiōnem continuō efflāgitāvit ad captandās quam prīmum maiōrum rērum occāsiōnēs in 5
urbe. 6

quaestor, quaestōris m. – *quaestor, treasury official*, a
    low-level Roman public official
ulterior ulterior ulterius – *further*
obveniō obvenīre obvēnī obventus + dat. – *to fall by
    lot, be alotted*
ubi, adv. – *where*
mandātus, mandātūs m. – *mandate, order, instruction*
praetor, praetōris m. – *praetor*, a high-level Roman
    official
iūre dīcō dīcere dīxī dictus – *to sit as a judge, give
    judgements*
conventus, conventūs m. – *gathering; district court,
assize; party*
circumeō circumīre circumiī circumitūrus (irr.) – *to go
around, make the circuit of*
**veniō venīre vēnī ventus – *to come*
animadvertō animadvertere animadvertī animadversus
    – *to pay attention (to), notice, realize*
templum, templī n. – *temple*
imāgō, imāginis f. – *image, likeness*
ingemō ingemere ingemuī – *to groan, sigh*
**quasi, conj. – *as if, as though*
pertaesus pertaesa pertaesum – *wearied, tired (of)*

ignāvia, ignāviae f. – *laziness, idleness, lack of
    accomplishment*
quod, conj. – *because, (for the fact) that*
nihil dum, indecl. – *nothing yet*
memorābilis memorābilis memorābile – *memorable,
    worthy of memory*
**aetās, aetātis f. – *age; time of life; life, lifetime*
**iam, adv. – *now, already*
**orbis terrārum, orbis terrārum f. (also *orbis terrae*)
– *world, globe*
subigō subigere subēgī subāctus – *to drive into
    submission, subdue, conquer*
missiō, missiōnis f. – *release; military discharge;
    discharge from office*
continuō, adv. – *straightway, immediately*
efflāgitō efflāgitāre efflāgitāvī efflāgitātus – *to
    demand, demand urgently*
captō captāre captāvī captātus – *to seize upon; try to
    catch*
quam prīmum, adv. – *as soon as possible*
**occāsiō, occāsiōnis f. – *opportunity*
urbs, urbis f. (i-stem) – *city; the city, Rome*

ad captandās ... occāsiōnēs – Gerundive of purpose; *captandās* (gerundive) has replaced *captandum*
(gerund) to agree with the object *occāsiōnēs*. Tr. *for the purpose of seizing the opportunities.*

quam prīmum – *as soon as possible* (*quam* + virtual superlative)

maiōrum rērum – *for greater things*; objective genitive with *occāsiōnēs.*

cōnfūsum ... interpretantēs – A complicated sentence structure. The subject of the sentence is *cōiectōrēs* and the main verb is *incitāvērunt*. *eum* is the direct object of *incitāvērunt*, and it is modified by the participle *cōnfūsum*. *cōiectōrēs* is modified by the participle *interpretantēs*, upon which is depenent the indirect statement *arbitrium terrārum orbis portendī*.

proximae noctis – i.e., after he had seen the statue of Alexander

vīsus erat ... intulisse – In Latin, to say that you dreamed something happened, you say "something seemed to have happened" (in sleep, *vel sim.*) You see a dream, rather than experiencing it or taking part in it yourself. Dreams are often even imagined as figures that come and stand at the foot of your bed: cf. Hector visiting Aeneas in a dream in Vergil *Aeneid* 2. Here, Caesar *vīsus erat* – 'seemed, saw himself' – do something. (*vīsus erat* with "middle" force)

stuprum – This Latin term covers all forms of illicit sex, from rape to incest to adultery or premarital sex.

cōiectōrēs – Freud and the psychoanalyists were hardly the first people to take dreams seriously. Dream interpretation was big business in antiquity, and dreams were regularly referred to and consulted by philosophers, generals, doctors and other "serious" figures; dreams both offered insight and were thought to predict the future. Cicero, for example, devoted Book 6 of his *Republic* to a dream purportedly had by the general Scipio Aemilianus (the *Somnium Scipionis*). Caesar's action in going to a dream interpreter to ask about a troubling dream would be in no way unusual. Artemidorus, a 2nd c. CE diviner who wrote a still-extant book on the interpretation of dreams, gives many possible interpretations of a dream like Caesar's (1.79): depending on whether the mother was alive or dead, what type of intercourse was dreamed of, what the dreamer's trade was, and many other factors, the interpretation varied. But it seems he would have agreed with the *cōiectōrēs* here, because he says that such dreams are good omens of power for leaders (like Caesar), saying that the mother represents one's native land and that to dream of intercourse with one's mother signified control over that land.

portendī – Present passive inf. of *portendō*, 'was being signified, was meant'

quandō māter, etc. – Cf. the famous prophecy correctly interpreted by Brutus the Liberator: when Brutus and his Tarquin cousins went to Delphi, they were told that whoever was first to kiss his mother would rule Rome. While his cousins assumed this mean their literal mothers, Brutus fell to the ground and kissed the earth and, after driving out Tarquinius Superbus, became the next ruler of Rome, as the first consul of the Roman Republic (Livy 1.56).

nōn alia esset quam – *was nothing else but*

habērētur – *was considered*

[7.2] etiam cōnfūsum eum somniō proximae noctis—nam vīsus erat per quiētem stuprum 1
mātrī intulisse—cōiectōrēs ad amplissimam spem incitāvērunt arbitrium terrārum orbis 2
portendī interpretantēs, quandō māter, quam subiectam sibi vīdisset, nōn alia esset quam 3
terra, quae omnium parēns habērētur. 4

cōnfundō cōnfundere cōnfūsī cōnfūsus – *to confuse, disturb*
somnium, somniī n. – *dream*
proximus proxima proximum – *nearest, closest; next, adjoining; occurring soon after*
**nox, noctis f. (i-stem) – *night*
quiēs, quiētis f. – *rest, quiet; sleep*
stuprum, stuprī n. – *insult, outrage; illicit sex*
**māter, mātris f. – *mother*
**īnferō īnferre intulī inlātus (irr.) – *to bring in;* (refl.) *to enter rapidly; offer, render*
cōiector, cōiectōris m. – *interpreter of dreams, seer*
**amplus ampla amplum – *ample, full; great, grand; high; large, spacious*
spēs, speī f. – *hope, expectation*
incitō incitāre incitāvī incitātus – *to incite, encourage, urge on, rouse*
arbitrium, arbitriī n. – *control, power; judgment*
**orbis terrārum, orbis terrārum f. (also *orbis terrae*) – *world, globe*
portendō portendere portendī portentus – *to portend, mean, signify*
interpretor, interpretārī, interpretātus sum – *to interpret, give the meaning*
quandō, conj. – *since, because*
subiciō subicere subiēcī subiectus – *to throw under; put into one's power, subjugate; place under, serve*
terra, terrae f. – *earth, ground, land; country*
parēns, parentis m./f. – *parent*

dēpositā ... spē – Abl. abs. See §11 for why Caesar did not obtain Egypt as a province.

pontificātum maximum – The *pontifex maximus* ('chief priest') was the head of the college (L. *collēgium*) of pontiffs. He had a number of responsibilities, including overseeing the Vestals and arranging the calendar. This was an elected position.

nōn sine ... largītiōne – Although bribery (outright buying of votes) was nominally illegal, it was nonetheless quite common. Suetonius' litotes (rhetorical understatement) here lends a tinge of sarcasm ('not without very extensive bribery') and draws our attention to Caesar's flouting of ethics (and the law) in securing the chief priesthood by bribery.

in quā – sc. *largītiōne*, 'while he was in the midst of bribing people'

aeris aliēnī – In Latin, there is no word for 'debt' as such. Instead, the Romans spoke (as here) of "other people's money." *aes* literally means 'bronze', but could be used to speak of coins (the cheapest of which would be made of that metal).

ad comitia – *sc. tribūta,* the 'tribal' assembly that was voting for the Pontifex Maximus. A tribe was a division of the Roman people, membership in which was originally geographic, but then passed on from father to son. 17 of the 35 tribes (chosen randomly) would vote for the Pontifex Maximus.

praedīxisse – Infinitive dependent upon *fertur*, 'he is supposed to have said beforehand'

ōsculantī – Describes *mātrī*, 'when she was kissing him goodbye'

domum ... reversūrum – *sc. esse*, indirect statement

nisi pontificem – *except (as) pontifex*

duos competītōrēs – Caesar was running against Q. Catulus and P. Servilius Isauricus, both well-known elder men who were strongly backed by the Optimates.

aetāte, dignitāte – Abl. of respect.

ut plūra, etc. – Result clause (the signal word was *ita*, at the beginning of the sentence). Note the tense of *tulerit* (actual result, not natural result).

[13] dēpositā prōvinciae spē pontificātum maximum petit nōn sine prōfūsissimā 1
largītiōne; in quā reputāns magnitūdinem aeris aliēnī, cum māne ad comitia dēscenderet, 2
praedīxisse mātrī ōsculantī fertur domum sē nisi pontificem nōn reversūrum. atque ita 3
potentissimōs duōs competītōrēs multumque et aetāte et dignitāte antecēdentēs superāvit, 4
ut plūra ipse in eōrum tribubus suffrāgia quam uterque in omnibus tulerit. 5

dēpōnō dēpōnere dēposuī dēpositus – *to put down, place aside*
**prōvincia, prōvinciae f. – *province*
spēs, speī f. – *hope, expectation*
pontificātus, pontificātūs m. – *pontificate, priesthood*
maximus maxima maximum (superl. of *magnus*) – *greatest, very great*
petō petere petīvī petītus – *to seek, attack, head for*
prōfūsus prōfūsa prōfūsum – *excessive, widespread; lavish*
largītiō, largītiōnis f. – *bribery*
reputō reputāre reputāvī reputātus – *to consider, think about*
magnitūdō, magnitūdinis f. – *magnitude, size*
aes aliēnum, aeris aliēnī n. – *debt* (lit. 'other people's money')
māne (adv.) – *early, (early) in the morning*
comitia, comitiōrum n.pl. – *the assembly* (especially for voting)
dēscendō dēscendere dēscendī dēscēnsūrus – *to go down, descend*
praedīcō praedīcere praedīxī praedictus – *to say beforehand*
**māter, mātris f. – *mother*
ōsculor, ōsculārī, ōsculātus sum – *to kiss*
ferō ferre tulī lātus (irr.) – *bear; bring, carry; say, report, relate, assert*
domum – *home, homeward*
**nisi, conj. – *if ... not, unless; except if; except, but that, save*
pontifex, pontificis m. – *priest, pontiff; member of the college of pontiffs*
revertō revertere revertī reversus – *to return*
ita, adv. – *so, in this way, thus*
potēns, gen. potentis – *powerful (over + gen.)*
**duo duae duo, dual adj. – *two*
competītor, competītōris m. – *competitor, fellow office-seeker*
**aetās, aetātis f. – *age; time of life; life, lifetime*
dignitās, dignitātis f. – *dignity, position, honor*
antecēdō antecēdere antecessī antecessūrus – *to go before, precede; surpass*
superō superāre superāvī superātus – *to overcome, overpower, defeat*
plūs, gen. plūris (comp. of *multus*) – *more*
tribus, tribūs m. – *tribe, a political division of the Roman people*
suffrāgium, suffrāgiī n. – *voting, ballot; vote*
**uterque utraque utrumque – *each* (of two), *both*

EXERCISES

1.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. How old was Caesar when his father died?
2. Why did Caesar repudiate his first betrothed, Cossutia?
3. Who was Cornelia's father?
4. Why did Sulla distrust Caesar?
5. Why do you think Caesar refused to divorce Cornelia?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quot annōs nātus est Caesar, ubi pater suus mortuus est?
2. quālī familiā erat Cossutia?
3. ad quod sacerdōtium dēstinātus est Caesar? quem deum hic sacerdōs colēbat?
4. eratne pater Cornēliae amīcus an inimīcus Sullae?
5. quid negābat Caesar facere, quamquam Sullā poscente?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What construction is *dīmissā Cossutiā?* Give two English translations.
2. What case and use is *praetextātō*?
3. What case and use is *quā*?
4. What form is *compellī*? How is it being used?
5. What case and use is *ūllō modō*?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. When he was eighteen years old, he was nominated flamen of Jupiter.
2. When his father had been lost (abl. abs.), Caesar dismissed Cossutia.
3. Caesar was from a distinguished (*illūstris*) family, but was not rich.
4. He did not marry Cossutia, the daughter of a merchant.
5. The dictator Sulla was not able to force Caesar to divorce Cornelia.

1.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What three things did Sulla take away from Caesar as a punishment?
2. What political party did Sulla head? What party did he consider Caesar to be a supporter of?
3. What made Caesar's flight especially difficult?
4. How did Caesar escape Sulla's agents?
5. How was pardon finally obtained for Caesar from Sulla?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quibus multāvit Caesarem Sulla? cūr?
2. quārum partium erat Sulla?
3. quid coēgit Sulla Caesarem facere?
4. quid Caesarem fugere cōnantem adgravābat?
5. quī Caesarī auxilium dedērunt ut veniam impetrāret?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What case and use are *sacerdōtiō, dōte,* and *hērēditātibus*?
2. What case and use is *partium*?
3. What form is *adgravante*? What verb is it from?
4. What form is *cogerētur*? What verb is it from? How is it being used?
5. What case and use is *pecūniā*?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Sulla deprived Caesar of his family inheritances.
2. Sulla and Caesar were not considered (to be) of the same party.
3. Caesar was forced to withdraw from sight, although he was slowed down by malaria.
4. Caesar changed his hiding place almost every night.
5. With the help of his relations, Caesar was able to obtain pardon.

1.3

A. Comprehension Questions

1. Who are the *amīcissimīs et ōrnātissimīs virīs*? Why do they act on Caesar's behalf, do you think?
2. Suetonius describes Sulla as *expugnātum* by his advisors and their pleas. Does he mean this word literally? Why do you think Suetonius chose it?
3. **prōclāmāsse sīve dīvīnitus sīve aliquā coniectūrā**: What is it that Sulla cries out? What are the two options for how he arrived at his statement? What would it mean if Sulla did receive some sort of divine warning?
4. Why does Sulla give in to his advisors' requests on Caesar's behalf, do you think? What does it tell us about his character?
5. **nam Caesarī multōs Mariōs inesse**: What did Sulla mean by this remark?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum:

1. quid significat 'satis cōnstat'? hoc aliīs verbīs explicā.
2. quid poscēbant amīcissimī Sullae?
3. libenterne cōnsēnsit Sulla an invītē?
4. secundum Sullam, quis partēs optimātium quandōque dēlēbit?
5. quis erat Marius?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Describe the parts of an indirect statement.
2. How do you tell if a verb is in primary or secondary sequence?
3. Give the present active 2nd pl. imperative of each: *vincere, habēre*
4. What conjunctions can introduce a clause of proviso in Latin? What mood is the verb in a clause of proviso? How should a clause of proviso be translated?
5. What case and use is *Caesarī?*

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. "Caesar will be the destruction of the Optimate party!" exclaims Sulla.
2. "Caesar will be the destruction of the Optimate party!" exclaimed Sulla.
3. Sulla exclaims that Caesar will be the destruction of the Optimate party.
4. Sulla exclaimed that Caesar would be the destruction of the Optimate party.
5. Sulla told his closest friends who the destruction of the Optimate party was.

4.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. On what charge did Caesar prosecute Dolabella?
2. What was the outcome of the case?
3. Where was Caesar headed when he was captured by pirates, and why?
4. How long was it until Caesar was ransomed from the pirates?
5. How did he feel about his captivity? How does Suetonius express Caesar's emotion?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quis erat Dolabella?
2. cūr īvit Caesar Rhodum?
3. quō tempore annī nāvigābat Caesar?
4. quid accidit Caesarī prope īnsulam Pharmacussam?
5. quī cum Caesare apud praedōnēs manēbant?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What case and use is *repetundārum*?
2. What form is *sēcēdere*, and how is it being used?
3. What form is *dīcendī*, and how is it being used?
4. What use of the ablative is *nōn sine summā indignātiōne*?
5. What use of the ablative is *cum ūnō medicō*?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar was sailing to Rhodes to pursue *(studēre)* rhetorica *(rhētorica, -ae* f.). [Give at least three ways to say this.]
2. Pirates captured Caesar while he was sailing near Pharmacussa. [Give at least two ways to say this.]

4.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. Why was Caesar accompanied by only three slaves during his captivity?
2. For what price was Caesar ransomed?
3. What did Caesar do as soon as he was put ashore by the pirates?
4. What was the ultimate fate of the pirates?
5. What brief campaign did Caesar then undertake in Asia?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quī pecūniam comparāvērunt ut Caesar redimerētur?
2. pauperne est is quī quīnquāgintā talenta habeat an dīves?
3. quō suppliciō adfēcit Caesar illīs praedōnibus?
4. quis erat Mithridātēs?
5. cūr erant quaedam urbēs Rōmae dubiae?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What case and use is *initiō*?
2. What would be another way to say *ad expediendās pecūniās*?
3. What form is *redimerētur*, and how is it being used?
4. Give the full declension of *abeuntīs*.
5. What form is *dēsidēre*, and how is it being used?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar sent his slaves to obtain funds. (Write this sentence at least three ways.)
2. Caesar subdued and inflicted punishment on the pirates. [Note: use a participle for 'subdued'.
3. Caesar subdued the enemy so that the cities would not waver in doubt. [Use an adjective for 'in doubt'.]

6.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What office was Caesar holding when he gave funeral orations in honor of his aunt Julia and wife Cornelia?
2. What two claims did Caesar make about his aunt's familial descent?
3. **est ergō in genere, etc.:** How did Caesar characterize his family?
4. Why, do you think, did Caesar choose to emphasize his aunt's lineage in his eulogy?
5. What do you think of Caesar's claims to be descended from Ancus Marcius and Venus? Is one more likely than the other? Why? What would a Roman think?
6. How does Suetonius' quotation of the funeral oration for Julia here show Caesar's rhetorical skills?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quō in locō laudāvit Caesar amitam et uxōrem?
2. mortuāsne laudāvit Caesar amitam et uxōrem an vīvās?
3. quis erat Ancus Marcius?
4. quis erat Venus?
5. secundum laudātiōnem Caesaris, quī plūrimum pollent?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What case and use is *amitae* (line 2: *in amitae quidem laudātiōne*)?
2. What type of ablative is *ab rēgibus*?
3. Decline the noun *deus*.
4. Give a synopsis of *orior* in the 3rd sg.
5. What form is *fuit*?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. As consul, he praised his dead mother and aunt according to custom.
2. Caesar relates the origin of both his aunt and his father.
3. His aunt descended from the kings on her mother's side.
4. She was related to the gods on her father's side.
5. In his descent there was both the holiness of the kings and the majesty of the gods.

6.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. Who was Caesar's second wife?
2. What was her family background?
3. Why do you think Caesar might have chosen to marry her?
4. What was the outcome of their marriage?
5. Describe the Bona Dea scandal.

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quis erat Pompēia?
2. quis erat avus eius?
3. cūr dīmīsit Caesar eam?
4. cūr induerat Clōdius vestēs muliebrīs?
5. dē quō dēcrēvit senātus quaestiōnem?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What case is *filiam*, and why?
2. Decline the relative pronoun.
3. Give a synopsis in the 1st pl. of *penetrō*.
4. What case and use is *veste*?
5. What form is *dēcrēverit*? How is it being used?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar married Pompeia, whom he then divorced.
2. Caesar thought that she had committed adultery with Publius Clodius.
3. Rumor said that he had infiltrated the rites of the Bona Dea in women's clothing.
4. The rumor was so widespread that the senate appointed a special commission.
5. The senate believed that the rites had been profaned.

7.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What province did Caesar serve in as *quaestor*?
2. What was his job there?
3. What did he see a statue of? Where was it?
4. Why was this statue in that location?
5. What did this statue make him think about?
6. What action did he take as a response?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. cūr erat Caesar in Hispāniā?
2. cuius in templō vīdit Caesar imāginem Magnī Alexandrī?
3. quid fēcerat Alexander antequam XXXIII annōs nātus erat?
4. quid rogāvit Caesar praetōrem?
5. quid volēbat Caesar facere in urbe?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What case is *quaestōrī*, and why?
2. What case is *Gadīs*, and why?
3. Parse *āctum esset*.
4. What mood is *subēgisset*, and why?
5. Explain how the verb *pertaedet* is normally construed. Is there anything unusual in the construction here?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Antistius obtained (the province of) Hispania by lot as governor.
2. Caesar noticed a statue in the temple of Hercules.
3. Caesar was tired of his inactivity.
4. Caesar thought that he had not yet done anything memorable.
5. Caesar obtained a discharge in order to seek opportunities for greater things in Rome. (Write this sentence two ways.)

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What troubled Caesar the night after he saw the statue of Alexander?
2. What did he do about this disturbing event?
3. What interpretation did the seers place upon it?
4. What was their reasoning?
5. Why do you think they might have told Caesar this?
6. What is the connection between the events of 7.1 and 7.2?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quid Caesar sibi vidēbātur fēcisse per quiētem?
2. quōmodo sē habēbat post hoc vīsum?
3. quāle ōmen erat hoc somnium, ut dīxērunt cōiectōrēs?
4. secundum cōiectōrēs, rē vērā quis aut quid erat ea quam in somniō Caesar vīderat?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Fully identify the form of *cōnfūsum* and explain how it is being used.
2. What case is *somniō* and why?
3. What case is *mātrī* and why?
4. Fully identify the form of *portendī* and explain how it is being used.
5. Explain how *quam* is being used.

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. I dreamed that Caesar was being killed.
2. Caesar dreamed that he would be killed.
3. The dream interpreters said that Caesar would have power over the world.
4. The mother was none other than Mother Earth herself.
5. The earth is considered the mother of all people.

13

A. Comprehension Questions

1. Why did Caesar not obtain the province he wished? (See §11.)
2. What did he then set his sights on?
3. **sē nisi pontificem nōn reversūrum**: What did Caesar mean when he said this? Why did he say it?
4. What was the outcome of the election?
5. Who were Caesar's opponents?
6. Were Caesar's bribes worth the money he had spent? How does the outcome of the election show this?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quem honōrem volēbat Caesar sibi adipiscī?
2. quōmodo eligēbantur pontificēs maximī?
3. quōmodo temptābat Caesar sibi grātiam populī conciliāre?
4. quot suffrāgia ā Caesare lāta sunt?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What case is *prōvinciae* and why?
2. What form is *dēscenderet* and why?
3. What form is *praedīxisse* and how is it being used?
4. What case are *aetāte* and *dignitāte* and why?
5. What form is *tulerit*? What construction is it being used in? What does its tense tell us?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar was seeking to be Pontifex Maximus by using lavish bribery.
2. Caesar said to his mother that he would return as Pontifex Maximus or not at all.
3. Caesar said to his mother, "I will return as Pontifex Maximus or not at all."
4. Caesar's two biggest rival candidates were much more important than he in age and rank.
5. Caesar got more votes in their tribes than they did total.

[2] stīpendia prīma in Asiā fēcit Mārcī Thermī praetōris contuberniō; ā quō ad accersendam classem in Bīthȳniam missus dēsēdit apud Nīcomēdēn, nōn sine rumōre prōstrātae rēgī pudīcitiae; quem rūmōrem auxit intrā paucōs rursus diēs repetīta Bīthȳnia per causam exigendae pecūniae, quae dēbērētur cuidam lībertīnō clientī suō. reliqua mīlitia secundiōre fāmā fuit et ā Thermō in expugnātiōne Mytilēnārum corōnā cīvicā dōnātus est.

He did his first military service in Asia under the governor, propraetor Marcus Thermus; Thermus sent him to Bithynia to gather a fleet, and Caesar stayed there at King Nicomedes' court so long there was a lot of talk that he was sleeping with the king; the rumors grew when he went back a few days after his return to collect money that was owed to a freedman, a client of his. People talked of him more favorably during the rest of his military serivce, and at the taking of Mytiline, Thermus gave him a civic crown, the oak leaf wreath awarded for conspicuous bravery.

[3] meruit et sub Servīliō Isauricō in Ciliciā, sed brevī tempore. nam Sullae morte compertā, simul spē novae dissēnsiōnis, quae per Mārcum Lepidum movēbātur, Rōmam properē redit. et Lepidī quidem societāte, quamquam magnīs condiciōnibus invītārētur, abstinuit, cum ingeniō eius diffīsus tum occāsiōne, quam minōrem opīniōne offenderat.

He also served under Servilius Isauricus in Cilicia, but only for a short time, for when he learned of the death of Sulla and that there was also talk of a new revolt being put into motion by Marcus Lepidus, he hurried back to Rome. But in the event he did not join Lepidus' group, although they tried to get him to under quite favorable terms, because he had little confidence in either Lepidus' character or the time they had chosen, which he found less suitable than he had thought.

Comprehension Questions

1. Describe Caesar's very earliest steps towards a political career. What about it is typical? What was not typical?
2. Why did Caesar return to Rome upon the death of Sulla?

[5] tribūnātū mīlitum, quī prīmus Rōmam reversō per suffrāgia populī honor optigit, āctōrēs restituendae tribūniciae potestātis, cuius vim Sulla dēminuerat, ēnīxissimē iūvit. L. etiam Cinnae uxōris frātrī, et quī cum eō cīvīlī discordiā Lepidum secūtī post necem cōnsulis ad Sertōrium cōnfūgerant, reditum in cīvitātem rogātiōne Plōtiā cōnfēcit habuitque et ipse super eā rē cōntiōnem.

While he was a military tribune, which was the first office he obtained by the people's vote after he returned to Rome, he most zealously helped those working to restore the rights of the tribunes of the plebs, whose power Sulla had lessened. He also brought about the return to the city of Lucius Cinna, his wife's brother, as well as those who, having followed Lepidus in the civil unrest after the death of the consul, had fled with him to Sertorius, a Roman general leading a rebellion in Spain, by means of the law sponsored by Plotius, and he himself gave a speech in support of this matter.

Comprehension Questions

1. What was Caesar's next step towards a political career?
2. How might his actions described in §5 have been seen as supporting the *populārēs*?

[8] dēcēdēns ergo ante tempus colōniās Latīnās dē petendā cīvitāte agitantēs adiit, et ad audendum aliquid concitāsset, nisi cōnsulēs cōnscriptās in Ciliciam legiōnēs paulisper ob id ipsum retinuissent.

Leaving his quaestorship early therefore, he approached the Latin colonies that were agitating concerning getting citizenship, and he would have tried to stir some plot up, if the consuls hadn't for a short time kept back the legions conscripted in Cilicia for that very purpose.

[9.1] nec eō sētius maiōra mox in urbe mōlītus est: sīquidem ante paucōs diēs quam aedīlitātem inīret, vēnit in suspiciōnem cōnspīrāsse cum Mārcō Crassō cōnsulārī, item Pūbliō Sullā et L. Autrōniō post dēsignātiōnem cōnsulātūs ambitūs condemnātīs, ut prīncipiō annī senātum adorīrentur, et trucidātīs quōs placitum esset, dictātūram Crassus invāderet, ipse ab eō magister equitum dīcerētur cōnstitūtāque ad arbitrium rē pūblicā Sullae et Autrōniō cōnsulātus restituerētur.

Nor was he any slower to try to work on something worse in the city: in fact, a few days before he was sworn in as aedile, people began to suspect him of conspiring with the ex-consul Marcus Crassus, and also with Publius Sulla and Lucius Autronius, who had been convicted of bribery after they won election to the consulship. They all hatched a plot that they would attack the senate after the beginning of the year and kill whomever they wanted, that Crassus would take over the dictatorship, and that Caesar would be named master of the horse, and that after they had reformed the state as they wished, Sulla and Autronius would be given back their consulship.

[9.2] meminērunt huius coniūrātiōnis Tanūsius Geminus in historiā, Mārcus Bibulus in ēdictīs, C. Cūrio pater in ōrātiōnibus. dē hāc significāre vidētur et Cicerō in quādam ad Axium epistulā referēns Caesarem in cōnsulātū cōnfirmāsse rēgnum, dē quō aedīlis cogitārat. Tanūsius adicit Crassum paenitentiā vel metū diem caedī dēstinātum nōn obīsse et idcircō nē Caesarem quidem signum, quod ab eō darī convēnerat, dedisse; convēnisse autem Cūriō ait, ut togam de umerō dēiceret.

The evidence for this conspiracy is that it was mentioned by Tanusius Geminus in his history, by Marcus Bibulus in his edicts, and by Gaius Curio the Elder in his speeches. Cicero also seems to be talking about it in a certain letter he sent to Axius, in which he mentions that Caesar as consul had firmed up the kingship that he'd contempleted as an aedile. Tanusius adds that Crassus, because of guilt, or at least fear, didn't show up on the day they'd decided upon for their assassination plot and for that reason Caesar never gave the sign they'd agreed upon; Curio however says that he the sign was that he would push his toga down off his shoulder.

[9.3] īdem Cūriō sed et M. Āctōrius Nāsō auctōrēs sunt cōnspīrāsse eum etiam cum Gnaeō Pīsōne adulēscente, cui ob suspiciōnem urbānae coniūrātiōnis prōvincia Hispānia ultrō extrā ōrdinem data sit; pactumque ut simul forīs ille, ipse Rōmae ad rēs nōvās cōnsurgerent, per Ambrānōs et Trānspadānōs; dēstitūtum utrīusque cōnsilium morte Pīsōnis.

Curio also, along with Marcus Actorius Naso, is the source for saying that Caesar conspired with the young Gaius Piso, who had been given the province of Hispania as an extraordinary command to get him out of Rome where people suspected him of conspiring; and supposed they

agreed that Piso would start a revolt abroad while Caesar did the same in Rome, with the help of the Ambrani and those living across the River Po; the plot was supposedly abandoned because of the death of Piso.

[10.1] aedīlis praeter comitium ac forum basilicāsque etiam Capitōlium ornāvit porticibus ad tempus extrūctīs, in quibus abundante rērum cōpiā pars apparātūs expōnerētur. vēnātiōnēs autem ludōsque et cum collēgā et sēparātim ēdidit, quō factum est, ut commūnium quoque inpēnsārum sōlus grātiam caperet nec dissimulāret collēga eius Mārcus Bibulus, ēvēnisse sibi quod Pollūcī: ut enim geminīs frātribus aedes in forō cōnstitūta tantum Castoris vocārētur, ita suam Caesarisque mūnificentiam ūnīus Caesaris dīcī.

As aedile, he sponsored building projects not only of the Assembly Place and the forum, but also of the Capitolium, building temporary porticoes, in which part of his equipment was being displayed with an abundant supply of materials. He put on plays and wild animal hunts, both alone and with his colleage, taking all the credit for their spending. His colleague, Marcus Bibulus, didn't take any pains to hide the fact that the same thing had happened to him as to the mythical Pollux: for just as the temple in the forum that is dedicated to both twins is only referred to as Castor's, so too was his and Caesar's generosity caled Caesar's alone.

[10.2] adiēcit insuper Caesar etiam gladiātōrium mūnus, sed aliquantō paucōribus quam dēstināverat pāribus; nam cum multiplicī undique familiā conparātā inimīcōs exterruisset, cautum est dē numerō gladiātōrum, quō nē maiōrem cuiquam habēre Rōmae licēret.

On top of that Caesar added another show of gladiators, but one that had somewhat fewer pairs than he had intended; for when he had frightened his enemies by having bought a really large troop of gladiators, a law was passed concerning a maximum number of gladiators that anyone was allowed to have in Rome.

[11] conciliātō populī favōre temptāvit per partem tribūnōrum, ut sibi Aegyptus prōvincia plēbī scītō darētur, nanctus extraōrdināriī imperiī occāsiōnem, quod Alexandrīnī rēgem suum socium atque amīcum ā senātū appellātum expulerant rēsque vulgō inprobābātur. nec obtinuit adversante optimātium factiōne: quōrum auctōritātem ut quibus posset modīs in vicem dēminueret, tropaea Gaī Marī dē Iugurthā dēque Cimbrīs atque Teutonīs ōlim ā Sullā disiecta restituit atque in exercendā dē sīcārīs quaestiōne eōs quoque sīcāriōrum numerō habuit, quī prōscrīptiōne ob relāta cīvium Rōmānōrum capita pecūniās ex aerāriō accēperant, quamquam exceptōs Cornēlīs lēgibus.

Having won the people's favor, he tried with the help of some the tribunes to be allowed by a popular vote to govern the province of Egypt, having seized upon an opportunity for extraordinary power, because the Alexandrians had expelled their king, whom the Roman Senate had called a friend and ally, an action which was commonly disapproved of. He was unsuccessful in this due to the opposition of the Optimate faction. To try to diminish their influence in turn by any means he could, he restored the trophies in honor of Gaius Marius' victories over Jugurtha and the Cimbri and the Teutones that Sulla had dismantled, and when he was heading the homicide court, he considered as murderers also those who had received moneys from the treasury for killing Roman citizens on the proscription blacklists, even though they had been exempted by the laws of Sulla.

[12] subōrnāvit etiam quī Gāiō Rabīriō perduelliōnis diem dīceret, quō praecipuō adiūtōre aliquot ante annōs Lūcī Saturnīnī sēditiōsum tribūnātum senātus coercuerat, ac sorte iūdex in reum ductus tam cupidē condemnāvit, ut ad populum prōvocantī nihil aequē ac iūdicis acerbitās prōfuerit.

He also convinced someone to prosecute Gaius Rabirius on a charge of high treason. Rabirius some years before had been a key member of the senate's effort to end the tribune Lucius Saturninus' attempt to overthrow the state. And Caesar, who was chosen by lot as the judge in the case, so eagerly condemned Rabirius that the deciding factor in his appeal to the people was the judge's animosity.

Comprehension Questions

1. Describe the conspiracies that young Caesar was involved in, according to §8-9. Who were his co-conspirators? What do their aims seem to have been?
2. What evidence does Suetonius give that Caesar was involved in these conspiracies (or that they existed at all)? Why do you think he cites his sources?
3. Are you convinced by Suetonius' evidence? Why/not?
4. What does it tell us about Caesar's character if he was involved in these conspiracies? Why would he be a part of them? What would he believe about government?
5. How did Caesar use his aedileship to gain the people's favor?
6. What did Caesar do that enraged his colleague in the aedileship, Marcus Bibulus? Why was he so mad?
7. How did the Optimates continue to oppose Caesar?
8. What counter measures did he take?
9. Who was Rabirius?
10. How did Caesar advance in his early career as quaestor and aedile? In what ways did he follow a typical path for someone of his background? Were there ways he did not? If so, what?

[14.1] praetor creātus, dētēctā coniūrātiōne Catilīnae senātūque ūniversō in sociōs facinōris ultimam statuente poenam, sōlus mūnicipātim dīvidendōs custōdiendōsque pūblicātīs bonīs cēnsuit. quīn et tantum metum iniēcit asperiōra suādentibus, identidem ostentāns quanta eōs in posterum ā plēbe Rōmānā manēret invidia, ut Decimum Sīlānum cōnsulem dēsignātum nōn piguerit sententiam suam, quia mūtāre turpe erat, interpretātiōne lēnīre, velut gravius atque ipse sēnsisset exceptam.

After his election as praetor, when the conspiracy of Catiline had been uncovered and the entire senate was debating the death penalty for the participants in it, he alone was of the opinion that they ought to divided up and sent under guard to different towns, with their goods confiscated. In fact, by showing them again and again how much ill-feeling putting Catiline's followers to death would generate among the common people, he so frightened those advocating for harsher penalties, that Decimus Silanus, the consul-elect, was not ashamed to soften in his opinion (it would have been disgraceful to change it entirely), as though it had come across more severely than he had meant it to.

[14.2] obtinuisset adeō trānsductīs iam ad sē plūribus et in hīs Cicerōne cōnsulis frātre, nisi labantem ōrdinem cōnfīrmāsset M. Catōnis ōrātiō. ac nē sīc quidem impedīre rem dēstitit, quoad manus equitum Rōmānōrum, quae armāta praesidiī causā circumstābat, inmoderātius persevērantī necem comminâta est, etiam strictōs gladiōs usque eō intentāns, ut sedentem ūnā proximī dēseruerint, vix paucī complexū togāque obiectā prōtēxerint. tunc plānē dēterritus nōn modo cessit, sed et in reliquum annī tempus cūriā abstinuit.

He would have prevailed because of how many people had come across to the position advocated by him and Cicero, the consul's brother, if it hadn't been for the speech given by Marcus Cato that shored up the wavering feelings of the Senate. And he didn't even give up trying to prevent the imposition of the death penalty, until a band of Roman cavalrymen, who were standing sourrounding the Senate in arms as bodyguards, threatened to kill him when he rashly persisted. They brandished their naked swords at him, which caused those sitting near him to desert him, moving away as though they had changed their minds, while just a few of them tried to protect him with their bodies or their clothing. Then, clearly terrified, he not only gave up, but even stayed away from the senate for the rest of the year.

[15] prīmō praetūrae diē Quīntum Catulum dē refectiōne Capitōlī ad disquīsītiōnem populī vocāvit rogātiōne prōmulgātā, quā cūrātiōnem eam in alium trānsferēbat; vērum impār optimātium cōnspīrātiōnī, quōs relictō statim novōrum cōnsulum officiō frequentēs obstinātōsque ad resistendum concucurrisse cernēbat, hanc quidem āctiōnem dēposuit.

On the first day of his praetorship, he called Quintus Catulus to testify before the people concerning the repairs to the the Capitolium, and he sponsored a bill transferring that duty to another person. But when he saw that the Optimates, instead of gathering around the new consuls as they would normally do, were immediately turning out in a stubborn crowd to resist him, he felt unequal to their united front and in fact abandoned this proceeding.

[16.1] cēterum Caeciliō Metellō tribūnō plēbis turbulentissimās lēgēs adversus collēgārum intercessiōnem ferentī auctōrem prōpugnātōremque sē pertinācissimē praestitit, dōnec ambō administrātiōne reī pūblicae dēcrētō patrum submoverentur. ac nihilō minus permanēre in magistrātū et iūs dīcere ausus, ut comperit parātōs, quī vī ac per arma prōhibērent, dīmissīs līctōribus abiectāque praetextā domum clam refūgit prō condiciōne temporum quiētūrus.

But Caesar showed that he was a staunch defender and model for Caecilius Metellus, the tribune of the plebs, who was bringing forward some very controversial bills despite the opposition of his colleagues, until finally the Senate voted to remove both of them from office. And nonethless Caesar was so bold as to continue on in his magistracy, running his courts, but when he learned that people were prepared to resort to violence and force of arms to stop him, he dismissed his lictors and threw off his toga praetexta, then secretly ran back home to remain there inactive due to the nature of the times.

[16.2] multitūdinem quoque bīduō post sponte et ultrō cōnfluentem operamque sibi in adserendā dignitāte tumultuōsius pollicentem conpescuit. quod cum praeter opīniōnem ēvēnisset, senātus ob eundem coetum festīnātō coāctus grātiās eī per prīmōrēs virōs ēgit accitumque in cūriam et amplissimīs verbīs conlaudātum in integrum restituit inductō priōre dēcrētō.

Also, when a crowd of common people two days later came to see him of their own accord, promising in a disorderly manner to help him regain his lost position, he kept them from rioting. And since he had behaved in this matter entirely contrary to their expectation, the senate, meeting urgently about that same gathering, was compelled to have its leading members thank him; they summoned him to the senate house and praised him in lavish terms, then restored him to his position, rescinding their prior decree.

[17.1] recidit rūrsus in discrīmen aliud inter sociōs Catilīnae nōminātus et apud Novium Nigrum quaestōrem ā Lūciō Vettiō indice et in senātū ā Quīntō Cūriō, cui, quod prīmus cōnsilia coniūrātōrum dētēxerat, cōnstitūta erant pūblicē praemia. Cūrius ē Catilīnā sē cognōvisse dīcēbat, Vettius etiam chīrographum eius Catilīnae datum pollicēbātur.

He found himself again in a crisis when he was named among the followers of Catiline both in front of the quaestor Novius Niger by the informant Lucius Vettius and in the senate by Quintus Curius, who, because he had been the first to reveal the conspirators' plans, had been given rewards from the public funds. Curius was saying that he had learned of it from Catiline, while Vettius was also swearing he could bring a letter in Caesar's own hand that had been given to Catiline.

[17.2] id vērō Caesar nūllō modō tolerandum exīstimāns, cum inplōrātō Cicerōnis testimōniō quaedam sē dē coniūrātiōne ultrō ad eum dētulisse docuisset, nē Cūriō praemia darentur effēcit; Vettium pignoribus captīs et dīreptā supellectīle male mulcātum ac prō rōstrīs in cōntione paene discerptum coiēcit in carcerem; eōdem Novium quaestōrem, quod compellārī apud se maiōrem potestātem passus esset.

But Caesar, thinking that he absolutely must not let that go unchallenged, used Cicero's own testimony to make it known that he had of his own accord told him certain things about the plot,

so that Curius would not be able to claim the reward. The items that Vettius had put up as surety were seized, including his household goods, and then, dragged with excessive brutality to the Rostra to an assembly, he was nearly torn to pieces; Caesar threw him into prison, along with Novius the quaestor, for allowing a more senior magistrate to be arraigned before him.

Comprehension Questions

1. Who was Catiline? What did he do?
2. How and by whom was Caesar implicated in the Catilinarian conspiracy?
3. How did Caesar respond to these charges?
4. Does Suetonius appear to believe that Caesar was involved? How can we tell?
5. How does Caesar's call for clemency for Catiline's followers (§14) fit in?
6. Do you think that Caesar was involved in the conspiracy? Why/not?
7. Where did Caesar govern as propraetor? What was unusual about his arrival and departure? Why?
8. What was one of the chief problems Caesar was facing at this time? How did he deal with it?
9. What two goals did Caesar have when he returned from Spain?
10. Why was he unable to achieve one of them?
11. How did the Optimates oppose Caesar's run for consul?
12. Who was Cato the Younger?

[18.1] ex praetūrā ulteriōrem sortītus Hispāniam retinentēs crēditōrēs interventū spōnsōrum remōvit ac neque mōre neque iūre, ante quam prōvinciae ōr[di]nārentur, prōfectus est: incertum metūne iūdiciī, quod prīvātō parābātur, an quō mātūrius sociīs inplōrantibus subvenīret; pācātāque prōvinciā pārī festīnātiōne, nōn expectātō successōre ad triumphum simul cōnsulātumque dēcessit.

After his praetorship, he was randomly chosen to go to Further Spain as its governor. He removed the problem of his creditors, who were trying to hold him back, by the intervenion of bondsmen, and he set out before all the formalities of arranging the provinces were all finished, contrary to both custom and law. It is uncertain whether he left early out of fear of the lawsuit that was being prepared privately or so that he might come to help the allies who were asking for aid sooner. And after he restored peace in the province, he left it with equal haste, not having waited for his successor, heading back to seek permission for a triumph and the consulate both.

[18.2] sed cum ēdictīs iam comitīs ratiō eius habērī nōn posset nisi prīvātus introisset urbem, et ambientī ut lēgibus solverētur multī contrā dīcerent, coāctus est triumphum, nē cōnsulātū exclūderētur, dīmittere.

But since he couldn't be recognized as a candidate unless he entered the city as a private citizen as the date for the elections had already been announced, and many people were speaking out against his efforts to campain for an exemption from the laws, he was compelled to give up his triumph so that he wouldn't lose the chance for the consulship.

[19.1] ē duōbus cōnsulātūs competītōribus, Lūciō Lūccēiō Mārcōque Bibulō, Lūccēium sibi adiūnxit, pactus ut is, quoniam īnferior grātiā esset pecūniāque pollēret, nummōs de suō commūnī nōmine per centūriās prōnūntiāret. quā cognitā rē optimātēs, quōs metus cēperat nihil non ausūrum eum in summō magistrātū concordī et cōnsentiente collēgā, auctōrēs Bibulō fuērunt tantundem pollicendī, ac plērīque pecūniās contulērunt, nē Catōne quidem abnuente eam largītiōnem ē rē pūblicā fierī.

Out of the two people running for consul against him, Lucius Lucceius and Marcus Bibulus, he formed an alliance with Lucceius, agreeing that Lucceius, since he was less influential but had more money, should promise monetary distributions among the voters under both their names. When they learned about this, the optimates were seized by fear that there wasn't anything Caesar would not dare to do as the chief magistrate, if he had a like-minded colleague willing to go along with him, and so they authorized Bibulus to promise the same amount and quite a few of them contributed money – not even Cato denied that bribery, in that case, was for the good of the Republic.

II. Caesar in Power (§18-§44)

Bibulō – Marcus Bibulus, the Optimates' candidate for consul.

creātur – Verbs that take a double accusative in the active (they elect *him consul*-acc.) have two nominatives in the passive (*he* is elected *consul*-nom.) when the verb functions as a copula (that is, like *sum* or *fiō*). Historical present (translate *he was elected*).

eandem ob causam – Typical Latin word order: modifier preposition noun. *eandem* is the acc. sg. f. of *īdem* (the -m of *eam* changes to an -n- before the -d- of -*dem* for reasons of euphony).

opera data est ut... – Tr. *effort was made that...* The *ut* clause is a substantive clause of result.

minimī negōtiī – Gen. of description (*of least importance*)

silvae callēsque – *woods and pastures*. After a consul's year in office, he ordinarily was assigned the governorship of an important province as a 'proconsul'. Caesar's enemies are working to ensure that he will be given instead a pseudo-'province', being in charge of the forests and mountain pastures. *prōvincia* originally had this sense of "duty assignment" and only later came to primarily refer to divisions of land outside of Italy but politically administered by the Romans.

quā iniūriā īnstinctus – *quā* = *et eā*, connective relative. Tr. *and enraged by this slight. īnstinguō* in Classical Latin is used only in the perfect passive participle, as here.

omnibus officiīs – Abl. of manner. Tr. *with every attention*.

offēnsum – describing *Pompēium*.

patribus – sc. *cōnscriptīs*, i.e., *senators*. Dative with *offēnsum*.

Mithridāte rēge victō – abl. abs. Pompey returned to Rome after the defeat of Mithridates in 62 BCE.

cunctantius – absolute comparative adverb. Tr. *rather slowly* or *too slowly*

cōnfīrmārentur ācta sua – The senate needed to give its official approval to Pompey's settling of things in Asia (as well as his provisions for his veterans). But the Senate was moving slowly, perhaps fearing to increase Pompey's considerable popularity.

Pompēiō – dat. with *reconciliāvit*.

reconciliāvit, etc. – Pompey and Crassus had clashed when they held the consulship together, but now Caesar got them to work together.

veterem inimīcum – Modifying *Mārcum Crassum*.

quem – refers back to *cōnsulātū*

summā discordiā – abl. of manner, *with greatest discord*

societātem cum utrōque iniit – This alliance became known as the *First Triumvirate*. Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus agreed to run the state together as they saw fit. The name *triumvir* comes from a

[19.2] igitur cum Bibulō cōnsul creātur. eandem ob causam opera ab optimātibus data est, 1
ut prōvinciae futūrīs cōnsulibus minimī negōtiī, id est silvae callēsque, dēcernerentur. quā 2
maximē iniūriā īnstinctus omnibus officiīs Gnaeum Pompēium adsectātus est offēnsum 3
patribus, quod Mithridāte rēge victō cunctantius cōnfirmārentur ācta sua; Pompēiōque 4
Mārcum Crassum reconciliāvit veterem inimīcum ex cōnsulātū, quem summā discordiā 5
simul gesserant; ac societātem cum utrōque iniit, nē quid agerētur in rē pūblicā, quod 6
displicuisset ūllī ē tribus. 7

igitur, postpositive conj. – *therefore*
creō creāre creāvī creātus – *to elect, make*
**ob, prep. + acc. – *on account of, because of, for*
opera, operae f. – *effort, attention*
**optimātēs, optimātium m.pl. – *the Optimates*, the party supporting the traditional aristocracy and Senatorial power
**prōvincia, prōvinciae f. – *province*
minimus minima minimum (superl. of *parvus*) – *very little, smallest, least*
negōtium, negōtiī n. – *business; importance*
silva, silvae f. – *forest, wood*
callis, callis m. (i-stem) – *footpath; mountain valley; pasture*
**maximē, adv. – *very greatly; especially, most*
iniūria, iniūriae f. – *injustice, injury, slight*
īnstinguō īnstinguere īnstinxī īnstinctus – *to incite, animate; enrage*
**officium, officiī n. – *duty, office; observance, attendance, service; office* or *court* (of a magistrate)
adsector, adsectārī, adsectātus sum – *to pursue, follow after, pay court to*
offēnsus offēnsa offēnsum – *angry, offended*
quod, conj. – *because, (for the fact) that*
**vincō vincere vīcī victus – *to conquer, win*

cunctanter, adv. – *hesitatingly, slowly*
cōnfirmō cōnfirmāre cōnfirmāvī cōnfirmātus – *to strengthen, shore up; confirm, ratify, recognize*
ācta, āctōrum n.pl. – *acts, deeds; records*
reconciliō reconciliāre reconciliāvī reconciliātus – *to reconcile, bring back to friendship*
vetus, gen. veteris – *old, ancient*
**inimīcus, inimīcī m. – *(personal) enemy*
**cōnsulātus, cōnsulātūs m. – *consulship*
summus –a –um – *highest, greatest*
discordia, discordiae f. – *discord, disagreement*
**simul, adv. – *together, at the same time, simultaneously*
gerō gerere gessī gestus – *to bear; wage, carry out, transact, do*
societās, societātis f. – *alliance*
**uterque utraque utrumque – *each (of two), both*
ineō inīre iniī initus (irr.) – *to go into, enter*
**aliquis, aliquid, indefinite pron. – *someone, something; anyone, anything*
**rēs pūblica, reī pūblicae f. – *the (Roman) state, the (Roman) republic*
displicet, displicēre, displicuit, impers. vb. + dat. – *to displease*

Roman term for certain priesthoods (e.g., the *quīndecemvirī sacrīs faciundīs*) or magistracies (the *duovirī* of towns like Pompeii, basically local judges.) The group would be described based on the number of people involved and their purpose/job.

nē quid agerētur – Tr. *that nothing should be done*; the clause is an 'epexegetical' (explanatory) clause to explain the *societātem*.

quid – = *aliquid*. "After *sī, nisi, num* and *nē*, all the *'ali'*s go away!"

quod – refers back to *quid*

displicuisset – Pluperfect subjunctive in a relative clause of characteristic, *(anything of the sort) that might have displeased*

ūllī – Dative of *ūllus*, object of *displicuisset*. *ūllus* is one of the so-called UNUS NAUTA adjective, 1st / 2nd declension adjectives that have a genitive singular in –īus and a dative singular in –ī, like pronouns.

ē tribus – Partitives with numbers other than *mīlia*, thousands, are done by *ē* + abl. *mīlia* uses the partitive genitive. Tr. *any of the three (of them)*.

initō honōre – Abl. abs. Refers to Caesar's consulship, 59 BCE

prīmus omnium – Note the nominative. In English, we would say, "he was the first of all to [do something]." It does not mean "the first thing he did was to."

ut tam, etc. – Substantive clause of result after *īnstituit*.

diurna ācta – Daily records. This was a popular measure, increasing transparency and accounatability in government.

cōnfiērent – Note that forms of *fiō* are generally used in place of the passive of *faciō* in the present system.

antīquuum – Describes *mōrem*.

ut quō mēnse, etc. – Substantive clause of result.

quō mēnse ... habēret – A magistrate with *imperium*, such as a consul, had attendants called lictors whose job it was to accompany the consul and see that his way was not blocked. The consul was attended by 12 lictors. The lictors were responsible for carrying the *fasces*, the bundle of rods with an axe in the middle that was the symbol of the consul's authority, specifically his ability to punish citizens; this Roman practice is the source for the modern term 'fascism', following the symbol's use by Benito Mussolini in early 20th century Italy. The *fasces* would be carried by the lictors for each consul in alternating months.

accēnsus ante, etc. – Caesar arranged that in the consul's 'off-month' when his colleague bore the *fasces,* a secondary attendant would walk in front of him, while the lictors followed (not carrying the *fasces*). The change would be to continue having the lictors with him, even when they did not carry the *fasces*.

lēge ... prōmulgātā – Abl. abs. This text of this law, the *lēx Iulia agrāria*, which distributed land in Campania to needy citizens (a popular measure) was made known to the people (*prōmulgātā*), because Caesar, unable to get the Senate to pass the law, took it directly to the people to be voted on in the assemblies *(comitia)*.

obnūntiantem collēgam – Caesar's fellow-consul, Bibulus (see §19.1), as a political opponent of Caesar, was attempting to prevent him from carrying out his program by announcing that he would be watching for (bad) omens. All political activities, including the meetings of the assembly, were supposed to be adjourned if a magistrate saw a bad omen. By disregarding Bibulus' omen-gazing (not to mention offering violence to his colleague!), Caesar was flying in the face of Roman religion, which was above all concerned with correct action. Omens such as birds flying in a certain way in the sky or lightning (or more exotic signs, such as two-headed calves being born) were considered communication from the gods; it was in fact the Senate's most sacred function to determine why an omen had been seen and how to correct relations between the human and divine worlds. Caesar ignored omens and religious procedure on many occasions (see §59) or turned them to his own advantage (§32). A Roman would not have been concerned with Caesar's apparent lack of "belief," because Roman religion, in contrast to modern Christianity, did not value internal faith, but rather external actions. A Roman magistrate violating correct procedure would be thought to endanger the city itself, whereas private skepticism seems to have been common (as in Cicero's public speeches versus more private letters or works of philosophy).

[20.1] initō honōre, prīmus omnium īnstituit, ut tam senātūs quam populī diurna ācta 1
cōnfierent et pūblicārentur. antīquum etiam rettulit mōrem, ut quō mēnse fascēs nōn 2
habēret, accēnsus ante eum īret, līctōrēs pōne sequerentur. lēge autem agrāriā prōmulgātā, 3
obnūntiantem collēgam armīs forō expulit ac posterō diē in senātū conquestum nec 4
quōquam repertō, quī super tālī cōnsternātiōne referre aut cēnsēre aliquid audēret, quālia 5
multa saepe in leviōribus turbīs dēcrēta erant, in eam coēgit dēspērātiōnem, ut, quoad 6
potestāte abīret, domō abditus nihil aliud quam per ēdicta obnūntiāret. 7

ineō inīre iniī initus (irr.) – *to go into, enter*
īnstituō īnstituere īnstituī īnstitūtus – *to set up,*
    establish, determine
tam ... quam – *both ... and; as ... as; as much ... as*
**populus, populī m. – *people, the (Roman) people*
ācta diurna, āctōrum diurnōrum n.pl. – *daily*
    newspaper, daily records
cōnfiō cōnfierī cōnfectus sum (passive of *cōnficiō*) –
    to be made, prepared, produced
pūblicō pūblicāre pūblicāvī pūblicātus – *to make*
    public; publish; confiscate, take away (as a fine)
**antīquus antīqua antīquum – *ancient, old*
**mōs, mōris m. – *custom, habit;* (pl.) *character,*
    morals
fascēs, fascium m.pl. – *fasces,* a bundle of rods with
    an axe in the middle that represented the
    authority of certain magistrates
accēnsus, accēnsī m. – *attendant*
ante, prep. + acc. – *in front of, before*
eō īre iī itus (irr.) – *to go*
līctor, līctōris m. – *lictor,* a magistrate's attendant
pōne, adv. – *behind*
**sequor, sequī, secūtus sum – *to follow*
lēx, lēgis f. – *law*
agrārius agrāria agrārium – *agrarian, relating to land*
    (reform)
prōmulgō prōmulgāre prōmulgāvī prōmulgātus – *to*
    put forward publicly, propose
obnūntiō obnūntiāre obnūntiāvī obnūntiātus – *to*
    announce (bad) omens, take omens
collēga, collēgae m. – *colleague* (in political office),
    fellow-magistrate
arma, armōrum n.pl. – *arms, weapons*
forum, forī n. – *(Roman) Forum, city center*

expellō expellere expulī expulsus – *to drive out,*
    expel
posterus postera posterum – *future, following,*
    next
conqueror, conquerī, conquestus sum – *to*
    complain
reperiō reperīre reperuī repertus – *to find,*
    discover
super, prep. + abl. – *about, concerning*
**tālis tālis tāle – *such*
cōnsternātiō, cōnsternātiōnis f. – *disturbance,*
    disorder
**aut, conj. – *or*
cēnseō cēnsēre cēnsuī cēnsus – *to give an*
    opinion (in the Senate)
**aliquis, aliquid, indefinite pron. – *someone,*
    something; anyone, anything
audeō, audēre, ausus sum – *to dare*
quālis quālis quāle – *which sort, of which kind,*
    the kind which
levis levis leve – *light; slight, trivial*
turba, turbae f. – *crowd, mob; turmoil, disorder*
cōgō cōgere coēgī coāctus – *to force, compel*
dēspērātiō, dēspērātiōnis f. – *desperation,*
    despair
quoad, conj. – *until, as far as*
**potestās, potestātis f. – *power, control*
abeō abīre abiī abitūrus (irr.) – *to go away,*
    depart, leave
**domus, domūs f. (irr.) – *house, home*
abdō abdere abdidī abditus – *to hide away,*
    conceal, bury
nihil (nīl), indecl. n. – *nothing*
ēdictum, ēdictī n. – *edict, proclamation*

conquestum – sc. Bibulum, object of *coēgit.* The participles (*conquestum, repertō*) and main verb
(*coēgit*) indicate that the sequence of events was that first Bibulus complained, then no senator
supported him, and then he was compelled to remain at home for the rest of the year.

quōquam repertō – Abl. abs. None of the senators were willing to speak out on Bibulus' behalf,
presumably due to fear of violence from Caesar.

quī ... audēret – Rel. clause of characteristic describing *quōquam* (note the mood of *audēret*).

in eam coēgit dēsperātiōnem, ut... – Result clause. *is ea id* can act as a signal word (a "so" word) to prompt a result clause and can be translated "such" in these cases.

quoad ... abīret – i.e., until the end of his term in office at the end of the year. Subjunctive by attraction (i.e., because *obnūntiāret* is subjunctive).

potestāte – Abl. of separation, 'from office'.

domō – *abditus*, 'hidden away', is regularly construed with the local ablative, not the locative, of *domus*.

nihil aliud quam obnūntiāret – sc. *ageret;* 'he was doing nothing other than to proclaim he was watching for omens'

ūnus – sc. Caesar. *ūnus* can have this sense of 'he alone' or 'by himself' in addition to being the number 'one'.

et ad arbitrium – The *et* joins this phrase with *ūnus* to describe two ways in which Caesar governed (on his own and according to his own whim). Note the use of *ad* meaning 'according to'.

ut nōnnūllī, etc. – Result clause understood from the general idea in the preceding clause. You can supply something like, "with the result that" or "so that" in English.

urbānōrum – The *urbānī* were the witty men of the city, the sort of people who were not involved in politics themselves but knew how to make a good joke from it (perhaps you could call them the Jon Stewarts of ancient Rome?).

quid – For *aliquid*.

per iocum – *as a joke*

testandī grātiā signārent – The will had a much more prominent place in Roman culture than in our own (outside of mystery novels!). Who the heirs were and who received legacies in the wills of great men (like Caesar himself, see §83) or even of less prominent men were of great interest to all. Because of this, "legacy-hunting" (*captātiō*. trying to worm one's way into the wills of people by performing superficial acts of kindness towards them in hopes of remembrance) became a much-talked about—and much despised—social practice: see Pliny *Ep.* 2.20, Horace S. 2.5, Juvenal 10.201f., Martial 1.10, inter al. A will had to be attested to by witnesses, as here.

Caesare et ... cōnsulibus – The normal way for a Roman to indicate the year was not with a number (although they had a numbered system, dating *ab urbe conditā*, 'from the foundation of the city'), but by indicating in the ablative (as an ablative absolute) the names of the two consuls. A Roman would ordinarily say that something happened "with Caesar and Bibulus [being] consuls," (i.e., 'in the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus') but here the wits say "with Julius and Caesar [being] consuls."

āctum – sc. *esse*, 'that it was done', i.e., 'that the will was made'

bis eundem ... cognōmine – Suetonius explains the joke for those of his readers who did not understand it! (It rather kills, of course, the humor, much as did the note above.)

utque – Equivalent to *et ut*. It is possible to join –que to a monosyllabic word, although this often surprises the Latin student.

utque vulgō, etc. – A second result clause (see note on *ut nōnnullī*, above).

ferrentur – *ferō* frequently functions a verb of speaking when the actual speakers are unnamed or unknown (rumors, gossip, and the like): "people were saying."

nōn Bibulō, etc. – An elegiac couplet; the epigram was often the poetic meter for witty little ditties like this one. This is a poetic version of the joke mentioned above.

factum est – Subject is *quiddam*. Note the prodelision (read *factum'st*).

fierī... nīl – Indirect statement dependent upon *meminī*. '(I don't remember) anything being done'. Note the use of *fierī* as the passive of *faciō* (cf. *factum est* in the previous line).

[20.2] ūnus ex eō tempore omnia in rē pūblicā et ad arbitrium administrāvit, ut nōnnūllī   1
urbānōrum, cum quid per iocum testandī grātiā signārent, nōn Caesare et Bibulō, sed Iuliō   2
et Caesare cōnsulibus āctum scrīberent, bis eundem praepōnentēs nōmine atque   3
cognōmine, utque vulgō mox ferrentur hī versūs: 4
       nōn Bibulō quiddam nūper sed Caesare factum est: 5
       nam Bibulō fierī cōnsule nīl meminī.   6

**res pūblica, reī pūblicae f. – *the (Roman) state, the (Roman) republic*
arbitrium, arbitriī n. – *control, power; judgment*
administrō administrāre administrāvī administrātus – *to administer, manage, govern*
**nōnnūllī nōnnūllae nōnnūlla – *some*
urbānus urbāna urbānum – *of or relating to the city; witty, sophisticated, urbane*
**aliquis, aliquid, indefinite pron. – *someone, something; anyone, anything*
**iocus, iocī m. – *joke*
testor, testārī, testātus sum – *to be a witness; make a will*
grātiā, postposition + gen. – *for the sake of*
signō signāre signāvī signātus – *to sign*
sed, conj. – *but*
bis, adv. – *twice, two times*
praepōnō praepōnere praeposuī praepositus – *to prefer, place before*
**cognōmen, cognōminis n. – *last name, family name*
vulgō, adv. – *commonly, publicly*
ferō ferre tulī lātus (irr.) – *bear; bring, carry; say, report, relate, assert*
versus, versūs m. – *verse, poem, line*
nūper, adv. – *recently*
fiō, fierī, factus sum (irr.) – *to be made, be done; become; happen*
nihil (nīl), indecl. n. – *nothing*
meminī meminisse – *to remember, recall*

cunctantī – *to him (Caesar) hesitating*, i.e., while he was considering what he should do. Caesar is trying to decide whether he should cross the Rubicon, the river which formed the boundary between his assigned province, Gaul, and Italy, with his army, which would constitute a virtual declaration of civil war.

quīdam – *a certain person*. Someone unknown or without name. The implication is that this person was a god of some sort. Perhaps Caesar pre-arranged the appearance of this person, or perhaps he just took advantage of his sudden apparition.

eximiā magnitūdine et formā – Abl. of description, *of remarkable size and beauty*. Gods were generally conceived of as being larger than humans, as well as of greater beauty. They were also 'shiny'.

in proximō – *within easy reach, close at hand, nearby*

harundine canēns – *playing on a reed (pipe)*, lit. 'singing with a pipe'

ad quem audiendum – *and for the purpose of hearing him*, gerundive of purpose with a connective relative

plūrimī – describes *mīlitēs*

raptā ... tubā – abl. abs.

ab ūnō – *from one (of the trumpeters)*: not abl. of agent.

ingentī spiritū – abl. of manner, *with a huge breath*

eātur – Impersonal hortatory subjunctive, *let us go*, lit. 'let it be gone'. Although Caesar had no problem ignoring omens when it suited him (cf. his treatment of Bibulus in §20 or the other examples Suetonius gives in §59), here he displays his leadership skills by seizing on this apparent divine epiphany (whether planned or not) by using it to encourage his men to follow him into a campaign of civil war, which they might otherwise be reluctant to pursue.

deōrum ostenta et inimīcōrum inīquitās – Note the interlocked word order, nom. gen., nom. gen.

iacta alea est – One of Caesar's most famous sayings. There is some uncertainty about the exact words Caesar said; it may also have been *alea iacta estō*, 'let the die be cast', although the manuscripts of Suetonius all agree in *est*.

[32] cunctantī ostentum tāle factum est. quīdam eximiā magnitūdine et fōrmā in proximō 1
sedēns repente appāruit harundine canēns; ad quem audiendum cum praeter pāstōrēs 2
plūrimī etiam ex statiōnibus mīlitēs concurrissent interque eōs et aeneātōrēs, raptā ab ūnō 3
tubā prōsilīvit ad flūmen et ingentī spiritū classicum exōrsus pertendit ad alteram rīpam. 4
tunc Caesar: 'eātur,' inquit, 'quō deōrum ostenta et inimīcōrum inīquitās vocat. iacta alea 5
est,' inquit. 6

   **cunctor, cunctārī, cunctātus sum – *to delay; hesitate, be slow; doubt*
   ostentum, ostentī n. – *portent, sign*
   **tālis tālis tāle – *such*
   eximius eximia eximium – *remarkable, unusual*
   magnitūdō, magnitūdinis f. – *magnitude, size*
   fōrma, fōrmae f. – *form, shape; beauty*
   in proximō – *nearby, within easy reach, close at hand*
   sedeō sedēre sēdī sessūrus – *to sit, sit down*
   **repente, adv. – *suddenly*
   appāreō appārēre appāruī appāritus – *to be apparent, be clear; appear*
   harundō, harundinis m. – *reed, reed-pipe*
   canō canere cecinī cantus – *to sing, play; chant, recite*
   audiō audīre audīvī audītus – *to hear, listen to*
   praeter, prep. + acc. – *besides, except; in addition to*
   pāstor, pāstōris m. – *shepherd*
   **plūrimī plūrimae plūrima (superl. of *multī*) – *very many, most*
   statiō, statiōnis f. – *station, post;* (pl.) *sentries*
   concurrō concurrere concucurrī concursus – *to run (together)*
   aeneātor, aeneātōris m. – *trumpeter*
   rapiō rapere rapuī raptus – *to snatch, grab*
   tuba, tubae f. – *trumpet*
   prōsiliō prōsilīre prōsiluī – *to leap forward, jump up*
   **flūmen, flūminis n. – *river*
   ingēns, gen. ingentis – *huge*
   spiritus, spiritūs m. – *breath*
   classicum, classicī n. – *battle cry*
   exōrdior, exōrdīrī, exōrsus sum – *to begin, commence*
   pertendō pertendere pertendī – *to stretch, extend; continue on; head for*
   **alter altera alterum – *one* (of two); *other, another, the second*
   rīpa, rīpae f. – *(river)bank*
   tunc, adv. – *then, at that time*
   eō īre iī itus (irr.) – *to go*
   **quō, adv. – *whither, to where, to which place*
   **deus, deī m. – *god, deity*
   **inimīcus, inimīcī m. – *(personal) enemy*
   inīquitās, inīquitātis f. – *iniquity; unfairness, unjustness; evilness*
   vocō vocāre vocāvī vocātus – *to call, summon*
   iaciō iacere iēcī iāctus – *to throw, toss; cast*
   alea, aleae f. – *die* (for playing games)

cōnfectīs bellīs – Abl. abs.

quīnquiēns triumphāvit – A 'triumph' was a special parade for a victorious Roman general. To be eligible, a general had to be a consul, praetor or dictator, have been proclaimed *imperātor* by his troops, have defeated at least 5,000 of the enemy, have returned home with his army, and have had approval for the triumph voted by the senate. To have had five triumphs was extremely unusual; Pompey had three. The participants in the triumph included senators, magistrates, enemy leaders or their relatives (to be put to death after the parade's conclusion), the *imperator* himself, and his troops, carrying various spoils of war or signs of the enemy's defeat.

post dēvictum Scipiōnem – In English we prefer to use two nouns and say *after the defeat of Scipio*; Latin prefers the participial 'after Scipio having-been-defeated', which sounds awkward to us. The Scipio referred to is Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio (cos. 52 BCE), who was a a loyal supporter of his son-in-law Pompey. He was defeated by Caesar at the battle of Thapsus in 46 BCE and committed suicide after a failed escape.

eōdem mēnse – Abl. of time when. The month referred to is April, 46 BCE.

interiectīs diēbus – Abl. abs. Best rendered in English as something like *each several days apart*.

post superātos Pompeī līberōs – Cf. the note on *post dēvictum Scipiōnem* above. Tr. *After the defeat of Pompey's children*.

Gallicum – Celebrating Caesar's conquest of Gaul. Vercingetorix, the leader of the Gauls, was led in this triumph and then put to death.

Alexandrīnum – Celebrating Caesar's victory over Cleopatra VII's enemies; her sister Arsinoë was led in this triumph.

Ponticum – Celebrating Caesar's victory in 49 BCE over Pharnaces in Asia, who had revolted against Roman rule.

Āfricānum – Celebrating Caesar's victory over the African prince Juba, although some viewed it as celebrating his victory over the Romans who opposed him led by Cato the Younger. At it were displayed pictures showing the suicides of Scipio and Cato, which caused great offence in some quarters.

novissimum – *last*. The Romans do not consider, as we do in saying 'last', events from the temporal point of view of an outsider considering a sequence from the beginning, but rather from the point of view of the person performing them and observing from the end back ('most recent'). This difference is commonly noticed when describing (as we say) the 'last' actions or words of a person who has died, which the Romans call *novissima*.

Hispāniēnsem – Celebrating Caesar's victory over the last hold outs of the opposition, Pompey's sons Gnaeus and Sextus, whom he defeated in Spain. This was the first time that a triumph had been celebrated over Roman citizens, and it increased the resentment some felt towards Caesar that had already been stirred up by his African triumph.

dīversō apparātū et īnstrumentō – Abl. of manner, *(each) with different equipment and outfit*. The decorations and equipment used in the triumphs reflected the victories themselves.

[37.1] cōnfectīs bellīs quīnquiēns triumphāvit, post dēvictum Scipiōnem quater eōdem 1
mēnse, sed interiectīs diēbus, et rūrsus semel post superātōs Pompeī līberōs. prīmum et 2
excellentissimum triumphum ēgit Gallicum, sequentem Alexandrīnum, deinde Ponticum, 3
huic proximum Āfricānum, novissimum Hispāniēnsem, dīversō quemque apparātū et 4
īnstrūmentō. 5

cōnficiō cōnficere cōnfēcī cōnfectus – *to finish, complete*
**bellum, bellī n. – *war*
quīnquiēns, adv. – *five times*
triumphō triumphāre triumphāvī triumphātus – *to triumph, to celebrate a triumph*
dēvincō dēvincere dēvīcī dēvictus – *to conquer, defeat*
quater, adv. – *four times*
intericiō intericere interiēcī interiectus – *to interpose, put in between; add in*
rūrsus, adv. – *again*
semel, adv. – *one time, once*
superō superāre superāvī superātus – *to overcome, overpower, defeat*
līberī, līberōrum m.pl. – *children*
excellēns, gen excellentis – *glorious, excellent*
**triumphus, triumphī m. – *triumph*, parade in honor of a victorious general
**Gallicus Gallica Gallicum – *of or relating to Gaul, Gallic*
**sequor, sequī, secūtus sum – *to follow*
Alexandrīnus Alexandrīna Alexandrīnum – *Alexandrian, of or relating to Alexandria*
Ponticus Pontica Ponticum – *Pontic, of or relating to Pontus*
proximus proxima proximum – *nearest, closest; next, adjoining; occurring soon after*
Āfricānus Āfricāna Āfricānum – *African, of or relating to Africa*
novissimus novissima novissimum – *newest; most recent; last*
Hispāniēnsis Hispāniēnsis Hispāniēnse – *Spanish; of or relating to Hispania*
dīversus dīversa dīversum – *different, varied; opposite*
quisque, quidque, pron. – *each*
apparātus, apparātūs m. – *apparatus; equipment*
īnstrūmentum, īnstrūmentī n. – *tool; equipment; dress, outfit*

Vēlabrum praetervehēns – *passing by the Velabrum*, a low valley between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, which formed part of the processional route. The triumph began at the Campus Martius, passed through the Circus Flaminius, the Velabrum, the Circus Maximus, and then took the Via Sacra to the Capitoline and the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

axe diffrāctō – Abl. abs. (causal). To the Romans, such an accident during a triumphal parade would have appeared a dreadful omen and a probable sign of disfavor from the gods.

Capitōlium – *the Capitoline*, the citadel of Rome, at the top of which was the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus overlooking the Forum. The triumphing general was representing Jupiter on earth, even in his outfit; many people believe the general's face would be painted red like the statue of Jupiter.

ad lūmina quadrāgintā – *to (the accompaniment of) 40 torches*

elephantīs ... gestantibus – Abl. abs.

dextrā sinistrāque – sc. *parte, on the right and on the left*

trium verbōrum titulum – *a placard of three words*

vēnī vīdī vīcī – Caesar's most famous saying, of course.

significantem – Describes *titulum*.

cēterīs – sc. *titulīs*, abl. of means

celeriter cōnfectī nōtam – *noting the action's swiftness*, lit. '(signifying) a note of it-having-been-done quickly'; *cōnfectī* sc. *bellī*

[37.2] Gallicī triumphī diē Vēlābrum praetervehēns paene currū excussus est axe diffrāctō 1
ascenditque Capitōlium ad lūmina quadrāgintā elephantīs dextrā sinistrāque lychnūchōs 2
gestantibus. Ponticō triumphō inter pompae fercula trium verbōrum praetulit titulum *vēnī :* 3
vīdī : vīcī nōn ācta bellī significantem sīcut cēterīs, sed celeriter cōnfectī nōtam. 4

**Gallicus Gallica Gallicum – *of or relating to Gaul, Gallic*
**triumphus, triumphī m. – *triumph*, parade in honor of a victorious general
Vēlābrum, Vēlābrī n. – *the Velabrum,* a street in Rome on the Aventine Hill
praetervehor, praetervehī, praetervectus sum – *to ride past; pass by*
**paene, adv. – *almost, nearly*
currus, currūs m. – *chariot*
excutiō excutere excussī excussus – *to shake off, shake out*
axis, axis m. (i-stem) – *axle*
diffrangō diffrangere diffrēgī diffrāctus – *to break, shatter*
ascendō ascendere ascendī ascēnsus – *to ascend, climb; to mount (a horse), ride*
lūmen, lūminis n. – *light; torch; torchlight*
quadrāgintā, indecl. adj. – *forty*
elephantus, elephantī m. – *elephant*
dextrā – *on the right*
sinistrā – *on the left*
lychnūchus, lychnūchī m. – *lantern, lampstand*
gestō gestāre – *to bear, wear, carry*
pompa, pompae f. – *procession, parade*
ferculum, ferculī n. – *frame, litter, bier* (for carrying the images of the gods in public processions)
verbum, verbī n. – *word*
praeferō praeferre praetulī praelātus (irr.) – *to carry in front, bear before; prefer*
titulus, titulī m. – *slogan, title, caption*
**vincō vincere vīcī victus – *to conquer, win*
ācta, āctōrum n.pl. – *acts, deeds; records*
**bellum, bellī n. – *war*
significō significāre significāvī significātus – *to signify, mean*
sīcut, conj. – *like, just as*
celeris celeris celere – *swift, quick*
cōnficiō cōnficere cōnfēcī cōnfectus – *to finish, complete*
nōta, nōtae f. – *note*

conversus – The perfect passive participle from *convertō*. As often, it has here a "middle" sense ('having turned himself') rather than a strictly passive sense ('having been turned'). In English, we would simply say *having turned*.

hinc – i.e., in 46 BCE

ad ōrdinandum reī pūblicae statum – Gerundive to express purpose. Tr. *to putting the state of the republic in order*

fāstōs – The official Roman calendar, maintained by the state. The word *fāstī* could also refer to the official lists of magistrates for each year kept as a state record.

iam pridem ... turbātōs – This lengthy participial phrase describes *fāstōs*. At this point, the calendar was not in sync with the seasons at all. The Romans originally had a lunar calendar, of ten lunar months (one cycle of the moon, from new to full to new, is ~28 days). Later, they added another two months, but these months were still too short to match the solar year, and so they adopted the practice of inserting an "intercalary" month in the middle of Februrary. This 'month' would be of varying lengths to attempt to bring the two calendars back into line. These efforts by the time of Caesar's calendar reforms, however, were no longer sufficient and had become open to confusion and outright corruption, and from 54 to 46 BCE, in fact, only one intercalary month was declared.

vitiō – Abl. of means, *by the fault*.

pontificum – *of the pontiffs*. The *pontificēs* were the group of priests responsible for maintaining the calendar. The college (group of priests) of pontiffs was headed by the *pontifex maximus*, which priesthood Caesar now held (see §13). The pontiffs had been in charge of ordering the calendar and declaring intercalary months as they saw fit since the lex Acilia of 191 BCE.

adeō turbātōs ut... – *so disturbed .... that*, result clause

messium ... conpeterent – The harvest festival (*messium fēriae*) was supposed to take place in late summer, the wine-harvest festival (*vīndēmārium*) in the fall. Neither were happening at the right time, due to the confusion in the calendar.

trecentōrum sexāgintā quīnque diērum – Gen. of value, *365 days long* (lit. *of 365 days*). Scientists in Alexandria had calculated the length of the solar year very precisely; the Alexandrian astronomer Sosigenes aided Caesar in establishing the new calendar.

intercalāriō mēnse sublātō – Abl. abs.

ūnus ... intercalētur – This is of course our 'leap day', which we observe every four years on February 29th. The Romans observed 'leap day' on February 24th, which they simply would have over again, calling it *a.d. VI Kal Mar bis*, "Februrary 24th twice."

quōque – Note the macron. Do not confuse *quōque*, the abl. sg. m/n of *quisque quaeque quodque*, 'each', with *quoque*, the adverb meaning 'also'.

[40.1] conversus hinc ad ōrdinandum reī pūblicae statum fāstōs corrēxit iam prīdem vitiō 1
pontificum per intercalandī licentiam adeō turbātōs, ut neque messium fēriae aestāte 2
neque vīndēmiārum autumnō conpeterent; annumque ad cursum sōlis accommodāvit, ut 3
trecentōrum sexāgintā quīnque diērum esset et intercalāriō mēnse sublātō ūnus diēs quārtō 4
quōque annō intercalārētur. 5

convertō convertere convertī conversus – *to turn*
hinc, adv. *– from here, hence; hereupon, next; from this cause, on this account*
ōrdinō ōrdināre ōrdināvī ōrdinātus *– to put in order*
**rēs pūblica, reī pūblicae f. *– the (Roman) state, the (Roman) republic*
status, statūs m. *– status, state (of being)*
fāstī, fāstōrum m.pl. *– the calendar*
corrigō corrigere corrēxī corrēctus *– to correct, fix, amend*
**iam, adv. *– now, already*
prīdem, adv. *– for a long time, a long time ago*
vitium, vitiī n. *– fault, error; vice*
pontifex, pontificis m. *– priest, pontiff; member of the college of pontiffs*
intercalō intercalāre intercalāvī intercalātus *– to insert an intercalary period*
licentia, licentiae f. *– license, excessive freedom*
**adeō, adv. *– so, so much, so greatly, to such an extent*
turbō turbāre turbāvī turbātus *– to disturb, upset*
messis, messis f. (i-stem) *– harvest*
fēriae, fēriārum f.pl. *– holiday, festival*
aestās, aestātis f. *– summer*
vīndēmia, vīndēmiae f. *– grape-harvest*
autumnus, autumnī m. *– autumn, fall*
competō competere competīvī competītus *– to coincide with, happen at the same time*
**annus, annī m. *– year*
cursus, cursūs m. *– course, passage, journey*
sōl, sōlis m. *– sun*
accomodō accomodāre accomodāvī accomodātus *– to fit, adapt*
trecentī trecentae trecenta *– three hundred*
sexāgintā, indecl. adj. *– sixty*
quīnque, indecl. adj. *– five*
intercalārius intercalāria intercalārium *– intercalary, inserted into the calendar*
tollō tollere sustulī sublātus *– to lift, raise; remove, take away*
quārtus quārta quārtum *– fourth*
quisque quaeque quodque *– each, every*

[40.2] quō autem magis in posterum ex Kalendīs Iānuāriīs novīs temporum ratiō 1
congrueret, inter Novembrem ac Decembrem mēnsem interiēcit duōs aliōs; fuitque is 2
annus, quō haec cōnstituēbantur, quīndecim mēnsium cum intercalāriō, quī ex 3
cōnsuētūdine in eum annum inciderat. 4

      **quō, conj. + subj. (+ comparative) – *so that, in order to*
      magis, adv. – *more, rather*
      posterus postera posterum – *future, following, next*
      Kalendae, Kalendārum f.pl. – *the Kalends,* the first day of the month
      Iānuārius Iānuāria Iānuārium – (*of*) *January*
      novus nova novum – *new*
      **ratiō, ratiōnis f. – *reason; reckoning, account, calculation; plan, strategy;* (pl.) *accounts*
      congruō congruere congruī – *to agree with, go along with, harmonize*
      November Novembris Novembre – *(of) November*
      December Decembris Decembre – *(of) December*
      intericiō intericere interiēcī interiectus – *to interpose, put in between, add in*
      **duo duae duo, dual adj. – *two*
      **annus, annī m. – *year*
      cōnstituō cōnstituere cōnstituī cōnstitūtus – *to set up, decide*
      quīndecim, indecl. adj. – *fifteen*
      intercalārius intercalāria intercalārium – *intercalary, inserted into the calendar*
      cōnsuētūdō, cōnsuētūdinis f. – *custom, habit*
      incidō incidere incidī incāsus – *to fall (on); happen, occur*

quō – A purpose clause containing a comparative (*magis*) is generally introduced by *quō* rather than *ut*. Translate *so that,* lit. 'by which the (more)'

in posterum – *going forward, in(to) the future*

ex Kalendīs Iānuāriīs novīs – *(beginning) from the new Kalends of January,* i.e. from January 1st 45 BCE.

temporum ratiō – *the plan of times,* i.e., how time was going to be calculated according to the new (Julian) calendar

congrueret – *would be correct,* lit. 'would agree' or 'would harmonize'

duōs aliōs – sc. *mēnsīs*

fuitque, etc. – The year 46 BCE, the "(last) year of confusion," consisted of 445 days. The intercalary month, which had been inserted as usual in the middle of February, was 23 days long; the extra months were 33 and 34 days, inserted between November and December.

19.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. Who was Caesar's colleague in the consulship? With which political party was he affiliated?
2. What did the Optimates in the senate work to ensure?
3. Why was Pompey angry with the senate?
4. Who were the members of the First Triumvirate?
5. What did the members of the First Triumvirate agree to do?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quot erant cōnsulēs quotannīs?
2. quārum partium erat Bibulus? quārum partium erat Caesar?
3. quam prōvinciam dēcrēvērunt senātōrēs Caesarī Bibulōque?
4. quid faciēbant senātōrēs tardius?
5. quamdiu inimīcī inter sē fuerant Pompēius Crassusque?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Give examples of two other verbs besides *creō* that take a double accusative in the active.
2. Parse *cōnsulibus*.
3. Give a synopsis of *adsequor* in the third person singular.
4. What are the nine UNUS NAUTA adjectives, and what makes them special?
5. Decline *ūllus*.

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. The Roman people elect Caesar consul.
2. The Roman people elected Caesar and Bibulus consuls.
3. Caesar is elected consul.
4. Caesar and Bibulus are elected consuls.
5. Caesar and Bibulus were elected consuls by the Roman people.

20.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. According to Suetonius, what three things did Caesar focus his attention upon at the beginning of his consulship? What was the significance of these reforms, politically?
2. What is the significance of Suetonius describing Caesar as *prīmus omnium* regarding his first reform? Why does he say that Caesar *antīquum rettulit mōrem* regarding the second?
3. Why did Bibulus announce that he would be awaiting an omen?
4. What was Caesar's response to Bibulus' pronouncement?
5. What consequence appears to have followed Caesar's flouting of Roman religious practice in this instance? Would this have surprised the Romans, do you think? Why?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quis prīmus īnstituit ut ācta diurna senātūs populīque cōnfierent et pūblicārentur?
2. quem mōrem antīquum rettulit Caesar?
3. quid fēcit Caesar, collegā suā obnūntiante?
4. cūr voluit Bibulus Caesaris lēgem agrāriam prohibēre?
5. quid ēgit Bibulus cōnsul quoad potestāte abiit?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Parse *cōnfierent*.
2. Conjugate *cōnfīō* in the present.
3. Identify three ablatives absolute, two ablatives of time when, an ablative of means, two ablatives of separation, and an ablative of place where.
4. Explain the mood of *obnūntiāret*.

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. At the beginning of his consulship (*two ways*), Caesar published the senate's daily record.
2. Caesar forced Bibulus to such [great] (*three ways*) desperation that he did nothing but announce he would be looking for omens.

20.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. How did Caesar's treatment of Bibulus' religious tactics affect the rest of their year in office?
2. What joke became current during Caesar's consulship?
3. What two versions of the joke does Suetonius tell?
4. Do you think the joke is spoiled by Suetonius' explanation of it (*bis eundem ... cognōmine*)? Why/not?
5. Which version of the joke do you think is funnier? Why?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quomodō administrāvit Caesar consul rem pūblicam?
2. quomodō signāvērunt testāmenta quīdam urbānī?
3. quid factum est, Bibulō cōnsule, secundum istōs urbānōs?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. How did the Romans generally indicate the year?
2. Express the same idea as *testandī grātiā* three other ways.
3. Scan the elegiac couplet quoted in 20.2.

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar governed the republic by himself according to his whim.
2. This was done in Caesar's and Bibulus' consulship.
3. Nothing happened in Bibulus' consulship.
4. Some wits wrote that it was done in Julius' and Caesar's consulship.
5. People everywhere were reciting the following verses.

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What is Caesar unsure about doing at the beginning of this section?
2. How does Suetonius describe the man who suddenly appeared? What does this imply, and why?
3. What actions does the man take?
4. How does Caesar use the man's actions as propaganda?
5. In your opinion, who was the man? Did Caesar pre-arrange this incident? Why do you think so?
6. *iacta alea est*: What does this phrase translate to in English? From what area of life is the metaphor drawn? What do people quoting it today mean?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quid accidet sī Caesar flūmen Rubicon trānsierit?
2. cūr concurrērunt pāstōrēs mīlitēsque Caesaris?
3. unde impetrāvit ille homō tubam?
4. quid facere solēbant mīlitēs Rōmānī, classicō audītō?
5. quō mīlitibus Caesarīque eundum erat?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Decline the indefinite pronoun/adjective *quīdam*.
2. What kind of ablatives are *eximiā magnitūdine et fōrmā?* What is the difference in usage between this construction and the similar genitive?
3. What kind of ablative is *harundine*?
4. Explain the construction of *eātur*.
5. What kind of genitive is *deōrum?*

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Suddenly, a man of unusual size and beauty appeared.
2. The gods showed a sign to Caesar when he was in doubt.
3. The soldiers abandoned their posts (=gathered from their posts) to hear him. (at least 2 ways)
4. Let us go to the battle. (at least 2 ways)
5. Let the die be cast.

37.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What was a triumph?
2. How did someone get to have a triumph?
3. How many triumphs did Caesar celebrate?
4. What were they in honor of?
5. What were the triumphs like?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quī triumphōs celebrābant?
2. quot erant triumphī Caesaris? quī erant?
3. quī triumphus splendidissimus erat?
4. quārē ēgit Caesar triumphum Āfricānum et Hispāniēnsem ?
5. cūr erant aliquī illō triumphō Hispāniēnsī īrā commōtī?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Parse *cōnfectīs*.
2. Why is there no preposition with the word *mēnse*?
3. Give all the forms of *īdem eadem idem*.
4. Why is there no preposition with the phrase *dīversō apparātū et īnstrūmentō*?
5. Give the Latin number adverbs: once, twice, three times, four times, five times.

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar celebrated five triumphs after the civil war was over. (There are many ways to say this! How many can you come up with?)
2. Pompey triumphed three times.
3. Pompey, who had celebrated three triumphs, died in Alexandria.
4. Pompey's first triumph was for victories in Numidia, the second triumph was for his victories in Spain.
5. After his victory over Mithridates, he triumphed a third time.

37.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What happened during Caesar's Gallic triumph?
2. How would a Roman have viewed this occurrence?
3. What path did a triumph take? What was significant about its ending place?
4. What equipment did Caesar have for his Gallic triumph?
5. What did the placards say during Caesar's Pontic triumph, and why?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quā in parte urbis iacēbat Vēlābrum?
2. ubi incipiēbat pompa triumphālis? quō prōcēdēbat?
3. quō apparātū ēgit Caesar triumphum Gallicum?
4. ubi erat Pontus?
5. quōmodo superāvit Caesar Pharnacem?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What kind of ablative is *diē*?
2. What kind of ablative is *currū*?
3. What kind of ablative is *Ponticō triumphō*?
4. What case is *pompae*, and why?
5. What case is *verbōrum*, and why?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Because the axle broke, Caesar was nearly thrown from the chariot. (At least three ways!)
2. Pompey ascended (to) the Capitoline in a chariot three times.
3. As Cicero said, Pompey had as many triumphs as there are coasts and parts of the world.
4. The placard said that Caesar came, saw, (and) conquered.
5. The placard signified not Caesar's acts of war, but how quickly he finished it.

40.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What was Caesar's first order of business in trying to fix the civil disorder in Rome?
2. What was wrong with the calendar at this time? Why?
3. Whose job in Rome was it to ensure that the calendar matched the actual year?
4. How off was the Roman calendar at this time?
5. What did Caesar do to the calendar to bring it into order?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. post bella cīvīlia cōnfecta, quid volēbat Caesar facere?
2. quid prīmum ēgit Caesar?
3. cūr addidit Caesar multōs diēs annō?
4. quot diēs in tōtō habuit annus, ā Caesare corrēctus?
5. quandō intercalābātur ūnus diēs?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Parse *turbātōs*.
2. What use of the subjunctive is *conpeterent*? How can we tell?
3. What kind of abl. are *aestāte* and *autumnō*?
4. What use of the subjunctive are *esset* and *intercalārētur*?
5. How can we tell apart *quōque* (abl. from *quisque*) and *quoque* 'also'?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar turned to putting the state in order.
2. The priests messed up the calendar by intercalating too freely.
3. The calendar was so messed up that harvest festival wasn't happening in the summer.
4. Romulus adapted the calendar to the course of the moon.
5. Caesar removed the intercalary month, so that the year would always have 365 days.

40.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What did Caesar do in order to bring 45 BCE in line with the seasons?
2. How many months were there in 46 BCE?
3. Why did some people call 46 BCE the *annus cōnfusiōnis*?
4. Imagine you were in Caesar's position, and you were being given the chance to reform the calendar. How would you organize it? What would you change? What would you keep? Why?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. cūr intercalābat Caesar trēs mēnsēs annō XLVI a.Chr.n.?
2. inter quōs mēnsēs addidit duōs?
3. quandō mēnsēs plērumque intercalārī solēbant?
4. quotōrum diērum igitur erat annus XLVI a.Chr.n?
5. da nōmina Latīna duodecim mēnsibus!

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Explain why *quō* is used instead of *ut* (*quō ... congrueret*).
2. What kind of genitive is *temporum*?
3. What kind of ablative is *quō* (*quō ... cōnstituēbantur*)?
4. What case is *mēnsium*, and why?
5. What case is *intercalāriō*, and why?

D. In Latīna reddenda

1. Caesar put two months between November and December.
2. That year was 15 months long; usually, however, they are 12 months long.
3. Beginning from the first of January, the new plan for the calendar was correct.
4. The intercalary month had taken place that year, as was customary.
5. In order to better arrange the state of the republic, Caesar corrected the calendar.

[20.3] campum Stellātem maiōribus cōnsecrātum agrumque Campānum ad subsidia reī pūblicae vectigālem relictum dīvīsit extrā sortem ad vigintī mīlibus cīvium, quibus ternī plūrēsve līberī essent. pūblicānōs remissiōnem petentīs tertiā mercedum parte relevāvit ac, nē in locātiōne novōrum vectigālium inmoderātius licērentur, prōpalam monuit. cētera item, quae cuique libuissent, dīlargītus est contrā dīcente nūllō ac, sī cōnārētur quis, absterritō.

He divided up the Campus Stellas, which our ancestors had set aside for public use, and some territory in Campania, which had been left to produce revenues for the support of the state, without drawing lots to about 20,000 citizens who had three or more children. When the tax farmers in Asia were asking for a reduction in the amount they owed to the state, he lightened their obligation by a third and warned them publicly not to bid too highly at the start of the next tax season. He likewise handed out everything else anyone asked for, and no one spoke out against it, or, if anyone tried to, they were frightened off.

[20.4] Mārcum Catōnem interpellantem extrahī cūriā per līctōrem dūcīque in carcerem iussit. Lūciō Lūcullō līberius resistentī tantum calumniārum metum iniīcit, ut ad genua ultrō sibi accideret. Cicerōne in iūdiciō quōdam dēplōrante temporum statum Pūblium Clōdium inimīcum eius, frūstrā iam prīdem ā patribus ad plēbem trānsīre nītentem, eōdem diē hōrāque nōnā trānsdūxit.

When Marcus Cato was interrupting proceedings, Caesar ordered him to be dragged out of the Senate House by a lictor and led to prison. He placed such fear of investigation into Lucius Lucullus when he was trying to resist him too outspokenly that Lucullus of his own accord fell to his knees before him. When Cicero was decrying the state of the times during a certain court case, he granted the request of Publius Clodius, Cicero's enemy, to be moved from the patricians to the plebeians, which he had been trying unsuccessfully to accomplish for a long time; Caesar approved it on that same day at the ninth hour.

[20.5] postrēmō in ūnīversōs dīversae factiōnis [indicem . . . . . .] inductum praemiīs, ut sē dē īnferendā Pompēiō nece sollicitātum ā quibusdam prōfiterētur prōductusque prō rōstrīs auctōrēs ex conpactō nōmināret; sed ūnō atque alterō frūstrā nec sine suspiciōne fraudis nōminātīs dēspērāns tam praecipitis cōnsiliī ēventum intercēpisse venēnō indicem crēditur.

Finally, against all the members of the opposition, he bribed an informant to confess that he had been solicited by certain people to kill Pompey, and when he had been brought forth on the Rostra, to name the persons responsible for the agreement; but when a couple of people had been named in vain and with quite a lot of general suspsicion that it was false, despairing for the success of such a foolhardy plan, Caesar is believed to have poisoned the informant.

[21] sub idem tempus Calpurniam L. Pīsōnis fīliam successūrī sibi in cōnsulātū dūxit uxōrem suamque, Iuliam, Gnaeō Pompēiō conlocāvit repudiātō priōre spōnsō Serviliō Caepiōne, cuius vel praecipuā operā paulō ante Bibulum impugnāverat. ac post novam adfīnitātem Pompēium prīmum rogāre sententiam coepit, cum Crassum solēret essetque consuētūdō, ut quem ōrdinem interrogandī sententiās cōnsul Kal. Ianuāriīs īnstituisset, eum tōtō annō cōnservāret.

Around the same time, he married Calpurnia, the daughter of Lucius Piso, who was going to be the next consul after him. He also bethrothed his daughter Julia to Gnaeus Pompey after he repudiated his former agreement with Servilius Caepio, although he had used his help just a little before to oppose Bibulus. And after he set up this new in-law relationship with Pompey, Caesar began to ask his opinion first in the formal roll call of the Senate, even though he had previously called upon Crassus first and it was the custom for the consul to keep the same order of calling upon people that he had started on January 1st through the whole year.

[22.1] socerō igitur generōque suffrāgantibus ex omnī prōvinciārum cōpiā Galliās potissimum ēlēgit, cuius ēmolumentō et opportūnitāte idōnea sit matēria triumphōrum. et initiō quidem Galliam Cisalpīnam Illyricō adiectō lēge Vatiniā accēpit; mox per senātum Comātam quoque, veritīs patribus nē, sī ipsī negāssent, populus et hanc daret.

So with the support of his father-in-law and his son-in-law, he chose Gaul especially out of all the provinces that were available, because it seemed to offer the idea raw material for triumphs in its benefits and opportunities. Actually, at the beginning he received only Cisalpine Gaul along with Illyricum, when Vatinius had the people pass a law about it; afterwards, Caesar got "Long-Haired" (Transalpine) Gaul from the Senate as well, since the senators were afraid that, if they refused it themselves, the people would give him that too.

[22.2] quō gaudiō ēlātus nōn temperāvit, quīn paucōs post diēs frequentī cūriā iactāret, invītis et gementibus adversāriīs adeptum sē quae concupisset, proinde ex eō īnsultātūrum omnium capitibus; ac negante quōdam per contumēliam facile hoc ūllī fēminae fore, responderit quasi adlūdēns: in Suriā quoque rēgnāsse Samēramin magnamque Āsiae partem Amazonas tenuisse quondam.

Carried away by happiness over this, he did not refrain from boasting a few days later in front of the whole senate that, since he could get whatever he wanted despite his unwilling and grumbling opponents, so from then on he would be able to shove anything down their throats. And when somebody said as an insult that it would be difficult for a woman to do that, he responded, as if making a joke, that in Assyria too Queen Semiramis had reigned and that formerly the Amazons had ruled the greater part of Asia.

[23.1] fūnctus cōnsulātū Gaiō Memmiō Lūciōque Domitiō praetōribus dē superiōris annī āctīs referentibus cognitiōnem senātuī dētulit; nec illō suscipiente triduōque per inritās altercātiōnēs absūmptō in prōvinciam abiit. et statim quaestor eius in praeiūdicium aliquot crīminibus arreptus est. mox et ipse ā Lūcio Antistiō tr. pl. postulātus appellātō dēmum collēgiō optinuit, cum reī pūblicae causā abesset reus nē fieret.

After the end of his consulship, when Gaius Memmius and Lucius Domitius the praetors were calling for an investigation into his actions of the past year, he brought it to the Senate; and when that body did not pursue the matter and had spent three days on useless arguments, he set off for his province. And immediately his quaestor was prosecuted on several charges as a run-up to trying Caesar. Following that, Lucius Antistius, the tribune of the plebs, unsuccessfully tried to prosecute Caesar; but he avoided that by appealing to the college of tribunes asking that the trial not be allowed, since he was off seeing to the business of the state.

[23.2] ad sēcūritātem ergō posterī temporis in magnō negōtiō habuit obligāre semper annuōs magistrātūs et ē petītōribus nōn aliōs adiuvāre aut ad honōrem patī pervenīre, quam quī sibi recēpissent prōpugnātūrōs absentiam suam; cuius pactī nōn dubitāvit ā quibusdam iūs iūrandum atque etiam syngrapham exigere.

So for the security of later time, he considered it most important to always place the year's magistrates under obligation to himself and in terms of the candidates, not to help any of them or allow them to come to office unless they had pledged that they would be stalwart defenders of Caesar's interests even when he wasn't there. He didn't hesitate to demand that some of them swear an oath or even write out a contract to that effect.

[24.1] sed cum Lūcius Domitius cōnsulātūs candidātus palam minārētur cōnsulem sē effectūrum quod praetor nequisset adēmptūrumque eī exercitūs, Crassum Pompēiumque in urbem prōvinciae suae Lūcam extrāctōs conpulit, ut dētrūdendī Domitiī causā cōnsulātum alterum peterent, perfēcitque [per] utrumque, ut in quīnquennium sibi imperium prōrogārētur.

But when Lucius Domitius, who was running for consul, was openly threatening that as consul he woud enact what as praetor he hadn't been able to and he would take away his armies, Caesar brought Crassus and Pompey to Luca, a city in Cisalpine Gaul, Caesar's province, and compelled them to stand for a second consulship so they could keep Domitius out of office. By their efforts he also succeded in having his appointment over Gaul extended by five years.

[24.2] quā fidūciā ad legiōnēs, quās ā rē pūblicā accēperat, aliās prīvātō sūmptū addidit, ūnam etiam ex Trānsalpīnīs cōnscrīptam, vocābulō quoque Gallicō – Alauda enim appellābātur –, quam disciplīnā cultūque Rōmānō īnstitūtam et ōrnātam posteā ūniversam cīvitāte dōnāvit.

Because of their support, he added at his own expense other legions to the ones that had been given to him by the state. One of these in fact was conscripted from among the Transalpine Gauls and had a Gaulish name; it was called the legio Alauda. Caesar later granted citizenship to all those who had served in it because of how well they adapted to Roman training and equipment.

[24.3] nec deinde ūllā bellī occāsiōne, <nē> iniūstī quidem ac perīculōsī abstinuit, tam foederātīs quam īnfēstīs ac ferīs gentibus ultrō lacessitīs, adeō ut senātus quondam lēgātōs ad explōrandum stātum Galliārum mittendōs dēcrēverit ac nōnnūllī dēdendum eum hostibus cēnsuerint. sed prōsperē [dē]cēdentibus rēbus et saepius et plūrium quam quisquam umquam diērum supplicātiōnēs impetrāvit.

Afterwards he seized upon every opportunity for a war, even an unjust or dangerous one, and he acted against his allies just as much as hostile and barbarian peoples, until finally the senate decreed that envoys should be sent to find out how things were going in Gaul. Some people even thought that Caesar should be surrendered to the enemy. But because things turned out so successfully, Caesar obtained both more victory thanksgivings and longer ones than anyone had before.

[25.1] gessit autem novem annīs, quibus in imperiō fuit, haec ferē. omnem Galliam, quae saltū Pȳrēnaeō Alpibusque et monte Cebennā, flūminibus Rhēnō ac Rhodanō continētur patetque circuitū ad bis et triciēs centum mīlia passuum, praeter sociās ac bene meritās cīvitātēs in prōvinciae fōrmam redēgit, eīque [CCCC] in singulōs annōs stīpendiī nōmine inposuit.

So in the nine years he was in command, this is basically what he did: he brought all of Gaul, from the Pyrennes and Alps and Cevennes, to the Rhine and Rhône, an area of 3200 square miles, together as a Roman province, minus the allied cities that had acted well on Rome's behalf. He also imposed a tax of 40 million sesterces on the province every year.

[25.2] Germanōs, quī trāns Rhēnum incolunt, prīmus Rōmānōrum ponte fabricātō adgressus maximīs adfēcit clādibus; adgressus est et Britannōs ignōtōs anteā superātīsque pecūniās et obsidēs imperāvit; per tot successūs ter nec amplius adversum cāsum expertus: in Britanniā classe vī tempestātis prope absūmptā et in Galliā ad Gergoviam legiōne fūsā et in Germānōrum fīnibus Titūriō et Aurunculēiō lēgātīs per īnsidiās caesīs.

He was the first of the Romans to attack the Germans, who inhabit the area on the other side of the Rhine, after buidling a bridge to get there; and he decisively defeated them several times. He also attacked the Britons, who were previously unknown, and forced them to give over money and hostages after their defeat. And among all these successes, he experienced defeat three times and no more: in Britain, when the fleet was nearly destroyed by a violent storm, and in Gaul, when his legion was routed near Gergovia, and in the Germans' territory, when his legates Titurius and Aurunculeius were killed during an ambush.

[26.1] eōdem temporis spatiō mātrem prīmō, deinde fīliam, nec multō post nepōtem āmīsit. inter quae, cōnsternātā Pūblī Clōdī caede rē pūblicā, cum senātus ūnum cōnsulem nōminātimque Gnaeum Pompēium fierī cēnsuisset, ēgit cum tribūnīs plēbis collēgam sē Pompēiō dēstinantibus, id potius ad populum ferrent, ut absentī sibi, quandōque imperiī tempus explērī coepisset, petītiō secundī cōnsulātūs darētur, nē eā causā mātūrius et inperfectō adhūc bellō dēcēderet.

In this same period of time, he lost first his mother, then his daughter, and not long afterwards his grandchild. And during all this, when the republic was in a state of turmoil because of the killing of Publius Clodius and the Senate had decreed that there should be only one consul, namely Gnaeus Pompey, he acted in alliance with the tribunes of the plebs, who wanted to have Caesar named as consul along with Pompey, to have the matter brought instead to the people's assembly. They had to vote on whether Caesar would be granted the right to seek a second consulship without coming to Rome when his legal authority in Gaul was up, so that he wouldn't have to hurry away from the war too soon, when it wasn't properly finished yet, to stand for office in person.

[26.2] quod ut adeptus est, altiōra iam meditāns et speī plēnus nūllum largītiōnis aut officiōrum in quemquam genus pūblicē prīvātimque omīsit. forum de manubiīs incohāvit, cuius ārea super sestertium mīliēs cōnstitit. mūnus populō epulumque prōnūntiāvit in fīliae memōriam, quod ante eum nēmō. quōrum ut quam maxima expectātiō esset, ea quae ad epulum pertinērent, quamvīs macellārīs ablocāta, etiam domesticātim apparābat.

And after he obtained that, thinking now of even greater things and full of hope, there was no form of bribery or shady favors for anyone that he refrained from, both publicly and privately. He started building a forum, financed by the money from the sale of booty from his military campaigns; the land for this forum cost over 100 million sesterces. He put on a gladiator show and a banquet for the people in his daughter's memory, a thing which no one before him had done for a daughter. And to raise expectations for these as high as possible, he supplied items for the feast from his own house, although they had been contracted out to the grocers also.

[26.3] gladiātōrēs nōtōs, sīcubi īnfēstīs spectātōribus dīmicārent, vī rapiendōs reservandōsque mandābat. tīrōnēs neque in lūdō neque per lanistās, sed in domibus per equitēs Rōmānōs atque etiam per senātōrēs armōrum perītōs ērudiēbat, precibus ēnītēns, quod epistulīs eius ostenditur, ut disciplīnam singulōrum susciperent ipsīque dictāta exercentibus darent. lēgiōnibus stīpendium in perpetuum duplicāvit. frūmentum, quotiēns cōpia esset, etiam sine modō mēnsūrāque praebuit ac singula interdum mancipia ē praedā viritim dedit.

Caesar ordered that well-known gladiators, whenever the audiences they were fighting for turned against them, should be taken out by force and kept in reserve for him. He had the apprentices trained not in a gladiatorial school or by the professional trainers, but in private houses by Roman knights and even by senators who had skill with arms, beseeching these men, as is shown in his letters, to undertake their training one-on-one and to give the trainees lessons. He permanently doubled the pay of the legions. Whenever there was an abundance of grain, he handed it out without limit or measure. He also gave from time to time every man in Rome a slave from those captured in the war.

[27.1] ad retinendam autem Pompeī necessitūdinem ac voluntātem Octāviam sorōris suae neptem, quae Gaiō Mārcellō nūpta erat, condiciōnem eī dētulit sibique fīliam eius in mātrimōnium petit Faustō Sullae dēstinātam. omnibus vērō circā eum atque etiam parte magnā senātūs grātuītō aut levī faenore obstrictīs, ex relīquō quoque ōrdinum genere vel invītātōs vel sponte ad sē commeantīs ūberrimō congiāriō prōsequēbātur, lībertōs īnsuper servulōsque cuiusque, prout dominō patrōnōve grātus quī esset.

In order to maintain his close connection with Pompey and hold on to his goodwill, Caesar offered to let Pompey marry Octavia, his sister's granddaughter, who was married to Gaius Marcellus, and he sought for himself Pompey's daughter in marriage who had been bethrothed to Faustus Sulla, son of the dictator. Caesar also made financial connections with everyone around Pompey (and also the great part of the senate) by loaning them money at no interest or on very generous terms. In terms of the lower classes, he tried to win the favor both of those he sought out himself and of those coming to him of their own accord by using very lavish handouts, especially targeting the freedmen and favorite slaves that were most dear to their masters or patrons.

[27.2] tum reōrum aut obaerātōrum aut prōdigae iuventūtis subsidium ūnicum ac prōmptissimum erat, nisi quōs gravior crīminum vel inopiae lūxuriaeve vīs urgeret, quam ut subvenīrī posset ā sē; hīs plānē palam bellō cīvīlī opus esse dīcēbat.

Then he was the only and most ready support for those accused of crimes or in debt or who had spent a lot of money in their youth, but some people were so obviously guilty or in such financial straits that even he couldn't help them; he plainly and openly told those people that they were in need of a civil war.

[28.1] nec minōre studiō rēgēs atque prōvinciās per terrārum orbem adliciēbat, aliīs captīvōrum mīlia dōnō offerēns, aliīs citrā senātūs populīque auctōritātem, quō vellent et quotiēns vellent, auxilia submittēns, superque Ītaliae Galliārumque et Hispāniārum, Āsiae quoque et Graeciae potentissimās urbēs praecipuīs operibus exōrnāns;

And with no less zeal, he kept trying to win over kings and provinces throughout the world, offering to some thousands of captives as a gift, sending assistance to others without the blessing of the senate or people, where they should wish and however often, and beautifying the cities not only of Italy and Gaul and Spain, but also the most powerful ones of Asia and Greece with remarkable public works.

[28.2] dōnec, attonitīs iam omnibus et quōrsum illa tenderent reputantibus, Mārcus Claudius Mārcellus cōnsul ēdictō praefātus, dē summā sē rē pūblicā āctūrum, rettulit ad senātum, ut eī succēderētur ante tempus, quoniam bellō cōnfectō pāx esset ac dīmittī dēbēret victor exercitus; et nē absentis ratiō comitiīs habērētur, quandō nec plēbī scītō Pompēius posteā abrogāsset.

This went on until, now that everyone was astonished and wondering about where this all was headed, the consul Marcus Claudius Marcellus announced in an edict that he intended to act on a matter of the highest importance. He proposed to the senate that a successor to Caesar should be appointed before his term was actually up, since, now that the war was over, there was peace and the victorious army ought to be disbanded; and furthermore that Caesar should not be counted as a candidate for the election if he were not present, since Pompey had not actually afterwards nullified the law which did not exempt Caesar from the requirement to be present in person, despite trying to do so.

[28.3] acciderat autem, ut is lēgem dē iūre magistrātuum ferēns eō capite, quō petītiōne honōrum absentīs submovēbat, nē Caesarem quidem exciperet per oblīviōnem, ac mox lēge iam in aes incīsā et in aerārium conditā corrigeret errōrem. nec contentus Mārcellus prōvinciās Caesarī et prīvilēgium ēripere, re[t]tulit etiam, ut colōnīs, quōs rogātiōne Vatiniā Novum Cōmum dēdūxisset, cīvitās adimerētur, quod per ambitiōnem et ultrā praescrīptum data esset.

What has happened was that when Pompey was proposing the law concering the rights of magistracies, he had forgotten to except Caesar from the clause that forbade people who weren't present in person to seek office, and only after the law had already been officially inscribed and placed in the treasury did he try to correct the error. Nor was it enough for Marcellus to take Caesar's provinces and this special privilege away, but he also proposed that citizenship should be taken away from the colonists, whom Caesar had established at Novum Comum by the motion of Vatinius, alleging that that citizenship had been given only for political popularity and that it was beyond what the rules authorized.

[29.1] commōtus hīs Caesar ac iūdicāns, quod saepe ex eō audītum ferunt, difficilius sē prīncipem cīvitātis ā prīmō ōrdine in secundum quam ex secundō in novissimum dētrūdī, summā ope restitit, partim per intercessōrēs tribūnōs, partim per Servium Sulpicium alterum cōnsulem. īnsequentī quoque annō Gaio Mārcellō, quī frātrī patruēlī suō Mārcō in cōnsulātū successerat, eadem temptante collēgam eius Aemilium Paulum Gaiumque Cūriōnem violentissimum tribūnōrum ingentī mercede dēfēnsōrēs parāvit.

Caesar, disturbed by these events and thinking, as people say they frequently heard him say, that it should be more difficult for him, as leader of the state, to be pushed down from first place to second than from second to very last, he fought back against Marcellus' actions very strongly, partly by having the tribunes intercede on his behalf and partly by having Servius Sulpicius, Marcellus' colleague in the consulship, do so. The next year also, when Gaius Marcellus, who had succeeded his cousin Marcus as consul, was continuing these efforts, Caesar got Gaius Marcellus' fellow-consul Aemilius Paulus and Gaius Curio, the most impetuous of the tribunes, to act as his defenders, securing their help with a huge sum of money.

[29.2] sed cum obstinātius omnia agī vidēret et dēsignātōs etiam cōnsulēs ē parte dīversā, senātum litterīs dēprecātus est, nē sibi beneficium populī adimerētur, aut ut cēterī quoque imperātōrēs ab exercitibus discēderent; cōnfīsus, ut putant, facilius sē, simul atque libuisset, veterānōs convocātūrum quam Pompēium novōs mīlitēs. cum adversāriīs autem pepigit, ut dīmissīs octō legiōnibus Trānsalpīnāque Galliā duae sibi legiōnēs et Cisalpīna prōvincia vel etiam ūna legiō cum Illyricō concēderētur, quoad cōnsul fieret.

But when he saw that everything was being acted upon more resolutely than he wanted and that members of the opposite party had even been elected as consuls, he beseeched the senate in a letter not to take away from him what the people in their kindness had granted, or, failing that, to make the other generals also give up their armies. He was confident, people think, that he would find it easier to call up his veteran soldiers when he needed to than Pompey would be able to get new ones. He also proposed to his opponents that, if he gave up eight of his legions and Transalpine Gaul, he should keep two legions and Cisalpine Gaul or at least one legion plus Illyricum, until he could be elected consul.

[30.1] vērum neque senātū interveniente et adversāriīs negantibus ūllam sē dē rē pūblicā factūrōs pactiōnem, trānsiit in citeriōrem Galliam, conventibusque perāctīs Ravennae substitit, bellō vindicātūrus sī quid dē tribūnīs plēbis intercēdentibus prō sē gravius ā senātū cōnstitūtum esset.

But when the senate didn't intervene and his opponents refused to make any agreements about the republic, Caesar crossed over into Hither Gaul, and after he completed holding assizes, he halted at Ravenna, where he was prepared to fight a war if the senate had set up anything too severe concerning the tribunes of the plebs who had interceded on his behalf.

[30.2] et praetextum quidem illī cīvīlium armōrum hoc fuit; causās autem aliās fuisse opīnantur. Gnaeus Pompēius ita dictitābat, quod neque opera cōnsummāre, quae īnstituerat, neque populī expectātiōnem, quam dē adventū suō fēcerat, prīvātīs opibus explēre posset, turbāre omnia ac permiscēre voluisse.

And indeed this was his pretext for civil war; but some people think there were other reasons. Gnaeus Pompey kept claiming that, because Caesar did not have enough personal wealth either to complete the works he had set up or to fulfill the expectations of the people, which he had created concerning his arrival, he wanted to completely throw everything into confusion.

[30.3] aliī timuisse dīcunt, nē eōrum, quae prīmō cōnsulātū adversus auspicia lēgēsque et intercessiōnēs gessisset, ratiōnem reddere cōgerētur; cum M. Catō identidem nec sine iūre iūrandō dēnūntiāret dēlātūrum sē nōmen eius, simul ac prīmum exercitum dīmīsisset; cumque vulgō fore praedicārent, ut sī prīvātus redisset, Milōnis exemplō circumpositīs armātīs causam apud iūdicēs dīceret.

Others say that he was afraid that he would be compelled to give an account of the things he had done in his first consulship that violated the auspices and laws and vetoes; since Cato the Younger kept announcing over and over that he would prosecute Caesar, even swearing an oath to that effect; and since people were claiming that, if he returned as a private citizen, he would have to defend himself in a court ringed with armed men – just as had happened when Milo was prosecuted and found guilty of murdering Clodius.

[30.4] quod probābilius facit Asinius Polliō, Pharsālicā aciē caesōs prōflīgātōsque adversāriōs prōspicientem haec eum ad verbum dīxisse referēns: 'hoc voluērunt; tantīs rēbus gestīs Gaius Caesar condemnātus essem, nisi ab exercitū auxilium petīssem.'

And Asinius Pollio makes this seem more likely by reporting this quote Caesar said at the battle of Pharsalus, when he was watching his opponents be cut down and overwhelmed: "This was what they wanted. Even I, Gaius Caesar, would have been condemned, if I had not sought help from my army, despite all my great deeds."

[30.5] quīdam putant captum imperiī cōnsuētūdine pēnsitātīsque suīs et inimīcōrum viribus ūsum occāsiōne rapiendae dominātiōnis, quam aetāte prīmā concupisset. quod exīstimāsse vidēbātur et Cicerō scrībēns dē Officiīs tertiō librō semper Caesarem in ōre habuisse Euripidis versūs, quōs sīc ipse convertit:
nam sī violandum est iūs, [regnandī] grātiā
violandum est: aliīs rēbus pietātem colās.

Some people think that he was held captive by the habit of power and by his considerations of the strength of his own men versus the enemy's, he seized the opportunity to grab at autocratic rule, a thing he had wanted all his life. Cicero seems to have thought so, since he wrote in the third book of his *dē officiīs* that Caesar always would quote Euripides' verses from the *Phoenician Women*, which he translates as follows:

If you have to violate what is right, at least do it
for the sake of kingly power: just maintain the right in other areas.

[31.1] cum ergō sublātam tribūnōrum intercessiōnem ipsōsque urbe cessisse nūntiātum esset, praemissīs cōnfestim clam cohortibus, nē qua suspiciō movērētur, et spectāculō pūblicō per

dissimulātiōnem interfuit et fōrmam, quā lūdum gladiātōrium erat aedificātūrus, cōnsīderāvit et ex cōnsuētūdine convīviō sē frequentī dedit.

So when they got the news that the tribunes' veto had been nullified and that the tribunes themselves had left the city, Caesar immediately sent some of his cohorts ahead in secret, and so that no suspicion would be raised, he went to a public show as a misdirection and he examined the plan of a gladiator school that he was intending to build, and he went to a crowded party in his usual manner.

[31.2] dein post sōlis occāsum mūlīs ē proximō pīstrīnō ad vehiculum iūnctīs occultissimum iter modicō comitātū ingressus est; et cum lūminibus extinctīs dēcessisset viā, diu errābundus tandem ad lūcem duce repertō per angustissimōs trāmitēs pedibus ēvāsit. cōnsecūtusque cohortīs ad Rubicōnem flūmen, quī prōvinciae eius fīnis erat, paulum cōnstitit, ac reputāns quantum molīrētur, conversus ad proximōs: 'etiam nunc,' inquit, 'regredī possumus; quod sī ponticulum trānsierimus, omnia armīs agenda erunt.'

Then after sunset he started a hush-hush journey, with only a small retinue, using a cart drawn by mules from a nearby gristmill. And after the lanterns had gone out and they had lost the way, he wandered around for a long time. Finally near dawn, he found a guide and got back to the road on foot by taking some really narrow foot-paths. And when he had followed the cohorts to the Rubicon River, which was the border of his province, he halted for a little while, and weighing the enormous consequences of what he was considering doing, he turned to those nearest him and said, "Even now we can turn back; but once we have crossed that little bridge, there will be no choice but to fight."

[33] atque ita trāiectō exercitū, adhibitīs tribūnīs plēbis, quī pulsī supervēnerant, prō cōntiōne fidem mīlitum flēns ac veste ā pectore discissā invocāvit. exīstimātur etiam equestrēs cēnsūs pollicitus singulīs; quod accidit opīniōne falsā. nam cum in adloquendō adhortandōque saepius digitum laevae manūs ostentāns adfīrmāret sē ad satis faciendum omnibus, per quōs dignitātem suam dēfēnsūrus esset, ānulum quoque aequō animō dētrāctūrum sibi, extrēma cōntiō, cui facilius erat vidēre cōntiōnantem quam audīre, prō dictō accēpit, quod vīsū suspicābātur; prōmissumque iūs ānulōrum cum mīlibus quadringēnīs fāma distulit.

And so, after his army had crossed, he welcomed the tribunes of the plebs who had come to help after being driven out of Rome. And at an assembly, he called upon his soldiers' loyalty with tears in his eyes, tearing his garments from his chest in his distress. People think that he also promised to give each of one of them enough money to count as an equestrian; but that belief has come about on a false basis. For while he was speaking to them and exhorting them, he kept showing them his left ring-finger and saying that he would do whatever it took to defend them, even tear off the ring from it, but the people in the back of the assembly, who could see but not hear very well, misunderstood his gesture, and a rumor spread that he had promised them that they would be made equestrians, with the right to wear the gold ring of equestrians and senators and that he would be giving them 400,000 sesterces, the minimum property qualification.

[34.1] ōrdō et summa rērum, quās deinceps gessit, sīc sē habent. Pīcēnum Umbriam Etrūriam occupāvit et Lūciō Domitiō, quī per tumultum successor eī nōminātus Corfīnium praesidiō tenēbat, in diciōnem redāctō atque dīmissō secundum Superum mare Brundisium tetendit, quō cōnsulēs Pompēiusque cōnfūgerant quam prīmum trānsfretātūrī.

This is a summary of what he did next, in order. He took over Picenum, Umbria, and Etruria, and after the surrender, Lucius Domitius, who had been appointed as his successor in Gaul during the confusion and was holding Corfinium with a garrison, Caesar sent him on his way, he headed along the Adriatic Sea for Brundisium, where Pompey and the consuls had fled for refuge so that they could cross over to Greece as soon as possible.

[34.2] hōs frūstrā per omnīs morās exitū prohibēre conātus Rōmam iter convertit appellātīsque dē rē pūblicā patribus validissimās Pompēī cōpiās, quae sub tribus lēgātīs M. Petrēiō et L. Afrāniō et M. Varrōne in Hispāniā erant, invāsit, prōfessus ante inter suōs, īre sē ad exercitum sine duce et inde reversūrum ad ducem sine exercitū. et quamquam obsidiōne Massiliae, quae sibi in itinere portās clauserat, summāque frūmentāriae reī penūriā retardante brevī tamen omnia subēgit.

He tried unsuccessfully to keep them from getting out of Italy, but then he turned back to Rome, where he convened the senators to discuss the state. He then attacked Pompey's strongest troops, who were in Spain under the command of three men, Marcus Petreius, Lucius Afranius, and Marcus Varro, the famous scholar. And Caesar first told his partisans that he was going to an army without a leader and would return from there to a leader without an army. And although he was delayed by the siege of Massilia, which had closed its gates against him during his march, and by a dreadful lack of grain supply, neverthless he soon gained control of everything.

[35.1] hinc urbe repetītā in Macedōniam trānsgressus Pompēium, per quattuor paene mēnsēs maximīs obsessum operibus, ad extrēmum Pharsālicō proeliō fūdit et fugientem Alexandrīam persecūtus, ut occīsum dēprehendit, cum Ptolemaeō rēge, ā quō sibi quoque īnsidiās tendī vidēbat, bellum sānē difficillimum gessit, neque locō neque tempore aequō, sed hieme annī et intrā moenia cōpiōsissimī ac sollertissimī hostis, inops ipse omnium rērum atque inparātus. rēgnum Aegyptī victor Cleopatrae frātrīque eius minōrī permīsit, veritus prōvinciam facere, nē quandōque violentiōrem praesidem nacta novārum rērum māteria esset.

From there he went back to Rome, then crossed to Macedonia, where in the end he routed Pompey, following a four month long siege fought by huge earthworks, at the battle of Pharsalus. When Pompey fled, Caesar pursued him to Alexandria, and as soon as he learned that Pompey had been killed, he then fought a war against king Ptolemy XII, who he realized also intended to deal with him in the same treacherous manner, a war that was actually very difficult because neither the place nor the time of year were even; rather, it was fought during the winter and within the walls of an enemy that was very well-supplied and very prepared, while Caesar was lacking in every material good and unready. As victor, he entrusted the kingdom of Egypt to Cleopatra and her younger brother, fearing to make it a province, because someday it might then become a wellspring of revolution if it got a more forceable governor.

[35.2] ab Alexandrīā in Syriam et inde Pontum trānsiit urgentibus dē Pharnace nūntiīs, quem Mithridātis Magnī fīlium ac tunc occāsiōne temporum bellantem iamque multiplicī successū praeferōcem, intrā quīntum quam adfuerat diem, quattuor quibus in cōnspectum vēnit horīs, ūnā prōflīgāvit aciē; crebrō commemorāns Pompeī fēlīcitātem, cui praecipua mīlitiae laus dē tam inbellī genere hostium contigisset. dehinc Scipiōnem ac Iubam reliquiās partium in Āfricā refoventīs dēvīcit, Pompeī līberōs in Hispaniā.

From Alexandria, he crossed into Syria and then into Pontus, as messages about Pharnaces were driving him to do; this was the son of Mithridates the Great who had seized on the opportunity of the times to wage war and now was super fierce from his multiple successes. Caesar utterly destroyed him in one battle on the fifth day that he was there, within four hours of catching sight of him; he frequently mentioned the luckiness of Pompey for winning such praise for his soldiery when it had been against an unwarlike type of enemy. Then he defeated Scipio and Juba, who had been trying to rekindle the remnants of Pompey's supporters in Africa, and he defeated the sons of Pompey in Spain.

[36] omnibus cīvīlibus bellīs nūllam clādem nisi per lēgātōs suōs passus est, quōrum C. Cūriō in Āfricā periit, C. Antōnius in Illyricō in adversāriōrum dēvēnit potestātem, P. Dolābella classem in eōdem Illyricō, Cn. Domitius Calvīnus in Pontō exercitum āmīsērunt. ipse prōsperrimē semper ac nē ancipitī quidem umquam fortūnā praeterquam bis dīmicāvit: semel ad Dyrrachium, ubi pulsus nōn īnstante Pompēiō negāvit eum vincere scīre, iterum in Hispaniā ultimō proeliō, cum dēspērātīs rēbus etiam dē cōnscīscendā nece cōgitāvit.

In all the civil wars, he suffered no serious defeat except in terms of his deputies: Gaius Curio perished in Africa, Gaius Antonius came into the hands of the enemy in Illyricum, Publius Dolabella lost a fleet, also in Illyricum, and Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus lost his army in Pontus. Caesar himself always waged battles most successful, and he didn't even suffer a draw except

twice: once at Dyracchium, where, because Pompey failed to follow up on his victory, Caesar said that he had no idea what to do with a win; and again in the last battle in Spain, when he was in such despair over how things were going that he even contemplated committing suicide.

Comprehension Questions

1. What did Caesar do after crossing the Rubicon?
2. How did the Civil Wars go? What was the chief victory Caesar won against Pompey?
3. What happened to Pompey?
4. Whom else did Caesar end up fighting? How did those campaigns go?

[38.1] veterānīs legiōnibus praedae nōmine in peditēs singulōs super bīna sēstertia, quae initiō cīvīlis tumultūs numerāverat, vīcēna quaterna mīlia nummum dedit. adsignāvit et agrōs, sed nōn continuōs, nē quis possessōrum expellerētur. populō praeter frūmentī dēnōs modiōs ac totidem oleī lībrās trecēnōs quoque nummōs, quōs pollicitus olim erat, viritim dīvīsit et hōc amplius centēnōs prō morā.

As loot, he gave to his veteran foot-soldiers, in addition to the two thousand sesterces that he had paid them at the beginning of the civil discord, twenty-four thousand sesterces each. He also assigned plots of land, but not ones next to each other, so that none of the former owners would be pushed out. To the Roman people, besides two bushels each of grain and likewise two pounds of oil, he distributed to each man the three hundred sesterces that he had previously promised and an extra hundred each to compensate for the delay.

[38.2] annuam etiam habitātiōnem Rōmae usque ad bīna mīlia nummum, in Ītaliā nōn ultrā quīngēnōs sēstertiōs remīsit. adiēcit epulum ac vīscerātiōnem et post Hispāniēnsem victōriam duo prandia; nam cum prius parcē neque prō līberālitāte suā praebitum iūdicāret, quīntō post diē aliud largissimum praebuit.

He also declared a year's rent-holiday at Rome of up to two thousand sesterces per person, in Italy not more than 500 sesterces. He added a feast and a public distribution of meat, and after his victory in Spain, two meals; for, after he decided that the first one he gave was too sparing and not in line with his generosity, five days later he gave another, more lavish one.

[39.1] ēdidit spectācula variī generis: mūnus gladiātōrium, lūdōs etiam rēgiōnātim urbe tōtā et quidem per omnium linguārum histriōnēs, item circēnsēs athlētās naumachiam. mūnere in forō dēpugnāvit Fūrius Leptīnus stirpe praetōriā et Q. Calpēnus senātor quondam āctorque causārum. pyrricham saltāvērunt Āsiae Bīthȳniaeque prīncipum līberī.

He put on spectacles of various types: a gladiator show, and plays region-by-region in the whole city—ones put on by actors in all languages!—and also chariot races, athletes, and a simulated sea battle. At the gladiator show in the Forum, Furius Leptinus, from a pretorian family, and Quintus Calpenus, who had once been a senator and a lawyer, battled it out. The legitimate sons of princes of Asia and Bithynia danced a Pyrrhic dance.

[39.2] lūdīs Decimus Laberius eques Rōmānus mīmum suum ēgit dōnātusque quīngentīs sēstertiīs et ānulō aureo sessum in quattuordecim ē scaenā per orchestram trānsiit. circēnsibus spatiō circī ab utrāque parte prōductō et in gȳrum euripō additō quadrīgās bīgāsque et equōs dēsultōriōs agitāvērunt nōbilissimī iuvenēs. Trōiam lūsit turma duplex maiōrum minōrumque puerōrum.

At the plays, Decimus Laberius, a Roman knight, acted in his own mime, which would have immediately demoted him; but he was given 500,000 sesterces and an equestrian's gold ring, so that he immediately could cross from the stage, through the orchestra where the senators sat, into the 14 rows behind them, with the other equestrians. At the chariot races, the track was extended on each side and a channel was added around. Four-horse chariots and two-horse

chariots and vaulting horses were all managed by the most well-born of young men. A double troop of older and younger boys acted out the battle of Troy on the Campus Martius.

[39.3] vēnātiōnēs ēditae per diēs quīnque ac novissimē pugna dīvīsa in duās aciēs, quīngēnīs peditibus, elephantīs vīcēnīs, tricēnīs equitibus hinc et inde commissīs. nam quō laxius dīmicārētur, sublātae mētae inque eārum locum bīna castra exadversum cōnstitūta erant. athlētae stadiō ad tempus extructō rēgiōne Mārtī campī certāvērunt per triduum.

Hunts of wild animals were put on, lasting five days, and on the last, the fight was divided into two battle-lines, with 500 foot soldiers, 20 elephants, and 30 cavalry arrayed on both of the two sides. So that they would have more room to fight, the turning posts had been removed and in their place two camps were set up across from each other. The athletes, in a stadium constructed for the event in the region of the Campus Martius, competed for three days.

[39.4] nāvālī proeliō in minōre Cōdētā dēfossō lacū birēmēs ac trirēmēs quadrirēmēsque Tȳriae et Aegyptiae classis magnō pugnātōrum numerō cōnflīxērunt. ad quae omnia spectācula tantum undique cōnflūxit hominum, ut plērīque advenae aut inter vīcōs aut inter viās tabernāculīs positīs manērent, ac saepe prae turbā ēlīsī exanimātīque sint plūrimī et in hīs duo senātōrēs.

At the simulated naval battle, a lake was dug out in the lesser Codeta where ships with two, three, and four banks of oars, from the Tyrian and Egyptian fleets, fought, with a great complement of fighters. Such a great number of people had flowed in from all parts to see all of these spectacles that most of the foreigners had to stay in tents pitched either on the city streets or the great roads, and often, because of the crowd, quite a few people were in fact trampled and killed, among them two senators.

Comprehension Questions

1. In what ways did Caesar attempt to gain/keep the people's favor after the battles of the civil wars?
2. How successful was he? How can we tell?

[41.1] senātum supplēvit, patriciōs adlēgit, praetōrum aedīlium quaestōrum, minōrum etiam magistrātuum numerum ampliāvit; nūdātōs opere cēnsōriō aut sententiā iūdicum dē ambitū condemnātōs restituit.

Caesar filled out the senate; he chose new patricians; he increased the number of praetors, aediles, quaestors, and also the lesser magistracies; he restored the rank of those who had been demoted by an official action of the censors or those who had been condemned for bribery by a jury verdict.

[41.2] comitia cum populō partītus est, ut exceptīs cōnsulātūs conpetitōribus dē cēterō numerō candidātōrum prō parte dīmidiā quōs populus vellet prōnūntiārentur, prō parte alterā quōs ipse dedisset. et ēdēbat per libellōs circum tribum missōs scrīptūrā brevī: 'Caesar dictātor illī tribuī. commendō vōbīs illum et illum, ut vestrō suffrāgiō suam dignitātem teneant.' admīsit ad honōrēs et prōscrīptōrum līberōs. iūdicia ad duo genera iūdicum redēgit, equestris ōrdinis ac senātōriī; tribūnōs aerāriōs, quod erat tertium, sustulit.

He shared elections with the people, so that, with the exception of his competitors for the consulship, from the remaining pool of candidates, half would be the people's choice, the other half his. And he would say in pamphlets published and circulated to the tribes in a brief message: 'Caesar the dictator to such-and-such a tribe: I recommend so-and-so and so-and-so to you all, that you should grant them office with your vote.' He even allowed the sons of the proscribed to hold political office. He reduced the types of persons allowed to serve on juries to two, namely equestrians and senators; but he took away that right from the tribunes of the treasury, who had been the third group.

[41.3] recēnsum populī nec mōre nec locō solitō, sed vīcātim per dominōs īnsulārum ēgit atque ex vīgintī trecentīsque mīlibus accipientium frūmentum ē pūblicō ad centum quīnquāgintā retrāxit; ac nē quī novī coetūs recēnsiōnis causā movērī quandōque possent, īnstituit, quotannīs in dēmortuōrum locum ex iīs, quī recēnsī nōn essent, subsortītiō ā praetōre fieret.

He reviewed the list of those receiving the grain dole not according to custom or in the usual place, but neighborhood by neighborhood, using the owners of the cheap apartment blocks to do it, and he reduced the number of those receiving the grain dole from 320,000 to 150,000. And so that no further assemblies concerning the review of the list would ever need to meet, he ruled that a lottery should be held by the praetor every year to give the spots of those who had died to people not yet on the list.

[42.1] octōgintā autem cīvium mīlibus in trānsmarīnās colōniās distribūtīs, ut exhaustae quoque urbis frequentia suppeteret, sānxit, nē quis cīvis maior annīs vīgintī minorve decem, quī sacrāmentō nōn tenērētur, plūs trienniō continuō Ītaliā abesset, neu quī senātōris fīlius nisi contubernālis aut comes magistrātūs peregrē proficīscerētur; nēve iī, quī pecuāriam facerent, minus tertiā parte pūberum ingenuōrum inter pāstōrēs habērent. omnīsque medicīnam Rōmae prōfessōs et līberālium artium doctōrēs, quō libentius et ipsī urbem incolerent et cēterī adpeterent, cīvitāte dōnāvit.

Because, however, 80,000 citizens had settled in overseas colonies, to keep Rome itself from being drained of its population, he enacted a ruling that no citizen over 20 or under 10, who was not constrained to by their oath of military service, should be absent from Italy for more than three years at a time, nor should any senator's son travel abroad at all except during a military internship or as part of a magistrate's staff. He also ruled that cattle breeders should not have less than a third of their shepherds be freeborn adults. And he granted citizenship to all professional doctors and teachers of the liberal arts in Rome, both so that those already there would be more willing to stay and so that others would want to come.

[42.2] dē pecūniīs mūtuīs disiectā novārum tabulārum expectātiōne, quae crēbrō movēbātur, dēcrēvit tandem, ut dēbitōrēs crēditōribus satis facerent per aestimātiōnem possessiōnum, quantī quāsque ante cīvīle bellum comparāssent, dēductō summae aeris aliēnī, sī quid ūsūrae nōmine numerātum aut perscrīptum fuisset; quā condiciōne quārta pars ferē crēditī dēperībat.

Concerning debts, he cast aside the expectation that people had often had that he would wipe the slate entirely clean, and he finally decreed that debtors should satify their creditors through a appraisal of only those possessions they had obtained before the civil war at the value then current, and that they should deduct from the sum of their debt anything that had been paid in cash or assigned over to the creditor toward the interest; because of this arrangement debts were reduced on average by a fourth.

[42.3] cūncta collēgia praeter antīquitus cōnstitūta distrāxit. poenās facinorum auxit; et cum locuplētēs eō facilius scelere sē obligārent, quod integrīs patrimōniīs exulābant, parricīdās, ut Cicerō scrībit, bonīs omnibus, reliquōs dīmidiā parte multāvit.

He disbanded all the associations except those that had been set up long ago. He increased the penalties for crimes; and since the rich had an easier time getting involved in crime because they could just go into exile with all of their property, Caesar ruled that those who had murdered citizens in peacetime should be fined of all their goods, while other criminals should lose half, according to Cicero.

[43.1] iūs labōriōsissimē ac sevērissimē dīxit. repetundārum convictōs etiam ōrdine senātōriō mōvit. dīrēmit nūptiās praetōriī virī, quī dīgressam ā marītō post biduum statim dūxerat, quamvīs sine probrī suspiciōne. peregrīnārum mercium portōria īnstituit. lectīcārum ūsum, item conchȳliātae vestis et margarītārum nisi certīs persōnīs et aetātibus perque certōs diēs adēmit.

He gave judgements in civil cases most carefully and strictly. He even removed those convicted of extortion as provincial magistrates from the senatorial order. He annulled the marriage of a man of praetorian rank who had wed a woman who had separated from her husband only two days before, although there was no suspicion of adultery. He set up import duties on foreign goods. He took away the right to use litters and also to wear clothes dyed in Tyrian purple and pearls, permitting it only to persons of a certain rank and age and during certain times.

[43.2] lēgem praecipuē sūmptuāriam exercuit dispositīs circā macellum custōdibus, quī obsōnia contrā vetitum retinērent deportārentque ad sē, submissīs nōnnumquam līctōribus atque mīlitibus, quī, si qua custōdēs fefellissent, iam adposita ē triclīniō auferrent.

He oversaw enforcement of his sumptuary law by positioning guards around the marketplace to take food items that went against his prohibitions and to bring them to him; further, he even dispatched his lictors and soldiers sometimes, who, if the guards had missed something, could remove the prohibited items even when they had already been laid out in the dining rooms.

[44.1] nam dē ōrnandā īnstruendāque urbe, item dē tuendō ampliandōque imperiō plūra ac maiōra in diēs dēstinābat: in prīmīs Mārtis templum, quantum nusquam esset, extruere replētō et conplānātō lacū, in quō naumachiae spectāculum ēdiderat, theatrumque summae magnitūdinis Tarpēiō montī accubāns;

But now, concerning beautifying and setting up the city of Rome, and also for keeping watch on and amplifying the empire, every day he was coming up with new, grander ideas: especially to build a temple to Mars, bigger than any other, by filling in and levelling out the pool in which he had put on the simulated naval battle, and to build a theater of greatest magnitude lying by the Tarpeian rock;

[44.2] iūs cīvīle ad certum modum redigere atque ex immēnsā diffūsāque lēgum cōpiā optima quaeque et necessāria in paucissimōs cōnferre librōs; bibliothēcās Graecās Latīnāsque quās maximās posset pūblicāre, datā Mārcō Varrōnī cūrā comparandārum ac dīgerendārum;

to reduce the civil law code to a more managable size and, out of the immense and scattered abundance of laws, to bring together all the best and most necessary ones into a very few volumes; to make available to the people Greek and Latin libraries, the biggest possible, having giving Marcus Varro responsibility for assembling and arranging them;

[44.3] siccāre Pomptīnās palūdēs; ēmittere Fūcinum lacum; viam mūnīre ā marī Superō per Appennīnī dorsum ad Tiberim usque; perfodere Isthmum; Dācōs, quī sē in Pontum et Thrāciam effūderant, coercēre; mox Parthīs īnferre bellum per Armeniam minōrem nec nisi ante expertōs adgredī proeliō.

to drain the Pomptine swamps; to release some of the water from Lake Fucinus; to build a road from the Adriatic along the ridge of the Appennine Mountains all the way to the Tiber; to dig a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth; to contain the Dacians, who had poured into Pontus and Thrace; then to make war on the Parthians through lesser Armenia, but not to directly attack them in battle until he had first seen what their fighting was like.

[44.4] tālia agentem atque meditantem mors praevēnit. dē quā prius quam dīcam, ea quae ad fōrmam et habitum et cultum et mōrēs, nec minus quae ad cīvīlia et bellica eius studia pertineant, nōn aliēnum erit summātim expōnere.

But as he was thinking about and acting on all these plans, death stopped him short. But before I talk about that, it will not be out of place to discuss briefly things pertaining not only to his sppearance and dress and grooming and character, but also to his civilian and military pursuits.

Comprehension Questions

1. List the various reforms and projects that Caesar proposed and/or carried out in this section. Which ones are surprising to you? Why?
2. Suetonius here announces that he will digress to another topic before continuing chronologically. What is that topic? Why do you think S. chooses to put a break here?

III. The Private Character of Caesar

§45-§53

fuisse trāditur – *people say he was*, lit. 'he is handed down to have been'

excelsā ... prosperā – Each of these phrases is an ablative of description. Ablatives of description are generally used in describing physical characteristics. Use "of" in English. Note the lack of conjunctions (*asyndeton*), used to speed the list along more rapidly.

nisi quod – *except (for the fact) that*

tempore extrēmō – i.e., towards the end of his life

animō linquī, exterrērī – Infinitives dependent upon *solēbat*. Caesar apparently suffered from sudden fainting spells and nightmares as he aged.

animō linquī – *to faint*, lit. 'to be left behind by his mind'

per somnum – *during sleep*

comitiālī morbō – The 'comitial disease' was epilepsy, so called because business in the comitia (the voting assemblies) had to be suspended if someone suffered an epileptic seizure.

inter rēs agendās – *during the conducting of business*. The gerundive has taken the place of the gerund, as is normal in participial constructions.

[45.1] fuisse trāditur excelsā statūrā, colōre candidō, teretibus membrīs, ōre paulō   1
plēniōre, nigrīs vegetīsque oculīs, valitūdine prosperā, nisi quod tempore extrēmō repente   2
animō linquī atque etiam per somnum exterrērī solēbat. comitiālī quoque morbō bis inter   3
rēs agendās correptus est.   4

trādō trādere trādidī trāditus – *to hand down, hand over; pass down* (a story)
excelsus excelsa excelsum – *lofty, tall*
statūra, statūrae f. – *stature, height*
color, colōris m. – *(skin) color, complexion*
candidus candida candidum – *gleaming white, bright white; shining*
teres, gen. teretis – *smooth, rounded, shapely*
membrum, membrī n. – *limb*
ōs, ōris n. – *mouth; face*
paulō, adv. – *a little, by a little bit*
plēnus plēna plēnum – *full, crowded*
niger nigra nigrum – *black*
vegetus vegeta vegetum – *bright, lively*
oculus, oculī m. – *eye*
**valitūdō, valitūdinis f. – *health; ill-health, illness*
prosperus prospera prosperum – *as hoped, as expected; fortunate, favorable; prosperous, flourishing*
nisi quod, conj. – *except for the fact that*
extrēmus extrēma extrēmum – *final, last, end*
**repente, adv. – *suddenly*
animō linquor, animō linquī – *to faint*
somnus, somnī m. – *sleep*
exterreō exterrēre exterruī exterritus – *to terrify*
soleō, solēre, solitus sum – *to be accustomed, usually*
morbus comitiālis, morbī comitiālis m. – *epilepsy*
**quoque, adv. – *also, too*
bis, adv. – *twice, two times*
corripiō corripere corripuī correptus – *to seize, grab;* (pass.) *fall prey to*

mōrōsior – sc. *fuisse trāditur*, as in 45.1 (*people say he was*). Tr. *mōrōsior* as *rather particular* or *quite picky* (lit. 'more particular (than normal)').

ut nōn sōlum, etc. – Result clause (with no signal word). Tr. *so that* or *with the result that*.

tondērētur dīligenter ac rāderētur – It was the fashion during most of Roman history for men to be clean-shaven with no facial hair. Beards were "old-fashioned" (worn by people like Appius Claudius Caecus the Censor) or associated with the Greeks. It was normal for people like Caesar to be shaved by a barber every day (depending on how fast their hair grew) so as to have no facial hair. However, facial hair was certainly a fad at various points: the goatee was *de rigeur* in Clodius' circle (Cic. *Pro Caelio* 33), and the emperor Hadrian (among others) is famous for his full beard. *dīligenter* suggests that Caesar would never let any stubble grow. His hairstyle, of course, is still a popular men's grooming choice!

vellerētur etiam – It was considered effeminate for men to have their body hair plucked out, but it seems to have been not uncommon, since Roman beauty standards even for men prized hairlessness of chest, back, etc. Seneca (*Ep. Mor.* 56) mentions that there were hair-pluckers available at the public baths to remove unsightly body hair. It was undoubtedly rather painful. Hair could also be singed off.

ut quīdam exprobrāvērunt – Suetonius does not name these people who disapproved of Caesar's grooming choices.

vērō – Postpositive conjunction. Tr. *and in fact*.

inīquissimē ferret – *he was very upset about*, lit. 'he was enduring most unequally'; *inīquissimē* is the equivalent of *inīquissimō animō*.

saepe ... expertus – *since he found that it laid him open to jokes by his detractors*, lit. 'having experienced it liable to the jokes of his detractors'. *expertus* is a causal participle explaining why Caesar *ferret inīquissimē* the ugliness of his baldness *(calvitiī dēfōrmitātis)*.

ideōque – *and for that reason*; *ideō* is a conjunction

dēficientem capillum – *his receding hair*, lit. 'his failing hair'

adsuēverat – *he was accustomed*. Note that *adsuēscō*, 'to become accustomed', can mean 'has become accustomed, is accustomed' in the perfect (and thus 'had become accutomed, was accustomed' in the pluperfect). Suetonius is describing Caesar having a 'comb-over' as we would say.

dēcrētīs – Modifies *honōribus*.

nōn aliud ... libentius quam – *(there was) none he was happier either to receive or take up than*, lit 'he did not receive or take up another more gladly than'

iūs laureae corōnae perpetuō gestandae – *the right to always wear the laurel crown*; the *corōna laurea* was awarded to triumphing generals. The suggestion is that Caesar was not proud of the recognition of his military achievements, but so vain he wanted to use the laurel wreath to cover his balding. Whatever the true reason, Caesar does seem to have favored the laurel crown and was pictured with it on his coins.

[45.2] circā corporis cūram mōrōsior, ut nōn sōlum tondērētur dīligenter ac rāderētur, sed 1
vellerētur etiam, ut quīdam exprobrāvērunt, calvitiī vērō dēfōrmitātem inīquissimē ferret 2
saepe obtrectātōrum iocīs obnoxiam expertus. ideōque et dēficientem capillum revocāre ā 3
vertice adsuēverat et ex omnibus dēcrētīs sibi ā senātū populōque honōribus nōn aliud aut 4
recēpit aut ūsurpāvit libentius quam iūs laureae corōnae perpetuō gestandae. 5

**corpus, corporis n. – *body*
cūra, cūrae f. – *care, attention*
mōrōsus mōrōsa mōrōsum – *fastidious, particular*
sōlum, adv. – *only*
tondeō tondēre totondī tōnsus – *to clip, shave*
dīligēns, gen. dīligentis – *careful, exacting, diligent, assiduous*
rādō rādere rāsī rāsus – *to scrape; shave*
vellō vellere vellī vulsus – *to pluck, depilate*
exprobrō exprobrāre exprobrāvī exprobrātus – *to find fault with; blame, censure; complain*
calvitium, calvitiī n. – *baldness*
dēfōrmitās, dēfōrmitātis f. – *deformity, ugliness*
inīquus inīqua inīquum – *unequal, uneven; reluctant, impatient, unwilling*
obtrectātor, obtrectātōris m. – *detractor*
**iocus, iocī m. – *joke*
obnoxius obnoxia obnoxium – *liable to, exposed to*
experior, experīrī, expertus sum – *to try, test; experience, undergo; find out*
ideō, conj. – *therefore, so*
dēficiō dēficere dēfēcī dēfectus – *to fail, run out*
capillus, capillī m. – *hair*
revocō revocāre revocāvī revocātus – *to call back, call forward*
vertex, verticis m. – *top, highest point, crown (of the head)*
adsuēscō adsuēscere adsuēvī adsuētus – *to become accustomed*
**aut ... aut, conj. – *either ... or*
**recipiō recipere recēpī receptus – *to take back; receive; welcome*
ūsurpō ūsurpāre ūsurpāvī ūsurpātus – *to take (up), make use of*
libēns, gen. libentis – *glad, willing*
iūs, iūris n. – *right, (natural) law*
**laureus laurea laureum – *laurel, made of laurel*
corōna, corōnae f. – *crown, garland*
perpetuō, adv. – *perpetually, continually*
gestō gestāre – *to bear, wear, carry*

cultū – *in his dress*, abl. of respect.

notābilem – *sc. esse, that he was unusual*

ferunt – Verb of speaking. Tr. *they say* or *people say* (French "on dit.")

ūsum – sc. *esse*, indirect statement after *ferunt*.

lātō clāvō – Abl. object of *ūsum*. The *lātus clāvus* (lit. 'broad stripe'; it means 'broad-striped tunic' by metonymy) was the senatorial tunic, which had a broad purple-red stripe (the equestrian tunic had only a narrow stripe, the ordinary citizen's none at all).

ad manus fimbriātō – *fringed (down) to the hand*, i.e., a long-sleeved tunic with fringe. Both the sleeve and the fringe were considered effeminate.

nec umquam aliter quam – *and he always wore it*, lit. 'and (he) never (wore it) in a different way than'

ut super eum cingerētur – *with a belt above*, lit. 'that it was belted above it'. *eum* refers to the *lātus clāvus*. Romans did not usually wear a belt with the senatorial tunic, only with an ordinary tunic.

flūxiōre cinctūrā – *with a rather loose belt*; to belt the tunic loosely was (another) sign of effeminacy.

unde – *and from there, and for this reason*, i.e. from Caesar's habit of belting his tunic loosely, lit. 'from where' (connective relative).

ēmānāsse – Syncopated form of *ēmānāvisse*. Still indirect statement (dependent on *ferunt*). Subject is *dictum*.

optimātēs – Object of *admonentis*.

saepius – Absolute comparative, *rather often, quite frequently*.

admonentis – Modifies *Sullae*.

[45.3] etiam cultū notābilem ferunt: ūsum enim lātō clāvō ad manūs fimbriātō nec   1
umquam aliter quam ut super eum cingerētur, et quidem flūxiōre cinctūrā; unde ēmānāsse   2
Sullae dictum optimātēs saepius admonentis, ut male praecinctum puerum cavērent.   3

cultus, cultūs m. – *clothing, dress*
nōtābilis nōtābilis nōtābile – *remarkable, unusual*
**ūtor, ūtī, ūsus sum + abl. – *to use, employ*
**enim, postpositive conj. – *for, indeed*
lātus clāvus, lātī clāvī m. – *laticlave*, broad stripe of the senatorial tunic, *senatorial tunic* (by metonymy)
fimbriātus fimbriāta fimbriātum – *fringed*
aliter, adv. – *otherwise*
super, prep. + acc. – *over, above; in addition to*
cingō cingere cinxī cinctus – *to gird*, (pass.) *wear a girdle*
et, conj. – *and*
flūxus flūxa flūxum – *loose, lax*
cinctūra, cinctūrae f. – *girdle, belt*
unde, conj. – *whence, wherefore, for which reason*
ēmānō ēmānāre ēmānāvī ēmānātus – *to become known*, (of a word) *to get out that*
dictum, dictī n. – *word; saying, bon mot*
**optimātēs, optimātium m.pl. – *the Optimates*, the party supporting the traditional aristocracy and
        Senatorial power
**admoneō admonēre admonuī admonitus – *to admonish, urge, remind* (someone of their duty)
malus mala malum – *bad, evil, ill*
praecinctus praecincta praecinctum – *girt, belted*
puer, puerī m. – *boy*
caveō cavēre cāvī cautus – *to beware, watch out for*

prīmō – 'At first', i.e., later he lived elsewhere (*post autem*).

in Subūrā – The Subura was a modest district of Rome, not a wealthy part, by any means. Caesar's family was ancient and noble, but not wealthy, so he could not afford to start out in one of the fashionable (expensive) districts, like the Palatine.

modicīs aedibus – Abl. of place where without a preposition.

Sacrā viā – The Sacred Way was the main street running through the Forum. Caesar, as pontifex maximus, was given housing in the official residence, near the House of the Vestals and the Regia.

munditiārum lautitiārumque – Objective genitives with *studiōsissimum*, which contains the verbal idea of *studeō* as an adjective, as *studium* does as a noun.

studiōsissimum – sc. *Caesarem fuisse*, dependent on *multī prōdidērunt*.

multī prōdidērunt – Suetonius does not name these 'many' sources.

vīllam in Nemorēnsī – sc. *agrō* ('territory, region, area'). Caesar's villa (built in 50 BCE) stood near Lake Nemi, which is named for the famous grove (*nemus*) of Diana at Aricia (whose priest, the *rēx Nemorēnsis*, was the inspiration for Sir James Frazer's classic work of Victorian anthropology, *The Golden Bough*, which asserted his theory that there was an original myth and related cultic practice in which every year a sacred king was killed to provide fertility for his people). Caesar was not the only one to seek pleasurable accommodation in the area: beginning in 1929, barges belonging to the emperor Caligula (first rediscovered in the Renaissance) were excavated by Italian dictator Benito Mussolini; these were later mostly destroyed toward the end of World War II, although remnants may be seen today in Rome and Nemi.

quia nōn ... responderat – We might say, 'because it wasn't precisely what he'd had in mind'.

responderat – Note the indicative mood that tells us this is Suetonius' own remark, not part of what he found in his sources (which then would have been in the subjunctive).

dīruisse, circumtulisse – sc. *Caesarem*. These are indirect statement dependent upon *multī prōdidērunt*; the indirect speech will in fact continue for the next two chapters. Roman authors have a much greater tolerance for this sort of extended indirect discourse than do modern English writers (perhaps if they had invented blockquoting!).

tenuem, obaerātum – sc. *Caesarem*; they are modifying the understood subject of the indirect statement. In English, we might wish to insert "he was" for the sake of clarity. Caesar's profligacy and debts seem to have been one of the main forces motivating his political and military ambitions (so that he might accumulate the wealth to pay back these debts incurred to increase his public standing).

tessellāta et sectīlia pavīmenta – An example of luxury out of place in the rough and tumble of a military campaign, Caesar apparently brought with him for his tent portable mosaic and marble floors that could be assembled and disassembled as needed.

[46] habitāvit prīmō in Subūrā modicīs aedibus, post autem pontificātum maximum in 1
Sacrā viā domō pūblicā. munditiārum lautitiārumque studiōsissimum multī prōdidērunt: 2
vīllam in Nemorēnsī ā fundāmentīs incohātam magnōque sūmptū absolūtam, quia nōn tōta 3
ad animum eī responderat, tōtam dīruisse, quamquam tenuem adhūc et obaerātum; in 4
expedītiōnibus tessellāta et sectīlia pavīmenta circumtulisse. 5

habitō habitāre habitāvī habitātus – *to live, dwell*
prīmō, adv. – *first, at first*
Subūra, Subūrae f. – *the Subura,* a low-rent district of Rome named for its principal street
modicus modica modicum – *modest, moderate*
aedes, aedis f. (i-stem) – *temple;* (pl.) *house, dwelling*
pontificātus, pontificātūs m. – *pontificate, priesthood*
via Sacra, viae Sacrae f. – *the Sacred Way,* the main road through the Roman Forum
**domus, domūs f. (irr.) – *house, home*
pūblicus pūblica pūblicum – *public, the people's, belonging to the (Roman) people*
munditia, munditiae f. – *elegance, neatness*
lautitia, lautitiae f. – *luxury, high state of living*
studiōsus studiōsa studiōsum – *zealous, enthusiastic; devoted to, fond of*
prōdō prōdere prōdidī prōditus – *to relate, record, transmit*
vīlla, vīllae f. – *house, estate*
Nemorēnsis Nemorēnsis Nemorēnse – *of or relating to (Lake) Nemi*
fundāmentum, fundāmentī n. – *foundation*
incohō incohāre incohāvī incohātus – *to begin*
sūmptus, sūmptūs m. – *expense, outlay*
absolvō absolvere absolvī absolūtus – *to loosen, set free; acquit; pay off, finish*
quia, conj. – *because, since*
tōtus tōta tōtum – *whole, entire*
**animus, animī m. – *mind, spirit; intention*
respondeō respondēre respondī respōnsus – *to respond, reply, answer; correspond*
dīruō dīruere dīruī dīrutus – *to destroy, demolish, pull apart*
**quamquam, conj. – *although*
tenuis tenuis tenue – *thin, insubstantial; poor*
adhūc, adv. – *up to this point, still*
obaerātus obaerāta obaerātum – *in debt*
expedītiō, expedītiōnis f. – *campaign; expedition*
tessellātus tessellāta tessellātum – *made of tile, mosaic*
sectīlis sectīlis sectīle – *cut, divided, sectioned*
pavīmentum, pavīmentī n. – *floor, flooring*
circumferō circumferre circumtulī circumlātus (irr.) – *to bring around, carry around*

petīsse – Continues the indirect statement begun in the last chapter. Subject is still *Caesarem*.

spē margarītārum – Although pearls were to be found in the rivers of Britannia, gaining them was hardly Caesar's actual motive for invasion!

cōnferentem ... exēgisse – Note the accusative + infinitive construction continues even here, after the connective relative *quārum* (= *et eārum*). *cōnferentem* describes the understood subject *Caesarem*.

gemmās ... tabulās – Note the asyndeton (lack of conjunction) in the list; Suetonius is conveying an impression of Caesar heaping up treasures by heaping up these nouns.

servitia – An abstract ("slaveries," "slavehoods") used in place of what is actually meant, *servōs*. There is a chillingly dehumanizing tone to this common Silver Latin substitution. You should understand *comparāsse*, 'he bought', as the verb again.

rēctiōra, polītiōra – An example of the so-called absolute comparative (i.e., one where no outside comparison is made), "quite X," "rather X;" it does not mean simply "more X." The comparative can also mean "too X," with perhaps a note of disapproval from Suetonius here: Caesar is purchasing slaves that are a little too good-looking and accomplished for strict Roman tastes (cf. §49).

inmēnsō pretiō – Ablative of price, of course.

cuius – The antecedent is *pretiō*. It is the genitive dependent upon *pudēret*, which takes an acc. of person and a gen. of cause: 'of which he himself (*ipsum*) was ashamed'.

sīc ut – Result clause.

īnferrī – Present passive infinitive of *īnferō*. With *ratiōnibus* (dat.), it means 'to be entered into the household accounts'. Understand *id (pretium)* as the subject.

[47] Britanniam petīsse spē margarītārum, quārum amplitūdinem cōnferentem interdum 1
suā manū exēgisse pondus; gemmās, toreumata, signa, tabulās operis antīquī semper 2
animōsissimē comparāsse; servitia rēctiōra polītiōraque inmēnsō pretiō, et cuius ipsum 3
etiam pudēret, sīc ut ratiōnibus vetāret īnferrī. 4

petō petere petīvī petītus – *to seek, attack, head for*
spēs, speī f. – *hope, expectation*
margarīta, margarītae f. – *pearl*
amplitūdō, amplitūdinis f. – *size*
cōnferō cōnferre contulī conlātus (irr.) – *to compare*
**interdum, adv. – *at times, from time to time, sometimes, occasionally*
exigō exigere exēgī exāctus – *to consider, estimate, judge; drive out, divorce*
pondus, ponderis n. – *weight*
gemma, gemmae f. – *gem, jewel*
toreuma, toreumatis n. – *embossed work, relief*
signum, signī n. – *sign, seal; standard; statue, figure in relief*
tabula, tabulae f. – *tablet, picture*
opus, operis n. – *work, work of art*
**antīquus antīqua antīquum – *ancient, old*
**semper, adv. – *always*
animōsus animōsa animōsum – *avid, energetic, enthusiastic*
comparō comparāre comparāvī comparātus – *to buy*
servitium, servitiī n. – *slavery; slave*
rēctus rēcta rēctum – *straight, upright; good-looking, well-formed*
polītus polīta polītum – *polished, smooth; well-mannered; accomplished*
immēnsus immēnsa immēnsum – *immense, huge, boundless, vast; measureless*
pretium, pretiī n. – *price*
pudet, pudēre, puduit + acc. of person + gen. of thing – *to shame, be ashamed*
sīc, adv. – *thus, so, in such a way, in this way*
**ratiō, ratiōnis f. – *reason; reckoning, account, calculation; plan, strategy;* (pl.) *accounts*
vetō vetāre vetuī vetitus – *to forbid*
**īnferō īnferre intulī inlātus (irr.) – *to bring in;* (refl.) *to enter rapidly; offer, render*

convīvātum – sc. *esse.*   The indirect discourse continues from §46 and comes to an end at *discumberent.*   The subject is *Caesarem* still ('Caesar held dinner parties').   This is the last example of Caesar's too-great fondness for luxury.

duōbus triclīniīs – Abl. of place where with no preposition, continued in *ūnō quō* and *alterō quō.*

sagātī – The *sagum* was a woolen military cloak.   These then are Caesar's officers.

palliātīve – The *pallium* was a Greek cloak.   Those wearing it here are non-citizen Greeks, philosophers and the like, who would be entertaining to invite to dinner parties.

togātī – The toga-clad would be Roman citizens, presumably civilians of high status.

inlūstriōribus prōvinciārum – High-ranking local provincials, chieftains and the like.

discumberent – Note the use of the prefix *dis-* to suggest they are reclining separately.

pīstōrem ... subicientem – Note the nested structure of this phrase.   The 'baker' (*pīstōrem*) is modified at the end by *subicientem*; the object of *subicientem* is *alium ... pānem*; both phrases contain a dative indirect object (*sibi; convīvīs*).   We should of course expand the participle into a clause ("when he served" or "because he served") in good English.

alium quam sibi pānem – 'A different (sc. worse) bread than (the one he gave to) him (Caesar)'. Caesar was evidently at great pains to maintain equality at his table.   It was considered rude to serve food of varying qualities to one's guests (with higher status guests receiving higher quality food), although it was evidently a not uncommon practice: cf. Juvenal *Satire* 5, Pliny the Younger *Letter* 2.6.

vīnxerit, adfēcerit – The perfect subjunctive tells us that these are clauses of actual result, not natural result, which would be expressed with an imperfect subjunctive.

grātissimum – sc. *sibi*; Caesar was very fond of this freedman.

ob adulterātem ... uxōrem – Latin often prefers a participle where in English we might use a noun: 'on account of the wife having-been-corrupted' instead of our 'on account of his corrupting the wife'.

quamvīs nūllō querente – Ablative absolute.   *quamvīs* marks that this is a concessive abl. abs., best rendered 'although no one was complaining'.

lībertum ... capitālī poenā adfēcerit – *afficiō* is construed with an accusative of the person and ablative of the thing inflicted; in English, we inflict *something upon someone.*

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[48] convīvātum assiduē per prōvinciās duōbus triclīniīs, ūnō quō sagātī palliātīve, alterō   1
quō togātī cum inlūstriōribus prōvinciārum discumberent. domesticam disciplīnam in   2
parvīs ac maiōribus rēbus dīligenter adeō sevēreque rēxit, ut pīstōrem alium quam sibi   3
pānem convīvīs subicientem compedibus vīnxerit, lībertum grātissimum ob adulterātam   4
equitis Rōmānī uxōrem, quamvīs nūllō querente, capitālī poenā adfēcerit.   5

    convīvor, convīvārī, convīvātus sum – *to feast, have dinner parties*
    assiduē, adv. – *continuously, constantly*
    **prōvincia, prōvinciae f. – *province*
    **duo duae duo, dual adj. – *two*
    triclīnium, triclīniī n. – *dining room*
    sagātus sagāta sagātum – *wearing a military cloak*
    palliātus palliāta palliātum – *wearing a Greek cloak*
    -ve, enclitic conj. – *or*
    **alter altera alterum – *one* (of two); *other, another, the second*
    togātus togāta togātum – *wearing a toga*
    illūstris illūstris illūstre – *famous, prominent*
    discumbō discumbere discubuī discubitus – *to recline at table severally*
    domesticus domestica domesticum – *domestic, (relating to the) household*
    disciplīna, disciplīnae f. – *discipline, management*
    parvus parva parvum – *small*
    dīligēns, gen. dīligentis – *careful, exacting, diligent, assiduous*
    **adeō, adv. – *so, so much, so greatly, to such an extent*
    sevērus sevēra sevērum – *severe, strict*
    regō regere rēxī rēctus – *to rule, govern, guide, run*
    pīstor, pīstōris m. – *baker*
    pānis, pānis m. (i-stem) – *bread*
    convīva, convīvae m. – *guest, dinner-guest*
    subiciō subicere subiēcī subiectus – *to throw under; put into one's power, subjugate; place under, serve*
    compedēs, compedum f.pl. – *shackles (for the feet), fetters, bonds*
    vinciō vincīre vīnxī vīnctus – *to bind, chain*
    lībertus, lībertī m. – *freedman, ex-slave*
    grātus grāta grātum – *pleasing, welcome*
    **ob, prep. + acc. – *on account of, because of, for*
    adulterō adulterāre adulterāvī adulterātus – *to defile* (by committing adultery with), *corrupt; seduce*
    **eques, equitis m. – *equestrian, knight, horseman;* (pl.) *cavalry*
    Rōmānus Rōmāna Rōmānum – *Roman*
    quamvīs, conj. – *although, despite*
    **nūllus nūlla nūllum – *not any, no*
    queror, querī, questus sum – *to complain*
    capitālis capitālis capitāle – *capital*
    poena, poenae f. – *penalty, punishment*
    adficiō adficere adfēcī adfectus – *to affect, inflict*

pudīcitiae – Although often defined in English as 'chastity', *pudīcitia* for an upper-class Roman male like Caesar did not mean 'abstinence from all sexual activity'. (The next few chapters are all about Caesar's relations with women, none of which, as Suetonius here makes clear, harmed his reputation for *pudīcitia*.) Rather, for a man of Caesar's status, it meant something more like 'maintenance of one's body as properly male', 'freedom from penetration', 'abstinence from male-male sexual activity'. The Romans, in a move of perhaps not-surprising *machismo*, divided the world not into straight people and gay people, as many Western societies do today, but into 'active partners' and 'passive partners'. Men could actively pursue women or male slaves/freedmen with no stain on their honor, but it was considered shameful to let someone pursue you, if you were an upper-class Roman male. This division was considered to extend to the sex act itself. A man who allowed others to pursue him did not have sufficient manliness and self-control: he was immoderate and greedy, concerned only with his own pleasure, and not with such important concerns as politics or the military. The great horror the Romans felt for a man who allowed himself to be passive (effeminate! like a woman!), this fear of losing status (since women were of lower position than men), lurks about the edges of Caesar's biography in many places (see also §2, §22.2, §45, §46, §47). Suetonius' depictions of Caesar as ambitious and greedy owe not a little to this fear that he was, perhaps, not sufficiently manly; this section is not a footnote or an aside, but the heart of Suetonius' portrayal.

pudīcitiae eius fāmam – One is led to suspect that our author's disapproval lies not so much in the fact that Caesar had an inappropriate (by Roman standards) relationship with a man, but that he got a reputation (*fāmam*) for having done so!

nihil – Subject of *laesit*. Suetonius makes use of the rhetorical device of *litotes*, 'understatement', when he says that 'nothing harmed Caesar's reputation for chastity except his relationship with Nicomedes', since, by Suetonius' own evidence, that relationship did a great deal of harm to Caesar's reputation!—so much so that he will need to discuss it for the next three sections and it was still being cast up to Caesar's blame at the time of his Gallic triumphs.

Nīcomēdis – Nicomedes (IV, Philopator), king of Bithynia, who upon his death willed his kingdom to the Romans. See §2.

contubernium – Strictly, *contubernium* refers to the sharing of a tent by soldiers in the army ("mess-mates"), and then especially the relationship between a general and the upper-class young man or men who accompanied him on campaign to learn about military life (and who shared his accommodations). It came to be used however to describe any relationship outside of legal marriage: common-law marriage (a man and woman living together as husband and wife without a formal ceremony or acknowledgement), a committed relationship between slaves (who were not legally able to marry), or, as here, a same-sex relationship. But in all these cases, the relationship referred to could be equivalent in commitment and duration to a marriage.

gravī ... expositō – Abl. of manner.

omittō, praetereō – Suetonius makes use of the rhetorical device of *praeteritiō*, 'passing-by', where one says, "I'm not going to talk about X," but by so doing, one has of course said X (and conveyed disapproval of it at the same time)—oftentimes the most important bit is concealed behind a 'not to mention'. The story is so shocking (!!) that Suetonius will continue to employ this device in §49.2 (and keep talking about it in §49.3 and §49.4)—a lot of words for a topic he wasn't going to discuss! But by saying "I'm not going to tell you about Caesar's scandalous affair with Nicomedes," Suetonius preserves the appearance of being the high-minded biographer; his own reputation for *pudīcitia* needn't be challenged *and* he gets to tell you all about the scandal: the best of both worlds.

[49.1] pudīcitiae eius fāmam nihil quidem praeter Nīcomēdis contubernium laesit, gravī   1
tamen et perennī obprobriō et ad omnium convīcia expositō. omittō Calvī Licinī   2
nōtissimōs versūs: 3
                    ...Bīthȳnia quicquid   4
            et pēdīcātor Caesaris umquam habuit.   5
praetereō āctiōnēs Dolābellae et Cūriōnis patris, in quibus eum Dolābella *'paelicem*   6
rēgīnae, spondam interiōrem rēgiae lectīcae,' at Cūriō *'stabulum Nīcomēdis et Bīthȳnicum*   7
fornicem' dīcunt.   8

pudīcitia, pudīcitiae f. – *chastity, good morals*
**fāma, fāmae f. – *rumor, report; reputation, fame*
nihil (nīl), indecl. n. – *nothing*
praeter, prep. + acc. – *besides, except; in addition to*
contubernium, contubernii n. – *common-law marriage, relationship*
laedō laedere laesī laesus – *to harm, hurt*
tamen, postpositive adv. – *however, nevertheless*
perennis perennis perenne – *perennial, continual, constant*
opprobrium, opprobriī n. – *opprobrium, disgrace; scandal; reproach, taunt*
convīcium, convīciī n. – *insult, abuse, jeer*
expōnō expōnere exposuī expositus – *to put out; expose, lay open*
omittō omittere omīsī omissus – *to omit, pass over*
nōtus nōta nōtum – *well-known, famous*
versus, versūs m. – *verse, poem, line*

quisquis, quidquid, indefinite pron. – *whoever, whatever*
pēdicātor, -ōris m. – *seducer (of a young man)*
praetereō praeterīre praeteriī praeteritus (irr.) – *to go past, pass by, pass*
āctiō, āctiōnis f. –*lawsuit; accusation; speech given in a law court, plea*
paelex, paelicis f. – *concubine, favorite; rival*
**rēgīna, rēgīnae f. – *queen*
sponda, spondae f. –*bed frame; bed, couch*
interior interior interius – *interior, inner*
**rēgius rēgia rēgium – *royal, kingly, king's*
lectīca, lectīcae f. – *litter, sedan-chair*
at, conj. – *but, but yet*
stabulum, stabulī n. – *brothel*
Bithynicus Bithynica Bithynicum – *Bithynian, of Bithynia*
fornix, fornicis m. – *arch, vault; brothel, bagnio, stew; prostitute*

Calvī Licinī – Gaius Licinius Macer Calvus, a poet and orator of the first century. He was a friend of the poet Catullus (see Catullus 14, 50, 53, 96). His works, although highly praised in his lifetime, do not survive today outside of fragments.

Bīthȳnia quicquid, etc. – Meter: elegiac couplet (the first line is obviously incomplete, lacking the first three and a half feet). The subject (*Bīthȳnia*) has been placed before the relative pronoun direct object (*quicquid*).

pēdīcātor – This is an obscenity in Latin, but modern American English does not really have an equivalent insult for 'older man who takes the active sexual role with a younger man'. It is originally from Greek; also spelled *paedīcātor*.

āctiōnēs – Suetonius is presumably quoting insults to Caesar that Dolabella and the elder Curio made during speeches against him in court.

Dolābellae – see §4.1.

Cūriōnis patris – Curio the Elder, Gaius Scribonius Curio, also mentioned in §9.2.

paelicem rēgīnae – *paelex* ordinarily means '(female) concubine', but as the concubine was taking the place of the legitimate wife, it can also mean 'rival'. Lewis and Short identify this use of the genitive as "the genitive of the wronged wife." Applied to a man, the term is extremely insulting, since it suggests he is the low-status passive partner (see note on *pudīcitiae*, above).

spondam ... lectīcae – An insult that uses metonymy, the rhetorical device of substituting one thing for another (like saying "the White House has announced a new policy" instead of "the President has announced"); Caesar was the 'interior bed of the royal litter', i.e., Nicomedes had sex with him in the royal litter. Dolabella was apparently more creative in his insults than was Curio.

dīcunt – Plural because it agrees with the combination of *Dolabella* and *Cūriō*; we would use a singular in English: *Dolabella calls him ... but Curio calls him...*
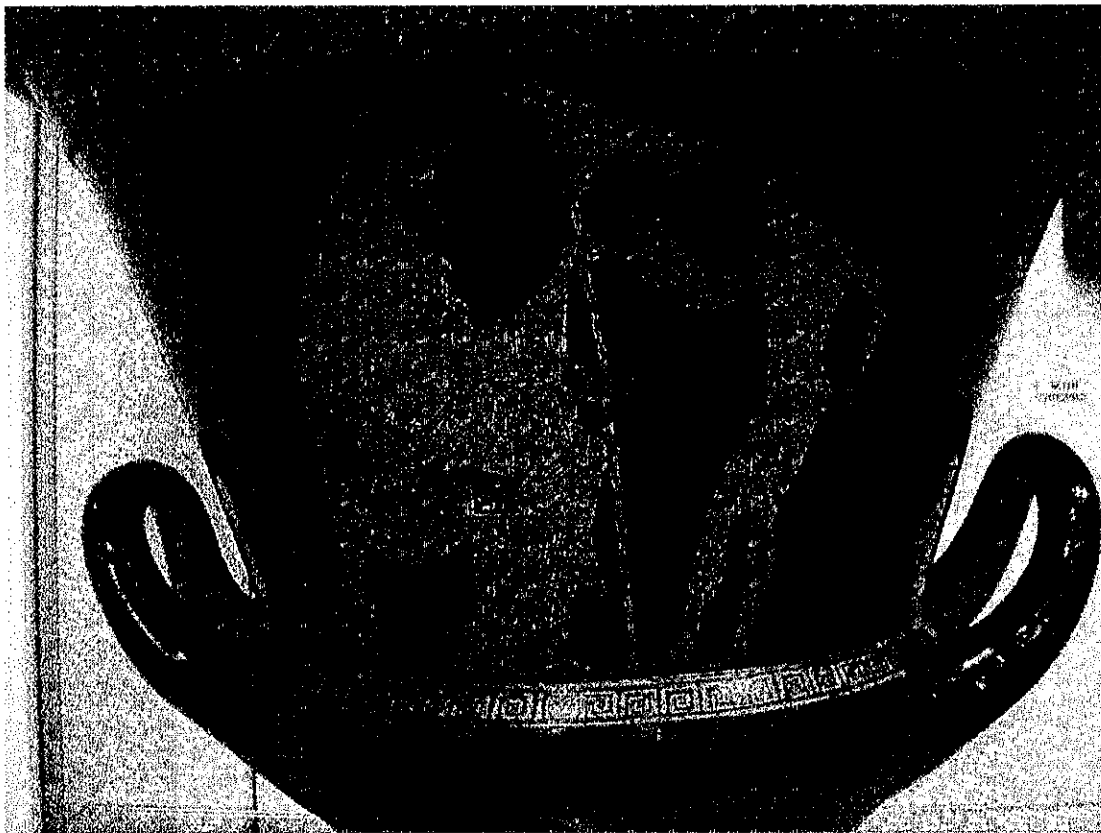
Ganymede acting as Zeus' cupbearer. Attic red figure calyx krater by the Eucharides Painter, c. 490-480 BC. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), Levy-White Collection, L.1999.10.14.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ganymedes_Zeus_MET_L.1999.10.14.jpg
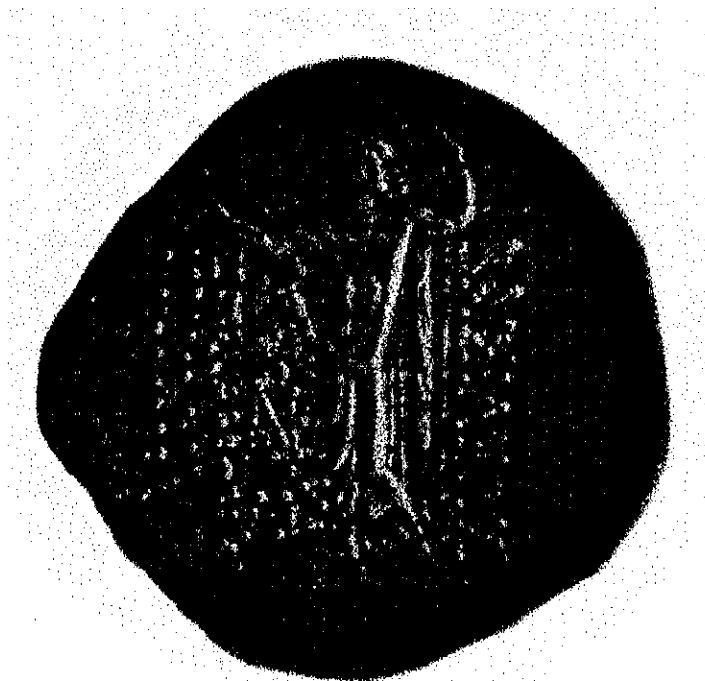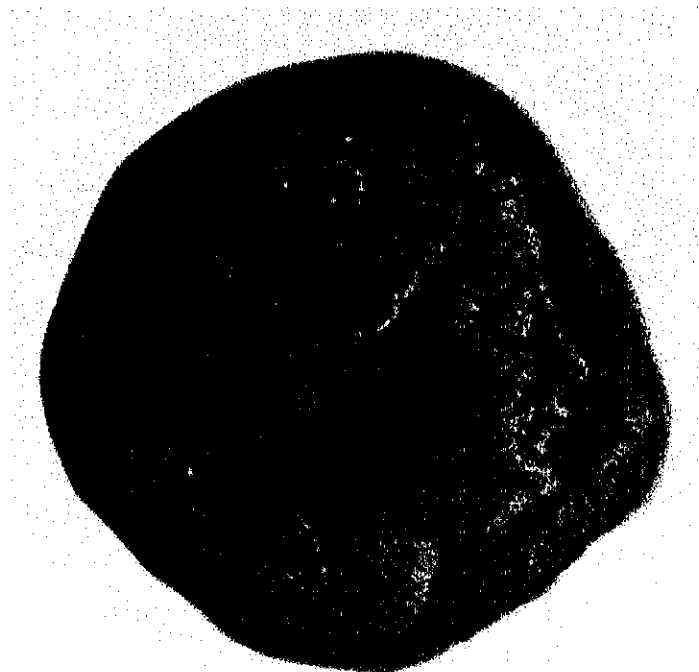
Ancient tetradrachm showing Nicomedes IV Philopater (obverse); he is being crowned by Zeus with his royal name (reverse).

http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.41910

missa faciō ēdicta – *I omit the edicts*, lit. 'I make the edicts omitted'. *missa*, for *omissa*.

Bibulī – Bibulus, Caesar's colleague in the consulship. For his edicts, see §20.1.

quibus – Antecedent is *ēdicta*. Abl. of means, *in which*.

eīque ... rēgnum – Indirect statement after *prōscrīpsit*. In direct speech it would be *rēx anteā eī cordī fuerat, nunc rēgnum erat (eī cordī)*. *eī cordī fuisse* is an example of the so-called 'double dative' construction, consisting of a dative of reference *(eī)* and a dative of purpose *(cordī)*, lit. 'the king had been for a heart for him', i.e., *the king was dear to him, he was fond of the king.*

quō – Connective relative, = *et eō*

Octāvius quīdam – An otherwise unknown man named Octavius (do not confuse him with the future emperor!).

valitūdine mentis – Abl. of cause explaining *līberius dicāx*: *because of mental ill-health.*

līberius dicāx – *līberius* is an example of the so-called 'absolute comparative': *more freely* (sc. *than normal*), *too freely*. Together perhaps 'too outspoken'.

conventū maximō – Abl. of attendant circumstances, *at a very large gathering, at a really crowded party.*

appellāsset – For *appellāvisset.*

ipsum – i.e., Caesar.

C. Memmius – Originally a partisan of Pompey, later a Caesarian. He was the patron of the poet Lucretius, who dedicated to him his epic poem about Epicurean philosophy, *Dē Rērum Nātūrā,* "On the Nature of the Universe."

ad cyathum ... stetisse – Memmius charged that Caesar acted as a cupbearer for Nicomedes. This was an insult on several levels: one, a cupbearer should be a slave, not a freeborn young Roman man; and two, cupbearers were generally assumed to be sexually available to their masters (see note on §49.1, *pudīcitiae*): the classics example is Zeus' cupbearer, Ganymede. There is of course no reason to think that Caesar actually served Nicomedes in the capacity of cupbearer; the story was likely entirely invented as part of the general gossip about Caesar's service in Bithynia, a degrading way of referring to what were actually political duties as an ambassador. *ad cyathum et vīnum,* 'near the ladle and wine', 'at hand for the ladle and wine', appears to be an example of a *hendiadys,* the expression of one idea by two nouns connected with 'and', where 'ladle and wine' is a hendiadys for 'wine-service' or 'cupbearing'. (The text is actually uncertain here, however, and *et vīnum* is an editor's guess about what the manuscripts preserve, the nonsensical *vi,* 'with violence'.)

cum reliquiīs exolētīs – The term *exolētus,* lit. '(young) man who has reached full (sexual) maturity', the participle from the verb *exolēscō,* is used in Latin to describe youths who have relationships with (older) men; it is a term of disapproval. It often, but not necessarily, refers to slaves. Again, there is no reason to think Caesar, whatever his relationship with Nicomedes (and there is no *prima facie* reason to disbelieve that he had a sexual relationship with the king), formed part of some 'retinue of slave boys'. Rhetorical exaggeration by Caesar's enemies.

[49.2] missa etiam faciō ēdicta Bibulī, quibus prōscrīpsit collēgam suum Bīthȳnicam 1
rēgīnam, eīque anteā rēgem fuisse cordī, nunc esse rēgnum. quō tempore, ut Mārcus 2
Brūtus refert, Octāvius etiam quīdam, valitūdine mentis līberius dicāx, conventū maximō, 3
cum Pompēium rēgem appellāsset, ipsum rēgīnam salūtāvit. sed C. Memmius etiam ad 4
cyathum et vīnum Nīcomēdī stetisse obicit, cum reliquīs exolētīs, plēnō convīviō, 5
accubantibus nōnnūllīs urbicīs negōtiātōribus, quōrum refert nōmina. 6

mittō mittere mīsī missus – *to send; let go, dismiss; omit*
ēdictum, ēdictī n. – *edict, proclamation*
prōscrībō prōscrībere prōscrīpsī prōscrīptus – *to publish in writing, announce, proclaim*
collēga, collēgae m. – *colleague* (in political office), *fellow-magistrate*
Bithynicus Bithynica Bithynicum – *Bithynian, of Bithynia*
**rēgīna, rēgīnae f. – *queen*
anteā, adv. – *before, earlier*
cor, cordis n. – *heart;* (in a double dative) *dear*
nunc, adv. – *now*
rēgnum, rēgnī n. – *kingdom; kingship*
**valitūdō, valitūdinis f. – *health; ill-health, illness*
mēns, mentis f. – *mind*
līber lībera līberum – *free*
dicāx, gen. dicācis – *loquacious, witty*
conventus, conventūs m. – *gathering; district court, assize; party*
**appellō appellāre appellāvī appellātus – *to call (by name), name*
salūtō salūtāre salūtāvī salūtātus – *to greet, hail*
cyathus, cyathī m. – *ladle*
vīnum, vīnī n. – *wine*
stō stāre stetī status – *to stand*
obiciō obicere obiēcī obiectus – *to cast up to, lay (a fault) to one's charge, charge*
reliquī reliquae reliqua – *the remaining*
exolētus, exolētī m. – *grown-up favorite, mature youth of questionable morals*
plēnus plēna plēnum – *full, crowded*
convīvium, convīviī n. – *party, drinking-party, banquet*
accubō accubāre accubāvī accubātus – *to recline (at dinner), lie near, attend (a party)*
**nōnnūllī nōnnūllae nōnnūlla – *some*
urbicus urbica urbicum – *of the city, city-, Roman*
negōtiātor, negōtiātōris m. – *businessman, merchant*

plēnō convīviō – Abl. of attendant circumstances, like *conventū maximō* above: *at a crowded party*.

accubantibus ... negōtiātōribus – Abl. abs. This detail has been presented last because it is intended to be the most shocking: Caesar was not only openly having an affair with Nicomedes, but he was doing so in front of high-status Romans (*urbicīs negōtiātōribus*, 'Roman merchants', likely equestrians). Caesar was violating one of the most important rules of how to behave as a Roman man by making a spectacle of himself: a man was not supposed to invite others to look upon him or to consider him as a body, as a physical being to be gazed at. The condemnation seems to reside not so much in the fact itself of his relationship with Nicomedes, but that he let it become visible to other Roman men (cf. the note on *fāmam* in §49.1).

quōrum refert nōmina – Suetonius tried to build up the trustworthiness of his source (Memmius) by explaining that he gives the merchants' names. (If they have names, the story must be true.) Throughout this section, his piling up of sources is intended to erode the reader's (natural) disbelief that Caesar could have acted in this way.

20

[49.3] Cicerō vērō nōn contentus in quibusdam epistulīs scrīpsisse ā satellitibus eum in   1
cubiculum rēgium ēductum in aureō lectō veste purpureā dēcubuisse flōremque aetātis ā   2
Venere ortī in Bīthȳniā contāminātum, quondam etiam in senātū dēfendentī eī Nȳsae   3
causam, fīliae Nīcomēdis, beneficiaque rēgis in sē commemorantī: 'removē,' inquit,   4
'istaec, ōrō tē, quandō nōtum est, et quid ille tibi et quid illī tūte dederis.'   5

**vērō, postpositive conj. and adv. – *truly, in fact,
indeed; but in fact, but indeed*
contentus contenta contentum – *satisfied, content*
epistula, epistulae f. – *letter*
satelles, satellitis m./f. – *attendant, follower*
cubiculum, cubiculī n. – *bedroom, bedchamber*
**rēgius rēgia rēgium – *royal, kingly, king's*
ēdūcō ēdūcere ēdūxī ēductus – *to lead out; escort*
aureus aurea aureum – *gold, golden, made of gold*
lectus, lectī m. – *bed, couch*
vestis, vestis f. (i-stem) – *clothes, clothing; garment*
purpureus purpurea purpureum – *purple, scarlet*
dēcumbō dēcumbere dēcubuī dēcubitus – *to lie down,
recline*
flōs, flōris m. – *flower*
**aetās, aetātis f. – *age; time of life; life, lifetime*
ortus orta ortum – *descended from*
Venus, Veneris f. – *Venus*, goddess of love
contāminō contāmināre contāmināvī contāminātus –

to despoil, defile*
**quondam, adv. – *once, some time ago, formerly*
dēfendō dēfendere dēfendī dēfēnsus – *to defend;
champion; support*
Nysa, Nysae f. – *Nysa*
Nīcomēdes, Nīcomēdis m. – *Nicomedes*
beneficium, beneficiī n. – *kindness, act of kindess*
commemorō commemorāre commemorāvī
commemorātus – *to mention, recall, relate*
removeō removēre remōvī remōtus – *to remove, put
out of sight, veil*
-ce, deictic enclitic particle – *there, here*
ōrō ōrāre ōrāvī ōrātus – *to beg, ask*
tū tuī tibi tē tē, 2nd person sing. pronoun – *you*
quandō, conj. – *since, because*
nōtus nōta nōtum – *well-known, famous*
quis, quid, interrogative pron. – *who, what*
tūte = tū (intensive)

Cicerō – Marcus Tullius Cicero, the famous statesman and orator. He expresses himself with great wit on the subject of Mark Antony's *impudīcitia* in the Philippics, as well.

scrīpsisse – Take with *contentus*.

rēgium – Note that this is the acc. sg. n. of the adj. *rēgius –a –um*, not the gen. pl. of *rēx, rēgis*, which would be *rēgum*.

ortī – sc. *Caesaris*. This whole phrase reads *that the youth of a man descended from Venus had been corrupted*.

ā Venere – Abl. of source or origin with *ortī*.

contāminātum – sc. *esse*, a second verb in indirect statement after *scrīpsisse*.

istaec – Here, as often, used contemptuously. When *ista* (nom./acc. pl. n.) combines with the enclitic particle –ce at the end of the word, it becomes *istaec* (cf. *haec*), 'these things here'.

tūte – An emphatic form of the pronoun *tū*.

[49.4] Gallicō dēnique triumphō mīlitēs eius inter cētera carmina, quālia currum   1
prōsequentēs ioculāriter canunt, etiam illud vulgātissimum prōnūntiāvērunt: 2
      Galliās Caesar subēgit, Nīcomēdes Caesarem: 3
      ecce Caesar nunc triumphat quī subēgit Galliās,   4
      Nīcomēdes nōn triumphat quī subēgit Caesarem.   5

    **Gallicus Gallica Gallicum – *of or relating to Gaul, Gallic*
    dēnique, adv. – *finally*
    **triumphus, triumphī m. – *triumph*, parade in honor of a victorious general
    carmen, carminis n. – *poem, song*
    quālis quālis quāle – *which sort, of which kind, the kind which*
    currus, currūs m. – *chariot*
    prōsequor, prōsequī, prōsecūtus sum – *to escort, attend*
    ioculāris ioculāris ioculāre – *joking, jocular*
    canō canere cecinī cantus – *to sing, play; chant, recite*
    vulgātus vulgāta vulgātum – *common, well-known, notorious*
    prōnūntiō prōnūntiāre prōnūntiāvī prōnūntiātus – *to proclaim, recite; pronounce, announce, state*
    Gallia, Galliae f. – *Gaul*
    Caesar, Caesaris m. – *(Gaius Julius) Caesar*
    subigō subigere subēgī subāctus – *to drive into submission, subdue, conquer*
    Nīcomēdes, Nīcomēdis m. – *Nicomedes*
    ecce, interj. – *look! lo!*
    nunc, adv. – *now*
    triumphō triumphāre triumphāvī triumphātus – *to triumph, to celebrate a triumph*

Gallicō ... triumphō – On Caesar's triumphs, see also §37; cf. the song quoted in §51. It was the custom at Roman triumphs for the victorious general to be reminded of his humanity in various ways, such as by his troops' singing of such songs as this to poke fun at him. 'Bringing the general down a peg' like this would serve an apotropaic function; it would avert any ill-will (or evil spirits) that might be lurking about him at such a time. Cf. also the custom of having a slave whisper to the general *mementō morī*, 'remember that you are mortal'.

illud vulgātissimum – sc. *carmen*. Note that *vulgātus* does not mean 'vulgar, obscene', but is already tending in that direction semantically, since that which the crowd loves/knows is this low-class joke about Caesar's sex life.

Galliās Caesar, etc. – The meter of this little ditty is trochaic tetrameter catalectic, well-suited for marching soldiers.

Galliās – It is usual in Latin to refer to "the Gauls" in the plural, because then one includes both Cis- and Transalpine Gaul.

Galiās ... Caesarem: Note the poetic word order. There is a chiasmus (ABBA): *Galliās* (acc.) – *Caesar* (nom.) :: *Nīcomēdes* (nom.) – *Caesarem* (acc.), with the verb placed in between (ANVNA). Chiasmuses are often used (as here) to draw a contrast between the two; the ellipsis of the verb in the second phrase gives stronger point to the contrast between what Caesar did and what Nicomedes did, which is of course the heart of the joke.

prōnum ... fuisse – Indirect statement dependent upon *opīniō est.*

libīdinēs – His desire to have sex with unavailable women (such as other Roman men's wives). This is not a positive trait for the Romans; committing adultery with other Roman men's wives denotes a lack of self-control and thus a lack of manliness.

in quibus – sc. *corrūpit, among whom (he seduced)* ...

Servī Sulpicī, Aulī Gabīnī, Mārcī Crassī, Cn. (Gnaeī) Pompeī – *wife of...*

etiam Cn. Pompeī Mūciam – This name is the culmination of the list, delayed until last to heighten the effect of scandal. Note also the switch in word order.

Pompēiō ... exprobrātum est, quod – *both the Curios, father and son, and many (others) reproached Pompey because* ... ; lit. *it was noted as a reproach to Pompey that...* The subject of the verb is the *quod* clause; *Pompēiō* is a dat. of reference.

cuius causā... eius fīliam – lit. 'for whose sake... that man's daughter'. The use of the relative pronoun to refer to an antecedent that has not yet occurred in the sentence is called *prolepsis.* You may wish to rearrange the clauses in English to make the referent more clear.

post trēs līberōs exēgisset uxōrem – Pompey divorced his wife Mucia because of her affair with Caesar even though they had three children together. A falling birthrate among the upper classes was a concern to the Romans, and there were special honors accorded to a senator who had had three children. Childlessness was an accepted reason for divorce, but Pompey's actions here are surprising.

quem – Again, its antecedent is the upcoming *eius.*

Aegisthum – Aegisthus in Greek mythology was the lover of Clytemnestra, the wife of Agamemnon, high king of Mycenae. While Agamemnon was off leading the Greeks against the Trojans, Clytemnestra and Aegisthus had an affair and Aegisthus usurped Agamemnon's place as king. When Agamemnon finally returned (with Cassandra, the Trojan princess and prophetess, as a slave), Clytemnestra and Aegisthus murdered him in his bath. These events are related in Aeschylus' tragedy *Agamemnon*, part one of the Oresteia. Aegisthus is portrayed as effeminate, unmanly, and unable to control himself.

cōnsuēsset – Syncopated form of *cōnsuēvisset.*

potentiae cupiditāte – *out of a desire for power. potentiae* is objective genitive, *cupiditāte* abl. of cause.

exēgisset, cōnsuēsset, recēpisset – Subjunctive in virtual indirect statement, giving the reason for which people reproached Pompey, *(they said that) he* ...

[50.1] prōnum et sūmptuōsum in libīdinēs fuisse cōnstāns opīniō est, plūrimāsque et   1
illūstrēs fēminās corrūpisse, in quibus Postumiam Servī Sulpicī, Lolliam Aulī Gabīnī,   2
Tertullam Mārcī Crassī, etiam Cn. Pompeī Mūciam. nam certē Pompēiō et ā Cūriōnibus   3
patre et fīliō et ā multīs exprobrātum est, quod cuius causā post trēs līberōs exēgisset   4
uxōrem et quem gemēns Aegisthum appellāre cōnsuēsset, eius posteā fīliam potentiae   5
cupiditāte in mātrimōnium recēpisset.   6

    prōnus prōna prōnum – *inclined toward, prone to*
    sūmptuōsus sūmptuōsa sūmptuōsum – *lavish, extravagant*
    libīdō, libīdinis f. – *lust, sexual desire, pleasure*
    cōnstāns, gen. cōnstantis – *constant; frequent; continual, unrelenting*
    opīniō, opīniōnis f. – *opinion, belief*
    **plūrimī plūrimae plūrima (superl. of *multī*) – *very many, most*
    illūstris illūstris illūstre – *famous, prominent*
    fēmina, fēminae f. – *woman, lady; wife*
    corrumpō corrumpere corrūpī corrūptus – *to corrupt, seduce*
    certē, adv. – *certainly, surely*
    fīlius, fīliī m. – *son*
    exprobrō exprobrāre exprobrāvī exprobrātus – *to find fault with; blame, censure; complain*
    quod, conj. – *because, (for the fact) that*
    causā, postposition + gen. – *for the sake of*
    līberī, līberōrum m.pl. – *children*
    exigō exigere exēgī exāctus – *to consider, estimate, judge; drive out, divorce*
    gemō gemere gemuī gemitus – *to groan, sigh*
    **appellō appellāre appellāvī appellātus – *to call (by name), name*
    cōnsuēscō cōnsuēscere cōnsuēvī cōnsuētus – *to become accustomed to, get used to*
    posteā, adv. – *afterwards, later*
    potentia, potentiae f. – *power*
    cupiditās, cupiditātis f. – *cupidity, desire*
    mātrimōnium, -ī n. – *matrimony, marriage; married woman*
    **recipiō recipere recēpī receptus – *to take back; receive, welcome*

ante aliās – *i.e.*, more than anyone else

dīlēxit – *he loved, he esteemed. dīligō* is usually reserved for (respectable) familial love, as of a father for a son, while *amō* is for passionate, romantic, sexual love.

Servīliam – the half-sister of Cato the Younger. This partiality that Caesar had for her has led to some incorrect assumptions that Caesar was the father of Brutus, but the chronology hardly makes sense.

proximō suō cōnsulātū – *in his nearest* (i.e., first) *consulship*

sexāgiēns sēsterium – *worth 6 million sesterces*, gen of description. HS 6,000,000 (HS is the abbreviation for sesterces; you multiply the given figure by an implied 100,000 times) is approximately $9 million today. It is difficult to convert exactly when the purchasing power of money has changed so much; a better comparison might be that Crassus, the richest man in Caesar's Rome, was said to have had estates worth 200 million sesterces: this one pearl was more than 3% of Crassus' total wealth.

ex auctiōnibus hastae – *from the state auctions*; the *hasta* (spear) is a symbol of ownership. These would be estates confiscated from enemies during the civil war.

minimō – *for a very low price, for very little*; abl. of price

plērīsque vīlitātem mīrantibus –Abl. abs., *with most people being amazed at the cheapness (of the purchase)*

facētissimē Cicerō – For another example of Cicero's anti-Caesarian wit, see §49.3.

quō melius ēmptum sciātis – *so that you may know it was a better purchase*; when a purpose clause contains a comparative adj. or adv. (*melius*, 'better'), it is generally introduced by *quō* rather than *ut*. Supply *esse* with *ēmptum*: *that it was purchased*

tertia dēducta – sc. *est*, 'a third (of the price) was withdrawn'. The joke, however, is that Servilia had a daughter named Tertia ("Third"), and *dēducta* (sc. *in mātrimōnium* or *in stuprum*) could also mean 'made his mistress'.

exīstimābātur – Difficult to believe any woman would happily send her own daughter to the man she's been having an affair with for years, but such was the story.

[50.2] sed ante aliās dīlēxit Mārcī Brūtī mātrem Servīliam, cui et proximō suō cōnsulātū 1
sexāgiēns sēstertium margarītam mercātus est et bellō cīvīlī super aliās dōnātiōnēs 2
amplissima praedia ex auctiōnibus hastae minimō addīxit; cum quidem plērīsque vīlitātem 3
mīrantibus facētissimē Cicerō: *'quō melius,'* inquit, *'ēmptum sciātis, tertia dēducta'*; 4
exīstimābātur enim Servīlia etiam fīliam suam Tertiam Caesarī conciliāre. 5

ante, prep. + acc. – *in front of, before*
dīligō dīligere dīlexī dīlectus – *to esteem, like, love, care for*
**māter, mātris f. – *mother*
proximus proxima proximum – *nearest, closest; next, adjoining; occurring soon after*
**cōnsulātus, cōnsulātūs m. – *consulship*
sexāgiēns, adv. – *sixty times*
sēstertius, sēstertiī m. (gen. pl. sestertium) – *sesterce*
margarīta, margarītae f. – *pearl*
mercor, mercārī, mercātus sum – *to purchase*
**bellum, bellī n. – *war*
cīvīlis cīvīlis cīvīle – *civil*
super, prep. + acc. – *over, above; in addition to*
dōnātiō, dōnātiōnis f. – *gift, present*
**amplus ampla amplum – *ample, full; great, grand; high; large, spacious*
praedium, praediī n. – *estate, farm*
auctiō hastae, -ōnis hastae f. – *state auction*
minimus minima minimum (superl. of *parvus*) – *very little, smallest, least*
addīcō addīcere addīxī addictus – *to assign, sell*
plērīque plēraeque plēraque – *most, a good many, the majority*
vīlitās, vīlitātis f. – *cheapness*
mīror, mīrārī, mīrātus sum – *to wonder at, admire*
facētus facēta facētum – *eloquent, witty*
**quō, conj. + subj. (+ comparative) – *so that, in order to*
bonus bona bonum – *good*
emō emere ēmī ēmptus – *to buy*
**quō, conj. + subj. (+ comparative) – *so that, in order to*
tertia (sc. pars), tertiae f. – *a third*
**dēdūcō dēdūcere dēdūxī dēductus – *to lead down; bring down, pull down, lower; launch* (a boat, a fleet);
    found, settle, plant (a colony, colonists); *to reduce, remove; escort*
exīstimō exīstimāre exīstimāvī exīstimātus – *to think, suppose, judge, deem*
**enim, postpositive conj. – *for, indeed*
conciliō conciliāre conciliāvī conciliātus – *to bring together, unite*

[51] nē prōvinciālibus quidem mātrimōniīs abstinuisse vel hōc distichō appāret iactātō   1
aequē a mīlitibus per Gallicum triumphum: 2

urbānī, servāte uxōrēs: moechum calvom addūcimus.   3
aurum in Galliā effutuistī, hīc sūmpsistī mūtuum.   4

**nē ... quidem, adv. – *not even*
prōvinciālis prōvinciālis prōvinciāle – *provincial*
mātrimōnium, -ī n. – *matrimony, marriage; married woman*
abstineō abstinēre abstinuī abstentus + abl. – *to abstain, keep free (from); refrain from*
vel, adv. – *even, indeed, certainly*
distichus, distichī m. – *distich, two-line verse*
appāreō appārēre appāruī appāritus – *to be apparent, be clear; appear*
iactō iactāre iactāvī iactātus – *to toss about, utter; to boast, vaunt*
aequē, adv. – *equally, in the same way*
**Gallicus Gallica Gallicum – *of or relating to Gaul, Gallic*
**triumphus, triumphī m. – *triumph*, parade in honor of a victorious general
urbānus urbāna urbānum – *of or relating to the city; witty, sophisticated, urbane*
servō servāre servāvī servātus – *to guard, protect*
moechus, moechī m. – *adulterer, womanizer*
calvus calva calvum – *bald*
addūcō addūcere addūxī adductus – *to escort, lead*
aurum, aurī n. – *gold*
effutuō effutuere effutuī effutūtus – *to squander [money] on love affairs*
hīc, adv. – *here*
sūmō sūmere sūmpsī sūmptus – *to take up, undertake*
mūtuum, mūtuī n. – *a loan*

mātrimōniīs – Clearly this cannot mean that Caesar did not keep away from provincial marriages; in context, it must mean that he also had affairs with provincial married women. This use of *mātrimōnia* to mean 'wives' is post-Augustan (cf. *servitia* in §47).

abstinuisse – sc. *Caesarem*; acc. + inf. after *appāret*, 'it is clear that'

aequē – i.e., just like the one quoted in §49.4.

urbānī, etc. – Meter is again trochaic tetrameter catalectic. *urbānī*, substantive, *men of the city, Romans*.

moechum – *moechus* is the common, everyday Latin word for 'adulterer', whereas *adulter* is a term from legal language. Cicero, for example, avoids *moechus* in his speeches. It is not surprising that it would be the term used by Caesar's men.

calvom – For *calvum*. The second declension originally had –o– as a theme vowel in all of its endings (think of the ablative singular –ō or genitive plural –ōrum or accusative plural –ōs), but that later weakened to –u– in the nominative and accusative singular. The –o– was preserved after –v– into the 1st c. CE. On Caesar's baldness, see §45.2.

Antony and Cleopatra, Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, 1883

Cleopatra, having taken along only Apollodorus the Sicilian out of her friends, having gotten into a little boat, brought it near to the palace when it was already growing dark. Since there was no other way to escape people's notice, she had herself wrapped up in some bed-linens, stretched out to her full length, and then Apollodorus, after tying the roll with a leather strap, brought the linens into the palace to Caesar. And he is said to have been ensnared first by this trick of Cleopatra's, since it showed how flirtatious she was, so, succumbing to desire for more of her company and charm, he reconciled her to her brother so that she would rule with him.

--Plutarch, *Life* of Julius Caesar, 49.1-2

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et – *also*, i.e., in addition to the Roman women he had affairs with

regīnās – foreign (non-Roman) queens

Bogudis – Bogud, a North African king, whom Caesar supported against Juba.

cui, etc. – Caesar gave great gifts to both Eunoe and Bogus

Cleopatram – sc. *dīlēxit*

eādem nāve thalamēgō – *in the same state barge*; a *thalamēgus* (a Greek word) was a barge with various cabins used on the Nile

Aethiopiā tenus – *tenus* is a postposition, i.e., its object comes before it, not after.

penetrāvit – *he would have gone into*; indicative here instead of *penetrāvisset*, subjunctive

recūsāsset – Syncopated form of *recusāvisset*.

quam – Cleopatra

quam ... accītam ... auctam remīsit – *and after she had been summoned ... he increased her ... and sent her back.* Latin prefers to subordinate a main verb and a participle where English prefers to coordinate main verbs.

nōn nisi – Lit. 'not except (with)', but this is *litotes*, rhetorical understatement, and therefore something more like *definitely (with)*.

passus est – Lit. 'he suffered', but in Latin as in English, 'to suffer someone to do something' is to *allow* them to do that. Tr. *he allowed (Cleopatra)*. This son was named Caesarion, 'little Caesar'; he was later killed as a young man on the orders of Augustus.

[52.1] dīlēxit et rēgīnās, inter quās Eunoēn Mauram Bogudis uxōrem, cui marītōque eius   1
plūrima et immēnsa tribuit, ut Nāsō scrīpsit; sed maximē Cleopatram, cum quā et convīvia   2
in prīmam lūcem saepe prōtrāxit et eādem nāve thalamēgō paene Aethiopiā tenus   3
Aegyptum penetrāvit, nisi exercitus sequī recūsāsset, quam dēnique accītam in urbem nōn   4
nisi maximīs honōribus praemiīsque auctam remīsit fīliumque nātum appellāre nōmine   5
suō passus est.   6

diligō dīligere dīlexī dīlectus – *to esteem, like, love, care for*
**rēgīna, rēgīnae f. – *queen*
Eunoē, Eunoēs f. – *Eunoe*
Maurus Maura Maurum – *Moorish, northern African*
Bogud, Bogudis m. – *Bogud*
marītus, marītī m. – *husband*
immēnsus immēnsa immēnsum – *immense, huge, boundless, vast; measureless*
tribuō tribuere tribuī tribūtus – *to attribute; give, grant*
**maximē, adv. – *very greatly; especially, most*
convīvium, -ī n. – *party, drinking-party, banquet*
lūx, lūcis f. – *light*
prōtrahō prōtrahere prōtrāxī prōtrāctus – *to protract, drag out; extend*
**nāvis, nāvis f. (i-stem) – *ship*
thalamēgus, thalamēgī m. -- *a state-barge fitted up with cabins*
**paene, adv. – *almost, nearly*
tenus, postposition + abl. – *as far as, up to*
**penetrō penetrāre penetrāvī penetrātus – *to enter into, penetrate; reach*
**nisi, conj. – *if ... not, unless; except if; except, but that, save*
exercitus, exercitūs m. – *army*
**sequor, sequī, secūtus sum – *to follow*
recūsō recūsāre recūsāvī recūsātus – *to refuse, deny; object*
dēnique, adv. – *finally*
acciō accīre accīvī accītus – *to call, summon*
urbs, urbis f. (i-stem) – *city; the city, Rome*
praemium, praemiī n. – *reward, prize; bribe*
augeō augēre auxī auctus – *to increase, augment*
remittō remittere remīsī remissus – *to send back; remit, give a break from, suspend*
fīlius, fīliī m. – *son*
nāscor, nāscī, nātus sum – *to be born*
**appellō appellāre appellāvī appellātus – *to call (by name), name*
**patior, patī, passus sum – *to suffer, endure; permit, allow*

[52.2] quem quidem nōnnūllī Graecōrum similem quoque Caesarī et fōrmā et incessū trādidērunt. M. Antōnius adgnitum etiam ab eō senātuī adfīrmāvit, quae scīre C. Matium et C. Oppium reliquōsque Caesaris amīcōs; quōrum Gaius Oppius, quasi plānē dēfēnsiōne ac patrōciniō rēs egēret, librum ēdidit, nōn esse Caesaris fīlium, quem Cleopatra dīcat.

And in fact some Greeks have reported that he was similar also to Caesar in appearance and gait. Marc Antony swore to the senate that Caesar had acknowledged the child, and he said that Gaius Matius and Gaius Oppius and all of Caesar's other friends knew about it. One of these friends, Gaius Oppius, acting as if the matter was clearly in need of defense and patronage, released a book saying that that the child was not the son of Caesar, as Cleopatra said.

[52.3] Helvius Cinna tr. pl. plērīsque cōnfessus est habuisse sē scrīptam parātamque lēgem, quam Caesar ferre iussisset cum ipse abesset, utī uxōrēs līberōrum quaerendōrum causā quās et quot vellet dūcere licēret. at nē cui dubium omnīnō sit et impudīcitiae et adulteriōrum flagrāsse īnfāmiā, Cūriō pater quādam eum ōrātiōne omnium mulierum virum et omnium virōrum mulierem appellat.

Helvius Cinna, the tribune of the plebs, confessed to several people that he had had a law written and prepared, which Caesar had ordered him to propose when he was not there, allowing Caesar to marry any wives at all – whomever and however many he wanted – for the purpose of having legitimate children. But so that no one can have any doubt at all that he had a terrible reputation for immorality and adultery, the elder Curio in a speech calls him 'every woman's man and every man's woman'.

[53] vīnī parcissimum nē inimīcī quidem negāvērunt. Mārcī Catōnis est: ūnum ex omnibus 1
Caesarem ad ēvertendam rem pūblicam sōbrium accessisse. nam circā victum Gaius 2
Oppius adeō indifferentem docet, ut quondam ab hospite conditum oleum prō viridī 3
adpositum aspernantibus cēteris sōlum etiam largius appetīsse scrībat, nē hospitem aut 4
neglegentiae aut rūsticitātis vidērētur arguere. 5

vīnum, vīnī n. – *wine*
parcus parca parcum – *sparing, abstemious, frugal*
**nē ... quidem, adv. – *not even*
**inimīcus, inimīcī m. – *(personal) enemy*
**negō negāre negāvī negātus – *to deny, say ... not; refuse*
ēvertō ēvertere ēvertī ēversus – *to overturn, overthrow*
**rēs pūblica, reī pūblicae f. – *the (Roman) state, the (Roman) republic*
sōbrius sōbria sōbrium – *sober*
accēdō accēdere accessī accessūrus – *to go toward, approach, come near; enter (upon), undertake*
victus, victūs m. – *victuals; food*
**adeō, adv. – *so, so much, so greatly, to such an extent*
indifferēns, gen. indifferentis – *indifferent, uncaring, uninterested*
doceō docēre docuī doctus – *to teach; inform*
**quondam, adv. – *once, some time ago, formerly*
hospes, hospitis m. – *guest; host*

condō condere condidī conditus – *to preserve, pickle, store*
oleum, oleī n. – *(olive) oil*
viridis viridis viride – *green; fresh*
adpōnō adpōnere adposuī adpositus – *to place before, serve*
aspernō aspernere asprēvī asprētus – *to spurn, reject*
sōlus sōla sōlum – *alone, only*
largus larga largum – *abundant, hearty*
appetō appetere appetīvī appetītus – *to lay hold of, seek out; eat, have an appetite for*
**aut ... aut, conj. – *either ... or*
neglegentia, neglegentiae f. – *negligence, neglectfulness*
rūsticitās, rūsticitātis f. – *rusticity, lack of sophistication, ill-manners*
arguō –ere –uī –ūtus – *to accuse, charge (+ acc. of person and gen. of charge)*

vīnī parcissimum – *abstemious in drinking*, lit. 'most sparing of wine'; supply *that Caesar was*

nē ... quidem – These words always surround the word(s) they modify: 'not X even', whereas in English we say 'not even X'.

Mārcī Catōnis est – sc. *dictum* or *verbum*; *there is a saying of Cato*

ūnum ex omnibus Caesarem – *Caesar was the only person who...*, lit. 'Caesar alone of everyone' Latin does not use the "cleft" construction (it was x who/which did something) with the frequency of English, preferring to use flexible word order instead to emphasize.

sōbrium – predicative, *while sober*

indifferentem – sc. *fuisse*, 'that he was indifferent'

quondam ... appetīsse – Indirect statement dependent on *scrībat*.

ab hospite conditum oleum prō viridī adpositum – Spoiled olive oil was accidentally served by Caesar's host in place of fresh. <u>Christopher Pelling thinks that this refers to perfumed oil instead.</u>

aspernantibus cēteris – Abl. abs.

sōlum – Emphatic, like *ūnum ex omnibus Caesarem*, above: *he was the only one who ...*

etiam largius – *even more heartily*

EXERCISES

45.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. Describe Caesar's physical appearance, according to Suetonius.
2. What was Caesar's health like in general?
3. What health complaints did Caesar suffer from towards the end of his life?
4. What was the 'comitial disease'? How did the Romans view it?
5. How often did Caesar suffer an attack of this disease while conducting public business?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. altusne erat Caesar, an brevis?
2. quid in vultū eius erat īnsignis?
3. aegriorne erat Caesar, an sānior?
4. cum iam fīnī vītae appropinquāret Caesar, quōmodo nōn iam erat prosperā sānitāte?
5. quid facere oportuit Rōmānōs, sī quis comitiālī morbō correptus est, cum rēs pūblicae agerentur?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Who is the subject of *trāditur*?
2. Explain the difference between the ablative of description and the genitive of description.
3. What use of the ablative is *tempore extrēmō*?
4. Parse *linquī*.
5. What use of the ablative is *comitiālī morbō*?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar was of tall stature.
2. Caesar was a man of great dignity.
3. Caesar would often faint.
4. I am often troubled by nightmares.
5. Caesar had seizures twice while conducting public business.

E. Extension

Look up portraits of Caesar from busts and coins. (A great place to look is http://www.humanities.mq.edu.au/acans/caesar/Portraits_Coins.htm from Macquarie University in Australia.) How do these portraits compare to Suetonius' description of Caesar? Are there any notable differences? How might you explain that?

45.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. How does Suetonius describe Caesar's grooming habits?
2. What were the usual Roman male practices regarding depilation (hair removal)? How does that compare to Caesar's habits?
3. What would be the general Roman opinion of Caesar's habits regarding depilation?
4. What two things, according to Suetonius, did Caesar try to do to cover his baldness?
5. What is the difference between *iūra* that Caesar *recēpit* and those he *usurpāvit?*
6. Do you believe the explanation given regarding the laurel wreath? Why/not?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quibus modīs Caesar corpus sibi cūrābat?
2. placuitne hic Caesaris habitus omnibus Rōmānīs?
3. unde crīnēs virī Rōmānī dēmere solēbant? unde Caesar?
4. dē cūrā corporis, Caesar sē magis modō masculīnō an fēminīnō gessit, secundum Rōmānōs?
5. cūr Caesar corōnam lauream gerere solēbat?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What is the object of *circā?*
2. Why is *exprobrāvērunt* not subjunctive?
3. What case is *iocīs*, and why?
4. Parse *obnoxiam.*
5. Explain the form and use of *gerendae.*

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar was rather particular about his grooming.
2. People said that Caesar was rather particular about his grooming.
3. Suetonius says that Caesar was rather particular about his grooming.
4. Caesar was very happy to receive the right to wear the laurel crown.
5. People say that Caesar was very happy to wear the laurel crown.

45.3

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What theme is Suetonius continuing from §45.2? What word does he use to signal the transition and why?
2. What three pieces of 'evidence' for this trait does he mention?
3. How did Sulla refer to Caesar once? Why do you think he said this? Consider the political context.
4. Does the description given here of Caesar surprise you at all? Why/not? What impact do you think it had on his contemporaries' views of him?
5. Grooming habits are very culture- and time-specific. What practices today in men's or women's grooming styles can you think of that are considered similarly *nōtābilis*?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quibus modīs erat Caesar cultū notābilis?
2. quibus hominibus lātum clāvum gerere licuit?
3. quālēs hominēs Rōmae lātum clāvum ad manum fimbriātum gerere solēbant?
4. placuitnes hic Caesar cultus omnēs Rōmānōs?
5. fere quot annōs nātus erat Caesar, Sullā dē Caesare optimātēs admonente?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Why does *cultū* not follow a preposition?
2. What case is *lātō clāvō*, and why?
3. Parse *admonentis*.
4. What use of the subjunctive is *cavērent*?
5. What case is *flūxiōre cinctūrā*, and why?

D. in Latīnum reddenda:

1. People say that he was unusual in his attire. (Write this in at least three ways!)
2. Caesar used to wear a long-sleeved, fringed tunic with an inappropriately (= 'quite') loose belt.
3. Sulla used to advise the Optimates that they should beware the badly-belted boy.

46

A. Comprehension Questions

1. Where did Caesar live at the beginning of his career?
2. What does his choice of address tell us?
3. Where did Caesar move to upon becoming pontifex maximus?
4. What happened to Caesar's villa at Nemi? What does Suetonius think this tells about Caesar's character?
5. What further example does Suetonius give in this section of this trait of Caesar?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. ubi habitāvit Caesar?
2. cūr habitāvit Caesar domō pūblicā?
3. ubi erat illa domus?
4. quandō dīruit Caesar vīllam suam Nemorēnsem?
5. quid Caesar sēcum in expedītiōnibus circumferēbat?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Decline *domus* (remember that it is irregular!).
2. Parse *munditiārum*.
3. What use of the ablative is *magnō sūmptū*?
4. When is the subjunctive used in subordinate clauses in indirect discourse? When is the indicative used?
5. Parse *circumtulisse*.

D. in Latīna reddenda

1. When he was still poor and in debt, Caesar lived in a modest house in the Subura.
2. After he became chief pontiff, Caesar lived in the official residence.
3. The chief pontiff lived in the official residence on the Sacred Way.
4. The house wasn't precisely what Caesar had in mind.
5. The house wasn't precisely what I had in mind.

A. Comprehension Questions

1. To what did many people attribute Caesar's desire to invade Britain? How likely is this as an explanation? Why did they say it?
2. What does this accusation suggest about how they viewed Caesar? (Hint: who was supposed to like *margarītae?*)
3. What sorts of things did Caesar like to buy?
4. What kinds of slaves did Caesar like to buy?
5. How did Caesar feel about these purchases of slaves? How does Suetonius prove that?
6. What parallel does Suetonius draw between Caesar's purchases in #3 and #4? How does his use of the word *servitia* strengthen that parallel?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quid spērābat Caesar sē in Britanniā inventūrum esse?
2. quomodō hās mētiēbātur Caesar?
3. suntne multae margarītae in Britanniā?
4. quae ēmit Caesar libenter?
5. cūr nōn intulit Caesar quōsdam servōs ratiōnibus?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What kind of ablative is *spē?*
2. What kind of genitive is *margarītārum?*
3. **quārum ... exēgisse:** How can we tell that this relative clause was part of Suetonius' original source and not his own belief?
4. What kind of ablative is *immēnsō pretiō?* What is the difference between this construction and the genitive of value?
5. Parse *cuius*.
6. Parse *vetāret*.

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar invaded Britain.
2. He invaded Britain because he hoped to find pearls. (Four words!)
3. He was an avid collector of ancient paintings.
4. He bought certain slaves for an immense price.
5. He was so ashamed that he forbade it to be entered in the accounts.

48

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What dining habit of Caesar's was also derided as arising from his too-great fondness for luxury? Where did he exhibit this habit? (Why is that significant?)
2. Who would dine in one of the rooms? In the other?
3. How does Suetonius characterize Caesar in terms of household management?
4. What two examples does he give to support this characterization?
5. How does Caesar's *disciplīna domestica* as described here compare to his management of *disciplīna* in the army (see §65, §67)?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quot triclīnia sibi habuit Caesar?
2. quī erant *sagātī? palliātī? togātī? illūstrēs prōvinciārum?*
3. eandemne disciplīnam rēxit Caesar parvīs ac maiōribus rēbus?
4. cūr quondam Caesar pīstōrem compedibus vīnxit?
5. cūr quondam Caesar lībertum sibi grātissimum necāvit?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What kind of ablative is *duōbus triclīniīs?*
2. Why does Suetonius use the word *discumberent* instead of any of the other compounds of **cumbō* (e.g., *accumbō*)?
3. What use of the subjunctive is *vīnxerit?* What does the tense tell us?
4. Parse *convīvīs.*
5. How would Ciceronian Latin write a phrase like *quamvīs nūllō querente?*

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar had dinner parties throughout the provinces.
2. Caesar maintained strict management of his household.
3. Caesar bound a baker in chains because he served different food to Caesar and his guests.
4. Although no one was complaining, Caesar still killed a freedman who slept with the wife of a Roman equestrian. (At least two ways.)

49.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. Explain what *pudīcitia* meant to the Romans. How was it different for men and women?
2. What story was widely circulated about Caesar and King Nicomedes of Bithynia?
3. How old was Caesar when these rumored events took place?
4. What would a Roman have thought about Caesar if they believed this story? What would they have assumed it meant about him?
5. Why does Suetonius engage in such an extended *praeteritiō* in this section (and those following)?
6. Whose evidence will Suetonius not mention? What do these sources have in common? Would these sources have been considered reliable by a Roman? Why/not?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quōcum, ut multī crēdēbant, contubernium erat Caesarī?
2. quālis fāma pudīcitiae erat Caesarī?
3. quis, cum hoc contubernium accidit, erat potentior, Caesar aut Nīcomēdes?
4. quid dīxērunt dē Caesare Licinius, Dolābella, et Cūriō pater?
5. erantne illī hominēs amīcī Caesaris, an inimīcī?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What case is *opprobriō*, and why?
2. What case is *patris*, and why?
3. Parse *quibus*.
4. What case is *rēgīnae*, and why?
5. What literary device is being used here in the use of the word *fornicem*?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Almost nothing harmed Caesar's reputation for chastity.
2. His relationship with Nicomedes, however, did harm it.
3. His relationship with Nicomedes laid him open to the insults of all.
4. I am not going to talk about the words of his enemies.
5. Curio the elder is said to have called him the queen's rival.

49.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What did Bibulus say about Caesar in an edict? Why was he issuing edicts in the first place?
2. What did a certain Octavius say at a party about Pompey and Caesar?
3. What did Memmius say about Caesar? Where did he get that information from?
4. What details in Memmius' accusation would be shocking to a Roman?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quis Caesar rēgīnam Bīthȳniae appellāvit?
2. secundum collēgam, quid voluerat Caesar? quid nunc cupiēbat?
3. quid dē Caesare ōlim dīxit quīdam Octāvius? insolēnsne (*rude*) erat hic hōmō, an cōmis? cūr?
4. quid in triclīniō Caesarem facere vīdit C. Memmius?
5. quī etiam ad hanc cēnam aderant? cuius ōrdinis erant illī?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Give a (Latin) synonym for *missa ... faciō*.
2. Parse *quibus*.
3. Parse *cordī*.
4. What case is *tempore*, and why?
5. Parse *appellāsset*.

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. His colleague Bibulus called Caesar the queen of Bithynia.
2. Caesar used to be fond of the king, but now he's fond of the kingdom itself.
3. A certain Octavius greeted Pompey as 'king', but Caesar as 'queen'.
4. Caesar acted as cupbearer at a crowded party.
5. Memmius mentions the names of some Roman business who saw Caesar.

49.3

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What did Cicero once write in a letter about Caesar?
2. What details in this story would a Roman have disapproved of?
3. What witty remark did Cicero make about Caesar in the senate? What was the context for his remark?
4. What did Cicero mean by *quid ille tibi et quid illī tūte dederis*? What did Nicomedes and Caesar do for each other? Why does Cicero not want to specify?
5. What effect do the words *ōrō tē* in Cicero's remark have on the listener? Why did he say that?
6. How has Cicero used parallelism here for rhetorical effect?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. secundum Cicerōnis epistulam, quī Caesarem in cubiculum rēgis ēdūxērunt?
2. secundum hanc epistulam, quid fēcit Caesar? quid hoc significat?
3. quī solēbant veste purpureā ūtī?
4. quis erat hic homō a Venere ortus? cūr hōc modō eum nōminat Cicerō?
5. cum beneficia rēgis commemorāret Caesar, voluitne ille dē contuberniō dīcere?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Parse *scrīpsisse*.
2. What case is *veste*, and why?
3. What case are *dēfendentī* and *commemorantī*, and why?
4. Give the full declension of *iste ista istud*. (Hint: it declines like *ille*). Explain the form *istaec*.
5. Parse *dederis*.

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Cicero was not content to have written that in a letter.
2. Caesar was led into the king's bedchamber.
3. He reclined there on a golden bed in purple clothing.
4. Cicero said this to Caesar when he was defending Nysa's cause.
5. It is well known what he gave you.

49.4

A. Comprehension Questions

1. By whom was the little poem in 49.4 chanted? Under what circumstances? Why is this context significant?
2. What 'joke' does the poem make?
3. Why is the word *subēgit* repeated so many times? What is the effect?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. cūr mīlitēs imperātōre triumphante carmina cantābant?
2. secundum hōs versūs, quī vīcērunt? quid vīcit quisque?
3. cūr triumphat Caesar? Nīcomēdes?
4. placetne tibi hoc carmen? cūr/quīn?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What case is *triumphō*, and why?
2. What word do we understand with *carmina*, correlative to *quālia*?
3. What is the subject of *canunt*?
4. What is the antecedent of *illud*? Why is it a different number?
5. Why does *subigō* mean 'to conquer'?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. His soldiers sang this song in a joking manner.
2. They sang this song that is the sort they sing while escorting the chariot.
3. The soldiers escorted the chariot while singing this rather notorious song.
4. Caesar conquered Egypt, but Cleopatra conquered Caesar.
5. Caesar celebrated a triumph for conquering Egypt, but Cleopatra didn't.

42

E. Discussion questions

1. What would have been the general Roman reaction to the story about Caesar and Nicomedes? Would everyone have reacted in the same way, or would some people have reacted differently? How?
2. How widespread was the story about Caesar and Nicomedes during Caesar's lifetime? Who was generally talking about it, to judge from Suetonius' evidence? Why were they mentioning it?
3. How important was the story about Caesar and Nicomedes in Caesar's lifetime? What effect(s) did it have on his political career?
4. Assuming the story was true, why might Caesar have become involved with Nicomedes? Consider the way the story was told by Suetonius in your answer as well as the political/cultural context.
5. In what ways is this story representative of Caesar's character as presented by Suetonius? Think about the context of the surrounding chapters. Why is this story in this place?
6. How does Suetonius seem to feel about the story? What in the text promotes that impression?
7. Were you surprised by this story? Why do you think it is so often left out of modern accounts (films, etc.)? How does it change your view of Caesar?
8. Do you think the story is likely to have been true? Why/not?

50.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What was the general opinion regarding Caesar and women?
2. How did a Roman view a man who (habitually) had affairs with other men's wives? How is this different from our general perception today?
3. **etiam Cn. Pompeī Mūciam**: in what ways does Suetonius convey that this is the most significant name on the list?
4. What did the Curios (and others) reproach Pompey for?
5. Why did Pompey refer to Caesar as 'Aegisthus'? What kind of person would that call to mind for a Roman?
6. How does the characterization of Caesar here naturally follow upon that advanced in §45-49?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. dē mulieribus, quōmodo sē gerēbat Caesar?
2. cum quōrum uxōribus Caesar adultērium fēcit?
3. quis erat Mūcia?
4. quot līberōs peperit illa?
5. quem uxōrem dūxit Pompēius?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What is the (understood) subject of *fuisse*?
2. What case are *Sulpiciī, Gabīnī, Crassī, Pompeī*? Why (what word should we understand)?
3. What case are *Postumiam, Lolliam, Tertullam*, and *Mūciam*? Why (what word should we understand)?
4. What case is *Pompēiō*, and why?
5. Parse *exprobrātum est*.

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar was inclined toward and extravagant in his sexual desires.
2. Caesar committed adultery with very many prominent women, including Pompey's wife Mucia.
3. Pompey was reproached by many for marrying Caesar's daughter.
4. Pompey divorced his wife Mucia even though she had born three children.
5. Pompey often sighed and called Caesar "Aegisthus."

50.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What Roman matron did Caesar love most?
2. What, according to the passage's word order, is the most significant thing about her?
3. What evidence does Suetonius give of their attachment?
4. What gossip was there concerning Caesar and Servilia's daughter? Who was involved in spreading it?

B. quaestiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quem maximē amāvit Caesar?
2. quid eī dedit Caesar?
3. quid aliud eī dedit? unde illud vēnit?
4. quid in hōc dōnō erat notābile?
5. quācum dormīvisse Caesarem dīxit Cicerō?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. Give the full declension of *alius alia aliud*. What form is *aliās*?
2. What case is *proximō suō cōnsulātū*, and why?
3. What is the general difference between the ablative of price and the genitive of price (value)?
4. Why is *sexagiēns sestertium margarītam* used with a gen. of description, but *praedia ... minimō addīxit* with an abl. of price?
5. Explain the syntax of the last sentence *(exīstimābātur ... conciliāre)*.

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar loved Cleopatra more than other women.
2. Caesar loved Nicomedes more than other men.
3. Crassus bought a pearl worth 10 million sesterces.
4. Crassus bought a pearl for 5 million sesterces.
5. Crassus bought a pearl for a very large price.

51

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What seems to be Suetonius' attitude towards Caesar's affair with married women in the provinces? Cite evidence from the text.
2. What proof does Suetonius offer for this claim?
3. Do the actual words prove what Suetonius says? Why/not?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. praeter mātrōnās Rōmānās, quibuscum dormiēbat Caesar?
2. quandō cantātum est illud carmen?
3. quid ut facerent suāsit carmen virīs quī Rōmae habitābant?
4. quālēs crīnēs sunt Caesarī, secundum carmen?
5. cūr opus est Caesarī aere aliēnō sūmendō, ut dīcunt hī versūs?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What case is *mātrimōniīs*, and why?
2. What case is *distichō*, and why?
3. What case is *mīlitibus*, and why?
4. What case is *urbānī*, and why?
5. What case is *Galliā*, and why?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar did not keep away from provincial married women.
2. Not even Caesar kept away from provincial married women.
3. It is clear from the following two-line poem that Caesar was the best.
4. This poem was shouted by Caesar's soldiers during the Gallic triumph.
5. Women of Rome, guard your husbands!

52.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. Whom else did Caesar have love affairs with?
2. Who was Eunoe?
3. What four pieces of evidence does Suetonius give for Caesar's affair with Cleopatra?
4. Which of those proofs is the strongest? How does Suetonius convey that?
5. Explain how Suetonius structures the four pieces of evidence into three clauses (a *tricolon crēscēns*).

53

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What was Caesar's attitude towards food and wine?
2. What evidence does Suetonius adduce for Caesar's attitude towards wine? Why does he name this source, do you think?
3. What is the point of Cato's quip?
4. According to Gaius Oppius, what incident shows Caesar's attitude towards eating?
5. Why did Caesar eat the olive oil his host served?
6. Would Caesar's attitude/behavior have been ordinary or unusual for a Roman of his class? Are we meant to admire his behavior?

IV. The Public Character of Caesar as Leader, §54-75

[54.1] abstinentiam neque in imperiīs neque in magistrātibus praestitit. ut enim quīdam monumentīs suīs testātī sunt, in Hispaniā prō cōnsule et ā sociīs pecūniās acceēpit ēmendicātās in auxilium aeris aliēnī et Lūsitānōrum quaedam oppida, quamquam nec imperāta dētrectārent et advenientī portās patefacerent, dīripuit hostiliter.

He showed restraint neither in pursuing his military command nor civilian offices. For as some people gave testminony on their gravestones, in Spain as proconsul he both took moneys from his allies that he had begged for to help relieve his debt, and he looted several towns of the Lusitani, although they did not refuse to carry out his orders and they opened the gates for him when he arrived.

[54.2] in Galliā fāna templaque deum dōnīs referta expīlāvit, urbēs dīruit saepius ob praedam quam ob dēlictum; unde factum, ut aurō abundāret ternīsque mīlibus nummum in lībrās prōmercāle per Ītaliam prōvinciāsque dīvēnderet.

In Gaul, he plundered the shrines and temples of the gods that had been crammed full of offerings; he looted cities more often to get booty than to punish any crime; this is how it came about that he had an abundance of gold and was able to sell it out for 3,000 sesterces a pound throughout Italy and the provinces.

[54.3] in prīmō cōnsulātū tria mīlia pondō aurī fūrātus ē Capitōliō tantundem inaurātī aeris reposuit. societātēs ac rēgna pretiō dedit, ut quī ūnī Ptolemaeō prope sex mīlia talentōrum suō Pompēīque nōmine abstulerit. posteā vērō ēvidentissimīs rapīnīs ac sacrilēgīs et onera bellōrum cīvīlium et triumphōrum ac mūnerum sustinuit impendia.

In his first consulship he stole 3,000 pounds of gold from the Capitolium but put back in its place the same weight of gilded bronze. He sold off allyships and kingdoms for a price; he ended up filching from Ptolemy alone nearly six thousand talents under the name of himself and Pompey.

[55.1] ēloquentiā mīlitārīque rē aut aequāvit praestantissimōrum glōriam aut excessit. post accūsātiōnem Dolābellae haud dubiē prīncipibus patrōnīs adnumerātus est. certē Cicerō ad Brūtum ōrātōrēs ēnumerāns negat sē vidēre, cui dēbeat Caesar cēdere, aitque eum ēlegantem, splendidam quoque atque etiam magnificam et generōsam quōdam modō ratiōnem dīcendī tenēre; et ad Cornēlium Nepōtem dē eōdem ita scrīpsit:

In skill at public speaking and military craft he either equaled the glory of the most renowned men or surpassed them. After his prosecution of Dolabella, he was counted with no doubt at all among the chief advocates. Indeed Cicero, when naming off orators to Brutus, denies that he knows anyone better than Caesar and says that he has an elegant, splendid and even magnificent and noble way of speaking; and he likewise wrote to Cornelius Nepos about Caesar:

[55.2] 'quid? ōrātōrem quem huic antepōnēs eōrum, quī nihil aliud ēgērunt? quis sententiīs aut acūtior aut crēbrior? quis verbīs aut ōrnātior aut ēlegantior?' genus ēloquentiae dum taxat adulēscēns adhūc Strabōnis Caesaris secūtus vidētur, cuius etiam ex ōrātiōne, quae īnscrībitur 'prō Sardīs,' ad verbum nōnnūlla trānstulit in dīvīnātiōnem suam. prōnūntiāsse autem dīcitur vōce acūtā, ardentī mōtū gestūque, nōn sine venustāte.

"What? Whom will you rate more highly than him, of those orators who have done nothing else? Who in his sentences is sharper or denser? Who in his words is more ornamented or elegant?" At least while he was still young, Caesar seems to have modeled his speaking on the example of Strabo Caesar, from whose speech called "On Behalf of the Sardinians" he copied some things word for word into his divination. But he is said to have spoken with a shrill voice, and with flamboyant motions and gestures, not without an attractive effect.

[55.3] ōrātiōnēs aliquās relīquit, inter quās temerē quaedam feruntur. 'prō Quīntō Metellō' nōn immeritō Augustus exīstimat magis ab āctuāriīs exceptam male subsequentibus verba dīcentis, quam ab ipsō ēditam; nam in quibusdam exemplāribus inveniō nē īnscrīptam quidem 'prō Metellō,' sed 'quam scrīpsit Metellō,' cum ex persōnā Caesaris sermō sit Metellum sēque adversus commūnium obtrectātōrum crīminātiōnēs pūrgantis.

He left behind some speeches, but not by any design. It is not without reason that Augustus judge that his speech called "On Behalf of Quintus Metellus" was probably a version taken down by shorthand writers while he was talking rather than published by Caesar; for in some copies I have found that it was not titled "On Behalf of Metellus" but "What He Wrote to Metellus," although the speech is from the perspective of Caesar trying to clear hmself and Metellus against the charges of their common detractors.

[55.4] 'apud mīlitēs' quoque 'in Hispaniā' īdem Augustus vix ipsīus putat, quae tamen duplex fertur: ūna quasi priōre habita proeliō, altera posteriōre, quō Asinius Polliō nē tempus quidem cōntiōnandī habuisse eum dīcit subitā hostium incursiōne.

Augustus believed likewise that the speech "To His Soldiers in Spain" is not at all genuine. This speech however is found in two versions: one purporting to be given before the battle, the other after; but Asinius Pollio says that Caesar didn't even have time to give a speech because the enemy's attack was so sudden.

[56.1] relīquit et rērum suārum commentāriōs Gallicī cīvīlisque bellī Pompēiānī. nam Alexandrīnī Āfricīque et Hispaniēnsis incertus auctor est: aliī Oppium putant, alii Hirtium, quī etiam Gallicī bellī novissimum imperfectumque librum supplēverit. dē commentāriīs Caesaris Cicerō in eōdem Brūtō sīc refert:

Caesar also left behind his Commentaries on the Gallic War *and his* Commentaries on the Civil War *with Pompey. It is not known who the author of the additional commentaries on the Alexandrian, African and Spanish wars was (that have been transmitted with the genuine books on the Civil War): some people think it was Oppius, others that it was Hirtius, who also finished off the last incomplete book of the Gallic War. On Caesar's commentaries, Cicero in his* Brutus *has this to say:*

[56.2] 'commentāriōs scrīpsit valdē quidem probandōs: nūdī sunt, rēctī et venustī, omnī ōrnātū ōrātiōnis tamquam veste dētrāctā; sed dum voluit aliōs habēre parāta, unde sūmerent quī vellent scrībere historiam, ineptīs grātum fortasse fēcit, quī illa volent calamistrīs inūrere, sānōs quidem hominēs ā scrībendō dēterruit.'

"He wrote commentaries that we all must praise heartily: they are unadorned, direct, and attractive, and every rhetorical flourish has been removed like stripping off unwanted clothes; but while he was trying to prepare a source for those wishing to write a history, he has made something that will please the foolish perhaps, who want to dip their curling-pins in and add every sort of rhetorical flourish to his narrative; but wise men he has certainly scared off from writing."

[56.3] dē īsdem commentāriīs Hirtius ita praedīcat: 'adeō probantur omnium iūdiciō, ut praerepta, non praebita facultās scrīptōribus videātur. cuius tamen reī maior nostra quam reliquōrum est admīrātiō; cēterī enim, quam bene atque ēmendātē, nos etiam, quam facile atque celeriter eōs perscrīpserit, scīmus.'

Likewise Hirtius praises these commentaries as follows: "They are found so good in the judgement of all that an opportunity seems to have been taken from, rather than given to, future writers. However, my admiration for their subject is greater than anyone else's. For everyone else knows how well and faultlessly Caesar wrote them, but I know know how easily and quickly he did it."

[56.4] Polliō Asinius parum dīligenter parumque integrā vēritāte compositōs putat, cum Caesar plēraque et quae per aliōs erant gesta temerē crēdiderit et quae per sē, vel cōnsultō vel etiam memoriā lapsus perperam ēdiderit; exīstimatque rescrīptūrum et corrēctūrum fuisse.

Asinius Pollio thinks that they were put together with too little care, especially for the truth, since Caesar frequently confuses what others did with what he did, either on purpose or by mistake due to a lapse in memory; and he thinks that Caesar intended to rewrite and correct them.

[56.5] relīquit et 'dē analogiā' duōs librōs et 'Anticatōnēs' totidem ac praetereā poēma quod īnscrībitur "Iter." quōrum librōrum prīmōs in trānsitū Alpium, cum ex citeriōre Galliā conventibus perāctīs ad exercitum redīret, sequentēs sub tempus Mundēnsis proeliī fēcit; novissimum, dum ab urbe in Hispaniam ulteriōrem quārtō et vīcēnsimō diē pervēnit.

He also left two books "On Analogies" and two called the "Anti-Catos" and additionally a poem entitled "The Journey." He wrote the first of these books during his crossing of the Alps, when he was returning to his army from hither Gaul after the circuits had been made, and the second around the time of the battle of Munda; the last he wrote during his 24 day journey from Rome to further Spain.

[56.6] epistulae quoque eius ad senātum extant, quās prīmum vidētur ad pagīnās et fōrmam memoriālis libellī convertisse, cum anteā cōnsulēs et ducēs nōn nisi trānsversā chartā scrīptās mitterent. extant et ad Cicerōnem, item ad familiārēs domesticīs dē rēbus, in quibus, sī qua occultius perferenda erant, per nōtās scrīpsit, id est sīc strūctō litterārum ōrdine, ut nūllum verbum efficī posset: quae sī quī investigāre et persequī velit, quārtam elementōrum litteram, id est D prō A et perinde reliquās commūtet.

His letters to the Senate are also still extant, which he seems to have been the first to have changed into pages forming a memorandum book, although before him the consuls and military leaders only sent letters written all the way across the paper. His letters to Cicero also survive, and some to his acquaintances about domestic affairs, which he wrote in code if there was anything that had to be kept secret. He did this by rearranging the letters of the alphabest, so that no word could be made out; careful examination of these revelas that he used a four letter shift, substituting D for A, and so on for the rest of the letters.

[56.7] feruntur et ā puerō et ab adulēscentulō quaedam scrīpta, ut 'Laudēs Herculis,' tragoedia 'Oedipus,' item 'Dicta collēctānea': quōs omnīs libellōs vetuit Augustus pūblicārī in epistulā, quam brevem admodum ac simplicem ad Pompēium Macrum, cui ōrdinandās bibliothēcās dēlēgāverat, mīsit.

We also have works supposed to be things he wrote as a boy or a very young man , like the "Praises of Hercules," a tragedy named "Oedipus," and "Collected Sayings." Augustus forbade all of these works from being published by sending a quite brief and direct letter to Pompeius Macer, who was in charge of putting his libraries in order.

armōrum, equitandī – genitive with *perītissimus*; we would say "experienced *in*"

labōris – genitive with *patiēns*

ultrā fidem – *beyond belief, more than anyone would believe*

equō, pedibus – abl. of means

saepius – comparative of *saepe*, 'more often'

capite dētēctō – Abl. abs.

viās – here, 'journeys'

incrēdibilī celeritāte – The ablative of manner does not need *cum* when an adjective modifies the noun.

meritōriā raedā – abl. of means

centēna passuum mīlia – *(travelling) 100 (Roman) miles*; acc. of extent of space. Note the use of the distributive numeral *centēna* with *in singulōs diēs* ('a day'); the implication is that Caesar could and did make such journeys multiple times.

flūmina, etc. – *flūmina* is subject of *morārentur*. With *morārentur*, sc. Caesarem. *morārentur* is the so-called 'iterative subjunctive': 'if rivers delayed him', 'whenever rivers delayed him'. The apodosis (*then*-clause) is not expressed, because it would be a repetition of the previous sentence (*longissimās viās incrēdibilī celeritāte cōnfēcit*).

nandō – *by swimming*, abl. of means of the gerund of *nō, nāre*, 'to swim'

īnflātīs ūtribus – Caesar used skins or bladders filled with air as flotation devices, like children today might use swimmies.

ut, etc. – Result clause, 'so that', 'with the result that'. The use of the perfect subjunctive *praevēnerit* tells us this is the actual, not just the expected result: Caesar travelled so quickly that he did in fact often arrive before the messengers did.

[57] armōrum et equitandī perītissimus, labōris ultrā fidem patiēns erat. in agmine 1
nōnnumquam equō, saepius pedibus anteībat, capite dētēctō, seu sōl seu imber esset; 2
longissimās viās incrēdibilī celeritāte cōnfēcit, expedītus, meritōriā raedā, centēna 3
passuum mīlia in singulōs diēs; sī flūmina morārentur, nandō trāiciēns vel innīxus īnflātīs 4
ūtribus, ut persaepe nūntiōs dē sē praevēnerit. 5

arma, armōrum n.pl. – *arms, weapons*
equitō equitāre equitāvī equitātus – *to ride (a horse)*
perītus perīta perītum + gen. – *skilled in, experienced with*
labor, labōris m. – *labor, suffering, work, toil*
ultrā, prep. + acc. – *beyond, later than*
**fidēs, fideī f. – *faith; trustworthiness, loyalty; belief*
patiēns, gen. patientis + gen. – *enduring, willing to endure*
agmen, agminis n. – *line, column; marching column; army on the march*
nōnnumquam, adv. – *sometimes*
**equus, equī m. – *horse*
pēs, pedis m. – *foot*
anteeō anteīre anteiī anteitus – *to precede, take the lead*
**caput, capitis n. – *head*
**dētegō dētegere dētēxī dētēctus – *to uncover, lay bare, reveal*
seu ... seu, conj. – *whether ... or*
sōl, sōlis m. – *sun*
imber, imbris m. – *rain*
longus longa longum – *long*
via, viae f. – *road, street; way; march, journey*
incrēdibilis incrēdibilis incrēdibile – *incredible, unbelievable*
celeritās, celeritātis f. – *quickness, speed*
cōnficiō cōnficere cōnfēcī cōnfectus – *to finish, complete*
expedītus expedīta expedītum – *lightly-armed, lightly-equipped*
meritōrius meritōria meritōrium – *hired*
raeda, raedae f. – *carriage, vehicle*
centēnī centēnae centēna – *100 (each)*
mīlia passuum, mīlium passuum, n.pl. – *(Roman) mile*
**singulus singula singulum – *single, individual; solitary; one (each)*
**sī, conj. – *if*
**flūmen, flūminis n. – *river*
moror, morārī, morātus sum – *to delay, hinder*
nō nāre nāvī nātus – *to swim*
**trāiciō trāicere trāiēcī trāiectus – *to cross (over); stab through, pierce*
vel, adv. – *even, indeed, certainly*
innīxus innīxa innīxum + abl. – *relying on, leaning on*
īnflātus īnflāta īnflātum – *inflated*
ūter, ūtris m. – *bag, skin, bottle*
persaepe, adv. – *very often*
nūntius, nūntiī m. – *messenger*
praeveniō praevenīre praevēnī praeventus – *to arrive before*

8

After a design by Justus van Egmont (1601–1674)
Woven at the workshop of Gerard Peemans (1637/39–1725)
Flanders, Brussels

Caesar Embarks by Boat to Join His Army from The Story of Caesar and Cleopatra, c. 1680
Wool and silk, slit and double interlocking tapestry weave
381.7 x 366.3 cm (150 1/4 x 144 1/8 in.)

Art Institute of Chicago

http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/49670

[58.1] in obeundīs expedītiōnibus dubium cautior an audentior, exercitum neque per   1
īnsidiōsa itinera dūxit umquam nisi perspeculātus locōrum sitūs, neque in Britanniam   2
trānsvexit, nisi ante per sē portūs et nāvigātiōnem et accessum ad īnsulam explōrāsset. at   3
īdem obsessiōne castrōrum in Germāniā nūntiātā, per statiōnēs hostium Gallicō habitū   4
penetrāvit ad suōs.   5

obeō obīre obiī obitus – *to undertake, engage in*
expedītiō, expedītiōnis f. – *campaign; expedition*
dubius dubia dubium – *doubtful, hesitating*
cautus cauta cautum – *cautious*
an, conj. + subj. – *or, whether*
audēns, gen. audentis – *daring, bold*
exercitus, exercitūs m. – *army*
īnsidiōsus īnsidiōsa īnsidiōsum – *ambush-filled*
**iter, itineris n. – *journey; way, road; march*
**dūcō dūcere duxī ductus – *to lead, bring;* (uxōrem) *marry*
**nisi, conj. – *if ... not, unless; except if; except, but that, save*
perspeculor, perspeculārī, perspeculātus sum – *to explore thoroughly, reconnoiter*
loca, locōrum n.pl. – *region, area*
situs, sitūs m. – *site*
trānsvehō trānsvehere trānsvexī trānsvectus – *to cross,*
  bring across
portus, portūs m. – *port, harbor*
nāvigātiō, nāvigātiōnis f. – *sailing, navigation*
accessus, accessūs m. – *access, approach*
īnsula, īnsulae f. – *island*
explōrō explōrāre explōrāvī explōrātus – *to scout, explore; test, try*
at, conj. – *but, but yet*
obsessiō, obsessiōnis f. – *siege*
**castra, castrōrum n.pl. – *(military)* camp
nūntiō nūntiāre nūntiāvī nūntiātus – *to announce*
statiō, statiōnis f. – *station, post;* (pl.) *sentries*
**Gallicus Gallica Gallicum – *of or relating to Gaul, Gallic*
habitus, habitūs m. – *clothing, costume*
**penetrō penetrāre penetrāvī penetrātus – *to enter into, penetrate; reach*

in obeundīs expedītiōnibus – Gerundive used in place of the gerund, as is usual after prepositions. Tr. *in mounting campaigns*.

dubium – sc. *est, it is doubtful, there is doubt, one cannot be sure*

cautior an audentior – sc. *Caesar esset, whether he was more cautious or more daring*; indiret question after *dubium*

exercitum – The object of both *dūxit* and *trānsvēxit*; note its placement at the beginning of the clause before the co-ordinating *neques*.

nisi perspeculātus – sc. *esset*; a mixed condition (the protasis is past contrary-to-fact, the apodosis a simple past); similarly *explōrāsset*.

explōrāsset – Syncopated form of *explōrāvisset*.

īdem – *on the other hand, he...*, lit. 'the same man'. A contrast is drawn (*at*) between Caesar's insistence on scouting beforehand and his personal bravery here.

obsessiōne ... nūntiātā – Abl. abs. Caesar learned while he was away that his camp was being besieged.

Gallicō habitū – *in Gallic dress*, i.e. in disguise. Abl. of manner.

ā Brundisiō, etc. – Brundisium (modern Brindisi) on the Adriatic (east) coast of Italy was the standard embarkation point for those wishing to sail to Greece. Caesar was attempting to sail to Dyrrachium (modern Durrës, the second largest city in Albania; it was also known to the Greeks and Romans as Epidamnus) to confront Pompey and his army in January of 48 BCE.

Dyrrachium – Acc. of motion towards without a preposition as is expected in the names of cities, towns, and small islands plus the nouns *domī, rūrī*, and *humī*; compare *ā Brundisiō*, with the preposition.

hieme – Abl. of time when. Winter was the most dangerous season to sail in the Mediterranean, on account of storms.

cessantibusque cōpiīs – Abl. abs.

ad accersendās – sc. *cōpiās, for the purpose of summoning (them)*

novissimē ... capite – The buildup of very short phrases here (esp. *novissimē, ipse, clam, noctū, sōlus*) contributes to the sense of tension and excitement surrounding Caesar's daring exploit. Each detail makes Caesar seem even more amazing.

novissimē – Note this meaning of *novissimē*, 'finally, at the end'.

obvolūtō capite – Abl. of manner.

cōnscendit – *(nāvem) cōnscendere* is the technical term for boarding a boat/ship.

ante ... quam – *antequam* (and its close relative *priusquam*) often undergo tmesis ('splitting'). In English, delay the translation of *ante* until the beginning of the second clause.

adversae tempestātī – Dative with *cēdere*.

passus est – *patior* can mean 'suffer' in the sense of 'allow' (a standard meaning, though obsolescent, meaning in English). It takes a complementary infinitive (sc. *cēdere*).

obrūtus – *antequam* can take a participle in a negative sentence instead of a finite verb. In English, we would say *until he was overwhelmed*.

[58.2] ā Brundisiō Dyrrachium inter oppositās classēs hieme trānsmīsit cessantibusque 1
cōpiīs, quās subsequī iusserat, cum ad accersendās frūstrā saepe mīsisset, novissimē ipse 2
clam noctū parvulum nāvigium sōlus obvolūtō capite cōnscendit, neque aut quis esset ante 3
dētēxit aut gubernātōrem cēdere adversae tempestātī passus est quam paene obrūtus 4
fluctibus.

oppōnō oppōnere opposuī oppositus -- *place opposite, set against*
classis, classis f. (i-stem) – *fleet*
hiems, hiemis f. – *winter*
trānsmittō trānsmittere trānsmīsī trānsmissus – *to cross*
cessō cessāre cessāvī cessātus – *to hesitate, delay, not move*
cōpiae, cōpiārum f.pl. – *troops*
subsequor, subsequī, subsecūtus sum – *to follow (closely), follow after*
accersō accersere accersīvī accersītus – *to call, summon*
frūstrā, adv. – *in vain, unsuccessfully*
mittō mittere mīsī missus – *to send; let go, dismiss; omit*
novissimē, adv. – *finally, at last*
clam, adv. – *secretly*
noctū, adv. – *by night*
parvulus parvula parvulum – *poor little, tiny*
nāvigium, nāvigiī n. – *raft, boat*
sōlus sōla sōlum – *alone, only*
obvolvō obvolvere obvolvī obvolūtus – *to wind around; veil, cover, wrap up*
**caput, capitis n. – *head*
cōnscendō cōnscendere cōnscendī cōnscēnsus – *to board (a ship)*
**neque, conj. – *nor, and ... not*
**aut ... aut, conj. – *either ... or*
quis, quid, interrogative pron. – *who, what*
**dētegō dētegere dētēxī dētēctus – *to uncover, lay bare, reveal*
gubernātor, gubernātōris m. – *helmsman, person who steers a ship*
cēdō cēdere cessī cessūrus + dat. – *to yield, give way to, give up to, give in to*
adversus adversa adversum – *opposed, hostile, unfavorable*
tempestās, tempestātis f. – *storm; (bad) weather*
**patior, patī, passus sum – *to suffer, endure; permit, allow*
ante ... quam, conj. – *before, sooner than; until*
**paene, adv. – *almost, nearly*
obruō obruere obruī obruūtus – *to overwhelm, overturn*
fluctus, fluctūs m. – *wave*

nē ... habuit – Contrary to normal Roman practice, Caesar disregarded omens that others might have considered bad, either altering them or ignoring them completely (see also §20, §77). But he was happy to make use of omens that seemed favorable, as when crossing the Rubicon (see §32, §61).

religiōne – *religiō* in Classical Latin does not denote the set of practices or beliefs that make up humans' relations to the supernatural, as the English derivative 'religion' suggests (*cultus deōrum* is a better equivalent of 'religion'). Rather, it means 'reverence for the gods', 'piety', 'conscientiousness', or 'sancity'. Abl. of cause.

ā quōquam inceptō – Where we would prefer an indefinite adjective modifying a noun, Latin prefers an indefinite pronoun modified by an adjective: *from any undertaking*, lit. 'from anything (having been) undertaken'.

cum ... hostia – To have the victim run away was a dreadful omen, necessitating at the very least a 're-do' of the sacrifice and probably some act of expiation, as well. The Romans maintained a sort of fiction that the sacrificial victim went to its death willingly, which its flight would shatter; they would actually flick drops of water into the animal's face to get it to 'nod' its head in assent to its death. Compare the simile in the *Aeneid* of Laocoön bellowing like a wounded bull fleeing its sacrificer's axe (2.223-224).

immolantī – sc. *Caesarī*; dative of disadvantage with *aufūgisset*, 'from him, when he was sacrificing'.

profectiōnem – Caesar sailed in December, 47 BCE. See §35.

adversus – Preposition, not adjective.

Scipiōnem – Quintus Caecilius Metellus Scipio (cos. 52 BCE). He was a staunch supporter of Pompey and was commanding his army in Africa.

Iubam – King of Numidia; he supported Pompey in the civil war and was killed fighting Caesar.

prōlāpsus – It was considered an ill-omen to stumble when entering a new place. Roman custom had it that this was why new brides were carried across the threshold of their husbands' homes.

in ēgressū nāvis – I.e., as he went from the gangplank to the land.

versō ... ōmine – Abl. abs.

ad ēlūdendās vāticinātiōnēs – Gerundive in place of the gerund with *ad* to express purpose, *to outwit the prophecies*.

fēlīx et invictum – Take predicatively after *ferēbātur*; (*was reputed to be) lucky and unconquered*. The Scipios, a family belonging to the *gēns Cornēlia*, were strongly associated with Roman victory in Africa; Scipio Africanus was awarded that agnomen for his victory at Zama against Hannibal in 202 BCE, and his son's adopted son, Scipio Aemilianus, destroyed Carthage in 146 BCE.

dēspectissimus ... genere – *a certain very unimportant member of the* gēns Cornēlia; obj. of *habuit*. Do not confuse *genere*, from *genus* ('stock, lineage'), with *gente*, from *gēns* ('clan').

ad opproprium – *as a taunt* or *as a reproach*. Roman cognomina often pointed out a flaw in their

[59] nē religiōne quidem ūllā ā quōquam inceptō absterritus umquam vel retardātus est.   1
cum immolantī aufūgisset hostia, profectiōnem adversus Scipiōnem et Iubam nōn distulit.   2
prōlāpsus etiam in ēgressū nāvis versō ad melius ōmine: 'teneō tē,' inquit, 'Āfrica.' ad   3
ēlūdendās autem vāticinātiōnēs, quibus fēlīx et invictum in eā prōvinciā fātāliter   4
Scipiōnum nōmen ferēbātur, dēspectissimum quendam ex Cornēliōrum genere, cui ad   5
opprobrium vītae Salvitōnī cognōmen erat, in castrīs sēcum habuit.   6

**nē ... quidem, adv. – *not even*
religiō, religiōnis f. – *religious awe, piety; religious scruple*
incipiō incipere incēpī inceptus – *to begin, undertake*
absterreō absterrēre absterruī absterritus – *to deter, frighten off*
**vel, conj. – *or, or even*
retardō retardāre retardāvī retardātus – *delay, slow down*
immolō immolāre immolāvī immolātus – *to perform a sacrifice, sacrifice*
aufugiō aufugere aufūgī aufūgitūrus – *to run away, flee*
hostia, hostiae f. – *(sacrificial) victim*
profectiō, profectiōnis f. – *a setting-out, departure*
adversus, prep. + acc. – *against*
**differō differre distulī dīlātus – *to delay; postpone, put off* (until a later time)
prōlābor, prōlābī, prōlāpsus sum – *to fall (forwards), slip*
ēgressus, ēgressūs m. – *egress, exit; disembarking*
**nāvis, nāvis f. – *ship*

vertō vertere vertī versus – *to turn*
melior melior melius – *better*
ōmen, ōminis n. – *omen, sign*
**teneō tenēre tenuī tentus – *to hold, have*
tū tuī tibi tē tē, 2nd person sing. pronoun – *you*
ēlūdō ēlūdere ēlūdī ēlūsus – *to elude, deceive, trick*
vāticinātiō, vāticinātiōnis f. – *prophecy*
fēlīx, gen. fēlīcis – *happy, lucky, blessed, successful*
invictus invicta invictum – *undefeated, unconquered*
**prōvincia, prōvinciae f. – *province*
fātāliter, adv. – *by fate*
ferō ferre tulī lātus – *bear; bring, carry; say, report, relate, assert*
dēspectus dēspecta dēspectum – *despised, lowly*
**genus, generis n. – *race, stock, lineage; kind, type*
opprobrium, opprobriī n. – *opprobrium, disgrace; scandal; reproach, taunt*
vīta, vītae f. – *life, way of life*
**cognōmen, cognōminis n. – *last name, family name*
**castra, castrōrum n.pl. – *(military) camp*

holders, like *Calvus* 'Baldy' or *Cicerō*, 'Scarface'.

vītae – *for his (way of) life*, objective gen.

Salvitōnī – Dative by attraction to the case of *cui*. Romans generally said *mihi (prae)nōmen est Mārcō*, not *Mārcus*, as an English speaker would expect. The name may mean something like 'Health-Nut'.

in castrīs sēcum habuit– Apparently Caesar's ruse was effective, for he was successful in this campaign. A Roman might have expected his 'tricks' to have the same outcome as when Public Claudius Pulcher (cos. 249 BCE) had tried to ignore an omen before the Battle of Drepana during the First Punic War. When he was onboard ship, he went to take the omens before engaging the Carthaginian enemy by seeing if the sacred chickens, kept for that purpose, would eat their grain (this is called 'alectryomancy'). In this instance, the sacred chickens refused to eat, a dreadful omen, and Pulcher is supposed to have ordered them to be drowned *ut biberent quandō ēsse nōllent*, 'so that they might drink since they didn't want to eat' (Suetonius, *Tiberius* 2.2). Pulcher was defeated soundly and faced trial for sacrilege at Rome afterwards, the expected outcome when disregarding such a clear omen. Yet Caesar faced no such defeat or sanctions – until the end (see §81.4).

dēstinātō – From *dēstinātum*, 'an arrow's target, mark', thus 'intention, design'. Tr. *by design*, i.e. planned in advance. This usage elsewhere has the preposition *ex*, but perhaps Suetonius wanted to avoid its use twice in a row (*ex occāsiōne* immediately following).

ex occāsiōne – *when opportunity arose*, lit. 'from opportunity'

saepe ... interdum – Suetonius draws a contrast between the two surprising times that Caesar would engage in battles, that Caesar *often* undertook battle *immediately after a march*, and *occasionally* even *in the most foul weather*, by arranging the words as adverb of time – circumstance – adverb of time – circumstance.

spurcissimīs tempestātibus – Abl. of attendant circumstances.

cum ... putāret – *when one would think it least likely he would move*; *quis* here is the indefinite pronoun. *mōtūrum* (sc. *Caesarem esse*) is indirect statement dependent on *putāret*.

nec nisi tempore extrēmō – *only at the end of his life*, (lit. 'not except at the last time') abl. of time when

ad dīmicandum cunctātior – *more reluctant to fight*; *cunctātior* is from the participle of *cunctor*, 'to delay, hesitate'.

factus est – The perfect of *fīō*, 'become', which, since it serves as the passive of *faciō* in the primary tenses, uses its passive to supply its forms in the perfect system.

quō saepius ... hōc minus – *the more often... the less*, lit. 'by how much more often... by this much less', abl. of degree of difference

vīcisset – Subjunctive in a subordinate clause in indirect discourse.

experiendōs cāsūs opīnāns – *Believing that losses ought to be experienced*. (sc. *esse*) is an indirect statement dependent upon *opīnāns*; it is a gerundive of obligation (passive periphrastic).

nihilque, etc. – *and that he would acquire by victory nothing as great as a defeat could take away*. Again, indirect statement dependent upon *opīnāns* (*adquīsītūrum* sc. *esse*). *quantum ... tantum* are called correlatives (cf. *quō ... hōc* above): lit., 'how great ... so great'.

fūdit – Idiomatically, *fundō* ('pour') means to 'rout, defeat thoroughly (an enemy)', a common meaning in discussions of military affairs.

quīn ... exueret – *without depriving (them) of...*, lit. 'but that he deprived (them) of'. *quīn* here is a relative particle, *quī (ne)*, and takes a subjunctive. Carefully distinguish this use of *quīn* from its use as an interrogative adv. (= 'why not?'), in clauses of doubting (= 'that, but that'), and as both a strong affirmative and strong corrective adverb ('yes in fact!' and 'no rather').

castrīs – Abl. with *exueret* ('to deprive someone [acc] of something [abl]'): abl. of separation. Separation ('from, away from') is the original function of the ablative in Latin, but as Latin lost the instrumental case ('by, by means of, with') inherited from its ancestor language Proto-Indo-European and, to a large extent, the locative case ('in, on, at'), the ablative came to fulfill both of those functions as well, which is why it often seems to the student that there are so many kinds of ablatives!

[60] proelia nōn tantum dēstinātō, sed ex occāsiōne sūmēbat ac saepe ab itinere statim, 1
interdum spurcissimīs tempestātibus, cum minimē quis mōtūrum putāret; nec nisi tempore 2
extrēmō ad dīmicandum cunctātior factus est, quō saepius vīcisset, hōc minus experiendōs 3
cāsūs opīnāns nihilque sē tantum adquīsītūrum victōriā, quantum auferre calamitās posset. 4
nūllum umquam hostem fūdit, quīn castrīs quoque exueret: ita nūllum spatium perterritīs 5
dabat. ancipitī proeliō equōs dīmittēbat et in prīmīs suum, quō maior permanendī 6
necessitās impōnerētur, auxiliō fugae ēreptō. 7

**proelium, proeliī n. – *battle*
tantum, adv. – *only*
dēstinātō, adv. – *on purpose, intentionally, according to a plan*
**occāsiō, occāsiōnis f. – *opportunity*
sūmō sūmere sūmpsī sūmptus – *to take up, undertake*
**iter, itineris n. – *journey; way, road; march*
statim, adv. – *immediately, at once*
**interdum, adv. – *at times, from time to time, sometimes, occasionally*
spurcus spurca spurcum – *foul, terrible; unclean, dirty*
tempestās, tempestātis f. – *storm; (bad) weather*
quis, quid, indefinite pron. – *someone, something; anyone, anything*
minimē, adv. – *not at all, least*
**moveō movēre mōvī mōtus – *to move; to stir, rouse* (an emotion); *try out, begin*
putō putāre putāvī putātus – *to think, judge, suppose*
**nisi, conj. – *if ... not, unless; except if; except, but that, save*
extrēmus extrēma extrēmum – *final, last, end*
dīmicō dīmicāre dīmicāvī dīmicātus – *to fight*
cunctor, cunctārī, cunctātus sum – *to delay, hesitate, be slow*
fīō, fierī, factus sum (irr.) – *to be made, be done; become; happen*
quō ... hōc – *the (more) ... the (more)*
**vincō vincere vīcī victus – *to conquer, win*
minor minor minus (comp. of parvus) – *smaller, lesser; less*
experior, experīrī, expertus sum – *to try, test; experience, undergo; find out*
cāsus, cāsūs m. – *misfortune, defeat*
**opīnor, opīnārī, opīnātus sum – *to think, suppose, judge; imagine, guess, conjecture*
nihil, indecl. n. – *nothing*
tantus tanta tantum – *so great, such a great*
adquīrō adquīrere adquīsīvī adquīsītus – *to acquire, gain, win*
victōria, victōriae f. – *victory, win*
quantus quanta quantum – *how great*
auferō auferre abstulī ablātus – *to take away; steal*
calamitās, calamitātis f. – *loss, defeat*
**possum posse potuī (irr.) – *to be able, can*
**nūllus nūlla nūllum – *not any, no*
fundō fundere fūdī fūsus – *to pour; rout, defeat thoroughly (an enemy)*
quīn, conj. + subj. – *but that, without, to*
**castra, castrōrum n.pl. – *(military)* camp
**quoque, adv. – *also, too*
exuō exuere exuī exūtus + acc. of person + abl. of thing – *to deprive of, take away from*
ita, adv. – *so, in this way, thus*
spatium, spatiī n. – *space, room; time (to do something), opportunity*
perterritus perterrita perterritum – *terrified*
anceps, gen. ancipitis – *two-headed; doubtful, uncertain*
**equus, equī m. – *horse*
**dīmittō dīmittere dīmīsī dīmissus – *to dismiss, let go, send away; renounce; break off with*
in prīmīs (also inprīmīs), adv. – *especially*
**quō, conj. + subj. (+ comparative) – *so that, in order to*
maior maior maius (comp. of magnus) – *greater, bigger*
permaneō permanēre permānsī permānsūrus – *to remain, stay; hold out, persevere*
necessitās, necessitātis f. – *necessity, compulsion; lack, need*
**impōnō impōnere imposuī impositus – *to place on, place in, place upon; impose; embark*
auxilium, auxiliī n. – *help, aid*
fuga, fugae f. – *flight, escape; retreat*
ēripiō ēripere ēripuī ēreptus – *to snatch away, take away; steal*

ancipitī proeliō – *in a battle where the outcome seemed uncertain*; lit. 'in an uncertain battle'. *anceps* (lit. 'two-headed') refers to something that could go either of two ways; in poetry, a syllable that can be either heavy or light is called *anceps*. Abl. of attendant circumstances.

in prīmīs – Also can be written as one word, *especially*.

quō – In purpose clauses that contain a comparative (here, *maior*), *quō* is generally substituted for *ut*. Translate as *so that*. Abl. of degree of difference (compare the use as a correlative with *quō ... eō/hōc* above).

permanendī necessitās – *necessity of holding out*; the soldiers will feel they might as well stay and fight their hardest if they know they cannot escape.

auxiliō ... ēreptō – Abl abs.

fugae – Gen. of specification with *auxiliō*.
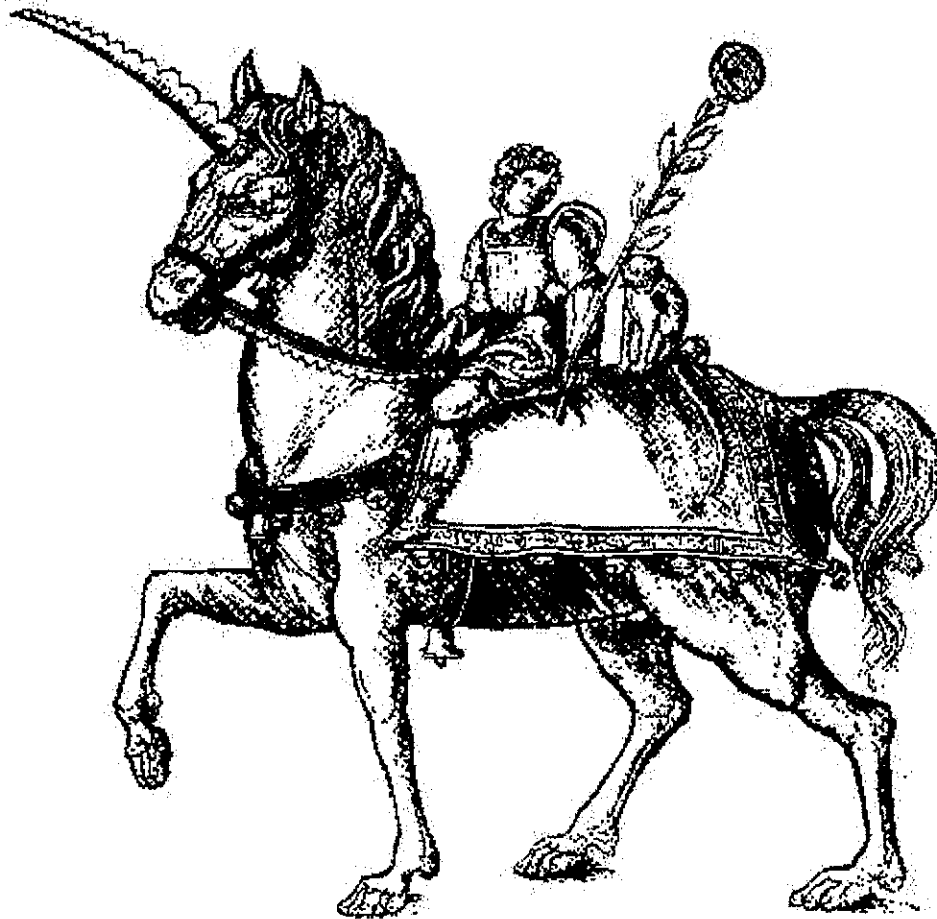
An artistic rendering of Caesar's polydactyl horse. You may notice it has become a unicorn, as well as the mount for a small boy and a cat.

http://www.messybeast.com/poly-species.html

[61] ūtēbātur autem equō īnsignī, pedibus prope humānīs et in modum digitōrum ungulīs   1
fissīs, quem nātum apud sē, cum haruspicēs imperium orbis terrae significāre dominō   2
prōnūntiāssent, magnā cūrā aluit nec patientem sessōris alterīus prīmus ascendit; cuius   3
etiam īnstar prō aede Veneris Genetrīcis posteā dēdicāvit.   4

**ūtor, ūtī, ūsus sum + abl. – *to use, employ*
**equus, equī m. – *horse*
īnsignis īnsignis īnsigne – *notable, extraordinary, remarkable*
pēs, pedis m. – *foot*
**prope, adv. – *near; nearly, almost*
humānus humāna humānum – *human*
modus, modī m. – *way, manner, kind*
digitus, digitī m. – *finger*
ungula, ungulae f. – *hoof*
findō findere ---- fissus – *to cleave, split*
nāscor, nāscī, nātus sum – *to be born*
haruspex, haruspicis m. – *soothsayer, seer, diviner*
imperium, imperiī n. – *power, rule, domain; the right to command armies*
**orbis terrārum, orbis terrārum f. (also *orbis terrae*) – *world, globe*
significō significāre significāvī significātus – *to signify, mean*

dominus, dominī m. – *master*
prōnūntiō prōnūntiāre prōnūntiāvī prōnūntiātus – *to proclaim, recite; pronounce, announce, state*
cūra, -ae f. – *care, attention*
alō alere aluī alitus – *raise, bring up*
patiēns, gen. patientis + gen. – *enduring, willing to endure*
sessor, sessōris m. – *rider*
**alter altera alterum – *one* (of two); *other, another, the second*
ascendō ascendere ascendī ascēnsus – *to ascend, climb; to mount (a horse), ride*
īnstar, indecl. n. – *likeness, image*
Venus Genetrīx, Veneris Genetrīcis f. – *Venus the Ancestress*
posteā, adv. – *afterwards, later*
dēdicō dēdicāre dēdicāvī dēdicātus – *to dedicate, consecrate*

pedibus – Abl. of description. The genitive of description tends to be used for abstract qualities (like "a horse of great bravery"), the ablative for physical characteristics ("a horse with human-like feet"). Although unusual, polydactyl horses are certainly known today;

quem – Object of *aluit*.

nātum – Lit. 'having been born', but for clarity's sake it is probably best to expand into a clause in English: *after he was born*.

apud sē – *at his (Caesar's) house*, i.e., on an estate of Caesar's

haruspicēs – A *haruspex* was an Etruscan-style seer who would be called in to interpret prodigies, omens betokening some upset or urgent communication between the natural and divine worlds, such as lightning strikes or the birth of abnormally formed animals. The birth of a polydactyl horse certainly would have called for such a consultation.

imperium ... dominō – Indirect statement dependent on *prōnūntiāssent*.

nec patientem ... prīmus ascendit – *he was the first to ride him, since he would not permit any other rider*, lit. 'he, first, rode him not permitting of another rider'. A similar story is told of Bucephalus, Alexander's horse (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 6).

cuius ... īnstar – *a statue of whom*; *īnstar* is an indeclinable noun that means 'likeness, image'.

prō aede Veneris Genetrīcis – Caesar built a temple to Venus the Ancestress (see §6.1) in 46 BCE as the centerpiece of his new forum (the Forum Iulium). This statue was probably originally of Alexander and Bucephalus.

inclīnātam, etc. – Suetonius here explores Caesar's skill at rallying his troops – even when they would have preferred him not to have! Note the many participles in this sentence; Latin often prefers to use participles to express simultaneous or sequential events where we should prefer co-ordinated main verbs in English.

contortīs faucibus convertēns – *turning them by their twisted throat*, i.e., Caesar would grab men who had turned to flee by the throat and physically haul them back around so that they were facing the enemy again.

et quidem adeō plērumque trepidōs, ut – Tr. *and, in fact, men frequently so frightened that...* *trepidōs* is the object (with *singulōs*) of *retinēns* and *convertēns*.

ut ... sit comminātus ... reliquerit – In secondary sequence, a result clause where the result would naturally occur ("natural result") uses the imperfect subjunctive, while a result clause that states what actually occurred ("actual result") uses the perfect subjunctive. The use of the perfect subjunctives here tells us that these events are represented as historical, not as a hypothetical.

aquilifer – The standard-bearer of the first cohort of a legion was responsible for the legion's eagle, a silver model of an eagle atop a tall wooden pole, which was to be defended from the enemy at all costs. To lose the eagle or other standards was a grave disgrace. Generally, the *aquilifer* or *signifer* was selected for his bravery; these anecdotes tell us of less-than-ideal standard bearers.

morantī – sc. *Caesarī*. Dative object of *sit comminātus*. Caesar was preventing the aquilifer from fleeing.

sē – the aquilifer, object of *morantī*.

cuspide – Standards had a sharp point at the bottom of the pole for driving them into the ground.

alius – Another standard-bearer besides the aquilifer just mentioned.

dētinentis – sc. *Caesaris*

[62] inclīnātam aciem sōlus saepe restituit obsistēns fugientibus retinēnsque singulōs et 1
contortīs faucibus convertēns in hostem et quidem adeō plērumque trepidōs, ut aquilifer 2
morantī sē cuspide sit comminātus, alius in manū dētinentis reliquerit signum. 3

inclīnātus inclīnāta inclīnātum – *wavering, tottering; losing*
aciēs, acieī f. – *battle-line, line; army on the line*
sōlus sōla sōlum – *alone, only*
restituō restituere restituī restitūtus – *to restore, revive, bring back*
obsistō obsistere obstitī obstitus + dat. – *to block, stand in the way of*
fugiō fugere fūgī fugitūrus – *to flee, run away*
**retineō retinēre retinuī retentus – *to hold back, restrain, check; retain, keep*
**singulus singula singulum – *single, individual; solitary; one (each)*
contorqueō contorquēre contorsī contortus – *to twist around, whirl*
faucēs, faucium f.pl. – *jaws, throat*
**adeō, adv. – *so, so much, so greatly, to such an extent*
plērumque, adv. – *generally, for the most part; frequently, commonly*
trepidus trepida trepidum – *fearful*
aquilifer, aquiliferī m. – *aquilifer, eagle-bearer*
moror, morārī, morātus sum – *to delay, hinder*
cuspis, cuspidis m. – *point*
comminor, comminārī, comminātus sum – *to threaten*
dētineō dētinēre dētinuī dētentus – *to hold back, detain*
relinquō relinquere reliquī relictus – *to leave behind*
signum, signī n. – *sign, seal; standard; statue, figure in relief*

[63] nōn minor illa cōnstantia eius, maiōra etiam indicia fuerint. post aciem Pharsālicam cum praemissīs in Āsiam cōpiīs per angustiās Hellēspontī vectōria nāvicula trāiceret, L. Cassium partis adversae cum decem rōstrātīs nāvibus obvium sibi neque refūgit et comminus tendēns, ultrō ad dēditiōnem hortātus, supplicem ad sē recēpit.

His firmness of character was no less, and there are even greater proofs of it. After the battle of Pharsalus, when he was crossing the narrows of the Hellespont in a transport ship while his troops had been sent ahead to Asia, meeting with Lucius Cassius, one of the opposite party, who had ten beaked ships with him, Caesar did not retreat, but in fact coming up next to him, he urged Cassius to surrender, which he did.

[64] Alexandrīae circā oppugnātiōnem pontis ēruptiōne hostium subitā conpulsus in 1
scapham plūribus eōdem praecipitantibus, cum dēsilīsset in mare, nandō per ducentōs 2
passūs ēvāsit ad proximam nāvem, ēlātā laevā, nē libellī quōs tenēbat madefierent, 3
palūdāmentum mordicus trahēns, nē spoliō poterētur hostis. 4

oppugnātiō, oppugnātiōnis f. – *attack*
pōns, pontis m. – *bridge*
ēruptiō, ēruptiōnis f. – *onslaught; sortie, sally*
subitus subita subitum – *sudden*
conpellō conpellere conpulī conpulsus – *to drive, force*
scapha, scaphae f. – *little boat, dinghy*
plūs, gen. plūris (comp. of *multus*) – *more*
eōdem, adv. – *to the same place*
praecipitō praecipitāre praecipitāvī praecipitātus – *to rush headlong*
dēsiliō dēsilīre dēsiluī dēsultus – *to jump down*
mare, maris n. (i-stem) – *sea*
nō nāre nāvī nātus – *to swim*
ducentī ducentae ducenta – *two-hundred*
passus, passūs m. – *pace* (a Roman unit of measurement ~= yard)

ēvādō ēvādere ēvāsī ēvāsus – *to escape, avoid*
proximus proxima proximum – *nearest, closest; next, adjoining; occurring soon after*
**nāvis, nāvis f. (i-stem) – *ship*
efferō efferre ētulī ēlatus – *to raise up, lift*
laeva, laevae f. – *left hand*
libellus, libellī m. – *little book, booklet, pamphlet, paper*
**teneō tenēre tenuī tentus – *to hold, have*
madefiō, madefierī, madefactus sum – *to become wet, be made wet*
palūdāmentum, palūdāmentī n. – *cloak, military cloak*
mordicus, adv. – *with a bite, with one's teeth*
trahō trahere trāxī trāctus – *to drag*
spolium, spoliī n. – *spoil, war-prize*
potior, potīrī, potītus sum + abl. – *to get, obtain*

Alexandrīae – Locative. Remember that the names of cities, towns, and small islands, as well as the nouns *domī, rūrī,* and *humī,* take a locative in place of the ablative of place where with a preposition.

circā oppugnātiōne pontis – This battle was part of Caesar's "Alexandrian War" and took place in <u>48</u>.

plūribus ... praecipitantibus – Abl. abs. Supply *sē* as the object of *praecipitantibus.*

eōdem – Onto the same raft on which Caesar was attempting to escape.

per ducentōs passūs – 200 Roman paces is approximately 971 feet, or a little less than a fifth of a mile.

ēlātā laevā – Abl. abs. Many people doubt the authenticity of this story, but Suetonius appears to have no doubts about its veracity.

palūdāmentum – Caesar's red military cloak.

mordicus – An adverb, *in his teeth.*

spoliō – Abl. with *poterētur. potior* is one of the "PUFFV" verbs, five deponent verbs that take an ablative object. They are *potior,* 'acquire'; *ūtor,* 'use'; *fruor,* 'enjoy'; *fungor,* 'perform'; and *vēscor,* 'eat'. You can understand *eō (palūdāmentō)* here and take *spoliō* as an appositive, *it as a spoil'.*

22
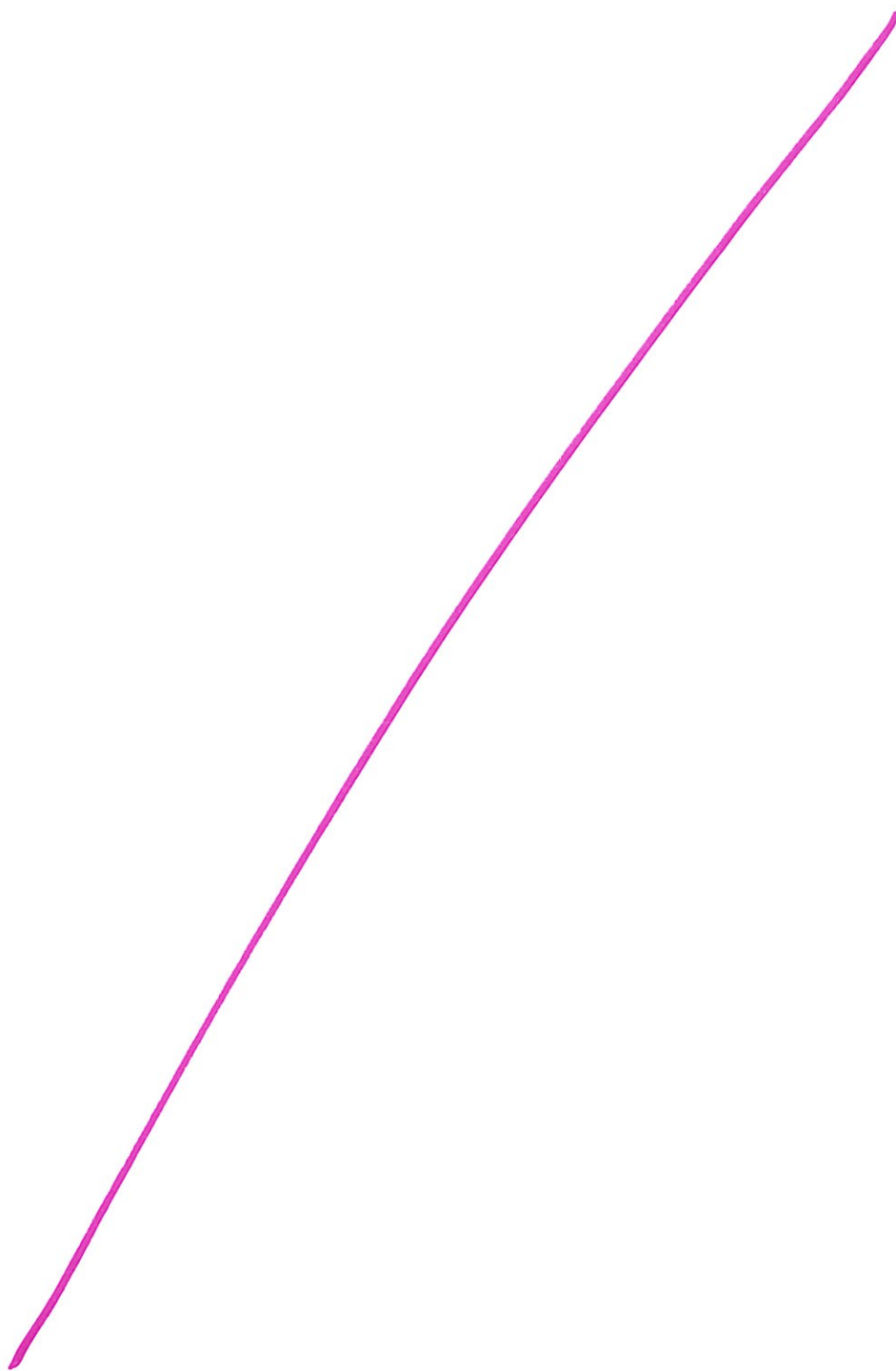
[65] mīlitem neque ā mōribus neque ā fortūnā probābat, sed tantum ā viribus, tractābatque 1
pārī sevēritāte atque indulgentiā. nōn enim ubique ac semper, sed cum hostis in proximō 2
esset, coercēbat: tum maximē exāctor gravissimus disciplīnae, ut neque itineris neque 3
proeliī tempus dēnūntiāret, sed parātum et intentum momentīs omnibus quō vellet subitō 4
ēdūceret. quod etiam sine causā plērumque faciēbat, praecipuē pluviīs et fēstīs diēbus. ac 5
subinde observandum sē admonēns repente interdiu vel nocte subtrahēbat, augēbatque 6
iter, ut sērius subsequentīs dēfetigāret. 7

**mōs, mōris m. – *custom, habit;* (pl.) *character, morals*

fortūna, fortūnae f. – *fortune; station, position (in life)*

probō probāre probāvī probātus – *to test, try; approve, judge*

tantum, adv. – *only*

vīrēs, virium f.pl. – *strength, fighting power*

trāctō trāctāre trāctāvī trāctātus – *to handle, treat*

pār, gen. paris – *equal, even*

sevēritās, sevēritātis f. – *severity, strictness*

indulgentia, indulgentiae f. – *indulgence, laxity*

ubique, adv. – *everywhere*

**semper, adv. – *always*

in proximō – *nearby, within easy reach, close at hand*

coerceō coercēre coercuī coercitus – *to force, compel, control*

tum, adv. – *then*

**maximē, adv. – *very greatly; especially, most*

exāctor, exāctōris m. – *exactor, driver*

disciplīna, disciplīnae f. – *discipline, management*

**iter, itineris n. –*journey; way, road; march*

**proelium, proeliī n. – *battle*

dēnūntiō dēnūntiāre dēnūntiāvī dēnūntiātus – *to announce, declare; threaten, intimate*

parātus parāta parātum – *ready, prepared*

intentus intenta intentum – *tense, taut; eager*

momentum, momentī n. – *moment (of time)*

**quō, adv. – *whither, to where, to which place*

volō velle voluī (irr.) – *to wish, want, be willing*

subitō, adv. – *suddenly*

ēdūcō ēdūcere ēdūxī ēductus – *to lead out; escort*

plērumque, adv. – *generally, for the most part; frequently, commonly*

faciō facere fēcī factus – *to make, render; do*

praecipuē, adv. – *especially*

pluvius pluvia pluvium – *rainy*

fēstus fēsta fēstum – *festival, holiday*

subinde, adv. – *from time to time*

observō observāre observāvī observātus – *to obey, comply with, respect, pay attention to, heed*

**admoneō admonēre admonuī admonitus – *to admonish, urge, remind* (someone of their duty)

**repente, adv. – *suddenly*

interdiu, adv. – *during the daytime*

**vel, conj. – *or, or even*

**nox, noctis f. (i-stem) – *night*

subtrahō subtrahere subtrāxī subtrāctus – *to withdraw, remove*

augeō augēre auxī auctus – *to increase, augment*

sērius, adv. – *later, too late*

subsequor, subsequī, subsecūtus sum – *to follow (closely), follow after*

dēfetigō dēfetigāre dēfetigāvī dēfetigātus – *to tire out, weary*

mīlitem – A generic singular, "a soldier." We might prefer the plural in English.

ā mōribus, ā fortūnā, ā viribus –*from, according to*...

tum maximē – *at that very time;* supply *erat*

ut – result clause

parātum et intentum – sc. *mīlitem* (again, singular for plural)

observandum sē – sc. *esse, that he had to be obeyed,* indirect statement dependent on *admonēns*

subtrahēbat, augēbat – both taking *iter* as their object

subsequentīs – acc. pl.

fāmā – Abl. of cause with *perterritōs*

cōpiārum -- Take with *fāmā.*

negandō minuendōve – Ablative (of means) of the gerund: *by denying (it) or minimizing (it).* Similarly *amplificandō* and *ēmentiendō.*

Iubae – the king of Numidia in northern Africa, an ally of Pompey. Caesar fought him in 47/6 BCE. See §35.

convocātīs … mīlitibus – Abl. abs.

scītōte – A future imperative plural. Translate like the present imperative. It has a more 'solemn' sound to it in Latin than the present.

paucissimīs hīs diēbus – Abl. of time within which.

levis … mīlibus – *with 100,000 lightly-armed (men),* lit. 'with 100,000 of light armarture'

dēsinant – Jussive subjunctive, *let them stop, they should stop;* similarly *crēdant, let them trust, they should trust*

compertum habeō – This construction is the ancestor of the modern Romance use of *have* + participle perfect tense, lit. 'I possess it-having-been-learned, I have it-having-been-learned', and so 'I have learned' → 'I know for certain'.

vetustissimā nāve – Caesar will put the complainers in his *oldest* boat, presumably both because it is the least sea-worthy (and thus they will be most likely to drown) and because it is the least valuable (he doesn't want to waste the good, new ships on them). Note how separation from their commander is the worst punishment that can be imagined (compare the following section). The adjective *vetustus* regularly supplies the comparative of *vetus* 'old', and sometimes, as here, its superlative.

impositōs – *impōnō* is often used to mean 'place in a boat, embark', (Caesar frequently uses it), although it is usually construed with *in* + acc., not with the ablative (of place where without prep.) alone, as here.

nāve impositōs … iubēbō āvehī – *I will order put them to be put in a boat and carried off,* lit. 'I will order them-having-been-put-in a boat to be carried off'. Latin prefers to subordinate and show the sequence of the two actions with the participle, whereas English prefers the co-ordinate structure.

[66] fāmā vērō hostīlium cōpiārum perterritōs nōn negandō minuendōve, sed īnsuper 1
amplificandō ēmentiendōque cōnfirmābat. itaque cum expectātiō adventūs Iubae terribilis 2
esset, convocātīs ad cōntiōnem mīlitibus: 'scītōte,' inquit, 'paucissimīs hīs diēbus rēgem 3
adfutūrum cum decem lēgiōnibus, equitum trigintā, levis armātūrae centum mīlibus, 4
elephantīs trecentīs. proinde dēsinant quīdam quaerere ultrā aut opīnārī mihique, quī 5
compertum habeō, crēdant; aut quidem vetustissimā nāve impositōs quōcumque ventō in 6
quāscumque terrās iubēbō āvehī.' 7

**fāma, fāmae f. — *rumor, report; reputation, fame*
**vērō, postpositive conj. and adv. — *truly, in fact,*
    indeed; but in fact, but indeed
hostīlis hostīlis hostīle — *hostile, of the enemy, enemy*
cōpiae, cōpiārum f.pl. — *troops*
perterritus perterrita perterritum — *terrified*
**negō negāre negāvī negātus — *to deny, say ... not;*
    refuse
minuō minuere minuī minūtus — *to diminish,*
    minimize, lessen
-ve, enclitic conj. — *or*
īnsuper, adv. — *additionally, on top (of that); over and*
    above
amplificō amplificāre amplificāvī amplificātus — *to*
    amplify, make bigger
ēmentior, ēmentīrī, ēmentītus sum — *to lie, exaggerate*
cōnfirmō –āre –āvī –ātus — *to strengthen, shore up;*
    confirm, ratify, recognize
itaque, conj. — *and so, therefore*
expectātiō, expectātiōnis f. — *expectation, anticipation*
adventus, adventūs m. — *arrival*
terribilis terribilis terribile — *terrible, awful*
convocō convocāre convocāvī convocātus — *to call*
    together, gather, convene
cōntiō, cōntiōnis f. — *assembly, meeting*
**sciō scīre scīvī scītus — *to know*
paucī paucae pauca — *few*
adsum adesse adfuī adfutūrus (irr.) — *to be present; be*
    here, be there; be at hand
decem, indecl. adj. — *ten*
lēgiō, lēgiōnis f. — *legion*

**eques, equitis m. — *equestrian, knight, horseman;*
    (pl.) *cavalry*
trigintā, indecl. adj. — *thirty*
levis levis leve — *light; slight, trivial*
armātūra, armātūrae f. — *equipment, arms, armature*
centum, indecl. adj. — *one hundred*
mīlia, mīlium n.pl. — *thousands*
elephantus, elephantī m. — *elephant*
trecentī trecentae trecenta — *three hundred*
proinde, adv. — *so then, consequently*
dēsinō dēsinere dēsiī dēsitus — *to stop, cease*
quaerō quaerere quaesīvī quaesītus — *to seek, ask*
ultrā, adv. — *further*
**aut, conj. — *or*
**opīnor, opīnārī, opīnātus sum — *to think, suppose,*
    judge; imagine, guess, conjecture
ego meī mihi mē mē, 1st person pronoun — *I*
compertum habeō habēre habuī habitus — *to know for*
    certain
crēdō crēdere crēdidī crēditus (+ dat.) — *to believe,*
    trust (in)
vetustus vetusta vetustum — *old, ancient*
**nāvis, nāvis f. — *ship*
**impōnō impōnere imposuī impositus — *to place*
    on, place in, place upon; impose; embark
quīcumque quaecumque quodcumque — *any,*
    whatever
ventus, ventī m. — *wind*
terra, terrae f. — *earth, ground, land; country*
āvehō āvehere āvexī āvectus — *to carry away, convey*
    away

[67.1] dēlīcta neque observābat omnia neque prō modō exequēbātur, sed dēsertōrum ac   1
sēditiōsōrum et inquīsītor et pūnītor acerrimus cōnīvēbat in cēterīs. ac nōnnumquam post   2
magnam pugnam atque victōriam, remissō officiōrum mūnere, licentiam omnem passim   3
lascīviendī permittēbat, iactāre solitus mīlitēs suōs etiam unguentātōs bene pugnāre posse.   4

dēlīctum, dēlīctī n. – *fault, sin, breach of discipline*
observō observāre observāvī observātus – *to obey,
     comply with, respect, pay attention to, heed*
prō modō – *in proportion to*
exequor, exequī, execūtus sum – *to follow up on,
     investigate and punish*
dēsertor, dēsertōris m. – *deserter*
sēditiōsus sēditiōsa sēditiōsum – *seditious, rebellious*
inquīsītor, inquīsītōris m. – *investigator; spy*
pūnītor, pūnītōris m. – *punisher*
acer acris acre – *keen, sharp, fierce*
cōnīveō cōnīvēre cōnīvīvī + in + abl. – *to shut one's
     eyes to, ignore*
nōnnumquam, adv. – *sometimes*
pugna, pugnae f. – *fight, battle*
victōria, victōriae f. – *victory, win*
remittō remittere remīsī remissus – *to send back;
     remit, give a break from, suspend*

**officium, officiī n. – *duty, office; observance,
     attendance, service; office* or *court* (of a
     magistrate)
mūnus, mūneris n. – *office*
licentia, licentiae f. – *license, excessive freedom*
passim, adv. – *everywhere, throughout*
lascīviō lascīvīre – *to run riot, run wild*
permittō permittere permīsī permissus – *to allow,
     permit*
iactō iactāre iactāvī iactātus – *to toss about, utter; to
     boast, vaunt*
soleō, solēre, solitus sum – *to be accustomed, usually*
unguentātus unguentāta unguentātum – *perfumed,
     covered in oil*
bene, adv. – *well*
pugnō pugnāre pugnāvī pugnātus – *to fight*
**possum posse potuī (irr.) – *to be able, can*

omnia – Note the emphatic position: Caesar didn't care about *all* crimes committed by his men, just some of them.

prō modō – *proportionately*, i.e., he didn't punish on the basis of how severe the crime was, only what kind it was

pugnam atque victōriam – Hendiadys, the expression of one idea by two nouns joined by 'and': *a victorious fight*

remissō ... mūnere – Abl. abs. Tr. *officiōrum mūnere* as 'the normal course of their duties'

lascīviendī – With *licentiam, freedom to run wild*, lit. 'freedom of running wild'.

mīlitēs ... posse – Indirect statement following *iactāre* ('to boast').

unguentātōs – *perfumed*. The implication is that they are perfumed and oiled because they have been enjoying female company (either prostitutes, camp followers, and the like, or the wives and daughters of the enemy). Caesar boasts that his soldiers can still fight well even when they've been acting in a debauched, unmanly manner.

[67.2] nec mīlitēs eōs prō cōntiōne, sed blandiōre nōmine commīlitōnēs appellābat habēbatque tam cultōs, ut argentō et aurō polītīs armīs ōrnāret, simul et ad speciem et quō tenāciōres eōrum in proeliō essent metū damnī. dīligēbat quoque usque adeō, ut audītā clāde Titūriānā barbam capillumque summīserit nec ante dēmpserit quam vindicāsset.

He did not call his men just "soldiers" in his speech, but the more flattering term "fellow soldiers," and he kept them so elegant that he would adorn their weapons with silver and gold, for two reasons: one, to present an impressive appearance, and two, so that they would hold onto their weapons more securely in battle out of fear of how much they cost. Caesar loved his men so very much that, when he heard about the disastrous loss suffered by his lieutenant Titurius, he let his beard and hair grow out as a sign of mourning and he did not cut them again until he had taken revenge on the enemy.

[68.1] quibus rēbus et dēvōtissimōs sibi et fortissimōs reddidit. ingressō cīvīle bellum centuriōnēs cuiusque lēgiōnis singulōs equitēs ē viāticō suō optulērunt, ūniversī mīlitēs grātuītam et sine frūmentō stīpendiōque operam, cum tenuiōrum tūtēlam locuplētiōrēs in sē contulissent. neque in tam diūturnō spatio quisquam omnīnō dēscīvit, plērīque captī concessam sibi sub condiciōne vītam, sī mīlitāre adversus eum vellent, recūsārunt.

By these means, he rendered his men both most devoted to him and exceedingly brave. When he embarked on the civil war, the centurions of each legion offered to support a cavalrymen each out of their own savings, and the soldiers served for free without any food provisions or pay, since the wealthier ones took the care of the poorer upon themselves. Nor did anyone ever desert, despite how long the campaigns went on, and the majority of his men, if captured by the enemy, would refuse to fight against him, even to save their own lives.

[68.2] famem et cēterās necessitātēs, nōn cum obsidērentur modo sed et sī ipsī aliōs   1
obsidērent, tantō opere tolerābant, ut Dyrrachīnā mūnitiōne Pompēius vīsō genere pānis   2
ex herbā, quō sustinēbantur, cum ferīs sibi rem esse dīxerit āmovērīque ōcius nec cuiquam   3
ostendī iusserit, nē patientiā et pertināciā hostis animī suōrum frangerentur.   4

      famēs, famis f. (abl. famē) – *hunger*
      necessitās, necessitātis f. – *necessity, compulsion; lack, need*
      obsideō obsidēre obsēdī obsessus – *to besiege*
      **modo, adv. – *only*
      **sī, conj. – *if*
      tantō opere (also *tantopere*) – *so much, so greatly*
      tolerō tolerāre tolerāvī tolerātus – *to tolerate, be able to endure*
      Dyrrachīnus Dyrrachīna Dyrrachīnum – *of or relating to Dyrrachium*
      mūnitiō, mūnitiōnis f. – *fortification, defense*
      **genus, generis n. – *race, stock, lineage; kind, type*
      pānis, pānis m. (i-stem) – *bread*
      herba, herbae f. – *grass; useless plant, weed*
      sustineō sustinēre sustinuī sustentus – *to sustain; nourish, maintain* (life); *bear, endure, allow*
      fera, ferae f. – *wild animal, beast*
      āmoveō āmovēre āmōvī āmōtus – *to remove, take away*
      ōcius, comparative adv. – *more quickly, more swiftly; sooner*
      ostendō ostendere ostendī ostentus – *to show*
      patientia, patientiae f. – *patience, endurance, willingness to endure hardship*
      pertinācia, pertināciae f. – *stubborness, perseverance*
      **animus, animī m. – *mind, spirit; intention*
      frangō frangere frēgī frāctus – *to break, crush*

tantō opere – Also *tantopere*, 'so greatly, to such a great extent'.

Dyrrachīnā mūnitiōne – *during the defense of Dyrrachium*. Dyrrachium, one of the great battles of the Civil War between Pompey and Caesar, took place in 48 BCE. See also notes on §58.2.

vīsō genere – Abl. abs.

pānis ex herbā – Although Latin generally does not like prepositional phrases dependent on nouns (the so-called "man in the moon" construction), counterexamples like this one abound. It's really more of a guideline than a rule. The *herba* referred to, called *chara* elsewhere, has not been definitively identified, but was probably a type of bitter cabbage or pea, the roots of which Caesar's men boiled and then mixed with milk to make their *pānis*.

quō – Its antecedent is *pānis*; *by which*.

cum ferīs sibi rem esse – *that he was dealing with wild animals*, lit. 'that the affair for him was with wild animals'. *rem cum aliquō esse* is to 'have business with someone', 'deal with someone'. *sibi* is a dative of reference.

ōcius – This adverb only occurs in the comparative. The idea was that the bread should be removed *quicker* than anyone could see it.

suōrum – sc. *mīlitum*; *of his men*

[68.3] quantā fortitūdine dīmicārint, testimōniō est quod adversō semel apud Dyrrachium proeliō poenam in sē ultrō dēpoposcērunt, ut cōnsōlandōs eōs magis imperātor quam pūniendōs habuerit. cēterīs proeliīs innumerās adversāriōrum cōpiās multīs partibus ipsī pauciōrēs facile superārunt. dēnique ūna sextae lēgiōnis cohors praeposita castellō quattuor Pompeī lēgiōnēs per aliquot hōrās sustinuit paene omnis cōnfīxa multitūdine hostīlium sagittārum, quārum centum ac trigintā mīlia intrā vāllum reperta sunt.

His men's braveness when fighting was very great, and ample proof is provided by the fact that once after they lost the battle of Dyrrachium, his men took it upon themselves to demand punishment, so that their general had to console them more than punish them. In their other battles, they easily defeated countless enemy troops although they themselves were a great deal fewer. To take but one example, one cohort of the sixth legion, who had been placed in charge of a fort, held off four of Pompey's legion for a number of hours, nearly all of them hit by a multitude of the enemy's arrows, of which 130,000 were found within the rampart.

[68.4] nec mīrum, sī quis singulōrum facta respiciat, vel Cassī Scaevae centuriōnis vel Gāī Acīlī mīlitis, nē dē plūribus referam. Scaeva excussō oculō, trānsfīxus femore et umerō, centum et vīgintī ictibus scūtō perforātō, custōdiam portae commissī castellī retinuit. Acīlius nāvālī ad Massiliam proeliō, iniectā in puppem hostium dexterā et abscīsā, memorābile illud apud Graecōs Cynegīrī exemplum imitātus trānsiluit in nāvem umbōne obviōs agēns.

This is not surprising if you consider the deeds of some of his individual men, such as Cassius Scaeva, a centurion, or Gaius Acilius, an ordinary solider, not to mention many others. Scaeva, his eye struck out, stabbed in his leg and shoulder, and his shield pierced by 120 blows, did not give up his post at the gate of the fort entrusted to his care. Acilius, during the naval battle near Massilia, grabbed the deck of the enemy ship with his right hand, which was then cut off; then he imitated that deed of Cynegirus which is famous among the Greeks by jumping aboard the ship and using the boss of his shield to drive those he met out of his way.

[69] sēditiōnem per decem annōs Gallicīs bellīs nūllam omnīnō mōvērunt, cīvīlibus aliquās, sed ut celeriter ad officium redierint, nec tam indulgentiā ducis quam auctōritāte. nōn enim cessit umquam tumultuantibus atque etiam obviam semper iit; et nōnam quidem lēgiōnem apud Placentiam, quamquam in armīs adhūc Pompēius esset, tōtam cum ignōminiā missam fēcit aegrēque post multās et supplicīs precēs, nec nisi exāctā dē sontibus poenā, restituit.

None of his men mutinied at all throughout the ten years of war in Gaul, although some did during the civil wars, but never so seriously they did not quickly return to obedience, more because of their leader's authority than his indulgence, since he never gave into them when they were revolting, but always went to face them head on; and in fact, he gave the entire ninth legion a dishonorable discharge at Placenti, although Pompey was still fighting, and he only took them back reluctantly after many pleas and with punishment for the guilty parties.

[70] decimānōs autem Rōmae cum ingentibus minīs summōque etiam urbis perīculō missiōnem et praemia flāgitantēs, ardente tunc in Āfricā bellō, neque adīre cunctātus est, quamquam dēterrentibus amīcīs, neque dīmittere; sed ūnā vōce, quā 'Quirītēs' eōs prō mīlitibus appellārat, tam facile circumēgit et flēxit, ut eī mīlitēs esse cōnfestim responderint et quamvīs recūsantem

ultrō in Āfricam sint secūti; ac sīc quoque sēditiōsissimum quemque et praedae et agrī dēstinātī tertiā parte multāvit.

But when at Rome the soldiers of the tenth legion were demanding their discharge and rewards with huge threats and greatest danger to the city, even though the war in Africa was in full flame, he did not hesitate to confront them, although his friends were urging him not to, and dismiss them; but he needed only one word to change their minds completely, because when he called them "civilians" instead of "soldiers," they immediately responded that they were "soldiers" and took it upon themselves to follow him to Africa even though he told them not to; and he punished the most mutinous by taking away a third of their promised loot and land.

[71] studium et fidēs ergā clientīs nē iuvenī quidem dēfuērunt. Masintham nōbilem iuvenem, cum adversus Hiempsalem rēgem tam ēnīxē dēfendisset, ut Iubae rēgis fīliō in altercātiōne barbam invāserit, stīpendiārium quoque prōnūntiātum et abstrahentibus statim ēripuit occultāvitque apud sē diū et mox ex praetūrā proficīscēns in Hispaniam inter officia prōsequentium fascēsque līctorum lectīcā suā āvexit.

He never lacked zeal and loyalty towards his clients even as a young man. He defended Masintha, a noble youth, against King Hiempsal so vigorously that he even grabbed the beard of King Iuba's son during the debating. He also immediately rescued Masintha after he was declared liable to pay tribute to Hiempsal from those trying to carry him away, and he hid him in his own house for a long time. Later, when he was setting off for his praetorship in Hispania, he had him carried off among the property of his attendants and the fasces of the lictors in his own litter.
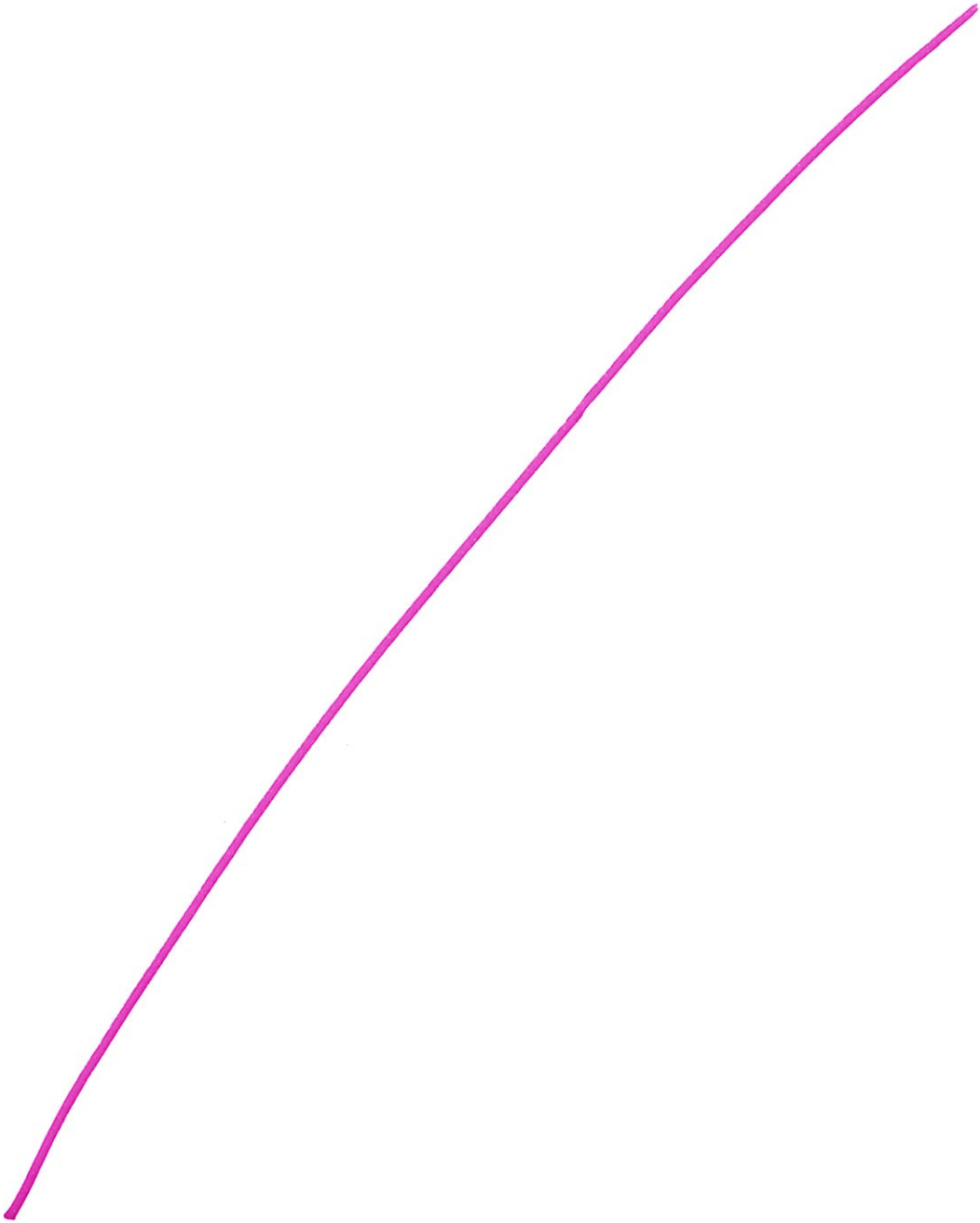
facilitāte, indulgentiā – Abl. of manner.

Gāiō Oppiō – an *eques* and one of Caesar's agents; he later wrote memoirs. See also §52.2. Dative with *cesserit*.

sē – i.e. Caesar.

dēversōriolō – Abl. of respect, *in (the matter of) a poor little lodging*. A diminutive form.

quod ūnum erat – *because there was (only) one (place to sleep)*

cesserit, cubuerit – Perfect subjunctive (instead of imperfect) in a result clause to denote the actual result; Caesar really did choose to sleep outside to let his sick friend have the bed inside. (Of course, the implication is that it would be strange for Caesar to have given his friend the lodging otherwise; Caesar, since he was of higher status, would normally have taken the lodging.)

sub dīvō – *under the open sky*, lit. 'under the (sky) god'

cum ob id culpārētur – An awkward construction: 'he did something, when he was being faulted for it, having proclaimed that …' This is perhaps best rearranged entirely in English: 'when he was blamed for having done something, he proclaimed that…'

ope – Ablative object of *ūsus esset*. *ops* means 'help, aid' in the singular and 'wealth, resources' in the plural.

in tuendā suā dignitāte – Gerundive in place of gerund, *in (the course of) preserving his honor*

ūsus esset – Pluperfect subjunctive in a past contrary-to-fact condition, *if he had made use of…*

tālibus – Dat. indirect object with relātūrum – *to such people* (i.e., thugs and murderers)

pārem grātiam relātūrum – sc. *esse*; this represents the *retulisset* of direct speech, *he would have returned the favor equally* (lit. 'an equal favor')

[72] amīcōs tantā semper facilitāte indulgentiāque trāctāvit, ut Gāiō Oppiō comitantī sē   1
per silvestre iter correptōque subitā valitūdine dēversōriolō, quod ūnum erat, cesserit et   2
ipse humī ac sub dīvō cubuerit. iam autem rērum potēns quōsdam etiam īnfimī generis ad   3
amplissimōs honōrēs prōvexit, cum ob id culpārētur, professus palam, sī grassātōrum et   4
sīcāriōrum ope in tuendā suā dignitāte ūsus esset, tālibus quoque sē parem grātiam   5
relātūrum.   6

amīcus, amīcī m. – *friend*
tantus tanta tantum – *so great, such a great*
**semper, adv. – *always*
facilitās, facilitātis f. – *easiness, good nature*
indulgentia, indulgentiae f. – *indulgence, laxity*
trāctō trāctāre trāctāvī trāctātus – *to handle, treat*
comitor, comitārī, comitātus sum – *to accompany*
silvestris silvestris silvestre – *sylvan, forest*
**iter, itineris n. – *journey; way, road; march*
corripiō corripere corripuī correptus – *to seize, grab;* (pass.) *fall prey to*
subitus subita subitum – *sudden*
**valitūdō, valitūdinis f. – *health; ill-health, illness*
dēversōriolum, dēversōriolī n. – *small lodging place, inn*
cēdō cēdere cessī cessūrus + dat. – *to yield, give way to, give up to, give in to*
humī, locative noun – *on the ground*
sub, prep. + abl. – *under, beneath*
dīvum, dīvī n. – *the sky, the open*
cubō cubāre cubuī cubitus – *to lie; lie in bed; sleep*
**iam, adv. – *now, already*
potēns, gen. potentis – *powerful (over* + gen.)
īnfimus īnfima īnfimum – *lowest, humblest*
**genus, generis n. – *race, stock, lineage; kind, type*
**amplus ampla amplum – *ample, full; great, grand; high; large, spacious*
prōvehō prōvehere prōvexī prōvectus – *to carry forward, bring up*
**ob, prep. + acc. – *on account of, because of, for*
culpō culpāre culpāvī culpātus – *to blame*
profiteor, profitērī, professus sum – *to profess, proclaim, announce*
palam, adv. – *openly*
**sī, conj. – *if*
grassātor, grassātōris m. – *hoodlum, thug*
sīcārius, sīcāriī m. – *cut-throat, murderer*
ops, opis f. – *help, aid*
tueor, tuērī, tutus sum – *to look after, care for*
dīgnitās, dīgnitātis f. – *dignity, position, honor*
**ūtor, ūtī, ūsus sum – *to use, employ* + abl.
**tālis tālis tāle – *such*
**quoque, adv. – *also, too*
pār, gen. paris – *equal, even*
grātia, grātiae f. – *favor, thanks*

contrā – The adverb, not the preposition: *on the other hand, on the contrary.* A transition is being marked from the previous section (kindness towards friends) to the current (willingness to put down enmities).

occāsiōne oblātā – Abl. abs.

Gaī Memmī – A patron of the poets Catullus and Lucretius (who dedicated the *Dē Rērum Nātūrā* to him). Objective genitive with *suffrāgātor*.

cuius asperrimīs ōrātiōnibus ... *to whose very sharp speeches*; dative with *rescrīpserat*

nōn minōre acerbitāte – Litotes (understatement for rhetorical effect), *with just as much bitter wit*

in petītiōne cōnsulātus – Memmius was a candidate for consul in 54, with Caesar's support.

Gāiō Calvō – A poet and orator and friend of Catullus. Although well-regarded in his day, none of his works survive to us.

fāmōsa – *defamatory, libellous*; they are things that create *fāma* ('rumor, [bad] reputation').

agentī – Modifies *Calvō*. With *dē reconciliātiōne, discussing a reconciliation, trying to effect a reconciliation.*

Valerium Catullum – Gaius Valerius Catullus (c. 84 BCE – c. 54 BCE), the most famous poet of his generation, who wrote many verses critical of Caesar. Direct object of *adhibuit*.

ā quō ... dissimulāverat – *by whom he did not conceal that eternal marks of shame had been imposed on him with his little verses about Mamurra*; indirect statement after *dissimulāverat*. *dissimulō* means to pretend that something is not what it is ("this is not a pipe," when really it is); *simulō* means to pretend something is what it is not ("this is a book," when really it is a pipe).

versiculīs dē Mamurrā – Catullus 29, 57; also perhaps 41, 43, 94, 105, 114, and 115. Catullus wrote scathingly of Mamurra, an equestrian who served as Caesar's *praefectus fabrum* (chief engineer) during his campaigns in Gaul, accusing him of wasteful spending on luxuries, womanizing, and an affair with Caesar.

satis facientem – *when he apologized*, modifying *Catullum*. The present participle suggests that Caesar's invitation happens simultaneously with Catullus' apology, although of course *eādem diē* (*on the same day*) is more accurate. *satis facere* (also written *satisfacere*), 'to make up for, make amends for, ask pardon for' comes from the idea of satisfying (making good on) a debt: if you injure someone, you owe them.

eādem diē – Note that *diēs*, although generally masculine, can be feminine when it refers to a specific day, as here.

cēnae – Dative with *adhibuit*.

hospitiō – Abl. object of *ūtī*.

cōnsuērat – Syncopated form of *cōnsuēverat*.

[73] simultātēs contrā nūllās tam gravēs excēpit umquam, ut nōn occāsiōne oblātā libēns 1
dēpōneret. Gaī Memmī, cuius asperrimīs ōrātiōnibus nōn minōre acerbitāte rescrīpserat, 2
etiam suffrāgātor mox in petītiōne cōnsulātūs fuit. Gāiō Calvō post fāmōsa epigrammata 3
dē reconciliātiōne per amīcōs agentī ultrō ac prior scrīpsit. Valerium Catullum, ā quō sibi 4
versiculīs dē Māmurrā perpetua stigmata imposita nōn dissimulāverat, satis facientem 5
eādem diē adhibuit cēnae hospitiōque patris eius, sīcut cōnsuērat, ūtī persevērāvit. 6

simultās, simultātis f. – *rivalry*
contrā, adv. – *on his part*
**nūllus nūlla nūllum – *not any, no*
**tam, adv. – *so, such*
**excipiō excipere excēpī exceptus – *to welcome, receive; intercept; catch, take captive; take up, conceive*
**occāsiō, occāsiōnis f. – *opportunity*
offerō offerre obtulī oblātus (irr.) – *to offer, present*
libēns, gen. libentis – *glad, willing*
dēpōnō dēpōnere dēposuī dēpositus – *to put down, place aside*
asper aspera asperum –*fierce, sharp, savage*
ōrātiō, ōrātiōnis f. – *speech, oration*
minor minor minus (comp. of *parvus*) – *smaller, lesser; less*
acerbitās, acerbitātis f. – *acerbity, bitterness; bitter wit*
rescrībō recrībere rescrīpsī rescrīptus – *to reply (in writing), write back to*
suffrāgātor, suffrāgātōris m. – *supporter (at the polls), voter*
**mox, adv. – *soon; then, next; afterwards, later*
petītiō, petītiōnis f. – *campaign* (for office)
**cōnsulātus, cōnsulātūs m. – *consulship*
fāmōsus fāmōsa fāmōsum – *defamatory, libelous*
epigramma, epigrammatis n. – *epigram, brief witty poem*
reconciliātiō, reconciliātiōnis f. – *reconciliation, re-establishing of a friendly relationship*
amīcus, amīcī m. –*friend*
ultrō, adv. – *of his own accord*
prior prior prius – *earlier, first*
versiculus, versiculī m. – *(little) verse, versicle*
perpetuus perpetua perpetuum – *continual, perpetual; permanent, eternal*
stigma, stigmatis n. – *stigma, (sign of) shame*
**impōnō impōnere imposuī impositus – *to place on, place in, place upon; impose; embark*
dissimulō dissimulāre dissimulāvī dissimulātus – *to dissimulate, lie, conceal*
satis faciō facere fēcī factus – *to make up for, make good, apologize*
adhibeō adhibēre adhibuī adhibitus – *to invite*
cēna, cēnae f. – *dinner (party)*
hospitium, hospitiī n. – *hospitality*
sīcut, conj. –*just as*
cōnsuēscō cōnsuēscere cōnsuēvī cōnsuētus – *to become accustomed to, get used to*
**ūtor, ūtī, ūsus sum + abl. – *to use, employ*
perseverō perseverāre perseverāvī perseverātus – *to continue, keep on*

§73: Catullus' Abusive Poems Towards Caesar

29

quis hoc potest vidēre, quis potest patī,
nisi impudīcus et vorāx et āleō,
Mamurram habēre quod comāta Gallia
habēbat ante et ultima Britannia?
cinaede Rōmule, haec vidēbis et ferēs?
et ille nunc superbus et superfluēns
perambulābit omnium cubīlia
ut albulus columbus aut Adōneus?
cinaede Rōmule, haec vidēbis et ferēs?
es impudīcus et vorāx et āleō.
eōne nōmine, imperātor ūnice,
fuistī in ultimā occidentis īnsulā,
ut ista vestra diffutūta mentula
ducentiēs comēsset aut trecentiēs?
quid est aliud sinistra līberālitās?
parum expatrāvit an parum elluātus est?
paterna prīma lancināta sunt bona;
secunda praeda Pontica; inde tertia
Hibēra, quam scit amnis aurifer Tagus.
nunc Galliae timētur et Britanniae.
quid hunc malum fovētis? aut quid hic potest
nisi ūncta dēvorāre patrimōnia?
eōne nōmine, urbis opulentissimī
socer generque, perdidistis omnia?

Who is there that could see this, who could endure it,
except a man without morals, a glutton, a gambler,
that Mamurra now has what long-haired Gaul
and the furthest reaches of Britain used to have?
Our new Romulus, shameless man, will you see and yet endure these things?
And now he, arrogant and affluent,
is going to walk over to the beds of all,
like some white dove of Venus or like an Adonis?
Our new Romulus, shameless man, will you see and yet endure these things?
You are without morals and a glutton and a gambler!
Was this the excuse then, o our esteemed leader,
for going to the island at the ends of the earth:
was it so that Ma-moron, the good friend of you both, in all his debauchery
could squander your hundreds of millions?
What is this but left-handed generosity?
Has he spent too little or been wiped clean out?
The first thing he squandered was his father's possessions;
second was his Pontic prize; then third
the stuff from Spain, where flows the Tagus, full of gold.
Now he's eyeing Gaul and Britain.
Why do you both love this scoundrel so much? What is he good for
except squandering fat inheritances?
Was this your excuse then, O wealthiest
father- and son-in-law in Rome, for destroying everything?

54

Othōnis caput oppidō est pusillum;
Hirrī rūstica, sēmilauta crūra,
subtīle et leve pēditum Libōnis,
sī nōn omnia; displicēre vellem
tibi et Fūfidiō senī recoctō...
īrāscēre iterum meīs iambīs
immerentibus, ūnice imperātor.

Otho's head is absolutely teeny;
Hirrus' countrified legs are but half-washed,
while delicate and light is the fart of Libo
(even if nothing else be); I wouldn't be sorry to be disliked
by you and that warmed-over old man, Fufidius...
you're going to get angry at my insult poems again,
even though they don't deserve it, o esteemed leader.

N.b. Otho, Hirrus, Libo, and Fufidius are generally agreed to be supporters of Caesar, although scholars disagree on their exact identities.

57

pulchrē convenit improbīs cinaedīs,
Mamurrae pathicōque Caesarīque.
nec mīrum: maculae parēs utrīsque,
urbāna altera et illa Formiāna,
impressae resident nec ēluentur:
morbōsī pariter, gemellī utrīque,
ūnō in lecticulō ērudītulī ambō,
nōn hic quam ille magis vorāx adulter,
rīvālēs sociī et puellulārum.
pulchrē convenit improbīs cinaedīs.

It's just what you would expect from men of no morals,
of Mamurra and that sissy Caesar.
Nor is it a suprise: each as stained in guilt as the other,
the one from Rome and the other from Formiae.
The stains are ground in and can't be washed off:
equally diseased, those two little twins,
both quite the scholars in their one little bed,
and the one quite as voracious an adulterer as the other,
counting up together how many girlies they can get.
It's just what you would expect from men of no morals.

Comprehension questions

1. In general, what kinds of insults did Catullus write about Caesar? Give at least three specific examples from the poems above to support your answer.
2. What kind of reaction would one normally expect from a Roman insulted in that way? How does that compare to Caesar's response?
3. Why do you think Caesar chose to display clemency to Catullus for writing these poems? What political purpose did it serve?

in ulcīscendō – *in taking revenge*; compare the following use of the ablative of respect without a preposition (*nātūrā*).

nātūrā – *by nature*, abl. of respect

lēnissimus – modifies the understood *Caesar* (subject); the three anecdotes here all illustrate Caesar's 'merciful' nature. Caesar was very strongly associated with *clēmentia*, although he does not appear to have used that word himself (note that Suetonius likewise uses *lēnis* here, not *clēmēns*). See also §75, on Caesar's attitude towards political enemies in the civil war, and on the temple *Clēmentiae Caesaris*, see §76.1.

pīrātās – On Caesar's capture by the priates and subsequent release, see §4.1 and 4.2.

suffīxūrum sē crucī – sc. *esse*, indirect statement dependent on *iūrāverat*, *that he would crucify them...*

iugulārī prius – A swift death, versus the prolonged agony of crucifixion.

deinde suffigī – i.e., their dead bodies were placed upon crosses. Caesar thus fulfilled his vow, and the public deterrent effect (such as it was) of the death penalty was preserved. One is reminded rather of the story of the widow of Ephesus who, keeping vigil over the body of her recently deceased husband in his tomb, then fell in love with a man scheduled for execution who came to the tomb for refuge, and ultimately hung her husband's dead body on the cross in place of her new lover's still-living one.

Cornēliō Phagītae – one of the *inquīsitōrēs* that Caesar bribed not to turn him into Sulla; see §1.2.

praemiō datō – abl. abs.

Philēmōnem ā manū servum – *his amanuensis Philemon*; an amanuensis is a confidential secretary that a Roman such as Caesar would employ to assist him and would therefore need to trust fully. This use of *ā* denotes the function of the slave; cf. *servī* (or *lībertī*) *ā libellīs* or *ab epistulīs*, etc.

suam – i.e., Caesar's

nōn gravius, etc. – i.e., Caesar only put him to death; he did not torture him first. Roman law took killing your master very seriously. Had Philemon succeeded and been found out, the law required that every slave in the household be put to death, both as a deterrent and because the willingness to raise one's hand against one's master was considered contagious. This punishment was notoriously carried out in the first century CE; when one of his slaves murdered the senator L. Pedanius Secundus, the Senate had all 400 of the slaves in his household put to death, despite an outcry from the people.

[74.1] sed et in ulcīscendō natūrā lēnissimus pīrātās, ā quibus captus est, cum in diciōnem 1
redēgisset, quoniam suffīxūrum sē crucī ante iūrāverat, iugulārī prius iussit, deinde 2
suffīgī; Cornēliō Phagītae, cuius quondam nocturnās īnsidiās aeger ac latēns, nē 3
perdūcerētur ad Sullam, vix praemiō datō ēvāserat, numquam nocēre sustinuit; 4
Philēmōnem ā manū servum, quī necem suam per venēnum inimīcīs prōmīserat, nōn 5
gravius quam simplicī morte pūniit; 6

ulcīscor, ulcīscī, ultus sum – *to take revenge, avenge*
nātūra, nātūrae f. – *nature*
lēnis lēnis lēne – *soft, gentle, mild*
pīrāta, pīrātae m. – *pirate*
capiō capere cēpī captus – *to seize, take; capture*
diciō, diciōnis f. – *power, control*
redigō redigere redēgī redāctus – *to drive back, reduce; bring under (the power of), subdue*
quoniam, conj. – *since, because*
suffīgō suffigere suffīxī suffīxus + dat. – *to fasten (to), nail (to)*
crux, crucis f. – *cross*
ante, adv. – *before, earlier, previously*
iūrō iūrāre iūrāvī iūrātus – *to swear (an oath)*
iugulō iugulāre iugulāvī iugulātus – *to cut the throat (of), kill*
prius, adv. – *first, earlier*
**quondam, adv. – *once, some time ago, formerly*
nocturnus nocturna nocturnum – *night-time, nocturnal*
īnsidiae, īnsidiārum f.pl. – *trap, ambush; plot*
aeger aegra aegrum – *sick, weary*
lateō latēre latuī – *to hide, lie in hiding*
perdūcō perdūcere perdūxī perductus – *to bring to*
vix, adv. – *scarcely, barely*
praemium, praemiī n. – *reward, prize; bribe*
ēvādō ēvādere ēvāsī ēvāsus – *to escape, avoid*
numquam, adv. – *never*
noceō nocēre nocuī + dat. – *to harm, hurt*
sustineō sustinēre sustinuī sustentus – *to sustain; nourish, maintain* (life); *bear, endure, allow*
servus, servī m. – *slave*
nex, necis f. – *death, murder*
venēnum, venēnī n. – *poison*
**inimīcus, inimīcī m. – *(personal) enemy*
prōmittō prōmittere prōmīsī prōmissus – *to promise*
simplex, gen. simplicis – *simple, ordinary*
mors, mortis f. – *death*
pūniō pūnīre pūniī pūnītus – *to punish*

[74.2] in Pūblium Clōdium Pompeiae uxōris suae adulterum atque eādem dē causā 1
pollūtārum caerimōniārum reum testis citātus negāvit sē quicquam comperisse, quamvīs 2
et māter Aurēlia et soror Iūlia apud eōsdem iūdicēs omnia ex fidē rettulissent; 3
interrogātusque, cūr igitur repudiāsset uxōrem: 'quoniam,' inquit, 'meōs tam suspiciōne 4
quam crīmine iūdicō carēre oportēre.' 5

adulter, adulterī m. – *adulterer, seducer*
polluō polluere polluī pollūtus – *to pollute, defile, desecrate, violate*
**caerimōnia, caerimōniae f. – *ceremony, (religious) rite, ritual; sanctity; reverence; majesty*
reus, reī m. – *defendant*
testis, testis m./f. (i-stem) – *witness*
citō citāre citāvī citātus – *to summon, call (to witness)*
**negō negāre negāvī negātus – *to deny, say ... not; refuse*
comperiō comperīre comperuī compertus – *to find out for sure, gain certain knowledge, learn, discover*
**māter, mātris f. – *mother*
soror, sorōris f. – *sister*
iūdex, iūdicis m. – *judge, juror*
**fidēs, fideī f. – *faith; trustworthiness, loyalty; belief*
interrogō interrogāre interrogāvī interrogātus – *to ask, question*
cūr, interrogative adv. and conj. – *why*
igitur, postpositive conj. – *therefore*
repudiō repudiāre repudiāvī repudiātus – *to reject, repudiate; divorce*
quoniam, conj. – *since, because*
meus mea meum – *my, mine*
tam ... quam – *both ... and; as ... as; as much ... as*
suspiciō, suspiciōnis f. – *suspicion*
crīmen, crīminis n. – *(criminal) charge; crime*
iūdicō iūdicāre iūdicāvī iūdicātus – *to judge, think*
careō carēre caruī + abl. – *to lack, be free from*
oportet, oportēre, oportuit, impersonal verb + acc. + inf. – *it is fitting, (one) ought*

in Pūblium Clōdium ... testis citātus – *having been called as a witness against Publius Clodius.* See §6.2 and its notes for this story of the Bona Dea scandal. This presumably was testimony given to the Senate during its investigation of Clodius for polluting the rites of the Bona Dea.

uxōris suae adulterum – *the seducer of his wife;* uxōris is obj. gen with *adulterum*.

ex fidē – *faithfully,* i.e. completely and accurately; lit. 'in accordance with (good) faith'

repudiāsset – Syncopated form of *repudiāvisset.*

quoniam, etc. – Caesar's *bon mot* generally quoted today in English as "Caesar's wife must be above suspicion."

tam ...oportēre – *I judge that my people must be as free from suspicion as from the crime.* crīmen generally refers to an actual charge or to slander that accuses someone of what would be a crime, but can, as here, refer to the crime itself behind the charge. Compare Quintilian's similar remark about how teachers of boys should keep them separated from young men, since the teacher should be free from not only the charge of immorality, but even a suspicion of it (*carendum nōn sōlum crīmine turpitūdinis, vērum etiam suspiciōne, Institutio Oratoria* 2.2.14).

[75.1] moderātiōnem vērō clēmentiamque cum in administrātiōne tum in victōriā bellī cīvīlis admīrābilem exhibuit. dēnūntiante Pompēiō prō hostibus sē habitūrum quī reī pūblicae dēfuissent, ipse mediōs et neutrīus partis suōrum sibi numerō futūrōs prōnūntiāvit. quibus autem ex commendātiōne Pompeī ōrdinēs dederat, potestātem trānseundī ad eum omnibus fēcit.

He showed admirable restraint and clemency both in his governance and in his victory in the civil war. Although Pompey announced that he would consider any who did not support the republic enemies, Caesar declared that he would count among his number those in the middle and those of neither party. He allowed all of those whom he had made officers on Pompey's recommendation to go over to Pompey's side.

[75.2] mōtis apud Ilerdam dēditiōnis condiciōnibus, cum, assiduō inter utrāsque partēs ūsū atque commerciō, Āfrānius et Petrēius dēprehēnsōs intrā castra Iūliānōs subitā paenitentiā interfēcissent, admissam in sē perfidiam nōn sustinuit imitārī. aciē Pharsālicā prōclāmāvit, ut cīvibus parcerētur, deincepsque nēminī nōn suōrum quem vellet ūnum partis adversae servāre concessit.

When conditions for surrender had been offered at Ilerda and there was continual association and trade between the two sides, Afranius and Petreius, because of a sudden change of heart, killed those of Caesar's followers who were caught within their camp. But Caesar did not stoop to imitate their treachery against him. At the battle of Phrasalus he proclaimed that their fellow-citizens should be spared and afterwards he granted to each of his men the right to save one of the opposite side, whomever he wished.

[75.3] nec ūllī perīsse nisi in proeliō reperientur, exceptīs dum taxat Āfrāniō et Faustō et Lūciō Caesare iuvene; ac nē hōs quidem voluntāte ipsīus interēmptōs putant, quōrum tamen et priōrēs post impetrātam veniam rebellāverant et Caesar, lībertīs servīsque eius ferrō et ignī crūdēlem in modum ēnectīs, bēstiās quoque ad mūnus populī comparātās contrucīdāverat.

Nor will any of them be found to have perished except in battle, except only Afranius, Faustus, and the young Lucius Caesar; and people think that even those men were not killed by Caesar's desire. The first two had rebelled against him after obtaining pardon, and Lucius Caesar, having killed Caesar's freedmen and slaves by iron and fire in a cruel manner, had also slain the beasts that had been obtained for a public gladiator show.

[75.4] dēnique tempore extrēmō etiam quibus nōndum ignōverat, cūnctīs in Ītaliam redīre permīsit magistrātūsque et imperia capere; sed et statuās Lūcī Sullae atque Pompeī a plēbe disiectās reposuit; ac sī qua posthāc aut cōgitārentur gravius adversus sē aut dīcerentur, inhibēre māluit quam vindicāre.

Finally, at the end of his life, he even permitted all of those whom he had not yet forgiven to return to Italy and take up governmental and military commands. And what is more, he put back up the statues of Sulla and Pompey that had been pulled down by the common people. And anytime someone contemplated doing or saying anything serious against him after that, Caesar prefered to just stop them rather than take revenge.

[75.5] itaque et dētēctās coniūrātiōnēs conventūsque nocturnōs non ultrā arguit, quam ut ēdictō ostenderet esse sibi nōtās, et acerbē loquentibus satis habuit prō cōntiōne dēnūntiāre nē persevērārent, Aulīque Caecīnae crīminōsissimō libro et Pitholaī carminibus maledīcentissimīs lacerātam exīstimātiōnem suam cīvīlī animō tulit.

And so he did not pursue any conspiracies or nocturnal gatherings that were uncovered beyond saying in an edict that they were known to him, and he considered it sufficient to proclaim in a public assembly that those speaking harshly against him should stop. He also civilly put up with the harm to people's opinion of him that came from Aulus Caecinus' pamphlet full of charges against him and the very abusive poems of Pitholaus.

57

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What military skills/virtues of Caesar's does Suetonius praise? How does he phrase his praise of these things?
2. Where did Caesar usually march in relation to the army? By what means? Why would he do that? What details reinforce his determination?
3. How fast could Caesar travel? Was this normal?
4. How did he cross rivers, if necessary?
5. What often happened as a result of Caesar's quick travel? Why does Suetonius include this detail?

58.1 and 58.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. **dubium cautior an audentior**: What two qualities does Suetonius profess to find it difficult to decide between in describing Caesar as a military leader?
2. What evidence does Suetonius give for the first quality *(cautior)*?
3. What evidence does Suetonius give for the second quality *(audentior)*? [N.b., this evidence continues into 58.2]
4. Which do you find more compelling? Why?
5. Do you think the reader is supposed to 'decide' on one of the two qualities? Why/not?

59

A. Comprehension Questions

1. According to Suetonius, what effect did religious regard (for omens) have on Caesar?
2. What three examples does he give?
3. What did Caesar do in the case of each of these omens?
4. What happened as a result of these omens? Did Caesar's disregard/'trick' have any negative consequences in these cases?
5. Can we conclude from this paragraph that Caesar 'didn't believe' in the gods? Why/not? If not, what can we conclude?
6. How much did Romans value religious 'belief'? What did they value more/instead?
7. What connection does this section have to the previous section (why is it in this place)?

A. Comprehension Questions

1. When would Caesar undertake battles? Why might this have surprised an enemy?
2. What change did Caesar exhibit in his habits towards the end of his life? How does Suetonius explain it?
3. What did Caesar always do when he routed the enemy? Why?
4. How did Caesar keep his men from deserting when the outcome of a battle seemed uncertain?
5. What in particular did he do when doing this that might have served to decrease resentment from his men?

61

A. Comprehension Questions

1. In what ways was Caesar's horse unusual or notable?
2. Why did Caesar raise/ride this prodigious animal?
3. How much did Caesar value the horse? How do we know?
4. In what ways would Caesar's horse signal his greatness to his fellow Romans?

62

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What did Caesar often do if his men were thinking about fleeing?
2. Would this be an effective tactic? How would it work?
3. How frightened were his men sometimes of the enemy? What two examples does Suetonius cite?
4. Was Caesar's bravery usual or conspicuous? How do we know?

64

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What remarkable feat did Caesar once perform during an enemy attack in Alexandria?
2. How does Suetonius use details to convince his readers that Caesar's actions were remarkable?

50

65

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What criterion did Caesar use to evaluate soldiers?
2. How did Caesar treat his soldiers?
3. When did Caesar enforce strict discipline?
4. What did Caesar do to encourage his men to be disciplined? When was he likely to do that?
5. How did Caesar ensure that his soldiers would make an effort to pay attention to his orders?

66

A. Comprehension Questions

1. How did Caesar react when his men were frightened by the enemy's reputation?
2. What example of Caesar employing this strategy does Suetonius give?
3. With what forces did Caesar say Juba was coming? How must these numbers have compared to reality?
4. What does Caesar want some of his men to stop doing? What should they do instead?
5. What does he say he will do to them if they do not stop?
6. Would this be an effective tactic for keeping his men's morale up? Why/not?

67.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What two phrases does Suetonius use to describe how Caesar would follow up and punish misdeeds by his soldiers? What does that suggest?
2. How did Caesar feel about deserters and mutineers? How do you know?
3. Why do you think Caesar handled discipline in this way? What was the purpose?
4. What did Caesar sometimes allow after a great victory? Why do you think he would do that?
5. **mīlitēs suōs etiam ungentātōs bene pugnāre posse**: What did Caesar claim about his troops? Why would he say that?

68.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. How tolerant were Caesar's men of hunger and other hardships?
2. What did Pompey see Caesar's men eating before the battle of Dyrrachium?
3. **cum ferīs rem sibi esse**: How did Pompey characterize Caesar's men? Why did he say this? Do you think Caesar would have been pleased or offended, and why?
4. Why did he order it removed?
5. What does this suggest about the relative hardiness and commitment of Caesar's and Pompey's forces?

A. Comprehension Questions

1. How did Caesar always treat his friends?
2. What happened once when he was travelling with his friend Gaius Oppius?
3. How did Caesar react? How does this show his *facilitās* et *indulgentia*?
4. What kinds of friends did he raise to high positions?
5. How would traditionalist Romans (the *optimātēs*, among others) feel about that?
6. What was Caesar's response to them? What does that tell us about his character?
7. Would his response have reassured his critics?

73

A. Comprehension Questions

1. How willing was Caesar to forgive people who opposed him?
2. What three examples does Suetonius give in this section of this quality of Caesar's?
3. How does each prove what Suetonius wants to demonstrate?
4. Why might Caesar have pursued this policy of *clēmentia* ('mercy')? What political benefits could it have?

74.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What word does Suetonius use to describe Caesar's attitude towards those who would have harmed him?
2. How did Caesar show mercy towards the pirates?
3. Who was Cornelius Phagita? What had he done for Caesar, and why?
4. How did Caesar show mercy towards Phagita?
5. Who was Philemon? What did he attempt to do to Caesar?
6. How did Caesar show mercy towards Phagita?
7. Do you find any of these examples more persuasive than others? Why/not?

B. rogātiōnēs ad respondendum

1. quid accidit pīrātīs quī Caesarem cēperant?
2. quōmodo Caesar pīrātīs clēmentiam praestitit?
3. quōmodo Cornēlius Phagita Caesarem adiuverat?
4. cūr meruerat Philēmōn mortem?

C. Grammatical Practice

1. What use of the subjunctive is *redēgisset*?
2. What would the full form of *suffixūrum* be? What kind of infinitive is it?
3. What case and use is *crucī*?
4. What use of the subjunctive is *perdūcerētur*?
5. What would be another way to say *per venēnum* in Latin? Why do you think Suetonius chose to use the preposition?

D. in Latīnum reddenda

1. Caesar was most merciful by nature.
2. Caesar had sworn that he would crucify the pirates.
3. Caesar had barely escaped (the trap of) being handed over to Sulla.
4. Caesar paid a bribe in order to escape the trap.
5. Philemon had promised his master's enemies that he would poison him.

74.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What was Publius Clodius charged with?
2. Who testified against Clodius in this matter? Who did not?
3. What reason did Caesar give for divorcing his wife? Would this explanation have satisfied people, do you think? Why/not?
4. How does Suetonius explain Caesar's refusal to testify? (i.e., why is this story in this section?)
5. What other reasons might Caesar have had for not testifying against Clodius? (Consider the political alliances.)

V. The
Assassination
and its Aftermath
§76-§89

cētera ... eius – The subject of *praegravant*, which is used intransitively.

ut ... exīstimētur – Result clause with no signal word in the main clause.

abūsus, caesus – *sc. esse*, complementary infinitive dependent upon *exīstimētur*.

nōn modo – The correlative phrase is *sed et ampliōra*, several lines away! The *excessive honors* (*honōrēs nimiōs*) are enumerated, although Caesar in fact received even more than these.

continuum cōnsulātum – Caesar was consul five times: 59 BCE, 48 BCE, 46 BCE, 45 BCE (without a colleague), and 44 BCE.

perpetuam dictātūram – Caesar was made 'dictator for life' in 44 BCE, having previously been dictator in 49, 47, and 45 BCE.

praefectūram mōrum – The *superintendence of morals* was basically the power of the censor.

praenōmen Imperātōris – *praenōmen* here means more "title" (at the beginning of a name) than "first name" strictly speaking (this appears to reflect later usage, rather than the usage of Caesar's time: it was a *cognōmen* for Caesar). *Imperātōris* is the 'appositional genitive' or 'limiting genitive' (*the title of 'Imperator'*). An *imperātor* was specifically a victorious general who had been acclaimed by his troops (they would shout his name as *imperātor* after an especially great victory). This remained one of the standard titles help by the Roman emperors (ad it is of course where our word 'emperor' comes from, via French).

cognōmen Patris patriae – Cicero was the first Roman to be called *pater patriae*.

statuam inter rēgēs – On the Capitoline Hill.

ampliōra ... humānō fastīgiō – *greater honors than were normally accorded to humans*, lit. 'things greater than human rank'. *humānō fastīgiō* is abl. of comparison.

prō tribūnālī – *prō* here means 'in the front of, on, upon', not 'in front of'. So too with *prō Rōstrīs, prō conciliō*, etc. The *tribūnal* was the platform upon which a magistrate sat to preside over trials and give judgements, hence, 'speaker's platform'. (Cf. our word 'tribunal'.)

tēnsam et ferculum circēnsī pompā – The *tēnsa* was a chariot that carried images of the gods, the *ferculum* a litter that did the same, both used in the procession (*pompa*) from the Capitoline to the Circus Maximus for important games; the Circus Maximus was the racetrack used for chariot races and other games (esp. before the foundation of the Flavian Amphitheater, known today as the Colosseum).

templa – The temple of Caesar's Mercy (*Clēmentiae Caesaris*), awarded in 44 BCE (location unknown: it may never have been actually built). Dio also says that Caesar was addressed as "Iuppiter Iulius."

simulācra iuxtā deōs – Caesar had a statue placed with Quirinus' (the deified Romulus), and a statue on the Capitoline facing Jupiter's with an inscription saying that he was a demigod.

pulvīnar – A couch on which images of the gods were placed for a public sacred banquet called a

[76.1] praegravant tamen cētera facta dictaque eius, ut et abūsus dominātiōne et iūre   1
caesus exīstimētur. nōn enim honōrēs modo nimiōs recēpit: continuum cōnsulātum,   2
perpetuam dictātūram praefectūramque mōrum, īnsuper praenōmen Imperātōris,   3
cognōmen Patris patriae, statuam inter rēgēs, suggestum in orchestrā; sed et ampliōra   4
etiam humānō fastīgiō dēcernī sibi passus est: sēdem auream in cūriā et prō tribūnālī,   5
tēnsam et ferculum circēnsī pompā, templa, ārās, simulācra iuxtā deōs, pulvīnar,   6
flāminem, lupercōs, appellātiōnem mēnsis ē suō nōmine; ac nūllōs nōn honōrēs ad   7
libīdinem cēpit et dedit.   8

praegravō praegravāre praegravāvī praegravātus – *to
   press heavily upon; outweigh, overshadow*
tamen, postpositive adv. – *however, nevertheless*
factum, factī n. – *deed, action*
dictum, dictī n. – *word; saying, mot*
abūtor, abūtī, abūsus sum + abl. – *to abuse, misuse*
dominātiō, dominātiōnis f. – *(absolute) power,
   tyranny*
iūs, iūris n. – *right, (natural) law*
caedō caedere cecīdī caesus – *to kill, slay, slaughter;
   assassinate*
exīstimō exīstimāre exīstimāvī exīstimātus – *to think,
   suppose, judge, deem*
**modo, adv. – *only*
nimius nimia nimium – *excessive, extra-ordinary*
**recipiō recipere recēpī receptus – *to take back;
   receive, welcome*
continuus continua continuum – *unbroken,
   continuous, in a row; successive, following one
   after another*
**cōnsulātus, cōnsulātūs m. – *consulship*
perpetuus perpetua perpetuum – *continual, perpetual;
   permanent, eternal*
dictātūra, dictātūrae f. – *dictatorship*
praefectūra, praefectūrae f. – *prefecture,
   superintendence, a being in charge of*
**mōs, mōris m. – *custom, habit;* (pl.) *character,
   morals*
īnsuper, adv. – *additionally, on top (of that); over and
   above*
praenōmen, praenōminis n. – *first name*
imperātor, imperātōris m. – *general* (who has been
   acclaimed by his troops)
**cognōmen, cognōminis n. – *last name, family name*
patria, patriae f. – *country, fatherland, homeland*

statua, statuae f. – *statue*
suggestus, suggestūs m. – *a raised place, mound;
   platform, stage; raised seat*
orchēstra, orchēstrae f. – *the orchestra; place
   reserved for Senators to sit at the theater*
**amplus ampla amplum – *ample, full; great, grand;
   high; large, spacious*
humānus humāna humānum – *human*
fastīgium, fastīgiī n. – *gable, pediment; highest
   point; dignity, rank, condition*
**patior, patī, passus sum – *to suffer, endure; permit,
   allow*
sēdes, sēdis f. – *seat, chair, throne*
aureus aurea aureum – *gold, golden, made of gold*
tribūnāl, tribūnālis n. – *speaker's platform*
tēnsa, tēnsae f. – *chariot* (in which images of the
   gods were carried at the Circus)
ferculum, ferculī n. – *frame, litter, bier* (for carrying
   the images of the gods in public processions)
circēnsis circēnsis circēnse – *of or relating to the
   Circus (Maximus)*
pompa, pompae f. – *procession, parade*
templum, templī n. – *temple*
āra, ārae f. – *altar*
simulācrum, simulācrī n. – *image, (cult) statue*
iuxtā, prep. + acc. – *next to*
**deus, deī m. – *god, deity*
pulvīnar, pulvīnāris n. – *couch for the gods*
flāmen, flāminis m. – *priest* (of a specific god)
lupercus, lupercī m. – *priest* (of Lupercus)
appellātiō, appellātiōnis f. – *naming*
**nūllus nūlla nūllum – *not any, no*
libīdō, libīdīnis f. – *lust, sexual desire, pleasure*
capiō capere cēpī captus – *to seize, take; capture*

lectisternium.

flāminem – Antony was elected as the *flāmen* to Caesar and his *Cl ēmentia*.

lupercōs – A third group of *lupercī*, priests who celebrated the Lupercalia in honor of Lupercus
(identified with Faunus or Pan) in February (on the Lupercalia, see also §79.2. The three groups were

now the Fabiani, Quintiliani, and Iuliani; this group was later abolished (by 43 BCE).

appellātiōnem mēnsis ē suō nōmine – i.e., July; the change was made in 44 BCE by Marc Antony's proposal. July was Caesar's birth month.

ac nūllōs ... dedit – *and also he took and gave all honors as he wished,* lit. 'and also no honors he did not take and give according to his desire'. Note the double negative and the phrase *ad libīdinem*, 'in accordance with his wanton desire', a very strong phrase.

[76.2] tertium et quārtum cōnsulātum titulō tenus gessit contentus dictātūrae potestāte dēcrētae cum cōnsulātibus simul atque utrōque annō bīnōs cōnsulēs substituit sibi in ternōs novissimōs mēnsēs, ita ut mediō tempore comitia nūlla habuerit praeter tribūnōrum et aedīlium plēbis praefectōsque prō praetōribus cōnstituerit, quī apsente sē rēs urbānās administrārent. prīdiē autem Kalendās Iānuāriās repentīnā cōnsulis morte cessantem honōrem in paucās hōrās petentī dedit.

He held his third and fourth consulships in name only, content with the power of the dictatorship that had been decreed to him along with his consulships and in each year he substituted two consuls in his place for the last three months, so that he held no elections in the meantime except for the tribunes and plebeian aediles, and he decided on prefects in place of praetors who managed affairs in Rome while he was absent. But on the day before the Kalends of January, he gave the office that became vacant for just a few hours when one of the consuls died suddenly to someone who asked him for it.

[76.3] eādem licentiā sprētō patriō mōre magistrātūs in plūrīs annōs ōrdināvit, decem praetōriīs virīs cōnsulāria ōrnāmenta tribuit, cīvitāte dōnātōs et quōsdam ē sēmibarbarīs Gallōrum recēpit in cūriam. praetereā monētae pūblicīsque vectīgālibus pecūliārēs servōs praeposuit. trium lēgiōnum, quās Alexandrēae relinquēbat, cūram et imperium Rūfiōnī lībertī suī fīliō exolētō suō dēmandāvit.

He used the same excessive freedom in appointing magistrates for multiple years, rejecting the long-standing custom; he gave consular badges to ten men who were only praetors; and he took some half-barbarian Gauls as citizens – and right into the Senate House itself! In addition, he placed his own personal slaves in charge of the mint and public taxes. He entrusted management and command of the three legions he had left at Alexandria to Rufio, the adult son of his freedman, with whom he was having an affair.

[77] nec minōris inpotentiae vōcēs prōpalam ēdēbat, ut Titus Ampius scrībit: nihil esse rem pūblicam, appellātiōnem modo sine corpore ac speciē. Sullam nescīsse litterās, quī dictātūram dēposuerit. dēbēre hominēs cōnsīderātius iam loquī sēcum ac prō lēgibus habēre quae dīcat. eōque arrogantiae prōgressus est, ut haruspice trīstia et sine corde exta quondam nūntiante futūra dīceret laetiōra, cum vellet; nec prō ostentō dūcendum, sī pecudī cor dēfuisset.

He showed the same lack of self-control in the words he was using publicly, as Titus Ampius Balbus writes: Caesar said that the republic was nothing, a name only without body or shape; and that Sulla was a fool when he resigned the dictatorship; and that people ought to speak with him with greater care now and consider his words law. He even became so arrogant that, when a soothsayer told him once that the entrails of a sacrificed animal portended dire things because there was no heart, Caesar said the signs would be better in the future, when he wished them to be; and that it should not be taken as a bad omen if the animal lacked a heart.

6

exitiābilem – *deadly*, because Suetonius is explaining the reasons for the ill-will (*invidia*) that prompted people to join the conspiracy against Caesar.

hinc – *from the following, for the following reason*, lit. 'from here'

mōvit – *moveō* and its compounds are often used of 'moving' ('stirring', 'rousing') an emotion.

adeuntīs – Acc. pl., modifying *patrēs cōnscrīptōs* (obj. of *excēpit*).

cum plūrimīs ... dēcrētīs – The Senate passed many of the excessive and unprecedented honors for Caesar when he was not with them, to make it seem more voluntary and spontaneous.

patrēs cōnscrīptōs – An ancient and very frequent term for *senators*, lit. 'conscript fathers' (because they have been *coopted* into the senate). It also is a respectful term, contrasting strongly with Caesar's rudeness to them.

sedēns – This is the heart of how Caesar offended the Senators: when they approached him to tell him of the latest amazing honors that they had decreed for him, he received them *while seated*. This was extremely rude and showed contempt for them, that he would not rise to greet them, like equals. Note the word picture produced by the placement of the word *sedēns* with the huge crowd of words for the senators (*adeuntīs ... cōnscrīptōs*) on one side and then Caesar literally sitting (*sedēns*) at the front of the temple honoring his divine descent (*prō ... Genetrīcis*).

retentum – sc. *Caesarem esse*

Cornēliō Balbō – Caesar's most trusted agent. See also §81.2.

aliī – Correlative with *quīdam*: *some people think ... others (think)*. Suetonius does not relate the reason that Cassius Dio, a Greek historian of Rome, mentions (44.8.4): that some supporters said Caesar was suffering from such a bad bout of diarrhea that if he had stood at that moment he would have had lost control of his bowels. (He later recovered enough to make it home without accident.)

cōnātum – sc. *Caesarem esse*

admonentem Gāium Trebātium ut assurgeret – *C. Trebatius, reminding him to rise*; C. Trebatius was a friend of Cicero who served with Caesar in Gaul. Object of *respexisse*.

minus familiārī vultū – *with a very unfriendly expression*, lit. 'with a less friendly expression', litotes (rhetorical understatement). Abl. of manner.

[78.1] vērum praecipuam et exitiābilem sibi invidiam hinc maximē mōvit. adeuntīs sē cum   1
plūrimīs honōrificentissimīsque dēcrētīs ūniversōs patrēs cōnscrīptōs sedēns prō aede   2
Veneris Genetrīcis excēpit. quīdam putant retentum ā Cornēliō Balbō, cum cōnārētur   3
assurgere; aliī, nē cōnātum quidem omnīnō, sed etiam admonentem Gāium Trebātium ut   4
assurgeret minus familiārī vultū respexisse.   5

vērum, conj. – *but, yet, still*
praecipuus praecipua praecipuum – *especial, particular*
exitiābilis exitiābilis exilitābile – *destructive, fatal, deadly*
invidia, invidiae f. – *ill feeling, ill will, jealousy, envy*
hinc, adv. – *from here, hence; hereupon, next; from this cause, on this account*
**maximē, adv. – *very greatly; especially, most*
**moveō movēre mōvī mōtus – *to move; to stir, rouse* (an emotion); *try out, begin*
adeō adīre adiī aditūrus (irr.) – *to come (up) to, approach*
**plūrimī plūrimae plūrima (superl. of *multī*) – *very many, most*
honōrificentus honōrificenta honōrificentum – *that does honor, honoring, honorable*
dēcrētum, dēcrētī n. – *decree* (of the Senate)
ūniversus ūniversa ūniversum – *all together, as a body, the whole*
patrēs cōnscrīptī, patrum cōnscrīptōrum m.pl. – *conscript Fathers, senators*
sedeō sedēre sēdī sessūrus – *to sit, sit down*
aedes, aedis f. (i-stem) – *temple;* (pl.) *house, dwelling*
Venus Genetrīx, Veneris Genetrīcis f. – *Venus the Ancestress*
**excipiō excipere excēpī exceptus – *to welcome, receive; intercept; catch, take captive; take up, conceive*
putō putāre putāvī putātus – *to think, judge, suppose*
**retineō retinēre retinuī retentus – *to hold back, restrain, check; retain, keep*
cōnor, cōnārī, cōnātus sum – *to try, attempt*
assurgō assurgere assurrēxī assurrēctūrus – *to rise, get up*
alius ... alius – *one ... another; each ... different;* (pl.) *some ... others*
**nē ... quidem, adv. – *not even*
omnīnō, adv. – *at all*
**admoneō admonēre admonuī admonitus – *to admonish, urge, remind* (someone of their duty)
minus, adv. – *less*
familiāris familiāris familiāre – *of or belonging to the household; friendly, intimate, close*
vultus, vultūs m. – *face, countenance; expression*
respiciō respicere respexī respectus – *to look at, regard*

[78.2] idque factum eius tantō intolerābilius est vīsum, quod ipse triumphantī et subsellia tribūnīcia praetervehentī sibi ūnum ē collēgiō Pontium Aquilam nōn assurrēxisse adeō indignātus sit, ut prōclāmāverit: 'repete ergō ā mē Aquila rem pūblicam tribūnus!' et nec dēstiterit per continuōs diēs quicquam cuiquam nisi sub exceptiōne pollicērī: 'sī tamen per Pontium Aquilam licuerit.'

And this particular thing he did seemed all the more intolerable to people because in the past he himself had become so enraged at Pontius Aquila, one of the tribunes, when he was the only one who did not rise during Caesar's triumph as he passed the tribunes' seats, that Caesar shouted: "So make your claim on what is mine – the state! – you lowly tribune, Aquila!" And for several days Caesar kept saying to anyone to whom he was promising anything that it was conditional: "If it's okay with Pontius Aquila, that is!"
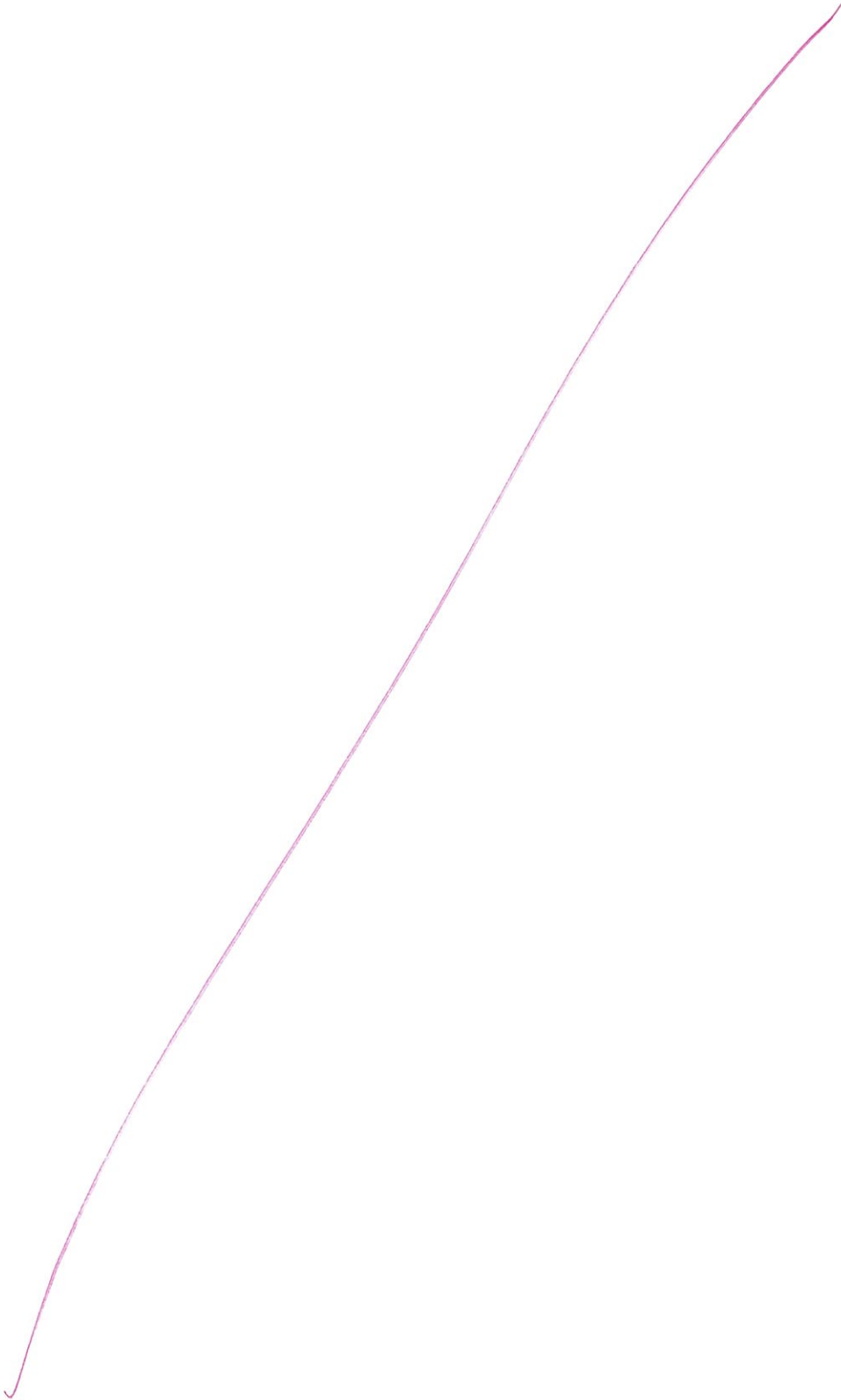
īnsignem ... contumēliam – Note the chiastic word order (ABBA: acc. gen. gen. acc.).

multō arrogantius – *much more arrogant*, lit. 'more arrogant by much'. *multō* is abl. of degree of difference.

in sacrificiō Latīnārum – sc. fēriārum, *during the sacrifice of the Latin (festival)*. The *fēriae Latīnae* was an ancient religious ritual celebrated by the Romans in conjunction with the neighboring people, the Latins. Abl. of time when with a preposition.

revertente eō – i.e., Caesar. Abl. abs.

statuae eius – *on his (Caesar's) statue*; dat. with *inposuisset*.

candidā fasciā praeligātā – Abl. abs. This white ribbon made the crown recognizably 'royal'.

corōnae fasciam dētrahī – *(they ordered) the ribbon to be pulled down from the crown*; *corōnae* is dat. with *dētrahī*

dolēns – sc. *Caesar*. The subject changes three times during this sentence: first in the cum clause *quīdam*, subject of *inposuisset* and *tribūnī*, subject of *iussissent*, then in the main clause understood *Caesar*, modified by *dolēns*, subject of *ferēbat* and *prīvāvit*.

mōtam rēgnī mentiōnem – sc. *esse, that mention of a kingship had been brought up*, indirect statement after the verb of the head *dolēns*, 'grieving that...' *rēgnī* is objective gen.

ut ferēbat – *as he was asserting*; *ferō* often has a sense of trying to 'pass off' one thing as another.

ēreptam – sc. *esse*

glōriam recusandī – *the glory of refusing*, genitive of specification.

potestāte – Abl. of separation with *prīvāvit*.

[79.1] adiēcit ad tam īnsignem dēspectī senātūs contumēliam multō arrogantius factum. 1
nam cum in sacrificiō Latīnārum revertente eō inter inmodicās ac novās populī 2
acclāmātiōnēs quīdam ē turbā statuae eius corōnam lauream candidā fasciā praeligātā 3
inposuisset et tribūnī plēbis Epidius Marullus Caesetiusque Flāvus corōnae fasciam 4
dētrahī hominemque dūcī in vincula iussissent, dolēns seu parum prōsperē mōtam rēgnī 5
mentiōnem sīve, ut ferēbat, ēreptam sibi glōriam recūsandī, tribūnōs graviter increpitōs 6
potestāte prīvāvit. 7

adiciō adicere adiēcī adiectus – *to add*
**tam, adv. – *so, such*
īnsignis īnsignis īnsigne – *notable, extraordinary, remarkable*
dēspiciō dēspicere dēspexī dēspectus – *to look down upon, scorn, despise*
contumēlia, contumēliae f. – *insult*
multō, adv. – *much, by much*
arrogāns, gen. arrogantis – *arrogant, haughty*
factum, factī n. – *deed, action*
sacrificium, sacrificiī n. – *sacrifice*
Latīnus Latīna Latīnum – *Latin*
revertō revertere revertī reversus – *to return*
immodicus immodica immodicum – *immoderate, excessive, outrageous*
novus nova novum – *new*
**populus, populī m. – *people, the (Roman) people*
acclāmātiō, acclāmātiōnis f. – *acclamation, cheer, honor given by shouting*
turba, turbae f. – *crowd, mob; turmoil, disorder*
statua, statuae f. – *statue*
corōna, corōnae f. – *crown, garland*
**laureus laurea laureum – *laurel, made of laurel*
candidus candida candidum – *gleaming white, bright white; shining*
fascia, fasciae f. – *bandage, strip of cloth, tie, ribbon*
praeligō praeligāre praeligāvī praeligātus – *to tie in front, bind*
**impōnō impōnere imposuī impositus – *to place on, place in, place upon; impose; embark*
tribūnus plēbis, tribūnis plēbis m. – *tribune of the plebs*
dētrahō dētrahere dētrāxī dētrāctus – *to pull down, drag down*
homō, hominis m. – *person, human*
**dūcō dūcere duxī ductus – *to lead, bring*; (uxōrem) *marry*
vinculum, vinculī n. – *chains, bonds*
doleō dolēre doluī – *to grieve, be pained, feel sad*
seu … sīve, conj. – *whether … or*
parum, adv. – *too little*
prōsperus prōspera prōsperum – *as hoped, as expected; fortunate, favorable; prosperous, flourishing*
**moveō movēre mōvī mōtus – *to move; to stir, rouse* (an emotion); *try out, begin*
rēgnum, rēgnī n. – *kingdom; kingship*
mentiō, mentiōnis f. – *mention*
ēripiō ēripere ēripuī ēreptus – *to snatch away, take away; steal*
glōria, glōriae f. – *glory, honor*
recūsō recūsāre recūsāvī recūsātus – *to refuse, deny; object*
increpō increpāre increpuī increpitus – *to yell at, scold, rebuke*
**potestās, potestātis f. – *power, control*
prīvō prīvāre prīvāvī prīvātus + abl. – *to deprive of, take away from*

[79.2] neque ex eō īnfāmiam affectātī etiam rēgiī nōminis discutere valuit, quamquam et   1
plēbeī rēgem sē salūtantī Caesarem sē, nōn rēgem esse responderit et Lupercālibus prō   2
rōstrīs ā cōnsule Antōniō admōtum saepius capitī suō diadēma reppulerit atque in   3
Capitōlium Iovī Optimō Maximō mīserit.   4

**neque, conj. – *nor, and ... not*
īnfāmia, īnfāmiae f. – *infamy, bad reputation,
    disgrace*
affectō affectāre affectāvī affectātus – *to strive after,
    try to get*
**rēgius rēgia rēgium – *royal, kingly, king's*
discutiō discutere discussī discussus – *to shake off,
    dispel, get rid of*
valeō valēre valuī valitūrus – *to be strong (enough to),
    be able*
**quamquam, conj. – *although*
plēbs, plēbis f. – *plebs, common people*
salūtō salūtāre salūtāvī salūtātus – *to greet, hail*
respondeō respondēre respondī respōnsus – *to
    respond, reply, answer; correspond*
Lupercālia, Lupercālium n.pl. – *the Lupercalia,
    festival in honor of Lupercus*

Rōstra, Rōstrōrum n.pl. – *the Rostra,* the speaker's
    platform in the Forum
admoveō admovēre admōvī admōtus – *to move
    toward, offer*
**caput, capitis n. – *head*
diadēma, diadēmatis n. – *diadem, royal headband*
repellō repellere reppulī repulsus – *to push back, push
    away; reject*
Capitōlium, Capitōliī n. – *Capitol, temple of Jupiter
    on the Capitoline Hill; the Capitoline Hill*
Iuppiter, Iovis m. – *Jupiter*
optimus optima optimum (superl. of *bonus*) – *best,
    very good*
maximus maxima maximum (superl. of *magnus*) –
    greatest, very great
mittō mittere mīsī missus – *to send; let go, dismiss;
    omit*

ex eō – sc. *tempore*

affectātī ... rēgiī nōminis – *of trying to get a royal title,* lit. 'of a royal name having been aimed at'.

valuit – A synonym for *potuit*.

plēbeī ... salūtantī – *when the people greeted him as "king,"* lit. '(he replied) to the people greeting him as "king"'

Caesarem ... esse – *that he was "Caesar," not "King."* There is likely a pun here, since *Rēx* was a possible cognōmen, that Caesar was saying, "My name's not Rex – It's Caesar!"

responderit – Perfect subjunctive after *quamquam* with no real difference in meaning from an indicative.

Lupercālibus – *at the Lupercalia,* abl. of time when. The Lupercalia, held February 15, was a festival in honor of a native Italic god named "Lupercus," idenitified with Faunus or Pan; it was a fertility festival when young men, *lupercī*, priests of the god, sacrificed goats and then went through the streets striking matrons along the way with strips of the goats' bloody hide, since it was believed that would aid the women in conceiving a child. A group of these priests, the *Lupercī Iuliī*, had been added to honor Caesar (see §76.1).

prō Rōstrīs – Note that *prō* in this usage means 'from the front of, upon'. Cf. *prō tribūnālī*, §76.1.

ā cōnsule ... diadēma – *the royal headband moved toward his head several times by the consul Antony*

[79.3] quīn etiam varia fāma percrēbruit migrātūrum Alexandrēam vel Īlium, trānslātīs simul opibus imperiī exhaustāque Ītaliā dīlēctibus et prōcūrātiōne urbis amīcīs permissā, proximō autem senātū Lūcium Cottam quīndecimvirum sententiam dictūrum, ut, quoniam fātālibus librīs continērētur Parthōs nisi ā rēge nōn posse vincī, Caesar rēx appellārētur.

In fact different rumors even were going around, that he was going to move to Alexandria or Ilium, taking with him all the resources of the empire and leaving Italy drained by levies and leaving the governance of the city in the hands of friends, and that at the next meeting of the Senate, Lucius Cotta, one of the 15 men in charge of the Sibylline oracles, would make a motion that, since the books' prophecies said that the Parthians could only be conquered by a king, Caesar should be named king.

[80.1] quae causa coniūrātīs mātūrandī fuit dēstināta negōtia, nē assentīrī necesse esset. cōnsilia igitur dispersim anteā habita et quae saepe bīnī ternīve cēperant, in ūnum omnēs contulērunt, nē populō quidem iam praesentī statū laetō, sed clam palamque dētrectante dominātiōnem atque assertōrēs flāgitante.

This was the reason that the conspirators had to speed up their efforts, so that they would not have to agree to this proposal. Therefore the plans they had previously been hatching separately, in groups of two or three, they brought all together, since not even the common people were happy anymore with the present state of affairs, but they were both secretly and openly decrying Caesar's tyranny and calling for people to restore their liberty.

[80.2] peregrīnīs in senātum allēctis libellus prōpositus est: 'bonum factum: nē quis senātōrī novō cūriam mōnstrāre velit!' et illa vulgō canēbantur:

> Gallōs Caesar in triumphum dūcit, īdem in cūriam:
> Gallī brācās dēposuērunt, lātum clāvum sūmpsērunt.

Quīntō Maximō suffectō trimēnstrīque cōnsule theatrum introeunte, cum līctor animadvertī ex mōre iussisset, ab ūniversīs conclāmātum est nōn esse eum cōnsulem.

Due to how he had admitted foreigners into the Senate, a pamplet was published saying: "Hear ye, hear ye, do not show any of the new senators how to get to the Senate House." And these verses were popular:

> *Caesar leads the Gauls in his triumph, but also into the Senate House:*
> *The Gauls have taken off their pants, and put on the senatorial tunic!*

When Quintus Maximus, suffect consul for the last three months of 45, was entering the theater, his lictor called out for everyone to show their respect, but everyone shouted that he was not the consul.

[80.3] post remōtōs Caesetium et Marullum tribūnōs reperta sunt proximīs comitiīs complūra suffrāgia cōnsulēs eōs dēclārantium. subscrīpsēre quīdam Lūcī Brūtī statuae: 'utinam vīverēs!' item ipsīus Caesaris:

> Brūtus, quia rēgēs ēiēcit, cōnsul prīmus factus est:
> hic, quia cōnsulēs ēiēcit, rēx postrēmō factus est.

After the tribunes Caesetius and Marullus were removed from office, a number of votes declaring them consuls were found at the next meeting of the voting assemblies. And someone wrote under a statue of Lucius Brutus, "Would that you were still alive!" And likewise under Caesar's own statue:

> *Brutus, because he expelled the kings, was made our first consul:*
> *This man, because he has expelled the consuls, has been made our king at the last.*

15
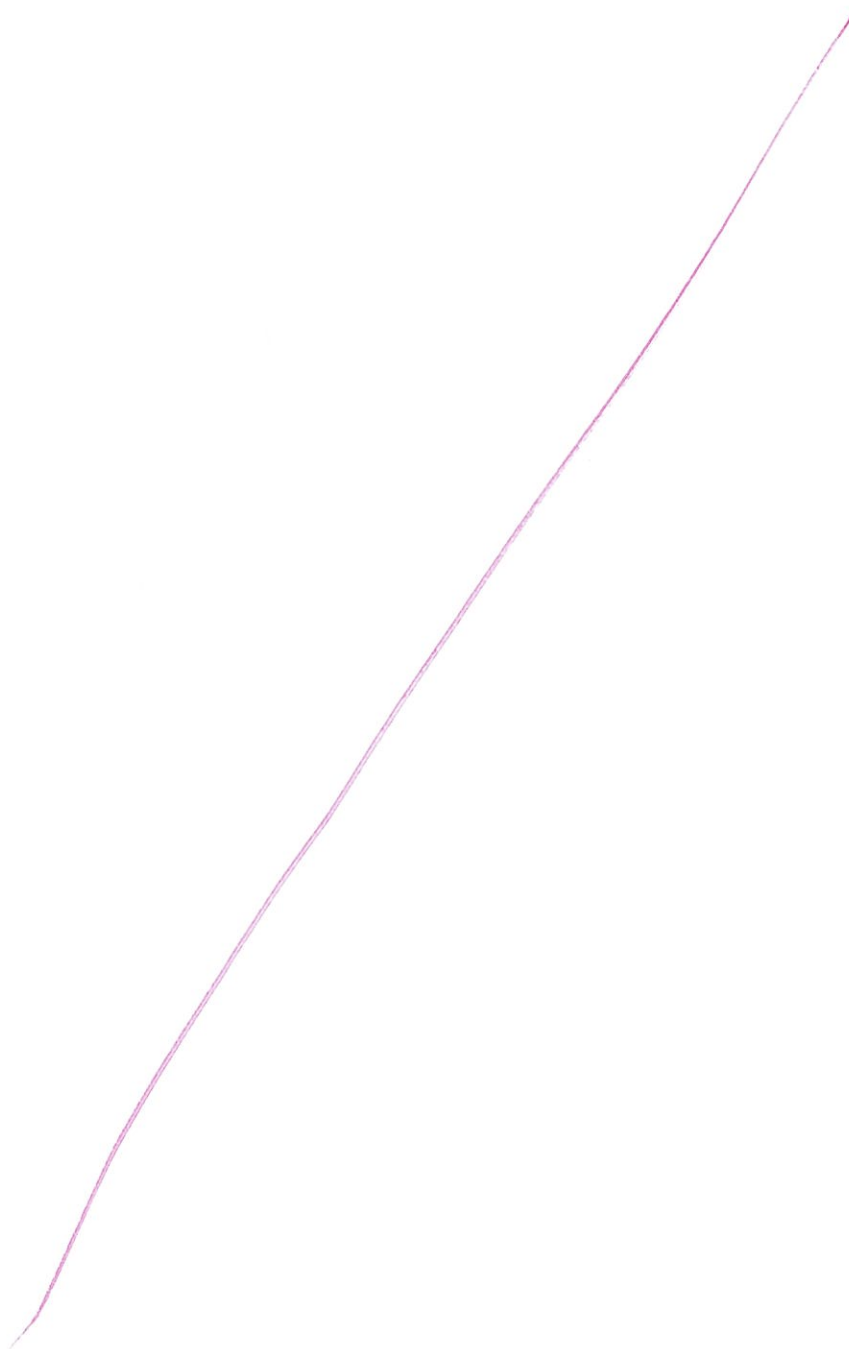
cōnspīrātum est – An impersonal passive, lit. 'it was conspired against him', better in English as *a conspiracy was joined* (or rephrase entirely to be active).

ā sexāgintā amplius – *by more than sixty (people)*

Gāiō ... cōnspīrātiōnis – Abl. abs. Cassius (Gaius Cassius Longinus), who had fought on Pompey's side in the civil war, was the principal head of the conspiracy. He was the brother-in-law of Marcus Junius Brutus. Marcus Brutus was the Brutus still famous today, the nephew of Cato the Younger and longtime friend of Caesar (although he had supported Pompey in the civil war). Decimus Brutus had devoted his career to Caesar, serving under him in both the Gallic and civil wars, and he was made *praetor peregrīnus* (the judge who would hear cases involving foreigners at Rome) by Caesar in 44 BCE.

quī – Connective relative, = *et eī*

comitia – The tribal assembly (the *comitia tribūta*) was one of three assemblies of the people in Rome, the others being the *comitia cūriāta* (mostly a relic in the first century) and the *comitia centuriāta*. The tribal assembly voted for lower magistrates (quaestors, aediles, and tribunes of the plebs) while the centuriate assembly voted for higher magistrates (praetors and consuls). The tribal assembly gave a greater say to the urban lower classes than did the centuriate assembly: membership in the tribes was, roughly speaking, geographical, but the centuriate assembly divided by census class, so that the vote of senators and equestrians counted more than that of the poor.

tribūs vocantem – sc. *Caesarem*; direct object of *dēicerent*: *while he was summoning the tribes (to vote), they should cast him...*

partibus dīvīsīs – Abl. abs., *with the role (having been) shared out* (among the conspirators). *partēs* in this sense is originally a theatrical term.

ē ponte – They were debating pushing Caesar off the *pōns suffrāgiōrum*, a wooden platform that voters would pass along one-by-one to cast their ballot.

exceptum trucīdārent – *they should take him captive and then cut him to pieces*, lit. 'they should cut him-having-been-taken-captive to pieces'; the participle shows the sequence of events. *trucīdō* is perhaps the most violent of all the Latin words meaning 'to kill'; it emphasizes the cruelty of the act (murder most foul): English 'slaughter, slay' but specifically with a sense of stabbing someone.

in Pompeī cūriam – *(to be meeting) in Pompey's senate house*, i.e. in a small room attached to the portico of Pompey's theater in the Campus Martius, not the *Cūria Iulia* in the Forum (still standing today, although repaired/restored several times), which was under construction (and later finished by Augustus). The senate met in various places during both the Republic and the Empire, but the location had to be sanctified by an augur.

[80.4] cōnspīrātum est in eum ā sexāgintā amplius, Gāiō Cassiō Mārcōque et Decimō   1
Brūtō prīncipibus cōnspīrātiōnis. quī prīmum cunctātī utrumne in Campō per comitia   2
tribūs ad suffrāgia vocantem partibus dīvīsīs ē ponte dēicerent atque exceptum trucīdārent,   3
an in Sacrā viā vel in aditū theatrī adorīrentur, postquam senātus Īdibus Mārtiīs in Pompeī   4
cūriam ēdictus est, facile tempus et locum praetulērunt.   5

cōnspīrō cōnspīrāre cōnspīrāvī cōnspīrātus – *to conspire, plot*
sexāgintā, indecl. adj. – *sixty*
amplius, comparative adv. – *more; further, longer*
prīnceps, prīncipis m. – *chief person, leader*
cōnspīrātiō, cōnspīrātiōnis f. – *conspiracy*
prīmum, adv. – *first, at first*
**cunctor, cunctārī, cunctātus sum – *to delay; hesitate, be slow; doubt*
utrumne ... an, conj. + subj. – *whether ... or*
Campus Mārtius, Campī Mārtiī m. – *the Field of Mars, the Campus Martius,* a large open space in Rome used
        originally for army training and for voting
comitia, comitiōrum n.pl. – *the assembly* (especially for voting)
tribus, tribūs m. – *tribe,* a division of the Roman people
suffrāgium, suffrāgiī n. – *voting, ballot*
vocō vocāre vocāvī vocātus – *to call, summon*
dīvidō dīvidere dīvīsī dīvīsus – *to divide, distribute, share out, apportion*
pōns, pontis m. – *bridge*
dēiciō dēicere dēiēcī dēiectus – *to throw (down), cast (down)*
**excipiō excipere excēpī exceptus – *to welcome, receive; intercept; catch, take captive; take up, conceive*
trucīdō trucīdāre trucīdāvī trucīdātus – *to kill, murder, slay violently, slaughter, cut to pieces*
via Sacra, viae Sacrae f. – *the Sacred Way,* the main road through the Roman Forum
**vel, conj. – *or, or even*
aditus, aditūs m. – *entrance, approach*
theatrum, theatrī n. – *theater*
adorior, adorīrī, adortus sum – *to rise against, attack*
postquam, conj. – *after*
**Mārtius Mārtia Mārtium – *of or relating to Mars; of or relating to March*
ēdīcō ēdīcere ēdīxī ēdictus – *to declare, announce*
facilis facilis facile – *easy, convenient*
**locus, locī m. – *place, spot*
praeferō praeferre praetulī praelātus (irr.) – *to carry in front, bear before; prefer*

sed Caesarī, etc. – It would not be a fact of amazement to a Roman that omens foretold Caesar's death, as it would be today. Rather, it would be expected that signs would be given by the gods of such a momentous event; in the Roman view, that was how the world worked.

in colōniā Capuā – *in the colony of Capua*; a colony was a new town founded by the inhabitants of an old one as an extension of it. In this case, there was already a city at Capua; the *lēx Iulia agrāria* of 59 BCE (see §20.1) allowed people to settle on otherwise unused land as a new colony.

dēductī lēge Iuliā colōnī – *colōnōs dēdūcere* is the technical term for settling colonists in a new colony.

ad extruendās vīllās – Gerundive for gerund, as is usual, *for the purpose of building houses*.

vāsculōrum – Partitive genitive with *aliquantum*.

scrūtantēs – Substantive use of the participle (*searchers, looters*), subject of *reperiēbant*.

Capys – The mythical founder of Capua, reputed to have been a companion of Aeneas. As is so often the case in ancient legend, the eponymous (=where something gets its name from) founder appears to actually be invented and named for the city, rather than the other way around (cf. Romulus/Rome, Icarus/Icaria, Tros/Troy, *inter alios*).

sepultus – sc. *esse*, complement of *dīcēbātur*

hāc sententiā – *with the following meaning* (abl. of attendant circumstances); *hic haec hoc* often means 'the following', especially when a quotation (including an indirect one, as here) is made.

dētēcta essent – *should be uncovered*. The pluperfect subjunctive is representing a future perfect indicative of direct speech (*dētēcta erint*).

fore ut – *it would be (the case that)*. Most Roman writers avoid the future passive infinitive and instead use a periphrasis consisting of *fore ut* + subj.; Suetonius could have written *necātum īrī* and *vindicātum īrī* instead. Represents a future indicative of direct speech (*nēcābitur, vindicābitur*).

Īliō prōgnātus – *a descendant of Troy*, lit. 'one descended from Troy'. *Īliō* is an abl. of source. Caesar's family, of course, claimed decent from Aeneas, prince of Troy. (Other texts have *illō prōgnātus*, 'a descendant of that man', but as Caesar was not a descendant of Capys, but of Aeneas through his son Iulus, that cannot be the correct reading.)

manū cōnsanguineōrum – *By a band of relatives*. The relation that seems to be referred to is that the Romans (like Caesar) considered themselves descendants of the Trojans. This phrase injects an element of *pathos* (a feeling of pity) into Caesar's assassination, by invoking the reader's horror that Caesar's fellow Romans – his *relatives*, the common children of the *patria* – could raise their hands to him.

magnīs ... clādibus – Abl. of manner.

Ītaliae – Dative of disadvantage. This part of the prophecy appears to refer to the civil wars that again broke out upon Caesar's death, wherein Octavian and Antony fought the conspirators (led by Brutus and Cassius), until their defeat at Philippi in 42 BCE.

[81.1] sed Caesarī futūra caedes ēvidentibus prōdigiīs dēnūntiāta est. paucōs ante mēnsēs, 1
cum in colōniā Capuā dēductī lēge Iuliā colōnī ad extruendās vīllās vetustissima sepulcra 2
disicerent idque eō studiōsius facerent, quod aliquantum vāsculōrum operis antīquī 3
scrūtantēs reperiēbant, tabula aēnea in monimentō, in quō dīcēbātur Capys conditor 4
Capuae sepultus, inventa est cōnscrīpta litterīs verbīsque Graecīs hāc sententiā: 5
quandōque ossa Capyis dētēcta essent, fore ut Īliō prōgnātus manū cōnsanguineōrum 6
necārētur magnīsque mox Ītaliae clādibus vindicārētur. 7

caedes, caedis f. – *murder, assassination; slaughter*
ēvidēns, gen. ēvidentis – *clear, evident, obvious*
prōdigium, prōdigiī n. – *prodigy, omen*
dēnūntiō dēnūntiāre dēnūntiāvī dēnūntiātus – *to announce, declare; threaten, intimate*
paucī paucae pauca – *few, a few*
ante, adv. – *before, earlier, previously*
colōnia, colōniae f. – *colony, new town*
**dēdūcō dēdūcere dēdūxī dēductus – *to lead down; bring down, pull down, lower; launch* (a
   boat, a fleet); *found, settle, plant* (a colony, colonists); *to reduce, remove; escort*
lēx, lēgis f. – *law*
colōnus, colōnī m. – *colonist; inhabitant of a* colōnia
extruō extruere extrūxī extrūctus – *to build, construct*
vīlla, vīllae f. – *house, estate*
vetustus vetusta vetustum – *old, ancient*
sepulcrum, sepulcrī n. – *tomb*
disiciō disicere disiēcī disiectus – *to dig up, disinter, destroy*
eō (+ comparative) – *the, all the*
studiōsus studiōsa studiōsum – *zealous, enthusiastic; devoted to, fond of*
quod, conj. – *because, (for the fact) that*
aliquantum, pron. – *some (amount), a number*
vāsculum, vāsculī n. – *(small) vessel, (small) vase*
opus, operis n. – *work, work of art*
**antīquus antīqua antīquum – *ancient, old*
scrūtor, scrūtārī, scrūtātus sum – *to ransack, search thoroughly, loot*
tabula, tabulae f. – *tablet, picture*
aēneus aēnea aēneum – *bronze, made of bronze, brazen*
monimentum, monimentī n. – *monument, tomb*
conditor, conditōris m. – *founder*
sepeliō sepelīre sepelīvī sepultus – *to bury*
inveniō invenīre invēnī inventus – *to come upon; find*
cōnscrībō cōnscrībere cōnscrīpsī cōnscrīptus – *to write on, inscribe*
littera, litterae f. – *letter (of the alphabet)*
verbum, verbī n. – *word*
Graecus Graeca Graecum – *Greek*
sententia, sententiae f. – *opinion; meaning; sentiment, idea; judgment; sentence*
quandōque, conj. – *whenever, at whatever time*
os, ossis n. – *bone*
**dētegō dētegere dētēxī dētēctus – *to uncover, lay bare, reveal*
prōgnātus prōgnāta prōgnātum – *descended (from), sprung (from)*
cōnsanguineī, cōnsanguineōrum m.pl. – *people of the same blood, relatives, kindred*
necō necāre necāvī necātus – *to kill*
**mox, adv. – *soon; then, next; afterwards, later*
clādes, clādis f. (i-stem) – *disaster, loss, harm*
vindicō vindicāre vindicāvī vindicātus – *to avenge, punish*

cuius reī – *of which thing,* that is, about the prophecy of Capys; objective genitive with *auctor.*

nē quis – *so that no one...* *quis* stands for *aliquis:* After *sī, nisi, num,* and *nē,* all the *alis* go away!

fābulōsam aut commentīciam – sc. *rem esse;* Suetonius does not want his reader to think that the (admittedly unbelievable) story about Capys and the prophecy had just been made up, so he cites his source.

Cornēlius Balbus – Caesar's business manager, who kept a diary (*ephemeris*) that was presumably available to Suetonius; it is now lost.

familiārissimus – *a very close friend*

proximīs diēbus – *within the next (few) days,* i.e. soon thereafter. Abl. of time within which.

equōrum – Gen. of specification with *gregēs.*

in trāiciendō – *during the crossing,* abl. of time when with a preposition.

Rubicōnī flūminī – Indirect object of *cōnsecrārat.*

cōnsecrārat – For *cōnsecrāverat.* Caesar had presumably left these herds of horses running loose to thank the god who had appeared at the Rubicon to bless his crossing (see §32), perhaps in fulfilment of an oath.

ac vagōs ... dīmīserat – *and had set loose.* Note the lack of parallelism (inconcinnity) between the two phrases describing the herds, one (*vagōs*) an adjective and the other a participial phrase (*sine custōde*). This is a hendiadys, since the two descriptors ('loose' and 'without guard') mean approximately the same thing.

comperit – Note the historical present for vividness; this continues the impression of events happening quickly that was begun with *proximīs diēbus.*

pābulō – Abl. (of separation) with *abstinēre.*

immolantem – sc. *Caesarem* (direct object of *monuit*), *while he was sacrificing*

haruspex Spūrinna – an Etruscan(-style) soothsayer. Also mentioned in §77. A haruspex inspected the entrails of a sacrificed animal to ascertain the will of the gods, particularly by observation of the liver (hepatomancy). The haruspices had liver-divining down to an art, even producing for their students model livers, marked with the Etruscan gods whom they believed corresponded to each little section of the liver. Flaws (bumps, discoloration, etc.) that drew their attention to any particular section of the liver would then indicate which god was communicating with the human world (and so with what area of life the message was concerned) and whether it was a good or bad sign.

cavēret – sc. *ut, that he should beware;* indirect command after *monuit.*

prōferrētur – Subjunctive in a subordinate clause in indirect discourse.

[81.2] cuius reī, nē quis fābulōsam aut commentīciam putet, auctor est Cornēlius Balbus, 1
familiārissimus Caesaris. proximīs diēbus equōrum gregēs, quōs in trāiciendō Rubicōnī 2
flūminī cōnsecrārat ac vagōs et sine custōde dīmīserat, comperit pertinācissimē pābulō 3
abstinēre ūbertimque flēre. et immolantem haruspex Spūrinna monuit, cavēret perīculum, 4
quod nōn ultrā Mārtiās Īdūs prōferrētur. 5

quis, quid, indefinite pron. – *someone, something; anyone, anything*
fābulōsus fābulōsa fābulōsum – *mythical, legendary; fictional*
**aut, conj. – *or*
commentīcius commentīcia commentīcium – *false, invented, fabricated, imaginary*
putō –āre –āvī –ātus – *to think, judge, suppose*
auctor, auctōris m. – *authority; creator; source*
familiāris familiāris familiāre – *of or belonging to the household; friendly, intimate, close*
proximus proxima proximum – *nearest, closest; next, adjoining; occurring soon after*
**equus, equī m. – *horse*
grex, gregis f. – *flock, herd*
**trāiciō trāicere trāiēcī trāiectus – *to cross (over); stab through, pierce*
**flūmen, flūminis n. – *river*
cōnsecrō cōnsecrāre cōnsecrāvī cōnsecrātus – *to consecrate, dedicate (to a god/the gods); deify*
vagus vaga vagum – *wandering, loose*
custōs, custōdis m. – *guard*
**dīmittō dīmittere dīmīsī dīmissus – *to dismiss, let go, send away; renounce; break off with*
comperiō comperīre comperuī compertus – *to find out for sure, gain certain knowledge, learn, discover*
pertināx, gen. pertinācis – *stubborn, obstinate, persistent*
pābulum, pābulī n. – *fodder, food (for animals), feed*
abstineō abstinēre abstinuī abstentus + abl. – *to abstain, keep free (from); refrain from*
ūbertim, adv. – *abundantly, copiously*
fleō flēre flēvī flētus – *to weep, cry*
immolō immolāre immolāvī immolātus – *to perform a sacrifice, sacrifice*
haruspex, haruspicis m. – *soothsayer, seer, diviner*
moneō monēre monuī monitus – *to warn, advise*
caveō cavēre cāvī cautus – *to beware, watch out for*
perīculum, perīculī n. – *danger, peril*
ultrā, prep. + acc. – *beyond, later than*
**Mārtius Mārtia Mārtium – *of or relating to Mars; of or relating to March*
prōferō prōferre prōtulī prōlātus (irr.) – *to bring forth; show (oneself); make known*

prīdiē eāsdem Īdūs – *on the day before the same Ides* (the ones we have just been talking about in §81.2). When identifying a day of the month, the Romas used *prīdiē* + acc. for the day before one of the 'anchor days' (Kalends, Nones, Ides) and a(nte) d(iem) + acc. for any other number of days before them (e.g., a.d. IV Īd. Mār., *four days before the Ides of March,* March 12th).

avem rēgāliolum – Object of *persecūtae* and *discerpsērunt.* Some small bird (here called the "kinglet bird"), possibly a wren.

cum laureō rāmulō – The laurel wreath was given to triumphing Roman generals. For Caesar's fondness for it, see §45.2.

Pompēiānae cūriae – For the senate's meeting place in the portico of the Theater of Pompey, see note on §80.4.

ex proximō nemore – There was a grove of plane trees around the *porticus* of Pompey's Theater.

eā ... caedis – *But in fact on the night before the assassination,* lit. 'but in fact on that night upon which the day of the assassination dawned'

sibi vīsus est per quiētem – *he dreamed that he,* lit. 'he seemed to himself during sleep to' See note on §7.2.

intrā nūbēs ... iungere – Foreshadowing Caesar's deification; he saw himself flying up to heaven and clasping hands (a symbol of friendship) with Jupiter, king of the gods.

Calpurnia uxor – Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso, was Caesar's third wife (Cornelia died of illness, and Caesar divorced Pompeia). See §21.1.

imāgināta est – This verb must also mean 'dreamed' here, as 'imagined' seems too intentional.

fastīgium – Properly the pediment (gable) of a temple. Caesar had been granted the right to have a *fastīgium* on his house by the senate.

[81.3] prīdiē autem eāsdem Īdūs avem rēgāliolum cum laureō rāmulō Pompēiānae cūriae   1
sē īnferentem volucrēs variī generis ex proximō nemore persecūtae ibīdem discerpsērunt.   2
eā vērō nocte, cui inlūxit diēs caedis, et ipse sibi vīsus est per quiētem interdum suprā   3
nūbēs volitāre, aliās cum Iove dextram iungere; et Calpurnia uxor imāgināta est conlābī   4
fastīgium domūs marītumque in gremiō suō cōnfodī; ac subitō cubiculī forēs sponte   5
patuērunt.   6

prīdiē – *on the day before*
avis, avis m./f. (i-stem) – *bird*
rēgāliolus, rēgāliolī m. – *a small bird, the 'kinglet' bird*
**laureus laurea laureum – *laurel, made of laurel*
rāmulus, rāmulī m. – *a small branch, twig, sprig*
Pompēiānus Pompēiāna Pompēiānum – *of Pompey, Pompeian*
**īnferō īnferre intulī inlātus – *to bring in; (refl.) to enter rapidly; offer, render*
volūcris, volūcris f. (i-stem) – *bird*
varius varia varium – *various, different*
**genus, generis n. – *race, stock, lineage; kind, type*
nemus, nemoris n. – *(sacred) grove*
persequor, persequī, persecūtus sum – *to follow, pursue; take vengeance upon; hunt*
ibīdem, adv. – *in the same place*
discerpō discerpere discerpsī discerptus – *to tear to pieces, rend*
**vērō, postpositive conj. and adv. – *truly, in fact, indeed; but in fact, but indeed*
**nox, noctis f. (i-stem) – *night*
illūcēscō illūcēscere illūxī– *to grow light, dawn upon*
caedes, caedis f. – *murder, assassination; slaughter*
quiēs, quiētis f. – *rest, quiet; sleep*
**interdum, adv. – *at times, from time to time, sometimes, occasionally*
suprā, prep. + acc. – *over, above, on top of*
nūbes, nūbis f. (i-stem) – *cloud*
volitō volitāre volitāvī volitātus – *to fly*
aliās, adv. – *at another time*
Iuppiter, Iovis m. – *Jupiter*
dextra, dextrae f. – *right hand*
iungō iungere iūnxī iūnctus – *to join; grasp*
imāginor, imāginārī, imāginātus sum – *to imagine, fancy, picture*
conlābor, conlābī, conlāpsus sum – *to slip, fall (down)*
fastīgium, fastīgiī n. – *gable, pediment; highest point; dignity, rank, condition*
**domus, domūs f. (irr.) – *house, home*
marītus, marītī m. – *husband*
gremium, gremiī n. – *lap, bosom; arms*
cōnfodiō cōnfodīre cōnfōdī cōnfossus – *to stab, pierce*
subitō, adv – *suddenly*
cubiculum, cubiculī n. – *bedroom, bedchamber*
forēs, forum f.pl. – *(double) door*
sponte, adv. – *of one's own accord, spontaneously*
pateō patēre patuī – *to lie open, be open*

ob haec – i.e, the aforementioned omens, especially the nightmares of §81.3

īnfīrmam valitudinem – Suetonius explains in §45.1 that Caesar was suffering from ill-health towards the end of his life.

sē continēret – *he should remain (at home)*

quae – *those things which*, object of *differet*

prōposuerat agere – *he had placed on the agenda*, lit. 'he had intended to discuss'

Decimō Brūtō adhortante – Abl. abs. For this Brutus (not the famous Brutus), see note on §80.4.

nē ... dēstitueret – *not to forsake those crowds who had been waiting for him for so long already*, lit. 'that he not forsake those numerous and already-for-a-long-time waiting people'; indirect command after *adhortante*

quīntā fere hōrā – *at approximately the fifth hour*, i.e. around 11 am; abl. of time when

libellumque īnsidiārum indicem – *and a paper detailing the plot*, lit. 'a little book, the informant of the plot'; an *index* was an informant, a person who bore witness about something.

ab obviō quōdam porrēctum – *handed to him by a certain person (he) met along the way*

libellīs cēterīs – Dat. with *commiscuit.*

sinistrā manū – *with his left hand*; the notion of the left side as unlucky or ill-omened is invoked here, since, if Caesar had only regarded the omens, the assassination might have been forestalled.

quasi mox lēctūrus – *as if he was going to read it later*

plūribus – *more (than one), more (than normal)*

hostiīs caesīs – Abl. abs.

cum litāre nōn posset – Another account (Appian 2.116) claims the first victim was lacking a heart (an absolutely dreadful omen), and, when Caesar pressed on, each victim remained likewise unacceptable (see §77 for Suetonius' version of this story). Normal Roman practice would have been to suspend the proposed business as forbidden by the gods (at least at that time).

sprētā religiōne – Abl. abs. For other instances of Caesar disregarding omens, see §59.

Spurinnam – See note on §81.2.

ut falsum arguēns – *accusing him of being a false seer*; lit. 'accusing him as a false man'

sine ūlla suā noxā – *without any harm (coming) to him*, lit. 'without any harm of his'

adessent – Subjunctive in a subordinate clause in virtual indirect discourse after *arguēns*; this is the reason that Caesar called him a false seer.

[81.4] ob haec simul et ob īnfīrmam valitūdinem diū cunctātus an sē continēret et quae   1
apud senātum prōposuerat agere differret, tandem Decimō Brūtō adhortante, nē frequentīs   2
ac iam dūdum opperientīs dēstitueret, quīntā ferē hōrā prōgressus est libellumque   3
īnsidiārum indicem ab obviō quōdam porrēctum libellīs cēterīs, quōs sinistrā manū   4
tenēbat, quasi mox lēctūrus commiscuit. dein plūribus hostiīs caesīs, cum litāre nōn   5
posset, introiit cūriam sprētā religiōne Spūrinnamque irrīdēns et ut falsum arguens, quod   6
sine ūllā suā noxā Īdūs Mārtiae adessent: quamquam is vēnisse quidem eās dīceret, sed   7
nōn praeterīsse.   8

**ob, prep. + acc. – *on account of, because of, for*
**simul, adv. – *together, at the same time, simultaneously*
īnfīrmus īnfīrma īnfīrmum – *weak, ill*
**valitūdō, valitūdinis f. – *health; ill-health, illness*
diū, adv. – *for a long time*
**cunctor, cunctārī, cunctātus sum – *to delay; hesitate, be slow; doubt*
an, conj. + subj. – *or, whether*
contineō continēre continuī contentus – *to keep, restrain, confine;* (refl.) *stay, remain*
prōpōnō prōpōnere prōposuī prōpositus – *to put forward, propose; intend, resolve;* (with *agere*) schedule *for the agenda*
**differō differre distulī dīlātus – *to delay; postpone, put off* (until a later time)
tandem, adv. – *at last, finally*
adhortor, adhortārī, adhortātus sum – *to urge, encourage* (someone to do something)
frequēns, gen. frequentis – *crowded, in large numbers*
iam dūdum (also *iamdūdum*) – *already for a long time, long since*
opperior, opperīrī, oppertus sum – *to wait for, await; wait*
dēstituō dēstituere dēstituī dēstitūtus – *to forsake, abandon*
quīntus quīnta quīntum – *fifth*
ferē, adv. – *about, approximately*
hōra, hōrae f. – *hour,* one of the twelve equal time periods from sunrise to sunset that the Roman *diēs* was divided into
prōgredior, prōgredī, prōgressus sum – *to go forward, go out, proceed*
libellus, libellī m. – *little book, booklet, pamphlet, paper*
īnsidiae, īnsidiārum f.pl. – *trap, ambush; plot*

index, indicis m. – *informant, revealer; proof*
obvius obvia obvium – *met (on the way); to meet*
porrigō porrigere porrēxī porrēctus – *to stretch forward, hand out, offer*
sinister sinistra sinistrum – *left, left-handed; unlucky, ill-fortuned*
**teneō tenēre tenuī tentus – *to hold, have*
**quasi, conj. – *as if, as though*
**mox, adv. – *soon; then, next; afterwards, later*
legō legere lēgī lēctus – *to read*
commisceō commiscēre commiscuī commixtus – *to mix in with*
dein, adv. – *then, next*
plūs, gen. plūris (comp. of *multus*) – *more*
hostia, hostiae f. – *(sacrificial) victim*
caedō caedere cecīdī caesus – *to kill, slay, slaughter; assassinate*
litō litāre litāvī litātus – *to make a favorable sacrifice, obtain favorable omens*
**possum posse potuī (irr.) – *to be able, can*
introeō introīre introiī (irr.) – *to go in(to), enter*
spernō spernere sprēvī sprētus – *to spurn; reject; despise*
religiō, religiōnis f. – *religious awe, piety; religious scruple*
irrīdeō irrīdēre irrīsī irrīsus – *to laugh at, mock, scorn*
falsus falsa falsum – *false, untrue*
arguō arguere arguī argūtus – *to accuse, blame, charge*
quod, conj. – *because, (for the fact) that*
noxa, noxae f. – *harm*
**Mārtius Mārtia Mārtium – *of or relating to Mars; of or relating to March*
adsum adesse adfuī adfutūrus (irr.) – *to be present; be here, be there; be at hand*
quamquam, conj. – *although*
praetereō praeterīre praeteriī praeteritus – *to go past,*

quamquam is, etc. – *however, that man (Spurinna) said that (while) they had indeed come, they had not (yet) passed,* lit. 'although he was saying that they had indeed come, but not passed'.

assidentem – sc. *Caesarem*; direct object of *circumstetērunt*.

speciē officiī – *with the appearance of a court*, i.e., the conspirators all came up and surrounded Caesar by pretending that they were there to support him and curry his favor; important Romans were surrounded by their clients at public events.

Cimber Tillius – L. Tillius Cimber (note that his *nōmen* and *cognōmen* are here reversed), previously a strong supporter of Caesar.

quī prīmās partēs suscēperat – *who had taken on the opening rôle*, a metaphor from the theater. See also *partibus dīvīsīs* in §80.4 note.

quasi aliquid rogātūrus – *as if were about to ask something*; a similar use of *quasi* with the future active participle was found in §81.4, *quasi mox lēctūrus*.

propius – The comparative of *prope*, 'nearer'.

renuentīque et, etc. – *and he grabbed hold of his toga by each shoulder while he was refusing (Timber's request) with a nod and putting him off until another time*

renuentī, differentī – sc. *Caesarī*; dat. (of disadvantage) with *adprehendit*.

clāmantem – sc. Caesarem, direct object of *vulnerat*

ista quidem vīs est – *Why, this is violence!* Caesar's remark shows his shock at being attacked like this in the senate. *ista*, from *iste ista istum*, is often used in Latin as the "second person" demonstrative: *that (thing) of yours*: *It's violence you're doing to me!* *iste* as well often (as here) has a strongly negative connotation, as does the word *vīs*.

alter ē Cascīs – *one of the Cascas*; there were two brothers by this name involved in the conspiracy.

āversum – sc. Caesarem; *turned away* or *from behind*.

vulnerat – Note the use of the historical present here in the climax of the narrative.

[82.1] assidentem cōnspīrātī speciē officiī circumstetērunt, īlicōque Cimber Tillius, quī 1
prīmās partēs suscēperat, quasi aliquid rogātūrus propius accessit renuentīque et gestū in 2
aliud tempus differentī ab utrōque umerō togam adprehendit: deinde clāmantem: 'ista 3
quidem vīs est!' alter ē Cascīs āversum vulnerat paulum īnfrā iugulum. 4

assideō assidēre assēdī assessus – *to sit near, sit by; to be busy, engaged in; to besiege, blockade*
cōnspīrātī, cōnspīrātōrum m.pl. – *those who have sworn an oath together; conspirators*
speciēs, speciēī f. – *appearance; pretense, show*
**officium, officiī n. – *duty, office; observance, attendance, service; office* or *court* (of a magistrate)
circumstō circumstāre circumstetī circumstātus – *to stand around, surround*
īlicō, adv. – *in that very spot; immediately, instantly*
suscipiō suscipere suscēpī susceptus – *to assume; take up, take on; undertake*
**quasi, conj. – *as if, as though*
**aliquis, aliquid, indefinite pron. – *someone, something; anyone, anything*
rogō rogāre rogāvī rogātus – *to ask*
**prope, adv. – *near; nearly, almost*
accēdō accēdere accessī accessūrus – *to go toward, approach, come near; enter (upon), undertake*
renuō renuere renuī – *to refuse by means of a nod, to nod refusal*
gestus, gestūs m. – *gesture*
**differō differre distulī dīlātus (irr.) – *to delay; postpone, put off* (until a later time)
uterque utraque utrumque – *each* (of two), *both*
umerus, umerī m. – *shoulder*
toga, togae f. – *toga*
adprehendō adprehendere adprehendī adprehēnsus – *to seize hold of, grab hold of*
clāmō clāmāre clāmāvī clāmātus – *to shout, yell, exclaim*
iste ista istum, demonstrative pron. and adj. – *this (of yours); that (of yours); this (bad)*
vīs, -- f. (irr.) – *force, violence*
**alter altera alterum – *one* (of two); *other, another, the second*
āversus āversa āversum – *turned away; from behind*
vulnerō vulnerāre vulnerāvī vulnerātus – *to wound*
paulum, adv. – *a little, somewhat*
īnfrā, prep. + acc. – *below*
iugulum, iugulī n. – *throat*

Cascae – Dat. (of disadvantage).

brāchium – Also spelled *bracchium*.

brāchium ... trāiēcit – *he grabbed Casca's arm and stabbed it with his stylus*, lit. 'he stabbed Casca's arm, having-been-grabbed, with his stylus' (note the use of the participle to show the sequence of events). The *graphium* (from Gk. γραφίον, 'graphion') was a pointed metal tool for scratching words in wax tablets, not an ink-pen (Latin *calamus*, 'reed'). Caesar was unarmed, as it was against all rules and custom to go armed into the Senate, so the only thing he had to hand as a weapon was his pen.

sē ... petī – Indirect statement after *animadvertit*.

quō honestius caderet – *so that he might fall the more honorably*; Caesar's last thoughts as represented by Suetonius appear to have been for his *dīgnitās*. *quō* substitutes for *ut* in a purpose clause that contains a comparative (*honestius*). *cadō* is to 'fall, fall dead': it is also used of the deaths of sacrificial victims, which appears to have resonance here, particularly with the detail of Caesar's veiled head *(obvolūtō capite)*, since priests would cover their heads with their toga during religious ceremonies.

etiam ... vēlātā – Causal abl. abs., *since the lower part of his body was (now) also covered*, lit. 'wit the lower part of his body covered'.

tribus et vīgintī plāgīs – *by 23 (stab) wounds.* The conspirators may have agreed that each one of them should stab Caesar at least once so that all might share equally in the guilt (or glory) of his death.

ūnō ... ēditō – Abl. abs.

gemitū sine vōce – *a wordless groan, a wordless cry*, lit. 'a groan without voice'. The *vōx* is the intentional human voice that shapes words, and thus by metonymy it can itself mean 'a word'.

trādidērunt quīdam – *some people have handed down a story that...*

dīxisse – sc. *Caesarem, that he said*

[82.2] Caesar Cascae brāchium arreptum graphiō trāiēcit cōnātusque prōsilīre aliō vulnere 1
tardātus est; utque animadvertit undique sē strictīs pūgiōnibus petī, togā caput obvolvit, 2
simul sinistrā manū sinum ad īma crūra dēdūxit, quō honestius caderet etiam īnferiōre 3
corporis parte vēlātā. atque ita tribus et vīgintī plāgīs cōnfossus est, ūnō modo ad prīmum 4
ictum gemitū sine vōce ēditō, etsī trādidērunt quīdam Mārcō Brūtō irruentī dīxisse: 5

brāchium, brāchiī n. – *arm, forearm*
arripiō arripere arripuī arreptus – *to grab hold of, seize*
graphium, graphiī n. – *pen, stylus*
**trāiciō trāicere trāiēcī trāiectus – *to cross (over); stab through, pierce*
cōnor, cōnārī, cōnātus sum – *to try, attempt*
prōsiliō prōsilīre prōsiluī – *to leap forward, jump up*
vulnus, vulneris n. – *wound*
tardō tardāre tardāvī tardātus – *to slow down, hinder, prevent*
animadvertō animadvertere animadvertī animadversus – *to pay attention (to), notice, realize*
undique, adv. – *from all sides, on all sides*
stringō stringere strīnxī strictus – *to draw* (a weapon)
pūgiō, pūgiōnis m. – *dagger*
petō petere petīvī petītus – *to seek, attack, head for*
toga, togae f. – *toga*
**caput, capitis n. – *head*
obvolvō obvolvere obvolvī obvolūtus – *to wind around; veil, cover, wrap up*
**simul, adv. – *together, at the same time, simultaneously*
sinister sinistra sinistrum – *left, left-handed; unlucky, ill-fortuned*
sinus, sinūs m. – *fold* (of the toga)
īmus īma īmum – *the lowest, the bottom*
crūs, crūris n. – *shin, leg*
**dēdūcō dēdūcere dēdūxī dēductus – *to lead down; bring down, pull down, lower; launch* (a boat, a fleet);
    found, settle, plant (a colony, colonists); *to reduce, remove; escort*
**quō, conj. + subj. (+ comparative) – *so that, in order to*
honestus honesta honestum – *honorable, respectable*
cadō cadere cecidī casus – *to fall, fall dead; be slain, be sacrificed*
īnferior īnferior īnferius – *lower*
**corpus, corporis n. – *body*
vēlō vēlāre vēlāvī vēlātus – *to veil, cover*
ita, adv. – *so, in this way, thus*
vīgintī, indecl. adj. – *twenty*
plāga, plāgae f. – *blow, wound, cut, strike*
cōnfodiō cōnfodīre cōnfōdī cōnfossus – *to stab, pierce*
**modo, adv. – *only*
ictus, ictūs m. – *strike, blow*
gemitus, gemitūs m. – *groan, cry*
vōx, vōcis f. – *voice; word*
ēdō ēdere ēdidī ēditus – *to bring forth, give forth; produce, put on; put forth, release*
etsī, conj. – *even if; although*
trādō trādere trādidī trāditus – *to hand down, hand over; pass down* (a story)
irruō irruere irruī irrūtus – *to rush upon, make an attack upon*

[82.3] καὶ σὺ τέκνον; exanimis, diffugientibus cūnctīs, aliquamdiū iacuit, dōnec lectīcae　1
impositum, dēpendente brāchiō, trēs servolī domum rettulērunt. nec in tot vulneribus, ut　2
Antistius medicus exīstimābat, lētāle ūllum repertum est, nisi quod secundō locō in　3
pectore accēperat.　4

exanimis exanimis exanime – *unconscious, lifeless*
diffugiō diffugere diffūgī diffūgitūrus – *to flee (in different directions), scatter (in flight)*
cūnctī cūnctae cūncta – *all*
aliquamdiū, adv. – *for some time, for a while*
iaceō iacēre iacuī iacitūrus – *to lie, lie dead*
dōnec, conj. – *until*
lectīca, lectīcae f. – *litter, sedan-chair*
**impōnō impōnere imposuī impositus – *to place on, place in, place upon; impose; embark*
dēpendeō dēpendēre – *to hang down, hang off*
brāchium, brāchiī n. – *arm, forearm*
servolus, servolī m. – *slave, young slave, slave boy*
domum – *home, homeward*

tot, indecl. adj. – *so many*
vulnus, vulneris n. – *wound*
medicus, medicī m. – *doctor*
exīstimō exīstimāre exīstimāvī exīstimātus – *to think, suppose, judge, deem*
lētālis lētālis lētāle – *fatal*
reperiō reperīre reperuī repertus – *to find, discover*
**nisi, conj. – *if ... not, unless; except if; except, but that, save*
secundus secunda secundum – *second*
**locus, locī m. – *place, spot*
pectus, pectoris n. – *chest, heart*
accipiō accipere accēpī acceptus – *to take, receive*

καὶ σὺ τέκνον; – Greek (=*kai su teknon?*): *you too, my son?* This is the ancestor of Shakespeare's *Et tu, Brute?*, which is not attested in the ancient sources. There is no prima facie reason to doubt this account of Caesar's last words, but it is not found elsewhere except in Cassius Dio's account. It was evidently at least credible to Suetonius (although he appears to favor rather the story that Caesar did not say anything at all after *ista quidem vīs est*) that Caesar would have spoken in Greek at his last moments. Biligualism was widespread among upper-class Romans, both due to the prestige factor of Greek literature and culture and the practical advantages for a political career if one could speak the common tongue (Greek: *koinē*) of the eastern Mediterranean, but also due to the fact that, for precisely those reasons, the Romans preferentially employed Greek slaves to care for their children, giving them native competency in the language. Caesar was, perhaps, reverting to the language of his earliest childhood. On the (untrue) story that Brutus was Caesar's natural son, see §50.2 with note.

diffugientibus cūnctīs – Abl. abs. Presumably in shame or fear of reprisal from the Caesarians.

lectīcae – Dat. with compound verb *impositum*.

dēpendente brāchiō – Abl. abs. This detail, though small, contributes greatly to the sense of *pathos* (pity) that Suetonius is building up.

servolī – Diminutive of *servus*. Diminutives often have a pathetic tone: whereas Caesar should have had many friends and clients around him, in the end only three wretched slaves could be found to take charge of his dead body.

nec ... lētāle ūllum repertum est – sc. *vulnus, none (of the wounds) was found to be fatal*

nisi quod – *except (the one) that*

secundō locō – Abl. of place where with no preposition.

[82.4] fuerat animus coniūrātīs corpus occīsī in Tiberim trahere, bona pūblicāre, ācta   1
rescindere, sed metū Mārcī Antōnī cōnsulis et magistrī equitum Lepidī dēstitērunt.   2

**animus, animī m. – *mind, spirit; intention*
coniūrātus, coniūrātī m. – *one who has sworn an oath (with others, to do something wrong), conspirator*
**corpus, corporis n. – *body*
occīdō occīdere occīdī occīsus – *to kill, murder, assassinate*
trahō trahere trāxī trāctus – *to drag*
bona, bonōrum n.pl. – *goods, possessions*
pūblicō pūblicāre pūblicāvī pūblicātus – *to make public; publish; confiscate, take away (as a fine)*
ācta, āctōrum n.pl. – *acts, deeds; records*
rescindō rescindere rescidī rescissus – *to cut off, cut loose; repeal, rescind, abolish*
metus, metūs m. – *fear*
magister, magistrī m. – *teacher, master*
**eques, equitis m. – *equestrian, knight, horseman; (pl.) cavalry*
dēsistō dēsistere dēstitī dēstitus (+ inf.) – *to stop, cease*

fuerat animus cōniūrātīs – *the conspirators had intended to*, lit. 'it had been the mind for the conspirators'

occīsī – sc. *Caesaris, of the dead (man), of Caesar having died*

bona pūblicāre – When you made someone's goods public in Latin, it means to make them property of the state (the people), and so to confiscate them as a punishment for actions against the state (the people).

ācta rescindere – The aim of the conspiracy was broadly to restore the Republic to its proper functioning according to the traditional constitution, so the conspirators had planned to undo Caesar's changes.

metū – Abl. of cause, *out of fear*

Mārcī Antōnī cōnsulis – *of Marc Antony, the consul*, objective genitive with *metū*.

magistrī equitum Lepidī – *of Lepidus, the master of the horse*; the *magister equitum* was the dictator's chief assistant. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, a great supporter of Caesar who had risen to the position of *magister equitum* when Caesar was made *dictātor perpetuus* in February of 44, would later join the Second Triumvirate with Octavian and Antony.

[83.1] postulante ergō Lūciō Pīsōne socerō testāmentum eius aperītur recitāturque in Antōnī domō, quod Īdibus Septembribus proximīs in Lavīcānō suō fēcerat dēmandāveratque virginī Vestālī maximae. Quīntus Tūberō trādit hērēdem ab eō scrībī solitum ex cōnsulātū ipsīus prīmō usque ad initium cīvīlis bellī Cn. Pompēium, idque mīlitibus prō cōntiōne recitātum.

At the urging of Lucius Piso, his father-in-law, Caesar's will was opened and recited at Antony's house. He had made that will on the Ides of the previous September at his villa near Labicum and had entrusted it to the chief Vestal. Quintus Tubero claims that he had named Pompey as his chief heir in all his wills from the time of his first consulship until the outbreak of the civil war, and that his soldiers had been informed of that at a general assembly.

[83.2] sed novissimō testāmentō trēs īnstituit hērēdēs sorōrum nepōtēs, Gāium Octāvium ex dōdrante, et Lūcium Pīnārium et Quīntum Pedium ex quadrante reliquō; in īmā cērā Gāium Octāvium etiam in familiam nōmenque adoptāvit; plērōsque percussōrum in tūtōribus fīlī, sī quī sibi nāscerētur, nōmināvit, Decimum Brūtum etiam in secundīs hērēdibus. populō hortōs circā Tiberim pūblicē et viritim trecēnōs sēstertiōs lēgāvit.

But in his last will, he appointed three heirs: his sisters' grandsons, Gaius Octavius who was heir to three-fourths, and Lucius Pinarius and Quintus Pedius to the remaining quarter. At the bottom of the tablet he also adopted Octavius into his family and clan. And he named most of his assassins as guardians of his son, if he should have one. He even placed Decimus Brutus among his second-place heirs. He bequeathed his gardens around the Tiber to the people as a park and left every man three hundred sesterces.

[84.1] fūnere indictō rogus extrūctus est in Mārtiō campō iuxtā Iūliae tumulum et prō rōstrīs aurāta aedes ad simulācrum templī Veneris Genetrīcis collocāta; intrāque lectus eburneus aurō ac purpurā strātus et ad caput tropaeum cum veste, in quā fuerat occīsus. praeferentibus mūnera, quia suffectūrus diēs nōn vidēbātur, praeceptum, ut omissō ōrdine, quibus quisque vellet itineribus urbis, portāret in Campum.

After his funeral had been formally announced, a pyre was built in the Campus Matrius next to Julia's tomb, and in front of the Rostra a gilded model of the temple of Venus Genetrix was placed; and inside this was an ivory bed laid with gold and purple cloth, and at its head was the clothing Caesar had been killed in, set up as a trophy. Those bringing offerings to burn on the pyre were told to not wait for the day of the funeral, since there wouldn't be time for all of them, but to bring them over to the Campus Martius informally without a set order.

[84.2] inter lūdōs cantāta sunt quaedam ad miserātiōnem et invidiam caedis eius accommodāta, ex Pācuvī *armōrum iūdiciō: mēn' servāsse, ut essent quī mē perderent?* et ex *Electrā* Acīlī ad similem sententiam. laudātiōnis locō cōnsul Antōnius per praecōnem prōnūntiāvit senātūs cōnsultum, quō omnia simul eī dīvīna atque humāna dēcrēverat, item iūs iūrandum, quō sē cūnctī prō salūte ūnīus astrinxerant; quibus perpauca ā sē verba addidit.

During the funeral games, some songs were sung that went well with the pity and ill-feeling caused by his murder, including a selection from Pacuvius' "Judgement of Arms" ('Did I save them, so that there might be people to destroy me?') and from Acilius' "Electra" something

along the same lines. In place of the eulogy, Mark Antony, the consul, had heralds proclaim the decree of the senate that accorded to him all human and also divine honors, and also the oath they had all given to protect that one man's safety; and he added a few words of his own to these things.

[84.3] lectum pro rōstrīs in forum magistrātūs et honōribus fūnctī dētulērunt. quem cum pars in Capitōlīnī Iovis cellā cremāre pars in cūriā Pompeī dēstināret, repente duo quīdam gladiīs succinctī ac bīna iacula gestantes ardentibus cēreīs succendērunt cōnfestimque circumstantium turba virgulta ārida et cum subselliīs tribūnālia, quicquid praetereā ad dōnum aderat, congessit.

Current and former magistrates carried the bier from the Rostra Iulia to the Forum. But when some of them wanted to burn it in the sanctuary of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, while others wanted to do so in the Curia of Pompey, suddenly two people girded with swords and waving two spears each lit it on fire with burning wax tapers. And immediately the crowd of bystanders heaped up on it dry branches and the wood from magistrates' benches and also whatever was around as offerings.

[84.4] deinde tibicinēs et scaenicī artificēs vestem, quam ex triumphōrum īnstrūmentō ad praesentem ūsum induerant, dētrāctam sibi atque dīscissam iniēcēre flammae et veterānōrum mīlitum legiōnāriī arma sua, quibus excultī fūnus celebrābant; mātrōnae etiam plēraeque ōrnāmenta sua, quae gerēbant, et līberōrum bullās atque praetextās.

Then the flute-players and actors took off the clothes which they had put on from the equipment for the triumphs for the present occasion and they tore it and threw it the flames. And his legionaries tossed on the weapons which they had put on to observe the funeral; and even a great number of ladies added the jewelry they were wearing and the bullas and striped togas of their children.

[84.5] in summō pūblicō lūctū exterārum gentium multitūdō circulātim suō quaeque mōre lāmentāta est praecipuēque Iūdaeī, quī etiam noctibus continuīs būstum frequentārunt.

Amidst this outpouring of public grief a crowd of foreigners began to mourn in groups, each according to their own custom, and especially the Jewish people, who also thronged the pyre every night.

[85] plēbs statim a fūnere ad domum Brūtī et Cassi cum facibus tetendit atque aegrē repulsa obvium sibi Helvium Cinnam per errōrem nōminis, quasi Cornēlius is esset, quem graviter prīdiē cōntiōnātum dē Caesare requīrēbat, occīdit caputque eius praefīxum hastae circumtulit. posteā solidam columnam prope vīgintī pedum lapidis Numidicī in forō statuit īnscrīpsitque parentī patriae. apud eam longō tempore sacrificāre, vōta suscipere, contrōversiās quāsdam interpositō per Caesarem iūre iūrandō distrahere persevērāvit.

The people went straight from the funeral to Brutus' and Cassius' homes with torches and were only put off from there with great difficulty. They killed Helvius Cassius whom they met along the way, mistaking him for Cornelius Cinna, whom they were looking for because he had spoken harshly of Caesar in a speech the previous day, and then they carried his head around, affixed to

a spear. Afterwards they set up a nearly 20-foot column made of Numidian stone in the Forum and inscribed it, "To the father of his country." In that spot for a long time they continued performing sacrifices, making vows, and settling disputes by swearing an oath by Caesar.

[86.1] suspiciōnem Caesar quibusdam suōrum relīquit neque voluisse sē diūtius vīvere neque cūrāsse quod valitūdine minus prosperā ūterētur, ideōque et quae religiōnēs monērent et quae renūntiārent amīcī neglēxisse. sunt quī putent, cōnfīsum eum novissimō illō senātūs cōnsulto ac iūre iūrandō etiam custōdiās Hispanōrum cum gladiis adsectantium sē remōvisse.

Some of Caesar's people had a suspicion that he had not wanted to live any longer or taken care to do so because of his failing health, and that for that reason he hadn't paid heed to the warnings of religion or the information of his friends. Some people think that he was relying on that last decree of the Senate and the oath when he removed his armed Spanish bodyguards.

[86.2] aliī ē dīversō opīnantur īnsidiās undique imminentīs subīre semel quam cavēre sollicitum māluisse. quīdam dīcere etiam solitum ferunt: non tam suā quam reī pūblicae interesse, utī salvus esset: sē iam prīdem potentiae glōriaeque abundē adeptum; rem pūblicam, sī quid sibi ēvenīret, neque quiētam fore et aliquantō dēteriōre condiciōne cīvīlia bella subitūram.

Others by contrast think that he prefered to succumb to one of the attacks that were threatening him on all sides rather than to live his life restricted by fear. People report that he often said that it was not so much for himself but for the republic that he needed to keep safe: that he had won an abundance of power and glory long since, and that the republic, if anything should happen to him, would not be at eace, but would descend into an even worse civil war than previously.

[87] illud plānē inter omnēs ferē cōnstitit, tālem eī mortem paene ex sententiā obtigisse. nam et quondam, cum apud Xenophontem lēgisset Cyrum ultimā valitūdine mandāsse quaedam dē fūnere suō, āspernātus tam lentum mortis genus subitam sibi celeremque optāverat; et prīdiē quam occīderētur, in sermōne nātō super cēnam apud Mārcum Lepidum, quisnam esset fīnis vītae commodissimus, repentīnum inopīnātumque praetulerat.

But almost everyone agreed that it was nearly the sort of death he would have picked. For once, when he had read in Xenophon's Cyropaedia *that Cyrus on his deathbed gave some instructions about his own funeral, he scorned such a slow type of death and said he hoped his own would be swift and sudden. And on the day before he was killed, in a conversation at a dinner party at Marcus Lepidus' house, when asked what sort of end of life he thought most fitting, he said a sudden and unexpected one.*

sextō et quīnquāgēnsimō aetātis annō – *when he was 55*, lit. 'in his 56th year'. Remember that the Romans count inclusively.

in deōrum numerum relātus est – *he was registered among the number of the gods, he was counted among the gods*

nōn ōre modo dēcernentium – *not only in the words of the decree*, lit. 'not only in the mouth of those issuing the decree'. This decree was passed not too long after Caesar's death, in something 44.

lūdīs – It was a Greek and Roman custom for wealthy and powerful men to put on spectacles like gladiator contests to honor their dead relatives. (Cf. the funeral games for Anchises in Book 5 of the *Aeneid*.) There is perhaps of course some vestige of human sacrifice in the violence and death of these games. Octavian (the future Augustus) sponsored these games for his adopted father Caesar in 43 BCE.

quōs prīmōs – *the first ones which*

cōnsecrātō eī – *in his honor after he had been deified*, lit. 'for him having-been-deified'

stella crīnīta – A 'hairy star' is a comet; the tail reminded the Romans of long hair flowing back from a head. This comet was a one-time appearance.

circā ūndecimam hōram – *around the 11th hour*, that is, about an hour before sunset.

crēditum est – *it was believed, people believed*, impersonal passive

simulācrō eius – The statue referred to was in the Temple of the Deified Caesar (*Aedes Dīvī Iuliī*), which Augustus dedicated to his adoptive father in 29 BCE. The temple was built in the Forum on the spot where Caesar's body had been cremated.

placuit – *it was decided* (sc. by the Senate under Octavian's direction). Three decisions are enumerated, two infinitive phrases and a negative indirect command: *cūriam ... obstruī, Īdūs ... nōminārī, nē ... agerētur*. These decrees were issued in some year.

[88] periit sextō et quīnquāgēnsimō aetātis annō atque in deōrum numerum relātus est,   1
nōn ōre modo dēcernentium, sed et persuāsiōne volgī, sīquidem lūdīs, quōs prīmōs   2
cōnsecrātō eī hērēs Augustus ēdēbat, stella crīnīta per septem continuōs diēs fulsit   3
exoriēns circā ūndecimam hōram, crēditumque est animam esse Caesaris in caelum   4
receptī; et hāc dē causā simulācrō eius in vertice additur stella. cūriam, in quā occīsus est,   5
obstruī placuit Īdūsque Mārtiās Parricīdium nōminārī, ac nē umquam eō diē senātus   6
agerētur.   7

pereō perīre periī peritūrus (irr.) – *to come to one's end; die, perish*
sextus sexta sextum – *sixth*
quīnquāgēnsimus quīnquāgēnsima quīnquāgēnsimum – *fiftieth*
**aetās, aetātis f. – *age; time of life; life, lifetime*
**deus, deī m. – *god, deity*
numerus, numerī m. – *number; company, troop*
ōs, ōris n. – *mouth; face*
**modo, adv. – *only*
persuāsiō, persuāsiōnis f. – *conviction, firm belief*
volgus, volgī n. – *common people; crowd, rabble*
sīquidem, conj. – *if in fact, if only; seeing that, since*
lūdī, lūdōrum m.pl. – *games, funeral games*
cōnsecrō cōnsecrāre cōnsecrāvī cōnsecrātus – *to consecrate, dedicate (to a god/the gods); deify*
hērēs, hērēdis m. – *heir*
ēdō ēdere ēdidī ēditus – *to bring forth, give forth; produce, put on; put forth, release*
stella, stellae f. – *star*
crīnītus crīnīta crīnītum – *hairy, long-haired*
septem, indecl. adj. – *seven*
continuus continua continuum – *unbroken, continuous, in a row; successive, following one after another*
fulgeō fulgēre fulsī fulsus – *to shine*
exorior, exorīrī, exorsus sum – *to rise, arise*
ūndecimus ūndecima ūndecimum – *eleventh*
hōra, hōrae f. – *hour*, one of the twelve equal time periods from sunrise to sunset that the Roman *diēs* was
    divided into
crēdō crēdere crēdidī crēditus (+ dat.) – *to believe, trust (in)*
anima, animae f. – *spirit, soul*
caelum, caelī n. – *sky, heaven*
**recipiō recipere recēpī receptus – *to take back; receive; welcome*
simulācrum, simulācrī n. – *image, statue*
vertex, verticis m. – *top, highest point, crown (of the head)*
addō addere addidī additus – *to add*
occīdō occīdere occīdī occīsus – *to kill, murder, assassinate*
obstruō obstruere obstrūxī obstrūctus – *to block up, barricade*
placet, placēre, placuit – *it was decided; (the Senate) decided*
**Mārtius Mārtia Mārtium – *of or relating to Mars; of or relating to March*
Parricīdium, Parricīdiī n. – *Parricide, Father-Killing (Day)*
nōminō nōmināre nōmināvī nōminātus – *to name, give a name to*

[89] percussōrum autem ferē neque trienniō quisquam amplius supervīxit neque suā morte 1
dēfūnctus est. damnātī omnēs alius aliō cāsū periit, pars naufragiō, pars proeliō; nōnnūllī 2
sēmet eōdem illō pūgiōne, quō Caesarem violāverant, interēmērunt. 3

percussōr, percussōris m. – *assassin, murderer*
ferē, adv. – *about, approximately*
triennium, trienniī n. – *a period of three years, three years*
amplius, comparative adv. – *more; further, longer*
supervīvō supervīvere supervīxī supervīctus – *to survive, live*
mors, mortis f. – *death*
dēfungor, dēfungī, dēfūnctus sum – *to die*
damnō damnāre damnāvī damnātus – *to condemn*
cāsus, cāsūs m. – *misfortune, defeat*
pereō perīre periī peritūrus (irr.) – *to come to one's end; die, perish*
pars ... pars – *some ... others*
naufragium, naufragiī n. – *shipwreck*
**proelium, proeliī n. – *battle*
**nōnnūllī nōnnūllae nōnnūlla – *some*
sēmet = sē
pūgiō, pūgiōnis m. – *dagger*
violō violāre violāvī violātus – *to do violence against, outrage, dishonor; violate, profane*
interimō interimere interēmī interēmptus – *to do away with; kill, slay*

ferē – Take with *quisquam, hardly anyone*

trienniō – Abl. of comparison with *amplius, longer than three years*

suā morte – To die 'by one's own death' is to die a *natural death*.

damnātī – The conspirators were condemned by the *lēx Pedia* passed by Quintus Pedius, one of Caesar's relatives and heirs, who became consul with Octavian in 43 BCE.

alius aliō cāsū periit – *they each died by a different misfortune*, lit. 'one died by one misfortune, another by another'. Suetonius does not mention (since he had not mentioned her earlier either) the perhaps most shocking (and hence famous) story of all, that of Porcia, daughter of Cato and wife of M. Brutus, who allegedly killed herself by swallowing a live coal, perhaps in grief at her husband's death.

naufragiō –It is unknown to which of the conspirators this refers.

proeliō – sc. the battle of Philippi in 42 BCE, where Octavian and Antony defeated the conspirators and their forces.

nōnnūllī – Brutus and Cassius, most famously.

sēmet – An intensive form of *sē*.

violāverant – Note the religious overtones of this word. It's not just that they killed Caesar with their daggers, but they desecrated the (sacred) body of the *divine Julius* (*dīvus Iulius*).

76.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What judgement does Suetonius offer in this section concerning Caesar's assassination? How does he phrase it?
2. What difference would there be between describing Caesar as having *potestās* in Latin and having *dominātiō*? What does the latter word suggest?
3. According to Suetonius, what *honōrēs nimiōs* did Caesar receive? (There are seven.)
4. What honors normally reserved for the gods did Caesar receive? (There are nine.)
5. What does Suetonius mean by saying that Caesar took and bestowed honors *ad libīdinem*? What are the connotations of that phrase?

78.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. According to Suetonius, what incident especially roused ill-feeling towards Caesar?
2. What role do some people think Cornelius Balbus played? Would those people be better- or worse-disposed to Caesar?
3. What role do some people think Gaius Trebatius played? Would those people be better- or worse-disposed to Caesar?
4. Why do you think Suetonius does not mention the alternate explanation (illness of some sort) offered by other biographers/historians of Caesar?

79.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What happened on the Lupercalia in February of 44 BCE?
2. How did the tribunes of the plebs respond to this incident?
3. What did Caesar then do to tribunes?
4. What two explanations does Suetonius give for Caesar's action?
5. Which explanation does Suetonius seem to think is more likely? How does he indicate that?

79.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What happened to the rumor/belief that Caesar wanted to become king?
2. By what two actions did Caesar try to dispel this belief?
3. Why did so many people believe Caesar wanted to be king? What things caused them to think that? (Consider Caesar's entire career in your answer, not just this section.)
4. Do you think Caesar actually wanted the title of *rēx*? What makes you think that? If you think he did not want to be *rēx,* what do you think he did want?
5. Why was this issue of *rēgnum* ('kingship') so crucial for the Romans? What in their history (both archaic and recent) caused them to feel that way?
6. What differences are there between a *rēx* and a *prīnceps* ('emperor', the title that August settled on)? How significant are these differences? Would a Roman view them the same way as a person now might?

80.4

A. Comprehension Questions

1. How many people conspired against Caesar?
2. Who were the leaders of the conspiracy?
3. What two plans for assassinating Caesar did the conspirators consider but then reject?
4. What plan did they finally settle on?
5. Why did they choose that plan?

81.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. How would a Roman view the signs from the gods (*prōdigia*) that preceded Caesar's death?
2. What was discovered in the colony at Capua when ancient tombs were being disinterred?
3. Why were they digging so eagerly?
4. What was the message on the object they found?
5. How did the assassination of Caesar fulfill this prophecy?

81.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. Who was Suetonius' source for the story related in §81.1?
2. Why does Suetonius specify who this source was?
3. What occurred with the herd of horses Caesar had left near the Rubicon?
4. Why was this regarded as a sign that Caesar would be assassinated?
5. Who was Spurinna? What did he say to Caesar?

81.3

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What happened to a small bird on the day before the Ides of March?
2. What did Caesar dream that night?
3. What did Caesar's wife dream that night?
4. What happened with the doors of the bedroom?
5. Why were each of the events in this section regarded as signs that Caesar would be assassinated?
6. Do you think that the omens mentioned in §81.1-81.3 were all regarded as signs of Caesar's impending assassination at the time, or did they gain significance after Caesar's death? Why?

81.4

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What two reasons caused Caesar to consider staying home on the Ides of March?
2. Why did Caesar decide to go to the Senate after all?
3. What warning did someone attempt to give him along the way? Why did he disregard it?
4. What omen did Caesar disregard? Why do you think he did that?
5. Why did Caesar think Spurinna's prophecy had turned out to be false? What was Spurinna's response to him?

48

82.1

A. Comprehension Questions

1. Once Caesar reached the Senate and was ready to conduct business, what did the conspirators do? Why did Caesar not suspect their intention?
2. What role did Tillius Cimber play?
3. What did Caesar say in response? Why do you think he said this? What does it show us about his reaction?
4. Who was the first to stab Caesar? Where did he stab Caesar? From where did he stab him?

82.2

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What did Caesar do to Casca in response? Why did he not defend himself with a weapon?
2. What prevented Caesar from getting away?
3. How did Caesar attempt to preserve his *dignitās* even at the end?
4. How many times was Caesar stabbed?
5. Suetonius gives two accounts of Caesar's last words. What is the first?
6. According to the second story, to whom were Caesar's last words addressed?
7. Does Suetonius believe this story? How can we tell?

82.3

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What were Caesar's words to Brutus? Why might he have said this?
2. What did the conspirators do after they stabbed Caesar?
3. What happened to Caesar's body after the murder?
4. According to the doctor who examined Caesar, which of the wounds was fatal?
5. How does Suetonius build up a feeling of pity (*pathos*) in the reader? Give at least three details from §82.1-3.

82.4

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What had the conspirators intended to do after killing Caesar? (3 things)
2. Who prevented them from carrying out their intention?

52

A. Comprehension Questions

1. How old was Caesar when he died?
2. What decree did the Senate make concerning him after his death?
3. What sign convinced the common people that this decree was true?
4. How did Octavian/Augustus, Caesar's heir, show that he supported this belief?
5. What happened to the place where Caesar had been assassinated?
6. What was *Parricīdium*?
7. Why do you think the Senate supported the measures discussed in this section? (Think about when they were passed.)

89

A. Comprehension Questions

1. What ultimately happened to the conspirators after Caesar's death?
2. This is the last section of the biography. Why do you think Suetonius ends as he does? What final judgment does he seem to pass on the assassination? How can we tell?