

# NOTES

## Introduction

- 1 M. Booth, *The Doctor, the Detective and Arthur Conan Doyle* (1997) p.204.

## I Caesar's World

- 1 Velleius Paterculus, *History of Rome* 2. 1. 1 (Loeb translation by F. Shipley (1924), pp. 47–49).
- 2 Suetonius, *Caesar* 77.
- 3 Polybius, 6. 11. 1–18. 8, 43. 1–57. 9 for his description and analysis of the Roman Republic, with F. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 1 (1970), pp. 663–746. A detailed recent discussion of the topic can be found in A. Lintott, *The Constitution of the Roman Republic* (1999).
- 4 For a description of these campaigns see A. Goldsworthy, *In the Name of Rome* (2003), pp. 126–136.
- 5 For Saturninus and Glaucia see Appian, *BC* 1. 28–33, Plutarch, *Marius* 28–30.
- 6 Suetonius, *Caesar* 77.
- 7 Valerius Maximus 3. 7. 8.
- 8 On population and the problems of calculating it with precision see N. Purcell, 'The City of Rome and the *Plebs Urbana* in the Late Republic', in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> IX, pp. 644–688, esp. 648–656, and also K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (1978), pp. 96–98. On the importance of the Forum as the physical setting for Roman public life see F. Millar, *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic* (1998), esp. pp. 13–48.
- 9 Some of the most influential discussions of Roman imperialism include E. Badian, *Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic* (1968), W. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327–70 BC* (1979), and Hopkins (1978), esp. 1–98.
- 10 See E. Badian, *Publicans and Sinners* (1972).
- 11 See in particular Hopkins (1978), *passim*.
- 12 For the careers of the Gracchi see D. Stockton, *The Gracchi* (1979). The principal sources are Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* and *Caius Gracchus*, and Appian, *BC* 1. 8–27; for the story of Caius' head see Plutarch, *Caius Gracchus* 17.
- 13 For a detailed account of Marius' career see R. Evans, *Gaius Marius: A Political Biography* (1994).

## II Caesar's childhood

- 1 Velleius Paterculus 2. 41. 1.
- 2 Suetonius, *Caesar* 1. 3.
- 3 For a general survey of the significance of Roman names see B. Salway, 'What's in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from 700 BC – AD 700', *JRS* 84 (1994), pp. 124–145, esp. 124–131.
- 4 For stories about the origin of the name see *Historia Augusta, Aelius Verus* 2; for a discussion of Caesar's family see M. Gelzer, *Caesar* (1968), p. 19, C. Meier, *Caesar* (1996), pp. 51–55, and E. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (1974), pp. 75–76.
- 5 Suetonius *Caesar* 6. 1; for uncertainty over Aeneas and his son see Livy 1. 3.
- 6 Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus* 1.
- 7 *Historia Augusta, Aelius Verus* 2.
- 8 B. Rawson, *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy* (2003), esp. pp. 99–113; on the ancients' knowledge of Caesarean section see p. 99 with references. See also the collection of papers in B. Rawson (ed.), *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome* (1991).
- 9 Plutarch, *Cato the Elder* 20. 3. For a more detailed discussion of this topic see K. Bradley, 'Wet-nursing at Rome: A Study in Social Relations', in B. Rawson, *The Family in Ancient Rome* (1986), pp. 201–229.
- 10 Tacitus, *Dialogues* 28. 6 (Loeb translation by Sir W. Peterson, revised M. Winterbottom (1970), p. 307).
- 11 Plutarch, *Coriolanus* 33–36, Livy 2. 40.
- 12 See H. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (1956), pp. 229–291, A. Gwynn, *Roman Education: From Cicero to Quintilian* (1926), esp. 1–32; Cicero, *de Re Publica* 4. 3.
- 13 Cicero, *Orator* 120.
- 14 There is a useful discussion of the client system in R. Saller, *Personal Patronage in the Early Empire* (1982); for boys accompanying fathers as they went about their business see Gellius, *NA* 1. 23. 4, Pliny, *Epistulae* 8. 14. 4–5, and on importance of father's influence from the age of seven see Quintilian 2. 2. 4, and comments in Marrou (1956), pp. 231–233.
- 15 Rawson (2003), pp. 153–157; Suetonius, *Grammaticis et rhetoribus* 7 for Gniphio; Suetonius *Caesar* 56. 7 for Caesar's early works.
- 16 Cicero, *Brutus* 305, Suetonius, *Caesar* 55. 2.
- 17 Plutarch, *Caesar* 17, Suetonius, *Caesar* 57, 61.
- 18 Plutarch, *Marius* 30, 32.
- 19 On the question of the allies see E. Gabba, *The Roman Republic, the Army and the Allies* (trans. P. Cuff) (1976), P. Brunt, *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic* (1971), pp. 101–104, A. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (1973), pp. 119–149.
- 20 The fullest ancient account of the war is Appian, *BC* 1. 34–53, but see also Velleius Paterculus 2. 13. 117. 3; for a modern survey see E. Gabba, 'Rome and Italy: The Social War', in *CAH2* (1994), pp. 104–128.
- 21 Appian, *BC* 1. 4046, Plutarch, *Marius* 33, *Sulla* 6.
- 22 For Sulla's career see A. Keaveney, *Sulla: The Last Republican* (1982), 1–63.

- 23 Plutarch, *Marius* 34–35, *Sulla* 7–8, Appian *BC* 1. 55–57, and Keaveney (1982), pp. 56–77.
- 24 Plutarch, *Sulla* 9–10, *Marius* 35–40, Appian, *BC* 1. 57–59.
- 25 Appian, *BC* 1. 63–75; Plutarch, *Marius* 41–46, *Sulla* 22, *Pompey* 3, Velleius Paterculus 2. 20. 1–23.3, and also R. Seager, *Pompey* (2002), pp. 25–29.

### III The First Dictator

- 1 Plutarch, *Sulla* 31 (translation by R. Waterfield in *Plutarch: Roman Lives* (1999), p. 210).
- 2 For the importance of the Liberalia festival see Ovid, *Fasti* 3. 771–788; on the sacrifice to Iuventus see Dionysius of Halicarnassus 4. 15. 5; on the ceremonies associated with adopting the *toga virilis* in general see B. Rawson, *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy* (2003), pp. 142–144.
- 3 Suetonius, *Caesar* 1.1; for the sudden death of Caesar's father see Pliny, *Natural History* 7. 181; on assuming the *toga virilis* see H. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (1956), p. 233, A. Gwynn, *Roman Education: From Cicero to Quintilian* (1926), 16, and B. Rawson, 'The Roman Family', in B. Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome* (1986), pp. 1–57, 41.
- 4 For restrictions on the *Flamen Dialis* see Gellius, *NA* 10. 15.
- 5 Velleius Paterculus, 2. 22. 2, Appian, *BC* 1. 74. On Merula and Caesar's nomination for the flaminiate see L. Ross Taylor, 'Caesar's Early Career', in *Classical Philology* 36 (1941), pp. 113–132, esp. pp. 114–116.
- 6 For *confarreatio* see S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (1991), 21–24; on the name and connection with *far* see *Gaius* 1. 112, Pliny, *NH* 18. 10, Festus 78L; for the rituals see Servius, *Ad G.* 1. 31.
- 7 Velleius Paterculus 2. 22. 2 claims that Caesar was made *Flamen Dialis*, but Suetonius explicitly says that he was only 'nominated' (*destinatus*), Suetonius, *Caesar* 1. 1. See M. Gelzer, *Caesar* (1968), pp. 19–21, and Taylor (1941), pp. 115–116. Tacitus, *Annals* 3. 58 and Dio 54. 36. 1 both state expressly that Merula was the last *Flamen Dialis*.
- 8 For a useful discussion of these years see *CAH<sup>2</sup> IX* (1994), pp. 173–187; on the behaviour of Cicero and his mentors during these years see T. Mitchell, *Cicero: The Ascending Years* (1979), pp. 81–92.
- 9 Appian, *BC* 1. 76–77.
- 10 Plutarch, *Sulla* 2 for his appearance, failure to win the praetorship 5, and for the epitaph 38; in general see A. Keaveney, *Sulla: The Last Republican* (1982). For the single testicle see Arrius Menander Bk. 1 *On Military Affairs*. Keaveney (1982), p. 11 argues that the story was probably derived from a bawdy song invented by his soldiers.
- 11 On Sulla's good fortune see Keaveney (1982), pp. 40–41.
- 12 Appian, *BC* 1. 78–80, Plutarch, *Pompey* 5.
- 13 For the Civil War see Keaveney (1982), pp. 129–147.
- 14 Plutarch, *Sulla* 27–32, Appian, *BC* 1. 81–96.
- 15 Plutarch, *Sulla* 31.

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- 16 On the proscriptions see Keaveney (1982), pp. 148–168, Appian, *BC* 1. 95, Velleius Paterculus 2. 28. 3–4, and Plutarch, *Sulla* 31, which includes the anecdote about the Alban estate.
- 17 Keaveney (1982), pp. 160–203. For the execution of Ofella see Plutarch, *Sulla* 33.
- 18 Taylor (1941), p. 116.
- 19 See Suetonius, *Caesar* 1. 1–3, Plutarch, *Caesar* 1, and also L. Ross Taylor, ‘The Rise of Julius Caesar’, *Greece and Rome* 4 (1957), pp. 10–18, esp. 11–12, and Taylor (1941), p. 116.
- 20 Suetonius, *Caesar* 74.
- 21 Suetonius, *Caesar* 1.
- 22 Plutarch, *Sulla* 1. 104, Suetonius, *Caesar* 77.
- 23 Keaveney (1982), pp. 204–213.

### IV The Young Caesar

- 1 Cicero, *Brutus* 290 (Loeb translation by G. Hendrickson (1939), p. 253).
- 2 For Suetonius’ description of Caesar see *Caesar* 45. 1; Plutarch’s comments are in *Caesar* 17; Caesar’s peculiar dress and Sulla’s comments are in Suetonius, *Caesar* 45. 3.
- 3 Suetonius, *Caesar* 45. 2.
- 4 For Cicero’s house see Velleius Paterculus 2. 14, and E. Rawson, ‘The Ciceronian Aristocracy and its properties’, in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Roman Property* (1976), pp. 85–102, esp. 86; for the synagogue in the Subura, see *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* 2. 380.
- 5 Velleius Paterculus 2. 14. 3.
- 6 Suetonius, *Caesar* 46–47.
- 7 Suetonius, *Caesar* 2.
- 8 See L. Ross Taylor, ‘The rise of Julius Caesar’, *Greece and Rome* 4 (1957), pp. 10–18, and M. Gelzer, *Caesar* (1968), p. 22. On the *corona civica* see Gellius, *NA* 5. 6. 13–14, Pliny, *NH* 16. 12–13, and discussion in V. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (1981), pp. 70–74, 119–120.
- 9 Suetonius, *Caesar* 2 and 49. 1–4, 52. 3.
- 10 Plutarch, *Marius* 13–14, Polybius 6. 37; on Cato as censor see Plutarch, *Cato the Elder* 17.
- 11 Suetonius, *Caesar* 22 and 49. 1–4.
- 12 For Caesar’s public oath see Dio 43. 20. 4; Catullus 54, cf. Suetonius, *Caesar* 73.
- 13 For Cato see Plutarch, *Cato the Elder* 24; Plutarch, *Crassus* 5; for the Germans see Caesar, *BG* 6. 21. For a survey of Roman attitudes see P. Grimal, *Love in Ancient Rome* (trans. A. Train) (1986).
- 14 Suetonius, *Caesar* 3.
- 15 Catullus 10; Cicero, *Verr.* 1. 40.
- 16 Cicero, *Brutus* 317.
- 17 See Suetonius, *Caesar* 4. 1, 55, Velleius Paterculus 2. 93. 3, and Gelzer (1968), pp. 22–3; on provincial administration in general see A. Lintott’s *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration* (1993); for Caesar’s high-pitched delivery see Suetonius, *Caesar* 55. 2.

- 18 Plutarch, *Caesar* 4.
- 19 Cicero, *Brutus* 316.
- 20 For the pirate problem see Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 91–93, Plutarch, *Pompey* 24–5; on Caesar’s captivity see Suetonius, *Caesar* 4. 2, Plutarch, *Caesar* 2.
- 21 Plutarch, *Caesar* 2 (Loeb translation by B. Perrin (1919), p. 445, slightly amended).
- 22 For the pirates’ throats being cut see Suetonius, *Caesar* 74.
- 23 Suetonius, *Caesar* 4. 2.
- 24 L. Ross Taylor, ‘Caesar’s Early Career’, *Classical Philology* 36 (1941), pp. 113–132, esp. p.117–118.
- 25 For the journey back to Rome see Velleius Paterculus 2. 93. 2; for the trial see E. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (1974), p. 528; for Cicero’s comment see Suetonius, *Caesar* 49. 3.
- 26 Taylor (1941), pp. 120–122; for the Slave War see Plutarch, *Crassus* 8–11, Appian, *BC* 1. 116–121.
- 27 For Crassus and Sulla see Plutarch, *Crassus* 6.
- 28 Suetonius, *Caesar* 5.

## V Candidate

- 1 Plutarch, *Caesar* 5.
- 2 For the birth of Julia see M. Gelzer, *Caesar* (1968), p. 21, C. Meier, *Caesar* (1996), p. 105, and P. Grimal, *Love in Ancient Rome* (1986), p. 222.
- 3 Grimal (1986), pp. 112–115.
- 4 For the story of Praecia and Lucullus see Plutarch, *Lucullus* 6. 2–4; on Cethegus’ influence see Cicero, *Brutus* 178; for the story of Pompey, Geminius and Flora see Plutarch, *Pompey* 2.
- 5 For Cytheris see Cicero, *ad Fam.* 9. 26; Cicero *ad Att.* 10. 10; Servius, on E10; *de vir. Ill.* 82. 2. Cicero’s distaste became public in the *Philippics* 2. 58, 69, 77.
- 6 Suetonius, *Caesar* 47, 50. 1–52.
- 7 Suetonius, *Caesar* 50. 2, Plutarch, *Caesar* 46, 62, *Brutus* 5, Cicero, *ad Att.* 15. 11; see also R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (1939), pp. 23–24, 116; on Lucullus’ divorce of Servilia’s sister Servilia see Plutarch, *Lucullus* 38.
- 8 Grimal (1986), pp. 226–237, S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage* (1991), esp. pp. 105–106, 232–238, 253–261, 264, 270–275, and 299–319.
- 9 Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 25.
- 10 Plutarch, *Pompey* 55 (translation by R. Waterfield in *Plutarch: Roman Lives* (1999), p. 273).
- 11 For a survey of Sertorius’ career see A. Goldsworthy, *In the Name of Rome* (2003), pp. 137–151.
- 12 For Sulla’s legislation see A. Keaveney, *Sulla: The Last Republican* (1982), pp.169–189.
- 13 For the ‘young executioner’ see Valerius Maximus 6. 2. 8; for the killing of Brutus’ father see Plutarch, *Brutus* 4; for Pompey’s early career see R. Seager, *Pompey the Great* (2002), pp. 20–39.
- 14 On the impact of military failure on a man’s career see N. Rosenstein, *Imperatores Victi* (1993), *passim*.