

CAESAR

302 *public treasury*: the first chapter or two of *Caesar*, which might have spoken of his family, appearance, and character, is missing. He was born on 12 July 100, into a patrician family. Sulla captured Rome in 82 from Carbo and the young Marius (son of the great Marius), the political heirs of Cinna, his bitter enemy. See *Sull.* 27–32. In 82 Caesar was 18.

Caesar's cousin: Caesar's father had the same name as he, C. Iulius Caesar. The elder Marius was a bitter enemy of Sulla and an ally of Cinna: see *Mar.* 35, 41–4, *Sull.* 8–10.

was unsuccessful: according to Velleius Paterculus (2. 43. 1.) and Suetonius (*Caesar* 1), the priesthood was that of the *flamen dialis*, or priest of Jupiter, and Caesar was nominated by Marius and Cinna before Marius' death (13 Jan. 86). How Sulla blocked it is not clear. (Hereafter Suetonius' *Caesar* will be cited as Suet.)

small craft: Plutarch simplifies the narrative by combining a trip to the East in 81, in service with the propraetor of Macedonia M. Minucius Thermus—during which he visited the court of Nicomedes IV of Bithynia—with a later trip in winter 75–74 to study in Rhodes (cf. c. 3)—during which he was captured by pirates (Suet. 4). He is silent on the allegations that Caesar became Nicomedes' passive homosexual partner; contrast e.g. Suet. 2. Pharmacussa is a small island near Miletus.

303 *they thought he was joking*: on the extent of piracy at this period, see *Pomp.* 24. The proconsul of Asia in 75–74, M. Iunius Iuncus (cf. *MRR* iii. 113), was busy settling Bithynia, which had just been left to the Roman people (cf. note to p. 239, *easy to handle*). This early anecdote shows Caesar's self-confidence, humour, charm, decision, dynamism, ruthlessness, and not least, his ability to seem less dangerous than he was.

Cicero as well: the date is not under Sulla (see note to p. 302, *small craft*), but winter 75–74. For Cicero's studies, cf. *Cic.* 4. Though it has been questioned, the name is correct: Apollonius Molo was the son of Molo.

to Cicero's Cato: his *Anti-Cato*: cf. c. 54.

304 *opponents were Greeks*: the prosecution of Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, consul for 81 and proconsul of Macedonia 80–77, belongs in 77, after Caesar's first trip to the East and the death of Sulla. The second case was in 76, against C. (not Publius) Antonius Hybrida, with M. Terentius Varro Lucullus presiding not as governor of Macedonia (which he was in 72–71), but as *praetor peregrinus* in Rome, the official who arbitrated disputes involving foreign plaintiffs.

ahead of my story: on Caesar's gesture, which was considered effeminate, cf. *Pomp.* 48. Cf. Suet. 45. 2–3 on his careful dress. The witticism of Cicero is not preserved among his works: cf. p. 300 above. As in the pirate anecdote, Plutarch notes that Caesar's appearance was deceptive, like a calm sea. The reference may be to one of Cicero's letters; it is not found in his extant works.

Gaius Popillius: he was military tribune in 72 or 71, cf. Suet. 5 and *MRR* iii. 105, 168. Caesar may also have been a legate under M. Antonius Creticus in 73.

305 *the death of his wife*: both the elder Marius and his son, the younger, had been outlawed by Sulla; but both, as consuls (the elder Marius seven times), would deserve to have their images carried in the traditional manner in a funeral procession of one of their family. Julia died in 69, after Caesar had become quaestor. His own wife, Cornelia, must have died soon after. Her funeral would have had political importance too, since Cornelia was the daughter of Cinna.

Pompey the Great: Caesar was quaestor in Further Spain in 69–68 for C. Antistius Vetus, whose son of the same name was quaestor for Caesar in Further Spain in 61. Pompeia was the daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus (consul in 88) and of Sulla's daughter Cornelia: Caesar divorced her in 61, cf. c. 10. Julia was married to Pompey in 59, cf. c. 14.

repay his generosity: thirteen hundred talents would be 31,200,000 sesterces, an enormous sum. He was *curator viae Appiae* before or at the same time as being curule aedile, in 65. In each case, adding his own money, he spent considerably more than the public budget.

no prominence whatsoever: there were no political parties as such at Rome, but there were general sentiments which individuals tended to follow, described under the terms *optimates* and *populares* (see p. 77 above), which in this case would be the Sullans and Marians respectively.

306 *Cimbrian victories*: in particular those of Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae: cf. *Mar.* 11–27.

Lutatius Catulus: Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul of 78, a leader of the *optimates*. Caesar had earlier shown his opposition to them by supporting Gabinus' proposal to give Pompey the pirate command: cf. *Pomp.* 25.

307 *but Caesar won*: the two other claimants in early 63, after Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius' death, were P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, consul for 79, and Catulus. Caesar had been a pontiff since 73, but both the others had more seniority in the priesthood, cf. *MRR* ii. 113–14. The pontiffs, one of the four major colleges of priests, oversaw the state cult and advised magistrates and individuals on sacred law. The pontifex maximus was the leader of the college and its spokesman before the senate. Caesar needed more loans to bribe the voters more heavily.

the work of the conspiracy: the conspiracy of L. Sergius Catilina to overthrow the government, long maturing, finally came to a head in November and December 63, and was put down by Cicero, who was consul. It was at this time he delivered his four Catilinarian orations. Catiline portrayed himself as being in the Marian tradition, and Caesar, as well as Crassus, was accused of supporting him (cf. *Cras.* 13; *Cic.* 20). C. Calpurnius Piso had been consul in 67, P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura consul in 71, and C. Cornelius Cethegus was a senator. Cf. also the account

of the conspiracy in Sallust's *Catilinarian Conspiracy*, where at c. 49 the author expressly states that Piso and Catulus wanted Cicero to invent an accusation against Caesar. Sallust himself was a Caesarian. For Plutarch's different treatment of the conspiracy in *Caesar*, *Cicero*, *Cato Minor*, and *Crassus*, see C. Pelling, 'Plutarch and Catiline', *Hermes*, 113 (1985), 311–29.

307 *men individually*: cf. the two speeches of Caesar for clemency and of Cato for execution in Sallust, *Catilinarian Conspiracy* 51–2. According to Sallust, Caesar recommended imprisonment in Italian cities, without the possibility of new discussion in the senate—a somewhat different proposal from what Plutarch says here. Cf. also Cicero, *Against Catiline* 4. 7–8.

voice of dissent: cf. *CMin.* 23; *Cic.* 21. Cato, being only tribune designate, spoke after Caesar, who was praetor-elect, and others with more seniority.

308 *criminal and illegal act*: Caesar had called on the tribunes for help without success, and was threatened by the Roman knights assembled to protect Cicero: cf. Sallust, *Catilinarian Conspiracy* 49. 4; Suet. 14. He was protected by C. Scribonius Curio, consul in 76 and father of Caesar's later supporter and friend of Antony (cc. 29–31, *Ant.* 2, 5).

about his consulship: clearly Plutarch has read this book: see p. 300 above.

insolent and disruptive: Caesar's praetorship in 62 in fact began with major disturbances: Caesar tried to give Pompey, rather than his enemy Catulus, the credit for restoring the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol and to give Pompey the command against Catiline. The resulting turmoil led to a *senatus consultum ultimum* and Caesar's suspension from office, but he was able to make peace and return to office. Cf. M. Gelzer, *Caesar: Politician and Statesman* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), 55–8. Plutarch is either ignorant of or suppresses this incident. P. Clodius (born one of the patrician Claudii, he changed his name in 59 when he transferred to plebeian status so he could become tribune) was quaestor designate in December 62, at the time the Bona Dea affair erupted (see below).

not to be spoken: many stories circulated about Dionysus' birth, infancy, and upbringing. The unnameable mother may be Persephone, queen of the dead. *Bona*, 'good', is a title, not a name.

309 *a great deal of music*: cf. *Cic.* 19. On the cult, see H. H. J. Brouwer, *The Bona Dea: Sources and a Description of the Cult* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1989).

310 *sister . . . married to Lucullus*: Clodia was married to L. Licinius Lucullus, consul of 74 and victor over Mithridates, who himself accused her (cf. *Luc.* 38; *Cic.* 29; Cicero, *In Defence of Milo* 73). She was a sister of the Clodia attacked by Cicero in his *Defence of Caelius* and thought to be the Lesbia of Catullus' poems.

if they acquitted him: cf. *Cic.* 28–9. The Clodius case became a major

incident, involving many important political figures. Caesar, who seems directly involved, sidesteps the issue.

province of Spain: he was proconsul of Further Spain in 61 and 60, but because of the Clodius affair he could leave only in March.

left for his province: M. Licinius Crassus, subject of a *Life* by Plutarch, had grown wealthy during the proscriptions of Sulla. For his rivalry with Pompey, who had now come back from the East, see *Pomp.* 21–3, 47, 51–2 and the *Life of Crassus*. Plutarch introduces the members of the triumvirate which will be formed (although Pompey has been mentioned casually earlier, in c. 5).

311 *'anything remarkable?'*: Plutarch inserts here, before the formation of the triumvirate, two statements on Caesar's ambition, one making an explicit comparison with Alexander, who had conquered the world by the time of his death at 32. Suetonius (*Caesar* 7) and Cassius Dio (37. 52. 2) place a variant story—of Caesar's looking at a statue of Alexander in the temple of Heracles in Gades (mod. Cadiz) and weeping—during his quaestorship eight years before. Plutarch has transposed a Spanish story to what he considers a suitable moment.

'Imperator': Caesar needed military glory and money: his campaigns won him both. He drove tribes out of the hills of the Herminus range, south of the Duero on the Portuguese–Spanish border: cf. Cassius Dio 37. 52–3. For the title imperator, see note to p. 213, *'Don't worry, Imperator'*. He left in June 60 so that he could be in Rome for the elections.

go for the consulship: his triumph had been voted by the senate, and Caesar had made splendid preparations.

312 *it was ineffective*: the three men made an unofficial pact to work together, often called the first triumvirate. Cf. *Pomp.* 47. Cato, who emerged as a kind of prophet for the *optimates*, by his intransigence (as in refusing Caesar a triumph) forced the three to combine their efforts to achieve their individual aims. It is at this point that Asinius Pollio began his history (see p. 220 above). Only Plutarch and Appian (*BC* 2. 8–9) place this pact before the elections; Cicero (*Letters to Atticus* 2. 3. 3) places it after, perhaps in December.

the people were delighted: Caesar's first project was the passing of two agrarian laws, which would benefit Pompey's veterans and landless urban citizens. See R. Seager, *Pompey: A Political Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), 86–7; Gelzer, *Caesar*, 72–4. Pompey's support, with its threat of bringing his veterans into the city, was essential (cf. *Pomp.* 47).

control of resources: for these marriages, cf. *Pomp.* 47 and note, *daughter of Piso*.

313 *five-year period*: cf. also *Pomp.* 48 and note to p. 266, *Pompey's flatterers*.

let him go: Caesar had hoped to scare Cato into appealing to the tribunes, but Cato allowed himself to be arrested and Caesar himself had to intervene. In *CMin.* 31, this incident is connected with the first agrarian law.

313 *expelled from Italy*: Pompey and Caesar helped arrange Clodius' transition to plebeian status (cf. note to p. 308, *insolent and disruptive*), which Pompey soon regretted (*Pomp.* 48–9). Clodius, as tribune for 58, immediately carried a proposal to exile Cicero because of his execution of the Catilinarian conspirators. Caesar kept his army outside Rome, and only left in March 58 (cf. Cicero, *On his Return, in the Senate* 32; Cassius Dio 38. 17). Cicero left Rome on 20 March. Here Plutarch gives Caesar all the blame: in *Pomp.* 48 Clodius is the moving force, whereas in *CMin.* 33 he is working for the triumvirs. The emphasis changes to put each man's concerns and decisions centre stage. Plutarch passes over other legislation, especially the ratification of Pompey's eastern arrangements, a law on provincial government, and a rebate to the tax farmers (cf. *Pomp.* 48 and note, *Pompey's flatterers*).

new kind of achievement: at the beginning of Caesar's Gallic campaigns (58–50 BC), Plutarch stops for an estimate of him as conqueror and general (cc. 15–17). The encomium, using comparisons with the greatest Roman generals, sets him above all Romans, even Pompey, as a commander. It is followed by two chapters of anecdotes drawn from his campaigns.

314 *over all the world*: there are Homeric reminiscences in the phrase: cf. *Iliad* 22. 268, Achilles challenging Hector, and *Odyssey* 9. 20, Odysseus identifying himself.

better than any of them: Fabius and Scipio Africanus were the great generals against Hannibal, Scipio Aemilianus defeated Carthage and Numantia, L. Licinius Lucullus brought down Mithridates, M. Terentius Varro Lucullus fought in Thrace. For Marius, Sulla, and Pompey, see their Lives in the present collection. Metellus is probably Numidicus, who did much to defeat Jugurtha (cf. *Mar.* 7–8), and of whom Plutarch planned a Life (cf. *Mar.* 29).

control of the ship: at the siege of Massalia, in summer 49: cf. Valerius Maximus 3. 2. 22 and Suet. 68.

surrounded by his kinsmen and saved: cf. Caesar, *Civil War* (hereafter *BC*) 3. 53. 3–5 (who reports 120 holes in the man's shield), Valerius Maximus 3. 2. 23, Suet. 68, and many other writers. For Dyrrhachium, in 48 BC, cf. c. 39.

315 *losing his shield*: Caesar campaigned in Britain in 55 and 54, cf. c. 23. For this story, cf. Valerius Maximus 3. 2. 23 and Cassius Dio 37. 53. 2–3.

stabbed himself to death: Granius is not otherwise known. For Scipio in Africa in 47, cf. cc. 52–3. All four anecdotes probably derive from Pollio.

Corduba, we hear: for his occasional epileptic fits, cf. cc. 53 and 60, Suet. 45, and Appian, *BC* 2. 110. He was in Corduba (mod. Córdoba) in September 49 (Caesar, *BC* 2. 19), but no doubt on other occasions as well, as quaestor and proconsul.

only eight days: at the end of March 58: cf. Caesar, *Gallic War* (*BG*) 1. 7.

1. This was after he had tarried in Rome, cf. note to p. 313, *expelled from Italy*.

316 *according to Oppius*: C. Oppius was a henchman of Caesar's. Cf. p. 300 above.

wanted to tell them: cf. Suet. 56, where it is noted that for secret matters he used a cipher, substituting D for A, and so on.

'commit a faux pas oneself': according to Suet. 53, this was flavoured oil, so perhaps we should understand in Plutarch myrrh-flavoured oil.

overhanging the doorway: cf. Suet. 72: Oppius had fallen sick in a forest, and this hut was the only place that could be found.

317 *remained uninhabited*: this chapter summarizes the events of Caesar, *BG* 1. 1–29, for 58 BC, when the Helvetii, a Gallic people, attempted to march through Gallia Narbonensis, though the numbers are somewhat different. For an analysis of Plutarch's account of the Gallic Wars, see C. B. R. Pelling, 'Plutarch on the Gallic Wars', *Classical Bulletin*, 60 (1984), 88–103. In speaking of the battle of the Arar (Saône, *BG* 1. 12), Caesar does not mention Labienus. Caesar was attacked *en route* to Bibracte, the Aeduan capital. He mentions the removal of his and others' horses (*BG* 1. 25. 1), but compares the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones not to that of the Helvetii, but of the Germans of Ariovistus (*BG* 1. 33. 4, cf. c. 19).

fell in behind him: this campaign (Caesar, *BG* 1. 30–53) was fought in 58, at the request of the Gauls (*BG* 1. 31–33). Caesar rebuked his men at Vesontio (Besançon): cf. *BG* 1. 39–41. The tenth was his favourite legion.

318 *numbered eighty thousand*: Caesar mentions the women diviners at *BG* 1. 50. 4–5, and the battle and flight at 1. 52–3.

known as the Rubicon: the Sequani inhabited the territory around modern Besançon. The Rubicon (cf. c. 32) was a small river north of Ariminum (mod. Rimini), not securely identified, and formed the border between Cisalpine Gaul and Italy. Though based in Cisalpine Gaul, Caesar still influences—and corrupts—Roman politics.

bodies clogging them: for the war in 57 with the Belgae, who lived north of the Seine and Marne, cf. Caesar, *BG* 2. 1–34. For the bodies in the rivers, *BG* 2. 10. 2–3.

319 *remained alive*: for the battle with the Nervii, the fiercest of the Belgae, see Caesar, *BG* 2. 25–6; for Caesar with the shield, *BG* 2. 25. 2.

more than two hundred senators: the meeting at Luca was in April 56. Cf. *Pomp.* 51 and note, *period of five years*. Appius Claudius Pulcher (the brother of Clodius), praetor for 57, was governor of Sardinia for 56. Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, consul in 57, was proconsul in Nearer Spain for 56–55.

320 *in Cyprus*: he had been assigned the province of Cyprus by Clodius in 58: cf. *Pomp.* 48. He returned later in 56.

- 320 *increasing their territory*: Plutarch skips the minor campaigns of 56 and the election of Pompey and Crassus as consuls for 55, and their legislation (cf. *Pomp.* 52), and moves on to the campaigns of 55.
- untrustworthy truce-breakers*: Caesar describes the campaign against the Uspites and Tencteri (thus Caesar's text) in *BG* 4. 1–19, the attack on the cavalry at 4.12, and his retaliation on the unprepared Germans at 4. 14–15. He estimates there were 430,000, of whom few escaped.
- the guilty party*: Cato argued that Caesar had broken the treaty, not the Germans. For Tanusius, see p. 300 above.
- 321 *in ten days*: the Rhine bridge, described in *BG* 4. 17, was a remarkable engineering feat, clearly intended to awe the Germans, as Caesar suggests. To cross with boats was not appropriate 'to his honour or that of the Roman people'.
- eighteen days in Germany*: cf. Caesar, *BG* 4. 19. He broke up the bridge on his return.
- imposed a tribute*: Caesar made a preliminary expedition in late 55 (*BG* 4. 20–38), then a second in 54 (*BG* 5. 2–23). Plutarch exalts the enterprise, which extended the boundaries of the known world into the outer ocean (as Alexander had done in reaching the Indian Ocean), although the inhabitants had little wealth, as some had dreamed. In Plutarch's day, Britain, like Gaul, was a Roman province.
- lies buried*: Pompey had married Julia to seal his compact with Caesar and Crassus (c. 14); she died in late August or early September. On Pompey's affection for her, cf. *Pomp.* 53. On the games Caesar later held for her, cf. c. 55. After his assassination, Caesar's funeral pyre was made near her tomb (Suet. 84).
- 322 *being overrun*: this is the orator Cicero's brother, Quintus Tullius Cicero, who was a legate of Caesar's.
- a great many of them*: the revolt occurred in winter 54/53, and is described in Caesar, *BG* 5. 24–52 (his stratagem, 5. 50–1).
- around the river Po*: Pompey loaned one legion, not two: cf. *Pomp.* 52 and note, *for the war in Gaul*.
- 323 *tyrannical plans*: the revolt was calmed but not crushed. Plutarch passes over the campaigning season of 53. The Gauls led by Vercingetorix (Plutarch's Vergentorix), the head of the Arverni, began an organized and united attack on the Romans in early 52, beginning with the massacre of Roman traders at Cenabum (mod. Orléans).
- Gaul to war*: on the troubles at Rome following the murder of Clodius, cf. *Pomp.* 54 and notes.
- 324 *a sacred offering*: the battle with Vercingetorix's cavalry is found in Caesar, *BG* 7. 66–7, but the sword is not mentioned.
- until Caesar's triumph*: Plutarch's summary is rapid and encomiastic, but does not exaggerate the difficulty of the operation, running from July to

- September 52, and described by Caesar in *BG* 7. 68–90. Caesar gives the men outside as 240,000, those inside as 80,000 (7. 76. 3, 7. 71. 3). Vercingetorix was led in Caesar's triumph in 46 (cf. c. 55), then executed. After this outstanding success, Plutarch omits the campaigns of 51, which are described by Hirtius in his continuation of Caesar's *Commentaries* (*BG* 8), and moves directly to Caesar's confrontation with Pompey.
- 325 *died in Parthia*: in June 53: cf. *Pomp.* 53 and note, *Crassus had died in Parthia*.
- an exercise ground*: Plutarch sees Caesar as having a consistent plan for making himself sole ruler (similar to Alexander's aim of conquering all Asia) and using the Gallic campaigns as an exercise to prepare himself for the decisive match. This seems to attribute to Caesar aims only clear from hindsight, but the problem of Caesar's goals at various stages of his career continues to trouble scholars. Plutarch's view is adopted e.g. by Gelzer, *Caesar*, 169: 'His political position in Rome was far too precarious, and the most serious battle was yet to be fought. With this in view he forged his Gallic army into an instrument the like of which no Roman statesman had ever possessed, and his ability to finance his policies was likewise without precedent.'
- rather than with votes*: Plutarch refers to the violent gangs which dominated Roman politics in the 50s.
- nothing worse than an autocracy*: some kind of monarchy looked like the solution to Rome's problems. The city needed a doctor and helmsman to cure and guide it. The images are similar to those used of Pericles (*Per.* 9, 33) and by Plato in the *Republic* and elsewhere, but point to the founding of the principate by Augustus.
- 326 *a thousand talents*: Pompey was made sole consul for 52, but only well into the year, because of the violence which accompanied the consular elections. Cf. *Pomp.* 54. His two Spanish provinces were continued (he did not have Africa: cf. *Pomp.* 52 and note to p. 270, *for the war in Gaul*). Unlike Caesar, he stayed at Rome and governed them through legates.
- Marcellus and Lentulus*: while Caesar was asking for an extension of his command so that he would not have to give up his *imperium* and army (and thus become vulnerable to prosecution, which was being threatened by Cato, cf. c. 22) until he became consul, M. Claudius Marcellus, consul for 51, was working to have Caesar lose his consulship on 1 March 50, with the idea that the victory at Alesia had ended the Gallic War. Lentulus would be L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, who would be consul in 49.
- show them to Caesar*: on the proposal of the tribune Vatinius, Caesar had, as consul in 59, founded a colony at Novum Comum (mod. Como) in Cisalpine Gaul, with its citizens considered Roman citizens. Marcellus treated this action as illegal and void.
- new basilica*: Curio was Caesar's henchman, cf. c. 8. L. Aemilius Paullus, consul of 50, extensively restored the earlier Basilica Fulvia, or Aemilia et Fulvia, built in 179: its remains are still visible in the Roman forum.

- In *Caes.* 29–31, Plutarch uses flashbacks to tie past action to the crisis of the moment. He begins with Caesar's request to renew his commands and to hold a consulship, then follows briefly the opposition of Marcellus up to the end of his consulship (31 December 49). He then uses a flashback to recall Pompey's opposition to Caesar's continuing in a command, his request for two of Caesar's legions, and the false confidence inspired by the reports of the men who brought the legions back to Italy. Turning to Caesar's proposals, he supports the statement that they seemed fair and reasonable by recalling in a second flashback the popular approval when Curio read a letter of Caesar to the people. The following reference to Antony reading a letter seems at first to continue the flashback, but probably picks up the action from the end of Marcellus' consulship, and describes an event of 1 January, when Caesar's letter was also read in the senate. Scipio's proposal certainly belongs to the senate meeting of 1 January. Antony's proposal to poll the senators on both generals' laying down their arms seems a doublet of Curio's proposal in *Pomp.* 58. Both serve to confirm that Caesar's proposals were reasonable and supported by the majority of the senate, as later events reveal the hostility of the senatorial leadership, especially the consuls. See notes to p. 276, *horsemen will arise*, and to p. 368, *whom they call 'augurs'*.
- 326 *250 drachmas*: cf. c. 25, and *Pomp.* 56.
- 327 *for raising troops*: on Pompey's false confidence, see *Pomp.* 57.
'But this will give him it!': cf. the similar story in *Pomp.* 58.
- one of the tribunes*: Marcus Antonius, or Mark Antony, a man close to Caesar, who came to power after his assassination, as told in Plutarch's *Antony*.
- schism in the state*: this meeting took place on 1 January 49, but Antony's division of the senators seems a doublet of that of Curio in *Pomp.* 58. The proposals to disarm and the angry words of the presiding consul also seem similar. Caesar's own account is given in his *BC* 1. 1–6.
- 328 *in fear for their lives*: Cicero returned from Cilicia, where he had been governor, on 4 January. On 7 January the senate passed the *senatus consultum ultimum*, a decree requiring the consuls to take all steps to preserve the republic, and Antony and Curio were expelled from the senate and fled to Caesar in Cisalpine Gaul (cf. also *Ant.* 5).
- this task-force*: Ariminum (mod. Rimini) was in Italy. It was seized on the morning of 11 January 49.
- 329 *an unspeakable union*: according to Suet. 31, which gives a very similar account of this day, he inspected plans for a gladiatorial school he was building, and got the mules for his carriage from a bakery. (Surprise would allow him to win Ariminum easily.) Also, there appeared a vision of a piper, presumably Pan, who sounded a trumpet to rouse the soldiers to war. The account is probably from Asinius Pollio, whom Plutarch mentions: see p. 300 above. A dream of intercourse with one's mother

- meant that one was to take possession of one's country: cf. e.g. Herodotus 6. 107. Plutarch, however, calls it 'unspeakable', a violation of what is right, just as the invasion was.
- 330 *stay behind*: Plutarch captures the confusion in Rome and Italy. The senate had not expected Caesar to act, or at least not without his other legions. Pompey left Rome on 17 January, declaring that he would consider as enemies those who stayed behind (cf. *Caesar, BC* 1. 33. 2). He may not have had as many troops as Caesar, and many he had had just come from Caesar's service (cf. *Pomp.* 60).
- sent him by Caesar*: T. Labienus, one of Caesar's best commanders, joined Pompey on 22 January.
- 331 *fugitives turned back*: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus withdrew to his stronghold of Corfinium with his army, rejecting Pompey's request to join him, and soon surrendered (21 Feb.). Cf. *Caesar, BC* 1. 19–23. In the mean time, Caesar had seized most of northern Italy. Domitius later fought at Massalia and at Pharsalus.
- without bloodshed*: cf. *Pomp.* 62–3, with the misleading displacement of Caesar's stay in Rome before his march to Brundisium.
- 332 *everything he needed for the war*: the tribune L. Caecilius Metellus attempted to block Caesar's access to the state treasury. Cf. *Caesar, BC* 1. 33. 3. Cicero found this threat scandalous: *Letters to Atticus* 10. 4. 8 and 10. 8. 6.
- went to join Pompey*: Caesar defeated L. Afranius and M. Petreius in Spain, after rescuing himself from a difficult position near Ilerda: *Caesar, BC* 1. 34–87. Gelzer, *Caesar*, 217, writes, 'In a campaign of forty days the best army controlled by the enemy had been put out of action.' M. Terentius Varro surrendered soon after. Caesar acquired seven legions. Afranius fled to Pompey and fought at Dyrrhachium and Pharsalus (cf. *Pomp.* 66, 67).
- campaign against Pompey*: Caesar was named dictator while still at Massalia (mod. Marseilles), which had resisted him under the leadership of Domitius Ahenobarbus, the fugitive from Corfinium. He was in Rome in December 49. Caesar's father-in-law was L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (consul for 58). Besides passing his legislation, Caesar held elections, and he and P. Servilius Isauricus were chosen consuls for 48.
- the winter solstice*: the Roman calendar was ahead of the solar year at this time. Caesar later reformed it: cf. c. 59.
- 333 *over the sea to Caesar*: Caesar was able to transfer seven legions to Oricum and Apollonia, south of Dyrrhachium (mod. Durrës or Durazzo), where Pompey was based (cf. *Pomp.* 65). The complaints of the soldiers call the reader's attention to their long marches and difficult battles, their loyalty, and especially to Caesar's separation from a major portion of his troops, which was to cause him great difficulty. Antony was not able to reach Caesar with these troops until the end of March.

334 *the ones who were there*: this story, not found in Caesar but reported in Suet. 58. 2, Appian, *BC* 2. 57, and Cassius Dio 41. 46, sounds apocryphal, but conveys the pressure of the moment, Caesar's daring, and his self-confidence. The use of the third person by Caesar recalls the same practice in his *Commentaries*. Caesar did get a strong letter to Antony through.

forces from Brundisium: they had to escape the blockade: cf. *Ant.* 7; Caesar, *BC* 3. 26–9.

effect on their morale: on this episode, cf. Caesar, *BG* 3. 48. The comparison with beasts also appears in Suet. 68 and Appian, *BC* 2. 61.

335 *arm at the shoulder*: this Pompeian success is found at Caesar, *BC*. 3. 67–9, and Appian, *BC* 2. 61–2. The episode of Scaevus (c. 16 above) immediately precedes it in both narratives. Note that by displacing the Scaevus episode away from the success, Plutarch makes this sequence more negative for Caesar.

did not come to his aid: Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio Nasica had been proconsul in Syria in 49, and had brought his troops into Macedonia. Caesar's decision, as Plutarch notes, was a major change in strategy, which Caesar explains at *BC* 3. 78.

336 *before very long*: for the confidence of the Pompeians, cf. also *Pomp.* 66.

he set out after Caesar: cf. *Pomp.* 67 and notes.

overcome the illness: Gomphi in Thessaly, having learned of Caesar's defeat, did not admit him, so he stormed the town and plundered it as an example. Caesar, *BC* 3. 80, does not mention the drinking, but Suet. 67 notes that he sometimes allowed this. Plutarch records it as a weak parallel to Alexander's Carmanian bacchanal, *Alex.* 67.

established camps there: the Pharsalian plain lay in the centre of Thessaly, near the city of Pharsalus.

entering his theatre in Rome: for the explanation of the dream, see *Pomp.* 68, which adds a second part that indicates he is giving honour to Caesar. Lucan (*Civil War* 7. 7–24) interprets even this first part as a sign of the end of Pompey's good fortune, as he recalls happy days in the past.

337 *after the war*: Domitius Ahenobarbus (cf. c. 34), P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, consul for 57, and Caecilius Metellus Scipio Nasica (cf. c. 39). Cf. *Pomp.* 67.

on the other side: Plutarch gives the figures for soldiers as found in Caesar, *BC* 3. 88–9; many scholars consider them exaggerated.

risk battle by themselves: Q. Cornificius was Caesar's quaestor in Illyricum; Q. Fufius Calenus was a legate with the authority of a praetor (*legatus pro praetore*) who had been sent earlier to southern Greece.

march to Scotussa: Scotussa was north of Pharsalus. Caesar had offered battle for three days. The fire in the sky, often mentioned, was associated

with Caesar's success: cf. *Pomp.* 68; Appian, *BC* 2. 68; Lucan, *Civil War* 7. 153–60.

338 *on the right*: in the centre was Cn. Domitius Calvinus (to be distinguished from the Pompeian Domitius Ahenobarbus). Caesar (*BC* 3. 89. 3) says that he put P. Cornelius Sulla on the right, and he himself stayed on the left, opposite Pompey. Cf. *Pomp.* 69.

the point of impact: see Caesar, *BC* 3. 92. 2–5; cf. *Pomp.* 69.

339 *the back of his neck*: the centurion showed not only the loyalty and courage of Caesar's troops, but their fearlessness of enemy weapons, even in their faces. Contrast Pompey's gentleman cavalry, below (c. 45). Caesar gives his name as C. Crastinus (*B.C.* 3. 91. 1), the usual form in other accounts, and reports the wound at 3. 99. 1–2. Cf. *Pomp.* 71.

and slaughtered them: Caesar's successful use of his reserve cohorts against the cavalry turned the whole battle: cf. *Pomp.* 71; Caesar, *BC* 3. 93–4. However, Caesar does not mention aiming at the faces of the cavalry, which would not win him praise at Rome. In *Pomp.* 69, Plutarch says the soldiers were specifically instructed to do this, and the orders are alluded to at *Caes.* 44.

Life of Pompey: cf. on Pompey's reaction, *Pomp.* 72; on his flight and death, 73–80.

340 *six thousand soldiers died*: Caesar refers to the threat of prosecution if he had laid down his office: cf. note to p. 326, *Marcellus and Lentulus*, and Suet. 30. Casualty figures for the battle vary widely. These are from Pollio (cf. *Pomp.* 72); Caesar (*BC* 3. 99. 3) gives fifteen thousand total for the Pompeian side. This passage has puzzled scholars, since it is not clear why Caesar would write in Greek afterwards. Some emend to have Pollio write in Greek, or to say that Caesar spoke first in Greek, then in Latin. On Pollio, see p. 300 above.

safe and sound: Caesar's general policy was clemency, since he hoped to avoid the divisions of the Sullan period and reconcile his enemies to his position. The reference to M. Iunius Brutus points towards Caesar's own end (cf. cc. 62, 64, 66).

the truth of this story: Tralles was a city in Caria in Asia Minor. Patavium is modern Padua, the home town of Livy. On Livy as a source for Plutarch, see p. 300 above. His books for this period are lost.

collection of fables: C. Iulius Theopompus was important locally and honoured by a number of statues, but we know nothing of his collection of myths (*FGrHist* 21).

341 *signet ring*: for Pompey's murder, cf. *Pomp.* 77–80. Caesar arrived three days after Pompey, with 3,200 men and 800 horse (Caesar, *BC* 3. 106). Theodotus was a rhetorician and adviser at the Egyptian court, who convinced the Egyptians to kill Pompey (cf. *Pomp.* 77).

a way of protecting himself: this mention of the usually restrained Caesar's drinking parties suggests a weak parallel with Alexander's parties.

341 *was in the country*: the 15-year-old King Ptolemy XIII was the son of Ptolemy XII Auletes, who had run up large debts at Rome while trying to regain his throne, which he finally did in 55. After the death of his father, Pothinus and the army commander, Achillas, ran the country and drove out Cleopatra VII, the king's sister. Suet. 54 says Auletes owed 6,000 talents, almost twice Plutarch's figure, but he includes Pompey as debtor. Caesar's account of his stay in Alexandria and the brief war are found in *BC* 3. 106–12.

342 *made him fall for her*: Cassius Dio (42. 34) puts even more emphasis on Cleopatra's charms, and their devastating effect on Caesar.

the great library: the library at Alexandria was already a major cultural centre under Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the third century. According to Seneca, *Dialogues* 9. 9. 5, 400,000 volumes were lost (a probable emendation from 40,000, based on Orosius 6. 15. 31; the number is derived from Livy); Aulus Gellius (*Attic Nights* 7. 17. 3) says the library held 700,000 volumes and all were lost. See P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 334–5. We do not hear of this library again. The allegation that Antony gave the large library of the kings of Pergamum to Cleopatra (as a kind of replacement) is probably false (*Ant.* 58–9).

battle off Pharos: the island held the tall lighthouse which was considered one of the Seven Wonders of the world.

sunk straight away: for this episode, cf. Suet. 64.

Caesarion: Ptolemy XV Caesar, killed by Octavian in 30. Oppius (cf. p. 300 above, and Suet. 52) denied that the child was Caesar's, as did later official tradition. But Antony found it useful to assert Caesar's paternity. He was made co-ruler with Cleopatra. Cf. *Ant.* 54, 81.

343 *tetrarchs there*: Caesar left Egypt in June 47. Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates VI (whom Pompey after Mithridates' death had allowed to keep his Bosporan kingdom in the Crimea, cf. *Pomp.* 41 and note, and *the Romans*) hoped to profit by Pompey's defeat to regain his father's territory. Domitius Calvinus, sent after Pharsalus to stop him, had been defeated at Nicopolis in Lesser Armenia. The tetrarchs were rulers in Galatia, of whom the most powerful was Deiotarus, who had fought on Pompey's side at Pharsalus (cf. *Pomp.* 73).

the same ending: in Latin 'veni, vidi, vici'; in Greek also three words, *ēlthon, eidon, enikēsa*, but without the same endings. Zela was in Pontus. Caesar's friend C. Matius appears below, c. 51.

consul for the following year: Caesar arrived in Rome at the beginning of October 47. He had met with Cicero soon after landing in Italy: *Cic.* 39. He had been named dictator for the second time in 48, after Pharsalus, for an entire year (for problems connected with dating, cf. *MRR* ii. 272, 284–5 and iii. 106–7). Antony was his cavalry commander (*magister equitum*) and second in command (cf. *Ant.* 8). Caesar and M. Aemilius Lepidus were chosen consuls for 46.

in land-grants: the soldiers mustered in Campania for the planned African war had mutinied, and had driven off Caesar's representative, C. Salustius Crispus (the future historian), killed the two men of praetorian rank, and marched towards Rome. Caesar spoke to them on the Campus Martius, calling them 'Quirites', the normal form of address to citizens who were not soldiers, and promised them rewards after the fighting, though they were penalized one-third of their pay. Plutarch does not develop this as he might have, as a parallel to the mutiny of Alexander's soldiers at Opis, *Alex.* 71.

prepared to work for him: P. Cornelius Dolabella, as tribune, introduced popular bills to abolish all debts and was only stopped by Antony after the senate passed a *senatus consultum ultimum*. The case against C. Matius is not known. Dolabella and Antony are treated more fully in *Ant.* 8–10.

an impressive army: Juba I of Mauretania, son of the Hiempsal who had opposed Marius (cf. *Mar.* 40 and note, *to ask for help*) had defeated Caesar's propraetor, Curio (cf. c. 29), in 49. Other Pompeians had arrived in Africa as well, including L. Afranius, who had been defeated in Spain (cf. cc. 36 and 53). Caesar's campaign is described in [Caesar,] *African War*, written by a follower of his.

a few cavalrymen: Caesar landed at Hadrumetum on 28 December 47.

344 *then and there*: the incident is not found in [Caesar,] *African War*, but the presence of Pollio suggests that it was taken from his account.

Thapsus: Thapsus was on the east coast of modern Tunisia.

345 *fifty of his own men*: the battle of Thapsus took place on 6 April 46. [Caesar,] *African War* 86. 1, gives ten thousand enemy killed.

taken them prisoner: for Caesar's epilepsy, cf. c. 17 and note, *Corduba, we hear*. Juba and Petreius committed suicide together, Faustus Sulla and Afranius were executed ([Caesar,] *African War* 94, 95). Caesar's usual policy was to kill those he had once pardoned but who still fought against him.

Caesar and Cato: Cato's suicide at Utica, near modern Tunis, was instantly famous: he appeared the stern Stoic statesman and last champion of republican liberty, refusing to yield to the tyrant. Caesar's annoyance stemmed from his desire to show his generosity in not punishing his enemy. But when Cato became a hero of the opposition, glorified in Cicero's *Cato*, he tried to puncture the balloon, without success. Neither work survives. For the death of Cato, cf. *CMin.* 66–70.

346 *olive oil*: Caesar returned to Rome on 25 July. For his honours, including the dictatorship for ten years (to be assumed one year at a time), and his whirlwind of legislation, cf. Gelzer, *Caesar*, 278–92. The Julian calendar was introduced at this time (cf. c. 59). The words reported by Plutarch refer only to his subjugation of Africa. The amount of oil mentioned equals the indemnity assigned to Lepcis Magna (a major city on the coast) alone.

346 *one for Africa*: the four triumphs were held between 20 September and 1 October. Cf. also Suet. 37.

writers of Greece: Juba II, whom Plutarch cites in *Sull.* 16 and elsewhere. Cf. p. 172 above.

Italy and the provinces: although Caesar did make a census of Rome, the figures given represent an arbitrary reduction in the number of those eligible for distributions of grain, not the new head-count. Cf. Suet. 41, Cassius Dio 43. 21, and Gelzer, *Caesar*, 287.

Pompey's sons: Caesar left Rome at the beginning of November and arrived in Spain a month later. He was named sole consul for 45 after he left. Pompey's sons, Cn. Pompeius Magnus and Sextus (Sextus was 29, Gnaeus somewhat older), had combined old legions and new recruits to create a sizeable force, which Caesar's legates had not been able to defeat.

347 *after the battle*: Caesar was pressed for troops, since many had been released after the African campaign. He met Gnaeus at Munda, south of Corduba (Córdoba) in modern Andalusia. Sextus escaped and later reappeared as the independent commander of a large fleet in the struggles of Octavius and Antony: see *Ant.* 32. The Liberalia, the festival mentioned by Plutarch, was held on 17 March, the day Pompey left Italy.

reputation in this way: the fifth triumph was celebrated in October 45.

dictator for life: the senate declared him *dictator perpetuus* shortly before 15 February 44, the date of the Lupercalia. Cf. *MRR* iii. 107. But Plutarch thinks also of honours granted before this. Cf. the list in Suet. 76.

348 *became praetors*: both future assassins, Brutus and C. Cassius Longinus, were named praetors for 44.

for his own: the statues had been removed after the battle of Pharsalus.

at the same time: they had both been destroyed by Rome in 146.

term of office: C. Caninius Rebilus (*sic*) replaced Q. Fabius Maximus for the last day of 45.

his own past performance: here Plutarch thinks of Alexander, who was also his own chief competitor, trying to outdo himself, cf. *Alex.* 40. The following passage sounds like Alexander's last plans, which are not found in Plutarch (the ending of *Alex.* may be missing) but are in other writers. On Caesar's plans, see Z. Yavetz, *Julius Caesar and his Public Image* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983), 159–60. He certainly intended a campaign against Parthia in the near future. Some projects were executed by later emperors.

350 *compelled to accept*: the Julian calendar, with regular leap years, replaced the old one on 1 January 45, and is still the one we use—with refinements proclaimed in 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII. For Numa's contribution, cf. *Num.* 18.

unhappy and discontented: here and in the chapters which follow, the

masses, who had supported Caesar so eagerly before, turn against him. The Sibylline books were official books of prophecy and the recommendation was actually presented to the senate, cf. Suet. 79. Rex, 'king', was also a Roman cognomen, as Caesar was. Suet. 78–87 give an account of the events leading up to the assassination and the deed itself which overlaps Plutarch's at many points.

351 *'treat you as their superior?'*: Caesar's efforts to reduce his honours were opposed by flatterers, who wanted to make him feel superior: cf. Anaxarchus' words to Alexander, *Alex.* 52. L. Cornelius Balbus was one of Caesar's principal agents in Rome.

way he treated some tribunes: the mistreatment of the tribunes is connected in other sources with the use of 'king' by the crowd, not with the Lupercalia: cf. Appian, *BC* 2. 108; Cassius Dio 44. 10.

to get pregnant: the ritual took place on 15 February. Cf. *Ant.* 12, and the account of the ritual in *Rom.* 21.

his triumphal clothing: one of the extravagant honours voted for Caesar was the right to wear the clothing of a triumphing general, traditionally the regular garb of Jupiter or of the early kings of Rome (cf. Cassius Dio 43. 14).

taken to the Capitol: that is, to be dedicated to Jupiter.

352 *'Bruti' and 'Cymaeans'*: L. Caesetius Flavius and C. Epidius Marullus were deprived of their tribunician power by vote of the senate. The tribunes were thought particularly to represent the people. The consul L. Iunius Brutus drove out the Tarquin kings in 509: cf. *Pub.* 1; *Brut.* 1. Brutus, however, also means 'stupid', and Cymaeans were famous for lack of wit. Plutarch brings this incident in to make the transition to Brutus the assassin.

pass Brutus by: see in general Plutarch's *Brutus*. Plutarch develops the idea that friends can be dangerous to the ruler, as in the conspiracies against Alexander.

let himself be corrupted: the suggestion, more clear in *Brut.* 8, is that Brutus will be Caesar's successor, but is content to wait for a natural death.

Cassius and Brutus: Cassius hated Caesar for having taken some lions he was training for his games as aedile: cf. *Brut.* 8. Caesar's statement, in the form 'You Cassius has a lean and hungry look', was made famous by Shakespeare in his *Julius Caesar*, which draws heavily on Plutarch's *Caesar and Brutus*.

353 *'Yes . . . but they have not yet gone'*: Plutarch prepares for Caesar's death, as he did for Alexander's, by a series of omens and prodigies: cf. also Suet. 81; Appian, *BC* 2. 115. Strabo was a historian and geographer: cf. p. 172 above. The Ides of March fell on the fifteenth day of the month.

354 *dismiss the senate*: Calpurnia's dreams clearly foreshadow Caesar's death. For Livy, cited also at c. 47, see p. 300 above.

354 *his second heir*: D. Iunius Brutus Albinus had been an associate of Caesar's since the Gallic Wars. He was named as a secondary heir, if the primary heirs did not inherit: Suet. 83. Caesar's principal primary heir was his grand-nephew, C. Octavius, adopted posthumously as C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (Octavian). See note to p. 357, *wished they had done*, and note to p. 373, *chose Antony as his colleague*.

very urgent news for him: this slave is also mentioned by Appian (*BC* 2. 116), in similar words, and with the same lack of further information.

355 *summoning events there*: the senate met on this day in a room off the portico attached to the theatre which Pompey had dedicated in 55 (cf. *Pomp.* 52).

rational faculty as usual: the Epicureans held that the gods were not directly involved in human affairs and that when a man died, his atoms dispersed and he was no more. Cassius expounds this to Brutus at *Brut.* 37.

lengthy conversation: Antony's loyalty to Caesar was questioned: cf. c. 62 and *Ant.* 13. Albinus seems an error: in *Brut.* 17, as in our other sources, it is C. Trebonius who stops Antony.

356 *'Brother, help!'*: L. Tillius Cimber had been appointed governor of Bithynia and Pontus, but had not yet left to take up his post. The first blow was struck by C. Servilius Casca Longus, who then called to his brother Publius.

his face and eyes: the expression recalls the soldiers' javelins thrust in the faces of Pompey's cavalry at Pharsalus, c. 45.

one another as well: Caesar's words to Brutus, 'You too, Brutus?' (in Greek, *kai su, teknon?*, 'You too, son?', not Latin 'et tu, Brute?'), are recorded in Suet. 82. Here Plutarch focuses on the revenge of Pompey.

357 *wished they had done*: Antony and C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (Octavian), the future Augustus, once they had gained power in Rome in 43, proscribed many senators, including C. Octavius Balbus and P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther: cf. *Ant.* 19–20. For the events immediately after the assassination, see *Ant.* 14–15; *Brut.* 18–20; *Cic.* 42. The exact sequence of events is disputed.

things had calmed down: more likely Brutus spoke on the same day. By the next day, Lepidus' troops had occupied Rome. The senate met on 17 March, ratified Caesar's acts, gave an amnesty to the conspirators, and allowed a public funeral for Caesar and his will to be read, but they did not vote to honour Caesar as a god or assign new provinces until later. Plutarch has compressed his narrative.

on the spot: the will included 75 denarii per person, according to *Brut.* 20. Plutarch now shows how the people shift again, and turn against the assassins. The funeral was on 20 March. For Antony's speech then, cf. *Brut.* 20 and Suet. 84.

358 *before they died*: C. Helvius Cinna, a tribune, was mistaken for L.

Cornelius Cinna, a praetor and conspirator. Brutus and Cassius left Rome in early April: cf. *Brut.* 21 ff.

little more than four years: actually rather less: Pompey died on 28 September 48; Caesar on 15 March 44.

used against Caesar: Antony and Octavian defeated Cassius and Brutus at the battle of Philippi (in Macedonia) in 42 (cf. *Ant.* 22; *Brut.* 41–52); for Cassius' suicide, cf. *Brut.* 43.

coolness of the atmosphere: the comet, the 'Julian star', was celebrated by Virgil, Horace, and other poets. Cf. Suet. 88, which says it appeared in the period 20–30 June while Octavian was celebrating games for Caesar.

from Abydos to Europe: that is, across the Hellespont.

359 *plunged the sword in and died*: Cf. *Brut.* 36, 48, 52. No Comparison between Alexander and Caesar is preserved, though it probably was written.

ANTONY

365 *the public domain*: M. Antonius, consul for 99 and a leading orator, was killed in 87: cf. *Mar.* 44. His son, M. Antonius Creticus, received his honorific epithet even though he was defeated by Cretan pirates in 72 or 71 and died soon after. Plutarch's anecdote about him introduces early the themes of generosity and loyalty to friends important to this Life.

denied burial: Julia was daughter of L. Iulius Caesar, consul for 90; for P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, see *Cic.* 17–22.

366 *capricious ambition*: Plutarch knew very little of Antony's early life. For his relations with C. Scribonius Curio and P. Clodius, Plutarch rewrites Cicero, *Philippic* 2. 44–8. In Greek terms, one Roman denarius equals one drachma, and so 24,000 sesterces or 6,000 denarii equals 1 talent. Two hundred and fifty talents equals Cicero's figure of six million sesterces, a very large sum. According to Cicero, Antony was associated with Clodius in 58. As Plutarch's metaphors indicate, the Asian style was rather florid.

about the expedition: A. Gabinius was the consul of 58; Ptolemy XII Auletes, king of Egypt and father of Cleopatra, had been dethroned in 58.

the inner sea: Pelusium was the easternmost coastal city of Egypt. The Serbonian marshes (mod. Sabkhat el-Bardawil) are fed by sulphurous springs (Typho was a monster associated with volcanoes) and infiltration from the Mediterranean.

367 *an outstanding soldier*: Archelaus had married Ptolemy XII's daughter Berenice, and ruled briefly as king of Egypt.

368 *whom they call 'augurs'*: Antony was elected tribune (for 49) and augur (a priesthood which Cicero held as well) in 50, as the conflict between Caesar and Pompey was coming to a head. But he had already served