

# Pompey and Caesar

Paul Waring

November 7, 2016

## Introduction

In 49 BC,<sup>1</sup> Julius Caesar led one of his legions across the Rubicon, a river which marked the boundary between his province of Cisalpine Gaul and Italy. In doing so, Caesar plunged Rome into a civil war which would last for several years and result in him seizing control of the republic, followed shortly by his assassination.

In this discussion we will be focusing on the lives of Pompey and Caesar, and how their actions ultimately led to the downfall of the Roman Republic. We will examine their early lives and rise to power separately, and then join the two stories together at the point of the First Triumvirate – an unofficial arrangement between Pompey, Caesar and Crassus to work together and divide up the running of Rome's possessions between them.

The intensity of activity during the period under discussion (c. 106 - 44) and the volume of surviving literary and archaeological material means that we will either mention briefly or skip altogether some of the events which occurred. A substantial amount of further reading is available to those who wish to examine the period in more detail.

## Supporting cast

Although we will be concentrating on the lives of Pompey and Caesar, there are a number of other characters who feature in the narrative, often as allies or enemies of one or both men.

### Gaius Marius (c. 157-86)

Marius was a successful general who reformed the Roman army, setting into motion the process of its transition from a citizen militia to a professional standing army. Disregarding the rules by holding the consulship on seven occasions,<sup>2</sup> and using brute force to achieve his aims, Marius is arguably the man who kick-started the decades of internal strife that finally ended with Octavian's defeat of Antony.

### Lucius Cornelius Sulla (c.138-78)

A man who took power by force, twice marching on Rome and in constant conflict with Marius, Sulla sought to restore the Roman constitution and particularly the power of the Senate. Despite

---

<sup>1</sup>All dates are BC unless otherwise indicated

<sup>2</sup>A period of ten years was supposed to pass before someone could stand for the consulship again.

his rapid rise to power, Sulla retired after his reforms were in place, and died quietly on his private estate.

### **Marcus Licinius Crassus (c. 115-53)**

An extraordinarily wealthy man (often reported to have said that a man could only consider himself to be rich if he could afford to pay for his own army), Crassus was a man of great influence in the late republic, primarily because he lent money to many men seeking election. He aligned himself with Pompey and later Caesar as well, but his death at the hands of the Parthians caused the alliance to unravel and plunged Rome into civil war.

### **Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43)**

A self-proclaimed 'saviour of the Republic',<sup>3</sup> Cicero was an orator and lawyer who was courted by all sides at various times. Unfortunately his wavering over who to support led him to be exiled and he could do little to stop the transition of Rome from republic to empire.

## **Pompey**

Born in 106 to a wealthy but not especially notable family, there was nothing in Pompey's background or upbringing to indicate that he would one day become one of the men who would plunge Rome into civil war.

### **Pompeius Strabo**

Pompey's father was Pompeius Strabo, a man generally considered to have been an able military commander but disliked by the men he led. In 89, Strabo was elected to the consulship – the first time his family had reached this office and therefore making him a *novus homo* ('new man').<sup>4</sup> He commanded troops throughout the Social War (91-88), in which several Italian cities fought against Rome as a result of what they saw as oppressive behaviour and a refusal to grant them Roman citizenship.

In 87, lightning struck Strabo's camp and took the lives of many men, including Strabo himself.<sup>5</sup> This left Pompey, aged twenty three, inheriting the estates of his father and the loyalty of his legions. He was put on trial as a result of accusations that his father had misappropriated public property, but was acquitted and married the daughter of the judge shortly afterwards.<sup>6</sup>

Several years later another war broke out, this time between the factions of Marius and Sulla. Still in his twenties, having held no public office and with no authority to command, Pompey raised three legions and went to join Sulla, defeating several Marian armies on the way. Sulla was somewhat surprised to see Pompey, but he welcomed the new recruits and saluted their general as *imperator* – a high honour for a young man who was acting on his own initiative rather than any official instructions.

---

<sup>3</sup>Cicero, *Pro Cnaeo Plancio* 36.89

<sup>4</sup>Romans put great emphasis on the idea of inherited characteristics, making the assumption that if a man had ancestors who had held magistracies – and particularly the consulship – he too would be destined for great things.

<sup>5</sup>Appian, *The Civil Wars* 1.68

<sup>6</sup>Plutarch, *Pompey* 4

Pompey continued to serve Sulla, being dispatched to Gaul to take over from Metellus who was struggling in his command – although Pompey refused to relieve Metellus and instead served under him. Sulla then proposed that his step-daughter should marry Pompey, purely for political reasons. Pompey appears to have been reluctant but divorced his existing wife to accommodate Sulla's request.<sup>7</sup>

After a brief stint in Africa, Pompey's legions were recalled to Rome by Sulla, who may well have been growing disturbed about the rapid rise of this potential rival (or replacement). Despite the fact that Sulla may have held private concerns about Pompey, he made a public show of welcoming his return, and publicly saluted him as *Magnus* ('the Great'), although it would be several years before Pompey began to use this title himself.<sup>8</sup>

Pompey followed up on this warm welcome by demanding a triumph for his achievements. Sulla initially refused, pointing out, quite correctly, that only a praetor or consul could celebrate a triumph, and Pompey was neither. In fact, Pompey was not even a senator, let alone a senior magistrate, and there does not appear to have been any legal reason why he ought to be granted a triumph.

A less confident man might have accepted Sulla's argument, or offered the compromise of a procession short of a triumph.<sup>9</sup> Pompey was undeterred though, and is reported to have pointed out to Sulla that 'more people worship the rising than the setting sun'<sup>10</sup> – a rather unsubtle comparison between his position and that of Sulla. Perhaps mindful of the fact that Pompey had recently commanded several legions of trained men who might expect a triumph for their general, Sulla agreed to Pompey's demand.

## Campaign against Sertorius

Pompey's next major command came in 77, where aged twenty eight he was granted proconsular authority to campaign against Sertorius in Spain.<sup>11</sup> Although Pompey suffered some setbacks, he gradually gained the upper hand. Towards the end of the campaign, Pompey was helped by the murder of Sertorius, and the resulting wavering loyalty of the enemy troops enabled Pompey to defeat the final army. He also managed to capture the commander, Perpenna, who claimed to have letters showing numerous senators had pledged their support for Sertorius. Pompey had Perpenna executed and burnt the letters without reading them.<sup>12</sup>

## The slave revolt

In 73, a group of gladiators – slaves forced to fight for the entertainment of Romans – managed to escape from their training school. Led by Spartacus, they inflicted several defeats on the Roman

---

<sup>7</sup>Marriages made for political purposes were common in Rome. This fact, combined with the risk of death during childbirth, meant that an ambitious man could end up marrying several times – Pompey had five wives during the course of his life.

<sup>8</sup>Plutarch also suggests that it was the troops in Africa who first proclaimed Pompey in this manner, but that Sulla's use gave it the official stamp of approval (Plutarch, *Pompey* 13).

<sup>9</sup>An alternative option available when a triumph was not warranted was the *ovatio*, where the victorious general would walk through the city instead of riding.

<sup>10</sup>Plutarch, *Pompey* 14

<sup>11</sup>A promagistrate (*pro* in this case meaning 'in place of') was a position that granted the powers of the relevant magistracy, but generally only within a specific area or for a given campaign. For example, a provincial governor would often be made a proconsul or propraeator, enabling him to exercise the powers of that magistracy only within the confines of his province. Occasionally this would also be used to extend the command of a consul whose term of office was due to expire during an ongoing conflict.

<sup>12</sup>Whether burning the letters was a sensible move is debatable – on the one hand it would have relieved the senators involved (assuming the letters were genuine), but on the other hand it deprived Pompey of useful future blackmail material.

commanders sent to destroy them and their numbers steadily grew as slaves from the countryside joined the rebellion. After two praetors and two consuls had all failed to put down the slave revolt, Crassus was placed in charge of the army and raised a further six legions at his own expense.

Despite one or two setbacks, Crassus eventually managed to destroy the majority of the slave army, with the remainder on the run in Italy. This happened to be at the time when Pompey was returning from Spain in order to assist with putting down the slave revolt.<sup>13</sup> Anxious to destroy the army and avoid having to share credit, Crassus stepped up his pursuit of the slaves and managed to end the rebellion.

However, a few thousand slaves escaped the final battle with Crassus and fled north, where they were captured and killed by Pompey's army. This allowed Pompey to write to the Senate claiming credit for bringing the rebellion to an end.<sup>14</sup> Understandably, Crassus was displeased with the fact that he had fought long and hard only for a young upstart – albeit one who had proved himself to be a competent general – to come in at the last minute and steal his thunder.

### Consulship with Crassus

At this point both Pompey and Crassus were camped outside Rome, along with their legions. Tensions were high and the fact that Pompey was allowed a triumph,<sup>15</sup> whereas Crassus had to make do with the lesser *ovatio*, did not bode well for future relations between the two men. However, they agreed to put aside their differences and support each other in their bids for the consulship in 70. The combination of Pompey's popularity with the people and the equestrians, and the wealth and senatorial connections of Crassus, meant that the two men were elected with minimal competition.

Although their consulships started with high hopes, Pompey and Crassus soon fell out and each objected to the measures brought in by the other man. By the end of their terms the two were barely talking to one another, although a reconciliation was achieved after a man claimed to have had a dream where Jupiter told him that Pompey and Crassus should end their consulship as friends.<sup>16</sup>

### Campaign against the pirates

We know little of what happened to Pompey immediately after his consulship, but the story picks up again in 67. By this point piracy in the Mediterranean had become such a problem that one of the tribunes proposed the *Lex Gabinia*,<sup>17</sup> which would grant a single general full powers to deal with the problem, including a three year command and significant numbers of soldiers. Although he did not mention Pompey by name, it was clear that the populace would wish him to take the command.<sup>18</sup> The Senate was opposed to the measure, not wishing to give Pompey another extraordinary command, but the other tribunes were reluctant to oppose the measure due to its popularity with the people, and in the end Pompey was granted the command he coveted – though he made a great pretence of reluctance.

---

<sup>13</sup>It is unclear whether Crassus requested these reinforcements (Plutarch, *Crassus* 11) or the Senate ordered Pompey to assist (Appian, *The Civil Wars* 1.119).

<sup>14</sup>Plutarch, *Pompey* 21

<sup>15</sup>As previously, Pompey did not meet the criteria for a triumph, and in this case was pushing the rules even further as a triumph was supposed to be granted for victory over a foreign army rather than a slave revolt.

<sup>16</sup>Plutarch, *Crassus* 12; Plutarch, *Pompey* 23.

<sup>17</sup>Laws passed in Rome were usually given the name *lex* ('law') followed by the name of the proposer – in this case Aulus Gabinus.

<sup>18</sup>Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 36.23

Pompey set off with a huge army and fleet,<sup>19</sup> and divided the area of operations into thirteen districts, each with an assigned commander and troops. The pirates were quickly rounded up and subdued,<sup>20</sup> but instead of having them executed Pompey dispersed them amongst towns and ensured that they had land to farm in order to discourage them from returning to piracy. Such a quick and decisive victory further boosted Pompey's popularity amongst the people, and no doubt the concerns of the Senate too.

It is at this point that Pompey and Caesar's lives begin to overlap, so we will examine Caesar's early life before joining the two together at the point of Pompey's command against Mithridates.

## Caesar

Other than the month and year of his birth (July 100), little is known of Caesar's early life. He was born into a patrician family which claimed to have divine ascendants but had limited political influence. Caesar lost his father early in life at the age of just sixteen. Rome's patriarchal society meant that Caesar, like Pompey, became the head of his family on his father's death.

Sulla's victory in the civil war with Marius nearly resulted in the death of Caesar, as his family connections included being the nephew of Marius. Caesar was stripped of his priesthood and the dowry from his marriage to Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, and was forced to go into hiding. However, several influential people petitioned Sulla to spare Caesar, pointing out that he was only a boy. Sulla reluctantly acquiesced, with the prophetic warning that he saw many Mariuses in Caesar.<sup>21</sup>

## Return to Rome

Although Caesar supposedly had nothing to fear from Sulla, he prudently decided to put off returning to Rome until after the former dictator's death. On his return he was captured by pirates and held for ransom, reportedly stating that he was worth far more than they demanded. He also promised to have them crucified and fulfilled this shortly after being ransomed.<sup>22</sup>

Upon returning to Rome, Caesar took a different path to power from Pompey, following the standard order of public offices known as the *cursus honorum*.<sup>23</sup> First he was elected as a military tribune, a commander in the legions of the Roman army. In 69 he was elected as *quaestor* and served his time in Spain,<sup>24</sup> returning in 67 to marry Pompeia, granddaughter of Sulla.

In 63, Caesar ran for election to the post of *pontifex maximus*, a religious role which also carried great prestige and could be held in conjunction with magistracies.<sup>25</sup> Although running against two well-known and influential senators, Caesar managed to secure the position amongst accusations of

---

<sup>19</sup>500 ships, 120,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry (Plutarch, *Pompey* 26). Appian claims the same number of infantry but only 270 ships and 4,000 cavalry (*The Mithridatic Wars* 14.94.) Regardless of the exact numbers, this was a force significantly larger than the traditional consular army of 2-4 legions (10,000-20,000 men).

<sup>20</sup>Plutarch claimed that 'In less than three months, piracy was completely driven from the seas' (*Pompey* 28). This may be an exaggeration given the constraints on how quickly troops could move around in ancient times, but in any event the war was clearly over in short order.

<sup>21</sup>Plutarch, *Caesar* 1; Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 1.

<sup>22</sup>Plutarch, *Caesar* 2

<sup>23</sup>The *cursus honorum* was the 'required' (though sometimes ignored) series of magistracies that a Roman could hold.

<sup>24</sup>Quaestors could either serve in financial administration in Rome or in a province.

<sup>25</sup>The term of *pontifex maximus* was the life of the office holder. After Caesar's assassination, Lepidus became the last man to hold the office before it was subsumed into the role of Emperor. It is not clear whether there were any prerequisites for this office as there were for the other magistracies.

bribery from all sides.<sup>26</sup> The same year saw Cicero as consul defeating the Catiline conspiracy, a plot which Caesar was accused of involvement in, though nothing was ever proven.<sup>27</sup>

Caesar continued his move up the *cursus honorum* by serving as *praetor* in 62 before taking up the governorship of Hispania Ulterior (southern Spain). It was at this point that Caesar's creditors started to catch up with him – standing for election was an expensive business, especially given the levels of bribery involved – and he turned to Crassus for assistance. In exchange for political support – Crassus was always happy to have up and coming men owe him money or favours – Crassus agreed to pay or guarantee many of Caesar's debts.

## First Triumvirate

On his return from Spain in 60, Caesar intended to stand for the consulship, the pinnacle of an ambitious man's career.<sup>28</sup> However, he also wished to celebrate a triumph for his achievements during his governorship. This presented a problem for Caesar because to stand for the consulship he had to present himself in the city as a private citizen, but to do that would require relinquishing his command and therefore forfeiting his triumph. He requested permission to stand *in absentia*, which would have allowed him to both celebrate a triumph and stand for election, but this was blocked by Cato.<sup>29</sup> Whilst there was nothing to stop Caesar from postponing his candidacy to the following year, he decided to forgo a triumph and stand for the consulship.

The election was reported to be tainted by heavy bribery on all sides – even by Roman standards – with Cato justifying the practice on the grounds that the protection of the constitution was at stake.<sup>30</sup> In the end, Caesar was elected, with Marcus Bibulus as his colleague. The two men did not get on, and Bibulus attempted to frustrate many of Caesar's proposals by claiming that the omens were unfavourable. Caesar pushed many of them through regardless, leading later satirists to name the year the consulship of Julius and Caesar.<sup>31</sup>

Around this time Caesar, Pompey and Crassus came together and decided to create an informal alliance between them that would become known as the First Triumvirate.<sup>32</sup> Our sources are unclear and contradictory as to the timing of the formation of the triumvirate, and which man made the first move. It also unclear exactly what Caesar could have brought to the table (beyond his consulship, which would only last for a year) that would have made him a useful ally to two men who already had significant money and influence.

Towards the end of his consulship, Caesar, possibly with behind the scenes help from Pompey and Crassus, managed to get his post-office province changed from the woods and pastures of Italy to the entirety of Gaul (northern Italy and southern France). Perhaps more surprisingly, he managed to obtain a five year command rather than the usual one year. Caesar left for his province promptly, amid demands for an inquiry into his conduct in office.<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup>Plutarch, *Caesar* 7

<sup>27</sup>Sallust, *The Catiline Conspiracy* 49

<sup>28</sup>The office of *ensor* could be seen as senior to that of consul, as its eligibility requirements included having held the consulship, but the lack of imperium probably made it less appealing to men such as Pompey and Caesar.

<sup>29</sup>Plutarch, *Caesar* 13. It is not clear whether such a request was unprecedented. Marius is reported to have stood and been elected in absentia for one of his consulships, but it is unlikely that Caesar would want to draw comparisons between himself and Marius.

<sup>30</sup>Suetonius, *Caesar* 19

<sup>31</sup>Suetonius, *Caesar* 20. Roman years were generally referred to by the names of the consuls, or from the founding of the city.

<sup>32</sup>The 'first' adjective is important to distinguish this from the Second Triumvirate of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus in 43. Unlike the First Triumvirate, the Second was made official by the passing of the *Lex Titia*.

<sup>33</sup>Suetonius, *Caesar* 23

## Conquest of Gaul

During his time in Gaul, Caesar demonstrated the military prowess – and in some cases good fortune – that would become one of his defining features. The majority of Gaul and the surrounding areas was conquered in short order, and Caesar even found time to cross the Channel to Britain, which was a military failure (severe storms damaged or destroyed many of his ships) but a political success.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps the most important consequence of the Gallic War though was that it resulted in Caesar gaining an experienced body of fighting men whose loyalties were closer to him than to the Senate.

## Death of Crassus

In 56, Pompey, Crassus and Caesar met in Luca to discuss their alliance, which was beginning to fray. Although the triumvirate was unofficial, by this point it appears to have been an open secret in Rome, with over two hundred senators attending.<sup>35</sup> The result of this meeting was an agreement that Pompey and Crassus would stand for the consulship, and once elected they extended Caesar's command in Gaul by five years, granted Pompey command in Spain (though ruling *in absentia* so he could remain close to Rome) and Crassus the governorship of Syria.

Crassus viewed Syria as both a lucrative province and a base from which to launch a war against the Parthians, which would hopefully allow him to match the military accomplishments of Pompey and Caesar. Unfortunately Crassus lacked the skill and luck of his fellow triumvirs, and met his end en route to a peace negotiation.

## Fallout

The death of Crassus marked a turning point in the relationships between Pompey and Caesar. Pompey's wife – also Caesar's daughter – had also died in childbirth, leaving the two men with little to unite them. On the brink of civil war, Pompey was appointed sole consul, with even Cato agreeing that such a measure was justified by the circumstances.<sup>36</sup> When Caesar's term of governorship expired, the Senate, led by Pompey, ordered him to return to Rome.

## Crossing the Rubicon

Caesar knew that he would have to relinquish command of his legions if he returned to Rome, as his *imperium* (the power to command troops and order corporal and capital punishment) was limited to his province. Caesar took one of his legions up to the Rubicon, a river which marked the boundary of Italy, and is reported to have said either 'the die is cast' or 'let the die be cast' before crossing the river and igniting civil war.<sup>37</sup>

## Defeat and death of Pompey

Despite a significant superiority in numbers, Pompey chose not to fight Caesar in Italy but instead retreated to Greece. Caesar managed to defeat Pompey's lieutenants in quick succession, though

---

<sup>34</sup>The Senate declared twenty days of public thanksgiving (Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 4.38).

<sup>35</sup>Plutarch, *Caesar* 21

<sup>36</sup>Plutarch, *Pompey* 54

<sup>37</sup>Plutarch, *Caesar* 32; Suetonius, *Caesar* 32

Pompey himself escaped. After a decisive defeat at Pharsalus in Greece, Pompey retreated to Egypt, with Caesar in pursuit. Unfortunately for Pompey, the Egyptians felt that the most expedient course of action would be to assassinate him in order to please Caesar, and he was killed on his ship, with his body dumped overboard. However, Caesar is reported to have been appalled by the assassination, and burst into tears on being presented with Pompey's ring.<sup>38</sup>

## Assassination of Caesar

With Pompey dead and his supporters defeated or on the run, Caesar was in sole control of the Roman Republic. Amongst the offices bestowed upon him over the course of three years were tribune, censor and dictator, enabling him to veto the Senate, add and remove senators and command the Roman army. Effectively he was emperor in all but name, and no one appeared to be willing to openly challenge him.

However, there were many senators who were uncomfortable with Caesar's seemingly unlimited power. His behaviour, if accounts written after the event can be believed, certainly did not help. As well as the oft-told story that Mark Antony offered Caesar a diadem with a laurel wreath attached,<sup>39</sup> Caesar is also reported to have behaved disrespectfully towards both the tribunes and senators, refusing to rise when the latter came to greet him.<sup>40</sup>

In the background, a number of men were conspiring to bring Caesar's reign to an early end. Several plans were discussed, but the favoured option was to kill Caesar in the Senate, as he would be alone and unguarded, unlike at other public events such as elections or gladiatorial shows. The date chosen was March 15 (in the Roman calendar) – better known as the Ides of March.

In the days before the Senate meeting, Caesar's friends had warned him to stay away, with his wife claiming to have been frightened by a vision in her dreams. However, one of Caesar's supposedly firm friends, who was actually one of the conspirators, convinced him that to stay at home would insult the Senate and there was no need to listen to idle gossip and dreams.

Upon arrival at the Senate, Caesar was surrounded by the conspirators and stabbed many times, finally falling on the steps of the Senate house. His last words are a subject of debate, the most well-known being '*et tu, Brute?*' from Shakespeare. Plutarch and Suetonius both claim that Caesar said nothing as the attacks rained down, although Suetonius does mention that other sources report Caesar's last words as (in Greek) '*you too, child?*'.<sup>41</sup>

## Conclusion

Both Pompey and Caesar had the ability and means to become Rome's first emperor, yet both failed at the final hurdle. Pompey retreated when he had the opportunity to crush Caesar with overwhelming force, not to mention the backing of the Senate. Caesar overplayed his hand and sidelined the Senate, making enemies who would ultimately bring him down. Neither man had the combination of military power and diplomacy that was needed to maintain a position as Rome's *princeps* ('first man'). For that we have to wait for Octavian (later Augustus), who managed to balance personal authority with apparent deference towards the Senate, enabling him to reign as emperor (though he was careful not to use the term) for forty years.

---

<sup>38</sup>Plutarch, *Pompey* 80

<sup>39</sup>Plutarch, *Caesar* 61

<sup>40</sup>Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 44.8; Suetonius, *Caesar* 78

<sup>41</sup>Plutarch, *Caesar* 66; Suetonius, *Caesar* 82



## Chronology

- 106 Birth of Pompey.
- 100 Birth of Caesar.
- 77 Pompey granted proconsular authority to fight Sertorius in Spain.
- 70 First joint consulship of Pompey and Crassus.
- 69 Quaestorship of Caesar.
- 67 Pompey's command against the pirates.
- 59 First consulship of Caesar.
- 55 Second joint consulship of Pompey and Crassus.
- 49 Caesar crosses the Rubicon. Civil war breaks out.
- 48 Assassination of Pompey in Pelusium.
- 44 Assassination of Caesar.

## Sources and further reading

We are fortunate that this time period is well documented, and many of the primary sources are still available to us. There is also a wide range of further reading, from popular histories to academic works. In both cases there is an unfortunate bias in quantity towards Caesar.

### Primary sources

Our primary sources are a mixture of Latin and Greek. For those unfamiliar with either language, English translations are available for all the major sources (e.g. Appian, Caesar, Plutarch) in the Penguin Classics, Oxford World's Classics and Loeb Classical Library series (the latter retains the original language alongside the translation).

*Cicero*: Key figure courted by all sides for his skills as an orator and lawyer. An unsubtle self-publicist at times, Cicero nevertheless leaves us with a collection of speeches and letters which give an insight to the period, albeit from a man who failed to appreciate (or accept) the changes which brought about the end of the Republic.

*Caesar*: First hand account of the Civil War from one of the two men involved. Substantial detail on campaigns and how to manage an army (e.g. the importance of logistics), but also naturally biased. Unfortunately Pompey does not appear to have written a similar account from his point of view.

*Plutarch*: Greek (later Roman) biographer known for his 'Parallel Lives' which discuss and compare individuals whom Plutarch felt to be worthy of note, including Pompey and Caesar. Care must be taken as Plutarch wrote biographies as opposed to history, and in places he can digress on a moral tangent.

*Appian*: Roman historian of Greek origin whose *Roman History* covers the beginning of Rome to the time of Trajan (c. 100 AD). Books 8-17, which cover the Civil War, have come to us intact.

*Suetonius*: Private secretary of Hadrian who wrote biographies of twelve men who held the office of emperor or its near equivalent, starting with Caesar.

*Cassius Dio*: Roman statesman of Greek origin who wrote a history of Rome from the founding of the city to around 229 AD. Most of the 80 volume work exists only in fragments or quotations in other sources, but books 37-54 are largely complete and cover the period in question.

Lost sources include Livy (books 109-116).

## **Further reading**

The popularity of this period, particularly the life of Caesar, has resulted in a large number of publications aimed at the general reader. The works below are a starting point for those who wish to know more about this era of Roman history.

*From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome 133 BC to AD 68*, H. H. Scullard. Standard undergraduate text for this period, written at a level which is accessible to those with an existing background understanding of the subject.

*The Roman Republic*, Michael Crawford. Slimmer and less academic alternative to Scullard.

*The Making of the Roman Army: From Republic to Empire*, Lawrence Keppie. Comprehensive coverage of the changes in the Roman army up to the early empire. Contains a chapter covering the Marian reforms.

*Caesar*, Adrian Goldsworthy. Substantial work on the most well-known Roman. Aimed at a broad audience but backed up with a substantial number of notes and research.

*Pompey: The Roman Alexander*, Peter Greenhalgh. One of the few books dedicated to Pompey. The endnotes in particular are useful for specific events in the sources.