

Julius Caesar: Opportunist or visionary?



Chapter focus

Gaius Julius Caesar, one of the most famous political leaders in Roman history, significantly influenced the development of the ancient Western world. He is immortalised in William Shakespeare's famous play *Julius Caesar* and in modern times he is remembered in the name of the month of 'July' and the titles 'Kaiser' and 'Czar' used by absolute rulers of the twentieth century.

In this chapter you will investigate the personality of Julius Caesar and evaluate his role in the fall of the Roman Republic and the birth of the Roman Empire. You will examine the key question: 'Did Caesar see the political chaos of his time as an opportunity to further his personal ambitions for wealth and power or did he pursue a vision of a new order rising from the decaying Roman Republic?'

Focus questions

In order to develop a response to the key question you will need to consider the following focus questions:

- 1 When, where and in what historical context did Julius Caesar emerge?
- 2 What difficulties did Julius Caesar face in achieving what he did?
- 3 In what way did his actions and achievements reflect the time in which he lived?
- 4 What motivated Julius Caesar to act the way that he did?
- 5 How did Julius Caesar's actions affect Rome and the development of the ancient world?
- 6 Would Julius Caesar's actions be valued or judged in the same way if he lived now?

Important dates

100/102 BCE	Caesar is born into a patrician family.
69–68 BCE	Caesar becomes Quaestor in Spain.
65 BCE	Caesar becomes aedile. While in this position he falls into debt, entertaining the Romans with games.
63 BCE	Caesar is elected Pontifex Maximus (chief priest), the chief religious position in Rome.
62 BCE	Caesar becomes Praetor.
60 BCE	The First Triumvirate is formed.
59 BCE	Caesar becomes consul with Bibulus. He also receives command of Gaul, and embarks on campaigns to include Gaul as part of the Roman Empire.
57–53 BCE	Caesar successfully campaigns in Gaul and Britain.
52 BCE	In Rome efforts are made to allow Caesar to stand for consulship while absent.
49 BCE	Caesar crosses the Rubicon and civil war erupts.
48 BCE	Caesar is appointed dictator for a year by the Senate.
45 BCE	Caesar is appointed dictator for life by the Senate.
44 BCE	Caesar is assassinated on 15 March (Ides of March).

Terms/Concepts

■ <i>cursus honorum</i> page 37	■ patrician page 35
■ dictator page 35	■ plebeian page 35
■ empire page 35	■ republic page 35

Sources

There is a range of ancient sources that provide evidence about Julius Caesar. Caesar himself found time during his military campaigns to write *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (Commentaries on the Gallic Wars) and the *Commentarii de Bello Civili* (Commentaries on the Civil War). These were written in a simple, factual style; his account of the Gallic Wars was widely read in Rome and probably designed to build his reputation as a great general, saviour and protector of the Roman people.

Plutarch's (46–c.120 CE) *Life of Caesar* gives a detailed account of Caesar the man and the leader. The ancient historian Suetonius (70–c.160 CE) also provides accounts of Caesar's exploits in the first chapter of *The Twelve Caesars*. Much of this information is anecdotal, based frequently on reports or gossip but complements the work of Plutarch. Both authors, however, wrote a considerable time after the events took place.

Sallust (86–35 BCE) was a contemporary of Caesar and saw military service under his command. He was considered anti-republican and in his work *Bellum Catilinae* (*The War against Catiline*) he deals with the chaotic events in Rome during Caesar's rise to power.

Cicero (106–43 BCE) was another contemporary of Caesar. His personal letters, speeches and philosophical works provide a valuable insight into this turbulent period. As a philosopher, orator, statesman and staunch **republican** who was very influential in the political life of Rome, he held definite views about the Roman Republic and the changes he could see occurring around him. His background and political leanings therefore must be taken into account when considering his evidence.

Background

The century leading to the ascendancy of Julius Caesar is recognised as a period of revolution in the history of Rome. Apart from dissatisfaction in Rome brought about by widespread poverty and unemployment, Roman territorial expansion throughout Italy and bordering lands resulted in unrest in the colonies and provinces. There were also threats from hostile peoples on Rome's borders. The Republican administration, led by the Senate, proved unable to cope with these external problems without the help of armies under the leadership of talented generals. Therefore Rome saw the emergence of

powerful military leaders whose troops' true allegiance lay with their leaders rather than the Senate. Of these military leaders there are four dominant figures: Marius (157–86 BCE), Sulla (138–78 BCE), Pompey (106–48 BCE) and Julius Caesar.

Julius Caesar was born in 102 or 100 BCE into a minor **patrician** family of the Julian clan whose origins were said to derive through Aeneas (legendary founder of Rome) from the goddess Venus. Like most other young men from patrician families he began his political career at an early age and progressed steadily through the stages of political appointment. Early in his career he established himself as a popular figure among the **plebeians**. In his military campaigns in Gaul, he displayed great strategic skills and mastery of planning, and enjoyed enormous popularity with his soldiers, who formed the basis of his support when he later rose to political supremacy as **dictator** in Rome.

Source 4.1



Bust said to be portrait of Julius Caesar.

republic political system whereby the power of the state is held by the people and exercised by their elected representatives

empire extensive territory under the control of one authority

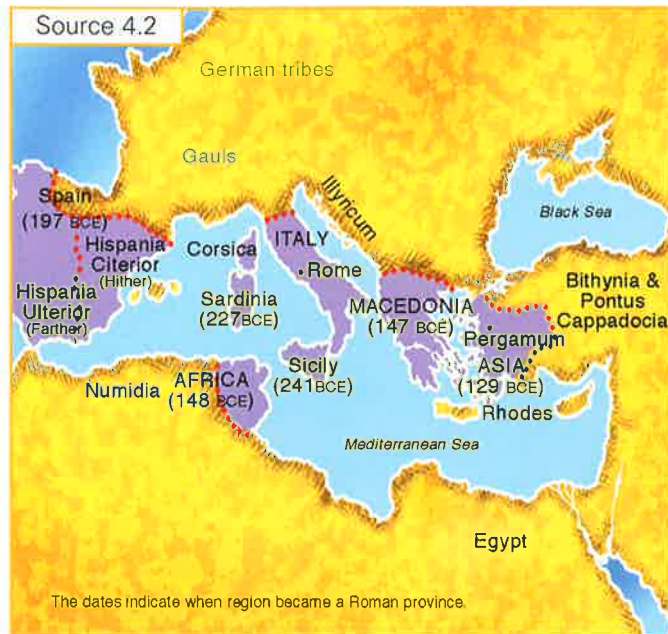
patrician noble person

plebeian common person

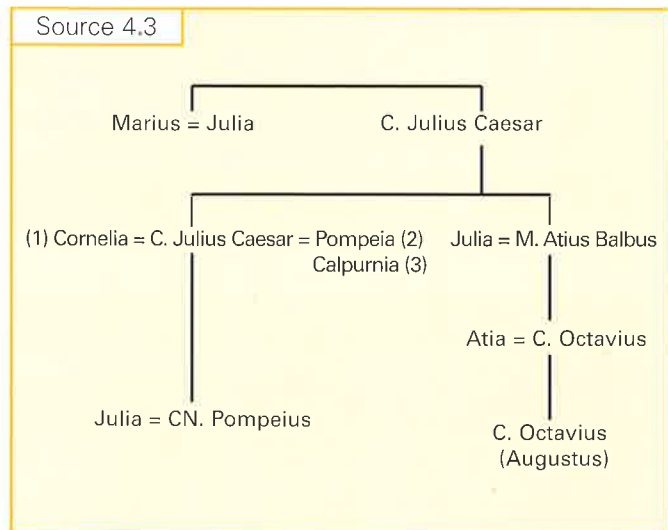
dictator ruler with supreme authority. During the Roman Republic the Senate granted the dictator complete power in times of crisis. The term did not have the modern meaning of 'tyrant'.

FYI

Marius was elected consul six times. Sulla forced his own appointment as dictator and slaughtered his opponents in what was known as the 'proscriptions'; he retired to private life in 79 BCE. Pompey formed an alliance with Caesar and wealthy businessman Crassus (the First Triumvirate), taking control of the situation in Rome. Crassus was killed in a war against Parthia (in Anatolia) at the battle of Carrhae (54 BCE). Pompey was murdered in Egypt in the course of the Civil War with Caesar (48 BCE).



The Roman world in the first century BCE—before Caesar.



Julius Caesar's family tree.

Source 4.4

Views of Caesar

Eulogy at the funeral of his aunt Julia:

'Her mother,' he said, 'was a descendant of kings ... a family founded by the Roman King Ancus Marcius, and her father, of gods—since the Julians (of which we Caesars are a branch) reckon descent from the Goddess Venus. Thus Julia's stock can claim both the sanctity of kings, who reign supreme among mortals, and the reverence due to gods, who hold even kings in their power.'

Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, translated by Robert Graves, Penguin Classics, 1957, p. 11.

At Cadiz he saw a statue of Alexander the Great in the temple of Hercules, and was overheard to sigh impatiently: vexed it seems, that at an age when Alexander had already conquered the whole world, he himself had done nothing in the least epoch-making ...

Suetonius, p. 12.

Caesar equalled, if he did not surpass, the greatest orators and generals the world had ever known.

Suetonius, p. 33.

His ability to secure the affection of his men and to get the best out of them was remarkable.

Plutarch, *Fall of the Roman Republic: Six Lives: Marius, Sulla, Crassus, Pompey, Caesar, Cicero*, translated by Rex Warner, Penguin Classics, 1984, p. 259.

Caesar ... more than any man was gifted with the power of making the right use of every factor in warfare and particularly of seizing the right moment for action.

Plutarch, p. 269.

... once the Civil Wars were over no one could charge him with doing anything amiss. Indeed it is thought perfectly right that the temple of Clemency was dedicated as a thank-offering for his humane conduct after his victory. He not only pardoned many of those who had fought against him but gave to some of them honours and offices besides ...

Plutarch, p. 297.

FYI

Alexander the Great, from a very young age, led the Hellenistic Empire to its greatest achievements. He extended the Greek world into the East and changed the nature of Greek and Hellenistic worlds.

Beginning the inquiry

Construct a table with the focus questions across the top of the table. As you work through the chapter, add notes that assist in answering the focus questions. Don't forget to reference your notes.

Critical inquiry

Refer to Source 4.1.

What is your impression of Julius Caesar's appearance?

Refer to Source 4.2.

What regions of the world did Rome control when Caesar came to power during the first century BCE?

Refer to Sources 4.3–4.4.

- 1 What evidence supports the idea that Caesar may have believed he was born to rule?
- 2 Make a list of some of Caesar's qualities as described by these sources. Next to this list identify how these qualities could have contributed to his role as leader.
- 3 What do you need to consider when using the sources by Suetonius and Plutarch to develop your understanding of Caesar?
- 4 Define the terms 'opportunist' and 'visionary'. Discuss your definitions if necessary.
- 5 What is your initial impression of Caesar—opportunist or visionary? Consider the evidence you have examined so far and keep in mind your initial view as you progress through this chapter.

Changes and continuities

Caesar came to political and military dominance in Rome during a time of great change. While he appeared to conform to many of the traditions required of someone in his position he also brought about significant change.

In the course of Caesar's political career he followed the steps outlined in the *cursus honorum*. He saw military service first in Spain and then in Gaul. He took advantage of his military service to

raise money to pay his debts and to buy the support of the masses in Rome, who looked to Caesar as the successor to their former champion Marius. Most importantly he used his spectacular military successes to enhance his fame at home.

At the close of his second term as governor of Gaul, Caesar prepared to stand for his second election to the consulship. However, the Senate feared Caesar's growing power and popularity. They saw him as a threat to themselves and to the Republic. They therefore rigorously opposed his re-election for a second term as consul and enlisted the support of Pompey. Caesar was ordered to disband his army and enter Rome as a private citizen. Caesar realised that if he obeyed the Senate he would at the very least be prosecuted as an enemy of the state. He therefore had no choice but lead his army across the Rubicon river, which formed the northern boundary between Rome and Gaul. The Senate resisted, which led to the Civil War between the Senatorial forces under Pompey and Caesar's army.



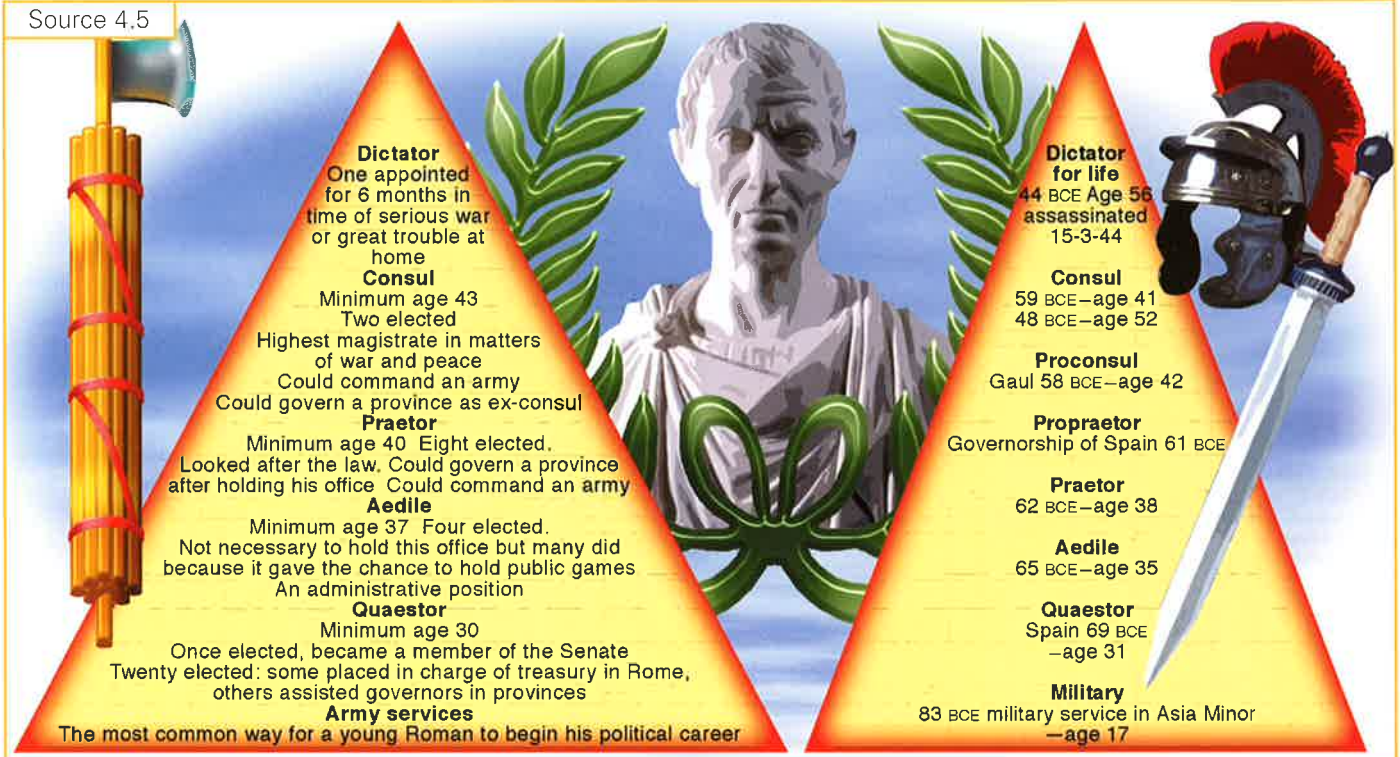
Aquila (eagle)—standard carried before the legions.

FYI

All soldiers, including the generals such as Caesar, received a basic payment in the army. Generals acquired further wealth from the booty gained from conquered towns and villages. Some of the spoils of war were shared with other officers and troops, and some were taken back to Rome.

cursus honorum order of political offices defining the minimum age for each position and the period which had to elapse between successive offices

Source 4.5



The *cursus honorum* and Caesar's political career.

Source 4.6

... when he was aedile ... what with this gladiatorial show and all his other lavish expenditure on theatrical performances, processions, and public banquets he threw into the shade all attempts at winning distinction in this way that had been made by previous holders of the office. The result was to make the people so favourably disposed towards him that every man among them was trying to find new offices and new honours to bestow upon him in return for what he had done ... He had images of Marius made in secret ... brought them to the capital by night and had them set up there ... When the Senate met to discuss the matter, Lutatius Catulus, who at that time was one of the most respected people in Rome, rose up and attacked Caesar. He ended his speech with the memorable words: 'You are no longer working underground, Caesar. Your artillery is planted in the open and it is there for the capture of the state'.

Plutarch, pp. 248, 249.

Source 4.7

Caesar and Bibulus were elected consuls ... He [Caesar] introduced an agrarian law, and when Bibulus delayed its passage through the Senate ... [Caesar] drove him from the Forum by force of arms ... He [Bibulus] felt so frustrated that he stayed at home for the rest of the term ... Caesar was thus enabled to govern alone and do very much as he pleased ...

Suetonius, pp. 16, 17.

FYI

Bibulus was Caesar's consul in January 59 BCE. He was a stupid, short-sighted and extremely obstinate senator. He opposed Caesar's proposed legislation but, finding that his opposition was useless and terrified by violence in the Forum, he withdrew to his house, where he spent the eight remaining months of his office. For all the impression he made he might just as well have abdicated. Humorists of the time dated their documents 'in the Consulship of Julius and Caesar'.

Adapted from C. E. Robinson, *A History of Rome*, 5th edn, Methuen, London, 1952, pp. 183, 184.

FYI

As consul in 59 BCE, Caesar strengthened the laws against provincial extortion and forced through legislation to give land to Pompey's veterans and impoverished citizens generally. As dictator he reorganised the calendar, reformed the corn dole, undertook ambitious public works and extended the franchise to provincial communities.

Source 4.8

[At the end of his career] not only did [Caesar] accept unconstitutional honours, such as life consulship, a life-dictatorship, a perpetual Censorship, the title 'Emperor' put before his name, and the title 'Father of his country' appended to it, also a statute standing among those of the ancient kings, and a raised couch placed in the orchestra at the Theatre; but took other honours which, as a mere mortal, he should have certainly refused ...

His third and fourth consulships were merely titular; the dictatorship conferred on him at the same time supplied all the authority he needed.

Suetonius, pp. 40, 41.

Source 4.9

Posterity will be staggered to hear and read of the military commands you have held ... And yet unless you now restore this city of ours to stability by measures of reorganization and lawgiving, your renown ... will never be able to find a settled dwelling-place or firm abode.

'Cicero: In support of Marcus Claudius Marcellus'. In *Cicero, Selected Political Speeches*, translated by Michael Grant, Penguin Classics, 1989, p. 292.

Critical inquiry

Refer to Sources 4.5–4.7.

- 1 Provide evidence from the sources to support the idea that Caesar continued with the traditional responsibilities of a person in public office in Rome in the first century BCE.
- 2 How does the progress of Caesar's career compare with the steps laid down in the *cursus honorum*?

Refer to Sources 4.6–4.8.

- 1 Consider the quote by Lutatius Catulus. Summarise what you think this meant in regard to how Caesar was beginning to be viewed in Rome. Why do you think Plutarch included this particular quote in his commentary?
- 2
 - a What changes did Caesar bring about in his positions of aedile, consul and dictator?
 - b How were these changes viewed by the common people, the Senate and the authors of these sources?
 - c Provide evidence from the sources to support your response.
- 3 Consider the methods used by Caesar in each of these positions. Who was he appealing to and what change was he trying to achieve?
- 4 'Caesar worked both within and without the system to bring about change in Rome'. Justify this statement using evidence from the sources.

Refer to Source 4.9.

What actions did Cicero suggest that Caesar should undertake? Why would he make such a suggestion?



Motives and causes

Caesar's personal ambition to become leader of Rome may have been the motive for his assuming the dictatorship for longer than set down in the constitution and his refusal to relinquish command of the army after crossing the Rubicon. He may also have wished to lead Rome into a new age of glory. What were Caesar's motives? Why did he behave in the way that he did when dealing with Roman political institutions such as the Senate and individual Senators?

Source 4.10

Also, [Caesar] is quoted as having often said: 'It is more important for Rome than for myself that I should survive. I have long been sated with power and glory; but should anything happen to, Rome will enjoy no peace. A new Civil War will break out under far worse conditions than the last.'

Suetonius, p. 48.

Source 4.11

Caesar was born to do great things and to seek constantly for distinction. His many successes, so far from encouraging him to rest and to enjoy the fruits of all his labours, only served to kindle in him fresh confidence for the future, filling his mind with projects of still greater actions and with a passion for new glory.

Plutarch, p. 298.

Source 4.12

There is a story that while crossing the Alps he came to a small native village with hardly any inhabitants. Caesar then said to them in all seriousness: 'As far as I am concerned, I would rather be the first man here than the second in Rome.'

Plutarch, pp. 254–5.

Source 4.13

Certainly Cicero ... who understood how powerful a character was hidden behind Caesar's agreeable, good-humoured manners, said that, in general, he could detect in everything that Caesar planned or undertook in politics a purpose that was aiming at absolute power.

Plutarch, p. 247.

Source 4.14

The state of Rome in the first century BCE according to Sallust: But the nobles had the more powerful organisation. Affairs at home and in the field were managed according to the will of a few men, in whose hands were the treasury, the provinces, public offices, glory and triumphs. The people were burdened with military service and poverty ... Thus, by the side of power, greed arose—unlimited and unrestrained—violated and devastated everything, respected nothing, and held nothing sacred, until it finally brought its own downfall.

Sallust, 'The War against Catiline' (*De Bellum Catilinae*), in M. Grant, *Roman Readings*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1967, p. 120.

Critical inquiry

Refer to Sources 4.10–4.12.

What impression do these sources give of Caesar and his possible motives?

Refer to Source 4.13.

- 1 According to Cicero, what were Caesar's motives for his actions?
- 2 What does this source imply about Cicero's view of Caesar's character?
- 3 What does this source suggest about Cicero's own political affiliations?

Refer to all sources.

List Caesar's possible motives as outlined in the sources and decide whether he was motivated by a desire to win glory for Rome or for himself. Collect your evidence under the following headings: Ancient Author; Suggested Motive; For Rome or for Caesar?

Effects, interests and arguments

Caesar had a significant impact on Rome. The methods he used to gain political power, his skills as a military leader and the changes he introduced when in power changed the face of Rome forever.

His campaigns in Spain and Britain and conquests in Gaul over a period of 10 years expanded the extent of Roman influence and culture. At the end of his military campaigns in Gaul he made his final challenge to the power of the Senate and the Roman Constitution by crossing the Rubicon, backed by his powerful and loyal army. This culminated in victory for Caesar and his subsequent dictatorship.

His life, however, came to an abrupt end with his assassination in 44 BCE, a desperate act by a group of staunch Republicans in a bid to save what was in fact the doomed Republic. After his assassination Rome fell under a new terror of Mark Antony and his proscriptions. Then followed a new civil war between Antony and Octavian (Caesar's nephew and heir). The victorious Octavian became Augustus, the first Roman Emperor.

Cicero had a definite view on Caesar, his dictatorship and the effect on the Republic. Modern historians, however, present a slightly different perspective on Caesar and his role in the fall of the Republic.

FYI

Mark Antony's slaughter of political opponents repeated the terror perpetrated by Sulla.

FYI

In the old Roman calendar, in the months of March, May, July and October, the fifteenth day was called the Ides. In all other months the ides was the thirteenth day. Caesar was assassinated on the Ides of March 44 BCE.

Source 4.16

Consider the paradox of a person who admits the wickedness of tyrannizing a country which was once free, and ought to be free still, but who nevertheless sees advantage in himself becoming its tyrant if he can. In the attempt to rescue him from that delusion there must be no limit to our reproaches and appeals. Who, in God's name, could possibly derive advantage from murdering his country? Of all murders that is the most hideous and repulsive: even when its perpetrator is hailed, by the citizens he has trodden underfoot, as 'Father of his Country' ... Whereas our own autocrat was hated on a far, far, wider scale. For he had actually used the armies of Rome to crush the people of Rome; he had converted our nation—a land which had been not only free itself but the ruler of other nations—into servitude to his own person.

Cicero, *On Duties*, Vol. XX, p. 80.

Source 4.15



The Roman world at the end of Caesar's reign.

Source 4.17

In spite of the gradual decay of its government during the past twenty years, this [the restoration of the Republic] came as a surprise to him, as it did to the assassins themselves.

Cicero, p. 90.

Source 4.18

But the leaders of the conspiracy were idealists, men who not only resented, as a personal thing, the imperial arrogance of Caesar, but who recognised that, with Caesar alive, autocracy would take a more and more stifling grip on Rome. They believed, in the nobility of their simple hearts, that republicanism could still be saved.

J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Julius Caesar and Rome*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1974, p. 167.

Critical inquiry

Refer to Source 4.15.

How did the Roman world change under Caesar? Refer back to Source 4.2 to assist you with your comparison.

Refer to Source 4.16.

- 1 What argument does Cicero present in regard to Caesar and his effect on the Republic?
- 2 Use your own knowledge and Source 4.16 to account for Cicero's view of Caesar. Identify words and phrases from the extract that indicate his view of the famous Roman.

Refer to Sources 4.17–4.18.

- 1 According to Grant, what was the actual state of the Republic?
- 2 What is the argument put forward by Balsdon to explain the assassins' behaviour?
- 3 How does the view of modern historians differ from that of Cicero? Why do you think there would be this different perspective/view?
- 4 Consider the concept of hindsight. How does this assist modern historians to make their assessment of historical figures?

Reflections and responses

The ancient Roman historian Livy (59 BCE – 17 CE) could not make a decision about Caesar and his impact on Rome. The question for you to consider is whether Caesar was a visionary or an opportunist. Think back to your initial impression of Caesar.

Has this impression changed since examining the evidence presented here? You need to consider all evidence you have gathered about Caesar and decide whether he was an opportunist or a visionary (or maybe even both). The following sources will help you to make your final assessment of Caesar.

FYI

Livy, a famous Roman historian born during the time of Caesar's first consulship, wrote the great history of Rome, *Ab Urbe Condita* (*From the Foundation of the City*). It consisted of 142 books, of which only 32 survive in their entirety. Fragmentary remains of the other books are known as the *Periochae*.

Source 4.19

It cannot be decided whether it was better for the commonwealth for Caesar to be born, or never to be born.

Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita Periochae*, Fragment 16.

Critical inquiry

Refer to Source 4.19.

- 1 Consider the quote from Livy's history. Why do you think he expressed this doubt about Caesar?
- 2 What if there had not been a Julius Caesar? What do you think would have happened to Rome?

Source 4.20

With immense skill he played the game of politics, using the weapons of his day to win power and pre-eminence. That he carried through so great a programme of reform in so short a time was due in part to his desire and flair for administrative efficiency which he perhaps valued more than the support of public opinion: in his last years he carried measures which could please some and displease other sections of the community. He made no attempt to bind Senators, Equites and people into a *concordia ordinum*: as long as the army was loyal, he could impose his will without courting all men. Whether his gifts as a politician were matched by his statesmanship is a question to which the Ides of March have obscured the answer. Caesar must have realized that the republic could not have revived its old form—Sulla's career and the fate of his constitution had shown that. A selfish oligarchy of nobles and capitalists, who exploited the provincials in the interests of themselves and of an idle urban mob, had failed to preserve law and peace, let alone to set their house in better order. The days of the city-state were over, and Rome must recognize her responsibilities to the non-political orders in Italy and the provinces. That Caesar's mind must have been moving towards some form of monarchy as the only practical solution of the constitutional problem is probable enough. But an outraged group of nobles, many of whom honestly but blindly identified the Republican government of their day with Liberty, prevented Caesar from revealing to the world the solution that he would have decided to apply to its ills.

H. H. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome from 133 BC to AD 68*, 5th edn, Routledge, London, 1982, pp. 152, 153.

FYI

The Equites were a class of wealthy citizens outside the Senatorial class. They were especially engaged in banking, money lending and execution of state contracts.

The *concordia ordinum* was an agreement of unity among the classes

Source 4.21

The final issue, however, on which Caesar's reputation depends is whether he was justified in usurping monarchical power. On this question no final judgment is ever likely to be passed. It is a not uncommon view (to which Caesar gave free expression in his last writings), that from the time of his entry into politics Caesar had decided to make himself king. But the actual facts of his career rather suggest that his decision to make an end of the republic came to him as an afterthought ... It seems more likely that the germs of his monarchical ambition were laid in his long term as a virtual autocrat in Gaul, and were brought to maturity during the dictatorship which was thrust upon him as a necessary consequence of the civil war.

M. Cary, *A History of Rome*, Macmillan, London, 1949, p. 418.

Source 4.22

It was this singular combination of cool judgement and fearless enterprise, of patience and impetuosity, self-control and self-assertion, opportunism and statesmanship that won for Caesar not merely the mastery of the Roman world, but the claim to have laid the foundation of the greatest imperial experiment in history.

C. E. Robinson, *A History of Rome*, 5th edn, Meuthen, London, 1952, p. 182.

Critical inquiry

Refer to Sources 4.20–4.22.

- 1 List Caesar's qualities of leadership as defined by these modern historians.
- 2 Decide which position (opportunist, visionary or both) these historians have on Caesar. You may wish to use the following headings in a table to gather your information—Historian; Position on Caesar: Opportunist/Visionary/Both?; Evidence to support view.

Culminating the inquiry

Your task now is to reach a conclusion about the key question: 'Did Caesar see the political chaos of his time as an opportunity to further his personal ambition for wealth and power or did he pursue a vision of a new order rising from the decaying Roman Empire?'

- 1 Collate your answers to the focus questions presented at the beginning of this chapter.
- 2 Frame a hypothesis statement based on your research.
- 3 Create a graphic overview or plan showing the main points to be used to prove your hypothesis.
- 4 Identify the sources of evidence you will use to support your argument. (Also, where possible, consider who presented this evidence and what influenced their position or view of Caesar.)
- 5 Prepare your argument in writing or as an oral presentation.

Review and revise

Activities

The following activities will help you to revise and extend your knowledge of Julius Caesar and his rise and fall in Rome.

- 1 Find information about Marius (who he was; his role in the Republic). Why was Caesar aligned to him? Why could he be considered significant in Caesar's rise to power?
- 2 Research information on the reforms brought in by Caesar throughout his career (see Suetonius, 'Julius Caesar' in *The Twelve Caesars*, pp. 40–4). What was the purpose of these reforms? List the possible advantages and disadvantages of the reforms to Rome and to Caesar's career.
- 3 Design a set of criteria to judge an effective leader (consider qualities of leadership and achievements). How does Julius Caesar rate using these criteria?
- 4 Compare the qualities and achievements of Caesar with modern-day dictators such as Hitler and Mussolini. Consider the motives and actions of these leaders and how they compare with those of Caesar.

Further explorations

Ancient

Cicero, *Selected Political Speeches*, translated by Michael Grant, Penguin Classics, 1989.

Plutarch, *Fall of the Roman Republic: Six Lives: Marius, Sulla, Crassus, Pompey, Caesar, Cicero*, translated by Rex Warner, Penguin Classics, 1984.

Sallust, 'The War against Catiline' (*De Bellum Catilinae*), in M. Grant, *Roman Readings*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1967.

Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, translated by Robert Graves, Penguin Classics, 1957.

Modern

Balsdon, J. P. V. D., *Julius Caesar and Rome*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1974.

Cary, A., *A History of Rome*, Macmillan, London, 1949.

Grant, M. (ed.), *Roman Readings*, Penguin, England, 1967.

Robinson, C. E., *A History of Rome*, 5th edn, Meuthen, London, 1952.

Scullard, H. H. 1982, *From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome from 133 BC to AD 68*, 5th edn, Routledge, London.

Web links

Go to hi.com.au/ancient to find website addresses for the following:

- ancient sources relating to Julius Caesar
- ancient sources relating to Rome, specifically during the period of Caesar's rise to power
- the works of Julius Caesar
- ancient and modern sources relating to Julius Caesar
- Suetonius' views and opinions of Julius Caesar
- an overview of Roman history as well as a focus on historical figures such as Julius Caesar.

