From the ‘Triumvirate’ to the Rubicon

Caesar

Pompey

Crassus

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CRASSUS

- Consul in 70 BC
- Famously Wealthy
- Rivalry with Pompey
- Support of the Equites

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JULIUS CAESAR

100 – 44 BC

- 69 – Quaestor
- 65 – Aedile
- 63 – Pontifex Maximus
- 62 – Praetor
- 61 – Propraetor (Spain)
- 59 – Consul

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Views of the Compact of 60

• Varro (116-27 BC)
  – *The Three-Headed Monster*

• Asinius Pollio (76 BC – AD 4)
  – Lost *Historiae* covering period 60 to 42 BC
Plutarch, *Crassus* 14:

… he (Caesar) saw that Pompey and Crassus were once more at odds with each other. He therefore did not wish to make one of them an enemy by asking the aid of the other, nor did he have any hope of success if neither of them helped him. Accordingly, he tried to reconcile them…He persuaded the, reconciled them, and won them both to his support, and constituted with that triumvirate an irresistible power, with which he overthrew the senate and the people…

From *Plutarch’s Lives*. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. This material is in the public domain.
Plutarch, *Pompey 47*:

For those opposing forces which, as in a vessel, prevented the city from rocking to and fro, were united into one, thereby giving to faction an irresistible momentum that overpowered and overthrew everything. At all events, Cato, when men said that the state had been overturned by the quarrel which afterwards arose between Caesar and Pompey, declared that they wrongly laid the blame on what merely happened last; for it was not their discord nor yet their enmity, but their concord and harmony which was the first and greatest evil to befall the city.

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After this Pompey filled the city with soldiers and carried everything with a high hand. As Bibulus the consul was going down into the forum with Lucullus and Cato, the crowd fell upon them and broke the fasces of his lictors, and somebody threw a basket of ordure all over the head of Bibulus himself, and two of the tribunes who were escorting him were wounded. When they had thus cleared the forum of their opponents, they passed the law concerning the distribution of lands…. 

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55 BC
Consulship of Crassus & Pompey

Lex Licinia-Pompeia
  • Five-year extension of Caesar’s command in Gaul

Bills of tribune Trebonius
  • Five-year command in Spain for Pompey
  • Five-year command in Syria for Crassus
The Buildup to 49
51 BC

M. Claudius Marcellus

Ser. Sulpicius Rufus

M. Marcellus:

• Rejection of Caesar’s request for extension of *imperium* to end of 49

• Proposes recalling and replacing Caesar, since war now over – Vetoed

• Convinces Senate to agree to discuss successor for Caesar in Gaul on March 1, 50 BC
50 BC

C. Claudius Marcellus
L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus

March:
- Tribune Curio vetoes any decision on a replacement for Caesar

April:
- Pompey proposes Caesar hand over army and provinces in November
- Vetoed by Curio

May:
- Caesar and Pompey ordered to contribute one legion each for Parthia
  - Both legions from Caesar’s 10 – end up in Italy

December:
- Curio proposes both Caesar and Pompey dismiss their armies
  - Senate votes 370 to 22 in favor
  - Marcellus prevents resolution
- Marcellus calls on Pompey to save the Republic
January 1:
- Tribune M. Antony re-proposes Caesar’s offer of mutual disarmament
  - Consuls and Pompey refuse to allow a vote
- Metellus Scipio proposes Caesar be declared public enemy if he refuses to hand over command (by March 1?)
  - Vetoed by M. Antony

January 7:
- Tribunes Antony and Q. Cassius warned to leave the senate
- *Senatus consultum ultimum*

January 11-12:
- Caesar crosses the Rubicon
“They have seduced Pompey and led him astray, through jealous belittling of my merits; and yet I have always supported Pompey, and helped him to secure advancement and reputation. A precedent has been created in government; in the recent past, armed force restored the tribunes’ veto; now armed force is repressing and overriding it…The decree calling upon the magistrates to act to save the State from harm…was never passed before now except in the case of pernicious legislation, or violence by tribunes, or a mutiny of the people, when the temples and heights commanding the city were seized; and these earlier precedents were atoned for by the fates of Saturninus and the Gracchi. But in the present instance, none of these things has taken place, or even been contemplated; there has been no law proposed, no attempt to appeal to the people, no mutiny.

I have been your commander for nine years; under my leadership, your efforts on Rome’s behalf have been crowned with good fortune; you have won countless battles and have pacified the whole of Gaul and Germany. Now, I ask you to defend my reputation (existimatio) and standing (dignitas) against the assaults of my enemies.”

*The Civil War* by Caesar. Translated by Jane P. Gardner. Penguin Classics, 1976. © Penguin Classics. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see [https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/](https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/).
[Caesar intended] to resort to war if the senate took any drastic action against the tribunes of the commons who interposed vetoes in his behalf. Now this was his excuse for the civil war, but it is believed that he had other motives. Gnaeus Pompeius used to declare that since Caesar’s own means were not sufficient to complete the works which he had planned, nor to do all that he had led the people to expect on his return, he desired a state of general unrest and turmoil…
Others say that he dreaded the necessity of rendering an account for what he had done in his first consulship contrary to the auspices and the laws, and regardless of vetoes; for Marcus Cato often declared, and took oath too, that he would impeach Caesar the moment he had disbanded his army. It was openly said too that if he was out of office on his return, he would be obliged, like Milo, to make his defence in a court hedged about by armed men.

The latter opinion is the more credible one in view of the assertion of Asinius Pollio, that when Caesar at the battle of Pharsalus saw his enemies slain or in flight, he said, word for word: ‘They would have it so. Even I, Gaius Caesar, after so many great deeds, should have been found guilty, if I had not turned to my army for help.’

From Suetonius: The Lives of the Twelve Caesars. Translated by J.C. Rolfe. This material is in the public domain.