

## Supplementary Tables to accompany

“At What Hour did the Murderers of Julius Caesar Gather on the Ides of March 44 B.C.?”

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ed. Stephan Heilen et al. (Olms, 2008), 351-63.

“**Sunrise Meetings**” (p. 2) presents in tabular form every scrap of evidence that has been adduced by Mommsen, Willems and their successors (e.g. Talbert, Bonnefond-Choudry) to support the claim that meetings of the Roman senate were routinely convened at sunrise. O’Brien Moore in his *Pauly* article “Senatus” states more circumspectly that the senate *could* meet at sunrise, not that it did so as a matter of course (Suppl. 6.702).

Square brackets [ ] enclose three entries (#’s 4, 14, 16) that must be set aside as disqualified evidence.

A ? is placed next to three entries (#’s 5, 6, 10) where the language does not specifically point to dawn but refers generally to “the morning.”

I thank Timothy Barnes for calling my attention to Dio 74.1.4 (#15).

I thank John Briscoe for pointing out, per litteras, (1) that O’Brien Moore should be exempted from the strictures in my n. 20, and (2) that *prima luce* in Livy 36.21.6 (#4) is to be construed with *vocavit* (the praetor’s summons), meaning that “it would have taken some hours for the message to go round and for all the senators to arrive.”

The following meetings, in chronological order, are known most definitely NOT to have taken place in the early morning but late in the afternoon:

- |  |                         |                   |
|--|-------------------------|-------------------|
| (a.) <b>100 B.C.</b> (Jan.?), 10 <sup>th</sup> hour (c. 3 PM) to force a vote on last day of deadline set by Saturninus’ law | App. <i>B Civ.</i> 1.30 | ἀμφὶ δεκάτην ὥραν |
| (b.) <b>57 B.C.</b> (Dec.), late in the day, to press for Clodius to stand trial   | Cic. <i>Qfr.</i> 2.1.1  | <i>sero</i>       |
| (c.) <b>52 B.C.</b> (Jan.) in the afternoon, after burning of senate-house in riots sparked by Clodius’ murder               | Dio 40.49.5             | τῆς δείλης        |

“**TIMETABLE**” (p. 3) gives an hour-by-hour schedule for events on the Ides of March as reconstructed in the above paper.

## Sunrise Meetings of the Senate

Mommsen, *Staatsr.* 3.2.920: nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 14  
 Willems, *Le Sénat*: p. 147: nos. 1, 2, 5, 16  
 Butler-Carey, ed. Suet. *Iul.* p. 147: no. 13

### \* Sunrise WAR: Deliberation of Measures to be taken

- (1) **217 B.C.**: 2<sup>nd</sup> Punic War; series of emergency meetings to select new commander after defeat at Lake Trasimene (21 June)  
 Liv. 22.7.14 *ab orto usque ad occidentem solem*
- (2) **207 B.C.**: 2<sup>nd</sup> Punic War; day-long vigils to await outcome of Battle of Metaurus (22 June)  
 Liv. 27.50.4 *ab orto sole ad occidentem*
- (3) **43 B.C.** (2 Jan.): continuation of debate broken off at nightfall: crisis of Mark Antony besieging D. Brutus at Mutina in Cisalpine Gaul  
 App. *B Civ.* 3.50 ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα

### \* Sunrise RECEIPT OF NEWS: Arrival of Messenger

- [(4) **191 B.C.**: to hear report of M. Cato, who arrived shortly before dawn, concerning Roman victory at Battle of Thermopylae (late April) in war against Antiochus and Aetolians]  
 Liv. 36.21.6 *summons* sent *prima luce* (assembly some hrs. later)
- ? (5) **168 B.C.**: 3<sup>rd</sup> Macedonian War; news of victory at Battle of Pydna (22 June) arrives  
 Liv. 45.2.3-4 *hora fere secunda* (senate already in session)
- ? (6) **44 B.C.** (20 Dec.): edict arrives from D. Brutus announcing his intention not to hand over Gaul to Mark Antony  
 Cic. *Fam.* 11.6.3 *mane*
- (7) **A.D. 31** (18 Oct.): Macro brings long letter from Capri, resulting in arrest & execution of Sejanus  
 Dio 58.9.4 ἅμα τῆ ἕω

### \* Sunrise CIVIL UNREST

- (8) **439 B.C.**: Dictator Cincinnatus: crisis precipitated by the plebeian leader Maelius  
 Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 12.2.1 ἔωθεν ἔτι
- (9) **121 B.C.** (Jan.?): violence precipitated by partisans of C. Gracchus  
 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 14.1 ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα
- ? (10) **91 B.C.** (Ides (13) of Sept.): turbulence caused by the tribune Livius Drusus  
 Cic. *De orat.* 3.1.2 *mane*
- (11) **63 B.C.** (21 Oct.): Catilinarian conspiracy; morning after delivery of letters warning of a massacre  
 Plut. *Cic.* 15.4 ἅμ' ἡμέρα
- (12) **63 B.C.** (3 Dec.): Catilinarian conspiracy; morning after arrest of Catiline's co-conspirators  
 Plut. *Cic.* 19.1 ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα
- (13) **44 B.C.** (17 Mar.): to resolve the crisis precipitated by Caesar's murder  
 App. *B Civ.* 2.126 ἔτι πρὸ ἡμέρας
- [(14) **44 B.C.** (18 Mar.): further (**apocryphal**) debate to resolve crisis precipitated by Caesar's murder]  
 Plut. *Brut.* 19.4 ἅμα δ' ἡμέρα
- (15) **A.D. 193** (1 Jan.): Pertinax enters senate before daybreak to be appointed emperor after the murder of Commodus the night before  
 Dio 74.1.4 νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης

### 3<sup>rd</sup> Hour? ROUTINE AGENDA

- [(16) **44 B.C. (Ides (15) of Mar.)**: to debate Antony's obstruction of Dolabella's election]  
 Dio 44.16.2 ἅμα ἕω (conspirators gather, NOT whole senate)

## TIMETABLE

### Ides of March 44 B.C.

HR 1 (sunrise-7 AM)	<p>Trebonius and some conspirators arrive in Campus Martius (Dio 44.16.2).</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">D. Brutus conceals gladiators off portico.</p> <p>Caesar &amp; Spurrina meet at house of Calvinus (Val. Max. 8.11.2).</p> <p>M. Brutus sets out for house of Cassius (Plut. <i>Brut.</i> 14.4) .</p>
HR 2 (7-8 AM)	<p>Caesar, Spurrina &amp; Calvinus perform sacrifice on Capitoline(?).</p> <p>Brutus, Cassius &amp; family perform sacrifice on Capitoline.<sup>1</sup></p> <p>Brutus, Cassius &amp; others leave for Campus Martius.</p> <p>Caesar detained at home by poor health, ill-omened sacrifices.</p>
HR 3 (8-9 AM)	<p><u>Approximate hour at which senate was expected to meet: <i>cras mane</i>.</u></p> <p>[Brutus &amp; Cassius <i>supposedly</i> hear legal disputes while waiting.]</p> <p>Various senators alarm conspirators with fears of detection.</p>
HR 4 (9-10 AM)	<p>Gathered senators learn that Caesar may cancel the meeting.</p> <p>Conspirators send D. Brutus to persuade Caesar to come.</p>
HR 5 (10-11 AM)	<p>Caesar leaves his house in the Forum (Suet. <i>Iul.</i> 81.4)</p>

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<sup>1</sup> It appears that the toga virilis ceremony commonly included a sacrifice on the Capitoline (Val. Max. 5.4.4; Suet. *Claud.* 2.2; cf. App. BCiv. 5.4.4).