

THE IDES OF MARCH

Rome, 16 March 44 BC · Fifteen seats, one question



A COMPLETE UNIT

Eight readings, eight documents, four activities,
fifteen senator dossiers and three rubrics

Write your class list here

BEFORE THE IDES

Everything you need is in here. Read it before anybody plays anybody.

Rome, 44 BC. You cannot play that room until you know what was in it.

THE SENATE OF THIS CLASSROOM

Fifteen seats. Five Liberators, five Caesarians, five Neutrals.

Fifteen of you. Fifteen Romans. In a few weeks one of these names stops being yours for ninety minutes.

Name	Senator

THERE IS A TEST

At the end there is a closed-book test on the terms, the people and the timeline. You are being told now so nobody can say they did not know. Every reading check in here is a piece of it.

YOU ARE NOT GOING TO BE YOURSELF

How this works, and why it feels strange at first.

In a few weeks you will be handed an envelope with a Roman name on it. From the moment you open it, in that room, you are that person.

Read this page once and then move on. You do not need to understand all of it yet, because you will not get your envelope for another three weeks or so, and we will go through it properly on the day. For now you just need to know that this is coming.

This is different from the ivory committee. There you spoke for a country, and a country is an idea. Here you speak for a man who had a mother, a house, debts, enemies, and something to lose in the next twenty four hours. He also had opinions you may find repellent, and your job is to argue them properly anyway.

BEFORE YOU WORRY ABOUT WHICH NAME YOU GET

Some of these senators are famous and some are not. That has nothing to do with how well you can play them, and nothing to do with your grade.

A quiet senator with one legion outside the walls shapes a room without raising his voice. A man whose vote is openly for sale gets courted by both sides all afternoon. Somebody nobody has heard of can ask the question that changes the vote.

You are assessed on what you do with the person you are given, not on who you were given. The best delegate in the room is regularly somebody holding a name that nobody recognized at the start.

WHAT IS IN YOUR ENVELOPE

A PUBLIC section. Your name, your family, your offices, your reputation. Everybody in the room may learn this. You can say it out loud on the first day.

A PRIVATE section. What you actually want, what you are frightened of, who owes you, and in some cases what you have already done. Nobody else gets to see this page. Not your best friend. Not the person sitting next to you.

THE THREE RULES

1. You never read your private section aloud and you never hand it to anybody. You may tell people what is in it. You may also lie about what is in it. That is not cheating, it is the game.
2. Nothing your character says is something you personally believe. If your senator argues that the killers should be executed, that is him talking. Everybody in the room knows this, including me.
3. You stay in character until the session ends. If you need to say something as yourself, raise a hand and say so first.

THE QUESTION ON THE TABLE

One thing. Everything else follows from it.

It is 16 March 44 BC. Yesterday, in this building, twenty three men put knives into the most powerful person in the world. They are sitting on the Capitoline Hill right now. The Senate has been called.

Were they liberators or were they murderers?

If the Senate says liberators, they walk free and Caesar is declared a tyrant, and everything he ever signed is in doubt. If the Senate says murderers, they are tried and executed, and Caesar's men take the city. If the Senate says nothing at all, somebody else decides for you.

THE TWO CASES, SIDE BY SIDE

Everything the room will argue about, on one page. Come back to this.

You will read eight pieces of history before anybody hands you a name. This page is what all of that reading is FOR. Both columns are arguments a real Roman made in 44 BC, and both of them are serious.



Left: why Caesar had to be stopped. Right: why he should have lived. Neither side is the stupid one, and any delegate who treats the other column as obviously wrong is going to lose an argument on the day.

ONE THING TO CHECK ON IT

The banner on the right says one million citizens. Rome had roughly a million people living in it, but not all of them were citizens, and Caesar's will left money to citizens only. Treat that number as an argument rather than a fact, and see whether you can pin down a better one by the end of the packet.

READING ONE • A REPUBLIC, NOT A MONARCHY

How Rome governed itself for five hundred years before Caesar broke it.



The Capitoline Wolf. Romans told themselves their city was founded by twin brothers raised by a wolf, one of whom killed the other. They were not sentimental about where they came from.

The Romans hated kings.

In 509 BC they threw out their last one. His name was Tarquinius Superbus, which the Romans meant as an insult. SUPERBUS means arrogant. Tarquin the Arrogant.

The Romans said he had taken the throne by having the previous king murdered. They said he ruled without asking the **Senate**, executed men who criticized him, and treated the city as his personal property. The final straw, in the story Romans told each other for centuries, was that his son attacked a noblewoman named Lucretia, and the city rose up.

Historians are not sure how much of that is true. What matters is that every Roman believed it. For the next five hundred years, being called a king was the fastest way to end a career, or a life. The system that replaced the monarchy was built around one idea: never let one person hold that much power again.

They called it the **res publica**, the public thing. We call it the Republic. It was not a democracy in the way you would recognize. The rich had more votes than the poor, women could not vote at all, and slavery was everywhere. But power was shared, split up, and slowed down on purpose.

Roman society was split into two groups, and you will meet both words constantly from here on.

PATRICIAN	A member of the old aristocratic families. Around a hundred families claimed descent from the men who founded Rome. They were born into it. You could not become one. Brutus, Caesar and Lepidus were all patricians.
PLEBEIAN	Everybody else who was a Roman citizen. Not slaves, not foreigners. Ordinary citizens, and some of them were extremely rich. Cicero, Antony and Cassius were all plebeians. Being plebeian did not mean being poor. It meant not being born into the old families.

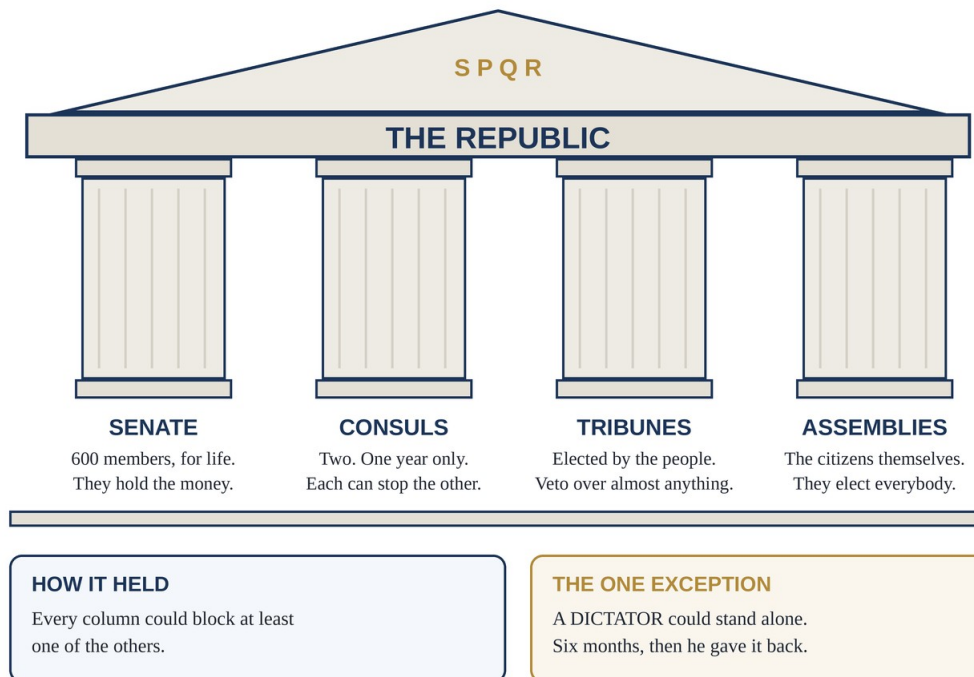
The Romans were not squeamish about the word tyrant. They used it constantly, and they meant something specific by it. A **rex**, a king, was not simply a bad ruler. A rex was somebody who held power that did not come from anywhere except himself, and who could not be removed at the end of

a year by a vote. You could be enormously powerful in Rome and not be a rex. You could be popular, rich, decorated, commanding armies. What you could not do was keep it.

How it was supposed to work

Nobody could act alone

The Republic was a building held up by four columns. Take one away and it leans.



THE SENATE	The central body. Traditionally around 600 members, mostly former officials, and senators for life. They debated policy, controlled the treasury, sent ambassadors and gave advice that magistrates ignored at their peril. By 44 BC Caesar had expanded it to around 900 by packing it with his own supporters, including men from Gaul, which the old families hated.
THE CONSULS	Two elected every year. Always two, never one. They commanded the armies and ran the government, and each could veto the other. After their year they were finished, and could not stand again for ten years.
THE TRIBUNES	Elected by the common people, the plebeians, to protect them from the aristocracy. A tribune could veto almost any government act. They were also sacrosanct, meaning harming one was a religious crime.
THE ASSEMBLIES	Several popular assemblies where citizens voted on laws, elected magistrates and declared war. The voting was weighted toward the wealthy, but the people did vote.

THE ONE EXCEPTION

There was one office that broke all the rules on purpose. In an emergency the Republic could appoint a **dictator**: one man, absolute authority, no colleague, no veto. But only for six months, and then he gave it back. The office existed precisely because everybody agreed it had to be temporary.

Hold onto that. It is the single most important word in this unit, and it does not mean what it

means today.

In theory nobody had unchecked power. The **consuls** checked the Senate. The tribunes could veto the consuls. The assemblies elected everybody. The Senate provided continuity because its members never left. Power was fragmented, shared and slow.

And for a long time it worked. Rome grew from a city into an empire while still governing itself like a city. That was the problem. A system designed to run one town was now running the entire Mediterranean, and by the first century BC it was cracking.

Three things broke at once, and they fed each other.

One. The armies stopped belonging to Rome

For most of the Republic, Roman soldiers were property-owning farmers called up for a campaign who then went home. Around 107 BC a general named Marius opened the legions to men who owned nothing. It solved a recruitment crisis and created a much bigger one. A soldier with no farm to go back to needed his general to get him land at the end of his service, and only the general could do that. So the soldier's loyalty followed the man who could pay him, not the state that had sent him.

By Caesar's day a Roman general commanded troops who would follow him against Rome itself, because Rome had given them nothing and he had given them everything.

Two. Politics became violent

In 133 BC a tribune named Tiberius Gracchus tried to redistribute public land to the poor. A group of senators beat him to death in the street with clubs and broken furniture. Twelve years later his younger brother Gaius, trying to finish the same program, was hunted through the city and died rather than be taken, and around three thousand of his supporters were killed afterward. Before the Gracchi, Roman politics had been vicious but not usually fatal. After them, killing your opponents was an available move, and everybody knew it.

Three. Somebody proved the army could win

Marius and then Sulla each marched a Roman army into Rome. Sulla did it twice, made himself **dictator** with no time limit in 82 BC, and published lists of names of men to be killed and their property seized. Thousands died, and buying a dead man's estate cheaply made several families rich. The lesson everybody drew was simple. The rules were only as strong as the nearest legion.

YOU HAVE SEEN THIS SYSTEM BEFORE

When the Americans wrote their constitution in 1787, they copied a lot of this on purpose. They had all read about Rome.

The word SENATE comes straight from the Latin senatus. Capitol Hill is named after the Capitoline Hill, where the conspirators will run to in a few pages. The eagle on American seals is a Roman eagle. Splitting power so that nobody can act alone is the Roman idea, copied deliberately.

The men who wrote the Federalist Papers even signed them PUBLIUS, after one of the Romans who helped throw out the last king in 509 BC. And when George Washington gave up command instead of keeping it, Americans compared him to Cincinnatus, which is why there is a city called Cincinnati.

They were also frightened of the thing this whole unit is about. Term limits exist partly because

of the man you are about to meet.

So by 60 BC the Republic still had all of its machinery. The consuls were elected, the tribunes vetoed things, the assemblies voted. It simply no longer had the thing underneath, which was a general agreement that losing an argument was survivable.

The Republic did not fall because one man was ambitious. It had been breaking for seventy years. Then one man walked through the gap.

Before you go on, write one sentence saying what each of the four did. One sentence for all four, not one each.

	WHAT IT DID	WHO COULD STOP IT
The Senate		
The Consuls		
The Tribunes		
The Assemblies		

CHECK YOURSELF • READING ONE

Closed book. Fill the gaps, then circle one letter for each question.

PART A • Fill in the blank

1. Rome threw out its last king in _____ BC, and spent the next five hundred years making sure it never had another one.
2. The two most senior officials were the _____, and there were always _____ of them at a time.
3. A _____ could veto almost any act of government, and his person was legally sacred.
4. In an emergency Rome could appoint a _____, who held total power for _____ months and then gave it back.
5. The word _____ meant king, and calling a Roman one was the fastest way to end his career.

PART B • Circle one

1. What was the Republic built to prevent?
 - a) A foreign invasion
 - b) One person holding total power
 - c) A slave rebellion
 - d) The loss of the grain supply

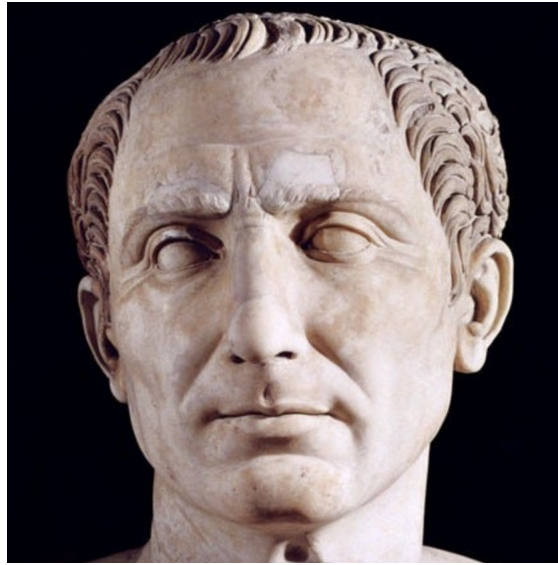
2. Which office could block almost any act of government, and was protected by religious law?
 - a) The Senate
 - b) The consuls
 - c) The tribunes
 - d) The assemblies

3. Why was the dictatorship considered safe?
 - a) The dictator was elected by the people
 - b) Two men held it at once
 - c) It lasted six months and then ended
 - d) The Senate could overrule him

4. What is the best summary of Reading One?
 - a) Rome was a democracy like ours
 - b) Rome shared power on purpose and slowed itself down
 - c) Rome was ruled by its army
 - d) Rome had no written rules

READING TWO • THE MAN WHO BROKE IT

Caesar, from the Rubicon to Dictator for Life.



A marble bust of Caesar. Roman portrait sculpture of this period did not flatter people. The receding hairline, the lines around the mouth and the thin neck are all there on purpose, because looking like a serious man who had worked hard was the fashion.

Gaius Julius Caesar was born in 100 BC into an old **patrician** family that had money problems and very little recent power. He was clever, charming, enormously in debt, and in a hurry.

He was also not a nobody. His aunt Julia had married Marius, the general who opened the legions and later marched on Rome. That connection nearly got the young Caesar killed during Sulla's Proscriptions. He refused an order from Sulla to divorce his wife, went into hiding, and survived on the intervention of relatives. Sulla is supposed to have said afterward that in that one boy there were many Mariuses. Whether he said it or not, Caesar grew up knowing exactly what the men in charge were capable of.

In 60 BC he made a private deal with the two most powerful men in Rome: Pompey, the greatest general of the age, and Crassus, the richest man in the city. Historians call it the **First Triumvirate**. It was not an office and it was not legal. It was three men agreeing to get each other what they wanted, and the Senate could do nothing about it because between them they controlled the votes, the money and the soldiers. It worked. Caesar got the consulship for 59 BC, and then command of Gaul.

Eight years in Gaul



A French painting from 1899 showing the Gallic leader Vercingetorix surrendering to Caesar. Painted nineteen centuries later, by a Frenchman, about the defeat of his own ancestors. Ask yourself what he wanted you to feel.

From 58 to 50 BC Caesar conquered **Gaul**, roughly modern France and Belgium. He wrote his own account of it and sent it back to Rome in instalments, which is one reason we know so much about it and one reason we should be careful about what we think we know.

The campaign made him famous, extremely rich, and gave him something more dangerous than either: an army of veterans who had followed him for eight years and would follow him anywhere.

It also cost an enormous number of lives. Ancient writers give figures in the high hundreds of thousands killed and comparable numbers enslaved. Those numbers are almost certainly inflated, because ancient writers inflated everything, and because Caesar himself was the main source. But nobody, ancient or modern, thinks it was small. One Roman senator, Cato, argued in the Senate that Caesar should be handed over to the Gauls for what he had done. That went nowhere, but it tells you the conquest was controversial in Rome at the time, not only to us.

Meanwhile Crassus died on campaign in the east in 53 BC, and the deal that held the three men together died with him. Pompey drifted toward the Senate and the old families. They wanted Caesar to come home, give up his army, and stand trial for things he had done as consul.

The river

Here is the part people miss. Caesar did not want a war in 49 BC, and neither did most of the Senate. He wanted to come home, stand for consul a second time, and be safe from prosecution. His enemies wanted him to come home as a private citizen so they could put him on trial and finish him. Various compromises were floated where both he and Pompey would give up their commands together. They kept almost working.

In January 49 BC Caesar brought his army to the **Rubicon**, a small river marking the northern boundary of Italy. A Roman general was forbidden to bring an army across it. Crossing meant civil war, and there was no version of crossing that was not treason. He crossed.

He is supposed to have said *alea iacta est*, the die is cast, meaning the dice have been thrown and cannot be taken back. Like most famous lines in this unit, the wording comes from a writer more than a century later. What is certain is that he had one legion with him at the time, roughly five thousand men, against the entire weight of the Roman state. Within two months Pompey and most of the Senate had fled Italy without fighting.

The war lasted four years. The decisive battle came in Greece in 48 BC, at a place called **Pharsalus**, where Caesar beat Pompey badly despite having a smaller army. Pompey fled to Egypt and was

murdered as he stepped off the boat. Caesar spent three more years hunting down the last of the opposition.

Then he came home and started governing. This is where the trouble begins, because Caesar was, by most measures, good at it.



A silver denarius of 44 BC. CAESAR is written down the right side. He is the first living Roman to put his own face on money, which is one of the reasons people started using the word king.

He also did something his opponents found genuinely unnerving. He forgave people. After Pharsalus he pardoned the senators who had fought against him, gave many of them offices back, and made a public policy of it. Brutus, Cassius and a dozen others in that Senate chamber on the Ides were alive because Caesar had chosen not to kill them.

That sounds like mercy, and it partly was. It was also a demonstration. A man who can execute you and chooses not to has shown you, in front of everybody, that your life is now something he owns. Some of them never forgave him for it.



The same man, split down the middle. Everything on the left is true. Everything on the right is also true. That is the whole problem.

WHAT ROMANS LIKED	WHAT ROMANS FEARED
He settled his veterans on land instead of leaving them poor.	He was appointed dictator over and over, not once in an emergency.
He reformed the calendar, which was badly broken, into one close to the one you use.	He expanded the Senate to around 900 and filled the new seats with his own men.
He reformed debt and the grain dole.	He put his own face on coins, which living Romans did not do.
He pardoned enemies instead of killing them, including Brutus.	Statues, titles and honors piled up until they looked like the trappings of a king.

Two words

In February 44 BC, Caesar was made DICTATOR PERPETUO. Dictator for life. The office that existed to be temporary was now permanent. The word every Roman had been taught to fear had been kept, and the one thing that made it safe had been removed.

That same month, at a festival called the **Lupercalia**, Mark Antony publicly offered Caesar a crown. Caesar refused it. Ancient writers disagree completely about what that moment meant. Some say Caesar was testing the crowd and did not like what he heard. Some say Antony was testing Caesar. Some say the whole thing was staged so that Caesar could be seen refusing.

What is not in doubt is that by March 44 BC a large number of senators had concluded two things. That Caesar intended to make himself king in fact if not in name, and that nothing left in the Republic could stop him.

He was also about to leave. A campaign against the Parthian Empire, in what is now Iraq and Iran, was due to depart within days. Once he was gone with an army, he would be out of reach for years.

CHECK YOURSELF • READING TWO

Closed book. Fill the gaps, then circle one letter for each question.

PART A • Fill in the blank

1. From 58 to 50 BC he conquered _____, roughly modern France and Belgium.
2. In 49 BC he crossed the _____ with an army, which was treason.
3. In February 44 BC he took the title _____, meaning dictator for life.

PART B • Circle one

- 1.** Caesar pardoned enemies who had fought against him. Why did some Romans find that frightening rather than generous?
 - a) It cost the treasury too much money
 - b) A man who can kill you and chooses not to has shown you he owns your life
 - c) The pardoned men were not trustworthy
 - d) It was against Roman religious law

- 2.** He kept the old word DICTATOR instead of inventing a new title. What did that buy him?
 - a) Nobody knew what the word meant
 - b) It was a religious office nobody could challenge
 - c) An extraordinary power sounded like a normal one
 - d) It was cheaper than a coronation

- 3.** Before Caesar, Roman coins showed gods and long-dead ancestors. What was he claiming by putting his own face there?
 - a) That he was wealthy enough to pay for it
 - b) That he belonged in the same category as gods and ancestors
 - c) That he controlled the treasury
 - d) That the old designs were out of date

DOCUMENT • A PICTURE IS A SOURCE TOO

Two images, two questions each. No words to hide behind.

Everything you have analyzed so far had sentences in it. These two do not. That makes them harder, not easier, because an image never tells you outright what it wants you to think.

HOW TO READ AN IMAGE

Ask who is in the middle, who is above, and who is on the floor. Ask who is looking at whom. Ask what has been left out. An artist chooses every one of those things, and none of them is an accident.

VISUAL SOURCE A • FRANCE, 1899

A surrender, painted nineteen centuries after it happened.



Lionel Royer, Vercingetorix Throws Down His Arms at the Feet of Caesar, 1899. Painted by a Frenchman, for a French audience, about the defeat of the Gauls, whom the French of 1899 had come to think of as their ancestors.

Caesar is sitting down and Vercingetorix is up on a horse. So who looks more powerful here, and why do you think the painter did that?

France lost this war. So why paint it in 1899?

VISUAL SOURCE B • ROME, ABOUT 20 BC

The winner, in bronze, telling you how to feel about him.



A statue of Augustus, Caesar's adopted heir, made during his own lifetime. He is shown young, athletic, barefoot and in armor, with one arm raised as if addressing troops. He lived to be seventy five.

He was not young when this was made. Why show him young?	
Barefoot, in armor, was how Romans showed gods and heroes. What is that claiming?	
Compare this with the coin of Caesar in Reading Two. What did Augustus learn from what happened to Caesar?	
Is this evidence, propaganda, or both? Defend your answer.	

Augustus held more power than Caesar ever did and was never killed for it. Part of the reason is in this statue. Caesar put his own face on money and let people call him dictator for life. Augustus called himself first citizen and had himself carved as a soldier addressing his men. Same power, quieter packaging.

IF YOU MISSED THE LESSON

What the class worked out about the two images. Read it after you have tried them.

Do not read this page until you have filled in the two tables yourself. If you read the answers first you will learn nothing from this.

SOURCE A	WHAT THE CLASS WORKED OUT
Who is higher	Vercingetorix is higher, on a horse, in the light. Caesar is seated and in shadow. The painter gave the loser the better position on purpose.
Who looks powerful	Most people say Vercingetorix. He is bigger, brighter and moving. Caesar is still and unimpressed, which is its own kind of power, but he is not where your eye goes first.
Why paint it in 1899	France had lost a war to Germany in 1871 and was thinking hard about national pride. A painting about a brave French ancestor losing with dignity was useful. It is about 1899 far more than it is about 52 BC.
What it can tell us	About 52 BC, almost nothing. Nobody alive in 1899 was there. About 1899, a great deal. It shows what the French wanted defeat to look like, which is noble rather than humiliating.

SOURCE B	WHAT THE CLASS WORKED OUT
Why show him young	Because a statue is not a photograph. It is an argument. A young Augustus is a strong Augustus, and strength is what he is selling.
Barefoot in armor	Bare feet were how Romans showed gods and heroes. Armor shows a soldier. Together they claim he is both, which is a very large claim to make without saying a word.
Next to Caesar's coin	Caesar put his face on money, let people call him dictator for life, and was killed. Augustus called himself first citizen and had himself carved addressing troops. Same power, quieter wrapping, and he died in bed at seventy five.
Evidence or propaganda	Both, and that is the useful answer. It is propaganda, which makes it excellent evidence of what Augustus wanted Romans to believe about him.

DOCUMENT • A PAINTING IS NOT EVIDENCE

How later ages pictured it, and why that matters.

You have probably seen this image, or something like it, before you ever read a word about Rome. That is the problem with it.



Vincenzo Camuccini, The Death of Julius Caesar, painted around 1806. Roughly 1850 years after the event.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH IT

Caesar is standing, upright and heroic, at the center. The sources say he was caught off guard, stabbed twenty-three times in a crush of men, and ended up on the floor at the foot of a statue.

The room is a grand marble hall with statues in niches. The Curia of Pompey was a meeting hall attached to a theater portico.

Everybody is beautifully arranged. Look at how the figures are spaced, who is lit and who is in shadow. Real rooms do not organize themselves into a composition. This one has been staged like a scene in a play, which is what it is.

None of that makes the painting worthless. It is excellent evidence of something. It just is not evidence of what happened in 44 BC. It is evidence of what Europeans in 1806 wanted the death of a tyrant to look like, which was noble, clean and clearly justified.

HOW TO BUILD AN ARGUMENT

You did this with elephants. This is the same thing, one level harder.

Start with something easier than Rome.

Messi is the best player in the world.

That is a claim. Somebody can disagree with it, which is good. But on its own it is just a thing you said, and the person who says Ronaldo has said a thing too, and now you are both just saying things.

Messi is the best player in the world. He has won eight Ballon d'Or awards, more than anybody in the history of the sport, and that award is voted on by journalists from every country rather than by one league or one club.

Now it is an argument. The second sentence is EVIDENCE: something specific that somebody could go and check. The last part is REASONING: you said WHY that evidence matters, which is that the voting is international rather than local.



Eight of them, on one table. This photograph is the evidence sentence. Without the reasoning sentence underneath, it is just a picture of a man with some trophies.

You already know this shape from the ivory committee. Claim, Evidence, Reasoning. You made a claim, found something checkable to back it, and said what it proved.

Two things change now.

Evidence needs a source	In the ivory committee you had to be able to say where somebody could check it. In history you have to say WHO wrote it and WHEN, because a thing written during an event and a thing written two centuries later are not the same kind of evidence.
Arguments need an opponent	A claim with no opposing view in it is not an argument, it is an announcement. From here on, every argument you write has to say what the other side would say, and why you are not persuaded.

THE FOUR MOVES

CLAIM. One sentence that somebody could disagree with.

EVIDENCE. Something specific, with who said it and roughly when.

REASONING. What that evidence proves. This is the move almost everybody skips.

COUNTERCLAIM. The strongest thing the other side has, and why it does not change your mind.

MOVE ONE • THE CLAIM

One sentence. Somebody has to be able to disagree with it.

A claim is not a fact and it is not a summary. If nobody in the room could argue the opposite, you have not made a claim.

NOT A CLAIM	✓ A CLAIM
Caesar was killed on 15 March 44 BC.	Caesar was killed because of what people feared he would do, not because of what he had done.
The Roman Republic had a system of checks and balances.	The Republic's checks failed because they depended on everybody agreeing to lose, and by 44 BC nobody did.
Many senators watched and did nothing.	The senators who did nothing were behaving rationally, and that is what makes them frightening.
Antony spoke at the funeral.	Antony won on 17 March, not on 20 March. The funeral only collected what the amnesty had already handed him.

Notice what the right-hand column does. Every one of them contains a word somebody could fight about: because, failed, rational, already. That word is where the argument lives.

Write one claim about anything in this packet. Then underneath it, write the sentence somebody who disagreed with you would say.

MOVE TWO • THE EVIDENCE

Specific, and attached to a person and a date.

In the ivory committee the rule was that somebody had to be able to go and check it. That rule still applies. But a historical source is a person who wanted something, so you now have to name them.

	WHAT IT LOOKS LIKE, AND WHAT IS MISSING
Weakest	Historians say Caesar was becoming a tyrant. Which historians? Writing when? This is a rumor with a suit on.
Better	Caesar was made dictator for life in February 44 BC. True, and a reader still has to take your word for it.
Stronger	Roman coins minted in 44 BC carry the title dictator perpetuo. Now somebody can go and look at one.
Strongest	Cicero, writing privately on 3 May 44 BC, said the tyrant was dead but the tyranny remained. Now you know WHO said it, WHEN, and that it was private rather than a speech.

THE TRAP

The last two are not the same thing. A coin proves the title existed. Cicero proves somebody at the time was frightened by it. The first is a fact. The second is a fact plus a person who had a reaction to it, and that is what an argument needs.

Also: the best evidence is often the duller. A coin is less exciting than a dying man's last words and far more reliable, because it was made at the time by people who needed strangers to believe it.

MOVE THREE • THE REASONING

The one everybody skips. Do not skip it.

Reasoning is the sentence that connects your evidence to your claim. Without it you have put a fact next to an opinion and hoped the reader does the work.

Here is the test. After your evidence, write the words **THIS MATTERS BECAUSE**, and finish the sentence. If you cannot, your evidence is not doing the job you thought it was.

CLAIM	Caesar kept the word dictator on purpose.
EVIDENCE	Roman coins of 44 BC carry dictator perpetuo. Dictator was a legal office with a six month limit that every Roman understood.
REASONING	This matters because he did not invent a new title, which would have alarmed people. He kept a familiar, safe-sounding word and quietly removed the one feature that made it safe. That is a harder thing to argue against than a crown.
COUNTERCLAIM	Somebody could say he simply used the office that existed, with no cleverness involved. But the six month limit had been part of that office for four hundred years, and removing it was a deliberate choice that somebody had to propose and vote for.

WHY THE COIN MATTERS, STILL

Caesar was the first living Roman to put his own face on money. Before him, coins carried gods, or ancestors who had been dead for generations. Putting a living man there said something no speech could.

Look at the money in your pocket, or your parents'. Almost every country puts dead people on it. Former leaders, writers, scientists, monarchs who have passed. Very few put the person currently in charge. Now ask yourself why that rule exists, and what it means when a country breaks it.

Read the reasoning row again. It is longer than the evidence row. That is normal, and in a good paragraph it is usually the longest part.

MOVE FOUR • THE COUNTERCLAIM

You are not writing these yet. You do need to know what one is.

A COUNTERCLAIM is the strongest thing somebody who disagrees with you would say, written into your own argument on purpose.

It sounds like a weakness and it is the opposite. Putting the other side's best point in your own paragraph proves you have read properly, stops the reader raising it, and makes your claim look tested rather than lucky.

CLAIM	Caesar kept the word dictator on purpose, because a familiar word frightens people less than a new one.
COUNTERCLAIM	Somebody could say he simply used the office that already existed, and there was no cleverness in it at all.
THE ANSWER	But the six month limit had been part of that office for four hundred years. Removing it was a choice somebody had to propose, and the Senate had to vote for.

You will use this properly once you have a character. Arguing against yourself is much easier when the person doing the arguing is not you.

NOW BUILD ONE

All four moves. About 150 words. This is the shape every paragraph in this unit takes.

Warm up first. Before you argue about Rome, argue about something you already know. Pick one and build all four moves out loud with the person next to you. Two minutes.

A	Basketball is a harder sport than volleyball.
B	Drawing something badly for an hour teaches you more than drawing something well in ten minutes.
C	Formula One is a sport, not just engineering.
D	A piano piece you can play perfectly is less impressive than one you nearly can.
E	VEX teaches you more about working with people than it does about robots.

Now the real one. Pick any question from the readings, or use one of these.

A	Were the conspirators liberators or murderers?
B	Was Brutus right to spare Antony?
C	Did the Republic die on the Ides, or was it already dead?
D	Is it ever right to break a law to save the system that made it?

CLAIM	
EVIDENCE	
REASONING	
COUNTERCLAIM	

WHY THEY HATED HIM

Plutarch on the one thing Romans could not forgive.

DOCUMENT 1

Plutarch, Life of Caesar 60.1. Perrin translation, Loeb 1919. → penelope.uchicago.edu, LacusCurtius, Plutarch Life of Caesar

A Greek biographer writing about 150 years after the event, for educated Roman readers. He used earlier sources that are now lost, including a history by Asinius Pollio who actually knew Caesar, which is why he has details nobody else preserved.

“But the most open and deadly hatred towards him was produced by his passion for the royal power. For the multitude this was a first cause of hatred, and for those who had long smothered their hate, a most specious pretext for it.”

That second sentence is the useful one. Plutarch is saying two different groups hated Caesar for two different reasons: ordinary Romans genuinely feared a king, and his enemies in the Senate were glad of an excuse. Watch for that split when you meet your own senator.

Who wrote it, and when?	
What did the writer want the reader to think?	

Plutarch says the king rumor gave Caesar's secret enemies a plausible justification. What is he suggesting about their real reasons?

DOCUMENT 2

Plutarch, *Life of Caesar* 66. Written around AD 100 to 120. Perrin translation, Loeb 1919. → [penelope.uchicago.edu, LacusCurtius, Plutarch Life of Caesar](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/LacusCurtius/Plutarch/Life%20of%20Caesar)

Plutarch was Greek, writing biography rather than history, and he cared about character more than about chronology. This is the most detailed surviving account of the actual minute.

Tillius seized his toga with both hands and pulled it down from his neck. This was the signal for the assault. It was Casca who gave him the first blow with his dagger, in the neck, not a mortal wound, nor even a deep one, for which he was too much confused, as was natural at the beginning of a deed of great daring; so that Caesar turned about, grasped the knife, and held it fast. At almost the same instant both cried out, the smitten man in Latin: "Accursed Casca, what doest thou?" and the smiter, in Greek, to his brother: "Brother, help!"

Note the detail Plutarch gives for why the blow was poor: Casca was too confused. That is a judgment about a man's state of mind made by somebody writing a century and a half later, and it is exactly the kind of thing a biographer adds and a record does not.

Who wrote it, and when?	
What did the writer want the reader to think?	

Plutarch says Casca was too confused to strike properly. He was writing a hundred and fifty years later and never met the man. How would he know? And does it matter that he probably did not?

READING THREE • SIXTY MEN

The conspiracy, and why its two leaders did not agree with each other.

By March 44 BC around sixty senators were involved in a plot to kill Caesar. That is a very large number of people to keep a secret, and it is one reason some historians think Caesar had probably heard something and chosen to ignore it.

They called themselves the **Liberatores**, the liberators. That word matters. They were not planning a murder in their own minds. They were planning a rescue, and they had five hundred years of Roman schooling telling them it was the most patriotic thing a citizen could do.

Their motives were not identical and were not all noble. Ancient writers name several men who joined because Caesar had passed them over for an office, or because his reforms had cost their families money, or because they had backed Pompey and never stopped resenting the pardon. A conspiracy of sixty people is not sixty people who agree. It is sixty people who want the same one thing to happen for sixty different reasons.

The two leaders were Marcus Junius Brutus and Gaius Cassius Longinus. They were brothers-in-law. They were both praetors, a senior office, in the year they killed him. And they were not doing it for the same reasons at all.



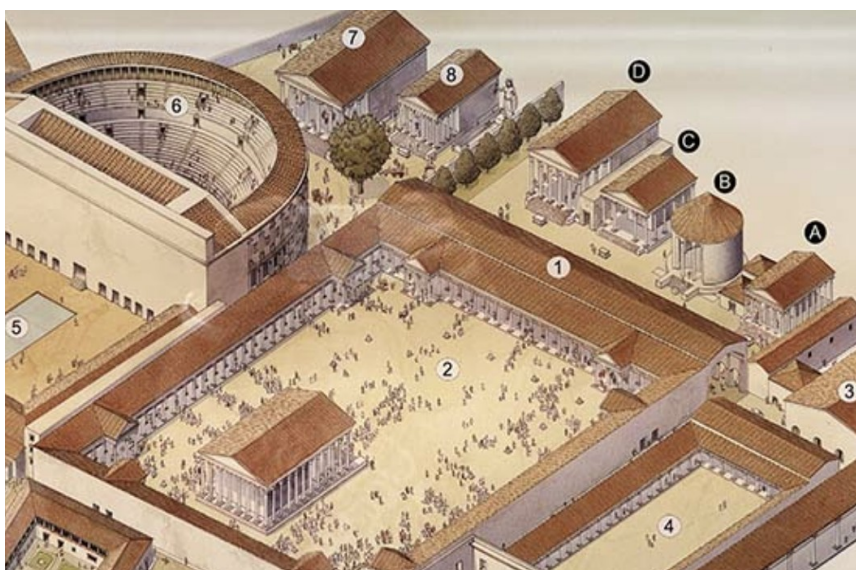
Busts traditionally identified as Brutus, left, and Cassius, right. Identifications of Roman portrait busts are often guesses made centuries later, so treat the names with the same caution you would treat a written source.

	BRUTUS	CASSIUS
Age and office	41. Praetor urbanus, the senior praetor, a post Caesar gave him personally over Cassius.	Praetor. Passed over for the post that went to Brutus, and he knew it.
The family name	Descended from Lucius Junius Brutus, who threw out the last king in 509 BC. Every Roman child learned that name.	An old family, but no legend attached to it.
Caesar and him	Fought against Caesar at Pharsalus and was personally pardoned. His mother Servilia had been Caesar's lover for years.	Also fought against Caesar and was also pardoned. He seems to have resented it rather than felt grateful.

Why he joined	Believed the Republic mattered more than any one man, including a man he personally loved.	Disliked Caesar, and believed Caesar's reforms threatened his own family's standing.
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Cassius recruited Brutus deliberately and it took him months. He needed the name. A conspiracy led by Cassius alone was a group of resentful men murdering their benefactor. A conspiracy led by a Brutus was the descendant of the man who ended the monarchy doing it again. That is not a detail. That is the entire public case for the killing.

The plan



A reconstruction of the Theater of Pompey complex. The semicircular theater is at the upper left. The huge colonnaded garden next to it is the portico Pompey built, and the Senate met in a hall at the far end of it. That hall is where Caesar was killed, under a statue of Pompey himself.

They would strike on the **Ides of March**, the fifteenth, at a meeting of the Senate held in the **Curia of Pompey**. There were practical reasons for the choice. Caesar would be there without a bodyguard, which he had dismissed, apparently to show he did not fear his fellow senators. He was leaving for Parthia within days. And a Senate meeting was one of the few places where a large number of senators could gather carrying daggers without it looking strange, because the daggers were under their togas.

They agreed that every conspirator would strike at least one blow, so that all of them shared the act equally and nobody could later claim to have merely watched. In practice this meant a crowd of men stabbing in a confined space, and several of them wounded each other.

The evening before, and the morning of, are full of warnings in the ancient accounts. Caesar's wife Calpurnia is said to have dreamed of his death and begged him to stay home. A soothsayer had supposedly told him to beware the Ides of March. His own health was poor and he nearly canceled. Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators and a man Caesar trusted completely, is said to have gone to the house personally and talked him into attending.

Treat those stories carefully. Every one of them comes from a writer working a century or more later, and dramatic foreshadowing is exactly what ancient biography was for. What they tell you reliably is not what happened that morning. It is what Romans afterward wanted the story to mean.

They also made a decision they would come to regret. Some wanted to kill Mark Antony at the same time. Antony was consul that year, Caesar's right hand, and the most capable Caesarian alive. Brutus refused. He argued that the killing had to look like justice against a tyrant, not a massacre of political opponents, and that a second body would make it exactly that. Cassius, who had argued for it, gave way.

On the day, Trebonius took Antony aside outside the chamber and kept him talking. Tillius Cimber approached Caesar with a petition and grabbed his toga, which was the signal. Casca struck first. Caesar was stabbed twenty-three times and died at the foot of a statue of Pompey, the man he had destroyed four years earlier.

CHECK YOURSELF • READING THREE

Closed book. Fill the gaps, then circle one letter for each question.

PART A • Fill in the blank

1. Roughly _____ senators joined the conspiracy.
2. They called themselves the _____, meaning the liberators.
3. _____ recruited Brutus because his name carried weight.
4. Brutus was descended from the man who threw out the last king in _____ BC.
5. They chose to strike at a Senate meeting held in the _____ of Pompey.

PART B • Circle one

1. Why did Cassius want Brutus in the plot?
 - a) He was the best fighter
 - b) His name made it look like principle rather than revenge
 - c) He controlled the treasury
 - d) He was Caesar's nephew
2. Why did they decide not to kill Antony?
 - a) They could not find him
 - b) Brutus argued it would look like a massacre
 - c) He had joined the plot
 - d) Caesar had already dismissed him
3. What does sixty men, sixty reasons mean?
 - a) They each struck sixty times
 - b) They disagreed about the date
 - c) They joined for different motives
 - d) They were all related
4. Why does the reading warn you about the omens?
 - a) They were invented by Shakespeare
 - b) They were written down by people who already knew the ending
 - c) The Romans did not believe in omens
 - d) Calpurnia denied having a dream

READING FOUR • THE HOURS AFTER

What they expected, and what actually happened.

Brutus stepped forward to speak to the Senate. The Senate did not stay to hear him. Senators who were not part of the plot ran for the doors. Some went home and locked them. Some hid. Within minutes the chamber was almost empty and the most powerful man in the world was lying on the floor with nobody left to explain it to.

The conspirators walked out into the Forum with their daggers still bloody, calling out that Rome was free. The crowd did not cheer. It did not attack them either. It went quiet, and then it went home. Nobody had planned for quiet.

They withdrew to the **Capitoline Hill**, the highest and most defensible point in the city, and waited for the Republic to restore itself. That was the plan. Not a stage after the killing. The killing WAS the plan, and everything after it had been assumed.

WHAT THEY HAD NOT PLANNED FOR

Antony was alive, and he was consul, which made him the senior surviving official of the Roman state. He also had Caesar's private papers, Caesar's money, and the loyalty of Caesar's veterans. Within a day he had Caesar's will, and the will left money to every citizen of Rome and Caesar's gardens to the public.

Antony did not attack the conspirators. He did something far more effective. He negotiated. He agreed a compromise in the Senate: the killers would not be punished, and in exchange every one of Caesar's acts and appointments would stand. Both sides accepted. For about two days it looked like it had worked.

Then Antony spoke at Caesar's funeral. He read the will aloud. He displayed the body, and by some accounts the bloodied toga with the holes in it. The crowd that had gone quiet three days earlier turned into a mob, burned Caesar's body in the Forum itself rather than waiting for the proper pyre, and went looking for the conspirators with torches.

Brutus and Cassius left Rome and never came back. Within a year there was open war. In 42 BC both died at **Philippi** in Greece, Cassius by his own hand and Brutus a few weeks later the same way. Caesar's adopted heir, an eighteen-year-old called Octavian, eventually beat Antony too, and in 27 BC took the name Augustus and became the first Roman emperor.



Philippi in northern Greece. Brutus and Cassius both died here in 42 BC, within weeks of each other, and both by their own hand.



Augustus, Caesar's adopted heir. He kept the Senate, kept the consuls, and called himself simply first citizen. The furniture of the Republic stayed in the room and stopped doing anything.

The killing of Caesar was meant to save the Republic. It ended it. The Republic outlived Caesar by seventeen years.

Your simulation takes place on 16 March, the day after. None of what you just read has happened yet. Antony has not spoken at the funeral. Nobody has fled. The Senate is sitting, and the only thing on the agenda is the men on the hill.

One question before the check. Two or three sentences.

The conspirators believed killing one man would fix a broken system. Name one thing they got right and one thing they got badly wrong.

CHECK YOURSELF • READING FOUR

Closed book. Fill the gaps, then circle one letter for each question.

PART A • Fill in the blank

1. Caesar was stabbed _____ times.
2. He fell at the foot of a statue of _____, the rival he had beaten in a civil war.
3. The conspirators went to the _____ Hill and waited.
4. On 17 March the Senate agreed an _____, which meant nobody would be punished.
5. At the funeral on 20 March, _____ read the will aloud and the city turned.

PART B • Circle one

1. What had the conspirators not planned?
 - a) How to get into the building
 - b) What to do in the hour afterward
 - c) Who would strike first
 - d) Which day to choose

2. Why was the 17 March compromise a trap for them?
 - a) It exiled them immediately
 - b) It confirmed Caesar's acts, and Antony held his papers
 - c) It gave Antony a legion
 - d) It required a public apology

3. What was in the will that changed the mood?
 - a) He named Brutus as heir
 - b) He left money to every citizen and his gardens to the public
 - c) He confessed to wanting a crown
 - d) He accused the Senate of treason

4. What is the main point of Reading Four?
 - a) The killing was badly carried out
 - b) Winning the moment is not the same as winning the week
 - c) Antony was always going to take power
 - d) The Senate was too slow to meet

DOCUMENT • THE MURDER, ON MONEY

Brutus did not hide it. He minted it.

This is not a historian writing a hundred years later. This is a coin struck by Brutus himself, within about two years of the killing, and paid to his own soldiers.



The reverse of the EID MAR coin. Two daggers, and between them a pileus, the felt cap a Roman slave was given on the day he was freed. Underneath, EID MAR: the Ides of March.

READ THE OBJECT

Three symbols, no sentence. Two daggers for the two leaders, or for the weapons. A freedman's cap, because Rome had been a slave and is now free. And a date, because he wants you to know exactly which afternoon he means.

Coins were the mass media of the ancient world. Every soldier who was paid with this held the argument in his hand.

A man who thought he had committed a crime would not put it on money. What does this coin tell you about what Brutus believed he had done, and who he needed to convince?

ACTIVITY • DESIGN THE COIN

Forty minutes. Colored pencils out. No words except your motto.

You have seen what Brutus did. He put the murder on money, two daggers and a freedman's cap and the date, and paid his soldiers with it. No sentences. No explanation. Just a picture that made an argument.

Now you do it. One coin, two sides, arguing your own answer to the question this Senate has to decide.

	THE RULES
Your position	The coin has to argue something. Heroes, murderers, or a middle position. Somebody looking at it should be able to tell which.
Both sides	Front and back both used. They do not have to say the same thing. Roman coins often had an image on one side and a claim on the other.
Three symbols	At least three objects that mean something. A dagger, a crown, a wreath, a chain, an eagle, a key, a broken column. Look at the coins in this book for ideas.
A motto	Four words maximum, in capitals, around the edge. EID MAR was two. Shorter is stronger.
Four colors	At least four, actually used. A coin in pencil outline is not finished.
No sentences	You may not explain it on the coin. If it needs a paragraph, the design has failed.

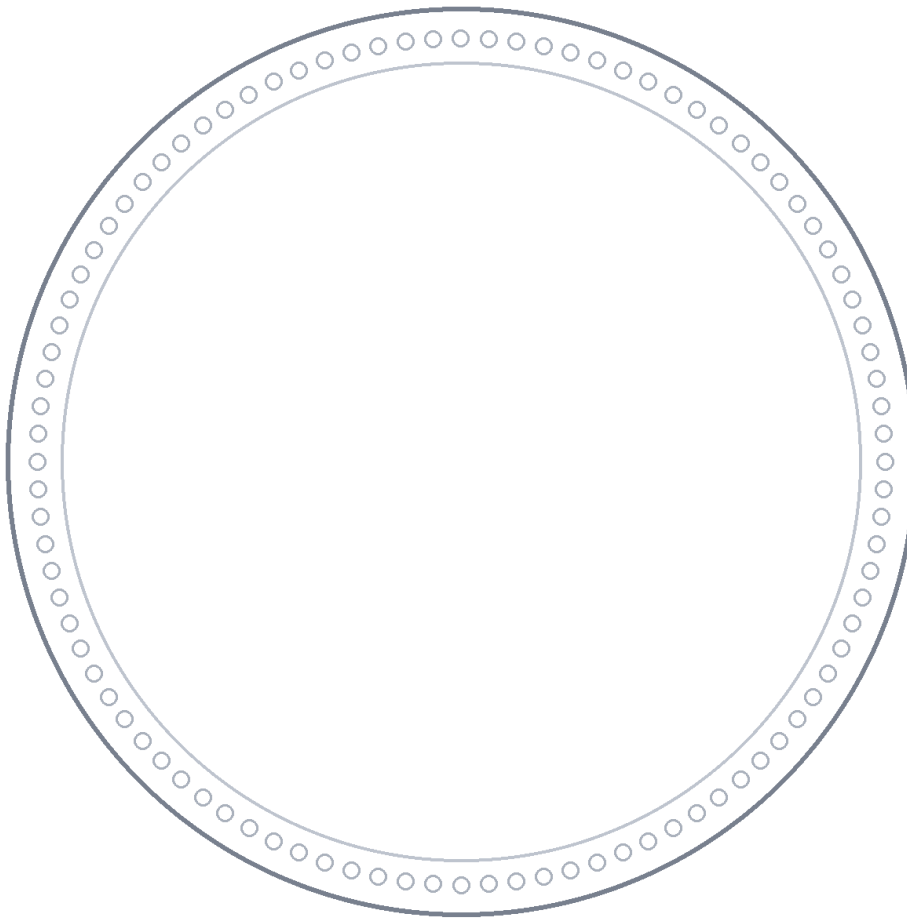
THEN THE GALLERY

All fifteen coins go on the wall with no names. The class walks past and writes down, for each one, what they think it is arguing. Then the designers say whether the room got it right.

A coin that everybody reads correctly is a good coin. A coin that everybody misreads is a lesson about how easily an argument goes wrong when you are not there to explain it.

YOUR COIN • FRONT

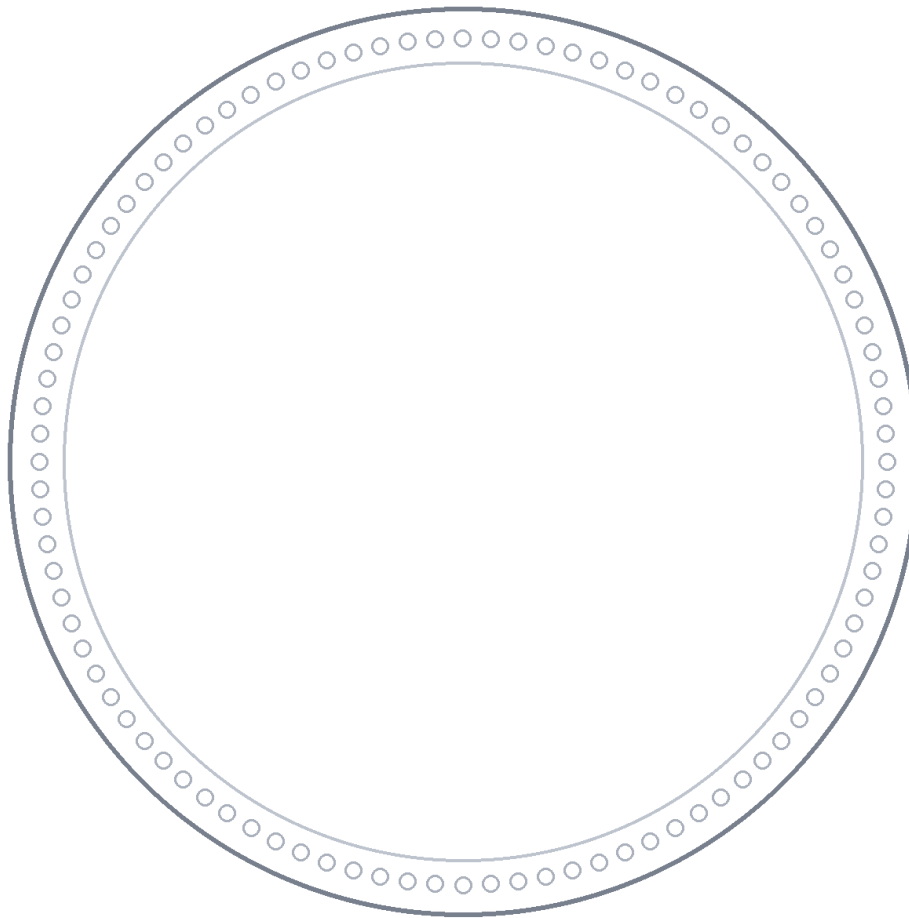
Draw inside the circle. Motto around the edge.



My three symbols, and what each one means	
My motto	

YOUR COIN • BACK

Same rules. It does not have to repeat the front.



What this side argues that the front does not	
If somebody misreads my coin, what will they probably think it says?	

READING FIVE • THE ONES WHO WATCHED

There were about nine hundred senators. Sixty were in the plot. What about the other eight hundred and forty?

We know a great deal about the men who held the daggers. We know almost nothing about the men who did not.

On the morning of the Ides, the Curia of Pompey was full. Senators were arriving for an ordinary meeting. Most of them had no idea what was about to happen. They watched a man they had all known for thirty years be stabbed to death about ten meters in front of them, and then they ran.

Nobody stopped it. Nobody shouted. Nobody stepped between. And afterward, nobody would say what they had seen.

Why nobody moved

It is easy to call them cowards. It is also lazy. Think about what a senator in that room actually knew in the ten seconds it took.

He did not know how many were involved. Sixty men with daggers had gathered in one place without anybody noticing, which meant the plot was large and well organized, which meant he had no idea who in the room was part of it. The man next to him might be. Stepping forward might mean joining Caesar on the floor.

He did not know whether this was the start of something bigger. Rome had lived through Marius and Sulla. Both times, a killing had been the opening move of a purge with lists of names. Every senator in that room had to consider, instantly, whether his own name was on a list he had not seen.

And he did not know who was going to win. That is the part worth sitting with. A senator who defended Caesar and lost would be executed as an enemy. A senator who cheered the conspirators and lost would be executed as an enemy. A senator who did nothing at all could still claim, later, to have supported whoever turned out to be in charge.

THE THING TO NOTICE

Doing nothing was not the absence of a decision. It was a decision, and for most of them it was the correct one in the narrow sense that they survived. The Republic died partly because several hundred reasonable people each made a sensible individual choice.

The senators who were not in the plot

Some of them mattered enormously in the days that followed, precisely because they were not implicated. Cicero was the most famous. Servius Sulpicius Rufus was one of the great legal minds of the age. Calpurnius Piso was Caesar's father-in-law and had to bury him. These men had no blood on their hands and so, for a few days, they were the only people either side could talk to.

In your simulation, the neutrals are not filler. They are the ones who decide. The Liberators cannot get a Tyrannicide declaration without them. The Caesarians cannot get revenge without them. And they know it.

CHECK YOURSELF • READING FIVE

Closed book. Fill the gaps, then circle one letter for each question.

PART A • Fill in the blank

1. Roughly _____ senators were in the chamber, and almost none of them moved.
2. Caesar had expanded the Senate to around nine hundred by adding his own supporters, including men from _____, which the old families resented.
3. A senator who guessed wrong about who would win could lose his property and his _____.
4. The conspirators expected the chamber to _____ them. It did not.

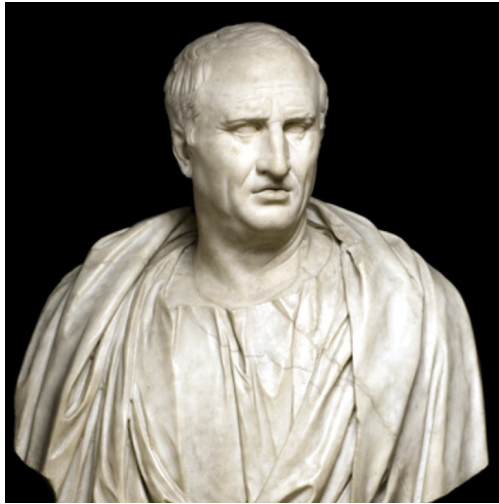
PART B • Circle one

1. Why did nobody intervene?
 - a) They agreed with the killing
 - b) They could not see it
 - c) Nobody knew who would win, and picking wrong was fatal
 - d) The doors were locked
2. What does the reading mean by rational?
 - a) Clever
 - b) Cold-hearted
 - c) A sensible response given what they knew at the time
 - d) Following orders
3. What is uncomfortable about this reading?
 - a) It says the senators were stupid
 - b) It suggests most of us would have done the same
 - c) It blames Brutus
 - d) It says the killing was justified

READING SIX • THE MAN WHO ONLY HAD WORDS

Cicero was the best speaker in Rome. Nobody invited him to the murder.

Marcus Tullius Cicero was sixty-two in 44 BC. He was not a patrician. His family had money but no ancestors anybody had heard of, and in Rome that normally meant a ceiling. He got past it with his voice.



A bust of Cicero. Of everybody in this packet he is the one whose face we are most likely to actually have, because he was famous in his own lifetime and copies were made while he was alive.

He became consul in 63 BC, the highest office in the Republic, on talent alone. That almost never happened. In that year he uncovered a conspiracy led by a bankrupt aristocrat named Catiline to overthrow the government, and he had the conspirators executed without a trial on the Senate's authority.

He thought it was the greatest thing he ever did. It was also the thing that nearly destroyed him. Five years later his enemies pointed out that executing Roman citizens without trial was illegal no matter who authorized it, and he was driven into exile. He came back a year later, but the confidence never fully returned.

Words against daggers

Cicero hated what Caesar had become. He said so, in public, repeatedly, for years. He wrote letters about it. He made speeches about it. He was, by a distance, the most articulate opponent Caesar had.

And the conspirators did not tell him. Sixty men planned a killing and none of them thought to bring in the most famous defender of the Republic alive. Ancient writers suggest two reasons. He was old, and he talked, and a man who talks is a risk. But there was also something else: Cicero believed in procedure, in law, in the Senate, in doing things properly. A man who believes in procedure is not obviously going to help you stab somebody.

Cicero, when he heard what had happened, was delighted. He wrote to one of the conspirators congratulating him, and in a later letter he said plainly that he wished he had been invited. Then he watched Antony take Rome apart over the following year, and he wrote fourteen ferocious speeches attacking him, which he called the Philippics.

HOW IT ENDED FOR HIM

In 43 BC Antony and Octavian made a deal and drew up a list of enemies. Cicero was on it. He was caught trying to escape and killed, and Antony had his head and his hands displayed in the Forum, on the platform where he had made his speeches. The hands because he had written with them.

Cicero is the best argument in this whole unit, in both directions. He spent his life insisting that words and law were stronger than force, and he lost. But we know almost everything we know about that year because he wrote it down, and people are still reading his speeches two thousand years later, which is longer than Antony's legions lasted.

CHECK YOURSELF • READING SIX

Closed book. Fill the gaps, then circle one letter for each question.

PART A • Fill in the blank

1. Cicero became consul in _____ BC, the year he uncovered the Catiline conspiracy.
2. A man with no consuls in his family was called a _____ man.
3. In 63 BC he had citizens executed without _____, and was later exiled for it.
4. He was not told about the conspiracy, and heard about it like _____ else.

PART B • Circle one

1. What was Cicero's only real weapon?
 - a) An army
 - b) A province
 - c) His voice
 - d) His family name
2. Why was his exile in 58 BC significant?
 - a) It proved he was guilty of murder
 - b) It showed that acting without process catches up with you
 - c) It ended his career permanently
 - d) It was ordered by Caesar
3. What does the reading suggest about words against force?
 - a) Words always win
 - b) Force always wins
 - c) Words can shape what people believe, but cannot stop a soldier
 - d) Neither matters much

READING SEVEN • IS IT EVER RIGHT TO KILL A TYRANT?

The oldest argument in politics, and nobody has finished it.

The conspirators did not think of themselves as murderers. They thought of themselves as surgeons. They had a word for what they did, and a tradition behind it, and they expected to be thanked.

The idea is called **tyrannicide**, which just means killing a tyrant. It was old even in 44 BC. In Athens in 514 BC two men named Harmodius and Aristogeiton killed the brother of the ruling tyrant. The Athenians later put up statues of them in the middle of the city. Killing the wrong kind of ruler was not only forgivable, it could make you a hero with a monument.

Rome had its own version. The legend of Lucius Junius Brutus expelling Tarquin in 509 BC was taught to every Roman child, and the whole Republic was founded on the idea that getting rid of a king was the most patriotic thing a citizen could do.

The problem with the idea

Here is the difficulty, and it is not a small one. Who decides that somebody is a tyrant?

Caesar had not seized power in a coup nobody wanted. He had been voted offices by the Senate. He was extremely popular with ordinary Romans, who liked the land grants and the debt reform and the free grain. When he died, the people rioted on his behalf, not on the conspirators'. If you had held a vote in Rome in March 44 BC on whether Caesar was a tyrant, he would probably have won it.

So the conspirators were not expressing the will of the people. They were sixty aristocrats who decided, privately, that a popular ruler had become a danger, and then acted on that decision with knives. Brutus would say that the people had been bought and did not understand what they were losing. Maybe he was right. But that is exactly what somebody would say if they simply did not like losing.

THE CASE FOR THEM	THE CASE AGAINST THEM
Caesar had made himself dictator for life, removing the one safeguard that made the office survivable.	He had been given those offices by the Senate, through votes, not by force.
The Republic had no legal mechanism left to stop him. Every check had already been neutralised.	They never tried the legal route first, because they knew it would fail. Knowing you would lose is not the same as trying.
Waiting meant waiting forever. Once he left for Parthia he would be untouchable for years.	Killing him solved nothing. Within two days the same problem existed with Antony instead.
Rome had a five-hundred-year tradition saying exactly this was a citizen's duty.	Sixty rich men decided on behalf of a million people who mostly disagreed with them.

Two Romans who gave it back

Before you decide, two other names, because the conspirators had them in mind.

Cincinnatus is a legend more than a certainty. The story is that in 458 BC Rome was in danger, the Senate made him dictator, he won the war in about two weeks, and then resigned and went back to

his farm. Whether it happened exactly like that does not matter much. What matters is that Romans told that story for centuries as the definition of a good man.

Sulla is not a legend, he is documented and he is horrifying. In 82 BC he marched on Rome, made himself dictator with no time limit, and published lists of enemies to be killed and their property seized. Thousands died. And then, in 79 BC, having done all of that, he resigned, restored the Republic and retired.

So Rome had two examples of a man holding absolute power and handing it back, one saintly and one monstrous. Both of them gave it back. Caesar did not. That is why the senators in that chamber believed they knew where it was going.

CHECK YOURSELF • READING SEVEN

Closed book. Fill the gaps, then circle one letter for each question.

PART A • Fill in the blank

1. The word for killing a ruler who has taken power unlawfully is _____.
2. _____ took absolute power in an emergency and then handed it back, which Romans admired for centuries.
3. _____ also handed it back, but only after killing thousands of his opponents first.
4. Two Romans who gave power back, and one who did not: the one who did not was _____.

PART B • Circle one

1. What is the strongest argument FOR tyrannicide?
 - a) Tyrants are usually unpopular
 - b) If no lawful remedy exists, nothing else can stop them
 - c) It is quicker than a trial
 - d) It has always been legal in Rome
2. What is the strongest argument AGAINST it?
 - a) It is against the law
 - b) Anybody can call anybody a tyrant
 - c) It is dangerous for the person who does it
 - d) It rarely works
3. Why are Sulla and Cincinnatus in this reading?
 - a) Both refused power
 - b) Both were killed
 - c) Both held absolute power and handed it back
 - d) Both were friends of Caesar

READING EIGHT • ROME IS NOT OVER

Why a two-thousand-year-old afternoon is on your timetable.

You might reasonably be wondering why a Grade 8 class in Taichung is spending weeks on a stabbing in 44 BC. Here is the honest answer. It is not because of the togas.

The Roman Republic is the clearest case we have of a free system turning into a one-man system, and of it happening slowly, legally, and with a lot of public support. Nobody woke up one morning in an empire. They woke up in a Republic that had been quietly hollowed out for fifty years, and then one day the forms were still there and the substance was gone.

Augustus, who ended up ruling, understood this better than anybody. He never called himself king or emperor. He kept the Senate. He kept the consuls, elected every year, exactly as before. He called himself princeps, which just means first citizen. All the furniture of the Republic stayed in the room. It simply did not do anything any more.

THE PATTERN, STRIPPED DOWN

A system gets slow and unpopular. A crisis arrives. Somebody capable offers to fix it, and asks for temporary powers to do so. The powers work. The crisis passes. The powers do not go away. Each individual step looks reasonable to the people taking it.

Things that exist because of this problem

Look at how modern systems are built and you will find Rome all over them, usually in the form of a rule written by somebody who had read about Caesar.

Term limits	Many countries cap how long one person can hold the top job. That rule exists because of exactly the problem the Romans could not solve. Extending or removing a term limit is, almost everywhere, the first move in the pattern above.
Emergency powers	Most constitutions let a government take extra powers during a crisis. Most of them also specify an end date, a body that must approve it, or a requirement to report. Those clauses exist because a six-month dictatorship worked fine until the day somebody kept it.
Civilian control of armies	Caesar's legions were loyal to Caesar, not to Rome. Modern systems go to enormous lengths to make soldiers swear to a constitution or a state rather than to a person.
Courts that can overrule governments	The Republic had no body that could say to Caesar, that is not allowed. A great deal of modern constitutional design is an answer to that gap.

The uncomfortable half

It would be neat to end there, with the moral that safeguards are good and strongmen are bad. The Roman story does not let you.

Because the Republic really was broken. It really was corrupt, slow, and run by a small group of wealthy families for their own benefit. Ordinary Romans were not wrong to be frustrated with it, and

Caesar genuinely did fix things that needed fixing. The people who rioted at his funeral were not fools. They had gained something real and they knew who had given it to them.

So the question is harder than it first looks. If a democratic system is genuinely failing large numbers of people, and somebody comes along who can actually make it work by ignoring some of the rules, what should those people want? And what should the people who benefit from the current system be willing to give up in order to keep it?

Those are not history questions. Those are the questions, and you will run into them your whole life.

YOUR JOB BEFORE THE NEXT LESSON

Find one example, from anywhere in the world and any time in the last hundred years, of a leader who was given temporary powers during a crisis. Note what the crisis was, what powers they got, and whether the powers ended.

You are not being asked whether that leader was good or bad, and this is not a page about taking sides. You are being asked to notice the shape of the thing.

Where and when	
What the crisis was	
What powers were given	
Did the powers end, and how	

CHECK YOURSELF • READING EIGHT

Closed book. Fill the gaps, then circle one letter for each question.

PART A • Fill in the blank

1. A _____ limit stops one person holding an office forever.
2. An _____ judiciary means courts that the government cannot control.
3. A free _____ means the government does not decide what gets reported.
4. Every one of these exists because somebody once did not have it, including in _____.

PART B • Circle one

1. What do all four modern cases have in common?
 - a) Foreign invasion
 - b) A violent coup with no public support
 - c) Legal steps, or steps made legal afterward, during a real crisis and with popular support
 - d) Leaders who were never elected

2. Why does the reading say the public often agreed?
 - a) People are foolish
 - b) The crises were genuine and the leader seemed to fix them
 - c) Voting was compulsory
 - d) Nobody was told what was happening

3. What is the safest general lesson?
 - a) Never trust a popular leader
 - b) Watch what happens to the limits, not to the man
 - c) Democracies always survive
 - d) Emergency powers are always wrong

THE SAME PATTERN, FIVE MORE TIMES

Rome is not a special case. It is the clearest case.

Reading Eight gave you a five-step pattern. A system gets slow and unpopular. A crisis arrives. Somebody capable asks for temporary powers. The powers work. The powers do not go away.

Four men from the last two hundred and thirty years. All five were genuinely popular at the start. Several were elected. Most of what they did was legal at the time, or was made legal shortly afterward. Not one of them kicked down a door and announced he was taking over.

Your group has one of them. Read that one properly rather than skimming all five, because in fifteen minutes you have to teach it to everybody else.

BEFORE YOU READ THEM

This is not a list of bad countries. France, Italy, Germany and the Philippines are ordinary places full of ordinary people, and every one of these happened somewhere the population believed it could not happen. That is the entire reason the page exists.

You are also not being asked whether these men achieved anything good. Several of them did. Caesar did too. That is what makes the pattern hard.

ACTIVITY • THE JIGSAW

Four groups. Four countries. One poster each. Then you teach the room.

HOW IT WORKS

Your group gets one of the five, and only one. You read the page, you build the poster, and then you teach your case to everybody else. Nobody reads all five. You are relying on four other groups to do their job, and they are relying on you.

This is not a shortcut. It is how every committee you will ever sit in actually works. Nobody in the room has read everything.

TIME	WHAT YOU DO
10 minutes	Read your page. On your own, silently. Underline anything that surprises you.
15 minutes	As a group, fill in the five boxes below. Argue about them. You will not agree at first.
20 minutes	Build the poster. One big sheet. The brief is on the next page.
15 minutes	Teach. Three minutes per group, poster up, everybody else filling in the gallery page.
5 minutes	The pattern. Once all five are on the wall, find the thing they have in common.

Our country and our man	
The crisis he pointed at	
The exact power he gained	
Was it legal at the time?	
The word he used to make it sound safe	

THE POSTER BRIEF

One big sheet. Five things on it, and a drawing.

A poster is not a page of notes stuck to a wall. Somebody standing two meters away has to understand your case in about fifteen seconds.

	WHAT MUST BE ON IT
1	The name, the country and the years. Big. Readable from the back of the room.
2	A timeline of three moments. Not more. The three that matter.
3	One quotation from an actual document, with who said it and when.
4	The word or phrase he used to make an extraordinary act sound ordinary. Put a box around it.

WHAT NOT TO DO

Do not copy out the reading. Do not write paragraphs. Do not draw a portrait of the man, because a face teaches nothing and it will eat twenty minutes.

WHILE THE OTHERS PRESENT

Two or three sentences each. Write while they are talking, not afterward.

FRANCE Napoleon	
ITALY Mussolini	
GERMANY Hitler	
PHILIPPINES Marcos	

You only read one of these properly. Everything you know about the other three comes from three groups of your classmates. If one of them did a bad job, you now have a hole in your understanding and you will not know where it is. That is also true of real committees.

THE FOUR CASES

Your group reads one. Read it twice.

Four men from the last two hundred and thirty years. All five were popular at the start. Several were elected. Most of what they did was legal at the time, or was made legal shortly afterward. Not one of them kicked down a door and announced he was taking over.

Your group has one of them. Read that one properly. In fifteen minutes you have to teach it to everybody else, and they are relying on you.



CASE ONE · FRANCE

Napoleon Bonaparte, 1799 to 1804.

France had executed its king in 1793 and spent the next six years in chaos. Governments changed constantly. Inflation destroyed savings. The country was at war with most of Europe. By 1799 a great many French people wanted the Revolution to have been worth something and could not see what.

Napoleon was thirty and already famous. He had won spectacular victories in Italy and had led an expedition to Egypt. He was popular in a way no politician was, because he had actually done things.

In November 1799 he took part in a coup that overthrew the government. The new arrangement made him **FIRST CONSUL**. He chose that word himself. Consul was a Roman word, and he knew exactly what it meant: the Republic's highest office, held by two men for one year. He also arranged that there would be three consuls and that he alone would hold real power.

1802	A national vote made him Consul FOR LIFE. Officially 3,653,600 in favor, 8,374 against. The vote was not secret, and people knew it.
1804	The Senate proclaimed him Emperor of the French. A second vote returned 3,521,675 for and 2,579 against.
Meanwhile	He kept the Senate. He kept the legislature. He kept the word Republic on French coins until 1808. All the furniture stayed exactly where it was.

WHAT TO NOTICE

He did not abolish anything. He added a title, then another, then another, and each time the country voted yes by an enormous margin. He also genuinely fixed things: a legal code still used in parts of the world today, a working bank, roads, schools.

Consul for life and dictator for life are the same sentence in two languages, eighteen hundred years apart. Napoleon had read his Roman history. He knew.



CASE TWO • ITALY

Benito Mussolini, 1922 to 1926.

Italy came out of the First World War on the winning side and felt like a loser. Six hundred thousand dead, very little gained, and an economy in pieces. Between 1919 and 1922 there were strikes, factory occupations, and street fighting between socialist and nationalist gangs. Governments lasted months.



Mussolini in uniform. He was a journalist before he was anything else, and he understood pictures. Almost every photograph of him was arranged.

Mussolini had been a socialist journalist and became a nationalist one. His movement, the Fascists, organized armed squads who broke up strikes and beat up opponents. This was not secret. It was their main activity and it made them popular with people who wanted order.

In October 1922 thousands of Fascists marched on Rome. The army could have stopped them easily. Instead the King, Victor Emmanuel III, appointed Mussolini Prime Minister. Legally. Constitutionally. The march was theater, and the King folded.

1923	A new election law: whichever party won the most votes, with at least a quarter of the total, got TWO THIRDS of the seats in parliament. It passed. Parliament voted for it.
1924	An opposition politician named Giacomo Matteotti accused the Fascists of rigging the election. Weeks later he was abducted and murdered.
Jan 1925	Mussolini stood up in parliament and took responsibility for everything that had happened. Parliament did not remove him. It applauded.
1925 to 26	A series of laws ended opposition parties, free press and elected local government.

WHAT TO NOTICE

The moment that mattered was not the march. It was parliament voting for an election law that guaranteed one party would win. They handed him the majority, and afterward he used it legally.



CASE THREE • GERMANY

Adolf Hitler, 1933.

Germany in 1932 had six million unemployed out of a population of sixty five million. Savings had already been destroyed by hyperinflation a decade earlier. Parliament had been unable to form a stable government for years, and the President had been ruling by emergency decree.

Hitler's party won the most seats in July 1932 but never a majority. In January 1933 the President appointed him Chancellor, believing conservative ministers around him could keep him under control.

27 Feb 1933	A fire destroyed the parliament building. The next day an emergency decree suspended freedom of speech, press, assembly and protection from arrest without trial.
5 Mar 1933	An election held under those conditions. His party still did not win a majority.
23 Mar 1933	The Enabling Act. It let the government make laws without parliament, and let those laws contradict the constitution. It needed a two thirds majority to pass. It got one.
Who voted	Communist members had already been arrested or had fled and could not vote. The remaining parties, apart from the Social Democrats, voted yes.
The expiry	The act was written to expire on 1 April 1937. It was renewed in 1937, and again in 1939, and again in 1943.

WHAT TO NOTICE

The Enabling Act contained two things that look like safeguards. It protected the existence of parliament, and it had an expiry date. Both were meaningless, because the same government decided what parliament did and whether to renew.

A parliament voted itself out of existence, by the majority its own constitution required.



CASE FOUR • PHILIPPINES

Ferdinand Marcos, 1972 to 1986.

Marcos was elected President in 1965 and again in 1969. The constitution allowed two terms and no more. His second term ended in 1973. There was no legal route to a third.

The late 1960s in the Philippines were genuinely unstable: a communist insurgency in the countryside, a separatist movement in the south, student protests, and bombings in Manila. How much of that was real and how much was encouraged has been argued about ever since.

21 Sep 1972	Marcos signed Proclamation 1081, declaring martial law across the entire country. He cited a specific article of the constitution as his authority.
23 Sep 1972	He announced it on television, and said plainly that the proclamation of martial law was not a military takeover.
What followed	Congress closed. Newspapers and broadcasters shut or were taken over. Opposition politicians were arrested. He ruled by decree.
1973	A new constitution, approved not by a normal vote but by assemblies of citizens raising their hands in public.
1981	Martial law formally lifted. He kept the power to issue decrees.
1986	Left the country after mass protests following a disputed election.

Two thousand years, six writers, and they still cannot agree about an afternoon that fifty people watched. That is not a failure of history. That is what history is.

FOUR MORE DOCUMENTS

Not Rome this time. The same six questions.

You have analyzed six ancient sources. Now do it with five modern ones, from the five men on the previous pages.

Four of these five are legal documents or official statements. They are not secret. They were published, printed in government gazettes, and read aloud in public. That is what makes them worth reading.

WATCH FOR ONE WORD

As you read, look for the word or phrase in each document that is doing the work of making something extraordinary sound ordinary. Every one of these five has one. Circle it when you find it.



DOCUMENT A • FRANCE, 1802

Napoleon swears an oath on becoming Consul for Life.

DOCUMENT A

Napoleon's oath as Consul for Life, 4 August 1802. → revolution.chnm.org/d/507

Two days earlier a national vote had made him Consul for Life by 3,653,600 votes to 8,374. Two years later he was crowned Emperor.

"I swear to maintain the constitution, to respect liberty of conscience, to oppose a return to feudal institutions, never to make war except for the defense and glory of the Republic, and to employ the authority with which I shall be invested only for the good of the people, from whom and for whom I shall have received it."

The ballot paper asked one question: Should Napoleon Bonaparte be Consul for life? The official count was 3,653,600 in favor and 8,374 against, out of an electorate of about seven million. The vote was not secret. Two years later, on 18 May 1804, the Senate proclaimed him Emperor of the French, and a second plebiscite returned 3,521,675 in favor and 2,579 against. He kept the Senate, he kept the Legislative Body, and he kept the word Republic on the coins until 1808.

Who wrote it, and when?	
What did the writer want the reader to think?	

He swears to protect the Republic while accepting a post no republic had ever had. Was he lying, or did he believe it? Does it matter which?



DOCUMENT B • ITALY, 1925

Mussolini answers for a murder, in parliament, out loud.

DOCUMENT B

Mussolini, speech to the Chamber of Deputies, 3 January 1925. → search: Mussolini discorso 3 gennaio 1925 testo

An opposition politician, Giacomo Matteotti, had been abducted and murdered in June 1924 after accusing the Fascists of election fraud. This speech is the answer. The chamber did not vote afterward. It applauded.

“I declare here before this assembly and before the entire Italian people that I alone assume the political, moral, and historical responsibility for everything that has happened.” He went on: “If Fascism has been nothing but castor oil and cudgel and not instead a proud passion of the best Italian youth, then the blame is mine.”

The chamber did not debate it and did not vote. It applauded. Within weeks the laws that ended opposition parties and a free press began to pass. Mussolini had been made Prime Minister legally by the King in October 1922, and an election law of 1923 had already handed two thirds of the seats to whichever party won the most votes.

Who wrote it, and when?	
What did the writer want the reader to think?	

Taking responsibility normally means accepting a consequence. What consequence follows here? What is the word actually doing in this sentence?



DOCUMENT C • GERMANY, 1933

The Enabling Act. Three articles, and the third one matters most.

DOCUMENT C

Enabling Act. Passed 23 March 1933, published in the Reichsgesetzblatt I 1933 p.141 on 24 March. US Dept of State translation, 1943. → germanhistorydocs.org, search Enabling Act

Passed by the parliament it abolished, with the two thirds majority a constitutional change required. Communist deputies had already been detained and could not vote.

ARTICLE 1. National laws can be enacted by the Reich Cabinet as well as in accordance with the procedure established in the Constitution. **ARTICLE 2.** Laws enacted by the Reich Government may deviate from the Constitution as long as they do not affect the institutions of the Reichstag and the Reichsrat. The rights of the President remain undisturbed. **ARTICLE 5.** This law becomes effective on the day of its publication. It becomes invalid on April 1, 1937; it also becomes invalid if the present Reich Cabinet is replaced by another.



The Reichsgesetzblatt of 24 March 1933, page 141, the official gazette in which the law was published the day after it passed. Articles 1 to 5 run down the left and across the right. The signatures at the bottom right are Hindenburg, Hitler, and three ministers.

Who wrote it, and when?	
What did the writer want the reader to think?	

Article 5 sets an expiry date and Article 2 protects the parliament. Both look like safeguards. Explain precisely why neither one worked.



DOCUMENT D • PHILIPPINES, 1972

Two texts from the same week, saying different things.

DOCUMENT D

Proclamation No. 1081, 21 September 1972. → officialgazette.gov.ph/1972/09/21/proclamation-no-1081/

Marcos was in his second term and the constitution barred a third. Martial law was formally lifted in 1981, but he kept the power to rule by decree until 1986.

From the proclamation: “NOW, THEREFORE, I, FERDINAND E. MARCOS, President of the Philippines, by virtue of the powers vested upon me by Article VII, Section 10, Paragraph (2) of the Constitution, do hereby place the entire Philippines ... under martial law.” From the television statement two days later: “I have proclaimed martial law in accordance with the powers vested in the President by the Constitution of the Philippines. The proclamation of martial law is not a military takeover.”

MANILA

PROCLAMATION NO. 1081

PROCLAIMING A STATE OF MARTIAL LAW
IN THE PHILIPPINES

WHEREAS, on the basis of carefully evaluated and verified information, it is definitely established that lawless elements who are moved by a common or similar ideological conviction, design, strategy and goal and enjoying the active moral and material support of a foreign power and being guided and directed by intensely devoted, well trained, determined and ruthless groups of men and seeking refuge under the protection of our constitutional liberties to promote and attain their ends, have entered into a conspiracy and have in fact joined and banded their resources and forces together for the prime purpose of, and in fact they have been and are actually staging, undertaking and waging an armed insurrection and rebellion against the Government of the Republic of the Philippines in order to forcibly seize political and state power in this country, overthrow the duly constituted government, and supplant our existing political, social, economic and legal order with an entirely new one whose form of government, whose system of laws, whose conception of God and religion, whose notion of individual rights and family relations, and whose political, social, economic, legal and moral precepts are based on the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist teachings and beliefs;

WHEREAS, these lawless elements, acting in concert through seemingly innocent and harmless, although actually destructive, front organizations which have been infiltrated or deliberately formed by them, have continuously and systematically strengthened and broadened their memberships through sustained and careful recruiting and enlistment of new adherents from among our peasantry, laborers, professionals, intellectuals, students, and mass media personnel, and through such sustained and careful recruitment and enlistment have succeeded in spreading and expanding their control and influence over almost every segment and level of our society throughout the land in their ceaseless effort to erode and weaken the political,

The first page of Proclamation 1081. Notice how much of it is WHEREAS clauses, building a legal case, before it reaches the single sentence that actually does something.

Who wrote it, and when?	
What did the writer want the reader to think?	

Both texts insist the action came from the constitution. Why would a man taking emergency power be so careful to keep saying that? Who is he talking to?

YOUR SECOND PARAGRAPH

About 150 words. Same shape as the Roman one.

THE QUESTION

Every one of these six men used the language of law and necessity while doing something the law had never intended. Does that make the language a lie, or does it tell us something about what people need to hear before they will accept it?

Use at least three documents. At least one has to be from the Roman set, so you are comparing across two thousand years. Name each document by its letter or number.

Two thousand years apart, six men, five languages, and every single one of them reached for the same trick. Not one of them stood up and said the rules no longer apply. All of them said the rules require this.

WHAT THIS UNIT IS ASSESSED AGAINST

Three standards. Not thirty.

Plenty of other things get touched along the way. These are the three you are actually being marked on, so these are the three worth knowing about.

CODE	WHAT IT ASKS FOR	HOW YOU SHOW IT
6.8.a	Explain and analyze strengths and weaknesses of various kinds of governance systems in terms of the purposes they are designed to serve	Can you say what the Roman Republic was FOR, and why the thing that was supposed to stop Caesar did not? Reading One, the temple diagram, and most of the test.
1.8.d	Utilize primary and secondary sources in historical research	Can you work with a real document, rather than with somebody telling you about it? The eleven sources and their analysis grids.
1.8.e	Examine historical resources for a point of view, context, bias, distortion, or propaganda	Can you see what a writer wanted you to think, and say how you know? The four questions on every document, and the painting page.

WHY THESE THREE

6.8.a is the content. Without it you will argue in committee from opinion, and anybody who understands the system will take you apart.

1.8.d and 1.8.e are the skill, and the skill outlives Rome. It is the same move whether you are reading Cicero, a trade record, or something somebody sends you in twenty years.

WHERE ALL OF THIS CAME FROM

Every reading in this packet is built on these. You can check any of it.

WHY THIS PAGE EXISTS

You spent a term learning to ask who published a number. It would be hypocritical to hand you thirty pages of history with nothing behind it. So here is where it came from.

Notice that our four main ancient sources were all writing long after the event, except one. That is not a reason to throw them out. It is a reason to know which is which.

The ancient sources

WRITER	WRITING	WHAT THEY GIVE US
Cicero	During it, 44 to 43 BC	Letters and speeches written while it was happening, by a man who was there and had strong opinions. The only contemporary voice we have in quantity.
Plutarch	c. AD 100 to 120	Life of Caesar and Life of Brutus. A Greek writer building moral biographies. Used earlier sources now lost, so he preserves things nobody else has.
Suetonius	c. AD 121	Life of the Deified Julius. Had access to the imperial archives. Loves a rumor and tells you it is a rumor, which is more honest than it sounds.
Appian	c. AD 160	The Civil Wars. A continuous narrative rather than a biography, which is why it is useful for the days after.
Cassius Dio	c. AD 220	Roman History. The furthest from the event, and the most inclined to invent the speeches people made.

Two of the most famous lines about this day are not in any of them. Caesar almost certainly did not say Et tu, Brute. That is Shakespeare, written in 1599, over sixteen hundred years later. Suetonius reports that some people said Caesar spoke Greek words meaning you too, child, and that others said he said nothing at all and simply pulled his toga over his head.

The numbers in this packet

THE CLAIM	WHERE IT COMES FROM
Caesar was stabbed twenty-three times.	Suetonius, Life of Julius Caesar 82.
Around 60 senators were involved.	Suetonius and Nicolaus of Damascus both give figures around this.
Caesar expanded the Senate to around 900.	Suetonius and Cassius Dio on Caesar's enlargement of the Senate.
The dictator held office for six months.	Standard Roman constitutional practice, described across the ancient sources.

Dictator perpetuo, February 44 BC.	Roman coinage of 44 BC carries the title, which is about as hard as ancient evidence gets.
The Lupercales crown.	Plutarch, Life of Caesar 61, and Cicero's Philippics, which disagree about what it meant.
Cicero's head and hands displayed.	Appian and Plutarch, both writing well after.
Harmodius and Aristogeiton, 514 BC.	Thucydides, Book 6, who is notably skeptical about the heroic version.

If you want to read further, the shortest route is Plutarch's Life of Brutus, which is about thirty pages and reads like a novel. It is out of copyright and freely available in English.

THE TIMELINE

For reference. Nothing to fill in. Come back to this whenever you lose your place.

Five hundred years, on one page

You do not need to memorize this. Come back to it when you lose your place.

509 BC	Rome throws out its last king and becomes a republic. Never again one man with unlimited power.
133 BC	Tiberius Gracchus, a tribune, tries to give public land to the poor. The Senate has him beaten to death in the street. It is the first time Roman politics kills a Roman politician.
107 BC	Marius lets poor men join the army. Soldiers now depend on their general for land and pay, not on Rome.
82 BC	Sulla marches his army on Rome, makes himself dictator with no time limit, and posts lists of enemies to be killed. Thousands die. Then, astonishingly, he resigns and retires.
60 BC	Caesar, Pompey and Crassus make a private deal to run Rome between them.
58 to 50 BC	Caesar conquers Gaul. Nine years, enormous wealth, and an army loyal to him personally.
49 BC	Caesar crosses the Rubicon with an army. Civil war.
48 BC	Pharsalus. Pompey is defeated and later murdered in Egypt.
Feb 44 BC	Caesar is named dictator perpetuo, dictator for life. The six month limit is gone.
15 March 44 BC	Caesar is stabbed twenty-three times in the Senate.
16 March 44 BC	You are here. The Senate meets. Nobody knows what happens next.

Four hundred and fifty years of nothing much, then everything at once. Your simulation sits in the gap between the fifth and sixth rows.

509 BC	Rome throws out its last king. The Republic begins.
133 BC	Tiberius Gracchus is beaten to death in the street. Roman politics becomes fatal.
107 BC	The legions open to men who own nothing. Armies start belonging to generals, not to Rome.
82 BC	Sulla marches on Rome and makes himself dictator with no time limit. He resigns three years later.

49 BC	Caesar crosses the Rubicon. Civil war.
48 BC	Pompey is beaten in Greece, and murdered in Egypt weeks later.
Feb 44 BC	Caesar is made dictator for life.
15 Mar 44 BC	The Ides. Caesar is stabbed twenty-three times.
16 Mar 44 BC	YOUR COMMITTEE SITS. Nothing below this line has happened yet.
20 Mar 44 BC	The funeral. Antony reads the will. The city burns.
27 BC	Augustus takes power. The Republic is finished.

THE FACTIONS

Three groups, five seats each, and nobody can pass anything alone.

The room you are walking into

Five, five and five. Eight votes carries a motion.

THE LIBERATORS	THE CAESARIANS	THE NEUTRALS
Marcus Brutus	Mark Antony	Cicero
Cassius	Lepidus	Servius Sulpicius
Decimus Brutus	Aulus Hirtius	Philippus
Publius Casca	Dolabella	Lucius Cinna
Trebonius	Calpurnius Piso	Isauricus
They held the knives. They need the word tyrant.	They hold the army, the money and the papers.	No faction. Both sides need three of them.

Nobody passes anything without persuading three people who walked in disagreeing.

THE LIBERATORS	Five seats: Marcus Brutus, Cassius, Decimus Brutus, Publius Casca and Trebonius. Five seats. Brutus, Cassius and the other conspirators. They believe they have saved the Republic. They need the Senate to declare Caesar a tyrant officially. Without that declaration they are not liberators, they are murderers, and they know it.
THE CAESARIANS	Five seats: Mark Antony, Lepidus, Aulus Hirtius, Dolabella and Calpurnius Piso. They want revenge, they want Caesar's acts honored, especially the land promised to his veterans, and they want the killers punished. They also hold the real power in the city, which is the army and the money.
THE NEUTRALS	Five seats: Cicero, Servius Sulpicius, Philippus, Lucius Cinna and Isauricus. Five seats. Cicero and the older senators. They did not love Caesar and they did not love the killing either. They want stability above everything and will go with whoever can guarantee it. They say the least and their votes decide everything.

Factions are not walls. A Caesarian might privately want the Republic back. A Liberator might be in it for revenge rather than principle. Roman politics was messy and personal, and your own character may belong to one faction in public while working with another in private. Read your

dossier carefully when you get it.



Last one before the test. Two or three sentences.

You have not been given a character yet. Based on everything you have read, which faction would you rather be in, and what would be hardest about it?

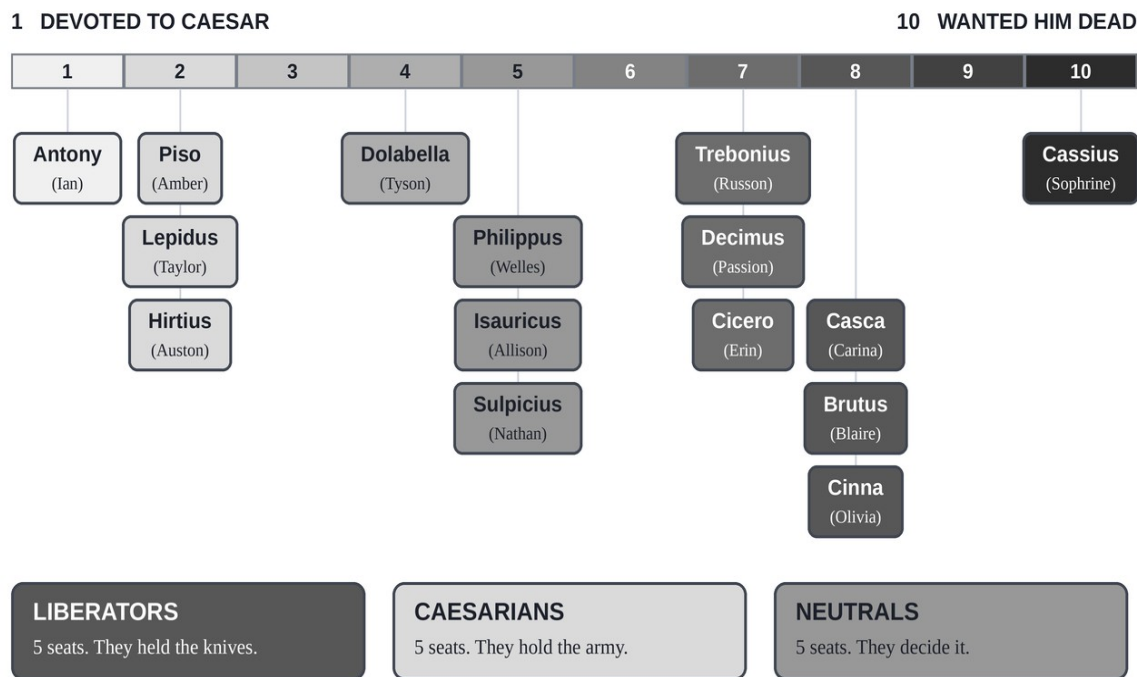
THE FIFTEEN

Five Liberators, five Caesarians, five Neutrals. One of these names is going to be yours.

SENATOR	FACTION	WHY THE ROOM LISTENS
Marcus Brutus	Liberator	The name. His ancestor threw out the last king in 509 BC.
Cassius	Liberator	He planned it. He recruited Brutus. He thinks in moves.
Decimus Brutus	Liberator	Caesar's friend, and the man who talked him into attending.
Publius Casca	Liberator	He struck first, and everybody knows it.
Trebonius	Liberator	Former consul. He kept Antony outside the door.
Aulus Hirtius	Caesarian	Consul next year, if this Senate lets him. He finished Caesar's last book.
Mark Antony	Caesarian	Consul of Rome, and the senior surviving official of the state.
Lepidus	Caesarian	A legion outside the walls. The only real force in the room.
Dolabella	Caesarian	Twenty five, in debt, and claiming Caesar's vacant consulship.
Calpurnius Piso	Caesarian	Caesar's father-in-law. The body is in his house.
Cicero	Neutral	The finest speaker alive, and no army at all.
Servius Sulpicius	Neutral	The greatest lawyer of the age. He speaks rarely.
Lucius Marcius Philippus	Neutral	Consul in 56 BC. Careful, respected, and stepfather to Caesar's heir.
Lucius Cinna	Neutral	Caesar's former brother-in-law, from a family Sulla destroyed.
Publius Servilius Isauricus	Neutral	Was consul alongside Caesar himself in 48 BC. Outranks Antony in service.

Where the room stands

The darker the box, the more that senator wanted Caesar gone.



Where each senator sits on one question: how much did they want Caesar gone? The numbers come straight from their own dossiers.

Look at the gap between Antony at one end and Cassius at the other. Now look at how many people are bunched between seven and eight. Those are the ones who will actually decide this, because they are close enough to each other to move.

Fifteen of you, fifteen of them. One of these Roman names is about to be yours, and nobody will tell you who has which.

PART TWO • GETTING READY FOR THE SENATE

The reading is done. Now you build the thing you will actually say.

Everything up to this page was so that you would know what you are talking about. From here on it is preparation.

On the first day of committee every senator gives an opening speech. Sixty to ninety seconds. Standing. In character. It is the first thing the room learns about you, and in a room of fifteen people who have never done this before, a good opening speech buys you allies before anybody has argued about anything.

WHAT HAPPENS ON THE DAY

The chair opens the session. Every senator speaks once, in an order the chair decides. Nobody interrupts. Nobody replies. You listen to fourteen other people tell you who they are and what they want, and you write it down.

Every speech has to land somewhere on one question: punish the men who killed him, or protect them. You can argue for a middle position. You cannot avoid the question.

Then the real session starts, and by then everybody already knows roughly where everybody stands. That is what the opening speeches are for.

WHAT GOES IN ONE

Four parts. In this order. Sixty to ninety seconds total.

THE HOOK	One sentence that makes the room look up. Not your name. Not good morning honorable delegates. A fact, a question, or a single hard statement. You have about six seconds before people start thinking about their own speech instead.
WHO YOU ARE	Your name, your office, and one line of why the room should care what you think. A tribune, a consul and a man with a legion outside the walls are not equal, and you should say which you are.
WHAT YOU WANT	The one thing. Not five things. If the Senate does exactly one thing today, what should it be? Say it plainly enough that somebody could repeat it back to you afterward.
WHY THEY SHOULD CARE	Not why you want it. Why it is in THEIR interest to give it to you. This is the part almost everybody skips, and it is the part that gets you votes.

THE TRAP

Do not spend your speech telling the room what happened yesterday. They were there. Fourteen other people are about to describe the same afternoon. The delegate who skips the retelling and goes straight to what should happen next sounds like the only adult in the room.

A WORKED ONE

Marcus Terentius Varro. A real senator, and deliberately not one of your fifteen.

Varro was seventy two in 44 BC and probably the most learned man in Rome. He had written hundreds of books. He had also commanded an army for Pompey against Caesar, surrendered, been pardoned, had his library confiscated, and then been put in charge of building a public one.

He is not in your committee. He is here so that you can see the four moves done properly without copying somebody you might have to argue against.

I have written four hundred and ninety books, and not one of them tells me what to do this morning.

I am Marcus Terentius Varro. I fought against Caesar in Spain and I lost. He pardoned me. He took my library, and then he asked me to build Rome a better one. I have had four years to decide whether that made him a tyrant or a great man, and I have not managed it, and I suspect neither have most of you.

So I will not ask this house to tell me what he was. I will ask it for something smaller. Write down what happened. Today, while fifteen men who were in this room can still be made to agree on the plain facts of it. Not the verdict. The facts.

Every one of you believes that history will take your side. Some of you are wrong. In thirty years the only people left arguing about yesterday will be men who were not here, working from whatever scraps we leave them, and they will believe whichever account survives. I have spent my life reading those scraps. They are thinner than you think, and they are usually written by the winner. Give the next century something better than that, and whatever else this house decides today, it will have done one thing worth doing.

THE PART	WHAT IT IS DOING, AND WHY IT WORKS
Hook	A number, then a reversal. Four hundred and ninety books is a boast, and the second half of the sentence throws it away. Nobody expects a man to open by telling you his expertise is useless.
Who you are	Three facts in one breath: he fought Caesar, lost, was pardoned. Then the confession that he still cannot decide what Caesar was, which makes him safe to listen to. Then he hands the confusion to the room: neither have most of you.
What you want	Deliberately small. Not a verdict. A record. Small asks are far harder to vote against than big ones, and he says why the timing matters: today, while the witnesses are still in the building.
Why they should care	The strongest move in the speech. He tells a room full of people who all think history will vindicate them that some of them are wrong. Then he gives them a shared enemy that is not each other: the future, and the people who will judge them without being here.

Notice what is NOT in it. No account of what happened yesterday. No greeting. No list of five demands. One ask, and four sentences of reason. About a hundred and eighty words, which is

roughly eighty seconds.

NOW DRAFT YOURS

Do not write it beautifully yet. Get the four parts down first.

Fill in the boxes in note form. Rough is fine. You will write the real version once you have said it out loud once and found out which bits do not work in your mouth.

HOOK	
WHO YOU ARE	
WHAT YOU WANT	
WHY THEY SHOULD CARE	

WRITE IT OUT PROPERLY

Sixty to ninety seconds. Roughly 150 to 200 words.

Write it as you will say it. Short sentences. Your senator's voice, not yours. Read it aloud once as you write, because sentences that look fine on paper fall apart in the mouth.

SAY IT OUT LOUD

Twice, with a timer, before you hand it in.

	WHAT TO CHECK
Time it	Under sixty seconds means you are missing a reason. Over ninety means you are retelling yesterday.
The back wall	Say it to the furthest corner. If somebody there would lose the ends of your sentences, it is too quiet.
One pause	Find your single most important sentence and mark a pause AFTER it. Silence makes a line sound deliberate.

My time, second try	
The one thing I will fix before the session	

You have done this before with elephants. The difference is that this time the words belong to a man who has been dead for two thousand years, and he is depending on you to make them sound like he meant them.

ACTIVITY • HEADLINE WARS

Twenty minutes. Three groups. Same facts, three front pages.

Rome had no newspapers. Pretend for twenty minutes that it did.

	HOW IT RUNS
2 minutes	Three groups. Group one writes for a Liberator paper. Group two for a Caesarian paper. Group three for a paper that is trying to be neutral.
10 minutes	Produce a front page for 16 March 44 BC. You need a headline, a subheading, and the first three sentences of the story. Nothing else.
3 minutes	Every fact you print must be true. You may choose which facts to print, which to leave out, and what words to use. You may not invent anything.
5 minutes	Swap pages with another group. Underline every place where a true fact has been bent by the way it is written.

Our headline	
What we deliberately left out	
What the other group bent, and how	

The neutral group usually has the hardest job and produces the dullest page. That is worth talking about at the end.

ACTIVITY • REDESIGN THE REPUBLIC

Forty minutes. Groups of three or four. Harder than it looks.

The Roman Republic had a rule that was supposed to stop exactly what Caesar did. It had a six month limit on the dictatorship. It was not enough.

Your group gets to fix it. You may add one rule, remove one rule, or change one rule. One only.

THE MENU

Real mechanisms. Every one of these exists somewhere today.

MECHANISM	WHAT IT DOES	WHO USES IT	THE CATCH
Term limit	Caps how long one person can hold an office, or how many times.	The United States, two terms for a president since 1951. Mexico, one six year term and never again.	A popular leader can change the constitution. Fujimori rewrote Peru's in 1993 so he could stand again.
Sunset clause	An emergency power switches itself off on a fixed date unless somebody renews it.	The USA PATRIOT Act of 2001 had sections that expired in 2005. Taiwan's emergency decrees carried end dates.	Renewal becomes routine. The Enabling Act expired in 1937 and was renewed three times without difficulty.
Supermajority	Some decisions need two thirds rather than half.	Amending the US Constitution needs two thirds of Congress. Japan needs two thirds of both houses.	It can still be reached. The Enabling Act passed with more than two thirds.
Judicial review	Courts can strike down a law even when the government passed it properly.	The US Supreme Court since 1803. Germany's Constitutional Court, built deliberately after 1945.	The government usually appoints the judges. Fill the court over ten years and review stops meaning much.
Separation of powers	The person who makes laws cannot be the person who enforces them.	Nearly every democracy. Rome had it: consuls enforced, the Senate advised, assemblies voted.	It slows everything down, and slowness is the complaint every strongman uses to justify removing it.
Rotation	You must leave the office for a fixed period before holding it again.	Rome, ten years between consulships. Some modern parliaments use it for committee chairs.	Caesar simply held other offices in between and kept the power without the title.
Independent army	Soldiers swear to the state rather than to a commander.	Modern professional armies swear to a constitution or a crown, not to a general.	Rome tried this. The pay came from the general, so the loyalty did too.
Automatic trigger	If a condition is met, something happens without anybody deciding.	Debt ceilings. Automatic election dates. Rules that fire whether or not anybody wants them to.	Somebody has to define the condition, and a definition can always be argued with.

THEN RANK THEM

The two we think would work best, and why	
The two we think are weakest, and why	

THE POSITION PAPER

Three paragraphs. Written as your senator. Due before the session.

You did not write one of these for the ivory committee. You are writing one now, because a person is harder to represent than a country and you need to work out what you actually think before fifteen people are looking at you.

Three paragraphs. About 400 words in total. Written in the first person, as your senator, using the word I.

	PARAGRAPH	WHAT GOES IN IT
ONE	Who you are, and what has happened	Your name, your office, and a short account of where Rome stands this morning. This is the same job a preambulatory clause does in a resolution: it sets out what everybody in the room can agree is true, before you ask for anything. Do not retell the whole Ides. Three or four sentences.
TWO	What actually needs to be resolved	Name the problem this Senate has to settle today, and say how you think it should be settled. This is the heart of the paper. What do you want to happen, and why is that the right answer rather than just your answer? Use your evidence here.
THREE	How it gets done, and what you will accept	Bring it back to the solution and make it concrete. Who does what. Then say what you could live with if you do not get it, and the one thing you will not accept. Evidence belongs here too, especially anything that shows your answer has worked before or that the alternative has failed.

THREE THINGS THAT SINK A POSITION PAPER

Retelling the Ides. Everybody reading it already knows what happened. Spend your words on what should happen next.

Writing as yourself. If your senator is a Caesarian, the paper argues for Caesar even if you personally think the conspirators were right. That is the whole exercise.

Having no line. A senator who will accept anything has nothing to negotiate with, and the room finds out within ten minutes.

A MODEL POSITION PAPER

Deliberately not about Rome. Read it for the shape, not the content.

This one is from the ivory committee you did last quarter, written by a delegate of Kenya. It is here on purpose.

About 450 words. Three paragraphs. Notice that it opens with a fact rather than an introduction, and that you know exactly where Kenya stands by the third sentence.

If the model were about Caesar, half of you would end up borrowing its sentences. Since it is about elephants, you can only borrow its SHAPE, which is the thing worth borrowing.

PARAGRAPH ONE • Who I am and where I stand

In 2008 this body approved a one-off sale of one hundred and eight tonnes of stockpiled ivory from four southern African states. About one hundred and two tonnes actually went under the hammer, to buyers in China and Japan, for roughly fifteen million dollars. The argument was that legal supply would undercut the poachers. Within a year the worst elephant killing in two decades had begun, and it ran for five. Kenya will vote against reopening the ivory trade in any form, for any length of time, under any wording. We are not asking this committee to feel sorry for elephants, because sentiment has never once protected an animal. We are asking it to look at what happened the last time it tried exactly this, and to notice that the delegations arguing for a sale today are making the same argument that failed in 2008, in almost the same words.

PARAGRAPH TWO • Why I hold it, with evidence

Look at the timing, because the timing is the argument. The sale was approved in 2008. The surge in poaching ran from 2009 to 2014. A legal sale does not shrink an illegal market, it gives that market cover, because the moment some ivory is lawful no customs officer at any border can tell which tusk is which. The smugglers did not need to stop. They needed paperwork, and this body handed it to them. Kenya has also acted rather than argued. In 2016 we burned one hundred and five tonnes of ivory in Nairobi National Park, the largest destruction in history, worth well over one hundred million dollars at black market prices. That was money we chose not to take, from animals we are never getting back. A country that has already refused the money is worth listening to on the question of whether the money is worth it.

PARAGRAPH THREE • What I will accept, and what I never will

Kenya is not here to block everything, and we will say so plainly. Here is what we will vote for. We will fund range states that carry the cost of living alongside elephants, because Botswana and Namibia are right that a farmer who loses a season's crop to a herd did not choose that cost and should not carry it alone. We will support a shared enforcement database across borders, because a tusk that crosses three countries is currently three separate investigations and should be one. We will support compensation paid directly rather than through a central fund, because Kenya has watched central funds disappear before and so has everybody in this room. We will support any proposal that moves money toward the people who live with the problem rather than the people who write about it. What we will not accept, under any wording, in any pilot, for any period, is a trial sale, a limited sale, or a one-off sale. We have seen what one-off means. It means again.

PLAN IT BEFORE YOU WRITE IT

Two boxes. Fill them in and the paper takes twenty minutes.

My position, in one sentence	
Two pieces of evidence I will use, each with a person, a date or a document	

NOTES

Blank on purpose. Use it during the unmoderated caucus, or do not.

Some delegates write everything down. Some keep it in their head and do fine. This page is here in case you are the first kind.

WRITE IT HERE

In pen, in class, in this book. Paragraph one and two.

WHY YOU ARE WRITING IT BY HAND

Everything you need is already in this book and in your envelope. The readings, the documents, the dates, your senator's own words. You do not need anything else and you are not allowed anything else.

You get class time for this. Nobody is expected to do it at home at eleven at night.

PARAGRAPH ONE • Who I am and where I stand

PARAGRAPH TWO • Why I hold it, with evidence

WRITE IT HERE

Paragraph three, then check it over.

PARAGRAPH THREE • What I will accept, and what I never will

ROME AND YOUR CASE

Two things the same, two things different. That is the whole task.

You have read about Caesar, and your group read one modern leader. Put them side by side.

	WRITE TWO OF EACH
Two things my case and Caesar have IN COMMON	
Two things that are DIFFERENT	

THEN THE HARDER ONE

Every leader here used an ordinary word to make an extraordinary act sound normal. Caesar used dictator. Napoleon used consul. Find the word your man used and say what it was hiding.

The word he used	
What it was hiding	

OPTIONAL • THE INTERROGATION

If there is time. Your teacher decides on the day.

One senator sits at the front. Everybody else questions them for six minutes. The person in the chair has to answer in character, on the spot, with no preparation.

	HOW IT RUNS
Setup	One chair at the front. Four or five students take a turn, six minutes each.
The rules	Questions must be about the senator, not about the student. No shouting. No more than two follow-ups in a row from the same person.
For the chair	You may refuse to answer. You may say you do not know. You may not break character, and you may not say I have not read it.
For everybody else	Write down the one question that produced the most interesting answer. You may want to use it on the day.

This is harder than it sounds and it exposes very quickly who has read their dossier. That is the point, and it is also why it is optional.

The best question anybody asked	
The answer that surprised me	
A question I want to be ready for	

HOW THE SESSION ACTUALLY RUNS

Not like the ivory committee. Read this before the day.

In CITES you had a chair, a speakers list and a resolution. This is a crisis committee, and it moves faster and less tidily.

The whole session is split into blocks, and your teacher decides how long each one lasts. You will always be told which block you are in.

BLOCK	WHAT HAPPENS, AND WHAT YOU DO
OPENING SPEECHES	Every senator speaks once, sixty to ninety seconds, in an order the chair decides. Nobody interrupts. You listen and take notes on where people stand.
MODERATED DEBATE	The chair runs it. You raise a hand, the chair calls you, you speak for a set time, and then you sit down. You may not reply directly to the person before you unless the chair allows it. This keeps the loudest person in the room from running it.
UNMODERATED CAUCUS	You get out of your seat. You walk across the room. You form a group with whoever will work with you. This is where everything is actually decided, and most people waste it.
PRESENTATION	Each group presents the clauses it has written. Everybody else takes notes and prepares one question.
VOTE	One vote each. Eight carries it.

THE ONE RULE ABOUT MODERATED DEBATE

You are speaking to the room, not to the person who just spoke. If you begin with I disagree with the last speaker, you have made the session about two people. Begin with your own claim and let the disagreement be obvious.

THE UNMODERATED CAUCUS

The only part where you choose who you work with. Choose well.

When the chair calls unmoderated caucus, the room stops being a Senate and becomes a corridor. You stand up and you go and find people.

Nobody is assigned to a group. If you are a Neutral, both sides will come for you, and you can walk away from either. If you are a Liberator or a Caesarian, you cannot win alone and you know it.

	WHAT THE GOOD DELEGATES DO
First two minutes	Go straight to the person you most need, before somebody else gets them. Do not wait to be approached. Do not stand with the people who already agree with you, because you have nothing to gain from them.
What to open with	Ask what they need, not what you want. A senator who knows what you want and nothing else has no reason to help you.
What to offer	Something specific from your own dossier. Support on a question you do not care about is free to give and expensive to receive.
What to avoid	Standing in a circle of four people from your own faction agreeing with each other loudly. It feels useful. It is not.

Who I went to first, and why	
What they said they needed	
What I offered them	
Who I ended up working with	

WHAT YOUR GROUP PRODUCES

A real set of clauses. Read the numbers before you start writing.

Whatever group you end up in, you leave with a written set of clauses that everybody in the group has agreed to and can defend.

	HOW MANY
PREAMBULATORY CLAUSES	Minimum 5, maximum 10. Sub-clauses count toward the maximum.
OPERATIVE CLAUSES	Minimum 5, maximum 8.

WHY THERE IS A MAXIMUM

A group that writes fifteen operative clauses has not made a strong document, it has made a list of everything anybody in the group wanted. The room cannot vote on a list. Cutting to eight forces you to argue with each other about what actually matters, and that argument is the point of the whole thing.

PREAMBULATORY	Sets out the shared picture. It states something everybody in the room can accept as true, and it proposes nothing. It ends with a comma.
OPERATIVE	Says what the Senate should DO. It has a verb, it says who acts, and where possible it says by when. It ends with a semicolon, or a period if it is the last one.

You did exactly this with ivory. The difference is that a Roman preamble cannot cite a treaty, because there is not one. It has to cite a fact, a precedent, or something the Senate itself did.

PREAMBULATORY OPENERS

Pick one. Do not invent your own until you have used these.

OPENER	WHAT IT IS FOR, AND A ROMAN EXAMPLE
Recalling	Points at something already done. Recalling that the office of dictator has carried a limit of six months since the founding of the Republic,
Noting with concern	Establishes that something has gone wrong. Noting with concern that the Senate was unable to complete its business on the fifteenth day of March,
Recognizing	Concedes a fact, often one that helps the other side. Recognizing the services rendered to the people of Rome by Gaius Julius Caesar,
Deeply disturbed by	Stronger. Deeply disturbed by the shedding of blood within a chamber of the Senate,
Bearing in mind	Introduces a constraint everybody shares. Bearing in mind that the legions of Caesar remain encamped within reach of the city,
Affirming	States a principle. Affirming that no citizen of Rome may be put to death without trial,
Having considered	Neutral and useful when you need to move on. Having considered the accounts given to this house by those present in the chamber,

OPERATIVE VERBS

Where the action is. Numbered, verb first, semicolon at the end.

SOFTER	MIDDLE	STRONGER	STRONGEST
Invites	Encourages	Urges	Demands
Requests	Calls upon	Instructs	Condemns
Recommends	Endorses	Resolves	Declares
Suggests	Decides to	Confirms	Proclaims

CHOOSE THE STRENGTH ON PURPOSE

Declares and Proclaims are the strongest words on this page, and they are the ones the Liberators need, because only a declaration makes the killing lawful. If you are a Neutral and somebody asks you to vote for Declares, notice that you are being asked for far more than the sentence looks like.

Two worked examples:

Calls upon the consul to guarantee the safety of every senator leaving this chamber today;

Declares that the death of Gaius Julius Caesar was an act performed in defense of the Republic and not a crime;

WRITE YOUR GROUP'S TWO CLAUSES

Everybody in the group copies them down. All of you will be asked about them.

Who is in our group	
What we agreed we are asking for	

Our preamble clauses. Five to ten. Opener in italics, comma at the end, each one proposes nothing.

P1	
P2	
P3	
P4	
P5	

Our operative clauses. Five to eight. Numbered, verb first, who acts, by when if you can, semicolon at the end.

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

Extra clauses, if your group has them. Preamble up to P10, operative up to 8.

Read both out loud before you present them. A clause that is hard to say is a clause the room will not vote for.

WHILE THE OTHER GROUPS PRESENT

One line each, and one question you will actually ask.

GROUP	WHAT THEY ARE ASKING FOR	COULD I VOTE FOR IT?

The one question I am going to ask, and who I am asking it of	
The clause closest to something I could support, and what would have to change	

ANSWERS

Check your work after you have done it, not while you are doing it.

Every fill-in-the-blank and every multiple choice from the eight reading checks.

If you look these up before you answer, you will do well on the checks and badly on the test, which is the wrong way round.

READING	PART A • FILL IN THE BLANK	PART B
One	509 consuls, two tribune dictator, six rex	1 b 2 c 3 c 4 b
Two	100 Gaul Rubicon dictator perpetuo	1 b 2 c 3 b
Three	sixty Liberatores Cassius 509 Curia	1 b 2 b 3 c 4 b
Four	twenty-three Pompey Capitoline amnesty Antony	1 b 2 b 3 b 4 b
Five	eight hundred Gaul life support or protect	1 c 2 c 3 b
Six	63 new trial	1 c 2 b 3 c
Seven	tyrannicide Cincinnatus Sulla Caesar	1 b 2 b 3 c
Eight	term independent press	1 c 2 b 3 b

If you got one wrong, go back to the reading and find the sentence that answers it. Do not just write the right answer in. The test at the end is closed book and it comes from these same eight readings.