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Hi,
C. JULII CAESARIS DE BELLO CIVILI.

CAESAR'S CIVIL WAR.

EDITED FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS, WITH REFERENCES TO THE
LATIN GRAMMARS OF GILDERSLEEVE, ALLEN AND
GREENOUGH, AND HARKNESS.

BY

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DEDICATION.

TO THE CLASS OF '88, OF THE HARTFORD HIGH SCHOOL, WITH WHOM HE FIRST READ THE CIVIL WAR, AND TO WHOSE NEEDS MANY OF THE PRESENT NOTES WERE ORIGINALLY ADAPTED, THIS LITTLE VOLUME IS DEDICATED BY THE EDITOR.
PREFACE.

In preparing the notes for this school edition of Caesar's Civil War, the freest use has been made of all available helps, especially the editions of Doberenz and Kraner-Hofmann, and the commentaries of Göler.

Appendix I contains brief biographies of the principal persons mentioned in the history. Appendix II contains a condensed and connected account of the constitution and working of the Roman government in Caesar's time, prepared specially for this edition by Mr. T. D. Goodell, of the Hartford High School, following the authority of Lange. Appendix III contains a brief summary of Caesar's military organization, in the preparation of which Dittenberger, Rüstow and Göler have been most serviceable. These appendices are designed to make good, so far as possible within narrow limits, a lack of the larger and expensive classical dictionaries on the part of many students of Caesar who do not look forward to a full course in Latin, and to serve as an outline-guide to further reading for those who do. Appendix IV, finally, contains all important variations in the text of the present edition from that of Nipperdey (Ed. minor, Lips., 1881).

Besides many corrections and suggestions from former colleagues in the Hartford High School, and from other friends, the Editor is under special obligation to Mr. T. D. Goodell, for cordial assistance in every part of the work. Very valuable criticism has also been received from Prof. B. L. Gildersleeve, of Johns Hopkins University, to whom proofs of the book have been submitted.

B. PERRIN.

HUDSON, Ohio, May, 1882.
INTRODUCTION.

(Translated freely from Doberenz.)

1 Gaius Julius Caesar was born in July of the year 100 B.C. During his youth therefore occurred the civil war between Marius and Sulla, that bitter struggle between the aristocrats and the people, between the rich and the poor, which ended with the conquest of the latter, and the tyranny of Sulla. This conflict and its issue must have made a great impression upon such a gifted youth as Caesar, whose many talents had been most carefully trained and developed, and who was led by the high position of his family (his father was Praetor) to take a close interest in political affairs. He craved honor and renown, influence and power. Sulla's example showed him that the republic had come into such a condition that it was easy for a bold and resolute man, provided he could secure the support of a strong party, to put himself at the head of the government. Sulla had done this with the aid of the aristocrats; Caesar put himself on the side of the people, and reached his ends by a conflict with the Senate and aristocratic party. This policy was no doubt largely due to his relationship to Sulla's great antagonist Marius, who was his uncle, and who had introduced him to public life. His persecutions also at the hands of Sulla naturally drove him into the opposite party. In 83 Caesar married the daughter of Cinna, a supporter of Marius. Sulla ordered him to break the marriage. Caesar refused to do it, and lost by his refusal the office of priest to Jupiter, which Marius had caused to be given him in 87, the dowry of his wife, and his own property. He fled the city, and wandered about the Sabine mountains in a vain attempt to escape the spies of Sulla. He was finally captured, and obliged to ransom himself with a large sum of money. At last Sulla pardoned him, but said to those who had begged him off, "There is more than one Marius in
him, and the nobles may well look out for this loosely dressed boy."

2 Caesar began his struggle against the nobility immediately after Sulla’s death (78 B.C.), by accusing Dolabella, a supporter of Sulla, of extortion in his province of Macedonia. He made a good impression on the people by his eloquence, and by his bold opposition to the party in power. The acquittal of Dolabella by the Senate increased the hatred of the people toward the nobles.

3 In the winter of 76 Caesar went to Rhodes to study under the famous rhetorician Molo. From here the third Mithridatic War (74–63) brought him into Asia Minor, where he raised troops on his own authority, and upheld the Roman power. During his absence from Rome he had been chosen into the college of pontiffs (see App. II, 15), and on his return was elected military tribune by the people, a choice which showed that he already stood high in their favor. This favor steadily increased as he continued to uphold the interests of the people against the party of the nobles, to favor all laws intended to restore the political rights of the people which Sulla had removed, and to delight the masses by unbounded generosity, especially during his Aedileship (65). To rise by means of the people, to break the power of the Senate and aristocracy, and then to rule over both, this was Caesar’s deliberate plan, which he gradually carried out with the greatest carefulness and precision.

4 Pompey had very great reputation and influence at Rome after Sulla’s death. He was six years older than Caesar, had been an eager supporter of Sulla, had helped to found and sustain his institutions, and ranked now as the greatest general of his age, and the chief of the aristocratic party. But this party distrusted, envied, and feared him, and he therefore sought to get the good will of the people, especially during his consulship in 70, by restoring the power of their tribunes which Sulla had curtailed. Caesar supported him in this measure, and so an alliance arose between them, in which Caesar seemed to have a minor importance, and to serve mainly the interests of Pompey, but in which he was really carrying out his own private designs. The more Pompey was supported by Caesar and the people, the greater became the distrust of the nobles toward him, and the easier it was to deprive the aristocratic party of their great leader.
5 After Caesar had served as Praetor in 62, he received Hispania Ulterior as his province. He returned from there to Rome in 60, with wealth and military fame, and was elected consul for the next year. His colleague was the aristocrat Bibulus, who had almost no influence at all compared with Caesar. In order now to carry on his plans with greater success, Caesar makes an ally of Crassus, the wealthiest man of his times, reconciles him to his former enemy, Pompey, and forms what is called the First Triumvirate, a union of shrewdness, renown, and riches, by which Caesar hoped to rise in power, Pompey to maintain his power, and Crassus to make more money. Nothing was to occur in the state which was displeasing to either of the three. The marriage of Pompey to Caesar's daughter Julia, made the league the stronger.

6 With the help of these two allies, Caesar now, as consul, carried measures which made him still more popular with the people, and weakened the power of the Senate, while he appeared to be working only for the interests of Pompey and Crassus. On motion of the tribune Vatinius, the people voted that after his consulship Caesar should have Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum as his province, for five years, with a force of three legions. Gallia Transalpina and a fourth legion were soon added. Now Caesar had what he wished: a province where rich booty and great fame could be won, and yet near enough to Rome to allow him to watch and manage what transpired there. In 58 he began the Gallic war, by which he increased the territory subject to Rome, won fame and wealth, and secured a trained and devoted army, on which he could unhesitatingly rely.

7 Crassus and Pompey remained in Rome, and supported the interests of the triumvirate. In 56 the three men met at Luca to arrange their plans for the future. It was decided that Pompey and Crassus should be consuls for the next year, and then receive provinces. Caesar lent his support to this on condition that his own term of office should be extended five years, i.e. from 53 to December 49, that at the close of this period he should be consul for the second time, and that the legions which he had raised without authority should be paid by the state. This was granted, and in 55 Pompey and Crassus were consuls. Crassus went to Syria as his province, but Pompey remained at Rome after his consulship had expired, and had his legates manage his province (Spain), a thing which was contrary to all precedent. His excuse was that the oversight of the
grain imports, which had previously been committed to him, demanded his presence. The real reason however was, that he wished, now that he was alone in the capital, to create for himself a more independent power than he had hitherto held. He had gradually perceived that Caesar had been using him all along for his own ends, and his dependence upon Caesar had become unbearable. The death of Julia (54) also removed a great obstacle to any estrangement, and when Crassus fell in 53, in his foolish war with the Parthians, the question became simply this: should Pompey or Caesar be first.

8 Affairs were such at Rome that Pompey hoped he could obtain the power of dictator from the Senate. This body had become alarmed at the frequent disturbances of the people, and looked to Pompey as its leader the more he removed himself from Caesar and the party of the people. It gave him orders to watch over the safety of the city, and to raise troops in Italy. In 52 he was elected sole consul, and began to take steps against Caesar, though indirectly. Two obsolete decrees, which would tell especially against Caesar, he caused to be renewed, viz., that no one should be candidate for public office while absent from the city, and that no one should receive a province for five years after holding a public office. Pompey had however first secured his province of Spain for five years more. Caesar, who designed to stand for consul again at the expiration of the legal interval, ten years, complained of the provision that no one could stand for office without being in the city, especially as this had been allowed Pompey. Thereupon it was publicly voted that this law should not apply to Caesar. Pompey was obliged to accede to this, but began to take measures to separate Caesar from his now formidable army. Gaius Marcellus, consul in 50, a bitter enemy of Caesar, moved that on November 13th Caesar be recalled from his province and army. In the debate on this motion, Curio, the brilliant tribune of the people whom Caesar had bribed over to himself, favored the thing, but proposed that a like measure be passed concerning Pompey. Between these two propositions no vote was reached. Pompey, it is true, expressed to the Senate his willingness to give up his province and dismiss his army, but took no steps in the matter, and even secured a vote in the Senate, by which, under pretext of the Parthian war, two legions were taken from Caesar. These he retained near Rome.
Shortly after this a rumor spread that Caesar had crossed the Alps and was advancing on Rome. Upon this Marcellus, with the consuls who had been elected for the following year, Lentulus and Gaius Marcellus the younger, went to Pompey and authorized him in their names to defend the republic, and to raise troops in Italy at his pleasure. Curio now hurried to Caesar, who was at Ravenna, and urged him to march at once on Rome. Caesar, however, wrote a letter to the Senate and the new consuls, in which he set forth his services to the state, defended himself from the charges made against him by his enemies, and begged that he be not deprived of the privilege already granted him by the people, of standing for the consular election while absent. At the same time he promised to dismiss his army whenever Pompey did so. If, however, Pompey refused, then he too must keep his army and defend himself. This letter Curio gave to the consuls, in the Senate, and in the presence of the tribunes of the people, January 1, 49. What followed is told by Caesar.
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COMMENTARIUS PRIMUS.

I. Litteris a Gaio Caesare consulibus redditis, aegre ab his impetratum est summa tribunorum plebis contentione ut in senatu recitarentur; ut vero ex litteris ad senatum referretur impetrari non potuit. Referunt consules de republica infinite. L. Lentulus consul senatui rei publicae se non defuturum pollicitur, si audacter ac fortiter sententias dicere velint; sin Caesarem respicient atque ejus gratiam sequantur, ut superioribus fecerint temporibus, se sibi consilium capturum nec senatus auctoritati obtemperetur; habere se quoque ad Caesaris gratiam atque amicitiam receptum. In eandem sententiam loquitur Scipio: Pompeio esse in animo reipublicae non deesse, si senatus sequatur; si cunctetur atque agat lenius, nequiquam ejus auxilium, si postea velit, senatum imploraturum. II. Haec Scipionis oratio, quod senatus in urbe habebatur Pompeiusque ade-rat, ex ipsius ore Pompeii mitti videbatur. Dixerat aliquis leniorem sententiam, ut primo M. Marcellus, ingressus in eam orationem, non oportere ante de ea re ad senatum referri quam defectus tota Italia habit et exercitus conscripti essent, quo praesidio tuto et libere senatus quae vellet de- cernere anderet; ut M. Calidius, qui censebat ut Pompeius in suas provincias proficisceretur, ne qua esset armorum causa: timere Caesarem, creptis ab eo duabus legionibus, ne ad ejus periculum reservare et retinere cas ad urbem Pom-peius videretur; ut M. Rufus, qui sententiam Calidii paucis 25

Refertur confestim de intercessione tribunorum. Dicuntur sententiae graves; ut quisque acerbissime crudelissimeque dixit, ita quam maxime ab inimicis Caesaris collaudatur. III. Misso ad vesperum senatu omnes qui sunt ejus ordinis a Pompeio evocantur. Laudat Pompeius atque in posterum confirmat, seigniores castigat atque incitat. Multi undique ex veteribus Pompeii exercitibus spe praemiorum atque ordinum evocantur, multi ex duabus legionibus quae sunt traditaec a Caesare acsessuntur. Completur urbs militibus, comitium tribunis, centurionibus, evocatis. Omnes amici consulum, necessarii Pompeii atque eorum qui veteres inimicitias cum Caesare gerebant, in senatum coguntur; quorum vocibus et concursu terrentur infirmiores, dubii confirmantur, plerisque vero libere dcernendi potestas eripitur. Pollicetur L. Piso censor sese iturum ad Caesarem, item L. Roscius praetor, qui de his rebus eum doceant; sex dies ad eam rem conficiendam spatii postulant. Dicuntur etiam ab nonnullis sententiae, ut legati ad Caesarem mittantur, qui voluntatem senatus ei proponant. IV. Omnibus his resistitur omnibusque oratio consulis, Scipionis, Catonis opponitur. Catonem veteres inimicitiae Caesaris incitant et dolor repulsae. Lentulus aeris alieni magnitudine et spe exercitus ac provinciarum et regum appellandorum largitionibus movetur, seque alterum fore Sullam inter suos gloriatur, ad quem summa imperii redeat. Scipionem cadem spes provinciae atque exercituum impellit, quos se pro necessitudine partiturum cum
Pompeio arbitratur, simul judiciorum metus, adulatio atque ostentatio sui et potentium qui in republica judiciisque tum plurimum pollebant. Ipse Pompeius, ab inimicis Caesaris incitatus et quod neminem dignitate secum exaequari volebat, totum se ab ejus amicitia averterat et cum communibus inimicis in gratiam redierat, quorum ipse maximam partem illo affinitatis tempore injunxerat Caesaris; simul infamia duarum legionum permutus, quas ab itinere Asiae Syriaeque ad suam potentiam dominatumque converterat, rem ad arma deduci studebat. V. His de causis aguntur omnia raptim atque turbate. Nec docendi Caesaris propinquis ejus spatum datur, nec tribunis plebis sui periculi deprecandi neque etiam extrenm juris intercessionem retinendi, quod L. Sulla reliquerat, facultas tribuitur, sed de sua salute septimo die cogitare coguntur, quod illi turbulentissimorum superioribus temporibus tribuni plebis duodecimo denique mense suarum actionum respicere ac timere consuerant. Decurritur ad illud extremum atque ultimum senatus consultum, quo nisi paene in ipso urbis incendio atque in desperatione omnium salutis numquam ante descensum est; dent operam consules, praetores, tribuni plebis, qui pro consulibus sint ad urbench, ne quid respública detrimenti capiat. Haec senatus-consulto perscribuntur a. d. 137 Id. Jan. Itaque v primis diebus quibus habebi senatus potuit, qua ex die consulatum iniiit Lentulus, hidiu excepto comitiali, et de imperio Caesaris et de amplissimis viris, tribunis plebis, gravissime acerbissimeque decernitur. Profugiunt statim ex urbe tribuni plebis seseque ad Caesarèm conferunt. Is eo tempore erat Ravennae exspectabatque sus lenissimis postulatis responsa, si qua hominem aequitate res ad otium deduci posset. VI. Proximis diebus habetur extra urbem senatus. Pompeius eadem illa quae per Scipionem ostenderat agit; senatus virtutem constantiamque collaudat; copias suas exponit: legiones habere sese paratas x; praeterea cognitum compertumque sibi alieno esse animo in Caesarem milites, neque iis posse persuaderi uti eum defendant aut sequuntur.
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saltém. De reliquis rebus ad senatum refertur: tota Italia
delectus habeatur; Faustus Sulla propere in Mauritiam
mittatur; pecunia uti ex aerario Pompeio detur. Refertur
etiam de rege Juba ut socius sit atque amicus; Marcellus
vero passum in præsensia negat. De Fausto impedit
Philippus tribunnus plebis. De reliquis rebus senatuscon-
sulta perscribuntur. Provinciae privatis decernuntur, duæ
consulares, reliquae praetoriae. Scipioni obvenit Syria, L.
Domitio Gallia. Philippus et Cotta privato consilio præ-
tereuntur, neque eorum sortes dejiciuntur. In reliquis
provincias praetores mittuntur. Neque exspectant, quod su-
perioribus annis acciderat, ut de eorum imperio ad populum
feratur, paludatique votis nuncupatis exent. Consules,
quod ante id tempus accidit numquam, ex urbe proficis-
cuntur, lictoresque habent in urbe et Capitolio privati contra
omnia vetustatis exempla. Tota Italia electus habentur,
arma imperantur, pecuniae a municipiis exiguntur, e fanis
tolluntur; omnia divina humanaque jura permiscuntur.

VII. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar apud milites contio-
natur. Omnium temporum injurias inimicorum in se com-
memorat; a quibus deductum ac depravatum Pompeium
queritur invidia atque obtrectatione laudis suae, cujus ipse
honori et dignitati semper favorit adjutorque fuerit. Novum
in republica introductum exemplum queritur, ut tribunicia
intercessio armis notaretur atque opprimetur, quae supe-
rioribus annis esset restituta. Sullam nudata omnibus rebus
tribunicia potestate tamen intercessionem liberam reliquisse;
Pompeium, qui amissa restituisse videatur bona, etiam quae
ante habuerint ademisse. Quotienscumque sit decretum,
darent operam magistratus, ne quid respublica detrimenti
caperet (qua voce et quo senatusconsulto populus Romanus
ad arma sit vocatus), factum in perniciosis legibus, in vi
tribunicia, in secessione populi templis locisque editioribus
occupatis; atque haec superioris aetatis exempla expiata
Saturnini atque Gracchorum casibus docet; quarum rerum
illo tempore nihil factum, ne cogitatum quidem. Hortatur, cujus imperatoris ductu VIII annis rempublicam felicissime gesserint plurimaque proelia secunda fecerint, omnem Galli- liam Germaniamque pacaverint, ut ejus existimationem dignitatemque ab inimicis defendant. Conclamant legionis XIII, quae aderat, milites (hanc enim initio tumultus evocaverat; reliquae nondum venerant), sese paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis injurias defendere.

VIII. Cognita militum voluntate Ariminum cum ea legione proficiscitur ibique tribunos plebis qui ad eum confugerant convenit; reliquas legiones ex hibernis evocat et subsequi jubet. Eo L. Caesar adolescens venit, cujus pater Caesaris erat legatus. Is, reliquo sermone confecto cujus rei causa venerat, habere se a Pompeio ad eum privati officii mandata demonstrat: velle Pompeium se Caesari purgatum, ne ea quae reipublicae causa egerit, in suam contumeliam vertat. Semper se reipublicae commoda privatis necessitudinis habuisse potiora. Caesarem quoque pro sua dignitate debere et studium et iracundiam suam reipublicae dimittere neque adeo graviter irasci inimicis, ut, cum illis nocere se speret, reipublicae noceat. Pauca ejusdem generis addit cum excusatione Pompeii conjuncta. Eadem fere atque eisdem verbis praetor Roscius agit cum Caesare sibique Pompeium commemorasse demonstrat. IX. Quae res etsi nihil ad levandas injurias pertinere videbantur, tamen idoneos nactus homines, per quos ea quae vellet ad eum perferrentur, petit ab utroque, quoniam Pompeii mandata ad se detulerint, ne graventur sua quoque ad eum postulata deferre, si parvo labore magnas controversias tollere atque omnem Italian metu liberare possint. Sibi semper primam reipublicae fuisse dignitatem vitaque potiores. Doluisse se, quod populi Romani beneficium sibi per contumeliam ab inimicis extorque-retur, ereptoque semenstri imperio in urbem retraheretur, cujus absentis rationem haberí proximís comitií populus jussisset. Tamen hanc jacturam honoris sui reipublicae causa aequo animo tulisse; cum litteras ad senatum miserit,
ut omnes ab exercitibus discederent, ne id quidem impetra-
visse. Tota Italia delectus haber, retineri legiones ii quae
ab se simulatione Parthici belli sint abductae, civitatem esse
in armis. Quonam haec omnia nisi ad suam perniciem per-
tinere? Sed tamen ad omnia se descendere paratum atque
omnia pati reipublicae causa. Profisciscatur Pompeius in
suas provincias, ipsis exercitus dimittunt, discedant in Italia
omnes ab armis, metus e civitate tollatur, libera comitia
atque omnis respublica senatu et populo Romano permis-
tatur. Haec quo facilius certisque condicionibus siant et
jurejurando sanciantur, aut ipse propius accedat aut se
patiatur accedere; fore uti per colloquia omnes controversiae
componantur. X. Acceptis mandatis Roscius a Caesare
Capuam pervenit ibique consules Pompeiumque invenit;
postulata Caesaris renuntiat. Illi deliberata re respondent
scriptaque ad eum mandata remittunt, quorum haec erat
summa: Caesar in Galliam revertetur, Arimino excederet,
exercitus dimitteret; quae si fecisset, Pompeium in Hispanic
ias iturum. Interea, quoad fides esset data Caesarem
facturum quae polliceretur, non intermissuros consules Pom-
peiumque delectus. XL Erat iniqua condicio postulare ut
Caesar Arimino excederet atque in provinciam revertetur,
ipsum et provincias et legiones alienas tenere; exercitum
Caesaris velle dimitti, delectus habere; polliceri se in pro-
vinciam iturum, neque ante quem diem iturus sit definire,
ulterius, si peracto consulatu Caesaris non profectus esset, nulla
tamen mendacii religione obstrictus videretur; tempus vero
colloquio non dare neque accessurum polliceri magnam pacis
desperationem afferrebat. Itaque ab Arimino M. Antonium
cum cohortibus in Arretium mittit; ipse Arimini cum duabus
subsistit ibique delectum habere instituit; Pisaurum, Fa-
num, Anconam singulis cohortibus occupat. XII. Interea
certior factus Iguvium Thermum praetorem cohortibus v
tener, oppidum munire, omniumque esse Iguvinorum op-
timam erga se voluntatem, Curionem cum tribus cohortibus;
quas Pisauri et Arimini habebat, mittit. Cujus adventu
ludo habebat, ad forum productos Lentulus spe libertatis
confirmat atque his equos attribuit et se sequi jussit; quos
postea monitus ab suis, quod ea res omnium judicio repre-
hendebatur, circum familias conventus Campaniae custodiae
causa distribuit. XV. Auximo Caesar progressus omnem
agrum Picenum percurririt. Cunctae earum regionum praef-
fectorae libertissimis animis cum recipiunt exercitumque
ejus omnibus rebus juvanti. Etiam Cingulo, quod oppidum
Labienus constituerat suaque pecunia exaedificaverat, ad
eum legati veniunt, quaeque imperaverit se cupidissime
facturos pollicentur. Milites imperat: mittunt. Interea
legio xii Caesarem consequitur. Cum his duabus Asculum
Picenum proficiscitur. Id oppidum Lentulus Spinther x
cohortibus tenebat; qui Caesaris adventu cognito profugit
ex oppido cohortesque secum abducere conatus magna parte
militum deseritur. Relictus in itinere cum paucis incidit in
Vibullium Rufum missum a Pompeio in agrum Picenum
confermandorum hominum causa. A quo factus Vibullius
certior quae res in Piceno gerentur, milites ab eo accipit,
ipsum dimittit. Item ex finitimis regionibus quas potest
contrahit cohortes ex delectibus Pompeianis; in his Came-
rino fugientem Lucilium Hirrum cum sex cohortibus, quas
ibi in praesidio habuerat, excipit; quibus coactis xiii efficit.
Cum his ad Domitium Ahenobarbum Corfinium magnis iti-
eribus pervenit Caesaremque adesse cum legionibus duabus
nuntiat. Domitius per se circiter xx cohortes Alba, ex
Marsis et Pelignis, finitimis ab regionibus coëgerat. XVI.
Recepto Asculo expulsoque Lentulo Caesar conquiri milites
qui ab eo discesserant, delectumque institui jubet; ipse unum
diem ibi rei frumentariae causa moratus Corfinium con-
tendit. Eo cum venisset, cohortes v praemissae a Domitio ex
oppido pontem fluminis interrumpebant, qui erat ab oppido
milia passuum circiter iii. Ibi cum antecursoribus Caesaris
proelio commisso celeriter Domitiani a ponte repulsi se in op-
pidum receperunt. Caesar legionibus traductis ad oppidum
constitit juxtaque murum castra posuit.
XVII. Re cognita Domitius ad Pompeium in Apulum peritos regionum magno proposito praemio cum litteris mittit, qui petant atque orent ut sibi subveniat; Caesarem duobus exercitibus et locorum angustiis facile intercludi posse frumentoque prohiberi. Quod nisi fecerit, se cohortesque amplius xxx magnumque numerum senatorum atque equitum Romanorum in periculum esse venturum. Interim suos cohortatus tormenta in muris disponit certasque cuique partes ad custodiam urbis attribuit; militibus in contione agros ex suis possessionibus pollicetur, quaterna in singulos jugera et pro rata parte centurionibus evocatisque. XVIII. Interim Caesari nuntiatur Sulmonenses, quod oppidum a Corfinio vii milium intervallo abest, cupere ea facere quae vellet, sed a Q. Lucretio senatore et Attio Peligno prohiberi, qui id oppidum viii cohortium praesidio tenebant. Mittit eo M. Antonium cum legionis xiii cohortibus vii. Sulmonenses, simul atque signa nostra viderunt, portas aperuerunt universique, et oppidani et milites, obviam gratulantes Antonio exierunt. Lucretius et Attius de muro se dejecterunt. Attius ad Antonium deductus petit ut ad Caesarem mittetur. Antonius cum cohortibus et Attio, eodem die quo profectus erat, revertitur. Caesar eas cohortes cum exercitu suo conjunxit Attiumque incolum dimisit. Caesar primis diebus castra magnis operibus munire et ex finitimis municipiis frumentum comportare reliquasque copias exspectare instituit. Eo triduo legio viii ad eum venit cohortesque ex novis Galliae delectibus xxii equitesque ab rege Norico circiter ccc. Quorum adventu altera castra ad alteram oppidi partem ponit; his castris Curionem praefecit. Reliquis diebus oppidum vallo castellisque circumvenire instituit. Cujus operis maxima parte effecta eodem fere tempore missi a Pompeio revertuntur. XIX. Litteris perlectis Domitius dissimulans in concilio pronuntiat Pompeium celeriter subsidio venturum hortaturque eos ne animo deficiant, quaeque usui ad defendendum oppidum sint parent. Ipse arcano cum paucis familiaribus suis colloquitur consiliumque fugae ca-
DE BELLO CIVILI

pere constituit. Cum vultus Domitii cum oratione non consentiret atque omnia trepidantius timidiusque ageret quam superioribus diebus consuesset, multumque cum suis consiliandi causa secreto praeter consuetudinem colloquetur, concilia conventusque hominum fugeret, res diutius tegit dissimulaziue non potuit. Pompeius enim resipserat sese rem in summum periculum deducturum non esse, neque suo consilio aut voluntate Domitium se in oppidum Corfinium contulisse; proinde, si qua fuisse facultas, ad se cum omnibus copiis vereiret. Id ne fieri posset, obsidione atque oppidi circummunitione fiebat. XX. Divulgato Domitii consilio milites qui erant Corfinii prima vesperi secessionem faciunt atque ita inter se per tribunos militum centurionesque atque honestissimos sui generis colloquuntur: obsideri se a Caesare; opera munitionesque prope esse perfectas; ducem suum Domitium, cujus spe atque fiducia permanse-rint, projectis omnibus fugae consilium capere; debere se suae salutis rationem habere. Ab his primo Marsi dissentire incipiunt camque oppidi partem quae munitissima videre-tur occupant, tantaque inter eos dissensio existit, ut manum conserere atque armis dimicare contentur; post paulo tamen internuntiis ultra citroque missis, quae ignorabant de L. Domitii fuga cognoscunt. Itaque omnes uno consilio Domitiun productum, in publicum circumsistunt et custodiunt legatosque ex suo numero ad Caesarem mittunt: sese paras-tos esse portas aperire quaeque imperaverit facere et L. Domitium vivum ejus potestati tradere. XXI. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar, etsi magni interesse arbitrabatur quam primum oppido potiri cohortesque ad se in castra traducere, ne qua aut largitionibus aut animi confirmatione aut falsis nuntiis commutatio fieret voluntatis, quod saepe in bello parvis momentis magni casus intercederent, tamen veritus ne militum introitu et nocturni temporis licentia oppidum diriperetur, eos qui venerant collaudat atque in oppidum dimittit, portas murosque asservari jubet. Ipse in iis operibus quae facere instituerat milites disponit, non certis
spatiis intermissis, ut erat superiorum dierum consuetudo,
sed perpetuis vigiliis stationibusque, ut contingent inter se
atque omnem munitionem expleant; tribunos militum et
praefectos circummittit atque hortatur non solum ab erup-
tionibus caveant, sed etiam singulorum hominum occultos
exitus asservent. Neque vero tam remisso ac languido animo
quisquam omnium fuit, qui ea nocte conquievet. Tanta
erat summae rerum exspectatio, ut alius in aliam partem
mente atque animo traheretur, quid ipsis Corfiniensibus,
quid Domitio, quid reliquis accideret, qui quosque eventus exciperent. XXII. Quarta vigilia circiter
Lentulus Spinther de muro cum vigiliis custodibusque nos-
tris colloquitur: velle, si sibi fiat potestas, Caesarem con-
venerit. Pacta potestate ex oppido mittitur, neque ab eo
prius Domitian milites discendunt quam in conspectum
Caesaris deducatur. Cum eo de salute sua agit, orat atque
obsecrat ut sibi parcat, veteremque amicitiam commemorat
Caesareisque in se beneficiar exponit, quae erant maxima:
quod per eum in collegium pontificum venerat, quod provinc-
icam Hispaniam ex praetura habuerat, quod in petitione
consulatus erat sublevatus. Cujus orationem Caesar in-
terpellat: se non malefici causa ex provincia egressum, sed uti
se a contumeliis inimicorum defenderet, ut tribunos plebis
in ea re civitate expulsos in suam dignitatem restitueret,
ut se et populum Romanum factione paucorum oppressum
in libertatem vindicaret. Cujus oratione confirmatus Len-
tulus ut in oppidum reverti liceat petit: quod de sua salutе
impetraverit, fore etiam reliquis ad suam spem solatio; adeo
esse perterritos nonnulllos, ut suae vitae durius consulere
cogantur. Facta potestate discedit. XXIII. Caesar, ubi
luxit, omnes senatores senatorumque liberos, tribunos mili-
tum equitesque Romanos ad se produci jubet. Erant quin-
dque ordinis senatorii, L. Domitius, P. Lentulus Spinther,
L. Caecilius Rufus, Sex. Quintilius Varus quaestor, L. Ru-
brius; praeterea filius Domiti aliique complures adolescentes
et magnus numerus equitum Romanorum et decurionum,
quos ex municipiis Domitius evocaverat. Hos omnes productos a contumeliiis militum conviciisque prohibet; paucu apud eos loquitur, quod sibi a parte eorum gratia relata non sit pro suis in eos maximis beneficiis; dimittit omnes incolumes. Hs lx, quod advexerat Domitius atque in publico deposuerat, allatum ad se a duumviris Corfiniensibus Domitio reddit, ne continentior in vita hominum quam in pecunia fuisset videatur, etsi eam pecuniam publicam esse constabat datamque a Pompeio in stipendium. Milites Domitianos 10 sacramentum apud se dicere jubet atque eo die castra movet justumque iter conficit, vii omnino dies ad Corfinium commoratus, et per fines Marrucinorum, Frentanorum, Larinatum in Apulum pervenit.

XXIV. Pompeius, his rebus cognitis quae erant ad Corfinium gestae, Luceria proficiscitur Canusium atque inde Brundisium. Copias undique omnes ex novis delectibus ad se cogi jubet; servos, pastores armat atque iis equos attribuit; ex his circiter ccc equites conficit. L. Manlius praetor Alba cum cohortibus sex profugit, Rutilius Lupus praetor 20 Tarracina cum tribus; quae procul equitatum Caesaris conspicatae, cui praeerat Vibius Curius, relictio praetore signa ad Curium transferunt atque ad eum transeunt. Item reliquis itineribus nonnullae cohortes in agmen Caesaris, aliae in equites incidunt. Reducitur ad eum deprensus ex itinere N. Magius Cremona, praefectus fabrum Cn. Pompeii. Quem Caesar ad eum remittit cum mandatis: quoniam ad id tempus facultas colloquendi non fuerit, atque ipse Brundisium sit venturus, interesse reipublicae et communis salutis se cum Pompeio colloqui; neque vero idem profici longo 25 itineris spatio, cum per alios condiciones ferantur, ac si coram de omnibus conditionibus discipientur. XXV. His datis mandatis Brundisium cum legionibus vi pervenit, veteranis iii et reliquis quas ex novo delectu confecerat atque in itinere compleverat; Domitianas enim cohortes protinus a Corfinio in Siciliam miserat. Reperit consules Dyrrhachium prefectos cum magna parte exercitus, Pompeium remanere
Brundisii cum cohortibus viginti; neque certum inveniri poterat, obtinendine Brundisii causa ibi remansisset, quo facilius omne Hadriaticum mare extremis Italie partibus regionibusque Graeciae in potestate haberet atque ex utraque parte bellum administrare posset, an inopia navium ibi restitisset; veritusque ne ille Italianum dimittendam non existimaret, exitus administrationesque Brundisini portus impedire instituit. Quorum operum haec erat ratio. Quae fauces erant angustissimae portus, moles atque aggerem ab utraque parte litoris jaciebat, quod his locis erat vadum mare. Longius progressus, cum agger altiore aqua contineri non posset, rates duplices quoquooversus pedum xxx e regione molis collocabat. Has quaternis ancoris ex IIII angulis destinabat, ne fluctibus moverentur. His perfectis collocatisque alias deinceps pari magnitudine rates jungebat. Has terra atque agger interegebat, ne aditus atque incursus ad defendendum impediretur; a fronte atque ab utroque latere eratibus ac pluteis protegerat; in quarta quaque earum turres binorum tabulorum excitabat, quo commodius ab impetu navium incendiisque defenderet. XXVI. Contra haec Pompeius naves magnas onerarias, quas in portu Brundisino deprehenderat, adornabat. Ibi turres cum ternis tabulatis erigebat easque multis tormentis et omni genere telorum completas ad opera Caesaris appellebat, ut rates perrumperet atque opera disturbaret. Sic quotidie utrimque eminus fundis, sagittis reliquisque telis pugnabatur. Atque haec Caesar ita administrabat, ut condiciones pacis dimittendas non existimaret; ac tametsi magnopere admirabatur Magium, quem ad Pompeium cum mandatis miserat, ad se non remitti, atque ea res saepe tentata etsi impetus ejus consiliaque tardabat, tamen omnibus rebus in eo perseverandum putabat. Itaque Caninium Rebilum legatum, familiarem necessariumque Scriboni Libonis, mittit ad eum colloquii causa; mandat ut Libonem de concilianda pace hortetur; imprimit ut ipse cum Pompeio colloquere tur postulat; magnopere sese confidere demonstrat, si ejus
rei sit potestas facta, fore ut acquis condicionibus ab armis
discedatur; cujus rei magnam partem laudis atque existima-
tionis ad Libonem perventuram, si illo auctore atque agente
ab armis sit discessum. Libo a colloquio Canini digressus ad
Pompeium proficiscitur. Paulo post renuntiat, quod cons-
ules absint, sine illis non posse agi de compositione. Ita
saepius rem frustra tentatam Caesar aliquando dimittendam
sibi judicat et de bello agendum. XXVII. Prope dimidia
parte operis a Caesare effecta diebusque in ea re consumptis
naves a consulis Dyrrhachio remissae, quae priorum
partem exercitus eo deportaverant, Brundisium revertuntur.
Pompeius sive operibus Caesaris permutus, sive etiam quod
ab initio Italia excedere constituerat, adventu navium pro-
fectionem parare incipit, et quo facilius impetum Caesaris
tardaret, ne sub ipsa profectione milites oppidum irrumpe-
rent, portas obtuist, vicos plateasque inaedificat, fossas
transversas viis praeducit atque ibi sudes stipitesque praec-
cutos desigat. Haece levibus cratibus terraque inaequat;
aditus autem atque itinera duo quae extra murum ad portum
ferebant, maximis defixis trabibus atque eis praecutis praes-
sepit. His paratis rebus milites silentio naves conscendere
jubet, expeditos autem ex evocatis, sagittariis funditori-
bisque raros in muro turribusque disponit. Hos certo signo
re vocare constituit, cum omnes milites naves conscendissent,
atque iis expedito loco actuaria navigia relinquit. XXVIII.
Brundisini Pompeianorum militum injuriis atque ipsius
Pompeii contumeliis permoti Caesaris rebus favebant. Itaque
cognita Pompeii profectione concursantibus illis atque in
ea re occupatis vulgar ex tectis significabant. Per quos re
cognita Caesar scalas parari militesque armari jubet, ne
quam rei gerendae facultatem dimittat. Pompeius sub
noctem naves solvit. Qui erant in muro custodiae causa
collocati, eo signo quod convenerat revocantur notisque
itineribus ad naves decurrunt. Milites positis scalis muros
ascendunt, sed moniti a Brundisinis ut vallum caecum
fossasque caveant, subsistunt et longo itinere ab his circum-
ducti ad portum perveniunt duasque naves cum militibus, quae ad moles Caesaris adhaeserant, scaphis lintribusque reprehendunt, reprehensas excipiunt. XXIX. Caesar, etsi ad spem conficiendi negotii maxime probabat coactis navibus mare transire et Pompeium sequi priusquam ille sese transmarinis auxillis confirmaret, tamen ejus rei moram temporisque longinquitatem timebat, quod omnibus coactis navibus Pompéius praesentem facultatem insequendi sui ademerat. Relinquebatur ut ex longinquioribus regionibus Galliae Picenique et a freto naves essent exspectandae. Id propter anni tempus longum atque impedimentum videbatur. Interea veterem exercitum, duas Hispanias confirmari, quaram erat altera maximis beneficiis Pompeii devincta, auxilia, equitatum parari, Galliam Italianique tentari se absente nolebat.

XXXI. Nacti vacuas ab imperiis Sardiniam Valerius, Curio Siciliam, cum exercitibus eo perveniunt. Tubero, cum in Africam venisset, invenit in provincia cum imperio Attium Varum; qui ad Auximum, ut supra demonstravimus, amissis cohortibus protinus ex fuga in Africam pervenerat atque eam sua sponte vacuam occupaverat delectuque habitu duas legiones effecerat, hominum et locorum notitia et usu ejus provinciae nactus aditus ad ea conanda, quod paucis ante annis ex praetura eam provinciam obtinuerat. Hic venientem Uticam navibus Tuberonem portu atque oppido prohibet neque affectum valetudine filium exponere in terram patitur, sed sublatis ancoris excedere eo loco cogit.

XXXII. His rebus confectis Caesar, ut reliquum tempus a labore intermitteretur, milites in proxima municipia deductit; ipse ad urbem proficiscitur. Coacto senatu injurias inimiconorum commemorat. Docet se nullum extraordinarium honorem appetisse, sed exspectato legitimo tempore consulatus, eo fuisset contentum quod omnibus civibus patriet. Latum ab x tribunis plebis, contradicentibus inimicis, Catone vero acerrime repugnante et pristina consuetudine dicendi mora dies extrahente, ut sui ratio absentis haberetur, ipso consule Pompeio; qui si improbasset, cur ferri passus esset? si probasset, cur se uti populi beneficio prohibuisset? Patientiam proponit suam, cum de exercitibus dimittendis ultro postulavisset; in quo iacturam dignitatis atque honoris ipse facturus esset. Acerbitatem inimicorum docet, qui quod ab altero postularent, in se recusarent atque omnia permisceri mallem quam imperium exercitusque dimittere. Injuriam in cripiendis legionibus praedicavit, crudelitatem et insolentiam in circumscribendis tribunis plebis; condiciones a se latas, expetita colloquia et denegata commemorat. Pro quibus rebus hortatur ac postulat ut rempublicam suscipiant atque una secum administrent. Sin timore defugiant, illis se oneri non futurum et per se rempublicam administraturum. Legatos ad Pompeium de compositione mitti operere; neque se reformidare, quod in senatu Pompeius paulo
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ante dixisset, ad quos legati mitterentur, his auctoritatem attribui, timoremque eorum qui mitterent significari. Ten­uis atque infirmi haec animi videri. Se vero, ut operibus anteire studuerit, sic justitia et aequitate velle superare.

XXXIII. Probat rem senatus de mittendis legatis; sed qui mitterentur non reperiebantur, maximeque timoris causa pro se quisque id munus legationis recusabat. Pompeius enim discedens ab urbe in senatu dixerat eodem se habitu­rum loco qui Romae remansisset et qui in castris Caesaris fuissent. Sic triduum disputationibus excusationibusque extrahitur. Subjicitur etiam L. Metellus, tribunus plebis, ab inimicis Caesaris, qui hanc rem distrahat reliquaque res, quascumque agere instituerit, impediat. Cujus cognito consilio Caesar frustra diebus aliquot consumptis, ne reliquum tempus amittat, infectis iis quae agere destinaverat, ab urbe proficiscit tur atque in ulterior Galliam pervenit.

XXXIV. Quo cum venisset, cognoscit missum in Hispaniam a Pompeio Vibullium Rufum, quem paucis ante diebus Corfinio captum ipse dimiserat; prefectum item Domitium ad occupandam Massiliam navibus actuariis septem, quas Igi et in Cosano a privatis coactas servis, libertis, colonis suis compleverat; praemissos etiam legatos Massilienses domum, nobiles adolescentes, quos ab urbe discedens Pom­peius erat adhortatus ne nova Caesaris officia veterum su­orum beneficiorum in eos memoriam expellerent. Quibus mandatis acceptis Massilienses portas Caesari clauserant; Albicos, barbaros homines, qui in eorum fide antiquitus erant montesque supra Massilium incolabant, ad se vocaverant; frumentum ex finitimis regionibus atque ex omnibus castellis in urbem convexerant; armorum officinas in urbe instituerant; muros, portas, classem reficiebant. XXXV. Evocat ad se Caesar Massilia xv primos. Cum his agit, ne initium inferendi bellii ab Massiliensibus oriatur: debere eos Italiae totius auctoritatem sequi potius quam unius hominis voluntati obtemperare. Reliqua quae ad eorum sanandas
mentes pertinere arbitrabatur commemorat. Cujus oratio-
nonem legati domum referunt atque ex auctoritate haec
Caesari renuntiant: intellegere se divisum esse populum
Romanum in duas partes. Neque sui judicii neque suarum
esse virium discernere utra pars justiorem habeat causam.
Principes vero esse earum partium Cn. Pompeium et C.
Caesarem, patronos civitatis; quorum alter agros Volcarum
Arecomicorum et Helviorum publice iis concesserit, alter
bello victos Sallyas attribuerit vectigaliaque auерerit. Quare
paribus eorum beneficiis parem se quoque voluntatem tri-
buere debere et neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare aut
urbe aut portibus recipere. XXXVI. Haec dum inter eos
aguntur, Domitius navibus Massiliam pervenit etque ab iis
receptus urbi praeficitur; summa ei belli administrandi per-
mittitur. Eius imperio classem quoquoversus dimittunt;
onerarias naves quas ubique possunt deprehendunt atque
in portum deducunt, parum clavis aut materia atque arma-
mentis instructis ad reliquas armandas reficiendasque utun-
tur; frumenti quod inventum est, in publicum conferunt;
reliquas merces commeatusque ad obsidionem urbis, si acci-
dat, reservant. Quibus injuriis permotus Caesar legiones
tres Massiliam adducit; turres vineasque ad oppugnationem
urbis agere, naves longas Arelate numero xii facere instituit.
Quibus effectis armatisque diebus xxx a qua die materia
caesa est, adductisque Massiliam, his D. Brutum praeficit,
C. Trebonium legatum ad oppugnationem Massiliae relin-
quit.

XXXVII. Dum haec parat atque administrat, C. Fabium
legatum cum legionibus xii, quas Narbone circumque ea
loca hiemandi causa disposuerat, in Hispaniam praemittit
celeriterque saltus Pyrenaeos occupari jubet, qui eo tempore
ab L. Afranio legato praesidiis tenebantur. Reliquas le-
giones, quae longius hiemabant, subsequi jubet. Fabius, ut
erat imperatum, adhibita celeritate praesidium ex saltu de-
jecit magnisque itineribus ad exercitum Afrani contendit.
XXXVIII. Adventu L. Vibullii Ruti, quem a Pompeio mis-
sum in Hispaniam demonstratum est, Afranius et Petreius et Varro, legati Pompeii, quorum unus Hispaniam citeriorem tribus legionibus, alter ulteriorem a saltu Castulonensi ad Anam duabus legionibus, tertius ab Ana Vettonum agrum Lusitaniamque pari numero legionum obtinebat, officia inter se partiumtur, uti Petreius ex Lusitania per Vettones cum omnibus copiis ad Afranium proficiscatur, Varro cum iis quas habebat legionibus omnem ulteriorem Hispaniam tueatur. His rebus constitutis equites auxiliaque toti Lusitaniae a Petreio, Celtiberiae, Cantabris barbarisque omnibus qui ad Oceanum pertinent, ab Afranio imperantur. Quibus coactis celeriter Petreius per Vettones ad Afranium pervenit, constituuntque communi consilio bellum ad Ilerdam propter ipsius loci opportunitatem gerere. XXXIX. Erant, ut supra demonstratum est, legiones Afranii III, Petreii duae, praetera scutatae citerioris provinciae et eetratae ulterioris Hispaniae cohortes circiter LXXX equitumque utriusque provinciae circiter v milia. Caesar legiones in Hispaniam praemiserat vi, auxilia peditum . . milia, equitum in milia quae omnibus superioribus bellis habuerat, et parem ex Gallia numerum, quam ipse pacaverat, nominatim ex omnibus civitatibus nobilissimo quoque evocato, huc . . optimi generis hominum ex Aquitanis montanisque qui Galliam provinciam attingunt.Audierat Pompeium per Mauritaniam cun legionibus iter in Hispaniam facere confestimque esse venturum. Simul a tribunis militum centurionibusque mutuas pecunias sumpsit; has exercitui distribuit. Quo facto duas res consecutus est, quod pignore animos centurionum devinxit et largitatione militum voluntates redemit. XL. Fabius finitimaram citatam animos litteris nuntiisque tentabat. In Sicore flumine pontes effecerat duos distantes inter se milia passuum quattuor. His pontibus pabulatum mittebat, quod ea quae citra flumen fuerant superioribus diebus consumperat. Hoc idem fere atque eadem de causa Pompeiani exercitus duces faciebant, crebroque inter se equestribus proelis contendebant. Huc cum quotidiana
consuetudine, egressae pabulatoribus praesidio, propiore
ponte legiones Fabianae duae flumen transissent impediメン-
taque et omnis equitatus sequeretur, subito vi ventorum et
aquae magnitudine pons est interruptus et reliqua multitudo
5 equitum interclusa. Quo cognito a Petreio et Afranio ex
aggere atque cratibus quae flumine ferebantur, celeriter suo
ponte Afranius, quem oppido castrisque conjunctum habe-
bat, legiones III equitatumque omnem trajecit duabusque
Fabianis occurrit legionibus. Cujus adventu nuntiato L.
10 Plancus, qui legionibus praecrat, necessaria re coactus,
locum capi superiorem diversamque aciem in duas partes
constituit, ne ab equitatu circumveniri posset. Ita congres-
sus impari numero magnos impetus legionum equitatusque
sustinet. Commissio ab equitibus proelio signa legionum
15 duarum procul ab utrisque conspiciuntur, quas C. Fabius
ulteriore ponte subsidio nostris miserat, suspicatus fore id
quod accidit, ut duces adversariorum occasione et beneficio
fortunae ad nostros opprimendos uterentur. Quarum ad-
ventu proelium dirimitur ac suas uterque legiones reducit in
20 castra.

XLI. Eo biduo Caesar cum equitibus dcccc, quos sibi
praesidio reliquerat, in castra pervenit. Pons qui fuerat
tempestate interruptus paene erat refectus; hunc nocte
perfici jussit. Ipse, cognita locorum natura, ponti castrisque
praesidio sex cohortes reliquit et omnia impedimenta, et
25 postero die omnibus copiis triplici instructa acie ad Ilerdam
proficiscitur et sub castris Afranii constituit, et ibi paulisper
sub armis moratus facit aequo loco pugnandi potestatem.
Potestate facta Afranii copias educit et in medio colle sub
castris constituit. Caesar, ubi cognovit per Afranium stare
quominus proelio dimicaretur, ab infinis radicibus montis
intermissis circiter passibus cccc castra facere constituit et,
30 ne in opere faciundo milites repentino hostium incursu ex-
terrerentur atque opere prohiberentur, vallo muniri vetuit,
quod eminere et procul videri necesse erat, sed a fronte
contra hostem pedum xv fossam fieri jussit. Prima et
secunda acies in armis, ut ab initio constituta erat, permanebat; post hos opus in occulto a III acie fiebat. Sic omne prius est perfectum quam intellegere tur ab Afranio castra muniri. Sub vesperum Caesar intra hanc fossam legiones reducit atque ibi sub armis proxima nocte conquiescit. XLII. Posterius die omnem exercitum intra fossam continet et, quod longius erat agger petendus, in præsenta similem rationem operis instituit singulaque latera castrorum singulis attribuit legionibus munienda, fossasque ad eandem magnitudinem perfici jubet; reliquas legiones in armis expeditas contra hostem constituit. Afranius Petreius quoque terrendi causa etque operis impediendi copias suas ad infimas montis radices producunt et proelio laessunt, neque idcirco Caesar opus intermittit, confusus praetorio legionum trium et munitione fossae. Illi non diu commorati nec longius ab infimo colle progressi copias in castra reducunt. Tertio die Caesar vallo castra communit, reliquas cohortes, quas in superioribus castris reliquerat, impedimentaque ad se traduci jubet. XLIII. Erat inter oppidum Herdam et proximum collem, ubi castra Petreius atque Afranius habebant, planitie circiter passuum CCC, atque in hoc fere medio spatio tumulus erat paulo editior; quem si occupavisset Caesar et communisset, ab oppido et ponte et commeatu omni quem in oppidum contulerant, se interclusurum adversarios confidebat. Hoc sperans legiones III ex castris educit acieque in locis idoneis instructa unius legionis antesignanos procurrere atque eum tumulum occupare jubet. Qua re cognita celeriter quae in statione pro castris erant Afrani cohortes breviore itinere ad eandem occupandum locum mittuntur. Contenditur proelio et, quod prius in tumulum Afraniani venerant, nostri repelluntur atque aliis summissis subsidis terga vertere seque ad signa legionum recipere coguntur. XLIV. Genus erat pugnae militum illorum, ut magno impetu primo procurrerent, audacter locum caperent, ordines suos non magnopere servarent, rari dispersique pugnarent; si premerentur, pedem referre et loco exceedere non turpe existi-
marent, cum Lusitanis reliquisque barbaris barbaro genere quodam pugnae assuefacti; quod fere fit, quibus quisque in locis miles inveteraverit, ut multum earum regionum consuetudine moveatur. Hace tum ratio nostros perturbavit insuctos hujus generis pugnae; circumiri enim sese ab aperto latere procurrentibus singulis arbitrabantur; ipsi autem suos ordines servare neque ab signis discedere neque sine gravi causa eum locum quem ceperant dimitti censebant oportere. Itaque perturbatis antesignanis legio quae in eo cornu constiterat locum non tenuit atque in proximum collem sese recepit. XLV. Caesar paene omni acie perturrita, quod prater opinionem consuetudinemque acciderat, cohortatus suos legionem nonam subsidio ducit, hostem insolenter atque acriter nostros insequentem supprimit rursusque terga vertere sequre ad oppidum Ilerdam recipere et sub muro consistere cogit. Sed nonae legionis milites elati studio, dum sarcire acceptum detrimentum volunt, temere insecuti longius fugientes, in locum iniquum progradiuntur et sub montem in quo erat oppidum Ilerda succedunt. Hinc se recipere cum vellent, rursus illi ex loco superiore nostros premebant. Praeruptus locus erat, utraque ex parte directus, ac tantum in latitudinem patebat, ut tres instructae cohortes eum locum explerent, ut neque subsidia a lateribus summitti neque equites laborantibus usui esse possent. Ab oppido autem declivis locus tenui fastigio vergebat in longitudinem passuum circiter cccc. Hac nostris erat receptus, quod eo incitati studio inconsultius processerant; hoc pugnabatur loco, et propter angustias iniquo et quod sub ipsis radicibus montis constiterant, ut nullum frustra telum in eos mitteretur. Tamen virtute et patientia nitebantur atque ëmnia vulnera sustinebant. Augebatur illis copia atque ex castris cohortes per oppidum crebro summitebantur, ut integri defessis succederent. Hoc idem Caesar facere cogebatur, ut summissis in eundem locum cohortibus defessos reciperet. XLVI. Hoc cum esset modo pugnatum continentem horis quinque, nostrique gravius a
multitudine premerentur, consumptis omnibus telis gladiis
destinctis impetum adversus montem in cohortes faciunt
paucisque dejectis reliquos sese convertere cogunt. Sum-
motis sub murum cohortibus ac nonnulla parte propter
terrorem in oppidum compulsis facilis est nostris receptus
datus. Equitatus autem noster ab utroque latere, etsi de-
jectis atque inferioribus locis constiterat, tamen summa in
jugum virtute connitinur atque inter duas acies perequito
sum commodiorem ac tuiorem nostris receptum dat. Ita vario
certamine pugnatum est. Nostri in primo congressu circiter
LXX ceciderunt, in his Q. Fulginius ex primo hastato le-
gionis XIII, qui propter eximiam virtutem ex inferioribus
ordinibus in eum locum pervenerat; vulnerantur amplius
dc. Ex Afranianis interficiuntur T. Caecilius, primi pili
centurio, et praeter eum centuriones III, militaes amplius
cc. XLVII. Sed haec ejus diei praeferitur opinio, ut se
utrique superiores disessisse existimarent: Afraniani, quod,
eum esse omnium judicio inferiores viderentur, comminus
tam diu stetissent et nostrorum impetum sustinuissent et
initio locum tumulumque tenuissent quae causa pugnandi
fuerat, et nostros primo congressu terga vertere coegissent;
nostri autem, quod iniquo loco atque impari congressi nu-
mero quinque horis proelium sustinuissent, quod montem
gladiis destinctis ascendissent, quod ex loco superiore terga
vertere adversarios coegissent atque in oppidum compulsi-

sent. Illi eum tumulum pro quo pugnatum est magnis
operibus munierunt praesidiumque ibi posuerunt. XLVIII.
Accidit etiam repentinum incommodum biduo quo haec
gesta sunt. Tanta enim tempestas cooritur, ut numquam
illis locis majores aquas fruiue constaret. Tum autem ex
omnibus montibus nives proluit ac summas ripas fluminis
superavit pontesque ambo quos C. Fabius fecerat uno die
interrupit. Quae res magnas difficultates exercuit Caes-
aris attulit. Castra enim, ut supra demonstratum est,
cum essent inter flumina duo, Sicorim et Cingam, spatio
milium xxx, neutrum horum transiri poterat, necessarioque
omnes his angustiis continebantur. Neque civitates quae ad Caesaris amicitiam accesserant frumentum supportare, neque i qui pabulatum longius progressi erant, interclusi fluminibus reverti, neque maximi commeatus qui ex Italia Galliaque veniebant in castra pervenire poterant. Tempus erat autem difficillimum, quo neque frumenta in hibernis erant neque multum a maturitate aberant, ac civitates ex-inanitae, quod Afranius paene omne frumentum ante Caesaris adventum Ilerdam convexerat, reliqui si quid fuerat, Caesar superioribus diebus consumpserat; pecora, quod secundum poterat esse inopiae subsidium, propter bellum finitimae civitates longius removerant. Qui erant pabulandi aut frumentandi causa progressi, hos levis armaturae Lusitani peritique earum regionum cetrati citerioris Hispaniae consectabantur; quibus erat proclive tranare flumen, quo consuetudo eorum omnium est, ut sine utribus ad exercitum non cant. XLIX. At exercitus Afrani omnium rerum ab-undabat copia. Multum erat frumentum provisum et con-vectum superioribus temporibus, multum ex omni provincia comportabatur; magna copia pabuli suppotebat. Harum omnium rerum facultates sine ullo periculo pons Ilerdae praebebat et loca trans flumen integra, quo omnino Caesar adire non poterat. L. Hae permanserunt aquae dies complures. Conatus est Caesar reficere pontes, sed nec magni-tudo fluminis permittebat neque ad ripam dispositae cohortes adversariorum perfici patiebantur; quod illis prohibere erat facile, cum ipsius fluminis nata atque aquae magnitudine, tum quod ex totis ripis in unum atque angustum locum tela jaciebantur; atque erat difficile codem tempore rapidissimo flumine opera perficere et tela vitare. LI. Nuntiatur Afranio magnos commeatus, qui iter habebant ad Caesarem, ad flumen constitisse. Venerant eo sagittarii ex Rutenis, equites ex Gallia cum multis carris magnisquo impedimentis, ut fert Gallica consuetudo. Erant praeterea cujusque generis homi-num milia circiter vi cum servis liberisque; sed nullus ordo, nullum imperium certum, cum suo quisque consilio uteretur
atque omnes sine timore iter facerent, usi superiorum temporum atque itinerum licentia. Erant complures honesti adolescentes, senatorum filii et ordinis equestris; erant legationes civitatum; erant legati Caesaris. Hos omnes flumina continebant. Ad hos opprimendos cum omni equitatu tribusque legionibus Afranius de nocte proficiscitur, imprudentesque ante missis equitibus aggreditur. Celeriter sese tamen Galli equites expedient proeliumque committunt. Il, dum pari certamine res geri potuit, magnum hostium numerum pauci sustinuere; sed ubi signa legionum appropinquare coeperunt, paucis amissis sese in proximos montes conferunt. Hoc pugnae tempus magnum attulit nostris ad salutem momentum; nacti enim spatium se in loca superriora reperunt. Desiderati sunt eo die sagittarii circiter cc, equites pauci, calones atque impedimentorum non magnus numerus. LII. His tamen omnibus annona crevit; quae fere res non solum inopia praesentis, sed etiam futuri temporis timore ingraevescere consuevit. Jamque ad denarios l in singulos modios annona pervenerat, et militum vires inopia frumenti deminuerat, atque incommoda in dies augebantur; et tam paucis diebus magna erat rerum facta commutatio ac se fortuna inclinaverat, ut nostri magna inopia necessaria rum rerum conflictarentur, illi omnibus abundarent rebus superioresque haberentur. Caesar iis civitatibus quae ad ejus amicitiam accesserant, quod minor erat frumenti copia, pecus imperabat; calones ad longinquiores civitates dimittebat; ipse praesentem inopiam quibus poterat subsidiis tutabatur. LIII. Haec Afranius Petreiusque et eorum amici pleniora et ubiora Eomam ad suos perscribant. Multa rumor affingebat, ut paene bellum confectum videretur. Quibus litteris nuntiiisque Romam perlatis magni domum concursus ad Afranium magnaque gratulationes fiebant; multi ex Italia ad Cn. Pompeium proficisciebantur, alii, ut principes talem nuntium attulisse, alii, ne eventum belli exspectasse aut ex omnibus novissimi venisse viderentur. LIV. Cum in his angustiis res esset
atque omnes viae ab Afranianis militibus equitibusque ob-siderentur nec pontes perfici possent, imperat militibus Caesar ut naves faciant, cujus generis cum superioribus annis usus Britanniae docuerat. Carinae ac prima statumina 5 levi materia fiebant; reliquum corpus navium viminibus contextum coriis integebatur. Has perfectas carris junctis devehit noctu milia passuum a castris xxii militesque his navibus flumen transportat continentemque ripae collem improviso occupat. Hunc celeriter, priusquam ab adversariis sentiatur, communit. Huc legionem postea trajicit atque ex utraque parte pontem instituit, biduo perficit. Ita commenatus et qui frumenti causa processerant tuto ad se recipit et rem frumentariam expedire incipit. LV. Eodem die equitum magnam partem flumen trajeit. Qui inopinantes pabulatoriores et sineullo dissipatos timore aggressi magnum numerorum atque hominum interci-piunt cohortibusque cetratis subsidio missis scierant in duas partes sese distribuunt, alii ut praedae praesidio sint, alii ut venientibus resistunt atque eos propellant, unamque co-hortem, quae temere ante ceteras extra aciem procurrerat, seclusam ab reliquis circumveniunt atque interficiunt in-columnesque cum magna praeda eodem ponte in castra rever-tuntur.

LVI. Dum haec ad Ilerdam geruntur, Massilienses usi 25 L. Domitii consilio naves longas expediunt numero xvii, quarum erant xi teetae. Multa hue minora navigia addunt, ut ipsa multitudine nostra classis terreatur. Magnum num-merum sagittariorum, magnum Albicorum, de quibus supra demonstratum est, imponunt atque hos praemiiis pollitia-tionibusque incitant. Certas sibi depositis naves Domitiis atque has colonis pastoribusque quos secum adduxerat com-plet. Sic omnibus rebus instructa classe magna fidicia ad nostras naves procedunt, quibus praerat D. Brutus. Hae ad insulam quae est contra Massiliam stationes obtinebant. 30 LVII. Erat multo inferior numero navium Brutus; sed electos ex omnibus legionibus fortissimos viros, antesignanos,
centuriones, Caesar ei classi attribuerat, qui sibi id muneris depoposcerant. Hi manus ferreas atque harpagones paraverant magnoque numero pilorum, tragularum reliquorumque telorum se instruxerant. Ita cognito hostium adventu suas naves ex portu educunt, cum Massiliensisibus configunt. 5 Pugnatum est utrimque fortissime atque acerrime; neque multum Albici nostris virtute cedebant, homines asperi et montani et exercitati in armis; atque hi modo digressi a Massiliensisibus recentem eorum pollicitationem animis continebant, pastoresque Domitii spe libertatis excitati sub oculis domini suam probare operam studebant. LVIII. Ipsi Massilienses et celeritate navium et scientia gubernatorum confusi nostros eludebant impetusque eorum non excipiebant et, quoad licebat latiore uti spatio, producta longius acie circumvenire nostros aut pluribus navibus adoriri singulas aut remos transcurrentes detergere, si possent, contendebant; cum propius erat necessario ventum, ab scientia gubernatorum atque artificiis ad virtutem montanorum confugiebant. Nostri cum minus exercitatis remigibus minusque peritis gubernatoribus utebantur, qui repente ex onerariis navibus erant producti neque dum etiam vocabulis armamentorum cognitis, tum etiam tarditate et gravitate navium impediebantur; factae enim subito ex humida materia non eundem usum celeritatis habebant. Itaque, dum locus comminus pugnandi daredur, aequo animo singulas binis navibus objiciebant atque injecta manu ferrea et retenta utraque nave diversi pugnabat atque in hostium naves transcendebant et magno numero Albicorum et pastorum interfecto partem navium deprimunt, nonnullas cum hominibus capiunt, reliquas in portum compellunt. Eo die naves Massiliensium cum iis quae sunt captae intereunt VIII. LIX. Hoc primum Caesari ad Ilerdam nuntiatur; simul perfecto ponte celeriter fortuna mutatur. Illi perterriti virtute equitum minus libere, minus audacter vagabantur, alias non longo a castris progressi spatio, ut celerem receptum haberent, angustius pabulabantur, alias longiore circuitu
custodias stationesque equitum vitabant, aut aliquo accepto detrimento aut procul equitatu viso ex medio itinere projectis sarcinis fugiebant. Postremo et plures intermittire dies et praeter consuetudinem omnium noctu constituerant pabulari. LX. Interim Oscenses et Calagurritani, qui erant cum Oscensibus contributi, mittunt ad eum legatos esseque imperata facturos pollicentur. Hos Tarraconenses et Jacctani et Ausetani et paucis post diebus Illurgavonenses, qui flumen Hiberum attingunt, insequuntur. Peti ab his omnibus ut se frumento juvenit. Pollicentur atque omnibus undique conquitis jumentis in castra deportant. Transit etiam cohors Illurgavonensis ad eum cognito civitatis consilio et signa ex statione transfert. Magna celeriter commutatio rerum. Perfecto ponte, magnis quinque civitatibus ad amicitiam adjunctis, expedita re frumentaria, extinctis rumoribus de auxiliis legionum quae cum Pompeio per Mauritaniam venire dicebantur, multae longinquiores civitates ab Afranio desiscunt et Caesaris amicitiam sequuntur. LXX. Quibus rebus perterritis animis adversariorum Caesar, ne semper magno circuitu per pontem equitatus esset mittendus, nactus idoneum locum, fossas pedum xxx in latitudinem complures facere instituit, quibus partem aliquam Sicoris averteret vadumque in eo flumine efficeret. His paene effectis magnam in timorem Afranius Petreiusque perveniunt, ne omnino frumento pabuloque intercluderentur, quod multum Caesar equitatu valebat. Itaque constitutunt ipsi locis excedere et in Celtiberiam bellum transferre. Huic consilio suffragatur etiam illa res, quod, ex duobus contrariis generibus, quae superiore bello cum Sertorio steterant civitates victae nomen atque imperium absentis Pompeii timebant, quae in amicitia manuerant magnis affectae beneficiis eum diligebant, Caesaris autem erat in barbaris nomen obscurius. Hic magnos equitatus magnaque auxilia exspectabant et suis locis bellum in hiemem ducere cogitant. Hoc inito consilio toto flumine Hiberi naves conquerire et Octogesam adduci jubent. Id erat oppidum positum
ad Hiberum miliaque passuum a castris aberat xxx. Ad eum locum fluminis navibus junctis pontem imperant fieri legionesque duas flumen Sicorim traducunt, castra muniunt vallo pedum xii. LXII. Qua re per exploratores cognita summo labore militum Caesar continuato diem noctemque opere in flumine avertendo hue jam redixerat rem, ut equites, etsi difficulter atque aegro fiebat, possent tamen atque auderent flumen transire, pedites vero tantummodo humeris ac summo pectore extare, et cum altitudine aquae tum etiam rapiditate fluminis ad transeundum impedirentur. Sed tamen codem fere tempore pons in Hibero prope effectus nuntiabatur et in Sicori vadum reperiebatur.

LXIII. Jam vero eo magis illi maturandum iter existimabant. Itaque duabus auxiliariibus cohortibus Ilerdae praesidio relictis, omnibus copiis Sicorim transeunt et cum duabus legionibus quas superioribus diebus traduxerant castra jun- gunt. Relinquebatur Caesari nihil, nisi uti equitatu agmen adversariorum male haberet et carperet. Pons enim ipsius magnum circuitum habebat, ut multo breviore itinere illi ad Hiberum pervenire possent. Equites ab eo missi flumen transeunt et, cum de tertia vigilia Petreius atque Afranius castra movissent, repente sese ad novissimum agmen osten- dunt et magna multitudine circumfusa morari atque iter impedire incipiunt. LXIV. Prima luce ex superioribus locis quae Caesaris castris erant conjuncta, cernebatur equi- tatus nostri proelio novissimos illorum premi vehementer ac nonnumquam sustinere extremum agmen atque interrupi, alias inferri signa et universarum cohortium imperii nostros propelli, dein rursus conversos insequi. Totis vero castris milites circulari et dolere hostem ex manibus dimitti, bellum necessario longius duci; centuriones tribunosque militum adire atque obscurare ut per eos Caesar certior fieret ne labori suo neu periculo parceret: paratos esse sese, posse et audere ea transire flumen qua traductus esset equitatus. Quorum studio et vocibus excitatus Caesar, etsi timebat tantae magnitudini fluminis exercitum objicere, conandum
tamen atque experiendum judicat. Itaque infirmiores mili-
tes ex omnibus centuriis deligi jubet, quorum aut animus
aut vires videbantur sustinere non posse. Hos cum legione
una praesidio castris relinquit; reliquas legiones expeditas
educit magnoque numero jumentorum in flumine supra
atque infra constituto traducit exercitum. Pauci ex his
militibus abrepti vi fluminis ab equitatu excipiantur ac
sublevantur; interit tamen nemo. Traduceto incolumi ex-
ercitu copias instruit triplicemque aciem ducere incipit.
Ac tantum fuit in militibus studii, ut, milium sex ad iter
addito circuitu magnaque ad vadum fluminis mora inter-
posita, eos qui de tertia vigilia exissent ante horam diei viii
consequerantur. LXV. Quos ubi Afranius procul visos cum
Petrleo conspexit, nova re perterritus locis superioribus con-
stitit aciemque instruit. Caesar in campis exercitum reficit,
ne defessum proelio objiciat; rursus conantes progresdi inse-
quitur et moratur. Illi necessario maturius quam constitu-
erant castra ponunt. Suberant enim montes, atque a milibus
passuum v itinera difficilia atque angusta excipiebat. Hos
montes intrare cupiebant, ut equitatum effugerent Cae-
saris praesidiisque in angustiis collocatis exercitum itinere
prohiberent, ipsi sine periculo ac timore Hiberum copias
traducerent. Quod fuit illis conandum atque omni ratione
efficiendum; sed totius diei pugna atque itineris labore de-
fessi rem in posterum diem distulerunt. Caesar quoque in
proximo colle castra ponit. LXVI. Media circiter nocte,
iis qui adaquandi causa longius a castris processerant ab
equitibus correptis, fit ab his certior Caesar duces adversa-
rorum silentio copias castris educere. Quo cognito signum
dari jubet et vasa militari more conclamari. Illi exaudito
clamore veriti ne noctu impediti sub onere constringe cog-
rentur aut ne ab equitatu Caesaris in angustiis tenerentur,
iter supprimunt copiasque in castris continent. Postero die
Petrleius cum paucis equitibus occulto ad exploranda loca
profisciscitur. Hoc idem fit ex castris Caesaris. Mittitur
L. Decidius Saxa cum paucis, qui loci naturam perspiciat.
COMM. I. CAP. LXIV—LXIX.

Uterque idem suis renuntiat: v milia passuum proxima intercedere itineris campestris, inde excipere loca aspera et montuosa; qui prior has angustias occupaverit, ab hoc hostem prohiberi nihil esse negotii. LXV. Disputatur in consilio ab Petreio atque Afranio et tempus profectionis quae desertur. Plerique censebant ut noctu iter facerent: posse prius ad angustias veniri quam sentiretur. Alii, quod pridie noctu clamatum esset in Caesaris castris, argumenti sumebant loco non posse clam exiri. Circumfundi noctu equatum Caesaris atque omnia loca atque itinera obsidere; nocturnaque proelia esse vitanda, quod perterritus miles in civili dissensione timori magis quam religioni consulere conserit. At lucem multum per se pudorem omnium oculis, multum etiam tribunorum militum et centurionum praesentiam afferre; quibus rebus coerceri milites et in officio contineri soleant. Quare omni ratione esse interdiu perrumpendum; etsi aliquo accepto detrimento, tamen summa exercitus salva locum quem petant capi posse. Haec vincit in consilio sententia, et prima luce postridie constituunt pro ficisci. LXVIII. Caesar exploratis regionibus albente caelo omnes copias castris educit magnoque circuitu nullo certo itinere exercitum ducit. Nam quae itinera ad Hi berum atque Octogesam pertinebant castris hostium oppositis tenebantur. Ipsi erant transcendentandae valles maximae ac difficillimae, saxa multis locis praerupta iter impediebant, ut arma per manus necessario traderentur militesque inermi sublevatique alii ab aliis magnam partem itineris conficerent. Sed hunc laborem recusabat nemo, quod eum omnium laborum finem fore existimabat, si hostem Hiberi intercludere et frumento prohibere potuissent. LXIX. Ac primo Afraniani milites visendi causa laeti ex castris procurrebant contumeliosisque vocibus prosequebant: necessarii victus inopia coactus fugere atque ad Ilerdam reverti. Erat enim iter a proposito diversum, contrariamque in partem iri videbatur. Duces vero eorum consilium suum laudibus ferebant, quod se castris tenuissent; multumque eorum opinionem
adjuvabat quod sine jumentis impedimentisque ad iter pro-
fectos videbant, ut non posse inopiam diutius sustinere con-
fiderent. Sed ubi paulatim retorqueri agmen ad dextram
conspexerunt jamque primos superare regionem castrorum
animum adverterunt, nemo erat adeo tardus aut fugiens
laboris, quin statim castris exeundum atque occurrendum
putaret. Conclamatur ad arma, atque omnes copiae paucis
praesidio relictis cohortibus exeunt rectoque ad Hiberum
itinere contendunt. LXX. Erat in celeritate omne posi-
tum certamen, utri prius angustias montesque occuparent;
5 sed exercitum Caesaris viarum difficultates tardabant, Afra-
nii copias equitatus Caesaris sequens morabatur. Res-
tamen ab Afraniamis huc erat necessario deducta, ut, si
pries montes quos petebant attigissent, ipsi periculum
vitarent, impedimenta totius exercitus cohortesque in castris
relictas servare non possent; quibus interclusus exercitu
Caesaris auxilium ferri nulla ratione poterat. Confecit
10 prior iter Caesar atque ex magnis rupibus nactus planiciem
in hac contra hostem aciem instruit. Afranius, cum ab
equitatu novissimum agmen premeretur, ante se hostem
videret, collem quendam nactus ibi constituit. Ex eo loco
III cetratorum cohortes in montem qui erat in conspectu
omnium excelsissimus mittit. Hunc magno cursu conci-
tatos jubet occupare, eo consilio, uti ipse eodem omnibus
copiis contenderet et mutato itinere jugis Octogesam pes-
veniret. Hunc cum obliquo itinere cetrati perevert, con-
spicatus equitatus Caesaris in cohortes impetum fecit; nec
minimam partem temporis equitum vim cetrati sustinere
potuerunt omnesque ab eis circumventi in conspectu utrius-
quae exercitus interficiuntur. LXXI. Erat occasio bene
30 gerendae rei. Neque vero id Caesarem fugiebat, tanto sub
oculis accepto detrimento perterruit exercitum sustinere
non posse, praesertim circumdatum undique equitatu, cum
in loco aequo atque aperto congeneretur, idque ex omnibus
35 partibus ab eo flagitabant. Concurrebant legati, centuriones
tribunique militum: ne dubitaret proelium committere.
Omnium esse militum paratissimos animos. Afranianos contra multis rebus sui timoris signa misisse: quod suis non subvenissent, quod de colle non decederent, quod vix equitum incursus sustinerent collatisque in unum locum signis conferti neque ordines neque signa servarent. Quod si iniquitatem loci timeret, datum iri tamen aliquo loco pugnandi facultatem, quod certe inde decedendum esset Afranio nec sine aqua permanere posset. LXXII. Caesar in eam spellem venerat, se sine pugna et sine vulnere suorum rem conficere posse, quod re frumentaria adversarios interclusisset. Cur etiam secundo proelio aliquos ex suis amitteret? cur vulnerari pateretur optime de se meritos milites? cur denique fortunam periclitaretur? praevertim cum non minus esset imperatoris consilio superare quam gladio. Movebatur etiam misericordia civium quos interficiendos videbat; quibus salvis atque incolibus rem obtinere malebat. Hoc consilium Caesari plerisque non probabatur; milites vero palam inter se loquebantur, quoniam talis occasio victoriae dimitteretur, etiam cum vellet Caesar, sese non esse pugnaturos. Ille in sua sententia perseverat et paulum ex eo loco degreditur, ut timorem adversariis minuat. Petreius atque Afranius oblata facultate in castra sese referunt. Caesar praesidiis in montibus dispositis omni ad Hiberum incluso itinere, quam proxime potest hostium castris castra communit. LXXIII. Postero die duces adversiorum perturbati, quod omnem rei frumentariae fluminisque Hiberi spem dimiserant, de reliquis rebus consultabant. Erat unum iter, Ilerdam si reverti vellent; alterum, si Tarraconem peterent. Hac consilientibus eis nuntiatur aquatores ab equitatu premi nostro. Qua re cognita crebras stationes disponunt equitum et cohortium aliarum legionariorum interjiciunt cohortes vallumque ex castris ad aquam ducere incipiunt, ut intra munitionem et sine timore et sine stationibus aquari possent. Id opus inter se Petreius atque Afranius partiuntur ipsique perficiundi operis causa longius progrediuntur. LXXIV. Quorum discessu liberam nacti
milites colloquiorum facultatem vulgo procedunt, et quem quisque in castris notum aut municipem habebat, conquirit atque evocat. Primum agunt gratias omnes omnibus, quod sibi perterritis pridie pepercissent: eorum se beneficio vivere.  
5 Deinde imperatoris fidem quaerunt, rectene se illi sint commissuri, et, quod non ab initio fecerint armaque cum hominibus necessariis et consanguineis contulerint, queruntur. His provocati sermonibus fidem ab imperatore de Petreii atque Afranii vita petunt, ne quod in se scelus concepisse 10 neu suos prodidisse videantur. Quibus confirmatis rebus se statim signa translaturos confirmant legatosque de pace primorum ordinum centuriones ad Caesarem mittunt. Interim alii suos in castra invitandi causa adducunt, alii ab suis abducuntur, adeo ut una castra jam facta ex binis vide- 15 rentur; compluresque tribuni militum et centuriones ad Caesarem veniunt sequi commendant. Idem hoc fit a principibus Hispaniae, quos evocaverant et secum in castris habeant obsidum loco. Hi suos notos hospitesque quaerabant, per quem quisque eorum aditum commendationis 20 haberet ad Caesarem. Afranii etiam filius adolescens de sua ac parentis sui salute cum Caesare per Sulpicium legatum agebat. Erant plena laetitia et gratulatione omnia, eorum qui tanta pericula vitasse, et eorum qui sine vulnere tantas res confecisse videbantur, magnumque fructum suae 25 pristinae lenitatis omnium judicio Caesar ferebat, consiliumque ejus a cunctis probabatur. LXXV. Quibus rebus nuntiatis Afranio, ab instituto opere discedit sequi in castra recipit, sie paratus, ut videbatur, ut, quicunque accidisset casus, hunc quieto et aequo animo ferret. Petreius vero 30 non deserit sese. Armat familiar; cum hac et praetoria cohorte cetrorum barbarisque equitibus paucis, beneficiariis suis, quos suae custodiae causa habere consuerat, improviso ad vallum advolat, colloquia militum interrumpit, nostros repellit a castris, quos deprendit interficit. Reliqui 35 coeunt inter se et repentino periculo exterriti sinistras sagis involvunt gladiosque destringunt, atque ita se a cetratis
equitibusque defendunt castrorum propinquitate confisi seque in castra recipiunt et ab iis cohortibus quae erant in statione ad portas defenduntur. LXXVI. Quibus rebus confectis flens Petreius manipulos circumit militesque appellat, neu se neu Pompeium imperatorem suum adversariis ad supplicium tradant obsecrat. Fit celeriter concursus in praetorium. Postulat ut jurent omnes se exercitum ducesque non deserturos neque prodituros, neque sibi separatim a reliquis consilium capturos. Princeps in haec verba jurat ipse; idem jusjurandum adigit Afranium; subsequuntur tribuni militum centurionesque; centuriatim producti milites idem jurant. Edicunt, penes quem quisque sit Caesaris miles, ut producat; productos palam in praetorio interficiunt. Sed plerosque ii qui receperant celant noctuque per vallum emittunt. Sic terrore oblato a ducibus, crudelitas in supplicio, nova religio jurisjurandi spem praesentis ditionis sustulit mentesque militum convertit et rem ad pristinam belli rationem redegit. LXXVII. Caesar, qui milites adversariorum in castra per tempus colloquii venerant, summa diligentia conquiri et remitti jubet. Sed ex numero tribunorum militum centurionumque nonnulli sua voluntate apud eum remanserunt. Quos ille postea magno in honore habuit; centuriones in priores ordines, equites Romanos in tribunicium restituit honorem. LXXVIII. Premebantur Afraniani pabulatione, aquabantur aegre. Frumenti copiam legionarii nonnullam habebant, quod dierum xxII ab Ilerda frumentum jussi erant esferre, cetrati auxiliaresque nullam, quorum erant et facultates ad parandum exiguae et corpora insueta ad onera portanda. Itaque Magnus eorum quotidie numerus ad Caesarem perfugiebat. In his erat angustiis res. Sed ex propositis consiliiis duobus explicitius videbatur Ilerdam reverti, quod ibi paulum frumenti reliquerant. Ibi se reliquum consilium explicaturos confidebant. Tarraco aberat longius; quo spatio plures rem posse casus recipere intellegebant. Hoc probato consilio ex castris proficiscuntur. Caesar equitatu praemisso, qui novissimum
agmen carperet atque impediret, ipse cum legionibus subsequitur. Nullum intercedebat tempus, quin extremi cum equitibus proeliarentur. LXXIX. Genus erat hoc pugnae. Expeditae cohortes novissimum agmen claudabant pluresque in locis campestribus subsistebant. Si mons erat ascendendus, facile ipsa loci natura periculum repellerebat, quod ex locis superioribus qui antecesserant suos ascendentes protegebant; cum vallis aut locus declivis suberat, neque ii qui antecesserant morantibus opem ferre poterant, equites vero ex loco superiore in aversos tela conjiciebant, tum magno erat in periculo res. Relinquebatur ut, cum ejusmodi locis esset appropinquatum, legionum signa consistere juberent magnoque impetu equitatum repellerent, eo summoto repente incitati cursu sese in valles universi demitterent, atque ita transgressi rursus in locis superioribus consisterent. Nam tantum ab equitum suorum auxiliis aberant, quorum numerum habebant magnum, ut eos superioribus perterritos proeliis in medium recipierent agmen ulteroque eos tuenterunt; quorum nulli ex itinere excedere licebat, quin ab equitatu Caesaris exciperetur. LXXX. Tali dum pugnatur modo, lente atque paulatim proceditur crebroque, ut sint auxilio suis, subsistunt; ut tum accidit. Milia enim progressi IIII vehementiusque peragati ab equitatu montem excelsum capiunt ibique una fronte contra hostem castra muniunt neque jumentis onera deponunt. Ubi Caesaris castra posita tabernaculaque constituta et dimissos equites pabulandi causa animum adverterunt, sese subito proripiunt hora circiter sexta ejusdem diei et spem nacti morae discussu nostrorum equitum iter facere incipiunt. Qua re animum adversa Caesar relictis impedimentis subsequitur, praesidio paucas cohortes relinquit; hora X subsequi pabulatores equitesque revocari jubet. Celeriter equitatus ad quotidianum itineris officium revertitur. Pugnatur acriter ad novissimum agmen, adeo ut paene terga convertant, compluresque milites, etiam nonnulli centuriones, interficiuntur. Instabat agmen Caesaris atque universum imminebat. LXXXI. Tum vero
neque ad explorandum idoneum locum castris neque ad pro-
grediendum data facultate, consistunt necessario et procul
ab aqua et natura iniquo loco castra ponunt. Sed iisdem de
causis Caesar, quae supra sunt demonstratae, proelio non
lacentit et eo die tabernacula statui passus non est, quo para-
tiores essent ad insequendum omnes, sive noctu sive interdiu
erumperent. Illi animadverso vitio castrorum tota nocte
munitiones proferunt castraque castris convertunt. Hoc
idem postero die a prima luce faciunt totumque in ea re
diem consumunt. Sed quantum opere processerant et castra 10
protulerant, tanto aberant ab aqua longius, et praesenti
malo aliis malis remedia dabantur. Prima nocte aquandí
causa nemo egreditur ex castris; proximo die praesidio in
castris relictto universas ad aquam copias educunt, pabula-
tum emittitur nemo. His eos suppliciis male haberi Caesar 15
et necessariam subire deditioinem quam proelio decertare
malebat. Conatur tamen eos vallo fossaque circummunire,
us quam maxime repentinás eorum eruptiones demoretur;
quo necessario descensuros existimabat. Illi, et inopia pabul
adducti et quo essent ad id expediteiores, omnia sacrina 20
jumenta interfici jubent. LXXXII. In his operibus consi-
liisque biduum consumitur; tertio die magna jam pars
operis Caesaris processerat. Illi impediendae reliquae muni-
tionis causa hora circiter viii signo dato legiones educunt
aciemque sub castris instruunt. Caesar ab opere legiones 25
revocat, equitatum omnem convenire jubet, aciem instruit;
contra opinionem enim militum famamque omnium videri
proelium defugisse magnum detrimentum afferebat. Sed
eisdem de causis, quae sunt cognitae, quominus dimitcare
velut movebatur, atque hoc etiam magis, quod spatio brevi-
tas etiam in fugam conjecris adversariis non multum ad
summam victoriae juvare poterat. Non enim amplius pedum
milibus duobus ab castris castra distabant. Hinc duas partes
acies occupabant duas; tertia vacabat, ad incursum atque
impetum militum relictà. Si proelium committeretur, pro-
30
pinquitas castrorum celerem superatis ex fuga receptum
dabat. Hac de causa constituerat signa inferentibus resisteri, prior proelio non lacessere. LXXXIII. Acies erat Afraniana duplex legionum V, tertium in subsidiis locum alariae cohortes obtinebant; Caesaris triplex; sed primam aciem quaternae cohortes ex V legionibus tenebant, has subsidiariae ternaet rursus aliae totidem suae cujusque legionis subsequebantur; sagittarii funditoresque media continebantur acie, equitatus latera cingebat. Tali instructa acie tenere uterque propositum videbatur: Caesar, ne nisi coactus proelium committeret; ille, ut opera Caesaris impediret. Producitur turn res, aciesque ad solis occasum continentur; inde utrique in castra discedunt. Postero die munitiones institutas Caesar parat perficere; illi vadum fluminis Sicoris tentare, si transire possent. Qua re animadversa Caesar Germanos levis armaturae equitumque partem flumen trajicit crebrasque in ripis custodias disponit. LXXXIV. Tandem omnibus rebus obsessi, quartum jam diem sine pabulo retentis jumentis, aquae, lignoram, frumenti inopia colloquium petunt, et id, si fieri possit, semoto a militibus loco. Ubi id a Caesar negatum et, palam si colloqui vellent, concessum est, datur obsidis loco Caesari filius Afranii. Venitur in eum locum quem Caesar deligit. Audiente utroque exercitu loquitur Afranius: non esse aut ipsis aut militibus succendum, quod fidem erga imperatorem suum Cn. Pompeium conservare voluerint. Sed satis jam fecisse officio satisque supplicii tulisse. Perpessos omnium rerum inopiam; nunc vero paene ut feras circummunitos prohiberi aqua, prohiberi ingressu, neque corpore dolorem neque animo ignominiam ferre posse. Itaque se victos confiteri; orare atque obsercrae, si qui locus misericordiae reliquatur, ne ad ultimum supplicium progradi necesse habeant. Hace quam potest demississime et subjectissime exponit. LXXXV. Ad ea Caesar respondit: nulli omnium has partes vel querimoniae vel miserationis minus convenisse. Reliquos enim omnes officium suum praestitisse: se, qui etiam bona condicione, et loco et tempore aequo configere noluerit, ut quam inte-
COMM. I. CAP. LXXXII-LXXXV.

gerrima essent ad pacem omnia; exercitum suum, qui in-
juria etiam accepta suisque interflectis, quos in sua potestate
habuerit conservavit et texerit; illius denique exercitus
milites, qui per se de concilianda pace egerint, qua in re
omnia suorum vitae consulendum putarint. Sic omnium
ordinum partes in misericordia constitisse, ipsos dos a
pace abhorruisse; eos neque colloqui neque indutiarum jura
servasse et homines imperitos et per colloquium deceptos
crudelissime interfecisse. Accidisse igitur his, quod ple-
rumque hominum nimia pertinacia atque arrogantia accidere
soleat, uti co recurrant et id cupidissime petant quod paulo
ante contemptserint. Neque nunc se illorum humilitate
neque aliqua temporis opportune postulare, quibus rebus
opos augeantur suae; sed eos exercitus quos contra se
multos jam annos aluerint, velle dimitti. Neque enim sex
legiones alia de causa missas in Hispaniam septimamque ibi
conscriptam, neque tot tantasque classes paratas neque sum-
missos duces rei militaris peritos. Nihil horum ad pacan-
das Hispanias, nihil ad usum provinciae provisum, quae
propter diurnitatem pacis nullum auxilium desiderarit. Omnia
haec jam pridem contra se parari; in se novi generis
imperia constitui, ut idem ad portas urbanis praesideat
rebus et duas bellicosissimas provincias absens tot annis
obtineat; in se jura magistratum commutari, ne ex praetura
et consulatu, ut semper, sed per paucos probati et
electi in provincias mittantur; in se etiam aetatis excusationem
nihil valere, cum superioribus bellis probati ad obtinendos
exercitus evocentur; in se uno non servari, quod sit
omnibus datum semper imperatoribus, ut rebus feliciter
gestis aut cum honore aliquo aut certe sine ignominia do-
mum revertantur exercitumque dimittant. Quae tamen
omnia et se tulisse patienter et esse laturum; neque nunc
id agere, ut ab illis abductum exercitum teneat ipse, quod
tamen sibi difficile non sit, sed ne illi habeant quo contra se
uti possint. Proinde, ut esset dictum, provinciis excede-
rent exercitumque dimitterent; si id sit factum, se noci-
turum nemini. Hanc unam atque extremam esse pacis condicionem. LXXXVI. Id vero militibus fuit pergratum et jucundum, ut ex ipsa significatione cognosci potuit, ut, qui aliquid justi incommodi exspectavissent, ultro praemium missionis ferrent. Nam cum de loco et tempore ejus rei controversia inferretur, et voce et manibus universi ex vallo ubi constiterant significare coeperunt ut statim dimitterentur, neque omni interposita fide firmum esse posse, si in aliud tempus differretur. Paucis cum esset in utramque 5 partem verbis disputatum, res huc deducitur, ut ei qui habeant domicilium aut possessionem in Hispania statim, reliqui ad Varum flumen dimittantur; ne quid eis noceatur, nee quis invitus sacramentum dicere cogatur, a Caesare cavetur. LXXXVII. Caesar ex co tempore, dum ad flumen 10 partem verbis disputatum, res huc deducitur, ut ei qui habeant domicilium aut possessionem in Hispania statim, reliqui ad Varum flumen dimittantur; nee quis invitus sacramentum dicere cogatur, a Caesare cavetur. LXXXVII. Caesar ex co tempore, dum ad flumen 15 Varum veniatur, se frumentum daturum pollicetur. Addit etiam, ut, quod quisque coram in bello amiscit, quae sint penes milites suos, iis qui amiserant restituatur; militibus aequa facta aetimatione pecuniam pro his rebus dissolvit. Quascumque postea controversias inter se milites habuerunt, 20 sua sponte ad Caesarem in jus adierunt. Petreius atque Afranius cum stipendium ab legionibus paene seditione facta flagitarentur, cujus illi diem nondum venisse dicerent, Caesar ut cognosceret postulatum est, eoque utriquo quod statuit contenti fuerunt. Parte circiter tertia exercitus eo 25 biduo dimissa duas legiones suas antecedere, reliquas subsequi jussit, ut non longo inter se spatio castra facerent, eique negotio Q. Fufium Calenum legatum praeficit. Hoc ejus praescripto ex Hispania ad Varum flumen est iter factum, atque ibi reliqua pars exercitus dimissa est.
I. Dum haec in Hispania geruntur, C. Trebonius legatus, qui ad oppugnationem Massiliae relictus erat, duabus ex partibus aggerem, vineas turresque ad oppidum agere instituit. Una erat proxima portui navalibusque, altera ad partem qua est aditus ex Gallia atque Hispania, ad id mare quod adjacent ad ostium Rhodani. Massilia enim fere ex tribus oppidi partibus mari alluitur; roliqua quarta est quae aditum habeat ab terra. Hujus quoque spatii pars ea quae ad arcem pertinet, loci natura et valle altissima munita longam et difficilem habet oppugnationem. Ad ea per-ficienda opera C. Trebonius magnam jumentorum atque hominum multitudinem ex omni provincia vocat; vimina materiamque comportari jubet. Quibus comparatis rebus aggerem in altitudinem pedum LXXX exstruit. II. Sed tanti erant antiquitus in oppido omnium rerum ad bellum ap-paratus tantaque multitudo tormentorum, ut eorum vim nullae contextae viminibus vineae sustinere possent. Asseres enim pedum XII cuspidibus praefixi, atque hi maximis ballistis missi, per III ordinis erat in terra defigebantur. Itaque pedalibus lignis conjunctis inter se porticus inter Baptantur, atque hac agger inter manus proferebatur. Antecedebat testudo pedum LX aestandi loci causa fecta item ex fortissimis lignis, convenuta omnibus rebus quibus ignis jactus et lapides defendi possent. Sed magnitudo operum, altitudo muri atque turrium, multitudo tormentorum omnem admini-
strationem tardabat. Crebrae etiam per Albicos eruptiones fiebant ex oppido ignesque aggeri et turribus inferebantur; quae facile nostri milites repellebant, magnisque ullo illatis detrimentis eos qui eruptionem fecerant in oppidum rejecissent.

III. Interim L. Nasidius ab Cn. Pompeio cum classe navium xvi, in quibus paucae erant aeratae, L. Domitio Massiliensibusque subsidio missus, freto Siciliae imprudente atque inopinante Curione pervehitur, appulsisque Messanam navibus atque inde propter repentinum terrem principum ac senatus fuga facta, navem ex navalibus eorum deducit. Hac adjuncta ad reliquas naves cursum Massiliam versus perficit praemissaque clam navicula Domitium Massilensesque de suo adventu certiores facit eosque magnopere hortatur ut rursus cum Bruti classe additis suis auxiliis constringant.

IV. Massilenses post superius incommodum veteres ad eundem numem ex navalibus productas naves refecerant summaque industria armaverant (remigum, gubernatorum magna copia supplerebat) piscatoriasque adjecerant atque contexerant, ut essent ab ictu telorum remiges tuti; has sagittaris tormentisque compleverunt. Tali modo instructa classe, omnium seniorum, matrum familiae, virginum precibus et fletu excitati, extrema tempore civitati subvenirent, non minore animo ac fiducia quam ante dimicaverant naves conscendunt. Communi enim fit vitio naturae, ut invisis atque incognitis rebus magis confidamus vehementiusque exteramur; ut tum accidit. Adventus enim L. Nasidii summa spe et voluntate civitatem compleverat. Nacti idoneum ventum ex portu exuunt et Tauroënta, quod est castellum Massiliensium, ad Nasidium perveniunt ibique naves expedient rursusque se ad confligendum animo confirmant et consilia communicant. Dextra pars attribuitur Massilien-sibus, sinistra Nasidio. V. Eodem Brutus contendit aucto navium numero. Nam ad eas quae factae erant Arelate per Caesarem, captivae Massilienium accesserant sex. Has superioribus diebus refecerat atque omnibus rebus instruxerat. Itaque suos cohortatus, quos integros superavissent ut victos
contemnerent, plenus spei bonae atque animi adversus eos proficiscitur. Facile erat ex castris C. Treboni atque omnibus superioribus locis prospicere in urbem, ut omnis juven-
tus quae in oppido remanserat, omnesque superioris aetatis

cum liberis atque uxoribus aut in muro ad caelum manus

tenderent, aut templae deorum immortalium adirent et ante

simulacra projecti victoriam ab dis exposcerent. Neque erat

quisquam omnium, quin in eis diei casu suarum omnium

fortunarum eventum consistere existimaret. Nam et honesti

ex juventute et cujusquae aetatis amplissimi nominatim evoc-
cati atque obsercati naves conscenderant, ut, si quid adher-
cidisset, ne ad conandum quidem sibi quinquam reliqui

fore viderent; si superavissent, vel domesticis opibus vel

externis auxiliis de salute urbis considerent. VI. Commissos

proelio Massiliensibus res nulla ad virtutem defuit; sed

memores eorum praeeptororum quae paulo ante ab suis acceperant, hoc animo decertabant, ut nullum aliud tempus

ad conandum habituri viderentur, et quibus in pugna vitae

periculum accideret non ita multo se reliquorum civium

fatum antecedere existimarent, quibus urbe capta eadem

esset belli fortuna patiente. Diductisque nostris paulatim

navibus et artificio gubernatorum et mobilitati navium locus

dabatur, et si quando nostri facultatem nactus ferreis mani-

bus injectis navem religaverant, undique suis laborantibus

succurrebant. Neque vero conjuncti Albicis comminus pug-
nando deficiebant neque multum cedebant virtute nostris.

Simul ex minoribus navibus magna vis eminus missa telo-

rum multa nostris de improviso imprudentibus atque im-

peditis vulnera inferebant. Conspicataeque naves triremes

duae navem D. Bruti, quae ex insigni facile agnoscipot erat,

duabus ex partibus sese in eam incitaverant. Sed tantum

re provisa Brutus celeritate navis enisus est, ut parvo mo-

mento antecederet. Illae adeo graviter inter se incitatae

conflexerunt, ut vehementissime utraque ex concursu labo-

rarent, altera vero praefracto rostro tota collabeferet. Qua

re animadversa, quae proximae ei loco ex Bruti classe naves
erant, in eas impeditas impetum faciunt celeriterque ambas
5 deprimunt. VII. Sed Nasidianae naves nullo usui fuerunt
celeriterque pugna excesserunt; non enim has aut conspec-
tus patriae aut propinquorum praeepta ad extremum vitae
periculum adire cogebant. Itaque ex eo numero navium
nulla desiderata est; ex Massiliensium classe v sunt depres-
sae, tribus captae, una cum Nasidianis profugit; quae omnes
ceteriorum Hispaniam petiverunt. At ex reliquis una pra-
missa Massiliam hujus nuntii perferendi gratia cum jam
10 appropinquaret urbii, omnis se multitudo effudit, et re
cognita tantus luctus excepit, ut urbis ab hostibus capta
eodem vestigio videretur. Massilienses tamen nihil secius
ad defensionem urbis reliqua apparare coeperunt. VIII.
Est animadversum ab legionariis qui dextram partem operis
15 administrabant, ex crebris hostium eruptionibus magno sibi
esse praesidio posse, si ibi pro castello ac receptaculo turrim
ex latere sub muro fecissent. Quam primo ad repentinos
incursus humilem parvamque fecissent. Huc se referebant;
hinc, si qua major oppresserat vis, propugnabat; hinc ad
20 repellendum et prosequendum hostem procurabant. Patre-
bat hae quoquoverunt pedes xxx, sed parietum crassitudo
pedes v. Postea vero, ut est rerum omnium magister usus,
hominum adhibita sollertia inventum est magno esse usui
posse, si haec esset in altitudinem turris elata. Id hac ra-
25 tione perfectum est. IX. Ubi turris altitudo perducta est
ad contabulationem, eam in parietes instruxerunt ita, ut
capita tignorum extrema parietum structura tegerentur, ne
quid emineret ubi ignis hostium adhaeresceret. Hanc super
contignationem, quantum tectum plutei ac vinearum passum
30 est, latericulio astruxerunt, supraque cum locum tigna trans-
versa injecerunt non longe ab extremis parietibus, quibus sus-
penderent eam contignationem quae turri tegimento esset
futura, supraque ea tigna directo transversas trabes injece-
runt easque axibus religaverunt (has Paulo longiores atque
35 eminentiores quam extremi parietes erant effecerunt, ut esset
ubi tegimenta praependere possent ad defendendos ictus ac
comm. ii. cap. vi—x.

repellendos, cum inter eam contignationem parietes exstruerent) eamque contabulationem summam lateribus lutoque constraverunt, ne quid ignis hostium nocere posset, centonesque insuper injecerunt, ne aut tela tormentis immissa tabulationem perfringerent, aut saxa ex catapultis latericium discuterent. Storias autem ex funibus ancorariis tres in longitudinem parietum turris latas iii pedes fecerunt casque ex tribus partibus quae ad hostes vorgebant, eminentibus trabibus circum turrim praependentes religaverunt; quod unum genus tegimenti alius locis erant experti nullo telo neque tormento trajici posse. Ubi vero ea pars turris quae erat perfecta, tecta atque munita est ab omni iucto hostium, pluteos ad alia opera abduxerunt; turris tectum per se ipsum pressionibus ex contignatione prima suspendere ac tollere coeperunt. Ubi, quantum storiarum demissio patiebatur, tantum elevarant, intra haec tegmenta abditis atque munitis parietes lateribus exstruebant rursusque alia pressione ad aedificandum sibi locum expediébant. Ubi tempus alterius contabulationis videbatur, tigna item ut primo tecta extremis lateribus instruebant exque ea contignatione rursus summam contabulationem storialis elevabant. Ita tuto ac sine ullo vulnere ac periculo sex tabulata exstruxerunt, fenestratasque quibus in locis visum est ad tormenta mittenda in struendo reliquerunt. X. Ubi ex ea turri quae circum essent opera tuere se possent confisi, musculum pedes lx longum ex materia bipedali, quem a turri latericia ad hostium turrim murumque perducerunt, facere instituerunt; cujus musculi haec erat forma. Duae primum trabes in solo aequae longae distantes inter se pedes iii collocantur inque eis columnellae pedum in altitudinem v defiguntur. Has inter se capreolis molli fastigio conjungunt, ubi tigna quae musculi tegendi causa ponant collocentur. Eo super tigna bipedalia iniunctae eaque laminis clavisque religant. Ad extremum musculi tectum trabesque extremas quadratas regulas iii patentes digitos defigunt, quae lateres qui super musculo struantur continenter. Ita fastigiate atque ordinatim
structo tecto, ut trabes erant in capreolis collocatae, lateribus lutoque musculus, ut ab igni qui ex muro jaceretur tutus esset, contegitur. Super lateres coria inducuntur, ne canalisbus aqua immissa lateres diluero posset. Coria autem, ne rursus igni ac lapidibus corrumpantur, centonibus conteguntur. Hoc opus omne tectum vineis ad ipsam turrim perficiunt subitoque inopinantibus hostibus machinatione navali, phalangis subjectis, ad turrim hostium admovent, ut aedificio jungatur. XI. Quo malo perterriti subito oppidani saxa quam maxima possunt vectibus promovent praecipitataque muro in musculum devolvunt. Ictum firmitas materiae sustinet, et quidquid incidit fastigio musculi elabitur. Id ubi vident, mutant consilium; cupas taeda ac pice refertas incendunt easque de muro in musculum devolvunt. Involutae labuntur, delapsae a lateribus longuriis furcisque ab opere removentur. Interim sub muscolo milites vectibus infima saxa turris hostium, quibus fundamenta continebantur, convellunt. Musculus ex turri latericia a nostris telis tormentisque defenditur; hostes ex muro ac turribus summovent; non datur libera muri defendendii facultas. Compluribus jam lapidibus ex ea quae suberat turri subductis, repentina ruina pars ejus turris concidit, pars reliqua sequens procumebat, cum hostes urbis direptione perterriti inermes cum infulis se porta foras universi proripiant, ad legatos atque exercitum supplices manus tendunt. XII. Qua nova re oblata omnis administratio bellis consistit militesque averi a proelio ad studium audiendi et cognoscendi feruntur. Ubii hostes ad legatos exercitumque pervenrunr, universi se ad pedes projiciunt; orant ut adventus Caesaris exspectetur. Captam suam urbem videre; opera perfecta, turrim subbrutam; itaque ab defense disister. Nullam exoriri moram posse, quominus, cum venisset, si imperata non facerent ad nutum, e vestigio diriperentur. Docent, si omnino turris concidisset, non posse milites contineri quin spe praedae in urbem irrumperent urbemque delerent. Hace atque ejusdem generis complura ut ab ho-
minibus doctis magna cum misericordia fletuque pronuntiatur. XIII. Quibus rebus commoti legati milites ex opere deducunt, oppugnatione desistunt; operibus custodias relinquunt. Indutiarum quodam genere misericordia facto adventus Caesaris exspectatur. Nullum ex muro, nullum a nostris mittitur telum; ut re confecta omnes curam et diligentiam remittunt. Caesar enim per litteras Trebonio magnopere mandaverat ne per vim oppidum expugnari pataretur, ne gravius permoti milites et defectionis odio et contemptione sui et diutino labore omnes puberes interficerent; quod se facturos minabantur, aegreque tunc sunt retenti quin oppidum irruperent, graviterque eam rem tulerunt, quod stetisse per Trebonium, quominus oppido potirentur, videbatur. XIV. At hostes sine fide tempus atque occasionem fraudis ac doli quærunt interjectisque aliquot diebus nostris languentibus atque animo remissis subito meridiano tempore, cum alius discessisset, alius ex diutino labore in ipsis operibus quieti se dedisset, arma vero omnia reposita contectaque essent, portis se foras erumpunt, secundo magnoque vento ignem operibus inferunt. Hunc sic distulit ventus, uti uno tempore agger, plutei, testudo, turris, tormenta flammam conciperent et prius haec omnia consumerentur quam quemadmodum accidisset animadverti posset. Nostri repentina fortuna permoti arma quae possunt arripiunt; alii ex castris sese incitant. Fit in hostes impetus; sed e muro sagittis tormentisque fugientes persequi prohibentur. Illi sub murum se recipiunt ibique musculum turrimque latericiam libere incendunt. Ita multorum sium labor hostium perfidia et vi tempestatis puncto temporis interiit. Tentaverunt hoc idem Massilienses postero die. Eandem nacti tempestatem majore cum fiducia ad alteram turrim aggeremque eruptione pugnaverunt multumque ignem intulerunt. Sed ut superioris temporis contentionem nostri omnem remiserant, ita proximi diei casu admoniti omnia ad defensionem paraverant. Itaque multis interfectis reliquis infecta re in oppidum repulerunt.
XV. Trebonius ca quae sunt amissa multo majore militum studio administrare et reficere instituit. Nam ubi tantos suos labores et apparatus male cecedisso viderunt indutiisque per seclus violatis suam virtutem irissui fore perdoluerunt, quod, unde agger omnino comportari posset, nihil erat reliquum, omnibus arboribus longe lateque in finibus Massiliensium excisis et convectis, aggerem novi generis atque inauditum ex latericiis duobus muris senum pedum crassitudo atque eorum murorum contignatione facere instituerunt, aequa fere altitudine atque ille congesticius ex materia fuerat agger. Ubi aut spatium inter muros aut imbecillitas materiae postulare videretur, pilae interponuntur, transversaria signa injiciuntur, quae firmamento esse possint, et quidquid est contignatum cratibus consternit, crates luto integuntur. Sub tecto miles, dextra ac sinistra muro tectus, adversus plutei objectu, operi quaecumque sunt usui sine periculo supportat. Celeriter res administratur; diurni laboris detrimentum sollertia et virtute militum brevi reconcibatur. Portae quibus locis videtur eruptionis causa in muro relinquentur. XVI. Quod ubi hostes viderunt, ea quae diu longoque spatio refici non posse sperassent paucorum dierum opera et labore ita refecta, ut nullus perfidia neque eruptioni locus esset nec quicquam omnino relinqueretur, qua aut telis militibus aut igni operibus noceri posset, eodem exemplo sentiunt totam urbem, quae sit aditus ab terra, muro turribusque circummuniri posse, sic ut ipsis consistendi in suis munitionibus locus non esset, cum paene inaedificata in muris ab exercitu nostro moenia viderentur ac telum manu conjiceretur, suorumque tormentorum usum, quibus ipsi magna speraviissent, spatio propinquitatis interire, parique condicione ex muro ac turribus bellandi data se virtute nostris adaequare non posse intellegunt, ad easdem deditionis condiciones recurrunt.

XVII. M. Varro in ulteriore Hispania initio cognitis iis rebus quae sunt in Italia gestae, diffidens Pompeianis rebus,
amicissime de Caesare loquebatur: praecoccupatum sese legatione ab Cn. Pompeio, teneri obstrictum fide; necessitudinem quidem sibi nihilominore cum Caesare intercedere; neque se ignorare quod esset officium legati, qui fiduciariam operam obtineret, quae vires suae, quae voluntas erga Caesarem totius provinciae. Haec omnibus ferebat sermonibus neque se in ullam partem movebat. Postea vero, cum Caesarem ad Massiliam detineri cognovit, copias Petreii cum exercitu Afrani esse conjunctas, magna auxilia convenisse, magna esse in spe atque exspectari, et consentire omnem citeriorem provinciam, quaeque postea acciderant, de angustiis ad. Ilerdam rei frumentariae, acceperat, atque haec ad cum Ilatius atque inflatius Afranius perscribebat, se quoque ad motus fortunaee movere coepit. XVIII. Delectum habuit tota provincia, legionibus completis duabus cohortes circiter xxx alarias addidit. Frumenti magnum numerum coegit, quod Massiliensibis, item quod Afranio Petreioque mitteret. Naves longas x Gaditanis ut facerent imperavit, complures praeterea Hispali faciendas curavit. Pecuniam omnem ominiaque ornamenta ex fano Herculis in oppidum Gadis contulit; eo sex cohortes praesidii causa ex provincia misit Gaiumque Gallonium, equitem Romanum, familiarem Domiti, quae procurandae hereditatis causa venerat missus a Domitio, oppido Gadibus praefecit; arma omnia privata ac publica in domum Galloni contulit. Ipse habuit graves in Caesarem contiones. Saepe ex tribunal praedicavit adversa Caesarem proelia fecisse, magnum numerum ab eo militum ad Afranium perfugisse: haec se certis nuntiis, certis auctoribus compersisse. Quibus rebus perterritos cives Romanos ejus provinciae sibi ad rempublicam administrandam HS 30 CLXXX et argenti pondo XX milia, tritici modios CXX milia polliceri coegit. Quas Caesari esse amicas civitates arbitrabatur, his graviora onera injungebat praesidiaque eo deducebat et judicia in privatos reddhebat; qui verba atque orationem adversus rempublicam habuissent, eorum bona in publicum addicebat. Provinciam omnem in sua et Pompeii
verba jurejurandum adigebat. Cognitis iis rebus quae sunt gestae in citerioro Hispania bellum parabat. Ratio autem haec erat belli, ut se cum II legionibus Gades conferret, naves frumentumque omne ibi contineret; provinciam enim omnem Caesaris rebus favere cognoverat. In insula frumento navibusque comparatis bellum duci non difficile existimabat. Caesar, etsi multis necessariisque rebus in Italian revocabatur, tamen constituerat nullam partem belli in Hispaniis relinquere, quod magna esse Pompeii beneficia et magnas clientelas in citerioro provincia sciebat. XIX. Itaque duabus legionibus missis in ulteriori Hispaniam cum Q. Cassio, tribuno plebis, ipse cum do equitibus magnis itineribus progreditur edictumque praemittit, ad quam diem magistratus principesque omnium civitatum sibi esse praesto Cordubae vellet. Quo edicto tota provincia pervulgato nulla fuit civitas, quin ad id tempus partem senatus Cordubam mitteret, non civis Romanus paulo notior, quin ad diem conveniret. Simul ipse Cordubae conventus per se portas Varroni clausit, custodias vigiliasque in turribus muroque dispositu, cohortes duas, quae colonicae appellabantur, cum eo casu venissent, tuendi oppidi causa apud se retinuit. Tisdem diebus Carmonenses, quae est longe firmissima totius provinciae civitas, deductis tribus in arcem oppidi cohortibus a Varrono praesidio, per se cohortes ejecit portasque praeclusit. XX. Hoc vero magis properare Varro, ut cum legionibus quam primum Gades contenderet, ne itinere aut trajectu intercluderetur; tanta ac tam secunda in Caesarem voluntas provinciae reperiebatur. Progresso ei paulo longius litterae Gadibus redduntur, simul atque sit cognitum de edicto Caesaris, consensisse Gaditanos principes cum tribunis cohortium quae essent ibi in praeidio, ut Gallonium ex oppido expellerent, urbem insulamque Caesari servarent. Hoc initio consilio denuntiavisse Gallonio ut sua sponte, dum sine periculo liceret, excедерet Gadibus; si id non fecisset, sibi consilium capturos. Hoc timore adductum Gallonium Gadibus excessisse. His cognitis rebus altera ex duabus
legionibus; quae vernacula appellabantur, ex castris Varronis adstante et inspectante ipso signa sustulit sesque Hispalim receptit atque in foro et porticibus sine maleficio consedit. Quod factum adeo ejus conventus cives Romani comprobaverunt, ut domum ad se quisque hospitio cupidissime reciperet. Quibus rebus perterriritus Varro, cum itinere converso sese Italicae venturum praemisisset, certior ab suis factus est praeclausas esse portas. Tum vero omni interclusus itinere ad Cesarem mittit paratum se esse legionem, cui jussisset, tradere. Ille ad eum Sextum Cesarem mittit atque huic tradi jubet. Tradita legione Varro Cordubam ad Cesarem venit; relatis ad eum publicis cum fide rationibus, quod penes eum est pecuniae tradit et quid ubique habeant tramenti et navium ostendit. XXI. Caesar contione habita Cordubae omnibus generatim gratias agit: civibus Romanis, quod oppidum in sua potestate studiissent habere; Hispanis, quod praesidia expulissent; Gaditanis, quod conatus adversariorum infringissent sesque in libertatem vindicassent; tribunis militum centurionibusque, qui eo praesidii causa venerant, quod eorum consilia sua virtute confirmassent. Pecunias quas erant in publicum Varroni cives Romanis polliciti, remittit; bona restituit iis quos liberius locutos hanc poenam tulisse cognoverat. Tributis quibusdam publicis privatisque reliquis in posterum bona spe complet biduumque Cordubae commoratus Gades profiscitur; pecunias monumentaque quae ex fano Herculis collata erant in privatam domum, referri in templum jubet. Provinciae Q. Cassium praeficit; huic III legiones attribuit. Ipse iis navibus quas M. Varro quasque Gaditani jussu Varronis fecerant Tarraconem paucis diebus pervenit. Ibi totius fere ceterioris provinciae legationes Caesaris adventum espectabant. Eadem ratione privatim ac publice quibusdam civitatibus habitibus honoribus Tarracone discedit pedibusque Narbonem atque inde Massiliam pervenit. Ibi legem de dictatore latam seseque dictorem dictum a M. Lepido prae- tore cognoscit.
XXII. Massilienses omnibus defessi malis, rei frumentariae ad summam inopiam adducti, bis navali proelio superati, crebris eruptionibus fusi, gravi etiam pestilentia conflictati ex diutina conclusione et mutatione victus (panico enim ve-
tere atque hordeo corrupto omnes alebantur, quod ad hujus-
modi casus antiquitus paratum in publicum contulerant), dejecta turri, labefacta magna parte muri, auxilliis provinci-
arum et exercituum desperatis, quos in Caesaris potestatem venisse cognoverant, sese dedere sine fraude constituunt.

Sed paucis ante diebus L. Domitius cognita Massibensium voluntate navibus IIII comparatis, ex quibus duas familiaribus suis attribuerat, unam ipse conscenderat, nactus turbidam tempestatem profectus est. Hunc conspicatae naves quae missu Bruti consuetudine quotidiana ad portum excubabant, subatis ancoris sequi coeperunt. Ex his unum ipsius navi-
gium contendit et fugere perseveravit auxilioque tempestatis ex conspectu abiit, duo perterrita concursu nostrarum na-
vium sese in portum receperunt. Massilienses arma tormen-
taque ex oppido, ut est imperatum, proferunt, naves ex
portu navalibusque educunt, pecuniam ex publico tradunt. Quibus rebus confectis Caesar magis eos pro nomine et vetustate quam pro meritis in se civitatis conservans duas ibi legiones praesidio reliquit, ceteras in Italiam mittit; ipse ad urbem proficiscitur.

XXIII. Iisdem temporibus C. Curio in Africam profectus ex Sicilia et jam ab initio copias P. Atti Vari despiciens, duas legiones ex IIII quas aceperat a Caesare, D equites transportabat, biduque et noctibus tribus navigatione con-
sumptis appellant ad eum locum qui appellatur Anquillaria. Hic locus abest a Clupeis passuum XXII milia habetque non incommodam aestate stationem et duobus eminentibus pro-
montriis continentur. Hujus adventum L. Caesar filius cum
x longis navibus ad Clupeam praestolans, quas naves Uticae
ex praedonum bello subductas P. Attius reficiendas hujus
belli causa curaverat, veritus navium multitudinem ex alto
COMM. II. CAP. XXII—XXV.

【这里的内容已经被重写为现代的拉丁文，以便更好地理解。】

refugerat, appulsaque ad proximum litus trireme constrata et in litore relictæ pedibus Adrumetum per fugerat. Id oppidum C. Considius Longus unius legionis praesidio tuebatur. Reliquae Caesaris naves ejus fuga se Adrumetum receperunt. Hunc secutus Marcius Rufus quaestor navibus xii, quas praesidio onerariis navibus Curio ex Sicilia eduxerat, postquam in litore relictam navem conspexit, hanc remulco abstraxit; ipse ad Curionem cum classe redit. XXIV. Curio Marcium Uticam navibus praemittit; ipse eodem cum exercitu proficiscitur bidique iter progressus ad flumen Bagradam pervenit. Ibi C. Caninium Rebilum legatum cum legionibus rebusuit; ipse cum equitatu antecedit ad Castra exploranda Corneliana, quod is locus perdoneus castris habebatur. Id autem est jugum directum eminens in mare, utraque ex parte praeruptum atque asperum, sed tamen paulo leniore fastigio ab ea parte quae ad Uticam vergit. Abest directo itinere ab Utica paulo amplius passus mille. Sed hoc itinere est fons, quo mare succedit longius, lateque is locus stagnat; quem si qui vitare voluerit, sex milium circuitu in oppidum pervenit. XXV. Hoc explorato loco Curio castra Vari conspicit muro oppidoque conjuncta ad portam quae appellatur bellica, admodum munita natura loci, una ex parte ipso oppido Utica, altera, a theatro quod est ante oppidum, substructionibus ejus operis maximis, aditu ad castra difficili et angusto. Simul animadvertit multa undique portari atque agi plenissimis viis, quae repentini tumultus timore ex agris in urbem conferantur. Huc equitatum mittit, ut diriperet atque haberet loco praedae; eodemque tempore his rebus subsidio dc equites Numidae ex oppido pedesque ccoc mittuntur a Varo, quos auxiliii causa rex Juba paucis diebus ante Uticam miserat. Huic et paternum hospitium cum Pompeio et simultas cum Curione intercedebat, quod tribunus plebis legem promulgaverat, qua lege regnum Jubae publicaverat. Concurrunt equites inter se; neque vero primum impetum nostrorum Numidae ferre potuerunt, sed interfectis circiter cxx reliqui
se in castra ad oppidum reccepserunt. Interim adventu longarum navium Curio pronuntiare onerariis navibus jubes, quae stabant ad Uticam numero circiter cc, se in hostium habiturum loco qui non e vestigio ad Castra Corneliana traduxisset. Qua pronuntiatione facta temporis puncto sublatis ancoris omnes Uticam relinquunt et quo imperatum est transeunt. Quae res omnium rerum copia complevit exercitum. XXVI. His rebus gestis Curio se in castra ad Bagradam recipit atque uni- versi exercitus clamatione imperator appellatur, posterumque die exercitum Uticam ducit et prope oppidum castra ponit. Nondum opere castrorum perfecto equites ex statione nuntiant magna auxilia equitum peditumque ab rege missa Uticam venire; eodemque tempore vis magna pulvem cerebatur, et vestigio temporis primum agmen erat in conspectu. Novitate rei Curio permotus praemittit equites, qui primum impetum sustineant ac morentur; ipse celeriter ab opere deductis legionibus aciem instistit. Equitesque committunt proelium et, priusquam plane legiones explicari et consistere possent, tota auxilia regis impedita ac perturbata, quod nullo ordine et sine timore iter fecerant, in fugam conjiciunt equitatuque omni fere incolumi, quod se per litora celeriter in oppidum recepit, magnum peditum numerum interficiunt. XXVII. Proxima nocte centuriones Marsi duo ex castris Curionis cum manipularibus suis xxn ad Attium Varum perfugient. Hi, sive vere quam habuerant opinionem ad eum perferunt, sive etiam auribus Vari servient (nam quae volumus et eremimus libenter, et quae sentimus ipsi reliquis sentire speramus), confirmant quidem certe totius exercitus animos alienos esse a Curione, maximeque opus esse in conspectum exercitum venire et colloquendi dare facultatem. Qua opinione adductus Varus posterum die mane legiones ex castris educit. Facit idem Curio, atque una valle non magna interjecta suas uterque copias instruit. XXVIII. Erat in exercitu Vari Sextus Quintilius Varus, quem fuisse Corfini supra demonstratum est. Hic dimissus a Caesare in Africam venerat,
legionesque eas traduxerat Curio quas superioribus temporibus Corfinio receperat Caesar, adeo ut paucis mutatis centurionibus iidemordes manipulique constarent. Hanc nactus appellationis causam Quintilius circumire aiciem Curionis atque obscurare milites coepit, ne primam sacramentum quod apud Domitium atque apud se quaestorem dixissent memoriam deponerent, ne contra eos arma ferrent qui eadem essent usi fortuna eademque in obsidione perpessi, ne pro his pugnarent a quibus cum contumelia perfugae appellarentur. Huc pauc a spem largitionis addidit, quae ab sua liberalitate, si se atque Attium secuti essent, expectare deberent. Hac habita oratione nullam in partem ab exercitu Curionis fit significatio, atque ita suas uterque copias reducit. XXIX. At in castris Curionis magnus omnium incessit timor. Is variis hominum sermonibus celesiter aus-getur. Unusquisque enim opiniones fingebat et ad id quod ab alio audierat, sui aliquid timoris addebat. Hoc ubi uno auctore ad plures permanaverat, atque alius alii tradiderat, plures auctores ejus rei videbantur. [Civile bellum; genus hominum quod liceret libere facere, et sequi quod vellet; legiones eae quae paulo ante apud adversarios fuerant (nam etiam Caesaris beneficio mutaverat consuetudo, qua offerrentur . . . . . . . . ); municipia etiam diversis partibus conjuncta (aeque enim ex Marsis Pelignisque venie-bant, ut qui superiore nocte . . . . . . . . . ). In contuberninis centuriones militcesque nonnulli graviora . . . . . . . . sermones militum dubii durius accipiebantur, nonnulli etiam ab iis qui diligentiores videri volebant fingebantur.] XXX. Quibus de causis consilio convocato de summa rerum deliberare incipit. Erant sententiae quae conandum omnibus modis castraque Vari oppugnanda censerent, quod in hujusmodi militum consiliis otium maxime contrarium esse arbitrarentur; postremo praestare dicer-bant per virtutem in pugna bellum fortunam experiri, quam desertos et circumventos ab suis gravissimum supplicium perpeti. Erant qui censerent de tertia vigilia in Castra
Corneba recedendum, ut majore spatio temporis interjecto militum mentes sanarentur, simul, si quid gravius accidisset, magna multitudine navium et tutius et facilius in Sicilian receptus daretur. XXXI. Curio utrumque improbans consilium, quantum alteri sententiae deesset animi tantum alteri superesse dicebat: hos turpissimae fugae rationem habere, illos etiam iniquo loco dimicandum putare. "Qua enim," inquit, "fidicia et opere et natura loci munitissima castra expugnari posse confidimus? Aut vero quid profici mus, si accepto magno detrimento ab oppugnacione castrorum discedimus? Quasi non et felicitas rerum gestarum exercitus benevolentiam imperatoribus et res adversae odia colligant! Castrorum autem mutatio quid habet nisi turpem fugam et desperationem omnium et alienationem exercitus? Nam neque pudentes suspicari oportet sibi parum credi, neque improbos scire sese timeri, quod illis licentiam timor augeat noster, his studia deminuat. Quod si jam," inquit, "haec explorata habeamus quae de exercitus alienatione dicuntur, quae quidem ego aut omnino falsa aut certe minora opinione esse confido, quanto haec dissimulari et occultari quam per nos confirmari praestet? An non, uti corporis vulnera, ita exercitus incommoda sunt tegenda, ne spem adversariis augeamus? At etiam ut media nocte proficiscamur addunt, quo majorem, credo, licentiam habeant qui peccare contentur. Namque hujusmodi res aut pudore aut metu tenentur, quibus rebus nox maxime adversaria est. Quare neque tanti sum animi, ut sine spe castra oppugnanda censeam, neque tanti timoris, ut ipse deficiam, atque omnia prius experienda arbitror magnae ex parte jam me una vobiscum de re judicium facturum confido." XXXII. Dimissio consilio contionem advocat militum. Commemorat quo sit eorum usus studio ad Corfinium Caesar, ut magnam partem Italiae beneficio atque auctoritate eorum suam fecerit. "Vos enim vestrumque factum omnia," inquit, "deinceps municipia sunt secuta, neque sine causa et Caesar amicissime de vobis et illi gravissime judicaverunt. Pom-
peius enim nullo proelio pulsus vestri facti praejudicio de-

motus Italia excessit; Caesar me, quem sibi carissimum

habuit, provinciam Siciliam atque Africam, sine quibus

urbem atque Italiam tueri non potest, vestrae fidei commisit.

Adsunt qui vos hortentur ut a nobis desciscatis. Quid enim 5

est illis optatius quam uno tempore et nos circumvenire et

vos nefario scelere obstringere? aut quid irati gravius de

vobis sentire possunt quam ut eos prodatis qui se vobis om-
nia debere judicant, in eorum potestatem veniatis qui se per

vos perisse existimant? An vero in Hispania res gestas 10

Caesaris non audistis? duos pulsos exercitus? duos superatos
duces? duas receptas provincias? haec acta diebus XL quibus

in conspectum adversariorum venerit Caesar? An qui in-
columnes resistere non potuerunt perditi resistant? vos autem

incerta victoria Caesarem secuti dijudicata jam belli fortuna 15

victum sequamini, cum vestri officii praemia percipere de-

beatis? Desertos enim se ac proditos a vobis dicit et prioris

sacramenti mentionem faciunt. Vosne vero L. Domitium, 20

an vos Domitius deseruit? Nonne extremam pati fortunam

paratos projecit ille? nonne sibi clam vobis salutem fuga 25

petivit? nonne profidit per illum Caesaris beneficio estis

conservati? Sacramento quidem vos tenere qui potuit, cum

projectis fascibus et deposito imperio privatus et captus ipse

in alienam venisset potestatem? Relinquitur nova religio,

ut eo neglecto sacramento quo tenemini, respiciatis illud 30

quod deditione ducis et capitis deminutione sublatum est.

At, credo, si Caesarem probatis, in me offenditis. Qui de

meis in vos meritis praedicaturus non sum, quae sunt adhuc

e et mea voluntate et vestra exspectatione leviora; sed tamen

sui laboris milites semper eventu belli praemia petiverunt, 35

qui qualis sit futurus ne vos quidem dubitatis; diligentiam

quidem nostram aut, quem ad finem adhuc res processit, for-
tunam cur praeterem? An paenitet vos quod salvum atque

incolumem exercitum nulla omnino nave desiderata tra-
duxerim? quod classem hostium primo impetu adveniens 40

profligaverim? quod bis per biduum equestri proelio supe-
raverim? quod ex portu sinuque adversariorum cc naves oneratas adduxerim eoque illos compulerim, ut neque pedes-
tri itinere neque navibus commeatu juvari possint? Hae vos fortuna atque his ducibus repudiatis Corfiniensem igno-
miniam, Italicae fugam, Hispaniarum deditioinem, Africi belli praeprivicia sequimini! Equidem me Caesaris militem dici volui, vos me imperatoris nomine appellavistis. Cujus si vos paenitet, vestrum vobis beneficiun remitto, mihi meum nomen restituite, ne ad contumeliam honorem dedisse videa-
mini.” XXXIII. Qua oratione permoti milites crebro etiam interpellabant, ut magno cum dolore infidelitas suspicionem sustinere viderentur, discendentem vero ex contione universi cohortantur magno sit animo, necubi dubitet proelium com-
mittere et suam fidem virtutemque experiri. Quo facto commutata omnium et voluntate et opinione consensu summo constituit Curio, cum primum sit data potestas, proelio rem committere, posteroque die productos eodem loco quo superioribus diebus constiterat, in acie collocat.
Ne Varus quidem Attius dubitat copias producere, sive solli-
citandi milites sive aequo loco dimicandi deter occasio, ne facultatem praetermittat. XXXIV. Erat vallis inter duas acies, ut supra demonstratum est, non ita magna, at difficili et arduo ascensu. Hanc uterque si adversariorum copiae transire conarentur exspectatabat, quo aequo loco proelium committeret. Simul ab sinistro cornu P. Attii equitatus omnis et una levis armaturae interjecti complures, cum se in vallem demitterent, cernebantur. Ad eos Curio equitatum et duas Marrucinorum cohortes mittit; quorum primum im-
petum equites hostium non tulerunt, sed admissis equis ad suos refugerunt; relieti ab his qui una procurrendi levis armaturae circumveniebantur atque interficiebantur ab nostri
Hec tota Vari conversa acies suos fugere et concidi videbat. Tune Rebilus, legatus Caesaris, quem Curio secum ex Sicilia duxerat, quod magnum habere usum in re militari sciebat, “Perterritum,” inquit, “hostem vides, Curio; quid dubitas uti temporis opportunitate?” Ille unum elocutus,
ut memoria tenerent milites ea quae pridie sibi confirmasset, sequi sese jubet et praecurrit ante omnes. Adeoque erat impedita vallis, ut in ascensu nisi sublevati a suis prími non facile eniterentur. Sed praeoccupatus animus Attiano-rum militum timore et fuga et caede suorum nihil de resistendo cogitabat, omnesque se jam ab equitatu circumveniri arbitrabantur. Itaque priusquam telum abjici posset aut nostri propius accederent, omnis Vari acies terga vertit seque in castra recepit. XXXV. Qua in fuga Fabius Pelignus quidam ex infinitis ordinibus de exercitu Curionis primum agmen fugientium consecutus magna voce Varum nomine appellans requirebat, uti unus esse ex ejus milittibus et mo-nere aliquid velle ac dicere videretur. Ubi ille saepius appellatus aspexit ac restitit et quis esset aut quid vellet quaesivit, humerum apertum gladio appetit, paulumque afuit quin Varum interficeret; quod ille periculum sublato ad ejus conatum scuto vitavit. Fabius a proximis militibus circum-ventus interficitur. Hac fugientium multitudine ac turba portae castrorum occupantur atque iter impeditur, pluresque in eo loco sine vulnere quam in proelio aut fuga intereunt, neque multum afuit quin etiam castris expellerentur, ac non-nulli protinus eodem cursu in oppidum contenderunt. Sed cum loci natura et munitio castrorum aditus probabant, tum quod ad proelium egressi Curionis milites iiis rebus indigebant quae ad oppugnationem castrorum erant usui. Itaque Curio exercitum in castra reducit suis omnibus praeter Fabium incolomibus, ex numero adversariorum circiter DC interfectis ac mille vulneratis; qui omnes discessu Curionis multque praeterea per simulationem vulnerum ex castris in oppidum propter timorem sese recipiunt. Qua re animadversa Varus et terrore exercitus cognito, bucinatoro in castris et paucis ad speciem tabernaculis relictis, de tertia vigilia silentio exercitum in oppidum reducit. XXXVI. Postero die Curio obsidere Uticam et vallo circummunitre instituit. Erat in oppido multitudo insolens belli diuturnitate otii, Uticenses pro quibusdam Caesaris in se beneficiis
DE BELLO CIVILI

illi amicissimi, conventus is qui ex variis generibus constaret, terror ex superioribus proeliis magnus. Itaque de deditione omnes palam loquebantur, et cum P. Attio agebant, ne sua pertinacia omnium fortunas perturbari vellet. Haec cum 5 agerentur, sunt praemissi ab rege Juba venerunt, qui illum adesse cum magnis copiis dicerent et de custodia ac defensione urbis hortarentur. Quae res eorum perterritos animos confirmavit. XXXVII. Nuntiabantur haec eadem Curioni, sed aliquamdiu fides fieri non poterat; tantam habebat 10 suarum rerum fiduciam. Jamque Caesaris in Hispania res secundae in Africam nuntiis et litteris perferebantur. Quibus rebus omnibus sublatus nihil contra se regem ausurum existimabat. Sed ubi certis auctoribus comperit minus v. et xx milibus longe ab Utica ejus copias abesse, relictis munitionibus sese in Castra Cornelia recepit. Huc frumentum comportare, castra munire, materiam conferre coepit, statimque in Siciliam misit, uti duae legiones reliquasque equitatus ad se mitteretur. Castra erant ad bellum ducendum aptissima natura loci et munitione et maris propinquitate et aquae et salis copia, cujus magna vis jam ex proximis erat salinis co congesta. Non materia multitudine arborum, non frumentum, cujus erat plenissimi agri, deficeret poterat. Itaque omnium suorum sensum Consilio reliquas copias espectare et bellum ducere parabat. XXXVIII. His constitutis rebus probatisque consiliis ex perfugis quibusdam oppidanim audit Jubam revocatum finitimo bello et controversiis Leptitanorum restitisse in regno, Saburram, ejus praefectum, cum mediocribus copiis missum Uticae appropinquare. His auctoribus temere credens consilium commutat et proelio rem committere constituit. Multum ad hanc rem probandam adjuvavit adolescentia, magnitudo animi, superioris temporis proventus, fiducia rei bene gerendae. His rebus impulsus equitatum omnem prima nox ad castra hostium mittit ad flumen Bagradam, quibus praeeerat Saburra, de quo ante erat auditum; sed rex omnibus copiis insequebatur et sex milium passuum intervallo a Saburra
consederat. Equites missi nocte iter conficiunt, imprudentes atque inopinantes hostes aggregiuntur. Numidae enim quadem barbarae consuetudine nullis ordinibus passim consederant. Hos oppressos somno et dispersos adorti magnum eorum numerum interficiunt; multi perterruti profugiiunt. Quo acto ad Curionem equites revertuntur captivosque ad eum reducunt. XXXIX. Curio cum omnibus copiis quarta vigilia exierat cohortibus v castris præsidio relictis. Progressus milia passuum xvi equites convenit, rem gestam cognovit; e captivis quaerit quis castris ad Bagradam præsit; respondent Saburram. Reliqua studio itineris conficiendi quaerere praetermittit proximaque respiciens signa, "Videtisne," inquit, "militès, captivorum orationem quæ per fugis convenire? Abesse regem, exiguas esse copias missas, quæ paucis equitibus pares esse non potuerint? Proinde ad prædam, ad gloriam prooperate, ut jam de praemii vestris et de referenda gratia cogitare incipiamus." Erant per se magna quae gesserat equites, praesertim cum eorum exiguus numerus cum tanta multitudine Numidarum conferretur. Haec tamen ab ipsis inflatius commemorabantur, ut de suis homines laudibus libenter praedicant. Multa praeterea spolia præferebantur, capti homines equitesque producebantur, ut quidquid intercederet temporis, hoc omne victoriam norari videretur. Ita spei Curionis militum studia non dearent. Equites sequi jubet sese iterque accelerat, ut quam maxime ex fuga perterrutos adoriri posset. At illi itinere totius noctis confecti subsequi non poterant, atque alii alio loco resistebant. Ne haec quidem res Curionem ad spem morabatur. XL. Juba certior factus a Saburra de nocterno præbæ milia Hispanorum et Gaborum equitum quos suae custodiae causa circum se habere consuerat, et peditum eam partem cui maxime confidebat, Saburrae summisit; ipse cum reliquis copiis elephantisique xlx lentius subsequeitur. Suspicatus praemissis equitibus ipsum affore Curionem, Saburra copias equitum peditemque instruit atque his imperat ut simulatione timoris paulatim cedant ac pedem referant:
sese, cum opus esset, signum proelii daturum et quod rem postulare cognovisset imperaturum. Curio, ad superiorem spem addita praesentiis temporis opinione, hostes fugere arbitratus copias ex locis superioribus in campum ducit. XLI. 5 Quibus ex locis cum longius esset progressus, confecto jam labore exercitu xvi milium spatio constitit. Dat suis signum Saburra, aciem constituit et circumire ordines atque hortari incipit; sed peditatu duntaxat procul ad speciem utitur, equites in aciem mittit. Non deest negotio Curio, suosque 10 hortatur ut spem omnem in virtute reponant. Ne militibus quidem, ut defessis, neque equitibus, ut paucis et labore confectis, studium ad pugnandum virtusque deerrat; sed hi erant numero cc, reliqui in itinere substiterant. Hi, quacumque in partem impetum fecerant, hostes loco cedere egebant, sed neque longius fugientes prosequii nec vehementius equos incitare poterant. At equitatus hostium ab utroque cornu circumire aciem nostram et aversos proterere incipit. Cum cohortes ex acie procururissent, Numidae integri cele- 15 titate impetum nostrorum effugiebant rursusque ad ordines suos se recipientes circumibant et ab acie excludebant. Sic neque in loco manere ordinesque servare neque procurrere et casum subire tumut videbatur. Hostium copiae summisis ab rege auxilliis crebro angebantur; nostros vires lassitudine deficiebant, simul ii qui vulnera acceperant neque acie ecede- 20 dere neque in locum tumut referri poterant, quod tota acies equitatu hostium circumdata tenebatur. Hi de sua salute desperantes, ut extremo vitae tempore homines facere consuerunt, aut suam mortem miserabuntur aut parentes suos commendabant, si quos ex eo periculo fortuna servare potisse- 25 sit. Plena erant omnia timoris et luctus. XLII. Curio, ubi perterritis omnibus neque cohorationes suas neque preces audiri intellegit, unam, ut in miseris rebus, spem reli- quam salutis esse arbitratus proximos colles capere universos atque eo signa inferri jubet. Hos quoque praecoccupat missus 30 a Saburra equitatus. Tum vero ad summam desperationem nostri perveniunt et partim fugientes ab equitatu interficiun-
tur, partim integri procumbunt. Hortatur Curionem Cn. Domitius, praefectus equitum, cum paucis equitis circum-
sistens, ut fuga salutem petat atque in castra contendat, et se ab eo non discessurum pollicitur. At Curio numquam se amisso exercitu quem a Caesare fidei commissum acceperit in ejus conspectum reversurum confirmat, atque ita proelians interficitur. Equites ex proelio perpauci se recipiunt; sed ii quos ad novissimum agmen equorum reficiendorum causa substitisse demonstratum est, fuga totius exercitus procul animadversa sese incolunmes in castra conferunt. Milites ad unum omnes interficiuntur. XLIII. His rebus cognitis Marcius Rufus quaestor in castris redditur ad Curione cohorte suos ne animo deficiant. Illi orant atque obsequant se in Siciliam navibus reportentur. Pollicitur magistrisque imperat navium ut primo vespere omnes scaphas ad litus appulsas habeant. Sed tantus fuit omnium terror, ut alii adesse copias Jubae dicerent, alii cum legionibus instare Varum jamque se pulvere sem angelium cernere (quarum rerum nihil omnino acciderat), alii classem hostium celeriter advolaturam suspicarentur. Itaque perterritis omnibus sibi quisque consulebat. Qui in classe erant proficisci properabant. Horum fuga navium onerarium magistros incitabat; pauci lenunculi ad officium imperiumque conveniebant. Sed tanta erat completis litoribus contentio qui potissimum ex magno numero conscenderent, ut multitudine atque onere nonnulli deprimerentur, reliqui hoc timore proprius adire tardarentur. XLIV. Quibus rebus accidit, ut pauci milites patresque familiae, qui aut gratia aut misericordia valerent aut naves adnare possent, recepti in Siciliam incolunmes pervenirent. Reliquae copiae missis ad Varum noctu legatorum numero centurionibus sese ei dediderunt. Quorum cohortium milites posterio die ante oppidum Juba conspicatus, suam esse praedicans praedam, magnum partem eorum interfici jussit, paucos electos in regnum remisit, cum Varus suam fidem ab eo laedi quereretur neque resistere auderet. Ipse equo in oppidum vectus prosequentibus compluribus
senatoribus, quo in numero erat Ser. Sulpicius et Licinius Damasippus, paucis quae fieri vellet Uticae constituit atque imperavit, diebusque post paucis se in regnum cum omnibus copiis recepit.

COMMENTARIUS TERTIUS.

I. Dictatore habente comitia Caesare, consules creantur Julius Caesar et P. Servilius; is enim erat annus quo per leges ei consulem fieri liceret. His rebus confectis, cum fides tota Italia esset angustior neque creditae pecuniae solferentur, constituit ut arbitri darentur; per eos fierent aestimationes possessionum et rerum, quanti quaeque earum ante bellum fuisset, atque hae creditoribus traderentur. Hoc et ad timorem novarum tabularum minuendumque, qui fere bella et civiles dissensiones sequi consuevit, et ad debitorum tuendum existimationem esse aptissimum existimavit. Itemque praetoribus tribunisque plebis rogationes ad populum ferentibus, nonnullos ambitus Pompeia lege damnatos illis temporibus quibus in urbe praesidia legionum Pompeius habuerat (quae judicia aliis auditibus judicibus, aliis sententiam ferentibus singulis diebus erant perfecta) in integrum restituit, qui se illi initio civilis belli obtulerant, si sua opera in bello uti vellet, proinde aestimans ac si usus esset, quoniae sui fecissent potestatem. Statuerat enim prius hos judicio populi debere restitui quam suo beneficio videri receptos, ne aut ingratus in referenda gratia aut arrogans in praeripiendo populi beneficio videretur. II. His rebus et feriis Latinis comitiisque omnibus perficiendis dies tribuit dictaturaque se abdicat et ab urbe proficiscitur Brundisiumque pervenit. Eo legiones xii, equitatum omnam venire jusserat. Sed tantum navium reperit, ut anguste xv milia legionariorum militum, dc equites transportare pos-

III. Pompeius annuum spatium ad comparandas copias nactus, quod vacuum a bello atque ab hoste otiosum fuerat, 10 magnam ex Asia Cycladibusque insulis, Corecyra, Athenis, Ponto, Bithynia, Syria, Cilicia, Phoenice, Aegypto classem coeggerat, magnam omnibus locis aedificandam curaverat; magnam imperatam Asiae, Syriae regibusque omnibus et dynastis et tetrarchis et liberis Achaiae populis pecuniam 15 exegerat, magnam societates earum provinciarum quas ipse obtinebat sibi numerare coeggerat. IV. Legiones effecerat civium Romanorum viii: v ex Italia, quas traduxerat; unam ex Cilicia veteranam, quam factam ex duabus gemellam appellabat; unam ex Creta et Macedonia, ex veteranis 20 militibus qui dimissi a superioribus imperatoribus in his provinciis consederant; duas ex Asia, quas Lentulus consul conscribendas curaverat. Praeterea magnam numerum ex Thessalia, Boeotia, Achaia Epiroque supplementi nomine in legiones distribuerat; his Antonianos milites admiscuerat. 25 Praeter has exspectabat cum Scipione ex Syria legiones n. Sagittarios Creta, Lacedaemone, ex Ponto atque Syria reliquisque civitatibus iii milia numero habebat, funditorum cohortes sexcenarias ii, equitum vii milia. Ex quibus do Gallos Deiotarus adduxerat, d Ariobarzanes ex Cappadocia; 30 ad eundem numerum Cotys ex Thracia dederat et Sadalam filium miserat; ex Macedonia cc erant, quibus Rhascyropolis praerat, excellenti virtute; d ex Gabinianis Alexandria, Gallos Germanosque, quos ibi A. Gabinius praesidii causa apud regem Ptolemaeum reliquerat, Pompeius filius cum 35 classe adduxerat; dccc ex servis pastoribusque suis suorum-
que coëgerat: cccc Tarcondarius Castor et Donnilaui ex Gallograecia dederunt (horum alter una venerat, alter filium miserat); cc ex Syria a Commageno Antiocho, cui magna Pompeius praemia tribuit, missi erant, in his plerique hippo-
toxotae. Huc Dardanos, Bessos partim mercenarios, par-
tim imperio aut gratia comparatos, item Macedones, Thessalos
ac reliquarum gentium et civitatum adjecerat atque eum
quem supra demonstravimus numerum expleverat. V. Frum-
menti vim maximam ex Thessalia, Asia, Aegypto, Creta,
Cyrenis reliquisque regionibus comparaverat. Hiemare Dyr-
rhachii, Apolloniae omnibusque oppidis maritimis constitu-
erat, ut mare transire Caesarem prohiberet, ejusque rei causa
omni ora maritima classem disposuerat. Praeerat Aegyptii
navibus Pompeius filius, Asiaticis D. Lælius et C. Triarius,
Syriacis C. Cassius, Rhodiis C. Marcellus cum C. Coponio,
Liburnicae atque Achaïae classi Scribonius Libo et M. Oc-
tavius. Toti tamen officio maritimo M. Bibulus praepositus
cuncta administrabat; ad hunc summa imperii respiciebat.

VI. Caesar, ut Brundisium venit, contionatus apud mili-
tes, quoniam prope ad finem laborum ac periculorum esset
perventum, aequo animo mancipia atque impedimenta in
Italia reliquerent, ipsi expediti naves conscenderent, quo
major numeros militem posset imponi, omniaque ex victoria
et ex sua liberalitate sperarent, conclamantibus omnibus
imperaret quod vellet, quodcumque imperavisset se aequo
animo esse facturos, 11 Non. Jan. naves solvit. Impositae,
ut supra demonstratum est, legiones VII. Postridie terram
attigit Germiniorum. Saxa inter et alia loca periculosae
quietam nactus stationem et portus omnes timens, quod
teneri ab adversariis arbitrabatur; ad eum locum qui appel-
labatur Palaeste, omnibus navibus ad unam incolumibus
milites exposuit. VII. Erant Orici Lucretius Vespillo et
Minucius Rufus cum Asiaticis navibus XVIII, quibus jussu
D. Læelii praerant, M. Bibulus cum navibus cx Corcyrae.
Sed neque illi sibi confisi ex portu prodire sunt ausi, cum
Caesar omnino xii naves longas praesidio duxisset, in quibus erant constratae iii, neque Bibulus impeditis navibus dispersisque remigibus satis mature occurrît, quod prius ad continentem visus est Caesar quam de ejus adventu fama omnino in eas regiones perferretur. VIII. Expositis militibus naves eadem nocte Brundisium a Caesare remittuntur, ut reliquae legiones equitatusque transportari possent. Huic officio praepositus erat Fufius Calenus legatus, qui celeritate in transportandis legionibus adhiberet. Sed seriis a terra proiectae naves neque usae nocturna aura in redeundo offenderunt. Bibulus enim Corcyrae certior factus de adventu Caesaris, sperans alicui se parti onustarum navium occurrere posse, inanibus occurrit et nactus circiter xxx in eas indiligentiae suae ac doloris iracundiam erupit omnesque incendit eodemque igne nautas dominosque navium interfecit, magnitudine poenae reliquos terreri sperans. Hoc confecto negotio a Sasonis ad Curici portum stationes litoraque omnia longe lateque clasibus occupavit, custodiisque diligentius dispositis ipse gravissima hieme in navibus excubans neque ullum laborem neque munus despiciens, ne quod subsidium exspectanti Caesari in conspectum venire posset.
que uno tempore obsidione et oppugnationibus eos premere coepit. Illi omnia perpeti parati maxime a re frumentaria laborabant. Cui rei missis ad Caesarem legatis auxilium ab eo petebant; reliqua, ut poterant, incommoda per se sustinebant. Et longo interposito spatio cum diurnitas oppugnationis neglegentiores Octavianos effecisset, nacti occasionem meridiani temporis discessu eorum, pueris mulieribusque in muro dispositis, ne quid quotidianaes consuetudinibus desideraretur, ipsi manu facta cum iis quos nuper liberaverant, in proxima Octavi castra irruperunt. His expugnatis codem impetu altera sunt adorti, inde tertia et quarta et deinceps reliqua, omnibusque eos castris expulerant et magno numero interfector reliquos atque ipsum Octavium in naves confugere coegerunt. Hic fuit oppugnationis exitus. Jamque hiems appropinrabat, et tantis detrimentis acceptis Octavius desperata oppugnatione oppidi Dyrrhachium sese ad Pompeium recepit.

X. Demonstravimus L. Vibubium Rufum, Pompeii praefectum, bis in potestatem pervenisse Caesaris atque ab eo esse dimissum, semel ad Corfinium, iterum in Hispania. Hunc pro suis beneficiis Caesar idoneum judicaverat quem cum mandatis ad Cn. Pompeium mitteret, eundemque apud Cn. Pompeium auctoritatem habere intellegebat. Erat autem haec summa mandatorum: debere utrumque pertinaciae finem facere et ab armis discedere neque amplius fortunam periclitari. Satis esse magna utrimque incommoda accepta, quae pro disciplina et praecipit habere possent, ut reliquis casus timerent: illum Italia expulsam amissa Sicilia et Sardinia duabusque Hispaniis et cohortibus in Italia atque Hispania civium Romanorum centum atque xxx; se morte Curionis et detrimento Africani exercitus tanto militumque deditione ad Curictam. Proinde sibi ac reipublicae parcerent, cum quantum in bello fortuna posset, jam ipsi incommodis suis satis essent documento. Hoc unum esse tempus de pace agendi, dum sibi uterque confideret et pares ambo viderentur; si vero alteri paulum modo tribuisset fortuna,
non esse usurum condicionibus pacis eum qui superior videre-tur, neque fore aequa parte contentum qui se omnia habitu-rum confideret. Condiciones pacis, quoniam antea convenire non potuissent, Romae ab senatu et a populo peti debere. Interea et reipublicae et ipsis placere oportere, si uterque in contione statim juravisset se triduo proximo exercitum dimis-surum. Depositis armis auxiliisque, quibus nunc confiderent, necessario populi senatusque judicio fore utrumque conten-tum. XI. Vibullius his expositis Corcyrae non minus ne-cessarium esse existimavit de repentino adventu Caesaris Pompeium fieri certiorem, uti ad id consilium capere posset antequam de mandatis agi inciperetur, atque ideo continuato nocte ac die itinere atque mutatis ad celeritatem jumentis ad Pompeium contendit, ut adesse Caesarem nuntiaret. Pom-peius erat eo tempore in Candavia iterque ex Macedonia in hiberna Apolloniam Dyrrhachiumque habebat. Sed re nova perturbatus majoribus itineribus Apolloniam petere coepit, ne Caesar orae maritimae civitates occuparet. At ille expositis militibus eodem die Oricum procliicitur. Quo cum venisset, L. Torquatus, qui jussu Pompeii oppido praeerat praesidium-que ibi Parthinorum habebat, conatus portis clausis oppidum defendere, cum Graecos murum ascendere atque arma capere juberet, illi autem se contra imperium populi Romani pug-naturos esse negarent, oppidani autem etiam sua sponte Caesarem recipere conarentur, desperatis omnibus auxiliis portas aperuit et se atque oppidum Caesari dedidit incolu-misque ab eo conservatus est. XII. Recepto Caesar Orico nulla interposita mora Apolloniam proficiscitur. Cujus ad-ventu audito L. Staberius, qui ibi praerat, aquam compor-tare in arcem atque eam munire obsidesque ab Apolloniatisius exigere coepit. Illi vero daturos se negare neque portas con-suli praeclusuros, neque sibi judicium sumpturos contra atque omnis Italia populusque Romanus judicavisset. Quo-rum cognita voluntate clam profugit Apollonia Staberius. Illi ad Caesarem legatos mittunt oppidoque recipiunt. Hos sequuntur Bullidenses, Amantini et reliquae finitimae civi-
tates totaque Epiros, et legatis ad Caesarem missis quae imperaret facturos pollicentur. XIII. At Pompeius cognitis his rebus quae erant Orici atque Apolloniae gestae, Dyrrhachio timens, diurnis eo nocturnisque itineribus contendit. Simul Caesar appropinquare dicebatur, tautosque terror incidit ejus exercitu, quod properans noctem diei conjunxerat neque iter intermisert, ut paene omnes ex Epiro finitimisque regionibus signa relinquercnt, complures arma projicerent, ac fugae simile iter videretur. Sed cum prope

5 Dyrrhachium Pompeius constisset castraque metit set, per territo etiam tum exercitu princeps Labienus procedit juratque se cum non deserturum eundemque subitum, quemcumque ei fortuna tribuisset. Hoc idem reliqu jurant legati; tribuni militum centurionesque sequuntur, atque idem omnis exercitus jurat. Caesar praeoccupato itinere ad Dyrrhachium finem properandi faciet castraque ad flumen Apsum ponit in finibus Apolloniatium, ut castellis vigiliisque bene merita civitates tutae essent, ibique reliquarum ex Italia legionum adventum exspectare et sub pel-

10 libus hiemare constituit. Hoc idem Pompeius fecit et trans flumen Apsum positis castris eo copias omnes auxiliaque conduxit. XIV. Calenus legionibus equitibusque Brundisi in naves impositis, ut erat praeceptum a Caesare, quantum navium facultatem habebat, naves solvit, paulumque a portu progressus litteras a Caesare accipit, quibus est certior factus portus litoraque omnia classibus adversariorum teneri. Quo cognito se in portum recipit navesque omnes revocat. Una ex his, quae perseveravit neque imperio Caleni obtemperavit, quod erat sine militibus privatoque consilio administrabatur, delata Oricum atque a Bibulo expugnata est; qui de servis liberisque omnibus ad impuberemos supplicium sumit et ad unum interficit. Ita exigu o tempore magnoque casu totius exercitus salus constitit.

15 XV. Bibulus, ut supra demonstratum est, erat cum classe ad Oricum et, sicuti mari portibusque Caesarem prohibebat, ita ipse omni terra earum regionum prohibebatur; praesidiis
enim dispositis omnia litora a Caesare tenebantur, neque
lignandi atque aquandi neque naves ad terram religandi po-
testas fiebat. Erat res in magna difficultate, summisque an-
gustiis rerum necessariarum premebantur, adeo ut cogerentur
sicuti reliquum commentum ita ligna atque aquam Corcyra
navibus onerariis supportare, atque etiam uno tempore ac-
cidit ut, difficilioribus usi tempcostatibus, ex pellibus quibus
erant tectae naves nocturnum excipere rorem cogerentur;
quas tamen difficultates patienter atque acquo animo ferebant
neque sibi nudanda litora et relinquendos portus existima-
bant. Sed cum essent in quibus demonstravi angustiis, ac
se Libo cum Bibulo conjunxisset, loquuntur ambo ex navibus
cum M'. Acilio et Statio Murco legatis, quorum alter oppidi
muris, alter praesidiis terrestribus praerat: velle se de
maximis rebus cum Caesare loqui, si sibi facultas detur. 15
Huc addunt paucia rei confirmandae causa, ut de composi-
tione acturio viderentur. Interim postulant ut sint indutiae
atque ab iis impetrant. Magnum enim quod afferebant
videbatur, et Caesarem id summe sciebant cupere, et pro-
frectum aliquid Vibulli mandatis existimabatur. XVI. Caesar
20 eo tempore cum legione una profectus ad recipiendas ulteri-
ores civitates et rem frumentarium expediendam, qua an-
guste utebatur, erat ad Buthrotum oppositum Corcyrae.
Ibi certior ab Acilio et Murco per litteras factus de postulatis
Libonis et Bibuli legationem relinquit; ipse Oricum revertitur. 25
Eo cum venisset, evocantur illi ad colloquium. Prodit Libo
atque excusat Bibulum, quod is iracundia summa erat inimi-
citiasque habebat etiam privatas cum Caesare ex aedilitate
et praetura conceptas : ob eam causam colloquium vitasse,
ne res maximae spei maximaque utilitatis ejus iracundia
30 impedirentur. Summam suam esse acuisse semper volun-
tatem ut componeretur atque ab armis discederetur, sed
potestatem ejus rei nullam habere, propterea quod de con-
siliis sententia summam belli rerumque omnium Pompeio
permiserint. Sed postulatis Caesaris cognitis missuros ad
35 Pompeium, atque illum reliqua per se acturum hortantibus
ipsis. Interea manerent indutiae dum ab illo rediri posset, neve alter alteri noceret. Huc addit panca de causa et de copiis auxiliisque suis. XVII. Quibus rebus neque tum respondendum Caesar existimavit, neque nunc, ut memoriae prodantur, satis causae putamus. Postulabat Caesar ut legatos sibi ad Pompeium sine periculo mittere liceret, idque ipsi fore recipercer aut acceptos per se ad eum perdercercer. Quod ad indutias pertineret, sic belli rationem esse divisam, ut illi classe naves auxiliaque sua impedirent, ipse ut aqua terraque eos prohiberet. Si hoc sibi remitti vellent, remitterent ipsi de maritimis custodiis; si illud tenerent, se quoque id retenturum. Nihilo minus tamen agi posse de compositione, ut haec non remitterentur, neque hane rem esse impedimenti loco. Ille neque legatos Caesaris recipere neque periculum praestare eorum, sed totam rem ad Pompeium rejicere; unum instare de indutias vehementissimeque contendere. Quem ubi Caesar intellexit praesensit periculi atque inopiae vitandae causa omnem orationem instituisse neque ullam spem aut condicionem pacis afferre, ad reliquam cogitationem belli sese recepit. XVIII. Bibulus multos dies terra prohibitus et graviore morbo ex frigore ac labore implicitus, cum neque curari posset neque susceptum officium deserere vellet, vim morbi sustinere non potuit. Eo mortuo ad neminem unum summa imperii redit, sed separatim suam quisque classem ad arbitrium suum administrabat. Vibulius sedato tumultu quem repentinus Caesaris adventus concitaverat, ubi primum e re visum est, adhibito Libone et L. Lucecio et Theophane, quibuscum communicare de maximis rebus Pompeius consueverat, de mandatis Caesaris agere instituit. Quem ingressum in sermonem Pompeius interpellavit et loqui plura prohibuit. “Quid mihi,” inquit, “aut vita aut civitate opus est, quam beneficio Caesaris habere videbor? cujus rei opinio tolli non poterit, cum in Italiam, ex qua prefectus sum, reductus existimabor.” Bello perfecto ab iis Caesar haec facta cognovit qui sermoni interfuerunt; conatus tamen nihilo minus est aliis rationibus de
pace agere. XIX. Inter bina castra Pompeii atque Caesaris unum flumen tantum intererat Apsus; crebraque inter se colloquia milites habebant, neque ullum interim telum per pactiones loquentium trajiciebatur. Mittit P. Vatinium legatum ad ripam ipsam fluminis, qui ea quae maxime ad pacem pertinere viderentur ageret, et crebro magna voce pronuntiaret liceretne civibus ad cives de pace legatos mittere, quod etiam fugitivis ab saltu Pyrenaeo praedonibusque licisset, praesertim cum id agerent, ne cives cum civibus armis decertaret? Multa suppliciter locutus est, ut de sua atque omnium salute debebat, silentioque ab utrisque militibus auditus. Respnonsum est ab altera parte Aulum Varronem profiteri se altera die ad colloquium venturum, atque eundem visurum quemadmodum tuto legati venire et quae vellent exponere possent; certumque ei rei tempus constituitur. Quo cum esset postero die ventum, magna utrimque multitudo convenit, magnaque erat exspectatio ejus rei, atque omnium animi intenti esse ad pacem videbantur. Qua ex frequentia Titus Labienus prodit, summissa oratione loqui de pace atque altercari cum Vatinio incipit. Quorum mediam orationem interrumpunt subito undique tela immissa; quae ille obtectus armis militum vitavit; vulnerantur tamen complures, in his Cornelius Balbus, M. Plotius, L. Tiburtius, centuriones militesque nonnulli. Tum Labienus: "Desinit ergo de compositione loqui; nam nobis nisi Caesaris capite relato pax esse nulla potest."

XX. Iisdem temporibus M. Coelius Rufus praetor causa debitorum suscpta initio magistratus tribunal suum juxta C. Treboni, praetoris urbani, sellam collocavit et, si quis appellavisset de aestimatione et de solutionibus quae per arbitrum fieren, ut Caesar praesens constituerat, fore auxilio pollicebatur. Sed fiebat aequitate decreti et humanitate Treboni, qui his temporibus elementer et moderate jus dicendum existimabat, ut reperiri non possent a quibus initium appellandi nasceretur. Nam fortasse inopiam excusare et calamitatem aut propriam suam aut temporum queri et diffi-
cultates auctionandi proponere etiam mediocris est animi; integras vero tenere possessiones qui se debere fateantur, cujus animi aut cujus impudentiae est? Itaque hoc qui postularet reperiebatur nemo. Atque ipsis ad quorum commodo pertinebat durior inventus est Coelius et, ab hoc profectus initio, ne frustra ingressus turpem causam videre-tur, legem promulgavit, ut sexenni die sine usuris creditae pecuniae solvantur. XXI. Cum resisteret Servilius consul reliquique magistratus, et minus opinione sua efficeret, ad hominum excitanda studia sublata priore lege duas promulgavit; unam qua mercedes habitationum annuas conductoribus donavit, aliam tabularum novarum, impetueque multitudinis in C. Trebonium facto et nonnullis vulneratis cum de tribunali deturbavit. De quibus rebus Servilius consul ad senatum retulit, senatusque Coelium ab republica removendum censuit. Hoc decreto eum consul senatu prohibuit et contionari conantem de rostris deduxit. Ille ignominia et dolore permutus palam se proficisci ad Caesarem simulavit; clam nuntiis ad Milonem missis, qui Clodio interfecto eo nomine erat damnatus, atque eo in Italian evocato, quod magnis muneribus datis gladiatoriae familiae reliquias habebat, sibi conjunxit atque eum in Thurinum ad sollicitandos pastores praemisit. Ipse cum Casilinum venisset, unoque tempore signa ejus militaria atque arma Capuae essent compensa et familia Neapoli missa, quae prodigionem oppidi appararet, patefactis consiliis exclusus Capua et periculum veritus, quod conventus arma ceperat atque eum hostis loco habendum existimabat, consilio destitit atque eo itinere sese avertit. XXII. Interim Milo dimissis circum municipia litteris, ea quae faceret jussu atque imperio facere Pompeii, quae mandata ad se per Vibullium delata essent, quos ex aere alieno laborare arbitrabatur sollicitabat. Apud quos cum proficere nihil posset, quibusdam solutis ergastulis Cosam in agro Thurino oppugnare coepit. Eo cum a Q. Pedio praetore cum legione . . . . , lapide ictus ex muro perit. Et Coelius profectus, ut dictitabat, ad Caesa-
rem, pervenit Thurios. Ubi cum quosdam ejus municipii
sollicitaret equitibusque Caesaris Gallis atque Hispanis, qui
eo praesidii causa missi erant, pecuniam polliceretur, ab his
est interfector. Ita magnarum initia rerum, quae occupa-
tione magistratum et temporum sollicitam Italiam habe-
bant, celerem et facilem exitum habuerunt.

XXIII. Libo profectus ab Orico cum classe cui praeeerat
navium L, Brundisium venit insulamque quae contra por-
tum Brundisinum est occupavit, quod praestare arbitrabatur
unum locum, qua necessarius nostris erat egressus, quam
omnii litora ac portus custodia clausos teneri. Hic repen-
tino adventu naves onerarias quasdam nactus incendit et
unam frumento onustam abduxit magnumque nostris terro-
rem injecit et noctu militibus ac sagittariis in terram expo-
sitis praesidium equitum deject, et adeo loci opportunitate
profect, uti ad Pompeium litteras mitteret, naves reliquas,
si vellet, subduci et refici jubet; sua classe auxilia sese
Caesaris prohibetur. XXIV. Erat eo tempore Antonius
Brundisii; qui virtute militum confisus scaphas navium
magnarum circiter LX cratibus pluteisque contexit eoque
milites delectos imposuit atque eas in litore pluribus locis
separatim disposit navesque triremes duas, quas Brundisi
faciendas curaverat, per causam exercendorum remigum ad
fances portus prodire jussit. Has cum audaciis progressas
Libo vidisset, sperans intercipi posse quadriremes v ad eas
misit. Quae cum navibus nostris appropinquassent, nostri
veterani in portum refugiebant; illi studio incitati incautus
sequabantur. Jam ex omnibus partibus subito Antonianae
scaphae signo dato so in hostes incitaverunt primoque impetu
unam ex his quadriremem cum remigibus defensoribusque
suis ceperunt, reliquas turpiter refugere coegerunt. Ad hoc
detrimentum accessit ut equitibus per oram maritimam ab
Antonio dispositis aquari prohiberentur. Qua necessitate et
ignominia permutus Libo discessit a Brundisio obsessionem-
que nostrorum omisit.

XXV. Multi jam menses erant et hiems praecipitaverat,
neque Brundisio naves legionesque ad Caesarem veniebant. Ac nonnullae ejus rei praetermissae occasiones Caesari videbantur, quod certe saepe flaverant venti, quibus necessario committendum existimabat. Quantoque ejus amplius processerat temporis, tanto erant alacriores ad custodias qui classibus praecerant, majoremque fiduciam prohibendi habebant, et crebris Pompeii litteris castigabantur, quoniam primo venientem Caesarem non prohibuisserant, ut reliquis ejus exercitus impedirent; duriusque quotidie tempus ad transportandum lenioribus ventis exspectabant. Quibus rebus permotus Caesar Brundisium ad suos severius scripsit, nacti idoneum ventum ne occasionem navigandi dimitterent, si ad litora Apolloniatium cursum dirigere atque eo naves ejicere posset. Haec a custodiis classium loca maxime vacabant, quod se longius a portibus committere non audebant. XXVI. Illi adhibita audacia et virtute, administrantis M. Antonio et Fufio Caleno, multum ipsis militibus hortantibus neque ullum periculum pro salute Caesaris ree casantibus, nacti austrum naves solvunt atque altero die Apolloniam praetervehuntur. Qui cum essent ex continentis visi, Coponius, qui Dyrrhachi classi Rhodiae praecerat, naves ex portu educit, et cum jam nostris remissore vento approquinasset, idem auster increbuit nostrisque praesidio fuit. Neque vero ille ob eam causam conatu desistebat, sed labore et perseverantia nautarum et vim tempestatis superari posse sperabat, praetervectosque Dyrrhachium magna vi venti nihilo secius sequabatur. Nostri usi fortunae beneficio tamen impetum classis timebant, si forte ventus remississet. Nacti portum qui appellatur Nymphaeum, ultra Lissum milia passuum III, eo naves introduserunt (qui portus ab Africo tegebatur, ab austro non erat tutus), leviusque tempestatis quam classis periculum aestimaverunt. Quo simul atque intro est itum, incredibili felicitate auster, qui per biduum flaverat, in Africum se vertit. XXVII. Hic subitam commutationem fortunae videre licuit. Qui modo sibi timuerant, hos tutissimus portus recepibat; qui nostris navibus periculum
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intulerant, de suo timere cogeabantur. Itaque tempore commutato tempestas et nostros texit et naves Rhodias afflizit, ita ut ad unam omnes constratae numero xvi eliderentur et naufragio interirent, et ex magno remigium propugnatorum que numero pars ad scopulos allis interficeretur, pars ab nostris detræheretur; quos omnes conservatos Caesar domum remisit. XXVIII. Nostræ naves duae tardius cursu confecto in noctem conjectae, cum ignorarent quem locum reliquæ cepissent, contra Lissum in ancoris constiterunt. Has scaphis minoribusque navigiis compluribus summissis Otacilius Crassus, qui Lissi praerat, expugnare parabat; simul de deditione eorum agebat et incolumitatem deditis pollicebatur. Harum altera navis ccxx e legione tironum sustulerat, altera ex veterana paulo minus cc. Hic cōgnosci licuit quantum esset hominibus praesidii in animi firmitudine. Tirones enim multitūdine navium perterrati et salo nauseaque confecti, jurejurando accepto nihil iis nocituros hostes, se Otacilio dediderunt; qui omnes ad eum perducti contra religionem jurisjurandi in ejus conspectu crudelissime interficiuntur. At veteranae legionis milites, item conflictati et tempestatis et sentinæ vitii, neque ex pristina virtute remittendum aliqùid putaverunt, et tractandis conditionibus et simulatione deditiones extracto primo noctis tempore gubernatorem in terram navem ejicere cogunt, ipsi idoneum locum nacti reliquam noctis partem ibi confecerunt et luce prima missis ad eos ab Otacilio equitibus qui eam partem orae maritimae asservabant, circiter cccc, quique eos armati ex praesidio secuti sunt, se defenderunt et nonnullis eorum interfectis incolumes se ad nostros receperunt. XXIX. Quo facto conventus civium Romanorum qui Lissum obtinebant, quod oppidum iis antea Caesar attribuerat munien dumque curaverat, Antonium recipit omnibusque rebus juvit. Otacilius sibi timens ex oppido fugit et ad Pompeium venit. Expositis omnibus copiis Antonius, quarum erat summa veteranarum trium legionum uniusque tironum et equitum dccc, plerasque naves in Italian remittit ad reli-
quos milites equitesque transportandos, pontones, quod est
genus navium Gallicarum, Lissi relinquit, hoc consilio, ut,
si forte Pompeius vacuam existimans Italiam eo trajecisset
exercitum, quae opinio erat edita in vulgus, aliquam Caesar
ad insequendum facultatem haberet, nuntiosque ad eum
celeriter mittit, quibus regionibus exercitum exposuisset et
quid militum transvexisset. XXX. Haece codem fere tem­
pore Caesar atque Pompeius cognoscunt. Nam praeter­
vecetas Apolloniam Dyrrhachiumque vases viderant, ipsi iter
secundum eas terra direxerant, sed quo essent eae delatae
primis diebus ignorabant. Cognitaque re diversa sibi ambo
consilia capiunt: Caesar, ut quam primum se cum Antonio
conjungeret; Pompeius, ut venientibus in itinere se oppo­
neret, si imprudentes ex insidiis adoriri posset, eodemque
die uterque corum ex castris stativis a flumine Apso exer­
citum educunt: Pompeius clam et noctu; Caesar palam
atque interdiu. Sed Caesar circuitu majore iter erat lon­
gius adverso flumine, ut vado transire posset; Pompeius,
quia expedito itinere flumen ei transeundum non erat, magnis
itineribus ad Antonium contendit, atque eum ubi appropin­
quare cognovit, idoneum locum nactus, ibi copias collocavit
suosque omnes in castris continuit ignesque fieri prohibuit,
quo occultior esset ejus adventus. Haec ad Antonium statim
per Graecos deferuntur. Ille missis ad Caesarem nuntiais
unum diem sese castris tenuit; altero die ad eum pervenit
Caesar. Cujus adventu cognito Pompeius, ne duobus cir­
cumcluderetur exercitibus, ex eò loco discedit omnibusque
copiis ad Asparagium Dyrrhachinorum pervenit atque ibi
idoneo loco castra ponit.

XXXI. His temporibus Scipio detrimentis quibusdam
circa montem Amanum acceptis imperatorem se appella­
erat. Quo facto civitatibus tyrannisque magnas impera­
erat pecunias, item ab publicanis suae provinciae debitam
biennii pecuniam exegerat et ab iisdem insequentis anni
mutuam praeceperat equitesque toti provinciae imperave­
rat. Quibus coactis, finitimis hostibus Parthis post se re-
lictis, qui paulo ante M. Crassum imperatorem interfecerant et M. Bibulum in obsidione habuerant, legiones equitesque ex Syria deduxerat. Summamque in sollicitudinem ac timorem Parthici belli provincia cum venisset, ac nonnullae militum voces cum audirentur; sese, contra hostem si duce rentur, ituros, contra civem et consulem arma non laturos, deductis Pergamum atque in locupletissimas urbes in hiberna legionibus maximas largitiones fecit et confirmandorum militum causa diripiendas his civitates dedit. XXXII. Interim acerbissime imperatae pecuniae tota provincia exigebantur. Multa praeterea generatim ad avaritiam excogitabantur. In capita singula servorum ac liberorum tributum imponebatur; columnaria, ostiaria, frumentum, milites, arma, remiges, tormenta, vecturae imperabantur; cujus modo rei nomen reperiri poterat, hoc satis esse ad cogendas pecunias videbatur. Non solum uribus, sed paene vis castellisque singulis cum imperio praeficiebantur. Qui horum quid acerbissime cruelissimique fecerat, is et vir et civis optimus habebatur. Erat plena bctorum et imperiorum provincia, differta praefectis atque exactoribus, qui praeter imperatas pecunias suo etiam privato compendio serviebant; dictitabant enim se domo patriae expulsos omnibus necessariis egere rebus, ut honesta praescriptione rem turpissimam tegerent. Accedebant ad haec gravissimae usurae, quod in bello plerumque accidere consuevit universis imperatis pecuniis; quibus in rebus prolationem diei donationem esse dicebant. Itaque aes alienum provinciae eo biennio multiplicatum est. Neque minus ob eam causam civibus Romanis ejus provinciae, sed in singulos conventus singulasque civitates certae pecuniae imperabantur, mutuasque illas ex senatusconsulto exigi dictitabant; publicanis, ut in Syria fecerant, ine sequentis anni vectigal promutuum. XXXIII. Praeterea Ephesi a fano Dianae depositas antiquitas pecuniae Scipio tolli jubebat. Certaue ejus rei die constituta cum in fanum ventum esset adhibitis compluribus senatorii ordinis, quos advocaverat Scipio, litterae ei redduntur a Pompeio, mare transisse
cum legionibus Caesarem: properaret ad se cum exercitu venire omniaque posthaberet. His litteris acceptis quos advocaverat dimittit; ipse iter in Macedoniam parare incipit paucisque post diebus est profectus. Haec res Ephesiae 5 pecuniae salutem attulit.

XXXIV. Caesar Antoni exercitu conjuncto, deducta Orico legione quam tuendae orae maritimae causa posuerat, tentandas sibi provincias longiusque procedendum existimabat; et cum ad eum ex Thessalia Aetoliaque legati venissent, qui 10 praesidio misso pollicerentur earum gentium civitates imperata facturas, L. Cassium Longinum cum legione tironum, quae appellabatur xxvii, atque equitibus cc in Thessaliam, C. Calvisium Sabinum cum cohortibus v paucisque equitibus in Aetoliam misit; maxime eos, quod erant propinquae regiones, de re frumentaria ut providerent hortatus est. Cn. Domitium Calvinum cum legionibus duabus, xi et xii, et equitibus d in Macedoniam proficisci jussit; cujus provinciae ab ea parte quae libera appellabatur Menedemus, princeps earum regionum, missus legatus, omnium suorum excellens studium profitebatur. XXXV. Ex his Calvisius primo adventu summa omnium Aetolorum receptus voluntate, a praesidiis adversariorum Calydone et Naupacto relictis omni Aetolia potitus est. Cassius in Thessaliam cum legione pervenit. Hic cum essent factiones duae, varia voluntate 20 civitatum utebatur: Hegesaretos, veteris homo potentiae, Pompeianis rebus studebat; Petraeus, summae nobilitatis adolescens, suis ac suorum opibus Caesarem enixe juvabat.

XXXVI. Eodemque tempore Domitius in Macedoniam venit; et cum ad eum frequentes civitatum legationes con- 30 venire coepissent, nuntiatum est adesse Scipionem cum legionibus, magna opinione et fama omnium; nam plerumque in novitate rem fama antecedit. Hic nullo in loco Macedoniae moratus magni impetu tetendit ad Domitium et, cum ab eo milia passuum xx auisset, subito se ad Cassium 35 Longinum in Thessaliam convertit. Hoc adeo celeriter fecit, ut simul adesse et venire nuntiaretur, et quo iter ex-
peditius faceret, M. Favonium ad flumen Aliacmonem, quod Macedoniam a Thessalia dividit, cum cohortibus VIII praesidio impedimentis legionum reliquit castellumque ibi muniri jussit. Eodem tempore equitatus regis Cotyis ad castra Cassi advolavit, qui circum Thessaliam esse consuerat. Tum timore perterritus Cassius cognito Scipionis adventu visisque equitibus quos Scipionis esse arbitrabatur, ad montes se convertit qui Thessaliam cingunt, atque ex his locis Ambraciam versus iter facere coepit. At Scipionem properantem sequi litterae sunt consecutae a M. Favonio, Domitium cum legionibus adesse neque se praesidium ubi constitutus esset sine auxilio Scipionis tenere posse. Quibus litteris acceptis consilium Scipio iterque commutat; Cassium sequi desistit, Favonio auxilium ferre contendit. Itaque die ac nocte continuato itinere ad eum pervenit tam opportuno tempore, ut simul Domitianus exercitus pulvis cerneretur et primi antecursores Scipionis viderentur. Ita Cassio industria Domitii, Favonio Scipionis celeritas salutem attulit. XXXVII. Scipio biduum castris stativis moratus ad flumen quod inter eum et Domitii castra fluebat, Aliacmonem, tertio die prima luce exercitum vado traducit et castris positis postero die mane copias ante frontem castrorum instruit. Domitianus tum quoque sibi dubitandum non putavit, quin productis legionibus proelio decertaret. Sed cum esset inter bina castra campus circiter milium passuum vi, Domitius castris Scipionis aciem suam subjecit; ille a vallo non discedere perseveravit. Ac tamen aegre retentis Domitianis militibus est factum ne proelio contenderetur, et maxime quod rivus difficultibus ripis subjectus castris Scipionis progressus nostrorum impediebat. Quorum studium alacritatemque pugnandi cum cognovisset Scipio, suspicatus fore ut postero die aut invitus dimicare cogeretur aut magna cum infamia castris se contineret, qui magna cum exspectatione venisset, temere progressus turpem habuit exitum et noctu ne conclamatis quidem vasis flumen transit atque in eandem partem ex qua venerat reedit ibique prope flumen edito natura loco castra
posuit. Paucis diebus interpositis noctu insidias equitum collocavit, quo in loco superioribus fere diebus nostri pabulari consuerant; et cum quotidiana consuetudine Q. Varus, praefectus equitum Domitii, venisset, subito illi ex insidiis consurrexerunt. Sed nostri fortiter impetum eorum tule-runt celeriterque ad suos quisque ordines rexit atque ulteri-universi in hostes impetum fecerunt; ex his circa tertii XXX interfectis, reliquis in fugam conjectis, duabus amissis in castra se receperunt. XXXVIII. His rebus gestis Domitius sperans Scipionem ad pugnam elici posse, simulavit sese angustiis rei frumentariae adductum castra movere, vasisque militari more conclamatis progressus milia passuum III loco idoneo et occulto omnem exercitum equitatumque collocavit. Scipio ad sequendum paratus equitum magnam partem ad explorandum iter Domitii et cognoscendum praemisit. Qui cum essent progressi, primaque turmae insidias intravissent, ex fremitu equorum illata suspicione ad suos se recipere coeperunt, quique bos sequebantur celerem eorum receptum conspicati restiterunt. Nostri cognitis insidiis, ne frustra reliquos exspectarent, duas nacti turmas exceperunt, quorum perpauci fuga se ad suos receperunt; in his fuit M. Opimius praefectus equitum. Reliquos omnes earum turmarum aut interfecerunt aut captos ad Domitium deduxerunt.

XXXIX. Deduitis orae maritimae praesidiis Caesar, ut supra demonstratum est, III cohortes Orici oppidi tuendi causa reliquit isdemque custodiam navium longarum tradidit quas ex Italia traduxerat. Huic officio oppidoque Manius Acilius legatus praeerat. Is naves nostras interiorem in portum post oppidum reduxit et ad terram deligavit faucibusque portus navem onerarium submersam obiect et huic alteram conjunxit; super quas turrim effectam ad ipsum introitum portus opposuit et militibus complevit tuendamque ad omnes repentinoncasus tradidit. XL. Quibus cognitis rebus Cn. Pompeius filius, qui classi Aegyptiae praeerat, ad Oricum venit submersamque navem remulco multisque contendens funibus adduxit, atque alteram navem, quae erat
ad custodiam ab Acilio posita, pluribus aggressus navibus, in quibus ad libram fecerat turres, ut ex superiore pugnans loco integrosque semper defatigatis summittens et reliquis partibus simul ex terra scalis et classe moenia oppidi tentans, uti adversariorum manus diduceret, labore et multitudine telorum nostros vicit, dejectisque defensoribus, qui omnes scaphis excepti refugerant, eam navem expugnavit codemque tempore ex altera parte molem tenuit naturalem objectam, quae paene insulam oppidum effecerat, quattuorque biremes subjectis scutulis impulsas vectibus in interiorem portum traduxit. Ita ex utraque parte naves longas aggressus quae erant deligatae ad terram atque inanes, primum his abduxit, reliquas incendit. Hoc confecto negotio D. Laelium ab Asiatica classe abductum reliquit, qui commeatus Bullide atque Amantia importari in oppidum prohibebat. Ipse Lissum profectus naves onerarias xxx a M. Antonio relictas intra portum aggressus omnes incendit; Lissum expugnare conatus defendentibus civibus Romanis qui ejus conventus erant militibusque quos praesidii causa miserat Caesar, tri-duum moratus paucis in oppugnatione amissis re infecta inde discessit.

XLI. Caesar, postquam Pompeium ad Asparagium esse cognovit, eodem cum exercitu profectus expugnato in itinere oppido Parthinorum, in quo Pompeius praesidium habebat, tertio die ad Pompeium pervenit juxtaque eum castra posuit et postridie eductis omnibus copiis acie instructa decernendi potestatem Pompeio fecit. Ubi illum suis locis se tenere animadvertit, reducto in castra exercitu aliud sibi consilium capiendum existimavit. Itaque postero die omnibus copiis magno circuitu difficili angustoque itinere Dyrrhachium profectus est, sperans Pompeium aut Dyrrhachium compelli aut ab eo intercludi posse, quod omnem commeatum totiusque belli apparatum eo contulisset; ut accidit. Pompeius enim primo ignorans ejus consilium, quod diverso ab ea regione itinere profectum videbat, angustiis rei frumentariae com-pulsum discessisse existimabat; postea per exploratores cer-
DE BELLO CIVILI

tior factus postero die castra movit, breviore itinere se
occurrere ei posse sperans. Quod fore suspicatus Caesar
militesque adhortatus ut aequo animo laborem ferrent, parva
parte noctis itinere intermisso mane Dyrrhachium venit, cum

5 primum agmen Pompeii procul cerneretur, atque ibi castra
posuit. XLII. Pompeius interclusus Dyrrhachio, ubi pro-
positum tenere non potuit, secundo usus consilio edito loco,
qui appellatur Petra aditumque habet navibus mediocrem
atque cas a quibusdam protegit ventis, castra communit.

10 Eo partem navium longarum convenire, frumentum com-
meatumque ab Asia atque omnibus regionibus quas tenebat
comportari imperat. Caesar longius bellum ductum iri ex-
istentimans et de Italicis commeatibus desperans, quod tanta
diligentia omnia litora a Pompeianiis; tenebantur classesque

15 ipsius, quas hieme in Sicilia, Gallia, Italia fecerat, mora-
bantur, in Epirum rei frumentariae causa Q. Tillium et L.
Canuleium legatum misit, quodque hae regiones aberant
longius, locis certis horrea constituit vecturasque frumenti
finitimis civitatibus descriptis. Item Lisso Parthinisque et

20 omnibus castellis quod esset frumenti conquiri jussit. Id
erat perexiguum cum ipsius agri natura, quod sunt loca
aspera et montuosa, ac plerumque frumento utuntur impor-
tato, tum quod Pompeius hacc providerat et superioribus
diebus praedae loco Parthinos habuerat frumentumque omne

25 conquisitum spoliatis effossisque eorum domibus per equites
comportarat. XLIII. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar consilium
capit ex loci natura. Erant enim circum castra Pompeii
permulti editi atque asperi colles. Hos primum praesidiis
tenuit castellaque ibi communit. Inde, ut loci cujusque na-

30 tura ferebat, ex castello in castellum perducta munitione cir-
cumvallare Pompeium instituit, hae spectans, quod angusta
re frumentaria utebatur, quodque Pompeius multitudine
equitum valebat, quo minore periculo undique frumentum
commematumque exercitui supportare posset, simul, uti pabu-

35 latione Pompeium prohiberet equitatumque ejus ad rem
gerendam inutilem efficeret; tertio, ut auctoritatem, qua
ILLE maxime apud exteras nationes niti videbatur, minueret, cum fama per orbem terrarum percrebuisset, illum a Caesare obsideri neque audere proelio dimicaro. XLIV. Pompeius neque a mari Dyrrhachioque discedere volebat, quod omnem apparatum belli, tela, arma, tormenta ibi collocaverat frumentumque exercitui navibus supportabat, neque munitiones Caesaris prohibere poterat, nisi proelio decertare vellet; quod eo tempore statuerat non esse faciendum. Relinquebatur ut extremam rationem belli sequens quam plurimos colles occuparet et quam latissimae regiones praesidiis tenebat, Caesarisque copias quam maxime posset distineret; idque accidit. Castellis enim XXIII effectis XV milia passuum circuitu amplexus, hoc spatio pabulabatur; multaque erant intra eum locum manu sata, quibus interim jumenta pasceret. Atque ut nostri perpetuas munitiones addeabant perductas ex castellis in proxima castella, ne quo loco erumpent Pompeiani ac nostros post tergum adorirentur, ita illi interiore spatio perpetuas munitiones efficiebant, ne quem locum nostri intrare atque ipsos a tergo circumvenire possent. Sed illi operibus vincebant, quod et numero militum praestabant et interiore spatio minorem circuitum habebant. Quae cum erant loca Caesari capienda, etsi prohibere Pompeius totis copiis et dimicare non constituerat, tamen suis locis sagittarios funditoresque mittebat, quorum magnum habebat numerum, multique ex nostris vulnerabantur, magnusque incesserat timor sagittarum, atque omnes fere milites aut ex coactis aut ex centonibus aut ex coriis tunicas aut tegmenta fecerant, quibus tela vitarent. XLV. In occupandis praesidiis magna vi uterque nitebatur: Caesar, ut quam angustissime Pompeium contineret; Pompeius, ut quam plurimos colles quam maximo circuitu occuparet; crebraque ob eam causam proelia fiebant. In his cum legio Caesaris nona praesidium quoddam occupavisset et munire coepisset, huic loco propinquum et contrarium collem Pompeius occupavit nostrosque opere prohibere coepit, et cum una ex parte prope aequum aditum haberet, primum sagitta-
riis funditoribusque circumjectis, postea levis armaturae magna multitudine missa tormentisque prolatis munitiones impediebat; neque erat facile nostris uno tempore propugnare et munire. Caesar, cum suos ex omnibus partibus vulnerari videret, recipere se jussit et loco excedere. Erat per declive receptus. Illi autem hoc acrius instabant neque regredi nostros patiebantur, quod timore adducti locum relinququare videbantur. Dicitur eo tempore glorians apud suos Pompeius dixisse: non recusare se quin nullius usus imperator existimaretur, si sine maximo detrimento legiones Caesaris sese recepissent inde quotemore essent progressae.

XLVI. Caesar receptui suorum timens crates ad extremum tumulum contra hostem proferri et adversas locari, intra has mediocri latitudine fossam tectis militibus obduci jussit locumque in omnes partes quam maxime impediri. Ipse idoneis locis funditores instruxit, ut praesidio nostris se recipientibus essent. His rebus confectis legionem reduci jussit. Pompeiani hoc insolentius atque audacius nostros premere et instare coeperunt cratesque pro munitione objectas propulerunt, ut fossas transcenderent. Quod cum animadvertisset Caesar, veritus ne non reducti sed rejecti viderentur, majusque detrimentum caperetur, a medio fere spatio suos per Antonium, qui ei legioni praerat, cohortatus, tuba signum dari atque in hostes impetum fieri jussit.

XLVII. Erat nova et inusitata belli ratio cum tot castellorum numero tantoque spatio et tantis munitionibus et toto obsidionis genere, tum etiam reliquis rebus. Nam quicumque alterum obsidere conati sunt, perculsos atque
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infirmos hostes adorti aut proelio superatos aut aliqua offensio permotos continuerunt, cum ipsi numero equitum militumque praestarent; causa autem obsidionis haec fere esse consuevit, ut frumento hostes prohiberent. At tum integras atque incolumes copias Caesar inferiore militum numero continebat, cum illi omnium rerum copia abundaret; quotidie enim magnus undique navium numerus conveniebat, quae commeatum supportarent, neque ullus flare ventus poterat; quin aliqua ex parte secundum cursum habere. Ipse autem consumptis omnibus longe lateque frumentis summis erat in angustiis. Sed tamen hacc singulari patientia milites ferebant. Recordabantur enim eadem se superiore anno in Hispania perpessos labore et patientia maximum bellum confecisse; meminerant ad Alesiam magnam se inopiam perpessos, multo etiam majorem ad Avaricum, maximarum gentium victores diessisse. Non, illis hordeum cum daretur, non legumina recusabant; pecus vero, cujus rei summa erat ex Epiro copia, magno in honore habebant. XLVIII. Est etiam genus radicis inventum ab iis qui fuerant in vallibus, quod appellatur chara, quod ad mixtum lacte multum inopiam levabat. Id ad similitudinem panis efficiebant. Ejus erat magna copia. Ex hoc effectos panes, cum in colloquis Pompeiani famem nostris objectarent, vulgo in eos jaciebant, ut spem eorum minuerent. XLIX. Jamque frumenta maturecere incipiebant, atque ipsa spes inopiam sustentabat, quod celeriter se habituos copiam confidebant; crebracque voces militum in vigiliiis colloquisque audiebantur, prius se cortice ex arboribus victuros quam Pompeium e manibus dimissuros. Libenter etiam ex perfugis cognoscebant equos eorum tolerari, reliqua vero jumenta interisse; uti autem ipsos valetudine non bona cum angustiis loci et odore taeatro ex multitudine cadaverum et quotidianis laboribus insuetos operum, tum aquae summa inopia affectos. Omnia enim flumina atque omnes rivos qui ad mare pertinebant, Caesar aut averterat aut magnis operibus obstruxerat, atque ut erant loca montuosa et ad
specus angustiae vallium, haec sublicis in terram demissis praeseperat terramque adjecerat; ut aquam contineret. Itaque illi necessario loca sequi demissa ac palustria et puteos fodere cogebantur atque hunc laborem ad quotidiana opera addebat; qui tamen fontes a quibusdam praesidiis aberant longius et celeriter aestibus exarescebat. At Caesaris exercitus optima valetudine summaque aquae copia utebatur, tum commetatus omni genere praeter frumentum abundabat; cujus quotidie melius succedere tempus majore remque spernum frumentorum proponi videbant. L. In novo genere belli novae ab utrisque bellandi rationes reperiebantur. Illi, cum animadvertissent ex ignibus nocte cohortes nostras ad munitiones excubare, silentio aggressi universi intra multitudinem sagittas conjiebant et se confestim ad suas recipiebant. Quibus rebus nostri usu docti haec reperiebant remedia, ut alio loco ignes facerent.

LI. Interim certior factus P. Sulla, quem discedens castris praefecerat Caesar, auxilio cohorti venit cum legionibus duabus; cujus adventu facile sunt repulsi Pompeiani. Nemo vero conspectum aut impetum nostrorum tulerunt, primisque dejectis reliqui se vertent et loco cesserunt. Sed consequentes nostros, ne longius prosequentur, Sulla revocavit. At plerique existimant, si acris insequi voluisset, bellum eo die potuisse finire. Cujus consiliumprehendendum non videtur. Aliae enim sunt legati partes atque imperatoris: alter omnia agere ad praescriptum; alter libre ad summam rerum consulere debet. Sulla a Caesare castris relictus liberatis suis hoc fuit contentus nequoe proelio decertare voluit, quae res tamen fortasse aliquem recuperet casum, ne imperatorias sibi partes sumpsisse videretur. Pompeianis magnam res ad receptum difficultatem afferebat. Nam ex iniquo progressi loco in summum consiterat; si per decline sese recuperent, nostros ex superiore sinequentes loco verebantur; neque multum ad solis occasum
temporis supererat; 
spe enim conficiendi negotii prope in 
noctem rem duxerant. Ita necessario atque ex tempore 
capto consilio Pompeius tumulum quendam occupavit, qui 
tantum aberat a nostro castello, ut telum tormentumve 
missum adigi non posset. Hoc consedit loco atque eum 
communivit omnesque ibi copias continuit. LII. Eodem 
tempore duobus praeterea locis pugnatum est; nam plura 
castella Pompeius pariter distinendae manus causa tentaverat, 
ne ex proximis praesidiiis succurri posset. Uno loco Volcatius 
Tullus impetum legionis sustinuit cohortibus tribus atque 10 
eam loco depulit; altero Germani munitiones nostras egressi 
compluribus interfectis sese ad suos incolumes receperunt. 
LIII. Ita uno die VI proeliiis factis, tribus ad Dyrrhachium, 
tribus ad munitiones, cum horum omnium ratio haberetur, 
ad duorum milium numero ex Pompeianis cecidisse reperie- 
15 
bamus, evocatos centurionisque complures (in eo fuit nu- 
merno Valerius Flaccus L. filius, ejus qui praetor Asiam 
obtinuerat); signaque sunt militaria sex relata. Nostri non 
amplius XX omnibus sunt proeliiis desiderati. Sed in castello 
nemo fuit omnino militum quin vulneraretur, quattuorque 20 
ex una cohorte centuriones oculos amiserunt. Et cum 
laboris sui periculique testimonium afferre vellent, milia 
sagittarum circiter XXX in castellum conjecta Caesari re- 
umcraverunt, scutoque ad eum relato Scaevae centurionis 
inventa sunt in eo foramina CXX. Quem Caesar, ut erat de 25 
se meritus et de republica, donatum milibus CC . . . atque 
ab octavis ordinibus ad primipilum se traducere pronuntiavit 
(ejus enim opera castellum magna ex parte conservatum esse 
constabat) cohortemque postea duplici stipendio, frumento, 
veste, congiariis militaribusque donis amplissime donavit. 30 
LIV. Pompeius noctu magnis additis munitionibus reliquis 
diebus turres extruxit et in altitudinem pedum XV effectis 
operibus vinceis eam partem castrorum obtexit, et quinque 
intermissis diebus alteram noctem subnubilam nactus ob- 
structis omnibus castrorum portis et ad impediendum objec- 
tis, tertia inita vigilia silentio exercitum eduxit et se in
antiquas munitiones recepit. LV. Omnibus deinceps diebus Caesar exercitum in aciem aequum in locum produxit, si Pompeius proelio decertare vellet, ut paene castris Pompeii legiones subjiceret; tantumque a vallo ejus prima acies aberat, uti ne telo tormento adiici posset. Pompeius autem, ut famam opinionemque hominum teneret, sic pro castris exercitum constituebat, ut tertia acies vallum contingenret, omnis quidem instructus exercitus telis ex vallo abjectis protegi posset.

10 LVI. Aetolia, Acarnania, Amphilochis per Cassium Longinum et Calvisium Sabinum, ut demonstravimus, receptis tentandam sibi Achaiam ac paulo longius progrediendum existimabat Caesar. Itaque eo Calenum misit eique Sabinum et Cassium cum cohortibus adjungit. Quorum cognito adventu Rutilius Lupus, qui Achaiam missus a Pompeio obtinebat, Isthum praemunire instituit, ut Achaia Fufium prohiberet. Calenus Delphos, Thebas, Orchomenum voluntate ipsarum civitatum recepit, nonnullas urbes per vim expugnavit, reliquas civitates circummissis legationibus amicitia Caesari conciliare studebat. In his rebus fere erat Fufius occupatus. LVII. Haec cum in Achaia atque apud Dyrrhachium gerentur, Scipionemque in Macedoniam venisse constaret, non oblitus pristini instituti Caesar mittit ad cum A. Clodium, suum atque illius familiarum, quem ab illo traditu initio et commendatum in suorum necessariu numero habere instituerat. Huic dat litteras mandataque ad eum, quorum haec erat summa: sese omnia de pace expertum nihil adhuc arbitrari vitium factum eorum quos esse auctores ejus rei voluisset, quod sua mandata perferre non opportuno tempore ad Pompeium vererentur. Scipionem ea esse auctoritate, ut non solum libere quae probasset exponere, sed etiam ex magna parte compellere atque errantem regere posset; praesse autem suo nomine exercitui, ut prae auctoritatatem vires quoque ad coercendum haberet. Quod si fecisset, quietem Italiae, pacem provinciarum, salutem imperii uni omnes acceptam relaturos. Haec ad eum mandata
Clodius refert ac primis diebus, ut videbatur, libenter auditis, reliquis ad colloquium non admittitur castigato Scipione a Favonio, ut postea confecto bello reperiebamus, infectaque re sese ad Caesarem recepit.

LVIII. Caesar, quo facilius equitatum Pompeianum ad Dyrrhachium contineret et pabulatione prohiberet, aditus duos, quos esse angustos demonstravimus, magnis operibus praemunivit castellaque his locis posuit. Pompeius, ubi nihil profici equitatu cognovit, paucis intermissis diebus rursum eum navibus ad se intra munitiones recipit. Erat summa inopia pabuli, adeo ut foliis ex arboribus strictis et teneris arundinum radicibus contusiis equos alerent; frumenta enim quae fuerant intra munitiones satá consumpserant. Cogebantur Coreyma atque Acarnania longo interjecto navigationis spatio pabulum supportare, quodque erat ejus rei minor copia, hordeo adaugere atque his rationibus equitatum tolerare. Sed postquam non modo hordeum pabulumque omnibus locis herbaeque desectae, sed etiam frons ex arboribus deficiebat, corruptis equis macie conandum sibi alici Pompeius de eruptione existimavit. LIX. Erant apud Caesarem equitum numero Allobroges ii fratres, Raucillus et Egnus, Adbucilli filii, qui principatum in civitate multis annis obtinuerat, singulari virtute homines, quorum opera Caesar omnibus Gallicis bellis optima fortissimaque erat usus. His domi ob has causas amplissimos magistratus mandaverat atque eos extra ordinem in senatum legendos curaverat agrosque in Gallia ex hostibus captos praemiaque rei pecuniariae magna tribuerat locupletesque ex egentibus fecerat. Hi propter virtutem non solum apud Caesarem in honore erant, sed etiam apud exercitum cari habebantur; sed freti amicitia Caesaris et stulta ac barbara arrogantia elati despiciabant suas stipendia atque equitatumque fraudabant et prae- dam omnem domum avertabant. Quibus illi rebus permoti universi Caesarem adierunt palamque de corum iniuriis sunt questi et ad cetera addiderunt falsum ab his equitum numerum deferri, quorum stipendium averterent. LX. Caesar
neque tempus illud animadversionis esse existimans et multa virtuti eorum concedens rem totam distulit; illos secreto castigavit, quod quaestui equites habercnt, monuitque ut ex sua amicitia omnia exspectarent et ex praeteritis suis officiis reliqua sperarcnt. Magnam tamen haec res illis offensionem et contemptionem ad omnes attulit, idque ita esse cum ex aliorum objectationibus, tum etiam ex domestico judicio atque animi conscientia intellegebant. Quo pudore adducti et fortasse non se liberari, sed in aliud tempus reservari arbitrati, discedere a nobis et novam tentare fortunam novasque amicitias experiri constituerunt. Et cum paucis collocuti clientibus suis, quibus tantum facinus committere audebant, primum conati sunt praefectum equitum C. Volusenum interficere, ut postea bello confecto cognition est, ut cum munere aliquo perfugisse ad Pompesium viderentur; postquam id difficilium visum est neque facultas perficiendi dabatur, quam maximas potuerunt pecunias mutuati, proinde ac suis satisfacere et fraudata restituere vellent, multis coëmpitis equis ad Pompeium transierunt cum iis quos sui consilii participes habebarunt. LXI. Quos Pompeius, quod erant honesto loco nati et instructi liberaliter magni comitate et multis jumentis venerant virique fortes habebantur et in honore apud Caesarem fuerant, quodque novum et praeter consuetudinem acciderat, omnia sua praesidia cum duxit atque ostentavit. Nam ante id tempus nemo aut miles aut eques a Caesare ad Pompeium transierat, cum paene quotidie a Pompeio ad Caesarem perfugerent, vulgo vero universi in Epiro atque Aetolia conscripti milites earumque regionum omnium quae a Caesare tenebantur. Sed hi cognitis omnibus rebus, seu quid in munitionibus perfectum non erat, seu quid a peritioribus rei militaris desiderari videbatur, temporibusque rorum et spatiis locorum, custodiarum varia diligentia animadversa, prout cujusque eorum qui negotiis praerant aut natura aut studium ferebat, hae ad Pompeium omnia detulerunt. LXII. Quibus ille cognitis eruptionisque jam ante capto consilio, ut demon-
stratum est, tegimenta galeis milites ex viminibus facere atque aggerem jubet comportare. His paratis rebus magnum numcrum levis armaturae et sagittariorum aggeremque omnem noctu in scaphas et naves actuarias imponit, et de media nocte cohortes LX ex maximis castris praesidiisque deductas ad eam partem munitionum ducit quae pertinebat ad mare longissimeque a maximis castris Caesaris aberat. Eodem navces, quas demonstravimus aggere et levis armaturae militibus completas, quasque ad Dyrrhachium naves longas habebat, mittit et quid a quoque fieri velit praecipit. Ad eas munitiones Caesar Lentulum Marcellinum quaestorem cum legione VIII positum habebat. Huic, quod valetudine minus commoda utebatur, Fulvium Postumum adjutorem summisserat. LXIII. Erat eo loco fossa pedum xv et vabum contra hostem in altitudinem pedum x, tantundemque ejus valli agger in latitudinem patebat; ab eo intermisso spatio pedum DC alter conversus in contrariam partem erat vallus humiliore paulo munitione. Hoc enim superioribus diebus diebus timens Caesar, ne navibus nostri circumvenirentur, duplicem eo loco fecerat vallum, ut, si ancipiti proelio dimicaretur, possit resisti. Sed operum magnitudo et continens omnium dierum labor, quod milia passuum in circuitu XVII erat complexus, perficiendi spatium non dabat. Itaque contra mare transversum vallum, qui has duas munitiones conjungeret, nondum perfecerat. Quae res nota erat Pompeio, delata per Allobrogas perfugas, magnauique nostris attulerat incommodum. Nam ut ad mare duae cohortes nonae legionis excubuerant, accessere subito prima luce Pompeiani; simul navibus circumvecti milites in exteriorum vallum tela jacobant, fossaeque aggere complebantur, et legionarii interioris munitionis defensores scalis admotis tormentis cujusque generis telisque terrebat, magnauique multitudo sagittariorum ab utraque parte circumfundebarunt. Multum autem ab ietu lapidum, quod unum nostris erat telum, viminea tegimenta galeis imposita defendebant. Itaque cum omnibus rebus nostri premerentur atque aegre resisterent, animadversum
DE BELLO CIVILI

est vitium munitionis, quod supra demonstratum est, atque inter duos vallos, qua perfectum opus non erat, per mare navibus expositi in aversos nostros impetum fecerunt atque ex utraque munitione dejectos terga vertere coegerunt. LXIV.

5 Hoc tumultu nuntiato Marcellinus... cohortes subsidio nostris laborantibus summittit ex castris; quae fugientes conspicatae neque illos suo adventu confirmare potuerunt neque ipsae hostium impetum tulerunt. Itaque quodcumque addebat subsidio, id corruptum timore fugientium terrem et periculum augebat; hominum enim multitudine receptus impediebatur. In eo proelio cum gravi vulnere esset affectus aquilifer et a viribus deficeretur, conspicatus equites nostros, “Hanc ego,” inquit, “et vivus multos per annos magna diligentia defendi et nunc moriens eadem fide Caesari restituo. Nolite, obsco, committere, quod ante in exercitu Caesaris non accidit, ut rei militaris dedecus admittatur, incolumemque ad eum deferete.” Hoc casu aquila conservatur omnibus primae cohortis centurionibus interfectis praeter principem priorem. LXV. Jamque Pompeiani magna caede nostrorum castris Marcellini appropinquabant non mediocri terre illato reliquis cohortibus, et M. Antonius, qui proximum locum praesidiorum tenebat, ea re nuntiata cum cohortibus xii descendens ex loco superiore cernebatur. Cujus adventus Pompeianos compressit nostrosque firmavit, ut se ex maximo timore colligerent. Neque multo post Caesar significatione per castella fumo facta, ut erat superioris temporis consuetudo, deductis quibusdam cohortibus ex praesiidiis eodem venit. Qui cognito detrimento cum animadvertisset Pompeium extra munitiones egressum secundum mare, ut libere pabulari posset nec minus aditum navibus haberet, commutata ratione belli, quoniam propositum non tenuerat, castra juxta Pompeium munire jussit. LXVI. Qua perfecta munitione animadversum est a speculatoribus Caesaris cohortes quasdam, quod instar legionis videretur, esse post silvam et in vetera castra duci. Castrorum hic situs erat. Superioribus diebus nona Caesaris legio, cum se objecisset
Pompeianis copiis atque opere, ut demonstravimus, circum-
muniret, castra eo loco posuit. Haec silvam quandam con-
tingebant neque longius a mari passibus ccc aberant. Post
mutato consilio quibusdam de causis Caesar Paulo ultra eum
locum castra transtulit, paucisque intermissis diebus eadem
Pompeius occupaverat et, quod eo loco plures erat legiones
habiturus, relictio interiore vallo majorem adjecerat mun-
tionem. Ita minora castra inclusa majoribus castelli atque
arcis locum obtinebant. Item ab angulo castrorum sinistro
munitionem ad flumen perduxerat, circiter passus cccc, quo
liberius a periculo milites aquarentur. Sed is quoque mutato
consilio quibusdam de causis, quam memorari necesse non
est, eo loco exessaret. Ita complures dies manusrerant castra;
munitiones quidem omnes integrae erant. LXVII. Eo signa
legionis illata speculatores Caesari renuntiarunt. Hoc idem
visum ex superioribus quibusdam castellis confirmaverunt.
Is locus aberat a novis Pompeii castris circiter passus quin-
gentos. Hanc legionem sperans Caesar se opprimere posse
et cupiens ejus diei detrimentum sacrile in opere
cohortes duas, quae speciem munitionis praebent ; ipse
diverso itinere, quam potuit occultissime, reliquas cohortes,
numbo xxxiii, in quibus erat legio nona multis amissis
centuriones deminutoque militum numero, ad legionem
Pompeii castraque minora duplici acie eduxit. Neque eum
prima opinio feellit. Nam et perveniit priusquam Pompeius
sentire posset, et tametsi erant munitiones castrorum mag-
nae, tamen sinistro cornu, ubi erat ipse, celeriter aggressus
Pompeianos ex vallo deturbavit. Erat objectus portis ericius.
P.e paulisper est pugnatum, cum irrumpero nostris conaren-
tur, illi castra defenderent, fortissime Tito Pulione, cujus
opera proditum exercitum C. Antoni demonstravimus, e
loco propagante. Sed tamen nostri virtute vicerunt exciso-
que ericio primo in majora castra, post etiam in castellum,
quod erat inclusum majoribus castris, irruptione et, quod eo
pulsa legio sese receperat, nonnullos ibi repugnantes inter-
fecerunt. LXVIII. Sed fortuna, quae plurimum potest cum
in reliquis rebus tum praecipue in bello, parvis momentis
magnas rerum commutationes efficit; ut tum accidit. Munici-
tionem, quam pertinere a castris ad flumen supra demon-
stravimus, dextri Caesaris cornus cohortes ignorantia loci
sunt secutae, cum portam quaserent castrorumque eam
munitionem esse arbitrarentur. Quod cum esset animad-
versum conjunctam esse flumini, prorutis munitionibus de-
fendente nullo transcenderunt, omnisque noster equitatus
eas cohortes est secutus. LXIX. Interim Pompeius hae
satis longa interjecta mora et re nuntiata v legiones ab opere
deductas subsidio suis duxit; eodemque tempore equitatus
ejus nostris equitibus appropinquabat, et acies instructa a
nostris qui castra occupaverant cernebatur, omniaque sunt
subito mutata. Legio Pompeiana celeris spe subsidii con-
firmata ab decumana porta resistere conabatur atque ultimo
in nostros impetum faciebat. Equitatus Caesaris, quod an-
gusto itinere per aggeres ascendebat, receptui suo timens
initial fugae faciebat. Dextrum cornu, quod erat a sinistro
seclusum, terrore equitum animadverso, ne intra munitionem
opprimeretur, ea parte quam proruerat sese recipiebat, ac
plerique ex his, ne in angustias inciderent, ex x pedum muni-
tione se in fossas praecipitabant, primisque oppressis reliqui
per horum corpora salutem sibi atque exitum pariebant.
Sinistro cornu milites, cum ex vallo Pompeium adesse et
suos fugere cernerent, veri ne angustiis intercluderentur,
cum extra et intus hostem haberent, eodem quo venerant
receptu sibi consulebant, omniaque erant tumultus, timoris,
fugae plena, adeo ut, cum Caesar signa fugientium manu
prenderet et consistere juberet, alii demissis signis eundem
cursum confugerent, alii ex metu etiam signa dimitterent,
neque quisquam omnino consisteret. LXX. His tantis malis
haec subsidia succurrentabant quominus omnis deleretur exerci-
citus, quod Pompeius insidias timens, credo, quod haec
praeter spem acciderant ejus qui paulo ante ex castris
fugientes suos conspexerat, munitionibus appropinquare ali-
quamdiu non audebat, equitesque ejus angustiis atque his ab
Caesaris militibus occupatis ad insequendum tardabantur. Ita parvae res magnum in utramque partem momentum habuerunt. Munitiones enim a castris ad flumen perductae expugnatis jam castris Pompeii propriam expeditamque Caesaris victoriam interpellaverunt, eadem res celeritate sequentium tardata nostris salutem attulit. LXXI. Duobus his unius diei proelis Caesar desideravit milites DCCCCLX et notos equites Romanos Tuticianum Gallum, senatoris filium, C. Fleginatem Placentia, A. Granium Puteolis, M. Sacrativirum Capua, tribunos militum, et centuriones XXXII; sed horum omnium pars magna in fossis munitionibusque et fluminis ripis oppressa suorum in terrore ac fuga sine ullo vulneri interiit; signaque sunt militaria amissa XXXII. Pompeius eo proelio imperator est appellatus. Hoc nomen obtinuit, atque ita se postea salutari passus est, sed in litteris numquam scribere est solitus, neque in fascibus insignia laureae praetulit. At Labienus, cum ab eo impetravisset ut sibi captivos tradi juberet, omnes productos ostentationis, ut videbatur, causa, quo major perfugae fides haberetur, commilitones appellans et magna verborum contumeliam interrogans, solerentne veterani indites fugere, in omnium conspectu interfecit.

LXXII. His rebus tantum fiduciae ac spiritus Pompeianis accessit, ut non de ratione beli cogitarent, sed vicisse jam viderentur. Non illi paucitatem nostrorum militum, non iniquitatem loci atque angustias praecoccupatis castris et ancipitem terrorem intra extraeque munitiones, non abscism in duas partes exercitum, cum altera alteri auxilium ferre non posset, causae fuisse cogitabant. Non ad haec addebant non concursu acri facto, non proelio dimicatum, sibique ipsos multitudine atque angustiis majus attulisse detrimentum quam ab hoste accepissent. Non denique communes belli casus recordabantur, quam parvulae saepe causae vel falsae suspicionis vel terroris repentinii vel objectae religionis magna detrimenta intulissent, quotiens vel ducis vitio vel culpa tribuni in exercitu esset offensum; sed, proinde ac si virtute
vicissent neque ulla commutatio rerum posset accidere, per orbem terrarum fama ac litteris victoriam ejus diei concelebrabant. LXXIII. Caesar a superioribus consiliis depulsus omnem sibi commutandam belli rationem existimavit. Itaque uno tempore praesidiis omnibus deductis et oppugnatione dimissa coactaque in unum locum exercitu contionem existimavit. Itaque uno tempore praesidiis omnibus deductis et oppugnatione dimissa coactaque in unum locum exercitu contionem apud milites habuit hortatusque est ne ea quae accidissent graviter ferrent, neve his rebus terrerentur, multisque secundis praebis unum adversum et id mediocre opponerent. Habendam fortunae gratiam, quod Italian sine aliquo vulnere cepissent, quod duas Hispanias bellicosissimorum hominum peritissimis atque exercitatissimis ducibus pacavissent, quod finitimas frumentariasque provincias in potestatem redegissent; denique recordari debere qua felicitate inter medias hostium classes, oppletis non solum portibus, sed etiam littoribus, omnes incolumes essent transportati. Si non omnia caderent secunda, fortunam esse industria sublevandam. Quod esset acceptum detrimenti, cujusvis potius quam suae culpae debere tribui. Locum se aequum ad dimicandum dedisse, potitum esse hostium castris, expulisse ac superasse pugnantes. Sed sive ipsorum perturbatio sive error aliquis sive etiam fortuna partam jam praesentemque victoriam interpellavisset, dandam omnibus operam, ut acceptum incommodum virtute sacrietur. Quod si esset factum, fore ut detrimentum in bonum verteret, uti ad Gergoviam accidisset, atque ei qui ante dimicare timuissent ullo se proelio offrent. LXXIV. Hac habita contione nonnulla signiferos ignominia notavit ac loco movit. Exercitui quidem omnis incessit ex incommodo dolor tantumque studium in familiae sarcenciad, ut nemo aut tribuni aut centurionis imperium desideraret et sibi quisque etiam poenae loco graviores imponeret labores, simulque omnis arderent cupiditate pugnandi, cum superioris etiam ordinis nonnulli racione permoti manendum eo loco et rem proelio committendam existimarent. Contra ea Caesar neque satis militibus perterritis confidebat spatiumque interponendum ad recercandos...
animos putabat, et relictis munitionibus magnopere rei frumentariae timebat. LXXV. Itaque nulla interposita mora sauciorum modo et aegrorum habita ratione impedimenta omnia silentio prima nocte ex castris Apolloniam praemisit. Haec conquiescere ante iter confectum vetuit. His una legio missa praesidio est. His explicitis rebus duas in castris legiones retinuit, reliquas de quarta vigilia compluribus portis eductas eodem itinere praemisit, parvoque spatio intermisso, ut et militare institutum servaretur et quam serissime ejus profectio cognosceretur, conclamari jussit statimque cessere et novissimum agmen consecutus celeriter ex conspectu castrorum discessit. Neque vero Pompeius cognito consilio ejus moram ullam ad insequendum intulit; sed id spectans, si itinere impeditos perterritos deprehendere posset, exercitum e castris eduxit equitatumque praemisit ad novissimum agmen demorandum, neque consequi potuit, quod multum expedito itinere antecesserat Caesar. Sed cum venitum esset ad flumen Genusum, quod ripis erat impeditis, consecutus equitatus novissimos proebo detinebat. Huic suos Caesar equites opposuit expeditosque antesignanos commiscuit cccc, qui tantum profecerunt, ut equestri proelio commisso pellent omnes compluresque interficerent ipsique incolumes se ad agmen recipere. LXXVI. Confecto justo itinere ejus diei quod proposuerat Caesar, traductoque exercitu flumen Genusum veteribus suis in castris contra Asparagium consedit militesque omnes intra vallum castrorum continuit equitatumque per causam pabalandi emissum confestim decumana porta in castra se recipere jussit. Simili ratione Pompeius confecto ejus diei itinere in suis veteribus castris ad Asparagium consedit. Ejus milites, quod ab opere integris munitionibus vacabant, aliis lignant pabulandique causa longius progrediebantur, aliis quod subito consilium profectionis ceperant magna parte impedimentorum et sarcinarum relict, ad haec repetenda invitati propinquitate superiorum castrorum depositis in contubernio armis vallum relinquebant. Quibus ad sequendum impeditis Caesar, quod
fore providerat, meridiano fere tempore signo profectionis
dato exercitum educit duplicatoque ejus diei itinere viii
milia passuum ex eo loco procedit; quod facere Pompeius
discessu militum non potuit. LXXVII. Postero die Caesar
similiter praemissis prima nocte impedimentis de quarta
vigilia ipse egreditur, ut, si qua esset imposita dimicandi
necessitas, subitum casum expedito exercitu subiret. Hoc
idem reliquis fecit diebus. Quibus rebus perfectum est ut
altissimis fluminibus atque impeditissimis itineribus nullum
acciperet incommodum. Pompeius primi diei mora illata et
reliquorum dierum frustra labore suscepi, cum se magnis
itineribus extendere et praegressos consequi cuperet, quarto
die finem sequendi fecit atque aliud sibi consilium capiendum
existimavit. LXXVIII. Caesari ad saucios deponendos, sti-
pendium exercitiui dandum, socios confirmingos, praesidium
urbibus reliquendum neceesse erat adire Apolloniam. Sed
his rebus tantum temporis tribuit, quantum erat properanti
necesse; timens Domitio, ne adventu Pompeii praecoccupare-
tur, ad eum omni celeritate et studio incitatus ferebatur.
Totius autem rei consilium his rationibus explicabat, ut, si
Pompeius eodem contenderet, abductum illum a mari atque
ab iis copiis quas Dyrrhachii comparaverat, frumento ac
commeatu abstractum pari condicione belli secum decertare
cogeret; si in Italiam transiret, conjuncto exercitu cum
Domitio per Illyricum Italiae subsidio profiecisceretur; si
Apolloniam Oricumque oppugnare et se omni maritima ora
excludere conaretur, obsesso Scipione necessario illum suis
auxilium ferre cogeret. Itaque praemissis nuntiiis ad Cn.
Domitium Caesar scripsit et quid fieri vellet ostendit, prae-
sidioque Apolloniae cohortibus iii, Lissi i, iii Orici relictis,
qui erant ex vulneribus aegri depositis, per Epirum atque
Athamaniam iter facere coepit. Pompeius quoque de Caes-
saris consilioi conjectura judicans ad Scipionem properandum
sibi existimabat: si Caesar iter illo haberet, ut subsidium
Scipioni ferret; si ab ora maritima Oricoque discedere nollet,
quod legiones equitatumque ex Italia exspectaret, ipse ut
omnibus copiis Domitium aggrederetur. 

LXXIX. His de causis uterque eorum celeritati studebat, et suis ut esset auxilio, et ad opprimendos adversarios ne occasioni temporis deesset. Sed Caesarem Apollonia a directo itinere averterat; Pompeius per Candaviam iter in Macedoniam expeditum habebat. Accessit etiam ex improviso aliiud incommendum, quod Domitius, qui dies complures castris Scipionis castra collata habuisset, rei frumentariae causa ab eo discesserat et Heracliam, quae est subjecta Candaviae, iter fecerat, ut ipsa fortuna illum objicere Pompeio videretur. Haec ad id tempus Caesar ignorabat. Simul a Pompeio litteris per omnes provincias civitatesque dimissis proelio ad Dyrrhachium facto, latius in flatusque multo quam res erat gesta fama percrebuerat: pulsum fugere Caesarem paene omnibus copiis amissis. Haec itinera infesta reddiderat, haec civitates nonnullas ab eis amicitia avertbat. Quibus accidit rebus, ut pluribus dimissi itineribus a Caesare ad Domitium et a Domitio ad Caesarem nulla ratione iter conficerent possent. Sed Allobroges, Raucilli atque Egi familiares, quos perfugisse ad Pompeium demonstravimus, conspicati in itinere exploratores Domitii, seu pristina sua consuetudine, quod una in Gallia bella gesserant, seu gloria elati, cuncta, ut erant acta, exposuerunt et Caesaris profectionem, adventum Pompeii docuerunt. A quibus Domitius certior factus vix III horarum spatio antecedens hostium beneficio periculum vitavit et ad Aeginium, quod est objectum Thessaliae, Caesaris venti occurrit. LXXX. Conjuncto exercitu Caesar Gomphos pervenit, quod est oppidum primum Thessaliae venientibus a Epiro; quae gens paucis ante mensibus ultro ad Caesarem legatos miserat, ut suis omnibus facultatibus uteretur, praesidiumque ab eo militum petierat. Sed eo fama jam praecurrerat, quam supra docuimus, de proelio Dyrrhachino, quod multis auxerat partibus. Itaque Androsthenes, praetor Thessaliae, cum se victoriae Pompeii comitem esse mallet quam socium Caesaris in rebus adversis, omnem ex agris multitudinem servorum ac liberorum in oppidum cogit
portasque praecludit et ad Scipionem Pompeiumque nuntios mittit, ut sibi subsidio veniant: se confidere munitionibus oppidi, si celeriter succurratur; longinquam oppugnationem sustinere non posse. Scipio discessu exercituum ab Dyrrhachio cognito Larisam legiones adduxerat; Pompeius nondum Thessaliam appropinquabat. Caesar castris munitis scalas musculosque ad repentinam oppugnationem fieri et crates parari jussit. Quibus rebus effectis cohortatus milites docuit quantum usum haberet ad sublevandam omnium rerum in-opiam potiri oppido pleno atque opulento, simul reliquis civitatibus hujus urbis exemplo inferre terrorem et id fieri celeriter, priusquam auxilia concurrent. Itaque usus singulari militum studio eodem quo venerat die post horam nonam oppidum altissimis moenibus oppugnare aggressus, opiam potiri oppido pleno atque opulento, simul reliquis civitatibus hujus urbis exemplo inferre terrorem et id fieri celeriter, priusquam auxilia concurrent. Itaque usus singulari militum studio eodem quo venerat die post horam nonam oppidum altissimis moenibus oppugnare aggressus, 15 ante solis occasum expugnavit et ad diripiendum militibus concessit, statimque ab oppido castra movit et Metropolim venit, sic ut nuntios expugnati oppidi famamque antecederet. LXXXI. Metropolitae primum eodem usi consilio iisdem permoti rumoribus portas cluasurunt murosque armatis complexerunt; sed postea casu civitatibus Gomphensis cognito ex captivis quos Caesar ad murum producendos curaverat, portas aperuerunt. Quibus diligentissime conservatis, collata fortuna Metropolitum cum casu Gomphensium, nulla Thessalae fuit civitas praeter Larisaes, qui magnis exercitibus 20 Scipionis tenebantur, quin Caesari parerent atque imperata facerent. Ille idoneum locum in agris nactus plenis frumentorum, quae prope jam matura erant, ibi adventum exspectare Pompeii eoque omnem belli rationem conferre constitut.

LXXXII. Pompeius paucis post diebus in Thessaliam pervenit contionatusque apud eunctum exercitum suis agit gratias, Scipionis milites cohortatur ut parta jam victoria praedae ac praemiorum velint esse participes, receptisque omnibus in una castra legionibus suum cum Scipione hono-rem partitur classicumque apud eum cani et alterum illi jubet praetorium tendi. Auctis copiis Pompeii duobusque
magnis exercitibus conjunctis pristina omnium confirmatur opinio et spes victoriae augetur, adeo ut, quidquid intercederet temporis, id morari reditum in Italiam videretur, et, si quando quid Pompeius tardius aut consideratius faceret, unius esse negotium diei, sed illum delectari imperio et consulares praetoriosque servorum habere numero dicerent. Jamque inter se palam de praemiis ac sacerdotiis contendebant in annosque consulatum definiebant, alii domos bonaque eorum qui in castris erant Caesaris petebant; magnaque inter eos in consilio fuit controversia, oporteretne Lucili Hirri, quod is a Pompeio ad Parthos missus esset, proximis comitiis praetorius absentis rationem haberi, cum ejus necessarii fidem implorarent Pompeii praestaret quod proficiscenti recepisset, ne per ejus auctoritatem deceptus videretur, reliqui, in labore pari ac periculo ne unus omnes antecederet, recusarent. LXXXIII. Jam de sacerdio Caesaris Domitius, Scipio Spintherque Lentulus quotidianis contentionibus ad gravissimas verborum contumebas palam descenderunt, cum Lentulus aetatis honorem ostentaret, Domitius urbanam gratiam dignitatemque jactaret, Scipio affinitate Pompeii confideret. Postulavit etiam L. Afranium proditionis exercitus Acutius Rufus apud Pompeium, quod gestum in Hispania diceret. Et L. Domitius in consilio dixit placere sibi bello confecto ternas tabellas dari ad judicandum iis qui ordinis essent senatorii belloque una cum ipsis interfuissent, sententiasque de singulis ferrent qui Romae remansissent quique intra praesidia Pompeii fuissent neque operam in re militari praestitissent: unam fore tabellam qui liberandos omni periculo censerent; alteram qui capitis damnarent; tertiam qui pecunia multarent. Postremo omnes aut de honoribus suis aut de praemiis pecuniae aut de persequendis inimiciis agebant, nec quibus rationibus superare possent, sed quemadmodum uti victoria deberent cogitabant.

LXXXIV. Re frumentaria praeparata confirmatisque militibus et satis longo spatio temporis a Dyrrhachinis proelis intermisso, quo satis perspectum habere militum animum
videretur, tentandum Caesar existimavit quidnam Pompeius propositi aut voluntatis ad dimicandum haberet. Itaque ex castris exercitum eduxit aciemque instruxit, primo suis locis pauloque a castris Pompeii longius, continentibus vero diebus ut progrederetur a castris suis collibusque Pompeianis aciem subjiceret. Quae res in dies confirmatiorem ejus exercitum efficiebat. Superior tamen institutum in equitibus, quod demonstravimus, servabat, ut, quoniam numero multis partibus esset inferior, adolescentes atque expeditos ex antesignanis electos ad perniciatatem armis inter equites proeliari jubaret, qui quotidianas consuetudines usum quoque ejus generis proeliorum perciperent. His erat rebus effectum ut equitum mille etiam apertioribus locis vii milium Pompeianorum impetum, cum adesset usus, sustinere auderent neque magnopere eorum multitudine terrerentur. Namque etiam per eos dies proelium secundum equestre fecit atque unum Allobrogem ex duobus quos per fugisse ad Pompeium supra docuimus, cum quibusdam interfecit. LXXXV. Pompeius, qui castra in colle habebat, ad infimas radices montis aciem instruebat, semper, ut videbatur, exspectans, si iniquis locis Caesar se subjiceret. Caesar nulla ratione ad pugnam elici posse Pompeium existimans hanc sibi commodissimam belli rationem judicavit, uti castra ex eo loco moveret semperque esset in itineribus, haec spectans, ut movendis castris pluri- busque adeundi locis commodiore re frumentaria uteretur, simulque in itinere ut aliquam occasionem dimicandi nancisceretur et insolitum ad laborem Pompeii exercitum quotidianis itineribus defatigaret. His constitutis rebus signo jam profectionis dato tabernaculisque detensis, animadvertsum est paulo ante extra quotidianam consuetudinem longius a vallo esse aciem Pompeii progressam, ut non iniquo loco posse dimicari videretur. Tune Caesar apud suos, cum jam esset agmen in portis, “Differendum est,” inquit, “iter in praesentia nobis et de proelio cogitandum, sicut semper de- poposscimus. Animo simus ad dimicandum parati: non facile occasionem postea reperiemus;” confestimque expe-
ditas copias eduit. LXXXVI. Pompeius quoque, ut postea cognitum est, suorum omnium hortatu statuerat proelio decertare. Namque etiam in consilio superioribus diebus dixerat, priusquam concurrerent acies fore uti exercitus Cae­saris pelleretur. Id cum essent plerique admirati, "Scio me," inquit, "paene incredibilem rem polliceri; sed rati­onem consilii mei accipite, quo firmiore animo in proelium prodeatis. Persuasi equitibus nostris, idque mihi facturos confirmaverunt, ut, cum propius sit accessum, dextrum Caes­aris cornu ab latere aperto aggrederentur et circumventa ab 10 tergo acie prius perturbatione exercitum pellerent quam a nobis telum in hostem jaceretur. Ita sine periculo legionum et paene sine vulnere bellum conficiemus. Id autem difficile non est, cum tantum equitatu valeamus." Simul denuntia­vit ut essent animo parati in posterum et, quoniam fieret 15 dimicandi potestas, ut saepe cogitavisset, ne usu manuque reliquorum opinionem fallerent. LXXXVII. Hunc Labie­nus excepit et, cum Caesaris copias despiceret, Pompeii con­silium summis laudibus efferret, "Noli," inquit, "existimare, Pompei, hunc esse exercitum qui Galliam Germaniamque 20 devicerit. Omnibus interfui proelii, neque temere incogni­tam rem pronuntio. Perexigua pars illius exercitus superest; magna pars deperiit, quod accidere tot proelii fuit necesse, multos autumni pestilentia in Italia consumpsit, multi do­mum discesserunt, multi sunt relieti in continenti. An non 25 audistis, ex iis qui per causam valetudinis remanserunt cohortes esse Brundisi factas? Hae copiae quas videtis ex delectibus horum annorum in citeriore Gallia sunt refectae, et plerique sunt ex coloniis Transpadanis. Ac tamen quod fuit roboris duobus proeliiis Dyrrhachinis interiit." Haec cum dixisset, 30 juravit se nisi victorem in castra non reversurum, reliquisque ut idem facerent hortatus est. Hoc laudans Pompeius idem juravit; nec vero ex reliquis fuit quisquam qui jurare dubi­taret. Haec cum facta sunt in consilio, magna spe et laetitia omnium discessum est; ac jam animo victoriam praecipie­35 bant, quod de re tanta et a tam perito imperatore nihil
frustra confirmari videbatur. LXXXVIII. Caesar, cum Pompeii castris appropinquasset, ad hunc modum aciem ejus instructam animadvertit. Erant in sinistro cornu legiones duae traditae a Caesaris initio dissensionis ex senatusconsulto; quarum una prima, altera tertia appellabatur. In eo loco ipse erat Pompeius. Mediam aciem Scipio cum legionibus Syriacis tenebat. Ciliciensis legio conjuncta cum cohortibus Hispaniis, quas traductas ab Afranio docuimus, in dextro cornu erant collocatae. Has firmissimas se habere Pompeius existimabat. Reliquas inter aciem mediam cornuque interjecerat numeroque cohortes cv expleverat. Haec erant milia XLV, evocatorum circiter duo, quae ex beneficiariis superiorum exercituum ad eum convenierant; quae tota acie disperserat. Reliquas cohortes vii in castris propinquisque castellis praesidio disposuerat. Dextrum cornu ejus rivus quidam impeditis ripis muniebat; quam ob causam cunctum equitatum, sagittarios funditoresque omnes sinistro cornu objecerat. LXXXIX. Caesar superius institutum servans x legionem in dextro cornu, nonam in sinistro collocaverat, tametsi erat Dyrrhachinis proeliiis vehementer attenuata, et huic sic adjunxit octavam, ut pacem unam ex duabus efficeret, atque alteram alteri praesidio esse jussaret. Cohortes in acie LXXX constitutas habebat, quae summa erat milium xxii; cohortes duas castris praesidio reliquerat. Sinistro cornu Antonium, dextro P. Sullam, media acie Cn. Domitium praeposuerat. Ipse contra Pompeium constitit. Simul his rebus animadversis quas demonstravimus, timens ne a multitudine equitum dextrum cornu circumveniret, celeriter ex tertia acio singulas cohortes detraxit atque ex his quartam instituit equitatiuque opposuit et quid fieri vellet ostendit, monuitque ejus diei victoriam in earum cohortium virtute constare. Simul tertiae aciei totique exerciti imperavit ne injussu suo concurret: se, cum id fieri vellet, vexillo signum daturum. XC. Exercitum cum militari more ad pugnam cohortaretur suaque in eum perpetui temporis officia praedicaret, imprimis commemoravit: testibus se mi-
litibus uti posse, quanto studio pacem petisset; quae per Vatinium in colloquis, quae per Aulum Clodium cum Scipione egisset, quibus modis ad Oricum cum Libone de mittendis legatis contendisset. Neque se umquam abuti militum sanguine neque rempublicam alterutro exercitu privare voluisse. Hac habita oratione exposcentibus militibus et studio pugnae ardentibus tuba signum dedit. XCI. Erat Crassinus evocatus in exercitu Caesaris, qui superiore anno apud eum primum pilum in legione x duxerat, vir singulari vir- tute. Hic signo dato, "Sequimini me," inquit, "manipulares mei qui fuistis, et vestro imperatori quam constituistis operam date. Unum hoc proelium superest; quo confecto et ille suam dignitatem et nos nostram libertatem recuperabimus." Simul respiciens Caesarem, "Faciam," inquit, "hodie, imperator, ut aut vivo mihi aut mortuo gratias agas." Haec cum dixisset, primus ex dextro cornu procucurrit, atque eum electi milites circiter cxx voluntarii ejusdem centuriae sunt prosecuti. XCII. Inter duas acies tantum erat relictum spatii, ut satis esset ad concursum utriusque exercitus. Sed Pompeius suis praedixerat ut Caesaris impetum exciperent neve se loco moverent, aciemque eum distrahi paterentur; idque admonitu C. Triarii fecisse dicebatur, ut primus excursus visque militum infringere atque distenderetur, aciemque eum ordinibus dispositi dispersus adorirentur; leviusque casura pilae sperabat in loco retentis milibus quam si ipsi immissis telis occuccurrissent; simul fore ut duplicato cursu Caesaris milites examinarentur et lassitudine conficerentur. Quod nobis quidem nulla ratione factum a Pompeio videtur, propterea quod est quaedam animi incitatio atque alacritas naturaliter innata omnibus, quae studio pugnae incenditur. Hanc non reprimere, sed augere imperatores debent; neque frustra antiquitus institutum est ut signa undique concineneret clamoremque universi tollerent; quibus rebus et hostes terreri et suos incitari existimaverunt. XCIII. Sed nostri milites dato signo cum infestis pilis procucurriissent atque animadvertissent non concurri a Pompeianis,
usu periti ac superioribus pugnis exercitati sua sponte cursum represserunt et ad medium fere spatium constiterunt, ne consumptis viribus appropriquantem, parvoque intermisso temporis spatio ac rursus renovato cursu pila miserunt celebriterque, ut erat praeceptum a Caesare, gladios strinxerunt. Neque vero Pompeiani huic rei defuerunt. Nam et tela missa exceperunt et impetum legionum tulerunt et ordines conservarunt pilisque missis ad gladios redierunt. Eodem tempore equites ab sinistro Pompeii cornu, ut erat imperatum, universi procurcurrentur, omnisque multitudo sagittariorum se profudit; quorum impetum noster equitatus non tulit, sed paulatim loco motus cessit; equitesque Pompeii hoc acerius instare et se turmatim explicare aciemque nostram a latere aperto circumire coeperunt. Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, quartae aciei, quam instituerat sex cohortium, dedit signum. Illi celeriter procurcurrentur infestisque signis tanta vi in Pompeii equites impetum fecerunt, ut eorum nemo consisteret omnesque conversi non solum loco excederent, sed protinus incitati fuga montes altissimos peterent. Quibus summotis omnes sagittarii funditoresque destituti inermes sine praesidio interfici sunt. Eodem impetu cohortes sinister cornu pugnantibus etiam tum ac resistentibus in acie Pompeianis circumierunt eosque a tergo sunt adorti. XCIV. Eodem tempore tertiam aciem Caesar, quae quieta fuerat et se ad id tempus loco tenuerat, procurrire jussit. Ita cum recentes atque integri defessis successissent, alii autem a tergo adorirentur, sustinere Pompeiani non potuerunt atque universi terga verterunt. Neque vero Caesarem fefellit, quin ab iis cohortibus quae contra equitatum in quarta acie collocatae essent, initium victoriae oriretur, ut ipse in cohortandis militibus pronuntiaverat. Ab his enim primum equitatus est pulsus, ab iisdem factae caedes sagittariorum ac funditorum, ab iisdem acies Pompeiana a sinistra parte circumita atque initium fugae factum. Sed Pompeius, ut equitatum suum pulsam vidit atque cam partem cui maxime confidebat perterritam animadvertit, alii quoque diffusis acie excessit
protinusque se in castra equo contulit et iis centurionibus quos in statione ad praetoriam portam posuerat, clare, ut millites exaudirent, “Tuemini,” inquit, “castra et defendite diligenter, si quid durius acciderit. Ego reliquas portas circumeo et castrorum praesidia confingo.” Hac cum dixisset, se in praetorium contulit summac rei diffidens et tamen eventum exspectans. XCV. Caesar Pompeianis ex fuga intra vallum compulsis nullum spatium perterritis dare oportere existimans, millites cohortatus est ut beneficio fortunae utenter castraque oppugnarent. Qui, etsi magno acetu (nam ad meridiem res crat perducta), tamen ad omnem laborem animo parati imperio paruerunt. Castra a cohortibus quae ibi praesidio crant relictae industrie defendebantur, multo etiam acrius a Thracibus barbarisque auxiliiis. Nam qui acie refugerant milites, et animo perterriti et lassitudine confecti missis plerique armis signisque militaribus magis de reliqua fuga quam de castrorum defensione cogitabant. Neque vero diutius qui in vallo constiterant multitudinem telorum sustinere potuerunt, sed confecti vulneribus locum reliquerunt, protinusque omnes ducibus usi centurionibus tribunisque militum in altissimos montes, qui ad castra pertinebant, confugerunt. XCVI. In castris Pompeii videre licuit trichilas structas, magnum argenti pondus expositum, recentibus cespitibus tabernacula constrata, Lucii etiam Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula protecta edera, multaque praeterea quae nimiam luxuriam et victoriae fidiciam designarent, ut facile existimari posset nihil eos de eventu ejus dici timuisse, qui non necessarias conquerent voluptates. At hi miserrimo ac patientissimo exercitu Caesaris luxuriem objiciebant, cui semper omnia ad necessarium usum defuissent. Pompeius, jam cum intra vallum nostri versarentur, equum nactus detractis insignibus imperatoris decumana porta se ex castris ejectit protinusque equo citato Larisam contendit. Neque ibi constitit, sed eadem celeritate paucos suos ex fuga nactus, nocturno itinere non intermisso, comitatu equitum xxx ad marc pervenit navemque frumentarium
conscendit, saepe, ut dicebatur, querens tantum se opinionem
felifisse, ut, a quo genere hominum victoriam sperasset, ab
eo initio fugae facto paene proditus videretur. XCVII.
Caesar castris potitus, a militibus contendit ne in praeda
5 occupati reliqui negotii gerendi facultatem dimitterent. Qua
re impetrata montem operc circummunire instituit. Pom­
peiani, quod is mons erat sine aqua, diffisi ei loco, relict:o
monte universi jugis ejus Larisam versus se recipere coepe­
runt. Qua re animadversa Caesar copias suas divisit partem-
10 que legionem in castris Pompeii remanere jussit, partem in
sua castra remisit, III secum legiones duxit commodoreque
itinere Pompeianis occurrerco coepit et progressus milia pas­
suum vi aciem instruxit. Qua re animadversa Pompeiani
in quodam monte constiterunt. Hunc montem flumen sub­
luebat. Caesar milites cohortatus, etsi totius diei continenti
laborc erant confecti noxque jam suberat, tamen munitione
flumen a monte seclusit, ne noctu aquari Pompeiani possent.
Quo perfecto opere illi de deditione missis legatis agere coe­
perunt. Pauci ordinis senatorii, qui se cum iis conjunxerant,
20 nocte fuga salutem petiverunt. XCVIII. Caesar prima luce
omnes eos qui in monte consederant ex superioribus locis in
planiciem descendere atque arma projicere jussit. Quod ubi
sine recusatione fecerunt passisque palmis projecti ad terram
flentes ab eo salutem petiverunt, consolatus consurgere jussit
et pauc: apud eos de lenitate sua locutus, quo minore essent
timore, omnes conservavit, militibusque suis commendavit,
ne qui eorum violaretur, neu quid sui desiderarent. Hac
adhibita diligentia ex castris sibi legiones alias occurreret et
eas quas secum duxerat in vicem requiescere atque in castra
30 reverti jussit, eodemque die Larisam pervenit. XCIX. In
eo proelio non amplius cc milites desideravat, sed centu­
riones, fortes viros, circiter xxx amisit. Interfectus est
etiam fortissime pugnans Crastinus, cujus mentionem supra
fecimus, gladio in os adversum conjecto. Neque id fuit
35 falsum quod ille in pugnam proficiscens dixerat. Sic enim
Caesar existimabat, eo proelio excellentissimam virtutem
Crastini fuisset, optimique eum de se meritum judicabat. Ex Pompeiano exercitu circiter milia xv cecidisse videbantur, sed in deditionem venerunt amplius milia xxiii (namque etiam cohortes quae praesidio in castellis fuerant sese Sullae dediderunt), multi praeterea in finitimas civitates refugereunt; signaque militaria ex proelio ad Caesarem sunt relata clxxx et aquilae viii. L. Domitius ex castris in montem refugiens, cum vires eum lassitudine defecissent, ab equitibus est interfecus.

C. Eodem tempore D. Laelius cum classe ad Brundisium venit eademque ratione, qua factum a Libone antea demonstravimus, insulam objectam portui Brundisino tenuit. Similiter Vatinius, qui Brundisio praerat, tectis instructisque scaphis eliciuit naves Laelianas atque ex his longius productam unam quinqueremem et minores duas in angustiis portus cepit, itemque per equites dispositos aqua prohibere classiaros instituit. Sed Laelius tempore anni commodiore usus ad navigandum onerariis navibus Coreywra Dyrrhachioque aquam suis supportabat neque a proposito deterrebatur, neque ante proelium in Thessalia factum cognitum aut ignominia amissarum navium aut necessiarum rerum inopia ex portu insulaque expelli potuit. C. Iisdem fere temporibus Cassius cum classe Syorum et Phoenicum et Cilicum in Siciliam venit, et cum esset Caesaris classis divisa in duas partes, dimidiae partis praesesset P. Sulpicius praetor Vibone ad fretum, dimidiae M. Pomponius ad Messanam, prius Cassius ad Messanam navibus advolavit quam Pomponius de ejus adventu cognosceret, perturbatumque eum nactus nullis custodiis neque ordinibus certis, magno vento et secundo completas onerarias naves taeda et pice et stupa reliquisque rebus quae sunt ad incendia in Pomponianam classem immisit atque omnes naves incendit xxxv, e quibus erant xx constratae. Tantque eo facto timor incessit, ut cum esset legio praesidio Messanae, vix oppidum defenderetur, et nisi eo ipso tempore quidam nuntii de Caesaris victoria per dispositos equites essent allati, existimabant plerique futurum fuisset uti amit-
teretur. Sed opportunissime nuntiis allatis oppidum est
defensum; Cassiusque ad Sulpicianam inde classem profec-
tus est Vibonem, applicatisque nostris ad terram navibus
circiter XL propter eundem timorem, pari atque antea ra-
tione secundum nactus ventum onerarias naves praeparatas ad
incendium immisit, et flamma ab utroque cornu compensa
naves sunt combustae quinque. Cumque ignis magnitu-
dine venti latius serperet, milites, qui ex veteribus legionibus
erant relictis praesidio navibus ex numero aegrorum, igno-
miniam non tulerunt, sed sua sponte naves conscenderunt et
a terra solverunt impetuque facto in Cassiam classem quin-
queremes duas, in quarum altera erat Cassius, ceperunt; sed
Cassius exceptus scapha refugit; praeterea duae sunt depres-
sae triremes. Neque multo post de proelio facto in Thessalia
cognitum est, ut ipsis Pompeianis fides fieret; nam ante id
tempus fingi a legatis amicisque Caesaris arbitrabantur. Qui-
bus rebus cognitis ex his locis Cassius cum classe discessit.

CII. Caesar omnibus rebus relictis persequendum sibi
Pompeium existimavit, quaecumque in partes se ex fuga
recepisset, ne rursus copias comparare alias et bellum re-
novare posset, et quantumcumque itineris equitatu efficere
poterat quotidie progredebatur, legionemque unam mino-
ribus itineribus subsequi jussit. Erat edictum Pompeii
nomine Amphipoli propositum, uti omnes ejus provinciae
juniores, Gracci civesque Romani, jurandi causa convenirent.
Sed utrum avertendae suspicionis causa Pompeius proposu-
isset, ut quam diutissime longioris fugae consilium occul-
taret, an novis delectibus, si nemo premeret, Macedoniam
tenere conaretur, existimari non poterat. Ipse ad ancoram
una nocte constituit et vocatis ad se Amphipoli hospitibus et
pecunia ad necessarios sumptus corrogata cognito Caesaris
adventu ex eo loco discessit et Mytilenas paucis diebus venit.
Biduum tempestate retentus navibusque aliis additis actuariis
in Ciliciam atque inde Cyrum pervenit. Ibi cognoscit con-
sensu omnium Antiochensium civiumque Romanorum qui
illic negotiarentur arcem captam esse excludendi sui causa
nuntiosque dimissos ad eos qui se ex fuga in finitimas civitates recepisse dicerentur, ne Antiochiam adirent: id si fecissent, magno eorum capitis periculo futurum. Idem hoc L. Lentulo, qui superiore anno consul fuerat, et P. Lentulo consulari ac nonnullis aliis acciderat Rhodi; qui cum ex fuga Pompeium sequerentur atque in insulam venissent, oppido ac portu recepti non erant missisque ad eos nuntiiis ut ex his locis discederent, contra voluntatem suam naves solverunt. Jamque de Caesaris adventu fama ad civitates perferebatur. CIII. Quibus cognitis rebus Pompeius deposito adeudiae Syriae consilio pecunia societatis sublata et a quibusdam privatis sumpta et aeris magno pondere ad militem usum in naves imposito duobusque milibus hominum armatis, partim quos ex familiis societatum delegerat, partim a negotiatoribus coegerat, quosque ex suis quisque ad hanc rem idoneos existimabat, Pelusium pervenit. Ibi casu rex erat Ptolemaeus, puer aetate, magnis copiis cum sore Cleopatra bellum gerens, quam paucis ante mensibus per suas propinquos atque amicos regno expulerat; castraque Cleopatrae non longo spatio ab ejus castris distabant. Ad eum Pompeius misit, ut pro hospitio atque amicitia patris Alexandria recuperetur atque ilius opibus in calamitate tegetur. Sed qui ab eo missi erant, confecto legationis officio, liberius cum militibus regis colloqui coeperunt eosque hortari ut suum officium Pompeio praestarent neve ejus fortunam despicerent. In hoc erant numero complures Pompeii milites, quos ex ejus exercitu acceptos in Syria Gabinius Alexandriam traduxerat belloque confecto apud Ptolemaeum, patrem pueri, reliquerat. CIV. His tunc cognitis rebus amici regis, qui propter aetatem ejus in curacione erant regni, sive timore adducti, ut postea praedicabant, sollicitato exercitu regio, ne Pompeius Alexandriam Aegyptumque occuparet, sive despecta ejus fortuna, ut plerumque in calamitate ex amicis inimici exsistunt, his qui erant ab eo missi palam liberaliter responderunt eumque ad regem venire jusserrunt; ipsi clam consilio inito Achillam, praefectum regium, singu-
lari hominem audacia, et L. Septimium, tribunum militum, ad interficiendum Pompeium miserunt. Ab his liberaliter ipse appellatus et quadam notitia Septimii productus, quod bello praedonum apud eum ordinem duxerat, naviculam par-5 vulam conscendit cum paucis suis; ibi ab Achilla et Septimio interficitur. Item L. Lentulus comprehenditur ab rege et in custodia necatur.

CV. Caesar, cum in Asiam venisset, reperiebat T. Ampium conatum esse pecunias tollere Epheso ex fano Dianae ejusque 10 rei causa senatores omnes ex provincia evocasse, ut his testibus in summa pecuniae uteretur, sed interpellatum adventu Caesaris profugisse. Ita duobus temporibus Ephesiae pecuniae Caesar auxilium tulit. Item constabat Elide in templo Minervae repetitis atque enumeratis diebus, quo die proelium secundum Caesar fecisset, simulacrum Victoriae, quod ante ipsam Minervam collocatum esset et ante ad simulacrum Minervae spectavisset, ad valvas se templi limene conver-tisse. Eodemque die Antiochiae in Syria bis tantus exercitus clamor et signorum sonus exauditus est, ut in muris 15 armata civitas discurreret. Hoc idem Ptolemaide accidit. Pergami in occultis ac reconditis templi, quo praeter sacer-dotes adire fas non est, quae Graeci ἀδωτάκα appellant, tympana sonuerunt. Item Trallibus in templo Victoriae, ubi Caesaris statuam consecraverant, palma per eos dies inter 20 coagmenta lapidum ex pavimento extitisse ostendebatur.

CVI. Caesar paucos dies in Asia moratus cum audisset Pompeium Cypri visum, conjectans cum Aegyptum iter habere propter necessitudines regni reliquasque ejus loci opportuni-tates, cum legione una, quam se ex Thessalia sequi jusserat, 30 et altera, quam ex Achaia a Q. Fufio legato evocaverat, equi-tibusque CCC et navibus longis Rhodiis X et Asiaticis paucis Alexandriam pervenit. In his crant legionibus hominum milia tria CC; reliquì vulneribus ex proeliis et labore ac magnitudine itineris confecti consequi non potuerant. Sed 35 Caesar confusus fama rerum gestarum infirmis auxiliis pro-ficisci non dubitaverat, aeque omnem sibi locum tum fore
existimans. Alexandriæ de Pompeii morte cognoscit atque ibi primum e nave egrediens clamorem militum audìt, quos rex in oppido praesidii causa reliquerat, et concursum ad se fieri videt, quod fasces anteferrent. In hoc omnis multitudo majestatem regiam minui praedicabat. Hoc sedato tumultu crebrae continuis diebus ex concursu multitudinis concitationes fiebant compluresque milites hujus urbis omnibus partibus interficiebantur. CIVII. Quibus rebus animadversis legiones sibi alias ex Asia adduci jussit, quas ex Pompeianis militibus confecerat. Ipse enim necessario ete siis tenebatur, qui navigantibus Alexandriæ sunt adversissimi venti. Interim controversias regum ad populum Romanum et ad se, quod esset consul, pertinere existimans, atque eo magis officio suo convenire, quod superiore consulatu cum patre Ptolemaeo et lege et senatusconsulto societas erat facta, ostendit sibi placere regem Ptolemaeum atque ejus sororem Cleopatram exercitus quos haberent dimittere, et de controversiis jure apud se potius quam inter se armis disceptare.

CVIII. Erat in procuratione regni propter aetatem pueri ejus, eunuchus nomine Pothinus. Is primum inter suos queri atque indignari coepit regem ad causam dicendam evocari; deinde adjutores quosdam consili sui nactus ex regis amicos, exercitum a Pelusio clam Alexandriam evocavit atque eundem Achillam, cujus supra memor minimus, omnibus copiis praefecit. Hunc, incitatum suis et regis inflation polllicitationibus, quae fieri vellet litteris nuntiis edocuit. In testamento Ptolemaei patris heredes erant scripti ex duobus filiis major et ex duabus filiabus ea quae aetate antecedebat. Haec uti furent, per omnes deos perque foedera quae Romae fecisset, eodem testamento Ptolemaeus populum Romanum obtestabatur. Tabulæ testamenti unae per legatos ejus Romam erant allatae, ut in aerario ponerentur (hae, cum propter publicas occupationes poni non potuissent, apud Pompeium sunt de positae), alterae eodem exemplo relictæ atque obsignatae Alexandriæ proferebantur.

CIX. De his rebus cum agere-
tur apud Caesarem, isque maxime vellet pro communi amico atque arbitro controversias regum componere, subito exercitus regius equitatusque omnis venire Alexandriam nuntiatur. Caesaris copiae nequaquam erant tantae, ut eis extra oppidum, si esset dimicandum, confideret. Relinquebatur ut se suis locis oppido teneret consiliumque Achillae cognoceret. Milites tamen omnes in armis esse jussit, regemque hortatus est ut ex suis necessariis quos haberet maxime auctoritatis legatos ad Achillam mitteret, et quid esset sua voluntatis ostenderet. A quo missi Dioscorides et Serapion, qui ambo legati Romae fuerant magnam apud patrem Ptolemaei auctoritatem habuerant, ad Achillam pervenerunt. Quos ille, cum in conspectum ejus venissent, priusquam audiret aut cujus rei causa missi essent cognosceret, corripi atque interfici jussit; quorum alter accepto vulnere occupatus per suos pro occiso sublatus, alter interfactus est. Quo facto regem ut in sua potestate haberet Caesar efficit, magnam regium nomen apud suos auctoritatem habere existimans, et ut potius privato paucorum et latronum quam regio consilio susceptum bellum videretur. CX. Erant cum Achilla copiae, ut neque numero neque genere hominum neque usu rei mihitaris contemnandae viderentur. Milia enim xx in armis habebat. Haec constabat ex Gabinianis militibus, qui jam in consuetudinem Alexandrinae vitae ac licentiae venerant et nomen disciplinamque populi Romani dedidicerant uxor-resque duxerant, ex quibus plerique liberos habebant. Huc accedebant collecti ex praeonibus latronibusque Syriae Ciliciaeque provinciae finitimarumque regionum. Multi praeterea capitis damnati exulesque convenerant; fugitivis omnibus nostris certus erat Alexandriæ receptus certaque vitae condicio, ut dato nomine militum essent numero; si quis a dominoprehenderetur, consensu militum eripiebatur, qui vim suorum, quod in simili culpa versabantur, ipsi pro suo periculo defendebant. Hi regum amicos ad mortem disponere, hi bona locupletum diripere, stipendii augendi causa regis domum obsidere, regno expellere, alios arcessere vetere
COMM. III. CAP. CIX—CXII.

quodam Alexandrini exercitus instituto consuerant. Erant praeterea equitum milia duo. Inveteraverant hi omnes compluribus Alexandriæ bellis; Ptolemaeum patrem in regnum reduxerant, Bibuli filios duos interfecerant, bella cum Aegyp-tiis gesserant. Hunc usum rei militaris habebant. CXI. His copiis fidens Achillas pancellatemque militum Caesaris despiciens occupabat Alexandriam praeter eam oppidi pa-tem quam Caesar cum militibus tenebat, primo impetu domum ejus irrumpere conatus; sed Caesar dispositis per vias cohortibus impetum ejus sustinuit. Eodemque tempore pugnatum est ad portum, ac longe maximam ea res attulit dimicationem. Simul enim diducit copiis pluribus viis pugnabatur, et magna multitudine naves longas occupare hostes conabantur: quarum erant L auxilio missae ad Pom-pelium proelioque in Thessalia facto domum redierant, illae triremes omnes et quinqueremes aptae instructaeque omnibus rebus rebus ad navigandum, praeter has xxii quae praesidii causa Alexandriæ esse consuerant, constratae omnes; quas si occupavissent, classe Caesari erepta portum ac mare totum in sua potestate haberent, commeatu auxillisque Caesarem prohiberent. Itaque tanta est contentione actum quanta agi debuit, cum illi celerem in ea re victoriam, hi salutem suam consistere viderent. Sed rem obtinuit Caesar omnesque eas naves et reliquas quae erant in navalibus incendit, quod tam late tueri parva manu non poterat, confestimque ad Pharum navibus milites exposuit. CXII. Pharus est in insula turris magna altitudine, mirificis operibus exstructa; quae nomen ab insula accepit. Hæc insula objecta Alexandriæ portum efficit; sed a superioribus regionibus in longitudinem pas-suum DCCCC in mare jactis molibus angusto itinere et ponte cum oppido conjungitur. In hac sunt insula domicilia Aegyptiorum et vicus oppidi magnitudine; quaeque ibi cum-que naves imprudentia aut tempestatæ paulum suo cursu decesserunt, has more praedonum diripere consuerunt. Iis autem invitatis a quibus Pharus tenetur, non potest esse prop-ter angustias navibus introitus in portum. Hoc tum veritus
NOTES.
REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN THE

NOTES.

Unless otherwise specified, all dates are B.C. References to the Bellum Civile are made either by page and line of this edition (e.g. p. 13, 6), or by book and chapter (e.g. iii, 79); to the Bellum Gallicum by the latter only. The current abbreviations of grammatical terms generally explain themselves; the following only may need notice:

App. = Appendix.
B. G. = Bellum Gallicum.
Cf. = confer, compare.
ff. = (and) following.
G. = Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar (1881).
H. = Harkness's Latin Grammar (1881).
Int. = Introduction.
lit. = literal, literally.
O. O. = Oratio Obliqua.
O. R. = Oratio Recta.
sc. = scilicet, understand.
subj. = subject, subjective.
subjv. = subjunctive.
NOTES.

BOOK I.

A. OUTBREAK OF THE CIVIL WAR. CHAP. I—VI.

CHAP. I. Caesar's letter the consuls allow to be read before the senate, but refuse to let a vote be taken upon its propositions. Lentulus and Scipio speak against Caesar and for Pompey. (Jan. 1st, B.C. 49, A.U.C. 705.)

Lines 1–4. Litteris ... redditis: abl. abs., after the letter from Gaius Caesar had been, etc., G. 409; Gr. 255, Note; H. 431, 2. For the letter spoken of, see last lines of Introduction.—consulibus: Lucius Lentulus and Gaius Marcellus the younger, elected for the year 49 because they were enemies of Caesar. See for these and all other prominent characters the biographies in Appendix I.—redditis: = traditis, losing the force of the re-. In iii. 79, Caesar uses the word in the sense of render, make.—aegre... recitarentur: with difficulty was permission extorted from them... to have it read in the senate. 2. impetratum est: used as an impersonal in the passive (G. 199, R. 2; Gr. 146, c; H. 301, 1), having for its subject the clause ut... recitarentur. G. 557 (adverbial sentence of tendency); Gr. 332, a; H. 501, i, 1.—tribunorum plebis: Marc Antony and Quintus Cassius. See App. I, and App. II, 7.—contentione: effort, G. 401; Gr. 248, R.; H. 419, iii. 3. recitarentur: G. 510; Gr. 286; H. 493, 1.—vero: and indeed, G. 489; Gr. 156, k.; H. 569, iii.—ex litteris: in accordance with the letter. The regular phrase for making a motion to the senate is seen in the next sentence, de aliqua re referre. The consuls, as presiding officers, had the right of refusing to put a question to vote. Cf. App. II, 11. 4. referretur: a passive impersonal containing its own subject, and with ut vero, etc. forming the subject of potuit, on which impetrari depends; that a motion should be made, or, permission to make a motion... could not be extorted. Cf. impetratum est... ut recitarentur above.
CAESAR’S CIVIL WAR.

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4–10. Referunt: G. 220; Cr. 276, d; H. 467, iii, 1.—de republica infinite: about the condition of the state in general, so as to avoid motions based on Caesar's definite propositions (referre de singulis rebus finite), which would be likely to pass. Appendix II, 5, b.

5. senatui reique publicae: with non defuturum (desum), G. 345; Gr. 231, a; H. 386. 6. se: G. 521; Gr. 196, a; H. 449,1.—From se non defuturum to receptum (10), we have an example of indirect quotation, indirect discourse (Oratio Obliqua). Something is stated not as a fact, but only as thought or said by some one. The Latin, in such a case, changes all the leading sentences of the person quoted from the indicative into the infinitive, and puts all the subordinate sentences (and all commands) into the subjunctive. Remembering that indirect discourse “reports not the exact words spoken, but the general impression produced,” we may say that the original language (Oratio Recta) of Lentulus here reported by Caesar was senatui reique publicae non deero si...vultis (or volunt). When this is put in indirect form by Caesar, and made to depend on pollicetur, deero in the leading sentence becomes defuturum (esse), and vultis (or volunt) in the subordinate clause becomes velint. If Caesar had used pollicetur according to its sense as a historical tense, velint would have been vellent. G. 511, R. 1; Gr. 287, e; H. 495, ii.—The clause se non defuturum serves as object to pollicetur. G. 527; Gr. 330,1; H. 535, i. —non deesse can be translated to help, by Litotes. G. 448, R. 2; Gr. 209, c; H. 637, viii. 7. sin...respiciant atque...sequantur: correspond to si velint above, and se...capturum (esse) neque...obtemperaturum (esse) to se non defuturum (esse), though the infinitives now depend on an idea of threatening to be supplied from pollicetur.—respiciant, sequantur: have regard for, aim to secure. 8. ut...fecerint: as they had done. If pollicetur were used as a historical tense, fecerint would be fecissent. Cf. si...velint above.—sibi consilium capturum (esse) would take measures for his own safety, look out for his own interests.—neque: and not. G. 482; Gr. 156, a; H. 310,1. 10. habere: dependent on the idea of declaring implied in pollicetur.—quoque: G. 481; Gr. 151, a; H. 569, iii.—receptum: acc. sing. of receptus, 4th decl.; habere receptum ad aliquem, to have a retreat, i.e. to be able to retreat to any one. Cf. B. G. vi, 9, ne ad eos Ambiorix receptum haberet. Lentulus threatens to ally himself with Caesar against the senate, if he cannot bring the senate to hostile measures against Caesar.

11–14. in eandem sententiam: to the same effect.—Pompeio: G. 349; Gr. 231; H. 387. 12. esse: after loquitur, which it really serves as object, having non deesse as its own subject; that Pompey pur-
posed to help the state if the senate followed his lead. 13. lenius: 11
compar. of leniter; agere lenius, act too slowly. G. 312,2; Gr.
93, a; H. 444,1. 14. senatum: subj. of imploraturum (esse).

CHAP. II. The senate is at last forced into voting that Caesar must
dismiss his army or be held a public enemy. The two tribunes
who are Caesar's friends interpose a veto, which the senate
threatens to disregard. (Jan. 1st and 2d.)

15-25. quod: from the fact that, because, G. 540; Gr. 331; H. 516,
i.—aderat: was near by. As proconsul of the Spanish provinces and
at the head of an army, it was illegal for him to enter the city. 16.
mitti: to issue.—aliquis: here and there one. 17. ut: as for instance.
So in ll. 21 and 25.—primo: he was afterwards frightened out of this
position. Cf. page 2, 3-4.—M. Marcellus: consul in 51, to be distin-
guished from Gaius Marcellus his brother, now consul, and also from
his cousin of the same name who had been consul in 50. See App.
I.—ingressus in eam orationem: who spoke to the following effect,
made the following speech, viz. non oportere... auderet; ingredi
in aliquid, to engage in, to perform anything. 18. oportere:
infin. in O. O. depending on the idea of saying implied in the pre-
ceding phrase. Its subject is referri, which is used impersonally like
referretur in 4; that a motion ought not to be made, etc.—ante...
quam: G. 570; Gr. 262; H. 520, footnote 1.—ea re: the matter of
requiring Caesar to dismiss his army, which would be a virtual decla-
386; Gr. 258, f; H. 425,2.—habiti (essent), conscripti essent: sub-
junctives in a subordinate clause of O. O., representing the fut. perf.
ind. of O. R. G. 578; Gr. 327, a; H. 525,2. 20. quo praesidio: i.e.
uteo praesidio. G. 632; Gr. 317; H. 497.—(ea) quae vellet: G. 666;
Gr. 422; H. 529, ii.; for the omission of the antecedent, G. 621; Gr. 200,
c; H. 445,6.—habiti and conscripti essent, vellet, auderet, conform
in tense to dixerat. In the O. R. they are conscripti erunt,
velit, auderet. 21. censebat: proposed.—ut... proficisceretur:
G. 546; Gr. 331, d; H. 498, i. 22. provincias: Hispania Citerior and
H. Ulterior. See Int. 7.—ne esset: G. 545,3; Gr. 317; H. 497, ii.—
armorum: = belli. 23. timere: O. R. depending on the saying
implied in censebat. Its subject is Caesarem.—ereptis... legionibus:
abl. abs., now that two legions had been taken away from him. In 53,
while the two men were still on friendly footing, Pompey had lent
Caesar a legion to help make good heavy losses in Gaul. B. G. vi, 1.
In 50, the enemies of Caesar got the senate to pass a decree calling
upon him and Pompey to contribute one legion apiece for the Parthian war, and Pompey, who had at last recognized in Caesar his strongest rival, demanded the return of the borrowed legion. Caesar, though he saw that the design of the whole thing was simply to weaken him, sent both legions to Rome, where they were now retained under Pompey’s command. See Int. 8.—ne...videtur: G. 552; Gr. 331, f; H. 498, iii; lest Pompey should openly keep and hold these back, etc. 24. ad ejus periculum: to endanger him (Caesar); ejus and eo (23), not sui and se, which would refer to Calidius. G. 521; Gr. 196, a; H. 449,1. —ad urbem: near the city. 25. paucis...rebus: abl. abs., with only a few changes. 1. sequebatur: adopted, seconded.

2-12. correpti exagitabantur: were assailed and overwhelmed. G. 667, R. 1; Gr. 292, R; H. 549,5. 3. pronuntiaturum...negavit: utterly refused to put to vote. App. II, 5, b. 4. sua sententia: p. 11, 18-21.—vocibus, terrore, minis: G. 483, 2; Gr. 208, b; H. 554,6; the majority (plerique), driven to it by the cries of the consul, etc., against their wills and under compulsion adopt the motion of Scipio.

7. uti...dimittat: the complementary or object purpose of the censeo implied in sententiam. Cf. ut...proficisceretur, p. 11, 21.—uti...videri: O. O. after the idea of declaring implied in the vote of the senate, the infin, having eum as subject, and representing videatur in O. R. G. 598; Gr. 307, b; H. 509; videor was used “in official decisions, as a guarded opinion, instead of a positive declaration.”

9. Intercedit: G. 281, Exc. 1; Gr. 205, d; H. 463, i; entered his veto. See App. II, 7. 10. refertur: the motion was to ignore the veto as an illegal interference. 11. ut quisque...ita: G. 645, R. 2; Gr. 107; H. 458,2. 12. quam maxime: G. 317; Gr. 93, b; H. 444,3; the more bitterly...so much the more especially, etc.

Chap. III. The senate is dismissed (Jan. 2d) without deciding upon the legality of the tribunes’ veto. Pompey’s friends are rallied in such numbers for the next session (Jan. 5th), that Caesar’s friends are overawed. Some however venture to propose that the senate communicate further with Caesar.

NOTES.—BOOK I.

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sense the word denotes the N. W. part of the forum, where the tribes
formerly assembled to vote.—tribunis: sc. militum. See App.
III, 9. 20. evocatis: veterans, called forth from their retirement.
See App. III, 12. 20. necessarii: followers, whether kinsmen or not.
21. inimicitias cum aliquo gerere: to be on bad terms with any
one. 23. infirmiores: the less resolute of the senators, dubii, the
wavering friends of Pompey.—plerisque: with eripitur. G. 346, last
Ex.; Gr. 229; H. 386,2.—decernendi: of voting, used of the individual
senator’s act; in p. 11, 20, of the whole senate’s.

24–28. censor, praetor: App. II, 10, 13. 25. qui... doceant:
G. 632; Gr. 317; H. 497, i. Translate by an infinitive. 26. sex dies
... spatii: G. 367; Gr. 216, a, 1; H. 397,1; six days’ term or time,
three to go to Ravenna (p. 13, 29), and three to return. Both time and
space are denoted by spatium.—ad eam rem consiciendam: G. 428;
Gr. 296, 300; H. 542, iii, 544,1. 27. nonnullis: G. 448, R. 4; Gr.
150; H. 553,1.—ut... mittantur: follows in the object relation the
multi censebant implied in the preceding passive phrase. See
on uti... dimittat, p. 12, 7. These sentences may be regarded also as
substantive appositive. 28. qui... proponant: cf. qui... doceant,
l. 25.

CHAP. IV. But Caesar’s enemies refuse, especially Cato, Lentulus and
Scipio, whose motives for wishing war are explained, as well as
those of Pompey.

29–34. resistitur: G. 345, R. 3; Gr. 230; H. 384,5. 31. Caesaris:
G. 361,2; Gr. 217; H. 396, iii.—dolor repulsae: the chagrin arising
from his defeat, viz. in his canvass for the consulship. See Biog. G.
361,1; Gr. 214; H. 396, ii. 32. aeris alieni: gen. of aes alienum,
the money of another, i.e. debts. If war was successfully made against
Caesar, Lentulus could hope for tabulae novae, i.e. official release
of debtors from their debts, and he would be sure of the customary
province after his consulship, from which to extort wealth. Cf. App.
II, 12. 33. regum appellandorum largitionibus: by the prospective
bribes for entitling kings, i.e. of those who wished the title of king.
The senate voted the title of rex, or amicus populi Romani,
or both, to a foreign prince whom it wished to keep on friendly terms,
and was often induced to do this by bribes. Cf. App. II, 1. Lentulus
thought that in case of war such titles would be bestowed more freely
than usual, and that the customary bribes would pass through his
hands, as consul and presiding officer of the senate.—appellandorum:
= quas ex appellando reges capturus sit. G. 429; Gr. 298;
12 H. 542, i, 544; 1.—alterum fore Sullam: that he would be a second Sulla, i.e. would lead the aristocratic party to power again. 34. ad quem...redet: to whom the sovereignty would fitly fall. G. 633; Gr. 320; H. 500, i. The same in O. R.

36—p. 13, 3. pro necessitudine: by virtue of his relationship. Pompey had married Scipio's daughter Cornelia after the death of Julia. See on illo...tempore, p. 13, 6. 1. judiciorum metus: Scipio feared the courts, because if men of Caesar's party should get power in them, he might be convicted of some of his notorious political briberies.—adulatio atque ostentatio: each of these nouns is limited by both the genitives sui and potentium; his flattery was exercised on himself as well as on the men of influence, and he made a display of his friendship with them, as well as of himself. 3. plurimum: G. 331, R. 3; Gr. 240, a; H. 378,2.

4—9. quod: as in p. 11, 15.—dignitate: G. 398; Gr. 253; H. 424.—secum: G. 414, R. 1; Gr. 99, e; H. 184,6. 5. totum: adverb, like plurimum above.—ejus: because gen. as Caesaris, p. 12, 31.—cum aliquo in gratiam redire: to become reconciled to one. 6. illo affinitatis tempore: G. 292,2; Gr. 102, b; H. 450,4. About 59, Pompey married Caesar's daughter Julia. She died in 54, and the enmity between the two men began soon after. See Int. 5, 7. 7. injunxerat Caesar: had loaded upon C. 8. legionum: see on repulsae, p. 12, 31; the disgrace coming upon him from the detention of, etc. See also on p. 11, 23.—Asiae Syriaeque: into Asia and Syria. G. 357, R. 1; Gr. 217; H. 396, iii. The genitives might be represented by adjectives, Asiatico, Syriaco. G. 357; Gr. page 146, note; H. 393. 9. dominatumque: G. 478; Gr. 156, a; H. 554, i, 2.—rem...studebat: was eager to have the matter (the question between Caesar and the senate) brought to the issue of war. Contrast ad otium deduci, l. 30.

CHAP. V. No delay is granted Caesar or his friends, but a decree virtually declaring war is hurried through the senate, when Caesar's tribunes fly the city to escape violence, and join him at Ravenna (Jan. 7th).

10—17. His de causis: G. 415; Gr. 345, a; H. 569, ii, 1. 11. docendi Caesaris: the gerundive construction (p. 12, 33) dependent on spatium; time to inform C. 12. periculi deprecandi, extremi juris...retinendi: also gerundive constructions, but dependent on facultas, l. 14, power to avert, to retain, etc. 13. intercessionem: denotes the means of retinendi, to retain their highest right by exercising the veto.
The opportunity to exercise their highest right, viz. the veto, amounts of course to a retention of it. See p. 12, 9. The veto is set aside, and the tribunes threatened with violence.—quod reliquerat: “the tribunician authority had arisen out of the right to annul the official acts of the magistrates by veto, and, eventually, to fine any one who should oppose that right and take steps for his farther punishment; this was still left to the tribunes, excepting that a heavy fine, destroying as a rule a man’s civil existence, was imposed on the abuse of the right of intercession.” 14. septimo die: i.e. of this debate, which had begun Jan. 1st. But as the tribunes came into office on the 10th of Dec., the debate was virtually the beginning of their official career. 15. quod: object of respicere and timere. Its antecedent is the phrase de sua salute... cogitare, a thing which, etc. G. 610, R. 2; Gr. 200, e; H. 445, 7.—illi...plebis: those notorious (cf. illo, l. 6) tribunes of former times who were most factious. Caesar means the brothers Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, who were killed by the senatorial party at the close of their tribuneships, the first 133 B.C., the second ten years after, having devoted their lives to the cause of the poorer classes in Rome, upon whom they tried to have part of the public lands bestowed which the aristocrats were monopolizing. Lucius Saturninus may also be included, a corrupt demagogue, who, after a long and bloody career in Roman politics, was killed by a senatorial mob in 100 B.C., at the close of his second tribuneship.—turbulentissimi: contains a contrast to the moderate demands of Caesar’s tribunes. 16. denique: = demum, only, not until. 17. actionum: official acts. Even tribunes who had tried unlawful changes, had not been threatened with punishment until the close (twelfth month) of their sacred office.

17-22. Decurritur ad: hasty recourse was had to, etc. 18. The senatus consultum ultimum was a decree of the senate in times of civil dissensions, giving the consuls, and sometimes other magistrates expressly mentioned, a dictatorial power “exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque eives, domi militiaeque imperium atque judicium summum habere.” It was expressed in the words “videant, or dent operam consules (praetores etc.) ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat,” or “ut imperium populi Romani majestasque conservetur.”—quo: adverb; whither, to which the state had never before resorted, except, I had almost said (paene), in an actual (ipso) conflagration of the city, and amid a universal despair of safety. 19. omnium salutis: G. 361, R. 2; Gr. 217, b; H. 398, 2. 20. dent...capiat: the actual decree. It is given in O. O. p. 14, 31.—dent: G. 256, 3; Gr. 266; H. 484, iv. 21.
qui... sint: G. 633; Gr. 320; H. 503, i. Pompey is of course specially meant. 22. detrimenti: G. 371; Gr. 216, a, 3; H. 397, 3.—capiat: negative purpose after the verbal phrase dent operam. G. 546; Gr. 331; H. 498, ii.

22-30. Haec senatusconsulito perscribuntur ante diem septimum
Idus Januarias: these things were officially recorded in accordance with the senate’s decree, or, this decree of the senate was put in writing on the seventh of Jan. Cf. App. II, 5, b, end. For the Roman date, G. page 337; Gr. 376; H. 642-644. 24. diebus: G. 392; Gr. 256; H. 429. Jan. 1st, 2d, 5th, 6th and 7th.—qua ex die: = ex ea die qua, counting from the day when. G. 618; Gr. 200, b; H. 445, 9. See also on 1. 10. 25. biduo—comitiali: abl. abs., omitting the two election days. On these it was unusual for the senate to convene. The two days, Jan. 3d and 4th, were probably occupied with the preparations described in p. 12, 16-22.—et de... decernitur: a most important and hostile decree was passed, regarding both... and...

29. Ravennae: G. 412; Gr. 258, c; H. 425, ii. An ancient town in S. E. Gallia Cispadana, built, like Venice, partly in the water. At this time it was small and unimportant, but under Augustus it was enlarged and beautified. In the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. it became the chief city of Italy, but declined with the rise of the Papal power. 30. si... posset: to see if in any way, etc. G. 462, 2; Gr. 334, f; H. 529, 1, N. 1.—qua: abl. and adv., not nom. as in p. 11, 22.—res ad otium deduci: cf. l. 9.

Chap. VI. Pompey encourages the senate by exaggerating his own forces and depreciating Caesar’s, so that it votes to raise levies in all Italy and put the public money into his hands. The provinces are given to his supporters. (Jan. 8th and 9th.)

32—p. 14, 6. quae... ostenderat: p. 11, 11-14. 34. habere: see on timere, p. 11, 23. —legiones... decem: it is uncertain whether Pompey means to include his seven veteran legions in Spain or not. As he had received the privilege of raising troops in the previous October, and is evidently over- rather than underrating his forces, the number may refer to troops in Italy alone, including the two legions taken from Caesar.—cognitum compertumque (esse): that it was ascertained and known by him, a repetition of the same verbal idea for emphasis; that he knew very well. The subjects are the infin. clauses following, that Caesar’s soldiers were (esse) disloyal to him, and could (posse) not be induced to defend him, or even to follow him. 35. alieno... animo: G. 402; Gr. 251; H. 419, ii. 36. iis: dat. after
the impers. pass. persuaderi, which depends on posse; literally, and that it could not be persuaded them.—uti...sequantur: subject of posse. 2. habeatur, mittatur, detur: dependent on refertur, with ut supplied. Gr. 331, f, R.; H. 499, 2; see on ut...proficisceretur, p. 11, 21, and cf. refertur...ut...sit, below, ll. 3 and 4.—Mauritaniam: a country on the N.W. coast of Africa, now Morocco and Algiers, subject respectively to Spain and France. Its princes at this time were two brothers, Bocchus and Bogud, friends of Caesar, and soon after this made “kings” by him. See on p. 12, 33. Sulla would try to win them over to Pompey, who would then control their country’s immense corn supplies. 3. pecunia: abl. with uti, G. 405; Gr. 249; H. 421, i; that the use of the money...be given, etc. 4. socius atque amicus: see on p. 12, 33.—Marcellus: the present consul; see note on p. 11, 17. 5. passurum (esse) in praesentia: would not allow it to be put to vote at present. Marcellus may have thought it dangerous to bring these powerful Numidian and Mauritanian princes together, even as allies of the senate, for they might combine against it.—De Fausto: Philip vetoed the embassy of Faustus. This Philip was a son of the one mentioned in l. 9. Besides this action in Caesar’s favor, we know only that he was praetor in 44. 6. De reliquis rebus: the motions to raise levies in all Italy, and to put the public money at Pompey’s disposal, pass, and are formally recorded after the session. See on p. 13, 22.

7-18. decernuntur: were sorted out for, i.e. the senate decided which provinces should be governed by ex-consuls, and which by ex-praetors. These ex-magistrates are meant by privatis. They afterward decided by mutual agreement or by lot, what particular man should have each province. 9. praeter euntur: because they were connections of Caesar. As consuls of longer standing, they would naturally have been preferred before Scipio (52) and Domitius (54), according to Pompey’s own law. Cf. App. II. 12. 10. dejiciuntur: sc. in urnam; they were not allowed to take part in the lot. 11. neque: its correspondent is—que in l. 13; neither...and, = and not...but. G. 482, R. 2; Gr. 156, A; H. 554, i, 5.—exspectant: they, i.e. all who had received provinces, proconsuls and propraetors.—quod: its antecedent is the sentence in the midst of which it stands. See on p. 13, 15. 12. ut...feratur: object of exspectant. They did not wait to have their command conferred upon them, or ratified by vote of the people. 13. paludatique: but they donned their general’s cloak, performed their vows to Jupiter on the Capitol, and set out. Cf. App. III, 3, a, 6. 14. quod: cf. quod in l. 11.—numquam: rhetorical exaggeration certainly, for it was only since the time of Sulla that the consuls were.
required to pass their year of actual office in the city. Wars were more and more managed by proconsuls and praetors. 15. *lictores:* the object, and *privi:* the subject of *habent;* for *privi,* see on *decernuntur,* l. 7. These ex-magistrates (Caesar will not recognize their assumed authority enough to call them proconsuls and praetors), appeared in the city with the symbols of their authority, which was unlawful without a special decree of the people, and the people had not even voted them their authority. See on *aderat,* p. 11, 15. 17. *fanis:* the votive offerings of worshippers made popular temples storehouses of vast treasures. 18. *omnia . . . permiscantur:* Notice these last five sentences without any connective (Asyndeton). Such an omission gives an impression of haste and excitement. Caesar reaches here the climax in his description of the hostile and illegal acts of Pompey and his party. In the next chapter the scene changes abruptly from Rome to Ravenna.

B. THE CAMPAIGN IN ITALY. CHAP. VII—XXXIII.


Chap. VII. Caesar addresses the soldiers of the 13th legion—setting forth his wrongs, the ingratitude of Pompey, the revolutionary acts of his enemies—and summons them to avenge him and the tribunes of the people.

20–29. *Quibus rebus cognitis:* by private messenger Caesar could have heard of the senate's declaration of war (chap. 5) by Jan. 12th; see on p. 12, 26. He seems however to have waited several days (cf. *proximis diebus,* p. 13, 31) before making this speech to his soldiers, until news of the preparations for war, described in chap. 6, reach him. Meanwhile his other legions are coming up. It is not until the 20th, after he has crossed the Rubicon and occupied Ariminum, that he gets official notice of the senate's decree against him. See on p. 15, 13. For *quibus,* see G. 612; Gr. 201, e; H. 456. *Milites:* cf. p. 15, 5–7. 21. *omnia temporum, inimicorum:* both limit injurias, the first as gen. of quality, G. 364; Gr. 215; H. 396, v. The second ? 22. *deductum ac depravatum:* sc. esse. G. 653; Gr. 336; H. 523, i. 23. *cujus:* = *cum ejus,* i.e. Pompey's, and would be followed by the subjv. (*cujus faverim*) even in O. R. G. 637; Gr. 320, o; H. 515, *i.* 24. *adjutorque fuerit:* = *adjuveritque.* See on p. 17, 35, *lege Julia.* 25. *introductum:* cf. *deductum,* etc., in l. 23.—ut . . . *oppriveretur:* simple result, G. 554, or explaining *exemplum.* Gr.
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332, f; H. 501, iii. Translate freely, that of branding, etc. The tense shows that queritur is now treated as a historical tense; contrast its use in the preceding sentence. G. 511, R. 1; Gr. 287, e; H. 495, ii. 26. quae... restituta: by Pompey himself. Int. 4. 27. Sullam... ademisse: sc. queritur.—nudata... potentate: abl. abs.—omnibus rebus: in every way. Caesar uses this adverbial phrase quite often as = omnibus modis (p. 65, 31); cf. p. 18, 8, p. 23, 31. G. 401; Gr. 248, R.; H. 419, iii. 28. liberam: pred. adj. G. 324; Gr. 186, b; H. 438, ii. 29. Pompeium: by the action of his supporters, chap. 5, who had gone further than even Sulla.—videatur: is thought, has the reputation of, etc. indie, in 0. R.—bona: the tribunitial powers taken away by Sulla.—(ea) quae ante habuerint: the tribunitial powers left by Sulla. G. 621; Gr. 195, b; H. 445, 6.—habuerint = habuerunt in 0. R. Its subj. is (they, i.e.) a pron. referring to the Roman people.

30—p. 15, 1. Quotienscumque... occupatis: O. O. after a querit tur supplied; factum (esse)... occupatis is the prnc. and therefore infin. clause, quotienscumque sit decretum is a subord. and therefore subjv. clause, to which the sentence darent... caperet (its form in O. R. may be seen p. 13, 20-22) serves as subject, and this subj. clause is qualified by another subord. and parenthetical clause, qua... sit vocatus. 33. in: in the case of.—perniciosis legibus: the agrarian laws of the Gracchi (see on illi... plebis, p. 13, 15) caused bitter conflicts between the popular and aristocratic parties. In 121 a tumult arose from an attempt to abolish them, and the senate passed the decree de consule, etc. The popular party withdrew (secessione) to Mt. Aventinus, which, like the Capitol and the temples (loquisque editioribus), was often the scene of political struggles. In one of these, which took place on the Capitol in 100, Saturninus was killed.—vi tribunicia: as when Tiberius Gracchus unlawfully tried to depose a hostile colleague, or to have himself re-elected tribune, though in these particular cases we read of no senatus consultum ultimum. 35. expiata (esse): depends on docet, sc. Caesar. 36. casibus: deaths.—quarum rerum: viz. legibus, vi, secessione. 1. 15 illo tempore: at the present time. In O. O. the pronoun would be hoc. G. 663, 3; H. 526.—factum, cogitatum: depend on docet.—ne... quidem: G. 447, R. 2; Gr. 151, e; H. 569, iii, 2.

2-6. cujus... pacaverint: a relative clause preceding its correlative ejus (4) for emphasis. G. 622; Gr. 201, c; H. 453, 2. The object of hortatur (1) is the clause ut... defendant, which should be translated first: he exhorts them to defend... of him (ejus) under whose (cujus) command, etc. (lit. under the lead of whom as general). viii annis: the campaigns in Gaul from 58 to 49. Int. 6.—rempubli
Cam gérere: here = bellum reipublicae causa gérere. 5. legionis xiii: Caesar had sent it from Gaul into the province north of Italy (Gallia Cisalpina) in place of the 15th, which the senate had taken ostensibly for the Parthian war. See on p. 11, 28, B. G. viii, 54. 6. evocaverat: sc. ex hibernis.


Chap. VIII. Assured of their support, Caesar crosses the Rubicon and advances to Ariminum. Here messengers from Rome come to him, bearing the decrees of the senate, and certain private messages from Pompey (about Jan. 20th).

9-14. Ariminum: G. 342, 2; Gr. 258, b; H. 380, ii. The first town in Umbria south of the Rubicon (the boundary between Italy and the province), and of the greatest military importance, since it commanded the province to the north, Etruria to the west, the whole eastern seaboard, and a direct road (via Flaminia) to Rome. Caesar’s first step was a telling one. Plutarch, in his life of Caesar, makes quite a dramatic scene out of the crossing of the Rubicon. Caesar does not even mention it. 10. confugerant: p. 13, 27. 11. reliquas legiones: four from among the Belgians, and four from among the Aedui in Gaul. B. G. viii, 54. Of these however only two, the 12th (p. 18, 12) and 8th (p. 19, 26), join him in the Italian campaign, making, with the 13th (p. 15, 5), the three veteran legions (p. 22, 33) which were at the siege of Corfinium and afterwards at Brundisium. The rest of his forces were raw recruits (pp. 19, 27; 22, 33). Of the remaining six legions now summoned out of their winter quarters in Gaul, Caesar afterwards sent three to winter near Narbo (p. 28, 29), on the road to Spain, where Pompey had seven veteran legions, and three to winter somewhere between Narbo and their former quarters among the Aedui (p. 28, 33), while he relied more and more on now recruits and on deserters and prisoners from Pompey’s troops, to master Italy. 12. eo: thither. 13. reliquo sermone: the announcement of the senate’s decrees; see on p. 14, 20.—cujus rei causa: G. 372; Gr. 245, c; H. 416, footnote 2. 14. privati officii mandata: commissions in a private capacity, of a private nature; obj. of habere. For the gen. see on temporum, p. 14, 21.

15–23. velle, habuisse (18), debere: 0, 0, in appos. with, or dependent on a verb of saying implied in mandata; see on videri, p. 12, 7.—se. Caesari purgatum (esse): to be justified in Caesar’s eyes. The dat. is that of the person with reference to whom anything is done.
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G. 343; Gr. 235; H. 384, 4, N. 3. 16. egerit: the same in O. R. G. 681; 15 Gr. 342; H. 529, ii. Its subj. is a pron. referring to Pompey.—in . . . verat: he (i.e. Caesar) construe as a personal insult. 17. reipublicae commodae: the public interests; obj. of habuisse.—necessitudinis: with the pred. adj. potiora. G. 399; Gr. 247; H. 417. 18. pro sua dignitate: as befitted his high position. 19. reipublicae: to lay aside in the interests of the state both his selfish aims (studium) and his anger, and not (neque), etc. 20. cum (qu. u.m)... speret: = sperat in O. R. The fut. infin. is more common with spero in the sense of hope, expect. With the pres. infin. it may be translated think, flatter oneself that one is doing something. 22. Eadem: obj. of agit and commemorasse. For the latter, G. 151, 1; Gr. 128, a; H. 233. 23. agere cum aliquo: to state to anyone. —Roscius: p. 12, 25.—sibique . . . demonstrat: and declared that Pompey had communicated them to him.

CHAP. IX. Caesar replies, proposing that Pompey go to his provinces, that both armies disband, and that the government be freed from military influence; he thinks these matters can be arranged in an interview.

24–28. Quae . . . videbantur: although these things (Pompey’s messages) manifestly had no reference to, etc. See on Quibus, p. 14, 20.— nihil: G. 331, R. 3; Gr. 235; H. 378, 2. 25. idoneos . . . per quos: idoneus is followed in Caesar by the dat., by ad with acc., or, as here, by qui and the subjv. G. 556, R. 2; Gr. 320, f; H. 503, ii, 2; per quos = ut per eos. Translate freely by the active: suitable men to convey, etc.—nactus: G. 609; Gr. 292; H. 549, 1. The word often denotes, in Caesar, some unexpectedly favorable gain. 26. ea quae vellet: his wishes; cf. quae vellet, p. 11, 20.—eum: Pompey. 27. petit . . . ne graventur: G. 546; Gr. 331, a; H. 498, i.—detulerint: G. 541; Gr. 321, a; H. 516, ii; since, as he said, they had conveyed, etc. 28. si . . . possint: (to see) if they could, etc. See on posset, p. 13, 30.

30—p. 16, 4. Sibi semper, etc.: the rest of this chap. is ind. disc. dependent on a word of declaring implied in petit (27). Apply G. 653; Gr. 336; H. 523, 524.—primam, potiore: pred. adjs., the latter followed by vita, as potiora, in l. 18, by necessitudinibus. Indeed this whole sentence seems almost an echo of that. 31. quod: because.—populi Romani beneficium: the privilege of standing for office while away from the city, as explained by cujus . . . jussisset below. Cf. Int. 8. 32. sibi: see on plerisque, p. 12, 28.—per contumeliam:
CAESAR’S CIVIL WAR.

Pompey replies that he will not go to Spain until Caesar retires to his province and disbands his army, and that the levies in Italy will continue till Caesar gives surety that he will keep his promises.

14. Capuam: see on Ariminum, p. 15, 9. The chief city of Cam-
pannia, large and wealthy. Originally Etruscan, it was conquered first by the Samnites, and then, in 340, by the Romans. 16. scripta...mandata: propositions in writing. 17. summa: the substance.
—Caesar...delectus (21): O. O. in apposition with haec, the tenses as dependent on the historical tense erat.—reverteretur, excederet, dimitteret: see on proficiscatur, l. 6. 18. fecisset, esset data: fut. perfs in O. R. G. 516, 660,4; Gr. 286, R., end; H. 525,2. 20. facturum (esse): depends on fides, surety.—quae polliceretur: pollicatur in O. R. G. 631; Gr. 342; H. 529, ii.

CHAP. XI. The injustice of Pompey’s demands, and the hopelessness of a conference with him, lead Caesar to continue his advance (Jan. 26th).

21–28. Erat: the subj. is postulare, and the following infins. tenere, velle, habere, polliceri, definire. We anticipate such infin. subjects in English by “it;” it was an unfair proposition to demand, etc. The subj. of postulare is a pronoun referring to Pompey, with which ipsum (23) agrees; while he himself held, etc. 23. alienas: Caesar’s; cf. l. 2.—tenere: and yet remain at Rome with his army, to influence the politics of the state, and especially the coming consular elections. 24. habere: sc. ipsum; while he himself, etc. 25. neque...definire: but not to fix a day before which he would return; diem, the antec. of quem, has been incorporated into the relative clause. G. 618; Gr. 200, b; H. 445,9.—iturus sit: partial ind. disc. after definire, preserving the tense of the speaker, for greater liveliness of style. G. 657; H. 525,1. 26. consulatu: that which Caesar wished to canvass for in the coming July, according to agreement. Int. 7.—ut...videretur: the purpose (in Pompey’s mind), and also the conclusion of si...non profectus esset. G. 660,6; Gr. 307, c; H. 525,2. The time of profectus esset is past only with reference to peracto consulatu; if, when Caesar’s consulship was over, he should not have gone.—nulla...obstrictus: fettered by no scruple against lying. Pompey’s declining to set a definite time for his departure, would leave the way clear for him to stay at Rome as long as he pleased without really breaking his word. Caesar with no office or command, could not compete with Pompey at the head of an army. 27. mendacii: obj. gen. 28. non dare neque...polliceri: subjects of afferebat; dare has tempus as its object, polliceri has (se) accessurum (esse), afferebat has desperationem; translate freely, rendered peace almost hopeless.
Itaque: Caesar represents that he waited for the reply of Pompey and the consuls before advancing; but Cicero’s letters represent the reply as following the flight of the consuls to Capua described in chap. 14, and the flight as caused by Caesar’s advance from Ariminum to Arretium, Ancona and Auximum, chap. 12-13.—ab: "the preposition is generally used when the vicinity, rather than the town itself is meant." G. 411, R. 1; Gr. 258, f, R; H. 412,3, Note. 30. cum: G. 391, R. 1; Gr. 248, a; H. 410, i, and i.—Arretium: one of the large towns of Etruria, on the direct road from Ariminum to Rome, commanding the valleys of the Tiber and Arnum, and the northern and western entrances to Italy.—Arimini: G. 412; Gr. 258, e; H. 425, ii. —duabus: se. cohortibus. 31. Pisaurum, Fanum (Fortunae): large towns of Umbria on the highway by the seacoast S. E. of Ariminum. From Fanum Fortunae the Via Flaminia led directly to Rome. 32. Ancōnam: a large seaport of Picenum, with a famous harbor protected by an elbow of land. Hence the name of the town (Gr. ἀκονὼν = elbow). Caesar obtains complete command of the country as he advances. He could march on Rome, or meet Pompey advancing against him, by every feasible route.

Chap. XII. Caesar sends Curio against Iguvium, which is abandoned to him, and then advances himself against Auximum, where soldiers were being recruited for Pompey by Attius Varus.

33. certior factus: this phrase is followed in Caesar by an infinitive clause as here, or by a subjv. clause, or by de with the abl. In other writers a gen. is also used.—Iguvium: a large and strong town in the heart of Umbria, a little west of the summit of the Apennines, just off the Via Flaminia.—Thermum: subj. of tenere; see App. I. 35. voluntatem: and that the sentiments of all the Iguvini were very friendly toward him. 36. mittit: se. eo, thither. 17—cujus: translate as = ejus vero; see on quibus, p. 14, 20. 1. diffusus: Caesar uses diffido with the dat. only, but confido (4) with the abl. of the thing, and the dat. of the person or an expression implying persons.—voluntati: cf. p. 16, 35. 3. domum: G. 410; Gr. 258, b; H. 380, ii, 2.—summa ... voluntate: with the greatest good will on the part of all; voluntate here = bona voluntate; cmnium is subj. gen. 4. municipiorum: mentioned p. 16, 31-32. 6. Auximum: a strong town on a lofty hill about twelve miles S. W. of Ancona, commanding Picenum.—quod: see on cujus, p. 16, 36. 7. delectumque ... habebat: App. III, 1.
NOTES.—BOOK I.

CHAP. XIII. When the citizens of Auximum refuse to keep Caesar out, Varus abandons the town, is pursued by some of Caesar's soldiers, and deserted by his own troops.

9. decuriones: the name given to members of the senate in the free towns.—frequentes: in great numbers. 10. sui judicii: G. 365; Gr. 214, c; H. 403. —rem: cf. p. 13, 9; the question whether Caesar or Pompey was in the right. They had no wish to close their city against either. They thought the dispute was not for them to settle. 11. pati posse...prohiberi: could allow...to be kept out of, etc. 12. meritum: meroer.—tantis rebus gestis: abl. abs.; after such great exploits. 13. oppido moenibusque: from the town and its fortifications. G. 478; Gr. 156, a; H. 554, i, 2.—habeat: a command in O. R.; therefore he should have regard for, etc. See on p. 16, 6. 14. posteritatis: the future. 16. Hunc: Varus, as leader of his troops. —ex...milites: construe, pauci milites Caesaris ex primo ordine consecuti; for primo ordine see App. III, 2. 18. nonnulla pars: a considerable part. G. 448, R. 4; Gr. 150, a; H. 553, 1. 19. una: adv. —depressus: with adducitur; is brought as a prisoner. 20. primi pili centurio: the highest centurion in his legion; see App. III, 11, b. 21. ordinem: = pilum, or centuriam; App. III, ibid., and 2, a. 23. eorum facti: what they had done; the first is gen. subj., the second depends on memorem. G. 378; Gr. 218, a; H. 396, 1, 2.—fore: = futurum esse.

CHAP. XIV. The news of Caesar's advance causes such a fright at Rome, that the consuls and other officials hurry off to Capua, which they now make their headquarters. (Feb. 4th.)

24–32. Romam: when tidings of these events were brought to Rome; see on Ariminum, p. 15, 9. 25. invasit: sc. urbem.—cum...venisset: G. 586; Gr. 325; H. 521, i, 2. Lentulus returned to Rome from Capua, where the propositions of Caesar had been brought by Roscius, p. 16, 14. 25. aerarium: the treasure chamber for the public moneys, in a portion of the temple of Saturn, under the care of the quaestors (App. II, 8). A fund for special emergencies was kept apart in the aerarium sanctius (27), or special treasury. 26. senatusconsulto: p. 14, 3. 27. aperto...aerario: abl. abs. expressing time; after opening, etc. 28. Caesar: subj. of falsa nuntiabatur understood, or, with equites. subj. of nuntiabantur. Translate impersonally, it was falsely reported that, etc.—adventare: an intensified advenire. G. 787, 1; Gr. 167, b; H. 336.—jam jamque:
Caesar was said to be coming straightway, and his horsemen to be already there. 30. diei: depending on pridie = priore die. Gr. 214, g; H. 398, 5. 31. profectus iter...habebat: had set out and was on the way to, etc.—quas...acceptas...disposuerat: which he had received...and stationed.... G. 667, R. 1; Gr. 292, R; H. 549, 5. 32. hibernorum causa: ubi hibernarent:

34—p. 18, 4. primum: for the first time. G. 334, R. 7; Gr. 151, d: H. 304, i, 3; primo = at first, as p. 11, 17. 35. lege Julia: in accordance with, etc.; abl. of cause. Up to the year 59 Pompey had vainly tried to get the senate to help him fulfill his promises of land to his soldiers in the Mithridatic war. Disgusted with the senate Pompey turned to Caesar, then at the head of the popular party, and by his help got a law passed dividing the state lands in Campania among about 20,000 of the poorer Roman citizens who had families. Among these Pompey's veterans were largely provided for. Cf. Int. 4.—ducti erant: established in a colony at, etc. 1. ludo: in training; while Caesar was aedile (App. H, 9) in 65, he spent immense sums (of borrowed money) for games and shows to entertain the people. This training-school of gladiators was for such purposes.—productos: see on acceptas, p. 17, 31. 2. quos: obj. of distribuit (5); see on cujus, p. 16, 36. 3. quod: because.—reprehendebatur: "it was only twenty years since Spartacus, at the head of 30,000 gladiators, had waged a civil war in Italy not second to Hannibal's in its formidable character, and held command of the whole country for two years." These gladiators too, might prefer to fight for their master, Caesar. 4. circum familias conventus Campaniae: round among the slaves of the society of Campania. Conventus was the name given to a league or confederation of Roman citizens in a province or provincial town. Its object was to promote the business and social advantages of its members. The word also means a legal district in a province, and its court or assize.—custodiae causa: see on hibernorum causa, p. 17, 32.

Caesar's forces overrun all Picenum, and Pompey's officers and supporters, with as many soldiers as they can collect and keep, throw themselves into Corfinium.

5–12. Auximo: see on p. 17, 6. G. 411; Gr. 258, a; H. 412, ii. 6. praefecturae: Italian towns with the rights of Roman citizenship, but presided over by officers (praefecti) sent annually from Rome. A municipium, or a colonia, had its own senate (decuriones, p. 17, 9) and chief magistrates (duumviri, p. 22, 6). 8. omnibus
NOTES.—BOOK I.

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rebus: see on p. 14, 27.—quod oppidum: G. 618; Gr. 201, d; H. 445,9; as an antecedent proper, oppidum would be in the abl. in appos. with Cingulo. 9. suaque pecunia: the sale of Gallic prisoners of war into slavery had been a source of immense wealth to Caesar and his officers. 10. imperaverit: plupf. if pollicentur were used as a historical tense; see on fecisset, p. 16, 18. 11. imperat: mittunt: The asyndeton (see on p. 14, 18) expresses the promptness with which his commands were obeyed. 12. legio xii: see on p. 15, 11.—his duabus: the 12th and 13th, for Antony and Curio had probably joined him with their cohorts.—Asculum: a strong town in the heart of Picenum, distinguished by its adjective from a town of the same name in Apulia. It had been the capital of the country before its subjugation by the Romans in 268.

13–26. Lentulus Spinther: to be carefully distinguished from Lentulus the acting consul, whose surname was Crus. See App. I.—x cohortibus: equal in numbers to a legion, but not under organization as such. 16. deseritur: cf. p. 17, 17. Caesar’s fame as a general, won during his campaigns in Gaul, made soldiers either fear to fight against him, or long to fight for him.—incidit in: fell in with. 18. confirmandorum...causa: G. 429, R. 2; Gr. 298; H. 542, i; translate by an infin. as if = ut homines confirmaret, to encourage the inhabitants. 19. certior quae...gererentur: see on p. 16, 33. For the subjv. G. 469; Gr. 334; H. 529, i. 20. ipsum: their commander; Lentulus also goes to Corfinium. Cf. p. 21, 10 and 12. 23. in praesidio: in garrison.—quibus...efficit: and when these forces were united (cogo), he mustered thirteen (cohorts). 24. Domitium: p. 14, 8.—Corfinium: the English idiom is “to come to one at a place.” G. 410, R. 5. C. was the chief city of the Peligni, and commanded a direct road to Rome. It had been the capital of the confederates in the Social War, b. c. 90.—magnis itineribus: by forced marches; the abl. expresses manner and means. 26. per se: by his own efforts.—cincter: with numerals an adv.; about twenty.—Alba: abl. of “place from which,” with coegerat. The full name was Alba Fucensis, because near lake Fucinus. It was a town of the Aequi.

CHAP. XVI. Caesar spends a day at Asculum collecting men and stores, then presses on to Corfinium and encamps under its walls. (Feb. 13th.)

28. recepto: occupied; the re- losing its full force, as in redditis, p. 11, 1.—expulsoque Lentulo: cf. l. 14. 30. diem: G. 337; Gr. 256; H. 379. 31. Eo cum venisset: see on p. 15, 12, and 17, 25.—
CAESAR’S CIVIL WAR.

18 praemissae: translate by a relative clause. G. 671; Gr. 292; H. 549,4. 32. fluminis: the Aternus.—interrumpebant: were trying to break. G. 224; Gr. 277, e; H. 469, ii, 1. 33. milia: G. 308, 335,2; Gr. 94, e, 257; H. 178, 379.


CHAP. XVII. Domitius sends to Pompey for help, makes preparations to defend the city, and spurs up his soldiers by promising them great rewards.

19 1. ad Pompeium in Apuliam: to P. into, where we would say in Apulia. Cf. p. 17, 32, and see on p. 18, 24. 2. peritos regionum: so well acquainted with the country that they could evade Caesar’s outposts and sentinels.—magno...praemio: abl. abs.; under promise of a large reward. 3. qui petant atque orent: G. 632; Gr. 317; H. 497, i. Translate by the infin.—ut subveniat: G. 546; Gr. 331, a; H. 498, i. Translate here too by the infin.—Caesarem...posse: claiming that Caesar could, etc. 4. duobus exercitibus: that of Domitius himself, and the one he begs Pompey to send.—angustiis: G. 387; Gr. 248, 258, f; H. 425, ii, 1.—intercludi: the word is here used absolutely, hemmed in. Other constructions occur in Caesar, viz. acc. and abl. with a b, p. 31, 24, acc. and abl., p. 43, 10. Other writers use the acc. and dat. 5. fecerit: perf. subj. representing feceris (fut. perf.) in O. R. If dependent on a histor. tense it would have been fecisset; see on imperaverit, p. 18, 10. 6. amplius xxx: more than thirty. G. 311, R. 4; Gr. 247, c; H. 417,1, Note 2. Cf. p. 18, 23, 26. At first then the forces of Domitius outnumbered those of Caesar, who at this time had only two legions, i.e. twenty cohorts. 8. certasque cuique partes...attribuit: and assigned a fixed post to everyone.—ad custodiam urbis: = ad custodiendum urbem. 10. possessionibus: Domitius had acquired large property under Sulla. He was rich enough to fit out a private fleet, p. 27, 20-23.—in singulos: redundant after the distributive numeral quaterna. 11. pro rata (reor) parte: in accordance with a fixed proportion, proportionally. We use often the first two words of the phrase. Centurions and veterans received double the pay of an ordinary private soldier, and so probably double their share of a bonus. Cf. App. III, 12.

CHAP. XVIII. Antony takes possession of Sulmo for Caesar, who receives reinforcements from Gaul and determines to invest Corfinium. His works are nearly done when the messengers sent by Domitius to Pompey return.
NOTES.—BOOK I.

12–21. Sulmonenses quod oppidum: the name of the people is used for that of the town. With this oppidum would be in app. if not incorporated into the rel. clause. See on p. 18, 8. Sulmo lay S. E. of Corfinium, and was an important town of the Peligni. 13. millium: sc. passuum. The gen. limits intervallo, which is abl. of “measure of diff.” G. 400; Gr. 250; H. 423.—ea facere quae vellet: wished to do his will, i.e. to join his cause. See on imperaverit, p. 18, 10, and on ea quae vellet, p. 15, 26. 15. tenebant: an explanation added by the writer, not part of the O. O. G. 630, R. 1; Gr. 336, b; H. 524, 2. 17. simul atque:-like simul ac often written as one word; as soon as. 18. obviam ... exierunt: went forth to meet; the dat. Antonio is due to the prep. ob- in the verbal phrase. Gr. 228, b. 21. cohortibus: the seven mentioned in l. 15.

22–32. cum ... conjunxit: compounds with cum commonly repeat the prep. G. 346, R. 1, end. 23. primis diebus: at first; cf. reliquis diebus, at last, l. 29. 24. magnis operibus: very strongly; the abl. expresses both manner and means. 25. reliquasque copias exspectare: see on p. 15, 11. 26. Eo triduo: lit. within this three-days, the eo referring to the time implied in exspectare instituit. G. 392; Gr. 256; H. 429. Freely, within the next three days, or, three days after.—cohortesque ... xxii: not yet trained in the tactics of the legion. 27. Galliae: sc. Cisalpinae; here Caesar was immensely popular.—rege Norico: the king of Noricum, apparently an ally of Caesar. See App. III, 5. Noricum comprised what is now Austria, Southern Bavaria and the Tyrol. It was not subjugated by the Romans until B.C. 13. Its inhabitants were Celts, which may explain their relation to Caesar, the conqueror of Celtic Gaul. A Norican king named Voccio is mentioned B. G. i, 53. 28. Quorum adventu: upon their arrival; the abl. expresses both time and cause. 29. Reliquis diebus: see on primis diebus, l. 23. 30. vallo castellisque: an earthen wall with a moat in front, perhaps surmounted with palisades, strengthened by redoubts at important points; with a rampart and redoubts. 31. missi: a participle used as a noun, instead of a relative clause, qui missi erant. G. 438; Gr. 113, f; H. 441. Cf. ll. 1–3. 32. revertuntur: since Caesar’s works were not quite done they could slip into the city.

CHAP. XIX. Domitian pretends that Pompey is coming to his relief, but his actions belie his words, and it soon leaks out that Pompey had ordered the town to be abandoned.

33—p. 20, 5. dissimulans: concealing its real contents.—subsidio:
CAESAR'S CIVIL WAR.

19 G. 350; Gr. 233; H. 390, i; ii, Note 2; so usui in l. 35. The second datives ei and eis are readily supplied. 34. hortaturque: this verb has two object clauses, ne... deficiant, and (ut) parent (ea) quae usui... sint. The ut with parent, is implied in the preceding ne. For the subjv. in the rel. clause quaeque... sint, G. 633; Gr. 320; H. 503, i. 36. familiaribus suis: appos. to paucis, instead of the part. gen. which the English familiarly uses; strictly, with a few, who were his intimates. G. 368, R. 2; Gr. 216, e; H. 397,2, Note.—consiliumque... constituit: and expressed his determination to take measures for flight. With consilium fugae capere, cf. consilium sibi capturum, p. 11,8. 1. cum (quum): introduces non consentiret, ageret, colloquetur, and fugeret.—cum oratione: see on p. 19, 22. 3. quam... consuesset: attraction of mood, where the indic. is more common. G. 666; Gr. 342; H. 529, ii. For the form see on commemorasse, p. 15, 22.—superioribus diebus: previously.—suis: sc. familiaribus, p. 19, 36. 5. concilia... fugeret: while at the same time he avoided all meetings and general assemblies. An adversative conjunction is omitted for rhetorical effect.—res: the real answer of Pompey.

6–10. re-scripserat: had written back, replied. The letter of Pompey, written Feb. 17th, is preserved among those of Cicero. 7. rem: his cause.—neque... voluntate: and that it was not at his advice or wish that, etc. 9. fuisset: fuerit in O. R.; see on p. 16, 18. 10. veniret: see on p. 16, 6.—Id... fiebat: a remark of Caesar's; literally, that this (viz. joining Pompey) could not be done, was brought about by the siege, and the enclosure of the town. The idea of preventing contained in the clause obsidione... fiebat, justifies the use of ne with posset, instead of ut non. Freely, the impossibility of doing this was owing to, etc.

CHAP. XX. The soldiers in Corfinium now take matters into their own hands, and, after some discordant counsels, arrest Domitius, and send word to Caesar that they will open the town to him.

12. prima vesperi: sc. hora; about 5 o'clock p.m., at this season.—secessionem faciunt: held a separate conference. 13. ita: with colloquuntur, pointing forward to the obsideri, etc.—inter se: with one another. G. 212; Gr. 99, d, 196, f; H. 448, Note. 14. honestissimos sui generis: the most reputable of their own number, i.e. of the common soldiers. 16. cujus: obj. gen.; freely, through hope and trust in whom they had remained at their posts. 17. projectis: = proditis; was betraying them all and, etc.—debere... habere: the conclusion which follows from the preceding facts; they ought there-
Chap. XXI. Caesar defers entering the town till morning, and remains with all his troops under arms and on the watch.

28—p. 21, 5. etsi . . . arbitrabatur: although he thought it very important to, etc. G. 382; Gr. 252, a; H. 408, iii.—quam primum: as soon as possible. G. 317; Gr. 98, b; H. 170,2. 29. oppido: G. 405; Gr. 249; H. 421, i.—cohortesque: of the enemy. 30. qua: adv., lest in any way. 31. quod . . . intercederunt: because (as he then reflected) great events often happen in war from small impulses. Caesar the actor is here distinguished (in the use of the subj.) from Caesar the writer. G. 541; Gr. 341, R.; H. 516, ii. 33. temporis: subj. gen., afforded by the night. 35. jubet: these orders are given to the soldiers of Domitius. 36. certis spatio intermissis: abl. abs., leaving fixed intervals. 2. sed . . . expleant: but in a continuous line of outposts and detachments, so that they were in contact with each other and manned the whole of the ramparts. 3. tribunos militum et praefectos: App. III, 9, 10. 5. caveant, asservent: G. 546, R. 3; Gr. 331, f, R; H. 499,2; Caesar uses also cavere aliquid, in the sense of guarding against anything, and other writers cavere aliquid. Cf. p. 24, 36.

6–10. Neque vero . . . quisquam omnium: and not a single one in fact.—animo: G. 402; Gr. 251; H. 419, ii. 7. qui . . . conquieverit: as to fall asleep during that night. For the perf. instead of the imp. subjv., G. 513; Gr. 287, c; H. 495, vi. 8. summæ rerum: the decisive result.—ut . . . traheretur: that one was hurried in one direction, another in another by his thoughts and feelings, = that all were carried away by various thoughts and feelings, as they wondered what would happen, etc. G. 306; Gr. 208, c; H. 459, 1. 10. Lentulo: cf. p. 18, 20, with note.—accideret, excipierat: subjv. in ind. questions, representing accidat and excipiam in O.R., which are really futures; excepturi essent would have been also correct. G. 514, 515, R. 3; Gr. 110, a; H. 496, i.—qui quosque: what fate would overtake (lit. receive) each.
Towards morning Lentulus Spinther comes to Caesar to beg for his own personal safety, and goes back reassured.

11-21. vigilia: The Romans divided the time from sunset to sunrise into four equal parts. 12. Lentulus Spinther: see on p. 18, 13. 14. prius...quam...deditur: G. 579; Gr. 340; H. 520, i, 2. The verb really contains the purpose of the soldiers in accompanying Lentulus so closely. 19. quod per eum...venerat: in that by his (Caesar's) efforts he had entered, etc. This, and the following illustrations of the beneficia Caesaris, are verified by Caesar himself, as the indic. shows. They may also have been specified by Lentulus.

22-30. maleficii causa: for the sake of doing injuries, bearing the same relation to egressum (esse) as the following subjv. clauses. Translate all by the infl. to do injury, etc. 24. in ea re: in the course of this quarrel, for supporting Caesar, p. 13, 27. expulsos: translate by a relative sentence; so oppressum below. 27. ut...licet petit: sc. sibi; begged for permission to return, etc.—quod...impetraverit fore: the fact that he had obtained his request, etc., would be, etc.—quod is a conj., the verb used absolutely, and the whole clause is subj. of fore. 28. reliquis...solatio: G. 350; Gr. 233; H. 390, i.—ad suam spem: with a view to their own hope (of safety). 29. ut...cogantur: that they felt constrained to take their own lives; consulere durius in aliquid, de aliqua rei, or simply alicui rei,= to take measures too severely against something, which is an euphemism for, or softened way of saying, to destroy.

In the morning Caesar dismisses his prisoners unharmed. He scorns to use the money even of his worst enemy, Domitius, but enlists his soldiers and marches into Apulia towards Brundisium (Feb. 20th).

34. Lucius Rubrius: mentioned only in this place. 36. decurionum: see on p. 17, 9. 1. Hos omnes: Caesar does not even mention Vibullius Rufus, whom we know to have been captured also. Cf. Chap. 15 and 34. 2. a...prohibet: shielded from. 3. quod: namely that, giving the contents of pauca.—a parte eorum:
on their part. G. 388, R. 2; Gr. 260, b; H. 434, i. 4. incolumes: not even requiring an oath not to serve against him. Cicero’s letters show us that this conduct of Caesar after his capture of Corfinium won him hosts of friends throughout Italy. People were dreading a repetition of the horrors of the last civil war, when indiscriminate murder followed victory. 5. HS LX: = sestertiorum sexagies centena milia, 6,000,000 sestertii, or about $250,000. See Lex. sestertius.—in publico: sc. aerario. 6. duumviris: the full title was duum viri juri dicundo. They were often called freely consules or praetores. See on p. 18, 6. 7. ne . . . videatur: i.e. that he might be seen to be just as loath to take the money of his enemies as their lives. 9. in stipendium: for wages, to pay the soldiers.—Milites . . . jubei: Caesar requires the soldiers of the enemy, who had just been fighting against him, to take the oath of enlistment and allegiance to him, and then boldly trusts them as he does his own tried troops. He sends them to Sicily (34), whence Curio takes them with him to Africa. They cause him trouble thence. See ii, chap. 28–33. 11. justumque iter: though he does not start until after noon, Caesar hastens so as to make a full or ordinary day’s march of nearly twenty miles. For Pompey, who had been planning for two years what he would do in case of a civil war, and had decided to imitate Sulla and raise a vast army in the East with which to return and conquer Italy—Pompey was hurrying on to Brundium. Domitius had saved him from ignominious capture by delaying Caesar seven days at Corfinium. Still, even without ships, Caesar hopes to prevent Pompey’s flight to Greece, and even to capture him and so put a speedy end to the war. 12. The Marrucini, Frentani, and Larinates, like the Marsi and Peligni, were originally independent though closely related peoples, which had gradually passed from being enemies, to allies and subjects of Rome, and had received the Roman franchise.

d. The vain Attempt to intercept Pompey at Brundium.
Chap. xxiv—xxix.

Chap. XXIV. Pompey now hurries off to Brundium, collecting his troops as he goes. Some of them go over to Caesar, who sends to Pompey another request for a personal interview.

14–23. his . . . cognitis: according to Cicero, Pompey started from Luceria for Brundium before the fate of Corfinium was known, and this is probable. See on justumque iter, l. 11.—ad Corfinium: about or
22 at. Cf. ad urbem, p. 13, 21. 15. Luceria: a very important stronghold in N. W. Apulia, made a Roman colony about 314, connected directly by road with Capua. Pompey had made it his headquarters for some time. The distance from here to Brundisium was about 130 miles S. E.—Canusium: another important town of Apulia, famous for having served as a refuge to the Roman armies after the fatal battle at Cannae. 16. Brundisium: in Calabria, colonized by the Romans in 244. It had a famous harbor commanding the Adriatic, and became the chief naval station of the Romans for the East, being almost always the point of departure for and return from Greece and Asia. The distance across to Dyrrhachium (l. 35) was only about 90 miles. 17. jubet: in a letter to the consuls, Lentulus and Marcellus, which has been preserved among Cicero’s letters.—iis equos attribuit: converts them into cavalry. Cf. p. 18, 2. 19. Alba: see on p. 18, 26. 20. Tarracina: an ancient town of Latium, at the foot of the Pomptine marshes, a halting place for travelers over the Appian Way. 21. Vibius Curius: mentioned only in this connection. 23. nonnullae...aliae: = aliae...aliae.—agmen: infantry. 24-31. Reducitur...depressus ex itinere: was captured on the march and brought. See on p. 22, 8, a parte eorum. 25. N. Magius Cremona: Numerius Magius of Cremona (Cremonensis is more common than the simple abl. of place from which), Pompey’s chief engineer, or commander of the “sappers and miners.” App. III, 14. He was probably sent out by Pompey from Brundisium to reconnoitre; cf. re-mittit, l. 26. Caesar was therefore nearing the city.—fabrum: = fabrorum. 26. ad id tempus: up to that time, = ad hoc tempus in O. R. See on illo tempore, p. 15, 1. 27. atque...sit venturus: naive and innocent, as though he was coming for anything but to capture Pompey. 28. reipublicae, salutis: G. 381; Gr. 222; H. 406, iii. 29. se... colloqui: subj. of interesse.—neque...disceptetur: nor indeed was the same advantage gained at a long journey’s distance, when their terms were carried to and fro by others, as would be gained if they discussed all these terms face to face.—idem: acc. of the inner object, subj. of the passive profici, and correlative to ac si. G. 604; Gr. 312; H. 513, ii.—profici: proper compounds of facio form the regular passive, instead of using fio.—longo...spatio: abl. abs., implying a condition parallel to ac si...disceptetur. 31. disceptetur: pass. impers.

Chap. XXV. Caesar also hastens to Brundisium, and finding that Pompey is still there with a part of his troops, attempts to blockade the harbor (Mar. 9th).
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32-35. veteranis iii: the 8th, 12th, and 13th, making 30 cohorts; see on p. 15, 11. 33. ex novo delectu: p. 16, 31; 18, 29.—in itinere compleverat: about 8 cohorts who deserted Lentulus (p. 18, 15) and were afterwards enlisted by Caesar (p. 18, 28); the 7 of Lucetius and Attius (p. 19, 15, 21); the 6 of Manlius (1. 19); the 3 of Lupus (1. 20); 24 cohorts in all. The six cohorts still necessary to make up the 3 legions besides the veterans, are easily accounted for by such indefinite references as p. 17, 18; 18, 11; 22, 23. This leaves the 22 cohorts of new recruits from the province (p. 19, 37) and all the cohorts formed from the new drafts in Italy (see above on ex novo delectu) to be used as garrisons for towns or for commanding Rome, and does not include the 30 cohorts captured at Corfinium (p. 19, 6), of which those enlisted specially under Domitius (p. 18, 26; 22, 9) had been sent to Sicily (1. 34). Remembering the 6 legions still in Gaul (see on p. 15, 11), we can estimate the troops now under Caesar's command at 172 cohorts, or over 60,000 men. Of these, 58 cohorts, or over 20,000 men, had been Pompey's, and might have been retained by energetic measures on his part. As matters turned out he left Brundisium with only 50 cohorts; the two legions given up by Caesar, whom he dared not trust, 14 cohorts which Cicero tells us he had with these at Luceria, and the remainder collected on his way to Brundisium. Cf. 1. 16. If Pompey had concentrated his troops at Corfinium and shown a bold front, Caesar's campaign in Italy would not have been such a "promenade."

35—p. 23, 7. consules . . . profectos: urged on to this course by Pompey, who feared that in their faintheartedness they might agree to some of Caesar's propositions for peace.—Dyrrhachium: on the coast of Illyria, famous in Greek history as Epidamnus. It put itself in charge of the Romans about 312. They changed its name to one which sounded less ill-omened to them. 1. neque . . . veritusque (6): neither could it be found out for certain whether (-ne). . . , or (an). . . ; and fearful lest, etc., etc. The indirect disjunctive or double question (G. 460, 463; Gr. 211; H. 353, 1), together with the intermediate clause of purpose quo . . . posset (see on p. 16, 10) serve as subject of poterat. 3. extremis . . . Graeciae: locative abl., expressing also means; by occupying the extreme (or prominent) points on the Italian and Greek coasts. G. 387; H. 425, ii, 1. 4. ex utraque parte: on both sides; see on a parte eorum, p. 22, 3; this chapter contains five other examples. 6. ne . . . non existimaret: lest he should not feel compelled to abandon Italy. G. 552; Gr. 331, f; H. 498, iii, N. 2.—dimittendam (esse): G. 243; Gr. 129; H. 234. Caesar probably hoped to capture Pompey, but by stating his purposes thus, he makes his failure (chap. 28) seem of
7. exitus administrationesque: the departure from and free use of.


9. moles atque aggerem: a dam; moles = the foundation of heavy stones thrown into the water, and agger = the earth, wood and small stones piled upon it. 11. Longius: further out, i.e. from the shore into the water.—altiore aqua: because the water was too deep. See on p. 57, 20.

12. rates . . . xxx: double rafts 30 feet square; one was placed above the other, to increase the buoyancy.

13. e regione: in a line with; see on ex utraque parte, l. 4. The rafts were thus a continuation of each dam, stretching out into the water towards each other: 16. aggere: rubbish; see on l. 9. 18. cratibus ac pluteis: wicker work and breastworks, probably covered with skins to make them fireproof.—in quarta quaque earum: on every fourth one of these rafts, and so at intervals of about 100 feet. 19. quo commodius: see on p. 16, 10. 20. defenderet: sc. eas, the rafts with their covering of earth and rubbish. Portions of these works of Caesar are thought to have been recently excavated at the narrow entrance to the inner harbor of Brindisi, which is now choked with sand.

Chap. XXVI. Pompey's counter-preparations. Caesar, who has all along been restrained by the hope of coming to terms with Pompey, after another fruitless attempt to bring about an interview, enters on the war in earnest.

22. Ibi: = in eis. 23. cum ternis tabulatis: cf. the descriptive gen. used in l. 19. 27. haec: these military operations.—ut . . . non existimaret: as not to feel compelled to abandon his propositions for peace.—dimittendas (esse): see on l. 6. 30. miserat: some time after p. 22, 26, for Caesar himself writes, in a letter quoted by Cicero: misit ad me N. Magium; quae visa sunt respondi. To this answer of Caesar's Magius brings no reply. 31. omnibus rebus: see on p. 14, 27.—in eo: in this course. 32. perseverandum: sc. sibi. G. 358; Gr. 233; H. 388. Cf. dimittendam, l. 6, dimittendas, l. 28, where
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datives are also to be supplied, like sibi, p. 24, 8. Translate by the active personal construction, that he must, etc. 34. eum: Libo. 35. ipse: Caesar.—colloqueretur: be allowed to confer with, as if — ut colloqui liceret. Observe that in the sequence of tenses, the two histor. presents mandat and postulat are differently used. 1. fore ut . . . discedatur: the result would be that they would lay down their arms on even terms; see on p. 16, 12. 2. cujus rei: subj. gen., accruing from his result. 3. illo . . . agente: abl. abs., through his influence and activity. 5. quod . . . absint: a part of the message, really repeated by the sine illis. 7. aliquando: at last. 8. et de bello agendum: and that he must prosecute the war in earnest, as if indeed his splendid successes up to this point had been gained with no really serious effort.

CHAP. XXVII. On the return of his ships from Dyrrhachium, Pompey himself prepares to cross, and to prevent Caesar's interference.

15. sub ipsa profectione: in the midst of his very departure; contrast sub noctem, l. 31, towards night. 16. inaedificat: barricaded houses and streets; vicos = blocks of houses, or even quarters of the city. 17. ibi: = in eis fossis; cf. p. 23, 22. 18. Haec: sc. opera.—inaequat: levels off, i.e. makes even with the rest of the street. 20. maximis: very large. G. 316; Gr. 93, b; H. 444, 1.—atque eis: and that too, sharp ones, and sharpened at that. G. 293, R. 2; Gr. 195, c; H. 451, 2. 22. expeditos: App. III, 3, c, end. 23. raros: pred. adj., here and there. 24. constituit: arranged. 25. expedito: free from obstacles, open, convenient.—actuaria navigia: row-boats, in which a sail could be rigged when wanted.

CHAP. XXVIII. Favored by the citizens, Caesar enters the city just after Pompey sets sail, but succeeds in capturing only two ships with their crews (March 17th).

27. Caesaris rebus: Caesar's cause. 28. cognita: to the citizens. —concursantibus . . . occupatis: abl. abs., by their (the troops of Pompey) assembling and getting ready for this. 29. vulgo . . . significabant: they (the citizens) signaled it (eam rem, i.e. profectionem) generally from the tops of their houses. 31. quam . . . facultatem: any chance for action.—sub noctem: see on l. 15. 33. quod convenerat: which had been agreed upon. 35. vallum caecum: the hidden palisades; cf. l. 17. 2. reprehendunt repre-
hensas: seize and at once overpower; the participle indicates that the action of the verb of which it is a repetition is quickly over.

Chap. XXIX. Caesar's reasons for not at once pursuing Pompey.

3. ad spem: with a view to his hope. 4. maxime probabat: thought it by far the best. 6. confirmaret: see on deducatur, p. 21, 15.—ejus rei: involved in this course; see on cujus rei, p. 24, 2. 8. prae-

sentem . . . sui: the immediate power of pursuing him, i.e. the power of immediately pursuing him. 9. relinquabatur ut . . . essent ex-
spectandae: lit., it remained that ships must be waited for (by him, see on perseverandum, p. 23, 32); freely, the only alternative was that he must wait for ships, viz. in case he decided to pursue Pompey as soon as possible. 10. a freto: sc. Siculō; the ships are meant which carried the cohorts of Domitius to Sicily, p. 22, 34. 12. vet-

erem exercitum: sc. confirmari in fide Pompeii; the seven veteran legions of Pompey in Spain. If Caesar pursued Pompey, these might march on Rome.—duas Hispanias: H. Citerior, and H. Ulterior, acquired in 206 by Scipio from the Carthaginians, and ever since then regarded as of almost equal importance with Italy. The richer and stronger province, H. Citerior, was bound to Pompey by his great services in putting an end to the Sertorian war twenty years before this, and in reorganizing the government. In H. Ulterior Caesar had made many friends during his governorship in 61. See Int. 5. 14. tentari: be tampered with, and perhaps won over by larger promises than Caesar had made.

e. Caesar's Movements and Measures in Italy before setting out upon the Spanish Campaign. Chap. xxx—xxxiii.

Chap. XXX. Caesar sends troops to Sardinia and Sicily, which are both then abandoned by their Pompeian governors.

15–23. in praesentia: for the present; cf. praeuentem, l. 8. 16. duumviris: see on p. 22, 6. 18. deducendas curent: have them brought to B. G. 431; Gr. 294, d; H. 544, N. 2.—Sardiniam: this island, formerly subject to Carthage, had been made a Roman province about 238, though the inhabitants were not fully subdued or thoroughly governed for a century after. Caesar's first efforts are to secure the three great grain provinces, Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa. Pompey's design, on the other hand, was to raise a large fleet with which to cut off all grain convoys and so starve Italy into dissatisfaction with Caesar, then
to invade and conquer it with his Eastern armies. 19. legatum: as legate, pred. appos.; cf. pro praetore, as propraetor. See App. II, 12.

—Siciliam: acquired by the Romans in 241. Its enormous productiveness made it of the utmost importance to them, though it led to the most wanton abuse and plunder by Roman officials. 20. legionibus ii: from the six engaged at Brundisium (see on p. 22, 32); the three not mentioned in this sentence Caesar afterwards takes to Marseilles (p. 28, 21), garrisoning Italy, so far as was necessary, with troops from new levies. Curio finds the two legions of Domitius already in Sicily (see on p. 22, 33), and so has a force of four legions at his command. Cf. p. 62, 28. 21. Africam: this province embraced now the territory of Carthage at the close of the third Punic war in 146, viz., the two districts of Zengitana and Byzacium, or the north and east parts of what is now the regency of Tunis, recently occupied by the French, to the disgust of Italy.—traducere exercitum: this campaign of Curio is described at length in ii, chap. 23-44. 22. M. Cotta: mentioned only here.—sorte: see on p. 14, 10. 23. obtinere debet: ought to have been holding, and would have held, had he not been prevented from doing so, as narrated in the next chapter. G. 246, R. 2; Gr. 308, c; H. 476, 4; 537, 1.

23-36. Caralitani: the people of Caralis, the chief city of Sardinia, in the southern part.—simul: simul atque; see on p. 19, 17. 24. profecto: abl. abs. with eo supplied, referring to Valerius. 25. reificiebat: was having repaired. 28. Lucanis Bruttiisque: the names of the peoples are used for the countries, as often. These two most southern districts of Italy had suffered terribly from both parties in the second Punic war, and the Bruttii were not admitted to alliance with Rome, but kept in a menial state on account of their sympathy with Hannibal. The Lucani were virtually wiped out of existence as a separate people by Sulla, in revenge for their having aided Marius. Citizenship had been bestowed in 89 upon all Italians who did not revolt in the Social War, or who laid down their arms within a certain time. 33. qui suscepisset: G. 627; Gr. 320, e; H. 517. 35. omnia ... confirmavisset: had assured them that he had everything completely ready for war. For the repetition of the same idea for emphasis in apta ac parata, projectum ac proditum (utterly betrayed), see on cognitum compertumque, p. 13, 34.

CHAP. XXXI. The state of affairs in Sardinia, Sicily and Africa.

1. Nacti: see on p. 15, 25; the word here agrees with the two subjects of pervenient, and vacuas with the two objects of nacti. These sub-11
jects and objects are arranged in chiastic order. G. 684; Gr. 344, f; H. 562; cf. p. 17, 28. 2. Tubero: cf. p. 26, 22. 3. cum imperio: acting as governor, though the imperium had not been legally given him. 4. supra: chap. 13. 5. ex fuga: in flight; see on p. 23, 4. 6. vacuum: it had been abandoned by the propraetor of the previous year. 7. hominum . . . conanda: having found means (aditus) to do this by reason of his knowledge of men and places and his acquaintance with this province. 9. annis: see on paulo p. 20, 21.—ex praetura: see on p. 21, 20. The year of his praetorship is not known. 12. sublatis ancoris: transl. by an infin. coord. with excedere.

CHAP. XXXII. Caesar quarters his army, goes to Rome, and presents his case and his demands to the senate (April 1–3).

13–23. reliquum tempus: the time remaining before the intended campaign in Spain. 14. intermitteretur: = vacuum relinquetur. 15. ad urbem: not in urbem; see on aderat, p. 11, 15.—Coacto senatu: i.e. those members of it who had not gone with Pompey, a mere remnant. The tables are turned now, and, in the absence of the consuls, the two tribunes who had been violently expelled three months before, convene the senate, outside the city (cf. p. 13, 31). 17. legitimo tempore: the legal time, viz. ten years, counting from his first consulship in 59. See Int. 7. 19. Latum (esse) . . . ut . . . haberetur: that a motion had been made . . . that his claims (upon the consulship) should be considered, etc. See on p. 15, 33–34, and Int. 8.—ab x tribunis plebis: i.e. unanimously. Cf. App. II. 7. 21. dicendi . . . extrahente: often consumed time by delay in speaking, i.e. by talking, as every senator had the right to do, "against time," i.e. about matters not connected with the motion under discussion, in order to delay and possibly prevent its passing on that day; cf. our "filibustering." 22. cur . . . passus esset: the infin. is the more usual idiom in such a rhetorical question in O. O.; see on p. 16, 4. 23. se uti populi beneficio: an obj. clause with prohibuisset; his enjoying, etc. Cf. p. 15, 31. 24—p. 27, 4. cum . . . postulavisset: since the proposal to dismiss both armies had come from him. Cf. p. 16, 7. 25. in quo: i.e. dimittendo exercitum. 26. facturus esset: would incur. G. 515, and R. 1; H. 496, ii, N. 2. 27. (id) in se recusarent: since they refused in their own case, what they required of an opponent.—omnia permisceri: utter confusion, anarchy; cf. p. 14, 18. 29. in . . . legionibus: cf. p. 11, 23. 30. in . . . tribunis: cf. chap. 5.—condiciones . . . latas: cf. chap. 9. 31. expetita colloquia: cf. p. 16, 11;
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22, 29; 23, 35. 33. illis...non futurum: he would not burden them; the pronoun = vobis in O. R. 1. ad quos...significari: the contents of Pompey's remark; that those who had ambassadors sent them were thereby recognised as the lawful authority. Pompey was arguing against sending legati to Caesar. Cf. p. 12, 28. 3. haec...videri: such hesitation clearly betokened, etc.—animi: G. 365; Gr. 214, c; H. 402.——operibus: = rebus bello gestis. 4. studuerit: = studui in O. R.; see on miserit, p. 15, 36.

CHAP. XXXIII. The senate delays to act on Caesar's recommendations through fear of Pompey, and Caesar, after several days of fruitless waiting, sets out for Spain (April 5th).

5. rem...de mittendis: the motion to send, etc.—sed...non reperiebantur: but men could not be found to send. G. 632; Gr. 317; H. 497, i. 6. timoris causa: = timore. 8. eodem...loco: that he would treat alike. 9. remansissent, fuissent: fut. perf. in O. R. 11. subjicitur...qui...distrahat: was instigated...to delay.—L. Metellus: the most known of him is in this connection. 12. hanc rem: cf. l. 5.—reliquasque res: among these was the taking possession of the public treasury (see on p. 17, 25), from which Caesar is said to have taken about $17,000,000, overcoming the opposition of Metellus by threats of death. Cicero claims that this conduct made Caesar very unpopular in Rome. People had thought him rich enough to carry on the war at his own expense. 15. ab urbe: see on ad urbem, p. 26, 15, and ab Arimino, 16, 29. Caesar left the praetor M. Lepidus in charge of affairs. Cf. p. 61, 35.

C. THE CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN AND INVESTMENT OF MASSILIA. CHAP. XXXIV—LXXXVII.


CHAP. XXXIV. On the way to Spain Caesar learns that Massilia has closed its gates against him.

20. Corfinio: with dimiserat; cf. p. 22, 4. 21. Massiliam: a very ancient city, probably founded by Greeks during the Persian wars. Its Greek name was Massalia. It had always been on friendly terms with Rome, giving and receiving favors ever since the second Punic war. It was now the port of entry and exit for Gaul, and could not be left in allegiance to Pompey without endangering that province. Cf. p. 25, 14. 22. Igili: an island between Corsica and Etruria. The name is con-
strued here like those of towns. G. 412; Gr. 258, c; H. 426,1.—Cosāno: the territory of Cosa, a town in S. W. Etruria, opposite Igilium.—colonis: tenants. 23. praemissos . . . domum: sent home (from Rome) in advance (praet). 25. nova officia, veterum . . . beneficiorum: some of these are mentioned in the next chapter. Massilia had helped the Romans greatly during the campaigns in Gaul, and Caesar had not left them unrewarded. Pompey’s favors were nearly thirty years old. See p. 28, 7 ff. 28. antiquitus erant: had long been under their protection.

31. Castellis: outlying fortresses to protect the territory of the city.

CHAP. XXXV. Caesar’s arguments with the chief men of Massilia produce merely a doubtful declaration of the city’s neutrality as between him and Pompey.

5. xv primos: the senate of Massilia consisted of 600 members; fifteen of these formed a special committee, and three of these latter were the chief executive officers of the city. 35. auctoritatem: example. 2. ex auctoritate: officially, i.e. by decree of the whole senate. 4. Neque . . . virium: it was neither for their judgment nor strength to decide, etc. The dispute did not come within their jurisdiction, and they were not powerful enough to interfere. For the genitives, see on p. 17, 10. 5. habeat: subj. in an ind. question; why not haberet?

7-12. patronos: peoples and cities were wont to select certain prominent men at Rome to represent their interests there. Such were called patroni, a title which was often a mere matter of compliment. —civitatis: i.e. Massilia.—quorum alter . . . auxerit: no mention of these things is made elsewhere. It is most probable that the first alter refers to Caesar (taking up the preceding names in inverse order), considering his great influence in southern Gaul. The conquest of the Sallīyes was perhaps made by Pompey on his way to the Sertorian war in Spain, in 77. Cf. p. 27, 25.—Volcarum Arecomiciorum: the Arecomici were a part of the powerful tribe of Volcae, who dwelt between Narbo and the Rhone. Translate therefore the first name as an adj. The Helvii lived further north, on the west bank of the Rhone. 8. publice: in the name of the state, i.e. by decree of the (Roman) senate.—iis: strictly we expect sibi, since the language is that of the Massaliots, but Caesar says iis from his own point of view as narrator. G. 521, R. 5; H. 449, 1, 2). 9. Sallīyas: a Greek noun of the 3rd decl. 10. paribus . . . beneficiis: abl. abs.; since, etc.—
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CHAP. XXXVI. Even this declaration the Massaliots at once violate by receiving Domitius. Caesar then hastens to invest the city.

13. pervenit: cf. profectum, p. 27, 20. 14. summa ... permititur: he was made commander-in-chief. 16. quas ubique possunt: as many as they could anywhere. 17. parum ... instructis: sc. iis; those whose iron work, or wood work and tackling were incomplete; abl. with utuntur. 19. frumenti: G. 371; Gr. 216, a, 3; H. 397, 3.—in publicum conferunt: they made public property, confiscated. 20. accidat: sc. ea, referring to obsidionem; in case this happened. 21. legiones tres: probably the forces mentioned p. 26, 14. See also on p. 25, 20. Caesar seems to have arrived at Massilia towards the end of April, and begun the negotiations with the city which were broken off by their reception of Domitius. These soldiers then could have taken a few days to rest after their hard work in the Italian campaign, and then have proceeded by slow marches towards Spain, arriving near Massilia just as Caesar saw that the place must be besieged. 22. turres vineasque: the former were built up in stories to overtop the walls of a besieged city and enable the besiegers to drive away the city's defenders, and even to storm the walls over drawbridges let down from the towers; sometimes the battering ram was worked in the lower story. Vineae were covered and movable gangways, made fire and missile-proof, under which the besiegers could work close up to the enemies' walls and undermine them; both were built at a distance and then moved on rollers up to the city walls. 23. Arelate: abl. of "place where;" a large and powerful city at the head of the delta of the Rhone, formerly the chief city of the Sallyes, modern Arles. It is first mentioned in history here. 24. a qua die: =ab ea die qua; see on p. 13, 24.—materia: timber; cf. l. 17. 25. D. Brutum, C. Trebonium: two of Caesar’s murderers.

b. Opening of the Spanish Campaign by Fabius. Chap. xxxvii—xl

CHAP. XXXVII. While thus delayed at Massilia, Caesar sends Fabius forward to occupy the mountain passes into Spain.

28. Fabium: slightly mentioned in the B. G., now assigned to a very important duty. 29. legionibus iii: see on p. 15, 11.—Narböne: a very old commercial town commanding a fertile valley and
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the main road to Spain, made so strong by Roman favor and Roman colonists as to rival Massilia successfully. It gave its name to the province. It lay just opposite Massilia on the Gallic gulf. 32. Reliquas legiones: see also on p. 15, 11. 34. ex saltu: not the pass near the sea-coast through which the great Roman road to Tarraco passed, but a smaller one toward the west, opening directly into the valley of the Sicoris, on whose west bank Pompey’s legates were posted. 35. magnisque itineribus: see on p. 18, 24.

CHAP. XXXVIII. The arrangements of Pompey’s legates to defend Spain.

29 1. demonstratum est: cf. p. 27, 19. 2. Hispaniam citeriorem...ulteriorem: see on p. 25, 12. The further province seems here to have been divided into two districts. These were made separate provinces by Augustus, Bactia and Lusitania (Portugal). 3. alter...tertius: = Varro, Petreius, as appears from what follows.—saltu Castulonensi: a mountain range named after the town of Castulo in southern Spain, part of the modern Sierra Morena. 4. Vettónum: a tribe N. E. of the Lusitani. 10. Celtiberiae: the central part of H. Citerior or Tarraconensis, modern Arragon; dat. after imperantur, like Lusitaniae, Cantábris and barbaris. The Cantabri were on the extreme northern coast of this province. 13. ad Ilerdam: near Ilerda, a city of N. E. Spain, modern Lerida, in a commanding position made impregnable by rivers and mountains.

CHAP. XXXIX. Enumeration and partial description of the opposing forces.

16. scutatae...et cetratae...cohortes: the soldiers equipped with large and heavy shields (scutum), or with small and light ones (cetra), i.e. heavy-armed and light-armed troops, not organized into legions, and serving as auxiliaries. 18. legiones...vi: cf. p. 28, 29, 32. 19. Auxilia: as auxiliaries he had sent — thousand footmen, etc. The word is contrasted with legiones, and includes all the troops mentioned in the rest of the sentence. Cf. App. III, 4. 20. superioribus bellis: his previous campaigns in Gaul. This body of horse he had taken from Gallia Narbonensis, at the beginning of his governorship in 58, the second he had enlisted in that part of Gaul which he had himself conquered in 53–49. 22. nobilissimo quoque evocato: G. 305; Gr. 93, c; H. 458, 1.—huc...optimi generis hominum: in addition to these (he had sent) — of the very best kind of
men, etc. The numeral on which hominum depends has fallen out here, as in l. 19. The huc implies an adjecerat in the leading verb praemiserat. 23. Aquitānis: a people just west of Gallia Narbonensis, inhabiting one of the three parts into which Caesar divides the yet unconquered Gallia, B. G., i, 1. They had given hostages to Caes- sar during his last campaign.—Galliam provinciam: i.e. Gallia Transalpina, or Narbonensis, to be carefully distinguished from Gallia Cisalpina, since both, as well as the country which Caesar conquered, are often loosely called simply Gallia. Cf. Int. 6. 24. per Mauritaniam . . . iter . . . facere: it was not an improbable rumor, that Pompey, hearing that Caesar had gone to Spain, was sail- ing thither with reinforcements, stopping on the way at Mauritania to break its alliance with Caesar. See on p. 14, 2. 26. mutuas pecunias sumpsit: borrowed money. 28. quod: in that. 29. voluntates: see on p. 17, 3.

CHAP. XL. The first skirmish of the campaign. The forces of Fabius become separated by the breaking of one of his two bridges over the Sicoris, and a part of them is at once attacked by the enemy, but soon reinforced by the other part, which comes by the second bridge to their relief.

30. litteris: letters, as p. 86, 7; more often a single letter, as p. 11, 1. 32. inter se: from each other; see on p. 20, 13.—His pontibus: by means of, over these; see on p. 23, 2. 33. crita flumen: on this side, i.e. from the standpoint of Fabius, who had marched down on the west bank, and was now foraging on the east. See on p. 28, 34. 35. faciebant: crossing the river by the great stone bridge of Ilerda, next to which city they had pitched their camp. Cf. p. 30, 7. 36. Huc: i.e. to this eastern bank of the river. 1. egressae . . . praesidio: marching out as convoy for the foragers. 2. transissent, sequere- tur: had crossed, was following, and therefore reliqua multitudo (4) is the part not yet over the bridge. 6. aggere atque cratibus: the crates were here thrown over the large timbers of the bridge and strewn with earth (agger). In p. 23, 18, they served as a frame for breastworks.—quae: G. 616, R. 5; Gr. 187, b (pronouns are like adjecti- tives in this); H. 445, 3, N. 1.—suo ponte: see on p. 29, 35. 7. conjunctum habebat: denotes the continuance of the completed action which would be expressed by conjunxerat. G. 230; Gr. 292, c; H. 388, 1, N. 11. diversamque . . . constituit: formed in hollow square, lit. a double front in two directions, i.e. a double front on a line
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30 north and south, and also on a line east and west. 17. ut...ute-rentur: namely that, etc., a clause appositive to id.

c. Caesar’s Straits before Ilerda. Chap. xli-lv.

CHAP. XLI. Caesar arrives at the camp of Fabius, takes command, marches to Ilerda, in front of which, after offering battle, he intrenches himself.

21. Eo biduo: see on p. 19, 26.—sibi...reliquerat: had kept as a body guard. 24. Ipse: taking command in person. 25. impedimenta: App. Ill, 16. 26. triplici instructa acie: App. Ill, 2, d. 27. castris Afranii: its position is given p. 31, 19-20. 29. Potes-tate facta: characteristic of Caesar’s precise style; translate, upon this.—in medio colle: halfway down the hill. G. 287, R.; Gr. 193; H. 440, N. 1. 30. per...dimicaretrur: that it was Afranius’s fault that there was no decisive fight. G. 549; Gr. 331, e; H. 497, ii, 2. 32. intermissis: at a distance of. 34. vallo: see on p. 19, 30. 35. videri: be seen, not in its usual meaning to seem. 36. pedum xv: sc. in latitudinem, of fifteen feet in width, fifteen feet wide. G. 364, R.; Gr. 215, b; H. 396, v. The earth from this moat could be strewn about so as not to attract notice. 3. prius...quam intellegeretur: see on p. 21, 15. 4. Sub vesperum: see on p. 24, 31.

CHAP. XLII. Caesar completely fortifies his position in the face of the enemy, and is merely threatened by them.

6. quod...petendus: since the material for a rampart would have had to be brought from too far, i.e. in case he had determined to make a vallum at once, instead of a fossa. G. 599, R. 3; Gr. 308, c; H. 511, N. 8, and 2. For agger, see on p. 23, 9. 7. similem...instituit: adopted a similar plan of operations, i.e. like the one described in 11.1-2, in that part of the soldiers dug and part stood guard. 8. singulaque...munienda: that is (-que), he allotted the three separate sides of the camp which were as yet unprotected by moats to separate legions to be fortified. For the gerundive, see on p. 25, 18. 9. ad eandem magnitudinem: see on p. 30, 36. 10. profici: see on profici, p. 22, 29, and cf. fieri, p. 30, 36.—expeditas: see on p. 24, 22. 13. proelio lacessunt: made an attack, sc. Caesaris milites.—neque: nec tamen, and yet Caesar did not, etc. G. 482, R. 4; cf. p. 16, 25. 14. confitus praesiondio: see on diffusus, p. 17, 1.—legio-
NOTES.—BOOK I.

num, fossae: subj. gen., afforded by. 15. longius: very far. 17. vallo: at last then the camp was as completely fortified as if the enemy had been miles away. Cf. App. III, 19. 18. reliquerat: p. 30, 25. These were probably auxiliary cohorts; cf. p. 29, 19.

CHAP. XLIII. In an attempt to seize a position between the enemy and the town, Caesar’s soldiers are worsted.

20. collem: just S. W. of the city, the present Fort Garden. 21. medio: see on p. 30, 29. 22. paulo editior: a little higher than the rest of the level space, somewhat prominent.—occupavisset: see on fecisset, esset data, p. 16, 18. 23. ponte: see on suo ponte, p. 30, 6. 25. Hoc sperans: therefore; see on potestate facta, p. 30, 29. 26. antesignanos: App. III, 18. 28. quae...cohortes: = eae cohortes quae. “An indefinite substantive, which the relative proposition defines, is sometimes drawn into the relative proposition, taking the same case with the relative.” G. 618; Gr. 200, b; H. 445,9. 31. aliis...subsidiis: when the enemy sent up reinforcements.

CHAP. XLIV. The enemy have such a strange style of fighting that Caesar’s soldiers become demoralized.

33. ut...pugnarent: these subjv. clauses serve really as subjects of erat, and may be translated by the infin.; the style of fighting which the enemy used, was to charge rapidly, etc. Genus is then predicate. 36. existimarent: also depends upon the ut of 33; (was) to deem it no dishonor, in case they were hard pressed, to retire and abandon a position. 1. generis: assueseo and assuefació commonly take the abl. G. 403, R. 2; Gr. 248; H. 386, 2; having become wonted to a sort of heathen style of fighting. 2. quod...moveatur: since it generally happens that every soldier is much influenced by the practice of those districts in which he has long served.—quibus quisque: “when a relative and demonstrative proposition are combined, quisque almost always stands in the relative proposition, commonly (without emphasis) immediately after the relative.” Gr. 202, c. 5. generis: G. 373; Gr. 218, a; H. 399, i, 2.—ab aperto latere: see on p. 23, 4. 6. procurrentibus singulis: when the enemy charged helter-skelter. 7. neque...neque: not correlative = neither...nor, but = and not...nor, the first introducing simply a negative explanation and paraphrase of suos ordines servare, the second an additional duty, viz.
CHAP. XLV. Caesar charges upon the enemy with the ninth legion, and routs them, but his men pursue too far to effect a safe retreat.

12. quod . . . acciderat: sc. res; because things had turned out contrary to their expectation and wont. Pompey's old veterans did not run away from the enemy as readily as his raw recruits in Italy had done.


21. Praeruptus locus erat: the place (apparently a narrow terrace) had a sharp pitch toward the plain from which Caesar's soldiers had charged, was perpendicularly steep on both sides, and so narrow that three cohorts in line of battle completely filled it.

25. Ab oppido autem: but from the town down to this terrace, or narrow neck of land, the ground sloped gently for a distance of, etc. 26. Hac: adv., along this terrace our men were retreating.

27. studio: cf. 1.17. 28. iniquo: which was an unfavorable one, both on account of its narrowness and because, etc. 30. virtute . . . nitebantur: struggled bravely. 32. illis: their number was constantly increased.

CHAP. XLVI. After a long and desperate retreating fight, Caesar's men draw their swords and charge up the slope toward the town, and while the enemy are still in flight, turn and cross the dangerous terrace to the plain and their camp.

36. horis quinque: duration of time is sometimes expressed by the abl. G. 392, R. 2; Gr. 256, b; H. 379, 1. 1. telis: = pilis. App. III, 3, b. 4. cohortibus: of the enemy, as cohortes in l. 2.—non-nulla parte: partially, though it might be the collective subj. of compulsis, instead of cohortibus. 7. dejectis atque inferioribus: very low; see on cognitum compertumque, p. 13, 34.—in jugum . . . con-nititur: clambered up to the ridge, i.e. the steep slope to the plain from the terrace; see on p. 32, 21. 9. vario certamine: now one side, and now the other seemed victorious. 10. Nostrí: we would use a part. gen.; see on p. 19, 36. 11. ex primo hastato: App. III, 11, c. 12. ex inferioribus ordinibus: App. III, 11, a, end. 13. amplius: see on p. 19, 6. 14. primi pili centurio: see on p. 17, 20.
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CHAP. XLVII. Both sides claim a victory.

16. praefertur: sc. ab utrisque, which has been incorporated in the appositional clause as utrique; was advanced by both parties, viz. that they had come off victorious. 17. se...discississe exsistimarent: the latter word repeats with great preciseness the opinio. Translate as if = discisserant. 20. locum tumulumque: the second an explanation of the first; that is, the mound. See on p. 31, 8.—quae: G. 616, R. 3, ii; Gr. 199; H. 445, 4. 22. quod...quod...quod: repeated for emphatic enumeration, as p. 21, 19-20. Caesar seems unwilling to admit an evident defeat.

CHAP. XLVIII. The rivers are suddenly flooded, and Caesar's supplies cut off.

28. biduo quo: two days after. See on p. 19, 26; quo and eo are used where we expect postquam and post. H. 430, N. 2. 31. montibus: the snow-capped Pyrenees.—proluit, superavit: se. e.a., referring to tempestas, rain storm. 34. supra demonstratum est: to be inferred from chap. 41, but not definitely stated there. 2. supportare, reverti: dependent on poterant (5). 3. pabulatum: G. 436; Gr. 302; H. 546; cf. pabulandi...causa, l. 12. 4. commeatus: provision trains. 5. Tempus: season of the year. 6. hibernis: the word must mean here winter granaries, but is not used in that sense elsewhere. Some editors therefore alter to acervis. The grain had not been harvested, and yet was not so green that it could be used as fodder for the beasts. 7. ac...exinanitae (erant): coordinate with the clause Tempus...difficillimum. The civitates must be such as lay between the Sicoris and Cinga, on Caesar’s line of march. 9. reliqui: see on frumenti, p. 28, 19; anything of a remainder, anything left. 10. quod: see on quae, p. 33, 20; which might have afforded the next best relief for the scarcity, i.e. if they had not been removed. See on p. 31, 6, and cf. App. III, 3, c. 14. regionum: cf. p. 19, 2.—cetrati: see on p. 29, 16. 15. quibus: for whom it was easy, etc. 16. utribus: inflated leathern bags or bottles, on which they swam.

CHAP. XLIX. The enemy, however, is abundantly supplied.

34 integra: pred. attributive of loca, the object of praebebat; gave access to the regions across the river still intact. G. 324; Gr. 186, c; H. 442.—quo: to which; the rel. adv. is common in Caesar for the rel. pron. with a prep.—omnino...non poterat: was utterly unable.

CHAP. L. Caesar makes a vain attempt to repair his broken bridges.

26. perfici: see on p. 22, 29; its subj. is id understood, referring to reficere pontes; to these words also quod refers. 27. cum...tum: not only...but also. 29. rapidissimo flumine: abl. abs.; since the river was very swift. Cf. p. 23, 11, and see on p. 57, 20.

CHAP. LI. A convoy of provisions on the way to Caesar from Gaul is attacked and dispersed by Afranius.

31. habebant: an explanation of Caesar's, not part of the O. O. G. 630, R. 1; Gr. 336, b; H. 539, ii, N. 1, 2).—flumen: the Sicoris. 32. Rutēnis: a tribe on the northern border of Gallia Narbonensis. 33. Gallia: i.e. the part conquered by Caesar. See on p. 29, 23.—fert: requires. 34. cujusque generis: of every class, of all sorts. 35. nullus ordo: sc. iis erat. 36. suo quisque: se and suus generally stand before quisque, in prose. Cf. quisbus quisque, p. 32, 2.

35 i. usi: allowing themselves, etc., although within twenty miles of the enemy. 2. honesti: of noble birth, as shown by the next clause. 3. legationes: these were coming in response to the appeals of the legati Caesaris.—erant...erant...erant: see on p. 33, 22. 4. flumina: must mean here the swollen waters of the river; cf. ad flumen, p. 34, 31. 6. de nocte: while it was yet night. G. 393, R.; H. 434, i. 7. sese...expedient: put themselves in fighting trim; see on expeditos, p. 24, 22. 9. dum...potuit: as long as a struggle of the same nature for both parties could be made, i.e. cavalry against cavalry. 10. pauci: though few in number.—sustinuere: Caesar uses this form of the perf. 3rd plur. only once more in this history, p. 103, 28. 12. Hoc...momentum: the time which this cavalry fight occupied contributed much to the salvation of our party.—nostri: the crowd which the archers and knights were escorting. 14. sagittarii: see on Nostri, p. 33, 10. 15. calonum: App. III, 16.—impedimentorum: pack-horses; cf. B. G. vii, 45, magnum numerum impedimentorum...mulorumque.

CHAP. LII. The famine prices of grain in Caesar's camp, and his efforts to relieve the scarcity.
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16. tamen: although so few were lost in the affair just described, still, in consequence of all these troubles, the price of grain rose. 17. quae . . . res: i.e. annona.—fere: generally. 18. ingravescere consuevit: is wont to mount up. G. 228, 2; Gr. 279, d, R.; H. 471, ii, 3.—ad denarios . . . pervenerat: App. III, 3, d. 19. vires . . . deminuerat: App. III, 3, c. 20. in dies: differs from quotidie in always denoting increase or decrease. 21. tam: with magna, and also se . . . inclinaverat, and so much had fortune changed for the worse. 24. superioresque habenterunt: cf. p. 33, 18. 25. tubabatur: tried to relieve; the use of the verb elsewhere is in the idiom suos ab inopia, to relieve from.

CHAP. LIH. The effect of the news of these things at Rome.

29. pleniora . . . uberiora: freely, with additions even and exaggerations. G. 312, 1; Gr. 93, a; H. 444, 1. Cf. p. 111, 13, where the standard of comparison is expressed.—Romam ad suos: see on p. 18, 24. So domum . . . ad Afranium below (32) = ad domum Afrani. 30. perscribabant: wrote in detail (per-). 32. magni . . . fiebant: great throngs with warm congratulations came to the residence of Afranius at Rome. 34. principes: = pri mi, to have been the first to bring, etc. 35. ex omnibus: instead of the part. gen. G. 371, R. 5; Gr. 216, c; H. 397, 3, N. 3.

CHAP. LIV. Caesar extemporizes boats, crosses the river, fortifies a position on the other side, builds a bridge, and brings into camp his provision train.

3. cujus generis: = ejus generis quod, attraction and incorporation of the pronoun.—eum: G. 333; Gr. 239, c; H. 374.—superioribus annis: 55 and 54. B. G. iii and iv. 4. usus Britanniae: his experience in Britain; cf. p. 26, 7.—prima statumina: lowest ribs, next the keel, forming the bottom of the boat. 5. reliquum corpus: the rest of the hull (i.e. the sides) was woven together out of withes, and covered with hides. 6. carris iunctis: one supporting the bow and another the stern of the boat. 7. militesque . . . flumen: G. 330, R. 1; Gr. 239, b; H. 376. 8. continentemque ripae collem: a hill which formed part of the river-bank. 9. priusquam . . . sentiatur: sc. ut, too soon to be perceived by. See on p. 31, 8. 12. commetatus: cf. p. 34, 31.—qui . . . processerant: cf. p. 34, 3–5. 13. expedire: relieve.
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36 Chap. LV. By means of this bridge too Caesar makes a successful foraging expedition.

14. partem flumen: see on l. 7 above. 17. cohortibusque...missis: and when light armed cohorts were sent to their aid, i.e. the enemy’s foragers. See on p. 29, 16. 21. seclusam: translate as a finite verb coordinate with circumveniunt, etc. 22. eodem ponte: see on p. 29, 32.


Chap. LVII. The counter-preparations of Brutus, and the opening of the battle.

36. antesignanos: App. III, 18. The tactics adopted by Brutus made their fighting qualities just as available on sea as on land. See below, p. 37, 24-28. By these same tactics Brutus had won a naval victory over the Veneti, B. G. iii, 14-15. 1. id munere: that as a special privilege; see on p. 34, 9, and cf. id munus legationis, p. 27, 7. G. 371, R. 1. 2. manus ferreas atque harpagones: grappling irons and drags, both with chains or ropes attached, by which they could be hauled back after being hurled, and with them whatever they fastened to. 7. nostris virtute cedebant: yield to our men in valor, i.e. be inferior to them. 8. modo: but just now. 11. suam probare operam: to show what they could do.

Chap. LVIII. In spite of superior dexterity, the Massaliots are forced to close quarters and totally defeated.

13. confisi: see on pp. 17, 1; 36, 24.—nostros...non excipiebant: dodged our sailors and so avoided their attacks. 14. quoad licebat: as long as they were allowed to, etc. 15. circumvenire nostros: i.e. attack them on the flanks. 16. transcurrentes: as they dashed past. 17. cum...ventum: when they had been forced into close quarters, in
their various tricks of attacking. 19. cum...tum (22): not only...but also. 21. erant producti: had been transferred, or promoted.
—neque...vocabulary...cognitis: abl. abs., but best translated as if coordinate with producti erant, = vocabulary...cognoverant, and who did not yet (dum) know even the names of the tackling. 23. subito: cf. p. 28, 24.—non...habebant: lit., had not the same advantage from speed, i.e. were not so swift. Caesar often dwells at length on the disadvantages under which he or his men labor, as if to enhance the glory of the victory which follows in spite of them. So he seems fond of describing the arrogant confidence which his enemies feel after a victory over him, since it only heightens the effect of his ultimate triumph over them. Cf. chap. 53, and especially iii, 72, 82-83. 24. dum...daretur: provided only they got a chance, etc. G. 575; Gr. 328; H. 513, i. 25. aequo animo: calmly. 27. diversi: in both directions, off both sides of their own ship; see on p. 30, 11. 31. interesseunt: were lost.

e. Caesar’s Successes before Ilerda. Chap. lix—lxii.

CHAP. LIX. Caesar’s cavalry keep the enemy more and more shut up in the city.

32. Hoc primum...simul: first this good news was brought...and at the same time, etc. 33. Illi: the enemy. 34. alias...pabuleabantur, alias...fugiebant: sometimes...at other times, now...now, etc. The first explains minus libere, the second, minus audacter. 36. angustius: within narrower limits. 2. ex medio itinere: see on p. 22, 24. 3. sarcinis: App. III, 3, c.—fugiebant: its conjunction is omitted, and they were wont to flee either when...or when, etc.—Postremo: at last.

CHAP. LX. Many neighboring Spanish peoples join Caesar’s cause.


CHAP. LXI. Caesar begins works designed to make the Sicoris fordable near Ilerda, and the enemy thereupon decide to evacuate the city.
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CHAP. LXII. Caesar hurries on his works so that by the time the enemy's bridge over the Hiberus is reported nearly ready, his cavalry can ford the Sicoris.

5. continuato . . . opere: abl. abs. 6. huc . . . rem: had brought matters so far at last; for reduxerat, see on redditis, p. 11, 1. 8. pedites . . . exstare: but only the shoulders and upper part of the breast of the foot-soldiers could be above water. For humeris and pectore, G. 400; Gr. 250; H. 423. The infin. depends on possent supplied from the preceding clause. 9. cum . . . tum: not only . . . but also. 10. ad transeundum: with reference to, instead of from crossing, = ab transeundo, a construction used with verbs of hindering, delaying, etc. Cf. p. 71, 28. 11. tamen: though Caesar's success was only partial, since only cavalry could cross the river, still, etc.


CHAP. LXIII. As soon as the enemy begin their retreat, Caesar sends his cavalry to hang on their rear and harass them (July 25th).

13. eo magis: so much the more; for the abl. see on humeris above, l. 8. 16. traduxerant: cf. l. 3. 17. Relinquebatur . . . nihil nisi
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uti...: no alternative was left Caesar but to, etc. See on p. 25, 9. 18. male haberet et carperet: annoy and harass.—Pons...ipsius: his own bridge, i.e. the crossing by this. 19. habebat: required, involved a long circuit; see on p. 38, 20.—itinere: for the distance see 1, 1. A two days' march. 21. de tertia vigilia: see on pp. 21, 11; 35, 6. Between one and two o'clock in the morning. 22. novissimum agmen: the rear. 23. morari: sc. illos.

CHAP. LXIV. Caesar's foot-soldiers clamor to pursue, and at last successfully cross the river and overtake the enemy.

25. equitatus nostri proelio: by the attacks of our cavalry. 26. novissimos illorum: the same as novissimum agmen, 1, 22, of which extremum agmen, 1, 27, is a part. The cavalry overwhelmed detach­ments of the rear guard, but were driven back when the whole rear guard (universarum cohortium impetu) faced about and charged on them. But a delay of the rear guard meant a delay of the whole army. 27. nonnumquam...alias: = alias...alias; see on pp. 22, 23; 37, 34.—sustinere: intransitive, = halted; agmen is subj. 28. inferri signa: a charge was made. 29. conversos: i.e. nostros. For the interchange of active and passive infin. cf. p. 32, 7–8. 30. circulari, dolere, adire, obsecrare: historical infs. with milites as subj. nom., gathered in knots and lamented, etc. G. 650; Gr. 275; H. 536, 1. 32. obsecrare...parceret: and begged them to tell Caesar not to be chary of, etc. 36. tantae magnitudini fluminis: highly emphatic for tanto flumini. 2. centuriis: App. III, 2, a. 3. sustinere non posse: unable to hold out; see on p. 39, 27. 5. supra, infra: the first to break the force of the current, the second, ll. 6–8. 9. tripli­cemque aciem: see on p. 30, 26. The three lines marched in columns of course (each cohort in the figure App. III, 2, d, to the right face), one after the other, or parallel to each other, and did not deploy into line of battle until near the enemy. 11. addito, interposita: abl. abs. expressing concession, though, etc. See on p. 38, 21. 12. qui...exissent: G. 637; Gr. 320, e; H. 515, iii.—ante horam diei viii: i.e. between three and four o'clock, p.m. "The hour, being uniformly \( \frac{1}{12} \) of the day or of the night, of course varied in length with the length of the day or night at different seasons of the year." A very large proportion of the time must have been occupied by both armies not in marching, but in crossing the river, one party by a narrow bridge, the other by a dangerous ford. Instead of following the Sicoris down to the Hiberus, and this then down to Octogesa, Afranius and Petreius evidently tried a short cut through the hills.
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PAGE 40  CHAP. LXV. The enemy halt and assume the defensive.

13. procul visos: as they came into sight a long way off. 16. ne . . . objiciat: so he had rested them after the march down to Ilerda, p. 30, 27-28. --conantes: sc. illos. 18. a...v: at a distance of, or, five miles off. G. 335, R. 2; H. 379, 2, N. 19. excipiebant: lit. received those taking this route, hence, followed, came next. --Hos montes intrare cupiebant, ut . . . traducerent: the hills along the Sicoris are here separated from a range stretching east and west by a narrow and rugged pass, extending south to the Hiberus (Ebro). See note at end of chap. 64. 23. Quod . . . conandum: this they ought to have tried and put through at all hazards. See on erat . . . petendus, p. 31, 6.

CHAP. LXVI. Caesar checks the enemy's attempt to march on by night. Both sides reconnoitre.

28. equitibus: sc. nostris. 29. signum . . . conclamari: App. III, 16. 31. impediti: explained by sub onere = sub s. arcinis. 41 App. III, 8, c, end. 1. proxima intercedere: directly intervened. 2. excipere: see on p. 40, 19. 3. qui: see on p. 42, 10. --ab . . . negotii: he would have no trouble in, etc.

CHAP. LXVII. Afranius and Petreius discuss whether to advance by night or by day.

7. prius . . . quam sentiretur: too soon to be discovered; see on p. 21, 15. 8. clamatum esset: cf. p. 40, 30. --argumenti...loc: took it in place of proof, took it for granted. 9. exiri: pass. impers. like veniri, 1. 7, representing the simple action in the abstract, with no reference to the persons performing it; translate as if act. --Circumfundi: used in a reflexive or "middle" sense; scattered themselves about. 0. O. after a verb of saying understood. 11. in civili dissensione: because all restraints seem weakened then, more than in a war of defence or even of conquest. 12. timori . . . consuerit: usually paid more heed to his fright than to his military oath. 13. At lucem . . afferre: but daylight of itself, they argued, produced much restraint, because all are looking, much also was produced by, etc. 16. omnis ratione: see on p. 40, 23. 17. etsi: even though; the abl. abs. alone might express this relation. --summa exercitus: se. parte; the greater part of; abl. abs. with salva.
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CHAP. LXVIII. Caesar starts on a detour over the hills to cut off the enemy from the Hiberus.

20. albente caelo: when the sky was getting gray, i.e., at early dawn, for the more usual prima luce, p. 39, 24. 24. Ipsi: he himself had to cross, etc. G. 353; Gr. 232; H. 388. 26. per manus ... traderentur: were passed along from hand to hand.—inermi: oftener of 3rd decl.—inermes. 27. alii ab aliiis: by one another; see on p. 21, 8. 28. eum: attracted from id by finem. G. 202, R. 5; Gr. 195, d; H. 445,4. The pronoun is explained by the appositional clause si... potuissent.

CHAP. LXIX. Caesar deceives the enemy at first into a belief that he is retreating, but soon his design is perceived, and both armies engage in a race for the pass leading to Octogesa.

32. prosequebantur: sc. nostros.—necessarii ... reverti: gives the gist of vocibus.—victus: gen. sing. 34. iri: sc. a nostris, and see on p. 41, 9. 35. laudibus ferebant: mentioned with praises, i.e. extolled, congratulated themselves on. 36. castris: see on partibus, p. 23, 3. 1. quod: its antecedent is strictly id understood as subj. of adjuvabat; without this antecedent quod... videbant serves as subj., the fact that, etc.—sine... jumentis... prefectos (esse): cf. p. 40, 4. 3. retorqueri agmen: Caesar probably marched down from the hill on which his camp was pitched (p. 40, 26) directly towards Ilerda, but then veered slowly to the east, when the hills themselves concealed his further march till the head of his column appeared marching S. E. and already past the camp (superare regionem castrorum) of the enemy. 5. animum adverterunt: = animadvertitur; see on militesque... transportat, p. 36, 7.—fugiens laboris: "this is the only participle which Caesar uses like an adj. with the gen., and he does it only in this place." 6. quin... putaret: as not to think it necessary to leave the camp at once and head Caesar off.

CHAP. LXX. In spite of great disadvantages Caesar wins the race, occupies the pass, and cuts off a detachment of the enemy with his cavalry.

9. Erat... occuparent: the whole struggle as to which should occupy, etc., depended on their speed. 10. utri: which of two; so prius, first of two. G. 315, and R. A rare exception in p. 41, 3, qui prior. 12. Res... huc erat... deducta: the case was reduced to
this dilemma. 16. relictas: cf. l. 8. 18. ex: after issuing from.
19. aciem instruct: between the enemy and the pass which they had
so eagerly desired to reach (p. 40, 19), while his cavalry were between
them and Ilerda or their camp. See next sentence. 22. in montem
... excelsissimus: the highest hill anywhere in sight. G. 618, 3rd ex-
ample; Gr. 200, d; H. 453,5. 24. eodem . . . contenderet: might
try to gain the same position. 25. jugis: along the ridges; see on
pontibus p. 29, 32. 28. minimam partem temporis: an instant.

CHAP. LXXI. Caesar’s soldiers are eager to make a general attack
while the enemy are partially demoralized.

30. bene gerendae rei: for a successful blow. 32. sustinere:
used absolutely, as in pp. 39, 27; 40, 3; hold their ground. Cf. l. 28.
The sentence is explanatory of id, l. 31. 33. cum . . . conflagretur:when the struggle should be carried on in the plain, as it would be the
moment the enemy were dislodged, or descended from their hill for
water, provisions, or a retreat. 34. idque: i.e. an attack which
should so dislodge them. 36. ne dubitaret: crying do not hesitate
to attack. 2. contra: adv., on the other hand.—multis rebus . . .
quod: in many ways, viz. by, etc. See on omnibus rebus, p. 14, 27.—
the cause of conferti, and this the cause of neque . . . servarent; and
because their standards were all huddled together, they were crowded,
and so kept neither their companies nor cohorts intact. For signis,
ordines, signa, App. III, 2, a; 17, b. 5. Quod si: as for which, if
= but if. G. 612, R. 1, end; Gr. 156, b; H. 453,6. 6. datum iri:
less common than fore ut daretur with the nom. See on p. 16, 12.

CHAP. LXXII. But Caesar is not willing to attack, hoping to come to
terms without loss of life.

8. in eam spem venerat: had begun to hope. 10. quod . . . in-
terclusisset: see on p. 20, 31. 11. Cur . . . amitteret: why, thought
Caesar, should he lose, etc. O. O. after a histor. tense supplied.—ex
suis: see on p. 35, 35. 12. optime . . . meritos: who had served him
most faithfully; cf. p. 17, 12. 13. cum non minus esset imperatoris:
since it was no less the duty of a general, since it showed no less general-
ship, etc. G. 365 ; Gr. 214, d ; H. 402. 14. consilio: strategy.
15. interficiendos : must be slain, in case of a battle. 16. rem
obtinere: to win the struggle. 17. plerisque non probabatur: G.
353, R.; Gr. 232, b; H. 388, 3; cf. p. 44, 26; did not please the major-
ity, viz. of the officers, who nevertheless held their peace. The soldiers however (vero) did not restrain their feelings. 22. castra: cf. p. 42,6.
23. referunt: for the more usual recipiunt.

CHAP. LXXIII. The perplexity of the enemy, and their efforts to get water without danger of attack.

27. de reliquis rebus: concerning the courses still open to them. 28. Erat...si vellent: G. 599, R. 2; Gr. 311, c; H. 511,1. 29. Tarraconem: but this had joined Caesar; cf. p. 38, 7.—nuntiantur: personal for the impersonal construction, it was announced that, etc. G. 528; Gr. 330, b; H. 534,1, N. 1. 31. cohortium aliarum: App. III, 4. 35. ipsique: and in person.

CHAP. LXXIV. While Afranius and Petreius are away from the camp, the soldiers of both armies arrange an armistice, and Caesar’s hopes of avoiding loss of life seem fulfilled.

1. vulgo: in crowds.—quern quisque: see on p. 32,2. 3. omnes omnibus: put side by side for rhetorical effect. G. 683; Gr. 344, g; H. 563. Cf. p. 43, 25. 4. pepercissent: cf. p. 43, 20–22. 5. fidem quae runt: inquired about the trustworthiness of, etc.—rectene: whether...safely, etc.—illii: i.e. imperatori, Caesar. 6. fecerint: sc. id, referring to se commissuri.—armaque: we would use an adversative conj., but had, etc. See on p. 14, 13. 8. provoca­ti: encouraged, because Caesar’s men answered favorably.—fidem...de...vita: a pledge to spare the life of, etc. Cf. l. 5. 9. in se...concepisse: to have taken to themselves, i.e. to have harbored, planned. 11. signa translaturos: see on p. 38, 13. 12. primorum ordinum: App. III, 11, a, end. 13. invitandi causa: to show them hospitality. 14. binis: G. 95, R. 2; Gr. 95, b; H. 174, 2, 3). 17. evocaverant: sc. illii, i.e. Afranius and Petreius. 19. aditum commendationis: an introduction. 20. haberet: after per quem = ut per eum. 22. laetitia: “Caesar uses the abl. with plenus only here; elsewhere the gen.”—omnia: the hearts of all. 25. pristinae lenitatis: chap. 72. 26. a cunctis: see on p. 43, 17.

CHAP. LXXV. Afranius gives up all for lost, but Petreius breaks up the parley and forces the soldiers into their respective camps.

27. opere: cf. p.43, 30–36. 28. sic paratus...ut...ferret: sc. animo, disposed to bear. Afranius was afterwards accused of
treachery by the more ardent friends of Pompey; iii, 83, 21. 30. non deserit sese: did not lose his presence of mind.—familiam: see on p. 18, 4.—praetoria cohorte: App. III, 18. 31. beneficiariis: soldiers who, like the evocati, were exempted by their commander from the more menial camp duties; favorites. 35. exterriti: though frightened.—sagis: App. III, 3, a. The garment here serves as a shield.

2. in statione: cf. p. 31, 28.

CHAP. LXXVI. Petreius constrains his soldiers to swear renewed allegiance to Pompey, and brings matters back to the old footing.

4. manipulos: App. III, 2. 5. neu se neu... obsecrat: i.e. et obsecrat ne se neu, etc.—adversariis... tradant: allow their enemies to injure. 6. Fit concursus: stronger than concurretur. 7. praetorium: App. III, 19. 8. sibi... consilium capturos: see on p. 11, 8. 10. jusjurandum: a second acc. with adigit, instead of a dat., or the acc. with ad; see on flumen transportat, p. 36, 7. 11. centuriatim: App. III, 2, a. 12. idem: G. 381, R. 2; Gr. 240, a; H. 371, ii.—quern quisque: see on p. 32, 2. 13. productos: see on reprehensas, p. 25, 2. 16. nova religio: the fresh restraint.

CHAP. LXXVII. Caesar’s course toward the enemy’s soldiers found in his camp.

18. qui milites... venerant: see on p. 31, 28. 23. priores ordines: App. III, 11, a.—in... honorem: which they had held under Pompey. App. III, 9. All tribuni militum were equites, but not vice versa.

CHAP. LXXVIII. The enemy are driven to an attempt to regain Ilerda, but Caesar follows and harasses them.

25. pabulatione: when they tried to forage. 27. frumentum... efferre: App. III, 3, c. 28. facultates ad parandum: means, money to buy, sc. hoc, i.e. frumentum. 29. insueta ad: “elsewhere Caesar uses the gen.”; cf. p. 32, 5. 31. consilii duobus: cf. p. 43, 28. 33. reliquum consilium explicaturas: develop a plan for the future; see on p. 43, 27. 34. quo: i.e. et tanto. 2. quin... proeliarantur: without... fighting. G. 551, 1, 3rd Ex.; Gr. 319, d; H. 504,1, N.
NOTES.—BOOK I.

CHAP. LXXXIX. The tactics of the pursued.

4. cohortes: of the enemy.—pluresque . . . subsistebant: on level ground where Caesar’s cavalry could harass them, more cohorts than usual were put at the rear, so that the main body could go on unmolested. 7. qui antecesserant: = antecedentes. The omitted antecedent is subj. of protegebant; cf. next line. 9. morantibus: i.e. iis qui suceebant.—equites: of Caesar. 13. eo sum-moto: and when this had been dispersed to suddenly cross the valley in a body on the double quick, and make a stand on the other side. 16. tantum . . . aberant: so far from getting help from their own horse­men were they. In this sense the sing. of auxilium is more common. G. 75, C; Gr. 79, c; H. 132. 18. ultroque: and protected them besides, instead of being protected by them. 19. quin . . . excipercor-tur: see on 1. 2.

CHAP. LXXX. As the enemy try, by a ruse, to hasten forward, Caesar threatens them with infantry as well as cavalry.

22. tum . . . enim: in this instance . . . namely. 23. peragitati: “used only here by Caesar, and seldom by any one else.” 24. una fronte contra hostem: only on the side toward the enemy, as Caesar had done, p. 30, 35, but here as a mere feint. 25. neque: but . . . not; see on p. 44, 6. 26. constituta: pitched. 27. animum ad-verterunt: see on p. 42, 5. Cf.l. 29. 31. hora x: this order applied only to the pabulatores, the equites he orders to follow at once. 36. universum: in a body.

CHAP. LXXXI. The enemy are forced to encamp unfavorably, and Caesar begins to hedge them in.

1. idoneum locum castris: App. III, 19. 3. natura iniquo: nat-uraly unfavorable. 4. supra: cf. chap.72. 7. erumperent: sc. illi, a sudden change of subj.; if they tried to hurry on. 8. proferunt: pushed forward, i.e. toward Caesar’s position, in order to avail themselves of some more commanding ground.—castraque . . . convertunt: and exchanged one camp for another. G. 404; Gr. 252; H. 422, N. 2. 12. malo, malis: dat. and abl.; one evil is cured by undergoing others. 14. pabulatum: see on p. 34, 3. 15. male haberi: see on p. 39, 18. 16. quam proelio decertare: rather than decide the issue by a battle. 19. quo . . . existimabat: and to this (viz. repentinias eruptiones) he
thought they would have to resort; quo = ad quas. ad id: i.e. pabulationem implied in pabuli, or eruptiones, l. 18.

CHAP. LXXXII. To hinder Caesar's siege-works the enemy offer battle, but neither side attacks.

27. contra... afferebat: for the appearance (videri) of avoiding battle, contrary to the good opinion which his soldiers had of him, and to his reputation as a general in the eyes of all, was sure to damage him greatly. G. 224, 246, R. 2; Gr. 308, e; H. 476, 4. 29. cognitae: see on l. 4.—quominus... vellet: follows movebatur only as this contains the negative idea of being prevented, kept back from; he was rendered unwilling to fight. See on p. 30, 30. 30. hoc etiam magis: so much the more also; see on p. 39, 13.—spatii brevitas: sc. inter bina castra; as the next sentence shows. No decisive victory could be won when the vanquished could so soon retreat within fortifications. 31. non multum... poterat: could not help much toward, i.e. must hinder greatly a decisive victory. The mood of poterat like afferebat in l. 28. 32. Non... distabant: see on l. 8. 33. Hinc: = ex eo spatio. 35. Si... committeretur: the thought of Caesar, treated as dependent on a hist. tense. 48. inferentibus: if they attacked.

CHAP. LXXXIII. At sunset both armies retire to camp without a battle. Next day the enemy try in vain to cross the Sicoris.

2. Acies... duplex... triplex: App. III, 2, d. 3. in subsidiis: as reserve, forming really an acies tertia. 4. alariae cohortes: see on p. 43, 31.—sed: but on a different plan, inasmuch as he had legionary cohorts even in the third line, and brought his auxiliaries farther to the front, while his cavalry, not rendered useless by fright as was that of the enemy (p. 46, 15-18), protected the wings. 5. v legionibus: one had been left at the camp before Herda, p. 40, 3. 6. suea cujusque legionis: of their own legion in each case; cf. App. III, 2, d, end. 7. media acie: may mean in the second line, or, in the intervals of his battle lines, i.e. between the legionary cohorts of all three lines; better the latter. 9. tenere propositum: abide by his determination, the substantive explained by the clauses ne... committeret and ut... impediret; Caesar not to... Afranius to, etc. 14. tentare: either histor. infin. (see on p. 39, 30), or dependent on parat.—si... possent: see on p. 13, 30. 15. partem flumen: so p. 36, 14.
NOTES.—BOOK I.

CHAP. LXXXIV. At last the enemy confess themselves beaten, and ask for merciful terms.

17. omnibus rebus: see on p. 14, 27. 18. jumentis: the horses of the cavalry; cf. p. 47, 19–21. 20. et: we would say but. 23. non esse . . . succensendum: no anger ought to be cherished against, etc. 25. satis . . . officio: they had satisfied the claims of duty. H. 384, 4, N. 1. 26. supplicii: cf. p. 47, 15. G. 371; Gr. 216, a, 4; H. 397, 4. 28. ingressu: moving about. 30. si . . . relinquatur: if any room for pity was left.—ne . . . habeant: that they might not be obliged to commit suicide; see on p. 21, 29.

CHAP. LXXXV. Caesar's answer, and his terms.

33. nulli . . . convenisse: for no one in the world was this complaining or pitiful rôle less fitting than for Afranius and Petreius. 34. reliquis omnes: viz. Caesar (se), exercitum suum, illius exercitus milites. 36. configere noluerit: cf. chap. 72. 2. interfecit: see p. 46, 13, and cf. l. 9. 3. conservavit: cf. chap. 77.—illius: agrees with exercitus; of the opposing army, as contrasted with exercitum suum, l. 1. 4. per se: of their own accord; see chap. 74. 5. suorum: sc. imperatorum, p. 44, 8–10.—Sic . . . constitisse: thus the conduct of all classes had been based upon pity, had been merciful. 7. induti- arum: the word for a formal truce, which, of course, had not been made. 12. humilitate, opportunitate: abls. of cause. 13. quibus rebus: = aliquas res quibus. 16. alia de causa: for any other reason than contra se. 17. tot tantasque classes: perhaps a rhetorical exaggeration of what is mentioned p. 54, 7; otherwise the allusion cannot be explained. 18. pacandas: conquering, as p. 15, 4; p. 29, 21. 20. diuturnitatem pacis: since the close of the Sertorian war in 72. 21. in se: acc., against him, like contra se just before; so in l. 24 and 26, but l. 28, in se uno, abl., in his case alone.—novi generis imperia: commands of a new sort, i.e. allowing the general to be absent from his army like Pompey (idem). Int. 7. 23. tot anni: since 55; see on p. 32, 36. 24. ex praetura et consulatu: men who had been praetors and consuls. 25. per paucos probati: cf. p. 14, 7–10. 27. cum . . . evocentur: when, for the sake of raising armies, veterans of former wars were called back to service. In his anxiety to get evocati (App. III, 12), Pompey had compelled many to serve who were really too old and feeble. 28. non servari: that privilege had not been observed which, etc. 31. exercitumque dimittant: and then dismiss their army, perhaps after having entered Rome in tri-
umphal procession, whereas Caesar had been required to leave his army in the province, p. 12, 7-9. Cf. Int. 8. 34. quo: abl. with uti; its antec. is obj. of habeant. 35. Proinde . . . dimitterent: Caesar suddenly gives his orders (excedite, dimittite), which become imperf. subjv. in 0. 0., respondit, p. 48, 33, which up to this point has served as a principal, now being treated as a histor. tense. In the next clause the old form is resumed.—ut esset dictum: as had been said, viz. ll. 14-15.

CHAP. LXXXVI. The soldiers of Afranius force an immediate acceptance of these terms (Aug. 2d).

50 2. Id: explained by the clause ut, qui . . . ferrent. 3. ut . . . potuit: as could be seen from their very expressions, both by word and gesture, as explained in the next sentence. 4. qui . . . espectavissent: see on p. 40, 12.—ultro: not only received no punishment, but a reward besides; cf. p. 46, 18. 5. ejus rei: i.e. missionis. 8. neque . . . posse: and said it (the dismissal) might prove uncertain, in spite of every kind of pledge. 10. res huc deducitur: the question was thus settled. 12. Varum flumen: the eastern boundary of Gallia Narbonensis.—ne quid . . . cavetur: Caesar guaranteed that they suffer no harm, and that no one be forced to enlist under him.

CHAP. LXXXVII. The justness with which the enemy are treated until their final dismissal.

16. quae . . . suos: so far as such things were in the hands of his own soldiers. 17. iis qui amiserant: to the losers. For the indic. see on p. 34, 31. 20. in jus: for a decision. 21. stipendium . . . flagitarentur: the passive construction with verbs of demanding. G. 333, R. 1; Gr. 239, c, R.; H. 374,1. Translate freely, when the legions demanded their pay from Petreius, etc. 22. cujus: = et cum ejus (i.e. stipendi). 23. cognosceret: consider the case. 24. Parte . . . dimissa: viz. those who had homes in Spain, ll. 10-11. 25. duas legiones . . . jussit: from ii, 19, 11, we learn that Caesar sent two of his six legions into southern Spain; two he now sends on ahead of the defeated army, and behind it the two still remaining. For the case of legiones suas, see on p. 33, 10. 27. Hoc ejus praescripto: following these directions of his, i.e. thus escorted, the defeated army between two divisions of their conquerors.

In forty days (ii, 32, 10-13) Caesar had conquered the veteran army of Pompey, commanded by experienced officers, strongly intrenched,
and abundantly supplied. His clemency was even greater than at Corfinium, since the defeated veterans were not even required to enlist under him, but dismissed on parole. This officers and men most dis-honorably broke to join Pompey in Greece (iii, 88, 7-10).

**BOOK II.**

N. B.—In the commentaries on the Gallic War, each book narrates the events of a single year; in those on the Civil War, the events of the year 49 occupy books i, ii, and iii, 1-5.

**A. SIEGE OF MASSILIA. CHAP. I—XVI.**

CHAP. I (a continuation of i, 34-36, 56-58). Trebonius makes the usual preparations for a siege,

2. *duabus ex partibus: on two sides;* see on p. 23, 4. 3. *aggerem: 51 a siege-mound, not rubbish for one as p. 23, 9.—vineas turresque: see on p. 23, 22. 4. *Una: sc. pars;* on the east of the city.—*altera . . . Rhodani:* the other side where Trebonius brought his engines to bear on the city, was at that portion of the city where the road comes into it from Gaul and Spain, near that arm of the sea which is next to the mouth of the Rhone, i.e. on the north of the city. 7. *quaes . . . habeat: such as to afford access by land. “Massilia lay on a recess of the Gallic gulf, upon a peninsula-like promontory, and was connected on its fourth side with the mainland by an isthmus only 1500 paces wide.”* 10. *habet: rendered a siege long and difficult, or, required a long, etc. See on p. 39, 19. 13. *materiam: see on p. 28, 24. 14. aggerem . . . exstruit: probably begun at some distance from the city, increasing in height as it approached nearer, and designed eventually to support siege-engines of all kinds on a level with the city walls, or even above them.

CHAP. II. but unusual preparations are made necessary.

16. *tormentorum: engines for hurling missiles of various shapes and kinds. The propelling force in all was the same as that of a bow. 17. vineae: see on l. 3. 18. atque hi: see on p. 24, 20. 19. bal-
listis: strictly this was the name of a tormentum specially adapted to throwing stone missiles, but by later writers it is often used like catapulta, which was the tormentum built to throw heavy darts, as here. So catapulta for ballista, p. 55, 5.—cratium: hurdles; see on p. 23, 18; the same as viminibus in l. 17, of which they were made. 20. porticus: several heavily built vineae joined together, under cover of which the stuff for the siege-mound was brought up, and so this pushed forward, proferebatur. See on p. 47, 8. 21. hac: = sub his.—inter manus: by hand. 22. testudo: a tortoise. Strictly it was the name of the battering ram (aries) with its roof covering. The head of the battering ram then reminded people by its motions of the head of the tortoise. But the word is used here of the heavy roof covering alone, made of enormous size (60 feet square), and furnished with a sloping front to ward off missiles from the city. It was sent on ahead of the long galleries of vineae (porticus), to level off the surface of the ground (aequandi loci causa) so that they could be easily moved forward on rollers.—pedum lx: sc. quoadversus. 25. administrationem: prosecution of the siege. Cf. p. 56, 52 26. 1. Albicos: see p. 27, 28-30, i, 56-58. 3. quae: refers to eruptiones and ignes; see on p. 30, 6.—ultro: see on p. 50, 4. 4. fecerant, rejiciebant: both actions are repeated (iterative), but the first before the second. G. 569.

Chap. III. Nasidius is sent by Pompey with a fleet to aid the Massaliots,

6. aeratae: bronze-plated. 7. freto: with pervehitur as abl. of place and means; see on p. 29,32. 8. Curione: cf. p. 26, 1-2.—Messenam: modern Messina, in N. E. Sicily, always an important city, with a wonderful harbor. About 282 it was seized by some Campanian mercenary troops returning home from Syracuse. These called themselves Mamertini, or children of Mars. Through their appeals for aid against the Carthaginians Rome finally secured the city and all Sicily in the first Punic war (264-241).

Chap. IV. and they eagerly prepare to fight Brutus again.

15. superius incommodum: cf. i, 58.—ad eundem numerum: to make up the original (p. 36, 25) number. 16. productas: translate as a plup. coordinate with those following. 21. matrum familiae: Caesar never uses the gen. in -as; G. 27, R. 1; Gr. 36, b; H. 49, 1. 22. subvenirent: gives the contents of precibus ac fletu, = subveniatis in
NOTES.—BOOK II.

O. R.; tearful prayers to help the state in its extremity. 24. invis: unseen, a rare meaning. 25. rebus: abl. with both verbs. 26. ut tum accidit: cf. p. 46, 22, and note. Of course only the first part (confidamus) of Caesar's general statement is illustrated by the Massaliots. They magnified the help which Nasidius was bringing them, before they had seen the ships or learned the temper of their crews. 28. Tauroënta: acc. of Tauros, gen. -entos, Greek 3rd decl. It was on the coast S. E. of Massilia, modern Tarente. For the case, see on p. 19, 1. 31. consilia communicant: took common counsel.

CHAP. V. Brutus sails against them, while those left in the city devote themselves to prayer for the success of their fleet.

33. quae . . . Caesarem : see p. 28, 23. 34. captivae . . . sex: cf. p. 37, 29-31. 36. quos . . . contemnerent: for the position of the relative clause see on p. 15, 2-5. Supply eos with victos. 3. prospicere in urbem ut: to look down into the city and see how, etc. 4. superioris aetatis: = senēs. 5. aut . . . tenderent: said of the juventus; aut . . . exposcerent of the old and unwarlike. The subjvs. are in indirect or dependent questions, introduced by ut (3) = quomodo. G. 469; Gr. 334; H. 529, i, last Ex. but one. Madvig quotes under this rule, Vides, ut (how) alta stet nive candidum Soracte, from Horace. So Harper’s Dict. 8. quin . . . existimaret: but thought, who did not think (quin = qui non) that his existence depended on the fortune of that day. For in . . . casu . . . consistere, cf. p. 49, 6, and note. 9. honesti: refers to good birth, as p. 35, 2; amplissimi to authority in the state, most influential. 11. ut . . . viderent: so that they saw that in case of defeat, there would be nothing left for them even to attempt. 14. confiderent: also dependent on ut in l. 11.

CHAP. VI. Both sides fight desperately, but two triremes of Massilia are accidentally disabled and sunk.

16. acceperant; cf. p. 52, 21-22. 17. hoc animo ut: with this feeling, that they seemed likely to have, etc. 18. ad conandum: used absolutely as in l. 12.—et quibus: sc. ut, which introduces existimarent; the antec. of the rel. is se. 20. antecedere existimarent: translate as = antecedent, the existimarent repeating with a preciseness foreign to our idiom what is already implied in animo above. See on p. 33, 17.—quibus . . . patienda: since, as they reasoned, in case the city should be taken, they (the rest of the citizens)
would have to suffer, the same fortune of war. They had provoked Caesar greatly, and they knew that on Gallic cities his vengeance had fallen terribly. 21. diductisque...navibus; as our ships gradually got parted. 22. et artificio...dabatur: here the Massaliots excelled; cf. i, 58. 23. ferreis manibus: see on p. 37, 2. 25. succurrentabant: the imperfect shows that religaverant also denotes repeated action; see on p. 52, 4.—comminus...deficiebant: nor were they unequal to a hand to hand fight. For the dat. in pugnando, G. 430, 345; Gr. 290, a; H. 542, ii. 26. neque...nostris: see on p. 37, 7. 28. imprudentibus atque impeditis: translate by a rel. clause, who were, etc. 29. inferebant: G. 202, Excep. 1); Gr. 205, c; H. 461,1. 30. ex insigni: the commander’s vessel carried a red streamer (vexillum rubrum). 31. tantum...ensis est: lit. struggled so much with the speed of his ship, i.e. crowded his ship on so swiftly, that he just got out of their way, and then of course they ran into each other. 34. utraque...laborarent: “Caesar has the plural with uterque only once besides,” p. 88, 16. 35. tota collabefieret: became a total wreck.

CHAP. VII. Nasidius ignominiously sails off and leaves the Massaliots to a severe defeat.

54 2. nullo usui: G. 35, R. end, 350; Gr. 88, footnote, 233; H. 151, N. 1, 390, N. 2. 7. quae...petiverunt: this happened toward the close of Caesar’s campaign in Spain, and may possibly serve as basis for the exaggerated tot tantasque classes, p. 49, 17, where see note. 11. exceptit: arose. 12. eodem vestigio: on the very spot, at that very instant. Cf. p. 56, 83.

CHAP. VIII. The besiegers decide to build a tower.

14. Est animadversum: its subj. is the whole passage ex crebris...fecissent. 16. pro: to serve as. 17. latere: nom. later.—fecissent: represents fecerimus in the thoughts of the soldiers; see on p. 16, 18, and cf. p. 53, 12 and 13.—quam: see on p. 14, 20, end.—primo: contrast primum, p. 55, 28. See on p. 17, 34. 19. oppresserat, propugnabant: see on p. 53, 25; propugnare means to fight defensively from a ship or fortified place. 24. si...elata: the order is, si haec turris elata esset in altitudinem, should be raised.

CHAP. IX. The way in which the tower was built in the face of the enemy.
25-28. The tower is begun under cover of plutei and vineae (29), and when its walls have been built up to the proper place for the first floor (ad contabulationem), the beams of this floor are imbedded in the brick walls so as not to project beyond the outer layer (extrema . . . structura).—ubi . . . adhaerescet: here and in l. 36 ubi = ut ibi, where. Elsewhere in the chap. it means when.

28—p. 55, 11. Above this floor (contignationem = contabulationem) they carry the brick walls up as far as the men can work under the plutei and vineae, and then construct what is finally to be the roof of the tower as follows: on the walls thus far built (supra eum locum), they lay duo tigna transversa (Fig. 1), to serve as a support (quibus suspenderent) for the skeleton frame-work of the roof (Fig. 2), and over this skeleton frame-work they put cross-pieces at right angles with each other, and fasten them down with planks (axibus) so as to project over the walls of the tower on the three sides exposed to the enemy (Fig. 3), so that protections against missiles can hang down from these projections after the movable roof is raised up and while the walls are being built up to it (cum inter eam contignationem parietes extruerentur). This movable roof they cover so as to be fire- and missile-proof. Then cable-curtains (storias ex funibus ancorariis) are made to hang from the projecting cross-pieces.—catapultis: see on p. 51, 19.—in longitudinem parietum: cf. p. 54, 21.—praependentes: a pred. part.; fastened them on the projecting beams (cross-pieces) so as to hang down around the tower.

tormento (11): the missile hurled by an engine. So in l. 28.

11-24. At last the plutei and vineae, under which the work has thus far gone on, are removed, and the movable roof, which now takes their place as a protection, is raised up with levers (pressionibus) by itself (per se ipsum) as high as the width of its rope-curtains, from the walls on which it had been resting. Then the walls are built up to it, under cover of the rope-curtains. By raising the movable roof with a second leverage (alia pressione) they make space for themselves to build the walls still higher, and so on until it is time to put in a second flooring (alterius contabulationis), which they make like
the first (p. 54, 26-28), and then from this flooring (contignatione = contabulatione), or, standing on this flooring, they raise the movable roof (summam contabulationem) with its protecting cable-curtains still higher up, and so on for six stories, leaving windows in the masonry at the best points (quibus in locis visum est).

CHAP. X. The building of a huge musculum.

25. musculum: a covered gallery, longer and stronger than a vinea, used to protect the soldiers while levelling ground for the approach of other structures, digging trenches, etc., but here of extraordinary size and put to an extraordinary use. It was built as massive as the testudo (p. 51, 22), but long and narrow, 60 x 4 instead of 60 x 60. 26. quern...perducerent: rel. clause of purpose. The per- shows that the musculum was to reach from the new brick tower of the besiegers up to the city walls, and hence its unusual length. It was built however by the tower, and then rolled forward to the wall (p. 56, 6-9). 28. primum: see on primo, p. 54, 17. 31. capreolis: rafters of slight slope. 32. ponant: see on quae vellet, p. 11, 20. So structur, l. 36, jaceretur, p. 56, 2.—Eo super: on these rafters moreover, etc. 34. Ad...defigunt: along the edge of the roof and of its beams they fastened strips of wood four inches square. 36. Ita...tecto: after the roof had thus been made with a regular slope.

56 1. ut: as soon as. 3. canalibus: pipes, from the walls of the city. The bricks were unburnt. 7. machinatione navali: on a launching frame. 9. aedificio: i.e. the outer wall of the enemy’s tower. See on p. 55, 26. G. 346, R. 2; Gr. 248, a, R.; H. 385, 4, 3).

CHAP. XI. Under cover of this musculum a tower of the city wall is undermined, when the besieged began an armistice.

9. subito: with malo. 10. praecipitataque muro: translate as praecipitabant muro. G. 388; Gr. 243; H. 414, 1. 14. devolvunt—Involutae, labuntur—delapsae: related to each other as reprehendunt—reprehensas, p. 25, 2, where see note. 17. continebantur: were held in place, cf. contineri, p. 23, 11. 22. consequens procumbebat: threatened to follow. 23. direptione: the anticipated pillaging. 24. cum infulis: flocks of white and red wool, intertwined with white fillets or bands, wound round the head or carried on wands as symbols of inviolability, in this case something like our flag of truce. Priests wore them as a sign of their sacred office. The corps of sur-
geons on a modern battle-field are secured from willful injury by the red cross on their uniform.

**CHAP. XII.** Their plea is heard,

26. *administratio belli:* cf. p. 51, 25, and note. 27. *ad studium* ... *feruntur:* *are carried away with eagerness to,* etc. 30. *videre:* sc. se; *they said* *they saw that their city was as good as taken.* 32. *Nullam . . . diriperant:* *that no obstacle could arise to prevent their being instantly* (e *vestigio*) *plundered,* *when he* (Caesar) *came,* *if they did not obey his orders implicitly* (ad *nutum*). See on p. 54, 12. 34. *omnino:* cf. *pars turris,* 1.22.—*contineri quin . . . delerent:* *kept from destroying,* etc. 36. *ut ab hominibus doctis:* *as was to be expected of cultured people.* The Massaliots were Greeks (see on p. 27, 21), and inherited Greek culture and gifts of speech, probably also Greek contempt for the “barbarous” Romans. 1. *misericordia:* *pitifulness,* *pathos;* cf. *miserationis,* p. 48, 34. In l. 4, *out of pity.*

**CHAP. XIII.** and granted, to the disgust of the Roman soldiers.

3. *oppugnatione:* *active prosecution of the siege,* i.e. *the opere of the preceding line,* *which = officio,* *work or task.* 8. *ne . . . pateretur, ne . . .:* *not to suffer,* *lest,* etc. 9. *et . . . sui:* *both by the hatred which they felt on account of the city’s desertion of Caesar,* and *by the disdain which the Massaliots had shown toward them.* 12. *quin . . . irrumperent:* see on p. 56, 34. 13. *quod . . . videbatur:* *namely that,* etc., *a clause explanatory of eam rem.—stetisse per . . . quominus:* see on p. 30, 30.

**CHAP. XIV.** The Massaliots break the truce and destroy the works of the besiegers on one side of the city.

17. *ex:* *after.* 19. *contectaque:* *with special ref. to the shields,* *which, when not in use, were kept in leathern cases.*—*prerumpunt:* *“used only here by Caesar, and seldom by any one else.”* Cf. se . . . *proripiunt,* p. 56, 24. 20. *vento:* abl. abs., *while a favorable and high wind was blowing.* G. 408; Gr. 255, a; H. 491, 4. Cf. altiore *aqua,* p. 23, 11, rapidissimo *flumine,* p. 34, 29. 25. *Fit . . . impetus:* see on p. 45, 6. Translate personally, *they attack.* 28. *multorum mensium:* not more than three certainly. 32. *alteram turrim aggeremque:* cf. p. 51, 2–6, with notes.—*eruptione pugnaverunt:* *made a sally.* 33. *Sed ut . . . miserant:* *but just as completely as our
men had relaxed the zeal which they had shown in the time preceding the truce, so now, etc.

CHAP. XV. The besiegers rapidly construct a second agger.

2. ubi . . . perdoluerunt: when they saw . . . and bitterly lamented that, etc. The conclusion is aggerem . . . facere instituerunt (9), then they determined, etc., the intermediate clause, quod . . . reliquum, giving the reason why the new agger had to be novi generis atque inauditum (7), and the abl. abs., omnibus . . . convectis, the reason of that reason. 5. unde: = ut inde, no place remained whence, etc.

9. eorum murorum contignatione: with a flooring over these walls.—aequa . . . atque . . . agger: of about the same height as the former (ille) mound built up (congesticius) with wood had been. G. 646, and R. 1; Gr. 156, a; H. 554, i, 2, N. 11. Ubi . . . videtur: as often as, etc.; a rare use of the subjv. G. 569, R. 2; Gr. 309, b; H. 518, 1. 12. pilae . . . injiciuntur: spiles were driven perpendicularly into the ground between the two walls and in rows parallel with them, and beams were laid from top to top of these spiles, to prop up the flooring, or roofing (contignatione, l. 9, quidquid est contignatum, l. 13), which was laid from wall to wall. 15. tecto: i.e. this contignatio, laid from wall to wall and propped here and there by rows of spiles.—adversus plutei objectum: in front by the interposition of a pluteus, i.e. by an interposed pluteus, which in this case was a sloping mantlet of hurdles hung across the ends of the two walls of the agger, which was being run toward the city-wall, at right angles with it. See on p. 51, 14. 17. diuturni laboris detrimentum: the loss of their long labor, i.e. the loss of what had cost them such long labor, viz. the works which had been burnt; cf. p. 57, 29. 18. brevi reconciliatur: was quickly made good, by the new agger, etc. 19. quibus locis videtur: see on p. 55, 23.

CHAP. XVI. The Massaliots are discouraged at the rapidity with which the besieging works are repaired, and think again of surrender.

20. Quod: a rel. pron. explained by the clauses ea . . . posset.—ubi: introduces viderunt, sentiunt (25), and intellegunt (32), and the conclusion of all these temporal clauses is ad . . . recurrunt (33). The chapter contains then but a single sentence.—diu longoque spatio: in a very long time; repetition for emphasis. See on p. 13, 34. 21. sperassent: see on p. 40, 12. 23. nec . . . posset: and so that there
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was absolutely no spot left where either our soldiers could be hurt by missiles or our works by fire. 24. eodemque exemplo: after the same pattern, i.e. with an agger built of brick instead of wood; in the same way, to be taken with urbem...circummuuiri posse. 25. qua...terra: see on p. 51, 7. The subjv. in partial O. O. 27. esset: for sit, there would not be, etc., in case the city were so surrounded.—cum...conjecetur: since the walls of the agger were seen to be almost built into their ramparts, etc. The imperf. for the pres. subjv. here, not like esset above, but because sentiunt is all at once thought of as a histor. tense. 29. suorumque...interire: a second obj. clause to sentiunt, like urbem...posse.—quibus: abl. of cause; we say in which. 30. magna: acc. of inner object (cog. acc.), had had great hopes.—spatio propinquitatis: on account of the distance, viz. the nearness, i.e. the short distance. G. 359; Gr. 214, f; H. 396, vi. Too short, as well as too long a distance rendered these engines useless.—parque: the -que joins sentiunt (25) and intellegunt (32), as in eodemque (24) it joined viderunt (20) to sentiunt. The agger, gradually raised to a level with the city-wall, and built up to it, made the condicio bellandi to be par. 31. se: probably object of adaequare, and to be supplied as subj. of posse.

B. CONQUEST OF FURTHER SPAIN. CHAP. XVII—XXI.

CHAP. XVII. Marcus Varro rather courts Caesar’s favor at first, but on hearing of his straits at Ilerda, becomes zealous for Pompey.

35. M. Varro: cf. i, 38.—ulteriore Hispania; see on p. 25, 12.—initio: like primo, at first. 1. praoccupatum: his accepting the office of legatus had bound him in advance to Pompey. 2. necessitudinem...intercedere: that no less a tie indeed existed between him and Caesar. 4. esset: ind. or depend, question.—qui...obtineret: since he (a legatus) held a position of trust. 5. quae vires suae: sc. neque se ignorare...essent. So esset is to be supplied with quae...provinciae. Varro balances the motives for adhering to Pompey and those for joining Caesar. 10. magna: sc. auxilia, subj. of the two foll. infins. 11. quaegue: the -que joins cognovit (8) with accepit (12). 13. latius...perscriebat: cf. p. 35, 28-30, with notes.—se...movere: to veer with fortune.

CHAP. XVIII. Varro’s preparations against Caesar.

15. legionibus...duabus: cf. i, 38. 16. alarias: see on p. 43, 31.
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59 18. Gaditanis: Gades, modern Cadiz, was an old Phoenician city just off the S. W. coast of Spain, the Venice of the West. It came into friendly alliance with Rome at least as early as 78. 19. Hispali: modern Sevilla, in S. W. Spain, about 60 miles from the mouth of the river Baetis. Caesar made it a colony. It ranked next to Gades and Corduba.—faciendas: see on p. 25, 18. 20. fano Herculis: this stood on the S. E. promontory of the island on which Gades was built. See on p. 14, 17. 22. Gallonium: this is all we know of him. 23. procurandae hereditatis causa: to look after an inheritance for him. 30. HS CLXXX: see on p. 22, 5; sestertium centes octogies, 18,000,000 sestertii, about $750,000. Remembering that the purchasing power of money was at least four times as great in Caesar's time as now, some idea can be had of the wealth of this province, from which Caesar got enough in two years to pay his heavy debts and make him rich (Int. 5). 31. pondo: originally an abl. of specification, but used as an indecl. noun for all cases, here for the acc. plur.—modios: see App. III, 3, d. 33. his...injungebat: see on p. 13, 7. 34. judicia...reddebat: judicium dare or reddere is properly said of the Praetor, who received a complaint and assigned it to some judge or court for trial; appointed suits. 35. adversus rempublicam: i.e. from the standpoint of friendship for Pompey.—in publicum addicerebat: confiscated. 1. jusjurandum adigebat: see on p. 45, 10; in...verba follows as if jusjurandum were jurare. 5. insula: see on p. 59, 20. 8. partem: remnant. 10. magnas clientelas: and that his bodies of clients were large, etc.

CHAP. XIX. Caesar advances into Further Spain, which mostly welcomes and obeys him.

13. ad quam diem: stating on what day; cf. ll. 16, 17. Lit. up to, or as we say, by what day. 15. Cordübae: modern Cordova. It was N. E. of Hispalis (see on p. 59, 19), on the river Baetis, and was regarded as the capital of the province Baetica. It ranked in commercial importance second only to Gades. 17. paulo notior: of any note. 18. conveniret: (who did not) join the throng.—conventus: see on p. 18, 4. 20. colonicae: formed of Roman citizen colonists. App. III, 4. 21. eo: adv.; when they had come there by chance. 22. Carmonenses, quae...civitas: cf. Sulmonenses, quod oppidum, p. 19, 12, with note. Carmo, or Carmōna, was about 20 miles N. E. of Hispalis. Caesar describes it sufficiently here. 24. ejectit, praecclusit: agree with civitas rather than with Carmonenses, a rare
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construction, since civitas is not in apposition, but predicate in a rel. clause.

CHAP. XX. Varro is forced to surrender to Caesar.


3. porticibus: the covered passages extending round the forum and opening out into it. 5. domum ad se: see on p. 35, 29.

7. Italicam: six miles N. W. of Hispalis (see on p. 59, 19), on the river Baetis. It was founded by Scipio Africanus in 207, and peopled with his veterans. It is now in ruins.—praemisisset: had sent on word; so mittit, l. 9. 9. cui jussisset: to whom he should command him to surrender it. 13. eum: instead of se, from Caesar’s standpoint as narrator. See on p. 28, 8.—pecuniae, frumenti et navium: part. gens. with quod and quid.

CHAP. XXI. After politic measures at Corduba, Gades and Tarraeo, Caesar returns to Massilia (about Sept. 9th).

15. generatim: severally.—civibus Romanis: i.e. Cordubae conv. ventui, p. 60, 18-21. 16. quod...studuissent: because, as he said, etc. Caesar the historian is reporting the words of Caesar the general.—Hispanis: i.e. Carmonensibus, p. 60, 22-25. This does not include Gaditanis (17), who were of Phoenician origin (see on p. 59, 18), and dwelt on an island distinct from Spain. 17. quod...vindicassent: cf. p. 60, 29-36. 19. eo: i.e. to Gades; cf. pp. 59, 21; 60, 30-31. 20. eorum: = Gaditanorum. 21. Pecunias: cf. p. 59, 29-32. 22. liberius locutos: causative; for having spoken too freely. Cf. p. 59, 34-36. 23. hanc poenam: implied in and explained by bona restituit.—Tributis: partic. in abl. abs. with praemis, and governing quibusdam in the dat., with which reliquis contrasts. 24. in posterum: see on p. 12, 15. 26. monumen taque: the same as the ornamenta, p. 59, 20, where see on ex fano Hercul is. 28. iiiii legiones: viz. the two of Varro (pp. 29, 4; 60, 3 and 25), and the two which came with Cassius (p. 60, 11). 29. quas...fecerant:
C. THE SURRENDER OF MASSILIA. CHAP. XXII.

3. fusi: weakened by. 5. quod . . . contulerant: cf. pp. 27, 30; 28, 19. 7. auxilliis . . . desperatis: "only in the abl. abs. does Caesar use the construction desperare rem; otherwise desperare de re, or, with the dat. (twice only), desperare rei." The Massaliots had counted on Caesar's failure in Spain. 9. sine fraude: cf. sine fide, p. 57, 14. 15. Ex his: refers to the three ships of Domitius; illis would be clearer. 16. contendit: struggled on. 21. pro nomine . . . conservans: out of consideration for the fame and age of the city, Caesar did not utterly destroy it, nor allow it to be plundered, but left it "to be intellectually the centre of Hellenic culture in that distant Celtic country." 23. ceteras: four had returned from Spain with the captured legions of Afranius and Petreius (see on p. 50, 25); these, with one of the three legions left for the siege of Massilia (p. 28, 21), now return into Italy and concentrate near Brundisium for the campaign in the East.

D. CURIO'S CAMPAIGN IN AFRICA. CHAP. XXIII—XLIV.

CHAP. XXIII. Curio's arrival in Africa (about Aug. 13th).

26. Iisdem temporibus: i.e. during the latter part of the campaign in Spain and the siege of Massilia.—in Africam profectus: cf. p. 25, 20-21, with note. He probably started soon after the favorable turn in Caesar's fortunes at Ilerda. 27. jam ab initio: from the very
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28. ex iii quas acceperat: see on p. 25, 20. 29. biduoque: abl. abs. with consumptis, like noctibus. 30. appellit: sc. naves, beached his ships, landed at, etc. The simple acc. follows this verb p. 52, 8. —Anquillaria: exact location uncertain; perhaps on the S. W. side of the promontorium Mercurii, which was at the eastern entrance of the bay of Carthage. 31. Clupeis: Clupea (or Aspis, from the Gr. δ'τίς = shield) was a stronghold commanding a good harbor on the coast S. of prom. Merc. During the Punic wars it had been of great importance as a landing-place and base of operations. Its name was given it from the shield-like shape of the hill on which it stood. 34. Uticae: cf. p. 26, 10. 35. ex praedonum bello: the pirates of Crete and Cilicia, who had long made all navigation unsafe, were subdued and colonized in 67 by Pompey, who had received extraordinary powers for the conduct of the war by the lex Gabinia.—subductas: drawn up on shore, the opposite of deductas, “launched.”—reficiendas: see on p. 25, 18. 1. constrata: = tecta; see on p. 36, 26. 2. pedibus: see on p. 61, 33. —Adrumētum: a very old Phoenician city, once a rival of Carthage, on the coast south of Clupea. It was now the capital of the province Byzacium. See on Africam, p. 25, 21. 4. ejus fuga: = postquam fugit, upon his flight. 5. Marcius Rufus: not to be confounded with M. Coelius Rufus, p. 11, 25. Mentioned only once again, p. 73, 12. 7. remulco abstraxit: towed away.

CHAP. XXIV. Curio reconnoitres for a camp.

9. eodem: for the same place, i.e. Utica. 12. Castra... Cornelianana: the camp of Cornelius Scipio Africanus the elder, during the second Punic war. 14. Id: G. 202, R. 5; Gr. 195, d; H. 445, 4. 16. ab ea parte: see on p. 23, 4. 17. paulo... mille: see on pp. 20, 21, 19, 6. 18. quo... longius: through which the sea works inland for quite a distance.

CHAP. XXV. Curio wins in a cavalry skirmish, and gets possession of the enemy’s transports.

23. altera: sc. ex parte; this phrase is then explained by a theatro, the prep. a being used just like ex, where we use on or at; on the other side, viz. at the theatre which stands before the town, by the massive masonry of this structure (i.e. the theatre). 25. aditu... angusto: abl. abs.; the approach to the camp being thus rendered...
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63 cult and narrow, running as it did between the walls of the town and the masonry of the theatre. 28. habere loco praedae: to consider as booty, to rob. So p. 94, 24. 29. his rebus subsidio: to aid these attempts, viz. to bring property into the city. 32. paternum... Pompeio: the Romans had conquered Jugurtha, the usurping king of Numidia, in 106, and in 81 Pompey had secured the kingdom for Hiempsal II, the rightful heir, and the father of Juba. 33. intercedebat: with Huic... cum Pompeio... cum Curione; between him and Pompey there existed a feeling of gratitude for the kindness shown to his father, and between him and Curio hostility, because, etc. Cf. p. 59, 2-3, with note. 34. qua lege: G. 617; Gr. 200, a; H. 445.8.—publicaverat: had confiscated, i.e. reduced to a province. Cf. 64 in publicum addicebat, p. 59, 35. 2. pronuntiare: see on p. 38, 35. 3. stabant: were lying at anchor.—in... loco: oftener without in, as pp. 27, 9; 63, 28, where see notes. 4. e vestigio: see on p. 54, 12.—(eum) qui non... traduxisset: se. naves. Fut. perf. indic. in O. R.

CHAP. XXVI. With his cavalry alone, Curio routs an advance guard of troops sent by Juba to aid Varus.

10. imperator appellatur: a title of honor bestowed by the soldiers of a commander after a great victory. Here absurdly premature. Still more so, p. 88, 31. 15. Novitate rei: emphatic for nova re; see on p. 39, 36. 19. explicari et consistere: extend themselves into battle array. 21. equitatuque: i.e. of the enemy; though these escaped, still the enemy's infantry suffered.

CHAP. XXVII. Deserters persuade Varus that Curio's soldiers are disaffected.

24. Marsi: cf. pp. 18, 27; 20, 18-23. 27. auribus Vari serviumt: tickled the ears of Varus, told such stories as they knew would please him.—nam... speramus: the order is, et credimus ea quae volumus, et speramus reliquos sentire ea quae ipsi sentimus, where et... et = both... and, the first giving an explanation of sive... serviumt, the second, of sive... perferunt. 29. confirmant quidem certe: whatever was their motive, they assured him at any rate for certain, that, etc.—animos... a Curione: cf. p. 13, 35. 30. maximeque... exercitum: and that his (Varus's) army must by all means show itself.
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CHAP. XXVIII. Curio’s soldiers are publicly entreated to be faithful to the oath they had sworn Domitius and Pompey, rather than to that afterwards sworn Caesar.

35. supra: p. 21, 34. 1. legionesque...Caesar: see on p. 22, 65 32-35. 3. ordines manipulique: App. III, 2, a-b. With the exception of a few centurions, these remained the same. 5. primam sacramenti...memoriam: primi sac. mem. would seem more natural to us (cf. p. 67, 17), but the noun and dependent gen. form one idea, with which the adj. agrees; not to forget their first oath, etc. 7. neu...neu: i.e. et ne...neu. 8. perpessi: sc. essent. 10. Huc: see on p. 29, 22.—ad: with reference to, i.e. to stimulate their hope of a reward.—quae...deberent: appos. to pauca, viz. what they ought, etc. 12. nllum...significac: no demonstration was made either way, i.e. of loyalty to Pompey or Caesar, Varus or Curio.

CHAP. XXIX. Curio’s soldiers are filled with fear and discontent.

14. At: though the speech of Varus led to no demonstration either way, still, etc.—omnium: strictly subj. gen., = on the part of all; translate freely, everywhere. 15. incessit: spread. 16. fingebat: kept inventing. 17. Hoc: the opinio, thus exaggerated.—uno auctore: abl. abs., though only one person started it.

The rest of this chapter has come down to us in such a confused state, that it cannot be satisfactorily restored or translated. It contains, evidently, the reasons why Curio’s soldiers felt disturbed and afraid.

CHAP. XXX. A council of Curio’s officers is held, in which opinions are divided between attacking the camp of Varus, and retreating to Castra Corneliana.

30. summa rerum: the general situation. 31. conandum: sc. esse; used absolutely, that efforts must be made in every way.—omnibus modis: see on p. 14, 27. 32. censerent: G. 634; Gr. 320, a; H. 503, i. The word is used of the sententiae, though of course strictly applicable only to those who held them. 33. contrarium: pernicious. —arbitrarentur: the verb of thinking in the subjv. instead of the verb expressing the thought. G. 541, R. 2; Gr. 341, d, R.; H. 516, ii, 1.—praestare...quam: that it was better...than, etc. 36. de tertia vigilia: see on p. 39, 21.—Castra Cornelia: see on p. 63, 12. 2. 66 simul: sc. ut, introducing daretur (4).
Curio's speech in the council, disapproving of both propositions.

5. quantum...dicebat: said that one proposition was as rash as the other was cowardly; animi is gen. part. with both quantum and tantum. The sententiae is said to have an animus, and, bolder still, censere, p. 65, 32. 6. hos...illos: the holders of the sententiae, the former...the latter; with the same meaning but a more usual order in ll. 16-17. G. 292, R. 1; Gr. 102, a, b; H. 450, 2. —rationem habere: proposed. 3. et opere et natura loci: cf. p. 63, 20-25. 11. quasi non: as if forsooth it were not true that, etc. 13. quid habet nisi: what does that mean but, etc. 14. omnium: neuter. 15. pudentes: honorable soldiers.—sibi parum credi: verbs which govern the dat. in the act. must be used impersonally in the passive; see on p. 12, 29; that very little confidence is placed in them. 17. augeat: would increase, viz. si sciant se timeri. Supply the corresponding ellipsis for diminuat.—quod si jam: but if at once; see on p. 43, 5. 18. explorata habeamus: consider certain. 20. opinione: than is supposed.—quanto...praestet: how much better would it be, etc. See on p. 65, 33. 21. An non: what! ought not, etc. G. 459; Gr. 211, b; H. 353, N. 4. 24. addunt: add to their proposition, desire also.—credo: I suppose, inserted ironically, as below, p. 67, 27. 25. hujusmodi res: i.e. insubordination, mutiny. 29. magnaque...confido: and I trust that we shall soon agree, essentially, in our decision about the matter; jam, as in l. 17, referring to the immediate future.

Curio's harangue to his soldiers.

33. auctoritate: see on p. 27, 35. 34. inquit: an unusual position after so much of what is said. G. 651, R. 2; Gr. 345, c; H. 569, v. 36. gravissime: what was Caesar's gain was loss to his enemies (illi). 67 1. praedjudicio: by the prophetic significance, the example of your conduct; this led Pompey to distrust all his soldiers. 2. Caesar...commitit: this sentence illustrates the amicissime of p. 66, 36, as the preceding does gravissime.—quem...habuit: see on p. 42, 22. 4. tueri non potest: because dependent on them for grain supplies. See on p. 25, 18. 8. eos, eorum: Caesar's and Pompey's representatives. 10. An vero: what indeed! haven't you heard, etc., see on p. 66, 21. So below, ll. 13, 33. 12. quibus: = postquam; see on p. 33, 28. 14.-resistant: G. 251; Gr. 268; H. 486, ii. 15. incerta victoria: abl. abs. 16. cum: concessive, whereas. 17. prioris
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sacramenti: cf. p. 65, 5. 20. projectit: cf. p. 20, 17.—clam vobis: the only instance in classical prose where clam is used as a prep. with the abl.” G. 417, R. 1; Gr. 261, c; H. 437, 3. 22. qui: interreg. adv., how. 24. Relinquiturs: ironical; there remains then for them to appeal to, a new kind of sacred obligation. Cf. pp. 16, 27; 45, 16. 25. respiciatis: regard, as p. 11, 7. 26. quod . . . sublatum est: which was annulled by your former leader’s surrender and consequent loss of civil rights. A Roman soldier had no civil rights while in captivity, and regained them after being freed only by a special legal process. The fact however that Domitius was taken prisoner in a civil war, and that he had been at once released (p. 22, 4), weakens the argument. 27. in me offenditis: you find fault with me.—Qui: = ego vero. 30. eventus belli: at the end of the campaign. 32. quem . . . processit: limiting fortunam: so far as the campaign has as yet been conducted. 35. adveniens: by my mere approach. 2. eoque . . . compulerim: and drove them to such straits. 4. vos: subj. of sequimini (6).—repudiatis: abl. abs. with fortuna and ducibus.—Corfiniensem . . . ditionem: i.e. the leaders who were disgraced at Corfinium, who fled from Italy, who surrendered Spain. 6. praejudicia: in appos. with the three aces. preceding; prophetic precedents for the war in Africa. Cf. p. 67, 1. 7. imperatoris: cf. p. 64, 10.—Cujus . . . paenitet: G. 376; Gr. 221, b; H. 409, iii. 9. nomen: i.e. miles Caesaris, l. 6.

CHAP. XXXIII. Curio wins his soldiers back, and offers battle to Varus.


CHAP. XXXIV. The troops of Varus are driven back into their camp.

22. supra: p. 64, 33. 23. Hanc: sc. vallinm, obj. of transire. —si . . . conarentur: see above on l. 19. 24. aequiore loco: in the better position, since higher, if the enemy tried to climb up to their side of the ravine. 25. Simul: presently. 26. unà: adv., with interjecti, interspersed. Cf. l. 30.—cum . . . cernebantur: were seen to
 Chap. XXXV. Varus narrowly escapes being killed by a rash soldier of Curio. In the night he abandons his camp for the town.

9. Pelignus: cf. p. 18, 27. 10. ex infimis ordinibus: a centurion of the lowest rank. App. III, 11, a.—primum: = novissimum, as p. 39, 22. 15. humerum...appetit: sc. Fabius; struck at his exposed shoulder, etc.—paulumque...interficet: and there was little lacking but he had killed, i.e. he narrowly missed killing V.; paulum = minimum, or haud multum, and so implies a negative; cf. l. 21. G. 551, 1, last ex.; Gr. 319, d; H. 504. 18. Hac multitudine: connects closely with l. 9, after the episode of Fabius has been told. 22. eodem cursu: without stopping. 23. cum...quod: not only...but also the fact that, etc. G. 589; Gr. 326, b; H. 521, 2), N. 1. 24. egressi: since they had gone out to fight. 25. usui: see on p. 19, 33. 29. per simulationem: under the pretence, = simulatione. 31. bucinatore: App. III, 15. 32. ad speciem: to keep up appearances, for show. The ruse was to prevent Curio from attacking during the evacuation of the camp.

Chap. XXXVI. The town also is likely to surrender to Curio, when news comes that King Juba is near with large forces.

35. multitudo: the peasants of the neighborhood, who had flocked into the city for safety. Cf. p. 63, 25–27. From these are distinguished the citizens, Uticensis (36), and the Roman colonists, conventus, p. 70, 1.—insolens...oti: unaccustomed to war through long enjoyment of peace. Cf. p. 32, 5. 1. is qui...constaret: of such a nature that it consisted of men of all political opinions, and so was not specially opposed to Caesar's cause.

Chap. XXXVII. As soon as Curio is convinced of Juba's approach, he retires to Castra Cornelia.

9. fides fieri non poterat: belief could not be created in him, i.e. he could not be made to believe them. 11. nuntius et litteris: official
news; private messages had come to Curio at least two days before this, p. 67, 10–13. 14. milibus: sc. passuum; abl. of meas. of diff.; see on amplius, p. 19, 6; longe is redundant in this idiom, and rare. 16. materiam: see on p. 28, 24, and cf. l. 21. 17. duae legiones: see on p. 62, 28. 21. salinis: salt-vats, made in low ground near the sea, for the manufacture of salt from sea-water by evaporation.

**CHAP. XXXVIII.** Curio is lured by a false report from his impregnable position, again assumes the offensive, and routs with his cavalry an advance guard of the enemy under Saburra.

25. ex perfugis: instructed of course by Juba. 27. Leptitano-rum: the people of Leptis (Minor), a flourishing city of Phoenician origin just S. E. of Hadrumetum (see on p. 63, 2.) A still more flourishing city of the same name, Leptis (Major), lay further S. E. on the coast. 30. Multum ... adjuvat: contributed much to the adoption of this course. Caesar was very fond of Curio, and speaks of his rashness almost with admiration. 32. proventus: much less common in this meaning than eventus, or successus. 33. prima: see on medio, p. 30, 29. 36. intervallo: at a distance of, etc. So spatio, p. 72, 6. 3. nullis ordinibus: pell-mell.

**CHAP. XXXIX.** Curio is infatuated by the success of his cavalry, and pursues the enemy hotly.

9. convenit, cognovit, quaerit: the asyndeton expresses haste and excitement. 11. respondent Saburram: sc. praeesse castris.—Reliqua: all further details. 12. signa: = cohortes. App. III, 17, b. 13. cum perfugis: a condensation for cum perfugarum oratione. 15. potuerint: subjv. of characteristic. 16. jam: at once; see on p. 66, 17.—praemiis: cf. p. 67, 30. 17. per se: of themselves, without any exaggeration, still (tamen) they had to be exaggerated. 20. inflatius: too boastfully; see on p. 59, 13. 22. praeferebantur: were exhibited.—ut ... videretur: so that whatever time elapsed in making cautious or even needful preparations, all this seemed only to delay their victory. 25. quam maxime ... perterritos: while in the greatest possible panic after their flight. 27. alii alio loco: see on p. 21, 8. 28. ad spem: see on p. 39, 10.

**CHAP. XL.** Juba advances slowly after reinforcing Saburra, who lures Curio into rash pursuit by feigned retreat.
elephantisque: The Carthaginians had sent elephants even into Italy, and at Zama Hannibal had placed eighty in front of his lines of battle. They were always an unwieldy and dangerous ally. They were used for the last time by Juba at Thapsus.

praemissis . . . Curionem: that after sending on his cavalry Curio himself would come.

ut . . . referant: to feign fear and gradually yield and retreat.

praesentis . . . opinione: his misunderstanding of the present manoeuvre.

CHAP. XLI. The enemy turn and attack Curio after his men are exhausted by pursuing.

spatio: see on p. 70, 36; sixteen miles from camp.
ad speciem: see on p. 69, 32.
Non deest negotio: was not wanting to the occasion, did not fail to do his duty.

ut defessis, confectis: weary, worn out as they were, though weary, etc.
aversos proterere: to ride them down from behind.
procucurriscent: see on p. 58, 11.
rursusque . . . se recipientes: sc. nostros.
casum subire: risk an attack.
de . . . desperantes: see on p. 62, 7.

CHAP. XLII. Curio and all his men except a few horsemen are slain.

ut in miseris rebus: as happens in disasters, viz. that men seize on slight hope of rescue.

universos: sc. milites, subj. of capere.
integrí procumbunt: fell without a wound, from sheer exhaustion.—Cn. Domitius: mentioned only here.
ad unum: to a man.

CHAP. XLIII. The cohorts left to guard the camp are panic-stricken and wildly try to embark for Sicily.

Marcius Rufus: see on p. 63, 5, and cf. p. 71, 8.

primo: used like prima, p. 70, 33.
appellas habeant: more precise than appellant, land and keep on shore. See on p. 30, 7.
classem hostium: p. 62, 33 ff.
ad officium imperiumque conveniebant: reported for duty.
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in particular should embark; depend. question. 26. hoc timore: 73
see on p. 60, 35.

CHAP. XLIV. Few succeed, the rest surrender to Varus, only to be murdered (nearly all) by command of Juba, who enters Utica in triumph.

28. patresque familiae: see on p. 52, 21.—qui . . . valerent: who prevailed through their popularity or pitiful entreaties. 29. recepti: were taken on board and came at last, etc. 31. numero: = loco; see on p. 64, 3. 34. cum: although. 35. suam fidem: the pledge of safety which he (Varus) had given them at their surrender.—neque . . . aderet: but still did not dare, etc. 1. senatoribus: Roman senators in the train of a petty African prince, who was insulting a Roman provincial capital! Nothing more is known of them, except that Lucinius perished in trying to escape to Spain after Thapsus. 2. paucis: sc. verbis, i.e. briefly, haughtily.

BOOK III.

Last months of 49, and most of 48. See N.B. at beginning of Book ii.

A. CAESAR AT ROME AND BRUNDISIUM. CHAP. I—II.

CHAP. I. Caesar’s political and economical measures at Rome.

11–20. Dictatore: as dictator; see on p. 61, 34–36. The narrative, interrupted by the story of Curio’s campaign, is a continuation of ii, 22, l. 23, ipse ad urbem proficiscitur.—comitia: App. II, 3.—consules: for the year 48, though in the absence of Marcellus and Lentulus they acted also for the remainder of 49. 12. per leges: since 342 the legal interval between two consulships of the same man had been ten years. See Int. 6–7. 13. consulem: the dat. would be more regular. G. 535, R. 2; Gr. 272, a; H. 536, 2, 3), N.—cum fides . . . esset angustior: since credit was quite restricted, etc. Owing to the uncertainty of the future, capitalists would not lend money even on good security. 14. neque . . . solverentur: those who owed money delayed paying it because they hoped that one result of the civil war would be tabulae novae (see below on l. 18).—creditae
pecuniae: = aës alienum, see on p. 12, 32. 15. *ut arbitri daren-tur:* that assessors should be appointed, i.e. men to decide on the value of property not legally, as judices, but after their own ideas of what was fair and right.—*ferent:* sc. ut. 16. possessionum: real estate. —rerum: personal effects.—quantī ... fuisse: G. 379; Gr. 252, a; H. 404; at that value which each of these articles had had before the war. All values had fallen heavily in consequence of the outbreak of the war, so that a man whose property in good times was more than enough to balance his debts, might find himself now unable to pay them even by parting with his property. Caesar's plan was an arbitrary one, it is true, but it favored both classes, the debtor by increasing the value of what he could offer in payment of his debts, the creditor by securing him some payment, instead of none at all (tabulae novae). 17. hae: i.e. these possessiones and res at their ante-bellum value. 18. *novarum tabularum:* fresh accounts, involving the cancelling of the old ones by summary decree, *abolition of debts.* 20. *ad ... ex-istimationem:* and for preserving confidence in the debtors, i.e. in their ability and willingness to pay their debts.

21-30. *rogationes:* bills. 22. *nonnullos:* obj. of *restituit* (36). —*ambitus:* G. 377; Gr. 220; H. 409, ii; convicted of bribery at elections, by the lex Pompeia, which was brought forward in 52 to serve as a political weapon against the friends of Caesar (1. 26). It modified the existing laws against bribery (Cato was about the only prominent man in Rome who would not be amenable to some bribery law) by increasing the penalty from ten years to perpetual banishment, but it so arranged the process of trial that it was almost impossible for the jurors finally selected to decide the case (sententiam ferentibus) to have heard (audientibus) the witnesses and the arguments. For the whole panel of jurors (judices) numbered 360, but after the case had been argued before them three days, 51 from the whole number were selected by lot to give the final decision. Some of these would naturally have been absent during parts of the testimony. The 51 ought to have been selected to begin with. 23. *illis temporibus:* the time during Pompey's sole consulship (52) when the murder of Clodius by Milo and the consequent excitement, led to the "proclamation of martial law" in the city and its occupation by Pompey's soldiers. 24. *judicia:* implied in damnatos. 26. *in integrum restituit:* restored to the position they had held when condemned for bribery, to their former status.—*qui:* its antec. is *nonnullos* (22). 27. *si ... vellet:* see on p. 13, 30.—*proinde ... potestatem:* ranking them just as high (proinde) in his favor as (ac) he would have done if he had employed them, since they had placed themselves at his disposition. See on p. 58,
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9.—sui facere potestatem = se...offerre, l. 26. 29. prius...quam: rather than. 30. ingratus: to have done it on his own authority as dictator would not have been so great a favor to these banished friends of his, as to have it done by formal vote of the people.

CHAP. II. Caesar goes to Brundisium, where he finds too few ships and a diminished army. (About the middle of December, 49.)

31. His rebus...perficiendis: G. 430, R.; Gr. 299, a; H. 544,2. See also on p. 79, 7. 32. feriis Latinis: Latin holidays; a religious festival, founded, according to legend, by Tarquinius Superbus, to celebrate the union of the Romans with the Latin league. It was in honor of Jupiter Latiaris (God of the Latins), and was celebrated annually from one to four days on the Alban mount, under the lead of the newly-elected consuls. All Latin cities sent delegates. By holding this festival now, Caesar "was making himself the supreme impersonation of the laws against Pompey with his hordes of Oriental auxiliaries."—comitiisque: for the election of other officers besides the consuls. App. II, 2. 34. legiones xii: five who had served in the Spanish campaign and before Massilia (see on p. 62, 23), to which were possibly added the two veteran legions which Curio had left in Sicily (p. 62, 28), the veteran legion which had been in Sardinia (p. 25, 18), the two veteran legions which had been temporarily left at Massilia (p. 62, 22–23), one legion from the 22 cohorts mentioned p. 19, 27, who had been doing garrison duty in Italy, and were now no longer tirones, and the legion of tirones mentioned expressly p. 87, 35. As recruiting had probably been going on in Italy all through the Spanish campaign, legions of new recruits may have been sent to replace the veterans withdrawn from Sicily, Sardinia and Massilia. The fifteen cohorts lost at Curicta (see on p. 75, 25) may have been made up of part of the Gallic levies mentioned p. 19, 27, and of still newer recruits. Of course this is all pure guess-work, since Caesar gives no particulars. Caesar has besides, in Spain, four veteran legions (p. 61, 28), two of which had been Varro’s. 35. tantum navium: so few ships. 1. Hoc...defuit: freely, this alone prevented Caesar’s quickly finishing the war. See on p. 39, 10. G. 429; Gr. 298; H. 542, i, 544,1. 2. infrequentiores: quite depleted in numbers; from p. 76, 28, we see that seven legions had only the above total of 15,000, whereas if they had been full the number would have been from 20,000 to 25,000. 3. defecerant: sc. viribus; had broken down. 5. ex...regionibus: after their stay in, etc.
9. annuum spatium: very nearly; since the middle of March; cf. i, 28–29.  
11. *ex Asia*, etc.: this and the two following chapters are highly colored by the liberal use of Eastern geographical, political and personal names, for rhetorical effect in contrasting Caesar’s scanty forces with Pompey’s immense and motley hordes, drawn from every nook and corner of the Roman Empire in the East. Asia as a Roman province (which is here meant), comprised Caria, Lydia, Mysia and Phrygia.—*Corcyra*, *Athēnis*: prominent naval powers still, as they had been the leading ones at the opening of the Peloponnesian war, in 431.  
15. *dynastis et tetrarchis*: petty monarchs dependent on Rome, but not honored with the title of “*rex*.” See on p. 12, 33.—*liberi Achaiae populis*: Achaia was the name given to Greece proper (i.e. all south of the province of Macedonia) as a Roman province, made subject to the Roman governor of Macedonia soon after the destruction of Corinth by Mummius, in 146. See on p. 90, 8. “A fixed land-tax to be paid to Rome was imposed on each community, yet they retained ‘freedom,’ that is, a formal sovereignty which involved the property of the soil and the right to a distinct administration and jurisdiction of their own.”  

Chap. IV. Pompey’s infantry and cavalry.

19. *ex duabus*: formerly under Cicero as proconsul of Cilicia, 56–55 B.C.  
24. *supplementi nomine*: *as substitutes* for those who had in any way been lost, thus keeping the legions up to the normal number.  
25. *Antonianos milites*: Gaius Antonius is meant, who, while legatus for Caesar in Illyricum during the latter’s Spanish campaign, had been hemmed in with Dolabella on the island of Curieta (off the coast of Illyricum) by Octavius and Libo, naval commanders of Pompey, and forced to surrender with fifteen cohorts. See on p. 74, 34. Caesar speaks elsewhere as though he had narrated this disaster (cf. pp. 78, 31–32; 105, 30–31), probably in the portion of the history lost between chap. 8 and 9, where see note.  
30. *Gallos*: i.e. Galatas or Gallograecos. About 230 B.C., the Galli invaded Greece, and part of them were taken over to Asia Minor in 278, as mercenaries. Once there they conquered a settlement for themselves. *Deiotārus* was one of their
tetrarchs. Cf. p. 76, 2. 33. ex Gabinianis: of the troops of Gabinius at Alexandria. See the biog. of Gabinius in App. I, and cf. p. 126, 23. 35. Pompeius filius: i.e. Gnaeus, the elder and less famous son. See App. I. 2. alter...alter: refer to the preceding names in reverse order, as we learn from Cicero’s oration pro Deiotaro, x, 28. 5. Huc: see on p. 29, 22.—partim imperio...comparatos: partly conscripts or volunteers. 8. supra: p. 75, 29, equitum vii milia. Pompey controlled 11 legions, 7000 cavalry, 5000 archers and slingers, and 500 ships.

Chap. V. Pompey’s supplies, and the disposition of his forces on land and sea.

10. Dyrrhachii: see on p. 22, 35. It was a free town in the Roman province of Macedonia, much as Massilia had been in Gallia Narbonensis. 11. Apolloniae: S. of Dyrrhachium, a short distance inland. (See Map I.) It was a very ancient city but not prominent at all in Greek history. At this time it was a famous seat of learning to which wealthy Romans sent their sons. 13. omni ora maritima: all along the sea-coast, omni here, like tota, making the prep. in improper; see on Italia, p. 11, 19. 14. Pompeius filius: see on p. 75, 35. 15. Marcellus: the consul in 49. See App. I. 17. Toti...officio maritimo: over the whole naval service. 18. ad hunc...respiciebat: on him devolved the command-in-chief.

C. THE CAMPAIGN IN THE EAST. CHAP. VI—CXIV.

a. Caesar’s Passage to Greece and Surprise of the Pompeians. Chap. vi—viii.

Chap. VI. The passage from Brundisium to Greece (Jan. 4th, 48).

20. Caesar: subj. of solvit (27), while ut...venit, contionatus...sperarent, conclamantibus...facturos all denote actions prior to this; quoniam...sperarent gives in O. O. the contents of Caesar’s harangue (contio), relinquuerent, conscenderent and sperarent representing commands in O. R. So imperaret (26) represents the imperative in the shout (conclamantibus) of the soldiers. 27. ii Non. Jan.: = ante diem secundum Nonas Januarias, or, pridie Nonas Januarias. See on p. 13, 22. 28. supra: cf. p. 74, 36, and see on p. 75, 2. 29. Germiniorum: the name of an otherwise unknown people, if the text is right, somewhere near the Acroceraunian
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76 range. See Map I.—Saxa inter: a rare position for the prep. 31. arbitrabantur: usually deponent, here passive. 32. Palaeste: a seaport of Epirus, at the southern foot of the Acrocorinian prom.—ad unam: cf. p. 73, 10.

CHAP. VII. The surprise of the Pompeians guarding the coast.

33. Orici: just north of Caesar’s landing place, a convenient harbor for those coming from or going to Brundisium. See Map I. 34. Minucius Rufus: this is all that is definitely known of him. 35. Corcyrae: about thirty miles south of Caesar’s landing place, the modern Corfu; see on p. 27, 22. 1. praesidio: as a convoy for the transports. 2. constratae: see on p. 63, 1—neque... occurrit: nor was B. on hand soon enough, because his ships were not sea-ready, etc.

CHAP. VIII. Bibulus burns most of Caesar’s transports on their way back, and then more carefully guards the whole coast.

6. naves: sc. onerarias, as p. 92, 26–27 clearly shows. 8. qui... adhiberet; with orders to hasten; rel. clause of purpose. 11. offenderunt: met with mishap, came to grief. 12. onustarum: while still laden, i.e. with soldiers, opposed to inanibus, empty, i.e. after having landed the troops. 13. in eas... erupit: wreaked on them the wrath which his own carelessness and mortification caused him. 16. terreri: that he was frightening the rest by, etc. See on p. 15, 20. 17. a Sasöinis: sc. portu; Saso was the small island just north of the Acrocorinian prom., and a very important naval position, commanding Oricum and Apollonia.—Curici: a town on the island of Curicta; see on p. 75, 25. 19. gravissima hieme: abl. abs., though the winter was very severe. 21. posset: the main verb of the sentence has fallen out, as has also probably the account of Gaius Antony’s surrender; see on p. 75, 25. Of such an account the opening words of the next chap. are a natural continuation.

b. The Surrender of Gaius Antony at Curicta to Libo and Octavius (probably narrated here but lost out. See last note. The account concludes with chap. 9). Chap.—ix.

24. Discessu Liburnarum: sc. navium. Cf. p. 76, 16. On these Libo probably brought to Pompey the fifteen cohorts of Antony from Curicta. 25. Salönas: near the modern Spalatro, on the coast of
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Illyricum, little known before this time, but soon of importance as a great road center. Here Gabinius died in 48 (see biog.), and here the great Emperor Diocletian, after his abdication in 305 A.D., built a splendid palace and spent the last years of his life. 26. Issam: an island south of Salona, early settled by Greek colonists. In 229 B.C. it was made independent of the main-land by the Romans, and its people treated as Roman citizens. 30. Sed: used as if the preceding sentence were parenthetical. 33. ad extremum auxilium: to desperate measures. 34. praesectis . . . crinibus: to twist into strings for the tormenta; see on p. 51, 16. 36. quinis: see on p. 44, 14.

1. obsidione et oppugnationibus: by blockade and storming attacks. 2. perpeti: see on p. 16, 5. 6. nacti . . . eorum: taking advantage of the opportunity which noon gave by their withdrawal (from the siege-works into the tents for rest or food). Cf. p. 57, 17-19. 9. manu: sallying party. 10. His: i.e. proxima castra.—eodem impetu: see on p. 69, 22, eodem cursu. 11. altera: sc. castra. G. 306; Gr. 203, a; H. 459. 14. hiems appropinquabat: comparison with p. 77, 19, shows that Caesar went back in point of time from chap. 8 to narrate the surrender of Antony, which took place about the time of Curio's disaster in Africa, i.e. in August of 49. The siege of Salona was protracted until winter was approaching, i.e. until shortly before Caesar crossed into Greece, and while Pompey was still at Dyrrhaehium (1. 16). This is not contradicted by the date of Caesar's crossing given p. 76, 27, for at this time the Roman calendar had become some sixty days ahead of the seasons, so that Jan. 4th, 48, was really about Nov. 6th, 49, according to the reformed calendar, which Caesar himself introduced in 46. This variation between the calendar date and the season of the year, must be borne in mind in connection with all dates given for the events of the war.


CHAP. X. Caesar had informally commissioned Vibullius Rufus to propose once more to Pompey a peaceful settlement of the issue between them.

18. praefectum: perhaps the same office as that of Magius, p. 22, 25. 20. ad Corfinium: cf. p. 27, 19-20.—in Hispania: though not expressly mentioned, he was among those dismissed at the Varus, p. 50, 29. Cf. p. 28, 36. 21. judicaverat: had deemed, viz. after he had been thus dismissed at the Varus. 22. mitteret; see on p. 15, 25. 27. quae . . . timerent: which they could consider as instruction and
warning to fear further disasters. 28. illum: sc. satis incommoda accepisse, of which the partic. expulsusm denotes the cause, just as the abls. morte, detrimento, deditione below give the cause of se satis incom. accepisse. 30. centum atque xxx: no exaggeration; seventy in Spain, more than thirty at Corfinium (p. 19, 5), and others as explained in note on p. 22, 33-34. 32. ad Curictam: see on p. 75, 25.—parcerent: represents a subjv. of exhortation in O. R., “let us spare,” etc. 34. satis essent documento: had proved clearly; see on p. 19, 33, for the dat. 3. Condiciones: subj. of debeere.—quoniam . . . non potuissent: since they (condiciones) had not been able to be agreed upon, convenire as in p. 24, 33; since it had not been possible to agree upon them. 7. Depositis: strictly applicable only to armis, but with the meaning dismiss to be taken also with auxilis, by Zeugma. G. 690; Gr. p. 298; H. 636, ii, 1. So p. 74, 32, perficiendis is to be taken in a slightly different meaning (performing celebrating, holding) with rebus, feriis and comitiis.

CHAP. XI. But Vibullius is the man who informs Pompey of Caesar’s arrival in Greece. Pompey then hurries toward Apollonia, and Caesar takes Oricum.


CHAP. XII. Caesar takes Apollonia also before Pompey can get there.

29. Staberius: mentioned only in this connection. 31. negare: histor. infin.; neque daturos se dicebant, neque, etc. 32. sibi . . . atque: presume to decide otherwise than, etc. See on p. 58, 9.
36. Bullidenses, Amantini: insignificant Illyrian towns whose site is no longer precisely known.

CHAP. XIII. Pompey succeeds in throwing himself between Caesar and Dyrrhachium, and the two armies encamp on opposite sides of the river Apsus.

4. Dyrrhachio: since all his supplies were there (p. 93, 32). 6. ejus: i.e. Pompey’s, to whom the subjects of the following pluperfs. also refer; the forced marches showed the soldiers what a serious thing Caesar’s arrival seemed to Pompey. 10. metari: used by Caesar only here, instead of muniri. App. III, 19. 11. etiam tum: even after accomplishing the object of their haste and heading Caesar off. 13. Hoc idem: see on p. 45, 12. The fresh oath revives their loyalty as it had also done for Petreius, i, 76. 15. praeoccupato: sc. a Pompeio. 16. ad flumen Apsum: on the south bank, so as better to protect Apollonia and Oricum (bene meritaee civitates). 19. sub pellibus: in ordinary tents (made of skins), instead of the barracks (hibernacula) usually built in hibernis.

CHAP. XIV. The troops of Caesar left at Brundisium are prevented in the nick of time from trying to cross to Greece.

22. Calenus: cf. p. 77, 8. 23. quantum ... habebat: so far as he had a supply of ships, i.e. as many as his ships would hold. 29. privatoque consilio: and was being run on private responsibility, going over on business under convoy of the ships of war. 31. ad impuberes: down to, i.e. including even, etc. 32. ad unum: see on p. 73, 10.—magnique casu: the great piece of luck was the arrival of Caesar’s letter just in time. 33. constitit: depended on; cf. p. 49, 6, with note.

d. Caesar’s successful Tactics against the blockading Fleet of Pompey. Chap. xv—xix.

CHAP. XV. Caesar’s troops keep the crews of Bibulus and Libo from landing for supplies, until at last the commanders beg an armistice.

34. supra: implied but not distinctly stated in l. 80 above. 6. uno tempore: = aliquando, once, not at one and the same time, as p. 78, 1. 11. in quibus ... angustiis: = in iis angustiis in quibus eos esse demonstravimus. 16. ut ... viderentur: so that they
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really seemed about to sue for terms. 19. videbatur: sc. iis, i.e. Acilius and Murcus.—profectum: sc. esse, perf. infln. pass. of pro-ficio (see on p. 22, 29); that some good had resulted from, etc. 20. Vibulli mandatis: cf. chap. 10, and p. 79, 9-14.

CHAP. XVI. Libo's proposition to confer with Pompey about a settle-
ment of the war

22. rem... expediendam: see on p. 36, 18. 28. ex aedilitate... conceptas: see biog. of Bibulus. 31. suam: Libo's, and, since he represented Bibulus, the latter's also. 33. de consilii sententia: in accordance with the decision of the council, i.e. the group of senators and ex-magistrates about Pompey, who styled themselves the Roman Senate, and pretended to keep up the only legitimate forms of govern-
ment. Of course Libo would not speak of them so in addressing Caesar. 34. summam belli: cf. p. 28, 14, with note. 2. de causa: the question at issue between Caesar and Pompey.

CHAP. XVII. is refused by Caesar when he discovers it to be a mere ruse to extricate the fleet from its hardships.

3. Quibus rebus: the pauca of the previous line, which Libo must have said rather boastfully, and with a desire to impress Caesar with Pompey's power. Caesar thought such boasts unworthy of answer at the time, and, now that he writes his history, unworthy of mention. 6. idque... reciperent: and that they as commanders (ipsi) guarantee that this be done, or take the envoys themselves and conduct them to him (Pompey). 8. Quod: adv. ace; as to what. 10. Si... custodiis: if they wished this restriction removed from them, they must remove (imper. in O. R.) from him that of guarding the coast. 11. illud: refers to de marit. cust., and would probably be istud in O. R. G. 663,3; H. 526. 12. id: refers to hoc in l. 10, and that to the pre-
ceding ut... prohiberet. 13. ut: although these restrictions were not removed.—hanc rem: the fact implied in non remitterentur. 14. Hie: Libo, speaking also for Bibulus. 15. periculum praestare: go surety for their danger, i.e. guarantee their safety; cf. fore reci-
perent, l. 7. The infins. in this whole sentence are historical. See on p. 39, 30. 16. unum... contendere: in one matter (acc. of spec.), viz. the truce, he was persistent, and strove very hard to secure it.

CHAP. XVIII. Death of Bibulus. Pompey's reception of Caesar's message by Vibullius Rufus.
NOTES.—BOOK III.

24. *ad neminem unum*: on no one man alone did the chief command devolve. 25. *Vibullius*: cf. chap. 10—11, p. 81, 20. 27. *ubi... visum est*: as soon as it seemed worth while; *e re = ex usu*, lit. in accordance with, i.e. adapted to the case in hand, expedient, proper. 28. *Lucccio et Theophaeno*: see App. I. It had become the fashion for great generals to have historians accompany them in order to narrate their campaigns (Cic. *pro Archia*, ix—x). These two seem to have even advised Pompey in military matters, so much so that the Roman nobles became very jealous of them. 30. *ingressum in sermonem*: see on p. 11, 17. 33. *cujus rei opinio*: and yet people’s belief in this, viz. that I owe my salvation to Caesar. 34. *reductus*: brought back, by the kindess of Caesar, to the country from which I set out as an independent commander of all her resources.

CHAP. XIX. An attempt of Caesar to win over Pompey’s soldiers is frustrated by Labienus.

2. *unum flumen tantum*: simply a river only, and nothing more. The *tantum* is really redundant; cf. p. 64, 33. 3. *per pactiones loquentium*: by mutual agreement on the part of, etc. 4. *Mittit*: sc. Caesar. 6. *et... pronuntiaret liceretne*: and to cry out... was it not right, etc. G. 654; Gr. 338; H. 523, ii, 1. 8. *fugitivis*: the remnants of the followers of Sertorius (see on p. 38, 29), who were allowed by Pompey to found a city in southern Gaul.—*praedonibusque*: the pirates, see on p. 62, 35. 9. *ne... decertarent*: a clause in appos. with *id*. 12. *Aulum Varronem*: a minor character. 13. *atque... visurum*: and that he would see how, etc., i.e. would see to it that, etc. 16. *Quo... ventum*: when it had been come to this time, i.e. when this time came, etc. 19. *summissa oratione*: in subtle phrases. 20. *atque altercari*: after pretending to fall in with the general desire on both sides for peace, he cunningly argues the case (*altercari*) so as to work up the minds of his soldiers into renewed hostility to Caesar. 22. *ille*: Vatinius. 23. *M. Plotius, L. Tiburtius*: otherwise unknown. 25. *nisi Caesaris capite relato*: unless Caesar’s head is brought us, i.e. as long as Caesar lives.


CHAP. XX. Coelius tries to excite dissatisfaction with Caesar’s financial measures, and, failing in this,

83 Trebonius . . . sellam: G. 298, R. 3; Gr. 195, b. 29. si quis . . . pol-
licebatur: interfering in the financial measures of Caesar described in
chap. 1, Coelius promised to help any one who protested (appellavisset)
to the praetor urbanus against the estimates of the assessors and
refused to pay his debts. 34. ut . . . nasceretur: that none could be
found to begin protesting. 35. excusare: to plead as an excuse (for
not paying one's debts); this and the two following infinitives form the
subject of est (p. 84, 1); is characteristic even of a moderate boldness;
but that men should keep their property intact, who yet confess that
they are in debt, of what boldness, or rather of what shamelessness is
that a token. 2. tenere: subj. of est (3); cf. excusare, etc., above.
3. hoc: i.e. integras tenere possessiones, etc. 4. ipsis: abl. after
the compar. durior; and so Coelius was found to be more severe toward
the creditors than those very men in whose interests he was engaged,
viz., the debtors who were loath to pay their debts. He would absolve
them from still more of their debts than the lenient plan of Caesar had
done, and even from more than any of them had the boldness to de-
—sexenni die: six years from date. This would give the debtors the
use of the money they owed for six years free of charge.

CHAP. XXI. proposes two seditious laws, for which he is deposed
from office, when he joins Milo in trying to excite a revolution.

8. resisteret: see on p. 12, 9. 9. efficeret: i.e. Coelius. 10.
sublata: withdrawn; cf. l. 7. 11. qua . . . donavit: by which he
gave tenants a year's rent; a bid for their political support. 12.
aliam: less common in such a case than alteram.—tabularum novo-
rum: see on p. 74, 18. 15. ab republica removere: to deprive of
all official rights. 19. simulavit: pretended. Quae non sunt
simulo; quae sunt ea dissimulantur. Cf. p. 19, 33, with note.
—Milonem, Clodio: ruffian tools of Pompey and Caesar respectively,
whose deadly feud long filled Rome with brawls. See on p. 74, 23, and
cf. Cicero pro Milone, a speech which represents what Cicero wished
to say at the trial which resulted in Milo's banishment (l. 20). Milo
was living at Massilia. 20. eo nomine: on that charge, = ejus
nomine. G. 377, R. 2; H. 410, ii, 1. 21. muneribus datis: since
he had given the people great shows, during the year before he ran for
the consulship. See for this, as well as for familiae, on p. 18, 1 and 4.
22. conjunxit: its obj. is the same as the one expressed with the follow-
ing verb.—Thurinum: sc. agrum (l. 34), on the gulf of Tarentum.
Thurii, as the city used to be called, had been one of the prosperous
Greek cities in Magna Graecia, or Southern Italy, but after becoming an ally and dependent of Rome, about 282, it declined, and was now the seat of a small Roman colony. 23. Casilinus: a town of Campania near the ancient Capua, important only from a military standpoint, as commanding the principal bridge of the river Vulturnus. Caesar afterwards established a colony of veterans there. The modern Capua is on its site. 25. et...appararet: together with his troop of gladiators which had been sent from Naples to arrange for the surrender of the town (Capua).—Neapoli: “the Greek city,” since 327 slowly sinking into actual dependence on Rome, though nominally independent. In 59 it became an ordinary municipium (see on p. 18, 6), and even now was already Rome’s fashionable watering-place. 28. eo itinere: i.e. to Capua.

CHAP. XXII. Death of Coelius and Milo.

30. litteris: see on p. 29, 30.—ea...delata essent: the contents of Milo’s letters. 31. quae mandata: implied in jussu atque imperio above.—per Vibullum: who had probably stopped at Massilia (see on l. 19) on his way to or from Spain (cf. p. 27, 18–19, and see on p. 78, 20). 33. quibusdam solutis ergastulis: he broke open a few slave-pens, and began, etc. The ergastula were strong pens or cellar-dens in which field-slaves were kept at night to prevent conspiracies or escape. Milo failed, it seems, to enlist the peasants (l. 23) in his scheme, and so had to content himself with slaves. 34. Cosam: distinguished by the following words from Cosa in Etruria; cf. p. 27, 22, with note. 35. cum legione: something has fallen out here, perhaps ventum esset. 36. dictabit: cf. ll. 18–19. G. 787, 1; Gr. 167, b; H. 336, i. 1. Thurios: see on p. 84, 22. 4. magnarum initia rerum: the nucleus of a revolution.—quae...habebant: which rendered Italy anxious on account of the distraction of the officials (obj. gen.) and of the times (subj. gen.); “cum magistratus aliis rebus occupati essent, et tempora homines occuparent.”

f. Libo’s fruitless Attempt to blockade Marc Antony at Brundisium. Chap. xxiii—xxiv.

7. ab Orico: cf. pp. 80, 35; 81, 12, and see on p. 16, 29. 9. praestare...quam: see on p. 55, 33. 15. dejecit: dislodged, routed.—adeo...profecit: took such advantage of, etc. 16. naves...prohibiturum: the contents of his letter, where juberet represents a
g. Antony crosses to Greece and joins Caesar. Chap. xxv—xxx.

Chap. XXV. Caesar blames Antony and Calenus for not crossing sooner, and gives them positive orders to improve the first favorable wind.

36. praecipitaverat: had begun to draw toward a close. It was now about April 1st, i.e. Feb. 1st by the seasons and the reformed calendar (see on p. 78, 14), and Pompey had allowed Caesar, with only half his army, to hold him in check at the Apsus for nearly three months. 3. quibus . . . existimabat: to which he thought they must necessarily intrust themselves. Caesar relied fearlessly on his felicitas, or fortuna, which Cicero speaks of as one of the requisites in a great general, and as possessed in a high degree by Pompey (pro lege Manilia xvi, 46); other historians tell how, during this anxious time of waiting for the rest of his forces, Caesar began to suspect that Antony was purposely delaying, and so, on a stormy day, entered an open boat, pretending to be a messenger of Caesar’s, and forced the unwilling crew to put out to sea for Italy. The sea grew so violent that the boatman refused to proceed, and even put about, when Caesar ordered him on, at the same time disclosing who he was, and saying, “be not afraid, you carry Caesar and his fortune.” In spite of renewed attempts, however, the boat was actually driven back into the mouth of the Apsus. 4. Quantoque . . . tanto: freely, the more (of) this season had passed by, the more, etc. The winter season is meant, when the winds were strong and favorable for the sailing transports. As spring came on the winds grew lighter, and so the season was more difficult for transporting the troops (ll. 9–10), while Pompey’s ships of war could better remain out at sea on guard. 7. quoniam . . . impedirent: the contents of Pompey’s letters, urging them to hinder, etc. 10. lenioribus ventis: abl. abs. 13. si . . . possent: see on p. 13, 30. 14. ejicere: here of a hurried beaching of the ships, perhaps under pursuit of the enemy; naves ejiciuntur is elsewhere used of shipwreck. 15. a porti-
NOTES.—BOOK III.  

bus: the chief naval stations of Pompey’s fleet were Corcyra and Dyrrhachium; midway between were the litora Apolloniatium, in stormy weather therefore least under guard.

CHAP. XXVI. They obey, cross, evade the enemy, and gain a harbor.

20. praetervehuntur: the wind was too strong for them to venture, ejicere naves (l. 14). 22. Coponius: cf. p. 76,15. 25. et vim tempestatis: by having his men row hard, he hoped that the force of the storm also could be conquered. Coponius had war ships, which could go faster than the transports only when the wind was light. See on l. 4. 29. Nymphaeum, Lissum: insignificant havens on the Illyrian coast north of Dyrrhachium. 33. felicitate: see on l. 3, and cf. l. 35, and p. 80, 32–33.

CHAP. XXVII. The enemy’s war ships in pursuit are wrecked.

35. modo: just now. 1. tempore: circumstances, the situation. In this sense more often plural. 4. propugnatorumque: the soldiers on the ships, marines. See on p. 54, 19.

CHAP. XXVIII. Only two of Antony’s ships fall into the enemy’s hands, and the soldiers on board one of these escape.

7. nostrae naves: we would use the gen. See on p. 33, 10. 8. in noctem conjectae: overtaken by night. 10. Otacilius Crassus: known only from this passage. A Roman of the same name had been a naval commander in the second Punic war. 12. deditis: if they would surrender. G. 670; Gr. 292; H. 549,2. 13. tironum: App. III, 12, a. See on p. 74, 34.—sustulerat: had on board. 15. esset: from sit, there is, by the histor. tense in licuit. 16. salo nauseaeque: = salis nauseae, sea-sickness. G. 695; Gr. p. 298, Hendiadys; H. 636, iii, 2. 21. vitis: discomforts.—neque . . . et: neither . . . but rather. 22. tractandis . . . tempore: in discussing the terms and feigning surrender they prolonged the first hours of the night, and then, etc. 24. navem ejicere: see on p. 86, 14. 27. quique eos armati: i.e. armatisque ex praesidio (missis) qui eos, etc.

CHAP. XXIX. Antony occupies Lissus and notifies Caesar.

31. attribuerat: during the years when he was proconsul of the two Gauls and Illyricum, in which latter country Lissus lay. Int. 6.
CHAP. XXX. Pompey's vain attempt to prevent a junction between Caesar and Antony.

10. secundum eas terra: after them by land, i.e. along the shore in the same direction. 13. venientibus: sc. Antonianis militibus. 14. si . . . posset: to see whether, etc. See on p. 13, 30. 15. castris stativis: App. III, 19, end. 16. educunt: the plur. after uterque is strange, especially as eorum follows. See on p. 53, 34, and cf. p. 111, 2.— clam et noctu: it was contrary to military etiquette, and even dishonorable, to leave a camp without the customary signals. App. III, 15. 17. Sed . . . flumine: but Caesar had quite a long and roundabout march up stream, in order, etc.—circuito majore: G. 492; Gr. 251; H. 419, ii. 18. adverso flumine: abl. abs., see on p. 57, 20. The river was too large and strong to be bridged so near its mouth. Pompey had tried it, as Dio Cassius relates, but when he tried to cross and attack Caesar, the bridge broke, those who were on it were drowned, and those who had crossed were cut down by Caesar's soldiers. 19. quia: used by Caesar only here; because his march was unimpeded (i.e. he had good roads), and he had no river to cross. App. III, 16, end. 23. ejus adventus: see on iis, p. 28, 8. 25. castris: Antony had probably made a détourn into the interior, since the coast north of Dyrrhachium was in Pompey's power, and had now crossed the Genusus river at a point about opposite the ford in the Apsus (l. 18) where Caesar had crossed that river, so that he was about equi-distant from friend and enemy. 28. Asparagium: on the river Genusus, between Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, probably on the left or south bank. Pompey probably bridged the river at his camp, and thought he had thus secured communications with Dyrrhachium, his great base of supplies.

h. Various Operations carried on by Officers of Pompey and Caesar, in the Interior and on the Coast. Chap. xxxi—xxxiii, xxxiv—xxxv, xxxvi—xxxviii, xxxix—xl.
NOTES.—BOOK III.

CHAP. XXXI. Scipio levies moneys in Syria, and comes into Asia.

30. Scipio: cf. p. 75, 26, with note.—detrimentis . . . acceptis: Caesar is always severe on Scipio. He had, he cuttingly says, no claim to the title of imperator except that based on a few defeats. 31. Amānum: the range separating Cilicia and Syria.—imp. se appellaverat: had had himself dubbed imperator. See on p. 64, 10. 33. publicanis: see on p. 75, 16. 35. mutuam: sc. pecuniam; had taken in advance (prae-) the money due for the coming year. Cf. p. 29, 26-27, with note. 36. finitimis . . . relictis: sarcasm again. Scipio might better have devoted his attention to the arch-enemy of the Romans in the East, than abandon his province to them in order to help Pompey. 1. interfecerant: Int. 7. 2. in obsidione: see biog. in App. I. 5. sese . . . non laturos: the gist of the voces; cf. p. 41, 32-33. 7. Pergānum: the strong and rich capital of the kingdom of the same name embracing most of Asia Minor, which became the Roman province of "Asia" in 130. See on p. 75, 11, end.

CHAP. XXXII. whence, after most ruinous exactions of money,

10. provincia: see last note. 11. generatim: according to the different classes of tax-payers. Cf. p. 61, 15.—ad avaritiam: to satisfy his greed. Cf. ad celeritatem, to increase his speed, p. 79, 13.—in capita singula . . . tributum: a poll-tax on slaves, etc. 13. columnaria, ostiaria: sc. tributa; duties on pillars and doors. 14. vecturae: transportation, as p. 94, 18.—cujus . . . poterat: if only a name could be discovered for any thing, this was deemed good ground for levying a tax on it; i.e. countless objects besides columnae and ostia were taxed. 17. cum imperio: sc. homines; this phrase is subj. of praeficiabantur. There were so many ex-consuls and ex-praetors (these only could be cum imperio) among Pompey's followers, that, in order to give them all commands, some had to be put in charge not only of cities, but, I had almost said (paene, cf. p. 13, 10, with translation), of villages and separate forts, instead of provinces. Of course this is scornful exaggeration. 19. imperiorum: i.e. hominum cum imperio, the abstract for the concrete. 20. praefectis: App. III, 10. 21. compendio: worked for their own private gain also. 23. praescriptione: = praetextu, excuse, referring to the clause se . . . rebus, which served them as an apology for their private plundering (rem turp.). 25. universis: dat., the usual case with imperare; cf. p. 29, 9-11. 26. diei: pay-day. 29. sed:
Roman citizens too were taxed, but by societies and cities, not per capita like the slaves (l. 12). 30. mutuasque illas: that loan which had been authorized by the senate, in a decree passed probably at the same time as the motions mentioned p. 14, 1-7. 31. publicanis: sc. imperabatur; cf. p. 88, 33-35. These harpies would take good care to collect from the provincials a generous interest on the money thus advanced. 32. promutuum: in advance; pred. adj. with the implied imperabatur.

Chap. XXXIII. he is summoned into Greece by Pompey.

32. Ephesi: a Greek city in Lydia, near the mouth of the Caýstrus, always most famous for the temple mentioned in the next line. Cf. Acts of the Apostles, 19, 21-41. 33. pecunias: see on p. 14, 17. 34. ventum esset: sc. a Scipione, which is rendered unnecessary by the Scipio in l. 36, and cf. p. 34, 35, with note. Translate freely by the personal construction, when Scipio had come, etc., accompanied by several senators whom he had summoned, to be witnesses as to the sums of money taken; cf. p. 124, 10, with note. 1. properaret, posthaberet: see on p. 16, 6. 2. omniaque posthaberet: and make everything else subordinate to this. 5. salutem attulit: Caesar tries to make it appear that it was he who saved the famous temple from plunder. Cf. p. 124, 8-13.

Chap. XXXIV. Caesar sends troops to secure the neighboring countries.

6. conjuncto: sc. sibi, and cf. p. 88, 25. 7. posuerat: cf. pp. 79, 27; 81, 13. 8. provincias: the relations of the various districts of Greece to Rome in Caesar's time are quite uncertain. Macedonia, which under Alexander had won the command of all Greece, was conquered and governed like a province in 149, Achaia, the confederation of southern Greece, most hostile to Macedonia, in 146. Thessaly, Aetolia, Acarnania and Epirus had not yet been incorporated in either province, but were left to govern themselves under the guidance of Rome. 9. qui... pollicerentur: to promise that if he would send them garrisons, etc. 11. legione tironum: cf. p. 87, 35. 15. de re frumentaria: can be taken either with providerent or hortatur est. With providere Caesar oftener uses the acc. or dat. 18. libera: independent, the name of western Macedonia. 20. excellens: pred. adj.
NOTES.—BOOK III.

CHAP. XXXV. Their reception in Aetolia and Thessaly.

21. primo adventu: = cum primum adventisset.—voluntate:
see on p. 17, 3. 22. Calydone et Naupacto: in southern Aetolia,
famous in Greek history; the former in the legendary period as the
home of most celebrated heroes, the latter in the time after the Persian
wars, as an important naval station commanding the Corinthian gulf.
—relictis: abl. abs. with the two names preceding. 24. varia . . .
utebatur: found the sentiments of the cities divided.

CHAP. XXXVI. Scipio suddenly appears in Macedonia, but is check-
mated by Caesar’s two legions under Domitius.

30. adesse Scipionem: cf. l. 3. 31. magna . . . omnium: the
manner of nuntiatum est, with large estimates and reports of what he
could do on the part of all. 32. rem fana antecedit: rumor goes
beyond fact. 34. cum . . . afuisset: when he had come within twenty
miles of him.—ad Cassium Longinum: who had only one legion, and
cf. p. 75, 31. 5. qui: i.e. equitatus, a border guard. 8. Ambraciam:
in southern Epirus. It was almost destroyed by the Athenians in the
early part of the Peloponnesian war, but under Pyrrhus was enriched
and beautified. It held out famously against the Romans in 189, but
was taken, stripped of its wealth, and soon became insignificant. 11.
presidium: here the same as castellum, l. 3.

CHAP. XXXVII. The two threaten each other, without coming to a
decisive battle; Scipio finally retreats, and is worsted in a cav-
alty fight.

23. tum quoque: even then, though Scipio had come back, whereas
he had designed to attack only Favonius, thought he ought not to hesi-
tate to lead out his legions and fight a decisive battle. 27. Ac tamen:
and still, though Domitius invited a battle, and though his soldiers
could scarcely be held back, circumstances prevented a battle, and espe-
cially the fact that (quod), etc. 28. est factum ne: for this use of
ne, see on p. 20, 10. 33. qui: although he, etc., see on p. 40, 12.—
temere . . . exitum: after a rash advance he beat a shameful retreat.
34. ne . . . vasis: see on p. 38, 10. 3. Q. Varus: probably the
Quintus Atius Varus mentioned B. G. viii, 28, as singularis
et animi et prudentiae vir. He has been identified with sev-
Chap. XXXVIII. Domitius tries in vain to entice Scipio into an ambush.

10. simulavit: see on p. 84, 19. 16. turmae: App. III, 5. 18. quique hos sequebantur: i.e. the other turmae of Scipio’s cavalry. 19. cognitis insidiis: by the enemy. 20. duas... exceperunt: since they had two squadrons within their ambuscade, closed on them. 21. M. Opimius: mentioned only here.

Chap. XXXIX. Arrangements are made for the protection of Caesar’s ships of war at Oricum,

24. ut supra dem. est: applies only to Deductis praesidiis, and not to the main clause Caesar... reliquit. Cf. p. 90, 6-7. 27. quas... traduxerat: cf. chap. 7, and see on p. 77, 6. 28. Manius Aci- lius: cf. p. 81, 13-14. 29. post oppidum: Oricum was on a jutting peninsula formerly an island, but now connected with the main-land by a narrow sand-bar formed by the action of the waves. Cf. p. 93, 8-9. 30. submersam objectit: sank as an obstruction.

Chap. XL. but Gnaeus Pompey Junior burns or captures them, and also the transports of Antony at Lissus.

35. remulco... adduxit: se. ad se, and cf. p. 63, 7; by dint of great exertions (contendens) hauled off with a tow-line and many cables. 36. atque: connects adduxit with nostros vicit, p. 93, 6, for which ut pugnans (since he fought, etc.), (ut) summittens, (ut) tentans give reasons; aggressus then, 1. 1, is a participle, having attacked.

93 2. ad libram: lit. according to the line, i.e. of equal height.—ex superiori... loco: in order not to contradict ad libram, the compar. must here be used absolutely, = very high; the phrase then = ex turribus. 3. reliquis partibus: at other points. 8. ex altera parte: on the other side of the city, i.e. from the sea; see on p. 92. 29.—objectam: thrown up by the waves. 10. subjectis scutulis: by putting rollers underneath; cf. p. 56, 8. 13. ab Asiatica classe: cf. p. 76, 14. 14. Bullide atque Amantia: see on p. 79, 36. 16. relictas: cf. p. 88, 1-2. 20. re infecta: Caesar would thus weaken the effect of the preceding narrative of disaster. A crushing blow had been dealt him,
He was now cut off from Italy, unless he marched round through Illyricum, and from supplies, except as he foraged or looted them in Greece, while Pompey's fleet kept him easily in communication with all the world. Cf. p. 97, 7-10.

i. Caesar's Siege of Pompey near Dyrrhachium. Chap. xli—lv.

Chap. XLI. After vainly offering battle to Pompey, Caesar gets between him and Dyrrhachium by feigned and forced marches.

22. _ad Asparagium_: cf. p. 88, 27-29, with note. 24. _oppido Parthinorum_: see on p. 79, 21. 26. _decernendi_: sc. _proelio_, _opportunity for a decisive battle_. 30. _magnum circuitum_: Caesar probably marched all day in an easterly direction, so that Pompey was deceived into thinking him bound for Macedonia to get supplies. Towards night, however, Caesar turned N. W. toward Dyrrhachium, over the mountains. Pompey's scouts discovered this on the following day and brought him word in time for him to start late on the same day toward Dyrrhachium. In two days and two nights (resting only the first night) Caesar marched about sixty miles over rough roads. In the second of these nights Pompey marched about twenty-five miles, only to find himself outstripped. Caesar calculated that even if his ruse failed, Pompey would be driven back upon (compelli) Dyrrhachium, _because this was his base of supplies_, and if it succeeded he would be cut off (intercludi) from Dyrrhachium, a thing of great importance to Caesar _because this was Pompey's base of supplies_. The clause _quod . . . contulisset_ in this way gives a reason for both _compelli_ and _intercludi_. 34. _diverso . . . itinere_: in the opposite direction, viz. from Dyrrhachium. Caesar had fooled Afranius and Petreius in just this way. Cf. i, 68-70. 3. _parva . . . intermisso_: halted only a small part of the night, i.e. the second night after leaving his camp.

Chap. XLII. Pompey intrenches himself on the coast south of Dyrrhachium, and has his fleet bring him stores; Caesar tries hard to secure supplies.

8. _Petra_: see Map III. Though cut off from Dyrrhachium, Pompey could thus establish communication with it by sea. 9. _castra communit_: Map III, c. 10. _convenire_: as if _jubet_ were to follow (cf. p. 38, 35-36), instead of which _imperat_ is loosely used, with which either the pass. _infin._ or _ut_ with the _subjv._ are the only regular
CHAP. XLIII. Caesar begins to wall Pompey in (Map III, dd).

29. Inde: i.e. ex his collibus. 30. ferebat: see on p. 34, 33. 33. quo: i.e. ut eo equitatu; and therefore could, etc. 34. simul: groups together two of the designs Caesar had in mind (haec spectans), viz. uti . . . prohiberet, and (uti) . . . efficeret. 35. ad rem gerendam inutilem: unable to strike a blow; cf. p. 42, 30-31.—qua . . . videbat: on which he clearly placed very great reliance, etc. G. 405; Gr. 249; H. 421, i. Pompey had made his military reputation in the East (Int. 4), Caesar in the West. 2. cum . . . percrebisset: this represents cum . . . percrebuerit in the thoughts of Caesar; the subjv. is to be explained on the principle of partial ind. disc.; when (as he planned) it should have been noised abroad over the world, etc. G. 584, 516; Gr. 327, a, 286, R., end; H. 521, i, 4th Ex., 525, 2.

CHAP. XLIV. Pompey builds counter-walls (Map III, ee).

6. neque . . . poterat, nisi . . . vellet: G. 598, R. 1; Gr. 307, f; H. 509, N. 3, 511, i. 8. Relinquebatur ut . . . sequens . . . occuparet. all he could do was to resort to the only plan left for carrying on the war, and occupy as many hills as he could. 12. idque accidit: Caesar has been censured by military critics for having tried such a hopeless task as the siege of Pompey proved to be, but this passage clearly shows that he hoped at first to surround Pompey with a much shorter line of works than he was subsequently and gradually forced to build. 13. multaque: those kinds of grain are meant which were used for fodder; frumentum could be brought from Dyrrhachium. 15. perpetuas: continuous. 22. quae cum . . . loca: and when such places, i.e. as those described p. 94, 27-28. 23. suis locis: see on p. 38, 34. 24. magnum . . . numerum: cf. p. 75, 27-29. 27. coactis: the neut. of coactus (cogó) used as a noun, coarse and heavy felt.

CHAP. XLV. In one case Caesar's escape from a position attacked by the enemy is made impossible,
NOTES.—BOOK III.


32. In his: sc. praesidiis; as a specimen of these.

33. praesidium quoddam: Map III, f.

36. prope aequum: almost level, whereas the other side was steep (Erat per declive receptus, p. 96, 5).

6. hoo acrius . . . quod: so much the more fiercely because, (as), etc. The abl. denotes meas. of diff.

8. videbantur: i.e. nostri.

9. non recusare . . . existimaretur: he did not object to being considered a good-for-nothing general.

10. legiones: not only the 9th (l. 25), but all the rest in trying to rescue this.

CHAP. XLVI. until he orders a sudden dash forward, and then a retreat while the enemy’s motions are obstructed.

12. extremum tumulum: the edge of the hill.

13. hoc: as in l. 6.

20. fossas: plur. with ref. to the different parts or sections.

22. a medio fere spatio: about half-way down the slope, cf. l. 6, per declive.


25. conspirati: with one accord.


28. objecti: and the stakes (to hold the crates) which stood in their way.

29. fossae: see on l. 20.

31. pauloque citra eum locum: Map III, g.

—This was a sample of the tactics by which Pompey forced Caesar to extend his siege-walls. Had Caesar succeeded in holding this position, he might have hindered Pompey’s men from getting water out of the Palamnus.

CHAP. XLVII. The difficulty of Caesar’s undertaking, and his lack of provisions.

33. cum . . . tum: see on p. 69, 23.


2. continuerunt: shut in; the perf., as in conati sunt and consuevit, denotes what has been, and probably will be generally the case, and may be rendered by a pres. G. 228, R. 2; Gr. 279, b, c; H. 471, 3.

9. haberent: its subj. is eae supplied from quae naves (8).

13. in Hispania: i, 48 and 52.

14. ad Alesiam, ad Avaricum (15): as described in B. G. vii, 71 and 17.


17. cum daretur: see on p. 58, 11.


CHAP. XLVIII. Caesar’s soldiers invent a new kind of bread.
20. fuerant in vallibus: the Mss. reading valeribus is uncertain, and no other very satisfactory improvements have been made. Samples are vacabant ab operibus, fuerant valetudinarii ex vulneribus, fuerant vacui ab operibus.—chara: do not try to translate. Botanists differ as to what the plant was. 23. panes: loaves.

CHAP. XLIX. Some facts encouraging to Caesar.

25. maturescere: it was now getting toward July. Pompey was kept shut up for about four months. 29. victuros: vivo. 30. tolerari: barely kept alive. 31. uti: infin. 32. cum . . . tum: as above, p. 96, 33–35. 33. insuetos laborum: see on p. 45, 29. 35. magnis operibus: Map III, hh. All running water was turned either southward into the Palamnus, or northward into a stream flowing into the sea above Dyrrhachium. 36. ad specus angustiae vallium: like montuosa, a predicate phrase to loca, usually explained as = ad spectum similitudinem angustae valles, (full of) narrow cave-like valleys. 1. has: i.e. valles. 3. loca . . . demissa: probably near the Palamnus, at least six miles from Pompey’s main camp; cf. ll. 5–6. 5. qui tamen fontes: referring to the puteos of 1. 4; these springs however, etc. 8. tum: and besides. 9. succedere: was approaching.

CHAP. L. Devices of the enemy to cause, and of Caesar’s soldiers to avoid trouble.

13. ad munitiones excubare: bivouacked along the lines. 14. universi: all together, before Caesar’s men could protect themselves. 16. ut . . . facerent: supply immediately after these words alio (loco) excubarent. The two clauses are in appos. with remedia, and should be translated by inffns. The fires were probably for signalling between different parts of the long siege-lines.

Besides the words alio excubarent, there has fallen out here a description of Caesar’s defeating an attempted sally of Pompey’s cavalry from Dyrrhachium, or, as another historian says, of his vain attempt to take Dyrrhachium by surprise, and of Pompey’s then attacking with four legions one of the besieging forts, whose garrison, though consisting of one cohort only, held out successfully several hours, and was finally relieved by Sulla, whom Caesar had left in command of the siege-lines.
NOTES.—BOOK III.

Chap. LI. Sulla relieves the cohort under attack, and drives the enemy back into an unfavorable position, where they are forced to fortify themselves.

19. discedens: to attack Dyrrhachium. See last note.—Castris: the main camp of Caesar, between Pompey's main camp (Map III, c) and Dyrrhachium; cf. p. 94, 5. 26. potuisse: its subj. is readily supplied, and is referred to by the following Cujus, and yet his plan, etc.; finire bellum "is used only here for the usual con ficere bellum." 27. aliae . . . atque: other than, different from. See on p. 58, 9. 29. ad summam rerum: according to the general state of affairs, on general principles. 31. quae res tamen: which, even though chance seemed to favor it, still, as he thought, might perhaps turn out badly; reciperent represents recipiat in the thought of Sulla. G. 250; Gr. 311, a; H. 485. 35. reciperent . . . verebantur: see on p. 95, 6. The relative position of the two parties is now just the reverse of what it was in chap. 45. 2. rem: the attack on the fort.—necessario atque ex tempore: as the necessities of the instant demanded. 3. tumulum quendam: Map III, i; between his own line of works and that of Caesar.

Chap. LII. Meanwhile conflicts take place at two other points.

8. pariter: as well, besides.—distinendae manus causa: cf. p. 93, 5. 11. Germani; cf. p. 75, 34.—munitiones . . . egressi: the direct acc. after egredior, instead of the usual abl. with or without ex; having penetrated, gone beyond, as if = extra mun.

Chap. LIII. The losses on both sides, and the rewards of Caesar's soldiers.

13. tribus ad Dyrrhachium: see last note on chap. 50. 15. ad duorum milium numero: ad is used adverbially like circiter with numerals, = about, and the gen. is dependent on numero; there had fallen of Pompey's men to the number of about 2000; a tempting correction is ad duo milia numero, "as many as 2000 in number." 17. L (u c i i) filius, ejus qui: the son of that Lucius (Valerius Flaccus) who, etc. See App. I. 18. signaque: App. III, 17.—Nostri: see on p. 33, 10. 23. renumeraverunt: counted out, not necessarily one by one, but in packs of a thousand each perhaps; cf. p. 75, 17. 26. donatum milibus cc: sc. sestertium, about $8000. See on pp. 22, 5, and 59, 30. After the numeral something like pro con-
tion laudavit seems to have fallen out; presented with 200,000 sesterces, "and publicly praised." 27. ab octavis ordinibus, etc.: App. III, 11, e. 29. duplici stipendio: App. III, 3, d. 30. congiariis; "literally, 'congius' measures, i.e. about six pints of oil or wine; hence the name was extended to other donations of oil, wine, and money;" here probably extra and immediate presents of money, pourboire, besides the promised double wages.

CHAP. LIV. Pompey succeeds at last in regaining his old camp.

33. vineis . . . obtexit: protected, i.e. lined that side of his camp where the towers had been built with vineae, which served to connect the towers together, and afford safe passage from one to another. See on p. 28, 22. 34. obstructis . . . et . . . objectis: barricaded and left in the way to hinder the advance of Caesar's men. Similar tactics, but on a vastly larger scale, to those of Caesar described in chap. 46.

100 1. antiquas munitiones: Map III, c.

CHAP. LV. Caesar in vain offers Pompey battle.

2. si . . . vellet: see on p. 13, 30. 4. tantumque . . . aberat: was kept at just such a distance. Cf. p. 74, 35, with note. 5. uti ne: rare for ne. G. 545, R. 1; Gr. 317, 6th Ex.; H. 499, 1. Cf. Map III, k.


10-19. Amphilochis: this people, just south of Epirus, were allied with Acarnania during the Peloponnesian war (431-404), then conquered by the Aetolians, and later included in the Roman province Epirus. 11. ut demonstravimus: not directly nor fully. Cf. however chap. 34-35. 12. Achaiam: see on p. 75, 15. 13. eique . . . adjungit: and put under his command. 16. Achaia: here the northern district of the Peloponnesus, which had given its name, first to the Achaean league (see on p. 90, 8), and then to the Roman province comprising southern Greece. 17. Delphos: in Phocis, the seat of the most famous Greek oracle and temple of Apollo.—Thebas, Orchomenum: one the capital, the other the oldest city of Boeotia. 19. amicitia: abl. of manner, opposed to per vim (18), by kindness.

22-36. venisse: cf. p. 90, 28-32. 23. pristini instituti: his de-
termination from the start, viz., to make peace with Pompey if possible. 100
25. traditum . . . et commendatum: introduced and recommended; cf. p. 44, 19. 26. instituerat: had made it a practice, i.e. was wont, = solebat. 27. sese . . . voluisset: since he had tried every plan for peace, he thought the failure to accomplish anything up to this time (factum esse) due to the fault of those whom he had wished to bring this thing (peace) about. Between adhuc and arbitri some would supply [effecisse; id]. 29. quod . . . vererentur: the excuse of these messengers to Caesar. Cf. p. 82, 25-34. 30. ea esse auctoritate: was a man of such influence. 33. suo nomine: as proconsul of Syria independent of Pompey. 36. uni . . . relatos: all would have to thank him alone for, etc.; lit. would acknowledge as received. Notice the rhetorical position of uni omnes.


CHAP. LVIII. Pompey is unable longer to keep his cavalry horses alive, and determines to break the siege.

5. quo . . . contineret: see last note on chap. 50. 6. aditus duos: two ravines leading down to the tongue of land on which the city lay. Map III, b. 7. demonstravimus: in the portion lost at the close of chap. 50. 13. sata: cf. p. 95, 14. 16. hordeo adaugere: to increase it (the pabulum) by adding barley, = hordeum admiscendo augere. 17. tolerare: see on p. 97, 30.

CHAP. LIX. Two of Caesar's most trusted Gauls are found guilty of dishonesty.

21. Allobröges: a tribe in S. E. Gaul, subdued by the Romans as early as 121, but always suspected. They had joined but afterwards betrayed the conspiracy of Catiline in 63 (Cic. in Catilinam, Or. iii). Caesar had defended them against more powerful neighbors. B. G. i, 11 ff. 22. multis annis: see on p. 32, 36. 23. quorum operā . . . erat usus: freely, who had served Caesar, etc., most excellently and bravely. 26. senatum: of the Allobroges. 27. rei pecuniariae: of a pecuniary nature, = pecuniaria. 31. amicitia: G. 373, R. 1; Gr. 254, b; H. 425, 1, 1), N. 32. stipendiumque equitum fraudabant: embezzled the wages of the horsemen, both by deducting a certain per cent. for themselves, and by drawing pay for men who had been killed as if they still belonged to the force, keeping their names on the
lists (ll. 35-36). The usual construction with fraudare, is aliquem aliqua re.—praedam... avertebant: instead of distributing it among their men. 33. illi: the equites.

CHAP. LX. Caesar's rebuke and the contempt of their fellows lead them to desert to Pompey.

102 1. tempus illud animadversionis esse: that that time was the proper one for punishment, when he was straining every nerve to hold Pompey fast.—multa... concedens: making many allowances for. 3. quaestui: G. 350; Gr. 253; H. 390, ii, N. 2; freely, had made money at the expense of their horsemen.—ex sua amicitia: instead of ex fraudatione. 4. ex... officiis: on the basis of, in proportion to past favors. 5. reliqua: sc. officia, future favors. 6. ad omnes: among all. 7. domestico: of their own countrymen. 8. quo pudore: = cujus rei pudore; see on p. 60, 35. 9. se non liberari sed... reservari: sc. a poena, ad poenam. 12. clientibus suis: see on p. 19, 36. 15. cum munere aliquo: after doing him some service. 17. proinde ac (si): see on p. 74, 27.

CHAP. LXI. Pompey welcomes them and their traitorous information.

21. honesto: see on p. 35, 2. 23. quodque... acciderat: and because things had turned out unexpectedly and unusually; cf. p. 32, 12, with note. 24. (Quos) praesidia circumduxit: see on p. 36, 7. 27. perfugereunt: i.e. milites equestres.—vulgo vero universi: soldiers had deserted singly, and indeed all in a body who belonged in Epirus, etc. 29. regionum: limiting milites directly, instead of in eis regionibus conscripti, corresponding to the previous line. 32. temporibusque rerum et spatii locorum: abls. in explan. appos. with omnibus rebus; the time when everything was done, and the distances between the posts, viz. all along Caesar's lines. 34. ferebat: operated; cf. p. 94, 30, with note.

CHAP. LXII. Pompey prepares to break through Caesar's lines.

103 36. ut dem.: p. 101, 19-20. 1. tegimenta: as a protection against missiles; cf. ll. 33-35. 2. aggerem: rubbish, to be used in filling up Caesar's moats. 5. ex maximis castris: Map III, c. 6. (deductas... )ad mare: Map IV, a. 7. maximis castris Caesaris: right opposite Pompey's as above denoted. 8. naves... mittit: Map IV, b. 11. Lentulum Marcellinum, Fulvium Postumum (13):
known only from this incident. 12. *positum habebat*: see on p. 103.

**Chap. LXIII.** and succeeds, by taking advantage of a gap not yet filled up.

14. *pedum xv*: see on p. 30, 36.—*contra hostem*: i.e. facing north. 17. *vallus humiliore paulo munitione*: Map IV, c; *vallus* generally means the palisading on the rampart, here = *vallum*. 18. *Hoc*: explained by *ne...circumvenirentur*. 20. *ancipiti*: viz. from the lines of the besieged, and from a party sent round by ship to the rear of the besiegers' lines, as was now actually done. 23. *spatium*: of time; see on p. 12, 26.—*contra mare transversum vallum*: Map IV, d. 27. *excubuerant*: had been, and so were still bivouacking. G. 233,2; H. 471,4. 28. *accessère*: see on p. 35, 10. 29. *navibus circumvecti milites...complebantur*: Map IV, e. 30. *legionarii*: Map IV, a; the *milites* above were *levis armaturae* (l. 3). 32. *multitudo sagittariorum*: Map IV, ff. 34. *viminea tegmenta*: cf. l. 1. 35. *omnibus rebus*; see on p. 14, 27. 36. *animadversum est*: was discovered. The Allobroges had told them of it. 1. *supra*: p. 103, 104. 23-25.—*vallos*: see on p. 103, 17. 2. *per mare navibus expositi*: Map IV, g. 3. *aversos*: trying to repel the attacks from the north and south. 4. *terga vertere*: Map IV, h.

**Chap. LXIV.** Caesar's guards are panic-stricken. Gallant death of a color-bearer.

5. *...cohortes*: the numeral has fallen out. Map IV, i. 6. *castris*: viz. of the ninth legion, p. 103, 12, 27; Map III, q. From this the guard at the shore had been detailed. 12. *aquilifer*: App. III, 17, a.—*a viribus deficeretur*: felt that his strength was leaving him; a semi-personification in the passive of the idiom *vires aliquem deficiunt*, p. 121, 8; *deficeret viribus* would be the commoner usage, cf. pp. 19, 34; 73, 13. 15. *Nolite...committere*: G. 264, ii; Gr. 269, a; H. 489, 1); the obj. is *ut...admittatur*. 19. *principem priorem*: App. III, 11, c.

**Chap. LXV.** Antony brings relief and checks the enemy. Caesar abandons most of his siege-lines and encamps opposite Pompey.

munitiones egressum: see on p. 99, 11. 31. propositum: had not carried out his plan, viz. to prevent Pompey from foraging. 32. castra juxta Pompeium: Pompey’s position is now Map III, n (Map V, a), Caesar’s, Map III, o (Map V, b).

CHAP. LXVI. Pompey re-occupies with one legion an old camp, which now threatens Caesar’s flank.

34. quod . . . videretur: which looked as large as a legion; both pron. and verb attracted into agreement with the pred. noun. G. 616, R. 3, ii; Gr. 199; H. 445,4. 35. vetera castra: Map III, p (Map V, c). 1. ut dem.: chap. 45–46.—circummuniret: its obj. is to be supplied from Pompeianis copiis. 4. paulo ultra eum locum: Map III, g, the same as citra eum locum, p. 96, 32. 5. eadem: i.e. the vetera castra abandoned by the 9th legion. 7. relictum: left standing. 10. munitionem: Map V, ff.—ad flumen: the Palamnus, which Caesar had not diverted from its course with the other streams (chap. 49). 12. quas . . . non est: this was probably a ruse, and part of Pompey’s admirable plan for surprising the position of the 9th legion. It succeeded so well that Caesar does not like to describe it.

CHAP. LXVII. This Caesar attacks, at first with success;

14. Eo: i.e. in ea Vetera castra. 17. novis Pompeii castris: see on p. 104, 32. 20. munitionis: of fortifying, building fortifications. 22. numero xxxiii: not all of Caesar’s forces; some were still stationed at various points along the siege-lines. Cf. p. 108, 5–6. 24. castraque minora: i.e. the vetera castra above described, now distinguished from Pompey’s main camp secundum mare, p. 104, 32. Cf. 1. 8.—duplici acie: App. III, 2, d; a longer line of battle was here better, in order to surround the enemy’s position. 27. sinistro cornu: Map V, d. 28. ericius: a beam bristling with iron spikes, and so called a porcupine. 30. Tito Pulione . . . propugnante: abl. abs. 31. demonstravimus: in the part lost at the close of chap. 8, where see note. 33. primo . . . post: contrasted as in p. 20, 18–21.—majora castra . . . castellum: cf. ll. 6–9.

CHAP. LXVIII. but his right wing is misled by a portion of the fortifications,

36. fortuna: see on p. 86, 3 and 33. 1. parvis momentis, etc.: ef. p. 20, 31–32. 3. supra: p. 105, 10, where see note. 4. dextri
Caesaris cornus cohortes: Map V, e.

9. est secutus: Map V, gg.

CHAP. LXIX. and when Pompey comes to help his legion with a large force, a panic ensues among Caesar’s soldiers, and a disastrous retreat.

10. v legiones...duxit: Map V, hh.—ab opere: of fortifying the main camp by the sea. 11. equitatus ejus: Map V, i. 12. acies instructa: the five legions of l. 10. 14. Legio Pompeiana: Map V, k, and cf. pp. 104, 33-35; 105, 15, 34-35. 15. decumana porta: App. III, 19.—ultro: see on p. 46, 18. 16. Equitatus Caesaris: Map V, gg.—quod...ascendebat: a breach had been made in the long wall running down to the river (l. 7), through which the cavalry and the infantry of the right wing had slowly passed, and they were now on the way up to the central fort and over its moats and walls (per aggeres). The panic made them all try to get back through the narrow breach in a hurry, and hence the following disaster. 21. angustias: i.e. between the enemy and the long wall.—x pedum: this, with the depth of the ditch, would make a leap of about twenty feet. 25. angustiis: i.e. between the outer and inner fortifications of the camp they had stormed. 26. extra et intus: the relieving force of Pompey, and the legion which had taken refuge in the inner camp or castellum, ll. 14-16.—eodem...consulebant: tried to save themselves by retreating the same way they had come; receptu=itinere se recipientes, of which itinere belongs with quo venerant. 27. omniaque...plena: cf. p. 72, 30. 29. demissis signis: lowered their colors, so that Caesar might not see them and check them, and ran on. 30. etiam signa dimitterent: even threw their colors away. App. III, 17, b.

CHAP. LXX. The same wall which had caused Caesar’s defeat, hinders the enemy from following up their victory.

32. haec...quod Pompeius...tardabantur: these facts were helpful and prevented the whole army from being destroyed, namely that Pompey, etc., and that his horsemen, etc. 36. angustiis atque his: by the narrow breach (see on l. 16), especially as that was held by Caesar’s soldiers. See on p. 24, 20. 1. ad insequendum: see on p. 39, 10. 4. propriam expeditamque: certain (his own) and complete.
CAESAR’S CIVIL WAR.

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CHAP. LXXI. Caesar’s losses.

8. equites Romanos, tribunos militum: App. III, 9. All are known only from this mention of their death. 9. Placentia, Puteoli, Capua: for the case, see on p. 22, 25. The first was one of the chief towns of Gallia Cispadana, and the military centre of the province. The second was an old Greek maritime city of Campania, on the bay of Neapolis. For the third, see on p. 16, 14.—Fleginatetm, Sacrativirum: noms.= Flegintes, Sacratir. 14. imperator: see on p. 64, 10. 15. sed . . . praetulit: the victory was won in a civil war, so Pompey did not officially use the title of Imperator, nor have the fasces of his lictors wreathed with laurel, as victors usually did. 19. perfugae: as a renegade and traitor, he wished to show Pompey how utterly he had broken with his old comrades-in-arms. 20. contumelia: with magna, an abl. of manner.


CHAP. LXXII. Special reasons for Caesar’s defeat.

23. spiritus: pride; gen. sing. 24. ratione: further conduct of the war. 25. Non . . . non . . . non: repetition for rhetorical effect; see on p. 21, 19. 27. abscisum . . . exercitum: sc. esse, the separation of the army, etc. 29. causae: sc. militibus Caesaris fugae. G. 350; Gr. 293; H. 390, i. 30. dimicatum: sc. esse; pass. impers.—ipsos: sc. nostros. 31. multitudine: thronging, does not contradict paucitatem in 1. 25. Caesar’s men had no room to fight in. 32. communes belli casus: war’s impartial fortunes. G. 375, R. 2; Gr. 219, R., end; H. 407, N. 1. 33. quam: namely how trifling reasons; like quotiens (35) introducing a clause explanatory of casus. 34. suspicionis, terroris, religionis: either in the way of groundless suspicion, sudden fright, or opposing religious scruples; the gens may be regarded thus as appositional, or as subjective, arising from, etc. 36. esset offensum: pass. impers., disaster had occurred; cf. p. 77, 11.

CHAP. LXXIII. Caesar’s address to his defeated soldiers.

108 9. opponerent: set off against. 10. fortunae: see on p. 86, 3, and cf. ll. 14, 22.—aliquo: any considerable; ullo would mean “any whatever.” 12. ducibus: abl. abs. expressing concession, on which depends the gen. hominum (11); in spite of leaders who were very experienced
and skilful and had very warlike soldiers. 13. provincias: Sicily and Sardinia; cf. i, 30-31. 18. cujusvis...culpae: to anyone's fault rather than to his own. 22. partam...interpellavisset: cf. p. 107, 4-5. 23. dandam...ut: all must exert themselves to, etc. 24. Quod: i.e. operam dare.—fore ut...verteret: see on p. 16, 12; vertere is here intrans. 25. ad Gergoviam: B. G. vii, 51, ff. Here he had been obliged to raise the siege, after a severe defeat, but soon won the crowning victory of Alesia. Cf. p. 97, 14-16. 26. ultro...offerrent: Caesar prophesies well; Pompey, who has hitherto avoided battle, soon takes the offensive and pursues him, although strongly urged to cross over to Italy and strengthen himself there against the enfeebled army of Caesar, which would have had to march round the head of the Adriatic. He thought that would look too much like retreating before a conquered enemy. Caesar's defeat was then a necessary prelude to his great victory at Pharsalus.

CHAP. LXXIV. * and its stimulating effect.

28. ignominia...movit: disgraced (by lowering their pay, or exposing them publicly before the commander's tent) and degraded. This was really mercy, for the military punishment was death. App. III, 17, b. 31. desideraret: needed, waited for a command from, etc. 33. cum...nonnulli: while some of the higher officers even, such as tribunes, legates and quaestors, as distinguished from centurions.—ratione permoti: the soldiers burned to fight at once and wipe out their disgrace; the higher officers, after due deliberation, thought they ought to remain there and eventually fight the decisive battle. 35. Contra ea: for the more usual contra as adv.; neque...putabat is Caesar's objection to the desire of the soldiers, and et...timebat to the opinion of the officers.

CHAP. LXXV. Caesar abandons his camp and is pursued by Pompey.

4. prima nocte: see on medio, p. 30, 29. 5. ante iter confectum: 109 =ante quam iter confectum esset, before the conclusion of their march; so ante urbem conditam. G. 324, R. 3; Gr. 292, a; H. 549, 5, N. 2. 7. reliquas: four in number, for seven had crossed with Caesar (p. 76, 28), and Antony had brought him four more (p. 87, 35), but one legion had been sent into Thessaly (p. 90, 11), two into Macedonia (p. 90, 16), five cohorts into Aetolia (p. 90, 13), three cohorts had been left to guard Oricum (p. 92, 25), and one was at Lissus (p. 110, 30).
Caesar's Civil War.


CHAP. LXXVI. Both armies resume their old camps at Asparagium, but Caesar by a ruse gets another start of Pompey.

23. justo: see on p. 22, 11; the army had started very early (ll. 4–8). 25. Asparagium: see on p. 88, 28, and cf. p. 93, 25. 27. per cau-sam: the foraging was only a ruse, to make the enemy think he was not going to march any further that day. See on p. 85, 23. 28. de-cumana porta: where the enemy would least notice it; App. III, 19. 33. imped, et sarcinarum: App. III, 3, c, 16. 35. contubernio: duplicatoque . . . itinere: and in addition to the full day's march already made; he did not march twice as far, but made a second march. The ruse of Caesar so successful here, had been tried on him by Afranius and Petreius, i, 80, but without avail.

CHAP. LXXVII. Caesar goes so fast that Pompey at last gives up the pursuit.


CHAP. LXXVIII. Reasons of both Caesar and Pompey for transferring the struggle eastward.
NOTES.—BOOK III.

15. praesidium...relinquendum: only one change in this respect is mentioned in 1.30, viz. the garrisoning of Apollonia, which had been safe enough while Caesar was near it or besieging Pompey (see on p. 80, 16). Lissus and Oricum had garrisons already (pp. 92, 25; 93, 19).

17. tantum: only so much.—properanti: lit. for him in a hurry, i.e. considering his haste.

18. Domitio: who was in Macedonia (chap. 36-38), and while Caesar remained at Apollonia, farther from him than from Pompey.

19. ad eum...forebatur: hurried (lit. was carried) towards him with all speed and with passionate eagerness.

20. Totius...explicabat: he formed his plan for the whole campaign on the following considerations, viz. that if, etc.

21. eodem: to Macedonia, where he could join Scipio, and perhaps capture Domitius.

22. copiis: stores.

24. si...transiret: see last note on chap. 73.

27. obsesso...cogeret: then (Caesar) would beset Scipio and force him (Pompey) to help his ally.

32. Athamaniam: a district of southern Epirus.

33. conjectura: abl. of means used adverbially.

36. legiones: see on p. 87, 36. These troops afterward marched round the head of the Adriatic into Illyricum, arriving after the battle of Pharsalus.

CHAP. LXXXIX. Caesar's lucky junction with Domitius (Calvinus).

3. ne...deesset: not to miss a good chance.

4. Apollonia: i.e. his march to A.

5. Candaviam: see on p. 79, 15.—iter...habebat: almost due east, over the great Egnatian road from Dyrrhachium to the Hellespont, while Caesar followed the river Aoës S. E. to its source, then crossed the mountains to the sources of the Thessalian river Peneius, near which was the stronghold of Aeginium, where Domitius joins him (l. 26).

8. collata habuisset: for the subjv. see on p. 40, 12; for the compound form, on p. 30, 7.

9. Heracliam: the chief town of Macedonia libera (p. 90, 18), at about the middle of the via Egnatia.—subjecta: Candavia was a mountainous region.


15. reddiderat: see on p. 11, 1.

17. dimissi: messengers sent; see on p. 19, 31.


26. Aeginium: see on l. 5.—objectum: near the borders of, but still in Epirus.

CHAP. LXXX. Caesar storms and plunders Gomphi,

27. Gomphos: a strong town commanding two mountain passes toward the south. It had been of importance in the Roman wars with
Philip of Macedon (200–197). 28. venientibus: as you come. G. 343; Gr. 235, b; H. 384, 4, N. 3. 32. supra: l. 14. 33. quod ... partibus: and had exaggerated it (proelium) by a great deal. The subj. is still fama, the abl. denotes meas. of diff.; cf. p. 114, 8. 34. praetor: so the Romans called the highest military officer of Thessaly, the στρατηγός. 2. munitionibus: what case? see on p. 17, 1. 5. Larisam: in the great central plain of Thessaly. 7. musculosque: see on p. 55, 25. The word seems here = vinæas. 9. quantum ... haberet: how advantageous it (was, i.e.) would be: the subj. of haberet are potiri (10), inferre (11) and fieri.—omnia rerum inopiam: Plutarch says that Caesar's soldiers were so worn out by their hardships and scant living, that a pest had broken out among them, but that they were all completely cured by drinking their fill of the wine they found in Gomphi. Cf. what Caesar says p. 98, 6–10. 15. ad diripiendum: contrast the treatment of Massilia. 16. Metropoliim: about 20 miles S. E. of Gomphi.

Chap. LXXXI. and this course prevents the other cities of Thessaly from deserting him.

18. primum: used like primo, contrasting with postea (20); see on p. 17, 34. 23. Metropolitum: = —arum. G. 27, R. 1; Gr. 36, d; H. 49, 3. 24. magnis exercitibus: must be translated large forces, as Scipio had only one army. Cf. p. 86, 9. 26. Ile: Caesar.—in agris: the plains of Pharsalia, at least four days' march from Metropolis. See Map I. 28. eoque ... conferre: and to transfer thither the whole conduct of the war. Cf. p. 108, 4.

m. The Infatuation of Pompey's Followers. Chap. Ixxxii—lxxxiii.

Chap. LXXXII. Pompey joins Scipio in Thessaly, his followers already dividing up the civil offices as if they had done away with Caesar,

32. partâ jam victoriâ: cf. p. 108, 22. 35. classicum apud eum cani: that the usual signals be blown before his tent. App. III, 15.—praetorium: App. III, 19. 2. adeo ut ... videretur: cf. p. 71, 22–24. 3. et: introduces (ut) dicerent (6), whose subj. is a pron. referring generally to the nobles in the company of Pompey (the omnium of l. 1), and whose obj. is unus ... numero. 4. si quando...
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**dicerent:** as often as Pompey did anything rather slowly and cautiously, they said it was only a day's work, but that he was delighted with his power, and treated ex-consuls and ex-praetors like slaves; faceret is attracted into the subjv. from fecerat; see on pp. 52, 4; 73, 31, and cf. p. 53, 23. It was this contemptuous haste of the nobles which ruined Pompey. **8. in annosque:** for years in advance. **10. oportetris:** its subj. clause is rationem haberi (12), on which the gen. Hirri depends. Cf. p. 15, 33, with note, and translate freely, whether Hirrus ought to stand for the praetorship, etc. **11. ad Parthos:** to win over their king to Pompey; see on p. 88, 36. **13. praestaret:** sc. ut; in appos. with fidem; begged from Pompey a promise to grant what he had guaranteed him (Hirrus) on his departure. For recipere in this sense, cf. p. 82, 7, with note. **14. reliqui:** the other party to the controversia (10), the opponents of the necessarii (12) of Hirrus. **15. ne... antecederet recusarent:** objected to having one favored above all; recusarent depends on cum (12), just like implorant.

**CHAP. LXXXIII.** and fighting over the spoils of an assumed victory.

**16. sacerdotio Caesaris:** since 63 Caesar had been pontifex maximus. App. II, 15.—**Domitius:** L. Ahenobarbus, to be distinguished carefully from Domitius Calvinus, Caesar's officer, chap. 34, 36-38, etc. See biog. **17. Spintherque:** see on p. 18, 13. **19. ostentaret, jactaret:** see on adventare, p. 17, 28; one boasted of the respect due his age, the other bragged of his popularity in the city. **20. affinitate:** see on p. 12, 36. **21. postulavit... proditionis exercitus:** accused of betraying his army; cf. p. 44, 26-29, with notes. For the gens., G. 377, 361,2; Gr. 220, 217; H. 409, ii, 396, iii. **22. Acutius Rufus:** mentioned only here.—**quod... diceret:** a thing which he declared had been done, etc. G: 541, R. 2; Gr. 341, d, R.; H. 516, ii, 1. **24. ad judicandum:** to vote with. **26. sententiasque... ferrent:** the second subj. clause after dixit, instead of an infin. corresponding to placere. **27. neque:** see on p. 109, 16. **28. unam dixit fore tabellam iis qui... damnarent = damnandos censerent; so multarent = multandos censerent.** The idiom is like that noticed in diceret, l. 23: **30. pecunia:** G. 377, R. 1; Gr. 220, b; H. 410, iii.—**Postremo:** in short.

Chap. LXXXIV. Caesar begins to tempt Pompey to join battle.

35. temporis: unnecessary with spatium; see on p. 12, 26. 36. quo: = ut in eo. — perspectum habere: = perspexisse; see on p. 30, 7; for him to clearly understand the temper of his soldiers. 3. castris: Map II, a. — suis locis: see on p. 38, 84. 4. castris Pompeii: Map II, b; Pompey's march with Scipio from Larisa to the Pharsalian plains is implied but not distinctly stated p. 112, 30 ff. Caesar had chosen a good position, supported by the river Apidanus, with the rich Pharsalian fields at his back to forage in. — continentibus vero diebus: but during successive days, i.e. gradually, contrasting with primo. 5. ut: in such a way that; with instruxit. — collibusque Pom­ pey, coming down into the Pharsalian plains from Larisa, had chosen a strong position on the slope stretching from Palaepharsalus down to the Apidanus, about four miles from Caesar. 6. in dies: see on p. 35, 20. 7. superius . . . institutum: his former practice; cf. p. 109, 20. 8. ut . . . juberet (11): see on p. 14, 25.— multis partibus: see on p. 111, 33. 10. electis . . . armis: abl. abs.; to choose arms adapted to speed (i.e. light armor) and fight, etc. 13. mille: here used as a subst, like the plur. G. 308; Gr. 94, e, N.; H. 178, and N. 14. cum adesset usus: whenever there was need. G. 585; Gr. 322; H. 521, ii, 1. The subjv. is due to attraction. 16. unum: either Egus or Rauceillus (pp. 101, 21–22; 111, 19).

Chap. LXXXV. At last Pompey accepts the challenge (Aug. 9th, 48).

19. in colle: see on l. 5. 20. instruebat: kept forming, during the time mentioned in ll. 2–7.— exspectans si: watching to see whether; cf. p. 68, 23, with note. 23. uti . . . moveret . . . esset: vis. to move and always be, etc., clauses in appos. with hanc; so below haec is explained by the appos. clauses ut . . . defatigaret; with these designs, vis. to, etc. Cf. pp. 94, 31; 109, 13. 27. insolitum ad: elsewhere followed by the gen.; see on p. 45, 29. 29. detensis: struck; for the opposite, see p. 112, 36. 31. non iniquo: = aequo, by Litotes (see on p. 11, 6, end). 36. expeditas . . . educit. App. III, 3, c, end.

Chap. LXXXVI. Pompey's boastful promise to his officers.

115 2. hortatu: see on p. 113, 4. 6. rationem: outline. 8. persuasi: as if their consent was all that was necessary. 10. ab latere aperto:
NOTES.—BOOK III.

Caesar's left and Pompey's right were covered by an impassable brook; cf. p. 116, 15, and Map II. 11. perturbatum . . . pellerent: to rout and put to flight. 14. tantum: Caesar had 800, Pompey 7000 when the campaign began. 16. usu manuque: in actual conflict, opposed to cogitavissent. 17. reliquorum: the soldiers not present at the officers' council (l. 3), who had not seen these gay young nobles fight.

CHAP. LXXXVII. Labienus's disparagement of Caesar's army.

18. exceptit: took up, i.e. followed in speaking; see on p. 40, 19.—cum . . . despiceret: while he expressed contempt for, etc. 19. laudibus efferret: extolled; cf. p. 41, 35, with note.—Noli . . . existimare: see on p. 104, 15. 20. Pompei: vocative. G. 29, R. 2; Gr. 40, c; H. 51, 5. 24. pestilentia: malarial fever; cf. p. 75, 4-5. 25. Annon: see on p. 66, 21. 26. per causam: actually sick? see on p. 85, 23. 28. horum: these last two.—ceteriore Gallia: see on p. 19, 27. 29. Ac tamen: see on p. 91, 27; so here, though Caesar must have brought some veterans to Greece with him, still, etc. 35. animo . . . praecipiebant: pictured to themselves. 36. nihil frustra confirmari: no assurances could be given in vain.

CHAP. LXXXVIII. Pompey's order of battle.

3. legiones duae: see on p. 11, 23. 7. Ciliciensis legio: cf. p. 75, 116 19. 8. quas . . . docuimus: perhaps in the portion lest between chap. 50 and 51. Of course this was a gross violation of a soldier's parole. 9. Has . . . habere: that these were the most reliable cohorts he had. 11. cohortes cx: i.e. 11 legions. Caesar's estimate is thus consistent with chap. 4, where Pompey musters 11 legions, including Scipio's. These were quite full, since he had put in a large number of substitutes (p. 75, 23-25), so that the cohorts had on the average over 400 men (l. 12). Since Caesar's previous estimate Pompey had added to his forces 2000 e vocati (l. 12), and an indefinite number of cohorts which Afranius had brought him (l. 8), and which might well equal in number the seven cohorts detailed to guard the camp (l. 14), and those left under Cato at Dyrirachium (see biog. of Cato). Of the Asiatic auxiliaries so rhetorically enumerated in chap. 4, Caesar makes only a brief mention in l. 17. 12. evocatorum, beneficiaris: cf. App. III, 12, and see on p. 44, 31. 15. castellis: Pompey had connected his camp with the hill and with water-sources by lines of forts.—rivus quidam: Map II, d. The topography of the battle-field is not fully
Cæsar nowhere mentions the city of Pharsalus from which the battle took its name, nor the Enipeus, which has been by some supposed to be the rivus quidam. But Hirtius, Cæsar's legate and intimate friend, the probable writer of the 8th book of the Bellum Gallicum, and of the Bellum Alexandrinum, speaks of Palaepharsalus (i.e. Old Pharsalus, in distinction from a New Pharsalus near by) as the place where the great battle was fought. See the remarks at the close of the notes.

CHAP. LXXXIX. Cæsar's order of battle.

18. superius institutum: cf. p. 114, 7, with note; here the former practice was that of giving his pet 10th legion the post of honor. 20. attenuata: cf. p. 105, 22–23. 22. Cohortes...lxxxx: see on p. 109, 7; four cohorts had since then been left at Apollonia (p. 110, 30), and a junction made with Domitianus Calvinus and his two legions (p. 111, 26). This would give 110 cohorts (—10, —5, —3, —1, —4, =) — 23 = 87 cohorts which Cæsar ought to have had now; so that either duas (II) in l. 24 is a mistake of the MSS. for septem (VII), or we must suppose that Cæsar had detached five cohorts for some special service which he does not mention. 23. milium xxii: this gives an average of only 275 for each cohort, much less than that of Pompey; see on l. 11. 26. praeposuerat: used absolutely, had made commander on the left, on the right, in the centre.—contra Pompeium: i.e. on his own right, opposite Pompey's left wing. 29. ex tertia acie: Cæsar's line of battle was then triplex; see App. III, 2, d.—singsulas cohortes: six in all; cf. p. 118, 15. 30. quartam...opposuit: Map II, c. 32. constare: depended on. 33. injussu suo: without orders from him; the noun is used only in the abl. G. 407; Gr. 245; H. 416. 34. vexillo: by waving a flag; cf. App. III, 17, c.

CHAP. XC. Cæsar's harangue to his men before the battle-signal.

34. cum: while; conjunc., not prep. G. 401; Gr. 248, R.; H. 419, iii. 35. suaque...officia: his constant services to it; cf. p. 14, 21, note on omnium temporum. 36. testibus...posse: he could call the soldiers to witness, lit. use as witnesses. G. 324; Gr. 185; H. 363.

117 1. per Vatinium: chap. 19. 2. per Aulum Clodius: chap. 57. 3. cum Libone: chap. 16–17. 5. exercitu: G. 380; Gr. 248, a; II. 414, i. 7. tubā: this was the signal for the general advance against the enemy; when the distance between the two armies was small
enough for a charge at double-quick (l. 19), then the special signal for
this was given with the vexillum (p. 116, 34).

CHAP. XCI. A veteran centurion leads the charge for Caesar.

9. primum pilum . . . duxerat: had been primipilus of the tenth
legion; cf. App. III, 11, b. 10. manipulares . . . fuistis: my old
comrades. The centurio prior commanded the whole maniple, and
not merely his own century. 11. quam . . . date: give proof of your
you will surely thank, etc. G. 557; Gr. 332, e; H. 498, ii, N. 2. 17.
ejusdem centuriae: if the preceding numeral is right, this gen. must be
rendered attached to, stationed with the same century, viz. the century
on the extreme right and front; cf. App. III, 12, end.

CHAP. XCII. Pompey has his men, instead of charging too, await in
their places the onset of Caesar's soldiers;

19. ad concursum: the word used for the charge upon each other of
two opposing lines; if one only charged, and the other awaited the
attack, such an attack was called in cursus; impetus was the
shock of meeting, or the attack in general. The troops of Caesar had
now advanced until only about 250 paces separated them from Pom­
pey's front ranks; see on l. 7. 21. distrahi: to become disordered,
or uneven in the charge. 23. militum: sc. Caesaris. 24. dis-
positi: i.e. Pompey's men.—dispersos: Caesar's men. 25. casura:
sc. esse; would fall more lightly, i.e. be less deadly.—pila: i.e. of
Caesar's men; cf. App. III, 3, b. 26. immissis telis occucurrissent:
should run into the flying missiles.—simul forebat. 28. Quod nobis, etc.: Caesar now gives his critical estimate
of this policy of Pompey.—nulla ratione: injudiciously. 32. signa:

CHAP. XCIII. but these halt, get breath, and charge afresh, while
Caesar's special cohorts rout Pompey's cavalry and attack his
legionaries in the rear.

35. dato signo: i.e. for the charge (concursus); cf. p. 116, 33-34,
and see on l. 7.—infestis pilis: with poised javelins. 6. rei defue-
runt; see on p. 72, 9. 9. ut erat imperatum: cf. p. 115, 8-12. 10.
omisque multitudo; cf. p. 75, 27-29. 13. turmatim: by squadrons;
CHAP. XCIV. Caesar now orders up his reserves, which carry all before them.

25. loco: i.e. where it stood when the signal was given for the concursus, p. 117, 35. 26. alii: cf. ll. 21-23. 27. sustinere: see on p. 40, 3. 31. pronuntiaverat: p. 116, 30-31. 34. initium fugae factum: the beginning of the enemy’s rout (was) made; elsewhere the phrase is used of those who run first, as p. 120, 3. 2. in statione: on guard, as p. 31, 28.—praetoriam portam: App. III, 19. 4. si quid durius acciderit: an euphemism for if we lose the day. 6. praetorium: App. III, 19.—summae rei: probably dat. of summa rei (not summa res), the issue.

CHAP. XCV. Caesar storms Pompey’s camp.

8. dare: the pass. infin. is more usual with oportere. 10. etsi: really superfluous; see on p. 41, 17. 13. relictæ: cf. p. 116, 14. 14. barbarisque auxiliis: and other barbarian allies; these were not mentioned in chap. 4, and their number is uncertain. 21. in altissimós montes: after the cavalry, p. 118, 19.

CHAP. XCVI. The appearance of Pompey’s camp, and Pompey’s flight.

23. trichilas: summer-houses.—argenti: silver-ware. 25. non-nullorum: sc. aliorum.—protecta ederā: against the heat of the
NOTES.—BOOK III.

28. non necessarias: Litotes; see on p. 11, 6, end.
29. At 119
hi... obieciebant: and yet these very men were in the habit of reproaching Caesar’s wretched and long-suffering army with wanton excesses. At the proper time Caesar often allowed his army to have a carousal; exercitu is dat. G. 67; Gr. 68, N.; H. 116. 32. equum nactus: cf. l. 1.—insignibus imperatoris: the purple cloak and toga trimmed with purple. App. III, 3, a, end. 33. equo citato: at full gallop. 35. suos: see on p. 19, 36.—ex fuga: cf. ex itinere, p. 22, 24. 1. opinionem: his estimate of his cavalry had so far deceived him that, etc. 3. initio... facto: see on p. 118, 34.

Pompey’s flight was cowardly. He had not even tried to defend his impregnable camp. He had lost the battle it is true, “but the army was still substantially intact, and his situation was far less perilous than that of Caesar after the defeat of Dyrkhachium. While in Caesar’s great nature despair only developed still mightier energies, the feebler soul of Pompey under similar pressure sank into the infinite abyss of despondency.”

CHAP. XCVII. Caesar pursues and hems in the remnants of Pompey’s army,


CHAP. XCVIII. and after their surrender proceeds to Larisa.

23. passisque palmis: with outstretched hands, as a token of supplication. Cf. p. 56, 25. 26. omnes: i.e. soldiers and lower officers. “The common soldiers were incorporated in the army, fines or confiscations of property were inflicted on the men of better rank; the senators and equites of note who were taken, with few exceptions, suffered death. The time for clemency was past; the longer the civil war lasted, the more remorseless and implacable it became.” According to one historian, however, it was only those senators and knights who had been pardoned once before, who were now put to death. The correspondence of Pompey, which fell into his hands, Caesar burned without reading. 27. ne qui: the indef. pron.; lest any one, etc.—quid sui: any of their property.

CHAP. XCIX. The losses in the battle.

33. supra: chap. 91. 34. in os adversum: directly into his face.
3. in deditionem: cf. chap. 98. 4. in castellis: see on p. 116, 15.—Sullae: cf. p. 116, 25. 6. signaque...aquilae: App. III, 17.—They would have it so, Caesar is said to have cried when he looked over the bloody field, hoc voluerunt; tantis rebus gestis condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem.

0. Further Operations of Pompey’s Fleets. Chap. c—cf.

Chap. C. Brundisium is blockaded a second time.

Chap. CI. Caesar’s Sicilian fleet is more than half destroyed.
25. praeesset: the force of the et cum continues.—P. Sulpicius: cf. p. 44, 21.—Vibone: at Vibo near the strait. Vibo was an old Greek city on the west coast of Bruttium, made a Roman colony in 192, at present a haven of considerable importance. 26. Pomponius: mentioned only here.—Messānam: see on p. 52, 8. 29. magno vento: see on p. 57, 20. 30. ad incendia: combustible. 33. cum: although. 35. per dispositos equites: by relays of couriers. 36. futurumuisse uti amitteretur: that it (the town) would have been lost.


Chap. CII. Pompey vainly seeks refuge in Syria.
24. Amphipolis: a city famous in Greek history as one of the most valued possessions of Athens, on the river Strymon, commanding an entrance from the sea into the plains of Macedonia.—propositum: published. 25. juniores: App. II, 3.—jurandi: the military oath of enlistment, as l. 28 shows. 29. existimari: be determined. 32. Mytilēnas: the capital of Lesbos, famous in history and poetry. Pompey had left here his wife Cornelia (see on p. 12, 36) and his youngest son
NOTES.—BOOK III.

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Sextus. Plutarch describes at length their sad meeting, in his life of Pompey. 34. Cyprum: this island, the latest acquisition of England, had been wrenched by Rome from its young Egyptian prince in 58, and was now governed in connection with Cilicia. It became a full imperial province with separate governor in 22 B.C., after Caesar, and then Marc Antony, had given it back for a time to its rightful owners. The best collection of Cypriote antiquities in the world is in New York, the Cesnola collection. 35. Antiochensium: the splendid capital of the Greek kings of Syria, built about 300 B.C. on the river Orontes. Pompey himself had given the city its independence when Syria was made a Roman province in 64. 2. dicentur: see on p. 55, 83. 5. Rhodi: the capital city of the rich and powerful island of the same name, famous for its Colossus, a memorable siege, and as a seat of learning. It had large territories on the main-land, and had been devoted to Caesar from the first. Cf. Int. 8.

Chap. CIII. then comes to Egypt and begs protection from its usurping boy-king.

11. societatis: see on p. 75, 16. 14. familiis: see on p. 18, 4. 16. Pelusium: a city on the east mouth of the Nile, the key to Egypt on the N. E. In all the East Pompey the Great had been as good as Roman Emperor; now all forsook him for the coming conqueror. Pompey himself, we are told, wished to take refuge in Parthia (see on p. 113, 11), but followed the advice of his favorite, Theophanes (see biog., and on p. 82, 28), to go to Egypt, as likely to be most mindful of favors from him in the past. 17. Ptolemaeus: In 51 Ptolemy Aulões died, a corrupt and vicious king who had been expelled from his kingdom by his own subjects, and re-instated, in consequence of immense bribes, by Pompey's tool Gabinius (see his biog.) in 55. At his death he left his kingdom jointly to his ten-year-old son Ptolemy, and his sixteen-year-old daughter Cleopatra. The brother, under the influence of his guardian Pothinus, had driven the sister out of the kingdom, and she was at this time in Syria, threatening to win her way back by force of arms. She it was who afterwards charmed even Caesar for a while, and then Marc Antony (see biog. of the latter).

27. Gabinius... traduxerat: see on p. 75, 38.

Chap. CIV. He is received with kind promises but basely murdered (Sept. 28, 48).

30. amici regis: the above mentioned Pothinus, the young king's
tutor Theodotus of Chios, and Achillas, the prefect mentioned just below, who all perished miserably after Caesar got the upper hand in Egypt. 31. sollicitato: cf. ll. 23–26. 32. Alexandriam: see on p. 124, 32. 4. bello praedonum: see on p. 62, 35.—ordinem dux-erat: App. III, 2, a.—naviculam parvulam: the scornful diminutives apparently contrast with the former greatness of Pompey. 6. interficitur: on the day before his fifty-ninth birthday. "As he was stepping ashore the military tribune Lucius Septimius stabbed him from behind, under the eyes of his wife and son, who were compelled to be spectators of the murder from the deck of their vessel, without being able to rescue or revenge. On the same day on which thirteen years before he had entered the capital in triumph over Mithridates, the man who for a generation had been called the Great, and for years had ruled Rome, died on the desert sands of the inhospitable Casian shore by the hand of one of his soldiers."


CHAP. CV. Prodigies which heralded Caesar’s victory.

8. in Asiam: by way of Thrace and the Hellespont; see on p. 75, 11, end, and cf. biog. of Cassius. 9. Epheso ex fano Dianae: see on p. 89, 32. 10. his testibus . . . uteretur: they were to witness to the amount borrowed, and so afterwards to its repayment; cf. p. 116, 36, with note. 13. Item: twice had the sacred temple-treasure at Ephesus been wonderfully saved through Caesar; likewise other wonderful things happened, showing how the gods were on the side of Caesar.—Elide: chief city of the district of the same name in the western Peloponnesus. 14. repetitis . . . diebus: reckoning and counting back the days from the time when the news of the victory came. 18. Antiochiae: see on p. 122, 35. 20. civitas: collectively used for cives.—Ptolemaide: a city of Phoenicia south of Tyre. Its real name was Ace (Arabic Akka), known from the period of the crusades as St. Jean d’Acre, or simply Acre. 21. Pergami: see on p. 39, 7.—occultis ac reconditis: sc. partibus; rare in Caesar. G. 371, R. 7; Gr. 266, b; H. 397, 3, N. 4. 22. ἀδύνατα: = loca non adeunda, well paraphrased therefore by the preceding quo . . . fas non est. 23. Trallibus: a wealthy city of Caria, in the valley of the Maeander.

CHAP. CVI. Caesar comes to Alexandria with a few troops (about Oct. 1st).
NOTES.—BOOK III.

27. Cypri: see on p. 122, 34.—Aegyptum: G. 342, R. 1; Gr. 258, b; H. 380, ii, 3. 28. necessitudines regni: his claims upon that kingdom; cf. p. 123, 21, and 17, with note. 30. Fufio: see Caleno; cf. p. 100, 13. 32. Alexandria: the famous capital of Egypt, having a large, mixed and turbulent population, and consisting of two parts, the royal citadel, called Brucheion, and the city proper, Rhacotis. The harbor was divided into two parts by a breakwater built from the island Pharos, on which stood a famous lighthouse, to Rhacotis.

1. cognoscit: Theodotus (see on p. 123, 80) brought to Caesar the head and ring of Pompey, but gained only Caesar’s hatred for it. 4. quod fasces anteferrentur: because (as consul) he was having the fasces carried before him; Caesar entered the Egyptian capital with all the insignia of power. This aroused the resistance of the population, especially as they knew that it was Caesar, who, in 65, had proposed that Egypt be made a Roman province.—In hoc: i.e. Caesar’s entering with so much pomp.

CHAP. CVII. Caesar proposes to settle the royal quarrel himself.

9. ex Pompeianis militibus: see on p. 120, 26. 10. etesiis: N. W. winds blowing through the dog-days and even later. 14. officio suo convenire: fell within his jurisdiction. 15. societas erat facta: it was to gratify Pompey, while the two men were as yet friends, that Caesar got a decree from the people recognizing Ptolemy Auletes as socius atque amicus; cf. Int. 6, and see on p. 14, 4.

CHAP. CVIII. —Plots to entrap Caesar in Alexandria.


CHAP. CIX. Achillas advances against Caesar with a large force, and, orders the envoys sent to him to be killed.

1. pro: in the capacity of, as. 15. occupatus . . . sublatus: was hurriedly seized by his friends and carried off for dead. 18. suos: i.e. the Egyptians.
CAESAR'S CIVIL WAR.

CHAP. CX. The forces of Achillas.

21. ut: utales ut. 23. Gabinianis militibus: see on p. 75, 83, and cf. p. 123, 26-29. 25. dedidicerant: had unlearned, forgotten; dedisco.—uxores: i.e. Aegyptias. 29. fugitivis: sc. servis. 31. ut . . . numero: viz. to hand in their names and become soldiers. 33. vim suorum: offered to their comrades. 36. veteres . . . instuto: in accordance with a certain time-honored practice, etc. 4. Bibuli filios duos: while proconsul of Syria in 50 (see biog.), he had sent his two sons on an embassy to Egypt, where the soldiers of Gabinius killed them, probably on account of their father’s hostility to the plan for restoring Ptolemy Auletes.

CHAP. CXI. The struggle in the streets and harbor of Alexandria.

7. earn . . . partem: the citadel; see on p. 124, 32. 24. incendit: a large part of the city next the ship-yards, and the famous library with 400,000 volumes, were also burnt.

CHAP. CXII. Caesar occupies Pharus and fortifies himself in the citadel.

26. Pharus: see on p. 124, 32. 29. a superioribus regionibus: i.e. from Rhacotis. 32. oppidi magnitudine: G. 402, last Ex.; Gr. 251; H. 419, ii, last Ex. So more praedonum below.—quaeque . . . cumque: tmesis for quaecumque. G. 720; Gr. p. 298; H. 636, v, 3. 15. filia minor: Arsinoë, who thought it a good time, now that her older brother was Caesar’s prisoner, and her sister an exile, to seize the throne. Cf. p. 125, 28-29. 17. inter eos: Achillas and Arsinoë. 19. jacturis: expense, viz. in giving the soldiers the necessary largitiones. 21. in parte Caesaris: i.e. in that part of the city where Caesar had fortified himself, or, pretending to be on Caesar’s side. 24. Haec initia belli Alexandrini fuerunt: So far Caesar himself wrote before his death in 44. The Bellum Alexandrinum, which carries on the story from this point, is thought by some to have been written by Aulus Hirtius (see on p. 116, 15, end). The Bellum Africano, and Bellum Hispaniense, of uncertain and inferior authorship, have also come down to us in connection with Caesar’s commentaries.

Won by the charms of the beautiful Cleopatra, Caesar resolved to restore her to her rightful share in the throne, and so became involved in a war which detained him in Egypt until March, 47, and in which
he narrowly escaped defeat and even death by drowning. But he suc-
ceeded at last in his attempt, and, since her older brother and rival
had fallen in the struggle, Cleopatra became queen of Egypt with a
younger brother.

Then Caesar passed rapidly into Pontus and annihilated Pharnaces,
the son of the great Mithridates, who had defeated Domitius Calvinus,
Caesar’s legate. From thence he passed through the several provinces
back to Rome in September, 47. But Cato and Scipio had collected a
large army in Africa, in connection with the King Juba who had de-
stroyed Curio. So even before the end of the year Caesar hastens
thither, and though here he narrowly escaped Curio’s fate, at last
brought the campaign to an end by his victory at Thapsus, April 6th,
46. (See biographies of Scipio, Cato, Juba, Petreius.)

One more desperate struggle remained before Caesar was undisputed
master of the world. After celebrating his triumphs, and while pro-
moting the most helpful reforms of various kinds, news came of an
insurrection in Spain, headed by Pompey’s two sons, Gnaeus and Sex-
tus, who had gathered there all the remnants of Pompey’s soldiers and
friends. In the bloody battle of Munda, March 17th, 45, Caesar
wrested victory from defeat and crushed the Pompeian party again.
(See biographies of Gnaeus Pompey and Labienus.)

Then Caesar came back to Rome, but not to rest. The Senate made
him Dictator, Censor and Imperator for life, and, practically, perpet-
ual Consul and Tribune, besides heaping upon him every right, honor
and decoration which submissiveness and flattery could suggest. This
absolute power Caesar now labored to establish on such a firm basis,
that it could be handed down to his successor as the legitimate order
of things, a Monarchy, instead of the old Republic which had come to
an end with the battle of Pharsalus.

He reduced the Senate to the level of a mere advisory council, and
the sanction of the popular assemblies to a mere matter of form; he
busied himself with countless reforms—reforms in the army, in finance,
in the government of the provinces, in the judiciary, and even in the
religious system and the calendar; he projected many vast plans—
plans to fix the imperial frontier, to take final vengeance on the Parthi-
ans, to remodel and adorn Rome in a style worthy of the world’s capi-
tal, to elevate the farmer class again, and to restrain undue luxury and
vice in the cities. If he had been ambitious to conquer the world, he
was still more ambitious to govern it well.

But his ambition displeased men who perhaps mistook jealousy for
patriotism, and who, at any rate, allowed themselves to be used as the
tools of Caesar’s deadly enemies. They knew that he could crush all fair
and open attacks upon him, and that he scorned to guard himself against secret plots; so a band of conspirators, most of whom had received nothing but kindness at his hands, murdered Caesar in the name of Liberty (March 15, 44).

"Thus he worked and created as never any mortal did before or after him; and as a worker and creator he still, after well-nigh two thousand years, lives in the memory of the nations—the first, and the unique, Imperator Caesar."
APPENDIX I.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

Here follow brief biographies of all the personages of any importance mentioned in the Bellum Civile, arranged alphabetically according to the name most prominently used by Caesar, or by the gens-name if he makes no distinction.

“A Roman citizen usually had three names. The first, or praenomen, designated the individual [our ‘Christian name’]; the second, or nomen, the gens or tribe; and the third, or cognomen, the family. Thus Publius Cornelius Scipio was Publius of the Scipio family of the Cornelian gens, and Gaius Julius Caesar was Gaius of the Caesar family of the Julian gens. The praenomen was often abbreviated:

- A. = Aulus.
- C. = Gaius.
- Cn. = Gnaeus.
- D. = Decimus.
- L. = Lucius.

- M. = Marcus.
- M. ’ = Manius.
- Mam. = Mamercus.
- N. = Numerius.
- P. = Publius.
- Q. = Quintus.

- S. = Sextus.
- Ser. = Servius.
- Sp. = Spurius.
- T. = Titus.

Sometimes an agnomen or surname was added. Thus Scipio received the surname Africānus from his victories in Africa: Publius Cornelius Scipio Africānus. An adopted son took (1) the full name of his adoptive father, and (2) an agnomen in -ānus formed from the name of his own gens. Thus Octavius when adopted by Caesar became Gaius Julius Caesar Octaviānus. Afterward the title of Augustus was conferred upon him, making his full name Gaius Julius Caesar Octaviānus Augustus.

Women were generally known by the name of their gens. Thus the daughter of Julius Caesar was simply Julia; of Tullius Cicero, Tullia; of Cornelius Scipio, Cornelia. Three daughters in any family of the Cornelian gens would be known as Cornelia, Cornelia Secunda or Minor, and Cornelia Tertia.”

For Caesar (C. Julius), Crassus, Marius, Pompey (Magnus), Sulla (the Dictator), see the Introduction, and Plutarch’s Lives.
APPENDIX I.

Acilius: Manius . . . Glabrio. A son of the Aemilia whom Sulla the Dictator forced Pompey to marry while pregnant by her husband Glabrio. After the services rendered Caesar in the Civil War, iii, 15, 16, 39, 40,* he served him also as governor of Sicily and Achaia.

Afranius: Lucius. Had already served in Spain as legate under Pompey in the Sertorian war (77†), and had been made consul in 60 through Pompey's influence and money. When Pompey in his second consulship (55) obtained the Spanish provinces (see Int. 7), he sent Afranius and Petreius thither to govern for him. At the close of the campaign narrated in the Civil War, i, 38-87, Afranius broke his parole and joined Pompey in Greece, iii, 83, 88. After Pharsalus he fled to Africa, and after Thapsus he tried to flee to Mauritania, but was captured and killed by Caesar's soldiers (see historical conclusion to the Notes).

Ampius: T. . . . Balbus. An ardent friend of Pompey, and bitter foe of Caesar. Had been tribunus plebis in 63, praetor in 59, and governor of Cilicia. He was banished by Caesar after the war, iii, 105, but finally pardoned at Cicero's request.

Antonius: Marcus. One of the ablest but most dissipated men Rome ever produced. His father died while Marc was young, and his step-father, Cornelius Lentulus, was put to death in 63 by Cicero, as one of Catiline's fellow-conspirators. After a corrupt boyhood and youth, he began, when about 25 years old, to win credit as a military officer in Syria (58). Four years after this he won Caesar's favor in Gaul, and through him became quaestor, augur, and finally tribunus plebis (50); i, 2. Caesar mentions him quite often as an enterprising and competent officer; i, 11, 18; iii, 24, 26, 29, 30, 34, 40, 46, 65, 89. Afterward Antony's terrible dissipation and greed for money nearly separated the two men, but the trouble was healed, and Antony remained devoted to Caesar till the latter's death, and could not be won over by the conspirators. Indeed he seemed to be the proper successor of Caesar, and was acting as such, when Octaviānus, Caesar's nephew and adopted son, set up claims against him. A war between them ended in Antony's defeat at Mutina (43). But Octaviānus now deserted the senate, and formed a league with Antony and his supporter Lepidus, known as the "second triumvirate." The Roman world was divided between these three men, and the senatorial army defeated at Philippi (42). Antony took the East, but here fell under the witchery of Cleopatra, lost his fame as a soldier, became very luxurious and un-Roman in his ways, quar-

* References in the biographies are to book and chapter.
† Unless otherwise given all dates are B.C.
reled with Octaviānus, and was finally crushed by him at the battle of Actium (31). In the following year he took his own life in Egypt, on a false report of Cleopatra's death.

**Attius**: *C... Pelignus*. The most that is known of him is stated i, 18.

**Attius**: *P... Varus*. One of Pompey's most efficient helpers. He had been propraetor in Africa, and after the events described in i, 12-13, went there again and raised troops for Pompey, i, 31. His campaign there with Curio is described in ii, 23-44. After the battle at Thapsus, which left Africa in Caesar's power (see historical conclusion to the Notes), he joined the Pompeians in Spain, where he perished at the battle of Munda.

**Bibūlus**: *M. Calpurnius*. Obtained the three great civil offices in the same years as Caesar, viz. the aedileship in 65, the praetorship in 62, and the consulship in 59. He succeeded Crassus (Int. 7) as proconsul of Syria, where the Parthians worried him badly, iii, 31. His career as naval commander under Pompey is quite fully described, iii, 5, 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, 18. Cf. also iii, 110. He is mainly famous for that pig-headed opposition to all measures of Caesar, which began in his aedileship and culminated in his consulship.

**Brutus**: *D. Junius* (not to be confounded with the more celebrated conspirator *Marcus Junius Brutus*). He had served under Caesar in Gaul, and once very successfully as naval commander against the Venēti. After the events in his life told in this history, i, 36, 56-58; ii, 3, 5, 6, 22, he was richly rewarded by Caesar with the highest political favors, but nevertheless joined Caesar's murderers, who used him to lure their victim to the senat­house on the fatal day. After Caesar's death he retired to his province, Gallia Cisalpina, where he became involved in a war with Antony, then with Octaviānus also. He was at last deserted by his own soldiers and killed by order of Antony (43).

**Caecilius**: *L... Rufus*. Mentioned only i, 23. An obscure member of the aristocratic party, perhaps the one who was *tribunus plebis* in 63 and praetor in 57.

**Caesar**: *L. Julius*. Distinguished by *adolescens* or *filius* from his father of the same name. Their relation to *Gaius Julius Caesar* is uncertain. The father was an uncle of Marc Antony, and had been consul in 64. He did not get the usual consular province, and in 52 was one of Gaius Caesar's legates in Gaul. Though naturally belonging to the aristocratic party, he broke with it at the beginning of the Civil War, and favored
Gaius Caesar, though remaining in Rome. His after career was quite unimportant.

The son joined Pompey and appears as his legate, i, 8, 9, 10; as one of his naval commanders, ii, 23. He was pardoned by Gaius Caesar at the close of the war, but soon after murdered. Cicero had a mean opinion of him, and called him scopae solutae, i.e. "an old broom."

Caesar: S. Julius; ii, 20. An "amicus et necessarius" of Gaius Caesar. His grandfather of the same name, an uncle of the dictator, was consul in 91. In 47 he received Syria as a province, but was killed there in the following year by his mutinous soldiers.

Calénus: see Fufius.

Calidius: M.; i, 2. A famous orator, much praised by Cicero. He had been praetor, but lost his canvass for the consulship (51). After the debate in the senate above referred to, he joined Caesar's party, and was made governor of Gallia Cispadana, where he died (48).

Calvinus: see Domitius.

Calvisius: C. . Sabinius; iii, 34, 35, 56. After what is here told of him, he received from Caesar the province of Africa (45), was praetor in 44, and consul in 39. He served Octavianus as naval commander in the struggle with Sextus Pompey.

Caninius: C. . Rebilus. Had been a prominent legate of Caesar's in Gaul (52–51). After what is told in i, 26, he went to Africa with Curio, whom he survived; ii, 24, 34. In 46 he fought again in Africa under Caesar himself. On the last day of the year 45, after the sudden death of the consul Fabius, Caesar made Rebilus consul for the rest of the year.

Cassius: C. . Longinus. Had distinguished himself in the fatal campaign of Crassus against the Parthians (Int. 7), and governed Syria most rapaciously till Bibulus came as successor to Crassus, although he did bravely repel an invasion of the Parthians which Bibulus was too feeble to cope with. He was tribunus plebis in 49, and did Pompey good service in the Civil War as naval commander; iii, 5, 101. It is said that while Caesar was crossing the Hellespont with a few small boats, on his way into Asia after the battle of Pharsalus, Cassius bore down upon him with ten ships of war, but was so overpowered by the boldness with which Caesar faced him demanding his surrender, that he gave himself up at once. Caesar pardoned him, and raised him to office and power, in return for which he devised the conspiracy against Caesar's life, and helped murder him with
his own hand, out of mere jealousy and hatred—"yon Cassius has a lean
and hungry look." He took his own life after being defeated at Philippi
(42). He was able, but greedy and mean.

Cassius: L. . . . Longinus. A younger brother of the above. After
serving Caesar as told iii, 34–36, 56, he became tribunus plebis in 44, and
later supported Octavianus against Antony.

Cassius: Q. . . . Longinus. A man of avarice and cruelty. He had
been Pompey's quaestor in Spain (54), and in 49 was tribunus plebis with
Antony, and a foe of the aristocracy, i, 2. Caesar took him into Spain, and,
after the defeat of Pompey's forces, left him there as governor of the fur-
ther province, ii, 19, 21. Here he was so greedy and harsh that his life was
always in danger from insurrection. When he had been removed from his
place in 47, and tried to leave the province with his ill-gotten wealth, the
ship on which he had embarked sank, and he was drowned at the mouth of
the Ibêrus.

Cato: M. Porcius . . . Uticensis; i, 430, 32. Great-grandson of Cato the
Censor, surnamed Uticensis from the place where he took his own life after
Caesar's final victory over him. He was born in 95, but early became an
orphan. In youth he showed many of the qualities which marked his politi-
cal career. He was slow, stubborn and unmanageable. Though far inferior
to his famous ancestor, he took him for his model in all things, and became
a type of ancient frugality and severity. He served creditably in the army,
but showed no military taste or genius. The one tender feature of his life
was his love for his half-brother Caepio, whose early death he passionately
mourned. This grief and his unhappy experiences with women, did much
to sour his nature. He served now as quaestor, and reformed many abuses
of the office, so that he won general admiration. In 63 he was elected tri-
 bunus plebis, in open hostility to Pompey. His whole political career was
now a long but vain opposition to the influence of any one particular man as
opposed to that of the senate. Thus he violently opposed Pompey, Crassus
and Caesar, only to be used by all in spite of himself. He had no system
or definite aim in his opposition, and so wasted his strength. In attempts
to do away with political bribery, he more than once suffered personal vio-
ence at the hands of a mob. In 54 he obtained the office of praetor, but in
51 lost an election to the consulsip, through the influence of Caesar and
Pompey, though he had favored Pompey's being made sole consul in 52.
During the Civil War, though siding with Pompey, he gained no credit,
being no soldier, and thinking more of the horrors of the war, than of the
best way to stop it. After the battle of Pharsalus he went to Africa from
Dyrrhachium, where he had been left in command, and in 47 joined the
other friends of Pompey. After the defeat at Thapsus (46) he retired to Utica and took his own life, rather than fall into the hands of Caesar. The manner of his death, of which Plutarch gives a full account, led to his being unduly glorified by his friends. He was a stern martyr to his convictions, although a great modern historian calls him "the Don Quixote of the senatorial party," and a "fool."

Clodius: Aulus; iii, 57, 90. Possibly the son of the famous demagogue (see on p. 84, 19), but little is known of him.

Coelius: M.... Rufus. One of the most dissipated and worthless of Caesar’s supporters. He had been intimate with the conspirator Catiline, though Cicero says he had no part in the conspiracy. In 52 he was tribunus plebis, and one of the supporters of Milo (see on p. 84, 19). He wavered between Caesar and Pompey until he saw that Caesar was the stronger, then joined him. The part he took in the discussion described in i, 2, marks his break with the senatorial party. He served Caesar in minor capacities and received a praetorship in 48, but being overwhelmed by jealousy of a more favored rival (C. Trebonius), and by disappointment because Caesar’s financial measures did not allow him to get rid of paying his heavy debts, he tried to raise a sedition against Caesar during the latter’s campaign against Pompey in Greece. What happened to him then, Caesar himself relates, iii, 20–22.

Considius: C.... Longus; ii, 23. Had been propraetor in Africa, and had just returned from Rome, where he had tried to get elected consul. He remained in Africa during the war without accomplishing much for Pompey, and was killed in trying to flee to Mauritania after the battle of Thapsus (46).

Coponius: C.; iii, 5, 26. One of the praetors when the war broke out, but known chiefly from what is said of him in this history.

Cornelius: L.... Balbus (Minor); iii, 19. The Minor distinguishes him from his more famous uncle of the same name, who, for his fidelity to Rome in the Sertorian war in Spain, received from Pompey the citizenship for himself, his brother, and his brother’s sons, and who rose to great influence at Rome through Pompey’s favor. The family was from Gades, in Spain, where Balbus Minor was quaestor in 44–43, after serving Caesar throughout the civil wars. Twenty years afterward he is mentioned as proconsul of Africa, and he celebrated a triumph in 19 for a victory there. He became so rich that he could build a costly theatre at Rome at his own expense.
Cotta: *L. Aurelius*; i, 6. Had been consul in 65, was a great friend of Cicero, and yet on Caesar's side in the Civil War, though he took no active part. He was a relation of Caesar's mother.

Curio: *C. Scribonius*. Like Marc Antony, a very gifted, but a very dissolute man. Though an aristocrat by birth and disposition, Caesar succeeded in bribing him over to his side by paying his enormous debts for him. As *tribunus plebis* in 50, he very cunningly served Caesar while seeming neutral (Int. 8). His subsequent career is told by Caesar; i, 12, 18, 30, 31; ii, 3, 23–44. Cf. iii, 10.

Decidius: *L. ... Saxa*; i, 66. A native of Celtiberia who was made not only Roman citizen through Caesar's favor, but even *tribunus plebis* in 44. After his patron's death he joined Antony, who made him governor of Syria, where he died.

Domitius: *L. ... Ahenobarbus*. Brother-in-law of Cato, to whom he was closely allied in politics also. Like him he opposed both Caesar and Pompey until the friendship between them was broken, and then took sides with Pompey. He had been consul in 54. On the outbreak of the Civil War he was the only member of the aristocratic party who showed anything like energy, but he was left in the lurch by Pompey. Caesar describes the rest of his career; i, 6, 15–23, 34, 36, 56; ii, 3, 18, 22, 28, 32; iii, 88, 99.

Domitius: *L. ... Calvīnus*. Had been opposed to Caesar as *tribunus plebis* in 59, was guilty of shameful bribery when running for consul in 54, and would have suffered for it but for Pompey. In the Civil War however he fought on Caesar's side; iii, 34, 36–38, 78, 79, 89. After the war he received the province of Asia, where he was badly defeated by Pharnācēs (see historical remarks at close of Notes). He was to have been *magister equitum* (App. II, 14, end) in 44, but the death of Caesar prevented. He served Octaviānus feebly, was consul a second time in 40, governed Spain poorly as proconsul, and celebrated a triumph in 36.

Favonius: *M.*; iii, 36, 57. Called the "Ape of Cato." Like him he opposed both Caesar and Pompey and all their designs, though belonging really to the aristocratic party. At last we find him serving Pompey in the war, in spite of his hatred of him, and, to his credit be it said, after the disaster at Pharsālus he showed him every kindness. He was pardoned by Caesar, but after the latter's murder joined the conspirators, whom he bothered as much as he had Caesar and Pompey. After Philippi (42) Octaviānus had him killed.
APPENDIX I.

Fufius: Q.... Calenus. Mentioned once in the Bellum Gallicum as Caesar’s legate. As tribunus plebis also in 61, and as praetor in 59, he had been a mere tool in Caesar’s hands. After what is told of him in this history, i, 87; iii, 8, 14, 26, 56, he was made consul by Caesar in 47, and after Caesar’s death served Antony as legate. He died in 41.

Gabinius: A.; iii, 4, 103. As tribunus plebis in 66 he had proposed and helped carry the famous law giving Pompey sole command of the war against the pirates (see on p. 62, 35). He was consul in 58, and then proconsul in Syria. During his administration of this province, supported by Pompey, he illegally assisted the worthless Ptolemy Auletes (see on p. 123, 17) to regain his throne in Egypt. For this he was tried on his return to Rome, and at last banished. In 49 he returned and joined Caesar’s party. After Pharsalus Caesar sent him to assist his legate Cornificius in Illyricum, but he was here defeated, and forced to shut himself up in Salona (see on p. 77, 25), where he died.

Juba: first king of Numidia of that name. He was strongly attached to Pompey out of gratitude for favors received, and out of hatred for Caesar’s pet officer Curio, who, when tribunus plebis, had proposed to make Numidia a Roman province. Juba’s triumph over Curio is told in ii, 23-44. Cf. i, 6. After Pharsalus he supported the Pompeians in Africa, and after Thapsus had Petreius kill him, because refused entrance into his own stronghold of Zama (see historical remarks at close of Notes).

Labienus: T. Atius; i, 15; iii, 13, 19, 71, 87. Had been tribunus plebis in 63, and Caesar’s most trusted and able legate all through the Gallic campaigns (58–50), but at the outbreak of the Civil War deserted his old leader and entered the service of Pompey, where he displayed a most cruel and venomous hatred toward Caesar and his old comrades-in-arms. He was prominent in the battles of Pharsalus, Thapsus and Munda, in each of which he was thoroughly beaten by Caesar, and in the last of which he was killed, having himself, by a singular fatality, produced the disorder in the Pompeian ranks which turned the desperate struggle in Caesar’s favor.

Laelius: D.; iii, 5, 7, 40, 100. The most known of him is told in this history.

Lentulus: L. Cornelius... (Crus). Consul in 49 with Gaius Marcellus the younger, defeating Caesar’s friend Sergius Galba. His career after the outbreak of the Civil War Caesar describes; i, 1, 2, 4, 6, 10, 14; iii, 4, 96, 102, 104.
APPENDIX I.

Lentulus: P. Cornelius . . . (Spinther). A very wealthy patrician, praetor in 60, propraetor in Spain through Caesar's favor in 59-58, consul in 57. Here he abandoned Caesar and took sides with the aristocracy. His consular province was Cilicia, where he remained during 56-53. In the Civil War he took Pompey's part. What more is known of him Caesar himself relates; i, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23; iii, 83, 102.

Lepidus: M. Aemilius; ii, 21. See on p. 61, 34. In return for this service Caesar made him proconsul of Hispania Citerior in 48, and magister equitum (App. II, 14, end) in 46. After Caesar's death Lepidus joined Antony, and became one of the "second triumvirate" (see biog. of Antony), but was always an inferior member.

Libo: L. Scribonius; i, 26; iii, 5, 15, 16, 18, 23, 24, 90, 100. Father-in-law of Sextus Pompey. His career during the Civil War is quite fully described by Caesar himself. At Caesar's death he was still in Spain with his son-in-law, between whom and the "second triumvirate" (see biog. of Antony) he effected a peace in 39. In 35, however, he abandoned his hopeless cause, and in 34 was consul with Antony.

Lucceius: L.; iii, 18. A historian, candidate for the consulship with Caesar in 60, but defeated by Bibulus. He then devoted himself to writing a history of Rome. After the war he was pardoned and returned to Rome by Caesar.

Lucilius: C. . . . Hirrus; i, 15; iii, 82. Apparently one of Rome's unlucky politicians. He had been tribunus plebis in 53, but had failed to get elected aedile, and so was shut out of the usual line of political promotion. His embassy to the Parthians resulted simply in his being imprisoned by them, and nothing more is known of him.

Lucretius: Q.; i, 18. This is the most that is known of him.

Lucretius: Q. . . . Vespillo; iii, 7. We know further of his being proscribed by the "second triumvirate" (see biog. of Antony) in 43, but afterward pardoned, and of his being consul in 19.

Manlius: L. . . . Torquatus; i, 24; iii, 11. A very cultured aristocrat, and friend of Cicero. After the events told in this history he joined the Pompeians in Africa, where he was slain in trying to escape to Spain.

Marcellus: M. Claudius. Consul in 51 through the favor of Pompey, whom he sought to repay by urging the senate to take strong measures against Caesar. He outran his master even in his zeal, but gradually be-
came more temperate as his violent proposals failed of support, so that in 49 we find him trying to act as a check on his own party, i, 2. But he was now carried away by the eagerness of Caesar’s enemies, which he had done all he could to fan. He fled to Greece with Pompey, but seems to have foreseen Caesar’s triumph, and to have acted with no enthusiasm. After Pharsalus he withdrew to Mytilene (see on p. 122, 32) and gave himself up to literary pursuits. He was himself too proud to ask Caesar for pardon, but his friends did it for him, and Caesar restored him to all his possessions. On his way home, however, he was murdered by a servant. He is said to have been second only to Cicero in oratory.

**Marcellus**: *C. Claudius* (1); i, 6, 14; iii, 5. A younger brother of the preceding. His hatred of Caesar seems to have been his only political capital, in consequence of which he was elected consul with Lentulus Crus for 49. He probably perished in the war, as nothing further is heard of him.

**Marcellus**: *C. Claudius* (2). First cousin of the two preceding, consul in 50, the year after Marcus Marcellus. Like him he was a great friend of Cicero, and warmly attached to Pompey, although he married Caesar’s niece Octavia. His activity as consul was very like that of his cousin Marcus, i.e. he went beyond the support of his own friends in hostility to Caesar. He continued the attempt begun by Marcus to deprive Caesar of his command, but succeeded so far only as to get a decree of the senate withdrawing two legions from him (Int. 8). After failing to get the senate to array Pompey and his soldiers formally against Caesar, he did so on his own personal authority, seconded only by the two consuls elected for the next year (49), viz. his cousin Gaius and Lentulus Crus (Int. 9). After the war broke out he played the coward more than even Cicero. He remained in Italy, and succeeded, perhaps on account of his relationship, in getting Caesar to pardon him. He died probably in 41.

**Murcus**: see Statius.

**Nasidius**: *L.*; ii, 3-5. Besides what Caesar says of him little is known. He subsequently followed the fortunes of Sextus Pompey, and then those of Antony.

**Octavius**: *M.*; iii, 5, 9. After Pharsalus he tried to secure Illyricum for the Pompeian party, besieging Gabinius (see his biog.) in Salona, but, failing in the attempt, fled to Africa. He afterward commanded part of Antony’s fleet at the battle of Actium (31).
APPENDIX I.

Pedius: Q. A nephew of Caesar, and one of his legates in Gaul. Caesar raised him to the praetorship after the outbreak of the Civil War, and left him in Italy during the campaign in Greece. Here he suppressed Milo’s insurrection; iii, 22. He was afterward given a triumph in 45 for good service in Spain, was one of Caesar’s principal heirs, and was consul with Octaviánus in 42, during which year he died, just after the formation of the “second triumvirate” (see biog. of Antony).

Petreius: M. A man of great military experience and capacity. He conquered Catiline in 62. His career after surrendering to Caesar in Spain (i, 38–87; cf. ii, 17–18) is like that of Afranius. He too broke his parole and joined Pompey in Greece, fled to Africa after Pharsalús, and after Thapsus fled with King Juba (see his biog.) to Zama. On being refused admittance to the town, they took each other’s lives.

Philippus: L. Marcius; i, 6. Had been consul in 56. He was the second husband of Caesar’s niece, and step-father of Octaviánus (Augustus). Although thus closely connected with Caesar, he seems to have remained neutral during the Civil War, without, however, forfeiting Caesar’s goodwill. He lived to see his step-son master of the world.

Piso: L. Calpurnius; i, 3. Father of Caesar’s fourth wife, Calpurnia, a corrupt and wanton man. He had been consul in 58 through Caesar’s influence, as his colleague Gabinius (see his biog.) was through that of Pompey. He helped banish Cicerón. Although the official plundering of the provinces had come to be almost the privilege of a consular, his extortions in Macedonia were so shameless as to bring about his recall by the senate, after he had been in office only two years of the customary five (55–56). In 50 he was censor at Caesar’s request. When the Civil War broke out he remained neutral. After Caesar’s murder he became a friend of Antony.

Pompeius: Gnaeus... (Filius); iii, 4, 5, 40. The eldest son of Pompey the Great, named after his father. After Pharsalús he went to Africa, then to Spain, where Caesar defeated him and his more famous younger brother Sextus in the bloody battle of Munda (see historical remarks at close of Notes). Gnaeus was captured and killed.

Quintilius: S. . . . Varus; i, 23; ii, 28. After these events he was pardoned by Caesar, but fought on the side of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, after which battle he had his freedman kill him.

Rebilus: see Caninius.
Roscius: L. Formerly a legate of Caesar in Gaul, praetor urbanus when this history opens, mentioned i, 3, 8, 9, 10.

Rufus: see Coelius.

Rutilius: P. . . Lupus; i, 24; iii, 56. Had been tribunus plebis in 56, and was one of Caesar’s bitterest enemies.

Scipio: Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius. A man of the highest aristocratic connections, belonging to the great family of the Scipios by birth, and to that of the Metelli by birth and adoption. He was perhaps the most bitter, unjust and dishonest of all the senators opposed to Caesar. He was tribunus plebis in 59, and in 53 candidate for the consulship, in that campaign so corrupt and violent that Pompey had to be appointed sole consul. After order had been restored, Pompey made Scipio his colleague, and from this time on used him as a pliant tool against Caesar, having also married his daughter Cornelia (Scipio’s name before his adoption was P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica) after the death of Julia. Scipio headed the movement in the senate against Caesar, which resulted in the scene described i, 1–2. Caesar makes frequent mention of him in this history, and often with ill-concealed scorn; i, 4, 6; iii, 4, 31–33, 36–38, 57, 78–83, 88, 90. After Pharsalus Scipio fled to Africa and took command of the Pompeians there with King Juba. After Thapsus he tried to escape by sea, but was driven back by adverse winds, and when overpowered by Caesar’s fleet killed himself.

Sertorius: Q.; i, 61; cf. iii, 19, 1. 8. One of the most important partisans of Marius in the first Civil War. After his praetorship in 83 he received Spain as his province, whither he withdrew as he saw the coming fall of his party. In 81 Sulla expelled him from this province, but he came back in the same year on invitation of the Lusitani, and at their head waged successful war against Rome’s best generals till 72, when he was treacherously murdered. After his death Pompey speedily put an end to the war. See Plutarch’s Life.

Servilius: P. . . Vatia (Isauricus); iii, 1, 21. Son of the famous conqueror of the Cilician pirates (78–74). He was a political turncoat. Before the outbreak of the Civil War he had been on the side of the aristocrats, afterward, while Caesar lived, he served him faithfully, and was proconsul of Asia in 46. After Caesar’s death, however, he joined the aristocratic party again. Later he deserted them and served Octavianus, through whom he was made consul again in 41.
APPENDIX I.

Statius: L. Murcus; iii, 15–16. Praetor in 45, and received Syria as his province, where he went over to the Pompeian party, and did them good service, but, on joining Sextus Pompey with his fleet in 42, he was ungratefully murdered.

Sulla: Faustus Cornelius; i, 6. A feeble son of the great dictator. He belonged to the party of Pompey not only as an aristocrat, but because he had married his daughter Pompeia. The highest office which he reached was that of quae­stor (54). His political career was cut short by the outbreak of the war. He was with Pompey at Pharsalus, then escaped to Africa. After the battle of Thapsus he was seized and brought to Caesar’s camp, where he was killed in a tumult of the soldiers.

Sulla: P. Cornelius; iii, 51, 89, 99. A nephew of the great dictator who had so persecuted Caesar (Int. 1). He had been elected consul in 66, but convicted of bribery, so that he never held the office. He had also barely escaped conviction as one of Catiline’s fellow-conspirators. He was given posts of great honor in Caesar’s campaign in Greece, but died in great odium shortly after the close of the war.

Sulpicius: P. Rufus; iii, 101. Had been a legate of Caesar in Gaul, with important trusts.

Theophanes: a Greek of Mytilene, a writer of history, whose acquaintance Pompey had made in Asia. He was honored by him with the Roman citizenship, and assumed the surname of Gnaeus Pompeius. He had the greatest influence over his patron, and was much courted in Rome on that account. He wrote a very partial history of Pompey’s campaigns (Cic. pro Archia, x, 24). He too was pardoned by Caesar after the war.

Thermus: Q. Minucius; i, 12. Propraetor in Asia in 51–50. After Caesar’s death he joined the party of Sextus Pompey, the famous son of the great Pompey.

Trebonius: C. Had been tribunus plebis in 55, and a ready tool of the triumvirate. He was rewarded by Caesar with the office of legate in Gaul, where he stayed till the outbreak of the Civil War. After what is said of him in this history, i, 36; ii, 1, 4, 13, 15, 17, 18; iii, 20, 21, Caesar had him made praetor at Rome, then governor of Further Spain, then consul in 45, with Asia as his province. In return for this kindness he joined the conspirators against Caesar’s life. It was he who was detailed to keep Antony engaged while the murder of Caesar was going on. He went to his province after Caesar’s death, but was killed there by Antony’s orders in 43.
Triarius: see Valerius.

Tubero: L. Aelius. A literary friend and relative of Cicero. After what is told of him in i, 30–31, he joined Pompey in Greece, but was afterward pardoned by Caesar, and returned to Rome to pursue his studies.

Valerius: C. . . . Triarius. Praised as an orator by Cicero, but known mostly from this history, iii, 5, 92. He probably perished in Africa.

Valerius: L. . . . Flaccus; iii, 53. The father had been praetor in 63, and assisted Cicero in crushing the conspiracy of Catiline. In 59 Cicero had defended him successfully, in an oration which has been preserved, from the charge of extortion in his province of Asia, of which he was doubtless guilty. At this trial his son, though a mere boy, was introduced into court by Cicero, to excite pity for his father.

Varus: see Attius.

Valerius: Q.; i, 30–31. Had been praetor in 56, and proconsul in Asia in 55.

Varro: M. Terentius. The most learned Roman scholar, the most voluminous Roman author, and yet no literary recluse. He had held a naval command under Pompey in the war against the pirates (67), and had also served him in the Mithridatic War, as had Afranius. He, too, after this campaign (i, 38; ii, 17–21), joined Pompey in Greece, but after Pharsalus threw himself on Caesar’s mercy, was pardoned by him and restored to literary activity. He was at this time nearly seventy years old.

Vatinius: P.; iii, 19, 90, 100. One of the many hirelings of Caesar. It was he who, as tribunus plebis, brought forward the bill by which Caesar obtained his northern provinces (Int. 6). He was made Caesar’s legate for this service, and praetor in 55 through the influence and money of the triumvirate. After what is said of him in this history, he was made temporary consul by Caesar in 47, and waged war successfully for his master in Illyricum against the Pompeians, while Caesar was in Africa. After Caesar’s death he remained faithful to his party and the “second triumvirate.”

Vibullius: L. . . . Rufus. A senator and strong friend of Pompey, his praefectus fabrum (App. III, 14) at the breaking out of the Civil War.
Most that we know of him is told by Caesar in this history; i, 15, 34, 38; iii, 10, 11, 15, 18, 22.

Volusènus: C. . . . Quadrátus; iii, 60. Had been tribunus militum (App. III, 9) for Caesar in Gaul, and is called vir et consilii magni et virtutis. He became tribunus plebis in 43, and supported Antony.
APPENDIX II.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LATER ROMAN REPUBLIC.

1. Cives Romāni. Before the outbreak of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, Rome had extended her power quite around the Mediterranean. To save herself trouble she still left some portions of this "circle of lands" under the sway of native princes, like the kings of Egypt, Numidia, and Mauritania; these play-kings were independent just so far as Rome graciously permitted them to be. The rest of the empire, except Italy, was organized into about a dozen provinces, each under the military rule of a proconsul or propraetor, sent out by the Roman Senate. The inhabitants of Italy itself—of course excluding women, children, and slaves—were cives Romāni, the rulers of the Roman world. But wherever a Roman citizen lived, he must go to the city, if he wished to vote, or be voted for. No one had yet thought of our simple device of casting the votes at any number of convenient places, and merely sending the result to the capital. In theory the entire Populus Romanus met in the Campus Martius to elect their consuls; although in fact only a small fraction of them could possibly be present. It was really, in ordinary cases, a city mob, to whom the sale of their votes was a chief source of income, that chose magistrates and made the laws. Finally, the nobility, consisting of a few wealthy families, who had degenerated no less than the common people, were able to keep the offices pretty much in their own hands. The result of the Civil War was to overturn this corrupt and selfish aristocracy, supported by a degraded city rabble, and put in its place Caesar, supported by an army drawn from the still uncorrupted portions of the empire.

2. Of the three popular assemblies the Comitia Tribūta, or assembly by tribes, was at this time by far the most important. In it the people acted upon all projects of law proposed by the magistrates, and elected the tribunes, aediles, quaestors, and certain inferior officers. The city itself was divided into four wards, or tribus, and a certain part of the adjoining territory into 31 more; in these 35 tribes all citizens were enrolled. Each division had a single vote, determined, of course, by a majority of the tribe
members. The tribunes, consuls, and praetors could summon and preside over this assembly, and only the presiding magistrate could bring business before it. All public discussions took place in meetings (contiones), previous to the comitia proper. At the time for voting, the people arranged themselves by tribes in certain pens, marked off by cords or other barriers (saepta). One tribe, selected by lot, voted first, each man handing his ballot to a rogator, as he went through a narrow passage called pons into a larger enclosure called ovile, or "sheepfold." These ballots were counted at once and the result announced; then the other tribes voted in the same manner and probably all at the same time, each passing through a separate pons. The vote of the first tribe often had more influence over the succeeding voters than any number of arguments. A majority of tribal votes decided the matter.

3. In the Comitia Centuriata, or assembly by classes and centuries, the people elected the consuls, praetors, and censors. In each of the 35 tribes, the citizens who had property worth 11,000 asses (about $220) or more, were divided into five classes, according to wealth, the richest in the first class, and the poorest in the fifth. Each class in every tribe was further divided into two companies (centuriae), one of seniores, or men above forty-five years of age, the other of juniores, or men between seventeen and forty-five. Thus every tribe contained 10 centuriae, each having one vote. Above these 350 companies were 18 centuries of equites—that is those possessed of 400,000 sestertii (about $16,000), or more. There were, besides, four centuries of workmen and musicians, and below all one century of proletarii, or citizens having less than 11,000 asses. The number of centuriae, then, was properly 373; by the arrangement described above, it is plain that wealth and mature age had more weight in the comitia centuriata than in the comitia tributa. In voting, which was done in the same way as in the comitia tributa, one of the 70 centuries of the first class was selected by lot to vote first; after the announcement of this result, the other centuries of the first class voted, together with the equites; then came the other classes in order. Further, with each of the four latter classes, there voted a century made up of those who had arrived too late to vote in their proper classes. Thus there were in all 377 votes, a majority of which decided. During this period it was almost always a consul who summoned and presided over meetings of the comitia centuriata.

Both these assemblies were often as thinly attended as the town-meeting in a New England city, sometimes not more than five voters appearing for each tribe.

4. The Comitia Curiata was the ancient assembly of patricians only; it still survived as a mere form, but possessed no political power whatever.
5. The Senatus superintended the entire administration, while the magistrates were practically its ministers.

   a. Indirectly the senate was filled by popular election. For, under the Sullan constitution (B.C. 81–70) the 20 quaestors became senators at the close of their year of office; and when the censors were restored in B.C. 70, and their ancient right of revising the list of senators revived, the censors were obliged to choose all who had held the quaestorship or any higher office. Thus the senate contained all the statesmanship and all the military ability that was known to exist in the state. A senator held his position for life, unless removed by the censors, and that rarely happened. The quaestors and higher magistrates attended the meetings of the senate as members of the government, and gave their opinion when asked, but could not vote. That is, they were not full senators, even though they had been before, and again became full senators after their year of office; but they had the *jus sententiae dicendae*.

   b. The right of calling the senate together, of presiding over its sessions, and of bringing business before the meeting, belonged to consuls and tribunes, and to praetors with the consent of the consuls. Usually nothing was said about a quorum; but at this time sessions were often thinly attended, so that Cato Uticensis was conspicuous for being always present. At a full meeting over 400 appeared. The magistrate who had called the meeting presided, and had complete control of the business of the session. He brought before the senate (referre ad senatum), in whatever order he chose, the subjects on which he desired advice; no one could make a motion without his permission, and no one could give an opinion until called upon by him. In introducing business, the chairman might ask advice on particular subjects (referre finite de singulis rebus), or, in general terms, ask the senate to consider the condition of the state (infinite de republica referre). If he chose to allow debate, he called on the senators for opinions in a fixed order, naming first those highest in rank. But as this order depended merely on custom, it was often violated; e.g. Caesar, during his first consulship, always called on one of the triumvirs first. A senator could respond by making a speech, longer or shorter (sententiam dicere), or by stating his agreement with a previous speaker (e.g. Cn. Pompeio adsentior), or by simply taking his place near a previous speaker, in token of agreement with him (pedibus in sententiam alienam ire). A senator might stave off a vote by talking against time until sunset (diem dicendi mora extrahere); for after sunset a vote could not be taken. Such “filibustering” was sometimes prevented by the senate’s voting ut sententiae breviter dicerentur—as Congress sometimes enforces a “five minutes rule.” Before calling for a final division, the chairman recapitulated the various opinions (pronuntiare sententias), fix-
ing the order in which he would put them to vote; of course, it was easy to pass over any proposal displeasing to him, and thus prevent its acceptance. The senate voted by dividing into two groups, one for and one against the proposal; and each sententia was taken up in the fixed order, until one received a majority, and thus became a senatus consultum. After the senate was dismissed, and not till then, the decree was written down (perscribere) by the clerks of the presiding magistrate, while a number of senators stood by to prevent falsification.

c. Any administrative business might come before the senate; but its especial sphere included religion, foreign affairs, and the state finances. Its direction of foreign affairs included the assignment of provinces, conduct of war, all diplomatic machinery—ambassadors were always senators—and the conferring of titles on foreign princes. Practically it was the senate that declared war and made peace, unless some provincial governor got ahead of them, and then induced the senate to ratify his unauthorized proceedings. In financial matters, the senate, like our Congress, regulated taxation, and had to make appropriations before the magistrates could use the public funds. The senate influenced legislation in various ways. According to old custom, magistrates were expected to obtain its approval before proposing a law in the comitia tributa (2); but popular leaders often disregarded completely the authority of the senate, and brought all sorts of business directly before the people for their decision. Finally, the senate could declare martial law in times of especial danger by passing the senatus consultum ultimum, which conferred dictatorial power on the consuls.

6. The ordinary Magistrātus, except the censors, were elected for one year; and all but the tribunes and quaestors entered on their duties Jan. 1. The official year of the quaestors began Dec. 5; that of the tribunes Dec. 10. The consuls, censors, praetors, and curule aediles, together with the dictator, were called magistratus curules, because they had the right of using on public occasions a peculiar ivory stool called sella curulis. This chair of state had formerly been a symbol of royalty, like a modern throne, and continued to be used by those magistrates who inherited any part of the old kingly power. The tribunate stood by itself; the other magistracies formed a regular gradation of honors through which one must pass if he desired the consulship, and the earliest age for holding each one was fixed by the lex annalis. This age was twenty-seven for the quaestorship, the thirty-seventh year for the aedileship, the fortieth for the praetorship, and the forty-third for the consulship. As no one received any pay for serving as magistrate, only the wealthy could aspire to political honors.

7. The Tribūni Plebis were at this time the most powerful personages in Rome. They were 10 in number, elected in the democratic comitia
tributa (2), and always from the plebeian order, which now vastly outnumbered the patricians. The root of their power lay in the intercessio. This had originally been simply the right and duty of protecting any plebeian against the unjust decision of a patrician magistrate, and Sulla in his dictatorship (B.C. 82-80), had reduced the tribunate to these ancient limits. But when Pompey restored the office in B.C. 70, he restored all the other powers which had gradually grown out of that early germ. From protecting individuals they had assumed the duty of protecting the state as a whole against the action of any part of the government; and so the jus intercessionis had come to include the right of vetoing any decree of the senate, any law of the comitia, and in general any public act of a magistrate, if, in the judgment of a tribune, it would be injurious to the people. Their persons were sacred; that is, no one could hinder them in the fulfillment of their duty under pain of death. The tribunes themselves, on the other hand, had various means of carrying into effect their tremendous veto-power, sometimes even sending a consul to prison. Besides, any tribune could call meetings of the senate, and bring business before that body as presiding officer; and in the right of assembling the comitia tributa, for elections, or for legislation, a tribune took precedence of all others. Through this assembly, which was their especial instrument, the tribunes were able to interfere in the most important affairs of the state. For the people were the final source of all authority; and by inserting a clause requiring every senator to take oath within a given period to support the law, all effective opposition could be stifled. Thus the tribunes were at times the real rulers of Rome; and the only means of quelling the anarchy which such a tribune as Clodius Pulcher could raise, was a military ruler backed by an army. The only constitutional check upon the power of a tribune was the shortness of his term and the veto of his colleagues.

8. The Quaestores, 20 in number, were elected in the comitia tributa (2), and had a variety of duties, all connected more or less closely with the care of the public treasury. On the first day of office they divided their duties by lot. Those who remained at Rome were called quaestores urbāni. They had charge of the treasury, which was in the temple of Saturn, and of the laws, decrees of the senate, and other archives, deposited there for safe keeping. A permanent bureau of clerks, under their authority, kept the accounts, received the taxes, and in accordance with decrees of the senate paid out money; the consuls, when present in Rome, could receive funds from them even without a decree of the senate. Every general in the field was accompanied by a military quaestor, who acted as paymaster of the troops. A quaestor was also connected with every provincial governor; his duties in the province were similar to those of the
quaestores urbani, to whom, at the close of his year of office, he handed
in his accounts.

9. The Aediles, elected in the comitia tributa (2), were four in number,
two plebeian and two curule. Notwithstanding this distinction in name,
however, they were essentially equal in rank, and the difference in their
duties was but slight. (1) They were the regular inspectors of the markets,
and tribunals were erected in the forum, from which they decided petty
cases arising in the market. (2) Their superintendence of grain (cura an-
nonae) included especially the charge of distributing among the people, at
a low price, the grain sent to the capital by provinces and foreign states.
(3) They were a board of police-, water-, street-, and fire-commissioners,
rolled into one—in Latin, curatores urbis. That is, they had an oversight
of public order, the aqueducts, the streets and squares, and of night-watch­
men to guard against fires. (4) They had the management of the public
games, especially the ludii magni. This portion of their duties involved
important consequences; for the rabble delighted in the circus and gladiato­
torial contests, and each aedile vied with his fellows and predecessors in the
magnificence of his shows, in order to win popularity and votes. Hence
the small grant of public money for defraying the expense, even when one
was made, was vastly exceeded, so that no one could be an aedile without
great wealth, or the ability to get deeply in debt. This, of course, kept
all but the wealthy out of the higher offices.

10. The Praetores corresponded to our higher judges. They were eight
in number, elected in the comitia centuriata (3), and after election their
spheres of duty were assigned by lot. The praetor urbānus had jurisdic­
tion in civil cases between Roman citizens; the praetor peregrīnus in civil
cases between citizens and aliens (peregrini), and between aliens alone; the
other six praetors presided in the regular criminal courts, as our judges
preside at jury trials. The praetor urbānus stood at the head of the
Roman judicial system; and while possessing little more of actual power,
he was invested with higher dignity than the others. In the absence of
both consuls from the city, it was he who acted in their place. Each prae­
tor was attended by two lictors in the city, and by six outside the city.

11. The two Consules, elected in the comitia centuriata (3), were the
highest ordinary magistrates, and the chiefs of the administration. Their
power was equal, and each had a veto, which was seldom exercised, over
the official acts of the other. The consuls took precedence of all others in
their rights of summoning the senate and the comitia centuriata; they
could also legislate through the comitia tributa (2). When both consuls
were present in Rome, they usually took turns in acting as head of the
administration, each holding the power for a month, beginning with the
elder; and during his one month the consul was always accompanied in
public by twelve lictors, who strode before him in single file, each carrying on his shoulder a bundle of rods (fasces), to signify the power of the magistrate to scourge criminals. Outside the city, these fasces showed an axe projecting from each bundle, signifying the power of the magistrate to behead criminals. The actual power of the consuls was much restricted by their dependence on the senate, whose decrees it was their business to execute. But when clothed with dictatorial power by the senatus consultum ultimum (5. c, end), their authority, both civil and military, was nearly absolute.

12. After serving in the city for a year in their civil capacities, the imperium of consuls and praetors was prolonged, and they were sent out by the senate, under the title of proconsuls and propraetors, to rule in the various provinces. Thus the duration of their term became two years or more. A propraetor wielded the same power as a proconsul, except that the senate usually gave the more lucrative provinces to the consuls. The provincial governor was supreme within his territory, at once commander of the army, chief executive, and the judge in both civil and criminal cases. In such a position there were abundant means of gaining immense wealth. If a war was on hand, there were cities to be plundered, and captives to be sold as slaves; and always there were a thousand methods of extortion, none of which was left untried. A provincial governorship was looked upon by the aristocracy as the mine from which debts were to be paid, and further pleasures and honors to be gained. By a law of Pompey's, passed in B.C. 52, and aimed especially at Caesar, an interval of five years was required before a consul or praetor could receive a province, and the imperium had to be renewed by popular vote; but the Pompeian leaders themselves, in B.C. 49, violated these requirements.

13. The Censores, previous to Sulla's dictatorship, had enjoyed extensive powers, and their office was deemed the highest in dignity, although legally not superior to the consulship. Two censors were elected every five years, and for generations none were chosen but consulares. They held the office for eighteen months, and their duties may be classified under three heads. (1) They took the census, which was a register of the citizens with their families and the amount of their property; revised the lists of the tribes, centuries and classes, according to this census, and filled the vacancies in the senate. (2) They exercised a general control of the finances, subject to the authority of the senate—something as our Secretary of the Treasury does. They let out the collection of the taxes for five years to the highest bidder, and made contracts for the construction of public works, as roads, aqueducts, and temples. (3) They had a certain oversight of the morals of the citizens. That is, according to their own judgment of public expediency, without any special enactment, they could punish any public or
private immorality, or any practice which they deemed inconsistent with the dignity of a Roman. Their mode of punishment was by degrading the delinquent from his rank in the state, removing senators and *equites* from their orders, and sometimes depriving a citizen of his vote. Sulla practically abolished the censorship; and after it was restored in B.C. 70, under the lead of Pompey, its dignity and power were not what they had formerly been.

14. The *Dictator*, during the early republic, was nominated to the people by one of the consuls, at the command of the senate, in times of special danger. The office could be held no longer than six months, and generally was laid down much earlier. While in office the dictator possessed the sole, unrestricted power of the early kings. Sulla’s and Caesar’s dictatorships differed from each other, and both differed from the primitive one. The ancient title was used to give a familiar appearance to a power that was really a kind of military despotism, the beginning of the empire; even the old forms were not altogether observed. Thus Sulla compelled the senate to declare an *interregnum*, and elect an *interrex*, which officer then, at his direction, nominated him to the people as *dictator*, but for an unlimited time and with practically unlimited powers. So Caesar was nominated to his first dictatorship in 49 B.C., not by a consul, but by a praetor expressly authorized to do so by a special law. The *magister equitum* was an officer—practically a vice-dictator—always appointed with the dictator, in much the same manner as the dictator himself, and generally at his nomination.

15. The *Collegium Pontificum* stood at the head of the complicated religious machinery of the state. The president of the college, which consisted of 15 members, was the *pontifex maximus*; Caesar held that position from B.C. 63 till his assassination. During this period the pontiffs were practically elected by the tribes, though in a little different way from the magistrates; they held office for life, and within their sphere were responsible to no one, not even the senate. Their extensive powers in religious matters, especially in regard to the calendar, gave them great influence politically.
APPENDIX III.

THE ORGANIZATION OF CAESAR’S ARMY.

1. Delectus: drafts, levies. Lists were made of all Roman citizens in Italy and the provinces who were liable to military duty, and recruiting officers conducted the requisite drafts in the several municipia, by authority of consuls or (in the provinces) proconsuls. In the civil wars such drafts were made without the usual authority, but according to the usual form. Thus delectus are made for both Caesar and Pompey in Picenum, i, 12, 8,*; 16, 29.

Down to the final defeat of Hannibal (B.C. 202), the Roman armies were composed of citizens, who returned to the ways of peace as soon as the particular campaign for which they had been drafted was over. There was no soldier class. But the rich rewards which the soldiers won by the conquest of the East (B.C. 200-133), the great increase in the number of Roman citizens after the Social War (B.C. 90-88), and the admission to the legions of the very poorest citizens, to whom military service was really promotion, produced a large class who were only too glad to make war their profession. Thus the armies of Caesar and Pompey were composed to a large extent of hirelings rather than patriots.

2. Legio: regiment (in formation), brigade (in point of size). It was divided into 10 cohorts (cohortes = battalions), each cohort into 3 maniples (manipuli = companies), and each maniple into 2 centuries (centuriae, ordines = platoons). Theoretically a legion numbered 6000: 2 centuries (centum) × 3 maniples × 10 cohorts; but practically it had seldom more than 4000, and in Caesar’s army probably about 3600 on the average.

Note.—At the battle of Pharsalus Pompey’s cohorts average over 400, and Caesar’s only 275 (iii, 88, 11-13; 89, 23-24), but Pompey’s were unusually full, owing to a plentiful supply of “substitutes” (iii, 4, 23-25), while Caesar’s were unusually depleted even at the beginning of the campaign in Greece (iii, 2, 36; 6, 38).

a. centuria, ordo: platoon, century, = 50-60 men. The first word Caes-
sar uses only three times: i, 64, 2; 76, 11 (adverbially); iii, 91, 17. Instead he generally has the second: i, 13, 16, ex primo ordine, sc. primi manipuli praeae cohortis; 74, 12, primorum ordinum centuriones; ii, 28, 3, ordines manipulique. Hence ordinem ducere = to be a centurion; hunc ordinem duxerat, i, 13, 20-21.

b. manipulus: company, = 100–120 men. In earlier times the three maniples of a cohort had different armor, and were called pilani, principes, hastati; but in Caesar’s army all the legionary soldiers were armed alike, and these words denoted the centurions and (probably) the soldiers of the first, second, and third maniples respectively. Instead of pilani the word triarii came into use.

c. cohors: battalion, cohort, = 300–360 men. When drawn up in order of battle the three maniples of a cohort stood side by side, giving a total front of 120 feet, and a depth of 40 feet.

d. acies: line of battle. In the more usual order of battle each legion was formed in three lines, the first of four cohorts, the second and third of three each. This Caesar calls acies triplex, and describes it quite fully in i, 83, where five legions are placed side by side in this order:

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Caesar uses an acies duplex iii, 67, 24. Here of course each legion had 5 cohorts in each of its two lines. Cf. i, 83, 2–4, where auxiliary troops really form a tertia acies. Caesar wins the battle of Pharsalus by skilfully using a quarta acies (iii, 89, 93). Cohorts ranked according to their position in the order of battle, the first standing at the front and right (see above fig.), and containing the flower of the legion.

3. Equipment.

a. Defensive. All three maniples had full armor: a helmet, either of metal (cassis) or leather (galea), a shield (scutum) 2½ ft. broad and not less
APPENDIX III.

than 4 ft. long, and often greaves and corselets of various material. The corselets (lorica) were of leather strengthened with metal, and were worn over the ordinary under-garment (tunica), which reached down to the knees, and was fastened round the waist by a girdle (cingulum), to which the sword (gladius) was hung. The outer garment of the ordinary soldier and lower officer was the sagum, i, 75, 25, a sort of woolen blanket arranged so as also to be fastened about the shoulders with a clasp. The higher officers wore a longer cloak of purple, ornamented according to rank (i, 6, 13, paludatique, and cf. 7). The feet were protected by half-boots (caligae).

b. Offensive. (1) A short, straight, two-edged sword (gladius), used more like a dagger at close quarters. It was about 2 ft. long, and worn by the common soldier on the right side, so as not to interfere with the shield on the left arm, but by officers on the left side. (2) The javelin (pilum), a heavy wooden shaft into which an iron head was fitted, the whole nearly 7 ft. long and weighing about 10 pounds. After hurling this the soldier drew his sword and rushed to close quarters with the enemy.

c. Sarcinae. Besides this heavy armor each soldier carried (1) rations of unground grain for from 1 to 17 and even 22 (i, 78, 26) days, allowing nearly 2 pounds to the day; (2) baskets, cooking utensils, foraging and intrenching tools of various kinds, making, exclusive of the armor, a weight of from 30 to 45 pounds. Each soldier ground and cooked his own grain, and it was considered a hardship if meat had to be substituted for this food. Cf. i, 48, 10; iii, 47, 17. The men did not thrive on a meat diet, i, 52, 19. Marius introduced the long forked pole (furca), to the prongs of which these various articles of the soldier were fastened in a bundle (sarcina). The whole was carried over the right shoulder, the pilum in the left hand, the shield on the left arm, while the helmet hung suspended from the neck before or behind. Thus loaded the soldier was naturally impeditus; carrying his weapons only, expeditus, ready for battle. When forced to fight on the march, the sarcinae were laid in a pile together and put under a guard. They were left in the camp (castra) when the soldiers marched out to an immediate battle.

d. Pay. Caesar paid his legionaries 225 denarii (a silver coin of about the value of our twenty-cent piece) a year, in three installments (stipendia) of 75 denarii. Regularly, from 30 to 35 denarii per annum were deducted from this amount, if the state supplied the soldier with frumentum. But this was often given the soldier in the provinces, or, at least, sold him at reduced rates. The monthly allowance of grain for each man was 4 modii, i.e. about a bushel. In cheap times a modius of corn cost the state, in Sicily, a denarius or less. A famine price is 50 denarii, i, 52.

Caesar assigns double pay to a gallant cohort, iii, 53, i.e. doubles their next installment; and very often the soldiers increased their profits by the
APPENDIX III.

booty which they took, or by presents received from their commander, especially if they lived to celebrate a triumph with him.

4. **Auxilia.** All regular legionary soldiers must be Roman citizens and heavy armed (milites gravis armaturae). But auxilia were hired or drafted from the natives of provinces subject to Rome, and of the country where war was being waged. Sometimes they were furnished by allied princes and peoples gratuitously. They were light armed (milites levis armaturae), left to their native methods of warfare if serving for a short time only, but, when accompanying a particular general for a longer time, partially drilled into Roman tactics. They were thus divided into cohorts, distinguished from those of the regular legions (legionariae cohortes) as cohortes auxiliariae, or cohortes alariae (i, 73, 31; 83, 4), from the position formerly occupied by such troops on the wings (alae). Cf. cohortes cetratae and scutatae, i, 39, 16, cohortes colonicae, ii, 19, 20. Of the auxilia the hired slingers (funditores) and archers (sagittarii) were most important; i, 83, 7; iii, 4, 27-28.

Legions composed not of Roman citizens, but of provincials, were called vernaculæ; ii, 20, 1.

5. **Equitatus.** The cavalry of Caesar consisted entirely of auxiliary troops, Gauls, Spaniards and Germans, either drafted in spring for a single campaign, or hired for constant service. The former were divided by tribes, the latter into regular military divisions: alae, "regiments" about 300 strong, turmae, "squadrons" of uncertain number, and decuriae, "decades." The cavalry as a body was commanded by a Roman, generally a legatus (8); the lower divisions by praefecti equitum (10), either Romans or natives of the country where the cavalry was raised; iii, 59, 60. Caesar imitated the Germans in distributing foot-soldiers among his cavalry; iii, 75, 20; 84, 7-11. The weapons of the regular cavalry were metal corselets, leathern greaves, helmet, shield, lance, and long sword. Compare the modern German Uhlan.

6. **Dux belli.** In Caesar's time the consul never left the city during his year of actual office, but as proconsul he received by vote of the people an imperium militare, after which he assumed the general's paludamentum, a cloak of scarlet cloth embroidered with gold, performed religious vows on the capitol, received a body-guard of 12 lictors, and left the city, in which he could not remain, and which he could not enter again without resigning his imperium, unless by special permission. After a victory he was hailed imperator by his soldiers, ii, 26, 10; iii, 31, 31; 71, 14. The senate decided how many legions a general might have, as well as upon treaties of peace or declarations of war (see App. II, 5, e). Of course in the Civil War, as well as in Gaul to some extent, Caesar acted independently.

7. **Legati.** These were the higher "staff-officers" of the general, nom-
originally appointed by the senate. The usual number was 3, but Caesar had 10 in Gaul, and assigned a legion to each. They were of senatorial rank, and completely subject to the general's orders, so that they would not undertake anything on their own responsibility; ii, 17, 4-5; iii, 51, 25-33. If they succeeded or failed, their general alone received the credit or blame. They commanded divisions of the army in battle, and often received for longer or shorter periods independent commands; iii, 34.

8. Quaestor (cf. App. II, 8). This officer, corresponding to our "quartermaster," accompanied a proconsul or propraetor into his province to manage his finances, and, in war, took charge of the military supplies, payment of the soldiers, sale of booty and prisoners, etc. He could be used also in the quality of legatus.

9. Tribuni militum. There were six in each legion, mostly young men of the equestrian order, chosen by Caesar from the cohors praetoria (14) after one or two years' service, more on account of family connections and personal friendship than military capacity. They are seldom mentioned, and only as leaders of small detachments, or as assisting in general military duties. Cf. ii, 20, 30.

10. Praefecti. These, like the tribuni militum, were of the equestrian order, appointed by Caesar, and having various subordinate commands over the auxilia (4) and the cavalry (5); i, 21, 4; ii, 42, 2; iii, 37, 4; 60, 13. Sometimes the title of praefectus was given to Romans in the civil service of a province, to increase their authority; iii, 32, 20.

11. Centuriones. Order of rank and promotion. The officers described in 8–11, were all of senatorial or equestrian rank, and had never served as private soldiers. They correspond to our "commissioned officers." The centurions, on the other hand, who were of far more authority and importance than the lowest of our "non-commissioned officers," were promoted from the ranks to their positions, for effective service. They almost never rose any higher. The sixty centurions of a legion (2) then, were appointed and advanced by Caesar through all the successive grades, for their rank varied according as they commanded maniples of hastati, principes or triarii (2, b) in each of the 10 cohorts, and the first or second century of the maniple—princeps prior, posterior; hastatus prior, posterior. These titles and rankings remained after the names hastati, principes and triarii had lost their original meaning (2, b) and virtually gone out of use.

a. There were thus 6 centurionships in the 10th or lowest cohort, through which a centurion must regularly pass before being promoted to the lowest centurionship of the 9th or next highest cohort. The centurions of the 10th cohort were called, in order of rank, decimus hastatus posterior, dec. hast. prior; decimus princeps posterior, dec. princeps prior; decimus pilus (see b) posterior, and dec. pilus prior. In the 9th cohort the names
would be the same after substituting nonus for decimus, in the 8th octavus, and so on up to the first cohort (primus hastatus posterior, etc., etc.).

The centurionships in the lowest cohort (perhaps those in the three rear cohorts in the order of battle, see 2, d), Caesar calls infimi ordines, using the word ordo not only for the century (2, a) but also for the office of centurion, and even for the centurion himself; i, 3, 17; ii, 35, 10. So the six centurionships of the first cohort (possibly those of the four front cohorts in the order of battle) are primi ordines, priores ordines, and those between these and the infimi ordines are inferiores ordines; i, 46, 12.

b. The triarii (2, b) used to be called pilani, from the weapon (pilum) which they alone wielded, and a century or ordo of them was and continued to be called pilus, a name which, like ordo (see a, above) was given to the centurion himself. Hence decimus pilus prior = centurio prioris ordinis primi manipuli (triariorum) decimae cohortis. So primus pilus prior (abbreviated to primus pilus and primipilus) = centurio prioris ordinis primi manipuli (triariorum) praeae cohortis. This was the highest centurionship in the legion, a post of great responsibility, honor, and rewards.

c. Caesar loses a centurion (i, 46, 11) ex primo hastato, i.e. ex manipulo hastatorum cohortis praeae, the fifth or sixth (according as he was hastatus prior or posterior) centurionship in the legion, to which he had been promoted for "rare valor." Caesar promotes a centurion (iii, 53, 27) for the greatest bravery ab octavis ordinibus (i.e. from an ordo in the 8th cohort) ad primipilum (i.e. to the very first ordo of the whole legion). A first cohort loses (iii, 64, 18) all its centurions except the princeps prior, i.e. the centurion of the first ordo of the principes, the third in rank in the whole legion.

12. Evocati. These were soldiers who had served out their time, and so were legally exempt from further military duty, but who had been specially invited (nominatim evocati) by a general to re-enter his service, and encouraged to do so by rewards, exemption from the more menial duties of the common soldier, increased wages, and the prospect of centurionships; i, 3, 16-17. They ranked with the lower centurions, probably received as much pay, and are often mentioned with them as of special importance; i, 3, 20; 17, 11; iii, 53, 16. At the battle of Pharsalus, whatever may have been his practice before this, Caesar’s evocati formed a body of picked troops, detached for special service, and stationed at the right of the first cohort of the 10th legion, at the post of honor; iii, 91.

a. Large bodies of troops remaining in the service after their term had expired were called veterani, not evocati, as were also experienced soldiers even if their time of service had not expired, in distinction from tirones, raw recruits; iii, 28.
13. Cohors praetoria. This was the general’s body-guard, composed of picked troops, both cavalry and evocati. The term is sometimes made to include those Roman youth of noble birth who accompanied a general to learn the art of war under his command, and who were his intimate associates (contubernales, 20). They correspond to our lower “staff-officers” or “adjutants.” From their number came usually tribuni militum, and praefecti equitum.

14. Fabri. A corps of engineers, smiths, carpenters, “sappers and miners,” under a praefectus fabrum (i, 24, 25), chief of engineers. They built bridges, winter barracks, siege-engines and works, and repaired and manufactured weapons and armor. They were not incorporated into the legions.

15. Musical Instruments and Signals.
Signals for falling into line, attacking or retreating, were blown by the tubicines on the trumpet (tuba). Signals for the four military watches of the night (vigiliae) were blown by bucinatores on the bucina, a curved trumpet or “bugle;” ii, 35, 31. Signals for the cavalry were given by the liticines upon the shrill-sounding lituus, a tuba curved at the larger end. The chief signals were blown in front of the general’s tent (classicum canere). Pompey divides the honor with his father-in-law, iii, 82, 34–36. To terrify the enemy or incite the soldiers all the instruments sounded together, iii, 92, 32–34, i.e. signals sounded all along the lines.

16. Impedimenta. The heavy army baggage, tents, the heavier camp implements, siege-machines, artillery, etc., etc., were transported by pack-animals, about 50 to the cohort, each tended by a “driver” (calo), who also did the more menial duties of the camp. When the army set out, the first signal was for striking the tents and packing into bundles (sarcinae, 3, c) the personal baggage (vasa concludamare, = concludamare ut vasa colligantur, i, 66, 30; iii, 37, 34–35). At the second signal the heavy baggage was put upon the pack-animals, and at the third the soldiers fell into line and began the march. It was a disgrace to a general to leave his camp without these regular signals; iii, 75, 9–10; 37, 34–35. A body of soldiers taken collectively was said to be expeditus when unaccompanied and unhampered by a baggage-train (cf. 3, c, end). An iter expeditum is a march over good roads, without obstacles, unhindered by the enemy.


a. Signum legiomin. This was an eagle perched with outstretched wings upon a pole, and often holding in the claws gold or silver thunderbolts (arrows). The bearer, aquilifer, was selected from all the soldiers of the legion for size, strength and courage; iii, 64, 11–19; 99, 7. The primipiitis (12, b) had special charge of the eagle. Legions were often counted by, and named from their aquilae.
b. It is certain that each cohort had its signum, and probable that each maniple did also. The signum of each first maniple would then serve for the whole cohort, and that of each first cohort for the whole legion. These signa were of different devices, often representations of animals, often streamers or banners, carried aloft on poles like the aquilae. The bearer of one was called signifer; iii, 74, 27. The signa were sacred, and their loss a great disgrace, punishable with death if the result of cowardice or neglect.

Cohorts are called signa, as legions aquilae; ii, 39, 12. A special place in camp was set apart for the eagles of the legions, and held sacred. In peace they were kept by the quaestors in the aerarium. So the colors of regiments in our Civil War are religiously preserved.

c. Vexillum. A small banner or streamer, of different color according to the division of the army, carried aloft as a standard by cavalry, and probably, by the auxilia (4 and 5).

A red vexillum was waved at the battle of Pharsalus as a signal for the general attack, and also for the charge of a reserve body of troops; iii, 89, 34; 93, 35 and 15.

18. Antesignani: skirmishers. With Caesar, a special corps of picked soldiers in each legion, who left the ranks for special and important services, such as seizing suddenly an important point, i, 43, 26-27, supporting the cavalry, iii, 75, 20; 84, 7-14, manning ships, i, 57, 56. This corps was probably devised by Caesar.

19. Castra. A Roman army never spent the night outside of a camp more or less completely fortified. Even after exhausting marches the soldiers intrenched themselves. Ordinarily a detachment was sent forward to select a favorable spot on some slope within easy reach of wood, water and fodder. The form of the camp was oblong, the length to the width as 3 to 2. Two streets crossing each other at right angles were laid out. The longest, the via praetoria, ended on the side toward the enemy in the porta praetoria, on the other side in the porta decumana. The shortest street, the via principalis, ended in the porta principalis dextra and sinistra. The camp varied of course in size with that of the army. It was surrounded by a moat (fossa) and rampart (agger, vallum), the latter two-thirds as high as the former was wide (iii, 63, 14-15). The rampart was often topped with palisades (valli). Inside the wall a broad space was left all around, then the tents (tentoria, pelles) were set in such a manner that the legionary cohorts encircled the cavalry, the general and his staff, and the auxilia. Ten men (contubernales) occupied one tent together, forming a contubernium. This tent is itself called contubernium; iii, 76, 35. The general's tent, and sometimes the open space about it, was called praetorium; i, 76, 7 and 13. Pompey has a second praetorium stretched for his father-
in-law, Scipio, iii, 82, 36. A camp which was occupied longer than one night was called castra stativa, iii, 30, 15, and received extra fortifications, either of walls or redoubts (castella). In the castra hiberna, huts (hibernacula) were built.
APPENDIX IV.

IMPORTANT VARIATIONS FROM THE TEXT OF NIPPERDEY.

Note.—No notice is here taken (1) of Nipperdey's own emendations in his notes of words or passages marked in his text as corrupt; (2) of words or passages marked as corrupt, or bracketed as glosses in Nipperdey's text, but regarded as correct and retained by the great majority of more recent editors; (3) of words or passages printed in italics in Nipperdey's text as supplied without MSS. authority, when the great majority of editors agree to such insertions; (4) of the omission of such italicized words or passages in Nipperdey's text when the great majority of editors agree in such an omission; (5) of orthographical variations, or variations in punctuation not materially affecting the sense. In referring to the editors consulted for this edition, the following abbreviations are used: Do. = Doberenz, Dr. = Dinter, Dû. = Dübner, H. = Hofmann, K. = Kraner, N. = Nipperdey. The citations are by book, chapter, and line of the page in this edition.

Book i, 1, 1, a Gaio Caesare, with Dr. and H. for [a Fabio C.] Caesaris.

" 1, 5, infinite, for [in civitate], an early correction, adopted by H.

" 5, 16, duodecimo, for VIII, with Dû., thus agreeing in sense with Mommsen's conjecture toto denique emenso spatio, which is adopted by Do. and H.

" 5, 20, salutis . . . numquam, omitting as a gloss with Dr. flatorum audacia.

" 6, 34, legiones . . . x, with MSS. and Dr. Dû. H., for . . . IX.

" 6, 11, quod . . . acciderat, retained with Dr. Dû.; N. in brackets.

" 6, 14, quod . . . numquam, retained with Do. Dr. Dû., though Dr. and Dû. have clam ex urbe proficiscitur, and Do. joins with the preceding sentence, where he omits quod . . . acciderat; H. and N. in brackets.

" 7, 26, quae . . . restituta, for the [quae superioribus annis armis esset restituta] of Do. Dû. H. N. This text follows Dr., who regards the armis as a dittograph.

" 7, 29, bona . . . habuerint, with Do. Dr. Dû. H. for [dona . . . habuerint].
APPENDIX IV.

Book i, 14, 1, *productos*, for *deductos*, with Do. Dr. Dü. H. and good MSS.

23, 34, *Caecilius*, with MSS. and editors, for *Vibullius*, who was not a senator.

30, 20, *legionibus ii*, for ... *III*, with all the editors.

34, 18, *in Hispaniam*, supplied from 38, 1, with Do. Dr. H.

35, 5, *discernere*, for *decernere*, with MSS. and editors.

39, 5, this chapter has been restored after Hofmann’s text and suggestions.

44, 1, *barbaro*, inserted with K.

44, 8, *censuerant*, with MSS. and editors, for *consuerant*.

46, 7, *summa in jugum virtute*, for *in summum jugum virtute*, with Forchhammer followed by Do. H. K.

53, 30, *rumor affingebat*, for *rumore affingebatur*, with MSS. Do. Dr. Dü. H.

57, 10, *Domitii*, for *indomiti*, with Dü. followed by H. and Moberley.

58, 13, *non excipiebant*, for *decipiebant*, with Do. Dü. H. K.

61, 1, *aberat xxx*, for ... *XX*, with Göler followed by Dr. II.

64, 27, *interrumpi*, for *irrumpi*, with MSS. Do. Dr. Dü. H.

76, 18, *producatur*, for *producatur*, with MSS. and Dü.

80, 30, *relictis impedimentis*, for *relictis legionibus... praesidio impedimentis*, with H., Dü. approving.

81, 15, *supplicis male haberi*, for *supplicis malis habere*, with Vielhaber followed by Do. Dr. H., supported by one good MS.

82, 28, *reliquae munitionis*, for *rei*, with Forchhammer and K., followed by Do. Dr. Dü. H.

Book ii, 3, 10, *navem*, supplied with K., followed by Do. Dr. (notes, not text) H.

5, 5, *uxoribus... aut in*, for a corrupt passage *uxoribus *ex publicis custodiis quae muro*, with Dü.

10, 36, *fastigate*, for *fastigato*, with K. followed by all the editors.

10, 1, *tecto*, supplied with K. followed by Do. Dr. Dü.; N. suggested *musculo*.

16, 24, *tolis*, for *vi* (MSS. *eis*), with Forchhammer followed by Dü. H. K.

25, 4, *traduxisset*, for *vela direxisset*, with Dr. Dü. and good MSS.

29, 19–29, this corrupt passage is given after Dü., without, however, supplying his conjectures for the *lacunae*.

31, 20, *dissimulari*, for *dissimulare*, with Do. Dr. H. K.

35, 28, *mille*, supplied with Do. Dr. Dü. H.

39, 22, *equitesque*, for *equique*, with MSS. Do. H.
APPENDIX IV.

Book iii, 6, 28, legiones vii, for . . . VI, with MSS. and editors, exc. Do.

6, 32, Palaeste, for Pharsalia, with all the editors.

8, 17, Sasonis ad Curici, for Salonis ad Oricum, with Mommsen, followed by Do. Dr. H. K.

10, 32, Curictam, for Corecyram, with Mommsen, followed by all the editors.

10, 8, contentum, dropping as a gloss a following sentence, Haec quo facilius Pompeio probari possent, omnes suas terrestres urbiumque copias dimissurum, which is bracketed by Dr. Dü. H.

12, 30, arcem, for arce, with good MSS. and all the editors.

13, 3, gestae, for gesta, with good MSS. and all the editors.

15, 15, sibi, for eis, with good MSS. and all the editors.

16, 31, Summam, for Pompeii, with all the editors.

20, 5, Coelius et, for Coelius. Sed, with good MSS. Do. H. K.

21, 25, missa . . . appararet, with H., followed by Dü.

25, 10, exspectabant, for non spectabat, with good MSS. Do. Dü. H.

25, 13, si, for si vel, where the MSS. have sive, and H. supplies the alternative sive ad Labeatium, followed by Dr. Dü.

36, 32, antecedit, for excedit, with good MSS. and all the editors, Dr., however, reading rei.

36, 36, adesse, for abisse, with good MSS. and all the editors.

38, 20, quarum . . . receperunt, supplied by Freudenberg, followed by Do. Dr. (essentially) Dü. H.

40, 10, scutulis, for suculis, with MSS. and editors.

40, 10, portum, for partem, with Forchhammer, followed by Do. Dü. H.

40, 15, prohibebat, for prohibeat, with MSS. and editors.

41, 25, tertio die ad Pompeium, omitting in Macedoniam, with all the editors.

44, 15, addebat, for videbant, with Weber, followed by Do. H.

45, 10, legiones and plur. verbs, for legio and sing. verbs, with MSS. and all the editors (Do. in notes).

46, 17, confectis, for completis, with Markland, followed by Do. H.

46, 28, disjectae, for directae, with H. followed by all the editors.

49, 9, cujus . . . succedere, for quibus . . . subterere, with H. followed by Do. Dü. (retaining, however, quibus).

51, 4, tormentumve, for tormento, with good MSS. and all editors exc. Dr.

53, 3, veste, congiariis, for vespeciariis (the unintelligible reading of the MSS.), with H. followed by Dü.
APPENDIX IV.

Book iii, 55, this chapter comes after 56 in the MSS., but has been transposed, with Dr., all the other editors noticing the apparent displacement in the MSS.

" 63, 27, duae, for nostrae, with Do. Dr. Dü.
" 65, 29, secundum mare, here instead of after castra, l. 32, with Dr. Dü. H.
" 67, 14, signa...illata...renuntiarunt, for signo...illato...rem nuntiarunt, with Dü.; renuntiarunt also Dr. Do.H.
" 69, 29, demissis signis...confugerent, for [dimissis equis]...conjungent, with Oehler, followed by Do. Dü. (but conficerent) H.
" 71, 7, et notos equites Romanos, etc., for et equites..., Tutilcanum, Gallum, senatoris filium, notos eq. Rom., etc., with H., omitting, however, a Feginatem before Tutilcanum.
" 71, 15, passus est, sed...numquam, for passus neque...quas, with H. following Madvig.
" 73, 24, fore ut...verteret, for the simple verteret, with Dü.
" 79, 26, objectum, for oppidum oppositum, with Dr. Dü.
" 81, 26, plenis frumentorum, supplied with Kergel, followed by Dü. H.
" 89, 22, Cohortes...lxxx, for...LXXV, with MSS. and all the editors exc. Do.
" 112, 9, In hoc, for Haec, with Do. Dr. H.
APPENDIX IV.

Book iii, 55, this chapter comes after 56 in the MSS., but has been transposed, with Dr., all the other editors noticing the apparent displacement in the MSS.

" " 63, 27, duae, for nostrae, with Do. Dr. Dü.

" " 65, 29, secundum mare, here instead of after castra, l. 32, with Dr. Dü. H.

" " 67, 14, signa . . . illata . . . renuntiarunt, for signo . . . illato . . . rem nuntiarunt, with Dü.; renuntiarunt also Dr. Do. H.

" " 69, 29, demissis signis . . . confugerent, for [dimissis equis] . . . conjungerent, with Oehler, followed by Do. Dü. (but conficerent) H.

" " 71, 7, et notos equites Romanos, etc., for et equites . . ., Ttitanum, Gallum, senatoris filium, notos eq. Rom., etc., with H., omitting, however, a Fleginatem before Ttitanum.

" " 71, 15, passus est, sed . . . numquam, for passus neque . . . quas, with H. following Madvig.

" " 73, 24, fore ut . . . verteret, for the simple verteret, with Dü.

" " 79, 26, objectum, for oppidum oppositum, with Dr. Dü.

" " 81, 26, plenis frumentorum, supplied with Kergel, followed by Dü. H.

" " 89, 22, Cohortes . . . lxxx, for . . . LXXV, with MSS. and all the editors exc. Do.

" " 112, 9, In hoc, for Haec, with Do. Dr. H.