

B WARS, ENDING IN REVOLUTION, 233-44 B.C. 201

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THE **GALLIC WAR**, 58-50 B.C. (6)

Siege 'of Gergovia. *Petronius dies to save his men,*
52 B.C.

- 1 Cum acerrime comminus pugnaretur, hostes loco
et numero, nostri virtute confiderent, subito sunt
Aedui visi ab latere nostris aperto, quos Caesar ab
dextra parte alio ascensu manus destinendae causa
5 miserat. Hi similitudine armorum vehementer
nostros perterruerunt. Eodem tempore L. Fabius
centurio quique una murum ascenderant circumventi
atque interfecti de muro praecipitabantur. M. Petro-
nius, eiusdem legionis centurio, cum portas excidere
10 conatus esset, a multitudine oppressus ac sibi desper-
ans, multis iam volneribus acceptis, manipularibus
suis qui illum secuti erant, 'Quoniam,' inquit, 'me una
vobiscum servare non possum, vestrae quidem certe
vitae prospiciam, quos cupiditate gloriae adductus
15 in periculum deduxi. Vos data facultate vobis con-
sulite.' Simul in medios hostes irrupit, duobusque
interfectis reliquos a porta paulum submovit.
Conantibus auxiliari suis, 'Frustra,' inquit, 'meae
vitae subvenire conamini, quem iam sanguis viresque
20 deficiunt. Proinde abite dum est facultas vosque ad
legionem recipite.' Ita pugnans post paulum con-
cidit ac suis saluti fuit. **CAESAR, de B. G. vii. 50.**

Context. With a half-starved army Caesar stormed Avaricum after a most obstinate defence, and then laid siege to the Arvernian capital of 'Gergovia, in hope of destroying Vercingetorix and ending the war. As the town was too strong to be taken by storm, he resolved to try a blockade, but he failed, as at Dyrrachium in 49 B.C., from want of sufficient troops.

A last desperate attack on the town was repulsed, and Caesar, defeated for the first time, was forced to raise the siege.

- 3 **ab latere nostris aperto** : as a soldier carries his shield on the left, arm, leaving the sword hand free, this (right) side is called **latus apertum**.—Compton.
4 **manus destinendae causa** = for the purpose of diverting (destinendae, lit. hold off) the enemy's force.
6 **perterruerunt** : this WAS all the more natural, as the Aeduan contingent was only awaiting the result of the blockade, to openly join the insurgents.
9 **excidere** = to cut away, hew down, i.e. from within.

Gergovia, 4 miles S. of Clermont. This famous stronghold consists of a rectangular plateau nearly a mile in length, and some 1300 feet above the plain through which the Allier flows, and descending steeply on all sides hut one to the ground.

Caesar's failure. 'The fact was that chiefly owing to the nature of the ground and their own ardour, Caesar's men were not well in hand,'—W. F.

Siege of Alesia. The Last Fight of Vercingetorix,
52 B.C.

1. Vercingetorix ex arce Alesiae suos conspicatus ex oppido egreditur : crates, longurios, musculos, fascēs, reliquaquae quae eruptionis causa paraverat profert. Pugnatur uno tempore omnibus locis atque omnia
5 temptantur ; quae minime visa pars firma est huc concurritur. Romanorum manus tantis munitionibus distinetur nec facile pluribus locis occurrit. . . . Labienus, postquam neque aggeres neque fossae vim hostium sustinere poterant, coactis XI cohortibus,
10 quas ex proximis praesidiis deductas fors obtulit, Caesarem per nuntios facit certiozem quid faciendum existimet. Accelerat Caesar ut proelio intersit. Eius adventu ex colore vestitus cognito (quo insigni in proeliis uti consuevit), turmisque equitum et co-
15 hortibus visis quas se sequi iusserat, ut de locis superioribus haec declivia et devexa cernebantur, hostes proelium committunt. Utrumque clamore sublato excipit rursus ex vallo atque omnibus munitionibus clamor. Nostri omissis pilis gladiis rem
20 gerunt. Repente post tergum equitatus cernitur : cohortes aliae appropinquant. Hostes terga vertunt ; fugientibus equites occurrunt : fit magna caedes : pauci ex tanto numero se incolumes in castra recipiunt.

CAESAR, *de B. G.* vii. 84, 87, 88.

context. After his successful defence of Gergovia, Vercingetorix allowed his judgment to be overruled, and attacked Caesar's army (now united to the division of Labienus) on the march. Caesar shook off the enemy with the help of his German cavalry, and turned their retreat into a rout. V. then threw himself with all his forces into Alesia. Caesar constructed an inner line of investment and an outer line of defence, and was thus able to wear out the besieged and **beat back the relieving host of the Gauls.**

- 1 **suos**, i.e. the host (some 250,000) of the relieving army of Gauls.
2 **musculos** (dimin. of *mus*) = *pent-houses* or *sheds*.
4 **omnibus locis**, i.e. along the whole length of Caesar's outer line of defence, *where it ran along the slope of Mont Réa*, to the N.W. of Alesia. This, as the relieving Gauls were quick to see, was the weakest point of the whole line.
13 **ex colore vestitus**, i.e. the purple or scarlet paludamentum.
Vercingetorix. The Celtic officers delivered up V. to Caesar, to be led in triumph five years later, and beheaded as a traitor. In 1865 a statue was erected on the summit of Alesia, in honour of the heroic Gaul.

The fall of Alesia decided the fate of Gaul.

B WARS, ENDING IN REVOLUTION, 133-44 B.C. 203

44 CICERO IN EXILE, MARCH 58 B.C.—AUGUST 57 B.C. (1)

H i s Banishment.

- 1 *P e r idem tempus P. Clodius, homo nobilis, disertus, audax, quique dicendi neque faciendi ullum nisi quem velletl nosset modum, malorum*
- 6 *propositorum exsecutor acerrimus, cum graves inimi-*
- 6 *citias cum M. Cicerone exerceret (quid enim inter tam dissimilis amicum esse poterat ?) et a patribus ad plebem transisset, legem in tribunatu tulit, qui civem Romanum non damnatum interemisset, ei aqua et igni interdiceretur : cuius verbis etsi non nominabatur*
- 10 *Cicero, tamen solus petebatur. Ita vir optime meritus de re publica conservatae patriae pretium calamitatem exili tulit. Non caruerunt suspicione oppressi Ciceronis Caesar et Pompeius. Hoc sibi contraxisse videbatur Cicero, quod inter xx viros*
- 15 *dividendo agro Campano esse noluisset. Idem intra biennium sera Cn. Pompei cura, verum ut coepit intenta, votisque Italiae ac decretis senatus, virtute atque actione Anni Milonis tribuni pl. dignitati patriaeque restitutus est. Neque post Numidici*
- 20 *exilium ac reditum quisquam aut expulsus invidiosius aut receptus est laetius : cuius domus quam infeste a Clodio disiecta erat, tam speciose a senatu restituta est.* VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii. 45.
- 6-7 **a patribus . . . transisset.** When Cicero refused to throw in his lot with the Triumvirs, Publius Clodius was (by the aid of Caesar as Pontifex Maximus) hurriedly transferred from a patrician to a plebeian gens, and then chosen a tribune of the people for the year 58 B.C. Clodius was thus enabled to satisfy his private hatred of Cicero, and Caesar was enabled to get rid of the man who persisted in opposing him.
- 7-8 *qui . . . interemisset:* aimed at Cicero for his share in the summary execution of the Catilinarians 63 B.C. Mommsen calls it a judicial murder. Undoubtedly the Senate had not the power of sentencing *citizens* to death. But Cicero argues that the legal effect of the *Senatus consultum ultimum* was to *disenfranchise* Lentulus and his associates, and to place them in the position of *outlaws*.
- 12-13 **Non caruerunt . . . Pompeius :** Caesar having in vain tried to win him over abandoned him to his fate, and Pompeius basely deserted him.
- 15 **dividendo agro Campano, i.e.** by Caesar's Agrarian Law of 59 B.C., to provide for Pompey's veterans.
- 18 **Anni Milonis:** the bravoes of Milo protected from disturbance the voters engaged in sanctioning the decree for the recall of Cicero.
- 19 **Numidici, i.e.** Q. Caecilius Metellus, general against Jugurtha, superseded by Marius and forced to retire to Rhodes.

His Return.

- 1 Pr. Nonas Sextiles Dyrrachio sum profectus, ipso illo die, quo lex est lata de nobis ; Brundisium veni Nonis Sextilibus : ibi mihi Tulliola mea fuit praesto natali suo ipso die, qui casu idem natalis erat et
- 5 Brundisinae coloniae et tuae vicinae Salutis ; quae res animadversa a multitudine summa Brundisiorum gratulatione celebrata est. Ante diem VI Idus Sextiles cognovi, cum Brundisii essem, litteris Quinti, mirifico studio omnium aetatum atque
- 10 ordinum, incredibili concursu Italiae legem comitiis centuriatis esse perlatam : inde a Brundisinis honestissimis ornatus iter ita feci, ut undique ad me cum gratulatione legati convenerint. Ad urbem ita veni, ut nemo ullius ordinis homo nomenclatori notus
- 15 fuerit, qui mihi obviam non venerit, praeter eos inimicos, quibus id ipsum, se inimicos esse, non liceret aut dissimulare aut negare. Cum venissem ad portam Capenam, gradus templorum ab infima plebe completi erant, a qua plausu maximo cum
- 20 esset mihi gratulatio significata, similis et frequentia et plausus me usque ad Capitolium celebravit, in foroque et in ipso Capitolio miranda multitudo fuit. Postridie in senatu, qui fuit dies Nonarum Septembr., senatui gratias egimus. CICERO, *Ep. ad Att.* iv. 1.
- 1 Dyrrachio (formerly *Epidamnus*, mod. *Durazzo*), a town in Illyria, on a peninsula in the Adriatic. It was the usual port of landing and departure from and for Brundisium (distant about 100 miles).
- 3 Tulliola, Cicero's dearly-loved daughter Tullia, the only one of his family of whose conduct he never complains, and his tender and sympathising companion in all his pursuits.
- 4-5 qui casu . . . coloniae. Brundisium was founded 244 B.C. The Via Appia terminated here.
- 5 tuae vicinae Salutis, the Temple of Salus on the Quirinal was near the house of Atticus.
- 9 Quinti (sc. *Ciceronis*) : Cicero's only brother, a gallant soldier (e.g. as legatus to Caesar in Gaul), but a man of violent temper. Proscribed by the Triumvirs, and put to death in 43 B.C.
- 11-12 a Brundisinis . . . ornatus = *having received attentions from the most respectable men of Brundisium.*
- 13 legati = *deputations*, i.e. from the various towns en route.
- 14 nomenclatori (= lit. *one who calls by name*, cf. *καλ-έω, Cal-endaē*) : a confidential slave who attended his master in canvassing, and on similar occasions, and told him the names of the people he met.
- 18 ad portam Capenam (*Porta S. Sebastiano*), by which the Via Appia led to Capna. 'Cicero, perhaps for effect, followed the line of triumphal procession.'—Impey.

In praise of Caesar.

- 1 Itaque cum acerrimis nationibus et maximis
Germanorum et Helvetiorum proeliis felicissime
decertavit: ceteras conterrituit, compulit, domuit,
imperio populi Romani parere assuefecit, et quas
5 regiones, quasque gentes nullae nobis antea litterae,
nulla vox, nulla fama notas fecerat, has noster
imperator nosterque exercitus et populi Romani
arma peragrarunt. Semitam tantum Galliae tene-
bamus antea, patres conscripti; ceterae partes a
10 gentibus aut inimicis huic imperio, aut infidis, aut
incognitis, aut certe immanibus et barbaris et belli-
cosis tenebantur; quas nationes, nemo umquam
fuit, quin frangi domarique cuperet; nemo sapienter
de republica nostra cogitavit iam inde a principio
15 huius imperi, quin Galliam maxime timendam huic
imperio putaret; sed propter vim ac multitudinem
gentium illarum numquam est antea cum omnibus
dimicatum. Restitimus semper lacessiti. Nunc
denique est perfectum, ut imperii nostri terrarumque
20 illarum idem esset extremum.

CICERO, de *Provinciis Consularibus*, § 33.

3 **compulit** = *checked*, usu. = *to constrain*.

5 **nullae litterae** = *no book*.

8 **Semitam tantum** Galliae = *it was but a strip of Gaul*.—W. F.
Semita (*se + mi* = *go aside*, cf. *meo, trames*) = *lit. a narrow*
way, path.

13-14 **nemo . . . cogitavit** = *there never has been a prudent states-*
man.—IV. F.

17 **cum omnibus**, i.e. with the Gauls as a nation.

19-20 **ut imperi . . . extremum**, i.e. that our Empire extends to the
utmost limits of that land.

Cicero's Recantation (*παλινοδία*). The time for the struggle between the Senatorial party (the Optimates) and the Triumvirs, weakened by their mutual jealousy, seemed to have come. Accordingly Cicero proposed in a full house to reconsider Caesar's Agrarian Law (of 59 B.C.) for the allotment of lands in Campania; while Domitius Ahenobarbus (candidate for next year's Consulship) openly declared his intention to propose Caesar's recall. Caesar acted with his usual promptness, and the Conference at Luca restored an understanding between the three regents. Pompeius then crossed to Sardinia, and informed Q. Cicero that he would be held responsible for any act of hostility on the part of his brother. Cicero had no choice but to submit, and delivered in the Senate his oration *de Provinciis Consularibus*, a political manifesto on behalf of Caesar and Pompeius—the *Recantation* alluded to in *Ep. ad Att.* iv. 5, and elaborately explained in *Ep. ad Fam.* i. 9 (to Lentulus Spinther).

' *Quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*'

- 1 Dum Gallos per Caesarem in septentrione debellat, ipse interim ad orientem grave volnus a Parthis populus Romanus accepit. Nec de fortuna queri possumus; caret solacio clades. Adversis et dis et
- 5 hominibus cupiditas consulis Crassi, dum Parthico inhiat auro, undecim strage legionum et ipsius capite multata est. Primum enim, qui solus et subvehere commeatus et munire poterst a tergo, relictus Euphrates, dum simulato transfugae cuidam Maz-
- 10 zarae Syro creditur. Tum in mediam camporum vastitatem eodem duce ductus exercitus, ut undique hosti exponeretur. Itaque vixdum venerat Carrhas cum undique praefecti regis Silaces et Surenas ostendere signa auro sericisque vexillis vibrantia.
- 15 Tunc sine mora circumfusi undique equitatus in modum grandinis atque nimborum densa pariter tela fuderunt. Sic miserabili strage deletus exercitus. Ipse in colloquium sollicitatus signo dato vivns in hostium manns incidisset, nisi tribunis reluctantibus
- 20 fugam ducis barbari ferro occupassent. Filium ducis paene in conspectu patris 'eisdem telis operuerunt. Reliquiae infelicis exercitus, quo quemque rapuit fuga, in Armeniam Ciliciam Syriamque distractae vix nuntium cladis rettulerunt.

FLORUS, III. xi. 1-10 (sel.)

Context. By the conference of the Triumvirs at Luca, it was arranged to secure the succession of Crassus to the government of Syria, in order to make war on the growing strength of the Parthian Empire beyond the Euphrates. Consul w&h Pompeius in 55 B.C. he set out for his province even before the expiration of his consulship 'eager to gather in the treasures of the East in addition to those of the West.'

- 7-14 **Primum enim . . . vibrantia.** The Arab mince Abgarus induced Crassus to leave the Euphrates, add cross the great Mesopotamian desert to the Tigris. When at length the enemy offered battle some 30 miles to the S. of Carrhae (Harran, not far from Edessa), by the side of the Parthian vizier stood prince Abgarns with his Bedouins.
- 15-17 **Tunc sine mora . . . exercitus.** The Roman weapons of close combat, and the Roman system of concentration-yielded for the first time to cavalry and distant warfare (the bow).
- 20-21 **Filium ducis** : his young "and brave son Publius, who" had served with the greatest distinction under Caesar in Gaul.
- 22 **Reliquiae** : out of 40,000 Roman legionaries, who had crossed the Euphrates, not a fourth part returned: 20,000 fell, and 10,000 were taken prisoners.
- Carrhae.** The day of Carrhae takes its place side by side with the days of the Allia, and of Cannae.—M.

B WARS, ENDING IN REVOLUTION, 133-44 B.C. 207

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CARRHAE, 53 B.C. (2)

After the Battle.

- A. 1 Temporis angusti mansit concordia discors,
 Paxque fuit non sponte ducum ; nam sola futuri
 Crassus erat belli medius mora. Qualiter undas
 Qui secat et geminum gracilis mare separat Isthmos
 5 Nec patitur conferre fretum : si terra recedat,
 Ionium Aegaeo frangat mare : sic, ubi saeva
 Arma ducum dirimens miserando funere Crassus
 Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carrhas,
 Parthica Romanos solverunt damna furores.
 10 Plus illa vobis acie quam creditis actum est,
 Arsacidae : bellum victis civile dedistis.

LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, i. 98-108.

- B. Milesne Crassi coniuge barbara
 Turpis maritus vixit, et hostium
 (Pro curia inversique mores !)
 15 Consenuit socerorum in armis
 Sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus,
 Anciliorum et nominis et togae
 Oblitus aeternaeque Vestae,
 Incolumi Iove et urbe Roma ?

HORACE, Odes III. v. 5-12.

- C. 20 Crassus ad Euphraten aquilas natumque suosque
 Perdidit, et leto est ultimus ipse datus.
 "Parthe, quid exsultas? " dixit dea, " signa remittes,
 23 , Quique necem Crassi vindicet, ultor erit."

OVID, *Fasti*, vi. 465-468.

- A. 1 Temporis discors = the short-lived concord endured,
 but it was a jarring (discors) concord-Ilaskins.
 4 Isthmos, SC. of Corinth : Caesar planned to cut it, and thus to
 secure a direct route by sea, connecting Italy and the East.
 5 Necpatitur . . . fretum = and suffers it (mare, l. 4) not to
 join its waters, i.e. the Corinthian and Saronic gulfs.
- B. Nearly 10,000 Roman prisoners were settled by the victors in
 the oasis of Merv, as bondsmen compelled after the Parthian
 fashion to render military service (in armis, l. 15).
 15 Consenuit: Carrhae (53 B.C.) was fought 26 years before this
 Ode was written (27 B.C.).
- 17-18 Anciliorum, aeternae Vestae, pledges of the immortality
 of Rome.
 17 togae, i.e. the Roman people, the gens togata.
 19 Iove, Jove's temple on the Capitol.
- C. 22-23 During the last few months of his life, Caesar was occupied with
 the preparations for his expedition against the Parthians. In
 36 B.C. Antonius carried on a disastrous campaign against
 Phraates, King of Parthia, but in 20 B.C. Augustus received
 from the King the Eagles (signa, l. 22) and prisoners captured
 at Carrhae.

CICERO, GOVERNOR OF CILICIA, 51-50 B.C.

His humane Administration.

- 1 Ipse in Asiam profectus sum Tarso Nonis Ianuariis, non mehercule dici potest, qua admiratione Ciliciae civitatum maximeque Tarsensium ; postea vero quam Taurum transgressus sum, mirifica
 5 exspectatio Asiae nostrarum dioecesium, quae sex mensibus imperii mei nullas meas acceperat litteras, numquam hospitem viderat. Illud autem tempus quotannis ante me fuerat in hoc quaestu ; civitates locupletes, ne in hiberna milites reciperent, magnas
 10 pecunias dabant, Cyprii talenta Attica cc, qua ex insula non ὑπερβολικῶς, sed verissime loquor—nummus nullus me obtinente erogabatur. Ob haec beneficia, quibus illi obstupescunt, nullos honores mihi nisi verborum decerni sino ; statuas, fana,
 15 τέθριππα prohibeo, nec sum in ulla re alia molestus civitatibus, sed fortasse tibi, qui haec praedicem de me. Perfer, si me amas ; tu enim me haec facere voluisti. Iter igitur ita per Asiam feci, ut etiam fames, qua nihil miserius est, quae turn erat in hac
 20 mea Asia—messis enim nulla fuerat, mihi optanda fuerit : quacumque iter feci, nulla vi, nullo iudicio, nulla contumelia auctoritate et cohortatione perfeci, ut et Graeci et cives Romani, qui frumentum compresserant, magnum numerum populis pollicerentur.

CICERO, *Ep. ad Atticum*, v. 21.

- 1 in **Asiam**, i.e. to the districts N. of the Taurus range, which belonged geographically to Asia in the Roman sense, but were politically attached to Cilicia.--Watson.
Tarso = on the R. Cydnus, about twelve miles above its mouth. Pompeius made Tarsus the capital of the new province of Cilicia, 66 B.C.
 6-7 **nullas meas . . . viderat** = had never received demands (litteras) from me, never seen a man billeted on them. The **hospites** = soldiers or public officials.
 8 **fuerat in hoc quaestu** = had been devoted to gain in the following fashion.—Tyrrell.
 9 **no in hiberna milites reciperent**: Mommsen says 'A town suffered nearly to the same extent when a Roman army took up winter quarters in it as when an enemy took it by storm.'
 15 **τέθριππα** = statues in chariots drawn by four horses.
 20-21 **mihi optanda fuerit** : i.e. because it gave him the opportunity of showing the effect of his personal influence.-T.
 23 **compresserant** = had stowed away ; lit. kept back, rare.
Cicero as Governor. His administration seems to have been just, considerate and popular.
 For Cicero's Ideal of a Roman Governor, see *Ep. ad Q.F.* i. 1 (Q. Cicero governed Asia as Praetor 62-58 B.C.)

CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR.

*Nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarve priorem
Pompeiusve parem.*—LUCAN.

56 B.C. By the Conference at **Luca** it was arranged : —

(i) to give Caesar a new term of five years' government in which to complete his work in Gaul (until March 1, 49) ;

(ii) to give Pompeius the government of the two Spains, and Crassus that of Syria, for five years also.

It was further agreed that Pompeius and Crassus should have the consulship for 55 B.C.

52 B.C. Pompeius Sole Consul, So things continued until 52 B.C., when the constant rioting (Clodius v. Milo), and utter lawlessness prevailing in Rome gave Pompeius his opportunity. The Senate in their distress caused Pompeius to be nominated sole Consul, with supreme power to meet the crisis. The death of Julia in 54 and of Crassus in 53 had removed the two strongest influences for peace, and from 52 onwards the breach between Pompeius and Caesar began to widen.

During Caesar's long absence from Rome his opponents, with Cato at their head, were waiting their chance to impeach him for numerous acts in his province, as soon as he appeared in Rome for the consular elections. He would then be merely a private citizen, and as such amenable to prosecution. Now Caesar's proconsulship of Gaul was to terminate on March 1, 49, and the consular elections would take place at the earliest in the following summer. There would therefore be an interval between the two offices, and Caesar would be exposed to the utmost peril, if he gave up province and army on March 1, 49. Caesar had long foreseen this. When the law was passed in 55, which added a fresh term of five years to his government, Pompeius seems to have inserted in it (doubtless in accordance with a previous promise to Caesar) a clause prohibiting the discussion of a successor before March 1, 50. Caesar therefore could not be superseded except by the consuls of 49, and these would not be able to succeed him (as proconsuls) till Jan. 1, 48. He would thus be able to retain his army and government throughout the year 49.

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CAUSES OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Caesar's canvass for the Consulship. As the law stood, he would have to come in person to Rome. But early in 62 a decree was promulgated, with the support of Pompeius, which relieved him from the necessity of canvassing in person. Caesar might now feel himself safe: he would retain both army and provinces throughout 49, and would not be forced to return to Rome until he was safe from prosecution as Consul.

Lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum. But this did not suit Caesar's enemies. Pompeius and the Senate combined to alter the whole legal machinery for appointing provincial governors. There was to be an interval of five years between a consulship and a **pro**-consulship, which would prevent Caesar, even if he were duly elected Consul in 49, from obtaining a fresh provincial governorship until five years from the end of 48. When the bill became law (as it did in 51) there would be an interval of some years before any consuls would be qualified under it for provinces: and to fill up the governorships during the interval, the Senate was authorised to appoint any person of consular rank who had not as yet proceeded to a proconsulship. Thus Caesar's resignation both of his army and his province could be demanded on **March 1, 49.**

50 B.C. Caesar's overtures for peace. Caesar let it be known to the Senate through Curio that he was willing to resign his army and provinces if **Pompeius** would simultaneously do the same: and the Senate voted a resolution in this sense by a majority of 370 to 22. The presiding Consul, Gaius Marcellus, broke up the meeting in anger, and with the two Consuls elected for 49 (Claudius Marcellus and **Lentulus** Crus) requested Pompeius to put himself at the head of the two legions stationed at Capua and to call the Italian militia to arms.

Caesar had completely attained the object of devolving the initiative of Civil War on his opponents. He had, while himself keeping on legal ground, compelled Pompeius to declare war, and to declare it not as the representative of the legitimate authority, but as general of a revolutionary minority of the Senate, which overawed the majority.--Adapted from *Long, Mommsen, and Warde Fowler.*

CIVIL WAR, 49-45 B.C. (1)

Caesar crosses the Rubicon, 49 B.C.

- 1 Fonte cadit modico parvisque impellitur undis
Puniceus Rubicon cum fervida canduit aestas,
Perque imas serpit valles et Gallica certus
Limes ab Ausoniis disternit arva colonis.
- 5 Tunc vires praebebat hiemps atque auxerat undas
Tertia iam gravido pluvialis Cynthia cornu
Et madidis Euri resolutae flatibus Alpes.
Primus in obliquum sonipes opponitur amnem
Excepturns aquas ; molli tum cetera rumpit
- 10 Turba vado faciles iam fracti fluminis undas.
Caesar, ut adversam superato gurgite ripam
Attingit Hesperiae vetitis et constitit arvis,
'Hic' ait 'hic pacem temerataque iura relinquo ;
Te, Fortuna, sequor ; procul hinc iam foedera sunt.
- 15 Credidimus fatis, utendum est iudice bello.'
Sic fatus noctis tenebris rapit agmina ductor
Impiger ; it torto Balearis verbere fundae
Ociore et missa Parthi post terga sagitta
Vicinumque minax invadit Ariminum, et ignes
- 20 Solis lucifero fugiebant astra relicto.
Iamque dies primos belli visura tumultus
Exoritur ; seu sponte deum, seu turbidus Auster
Impulerat, maestam tenuerunt nubila lucem.

LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, i. 213-235.

Context. On Lentulus Crus and Claudius Marcellus, the Consuls for 49 B.C., must rest the immediate blame of the Civil War. On Jan. 1st Caesar's tribune Curio once more presented proposals from Caesar, which startled us by their marvellous moderation (cf. Suet. Caesar, 29, 30), but Lentulus would not allow them to be considered. On Jan. 7th the *Senatus consultum ultimum* was decreed, and a state of war declared. Caesar crossed the Rubicon, the narrow brook which separated his province from Italy, to pass which at the head of an army was high treason to the State.-W. F.

- 2 **puniceus** = dark red : **Rubicon**, as if from *ruber*.
- 4 **limes**, i.e. until the time of Augustus, by whom Italy was extended to the R. Varus, the boundary between Gallia Narbonensis and Italy.
- 6 I.e. prob. the third night after the change of moon ; **gravido** = *surcharged with rain*.—Haskins.
- 7 **Alpes** = *mountains*, not the Alps.
- 13 **temerata**, i.e. by Pompeius and the senatorial party.
- 17 **verbere** = the *thong*, i.e. of the sling (**fundae**).
- 19 **Ariminum** (Rimini), at this period the frontier town of Italy.

The **Passage of the Rubicon**. 'When after nine years' absence he trod once more the soil of his native land, he trod at the same time the path of revolution. Ales iacta est.-M.

CIVIL WAR, 49-45 B.C. (2)

Caesar defends himself before the Senate, April 49 B.C.

- 1 His rebus confectis Caesar, ut reliquum tempus a labore intermitteretur, milites in proxima municipia deducit; ipse ad urbem proficiscitur. Coacto senatu iniurias inimicorum commemorat. Docet se nullum
 5 extraordinarium honorem appetisse, sed exspectato legitimo tempore consulatus eo fuisse contentum, quod omnibus civibus pateret. Latum ab x tribunis plebis contradicentibus inimicis, Catone vero acerrime repugnante et pristina consuetudine dicendi mora
 10 dies extrahente, ut sui ratio absentis haberetur, ipso, consule Pompeio; qui si improbasset, cur ferri passus esset? qui si improbasset, cur se uti populi beneficio prohibuisset? Patientiam proponit suam, cum de exercitibus dimittendis ultro postulavisset;
 15 in quo iacturam dignitatis atque honoris ipse facturus esset. Acerbitatem inimicorum docet, qui, quod ab altero postularent, in se recusarent atque omnia permisceri mallent, quam imperium exercitusque dimittere. Iniuriam in eripiendis legionibus prae-
 20 dicat, crudelitatem et insolentiam in circumscribendis tribunis plebis; condiciones a se latas, expetita colloquia et denegata commemorat. Pro quibus rebus hortatur ac postulat, ut rem publicam suscipiant atque una secum administrent. CAESAR, *de B. C.* i. 32.

context. After his passage of the Rubicon, Caesar quickly made himself master of Italy. Town after town opened its gates to him. Corfinium (held in force by Domitius for Pompeius) surrendered, and the captured troops enlisted in his ranks. An attempt to blockade Pompeius in Brundisium was skilfully foiled. On the last day of March Caesar arrived at Rome. The Senate was legally summoned by the tribunes. Antonius and Cassius, and was invited to unite with him in carrying on the government.

- 2 municipia, i.e. Brundisium, Tarentum, Hydruntum (Otranto).
 10 ut sui . . . haberetur, i.e. allowing him to stand for the consulship in his absence.
 15 iacturam dignitatis = sacrifice of prestige.-Long.
 19 eripiendis legionibus, i.e. in 50 B.C. Caesar was required to send home a legion he had borrowed of Pompeius, and contribute another himself, ostensibly for the Parthian War; but the legions were detained by Pompeius in Italy, and the Parthian War was quietly dropped.
 Caesar in Rome." All Caesar's acts after the crossing of the Rubicon were entirely unconstitutional. But when he told the senators that he was prepared to take the government, on himself, he was justified to himself by the past, and to posterity by the result.-W. F.

*The Campaign round Lerida : the Soldiers
fraternise, 49 B.C.*

- 1 Dixit et ad montes tendentem praevenit hostem.
Illic exiguo paulum distantia vallo
Castra locant. Postquam spatio languentia nullo
Mutua conspicuos habuerunt lumina voltus,
- 5 Et fratres natosque suos videre, patresque;
Depreſsum eſt civile nefas. Tenuere parumper
Ora metu, tantum nutu motoque ſalutant
Enſe ſuos ; mox ut ſtimulis maioribus ardens
Rupit amor leges, audet transcendere vallum
- 10 Miles, in amplexus effuſas tendere palmas.
Hoſpitis ille ciet nomen, vocat ille propinquum,
Admonet hunc ſtudiis conſors puerilibus aetas ;
Nec Romanus erat, qui non agnoverat hoſtem.
- 15 Pax erat, et miles caſtris permixtus utriſque
Errabat ; duro concordēs caespitē menſas
Inſtituunt et permixto libamina Baccho ;
Graminei luxere foci, iunctoque cubili
Extrahit inſomnes bellorum fabula noctes,
Quo primum ſteterint campo, qua lancea dextrum
- 20 Exierit. Dum quae geſſerunt fortia iactant,
Et dum multa negant, quod ſolum fata petebant,
Eſt miſeris renovata fides, atque omne futurum
Crevit amore nefas. LUCAN, iv. 167-179, 196-205.

Context. On leaving Rome Caesar set out for Spain to encounter the veteran army of Pompeius under his legati Afranius and Petreius. If this were crushed, he felt he would be free to take the offensive against Pompeius in the East. Round Lerida (*Ilerda*), on the R. Segres (a tributary of the Ebro) he fought the most brilliant campaign of all his military life. After severe losses and hardships, Caesar outmanœuvred the Pompeians, cut them off from their base on the Ebro, and forced a surrender on most generous terms.

- 1 **Dixit**, sc. Caesar. **ad montes**, i.e. the rocky hills through which the retreating Pompeians had to pass before they could reach the Ebro valley. Caesar, by a wonderful march, outstrips (**praevenit**) them and blocks the way.
- 3 **spatio** (se. *interposito*) **languentia nullo** = *not failing (languentia) owing to the distance*, i.e. they were so near they could not fail to recognise one another.—Haskins.
- 7 **metu**, i.e. of their leaders.
- 9 **Rupit leges** = *burst the bonds of discipline*.—H.
- 12 **Admonet** . . . **aetas** = *one is reminded of his friend by the time passed together in boyhood's pursuits*.—H.
- 18 **Extrahit** = *whiles away*.

Result of the Campaign. The whole of the western half of the Empire was now in Caesar's power, with the single exception of Massilia.

Siege of Massilia. A Treacherous Sortie, 49 B.C.

- A. 1 *Iam satis hoc Graiae memorandum contigit urbi*
Aeternumque decus, quod non impulsâ, nec ipso
Strata metu tenuit flagrantis in omnia belli
Praecipitem cursum, raptisque a Caesare cunctis
 5 *Vincitur una mora. Quantum est quod fata tenentur,*
Quodque virum toti properans imponere mundo
Hos perdit fortuna dies ! LUCAN, iii. 388-394.

- B. At *hostes sine fide tempus atque occasionem*
fraudis ac doli quaerunt ; interiectisque aliquot
 10 *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 contextaque
 15 *vento ignem operibus inferunt. Hunc sic distulit*
ventus, uti uno tempore agger, plutei, testudo, turris,
tormenta flammam conciperent, et prius haec omnia
consumerentur, quam quem ad modum accidisset
animadverti posset. Nostri repentina fortuna per-
 20 *moti arma, quae possunt, arripiunt ; alii ex castris*
sese incitant. Fit in hostes impetus eorum, sed
muro sagittis tormentisque fugientes persequi pro-
hibentur. Illi sub murum se recipiunt, ibique
 25 *musculum turrinque latericiam libere incendunt.*
Ita multorum mensium labor hostium perfidia et vi
tempestatis puncto temporis interiit.

CAESAR, de *Bello Civili*, ii. 14.

context. Caesar's appeal to the leading citizens to espouse his cause was at first successful, but the arrival of Domitius (whom he had treated so generously at Corfinium) with a fleet caused the Massiliots to change their mind. Unable to remain himself, Caesar entrusted the siege to Trebonius, supported by Dec. Brutus with the fleet. He has, however, left us a detailed account of their skill and energy, and of the heroic defence of the citizens, **marred by a treacherous sortie under a truce.** He returned to receive its final submission, and left the city unharmed! as a tribute 'rather to its ancient, renown than to any claim it had on himself.'

- A. 2 *non impulsâ* = *not urged by others*, i.e. by Pompeius and his adherents. But cf. Caesar, de *B. C.* i. 34.
 4 *raptis* = *speedily won*.—H.
 B. 13 **contexta** : i.e. the shield kept in a leather casing.
 16 **plutei** = *screens* or *mantlets* of hurdles covered with raw hides.
 17 **tormenta** (*torqu + mentum*) = *artillery*, engines for throwing missiles by twisted ropes ; e.g. the *ballista*, *catapulta*.
 24 **musculum** = *sapping-shed*. **turrim latericiam** = *brick tower*.
 25 **multorum mensium**, i.e. from May to August 49 B.C.

‘ *No thing in his life
Became him like the leaving it.* ’

- 1 Quid nunc rostra tibi prosunt turbata forumque
Unde tribunicia plebei signifer arce
Arma dabas populis ? Quid prodita iura senatus
Et gener atque socer bello concurrere iussi ?
5 Ante iaces quam dira duces Pharsalia confert,
Spectandumque tibi bellum civile negatum est.
Libycas en nobile corpus
Pascit aves nullo contactus Curio busto.
At tibi nos, quando non proderit ista silere
10 A quibus omne aevi senium sua fama repellit,
Digna damus, iuvenis, merita praeconia vitae.
Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti.
Perdita nunc urbi nocuerunt saecula, postquam
16 Ambitus et luxus et opum metuenda facultas
Trensverso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt ;
Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum
Gallorum captus spoliis et Caesaris auro.
, Ius licet in iugulos nostros sibi fecerit ense
20 Sulla potens Mariusque ferox et Cinna cruentus
Caesareaeque domus series ; cui tanta potestas
Concessa est ? Emere omnes, hic vendidit urbem.

LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, iv. 799-804, 809-end.

Context. In 49 B.C. curio was sent by Caesar to wrest the corn-province of Africa from the Pompeians. He won a signal success over Varus (allied with Juba) at Utica, but allowed himself to be surprised on the plain of the Bagradas, and, when all was lost, died sword in hand.

- 2 **tribunicia arce** = *from the citadel of the tribune*, i.e. the inviolability of the office and the right of veto. As tribune Curio played an all-important part in the crisis of 50 B.C.
3 **prodita iura senatus**, i.e. of the right of the senators to appoint governors of the provinces.—Haskins.
4 **gener atque socer** : by the early death of Julia (54 B.C.)—a beloved wife and daughter—the personal relation between Pompeius and Caesar was broken up.
10 **senium** (*senex*) = *decay* (of lapse of time).
11 **digna . . . vitae** = *such a panegyric (praeconia) as thy life deserves*.—H.
13-16 As tribune Curio for a time played the part of an independent republican, till his talent induced Caesar to buy him up.
17 **momentum** (= *movi + mentum*) **rerum** = *that which turned the scale of history*.—H.
22 **vendidit** : perh. referred to by Verg. *Aen.* vi. 621-2 :
*Vendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem
Imposuit ; fixit leges pretio atque refixit.*

CIVIL WAR, 49-45 B.C. (6)

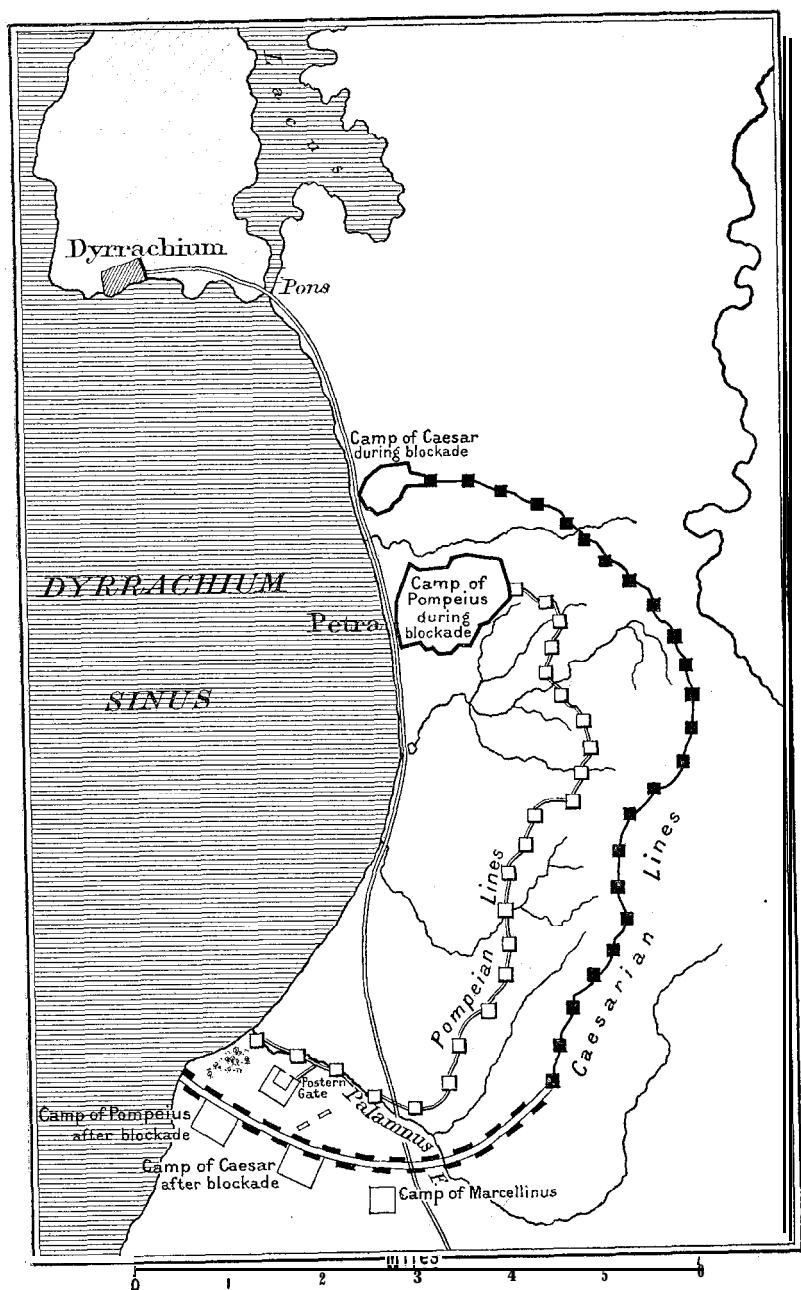
Dyrrachium. Caesar's line of circumvallation, 48 B.C.

- 1 Erat nova et inusitata belli ratio cum tot castellorum numero tantoque spatio et tantis munitionibus et toto obsidionis genere, turn etiam reliquis rebus. Nam quicumque alterum obsidere conati sunt, per-
- 5 culsos atque infirmos hostes adorti aut proelio superatos aut aliqua offensione permotos continuerunt, cum ipsi numero equitum militumque praestarent ; causa autem obsidionis haec fere esse consuevit, ut frumento hostes prohiberent. At tum integras
- 10 atque incolumes copias Caesar inferiore militum numero continebat, cum illi omnium rerum copia abundarent ; cotidie enim magnus undique navium numerus conveniebat, quae commeatum supportarent, neque ullus flare ventus poterat, quin aliqua ex parte
- 15 secundum cursum haberent. Ipse autem consumptis omnibus longe lateque frumentis summis erat in angustiis. Sed tamen haec singulari patientia milites ferebant. Recordabantur enim eadem se superiore anno in Hispania perpressos labore et patientia
- 20 maximum bellum confecisse, meminerant ad Alesiam magnam se inopiam perpressos, multo etiam maiorem ad Avaricum maximarum se gentium victores discessisse. CAESAR, de *B. C.* iii. 47.

Context. In Jan. (48 B.C.) Caesar set sail from Brundisium and landed safely in Epirus. After a junction with Antonius, who followed him from Brundisium with reinforcements, Caesar established himself close to Dyrrachium (Durazzo), the key of the whole military situation. Pompeius refused to fight, and encamped on a hill close to the sea at Petra, a short distance S. of Dyrrachium, where his fleets could bring him supplies. Caesar now determined to hem him in by a line of circumvallation.

- 2 **tanto spatio:** eventually the whole circuit of circumvallation covered at the least 16 miles : to this was afterwards added, just as before Alesia, an outer line of defence,
- 6 **aut aliqua offensione permotos** = *or demoralised* by some other mishap (**offensio**, lit. *stumbling*, and so failure).
- 12-15 Pompeius still had undisputed command of the sea.

Caesar's lines broken. Pompeius was informed by Celtic deserters that Caesar had not yet secured by a cross wall the beach between his two chains" of entrenchment on his left (200 yards apart), leaving it possible to land troops from the sea into the unprotected space. Troops were landed by night : Caesar's outer line of defence was carried, and his lines broken through. 'Like Wellington at Burgos in 1812, Caesar failed from want of a sufficient force. In each case the only safe course was a retreat: in each case the retreat was conducted with admirable skill.'- W. F.



DYRRACHIUM.

[To face p. 216.

The Eve of Pharsalus. Dream of Pompeius.

- 1 At nox, felicitis Magno pars ultima vitae,
Sollicitos vana decepit imagine somnos.
Nam Pompeiani visus sibi sede theatri
Innumeram effigiem Romanae cernere plebis,
5 Attollique suum laetis ad sidera nomen
Vocibus, et plausu cuneos certare sonantes.
Qualis erat populi facies clamorque faventis,
Olim cum iuvenis primique aetate triumph
Post domitas gentes quas torrens ambit Hiberus,
10 Et quaecumque fugax Sertorius impulit arma,
Vespere pacato, pura venerabilis aequae
Quam currus ornante toga, plaudente senatu,
Sedit adhuc Romanus eques : seu fine bonorum
Anxia venturis ad tempora laeta refugit,
15 Sive per ambages solitas contraria visis
Vaticinata quies magni tulit omina planctus,
Seu vetito patrias ultra tibi cernere sedes
Sic Romam fortuna dedit. Ne rumpite somnos.
Castrorum vigiles, nullas tuba verberet aures.
20 Crastina dira quies et imagine maesta diurna
Undique funestas acies feret undique bellum.
Unde pares somnos populi noctemque beatam ?
O felix, si te vel sic tua Roma videret.

LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, vii. 7-29.

- 3 **Pompeiani theatri**. Pompeius built the first stone theatre at Rome, near the Campus Martius, capable of holding 40,000 people.
- 4 **Innumeram . . . plebis** = *the image of the countless Roman people*. **innumeram** which belongs to **plebis** is transferred to **effigiem**.—Haskins.
- 8 **Olim . . . triumph**, i.e. over Africa 79 B.C. when only 24, and **adhuc Romanus eques** (l. 13). It was not until 71 B.C. that he triumphed over Spain, after the murder of Sertorius. Lucan confuses the two triumphs.
- 10 **impulit** = *set in motion* (lit. drive forward).
- 11-12 **pura venerabilis . . . toga** = *no less worshipful in pure white gown than* (he would have been) *in that which usually adorns the car of triumph*, i.e. the *toga picta*.—H.
- 14 **anxia** (so. pies) = *his repose full of anxiety for the future*.—H.
- 15-16 **solitas . . . vaticinata** = *foretelling the opposite of his visions* i.e. by the **plausus** of which he dreamed, the **planctus** which was in store for him was foreshadowed.—H.
- 19 **nullas** = *at all*. Cf. Cic. Ep. : *nullus venit* = *he never came*.
- 20 **Crastina . . . diurna** = *to-morrow's night of horror haunted by the sad image of the day's events*.—H.
- 24 sic, i.e. in dreams.

The Dream of Pompeius. Macaulay says 'I hardly know an instance of so great an effect produced by means so simple.'

Pompeius i&advised at *Pharsalus*, 48 B.C.

- 1 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 eius
5 distrahi paterentur ; idque admonitu C. Triarii
fecisse dicebatur, ut primus excursus visque militum
infringeretur aciesque distenderetur atque in suis
ordinibus dispositi dispersos adorirentur ; leviusque
casura pila sperabat in loco retentis militibus, quam
10 si ipsi immissis telis occurrissent, simul fore, ut
duplicato cursu Caesaris milites exanimarentur et
lassitudine conficerentur. Quod nobis quidem nulla
ratione factum a Pompeio videtur, propterea quod
est quaedam animi incitatio atque alacritas natura-
15 liter innata omnibus, quae studio pugnae incenditur.
Hanc non reprimere, sed augere imperatores debent ;
neque frustra antiquitus institutum est, ut signa
undique concinerent clamoremque universi tollerent :
quibus rebus et hostes terri et suos incitari existi-
20 maverunt.

CAESAR, de *Bello Civili*, iii. 92.

Context. Caesar made for Aqallonia, where he left his wounded, and then marched S.E. into Thessaly, where he joined Domitius Calvinus. (He had been sent with two legions E. into Macedonia, to stop reinforcements for Pompeius under Scipio, Pompeius father-in-law.) Pompeius followed Caesar, and encamped on the slope of a hill facing Caesar's position near Pharsalus. Here he offered battle, his better judgment, overruled by the clamorous Senators in his camp.

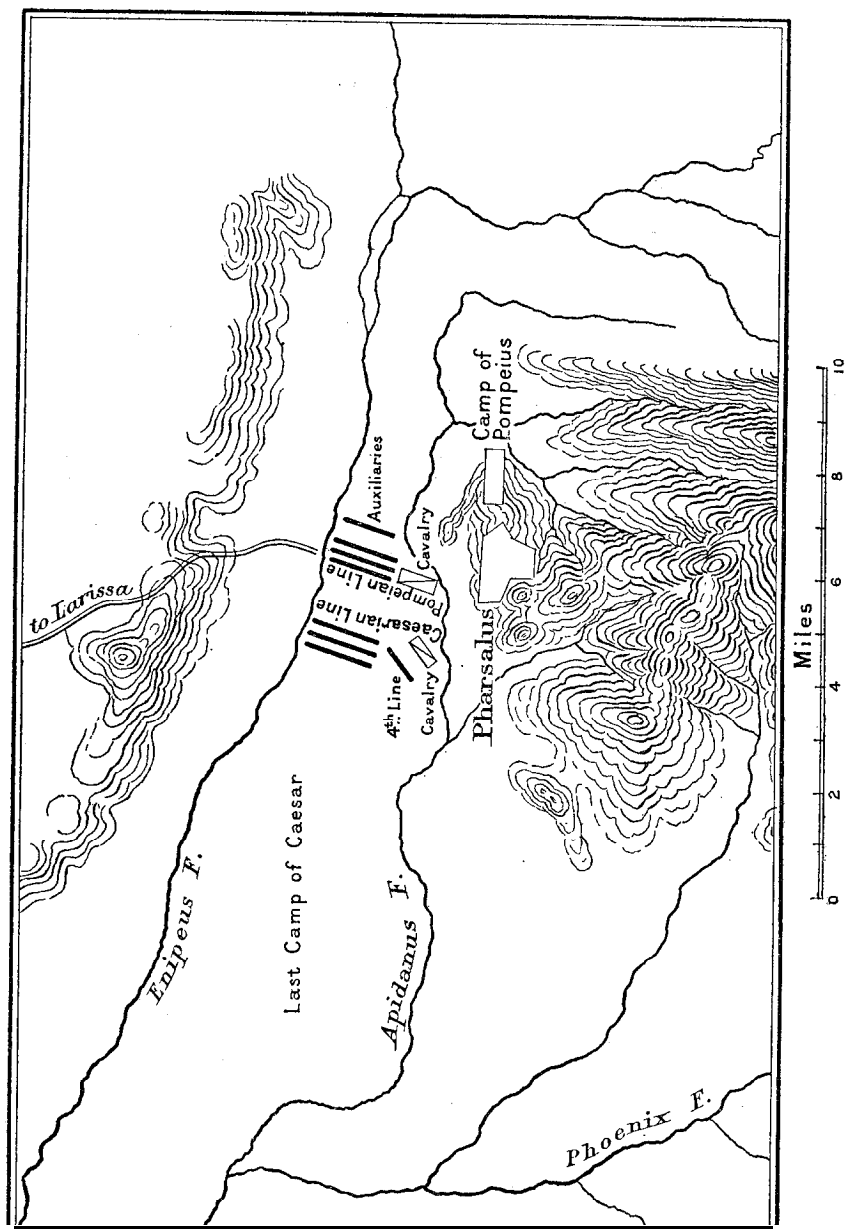
- 4-5 **aciem** . . . **paterentur** = so as to allow their (advancing) line to become *disorganised* (*distrahi*), by the force of its onset.

- 7 in **suis** . . . **dispositi** = *by maintaining their proper distances*.

Scene of the Fight. The battle was fought near the town of *Pharsalus*, while the territory of the town was named *Pharsalia*. Cf. Catull, lxiv. 37 :

Pharsalum coeunt, Pharsalia late frequentant.

The Battle. Pompeius had 47,000 infantry and 7000 cavalry against Caesar's 22,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry. Pompeius, stationed his cavalry and archers on his left, and confidently expected to outflank his enemy's right. But Caesar, foreseeing the defeat of his cavalry, had stationed behind it in reserve 2000 of his best legionaries. When Caesar's cavalry fell back outnumbered, this reserve ran forward at the charge, not discharging their *pila*, but using them as spears, and driving them against man and horse. Taken aback by so unusual an infantry attack, the Pompeian cavalry wavered and fled. Caesar's third line (forming a rear-guard) was now sent forward to support the two front lines, and this decided the battle.—**Result.** Submission of the East to Caesar.



A. Pharsalus and Cannae compared.

- 1 Non aetas haec carpsit edax monumentaque rerum
Putria destituit : crimen civile videmus
Tot vacuas urbes. Generis quo turba redacta est
Humani? Toto populi qui nascimur orbe
5 Nec muros implere viris nec possumus agros ;
Urbs nos una capit. Vincito fossore coluntur
Hesperiae segetes, stat tectis putris avitis
In nullos ruitura domus, nulloque frequentem
Cive suo Roman?, sed mundi faece repletam
10 Cladis eo dedimus, ne tanto in tempore bellum
Iam posset civile geri. Pharsalia tanti
Causa mali. Cedant feralia nomina Cannae
Et damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis.
Tempora signavit leviorum Roma malorum :
15 Hunc voluit nescire diem.

LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, vii. 397-411.

B. The Battlefields of Pharsalus and Philippi.

- Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi ;
Nec fuit indignum superis, bis sanguine nostro
Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.
20 Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila,
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,
24 Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

VERGIL, *Georg.* i. 489-497.

- A. 1-2 **monimenta**que . . . **destituit** = *and has abandoned to decay the monuments of the past.*—Haskins.
6 **vincito fossore** = by a chained digger (delver), in consequence of the dearth of free labour, Cf. Juv. xi. 80 *squalidus in magna . . . compede fossor*.
8 **in nullos ruitura** = *ready to fall, but on the heads of none.*—H.
9 **faece** = dregs. Cf. Juv. iii. 60, 61 *Non possum ferre Quirites Graecana urbem* (a Greek Rome); *quamvis* (and yet) *quota portio* (how small a fraction) *faecis Achaei?*
10-11 **ne tanto . . . geri** = *lit. so that during the long time since, it is impossible to wage civil war, i.e. from the dearth of genuine Roman soldiers.*
13 **Allia**: 390 B.C. Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, vii. 717 *quosque secans infaustum interluit Allia nomen*.
15 **nescire** = *to ignore*.
16 **Ergo** = *therefore*, in fulfilment of the terrible warnings at the death of Caesar.
17 **iterum**, i.e. at Philippi 42 B.C. ; the first time at Pharsalus.

CIVIL WAR, 49-45 B.C. (10)

How Pompeius died, 48 B.C.

- 1 Pompeius, deposit⁰ adeundae Syriae consilio, et
aeris magno pondere ad militarem usum in naves
imposito, duobusque milibus hominum armatis,
Pelusium pervenit. Ibi casu rex erat Ptolemaeus,
5 puer aetate, magnis copiis cum sorore Cleopatra
bellum gerens, quam paucis ante mensibus per suos
propinquos atque amicos regno expulerat ; castraque
Cleopatrae non longo spatio ab eius castris distabant.
Ad eum Pompeius misit, ut pro hospitio atque amicitia
10 patris Alexandria reciperetur atque illius opibus in
calamitate tegeretur. Sed, qui ab eo missi erant,
confecto legationis officio, liberius cum militibus
regis colloqui coeperunt eosque hortari, ut suum
officium Pompeo praestarent, neve eius fortunam
15 despicerent. His tunc cognitis rebus amici regis,
qui propter aetatem eius in procuratione erant regni,
sive timore adducti, ne Pompeius Alexandriam
Aegyptumque occuparet, sive despecta eius fortuna,
iis, qui erant ab eo missi, palam liberaliter respon-
20 derunt eumque ad regem venire iusserunt : ipsi,
clam consilio inito, Achillan, praefectum regium,
singulari hominem audacia, et L. Septimium,
tribunum militum, ad interficiendum Pompeium
miserunt. Ab his liberaliter ipse appellatus navi-
25 culam parvulam conscendit cum paucis suis, et ibi
ab Achilla et Septimio interficitur.

CAESAR, de *Bello Civili*, iii. 103, 104 (sel.)

Context. After the battle of Pharsalus, Pompeius, closely pursued by Caesar, had thoughts of going to Parthia and trying to form alliances there. While in Cyprus he heard that Antioch (in Syria) had declared for Caesar and that the route to the Parthians was no longer open. So he altered his plan and sailed to Egypt, where a number of his old soldiers served in the Egyptian army.

- 4 **Pelusium**, on the E. side of the easternmost mouth of the Nile.
5 **cum sorore Cleopatra.** By his father's will, Ptolemy ruled jointly with his sister for three years, 51-48 B.C., when he expelled her. Cleopatra raised an army in Syria and invaded Egypt. The two armies were encamped opposite each other when Pompeius landed to seek the help of Ptolemy.
15 **amici regis**, e.g. Achilles, 1. 21, and espec. Ptolemy's guardian Pothinus, the de *facto* ruler of Egypt.
'On the same day (28 Sept.) on which he had triumphed over Mithridates (61 B.C.) Pompeius died on the desert sands of the inhospitable Casian shore by the hands of one of his old soldiers (Septimius).'-M.

B WARS, ENDING IN REVOLUTION, 133-44 B.C. 221

60

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, 106-48 B.C. (11)

Cato's Eulogy on Pompeius.

- 1 'Civis obit,' inquit, 'multum maioribus impar
Nosse modum iuris sed in hoc tamen utilis aevo,
Cui non ulla fuit iusti reverentia ; salva
Libertate potens, et solus plebe parata
- 5 Privatus servire sibi, rectorque senatus,
Sed regnantis, erat. Nil belli iure poposcit,
Quaque dari voluit, voluit sibi posse negari.
Immodicas possedit opes, sed plura retentis
Intulit : invasit ferrum, sed ponere norat ;
- 10 Praetulit arma togae, sed pacem armatus amavit ;
Iuvit sumpta ducem, iuvit dimissa potestas.
Casta domus luxuque carens corruptaque numquam
Fortuna domini. Clarum et venerabile nomen
Gentibus, et multum nostrae quod proderat urbi.

* * * * *

- 16 O felix, cui summa dies fuit obvia victo,
Et cui quaerendos Pharium scelus obtulit enses !
Forsitan in soceri potuisses vivere regno.
Scire mori sors prima viris sed proxima cogi.'
Vocibus his maior, quam si Romana sonarent
- 20 Rostra ducis laudes, generosam venit ad umbram
Mortis honos. LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, ix. 190-217.

- 1-2 **multum . . . iuris** = *far inferior to our ancestors in recognising the due bounds of power.*—Haskins.
- 4 **solus** (*sc. ex proceribus*) . . . **servire sibi** = *alone (of the chief men of the State) acting the private citizen when the populace were ready to be his slaves, i.e. acting unlike Sulla or Caesar.*—H.
- 6 **sed regnantis.** 'Pompeius came forward as the duly installed general of the Senate against the Imperator of the street, once more to save his country.'—M.
- 9 **Intulit**, *se. in aerarium.* Cf. Shaksp. *Jul. C. III. ii.* (Mark Antony of Caesar) 'He hath brought many captives home to Rome Whose ransoms did the general coffers fill.' 'Caesar devoted the proceeds of the confiscations (the property of defeated opponents) entirely to the benefit of the State.'—M.
- 16 **cui summa dies . . . victo** = *whom the day of death met when he was vanquished*, i.e. without his having to seek it himself.—H.
- 16 **Pharium** = *Egyptian*, *lit. of Pharos* (= Faro), an island near Alexandria, famous for its lighthouse.
- 18 One of Lucan's famous *sententiae* (γνώμαι, *maxims*).
Pompeius. 'Even in his own age he would have had a clearly defined and respectable position, had he contented himself with being the general of the Senate, for which he was from the outset destined.'—M.

The Grave of Pompeius. His Roll of Fame.

- 1 Tunc ne levis aura resectos
 Auferret cineres, saxo compressit harenam :
 Nautaque ne bustum religato fune moveret,
 Inscrispit sacrum semiusto stipite nomen :
 5 **HIC SITUS EST MAGNUS.** . . .
 Quod si tam sacro dignaris nomine saxum,
 Adde actus tantos monimentaue maxima rerum,
 Adde truces Lepidi motus Alpinaue bella
 Armaue Sertori revocato consule victa,
 10 Et currus quos egit eques, commercia tuta
 Gentibus et pavidos Cilicas maris : adde subactam
 Barbariem gentesque vagas et quidquid in Euro
 Regnorum Boreaue iacet. Dic semper ab armis
 Civilem repetisse togam, ter curribus actis
 15 Contentum patriae multos donasse triumphos.
 Quis capit haec tumulus? Surgit miserabile bustum
 Non ullis plenum titulis, non ordine tanto
 Pastorum, solitumque legi super alta deorum
 Culmina et exstructos spoliis hostilibus arcus
 20 Haud procul est ima Pompei nomen harena,
 Depressum tumulo, quod non legat advena rectus,
 Quod nisi monstratum Romanus transeat hospes.
 LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, viii. 789-793, 806-822.

subject. Cordus, whom Lucan calls *infaustus Magni comes* (or according to Plutarch Philippus the faithful freedman of Pompeius), finds the cast-up body of Pompeius and gives it honourable burial.

- 5 **HIC SITUS EST** = *ἐνθάδε κεῖται*, the regular inscription on a tombstone.
 8 truces Lepidi motus. Cf. page 178, last note on page.
 9 revocato **consule**, i.e. Metellus. Cf. page 180, A., 1. 12.
 11 pavidos **Cilicas maris** = the *Cilicians* scared from the sea.—Jebb. *Pompeius effecit ut piratae timerent maria quibus ipsi ante grassabantur* (= they sailed at will).—Schol.
 13-14 **dic semper** . . . **togam**, e.g. after his triumph over Spain 71 B.C., and over Mithridates and the East in 61 B.C.
 14-15 **ter curribus** . . . **triumphos** =, (tell how) *content with thrice driving the (triumphal) car he made a present to his fatherland of many triumphs*, i.e. he did not claim them when he might have done so.
 17-18 **Non ordine tanto Pastorum** = *storied with no majestic annals*.—Jebb.
 19 **arcus** = *triumphal arches*, orig. temporary structures of wood, but under the Empire built of marble, e.g. of Septimius Severus.
 21 **Depressum** . . . **rectus** = *sunk low upon a tomb, which the stranger cannot read without stooping (rectus)*.—Haskins.

B WARS, ENDING IN REVOLUTION, 133-44 B.C. 223

62

CIVIL WAR, 49-45 B.C. (13)

Atrox Animus Catonis, 46 B.C.

- 1 Complures interim ex fuga Uticam perveniunt. Quos omnes Cato convocatos una cum trecentis, qui pecuniam Scipioni ad bellum faciendum contulerant, hortatur, ut servitia manumitterent, oppidumque
5 defenderent. Quorum cum partem assentire, partem animum mentemque perterritam atque in fugam destinam habere intellexisset, amplius de ea re agere destitit, navesque eis attribuit, ut in quas quisque partes vellet proficisceretur. Ipse, omnibus
10 rebus diligentissime constitutis, liberis suis L. Caesari, qui turn ei pro quaestore fuerat, commendatis et sine suspicione, vultu atque sermone, quo superiore tempore usus fuerat, cum dormitum isset, ferrum intro clam in cubiculum tulit, atque ita se traiecit.
15 Qui cum anima nondum exspirata concidisset, et, impetu facto in cubiculum ex suspicione, medicus familiaresque continere atque vulnus obligare coepissent, ipse suis manibus vulnus crudelissime divellit, atque animo praesenti se interemit.

ASINIUS POLLIO, de *B. Africo*, 88.

context. After Pharsalus and the flight of Pompeius, we finally part company with Caesar as an author. The *Bellum Alexandrinum* (Caesar's perils in Egypt and his settlement of the East 48-47 B.C.), the *B. Africum* (Thapsus 46 B.C.), the *B. Hispaniense* (Munda 45 B.C.), are the work of eye-witnesses and officers of his army. After a delay of fifteen precious months Caesar landed in Africa (Jan. 46), and by investing Thapsus tempted Scipio (Pompeius' father-in-law) to try to save the city by a battle. His troops were quickly arranged as at Pharsalus, and by a single impetuous charge won a complete victory. The slaughter was terrible: the survivors fled to Utica, where Cato in vain tried to organise a defence and to restore order, and then in despair died by his own sword.

- 1 **Uticam**: second in importance to Carthage.
- 19 **animo praesenti** = *deliberately*.

After **Thapsus**. 'Caesar left Africa in June 46 B.C. and celebrated a magnificent triumph, not over Roman citizens, but over Gauls and Egyptians, Pharnaos and Juba. As Dictator he remained in Rome several months, in which more permanently valuable work was done than was ever achieved in the same space of time, unless it were by Cromwell in 1653-4. The senseless outbreak of the Pompeian party in Spain under Labienus and the two sons of Pompeius took him away from Rome: but the victory of Munda (45 B.C.) closed the civil strife. Caesar returned to Rome in September, and six months more of life was all that was left to him.'-W. F.

Cato Uticensis, 46 B.C.

- A. 1 Hic genitus proavo M. Catone, principe illo
familiae Porciae, homo Virtuti similimus et per
omnia ingenio diis quam hominibus propior, qui
nunquam recte fecit, ut facere videretur, sed quia
5 aliter facere non potuerat, cuique id solum visum
est rationem habere, quod haberet iustitiae, omnibus
humanis vitiis immunis semper fortunam in sua
potestate habuit. VELL. PATERC. ii. 35.

- B. Ut primum tolli feralia viderat arma,
10 Intonsos rigidam in frontem descendere canos
Passus erat maestamque genis increscere barbam :
Uni quippe vacat studiis odiisque carenti
Humanum lugere genus . . .

- Hi mores, haec duri immota Catonis
15 Secta fuit, servare modum finemque tenere
Naturamque sequi patriaeque impendere vitam
Nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo.
Huic epulae, vicisse famem ; magnique penates,
Summovisse hiemem tecto ; pretiosaque vestis,
20 Hirtam membra super Romani more Quiritis
Induxisse togam . . .
Iustitiae cultor, rigidi servator honesti,
In commune bonus : nullosque Catonis in actus
24 Subrepsit partemque tulit sibi nata voluptas.

LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, ii. 374-391 (sel.)

- A. 1 M. Catone, the famous Censor of 184 B.C. **principe** = *founder*.
B. 12 **uni** (sc. *Catoni*), as the only true representative of the wise
man of the Stoics.-Haskins.

- 15 **secta** (sc. win. lit. a *beaten wcy*) here = *disciplina* = *principles*.
15-17 **servare modum** . . . **mundo**. These expressions are Stoic
maxims. Lucan (the nephew of Seneca) depicts the Stoic
idea of virtue in the character of Cato.

- 16-17 **patriaeque** . . . **mundo**. Cato's aim is **patriae impendere
vitam**. His devotion to the service of humanity is com-
plete ; it is his part **toti genitum se credere mundo**. But
this humanity includes Rome in the first place, the rest of
the world in a quite secondary sense.-H.

- 20-21 **hirtam togam** = a *coarse* (lit. *hairy*) toga.

- 22 **honesti** = τοῦ καλοῦ. Cicero defines **honestum** as *aut ipsa
virtus, aut res gesta virtute*.

Cato Uticensis. 'He was like Caesar alone in this, that he
had clear political convictions and acted on them not only
with consistency but with justice and humanity. It is "his
vain faith and courage" that alone lights up the dark hours of
the falling Commonwealth ;—

Victrix causa deis placuit, sed viota Catoni.'—W. F.

B WARS, ENDING IN REVOLUTION, 133-44 B.C. 225

64

GAIUS IULIUS CAESAR. (5)

Caesar dines with Cicero, Dec. 19, 45 B.C.

- 1 0 hospitem mihi tam gravem ἀμεταμέλητον ! fuit enim periucunde. Sed cum secundis Saturnalibus ad Philippum vesperi venisset, villa ita completa militibus est, ut vix triclinium, ubi cenaturus in-
5 Caesar esset; vacaret ; quippe hominum c10 c10. Sane sum commotus, quid futurum esset postridie ; at mihi Barba Cassius subvenit : custodes dedit. Castra in agro, villa defensa est. Ille tertiis Saturnalibus apud Philippum ad h. vii, nec quemquam
10 admisit : rationes opinor cum Balbo. Inde ambulavit in litore ; post h. viii in balneum; unctus est, accubuit. Et edit et bibit ἀδεῶς et iucunde, opipare sane et apparate, nec id solum, sed

- bene cocto,
- 15 *condito, sermone bono et, si quaerī, libenter.*
Praeterea tribus tricliniis accepti οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν valde copiose. Libertis minus lautis servisque nihil defuit : nam lautiores eleganter accepti. Quid multa? homines visi sumus. Hospes tamen non is, cui diceret :
20 ' amabo te, eodem ad me, cum revertere ' : semel satis est. Σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν in sermone, φιλόλογα multa. Quid quaeris? delectatus est et libenter fuit. Puteolis se aiebat unum diem fore, alterum ad Baias. Habes hospitium sive ἐπισταθμεῖαν, odiosam mihi,
25 dixi, non molestam. CICERO, *Ep.* ad Att. xiii. 52.

Subject. We here catch a glimpse of Caesar as he really was. He had spent a night near Puteoli (where Cicero also had a villa) with Philippus, the step-father of Oocavianus. The Dictator proposed a visit, and Cicero in this memorable letter describes to Atticus what happened.

- 1 0 hospitem . . . ἀμεταμέλητον ! = *Oh, what a formidable guest to have had, and yet I have had no reason to repent of it (ἀμεταμέλητον).*
- 10 **rationes** (sc. *conferebat*) . . . **Balbo** = *he was settling accounts with Balbus, I suppose.* L. Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades (Cadiz), was Caesar's confidential secretary and faithful friend. He was the first enfranchised foreigner who attained to the highest magistracy (Consul 40 B.C.).
- 14-15 ' Though the cook was good,
'Twas Attic salt (**sermone bono**) that flavoured most the food.'
- Jeans.
- 18-19 **homines visi sumus** = *I showed myself a man of taste, i.e. as host.*
- 21 Σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν = *lit. nothing serious, i.e. nothing political.*
φιλόλογα = *literary chat.*
- 24-25 ἐπισταθμεῖαν = *billeting, as Caesar's offer to dine with Cicero was equivalent to a command.* **odiosam** . . . **molestam** = *unwelcome, though not disagreeable.*

GAIUS IULIUS CAESAR. (6)

The Death of Caesar, 44 B.C.

- 1 Assidentem conspirati specie officii circum-
steterunt ; ilicoque Cimber Tillius, qui primas partes
susceperat, quasi aliquid rogaturus propius accessit,
renuenteque et gestu in aliud tempus differenti ab
5 utroque umero togam apprehendit ; deinde claman-
tern : *Ista quidem vis* est, alter e Cascis aversum
vulnerat, paulum infra iugulum. Caesar Cascae
brachium arreptum graphio traiecit, conatusque
prosilire alio vulnere tardatus est ; utque animadvertit
10 undique se strictis pugionibus peti, toga caput
obvolvitur, simul sinistra manu sinum ad ima crura
deduxit, quo honestius caderet etiam inferiore
corporis parte velata. Atque ita tribus et viginti
plagis confossus est, uno modo ad primum ictum
15 gemitu sine voce edito ; etsi tradiderunt quidam
Marco Bruto irruenti dixisse: Καὶ σὺ τέκνον ;
Exanimis, diffugientibus cunctis, aliquamdiu iacuit,
donec lecticae impositum, dependente brachio, tres
servoli domum rettulerunt. Nec in tot vulneribus,
20 ut Antistius medicus existimabat, letale ullum
reperitum est, nisi quod secundo loco in pectore
acceperat.

SÜETONIUS, *Divus Iulius*, 82.

context. After his return from Spain (Sept. 45 B.C.), Caesar was busy with the reconstruction of the Senate, the completion of his vast buildings in Rome, and with other far-reaching projects. But during these months the clouds of ill-will were gathering and threatening him on every side. A conspiracy was formed, of which C. Cassius, 'a lean and hungry man,' of a bitter and jealous disposition, seems to have been the real instigator. He persuaded Brutus, a student of life chiefly in books, that liberty could only be gained by murder, and at last it was resolved that the deed should be done on the Ides (15th) of March.

8 **graphio** (γραφίον = *scriptorium*) = a writing-style.

12 **quo honestius caderet**, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* ii. 833 (of Lucretia) :

Tunc quoque iam moriens ne non procumbat honeste

Respicit, haec etiam cura cadentis erat.

16 Καὶ σὺ τέκνον ; there seems to be no authority for attributing the words *El tu Brute ?* to Caesar. Shakespeare found them in an earlier play.

The Murder of Caesar. It is the most brutal and the most pathetic scene that profane history has to record ; it was, as Goethe has said, the most senseless deed that ever was done. It was wholly useless, for it did not and could not save Rome from monarchy. The deed was done by a handful of men, who, pursuing a phantom liberty and following the lead of a personal hatred, slew the one man who saw the truth of things.—W. F.

B WARS, ENDING IN REVOLUTION, 133-44 B.C. 227

66

GAIUS IULIUS CAESAR. (7)

' *There may be many Caesars*
Ere such another Julius.'-Cymbeline.

- A. 1 Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, litterae,
cura, cogitatio, diligentia ; res bello gesserat quamvis
rei publicae calamitosas, at tamen magnas ; multos
annos regnare meditatus magno labore multis
5 periculis quod cogitarat effecerat ; muneribus, monu-
mentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem imperitam
delenierat : suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae
specie devinxerat. CICERO, *Philippica*, ii. 45.
- B. Sed non in Caesare tantum
10 Nomen erat nec fama ducis, sed nescia virtus
Stare loco, solusque pudor non vincere bello.
Acer et indomitus, quo spes quoque ira vocasset,
Ferre manum et numquam temerando parcere ferro.
Successus urgere suos, instare favori
16 Numinis, impellens quidquid sibi summa petenti
Obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruina.
LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, i. 143-150.
Apotheosis of Caesar.
- C. Perit sexto et quinquagesimo aetatis anno atque
in deorum numerum relatus est, non ore modo decer-
nentium sed et persuasione volgi. Si quidem ludis,
20 quos primos consecrato ei heres Augustus edebat,
stella crinita per septem continuos diesfulsit, exoriens
circa undecimam horam, creditumque est animam esse
Caesaris in caelum redepti ; et hac de causa simu-
lacro eius in vertice additur stella. SUET. *Div. Iul.* 88.
- A. 4 **regnare meditatus.** For Caesar monarchy meant the liberation
of the Empire.
5-6 **muneribus** (sc. **gladiatoriiis**) = *gladiatorial shows*. **monu-**
mentis = *public buildings*, e.g. his forum, amphitheatrs,
Temple of Venus Genetrix, and other public works begun
(e.g. the *Curia Iulia*) and planned. **congiariis** (sc. do&s),
orig. a gift of wine (a congius = about 6 pints), then = wine-
money (Ger. *Trinkgeld*), and so of any largess.
7-8 **clementiae specie.** Cic. himself refutes this ungrateful taunt
in his *pro Marcello*: *Recte igitur unus invictus est, a quo*
etiam ipsius victoriae condicio visque devicta est.
- B.9-10 **tantum nomen** = *not a mere name alone*, in contrast to
Pompeius :-*Stat magni nominis umbra.*— Ha&ins.
13 **temerando parcere ferro** = *shrink from dyeing his sword*
(in blood).-H.
- C. 21 **stella crinita** (= κομήτης) ; cf. Verg. Georg. iv. 466-S :
Ille (= the sun) *etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romanum*
Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine (= gloom) texit,
Impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem. Q 2

'FACTA DUCIS VIVENT, OPEROSAQUE GLORIA RERUM.'—
OVID.

'THE HERO'S DEEDS AND HARD-WON FAME SHALL LIVE.'

Caesar was the sole creative genius produced by Rome, and the last produced by the ancient world, which accordingly moved on in the path that he marked out for it until its sun went down.

Whatever he undertook and achieved was pervaded and guided by the cool sobriety which constitutes the most marked peculiarity of his genius. To this he owed the power of living energetically in the present, undisturbed either by recollection or by expectation : to this he owed the capacity of acting at any moment with collected vigour, and of applying his whole genius even to the smallest and most incidental enterprise. Gifts such as these could not fail to produce a statesman.

Caesar as a statesman.—From early youth Caesar was a statesman in the deepest sense of the term, and his aim was the political, military, intellectual, and moral regeneration of his own deeply decayed nation, and of the still more deeply decayed Hellenic nation intimately akin to his own. According to his original plan, he had proposed to reach his object, like Pericles and Gaius Gracchus, without force of arms, until, reluctantly convinced of the necessity for a military support, he, when already forty years of age, put himself at the head of an army.

His talent for organisation was marvellous.—No statesman has ever compelled alliances, no general has ever collected an army out of unyielding and refractory elements with such decision, and kept them together with such firmness, as Caesar displayed in constraining and upholding his coalitions, and his legions ; never did regent judge his instruments and assign each to the place appropriate for him with so accurate an eye.

He was monarch ; but he never played the king.—'I am no king, but Caesar.' Even when absolute lord of Rome, he retained the deportment of the party-leader ; perfectly pliant and smooth ; easy and charming in conversation, complaisant towards.

(everyone, it seemed as if he wished to be nothing but the first among his peers.

Caesar ruled as king of Rome for five years and a half, not half as long as Alexander : in the intervals of seven great campaigns, which allowed him to stay not more than fifteen months altogether in the capital of his empire, he regulated the destinies of the world for the present and the future. The outlines were laid down, and thereby the new State was defined for all coming time : the boundless future alone could complete the structure. But precisely because the building was an endless one, the master so long as he lived restlessly added stone to stone, with always the same dexterity and always the same elasticity busy at work. Thus he worked and created as never did any man 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 withal unique Imperator Caesar.

MOMMSEN.

CICERO AND ANTONIUS.

A. *Peroration of the Second Philippic*, 44 B.C.

- 1 Respice, quaeso, aliquando rem publicam, M.
 Antoni : quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas con-
 sidera : mecum, uti voles : redi cum re publica in
 gratiam. Sed de te tu videris : ego de me ipso
 5 profitebor. Defendi rem publicam adulescens, non
 deseram senex : contempsi Catilinae gladios, non
 pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter
 obtulerim, si repraesentari morte mea libertas civi-
 tatis potest : ut aliquando dolor populi Romani
 10 pariat, quod iam diu parturit. Etenim si abhinc
 annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi posse
 mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius
 nunc negabo seni? Mihi vero, patres conscripti,
 iam etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus eis
 15 quas adeptus sum quasque gessi. Duo modo haec
 opto : unum, ut moriens populum Romanum liberum
 relinquam— hoc mihi maius ab dis immortalibus
 dari nihil potest,—alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat ut de
 re publica quisque mereatur. CICERO; *Phil.* ii. 46.

B. *On the Murder of Cicero, by order of Antonius.*

- 20 Par scelus admisit Phariis Antonius armis :
 Abscidit voltus ensis uterque sacros.
 Illud, laurigeros ageres cum laeta triumphos,
 23 Hoc tibi, Roma, caput, cum loquereris, erat.
 Antoni tamen est peior quam causa Pothini :
 Hic facinus domino praestitit, ille sibi.

MARTIAL, *Epig.* III. lxvi.

- A. 2 **quibus ortus sis**: espec. his grandfather M. Antonius, the
 famous orator, whom Cicero held in great esteem.
 5 **adulescens**, i.e. in 63 B.C., when he was in his 44th year.
 8 **repraesentari** = *be realised, won now and here.*—Jebb.
 11 **templo**, i.e. *Concordiae*. Cic. refers to *In Catil.* iv.
 The Peroration. 'Such a passage speaks to us with a living
 impression of unity and directness which we acknowledge
 without question. We admire and ask for nothing more.'—
 Nettleship.
- B. 20 **Par Phariis armis** = **which matches** (*that committed by*) *the*
armed hand of an Egyptian, i.e. Pothinus (the guardian of
 the young king) who planned the murder of Pompeius, when
 he fled to Egypt 48 B.C.
sacros: *consecrated to Rome from their public services.*
 22-23 **Illud caput** = Pompeius. **hoc caput** = Cicero. Cf. *Epig.* v.
 lxix: *Quid gladium demens Romana stringis in ora?*
 25 **domino**, sc. Ptolemaeus, King of Egypt, jointly with Cleopatra.

B WARS, ENDING IN REVOLUTION, 133-44 B.C. 231

68

CICERO.

A. *Cicero as Orator and Poet.*

- 1 Eloquium ac famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
Incipit optare et totis Quinquatribus optat
Quisquis adhuc uno parcam colit asse Minervam,
Quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.
5 Eloquio sed uterque perit orator, utrumque
Largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
Ingenio manus est et cervix caesa, nec umquam
Sanguine causicidi maduerunt rostra pusilli.
'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam':
10 Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
Omnia dixisset. Ridenda poemata malo
Quam te, conspicuae divina Philippica famae,
Volveris a prima quae proxima.

JUVENAL, *Satires*, x. 114-126.

B. *Cicero as Advocate.*

- Disertissime Romuli nepotum,
16 Quot sunt quotque fuere, Marce Tulli,
Quotque post aliis erunt in annis,
Gratias tibi maximas Catullus
Agit pessimus omnium poeta,
Tanto pessimus omnium poeta
20 Quanto tu optimus omnium patronus.

CATULLUS, xlix.

- A. 1-4 Boys at school long to be a Demosthenes or a Cicero.
- 2 **totis Quinquatribus**, i.e. during all the five days of the Quinquatria, an annual feast of Minerva. March 19-23: it was always a holiday time at schools, and the school year began at the close of it.
- 3 **parcam Minervam** = a cheap kind of learning, and **uno asse** = an entrance fee of one as. But Duff says **as** here = **stips**, i.e. the boy's contribution to the goddess of wisdom, who can make him wise, and **parcam** (= economical), transferred from **asse** to **Minervam**.
- 4 **vernula** = a little home-born slave, **capsa** a circular box of beech-wood, used for the transport of books.
- 8 **causicidi pusilli** = of a petty pleader, as opposed to orator.
- 9 From Cicero's *oratio de suo consulatu*. Another line quoted in the 2nd Philippic is *Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi*.
- 11 **Ridenda poemata malo**, i.e. they are better as being safer. Juvenal himself refutes this argument:
*Summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.*
- B. 15 **Marce Tulli**: the formal address suits the formal expression of thanks to a *patronus* (= advocate).
- 18 **pessimus omnium poeta**: the self-depreciation heightens the praise of the last line.-Merrill.

CICERO.

His Death, by order of Antonius, 43 B.C.

1 M. Cicero sub adventum triumvirorum urbe
 cesserat pro certo habens id quod erat, non magis se
 Antonio eripi quam Caesari Cassium et Brutum
 posse: primo in Tusculanum fugerat, inde trans-
 5 versis itineribus in Formianum ut ab Caieta navem
 consensurus proficiscitur. Unde aliquoties in altum
 provectum cum modo venti adversi retulissent, modo
 ipse iactationem navis caeco volvente fluctu pati
 non posset, taedium tandem eum et fugae et vitae
 10 cepit, regressusque ad superiorem villam, quae paulo
 plus milie passibus a mari abest, 'moriar,' inquit,
 'in patria saepe servata.' Satis constat servos
 fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad dimicandum ;
 ipsum deponi lecticam et quietos pati quod sors
 15 iniqua cogeret iussisse. Prominenti ex lectica prae-
 bentique immotam cervicem caput praecisum est.
 Nec satis stolidae crudelitati militum fuit : manus
 quoque scripsisse aliquid in Antonium exprobrantes
 praeciderunt. Ita relatum caput ad Antonium ius-
 20 suque eius inter duas manus in rostris positum, ubi
 ille consul, ubi saepe consularis, ubi eo ipso anno
 adversus Antonium quanta nulla umquam humana
 vox cum admiratione eloquentiae auditus fuerat :
 vix attollentes prae lacrimis oculos homines intueri
 25 trucidati membra civis poterant. Vixit tres et sexa-
 ginta annos, ut si vis afuisset, ne immatura quidem
 mors videri possit. LIVY, *Fr. ap. Sen. Rh. Suas.* vii.

1 **triumvirorum**, SC. Antonius, Octavianns, and Lepidus. These
 three allies (about the end of Oct. 43 B.C.) held their famous
 meeting on an island in the R. Rhenus (a tributary of the
 Padus) near Bononia (Rologna), at which they constituted
 themselves a commission of three with absolute powers for
 five years. This was followed by a proscription of their
 principal opponents, of whom seventeen, including Cicero
 (sacrificed to Antonius), were at once put to death.

4 in **Tusculanum**, i.e. to 'his villa at Tusculum, richly adorned
 with pictures and statues.

A in **Formianum**, i.e. to his villa at Formiae, on the Appian Way,
 in the innermost corner of the beautiful Gulf of Caieta (Gaëta).
 Near this villa Cicero was murdered.

The Death of Cicero. Cicero's work was over, and the
 tragedy of his death was the natural outcome of his splendid
 failure. The restoration of the Commonwealth of the Scipios
 was but a dream ; still it was a beautiful dream, and Cicero
 gave his life for it.—Tyrrell.

In Praise of Cicero.

- A. 1 Nihil tamen egisti, M. Antoni, nihil, inquam,
egisti mercedem caelestissimi oris et clarissimi
capitis abscisi numerando, auctoramentoque funebri
ad conservatoris quondam rei publicae tantique con-
5 sulis irritando *necem*. Rapuisti tum Ciceroni lucem
sollicitam et aetatem senilem et vitam miseriorem
te principe quam sub te triumviro mortem, famam
vero gloriamque factorum atque dictorum adeo non
abstulisti, ut auxeris. Vivit vivetque per omnem
10 saeculorum memoriam, dumque hoc vel forte vel
providentia vel utcumque constitutum rerum naturae
corpus, quod ille paene solus Romanorum animo vidit,
ingenio complexus est, eloquentia illuminavit, mane-
bit incolume, comitem aevi sui laudem Ciceronis
15 trahet omnisque posteritas illius in te scripta mira-
bitur, tuum in eum factum execrabitur citiusque e
mundo genus hominum quam Ciceronis memoria
cedet.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii. 66.

- B. Ingenium et operibus et praemiis operum felix ;
20 ipse fortunae diu prosperae et in longo tenore felici-
tatis magnis interim ictus vulneribus, exilio, ruina
partium pro quibus steterat, filiae exitu tam tristi
tamque acerbo, omnium adversorum nihil ut viro
dignum erat tulit praeter mortem, quae vere aesti-
25 manti minus indigna videri potuit, quod a victore
inimico nil crudelius passurus erat quam quod
eiusdem fortunae compos victo fecisset. Si quis
tamen virtutibus vitia pensaret, vir magnus ac
memorabilis fuit, et in cuius laudes exsequendas
30 Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit. LIVY, *Fr. ap. Sen.*
3-4 **auatoramentoque funebri irritando** = *lit. and by stimulating*
(provoking) by a fatal reward (auctoramento) the death . . .
10-15 **dumque . . . trahet**, in reference to Cicero's philosophical
works, in which Cicero propounds no original scheme of
philosophy, claiming only that he renders the conclusions of
Greek thinkers accessible to his own countrymen.
B. 21-22 **ruina . . . steterat**, i.e. the restoration of the Commonwealth
of the Scipios.

Cicero. 'It happened many years after that Augustus once found one of his grandsons with a work of Cicero's in his hands. The boy was frightened, and hid the book under his gown ; but Caesar took it from him, and, standing there motionless, he read through a great part of the book; then he gave it back to the boy, and said "This was a great orator, my child; a great orator, and a man who loved his country well."'-Plutarch, Cicero, 49.

- 1 Si te forte iuvant Helles Athamantidos urbes,
 Nec desiderio, Tulle, movere meo,
 Tu licet aspicias caelum omne Atlanta gerentem,
 4 Sectaque Persea Phorcidos ora manu,
 Geryonis stabula et luctantum in pulvere signa
 Herculis Antaeique Hesperidumque choros,
 Tuque tuo Colchum propellas remige Phasim,
 8 Peliacaeque trabis totum iter ipse legas,
 Qua rudis Argoa natat inter saxa columba
 In faciem prorae pinus adacta novae,
 Et siqua Ortygii visenda est ora Caystri,
 12 Et quae septenas temperat unda vias ;
 Omnia Romanae cedent miracula terrae ;
 Natura hic posuit, quicquid ubique fuit.
 Armis apta magis tellus, quam commoda noxae :
 16 Famam, Roma, tuae non pudet historiae.
 Nam quantum ferro, tantum pietate potentes ,
 Stamus : victrices temperat illa manus.
 Hic Anio Tiburne fluis, Clitumnus ab Umbro
 20 Tramite, et aeternum Marcius umor opus,
 Albanus lacus et foliis Nemorensis abundans,
 Potaque Pollucis lymphæ salubris equo.
 Haec tibi, Tulle, parens, haec est pulcherrima sedes ;
 24 Hic tibi pro digna gente petendus honos ;
 Hic tibi ad eloquium cives, hic ampla nepotum
 Spes et venturae coniugis aptus amor.

PROPERTIUS, 111. (1V.) xxii. 5-26, 39-42.

Subject. Go where thou wilt, my Tullus, know that all the sights and marvels of all lands, from West to East, are outdone by those of thine own Italy. A truly famous land ! A land ever victorious, ever merciful ; full of fair lakes and streams. Here, Tullus, is thy true abode: here seek a life of honour and a home.

- 4 **Phorcidos ora** = the *head* of *Medusa*, the daughter of Phoreus.
 11 **Ortygii Caystri.** Ortygia, an old name for Ephesus, near the mouth of the R. Cayster : the haunt of *quails* (*Ortygia*, ὄρυξις).
 12 **temperat septenas vias** = *moderates its seven channels*, of the delta of the Nile.—Ramsay.
 15-18 Cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 853 *Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*
 15 **commoda noxae** = *disposed to harm*.—North Pinder.
 20 **Marcus umor**, i.e. the aqueduct of Q. Marcus Res : built 145 B.C.
 21 The Alban and Arician Lakes (**Nemorensis** = mod. *Nemi*) are close together.
 22 i.e. the well Iuturna in the Forum ('the well that springs by Vesta's fane') at which the Dioscuri washed their horses after their hot ride from Lake Regillus.
 25 **ad eloquium cives** = *citizens to hear and profit by your eloquence*.—N. P.

- 1 Haec est in gremio victos quae sola recepit
Humanumque genus communi nomine fovit
Matris, non dominae ritu : civesque vocavit
Quos domuit, nexuque pio longinqua revinxit.
- 5 Huius pacificis debemus moribus omnes
Quod veluti patriis regionibus utitur hospes :
Quod sedem mutare licet : quod cernere Thulen
Lusus, et horrendos quondam penetrare recessus :
Quod bibunt passim Rhodanum, potamus Orontem;
- 10 Quod cuncti gens una sumus. Nec terminus unquam
Romanae ditionis erit. Nam cetera regna
Luxuries vitiis odiisque superbia vertit.
Sic male sublimes fregit Spartanus Athenas
Atque idem Thebas cecidit. Sic Medus ademit
- 15 Assyrio, Medoque tulit moderamina Perses :
Subiecit Macedo Persen, cessurus et ipse
Romanis. Haec auguriis firmata Sibyllae,
Haec sacris animata Numae : huic fulmina vibrat
Iuppiter : hanc tota Tritonia Gorgone velat.
- 20 Arcanas huc Vesta faces, huc orgia Bacchus
Transtulit, et Phrygios genetrix turrita leones.
Huc defensurus morbos Epidaurius hospes
Reptavit placido tractu, vectumque per undas
Insula Paonium textit Tiberina draconem.

CLAUDIAN, *de Consulatu Stilichonis*, iii. 150-173.

- 4 nexuque . . . revinxit = *and has linked far places in a bond of love*.-Jebb.
- 7 Thulen : cf. Vergil's *ultima Thule*, of the northernmost island known, variously identified with the Shetlands, Iceland, or Norway.
- 9 Orontem : the largest river of Syria, whence Juvenal, iii. 62, uses it of the Syrian people—
Iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes.
- 10 Quod cuncti . . . sumus = *that the whole earth is one people.*
- 15 moderamina = *the reins of power ; lit. a means of managing.*
- 19 hanc tota . . . velat = *she it is above whom Pallas spreads the whole shadow of the aegis (tota Gorgone)*. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* viii. 435-S:
*Aegidaque horriferam, turbatae Palladis arma,
Certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant,
Connexosque angues ipsamque in pectore divae
Gorgona, desecto vertentem lumina collo.*
- 21 genetrix turrita, i.e. Cybele, the goddess of settled life.
- 22 Epidaurius hospes, i.e. Aesclepius (Aesculapius), who had a famous temple at Epidaurus (in Argolis), whence his worship was introduced into Rome to avert a pestilence 293 B.C.
- 23 reptavit placido tractu = *came gently gliding on his voyage*.-Jebb.-For *reptavit* cf. *repo*, ἔπω, and our *creep*.
- 24 Paonium draconem = *the serpent of the healer*. Cf. Παών.

- 1 Vis dicam, quae causa tuos, Romane, labores
 In tantum extulerit, quis gloria fotibus aucta
 Sic cluat, impositis ut mundum frenet habenis ?
 Discordes linguis populos et dissona cultu
 5 Regna volens sociare Deus, subiungier uni
 Imperio, quidquid tractabile moribus esset,
 Concordique iugo retinacula mollia ferre
 Constituit, quo corda hominum coniuncta teneret
 Religionis amor : nec enim fit copula Christo
 10 Digna, nisi implicitas societ mens unica gentes.
 Ius fecit commune pares et nomine eodem
 Nexuit et domitos fraterna in vincla redegit.
 Vivitur omnigenis in partibus, haud secus ac si
 Cives congenitos concludat moenibus unis
 15 Urbs patria atque omnes lare conciliemur avito.
 En ades omnipotens, concordibus influe terris :
 Iam mundus te, Christe, capit, quem congrege nexu
 Pax et Roma tenent : capita haec et culmina rerum
 Esse iubes, nec Roma tibi sine pace probatur :
 20 Et pax ut placeat, facit excellentia Romae,
 Quae motus varios simul et dicione coerct
 Et terrore premit.

PRUDENTIUS, *contra Symmachum*,
 ii. 583-640 (sel.).

subject. In a remarkable passage, Prudentius (circ. 400 A.D.) views the 'victorious empire of Rome as preparing the way for the coming of Christ. The triumphs of the Romans were not, he says, the gifts of false gods, grateful for sacrifices, but were designed by Providence to break down the barriers between the jarring nationalities of the world, and familiarise them with a common yoke, by way of disciplining them for a common Christianity. An "universal peace is struck through sea and land," and Law, Art, Commerce, and Marriage constitute the world one city and one family. Thus the way was paved for the coming of Christ by the unity of the empire and the civilisation of the in&dual subject.—North Pinder.

2 fotibus (cf. *fotum*, *foveo*) = *cherishings*, *supports*, post-classical.

3 sic **cluat** = is so **famed**, for *cluo* (ante and post-class.) of. κλέος.

8-9 quo (sc. *iugo*) . . . **amor**, i.e. hearts once knit together by a common yoke would best be held together by a common faith.-N. P.

12 **fraterna** in vincla = *in the bonds of brotherhood*, not those of slavery, as *domitos* would naturally suggest.

16 **concordibus** = *now they are in harmony and peace*, emphatic.

17 **capit** = *is fit to receive thee*.