

, THE GRACCHI.

1 Nam postquam Tiberius et C. Gracchus, quorum
maiores Punico atque aliis bellis multum rei publicae
addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem et paucorum
scelera patefacere coepere, nobilitas noxia atque
5 eo perculsa modo per socios et nomen Latinum,
interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis
a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam
ierat, et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos
eadem ingredientem Gaium, tribunum alterum,
10 alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M.
Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverat. Et sane Gracchis
cupidine victoriae haud satis moderatus animus fuit.
Sed bono vinci satius est quam malo more iniuriam
vincere. Igitur ea Victoria nobilitas ex lubricine sua
15 usa multos mortales ferro aut fuga exstinxit plusque
in reliquum sibi timoris quam potentiae addidit.
Quae res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit,
dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo et victos
19 acerbius ulcisci volunt. SALLUST, *Jugurtha*, 42.

i-3 **quorum maiores . . . addiderant**, e.g. their grandfather P. Scipio Africanus Maior, and their father Tib. Sempronius Gracchus (in Spain and Sardinia).

3-4 **paucorum scelera . . . coepere**. (i) Tib. Gracchus by his Agrarian Law tried to counteract the selfish land-grabbing of the ruling class (in excess of the 500 *iugera* limit of the Licinian Laws, 367 B.C.). (ii) C. Gracchus exposed the corrupt Senatorial Courts, transferred their judicial power to the Equites, and carried the Sempronian Law, 'one of the corner-stones of individual liberty.'

5 per socios . . . **Latinum**, by working on Roman jealousy against the Italians, for whom equality was claimed.

6 **spes societatis**, i.e. the hope of sharing with the nobility in office, and in provincial appointments.

10 **triumvirum c.**, d., one of the three Commissioners for establishing Colonies of Roman citizens on the *ager publicus*.

11 **Fulvio Flacco**, slain with C. Gracchus, 121 B.C.

17 **pessum dedit** = has destroyed. *pessum* (prob.) = *pedis + ver-sum* = towards the feet, to the around, cf. *pessum* ire.

The aim of the Gracchi. 'Their object was to reduce the excessive power of the nobility, and to make the sovereignty of the people, which had become merely nominal, a reality.'—Ihne.

Their political mistake. 'Their error consisted in the belief that such a change was possible by returning to the simple forms of the old Comitia. They overlooked the necessity of **remodelling the Roman people itself** by giving the popular assemblies a form which would in reality make them represent the people.'—Ihne.

B WARS, ENDING IN REVOLUTION, 133-44 B.C. 161

2

CICERO ON THE GRACCHI.

A. *On the Death of Tiberius Gracchus*, 133 B.C.

- 1 Nec plus Africanus, singularis et vir et imperator,
in excindenda Numantia rei publicae profuit quam
eodem tempore P. Nasica privatus, cum Ti. Grac-
chum interemit. *De Off.* i. 76.

B. *On the Lex Frumentaria of C. Gracchus*, 123 B.C.

- 6 Et quidem C. Gracchus, cum largitiones maxi-
mas fecisset et effudisset aerarium, verbis tamen
defendebat aerarium. Quid verba audiam, cum facta
videam? L. Piso ille Frugi semper contra legem
frumentariam dixerat. Is lege lata consularis ad
10 frumentum accipiendum venerat. Animum advertit
Gracchus in contione Pisonem stantem : quaerit
audiente populo Romano qui sibi constet, cum ea
lege frumentum petat, quam dissuaserit. 'Nolim'
15 sed si facias, partem petam.' Parumne declaravit vir
gravis et sapiens lege Sempronia patrimonium publi-
cum dissipari? Lege orationes Gracchi, patronum
18 aerari esse dices. *Tusc. Disput.* iii. 20, 18.

C. *On C. Gracchus as an Orator.*

- 19 Sed ecce in manibus vir et praestantissimo ingenio
et flagranti studio et doctus a puero, C. Gracchus.
Noli enim putare quemquam, Brute, pleniorum et
22 uberiorum ad dicendum fuisse. *Brutus*, 125.

A. 2 **Numantia**, destroyed by P. Scipio Africanus Minor Numan-
tinus, 133 B.C.

- 3 P. **Nasica**, a partisan leader of the Senate. **privatus** = not
in office. Cicero speaks very differently of the Gracchi when
it suits his purpose, e.g. in *de lege agraria*, ii. § 10, *duos*
(*Gracchos*) *clarissimos, ingeniosissimos, amantissimos plebei*
Ronzanae viros . . . quorum consiliis, sapientia, legibus
multas esse video partes constitutas.

B. 8 **L. Piso ille Frugi** = L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (the man of
worth), a convinced and honourable opponent of C. Gracchus.

- 8-9 **legem frumentariam**, by which corn was sold to Roman
citizens at about half the market price. 'One of the worst
measures ever proposed by a well-meaning statesman.'-Ihne.

12 **qui** = how, old abl. of *qui*.

- C. 20 **doctus a puero**. CORNELIAMATERGRACCHORUM (inscribed upon
her statue erected by the Roman people), the daughter of the
Conqueror of Zama, was mainly responsible for their training
and education; so Cic. *Brut.* 104 *Fuit Tib. Gracchus dili-*
gentia matris a puero doctus et Graecis literis eruditus.
'From her they had received that sensitive nature and that
sympathy with the weak and suffering, which animated their
political action.'-Ihne.

THE JUGURTHINE WAR, 111-106 B.C.

The Betrayal of Jugurtha, 106 B.C.

- 1 Postea, tempore et loco constituto, in colloquium
uti de pace veniretur, Rocchus Sullam modo, modo
Jugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere, idem
ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter laeti ac spei bonae
5 pleni esse. Sed nocte ea, quae proxima fuit ante
diem colloquio decretum, Maurus, adhibitis amicis
ac statim immutata voluntate remotis, dicitur secum
ipse multa agitavisse, voltu et oculis pariter atque
animo varius : quae scilicet tacente ipso occulta
10 pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam accersi
iubet et ex illius sententia Numidae insidias tendit.
Deinde ubi dies advenit et ei nuntiatum est Jugur-
tham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et
quaestore nostro quasi obviis honoris causa procedit
15 in tumultum facillimum visu insidiantibus. Eodem
Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti
dictum erat, accedit ; ac statim signo dato undique
simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obruncati,
Jugurtha Sullae vinctus traditur et ab eo ad Marium
20 deductus est, SALLUST, *Jugurtha*, 113.

- a **Bocchus**, King of Mauretania, and father-in-law of Jugurtha, coveted the West of Numidia, and was ready to accept it either from the Romans or from Jugurtha, as the price of his alliance.

Sullam, appointed Quaestor 107 B.C. by Marius, who superseded Metellus in the conduct of the Jugurthine War.

- 9 **quae scilicet** . . . **patefecisse**, i.e. the external signs of his irresolution, the calling and then dismissing his people (**adhibitis** . . . **remotis**, 11. 6, 7), and the changes of his countenance (**voltu** . . . **varius**, 11. 8, 9). **Scilicet** is here used with the Infinitive **patefecisse**, the verbal sense of the word (= *scire* + *licet*) being prominent.

- 10 **accersi** (= *arcessiri*), frequent in Sallust.

- 16 **necessarii** (*necesse*) = friends. Cf. ἀναγκαῖοι (ἀνάγκη).

- 19 **Jugurtha Sullae** . . . **traditur**. Sulla is said to have been so proud of this stratagem that he had the scene engraved upon a signet-ring, an act of vainglory which estranged Marius from him. (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 3.)

Jugurtha. 'Having resisted the whole power of the great Republic for six years, having kept his ground against the best generals of the time. against a Metellus, a Marius, and a Sulla, he was deluded by treacherous promises of peace and betrayed by his own ally and father-in-law.' Ihne.

B WARS, ENDING IN REVOLUTION, 133-44 B.C. 163

4 A. *Arpinum*—*Birthplace of Cicero and Marius.*

1 Hic novus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romae
Municipalis eques, galeatum ponit ubique
Praesidium attonitis et in omni monte laborat.
. Sed Roma parentem, .

5 Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.
Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro,
Nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem,
Si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra ;
10 Hic tamen et Cimbros et summa pericula rerum
Excipit et solus trepidantem protegit urbem.
JUVENAL, *Sat.* viii. 237-239, 243-250.

B. *From a poem by Cicero on his fellow- townsman
Marius.*

12 Hic Iovis altisoni subito pinnata satelles
Arboris e trunco serpentis saucia morsu
Surrigit ipsa feris transfigens unguibus anguem
Semianimum et varia graviter cervice micantem.

16 Hanc ubi praepetibus pennis lapsuque volantem
Conspexit Marius, divini numinis augur,
Paustaque signa suae laudis reditusque notavit,
Partibus intonuit caeli pater ipse sinistris :
20 Sic aquilae clarum firmavit Iuppiter omen.

A. 3 **in omni monte**, i.e. in every part of Rome, on each of the seven hills.

5 **patrem patriae**: under the Empire the title *pater patriae* became a formal one, always accorded to the new Emperor.

libera = *while yet free*, emphatic. The State was no longer free when Augustus received this title, 2 B.C.-Duff.

8 **frangebat vertice vitem** = *he had the vine-switch (rattan) broken on his head*, i.e. served as a common soldier.-D.

9 **dolabra** = half-hatchet for cutting stakes, and half-pi&axe for digging the fossa. For **dolabra**, cf. *Dolabella*.

10 **cimbros**, annihilated by Marius and Catulus near Vercellae, 101 B.C.

11 **Excipit** = *faced* (lit. is *ready to receive*) ; metaphor from field-sports.—D.

B. 12 **Iovis pinnata satelles**, i.e. the Eagle. Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 6: *εὔδει δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ* (= *σκήπτρῳ*) *Διὸς αἰερός*, and *sleeps on the staff of Zeus his eagle*.

14 **Surrigit** (= *surgit*) = *raises up* ; very rare in this sense. The *v.l.* **siibigit** (for *subigit*) = *carries aloft*.

Compare Plutarch's story of the eagle's nest, with seven young ones in it, which fell into the lap of Marius when a boy, predicting (so the diviners said) that Marius would be seven times Consul.

The Annihilation of the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae,
102 B.C.

- 1 Cimbri et Teutones ab extremis Germaniae profugi, cum terras eorum inundasset Oceanus, novas sedes toto orbe quaerebant, exclusique et Gallia et Hispania cum in Italiam demigrarent, . . 5 misere legatos in castra Silani, inde ad Senatum petentes ut populus Martius aliquid sibi terrae daret. Sed quas daret terras populus Romanus, agrariis legibus inter se dimicaturus? Repulsi igitur, quod nequiverant precibus, armis petere coeperunt. Sed 10 nec primum impetum barbarorum Silanus, nec secundum Mallius, nec tertium Caepio sustinere potuerunt : omnes fugati, exuti castris. Actum erat, nisi Marius illi saeculo contigisset. . . . Ille mira statim velocitate occupatis compendiis praevenit 15 hostem, prioresque Teutones sub ipsis Alpium radicibus adsecutus in loco quem Aquas Sextias vocant, proelio oppressit. Vallem fluviumque medium hostes tenebant, et nostris aquarum nulla erat copia. Con- & tone id egerit imperator an errorem in consilium 20 verterit, dubium ; certe necessitate acta virtus victoriae causa fuit. Nam flagitante aquam exercitu, ' Si viri estis ' inquit, ' en, illic habetis.' Itaque tanto ardore pugnatum est, ea caedes hostium fuit ut victor Romanus cruento flumine non plus aquae 25 biberit quam sanguinis barbarorum.

FLORUS, III. iii. 1-9 (sel.).

- 5 **Silani** = M. Junius Silanus, defeated by Cimbri. 109 B.C.
11 **Mallius—Caepio**, defeated by Cimbrians at Arausio, on the Rhone, 105 B.C.
Plutarch, *Lucullus* 27, says : ' The 6th Oct., on which day the battle was fought, was marked in the calendar as a black day, like the fatal day of the Allia, 390 B.C.'
12 Actum **erat**, sc. *de republica*.
14 **compendiis** = short ways; cf. OUR *compendium* = an *abridgement*.
16 **Aquas Sextias**, founded by Sextius Calvinus 122 B.C. = Aix, 18 miles N. of Marseilles.
-23 **caedes hostium**. 150,000 (Vell.) and 200,000 (Liv. Ep. lxviii.).
'By the great victories of Aquae Sextiae and of Vercellae (over the Cimbri, 101 B.C.), the movement of the German races southward was for the present stopped. Rome was saved, and the saviour of Rome was Marius, the champion of the people.'—Ihne.

Parallel Passages. Propert. IV. iii. 41-44 ; Livy Ep. lxviii.**References.** Plutarch, *Marius*, 15. Ihne, *Hist. Rome*, vol. v. pp. 98-105.

B WARS, ENDING IN REVOLUTION, 133-44 B.C. 165

6

MAHIUS, 157-86 B.C.

A. *His Plight from Sulla : Consul for the 7th time..*

- 1 Atque aliquis magno quaerens exempla timori,
 'Non alios,' inquit, 'motus turn fata parabant,
 Cum post Teutonicos victor Libycosque triumphos
 Exsul limosa Marius caput abdidit ulva.
 5 Stagna avidi texere soli laxaeque paludes
 Depositum, Fortuna, tuum : mox vincula ferri
 Exedere senem longusque in carcere paedor.
 Consul et eversa felix moriturus in urbe
 Poenas ante dabat scelerum. Mors ipsa refugit
 10 Saepe virum, frustra que hosti concessa potestas.
 Sanguinis invisi : primo qui caedis in ictu*
 Deriguit ferrumque manu torpente remisit ;
 Viderat immensum tenebroso in carcere lumen
 Terribilesque deos scelerum Mariumque futurum
 15 Audieratque pavens : 'Fas haec contingere non est
 Colla tibi : debet multas hic legibus aevi
 Ante suam mortes : vanum depone furorem.
 Si libet ulcisci deletae funera gentis,
 19 Hunc, Cimbri, servate senem.'

LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, ii. 67-85.

B. *Marius outlived his fame.*

- 20 Quid illo cive tulisset.
 Natura in terris, quid Roma beatius umquam,
 Si circumducto captivorum agmine et omni
 Bellorum pompa animam exhalasset opimam,
 24 Cum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru?

JUVENAL, *Bat.* x. 278-282.

- A. 1 **exempla timori** = *precedents to bear out his fears.*—Haskins.
 4 **Exsul.** 88-7 B.C. For details see Plut. *Marius*, caps. 38-40.
 6 **Fortuna**, i.e. the *evil* destiny of Rome, protecting him because
 the gods were angry with Rome. Cf. 16-17 *debet . . . mortes*.
 7 **in carcere**, i.e. at Minturnae, S.E. of Latium. There were
 extensive marshes in the neighbourhood.
 16 **paedor** = *filth*.
 16 **legibus aevi** = *the laws that govern time = fatis.*—H.
 B. *Marius outlived his powers and his reputation.*
 'Had he now died, he would have gone down to posterity
 as one of the greatest men of his people, as a second Romulus,
 or Camillus, unstained with any blood save that of foreign
 foes.'—Ihne.

Parallel Passages. Ov. *P. Ep.* iv. 3.45-48 ; Juv. x. 276-278..

References. Plut. *Marius*, caps. 38 end. Ihne, vol. iv,
 pp. 336-7, vol. v. pp. 111-12.

* Postgate, *actu*.

Cicero on Civil Strife.

- 1 Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dis-
 sensiones, non solum eas quas audistis, sed et has
 quas vosmetipsi meministis atque vidistis. L. Sulla
 P. Sulpicium oppressit : ex Urbe eiecit C. Marium,
 5 custodem huius urbis, multosque fortes viros partim
 eiecit ex civitate, partim interemit. Cn. Octavius
 consul armis ex Urbe collegam suum expulit : omnis
 hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine re-
 dundavit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario : turn
 10 vero, clarissimis viris interfectis, lumina civitatis
 exstincta sunt. Ultus est huius victoriae crudeli-
 tatem postea Sulla : ne dici quidem opus est, quanta
 deminutione civium et quanta calamitate reipublicae.
 . . . Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones, quae
 non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rempublicam
 15 pertinebant—non illi nullam esse rempublicam, sed
 in ea quae esset se esse principes, neque hanc urbem
 conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voluerunt—
 eius modi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiae,
 20 sed internecone civium diiudicatae sint.

CICERO, *In Cat.* iii. 10.

- 4 **P. Sulpicium**, distinguished orator, bought over by Marius.
 As Tribunes Plebis 88 B.C. carried the *Leges Sulpiciae*.
 6 **Cn. Octavius**, one of Sulla's chief supporters. Consul 87 B.C.
 Expelled his colleague Cinna. Murdered in his curule chair.
 9-11 **Superavit . . . exstincta sunt**, i.e. 87-6 B.C. The Reign of
 Terror. Marius Consul for the 7th time. Cf. Vell. Pat. ii. 22
 'Nihil illa Victoria fuisset crudelius, nisi mox Sullana esset
 secuta.'
 10 **lumina civitatis**, e.g. the Consuls Cn. Octavius and L. Merula ;
 Q. Catulus, the conqueror (with Marius) in the Cimbric War ;
 the orator M. Antonius ; the brothers L. and C. Caesar.
 11-13 The victims of the Sullan proscriptions. Cf. Vell. Pat. ii. 28
 'Primus ille (Sulla), et utinam ultimus, exemplum pro-
 scriptionis invenit.'

Parallel Passages. Horace, *Epodes* vii. and xvi. 1-14.

The Sullanian Proscriptions. Sulla was not like Marius swayed by feelings of revenge alone. His main object was the public good, which in his conviction was to be realised by a return to the older institutions of the republic. This he believed could be accomplished only by the utter annihilation of his opponents. The Proscriptions were not however intended to be an encouragement to indiscriminate murder, but rather a barrier against the rage of over-zealous partisans.

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8

Tribunate of M. Livius Drusus, 91 B.C.

- 1 Deinde interiectis paucis annis tribunatum iniit
M. Livius Drusus, vir nobilissimus, eloquentissimus,
sanetissimus, meliore in omnia ingenio animoque
quam fortuna usus. Qui cum senatui priscum
5 restituere cuperet decus et iudicia ab equitibus ad
eum transferre ordinem . . . in eis ipsis, quae pro
senatu moliebatur, senatum habuit adversarium non
intellegentem, si qua de plebis commodis ab eo
agerentur, veluti illiciendae multitudinis causa fieri,
10 ut minoribus perceptis maiora permetteret. Denique
ea fortuna Drusi fuit, ut malefacta collegarum
quamvis optime ab ipso cogitatis senatus probaret
magis. . . . Tum conversus Drusi animus, quando
bene incepta male cedebant, ad dandam civitatem
15 Italiae : quod cum moliens revertisset e foro, immensa
illa et incondita, quae eum semper comitabatur,
cinctus multitudine in area domus suae cultello
percussus, qui affixus lateri eius relictus est, intra
paucas horas decessit. Sed cum ultimum redderet
20 spiritum, intuens circumstantium maerentiumque
frequentiam, effudit vocem convenientissimam con-
scientiae suae : . . . ecquandone, inquit, propinqui
amicique, similem mei civem habebit res publica?
24 Hunc finem clarissimus iuvenis vitae habuit.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii. 13-14.

- 3-4 **Drusus.** 'Generous and free from all selfishness and mean-
ness, but without political experience, adroitness and know-
ledge of men, he aspired to a task which surpassed his
strength.'—Thma.

- 4-6 By the Sempronian Laws of C. Gracchus 123 B.C. *exclusive*
judicial rights had been given to the *Equites*, as a counter-
poise to the power of the Senate. The corruption of the
Equites (as Judges) was flagrant, and Drusus proposed to
transfer the judicial functions to a mixed body of 300 Senators
and 300 Knights, the selected Knights to be included in the
now attenuated ranks of the Senate.

- 14 **ad dandam civitatem Italiae.** The claims of the Italians to
the franchise were just and pressing, but the overbearing
pride and self-sufficiency of the Roman citizens proved too
strong.

Parallel Passages. Cic, de *Orafore* iii. 1, and *pro Cluent.*
56, 153. Florus, iii. 18.

Reference. Ihne, *Hist.*, vol. v. pp. 176-189.

'Drusus was the Mirabeau of the social revolution of Rome,
and had his measures been carried Rome might have been spared
the most terrible of her civil wars.'

THE SOCIAL OR MARSIC WAR, 91-88 B.C. (1)

A. Cause and Outbreak of the War at Asculum.

- 1 Cum ius civitatis, quam viribus auxerant, socii
iustissime postularent, quam in spem eos cupidine
dominationis Drusus erexerat, postquam ille do-
mestico scelere oppressus est, eadem fax, quae illum
5 cremavit, socios in arma et in expugnationem urbis
accendit. . . . Primum fuit belli consilium ut in
Albano monte festo die Latinarum Iulius Caesar et
Marcius Philippus consules inter sacra et aras im-
molarentur. Postquam id nefas proditione discussum
10 est, Asculo furor omnis erupit, in ipsa quidem lu-
dorum frequentia trucidatis qui turn aderant ab urbe
legatis. Hoc fuit impii belli sacramentum. Inde
iam passim ab omni parte Italiae duce et auctore
belli discursante Poppaedio diversa per populos et
15 urbes signa cecinere. FLORUS, III. xviii. 3-10 (sel.).

B. Advice of the Sabellian father to his sons.

- 16 'Vivite contenti casulis et collibus istis,
O pueri,' Marsus dicebat et Hernicus olim
Vestinusque senex, 'panem quaeramus aratro,
Qui satis est mensis: laudant hoc numina ruris,
20 Quorum ope et auxilio gratae post munus arietae
Contingunt homini veteris fastidia quercus.
Nil vetitum fecisse volet, quem non pudet alto
Per glaciem perone tegi, qui summovet Euros
Pellibus inversis; peregrina ignotaque nobis
25 Ad scelus atque nefas, quaecumque est, purpura ducit.'
JUVENAL, Sat. xiv. 179-188.

- A. 2 **iustissime.** 'The final issue of the war confirmed the justice
and the wisdom of the reforms planned by the Graeci and
by Livius Drusus.'-IHNE.
7 **Latinarum**, sc. *Feriarum*, the solemn festival conducted by the
Consuls on the Alban Mount.
10 **Asculo.** Asculum (Ascoli), chief town of Picenum. The open-
ing and closing scene of the war.
B. 16 **collibus istis**, i.e. in the central mountain range of Italy. The
Federals chose Corfinium (E. of Lake Fucinus) to be the
Italian rallying-point, and the seat of a new State.
17-18 **Marsus . . . Hernicus . . . Vestinus**, Sabellian peoples noted
for their bravery and simplicity; the backbone of Rome's
army.
19 **numina ruris**, e.g. Ceres, Liber and Priapus.
22-23 **alto perone** = a high rustic boot of raw hide.
24 **pellibus inversis** = skins with the hair turned inwards.-DUFF.

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THE SOCIAL OR MARSIC WAR, 91-88 B.C. (2)

A. Defeat and Death of Rutilius.

1 Hanc tibi, 'Quo properas,' memorant dixisse
'Rutili?'

Luce mea Marso consul ab hoste cades.'

Exitus accessit verbis, flumenque Toleni

4 Purpureum mixtis sanguine fluxit aquis.

OVID, *Fasti*, vi. 563-566.

B. The Lex Plautia Papiria of 89 B.C.

5 Data est civitas Silvani lege et Carbonis : si qui
foederatis civitatibus ascripti fuissent, si tum, cum
lex ferebatur, in Italia domicilium habuissent et si
sexaginta diebus apud praetorem essent professi.

CICERO, *pro Archia*, 4, 7.

C. Cicero's first and only Campaign.

Memini colloquia et cum acerrimis hostibus et

10 cum gravissime dissidentibus civibus. Cn. Pompeius,
consul me praesente, cum essem tiro in eius exercitu,
cum P. Vettio Scatone, duce Marsorum, inter bina
castracollocutusest. . . . Quem cum Scato salutasset,
'quem te appellem?' inquit : 'voluntate hospitem,
15 necessitate hostem.' Erat in colloquio aequitas :
nullus timor, nulla suberat suspicio ; mediocre etiam
odium. Non enim, ut eriperent nobis socii civitatem,
sed ut in eam reciperentur petebant.

CICERO, *Phil.* xii. 11, 27.

D. The battle near Asculum, and capture of the city.

19 Strabo vero Pompeius omnia flammis ferroque
populatus non prius finem caedium fecit quam Asculi
eversione manibus tot exercituum consulum direp-
22 tarumque urbium dis litaretur.

FLORUS, III. xviii. 14.

A. 1 **Hanc**, sc. *Leucothea*, goddess of the sea and of harbours.
Rutili, Rutilius, consul 90 B.C., defeated and slain at the R.
Tolenus (Turano) by the Marsian Vettius Seato.

B. 5 **lege**, i.e. the Lex Plautia Papiria of the tribunes M. Plautius
Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo. The Lex Julia of L. Julius
Caesar 90 B.C., granting the *civitas* to the Latins and to all
the other Italian States not in rebellion, had weakened the
resistance. The Lex Plautia Papiria 'scattered among the
Italian ranks the seeds of discord and dissolution.'

D. 20 **Asculi eversione**. The siege was memorable for the desperate
patriotism of the besieged under their leader Judacilins, cf.
siege of Saguntum.

Reference. Ihne, *Hist.* vol. V. pp. 190-220.

L. CORNELIUS SULLA, 138-78 B.C.

His Character and Bearing.

- 1 Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit, familia
prope iam exstincta maiorum ignavia, litteris Graecis
et Latinis iuxta atque doctissimi eruditus, animo
ingenti, cupidus voluptatum sed gloriae cupidior :
5 tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata ;
facundus callidus et amicitia facilis, ad simulanda
negotia altitudo ingeni incredibilis, multarum rerum
ac maxumae pecuniae largitor. Atque illi, felicissimo
omnium ante civilem victoriam, numquam super
10 industriam fortuna fuit, multique dubitavere fortior
an felicior esset. Nam postea quae fecerit, incertum
habeo pudeat an pig-eat magis disserere. Igitur
Sulla, uti supra dictum est, postquam in Africam
atque in castra Mari cum equitatu venit, rudis antea
15 et ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis
tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites benigne
appellare, multis rogantibus aliis per se ipse dare
beneficia, invitus accipere, sed ea properantius quam
aes mutuum reddere, ipse ab nullo repetere, magis
20 id laborare ut illi quam plurimi deberent, ioca atque
seria cum humillumis agere, in operibus in agmine
atque ad vigilias multus adesse neque interim, quod
prava ambitio solet, consulis aut cuiusquam boni
famam laedere, tantum modo neque consilio neque
25 manu priorem alium pati, plerosque antevenire.

SALLUST, *Jug.* 95, 96.

- 1 nobilis, i.e. of a patrician family which had held curule offices.
1-2 familia . . . exstincta. The Corneli were a distinguished
gens in early times and included 7 patrician families (e.g. the
Lentuli and Scipios). Of these the Sullae were the least
known.
2-3 litteris Graecis . . . eruditus. Contrast the proud boast of
Marius :—‘ I have learnt no Greek : in the knowledge, how-
ever, which is far the most important for the State, I am a
master.’ Sall. *Jug.* 85.
9 ante civilem victoriam, i.e. before 81 B.C.
10-11 fortior an felicior. Sulla assumed the name Felix on the death
of the younger Marius 82 B.C. Cf. Plut. *Sulla*, cap. vi.
11-12 Nam postea . . . disserere. Cf. Vell. Pat. II. xvii. 2:
‘ Sulla, vir qui neque ad finem victoriae satis laudari neque
post victoriam abunde vituperari potest.’
20 illi, more strictly *sibi*—‘ a negligence not unfrequent.’—Merivale.
22 multus adesse = frequently visited, multus = saepe.
For character of Sulla cf. Plut. *Sulla*, and Mommsen, iv.
pp. 139-142 : ‘ One of the most marvellous characters in history.’

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MITHRIDATES THE GREAT, 130-63 B.C.

A. *His Youth and Early Training.*

- 1 Huius futuram magnitudinem etiam caelestia ostenta praedixerant. Nam et eo, quo genitus est, anno, et eo, quo regnare primum coepit, stella cometes per utrumque tempus LXX diebus ita luxit, ut caelum
5 omne conflagrare videretur. Puer tutorum insidias passus est, qui eum fero equo impositum equitare iacularique cogeant : qui conatus cum eos fefellis-
sent, supra aetatem regente equum Mithridate, veneno eum appetivere. Veritus deinde, ne inimici, quod
10 veneno non potuerant, ferro peragerent, venandi studium finxit, quo per septem annos neque urbano neque rusticum tecto usus est, sed per silvas vagatus, diversis montium regionibus pernoctabat ignaris omnibus, quibus esset locis ; adsuetus feras cursu aut
15 fugere aut persequi, cum quibusdam etiam viribus congregari. Quibus rebus et insidias vitavit, et corpus ad omnem virtutis patientiam duravit.

B. *His Preparations for Conquest.*

- 18 Ad regni deinde administrationem cum accessisset, statim non de regendo, sed de augendo regno
20 cogitavit. Itaque Scythas invictos antea ingenti felicitate perdomuit. Hieme deinde appetente, non in convivio, sed in campo, nec in avocationibus, nec inter sodales, sed inter aequales, aut equo aut cursu aut viribus contendebat. Exercitum quoque suum
22 ad parem laboris patientiam cotidiana exercitatione durabat, atque ita invictus ipse inexpugnabilem exercitum fecerat. JUSTINUS, xxxvii. 2, 3, 4.

A. 1 Huius. Mithridates (*Mithras* = Persian sun-god) 'second only to Hannibal in inextinguishable, life-long hostility to Rome, as also in military genius.' Ihne.

5 **tutorum** = (at the hands) of his guardians. Cf. *tuor*.

17 ad **omnem** virtutis **patientiam** = to all manly endurance.

B. 19 de **augendo** regno. He subdued all the coast districts of the Euxine, East, North and West, as far as the Hister (Danube).

22 **avocationibus** = in diversions (very rare).

24 **esercitum**. At the outbreak of the War with Rome, 88 B.C., he had collected a motley force of 250,000 foot and 40,000 horse.

Mithridates. 'With one blow he overthrew the Roman dominion in Asia, carried the war into Europe, united almost the whole Eastern world in an attack on the Republic, and resisted for 25 years the first generals of his time, - Sulla, a Lucullus, and a Pompeius.' Ihne.

Historic Parallels. Alexander, Hannibal, Peter the Great.

FIRST MITHRIDATIC WAR, 88-84 B.C. (1)

*The Battle of Chaeronea, 85 B.C. Brilliant
Tactics of Sulla.*

- 1 Archelaus adversus L. Sullam in fronte ad per-
turbandum hostem falcatas quadrigas locavit, in
secunda acie phalangem Macedonicam, in tertia
Romanorum more armatos auxiliares, mixtis fugitivis
5 Italicae gentis, quorum pervicaciae plurimum fidebat ;
levem armaturam in ultimo statuit ; in utroque
deinde latere equitatum, cuius amplum numerum
habebat, circumeundi hostis causa posuit. Contra
haec Sulla fossas amplae latitudinis utroque latere
10 duxit et capitibus earum castella communiit : qua
ratione, ne circumiretur ab hoste et peditum numero
et maxime equitatu superante, consecutus est. Tripli-
cem deinde peditum aciem ordinavit relictis inter-
vallis per quae levem armaturam et equitem, quem
15 in novissimo conlocaverat, cum res exegisset, emit-
teret. Turn postsignanis qui in secunda acie erant
imperavit ut densos numerososque palos firme in
terram defigerent, intraque eos appropinquantibus
quadrigis antesignanorum aciem recepit : turn demum
20 sublato universorum clamore velites et levem arma-
turam ingerere tela iussit. Quibus factis quadrigae
hostium aut implicitae palis aut exterritae clamore
telisque in suos conversae sunt turbaveruntque Mace-
donum structuram : qua cedente, cum Sulla instaret
25 et Archelaus equitem opposuisset, Romani equites
subito emissi averterunt eos consummaveruntque
victoriam. FRONTINUS, *Strategemata*, ii. 3. 17.

- 1 **Archelaus** (and his brother Neoptolemus) 'trained in the tradi-
tions and experience of Greek and Macedonian masters.'
2 **falcatas quadrigas.** Archelaus had 60 of these chariots armed
with scythes projecting. Cf. Livy xxxvii. 41.
5 **pervicaciae** = *steadfastness* (*per* + *vic*; cf. *vinco*).
11-12 **qua ratione . . . consecutus est.** Sulla had about 30,000
men (15,000 Romans only) against 120,000.
23 **turbaverunt.** 'The war-chariots on this as on other occasions
(e.g. at Magnesia) had not only proved a failure, but had
actually led to a partial disaster.'-Ihne. Cf. use of war
elephants, e.g. at Beneventum 275 B.C. and at Zama 202 B.C.
27 **victoriam.** It was a great victory, but the results were
trifling, partly because Sulla had no fleet, and partly because
his political enemies at Rome were bent on crippling him.

Historic Parallel. The Battle of Magnesia 190 B.C.

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FIRST MITHRIDATIC WAR, 88-84 B.C. (2)

A. *Capture of Athens and the Piraeus*, 86 B.C.

- 1 Sulla interim cum Mithridatis praefectis circa
Athenas ita dimicavit, ut et Athenas reciperet et
plurimo circa multiplices Piraei portus munitiones
labore expleto amplius CC milia hostium interficeret
5 nec minus multa caperet. . . . Nam oppressi (Athe-
nienses) Mithridatis armis homines miserrimae condi-
tionis cum ab inimicis tenerentur, oppugnabantur ab
amicis et animos extra moenia, corpora necessitati
servientes intra muros habebant.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii.23.

B. *Battle of Orchomenus*, 85 B.C. *Sulla restores the Fight.*

- 10 L. Sulla, cedentibus iam legionibus exercitui
Mithridatico ductu Archelai, stricto gladio in primam
aciem procucurrit appellansque milites dixit, si quis
quaesisset, ubi imperatorem reliquissent, responderent
pugnantem in Boeotia : cuius rei pudore universi eum
15 secuti sunt. FRONTINUS, *Strategemata*, ii. 8. 12.

C. *Peace of Dardanus. End of the First Mithridatic war*, 84 B.C.

- 16 Transgressus deinde in Asiam Sulla parentem ad
omnia supplicemque Mithridatem invenit, quem
multatum pecunia ac parte navium, Asia omni-
busque aliis provinciis, quas armis occupaverat,
20 decedere coegit, captivos recepit, in perfugas noxios-
que animadvertit, paternis, id est Ponticis finibus con-
tentum essayissit. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii. 23.

- a. 2 **ut Athenas reciperet.** Sulla reduced the city by starvation.
3 **Piraei portus.** This was strongly held by Archelaus, and was
taken only after a most obstinate defence.
7 **cum . . . tenerentur.** The contemptible adventurer Aristion,
with his bodyguard of 2000 men and the bribe of Delos and
its treasure, had made himself master of Athens.
B. 10-15 = 'The great victory at Orchomenus was the turning-point in
the War.'—Ihne.
C. 16-22 **The terms of peace** were (i) Restoration of all conquests, (ii)
Surrender of 50 ships and of all prisoners, (iii) Indemnity of
3000 talents. Florus says 'Non fregit ea res Ponticos, sed
incendit.' Sulla was anxious to secure peace, because his
presence was needed at Rome.
Sulla's Conduct of the War. 'No previous general had
shown so great a mastery of the art of war and such care and
interest for the welfare of the State, as distinguished from the
success of a party.'—Ihne.

SECOND CIVIL WAR, 83-82 B.C. (1)

Battles of Sacriportus and the Colline Gate.

- A. 1 Iam quot apud Sacri cedere cadavera Portum
Aut Collina tulit stratas quot porta catervas,
Turn cum paene caput mundi rerumque potestas
Mutavit translata locum, Romanaque Samnis
5 Ultra Caudinas speravit volnera Furcas.
LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, ii. 134-138.
- B. 6 At Pontius Telesinus, dux Samnitium, vir animi
bellique fortissimus penitusque Romano nomini infes-
tissimus, contractis circiter XL milibus fortissimae
pertinacissimaeque in retinendis armis iuventutis
10 Kal. Novembribus ita ad portam Collinam cum Sulla
dimicavit, ut ad summum discrimen et eum et rem-
publicam perduceret, quae non maius periculum
adiit Hannibalis intra tertium miliarium conspicata
castra, quam eo die, quo circumvolans ordines exer-
15 citus sui Telesinus dictitansque adesse Romanis ulti-
mum diem vociferabatur eruendam delendamque
urbem, adiciens numquam defuturos raptores Italicae
libertatis lupos, nisi silva, in quam refugere solerent,
esset excisa. Post primam demum horam noctis et
20 Romana acies respiravit et hostium cessit. Telesinus
postera die semianimis repertus est, victoris magis
quam morientis vultum praeferens, cuius abscisum
caput ferro figi gestarique circa Praeneste Sulla
24 iussit. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii.27.
- A. 1 **apud Sacriportum**, near Praeneste, where Sulla totally de-
feated the Marians, under the younger Marius, 82 B.C.
2 **Collina Porta**, i.e. N.E. gate of Rome near the *Collis Quiri-*
nalis.
3 **paene**, with *mutavit*, l. 4.
- B. 6 **Pontius Telesinus**, 'a kinsman in name and temper of the
hero of 321 B.C.'
12-14 **quae . . . castra**. 'As Hannibal had tried to relieve the
closely pressed Capua by a direct attack on Rome, Pontius
Telesinus thought to draw off the besieging army from Prae-
neste by threatening the Capital.'-Ihne.
20 **Romana acies respiravit**. Sulla, with the left wing, was driven
back by the Samnites to the walls of Rome, but Crassus with
the right wing was completely victorious, and to him the final
victory was due.
'The issue of the whole war, at least on Italian ground,
was decided by the battle of the Colline Gate.'-Ihne.

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SECOND CIVIL WAR, 83-82 B.C. (2)

A. Death of the Younger Marius. Sulla Felix.

- 1 Turn demum desperatis rebus suis C. Marius adulescens per cuniculos, qui miro opere fabricati in diversas agrorum partes fuerunt, conatus erumpere, cum foramine e terra emerisset, a dispositis in id
5 ipsum interemptus est. . . . De quo iuvene quid existimaverit Sulla, in promptu est ; occiso enim demum eo Felicis nomen adsumpsit, quod quidem usurpasset iustissime, si eundem et vincendi et vivendi finem habuisset. VELL. PAT. ii. 27.

33. The Sullan Proscriptions.

- 10 'Sulla quoque immensis accessit cladibus ultor. Ille quod exiguum restabat sanguinis urbi Hausit : dumque nimis iam putria membra recidit, Excessit medicina modum, nimiumque secuta est, Quae morbi duxere, manus . . .
15 Turn data libertas odiis, resolutaque legum Frenis ira ruit. Non uni cuncta dabantur, Sed fecit sibi quieque nefas : semel omnia victor Iusserat . . . Hisne Salus rerum, Felix his Sulla vocari,
20 His meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere Campo ? Haec rursus patienda manent : hoc ordine belli Ibitur : hic stabit civilibus exitus armis.' Sic maesta senectus.
24 Praeteritique memor flebat metuensque futuri.

LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, ii. 139-148, 221-224.

- A. 1 **Turn**, i.e. after Sulla's victory at the Colline Gate, 82 B.C.
C. **Marius**. 'He possessed his father's martial spirit, courage and unyielding perseverance.'—Inne.
2 **per cuniculos** = *through subterranean passages*.
B. 10 **Sulla . . . ultor** = *Sulla too in his vengeance came to crown these fearful disasters*.—Haskins.
12-14 **dumque . . . manus**. Sulla is compared to a surgeon who in too great haste to remove the mortified flesh cuts away the sound flesh also.
16 non **uni** . . . = *all crimes were not committed for one man's sake*, i.e. to please Sulla.
21-22 **hoc ordine belli ibitur** = *in this course of war events will move*.—H. i.e. History will repeat itself.
23 **sic maesta senectus**. An old man, who had lived through the Marian and Sullan times, predicts similar horrors of the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey.
The Proscriptions. 'They were the product not of passion or thirst of blood, but of a cool political calculation, and the conviction of its inevitable necessity.'—Inne.

A. *Sulla appointed Dictator*, 81 B.C.

- 1 Dictator creatus (cuius honoris usurpatio per
annos centum et viginti intermissa ; nam proximus
post annum quam Hannibal Italia excesserat, uti
appareat populum Romanum usum dictatoris haud
5 metu desiderasse tali quo timuisset potestatem) im-
perio, quo priores ad vindicandum maximis periculis
patriam usi erant, eo in immodicae crudelitatis
licentiam usus est. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii. 28.

B. *Sulla lays down his Dictatorship*, 79 B.C.

- Nec minoris impotentiae voces propalam edebat,
10 ut Titus Ampius scribit, 'Nihil esse rempublicam,
appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie. Sullam
nescisse litteras, qui dictaturam deposuerit.'

SEUTONIUS, *Divus Iulius*, 77.C. *Death of Sulla*, 73 B.C.

- Puteolis enim ardens indignatione, quod Granius,
princeps eius coloniae pecuniam a decurionibus ad
15 refectionem Capitolii promissam cunctantius daret,
animi concitatione nimia atque immoderato vocis
impetu convulso pectore, spiritum cruore ac minis
mixtum evomuit, nec senio iam prolapsus, utpote
sexagesimum ingrediens annum, sed alita miseriis
20 reipublicae inpotentia furens. Igitur in dubio est
Sullane prior an iracundia Sullae sit extincta.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS, ix. 3. 8.

- A. 1-2 **cuius honoris . . . intermissa**. The last real Dictator (M. Junius Pera) was appointed after Cannae 216 B.C.
5-8 **imperio quo . . . ususest**. 'The Dictator of the first age of the Republic down to the Punic Wars had always a *well-defined special duty to discharge in a given time*. Sulla's task was of a general *nature and all-comprehensive range*, and he had the most essential of all monarchical attributes, which is *the unlimited duration of office*.'—Inhe.
- B. **g impotentiae** = arrogance (lack of self-restraint).
10 **Ampius**. Titus Ampius Balbus, a Pompeian general.
- II-12 **Sullam nescisse litteras** = (i) S. had not profited by the teachings of History, or (ii) S. was without a liberal education.
- c. 13 **Granius**, the chief magistrate of Puteoli, had kept back money destined for the building of the new temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The old one was destroyed by fire 83 B.C. 'It was Sulla's great desire that his name should be recorded on the front of the new temple, for it was to be the symbol of the Republic, restored as he fondly hoped by him to its pristine purity.'—Inhe.

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THE LEGES CORNELIAE, 81 B.C.

A. *Limitation of the Tribune's Right of Veto.*

- 1 In ista quidem re vehementer Sullam probo, qui tribunis plebis sua lege iniuriae faciendae potestatem ademerit, auxili ferendi reliquerit.

CICERO, de *Legibus*, iii. 9. 22.

B. *Abolition of Corn Distributions.*

- 4 Populus Romanus, paullo ante gentium moderator, exutus imperio gloria iure, agitandi inops despectusque ne servilia quidem alimenta relicua habet.

SALLUST, *Hist., Orat. M. Lepidi*.

C. *Restoration of Judicial Functions to the Senators.*

- 8 Iudicandi munus quod C. Gracchus ereptum senatui ad Equites, Sulla ab illis ad Senatum translaturat.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii. 32.

D. *A Sumptuary Law, Limiting the Expense of the Table.*

- 11 L. Sulla dictator, cum plerique in patrimoniis, amplis eluerentur et familiam pecunianique suam prandiorum convivorumque gurgitibus proluisent, legem ad populum tulit, qua cautum est, ut Kalendis, 15 Idibus, Nonis diebusque ludorum et feriis quibusdam sollemnibus sestertios trecenos in cenam insumere ius potestasque esset, ceteris autem diebus omnibus non. 18 amplius tricenos.

AULUS GELLIUS, ii. 24, 11..

- A. 2 **iniuriae faciendae**, e.g. by their abuse of the right of veto.
3 **auxili ferendi**. 'Sulla limited the office of tribune to the original functions for which it was established, the legal protection of the people from the abuse of magisterial power.'—Ihne.
- B 5 **agitandi inops** (i.e. *vitam sustentandi*) = without means of livelihood.
6 **servilia alimenta** = a slave's allowance of food. Sulla abolished the largesses of corn.
- C. S-10 Sulla filled up the gaps in the Senate from the ranks of the Equites, and to the new Senate thus constituted he entrusted the administration of justice.
- D. 12 **eluerentur** = had *squandered* (lit. 'washed away').
Leges Corneliae. 'Sulla's legislation was an attempt to revive what was dead and gone. The time had arrived when the old republican institutions could last no longer. The transformation of the state into a monarchy was inevitable.'—Ihne.
The Sultan Constitution. It had as little endurance as that of Cromwell, and was finally destroyed in 70 B.C. during the consulship of Pompeius and Crassus.

Speech of Lepidus against Sulla, 78 B.C.

- 1 Nam praeter satellites commaculatos quis eadem
vult ? aut quis non omnia mutata praeter victorem?
Scilicet milites, quorum sanguine Tarulae Scyrtoque,
pessumis servorum, divitiae partae sunt ! Itaque
5 maxumam mihi fiduciam parit victor exercitus, cui
per tot volnera et labores nihil praeter tyrannum
quaesitum est. Nisi forte tribuniciam potestatem
evorsum profecti sunt, per arma conditam a maioribus
suis, utique iura et iudicia sibimet extorquerent,
10 egregia scilicet mercede, cum relegati in paludes et
silvam contumeliam atque invidiam suam, praemia
penes paucos intellexerint. Quare igitur tantò
agmine atque animis incedit ? Quia secundae res
mire sunt vitiis obtentui; quibus labefactis, quam
15 formidatus est, tam contemnetur ; nisi forte specie
concordiae et pacis, quae sceleri et parricidio suo
nomina indidit ; neque aliter rempublicam et belli
finem ait, nisi maneat expulsa agris plebes, praeda
civilis acerbissima, ius iudiciumque omnium rerum
20 penes se, quod populi Romani fuit. Quae si vobis
pax et concordia intelleguntur, maxuma turbamenta
reipublicae atque exitia probate, annuite legibus im-
positis, accipite otium cum servitio et tradite ex-
emplum posteris ad populum Romanum suimet
25 sanguinis mercede circumveniundum.

SALLUST, *Hist., Orat. M. Lepidi.*

- 1 Nam, sc. 'His luck is not so great as he supposes, for . . .'
7-8 **tribuniciam . . . evorsum**, i.e. by the *Leges Corneliae* 81 B.C.
9 *iudicia*. Sulla restored the judicial functions to the Senate
(from the Equites).
10 **relegati in paludes**. Sulla established 120,000 soldiers in
military colonies in different parts of Italy, but their roaming
adventurous life had unfitted them for agricultural pursuits.
13-14 **Quia . . . obtentui** = *because prosperity serves in a marvellous*
manner to cover a man's faults of character.—Holden. For
obtentui cf. draw a veil over.
16 **parricidio** = *treason*.
18 **nisi . . . agris**, i.e. Sulla's confiscations of estates, especially
of those Italians who had fought against him.
24-25 **ad p. R. circumveniundum** = *for oppressing (enslaving) the*
people of Rome.

M. Aemilius Lepidus, Consul 78 B.C., a disappointed Optimate, jealous of Sulla's power, but without Sulla's ability. He posed as leader of the democratic party, took up arms against the State, but was defeated by Q. Catulus at the Milvian Bridge, 77 B.C.

Sertorius and his Fawn.

1 Huic Sertorio cerva alba eximiae pulchritudinis
et vivacissimae celeritatis a Lusitano quodam don0
data est. Hanc sibi oblatam divinitus, et instinctam
Dianae numine colloqui secum, monereque, et docere,
quae utilia factu essent, persuadere omnibus insti-
tuit : ac, si quid durius videbatur, quod imperandum
militibus foret, a cerva sese monitum turn prae-
dicabat. Id cum dixerat, universi, tamquam si deo,
libentes parebant. Ea cerva quodam die, cum incursio
10 esset hostium nuntiata, festinatione ac tumultu con-
sternata in fugam se proripuit, atque in palude
proxima delituit ; et postea requisita perisse credita
est. Neque multis diebus post inventam esse cervam
Sertorio nuntiatur. Tum, qui nuntiaverat, iussit
15 tacere : ac, ne cui palam diceret, interminatus est :
praecepitque, ut eam poster0 die repente in eum
locum, in quo ipse cum amicis esset, immitteret :
admissis deinde amicis postridie, visum sibi esse ait
in quiete cervam, quae perisset, ad se reverti, et, ut
20 prius consueverat, quod opus esset facto praedicare.
Turn servo, quod imperaverat, significat. Cerva
emissa in cubiculum Sertorii introrupit ; clamor
factus et orta admiratio est : eaque hominum bar-
barorum credulitas Sertorio in magnis rebus magno
25 usui fuit. GELLIUS, *Noctes Atticae*, xv. 22.

1 **alba** = a *dull* white as opp. to **ater** = *dull* black. Cf. **candidus** =
shining white as opp. to **niger** = *shining* black.

3 **instinctam** = *fired, animated*.

15 **interminatus** = *he forbade with threats*. **inter** + **minor**, freq.
in Plautus and Terence.

23-25 ' Sertorius did not disdain to turn to account the superstition
of the ruder Spanish tribes, and to have his plans of war
brought to him as commands of Diana by the white fawn of the
goddess.'-M.

Character of Sertorius. 'He was the only democratic
(Marian) officer who knew how to prepare and to conduct war,
and the only democratic statesman who opposed the furious
doings of his party with statesmanlike energy. His Spanish
soldiers called him the new Hannibal, and not merely because
he had, like that hero, lost an eye in war. He in reality reminds
us of the great Phoenician by his equally cunning and courageous
strategy, and by the quickness of his ingenuity in turning to
good account his victories and averting the consequences of his
#defeats.'-M.

WAR WITH SERTORIUS IN SPAIN (2)

A. A *New Hannibal*.

- 1 Sertorius, exsul et profugus feralis illius tabulae,
vir summae quidem sed celamitosae virtutis, malis
suis maria terrasque permiscuit ; et iam Africae,
iam Balearibus insulis fortunam expertus usque in
5 Oceanum Fortunatasque insulas penetravit consiliis,
tandem Hispaniam armavit. Viro cum viris facile
convenit. Nec alias magis apparuit Hispani militis
vigor quam Romano duce. Quamquam ille non con-
tentus Hispania ad Mithridatem quoque Ponticosque
10 respexit regemque classe iuvit. Et quid futurum
fuit satis tanto hosti, cui uno imperatore resistere
res Romana non potuit ? Additus Metello Gnaeus
Pompeius. Hi copias attrivere viri prope tota His-
pania persecuti. Din et ancipiti semper acie pugna-
15 turn est ; nec tamen prius bello quam suorum scelere
et insidiis extinctus est. FLORUS, III. xxii. 2-G.

B. *The Death of Sertorius*.

- M. Perpenna praetorius e proscriptis, gentis
clarioris quam animi, Sertorium inter cenam Oscae
interemit Romanisque certam victoriam, partibus
20 suis excidium, sibi turpissimam mortem pessimo
auctoravit facinore. Metellus et Pompeius ex His-
paniis triumphaverunt. VELL. PATERC. ii. 30.

- A. 1 **feralis illius tabulae** = *from that fatal list*, i.e. Sulla's list of
proscribed Marians 82 B.C.
9-10 **ad Mithridatem . . . iuvit**. In 75 B.C. he concluded a formal
treaty of alliance with Mithridates, and sent him the pro-
praetor M. Marius to lead his troops. Cf. alliance between
Hannibal and Philip.
14-15 **Diu et ancipiti semper acie pugnatum est**, e.g. the defeat of
Pompey near Lauro. (For a graphic account of the strategy
by which the battle was won see Frontinus, *Strat.* ii. 5.)
B. 17 **M. Perpenna praetorius** (= *ex-praetor*), with the remnant of
the army of Lepidus (defeated by Pompey in 77 B.C.) joined
Sertorius in Spain. After serving under Sertorius for some
years, through jealousy, he brought about his leader's
assassination.
21 **auctoravit** = *he brought about*. *More* usu. as *auctorari* = *to*
hire oneself out for some service, e.g. of gladiators.

The Death of Sertorius. 'So ended one of the greatest
men that Rome had hitherto produced—a man who under more
fortunate circumstances would perhaps have become the re-
generator of his country.'—M.

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22

Character and Early Career of Lucullus.

- 1 Magnum ingenium L. Luculli, magnumque
 optimarum artium studium, turn omnis liberalis et
 digna homine nobili ab eo percepta doctrina, quibus
 temporibus florere in foro maxime potuit, caruit
 5 omnino rebus urbanis. Ut enim admodum adolescens,
 cum fratre pari pietate et industria praedito, paternas
 inimicitias magna cum gloria est persecutus, in
 Asiam quaestor profectus, ibi permultos annos ad-
 mirabili quadam laude provinciae praefuit : deinde
 10 absens factus aedilis, continuo praetor : licebat
 enim celerius legis praemio : post in Africam : inde
 ad consulatum : quem ita gessit ut diligentiam
 admirarentur omnes, ingenium cognoscerent. Post
 ad Mithridaticum bellum missus a senatu non modo
 15 opinionem vicit omnium quae de virtute eius erat, sed
 etiam gloriam superiorum. Idque eo fuit mirabilius,
 quod ab eo laus imperatoria non admodum ex-
 spectabatur, qui adolescentiam in forensi opera,
 quaesturae diuturnum tempus, Murena bellum in
 20 Ponto gerente, in Asiae pace consumpserat. . . .
 In eodem tanta prudentia fuit in constituendis
 temperandisque civitatibus, tanta aequitas, ut hodie
 stet Asia Luculli institutis servandis et quasi vestigiis
 24 persequendis. CICERO, *Academica*, ii. 1.

- 1-3 **ingenium, studium, doctrina**, subjects of **caruit**.
 3-5 quibus temporibus . . . **urbanis** = *all this was divorced*
(caruit, lit. was cut off from) from the business of the capital,
at the season when he might have had a specially brilliant
career in the forum.—J. S. Reid.
 6 **paternas inimicitias** = *his father's quarrel*. The first ap-
 pearance of Lucullus in public life was as the accuser of the
 Augur Servilius who had procured the banishment of his father.
 7-9 in **Asiam** . . . **praefuit**, i.e. as Sulla's quaestor in the first
 Mithridatic War, 88-84 B.C., and then till 80 B.C. in charge of
 the province of Asia (= orig. Kingdom of Pergamus, N.W. part
 of Asia Minor).
 11 **legis praemio** = *owing to a privilege conveyed by statute*. J. S. R.
 13-14 **ad Mithridaticum bellum**, i.e. the 3rd M. War, which he
 carried on for eight years (74-66 B.C.) with great success, until
 superseded by Pompeius in 66 B.C.
 19-20 **Murena . . . gerente**. Lic. Murena, anxious for distinction,
 provoked the disastrous 2nd Mithridatic War, 83-81 B.C., when
 by the peremptory orders of Sulla the peace was renewed.
 23 **stet . . . servandis** = *persists in maintaining* (lit. *stands by*)
 the ordinances of L.-J. S. R.
 Reference. For *Character of Lucullus*, see Mommsen,
 vol. iv. pp. 337-8. Cf. also Vell. Pat. ii. 32.

A. *A Soldier of Lucullus.*

- 1 Luculli miles collecta viatica multis
 Aerumnis, lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem
 Perdiderat ; post hoc vehemens lupus, et sibi et hosti
 Iratus pariter, ieiunis dentibus acer,
 5 Praesidium regale loco deiecit, ut aiunt,
 Summe munito et multarum divite rerum.
 Clarus ob id factum donis ornatur honestis,
 Accipit et bis dena super sestertia nummum.
 Forte sub hoc tempus castellum evertere praetor
 10 Nescio quod cupiens hortari coepit eundem
 Verbis, quae timido quoque possent addere mentem :
 'I, bone, quo virtus tua te vocat, i pede fausto,
 Grandia laturus meritorum praemia. Quid stas ?'
 Post haec ille catus, quantumvis rusticus, 'Ibit,
 15 Ibit eo quo vis qui zonam perdidit,' inquit.
 HORACE, *Ep.* II. ii. 26-40.

B. *The Wealth of Lucullus.*

- 16 Chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt,
 Si posset centum scaenae praebere rogatus,
 'Qui possum tot ?' ait ; 'tamen et quaerani, et quot
 habebo
 Mittam' : post paulo scribit sibi milia quinque
 20 Esse domi chlamydem ; partem vel tolleret omnes.
 HORACE, *Ep.* I. vi. 40-44.

Subject. Horace says 'I am like Lucullus' soldier-when his pocket was empty he would volunteer for forlorn hopes ; when it was full again he would do so no more. It was poverty that made me write verses.'-W.

- A. 1 **viatica** = savings (cf. *prize-money*). **viaticum** = originally *travelling-money*.
 3 **vehemens lupus** = a very wolf in his fury. Cf. Vergil's simile for a forlorn hope-'lupi ceu Raptores.'-Wickham.
 7 **donis honestis** = gifts of honour-i.e. the *corona muralis*, the mural crown, such as is worn by the goddess Cybele.
 8 **nummum** (= *nummorum*) = in hard cash.
 14 **catus** = shrewd, witty, a Sabine word, = *acutus*.
 14-15 **Ibit** . . . quo **vis**, the original of Jurenal's *ad caelum, iusseris, ibit*.
 15 **zonam** = *purse*. The **zona** here was a broad belt made double or hollow to carry money in.
 B. 16 **Chlamydes**. The *Chlamys* was the light short mantle of the Greeks, here wanted for a pageant on the stage.
 20 **tolleret**. The subj. is the praetor or person giving the show.-W.
Reference. For the magnificence of his Villas at Tusculum and near Neapolis, see Cicero *De Fin.* ii. § 107, *De Leg.* iii. § 30, Pliny, *N. H.* ix. 170.

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24

WAR WITH SPARTAGUS, 73-71 B.C.

Spartacus and his Gladiators.

- 1 Spartacus, Crixus, Oenomaus effracto Lentuli
ludo cum triginta aut amplius eiusdem fortunae
viris erupere Capua ; servisque ad vexillum vocatis
cum statim decem amplius milia coissent, homines
5 modo effugisse contenti iam et vindicari volebant.
Prima sedes velut rabidis beluis mons Vesuvius
placuit. Ibi cum obsiderentur a Clodio Glabro, per
fauces cavi montis vitineis delapsi vinculis ad imas
eius descendere radices et exitu invisio nihil tale opi-
10 nantis ducis subito impetu castra rapuerunt. Adflu-
entibus in diem copiis cum iam esset iustus exercitus,
e viminibus pecudumque tegumentis inconditos sibi
clipeos et ferro ergastulorum recocto gladios ac tela
fecerunt. Inde iam consulares quoque aggressus in
15 Appennino Lentuli exercitum percecudit, apud
Mutinam Gai Cassi castra delevit. Tandem enim
totis imperii viribus contra mirmillonem consurgunt,
pudoremque Romanum Marcus Crassus asseruit : a
quo pulsi fugatique hostes in extrema Italiae re-
20 fugerunt. Ibi circa Bruttium angulum clusi cum
fugam in Siciliani pararent neque navigia sup-
peterent ratesque ex trabibus et dolia connexa
virgultis rapidissimo freto frustra experirentur,
tandem eruptione facta dignam viris obiere mortem,
25 et quod sub gladiatore duce oportuit, sine missione
pugnatum est. Spartacus ipse in primo agmine
fortissime dimicans quasi imperator occisus est.

FLORUS, III. xx. 3-14 (sel.).

- 1 **Spartacus**, by birth a Thracian, who had served among the
Thracian auxiliaries in the Roman army, had deserted and
become a chief of banditti. He was taken prisoner and sold
to a trainer of gladiators.

Crixus, Oenomaus, the slave-names of two Celts.

- 1-2 **effracto ludo** = broke out of the gladiators' school.

8 **vitineis vinculis** = by means of ropes made of vine-branches.

9 **invisio** = unknown, lit. unseen.

13 **ergastulorum** = from the slaves' work-houses.

17 **mirmillonem**. The Mirmillones were a class of gladiators
usually matched with the Thracians or the *retarii* (net-fighters).

18 **Marcus Crassus**, the Triumvir of 60 B.C.

asseruit = maintained. Cf. our *assert*.

21 **in Siciliam**, where the slaves had risen in 133 and 104 B.C., and
only waited an impulse to break out a third time.

25 **sine missione** = without quarter. Cf. *missio* = the discharge
from service of soldiers and gladiators.

THE THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR, 74-63 B.C. (1)

Lucullus Ponticus.

- 1 Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam. Atque ut omnes intellegant me L. Lucullo tantum impertire laudis, quantum
 5 forte viro et sapienti homini et magn'o imperatori
 10 debeat, dico eius adventu maximas Mithridatis copias omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse urbemque Asiae clarissimam nobisque amicissimam, Cyzicenorum, obsessam esse ab ipso rege maxima
 15 multitudine et oppugnatam vehementissime, quam
 20 L. Lucullus virtute, assiduitate, consilio summis obsidionis periculis liberavit : ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornata, quae ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio inflammata raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam; magnas hostium
 15 praeterea copias multis proeliis esse deletas patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui antea populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus fuisset ; Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant
 20 domicilia regis, omnibus rebus ornatas atque refertas, ceterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociae permultas uno
 25 aditu adventuque esse captas ; regem spoliatum regno patrio atque avito ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentes supplicem contulisse : atque haec omnia salvis populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus
 esse gesta. *CICERO, pro Lege Manilia, 20, 21.*

- 5-6 **maximas . . . fuisse.** M. had 140,000 well-trained men, Roman officers sent by Sertorius, 16,000 cavalry, a war-fleet of 400 ships, and abundance of stores.
- 7-11 **urbemque . . . liberavit.** The city of Cyzicus stood on the S. side of the island of the same name in the Propontis (Sea of Marmora), close to the shore of Mysia, to which it was joined by two bridges.
- 12-14 **classem . . . depressam,** i.e. probably the Battle of Tenedos 73 B.C., in which Marcus Marius and the ablest of the Roman emigrants met their death, and the whole Aegean fleet of Mithridates was annihilated.
- 15 **multis proeliis,** e.g. of Cabira, 72 B.C. ; Tigranocerta, 69 B.C.
- 18 **Sinopen. Sinope,** on the W. headland of the great bay of which the delta of the R. Halys forms the E. headland, was the birthplace and residence (**domicilia**) of M.
- 22 **ad alios reges,** e.g. to his son-in-law, Tigranes of Armenia.
- 23-24 **salvis . . . vectigalibus,** i.e. without ruining the provincial ; by forced contributions and requisitions.
- Reference.** For *Siege of Cyzicus*, see Mommsen, vol. iv. pp. 326-328 ; Frontinus, *Strat.* ii. 13. 6.

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CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, 106-48 B.C.

His Character, and Career to 66 B.C.

- 1 Iam vero virtuti Cn. Pompei quae potest oratio par inveniri? Quid est quod quisquam aut illo dignum, aut vobis novum aut cuiquam inauditum possit adferre? Neque enim illae sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae, quae vulgo existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo, quae tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non fuerunt. Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor L. Sulla huius virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam: testis est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis non terrore belli, sed consilii celeritate explicavit: testis est Africa, quae magnis oppressa hostium copiis eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit: testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris iter in Hispaniam Gallorum internecione patefactum est: testis est Hispania, quae saepissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit: testis est iterum et saepius Italia, quae cum servili bello taetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit, quod bellum expectatione eius attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum: testes nunc vero iam omnes orae atque omnes exterae gentes ac nationes.

CICERO, pro *Lege Manilia*, 29-31.

- 10-12 **Testis est Italia . . . liberatam.** In 83 B.C. Pompeius, aged twenty-four, raised three legions in Picenum, gained several advantages over the Marian generals, and was saluted by Sulla as Imperator.
- 12-14 **testis est Sicilia . . . explicavit.** In 82 B.C. Pompeius, sent as propraetor to Sicily, quickly took possession of the island for Sulla.
- 14-16 **testis est Africa . . . redundavit.** In 81 B.C. Pompeius defeated at Utica the Marian Ahenobarbus (allied with Hiabas of Numidia), and was, though a *simple Roman eques*, granted a triumph by Sulla and saluted as **Magnus**.
- 16-18 **testis est Gallia . . . patefactum est.** In 77 B.C. On his way to Spain as proconsul against Sertorius, he had to cut his way through the Transalpine Gauls, and laid out a new and shorter road over the Cottian Alps.
- 21 **servili bello.** On his return from Spain he cut to pieces the scattered remnants of the army of Spartacus.
- 21-23 **ab hoc . . . imminutum est.** Cic. assumes that the enemy was crippled even by the mere notion of sending for Pompeius.

References. Plutarch, *Pompeius*; Vell. Pat. ii. 29.

The Man Caesar.

- 1 Fuisse traditur excelsa statura, colore candido, teretibus membris, dre paulo pleniore, nigris vegetisque oculis, valetudine prospera ; nisi quod tempore extremo repente animo linqui atque etiam per
 5 somnum exterreri solebat. Armorum et equitandi peritissimus, laboris ultra fidem patiens erat. In agmine nonnunquam equo, saepius pedibus anteibat, capite detecto, seu sol seu imber esset ; longissimas vias incredibili celeritate confecit. In
 10 obeundis expeditionibus dubium cautior an audentior, exercitum neque per insidiosa itinera duxit umquam nisi perspeculatus locorum situs. A Brundisio Dyrrachium inter oppositas classes hieme transmisit cessantibusque copiis, quas subsequi
 15 iusserat, cum ad adcersendas frustra saepe misisset, novissime ipse clam noctu parvulum navigium solus obvoluto capite conscendit, neque aut quis esset ante detexit aut gubernatorem cedere adversae tempestati passus est, quam paene obrutus fluctibus. Ne
 20 religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus umquamvel retardatus est. Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia, profectionem adversus Scipionem et lubam non distulit. Prolapsus etiam in egressu navis, verso ad melius omine Teneo te, inquit, Africa.

SUETONIUS, *Divus Iulius*, 45, 57-59 (sel.)

- 4 **animo linqui** = *he was subject to fainting-fits.*
 8 **capite detecto**, so Cyrus the Younger and Hannibal.
 9 **incredibili celeritate**, cf. Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* viii. 9 hoc *répas* (= prodigy) *horribili vigilantia*, 'celeritate, diligentia est. Cf. also Napoleon the Great.
 14 **cessantibusque copiis** = *and when the troops delayed their coming.* Caesar did not then know that Antonius had himself been attacked at Brundisium by a Pompeian fleet, and had shown great skill in baffling it, and forcing it to put to sea again. Once more Antonius set sail with 4 legions and 800 horsemen, and fortunately a strong S. wind carried him safely to the port of Lissus (N. of Dyrrachium).
 18-19 **gubernatorem . . . passus est.** 'Quid times? *Caesarem vehis!*' was Caesar's famous exhortation to the pilot. (Florus.)
 21-22 **Cum . . . hostia:** if the victim even tugged at the rope when being led to sacrifice, it was considered unfortunate, and hence a long slack rope was used. Cf. Juv. xii. 5 *Sed procul extensum petulans* (butting) *quatit hostia funem.*
 24 According to Fronto his words were 'Teneo te, terra mate?.'
The man Caesar. 'We may picture him as a man the dignity of whose bodily presence was in due proportion to the greatness of his mental powers.'-Warde Fowler.

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GAIUS IULIUS CAESAR (2)

Captured by Pira tes. Studies Oratory at Rhodes.,
76-75 B.C.

- 1 Composita seditione civili Cornelium Dolabellam
consularem et triumphalem repetundarum postu-
lavit ; absolutoque Rhodum secedere statuit, et ad
declinandam invidiam et ut per otium ac requiem.
5 Apollonio Moloni clarissimo tunc dicendi magistro
operam daret. Huc dum hibernis iam mensibus
traicit, circa Pharmacussam insulam a praedonibus
captus est, mansitque apud eos, non sine summa
indignatione, prope quadraginta dies cum uno medico,
10 et cubicularis duobus. Nam comites servosque
ceteros initio statim ad expediendas pecunnias, quibus
redimeretur, dimiserat. Numeratis deinde quinquaginta
talentis, expositus in litore non distulit quin
e vestigio classe deducta persequeretur abeuntis, ac
15 redactos in potestatem supplicio, quod saepe illis
minatus inter iocum fuerat, adficeret. Vastante
regiones proximas Mithridate ne desidere in dis-
crimine sociorum videretur, ab Rhodio quo pertene-
rat, transiit in Asiam, ausiliisque contractis et prae-
20 fecto regis provincia expulso, nutantes ac dubias civi-
tates retinuit in fide. SUETONIUS, *Divus Iulius*, 4.

1 **Composita seditione civili**, i.e. after the abortive attempt
of Lepidus to make himself master of the state 77 B.C.

c. **Dolabellam**, impeached for illegal extortion during his
government of Macedonia. **Repetundarum** (sc. *pecuniarum*),
post-Aug. for de *repetundis* (*pecuniis*), used-i. of money
extorted by an official and to be returned, ii. of money ex-
torted as a bribe. Caesar lost his case, but succeeded in
showing that Sulla's senatorial judges were corrupt.

4 **Apollonio Moloni**, the famous rhetorician, whose pupil Cicero
was both at Rome and at Rhodes. Very possibly Caesar
took this step by the advice of Cicero.

7 circa **Pharmacussam insulam** : S.W. of Miletus (=mod.
Farfako).

S-9 **non sine summa indignatione**: Plutarch, *Caes.* gives a
picturesque account of his adventures as their prisoner.

10 **cubicularis** (*cubiculum*) = lit. *chamber-servants*.

11 **pecunnias** . . . Velleius says that Caesar's ransom was: paid
out of public funds.

14 e **vestigio** (= *statim*) = *immediately*.

Caesar at Rhodes. 'Caesar, from what we know of his
taste and character, could hardly have found the same delight
as Cicero in his studies at Rhodes. He nevertheless became
one of the greatest orators of his day, and according to some
accounts, second only to Cicero. It is characteristic of Caesar,
but unfortunate for us, that he never took any pains to collect
and preserve his speeches.'-Warde Fowler.

CICERO PROSECUTES VERRES, 70 B.C.

A Roman Citizen maltreated.

1 Quid ego de P. Gavio, Consano municipe, dicam, iudices? Aut qua vi vocis, qua gravitate verborum, quo dolore animi dicam? Quod crimen eius modi est ut, cum primum ad me delatum est, usurum me
5 illo non putarem; tametsi enim verissimum esse intellegebam, tamen credibile fore non arbitrabar. Quid nunc agam? Rem in medio ponam: quae tantum habet ipsa gravitatis ut neque mea, quae nulla est, neque cuiusquam ad inflammandos vestros
10 animos eloquentia requiratur.

Caedebatur virgis in medio foro Messanae civis Romanus, iudices; cum interea nullus gemitus, nulla vox alia illius miseri inter dolorem 'crepitumque plagarum audiebatur, nisi haec, *Civis Romanus sum*.
15 Hac se commemoratione civitatis omnia verbera depulsurum, cruciatum a corpore deiecturum arbitrabatur. Is non modo hoc non perfecit ut virgarum vim deprecaretur, sed cum imploraret, saepius usurparetque nomen civitatis, crux, crux, inquam,
20 infelici et aerumnoso comparabatur.

O nomen duke libertatis! O ius eximium nostrae civitatis! O lex Porcia legesque Semproniae! O graviter desiderata et aliquando reddita plebi Romanae tribunicia potestas! Hucine tandem omnia reciderunt ut civis Romanus in provincia populi Romani, in oppido foederatorum, ab eo qui beneficio populi Romani fasces et secures haberet deligatus in foro virgis caederetur? CICERO, *in Verrem*, ii. 5. 62.

1 **Consano municipe** = a *burgess* of *Consa*, on the borders of Lucania.

22 **Lex Porcia**. Passed by M. Porcius Cato, 197 B.C., forbade the execution or scourging of a Roman citizen.

Leges Semproniae, a code of laws passed by C. Sempronius Gracchus, 123 B.C. One of these declared it to be the sole right of the people to decide capital cases.

22-24 **O graviter desiderata . . . potestas!** Sulla (Dictator 82-79 B.C.) took from the tribunes the *right* of proposing laws, and left them only their original right of *Intercessio* or veto. In 70 B.C. Pompeius, who had formally accepted the democratic programme, gave back to the tribunes the power to initiate legislation.

The Orationes in Verrem. Cicero, as *patronus* of the Sicilians, undertook the prosecution of the Senator C. Verres for his gross misconduct as governor of Sicily, 73-71 B.C.

1 Converterat Cn. Pompei persona totum in se
 terrarum orbem et per omnia maior cive habebatur.
 Qui cum consul perquam laudabiliter iurasset se in
 nullam provinciam ex eo magistratu iturum idque
 5 servasset, post biennium A. Gabinius tribunus
 legem tulit, ut cum belli more, non latrociniorum,
 orbem classibus iam, non furtivis expeditionibus,
 piratae terrent, quasdamque etiam Italiae urbia
 diripuisent, Cn. Pompeius ad eos opprimendos
 10 mitteretur essetque ei imperium aequum in omnibus
 provinciis cum proconsulibus usque ad quinquage-
 simum miliarium a mari. Quo decreto paene totius
 terrarum orbis imperium uni viro deferebatur ; sed
 tamen idem hoc ante biennium in M. Antoni praetura
 15 decretum erat. Sed interdum persona ut exemplo
 nocet, ita invidiam augeat aut levat : in Antonio
 homines aequo animo passi erant ; raro enim
 invidetur eorum honoribus, quorum vis non timetur :
 contra in iis homines extraordinaria reformidant, qui
 20 ea suo arbitrio aut deposituri aut retenturi videntur
 et modum in voluntate habent. Dissuadebant
 optimates, sed consilia irpetu victa sunt.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii. 31.

- 3-5 **Qui cum consul . . . servasset.** Pompeius, consul with Crassus in 71-70 B.C., thought it beneath his dignity to accept a consular province, and waited in Rome as a simple citizen until an opportunity should be offered him to play an extraordinary part.
- 5 **A. Gabinius**, a client of Pompeius, a man ruined in finances and character, but a dexterous negotiator, a bold orator, and a brave soldier. In 57 B.C. did excellent service as proconsul of Syria.
- 6-9 **ut cum belli more . . . diripuisent.** 'For twenty years the sea had been rendered unsafe by these curses of human society.' The commerce of the whole Mediterranean was in their power.
- 13-15 **sed tamen . . . decretum erat.** In 74 B.C. M. Antonius, son of the orator and father of the triumvir, was entrusted by the Senate with the task of clearing the seas from the corsairs. In spite of his extensive powers, the utter incapacity of Antonius, and the mismanagement of the Senate, caused the expedition to end in failure and disgrace.
- Result.** 'The Gabinio-Manilian proposals terminated the struggle between the senate and the popular party, which the Sempronian laws (133-123 B.C.) had begun. As the Sempronian laws first constituted the revolutionary party into a *political opposition*, the Gabinio-Manilian first converted it from an *opposition* into a *government*.'—M.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, 106-48 B.C.

Pompeius dears the Seas of Pirates, 67 B.C.

- 1 Quis enim umquam aut obeundi negoti aut
consequendi quaestus studio tam brevi tempore tot
loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter
Cn. Pompeio duce tanti belli impetus navigavit?
5 Qui nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari Siciliam
adiit, Africam exploravit, in Sardiniam cum classe
venit, atque haec tria frumentaria subsidia rei
publicae firmissimis praesidiis classibusque munivit.
Inde cum se in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis
10 et Gallia transalpina praesidiis ac navibus confirmata,
missis item in oram Illyrici maris et in Achaïam
omnemque Graeciam navibus Italiae duo maria
maximis classibus firmissimisque praesidiis adornavit,
ipse autem, ut Brundisio profectus est, undequin-
15 quagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani
Ciliciam adiunxit : omnes, qui ubique praedones
fuerant, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim unius
huius se imperio ac potestati dederunt. Ita
tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque
20 dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes
premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extrema hieme adpara-
vit, ineunte vere suscepit, media aestate confecit.

CICERO, *pro Lege Manilia*, 34, 35.

- 4 tanti belli impetus, fig. for an attacking fleet of such force,
which from its size would ordinarily sail slowly.—Wilkins.
5-8 Qui . . . munivit. Early in the year (**nondum tempestivo
ad navigandum**) Pompeius cleared of pirates the Sicilian,
African, and Sardinian waters, to re-establish the supply of
grain from these provinces to Italy.
14-18 undequingagesimo . . . dederunt. The bold Cilician sea-
kings alone ventured to face the Roman fleet in the offing of
Coracesium (at the W. frontier of Cilicia), but were completely
defeated. Forty-nine days (**undequingagesimo**) after
Pompeius had appeared in the Eastern seas, Cilicia was sub-
dued, and the war at an end. 'In all about 1300 piratical
vessels are said to have been destroyed: besides which the
richly filled arsenals and magazines of the buccaneers were
burnt. Of the pirates, about 10,000 perished (**interfecti**) ;
upwards of 20,000 fell alive (**partim capti—partim se dedi-
derunt**) into the hands of the victor.'—M.
22 ineunte vere . . . confecit. 'In the summer of 67 B.C., three
months after the beginning of the campaign, commerce
resumed its wonted course, and instead of the former famine
abundance prevailed in Italy.'—M.

This was the **first trial of rule centralised in a single
hand**, and Pompeius fully justified the confidence that was
placed in him.

Pompeius subduces Mithridates and Tigranes.

- 1 Pompeius interea memorabile adversus Mi thri-
daten, qui post Luculli profectionem magnas novi
exercitus vires reparaverat, bellum gessit. At rex
fusus fugatusque et omnibus exutus copiis Armeniam
5 Tigranenque generum petit, regem eius temporis,
nisi qua Luculli armis erat infractus, potentissimum.
Simul itaque duos persecutus Pompeius intravit
Armeniam. Prior filius Tigranis, sed discors patri,
pervenit ad Pompeium : mox ipse supplex et
10 praesens se regnumque dicioni eius permisit,
praefatus neminem alium neque Romanum neque
ullius gentis virum futurum fuisse, cuius se societate
commissurus foret, quam Pompeium; non esse
turpe ab eo vinci, quem vincere esset nefas, neque
15 inhoneste aliquem summitti huic, quem fortuna super
omnes extulisset. Servatus regi honos imperi, sed
multato ingenti pecunia, quae omnis, siouti Pompeio
moris erat, redacta in quaestoris potestatem ac
publicis descripta litteris. Syria aliaeque, quas occu-
20 paverat, provinciae ereptae, et aliae restitutae populo
Romano, aliae tum primum in eius potestatem
redactae, ut Syria, quae tum primum facta est
stipendiaria. Finis imperi regi terminatus Armenia.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, ii. 37.

Context. In 66 B.C. Lucullus, of whom Mommsen says 'hardly any other Roman general accomplished so much with so trifling means,' was superseded by Pompeius. By the Lex Manilia Pompeius obtained, in addition to the extensive powers conferred upon him by the Lex Gabinia 67 B.C., the military administration of Asia as far as Armenia. 'Never since Rome stood had such power been united in the hands of a single man.'—M.

3-4 **rex fusus . . . copiis**, i.e. in Lesser Armenia, on S. bank of R. Lycus, where Pompeius afterwards founded Nicopolis.

5 **Tigranenque generum petit**. Tigranes had married Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates.

17-19 **quae omnis . . . litteris**, i.e. paid into the Roman treasury. Cf. Lucan ix. 197 *Immodicam possedit quæ, sed plura re- tentis Intulit sc. in aerarium*.

The End of Mithridates. After his defeat at Nico polis the aged king took refuge in his Northern capital of Panticapaeum (on the Cimmerian Bosphorus). Here, when all turned against him, he took poison, 63 B.C. 'In him a great enemy was borne to the tomb, a greater than had ever yet withstood the Romans in the indolent East.'—M.

Syria made a Roman Province, 65 B.C.

GAIUS IULIUS CAESAR (3)

A. Curule Aedile, 65 B.C.

- 1 Aedilis praeter comitium ac forum basilicasque
etiam Capitolium ornavit porticibus ad tempus
exstructis, in quibus abundante rerum copia pars
apparatus exponeretur. Venationes autem ludosque
5 et cum collega et separatim edidit, quo factum est,
ut communium quoque impensarum solus gratiam
caperet, nec dissimularet collega eius Marcus Bibulus
evenisse sibi quod Polluci : ut enim geminis fratribus
aedes in foro constituta tantum Castoris vocaretur,
10 ita suam Caesarisque munificentiam unius Caesaris
dici. Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 10.

B. Proprætor in Further Spain, 61 B.C.

- Ex praetura ulteriorem sortitus Hispaniam,
retinentes creditores interventu sponsorum removit,
ac neque more neque iure, ante quam provinciae
15 ornarentur, profectus est ; pacataque provincia, pari
festinatione, non expectato successore, ad triumphum
simul consulatumque decessit. Sed cum, edictis
iam comitiis, ratio eius haberi non posset nisi
privatus introisset urbem, et ambienti ut legibus
20 solveretur multi contradicerent, coactus est tri-
umphum, ne consulatu excluderetur, dimittere.

Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*, 18.

Context. In 69 B.C. Caesar was elected to a Quaestorship (the lowest step in the ladder of official life) and discharged his judicial duties in Further Spain with tact and industry.

- A. 1 **Aedilis.** As curule-aedile Caesar exceeded all previous expenditure. This was meant to secure the favour of the democracy, and gain the position of its leader, which was in fact vacant ; for Crassus was never popular, and Pompeius was absent in the East.
- 2 **basilicas** (βασιλική *sc.* οἰκία and *σποά* : *regia*) = *halls*.
- 2 **porticibus** : these acted as booths, in a grand fair, as we should say.
- 4 **Venationes**, here of the combats with wild beasts.
- 7 **M. Bibulus**, also Caesar's colleague in his first consulship, 59 B.C.
- B. 13 **retinentes . . . removit** = *freed himself from his creditors, who were for detaining him*, by the help of sureties. Caesar is said to have borrowed from Crassus 830 talents.
- 14-15 **ante quam provinciae ornarentur** : a regular phrase used of supplying the newly chosen magistrate with money, arms, attendants, etc.
- 18 **ratio . . . posset** = *his candidature could not be considered.*
- Propraetor in F. Spain.** 'His governorship enabled him partly to rid himself of his debts partly to lay the foundation for his military repute.'—M.

B WARS, ENDING IN REVOLUTION, 133-44 B.C. 193

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THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE, 63 B.C. (1)

Cicero declaims against the Audacity of Catiline.

- 1 Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra ? Quam diu etiam furor iste tuus nos eludet ? Quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia ? Nihilne te nocturnum praesidium Palati, nihil urbis
5 vigiliae, nihil timor populi, nihil concursus bonorum omnium, nihil hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus, nihil horum ora voltusque moverunt ? Patere tua consilia non sentis ? Constrictam iam horum omnium scientia teneri coniurationem tuam non
10 vides ? Quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris, ubi fueris, quos convocaveris, quid consilii ceperis, quem nostrum ignorare arbitraris ? O tempora ! O mores ! Senatus haec intellegit ; consul videt : hic tamen vivit. Vivit ? immo vero etiam in senatum
15 venit : fit publici consilii particeps ; notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum. . . . Castra sunt in Italia contra rem publicam in Etruriae faucibus collocata : crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus ; eorum autem castrorum im-
20 peratorem ducemque hostium intra moenia atque adeo in senatu videmus intestinam aliquam cotidie perniciem rei publicae molientem. Si te iam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credo, erit verendum mihi ne non hoc potius omnes boni serius
25 a me quam quisquam crudelius factum esse dicat.

CICERO, in *Catilinam*, i. §§ 1, 2, 5.

- 1 Quo usque tandem abutere = how long, pray, will you presume upon ? Catiline had been declared *hostis patriae*, and yet dared to appear in the Senate.
4 praesidium Palati : in the case of any threatening danger the Mons Palatinus was occupied as one of the most important military points in the city.
6-7 senatus locus, i.e. the temple of Jupiter Stator, on the N. slope of the Palatine, chosen as the safest meeting-place, and near Cicero's house.
17-18 castra . . . collocata, the camp of Manlius (one of the veteran centurions of Sulla) was planted at Faesulae (Fiesole), a rocky fastness three miles N.E. of Florence.
19 imperatorem : ironical, as though Catiline were the legally appointed general of the Republic.

In **L. Catilinam Oratio i.** This splendid oration, in its fiery vigour and mastery of invective, is unsurpassed except by the Second Philippic.—Cruttwell.

Its effect on Catiline. Tum ille furibundus ' quoniam quidem circumventus ' inquit ' a b inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam. ' Sall. *Catil.* 31. That night Catiline left Rome for the camp of Manlius.

The End of Catiline.

- 1 Sed confect0 proelio tum vero cerne-
audacia quantaque vis animi fuisset in exercitu
Catilinae. Nam fere, quem quisque vivus pugnando
locum ceperat, eum, amissa anima, corpore tegebat.
- 5 Pauci autem, quos medios cohors praetoria disiecerat,
paulo divorsius, sed omnes tamen advcrsis volne-
ribus coniderant. Catilina vero longe a suis inter
hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam
spirans ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in
- 10 voltu retinens. Postremo ex omni copia neque in
proelio neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus
captus est. Ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae iuxta
pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani
laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat ; nam
- 15 strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in proelio, aut
graviter vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui
de castris visundi aut spoliandi gratia processerant,
volventes hostilia cadavera, amicum alii, pars
hospitem aut cognatum reperiebant ; fuere item, qui
- 20 inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita varie per omnem
exercitum laetitia, maeror, luctus atque gaudia
agitabantur. SALLUST, *Bellum Catilinae*, 61.

- 5 **cohors praetoria**: a *corps d'élite*, specially organised as a
bodyguard of the general (praetor = *praetor*, *prae* + *eo*),
dating from the time when the praetores was the older name
of the consuls (= *colleagues*).
- 8 **etiam** (= *adhuc*) = *still*. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 485 *etiam currus
etiam arma tenentem*.
- 11 **civis ingenuus**, i.e. a free citizen born of free citizens.
- 12 **Ita cuncti . . . pepercerant** = *so unsparing had they all been
alike of their own and their opponents' lives.*—Pollard.
- 21 **laetitia** = joy manifested, **gaudia** = joy felt.
luctus = grief shown by outward signs, e.g. by dress.
maeror = grief shown by inward signs, e.g. by tears, or a sad
face.

The Battle of Pistoria (Pistoia, N.W. of Faesulae). 'Catiline showed on this day that nature had destined him for no ordinary things, and that he knew at once how to command and how to fight as a soldier. At length Petreius, with his bodyguard, broke the centre of the enemy, and then attacked the two wings from within. This decided the day.'—M.

The character of Catiline. 'He was one of the most wicked men in that wicked age. He possessed in a high degree the qualities which are required in the leader of a band of ruined and desperate men—the faculty of enjoying all pleasures and of bearing all privations, courage, military talent, knowledge of men, indomitable energy.'—M. Cf. Sall. *Catil.* 5.

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GAIUS IULIUS CAESAR (4).

Forms the First Triumvirate : Consul, 60-59 B.C.

- 1 Hoc igitur consule inter eum et Cn. Pompeium et M. Crassum inita potentiae societas, quae urbi orbique terrarum nec minus diverso quoque tempore ipsis exitiabilis fuit. Hoc consilium sequendi
- 5 Pompeius causam habuerat, ut tandem acta in transmarinis provinciis, quibus, ut praediximus, multi obtrecebant, per Caesarem confirmarentur consulem, Caesar autem, quod animadvertibat se cedendo Pompei gloriae aucturum suam et invidia
- 10 communis potentiae in illum relegata confirmaturum vires suas, Crassus, ut quem principatum solus adsequi non poterat, auctoritate Pompei, viribus teneret Caesaris. hdfinitas etiam inter Caesarem Pompeiumque contracta nuptiis, quippe Iuliam,
- 15 filiam C. Caesaris, Cn. Magnus duxit uxorem. In hoc consulatu Caesar legem tulit, ut ager Campanus plebei divideretur, suasore legis Pompeio : ita circiter xx milia civium eo deducta et ius urbis restitutum post annos circiter CLII quam bello
- 20 Punico ab Romanis Capua in formam praefecturae redacta erat. Bibulus, collega Caesaris, cum actiones eius magis vellet impedire quam posset, maiore parte anni domi se tenuit : quo facto dum augere vult invidiam collegae, auxit potentiam. Turn Caesari de-
- 25 cretae in quinquennium Galliae. VELL. PAT. ii. 44.

1-2 **inter eum . . . societas**, the famous First Triumvirate. 'It was at first an expedient to secure, as we should say, a working majority for a vigorous democratic policy, but the bitterness of its enemies transformed the coalition itself from an honourable union into the semblance of a three-headed tyranny.'-Warde Fowler.

4-7 The ultra-senatorial party (after Pompeius' great act of renunciation, when he dismissed his victorious veterans in 62 B.C.) had checked and worried Pompeius by refusing to ratify his arrangements in the East, and by criticising and opposing his plans for rewarding his veterans. Thus they deliberately drove him once more into the arms of Caesar and the democracy.

10 **relegata** = *attributed, imputed*, lit. *removed* (re + *lego*).

19 **Bibulus, collega Caesaris** : cf. Suet. *Divus Iulius* 20 :
*Non Bibulo quicquam nuper sed Caesare factum est :
 Nam Bibulo fieri consuls nil memini.*

Caesar's First Consulship. Among his other acts was the famous *Lex Iulia de pecuniis repetundis* (against official extortion in the provinces), which won strong praise even from Cicero himself.

THE GALLIC WAR, 58-50 B.C. (1)

'That day he overcame the Nervii,' 57 B.C.

- 1 Caesar ab decimae legionis cohortatione ad
dextrum cornu profectus, ubi suos urgeri signisque
in unum locum collatis duodecimae legionis confertos
milites sibi ipsos ad pugnam esse impedimentū vidit
5 -quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis,
signifero interfecto, signo amisso, reliquarum cohortium
omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis,
in his primipilo P. Sextio Baculo, fortissimo viro,
multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto, ut iam se
10 sustinere non posset; reliquos esse tardiores et nonnullos
ab novissimis deserto proelio excedere ac tela vitare,
hostes neque a fronte ex inferiore loco subeuntes
intermittere et ab utroque latere instare, et rem esse
in angusto vidit neque ullum esse subsidium
15 quod submitti posset, scuto ab novissimis militi detracto,
quod ipse eo sine scuto venerat, in primam aciem processit;
centurionibusque nominatim appellatis reliquos cohortatus
milites signa inferre et manipulos laxare iussit, quo facilius
gladiis
20 uti possent. Cuius adventu spe illata militibus ac
redintegrato animo, cum pro se quisque in conspectu
imperatoris etiam in extremis suis rebus operam
navare cuperet, paulum hostium impetus tardatus est.

CAESAR, de B. G. ii. 25.

Context. The Nervii, the bravest of the Belgae, surprised Caesar's men while at work on their camp. There was no time to think: they took station where they could. The 9th and 10th legions on the left broke and pursued the enemy in front of them, and the two legions in the centre stood firm. But on the right there was a **gap**, and the Nervii were rapidly surrounding the two legions huddled together here, and the fight threatened every moment to become a second Cannae, **when Caesar restored the fight**. Labienus sent back the victorious 10th, who took the enemy in their rear, and the cavalry completed the victory.

14-15 **neque ullum . . . posset:** the rear guard, the 13th and 14th legions, had not yet come up.

18-19 **signa . . . laxare** = to charge, and (thus) open out the yanks.

22-23 **operam navare** = to do their very best. **navo** (orig. *gnavo*; cf. *γνώσκω*) = lit. to make known, to exhibit.

The Battle of the Sambre. One of the most desperate that Caesar ever fought. The memory of it lived in Caesar's mind so vividly that he seems to fight the battle over again as he describes it, in language for him unusually strong and intense.-W. F.

Result of the Battle, the submission of North West Gaul.

Naval Battle with the Veneti, 56 B.C.

- 1 Una erat magno nsui res praeparata a nostris,—
falces praeacutae insertae affixaeque longuriis non
absimili forma muralium falcium. His cum funes
qui antemnas ad malos destinabant comprehensi
5 adductique essent, navigio remis incitato praerum-
pebantur. Quibus abscisis antemnae necessario
concidebant ; ut, cum omnis Gallicis spes in velis
armamentisque consisteret, his ereptis omnis usus
navium uno tempore eriperetur. Reliquum erat cer-
10 tamen positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile
superabant atque eo magis, quod in conspectu Caesaris
atque omnis exercitus res gerebatur, ut nullum paulo
fortius factum latere posset ; omnes enim colles ac
loca superiora, unde erat propinquus despectus in
15 mare, ab exercitu tenebantur. Disiectis, ut diximus,
antennis, cum singulas binae ac ternae naves cir-
cumsteterant, milites summa vi transcendere in
hostium naves contendebant. Quod postquam barbari
feri animadverterunt, expugnatis compluribus navi-
20 bus, cum ei rei nullum reperiretur auxilium, fuga
salutem petere contenderunt. Ac iam conversis in
earn partem navibus quo ventus ferebat, tanta subito
malacia ac tranquillitas exstitit ut se ex loco movere
non possent. Quae quidem res ad negotium con-
25 ficiendum maxime fuit opportuna ; nam singulas
nostri consecrati expugnaverunt, ut perpaucae ex
omni numero noctis interventu ad terram perven-
erint, cum ab hora fere quarta usque ad solis occasum
pugnaretur.

CAESAR, de B. G. iii. 14, 15.

Context. In the winter of 57-6 Roman officers, who came to levy requisitions of grain, were detained by the Veneti. Caesar's attack on their coast-towns failed to reduce them to submission: so he determined to wait for his fleet. This he entrusted to Decimus Brutus, an able and devoted officer. At first the Roman galleys were powerless against the high-decked strong sailing-vessels of the Veneti, but the use of the muralis falces, and the opportune calm, enabled Brutus to annihilate their fleet.

- 11-12 quod . . . gerebatur. Napoleon (*Caesar*, vol. ii. p. 6) thinks that Caesar was encamped on the heights of Saint Gildas overlooking Quiberon Bay.

23. **malacia** = *a calm*, but *malakia* = *softness*, *L. mollieties*.

Result of the victory—the surrender of the Veneti and of all Brittany. **The earliest historical naval battle fought on the Atlantic Ocean.**—M.

THE GALLIC WAR, 58-50 B.C. (3)

Caesar's Bridge across the Rhine, 55 B.C.

- 1 Rationem pontis hanc instituit. Tigna bina
sesquipedalia paulum ab imo praeacuta, dimensa ad
altitudinem fluminis, intervallo pedum duorum inter
se iungebat. Haec cum machinationibus immissa in
5 flumen defixerat fistucisque adegerat-non sublicae
modo directe ad perpendicularum, sed prone ac fasti-
gate, ut secundum naturam fluminis procumberent—
eis item contraria duo ad eundem modum iuncta
intervallo pedum quadragenum ab inferiore parte
10 contra vim atque impetum fluminis conversa statu-
ebat. Haec utraque insuper bipedalibus trabibus
immissis, quantum eorum tignorum iunctura dis-
tabat, binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte
distinebantur ; quibus disclusis atque in contrariam
15 partem revinctis, tanta erat operis firmitudo atque
ea rerum natura ut, quo maior vis aquae se incita-
visset, hoc artius illigata tenerentur. Haec directa
materia iniecta contexebantur ac longuriis cratibusque
consternebantur ; ac nihilo setius sublicae et ad
20 inferiorem partem fluminis oblique agebantur, quae
pro ariete subiectae et cum omni opere coniunctae
vim fluminis exciperent ; et aliae item supra pontem
mediocri spatio, ut, si arborum trunci sive naves
deiciendi operis essent a barbaris immissae, his
25 defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur, neu ponti
nocerent.

CAESAR, de B. G. iv. 17.

Context. The year 55 B.C. appears to have been marked by a general movement in the migration of the German tribes. An advance, consisting of two tribes, the Usipetes and Tenctri, crowded forward by the more powerful Suevi, crossed the Lower Rhine into N. Gaul. Caesar drove them back across the Rhine, **bridged the river**, followed them up into their own territories, and fully established the supremacy of the Roman arms.—Allen and Greenough.

- 5 **fistucisque adegerat** = and had driven them home (ad-) with rammers. For Plan of Bridge see Allen's *Caesar*, p. 163.
11-14 **distinebantur** = these two sets were held apart by two-foot timbers laid on above, equal (in thickness) to the interval left by the fastening of the piles (**quantum . . . distabat**), with a pair of ties (**fibulis**) at each end.—A. & G.
17-18 **contexebantur** = these (i.e. the framework of timber) were covered over by boards (material laid lengthwise.
longuriis = with long poles.

The Bridge (prob. near Bonn). 'With extraordinary speed (in ten days) the bridge was completed. It was a triumph of engineering and industry.'—W. F.

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THE GALLIC WAR, 58-50 B.C. (4)

Cassivellaunus. Second Invasion of Britain, 54 B.C.

- 1 Cassivellaunus, omni deposita spe contentionis, dimissis amplioribus copiis, milibus circiter quattuor essedariorum relictis itinera nostra servabat : paulumque ex via excedebat locisque impeditis ac sil-
- 5 vestribus sese occuitabat, atque eis regionibus quibus nos iter facturos cognoverat pecora atque homines ex agris in silvas compellebat ; et cum equitatus noster liberius praedandi vastandique causa se in agros eiecerat, omnibus viis semitisque essedarios ex
- 10 silvis emittebat ; et magno cum periculo nostrorum equitum cum eis confligebat atque hoc metu latius vagari prohibebat. Relinquebatur ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi **Caesar** pateretur, et tantum in agris vastandis incendiisque faciendis
- 15 hostibus noceretur quantum in labore atque itinere legionarii milites efficere poterant. . . . Cassivellaunus hoc proelio nuntiato, tot detrimentis acceptis, vastatis finibus, maxime etiam permotus defectione civitatum, legatos per Atrebatem Commium de
- 20 deditione ad Caesarem mittit.

CAESAR, *de B. G. v. 19, 22.*

Context. The First Invasion of Britain (55 B.C.) was only a visit of exploration; but in the Second Invasion (54 B.C.) Caesar aimed at a partial conquest. He had been hearing of Britain ever since he came to Gaul, and knew it to be a refuge for his Celtic enemies and a secret source of their strength. He set sail from the Portus Itius (mod. Wissant, some twelve miles W. of Calais) and after drifting some way to the N.E., made his way to his former landing-place, probably near Romney. Some severe fighting followed, till at length Caesar crossed the Thames (apparently between Kingston and Brentford) and entered the country of Cassivellaunus, who gave Caesar much trouble by his guerrilla tactics. Deserted by his allies, Cassivellaunus offered his submission, which Caesar gladly accepted.

- 1 **Contentionis**, i.e. of a general engagement with Caesar.
- 12 **Relinquebatur ut** = the consequence was that . . .
- 17 **hoc proelio**, i.e. the storming by Caesar of his fortified camp, perh. St. Albans.
- 18-19 **defectione civitatum**, espec. of the Trinobantes (chief place *Camulodunum*, later *Colonia castrum* = *Colchester*).
- 19 **Commius**, Caesar had made him King of the Atrebates (N.W. Gaul).
- 24 **Caesar in Britain.** 'What he tells us of the geography and inhabitants of the Island comprises almost all we know, except from coins, down to the time of its final conquest by Clodius 51 A.D.'—W. F.

The Gallic uprising, Fabian, tactics of Vercingetorix,
52 B.C.

- 1 Vercingetorix tot continuis incommodis acceptis
suos ad concilium convocat. Docet 'longe alia
ratione esse bellum gerendum atque antea gestum
sit ; omnibus modis huic rei studendum ut pabula-
5 tione et commeatu Romani prohibeantur : id esse
facile, quod equitatu ipsi abundant et quod anni
tempore sublevantur ; pabulum secari non posse ;
necessario dispersos hostes ex aedificiis petere ; hos
omnes cotidie ab equitibus deleri posse. Praeterea,
10 salutis causa rei familiaris commoda negligenda ;
vicos atque aedificia incendi oportere hoc spatio
quoqueversus, quo pabulandi causa adire posse
videantur. Harum ipsis rerum copiam suppetere,
quod quorum in finibus bellum geratur eorum opibus
15 sublevantur : Romanos aut inopiam non laturos aut
magno cum periculo longius a castris processuros ;
neque interesse ipsosne interficiant an impedimentis
exuant, quibus amissis bellum geri non possit.
Praeterea, oppida incendi oportere quae non muni-
20 tione et loci natura ab omni sint periculo tuta ; ne
suis sint ad detrectandam militiam receptacula, neu
Homanis proposita ad copiam commeatus prae-
damque tollendam. Haec si gravia aut acerba
videantur, multo illa gravius aestimari debere,
25 liberos, coniuges in servitutem abstrahi, ipsos inter-
fici ; quae sit necesse accidere victis.'

CAESAR, *de B. G.* vii. 14.

Context. On his return from Britain, Caesar found the N. Gads in open revolt. The division of Sabinus (at Aduatuca, near Liège) was annihilated by Ambiorix. and Caesar WAS only just in time to relieve Q. Cioero at Charleroi. To prevent all further support to the Gauls from the Germans across the Rhine, Caesar again made a military demonstration across the river, and put an end to all the hopes of the Germans of breaking through this boundary. In the winter of 53-2 B.C., during his absence in Cisalpine Gaul, a **general uprising of the S. and Central Gauls took place under the Arvernian Vercingetoris, the hero of the whole Gallic race.**

- 6-7 **anni tempore**, i.e. scarcely yet spring, when no crops could be got off the land.
11-12 **hoc spatio quoqueversus, quo = so far in every direction as.**
19 **oppida incendi** : only Avarium (Bourges) was to be spared.
22 **proposita** = offered to be captured by the Romans.
The tactics of Vercingetorix. 'He adopted a system of warfare similar to that by which Cassivellaunus had saved the Celts of Britain.'—M.

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.