Julius Caesar Commentaries on the Gallic War Books 1–5 and 6.11–24

C. Iulii Caesaris Commentarii Rerum Gestarum De Bello Gallico

Text, Notes, Companion, and Vocabulary by Francis W. Kelsey

REVISED AND WITH A NEW INTRODUCTION BY

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Preface

This project was undertaken for the simple reason that I wanted to have undergraduate students of Latin read widely from Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War* and no school commentary is in print from which I might do so. Commentaries on individual books of the Gallic War are available, and several new commentaries are appearing on the selections from the Gallic War that were chosen for the Advanced Placement Exam in Latin (introduced in spring 2013), but nothing that presents multiple books in their entirety for college level instruction.

Rather than reinvent the wheel, I am bringing back into print the best of the older school commentaries on the Gallic War, namely that published in 1918 by Francis W. Kelsey. The excellence of Kelsey's work is due to its rigor and completeness. Not only is the student presented with the complete text of over five (of the seven Caesarian) books of the Gallic War, but he or she also encounters a thorough grammatical (and sometimes historical) commentary, a complete Latin-English vocabulary for all the selections included, and an extensive Latin grammar keyed to the usage of Caesar (which also incorporates a description of the relevant geography and the military terms and practices of Caesar's time). The intermediate to advanced Latin student in a contemporary college classroom thus finds herein all he or she needs to make rapid progress in accurately comprehending Caesar's Latinity and narrative style. No other materials are needed.

The commentary is not interpretive, but focuses on improving the student's understanding of Latin grammar, syntax, and idiom. The notes are curt but rigorous, the vocabulary and grammar companion full and precise. The commentary regularly refers the student (by means of italicized numbers) to the grammar companion, and the companion itself is cross-referenced to the more advanced Latin grammars of Allen & Greenough and Bennett. Kelsey's work has remained the most complete student aid to reading Caesar since its publication in 1918, and it deserves to be revised and returned to the classroom.

My role in revising the manuscript involved several steps: proofreading the text files created by digitally scanning Kelsey's original text, limiting the even greater range of Kelsey's selections to Books 1-5 and 6.11-24 (and modifying the companion and vocabulary accordingly), and revising Kelsey's commentary and companion such that they are modernized and more accurately pitched to the needs of contemporary intermediate college Latin students (whom I teach every year). I then wrote an entirely new introduction within the context of current scholarship and with references to selected bibliography.

My revisions were student-tested by a group of undergraduates who volunteered to read and critique the complete text and commentary: Zac Bauman, Michael Boal, Keil Chase, Wesley Hanson, Aaron Heuckroth, and David Welch. Over a span of two academic years they made many suggestions to improve this book, and the collaboration was one of the most satisfying of my teaching career. Keil Chase also devoted many hours to standardizing and revising the text and notes; his speed and precision merit particular commendation. Other students and colleagues also helped with various aspects of the project: Carolyn Carey and Jennifer Devereaux in editing the commentary, Lester Stephens in clarifying the text, Alexandrea Sherman in revising the vocabulary, Barbara Craig in editing the Companion, Aislinn Melchior and Melissa Stem in improving the introduction, Christopher Craig in testing out a nearly finished version on his students in Tennessee. I owe the inspiration behind the whole project, as well as much of the original scanning and initial editing, to Giles Laurén. Ellen Bauerle and David Potter were instrumental in getting the book in its final form. I remain very grateful for all this help; whatever mistakes or obfuscations remain can only be attributed to my obtuseness in the face of so much good advice.

If you, as a reader or teacher of Caesar's Latin, discover errors in the text or commentary (whether simple typographical errors or mistakes of identification or description), I would appreciate learning of them (via email: srstem@ucdavis.edu) so that they could be corrected in a revised edition.

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Introduction to Caesar's Commentaries on the Gallic War

Reading from the Beginning

Julius Caesar is likely the most famous Roman of them all. His legacy transcends his life. Over the centuries he has become the archetype of the great man, especially the autocratic and imperialistic great man. He bestrode the narrow world like a colossus (Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, Act 1, Scene 2). His actions created metaphors we still use today: he crossed the Rubicon, but did not beware the Ides of March.

Caesar is most famous for his initiation of a civil war against the Senate of the Roman Republic, which he won, after which he became dictator for life, for which, in turn, he was assassinated as a tyrant by Brutus and Cassius. Was his assassination justified? Is murder the right response to a dictatorial threat to republican liberty? Are effective autocrats or unruly republics better for the common good? These questions have been debated, with Caesar as the test case, for the last two thousand years. Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* captures the eye of the storm.

Hence what we know best about Caesar is that he was perceived to have become a tyrant and was killed for it. That is the end point of his story—a powerful and famous ending. And since we know how things end up, we have a tendency to read everything that happened before in light of that ending. This habit was already established when Caesar's ancient biographers summed up his life, and its appeal has never really waned.¹

But there is an interpretive cost to reading back from the end, since the players within the historical drama at the time did not yet know the ending. During the nine years Caesar spent conquering Gaul, he could not have known that he would afterward prevail in a civil war but be killed for it. To read from the end is thus to skew the story as it unfolded, to obfuscate the contingencies of what happened, to add an inevitability that could only have emerged after the fact. A better way to understand Caesar's actions in the Gallic War is to read from the beginning and assess his understanding of events and his responses to them as they develop. This introduction, therefore, will not look forward to what happened after the Gallic War, and it will begin not from the end, but from the beginning, from Caesar's political position in Rome when his consulship ended and his command in Gaul began.²

Caesar in January 58 BC

The consulship was Rome's executive office, held jointly each year by two men. The attainment of the consulship was the peak of a successful political career. When Caesar was elected consul for the year 59 BC, the earliest year for which he was eligible, he added glory to his patrician lineage, especially since his father and grandfather had not reached the consulship. Moreover, during his year in office he oversaw significant legislative enactments, his closest two political associates—Pompey and Crassus—were among the most powerful men in Rome, and he had been granted the proconsulship

- 1 Suetonius, Caesar 30.5: "There are some who think that, seduced by the habit of command, he assessed his strength and that of his enemies and seized the opportunity to grasp the absolute power that he had wanted from an early age" (translation from Hurley 2011: 18). Plutarch, Caesar 69.1: "Caesar died after living fifty-six years in all.... He had sought dominion and power all his days, and after facing so many dangers he had finally achieved them. And the only fruit it bore him was its name, and the perils of fame amid his envious fellow-citizens" (translation from Pelling 2011: 127).
- 2 Recommended starting points for engaging with Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War*: Quinn 1982, Conte 1994: 225–33, Welch 1998, Kraus 2009. For gateways into *Gallic War* scholarship, see Welch and Powell 1998, Riggsby 2006, Grillo and Krebs 2017. Of older scholarship, Adcock 1956 remains an eloquent overview of Caesar as a man of letters, and the works of T. Rice Holmes (1907, 1914, 1931) are valuable on many points of detail. For Caesar's *Commentaries on the Civil War*, see Batstone and Damon 2006, Grillo 2012.

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Introductory Materials

(governorship) of Cisalpine Gaul (what we regard today, roughly, as northern Italy), Transalpine Gaul (the Mediterranean coastal region of modern France, plus the Rhone River valley), and Illyricum (the coastal regions of the former Yugoslavia) for an unusually long period of five years. The responsibility for governing such a large area for so long was an enormous opportunity for further glory, especially in war, which the Romans particularly valued. From this perspective, to imagine Caesar in January of 58 is to picture him at the height of Rome's political class and preparing for a period abroad that would complement his domestic authority.

But the reality was different. Caesar's legislative enactments were tainted by his use of violence, intimidation, and disregard for protocol. Yet he was compelled to force the legislation through because he was beholden to Pompey and Crassus, with whose alliance he had secured election to the consulship. He was the junior member of the three, and they expected returns on their investment in him. All three became deeply resented among the Roman senatorial class, and Caesar, as their operational figurehead, most of all. Stalwarts in the Senate had vowed that he would be held accountable for the actions during his consulship that they regarded as unconstitutional. He was immune to formal accountability as long as he held his proconsulship, but he knew, even as he prepared to depart for Gaul, that he was facing a politically difficult return to Rome. The price of his success, in terms of public opinion, had been high, and the promise of his political future was clouded.

In early 58 it would have been hard to imagine that Caesar would end up richer than Crassus, a greater general than Pompey, and the most famous Roman of them all. But Caesar was resourceful, and he was willing to take risks with high stakes. During the civil war of Marius and Sulla, for example, Sulla ordered Caesar, then only 18 years old, to divorce his wife because of her close ties to the partisans of Marius. Caesar refused and went on the run to avoid Sulla's agents and the bounty on his head. Sulla eventually backed down. When Cicero had arrested five accomplices of Catiline in 63 BC, and the Senate was leaning toward sanctioning their execution, Caesar was the only one to speak against execution in favor of rigorous imprisonment and, at least temporarily, changed the majority opinion of the Senate. He was later confronted as a Catilinarian accomplice, but he stared down the opposition. He borrowed so much money in 63 BC for his campaign for the priestly office of pontifex maximus that he is reported to have told his mother on the morning of the election that he would return victorious or ruined. He returned victorious. After his praetorship in 61 BC, when he wished to set out to his governorship in Spain, his debts remained so high that his creditors refused to let him leave. Yet he secured sureties from Crassus, then conquered and plundered enough territory in Spain to pay all his debts. When it was time to set out for Gaul, therefore, Caesar had experienced potentially career-ending crises before, and he had found the means to overcome the challenges of each.³

Caesar's political challenges in early 58 BC were to restore his political reputation and to recapture the affection of the Roman people. He could not do so in person, for he would be absent from the city for five years (later extended to nine). Thus he needed a way to broadcast his voice from afar, to keep his achievements on behalf of the Roman people on their lips and in their imagination. His solution was to write his *Commentaries on the Gallic War*.

Caesar as Author: Writing the Commentaries on the Gallic War

Caesar was an able orator, reputed by some to be second only to Cicero in his generation. He also thought intensely about proper Latin usage and style of expression, as evidenced by the fact that in the midst of the Gallic War he wrote a treatise, dedicated to Cicero and yet challenging him, in defense of systematic precision in the use of language and vocabulary. Thus it is not surprising that he

- 3 For Caesar's life up to the Gallic War, start with Suetonius, *Caesar* 1–23, and Plutarch, *Caesar* 1–15, after which the biographical chapters in Griffin 2009 provide good context while demonstrating how the ancient accounts can be challenged. Fuller accounts can be found at Goldsworthy 2006: 1–181 (more readable) and Gelzer 1968: 1–101 (more scholarly).
- 4 On Caesar as orator and writer, see Cicero, *Brutus* 251–62; Suetonius, *Caesar* 55–56; Quintilian 10.1.114. Regarding his treatise *On Analogy*, now lost, the best piece of evidence for its perspective (quoted at Aulus Gellius 1.10.4) is the advice: "just as you would avoid a rock in the sea, so you should avoid the unfamiliar and unusual word" (*ut tamquam scopulam, sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum*). See further Hall 1998, Fantham 2009,
- 2 Julius Caesar Gallic War

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Debating Caesar's Achievement in the Gallic War

The Gallic War stretched over nine years, and it can be separated into three distinct phases: the initial conquest (58–56 BC), explorations from Gaul into Germany and Britain (55–54), and the eruption of a united Gallic resistance that necessitated a second Roman conquest (53–50). Caesar connects each year of the campaign through cause-and-effect relationships. His success against the Helvetians caused other Gallic tribes to seek his aid against the Germans who were occupying Gallic lands. His defeat of the Germans (at the end of Book 1) led him into central Gaul, where he met resistance from the Belgae and others in the northern region (Book 2). New resistance emerged in the third part of Gaul, Aquitania, in the following year (Book 3), and the next year saw a new German threat coming across the Rhine, which caused him to bridge the Rhine and explore Germany (the first half of Book 4). A similar sense of proactive exploration also led to two expeditions into Britain (Books 4 and 5). The winter after the return from Britain saw the origins of a widespread Gallic revolt, which at first caught Caesar by surprise (second half of Book 5), and which he was unable to root out (Book 6) until nearly the whole of Gaul unified against him and sparked a final, massive battle at Alesia (Book 7), followed by two years of mopping up (Hirtius' Book 8).

What the narrative of the war describes, in sum, is a vast amount of territory conquered by one army under one commander in one far-reaching war, achieved through a series of major victories, some under very difficult circumstances. After the second and fourth years of the war, the Roman Senate recognized Caesar with public celebrations of unprecedented length (2.35.4, 4.38.5), and the ancient historical tradition of the Gallic War after Caesar is strongly positive. Plutarch, for example, asserts that Caesar's generalship in Gaul demonstrated that he was the greatest of all Roman generals (*Caesar* 15). From the perspective of the ancient tradition, Caesar seems to have won the public relations battle that he designed his *Commentaries* to fight.¹⁷

Readers now, however, face two high hurdles to appreciating Caesar's achievement. One is a distaste for large-scale military violence. The massive numbers of Gallic casualties that Caesar reports are shocking and brutal to modern sensibilities, acts of genocide rather than justifiable conquest. The second is a distrust of political rhetoric. Caesar's attempt to lead his reader into adopting his perspective on events usually triggers an immediate sense of resistance in readers who have learned not to trust what politicians say about their own virtues.

These obstacles deserve to be faced directly. For the first, I would urge a sense of cultural relativism. The Romans embraced war as fundamental to their identity as Romans. ¹⁸ If we wish to understand Rome on its own terms, then the power of Caesar's warcraft deserves to be read and studied on its own terms. It is valuable to learn to embrace the perspective of a text without adopting it oneself. The same can be said of the second obstacle, since examining how Caesar seeks to persuade—particularly when one is wary of being persuaded—allows one to study persuasion itself, both what makes it effective and how it can be resisted. Because his persuasion is embodied within an unassuming style, he is easily read as a discerning reporter on events rather than as the agent of his own narrative. To resist his conclusions therefore requires that a reader remember the necessity to do so. Yet to appreciate him as a writer requires a reader who observes how he confounds that necessity.

¹⁷ For Caesar's success in influencing the later tradition of the Gallic War, see Welch 1998: 96–97, Osgood 2009: 349–53, and, in more detail, Pelling 1984 and 2011. Caesar's legacy overall was much more mixed (e.g., Pliny, *Natural History* 7.92): see further Pelling 2006, Wyke 2008, and the chapters (as well as the Introduction) on Caesar's reputation, ancient and modern, in Griffin 2009.

Collins 1972: 922–42, supported by Seager 2003, demonstrates that Caesar's aggressive imperialism was unlikely to have offended contemporary Roman attitudes (though Powell 1998 perceives defensiveness in Caesar's depiction of massacre).

¹⁰ Julius Caesar • Gallic War

Introduction to Kelsey's Commentary

The Purpose and Method of This Commentary

The purpose of this commentary, as revised, is to clarify the rules and patterns of Latin syntax for readers of Caesar's Latin at the intermediate or advanced college level. It does offer some historical details and background to the events described, but the focus is the explication of the grammar of the Latin. It does not offer literary or historiographical interpretation; it is not a commentary for scholars. It is for students and teachers of students, and it tries to anticipate and answer their questions through detailed explanation. It sometimes offers translations, literal and/or idiomatic, though it more often identifies the syntax of the word or phrase. The goal is that students can begin to read and understand Caesar's Latin with increasing proficiency and confidence. The notes are very heavy at the beginning, but gradually thin. Relative beginners should likely start reading from the beginning of Book 1, while relatively advanced students should still get a workout by reading Book 5. One can move at one's individual pace, or a class could read selections of different types from different books. The first five books of the *Commentaries* are included here in their entirety, plus chapters 11–24 of Book 6 (the discussion of Gallic and German customs). No other student commentary on Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War* offers such breadth of text with such depth of grammatical coverage.

A major strength of this book is the inclusion, immediately after the text and commentary, of a full-scale Latin grammar keyed to Caesarian usage (called the "Companion to Caesar"). Notes in the commentary often include or consist of numbers in italics: these numbers are references to the section in the Companion that explains the grammatical or historical feature in question. The opening of Book 2, for example, begins Cum esset Caesar, and one finds in the commentary "esset: 185c." If one is not confident in explaining the form esset in this sentence, one can turn to the Companion, section 185, part c, and read a one-sentence summary, with two examples quoted from Caesar, of circumstantial cum-clauses (the note also includes reference to the explanations of this topic in Allen and Greenough's New Latin Grammar [AG] and Bennett's New Latin Grammar [B]). If one does not need the help, then one need not consult the Companion. In the commentary for 2.1.4, to take another example, one finds "ad conducendos homines: 'for hiring men,' i.e., mercenary soldiers; 230.3." The phrase is translated (primarily to explain the sense of conducendos), the sense of homines is then glossed, and the reference to the Companion (230.3) points you to an explanation, with two examples quoted from Caesar, of the use of gerundives in the accusative after ad to express purpose (also with further references to Allen and Greenough and to Bennett). Combined with the comprehensive vocabulary at the back of the book, the commentary and Companion are intended to provide the student, within this book, with everything needed to understand the grammar of Caesar's Latin text.

A particular strength of this book is the effort it applies to the understanding of passages in indirect discourse, especially extended indirect discourse, of which Caesar is rather fond in these *Commentaries*. Where there seemed to be pedagogical value in doing so, passages of indirect discourse are printed in italics as a visual cue to the reader to recognize the different syntax of these passages. Immediately below passages of extended indirect discourse (e.g., in chapter 13 of Book 1) is a rendering of those passages in direct form, with all words that would differ in indirect discourse printed in italics. A reader may thus start with the direct form, then study the differences from the indirect form, or translate the indirect discourse as Caesar wrote it with recourse to the direct form whenever clarification is needed.

Also included in the Companion, after the survey of grammar and syntax (chapters 1–249), are discussions of the geography of Gaul (chapters 250–66) and the Roman military (chapters 267–311). The presentation of military matters is intended to introduce students to the vocabulary and practices that were fundamental to the methods and organization of the Roman army in Caesar's time, with specific reference to Caesar's narrative. Caesar assumes such knowledge, thus his readers need to be aware of it. It is advisable that students read the geographical and military portions of the Companion early in their reading of Caesar.

BOOKI

2 **sua:** 'their possessions'; 154a. **possent:** 184a. **rogatum:** 'to ask for', the supine of purpose after a verb of motion; 231a. **auxilium:** 'help'; 231b.

sita, etc: indirect quotation (thus marked in italic type). Direct form: ita (nos) omni tempore de populo Romano meriti sumus, ut, paene in conspectu exercitus tui, agri vastari, liberi nostri in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint. ita...ut: 'in such a way... that'; 197. se omni tempore de populo Romano meritos esse: '(saying) that they had at all times merited (fair treatment) from the Roman people'; 213b. More than 60 years before, in 121 BC, the Aeduans had been recognized by treaty as socii populi Romani, 'allies of the Roman people.' nostri: 157c. agri, liberi, oppida: subjects of non debuerint. vastari, abduci, expugnari: 221a. liberi eorum: 'their children.' servitutem: 'slavery,' the penalty of capture; 10f. non debuerint: 'ought not'; perfect subjunctive after (i.e., chronologically prior to) the historical present mittunt; 177; 197b. The perfect tense of debuerint, followed by present infinitives, thus sets the action of the infinitives in the past. In English, however, since the verb 'ought' is defective and has no perfect tense, the perfect tense of debuerint has to be transferred to the infinitives: 'ought not to have been laid waste... ought not to have been led away... ought not to have been taken by assault'; 249b.

4necessarii: 'relatives,' including connections by marriage; 91a; 154a. consanguinei: 'kinsmen,' comprising only blood relations. depopulatis agris: 144b2; here the deponent participle is felt as passive; 59b. ab oppidis: 127b. prohibere: 213a.

s **trans Rhodanum:** i.e., on the north side of the Rhone, probably west of the Mill-Race Gorge. **fuga:** 136b. **se recipiunt:** lit. 'withdraw themselves.' **demonstrant:** 'stated'; 175b. **sibi...nihil esse reliqui:** 'that they had nothing left'; 213a. **sibi:** 111. **agri solum:** 'the bare ground', lit. 'the soil of the field.' **reliqui:** used as a noun, a partitive genitive dependent on *nihil* ('nothing of a remainder'; 'nothing (of) left'); 97a.

6 Quibus: 167. non exspectandum sibi: sc. esse, '(that) he ought not to wait', lit. '(that) it should not be waited for by him'; 73e; 89c; 213a. sibi: 110. dum...pervenirent: 190b. fortunis: here 'possessions', 'property.' omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis: 144b2. Santonos: 'the (country of) the Santoni,' who were previously (I.10.1) referred to as the 'Santones'; 19e; 282.

Caesar cuts to pieces one division of the Helvetians at the Arar.

12. 1 Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Aeduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit incredibili lenitate ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, iudicari non possit. Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus iunctis transibant. 2 Ubi per exploratores Caesar certior factus est tres iam partes copiarum Helvetios id flumen traduxisse, quartam vero partem citra flumen Ararim reliquam esse, de tertia vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris profectus ad eam partem pervenit, quae nondum flumen transierat. 3 Eos impeditos et inopinantes aggressus, magnam partem eorum concidit; reliqui sese fugae mandarunt atque in proximas silvas abdiderunt. 4 Is pagus appellabatur Tigurinus; nam omnis civitas Helvetia in quattuor pagos divisa est. 5 Hic pagus unus, cum domo exisset, patrum nostrorum memoria L. Cassium consulem interfecerat et eius exercitum sub iugum miserat. 6 Ita sive casu sive consilio deorum immortalium, quae pars civitatis Helvetiae insignem calamitatem populo Romano intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit. 7 Qua in re Caesar non solum publicas, sed etiam privatas iniurias ultus est, quod eius soceri L. Pisonis avum, L. Pisonem legatum, Tigurini eodem proelio, quo Cassium, interfecerant.

1 Flumen est Arar: 'There is a river, the Arar'; 90a. Arar: now Saône (pronounced sōn); 18e. per fines: for a part of its course the Arar formed the boundary between the Aeduans and the Sequanians. incredibili lenitate: 'of incredible sluggishness'; 143a. incredibili: 74f. oculis: 'with the eye'; 92a; 131a. in utram partem: 'in (lit. 'into') which direction'; 23a. fluat: 204.3. iudicari: 'to be determined'; 221a. possit: the subject is the indirect question in . . . fluat, but it is easiest to translate as impersonal: 'it is not able to be determined'; 197b. lintribus iunctis: 'by (means of) small boats fastened together'; the floats thus constructed, as well as the rafts, could be easily poled across in the still water; 15a; 131a. It is also plausible to conceive of the phrase as an ablative absolute; 144b6.

2 exploratores: 'scouting parties'; 287. tres...traduxisse: translate as if Helvetios iam ('already') duxisse tres partes ('three quarters') copiarum trans id flumen; 114a. citra: 'on this side of,' i.e., the east side; 122a. Ararim: 18e. de tertia vigilia: 242d. legionibus tribus: around ten to twelve thousand men; 137b. castris: probably not far from Sathonay, east of the Saône, above its junction with the Rhone; see Map 1. profectus: 61a3. 3 Eos: 160b. impeditos et inopinantes: The Helvetians were completely surprised and had no chance to form a line of battle; the Roman soldiers plied their short swords rapidly and effectively; 282e. aggressus: 'attacking'; 57c; 226c. reliqui: 154a; 171a. mandarunt: = mandaverunt; lit. 'committed themselves (sese) to flight,' i.e.,

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I.2-29: Campaign against the Helvetii

- 'took to flight'; 64a1. in: translate as 'in' (lit. 'into') on account of the idea of motion in *abdiderunt*, as if, i.e., they (went) 'into the nearest woods' (and) 'concealed themselves.'
- 4 pagus: 'canton,' properly a territorial division, but here referring to its inhabitants. **Tigurinus:** 148a. civitas: 257a. divisa: 148c.
- s domo: 130b. exisset: 68b; 185c. memoria: 'within the memory'; 147b. L. Cassium... miserat: see I.7.4. 6 sive... sive: 235b. casu: 'by chance'; 20; 135a. deorum: 8d. quae pars civitatis Helvetiae...ea: translate as if ea pars civitatis Helvetiae quae; 165c. populo: 107. princeps persolvit: 'was the first to pay,' lit. 'first paid'; 152b. poenas: 92a.
- 7 Qua: 167. non solum . . . sed etiam: 236d. ultus est: 61a3. quod: causal, i.e., 'because.' quod . . . interfecerant: i.e., quod Tigurini, eodem proelio quo Cassium (interfecerant), interfecerant Lucium Pisonem legatum, avum Lucii Pisonis, eius (Caesar's) soceri. Lucius Calpurnius Piso, consul in 58 BC, was the father of Caesar's fourth wife, Calpurnia. soceri: 7b. proelio: 147b.

Caesar bridges the Arar and crosses; the Helvetians send envoys.

13. 1 Hoc proelio facto, reliquas copias Helvetiorum ut consequi posset, pontem in Arari faciendum curat atque ita exercitum traducit. 2 Helvetii, repentino eius adventu commoti, cum id, quod ipsi diebus XX aegerrime confecerant, ut flumen transirent, illum uno die fecisse intellegerent, legatos ad eum mittunt; cuius legationis Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano dux Helvetiorum fuerat. 3 Is ita cum Caesare egit: si pacem populus Romanus cum Helvetiis faceret, in eam partem ituros atque ibi futuros Helvetios, ubi eos Caesar constituisset atque esse voluisset; 4 sin bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur et veteris incommodi populi Romani et pristinae virtutis Helvetiorum. 5 Quod improviso unum pagum adortus esset, cum ei, qui flumen transissent, suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae magnopere virtuti tribueret aut ipsos despiceret; 6 se ita a patribus maioribusque suis didicisse ut magis virtute contenderent quam dolo aut insidiis niterentur. 7 Quare ne committeret, ut is locus, ubi constitissent, ex calamitate populi Romani et internecione exercitus nomen caperet aut memoriam proderet.

Direct form (I.13.3-7): 3 Si pacem populus Romanus cum Helvetiis faciet, in eam partem ibunt atque ibi erunt Helvetii, ubi eos (tu) constitueris atque esse volueris; 4 sin bello persequi perseverabis, reminiscere et veteris incommodi populi Romani et pristinae virtutis Helvetiorum. 5 Quod improviso unum pagum adortus es, cum ei, qui flumen transierant, suis auxilium ferre non possent, noli ob eam rem aut tuae magnopere virtuti tribuere aut nos despicere; 6 (nos) ita a patribus maioribusque nostris didicimus, ut magis virtute contendamus quam dolo aut insidiis nitamur. 7 Quare noli committere ut is locus, ubi constiterimus [future perfect], ex calamitate populi Romani et internecione exercitus nomen capiat aut memoriam prodat.

- 1 **Hoc proelio facto**: 144b2. **consequi**: 'to pursue'; 61a3. **posset**: 196a. **pontem faciendum curat**: 'he (Caesar) had a bridge built,' lit. 'provided for a bridge to be made'; 229b. It was doubtless a pontoon bridge, designed and built by the engineers, *fabri*, enrolled in the legions; 270b. in: 'over,' lit. 'on.'
- 2 **cum...intellegerent:** translate as if *cum intellegerent illum* (Caesar) *uno die fecisse* ('had accomplished') *id quod*, etc.; 178; 185c. **XX:** *viginti*; 38b. **ut flumen transirent:** a substantive clause explaining *id*; translate as if a noun: '(namely) the crossing of the river,' lit. 'that they cross the river'; 203.4. **cuius legationis:** 'and of this delegation'; 167. **princeps:** 10b. **bello Cassiano:** 'in the war with Cassius,' lit. 'in the Cassian war'; 147b. Since the defeat of Cassius took place in 107 BC, Divico must have been at least 70 or 80 years old at the time of which Caesar was writing, 58 BC.
- 3 **cum Caesare egit:** 'conferred with Caesar'; 137c. **faceret, ituros** (esse), **futuros** (esse): 89c; 218.1a. **ubi:** = 'where' (refers back to *ibi*). **constituisset, voluisset:** future perfect indicative in the direct form, since the action is prior to that of the future tense of the apodosis. In indirect discourse, indicative verbs in subordinate clauses shift in mood to subjunctive, and the tense of the subjunctive demonstrates relative time to that of the main verb. Since the main verb of speaking here is the perfect *egit*, the pluperfect subjunctive is necessary to maintain priority to the action of the main verb; 177a; 214a; 246.
- 4 **Sin:** 'But if,' suggesting a second condition in contrast to the first. **bello:** 131a. **persequi:** sc. eos, 'to assail (them)'; 61a3; 221a. **perseveraret:** '(Caesar) should continue.' **reminisceretur:** indirect command (i.e., an imperative in the direct form), 'he should remember'; 216 (or, like a jussive subjunctive, 'let him remember'; 180b). **veteris:** 26a. **incommodi:** the defeat of Cassius. Why genitive? 103a.
- s **Quod:** 'The fact that'; 198b. **pagum:** see I.12.4. **adortus esset, transissent:** 214a. **suis:** 'to their own (countrymen)'; 154a. **possent:** subjunctive also in the direct form; 185c. **ne ob eam rem aut suae magnopere**

BOOKI

virtuti tribueret aut ipsos despiceret: 'he should neither attribute very much to his own virtue on account of the fact (that he had attacked one canton unexpectedly, when . . .), nor should he look down upon them.' **ne . . . tribueret, despiceret:** negated indirect commands (i.e., the negative form of the imperative in the direct form), which can also be translated 'let him neither attribute . . . nor look down'); 216. **rem:** the 'fact' expressed by the clause *Quod . . . adortus esset.* **aut . . . aut:** 'either . . . or' (235), but here negated by *ne* and so best translated as 'neither . . . nor.' **magnopere:** adverb, here taking the place of a direct object. **virtuti:** 104b. **ipsos:** 'them,' i.e., *Helvetios:* 162b.

6 ita...ut: 197b. maioribus: 'forefathers'; 154a. didicisse: 'had learned'; 178. ut... contenderent: 'to fight,' lit. '(such) that they fight'; 197a. magis: 'rather'; 35. quam (ut) niterentur: 'than to rely upon.' dolo aut insidiis: 'deceit or ambushes'; 131c.

7 Quare: 237a. ne committeret, ut is locus... nomen caperet: 'he should not cause that place to take its name,' lit. 'he should not bring it about (or 'let him not bring it about') that that place take its name.' committeret: cf. tribueret, I.13.5. ut... caperet: substantive clause of result; 203.3. ubi constitissent: 'where they had taken their stand' (from consisto) in order to fight the Romans. populi Romani: 'for the Roman people'; 102. internecione: 'annihilation.' exercitus: 'of an army,' i.e., Caesar's army. aut: negated by the ne preceding committeret. memoriam proderet: i.e., memoriam calamitatis posteris proderet; 'should he hand down the memory (of the disaster to posterity).' Divico thus concludes, as Caesar reports his embassy, with a taunting threat.

Caesar lays down conditions; the Helvetians reject them.

14. 1 His Caesar ita respondit: eo sibi minus dubitationis dari, quod eas res, quas legati Helvetii commemorassent, memoria teneret, atque eo gravius ferre, quo minus merito populi Romani accidissent; 2 qui si alicuius iniuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum, quod neque commissum a se intellegeret, quare timeret, neque sine causa timendum putaret. 3 Quod si veteris contumeliae oblivisci vellet, num etiam recentium iniuriarum, quod, eo invito, iter per provinciam per vim temptassent, quod Aeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse? 4 Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur, quodque tam diu se impune iniurias tulisse admirarentur, eodem pertinere. 5 Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. 6 Cum ea ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab eis sibi dentur, uti ea, quae polliceantur, facturos intellegat, et si Aeduis de iniuriis, quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant, sese cum eis pacem esse facturum. 7 Divico respondit: Ita Helvetios a maioribus suis institutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare, consuerint; eius rei populum Romanum esse testem. Hoc responso dato, discessit.

Direct form (I.14.1-6): 1 Eo mihi minus dubitationis datur, quod eas res, quas commemoravistis, memoria teneo, atque eo gravius fero, quo minus merito populi Romani acciderunt; 2 qui si alicuius iniuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuit difficile cavere; sed eo deceptus est, quod neque commissum (esse) a se intellegebat, quare timeret, neque sine causa timendum (esse) putabat. 3 Quod si veteris contumeliae oblivisci volo, num etiam recentium iniuriarum, quod, me invito, iter per provinciam per vim temptavistis, quod Aeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexavistis, memoriam deponere possum? 4 Quod vestra victoria tam insolenter gloriamini, quodque tam diu vos impune iniurias tulisse admiramini, eodem pertinet. 5 Consuerunt enim di immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci volunt, his secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. 6 Cum haec ita sint, tamen, si obsides a vobis mihi dabuntur, uti ea, quae pollicemini, vos facturos (esse) intellegam, et si Aeduis de iniuriis, quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulistis, item si Allobrogibus satisfacietis, vobiscum pacem faciam.

1 His: 104b. eo: from is, ablative of cause, 'because of this,' i.e., 'for this reason,' explained by the following quod-clause ('namely because ...'); 135a; 160c. sibi ... dari: '(that) he had less hesitation' (i.e., about his present course of action), lit. 'less of hesitation is given to him'; 97b. sibi: 158a; 104a. commemorassent: 64a1. memoria teneret: cf. I.7.4; 131a. eo gravius (se eas res) ferre, quo minus merito populi Romani accidissent: correlative expression of degree of difference, lit. 'that (he) bore (these things) more heavily by that degree (eo) by which (quo) they had happened less deservedly to the Roman people,' i.e., he was upset about them to the same degree that they were undeserved, hence highly upset; 140. minus merito populi Romani: lit. 'less in accordance with (that which was) deserved of the Roman people,' 136c. accidissent: 214a.
2 qui: = populus Romanus, 'it' or 'they'; 167. si: past contrary to fact condition; 208. alicuius iniuriae sibi conscius fuisset: 'had been conscious of any injustice on its part,' i.e., of committing any wrongdoing. alicuius: from aliqui; 49a. iniuriae: 102. sibi: lit. 'to itself,' in the sense of 'on its part'; 109a. fuisse: why fuit in the

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I.2-29: Campaign against the Helvetii

direct form? 208b. cavere: 'to take precautions' (lit. 'to be on guard') against reprisals, which the Roman people would have expected if they had in any way wronged the Helvetians. eo...quod: as in I.14.1. deceptum: eum (i.e., populum Romanum) deceptum esse, '(that) they had been deceived.' quod neque... putaret: 'because they understood that nothing had been done by them for which they should fear and they thought that they ought not to be afraid without cause.' commissum: sc. esse, impersonal, but most easily translated with neque as if et nihil commissum esse. quare timeret: regard quare as if propter quod, referring back to neque commissum, thus introducing a relative clause of characteristic, '(of the sort that) on account of which they (the Roman people) should fear,' subjunctive also in the direct form; 194a (or one can regard quare as introducing an indirect question; 204.3). neque timendum: sc. esse, impersonal, lit. 'it ought not to be feared'; 73e.

- 3 Quod: translate 'Even' or 'But'; lit. 'as to which,' referring to the thought of the preceding sentence; 118d. veteris contumeliae: 'the old insult,' i.e., the destruction of Cassius's army in 107 BC; 103a. vellet: 218.1a. num. ..posse: 179b1. num etiam...posse: 'was he also able'; num introduces a question to which the expected answer is "no." recentium iniuriarum: dependent on memoriam near the end of the sentence; 'of fresh outrages,' specified in the following appositional clauses introduced by quod, '(namely) the fact that'; 198b. eo invito: eo = Caesare, 'against his will,' lit. 'with him (being) unwilling'; 144b5. per provinciam per vim: note the two different senses of per: 'though the province' (spatial) vs. 'through force' (i.e., by means of force). temptassent: 64a1; 214a. quod, quod, quod; emphatic repetition, sc. vexassent with all three; 89a; 239a. Allobrogas: 19f. deponere: 'put aside'; 221a.
- 4 **Quod... quodque:** 'The fact that... and the fact that'; the two clauses introduced by *quod* (and linked by *que*) stand as subject of *pertinere*; 198b; 214a. **sua victoria:** 'because of their victory' over the Romans under Cassius in 107 BC; 135a. **insolenter:** 'arrogantly'; 34a. **gloriarentur:** 'they were boasting'; 214a. **tam diu se impune iniurias tulisse:** 'that they for so long had perpetrated wrongs without punishment'; indirect discourse within the *quodque... admirarentur* clause. **admirarentur:** 'they marveled'; 61a1. **eodem pertinere:** 'pointed to the same conclusion (lit. 'to the same place'),' i.e., were further indications of impending retribution for the wrongs they had committed.
- s Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere: reorganized into English word order, this sentence would read: enim deos immortales, quo homines doleant gravius ex commutatione rerum, consuesse interdum concedere secundiores res et diuturniorem impunitatem his quos velint ulcisci pro eorum scelere. Consuesse: 'are accustomed'; 64a2; 176b; 214a. deos: 8d. quo... doleant: purpose clause; 193b. gravius: 34a. ex commutatione rerum: 'from their reversal of fortune,' lit. 'from the changing of things.' scelere: 13e. ulcisci: 223b. his: 'to those,' antecedent of quos six words prior. diuturniorem impunitatem: 'a more prolonged escape from punishment'; 76b; 106a. concedere: 'to grant,' after Consuesse, the first word in the sentence; 221a; 113b.
- 6 Cum: 'although'; 187. ea: haec in the direct form; 160a. tamen: 236a. uti... intellegat: purpose clause that incorporates an indirect statement that incorporates a relative clause. ea: object of facturos (esse), with which supply eos as subject. polliceantur: 61a2. Aeduis, Allobrogibus: dat. after satisfaciant; 105. de: 'for.' ipsis: the Aeduans. sociis: the Ambarri. satisfaciant: 'they should make restitution'; 79b.
- 7 **Direct form:** Ita *Helvetii* a maioribus suis *instituti sunt*, uti obsides accipere, non dare, consuerint; *huius* rei *populus Romanus est testis.* **institutos esse:** 'were formed.' **uti...consuerint:** 'that they were accustomed'; *64a2*; 197b. **esse testem:** 'was a witness.' **Hoc responso dato:** 'after making this reply,' lit. 'with this reply having been given'; 144b2. **discessit:** 'he (Divico) departed.'

The Helvetians resume their march and defeat Caesar's cavalry; Caesar follows.

15. 1 Postero die castra ex eo loco movent. Idem facit Caesar equitatumque omnem, ad numerum quattuor milium, quem ex omni provincia et Aeduis atque eorum sociis coactum habebat, praemittit, qui videant, quas in partes hostes iter faciant. 2 Qui, cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti, alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiorum proelium committunt et pauci de nostris cadunt. 3 Quo proelio sublati Helvetii, quod quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere non numquam et novissimo agmine proelio nostros lacessere coeperunt. 4 Caesar suos a proelio continebat, ac satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapinis, pabulationibus populationibusque prohibere. 5 Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt, uti inter novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum non amplius quinis aut senis milibus passuum interesset.

1 Postero: 'the following'; 33. movent: sc. Helvetii; 175b. Idem: neuter accusative; 45. equitatum: 'his cav-

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- c. Among nouns with mixed stems used by Caesar are pons, pontis, m., bridge (I.6); cliens, clientis, m., retainer (I.4); parens, -entis, m. & f., parent (V.14); falx, falcis, f., sickle, hook (III.14); glans, glandis, f., acorn, slingshot (V.43); dos, dotis, f., dowry (VI.19); frons, frontis, f., front (II.8); laus, laudis, f., praise (I.40); līs, lītis, f., damages (V.1); mors, mortis, f., death (I.5); plebs, plebis, f., people (I.3); trabs, trabis, f., beam (II.29); sors, sortis, f., lot (I.50); stirps, stirpis, f., stock (VI.34).
- **d.** Defective is the noun with the stem **spont**-, which has only a genitive, **spontis**, and an ablative, **sponte** (I.9).
- **18.** *a.* The declension of the nouns **vīs**, f., force (I.6), **bōs**, **bovis**, m. & f., ox, cow (VI.26), **carō**, **carnis**, f., flesh, meat (V.14), and **Iuppiter**, **Iovis**, Jupiter (VI.17), is exceptional, not conforming to any of the types which have been given:

SINGULAR

		_		_		
Nom.	vīs	bōs	carō	Iuppiter		
Gen.		bovis	carnis	Iovis		
Dat.	_	bovī	carnī	Iovī		
Acc.	vim	bovem	carnem	lovem		
Abl.	vī	bove	carne	Iove		
Voc.	vis	bōs	carō	Iuppiter		
Plural						
Nom.	vīrēs	bovēs	carnēs			
Gen.	vīrium	boum <i>or</i> bovum	carnium			
Dat.	vīribus	bōbus <i>or</i> būbus	carnibus			
Acc.	vīrēs	bovēs	carnēs			
Abl.	vīribus	bōbus <i>or</i> būbus	carnibus			
Voc.	vīrēs	bovēs	carnēs			

- b. Senex, m., old man (I.29), is declined thus: senex, senis, seni, senem, sene, senex; senes, senum, senibus, senes, senibus, senes.
- c. Iter, n., journey, route (I.3), has a stem itiner- in the oblique cases: iter, itineris, itineri, iter, itinere, iter; itinera, itinerum, itineribus, itinera, itineribus, itinera.
- **d.** Femur, n., thigh, in the oblique cases has two stems, femor- and femin-, thus: Nom. femur, Gen. femoris or feminis, etc.
- e. Arar, m., the Arar River (I.12, 13, 16), is declined thus: Arar, Araris, Ararī, Ararī, Ararī, Ararī, similar is Liger, Ligeris, m., the Liger River (III.9).
- f. Phalanx, f., mass formation, mass, is declined thus: Nom. phalanx, Gen. phalangis, Dat. phalangi, Acc. phalangem or phalanga, Abl. phalange.

Names of the First, Second, and Third Declensions

- 19. a. Of the second declension are all Roman first names (praenōmina) used by Caesar, and in reading the text the name should be supplied, in the proper case form, from the abbreviation. The First Names are Aulus, Gen. Aulī (abbreviation A.), Appius (Ap.), Gāius (abbreviation C., an old form of G.), Decimus (D.), Gnaeus (Cn.), Lūcius (L.), Mārcus (M.), Pūblius (P.), Quīntus (Q.), Servius (Ser.), and Titus (T.).
- **b.** The clan names (**nōmina**), ending in **-ius** (as **Iūlius**), are of the second declension.
- c. The family names or surnames (cognōmina) are partly of the first declension, as Galba (Servius Sulpicius Galba); of the Second, as Baculus (Pūblius Sextius Baculus); and of the Third, as Caesar (see also 11c), the full name being declined thus: Nom. Gāius Iūlius Caesar, Gen. Gāi Iūlī Caesaris or Gāiī Iūlīū Caesaris (see also 8a), Dat. Gāiō Iūliō Caesarī, Acc. Gāium Iūlium Caesarem, Abl. Gāiō Iūliō Caesare.
- d. The names of Gauls or Germans are generally of the second declension, as Dīviciācus, -ī, or of the
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third, as **Dumnorīx**, Gen. **Dumnorīgis**; of the first declension are **Galba** (II.4, 13) and **Nasua** (I.37).

e. The names of foreign peoples are ordinarily declined in the plural only. A few are of the first declension, as **Belgae**, **-ārum** (I.1); the rest are of the second declension, as **Helvetiī**, **-ōrum** (I.1), or of the third, as **Allobrogēs**, **-um** (I.6).

f. In the accusative plural of names of foreign peoples Caesar sometimes has the Greek ending -as instead of -ēs; as Allobrogas (I.14), Crētas (II.7), Coriosolitas (II.34).

FOURTH DECLENSION

- **20.** *a.* Nouns of the fourth declension ending in -us are generally masculine in gender, nouns ending in -ū are neuter; domus, manus, and Īdūs (plural) are feminine.
- **b.** Examples of nouns of the fourth declension are **frūctus**, **frūctūs**, m., *fruit* (VI.19) and **cornū**, **cornūs**, n., *horn* (I.52):

	Singular	Plural	Singular	PLURAL
Nom.	frūctus	frūctūs	cornū	cornua
Gen.	frūctūs	frūctuum	cornūs	cornuum
Dat.	frūctuī	frūctibus	cornū	cornibus
Acc.	frūctum	frūctūs	cornū	cornua
Abl.	frūctū	frūctibus	cornū	cornibus
Voc.	frūctus	frūctūs	cornū	cornua

- *c.* **Domus** (stem **domu-**), f., *house*, has also a stem **domo-** of the second declension, from which are formed a locative singular, **domī**, *at home* (I.18, 20, *etc.*), an ablative singular, **domō**, *from home*, (I.5, 6, *etc.*), an accusative plural, **domōs** (I.30), and some forms not used by Caesar.
- **d.** Many nouns of the fourth declension are defective, being used only in the ablative singular, such as **iniussū** (I.19) and **nātū** (II.13).

FIFTH DECLENSION

- **21.** *a.* Nouns of the fifth declension end in -ēs, and are feminine except diēs, day, and merīdiēs, midday (I.50), which are masculine; but diēs is usually feminine when referring to a certain day (as I.4, 8, 30), or to time in general.
- **b.** Examples of nouns of the fifth declension are: **dies, dieī**, *day*, and **res, reī**, f., *thing*:

	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nom.	diēs	diēs	rēs	rēs
Gen.	diēī	diērum	reī	rērum
Dat.	diēī	diēbus	reī	rēbus
Acc.	diem	diēs	rem	rēs
Abl.	diē	diēbus	rē	rēbus
Voc.	diēs	diēs	rēs	rēs

c. In the genitive and dative singular -ēī becomes -eī when a consonant precedes, as in reī (I.21).

ADJECTIVES

- **22.** *a.* In adjectives of the first and second declensions the masculine is declined like **lēgātus** (**6a**), **puer** (**7a**), or **ager** (**7a**), the Feminine like **via** (**3**), and the Neuter like **bellum** (**6a**).
 - **b.** Many adjectives, such as **bonus**, **bona**, **bonum**, *good*, are declined like **lēgātus**, **via**, **bellum**:

	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	FEMININE	Neuter	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Nom.	bonus	bona	bonum	bonī	bonae	bona
Gen.	bonī	bonae	bonī	bonōrum	bonārum	bonōrum

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flāgitāre, Caesar kept pressing the Aeduans for the grain (I.16); **hostēs . . . signō datō dēcurrere**, the enemy at a given signal rushed down (III.4). (AG 463, B 335).

CLAUSES

CAUSAL AND TEMPORAL, RELATIVE, AND PURPOSE AND RESULT

183. *a.* In causal clauses introduced by quod and quoniam Caesar uses the indicative when the reason is stated as that of Caesar the writer, the subjunctive when the reason is presented as someone else's. Thus, in Dumnorīx . . . Helvētiīs erat amīcus, quod . . . dūxerat, Dumnorix was friendly to the Helvetians, because he had taken . . . , the quod-clause contains Caesar's explanation of the reason why Dumnorix favored the Helvetians (I.9); in eī grātiās ēgit, quod optimum iūdicium fēcisset, thanked him because (as the delegation said) he had passed a most favorable judgment, the quod-clause here has the subjunctive because it presents the reason given by the delegation for the expression of thanks (I.41). (AG 540, B 286.1).

b. In causal clauses Caesar sometimes uses the subjunctive of a verb of saying or thinking to introduce a statement of a reason ascribed to someone else.

- c. The subjunctive introduced by **non quod**, not because, or **quam quo** (= **quam eo quod**), than because, may be used to express an alleged or assumed reason; as, **quam quo** . . . **desīderent**, than because they desire (IV.2).
- **184.** *a.* A causal clause introduced by **cum**, *since*, has its verb in the subjunctive; as, **cum...persuādēre non possent**, *since they were not able to persuade* (I.9). (AG 549, B 286.2).
- **b.** Caesar sometimes uses the adverb **praesertim**, especially, to make prominent the causal idea in a clause introduced by **cum**; as, **praesertim cum eorum precibus adductus bellum suscēperit**, especially since he, prevailed upon by their entreaties, had undertaken the campaign (I.16).
- **185.** *a.* **Cum** temporal, *when*, referring to the present or future is used with the indicative; as, **cum.. . premuntur**, *when they are overwhelmed* (VI.13).
- **b.** With **cum** temporal, when, and **cum prīmum**, as soon as, referring to past time, Caesar uses the indicative when the force of **cum** is purely temporal; as, **cum prīmum potuit**, as soon as he could (III.9).
- c. With cum temporal, when, and cum prīmum, as soon as, referring to past time, Caesar uses the subjunctive when an idea of circumstance, condition, or cause is involved; as, cum ferrum sē īnflexisset, when (i.e. when and because) the iron had become bent, lit. had bent itself (I.25); cum prīmum pābulī cōpia esse inciperet, as soon as (and because) there began to be plenty of forage (II.2). (AG 546, B 288.1).
- **186.** *a.* Caesar sometimes uses **cum** temporal or **ubi** with the indicative to denote recurrent action; as, **cum ūsus est**, *whenever it is necessary* (IV.2). (B 288.b3).
- **b.** Caesar sometimes uses **cum** temporal correlatively with the adverb **tum** in the sense *not only* . . . *but* also, but, both . . . and; as, **cum omnis iuventūs** . . . **convēnerant, tum nāvium quod ubīque fuerat**, not only (lit. when) had all the youth . . . assembled but (lit. then) all the ships they had (III.16). (B 290.2).
- **187.** Caesar sometimes uses **cum** adversative, *although, while,* with the subjunctive; as, **cum ea ita sint**, *although those things are true* (I.14). (AG 549, B 309). (B 283.3b).
- **188.** *a.* Caesar uses the temporal conjunctions **ubi**, **ut**, *when*, **postquam**, *after*, **posteā quam** (written as two words) *after that*, *after*, and **simul atque**, **simul**, *as soon as*, with the indicative, usually in the perfect tense. Thus, **quod ubi Caesar resciit**, *when Caesar found this out* (I.28); **postquam Caesar pervēnit**, *after Caesar arrived* (I.27); **simul atque sē recēpērunt**, *as soon as they rallied* (IV.27). (AG 543).
- **b.** The conjunction **ut**, *as*, introducing a comparison, is used with the indicative; as, **ut...nōluerant**, **ita**, *as they had been unwilling*, *so*...(II.1).

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- c. Ubi prīmum, as soon as (lit. when first), is used with the perfect indicative; as, ubi prīmum nostrōs equitēs cōnspexērunt, as soon as they saw our horsemen (IV.12).
- **d.** The pluperfect indicative with **ubi** may denote a repeated action; as, **ubi** . . . **conspexerant**, whenever they saw, lit. when they had seen (IV.26).
- **189.** *a.* Caesar uses **prius quam**, *until*, *before*, with the indicative to denote an actual occurrence or a fact; as, **neque prius fugere dēstitērunt quam ad flūmen Rhēnum...pervēnērunt**, *and they did not stop their flight until they reached the river Rhine* (I.53).
- **b.** Caesar uses **prius quam** and **ante quam**, sooner than, before, with the subjunctive, implying expectancy or purpose in an action; as, **prius quam sē hostēs reciperent**, before the enemy could rally (II.12). (AG 551b, B 292).
- **190.** *a.* Caesar uses **dum** temporal in the sense of *while* with the indicative historical present; in the sense of *so long as, while,* with the indicative present, imperfect, and perfect. Thus, **dum ea conquiruntur**, *while those things were* (lit. *are*) *being sought out* (I.27). (AG 556, B 293.1).
- **b.** Caesar uses **dum**, *until*, with the subjunctive to denote intention or expectancy; as, **dum** . . . **Helvētiī pervenīrent**, *until the Helvetians should reach* (I.11). (AG 553, B 293.III.2).
- c. Caesar uses **quoad** in the temporal sense of so long as, until, with the indicative; in the sense of until denoting intention or expectancy, with the subjunctive. Thus, **quoad potuit**, so long as he could (IV.12); **quoad ipse propius...accessisset**, until he himself should have come up nearer (IV.11). (AG 553, B 293.III.2).
- **191.** *a.* Caesar uses the adversative conjunctions **etsī**, **tametsī**, *although*, with the indicative; as, **etsī** ... **vidēbat**, *although he saw* (I.46).
- **b.** Concessive **ut**, meaning granted that, although, is followed by the subjunctive; as, **ut omnia contrā opīniōnem accidant**, granted that everything turn out contrary to expectation (in indirect form, III.9). (AG 527a, B 308).
- 192. Relative clauses introduced by a relative or general relative pronoun have their verb in the indicative unless an idea of purpose, characteristic, cause, result, or condition is involved; as, Allobrogum, quī nūper pācātī erant, of the Allobroges, who had lately been subdued (I.6); quaecumque pars castrorum... premī vidēbātur, whenever any part (lit. whatever part) of the camp seemed to be hard pressed (III.4).
- 193. a. A relative clause of purpose may be introduced by quī (= ut is, in order that he), or by the relative adverbs quō (= ut eō), quā (= ut eā), and has its verb in the subjunctive; as, lēgātōs mittunt (historical present) nōbilissimōs cīvitātis . . . quī dīcerent, they sent as envoys the citizens of highest rank to say, lit. who should say (I.7); quō gravius hominēs . . . doleant, in order that men may more bitterly suffer (I.14); see also 247. (AG 531.2, B 282.2).
- **b.** In relative clauses of purpose **quō** is generally used with a comparative; as, **quō** facilius . . . **possit**, that he might (lit. may) be more easily able (I.8). (AG 531.2a, B 282.1a).
- **194.** *a.* A relative clause with the subjunctive, introduced by a relative pronoun or relative adverb, may characterize an indefinite antecedent (clause of characteristic); as, **itinera duo**, **quibus itineribus** ... **exīre possent**, two routes by which they could go out, i.e. two routes of such a character that by them they could go out (I.6); **nihil** [eīs] erat quō famem tolerārent, they had nothing with which they could satisfy their hunger (I.28). (AG 535, B 283).
- **b.** A clause of characteristic may be used after a comparative; as **non longius aberant quam quō tēlum adigī posset**, were already within range, lit. not further away than (the distance) to which a spear could be thrown (II.21). (AG 571a, B 283.2a).
- c. A relative clause with the subjunctive may have causal force; as, **Catuvolcus . . . dētestātus Ambiorīgem, quī eius cōnsiliī auctor fuisset, . . . sē exanimāvit**, having cursed Ambiorix, since he (lit. who) had been the originator of that scheme, Catuvolcus killed himself (VI.31). (AG 535e, B 283.3a).
- d. A relative clause with the subjunctive may have adversative force; as, Cicerō, quī . . . mīlitēs in
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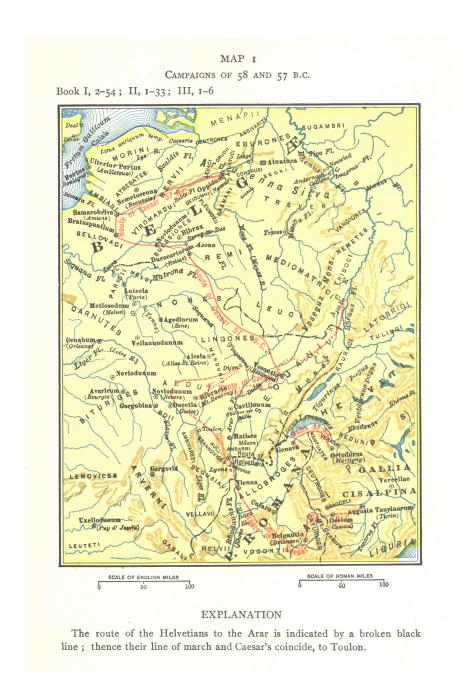
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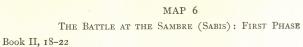
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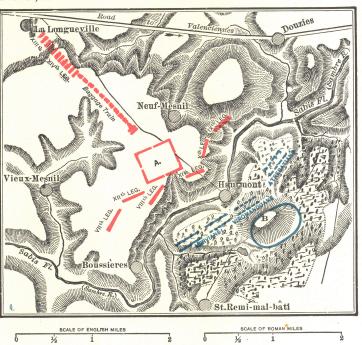
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Α.
A., with proper names, = Aulus.
a. d. = ante diem.
ā, ab, abs, prep. with abl., from, away from, out of; at, on; of agency, with the passive voice, by, on the part of; of
   time, from, since, after. ab utrōque latere, on both sides. ā parvīs, from childhood (VI.21).
abditus, -a, -um, [part. of ābdo], adj., concealed, secluded.
abdō, -dere, -didī, -ditus, [ab + dō], 3, put away, remove; conceal. sē abdere, to hide one's self.
abdūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductus, [ab + dūcō], 3, withdraw; lead away, take off (I.11). [abduct.
abeō, -īre, -iī, -itūrus, [ab + eō], irr., go away, depart.
abesse, see absum.
abiciō, -icere, -iēcī, -iectus, [ab + iaciō], 3, throw away, throw down; hurl (V.48). [abject.
abiēs, -ietis, f., (10e), fir tree, spruce (V.12).
abscīdō, -cīdere, -cīdī, -cīsus, [abs + caedō], 3, cut off (III.14).
absēns, [part. of absum], adj., absent. sē absente, in his absence. [absent
absimilis, -e, [ab + similis], adj., unlike.
absistō, -sistere, -stitī, [ab + sistō], 3, withdraw, go away.
abstineō, -tinēre, -tinuī, -tentus, [abs + teneō], 2, hold back; refrain from (I.22). [abstain.
abstrahō, -trahere, -trāxī, -trāctus, [abs + trahō], 3, drag away, drag off, take away by force. [abstract.
absum, -esse, āfuī, āfutūrus, [ab + sum], irr., be distant, be absent or away from; be wanting, be lacking. longē
abesse, to be far away. ā bellō abesse, to be exempt from military service (VI.14).
accēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessūrus, [ad + cēdō], 3, come to, draw near, approach; be added.
acceptus, -a, -um, comp. -ior, sup. -issimus, [part. of accipiō], adj., acceptable, welcome, dear (I.3).
accido, -cidere, -cidi, [ad + cado], 3, fall (III.14, 25); happen, occur, turn out; befall, fall to the lot of. Impers.,
accidit, it happens. [accident.
accipiō, -cipere, -cēpī, -ceptus, [ad + capiō], 3, take to one's self, receive, accept; hear of, learn. [accept.
acclīvis, -e, [ad, cf. clīvus], adj., sloping; uphill, rising.
acclīvitās, -tātis, [acclīvis], f., upward slope, ascent (II.18).
Accō, -ōnis, m., a leader of the Senones.
accommodātus, -a, -um, comp. -ior, sup. -issimus, [part. of accommodo], adj., suited, adapted (III.13). [ac-
   commodate.
accommodō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, [ad + commodō, from commodus], 1, adjust, put on. (II.21).
accūratē, comp. -ius, sup. -issimē, [accurātus], adv., carefully.
accurro, -currere, -cucurri or -curri, -cursum est, [ad + curro], 3, run to (III.5), hasten to (I.22).
accūsō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, [ad + causa], I, call to account, find fault with; reproach, accuse. [accuse.
acerbē, comp. acerbius, sup. acerbissimē, [acerbus], adv., bitterly.
acerbus, -a, -um, comp. -ior, sup. -issimus, [ācer], adj., bitter, harsh.
ācerrimē, see ācriter.
acervus, -ī, m., heap, pile (II.32).
aciës, -\bar{e}i, f., edge; of the eye, keen look (I.39); of an army, line of battle, army in battle array, battle.
ācriter, comp. ācrius, sup. ācerrimē, [ācer], adv., sharply, fiercely, with vigor, courageously.
āctuārius, -a, -um, [agō], adj., easily driven, swift. nāvis āctuāria, swift vessel, driven by oars as well as sails (V.1).
āctus, see agō.
acūtus, -a, -um, comp. -ior, sup. -issimus, [part. of acuō, sharpen], adj., sharpened, sharp. [acute.
ad, prep. with acc., to, towards, up to; of place, in the vicinity of, at, near to, by, in the presence of, among, on; of time,
    till, to, up to, until; of purpose, especially with the gerundive constr., for, in order to, for the purpose of, in; of
   other relations, with regard to, according to, in respect to, in consequence of, as to, in; with words of number,
   with adverbial force, about; ad hunc modum, after this manner. ad ūnum, to a man. ad exercitum manēre,
    to remain with the army (V.53).
adāctus, see adigō.
adaequō, -\bar{a}re, -\bar{a}vī, -\bar{a}tus, [ad + aequo], 1, make equal to, bring up to a level with (III.12); be equal to, keep up
    with (I.48), keep abreast of (V.8). [adequate.
adamō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, [ad + amō], 1, conceive a love for, covet (I.31).
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addō, -dere, -didī, -ditus, [ad + dō], 3, add, join to. [add.
addūcō, -dūcere, -dūxī, -ductus, [ad + dūcō], 3, lead to, bring, bring up to a place; lead, draw; induce, prevail
    upon. [adduce.
adēmptus, see adimō.
ade\bar{o}, -ire, -i\bar{i}, -itum\ est, [ad+e\bar{o}], irr., go to, come near, draw near, approach; reach, visit.
ade\bar{o}, [ad + e\bar{o}, from is], adv., so far, to such a degree; so, so much.
adeptus, see adipīscor.
adequitō, -āre, -āvī, [ad + equitō, from eques], 1, ride towards; ride up to (I.46).
adhaerēscō, -haerēscere, -haesī, [ad + haerēscō], 3, stick, adhere; remain clinging (V.48).
adhibeō, -hibere, -hibuī, -hibitus, [ad + habeō], 2, hold toward; bring forward, bring in, call in, summon, admit;
    use, employ.
adhortor, -ārī, -ātus, [ad + hortor], 1, dep., encourage, rally, exhort, rouse, urge.
adhūc, [ad + hūc], adv., hitherto, until now, as yet (III.22).
adiaceō, -iacēre, -iacuī, [ad + iaceō], 2, lie near, border upon, be adjacent. [adjacent.
Adiatunnus, -ī, m., a leader of the Sotiates (III.22).
adiciō, -icere, -iecī, -iectus, [ad + iacio], 3, throw to, hurl; throw up; join to, add.
adigō, -igere, -ēgī, -āctus, [ad + agō], 3, drive (to), drive in; of missiles, cast, hurl (to); of piles, drive home
   (IV.17); of a tower, move up (V.43).
adimō, -imere, -ēmī, -ēmptus, [ad + emō], 3, take away (V.6).
adipīscor, -ipīscī, -eptus, [ad + apīscor, reach], 3, dep., gain, obtain, secure (V.39). [adept.
aditus, -ūs, [adeō], m., approach, access; way of approach, means of access; pl. landing-places (IV.20).
adiungō, -iungere, -iūnxī, -iūnctus, [ad + iungō], 3, join to, attach; add, unite with; annex. [adjunct.
adiūtor, -ōris, [adiuvō], m., helper, confederate (V.38); mediator (V.41).
adiuvō, -iuvāre, -iūvī, adiūtus, [ad + iuvō], 1, help, assist, support, render assistance, be of assistance.
administer, -trī, [ad + minister], m., (7c), assistant, helper; officiating priest (VI.16).
administrō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, [ad + ministrō], 1, render assistance; manage, carry on; arrange for, get ready; of
    orders, execute, carry out. [administer.
admīror, -āri, -ātus, [ad + mīror], 1, dep., wonder at, be surprised at; admire.
admittō, -mittere, -mīsī, -missus, [ad + mittō], 3; let go; admit, receive; become guilty of, commit; incur (IV.25).
facinus admittere, to commit a crime. [admit.
admodum, [ad + acc. of modus], adv., lit. up to the measure; quite, very; with numbers, fully, at least.
admoneō, -ēre, -uī, -itus, [ad + moneō], 2, warn. [admonish.
adolēscō, -olēscere, -olēvī, -ultus, [ad + olēscō, grow], 3, grow up, reach maturity (VI.18). [adolescent.
adorior, -orīrī, -ortus, [ad + orior], 4, dep., fall upon, attack, assail.
adsum, -esse, affuī, [ad + sum], irr., be at hand, be present.
adulēscēns, -entis, [adolēscō], adj., young. As noun, m., young man, youth.
adulēscentia, -ae, [adulēscēns], f., (I.20). [adolescence.
adulēscentulus, -ī, [dim. of adulēscēns], m., very young man (III.21).
adventus, -ūs, [adveniō], m., coming, approach, arrival. [advent.
adversārius, -a, -um, [adversor], adj., opposed. As noun, adversārīus, -ī, m., opponent, enemy. [adversary.
adversus, -a, -um, sup. -issimus, [part. of adverto], adj., turned towards, fronting, in front, facing, opposite; unfa-
    vorable, adverse, unsuccessful. in adversum ōs, full in the face (V.35). [adverse.
adversus, [adverto], prep. with acc. only, opposite to; against (IV.14).
advertō, -tere, -tī, -sus, [ad + vertō], 3, turn to, direct. animum advertō, notice, observe.
advolō, -\bar{a}re, -\bar{a}vī, [ad + vol\bar{o}, fly], 1, fly to; hasten to, rush upon.
aedificium, -ī, [aedifico], n., building. [edifice.
aedifico, -āre, -āvī, -ātus, [aedēs, building, + FAC, in facio], 1, build, construct.
Aeduus, -a, -um, adj., Aeduan. As noun, Aeduus, -ī, m., an Aeduan; pl., Aeduans, the Aedui, a Gallic people,
    between the upper waters of the Sequana (Seine) and the Liger (Loire), in alliance with the Romans before
    Caesar's arrival in Gaul and prominent throughout the Gallic War.
aeger, -gra, -grum, adj., (22f), sick. As noun, aegrī, -ōrum, the sick (V.40).
aegerrimē, see aegrē.
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EXPLANATION

Caesar's army, approaching the Sambre from the north, started to make a camp on a hill overlooking the river. The Belgian forces, comprising Nervians, Viromanduans, and Atrebatians, were lying in wait on the south side.

Supposing that each legion would be followed by its baggage train, the Belgians had planned to attack the first legion and destroy it before the others could come to the rescue, and in like manner to destroy the others one by one. Caesar, however, had placed six legions in light marching order first, then all the baggage, and two legions last, the XIIIth and XIVth; he sent cavalry, bowmen, and slingers in advance of the main column.

When the baggage train came into view, the Belgians hurled back the cavalry, bowmen, and slingers, rushed across the river and charged up the hill.

- A. The Roman camp (chap. 18, ll. 1-7), with six legions forming in front.
- B. The camp of the Belgians (chap. 26, ll. 10-12)