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Arthur Tappan Walker's Caesar

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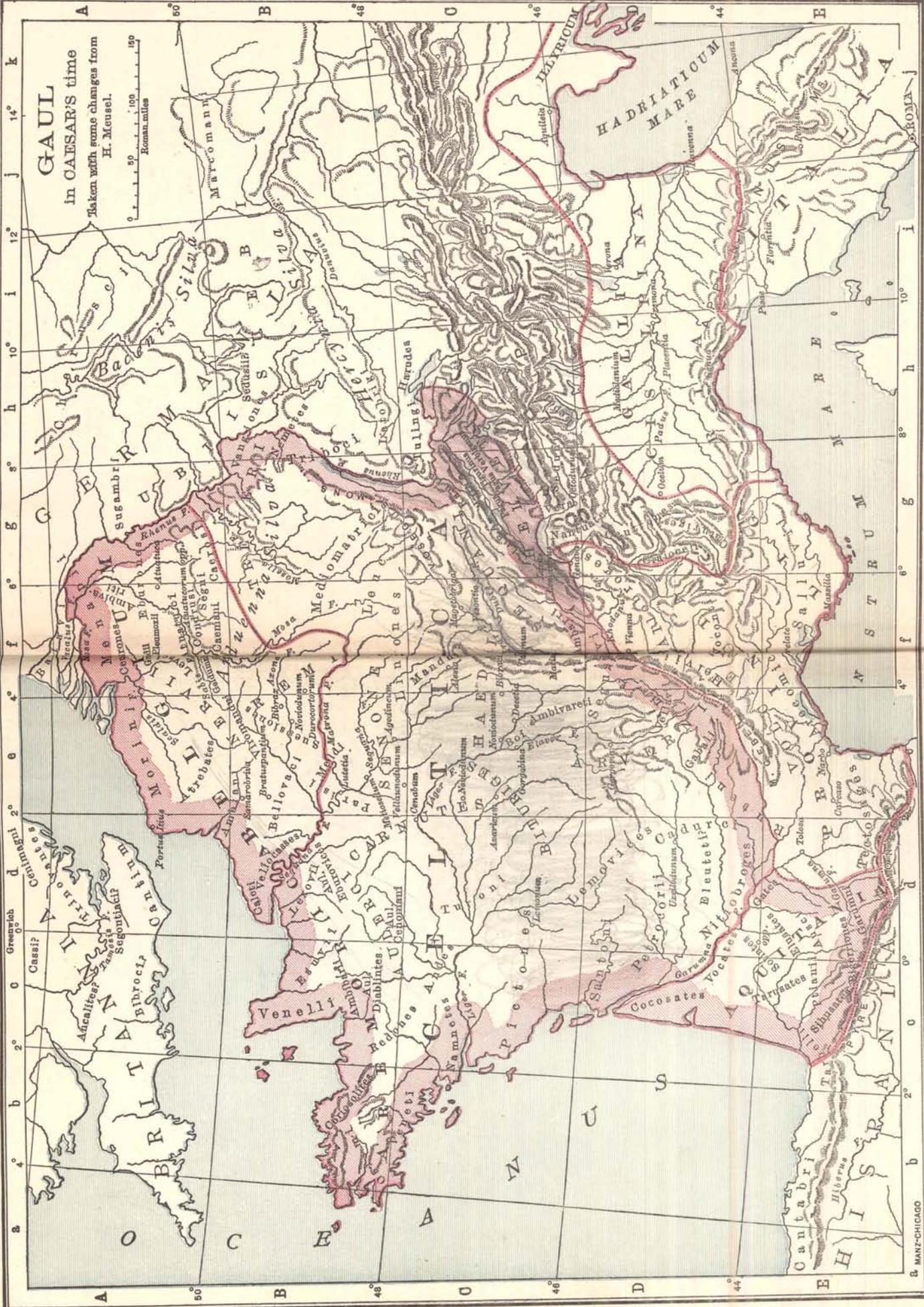
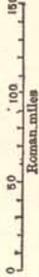
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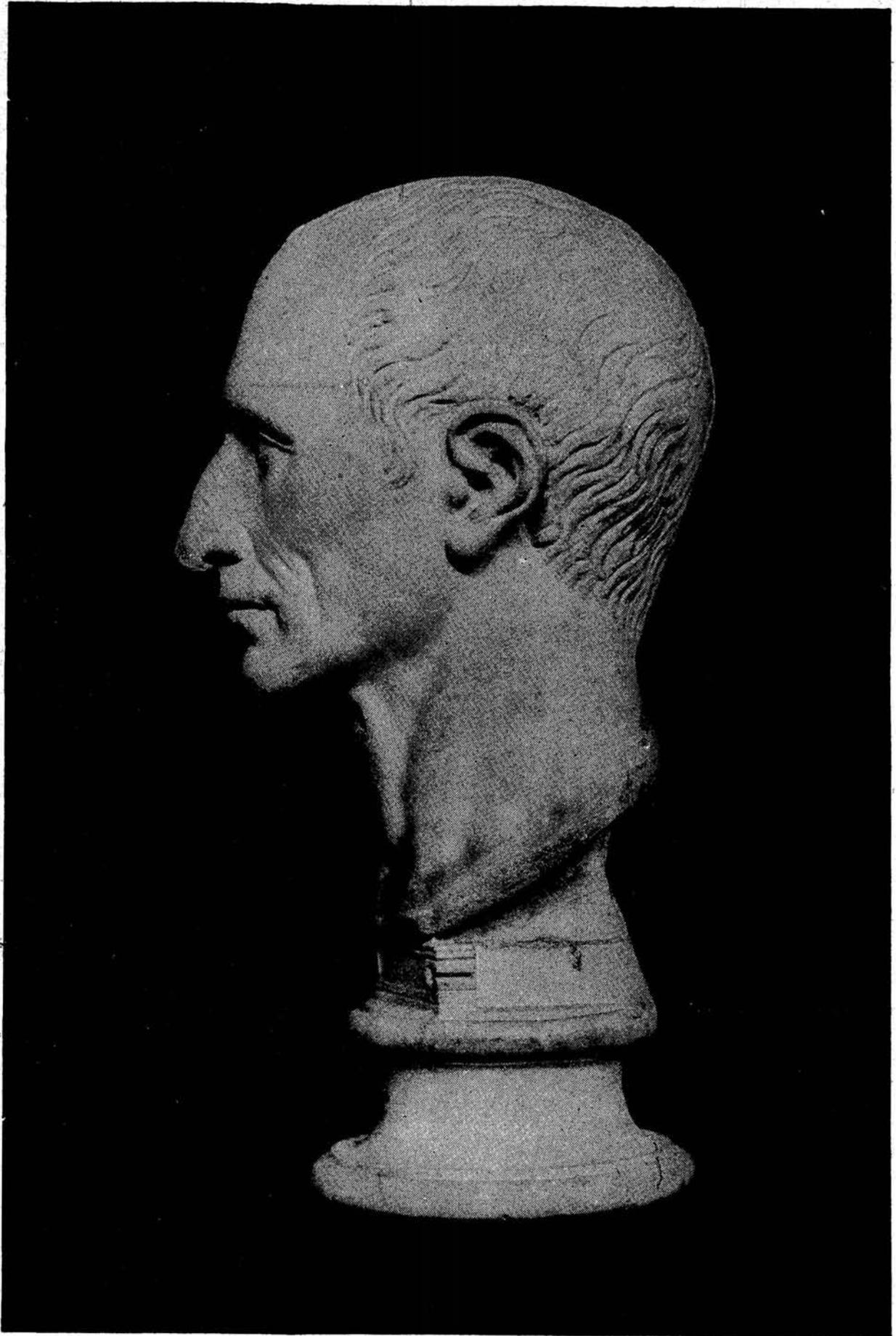
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GAUL

in CAESAR'S time
Taken with some changes from
H. Meusel.





GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR
From a bust in the British Museum

CAESAR'S GALLIC WAR

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, VOCABULARY
AND GRAMMATICAL APPENDIX

BY

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A REVISION OF THE EDITION BY
C. M. LOWE, Ph.D., AND J. T. EWING, M.A.

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PREFACE

In its general plan the present edition of Caesar is based on that of Lowe and Ewing, first published in 1891. It retains the features which gave distinction to that book, the most important of which are thus described in its preface:

“The vocabularies, notes, illustrations, and explanatory matter have been placed on the same page with the text, thus saving the student’s time, which is uselessly spent in turning leaves and searching for explanations which are here placed immediately before him. At the same time, self-reliance is secured by the use of a separate text in the class room, without either notes or vocabulary. The special vocabularies have been arranged so that the first four books and the rest of the annotated text may be read consecutively, or the war with Ariovistus (Bk. I, chaps. 30-54) may be omitted and the valuable and less familiar matter substituted from the annotated chapters of Bks. V-VII. An opportunity for sight reading is afforded in the unannotated parts of these latter books.”

While the general plan of the earlier edition has been followed, in all details the book has been rewritten from beginning to end. In its preparation three definite purposes have been kept steadily in mind:

1. To help the pupil to follow the narrative understandingly.
2. To give the pupil, especially at the beginning of his reading, a systematic drill on all the common syntactical principles.
3. To exclude all bits of antiquarian and grammatical lore which, however valuable in themselves, have no direct bearing on an appreciation of Caesar’s language or story.

THE STUDY OF CAESAR’S NARRATIVE. It is surely a pedagogical mistake to let a pupil carry away from the study of Caesar nothing but a memory of ablatives absolute and indirect discourse. These things he must learn as a preparation for further reading, it is true, and the language must be his chief study; but there is danger that

a year of grammar only will not tempt him to the further reading for which he has been preparing. Caesar tells an interesting story and tells it well. The universal testimony of the ages to the greatness of his writing is not founded on a universal love for grammar. The interest in finding out what Caesar did should serve as an incentive to solve his sentences. Moreover, a neglect of Caesar's thought is wrong on principle. The habit of careful attention to the subject-matter is the one thing best worth cultivating, whether one reads English or a foreign language; and this should not be forgotten in teaching Caesar.

Therefore as much as possible has been done in the notes and maps to assist in an understanding of the narrative, without introducing any discussion of disputed points. Every effort has been made to adopt the most reasonable theory for each campaign, and to make every note, plan, and map consistent with that theory.

The pupil's progress through the story must be slow, and, however well he understands each move in Caesar's game, he will have difficulty in grasping the whole. It is hoped that the campaign maps may lessen this difficulty by putting before the eyes the total results of the campaigns. In each map the route is laid out on a map of all Gaul, because only in this way can the relation of any one campaign to the whole of Caesar's task be kept constantly before the mind. The system of coloring shows the condition of Gaul at the end of each campaign,—how much had been reduced by fighting, how much had yielded without fighting, and how much was yet untouched. A comparison of any two maps will show the results of the intervening operations.

SYSTEM IN GRAMMAR REFERENCES. An attempt has been made to facilitate and even insure, early in the study of Caesar, a systematic drill on the more important case and mode constructions. In the notes on Book I, 1-29, it is believed that references are given for all the most common constructions. In general, the cases are emphasized during the earlier chapters, and the modes during the later. To each construction reference is made three times, two

sets of references being given close together, that they may reinforce each other, and the third after a few chapters, that the point may be clinched by review. And these references are made not only to the grammatical Appendix given in this book, but also to five leading grammars.

In Book II the same references are given, as nearly as possible in the same order; but the references for each chapter are grouped together after the notes of that chapter. In this way opportunities for the same grammatical drill are afforded, whether the class begins with Book I or Book II; but, if the class begins with Book I, these references in Book II may be omitted as unnecessary.

With such a system it is natural and right to postpone to later chapters or books the consideration of certain constructions. Thus, conditions and the details of indirect discourse are postponed to Book I, 30-54, tenses to Book III. If the teacher does not like the order of presentation he can easily supply needed references; but if he will insist on the study of the references as they come in the notes, it is believed that he will find the necessary ground covered thoroughly and systematically.

EXCLUSION OF NON-ESSENTIALS. Many things are known or are guessed about ancient military science which in no way help the pupil to understand Caesar. Many facts and theories of grammar are suggested by Caesar's language which the pupil might find useful at some later day, but which help him neither in translating Caesar nor in writing the Latin composition which should accompany the reading. An honest attempt has been made to give what is helpful and to exclude the useless lumber, though it is not hoped, much less expected, that all teachers would draw the line where the editor has drawn it.

Beginning with Book II. The most dreaded portions of Caesar are his indirect discourse, and unfortunately the majority of the speeches are found in the first book. Though the fear of indirect discourse is largely traditional, and though the construction is not really difficult for one who is properly grounded in the essentials of Latin, yet it is clearly a misfortune that the pupil should en-

counter its full difficulties at a time when the ordinary narrative gives him trouble enough. Moreover, it is questionable whether it is worth while to drill the pupil on all details of the construction, since he will see very little indirect discourse elsewhere in his preparatory course. For these reasons many teachers seek to make the pupil's path easier by reading the second book before the first, or by omitting chapters 30-54 of the first book, in which chapters the construction chiefly abounds. In preparing this edition everything possible has been done to make feasible either of these plans, without throwing any obstacles in the way of a consecutive reading from the first. But the editor feels strongly that Book I, 1-29 should be read first. The latter part of the book may well be omitted entirely, and one or more of the very interesting annotated portions of the last three books may be substituted for it.

No editor of Caesar can escape a debt of gratitude to Mr. T. Rice Holmes for having discussed with such impartiality and thoroughness the geographical and military questions of the Gallic War. *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, by Mr. Holmes, should be in the hands of every teacher of Caesar. Though the present editor has found it impossible to agree with all its conclusions, the book is so fair in its discussions that he is under equal obligations whether he agrees or disagrees with the author.

The text of the Lowe and Ewing edition was Kraner's. In the present edition Meusel's readings have been substituted for the most part, but not completely. The quantities are marked in accordance with the revised edition of Lane's Grammar. A few doubtful words were submitted to the decision of Professor Hanns Oertel, of Yale University, who prepared the chapter on Sound in that Grammar. For his ready assistance, thanks are due.

It would be impossible to mention by name all who have assisted the editor by suggestion and in various ways. The labor of preparing the Vocabulary was largely performed by Mr. Earl W. Murray, a former graduate student, now Assistant Professor in the University of Kansas. Mr. Murray also prepared the first draft of the systematized references for Book I, 1-29, and Book II. For the

PREFACE

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preparation of the Index the editor is indebted to Miss Martha Whitney. Professor Charles Knapp, of Columbia University, gave the early part of the book the benefit of a most searching and helpful criticism. From beginning to end the editor has been under deep obligations to the editors-in-chief of the series.

ARTHUR TAPPAN WALKER.

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INTRODUCTION

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GALLIC CAMPAIGNS

The Commentaries on the Gallic War are Caesar's own story **1** of how he conquered the peoples living in what is now France and some of the lands bordering on France. He has told his story simply and directly. It was his genius that made the conquest possible, and the story could not be true without making this evident; but he has spoken of himself as if the writer and the general were different men, and there is no boasting. He has not explained to us the great importance of the war to the Roman state; there is no suggestion of its importance to his personal career; much less has he hinted at his own importance in the history of Rome and the world. These things must be learned from a study of history, not from Caesar's story.

Effect on Rome. Rome was the governing nation of ancient **2** times. In Caesar's time she had conquered the other nations which touched the Mediterranean, and was governing most of them as provinces; that is, she sent Roman governors to them and collected taxes from them. In this way she governed a comparatively narrow strip of land in southern Gaul; and as this was the particular province which Caesar was sent to govern, he calls it simply "the Province," *Prōvincia* (see map). This province was only partially protected by mountains and rivers from the semicivilized and warlike Gauls on the north; and for this reason it could never be sure of peace and safety until the rest of Gaul was conquered. Moreover, the land on the north was productive and well worth having.

Therefore Caesar's conquest of Gaul was justified, from a Roman point of view, both by the value of the land and by the necessity of protecting the Province.

3 Effect on Gaul. But there was a better reason for that conquest. Though the Gauls were brave they were no match for the less civilized Germans, who lived across the Rhine. Just at the time when Caesar took command of his province the Germans had begun crossing the Rhine in great numbers and were driving the Gauls out of their homes. If this movement had not been checked, the homeless Gauls would have been driven to attack Roman territory; and if the Gauls had been exterminated between the Germans and the Romans, then the Romans would have found the Germans still more dangerous neighbors than the Gauls. For the Gauls themselves, too, it was far better to be conquered by the civilized Romans than by the uncivilized Germans. The one means of safety for both Gauls and Romans was that the Romans should govern all the country west of the Rhine and should hold the Germans at bay on the other side of that great river. This was the result of Caesar's conquest of Gaul; and this result is the great justification of his bloody warfare there.

4 Effect on Caesar. In their effect on Caesar's own career the Gallic campaigns were all-important, and his career changed the course of history. In Gaul he gained military experience and the devotion of his army. By the aid of that army he overthrew a constitution under which the Roman state was going to ruin, and laid the foundations of an empire which lived for centuries. No doubt he did this from selfish and ambitious motives; but his ambition was so great that it could never have been satisfied until he had brought the empire he ruled to the highest possible degree of excellence, and his genius was so great that he saw the needful measures and the means to carry them out. The daggers of his assassins gave him too short a time to complete his work; but he did enough to prove himself the greatest man in Roman history.

II. LIFE OF CAESAR

Early Years, and Choice of Party Gaius Julius Caesar was **5** born in the year¹ 102, B.C., on the 12th day of the month which was then called Quintilis, but which we now, in his honor, call July. Tradition traced the descent of the Julian family back beyond the foundation of Rome, and even to the goddess Venus as its remote ancestor. Caesar, therefore, belonged to the Roman nobility, and in the continuous strife between the Senatorial, or Aristocratic, and the Democratic parties, might have been expected to side with the aristocrats. But none of his own family had been very conspicuous in the state, and his aunt had married Marius, the greatest leader of the Democratic party, the great general who had saved Rome by his victories over the Cimbri and Teutoni. It was natural that his ambition should be fired by his uncle's career, and that his sympathies should incline toward the Democratic party. When he was only fifteen Marius made him priest of Jupiter, an office of some honor and few duties; and in 83, after the death of Marius, he deliberately identified himself with the Democratic party by marrying Cornelia, the daughter of the new leader of that party, Cinna.

Overthrow of Caesar's Party. But the power of the Demo- **6** cratic party was almost at an end. In 83 Sulla, the leader of the Aristocratic party, returned to Italy with his victorious army, after fighting for several years against Mithradates, in the East. A bloody contest drove the Democrats from power; and in 82 the victor, determined to make a revival of that party impossible, slaughtered its eminent men and so changed the constitution of the state that the Senate was in full control. The young Caesar, as nephew of Marius and son-in-law of Cinna, was too conspicuous to be overlooked. Sulla ordered him to divorce Cornelia. Caesar refused, and had to flee for his life until influential friends persuaded Sulla to

¹ Or perhaps in the year 100 B.C.

pardon him. Sulla's grudging consent is said to have been coupled with the warning that Caesar would prove as dangerous as many Mariuses.

- 7 Weakness of Opposite Party.** But the form of government set up by Sulla did not stand long, and the years which followed his death made more and more clear the need of some strong man who should give order and stability to the state. During those same years Caesar was testing and developing the powers which were to make him the man to do this work.
- 8 Revival of Caesar's Party.** When Sulla died, in 78, the Senate was in complete control: the Democratic party had neither a leader nor any chance to use its strength. Gradually the Senate lost this control, until, in 70, under the consuls Pompey and Crassus, the changes made by Sulla were completely done away with and the Democratic party again had an opportunity, if it could but find a leader. For a time Pompey seemed likely to be this leader. In 66 the people, contrary to the wishes of the Senatorial party, elected him general to serve against Mithradates. This gave him supreme control in Asia Minor, but kept him out of Rome for the next four years.
- 9 Development of Caesar's Powers.** During all this time Caesar was developing his powers of leadership. He got a taste of military service in Asia Minor, and at twenty-two he won the civic crown of oak leaves for saving the life of a fellow citizen in battle; but as yet he seems to have had no thought of gaining distinction as general. A born politician, he loved the game of politics for its own sake as well as for its rewards. An excellent orator, both by nature and by training, he used his oratorical powers in furthering the plans of his party. He made friends easily, and his influence over them was strong. Therefore, before he was old enough to take office he was a great favorite with the people and a much sought for ally in political scheming; and at the earliest age permitted by law he was elected without difficulty to the offices of Quaestor (for 68), Aedile (for 65), and Praetor (for 62). The greatest test

of his popularity came in 63, when the office of Pontifex Maximus fell vacant and Caesar was elected to this most honorable position over the strongest candidate the Senatorial party could put forward.

Caesar's First Military Command. But in spite of his ability **10** and popularity, in the year 63 Caesar was thought of as only a shrewd politician. Rome looked upon Pompey as her greatest man, because he was her greatest general; and Caesar knew that if he should come into conflict with Pompey his shrewdness could never prove a match for Pompey's army and generalship. Caesar felt that he too must be a general, but he did not know whether he could be; for he had never had an opportunity to try his powers. The opportunity offered itself in 61, when he was sent to govern a part of Spain. There he fought with great success against some of the native tribes. His victories were not very important in themselves, and they attracted no great attention in Rome; but they showed Caesar what he could do and made him anxious for a larger field of operations.

Caesar's Consulship. Caesar now wanted the consulship, the **11** highest office in the state: if he got it he intended to carry through some measures which would be opposed by the Senatorial party. He therefore needed strong friends. Pompey had returned in triumph from the war with Mithradates, but the Senate had refused to grant some reasonable requests which he had made of it. Crassus too had a grievance against the Senate. With these two men Caesar made a secret agreement that each should further the interests of the others; and thus Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus formed what is known in history as the First Triumvirate, a mere personal agreement, with no public sanction. The influence of Pompey and Crassus helped in securing Caesar's election to the consulship for the year 59, and also assisted him, when consul, in passing measures which were for the advantage of each of the three allies. For himself Caesar took a five-year term of office as governor of Cisal-

pine Gaul (the northern part of Italy), Illyricum (north and east of the Adriatic Sea), and Transalpine Gaul (then including only the southern part of France). To protect these provinces he was given an army of four legions.

- 12 Caesar's Command in Gaul.** In 58, therefore, Caesar entered upon his command. Partly because it was best for the province and the state (cf. 2 and 3), and partly because he needed the training and the reputation of a general (cf. 10), he determined to conquer all the rest of Gaul. How he did this he tells us himself in the Commentaries; and a brief summary prefixed to each book in this edition makes it unnecessary to tell the story here. Since he found the five years originally given him too short for the full accomplishment of his purpose, he secured an additional five years. By the year 50 the last trace of resistance to Roman authority had been crushed, and Caesar's great task was completed. Moreover, he now had a perfectly disciplined, veteran army, enthusiastically devoted to its leader.
- 13 Outbreak of Civil War.** It was high time that Caesar should have his hands free, for a greater task lay before him. For several years Pompey and Crassus had looked out for his interests in Rome. But in 53 Crassus was killed in battle; and at about the same time Pompey began to feel jealous of Caesar's success and fearful of his power. He gradually turned away from Caesar and attached himself to the Senatorial party, which had always hated Caesar. On the first day of the year 49 the Senate voted that Caesar should lay down his command and return to Rome as a private citizen, though the time for which the command had been given him had not yet expired. Caesar was then in Cisalpine Gaul, and his reply was an immediate march toward Rome.
- 14 Weakness of the Constitutional Government.** But during Caesar's absence from Rome the complete failure of the constitutional form of government had shown that the so-called republic could not exist much longer. Trials and elections were decided by bribery and bloodshed. The governing party

had been so weak that for one entire year a succession of riots had prevented the holding of elections. Now when it was attacked by Caesar it again showed its weakness. Although it had taken steps which were sure to bring on civil war it had done nothing to prepare for that war, except to appoint Pompey its commander-in-chief. In about two months from the time when Caesar marched into northern Italy, Pompey set sail from southern Italy with his army and most of the Senate, leaving Rome and Italy in Caesar's hands.

Civil War Makes Caesar Master of Rome. But the hardest 15 fighting of his life lay before Caesar. Pompey had crossed the Adriatic only to gain time for preparation. Besides, while Pompey's strong army lay on the east of Italy, there was another large army of Caesar's enemies in Spain, on the west. But Caesar's magnificent army and wonderful generalship carried him through all difficulties. In 49 he marched to Spain and defeated his enemies there. In 48 he followed Pompey across the Adriatic and utterly routed his army in the great battle of Pharsalus. Pompey himself fled to Egypt and was assassinated by order of the counselors of the Egyptian king. Caesar followed him to Egypt with an insufficient force and was blockaded for several months in the city of Alexandria by the Egyptian army. Meanwhile the remnants of Pompey's army made their way to the northern coast of Africa, and a new army was there organized to oppose Caesar. In 46 Caesar defeated this army too, at Thapsus, so decisively that he is said to have lost but fifty men while fifty thousand of the enemy fell. Then the sons of Pompey rallied the last opponents of Caesar, in Spain, for a final struggle, and Caesar's victory at Munda in 45 made him the undisputed master of the Roman world.

Caesar as Statesman. Caesar was no mere soldier, and it was 16 from no choice of his own that he spent all these years in fighting. He became a general because that was the only way to achieve his purpose of becoming sole ruler of Rome. But that purpose was not prompted wholly by personal ambition.