Book 7 of Caesar's Bellum Gallicum: 
With Introduction, 
Text, Vocabulary and Notes

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INTRODUCTION

“If Caesar instead of Vercingetorix had suffered complete defeat, little doubt that Gaul would long have remained unconquered, and that the course of European history would have been changed. The siege of Alesia may well rank among the decisive military operations of the world’s history.” (Kelsey,1 453)

Book 7 of Caesar’s Gallic Wars is a narrative like few others in the history of the world. It is a first hand account of the final titanic struggle between two nations, one fighting for hegemony, the other for independent survival. It is hard to overstate the importance for western history of Caesar’s Gallic campaigns which culminated in his dramatic victory over the united might of Gaul under the leadership of Vercingetorix at Alesia as described in Book 7. During the first six years of Caesar’s Gallic war, 58-53 B.C., (BG Books 1-6), he had waged yearly campaigns against select Gallic tribes, the Britons, and the Germans. These campaigns were mainly conducted in a piecemeal fashion, directed against one or two tribes at a time or small coalitions. Although many alliances were made between tribes and many individual leaders temporally emerged, there was no systematic attempt to initiate a pan-Gallic coalition and the Gauls were still too disunited and mutually suspicious of traditionally rival tribes to overcome the unified and disciplined Roman presence. It is in the next year, 52 B.C., (BG Book 7), that the Gauls finally find a commander who is capable of uniting nearly all Gaul and challenging Caesar for military and political supremacy. Vercingetorix raises an army from the Gallic states for the final battle at Alesia that numbered 80,000 men inside the city and a relief army of 259,000, for a combined force of 339,000 men, a staggering number. Pitted against them is a Roman army of only 40,000 men, and, of course, the intrepid general Julius Caesar.

I.A: THE LIFE OF GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR

When Caesar was born on July 12, 100 B.C., Rome was still a Republic and had not yet adopted the quasi-monarchical form of government known as the Empire. The ideal of the Roman aristocrat in the Republican period was service to the state, both as politician and general. As a politician, he would serve in the Senate and oversee the smooth operation of the state. As a general, he would subdue foreign enemies and then return to Rome after laying down his command to resume his position in the Senate (one thinks of the paradigm Cincinnatus). This system, which united the success of Rome to the success of the aristocracy as a whole, functioned remarkably well until the erosion of this ideal began with the first civil war between Sulla and Marius (88-82 B.C.). Both Marius and Sulla broke with established tradition and used their armies, which were loyal to them personally and not Rome, to march on Rome in order to impose their will. While the Republican form of government ultimately survived this ordeal, it was shaken and its basic weaknesses were exposed. The ambition of individual men for power would now supercede the good of the Republic and a mainly ineffective Senate was helpless in presenting a counterbalance to the overwhelming force of personal armies. When Caesar entered the political arena, aristocrats were still nominally committed to the welfare of the state and the ideals of the Republic, but it was very apparent to the ambitious man how the basis of power had shifted from the Senate to the individual leader with a personal army. (Those interested in Rome’s transformation from Republic to Empire, and Caesar’s role in this transformation, should familiarize themselves with “Part IV: The Fall of the Republic” in Cary and Scullard’s A History of Rome.2 These ten chapters examine Roman history from Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus (133) to Actium (31). For those interested in a basic introduction to the history of the Republican to the time of Caesar with special emphasis on the political lessons which Caesar derived see Fuller,1 15-48. For information on the development of the Roman army in this period and Roman soldiers in general see Adcock and Watson.)

Caesar’s early life and career reflected the traditional pattern and conforms exactly to what one would expect from an ambitious member of the Roman nobility. He exercised the customary offices and social prerogatives as he rose up through the cursus honorum: Priest of Jupiter (87), marries a daughter of Cinna, Cornelia (84), military service in Asia, won the ‘civic crown’ (80), prosecutes Dolabella (78), study abroad, captured by pirates (76), military service in the east against Mithradates (74), Quaestor (69), marries Pompey’s cousin, Pompeia (67), Curule Aedile (65), Pontifex Maximus (63), Praetor, Propurator in Further Spain (61), the “first triumvirate” with Pompey and Crassus (60), marries Calpurnia, Consul (59), Proconsul of Gallia Cisalpina, Gallia Narbonensis (Provincia), and Illyricum, for five years (1 March 59 to 28 February 54) (58). (For those interested in the early career of Caesar see Fuller,49-73 and Taylor.5 For a discussion of Caesar’s physical characteristics and their relationship to coins and busts see Toynbee.)

It is at Caesar’s assumption of the Proconsulship of Gaul that his personal greatness begins to emerge and his career can be designated extraordinary. Caesar spent eight years in Gaul building a reputation as an exceptional leader and brilliant campaigner by subduing Gaul, twice sailing to Britain, and twice crossing the Rhine into Germany (58-51). In 58 (BG Book 1), the Helvetians began a migration across Gaul that Caesar used as a pretext to become embroiled in Gallic affairs. The Gauls were defeated at a battle near Bibracte and forced to return home. Immediately after, Caesar, at the request of Diviciacus the Aeduan, expelled Ariovistus the German from Gaul. In 57 (BG Book 2), he campaigned in the north of Gaul against the Belgae. In the pivotal battle of the Sambre River against the Nervii, it was by his personal intervention in the battle (and the reinforcements led by Labienus) that victory was ensured. In 56 (BG Book 3), the main campaign against the Veneti, a coastal people, was a combination of maritime and land battles. In 55 (BG Book 4), Caesar campaigned both across the Rhine river in Germany and the English Channel in Britain, yet neither campaign was conclusive. In 54 (BG Book 5), there was a second expedition to Britain in which Caesar crossed the Thames River. He then returned to Gaul and again needed to subdue the northern Belgic tribes. In 53 (BG Book 6), Caesar crossed the Rhine River a second time, supplied ethnographic information on the Gauls and Germans, and finished the campaign season with several battles in the northeast of Gaul. (For those interested in the full narrative of these battles see Caesar: The Gallic War,10 Books 1-6. For those interested in a secondary analysis of these campaigns see Fuller,11 97-126. For a critique of Caesar as a general see Fuller,12 315-324. For the relationship between Caesar and his army see Cuff.13 For Caesar’s intentions in governing Gaul see Sherwin-White.)

In the longest and most complex book of the BG, Book 7 (52), Caesar described the conflict between himself and
Vercingetorix, the Arverni, who was successful at finally uniting nearly all Gaul against the occupation. The book can be conveniently broken down into four distinct sections. Part 1 (Chapters 1-13) describes how the rebellion begins in central Gaul, with the Carnutes taking the active lead, and subsequently spreads, especially gaining momentum when Vercingetorix is chosen as leader. Once Caesar returns to Gaul and gathers his legions, he storms three Gallic cities in rapid succession: Veslumnodunum, Cenabum, and Noviodunum. In part 2 (Chapters 14-33), the Gauls adopt a scorched-earth policy, although Avaricum, the main city of the Bituriges, they excepted and defended. After a long siege and spirited defense, the city is taken, plundered, and the population put to the sword. In part 3 (Chapters 34-52), it is the Roman army that suffers defeat at Gergovia, a city of the Arverni. In a battle before the city, military discipline breaks down and the Roman soldiers extend themselves too far, only to be overwhelmed by superior numbers of Gauls. In part 4 (Chapters 53-90), the Gauls retreat to Alesia, a city of the Mandubii in central Gaul. Here, Caesar hems in Vercingetorix with eleven miles of fortifications and is forced to build an additional fourteen miles of fortifications facing outward before the relief army arrived. There were three battle before the relief army finally retreats and the interior army surrenders.

Although there are further operations in the next two years (BG Book 8), the resistance was effectively broken at this battle and the supremacy of the Romans is never again in doubt. (For those interested in the full narrative of these battles see Caesar: The Gallic War, Book 7. For those interested in a secondary analysis of this campaign see Fuller, 127-165. For the final two years of the Gallic war see Caesar: The Gallic War, Book 8. For a secondary analysis of the final two years of the campaign see Fuller, 158-65.)

Caesar’s career did not end with the conquest of Gaul but he now had many political enemies who feared his ambition, abilities, and the loyalty of his army. When the Senate attempted to force him to lay down his command, an act which would make him susceptible to prosecution by his enemies, he initiated civil war by crossing the Rubicon on January 10, 49. He then fought the civil war against the vestal maiden Sextus Pompeius (the younger), winning the final battle over the Pharsalians (48), many opponents survived and Caesar campaigned in Egypt (47), North Africa (46), and Spain (45) before the civil war was finally over.

During this time, he became Dictator for eleven days to ensure the elections of 48 (49), Consul a second time (48), Dictator a second time (47), Consul a third time and Dictator for ten years (46), Consul a fourth time and Dictator for life (45), Consul a fifth time (44). Although he refused a crown at the festival Lupercalia on February 15, 44, his supreme position eventually led to his assassination on March 15, 44. (For those interested in the full narrative of the civil war see Caesar’s Civil War, Books 1-3. For a secondary analysis of the civil war see Fuller, 166-307. For Caesar’s campaigns in Spain, Egypt, and Africa to end the civil war see the pseudo-Caesar texts Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars. For a secondary analysis of these campaigns see Fuller, 240-307. For a general discussion of the end of Caesar’s political career and life see Fuller, 283-307. For an analysis of Caesar’s intention with regard to monarchy see Carson. For the identity and motivations of his assassins see Smith. For Caesar’s effect on later political developments see Chilver. For Caesar’s elementia in the civil war see Coulter.)

The best sources for the biography of Caesar are, of course, those of primary literature. First, the entire Bellum Gallicum7 and Bellum Civile8 by Caesar and the pseudo-Caesar texts Bellum Alexandrinum, Bellum Africane, and Bellum Hispanicenae9 ought to be read. Then, the ancient biographies of Caesar should also be read prior to turning to secondary sources, those of Suetonius10 and Plutarch11 being the best. For anyone interested in all the major sources, Book II of Appian’s The Civil Wars12 and Books 37-44 of Dio’s Roman History13 are instructive. Once the reader is familiar with primary sources, I consider J. F. C. Fuller’s Caesar: Man, Soldier and Tyrant14 the best secondary resource for the historical background, life, and political and military career of Caesar. Fuller maintains a healthy balance between respect for the great man and skepticism of the political opportunist. (For additional biographies see also Gelzer15 and Yavetz.)

1. The COMMENTARII AS LITERATURE

As a piece of literature, the entire Bellum Gallicum, but especially the climax of the war in Book 7, is a masterpiece. The narrative sweeps the reader along as Caesar contacts foreign peoples, customs, cultures, and geographies. The deceptively simple style of Caesar has been noted since his contemporary Cicero who claimed that the Commentaries “are like nude figures, straight and beautiful; stripped of all ornament of style as if they had laid aside a garment. His aim was to furnish others with material for writing history, and in perhaps he has succeeded in gratifying the incept, who may wish to apply their curling iron to the material; but men of sound judgment he has deterred from writing, since in history there is nothing more pleasing than brevity clear and correct.” (Brutus, 262). Current scholarship is beginning to agree with Cicero. H. C. Gotoff claims that “it may be that Caesar had succeeded all too well in disguising his art; that centuries of readers, praising him, predictably, for precisely those virtues assigned to him, have failed to notice his diversity, his deceptiveness, and his power.” (Gotoff, 6) and it is the aim of M. F. Williams to treat Caesar “as an artist rather than a self-serving political hack.” (Williams, 217). (The best introductory work on Caesar as an author is Adcock’s Caesar as a Man of Letters. The focus of the book is not Caesar’s political or military career, but instead his literary career and it serves as a good introduction to the traditional issues involving Caesar as an author. But, although it covers all the major questions, it does not go into any great depth. For a survey of the traditional topics associated with Caesarstudies see Conte, 225-33.)

Much has been written about the genre-busting nature of the Commentaries; how they are purported to be hypomnemata, the “raw stuff” for historians, but instead transcend and supersede that genre (see Adcock, 6-18). To see that the Commentaries transcend hypomnemata, one must look no further than the underlying dramatic structure of Book 7. A. D. Kahn has analyzed Book 7 and argues that the plot is Aristotelian and that the structure “is constructed on a pattern approximating that in the Senecean plays.” (Kahn, 250) He breaks down the book into 5 acts: Prologue (Act 1), chapters 1-13; Act 2, chapters 14-18; Act 3, chapters 29-62; Act 4, chapters 63-74; and Act 5, chapters 75-90. He further suggests that the five council meetings at 1.6, 14.1, 63.4, 75.1, and 89.1 function as the choral odes and set off each major turning point. (Kahn, 251) This underlying structure is daring and innovative; it is a clear indication that Caesar has gone beyond hypomnemata and is experimenting with a completely new form. Kahn then delves into characterization (Vercingetorix, Caesar, the Romans, and the Gauls), thought, dramatic and stylistic devices, and diction, all of which combine to elevate the narrative.” (Kahn, 251-254) (For dramatic structure in the Bellum Civile see Rowe.)

The use of speeches is analyzed by C. T. Murphy who argues that indirect discourse is not a sign of immature style, but it
is instead a conscious choice by Caesar to use indirect discourse instead of direct. Murphy classifies speeches into four types (deliberations, or debates, hortations of generals to their soldiers, epideictic or ceremonial speeches, forensic or judicial speeches) and categorizes the major 29 rhetorical passages in the *Bellum Gallicum* into three types (epideictic is missing). From this analysis, Murphy concludes that the speeches are organically integrated into the narrative and that “Caesar’s concern for decent oratorical niceties is found in both his careful arrangement of the parts of the various speeches, and in his use of rhetorical topics, or ‘loci communes’.” (Murphy, 123) Murphy maintains that, since all the organization and rhetorical devices present in direct discourse are present in the indirect discourse, just the form, necessitated by the genre, is different. He further points out that in the two main speeches completely in direct discourse in Book 7, those at 7.38 and 7.77, “he is, in fact, doing what later historians are to do with his material: i.e., he takes the substance of what was said and puts it into good rhetorical form.” (Murphy, 122) As with dramatic structure, Caesar’s use of speeches again supersedes the genre of *hypomnemata*. (For a good review of the secondary literature on speeches and unique, original insights see Nordling. For the two seminal works on speeches (written in German) see Deichgräber and Rasmussen.)

A cursory examination of rhetorical devices contained in the *BG*, provided by C. W. Siedler, again demonstrates the high quality of the narrative. Siedler rereads the work aloud and, despite Caesar’s noted adherence to the plain style, isolates “three kinds of figures, expressions of idea in a fanciful manner with artistic effect to charm the ears and the minds of his audience for the sake of diversity, impressiveness, vividness, strength, and distinction: Figures of Rhetoric, of Syntax, and of speech.” (Siedler, 29) Figures of Rhetoric include alliteration, anaphora, antithesis, assonance, chiasmus, climax, anti-climax, litotes, repetition, rhetorical questions, rhythm, and symmetry. Figures of Syntax include asyndeton, polyyndeton, ellipsis, and syncope. Figures of Speech include simile, metonymy, metaphor, and hyperbole. Unfortunately, Siedler’s discussion of each is brief with sparing examples, sometimes even none. In the addenda there is a useful count of instances for these categories. P. R. Murphy examines word frequency and isolates specific themes in each book of the *Gallic War*. Book 1: *persuasio*, *timor*; Book 2: *furor*; Book 3: *difficultas Romana*; Book 4: *perfidia*, *perturbatio Romana*; Book 5: *fuga Britannorum*, *mors decora Romana*, *virtus*, *consilium*; Book 6: *celeritas*, *consilium*, *Fortuna*; Book 7: *libertas* balanced by *barbaria*, *continentia*. This thematic construction demonstrates a high degree of literary accomplishment.

Caesar’s use of general reflections is cataloged and arranged into groups by J.D. Craig. Craig makes no attempt to analyze further the general reflections, but merely groups them into three categories. 1) Military hints in generalized form: *BG* 5.33; BC 1.44; 3.5, 52, 92.2. 2) General rules which are military but have a wider application: *BG* 3.26; 5.33; 6.35; BC 1.21, 72; 3.68.3. 3) Generalizations whose application is as wide as human nature: *BG* 1.14: 3.18; 7.26; BC 2.8, 27, 39; 3.1, 32, 104. He then compares 2 instances from *BG* Book 8 and 2 from *Bellum Alexandrinum*. There are no instances in *Bellum Africane* and *Bellum Hispaniense*.

Caesar’s style has also been the focus of much study. H.C. Gotoff rejects the prevailing view that Caesar wrote “essentially simple sentences, perhaps achieving some temporal or causal subordination by use of a discrete ablative absolute. He ended his sentence with the verb. Adjectives and genitives would be expected adjacent to their governing nouns, and object phrases precede the prepositional phrases and other adverbial elements that adhere more closely to the verb” and instead believes that “Caesar’s style is more complex than the *communs opinio* suggests.” (Gotoff, 5 and 15) Gotoff examines elements of this complexity and rejects the developmental argument for Caesar’s style since the complexity of the narrative begins with the first book and runs throughout the narrative. He supplies examples of hyperbaton, the unusual position of words and concludes that it is clear that Caesar did not limit himself to the simple sentence, verb last, with which he is associated. (Gotoff, 6-10) He also notes that the subordinating use of ablative absolutes and participial phrases is not “Tulliocentric” but is instead a construction that is closer to Livy than Cicero. (Gotoff, 9-12) Finally, he examines the use of parallelism in constructing periodic sentences and notes that “not only does a practical criticism of Caesar’s composition demonstrate a variety of sentence typologies, but it makes clear that Caesar composed beyond the limit of a single sentence, no matter how complex.” (Gotoff, 14-15)

J.J. Schlicher sees a pattern of development in Caesar’s style. First, he discusses the development of sentence construction in Caesar’s narrative and notices the following patterns: “After *BG* i, which, with its over precise and argumentative manner and its rather old-fashioned mode of expression, has not yet adapted itself fully to the narrative technique, the first phase (*BG* ii-iv) represents an intensification of the periodical narrative sentence by overloading it with preliminary detail. Relief from this extreme was found in various ways, from *BG* v onward - first, by distributing some of the load carried by a single main verb among several verbs of the sentence; second, by increasing the use of such elements in the sentence as afford an easy transition - namely, the ablative absolute and the participial phrase - and diminishing the number of the more stubborn and specific subordinate clauses; third, by placing some of these, especially the participial constructions, after the dominate verb instead of before it; fourth, by increasing the use of noncommittal words of easy transition, both at the beginning of the sentence and within it. Some of these changes progressed quite steadily from the beginning to the end; while others appeared more spasmodically, and still others did not manifest themselves decisively before the Civil War.” (Schlicher, 222) Schlicher also sees three other developmental elements beginning with Book IV. The first is speeches in direct discourse. The second is the notice taken of heroism and daring on the part of individual men of low rank in the army. And finally, he notes the extended descriptive passages, customs, peoples, and dramatic situations. (For more on style see Eden, Radista, and Williams.)

In his book *The Face of Battle*, John Keegan includes a critique of Caesar’s historical skills and concludes that, when compared to Greek historians, especially Thucydides, Caesar is a second-rate author. As a test-case, he compares Caesar’s account of the battle at the River Sambre to Thucydid’s account of the battle of Mantinea and concludes that Caesar’s description is flawed in four areas: 1) disjointive movement; 2) uniformity of behavior; 3) simplified characterization; 4) simplified motivation. In each of these areas Keegan sees Thucydid as Caesar’s superior. Although Keegan does not use examples from *BG* Book 7, his critique can be applied equally to the major battle-narratives of Avaricum, Gergovia, and Alesia. Upon close examination, Keegan’s critiques of Caesar’s battle-narratives can not be sustained for any of these major battles (I elsewhere contend that his critiques are not true for the battle at the River Sambre, either). They are not simple, mechanical events which are Caesar-centric, but contain a full range of movement, behavior, characterization, and motivation. Even in battle-narratives Caesar’s *Commentaries* are rich and diverse. (For a
full critique of Keegan's argument, see Mannetter, 176-196. For battle-narrative see also Pelling.  

1. C THE PROBLEM OF CAESAR'S SELF-PRESENTATION AND VERACITY (TENDENZ)  
No discussion of Caesar's Commentaries is complete without addressing the problem of Caesar's self-presentation and veracity (Tendenz). The problem of Caesar's self-presentation and veracity has been well documented and the range of the spectrum covers nearly all possible opinions. The literary critique of Asinius Pollio, as cited in Suetonius' Deified Julius, 56, contained four major criticisms of Caesar's work: "Asinius Pollio thinks that they were put together somewhat carelessly and without strict regard for the truth; since in many cases Caesar was too ready to believe the accounts which others gave of their actions, and gave a perverted account of his own, either designedly or perhaps from forgetfulness; and he thinks that he intended to rewrite and revise them." G. B. Conte notes that "whether [his judgments] are malicious or clear-sighted is hard to say." (Conte, 260) Nevertheless, this assessment of Caesar's veracity has served as a weasel's approach of criticism. (A book which must be read by anyone wishing to come to grips with the problem of veracity in Caesar is Hayden White's Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism. The John Hopkins University Press, 1978. Although the work is not specifically about Caesar, this book on historical theory will clear up many of the alleged "problems" with Caesar's narrative.)  

A negative view of Caesar's veracity is presented by S. E. Stevens who examines two episodes to show that "on two important occasions in the Gallic war Caesar did not have the initiative. On one his plan went completely astray and he has not told us." (This is the invasion of Britain) "On the other his moves conformed to those of his adversary and he has written as far as possible to show that his adversary's moves conformed to his." (This is Gergovia) "Sixteen" (Stevens, 8-16 and 6-18) The remainder of the article deals with the first book of the Commentaries which he negatively characterizes as "a tangled web that he had already woven." (Stevens, 179) His final assessment of Caesar is that he is guilty of propaganda of the worst type: "When I made propaganda for the British government during the last war, there were two types of it, the White, in which our aim was to slant the truth but rigorously tell it, and the Black in which we permitted ourselves to swerve deliberately from it in the pursuit of the objective. In both White and Black, Caesar has shown himself, as I have tried to demonstrate, supreme." (Stevens, 179) (For the most negative critique of Caesar see Rambaud.  

Balsdon has noted of Rambaud's work that "it is more ingenious than convincing." (Balsdon, 28)  

A much more moderate view is taken by J. P. V. D. Balsdon who begins with Asinius Pollio's criticism of Caesar's veracity and adds that "Asinius Pollio unfortunately gave no examples of the sort of thing that he criticized. We, however, can easily supply a few." (Balsdon, 20) He discusses the major allegedly whitewashed scenes of Caesar's confrontation of Pompey before Brundisium, the mutiny of the IX legion, and the genocide of the Usipetes and Tencteri. Balsdon dismisses the seriousness of these episodes and simply admits that Caesar did not write "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." (Balsdon, 22) Balsdon finally turns to a discussion of minor shadings of the truth and suggests that the dates of composition and publication have much to do with one's assessment of Caesar. He examines the campaign against Ariovistus and concludes that the episode is open to interpretation depending upon "what ... was the Roman estimate of the danger which threatened the northern provinces, and perhaps Italy itself? Was Caesar the only one who thought and spoke in terms of a second invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones?" (Balsdon, 27) His final estimation of Caesar's veracity is that "the truth no doubt lies somewhere between the view of those who reject nearly every word that Caesar wrote and those who believe that every statement of Caesar is true." (Balsdon, 27)  

J. F. Gardner also takes the middle road and sees Caesar shading rather than outright lying. She notes of the Gauls that "only occasionally had these presented any real and immediate threat to the security of the Italian peninsula. Nevertheless, they were present in Roman consciousness as a kind of bogeyman. ... Caesar represented the danger to Rome from the Gauls as arising in part from the nature of the Gauls themselves and in part from the pressure they were experiencing from the Germanic people." (Gardner, 181 and 182) Caesar used his Commentaries "to bring his successes before the Roman people in the best possible light and - no less important - to justify in advance those actions of his which might serve as a basis for prosecution by his political enemies." (Gardner, 188) He found the Gallic menace a convenient excuse for those actions, and "the emphasis laid on the danger created, both for Caesar important - to justify in advance those actions of his which might serve as a basis for prosecution by his political enemies." (Gardner, 188)  

On the other end of the spectrum from Stevens is J. C. Collins who advances the view that Caesar's works can scarcely be described as propaganda in the modern sense. While he admits that "here and there he stretched the truth" (Collins, 963), he argues that "the most powerful propaganda is the truth, and the greatest asset of the propagandist is a reputation for truth-telling. We underestimate Caesar if we suppose he was ignorant of this, or if we regard him as a clumsy or habitual fabricator. He felt far too strong a sense of dignitas and personal self-assurance to resort to such methods. The essence of good propaganda is the presentation of true facts in a selected light and with selected emphasis, and this, not lying, is Caesar's main reliance." (Collins, 946-47) Collins separates the BG and BC as two different works with two different motives and aims. He looks at what Caesar is justifying and how. The BG is a positive self-defense, not a negative self-defense, which functions as a statement of fact designed to show Caesar as a victorious Roman commander. The BC is a self-defense, but one which does not contain gross falsifications. It presents Caesar as right and just, the psychological front intended to reinforce the grounds of internal opposition in reason. White men used to destroy the credit of the irreconcilables." (Collins, 942) "In the Bellum Civile, on the other hand, he was concerned throughout to show not that he was successful, but that he was in the right, that his adversaries were stupid, un-Roman, and criminal, and that his victory was the victory of the better cause." The Pompeians were depicted as "cruel and vindictive in success, cowardly in battle, abject in defeat. They are boastful and vain, incompetent and stupid, greedy and luxurious, petty-minded and ignoble, time-serving and treacherous, morally repulsive. Their downfall was the inevitable consequence of their folly, idem, and impotencia." (Collins, 946)  

Of all the works dedicated to propaganda and veracity, I find Collins to be the most well reasoned and beneficial to an understanding of Caesar. D. F. Conley also sees a lack of excessive distortion and has advanced an argument against excessive agrandizement in self-presentation. Conley claims that other factors for victory are emphasized by Caesar and that "the majority of scholars ever since
Mommsen have believed that the *BG* is tendentious - heavily so, most have implied - and in the more recent studies it has generally been asserted that the principal aim or theme of the *Tendenz* is the glorification of Caesar’s prowess as Commander-in-Chief. If this were true, we should expect that in those episodes which culminate in a Roman victory (as most do), the contributions of Caesar the commander would consistently loom large in the structure of causes leading to victory, to a point that would arouse suspicion of partiality. The purpose of this article is to demonstrate that this is not the case.” (Conley, 173) He then analyzes scenes that are often cited as excessive and argues that, when they are examined in the larger context of the surrounding narrative and all the factors are taken into account, the actual self-aggrandizement is minimal.

1. THE AIM OF THIS WORK

The aim of this work is to be a useful tool for anyone who desires to read Latin prose and has had at least basic Latin grammar/morphology. For the beginning student, a complete vocabulary is provided so that valuable time is not wasted paging through the dictionary and the notes are abundant so that help is available for any aspect they find difficult. For the more advanced student, the notes are placed last so that the vocabulary can be used alone with the text in order to facilitate speed in reading. The book is designed to be self-sufficient with its own text, vocabulary, and notes, but at the same time is referenced to other works which a student may consult for further information. The text is that found in the Oxford Latin text,*1* broken down into small sense units that are more approachable than large chunks of Latin. The definitions in the basic vocabulary lists are mainly taken from Lewis’ *An Elementary Latin Dictionary,*supplemented periodically by definitions found in Kelsey’s*11* vocabulary list. Some specialized word uses are taken from the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* sup (abbreviated OLD). In the notes, each grammar and syntax point is referenced to Allan and Greenough’s *New Latin Grammar* (abbreviated A.G.). A small explanation is provided but the reader is encouraged to look there for further explanation and examples. There are two older commentaries, those of Kelsey*16* and Walker*17* which were published near the turn of the last century and summarize much archeological and historical scholarship. I cite these two works where I feel that it is useful for understanding the text. The descriptions of tribes and individuals in Appendix A are based upon those found in Kelsey but augmented from other sources and are included as proper names are not normally included in dictionaries and this can be a source of frustration for readers. For those interested in word occurrences, C. M. Birch’s *Concordantia et Index Caesaris* is indispensable. Finally, a complete listing of secondary literature can be found in Jürgen von Kroymann’s bibliography Caesar und das Corpus Caesarianum in der Neueren Forschung: Gesamtbibliographie 1945-1970. *19*

1. E ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all of my teachers, colleagues, and students for making this book possible. Thank you to Oxford University Press for the use of the base text. The cover art is reproduced from Kelsey’s commentary and was too wonderful to pass by. The map is also from Kelsey, originally produced at the turn of the last century by Bradley and Poates, Engineers, New York. Special thanks to John Craig and Michael Bradsell for technical assistance. My greatest debt of gratitude goes to my wife, Sara, and children, August and Veda, who understood that much time was needed to conclude this project. Thank you one and all.
I. F. SELECTED CHRONOLOGY

102 (B.C.) Marius defeats the Teutoni
101    Marius defeats the Cimbri
100    July 12, Caesar born
88-82   The first civil war between Sulla and Marius
87     Caesar elected Flamen Dialis
84     Caesar marries Cornelia, daughter of Cinna
80     Caesar serves in Asia (80-78), wins the “civic crown”
78    Prosecutes Dolabella for extortion
76     Caesar sails to Rhodes to study under Molo, captured by pirates, elected Tribunus Militum
74     Raised a company of volunteers at Rhodes, held Caria against Mithradates
69     Caesar Qaestor in Further Spain, Cornelia dies
67     Caesar marries Pompeia
65     Caesar Curule Aedile
63     Caesar Pontifex Maximus
62     Caesar Praetor
61     Governor, as Propraetor, of Further Spain
59     Formed The First Triumvirate with Pompey and Crassus
58-51  Caesar campaigns in Gaul, Britain, and Germany as Proconsul
58     Caesar made Proconsul March 1, 59 - February 28, 54, BG 1, campaign against the Helvetii and Ariovistus
57     BG 2, campaign against the Belgae
56     BG 3, Campaign against the Veneti; conference of Triumvirs at Luca. Caesar’s command extended five years, to February, 49
55     BG 4, Caesar campaigns in Germany and Britain
54     BG 5, Second campaign in Britain, campaign against the northern Belgic tribes; Julia dies
53     BG 6, Second campaign in Germany, campaign in north-east Gaul; Crassus killed at Carrahae
52     BG 7, Pan-Gallic revolt under Vercingotrix subdued; unrest in Rome, Clodius killed
51-50  BG 8 Revolt of the Carnutes and Bellovaci, siege and fall of Uxellodunum; disputes at Rome about Caesar’s command and second consulship
49     Senate decrees that Caesar must disband his army, Caesar crosses the Rubicon on January 10, beginning the civil war, Pompey leads the opposition, Caesar dictator (1)
48     Caesar Consul (2), defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus; death of Pompey in Egypt, Caesar in Egypt with Cleopatra
47     Caesar Dictator (2), combats Pompeian remnants, defeats Pharnaces at Zela (Veni, Vidi, Vic)
46     Caesar Consul (3), Dictator for ten years (3), defeats Pompeians at Thaspus
45     Caesar Dictator (4) for life, Consul (4), defeats Pompeians at Munda
44     Caesar Consul (5), refuses crown at Lupercalia February 15, assassinated on Ides of March (15th)
PART I: THE REBELLION BEGINS: VERCINGETORIX IS CHOSEN LEADER AND MUSTERS AN ARMY; CAESAR CAPTURES VERCUNODUNUM, CENABUM, AND NOVIONDUM (7.1-13)

1. Chapters 1-3: The Gauls Plan Rebellion in Secret; The Carnutes Take the Lead; They Sack Cenabum and Kill Roman Citizens

(1.1) QUIETA Gallia, Caesar, ut constituerat, in Italiam ad conventus agendos proficiscitur.

ad, in order to, for the purpose of.
Caesar, -aris, m., Caesar.
convenus, -us, m., court, assize.
in, to, towards.
proficiscor, -ficiscor, -fectus, set out, depart, proceed.
ut, as, just as.

QUIETA Gallia: Ablative absolute with an adjective (QUIETA) taking the place of a participle (there is no participle for “being”) (see Allen and Greenough’s New Latin Grammar, henceforth abbreviated A.G., 419.a-20). The ablative absolute is a common construction in Book 7 and it is important to translate it into good idiomatic English. The translation of an ablative absolute varies but should either be translated as a subordinate clause beginning with “when, while, after, since, although, if, seeing as, in, by, etc.”, or at times as a coordinate clause, as the context demands. When the passive participle is utilized in Latin, it should be rendered in the active with a personal subject whenever possible, as coactus exercitus, “After he had collected the army”, not “with the army having been collected” (A.G. 419-20). The year is 52 B.C. and in the previous campaign season Caesar had suppressed a revolt led by the relatives of the deceased Indutiomarus of the Treveri, Acco of the Senones, and Ambiorix of the Eburones; see BG 6.1, 29-44 (all references will be to the Bellum Gallicum unless otherwise noted). Caesar previously thought that Gaul was subdued, at 2.35.1; omni Gallia pacata, 3.7.1: cum omnibus de causis Caesar pacatam Galliam existimaret, and 3.28.1; omni Gallia pacata; then he described the situation a little less positively as quietorem Gallam at 5.58. Here, the weaker adjective Quieta (peaceful, but not subdued) seems to suggest that experience has taught him that Gaul is only quiet on the surface. QUIETA: The adjective is used in Book 7 only here and at 6.4 (quieta). Gallia: See Appendix A. “Between the home territory of the Roman people in the Italian peninsula and the tribes of Gaul and Germany lay two provinces - Cisalpine Gaul, most of whose population were actually already Roman citizens or in possession of Latin rights, and Transalpine Gaul, a province since only 121 B.C., but already in Caesar’s time displaying a developed urban civilization based on the Greek model, under the influence of Massilia. By the end of the first century B.C. well-to-do Romans considered the schools of Massilia an acceptable alternative to those of Athens for their son’s higher studies (Strabo 4.1.5). On the fringes of the province, however, and beyond in Gaul proper were the long-haired Gauls (hence Gallia comata) and beyond them the German tribes.” (Gardner, 181; the references for all citations can be found in the Introduction.) Compare the prominent position of Gallia in the opening of BG Book 1: Gallia est omnis divisa …; Book 2: CUM esst Caesar in citiore Gallia …; Book 6: MULTIS de causis Caesar maiorem Galliae motum exspectans ….

Caesar: Nominative subject (A.G. 339). See Appendix A. In Book 7 of the BG, Caesar refers to himself only in the third person, either in the singular or occasionally in the plural. Compare the three instances in the BG where he refers to himself in the first person: dixeram ut, at 2.24.1, demonstraveream ut 4.27.2, and seio ut 5.55.5. F. E. Adcock claims that through the use of the third person “it is thus possible that the constant use of his name in the Commentaries is not only a convention or a mark of objectiveness, but includes, as it were, the natural, almost automatic, expression of his conscious preeminence.” (Adcock, 76) For a full discussion see Adcock, 74-76; C. W. Siedler, 29. J.H. Collins notes of Caesar’s presence in the entire BG that: “from his dramatic entrance in the sentences I have already quoted from BG I 7.1, to the graphic description of the fall of Alisea, BG VII, 88, Caesar stands in the center of the action, the efficient, resourceful, alert commander, prepared in mind and body for all eventualities, acer et indomitus, as Lucan (I, 146) calls him. He stands forth also as the very embodiment of the Roman imperium, ready to beat down Rome’s enemies and spread the terror of her name to the Rhine, the ocean, and beyond.’” (Collins, 941) Compare the prominent position of the noun Caesar in the opening of BG Book 2: CUM esst Caesar …; Book 3: CUM in Italiam proficisc eretur Caesar …; Book 5: L. Domitio App. Claudio consulibus, discedens ab hibernis Caesar …; Book 6: MULTIS de causis Caesar …; In Book 1, Caesar (in the dative, Caesar) first occurs at 7.1 and in Book 4 Caesar first occurs at §1.

ut constituerat: The relative adverb ut (“as”) with the indicative introduces a parenthetical remark (OLD ut 12). For the reference see BG 6.44.3. constituerat: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). The pronoun is, with Caesar as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a). The pluperfect tense of the verb denotes an action completed in past time (A.G. 477).

in Italiam: Accusative of place to which with the preposition in (A.G. 426.2). Italian: See Appendix A. ad conventus agendos: The preposition ad with accusative noun and gerundive denotes purpose (A.G. 206). conventus agendos: The phrase is an idiom that means “to hold court, the assizes”. “The governor of a province from time to time visited the principal cities to administer justice. Caesar’s chief object in going up into Cisalpine Gaul, however, was doubtless to get as near Rome as the law allowed, in order to watch the course of events there.” (Kelsey, 291) For other instances of Caesar holding the assizes see BG 1.54.3, 5.1.5, 5.2.1, and 6.44.3. agendos: Plural, masculine, accusative gerundive used as an adjective modifying convenus denoting necessity, obligation or propriety (A.G. 500.1).

proficiscor: The main verb of the main clause (A.G. 278.b). The historical present, giving vividness to the narrative, is present in Chapter 1 (A.G. 469). This usage, common in all languages, comes from imagining past events as going on before our eyes (repraesentatio) (A.G. 469 Note). The historical present is used “to lend speed, vividness, excitement, the ancient equivalent of our effect.” (Siedler, 29) Siedler counts 352 uses of the historical present in the historical present in Book 7 (Siedler, 46).

(1.1) Ibi cognoscit de Clodi caede, de senatusque consulto certior factus, ut omnes iuniores Italiae coniurarent, dilectum tota provincia habere instituit.

caedes, -is, f., killing, slaughter, murder, massacre.
Claudius, -i, m., Claudius.
Appendix A.

Eae res in Galliam Transalpinam celeriter perferuntur.

(1.2) Eae res in Galliam Transalpinam celeriter perferuntur.

cognoscit: Main verb of the coordinate clause ibi ... caede (A.G. 278.a). The pronoun is, with Caesar as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a).
de Clodi caede: Prepositional phrase, de with the ablative here means “about, concerning” (OLD de 12). Clodi: Possessive genitive with caede (A.G. 343). The singular genitive of nouns in -ius ended, until the Augustan Age, in a single -i (A.G. 49.b). “By Milo, 52 BC.” (Edwards, 381) See Appendix A.
de senatusque consulto: Prepositional phrase, de with the ablative here means “about, concerning” (OLD de 12). senatus: Possessive genitive with consulto (A.G. 343). -que: The enclitic conjunction connects the two main verbs cognoscit ... instituit (A.G. 324.a). The enclitic is seldom joined to an unemphasized monosyllabic preposition (de) and so is connected to senatus (OLD -que).
certiōr factus: Nominative subject of instituit (A.G. 339). The phrase certiōrem fieri is an idiom that means “to be informed” (OLD facere 12.b). certior: Singular, masculine, nominative comparative adjective modifying factus (A.G. 124). factus: Nominative, perfect, passive participle used as a predicate, where in English a phrase or a subordinate clause would be more natural (A.G. 496). The pronoun is, with Caesar as the antecedent, is understood. In this predicate use, the participle is normally equivalent to a subordinate clause which expresses time, cause, occasion, concession, etc. and can be translated into good idiomatic English with the words “while, when, after, because, although, if, etc.” (A.G. 496). The present participle represents the action as in progress at the time indicated by the main verb, the perfect as completed (A.G. 489).

ut ... coniurarent: The conjunction ut (“namely that, to the effect that”) with the subjunctive forms an epexegetical clause in apposition to the prepositional phrase de senatusque consulto (OLD ut 39). coniurarent: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). Imperfect subjunctive; the tense of the subjunctive is in secondary sequence and follows the rules for the sequence of tense after the historical present instituit (A.G. 482-85, esp. 485.e). For the purposes of sequence of tense, the historical present is equivalent to the historical perfect tense and is normally followed by the secondary sequence (there will be exceptions) (A.G. 469 and 485.e). “In times of danger, when the levies were made in haste, the soldiers did not take the military oath one by one but in a body, responding to the general.” (Kelsey, 400)


Italiae: Locative case of Italia, ae, f. (A.G. 43.c). See Appendix A.
dilectum: Accusative direct object of the infinitive habere (A.G. 387 and 451.3). “Although recruitment to the Roman army was theoretically based upon conscription, there seems to have been little difficulty in normal times in maintaining the establishment by means of voluntary enlistment, especially in the western provinces. The infrequency with which resort was made to the dilectus is remarkable.” (Watson, 31)
tota provincia: Ablative of place where without a preposition (A.G. 429.2). “Cisalpine Gaul is meant, as shown by the next sentence.” (Kelsey, 400) provincia: See Appendix A.
habere: Complementary infinitive after instituit (A.G. 456 and 563.d). The infinitive is equivalent to a substantive clause of purpose (A.G. 563.d).
instituit: The main verb of the coordinate clause de ... instituit (A.G. 278.a).
Addunt ipsi et adfingunt rumoribus Galli quod res poscere videbatur, retinieri urbano motu Caesar neque in tantis
dissensionibus ad exercitum venire posse.

ad, to.
adfingo, - fingere, - finxi, - fictus, embellish, invent beside.
dissensio, -onis, f., difference of opinion, disagreement.
exercitus, -us, m., army.
in, in amid.
motus, -us, m., tumult, commotion.
posco, poscere, poposci, require, make necessary.
qui, quae, quod, who, what, which.
retineo, -tineo, -tiniu, -tentaus, detain, keep back.
tantus, -a, -um, such, so important.
venio, venire, veni, venus, come.
addo, -dere, -didi, -ditus, add, join.
Caesar, -aris, m., Caesar.
et, and.
Galli, -orun, m., the Gauls.
ipse, -a, -um, for their own part, themselves.
neque, and ... not.
possus, posse, potui, ----, be able.
res, rei, f., matter, affair, circumstance.
rumor, -oris, m., report, rumor.
urbanus, -a, -um, of the city (usually Rome).
video, videri, visus sum, seem, appear.

Addunt: The main verb of the coordinate clause Addunt ipsi (A.G. 278.a). The verb comes in the first position when the idea in it is
emphatic (A.G. 598.d).

ipsi ... Galli: Nominative subject of Addunt ... adfingunt (A.G. 339). ipsi: Plural, masculine, nominative demonstrative pronoun used
as an adjective modifying Galli (A.G. 296.1 and a). The pronoun marks a transition and means “for their own part” (OLD ipse 3).

Galli: Notice how vague the term is here; Caesar supplies no specific names of either states or people. Technically, the term Galli
only refers to the inhabitants of central Gaul. At BG 1.1-2 Caesar differentiates between the three major groups in Gaul (the Belgae in
the north, the Aquitani in the south, and the Galli in central Gaul): Gallia est omnis divisa in partis tris, quarum una incolum
Belgae, aliam Aquitanii, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Caesar uses the term Galli (which should refer
only to those inhabitants of central Gaul) to refer to the entire coalition of Gauls as a generic term in Book 7 and does not make
rigorous distinctions as he does elsewhere in the BG. Gardner notes of the Gauls that “only occasionally had these presented any real
and immediate threat to the security of the Italian peninsula. Nevertheless, they were present in Roman consciousness as a kind of
bogeyman. ... Caesar represented the danger to Rome from the Gauls as arising in part from the nature of the Gauls themselves and in
part from the pressure they were experiencing from the Germanic people.” (Gardner, 181 and 182) For the nature of the Gauls see
quaeruntur at 1.4 and deserantur at 2.3. For an example of pressure from the Germans, see the encounter with Ariovistus at BG
1.30-54. See Appendix A.

et: The conjunction connects the two main verbs addunt ... adfingunt (A.G. 324.a).

adfingunt: The main verb of the coordinate clause adfingunt ... posse (A.G. 278.a).

rumoribus: Dative indirect object of the transitive verbs addunt ... adfingunt (A.G. 362). (id, the supplied antecedent of quod, is the
direct object.)

quod ... videbatur: Relative clause (A.G. 303). quod: Singular, neuter, accusative relative pronoun used substantively (A.G. 305).
The antecedent is omitted, supply id (A.G. 307.c). Accusative direct object of the infinitive poscere (A.G. 387 and 451.3). videbatur:
The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b).

res: Nominative subject (A.G. 339).
poscere: Complementary infinitive after videbatur (A.G. 456).

retinieri ... Caesar: Accusative/infinite construction in indirect discourse (A.G. 577 ff.). The verb of Saying is not expressed, but
implied in the general drift of the sentence (A.G. 580.a). Siedler notes that the effect of indirect discourse in the Commentaries is that
“Caesar disarms his audience by his apparent telling of the Truth, as would any experienced reporter who does not feel justified in
quoting the exact words ... ” (Siedler, 29) Siedler counts 131 instances of indirect speech in Book 7 (Siedler, 46). retinieri: Present
infinite; the tense of the infinitive in indirect discourse is relative to that of the verb of saying (A.G. 584).

Caesar: See Appendix A.

urbano motu: Ablative of cause without a preposition (A.G. 404).

neque: The conjunction here joins a negative clause to a preceding positive one and means “and ... not” (OLD neque 3).
in tantis dissensionibus: Prepositional phrase, in with the ablative here means “in, amid” (certain circumstances) (OLD in 40).
ad exercitum: ‘Accusative of place to which with the preposition ad (A.G. 426.2). “6 legions were at Agedincum, 2 among the
Lingones, 2 on the borders of the Treveri - 10 in all.” (Kelsey, 401)
venire: Complementary infinitive after posse (A.G. 456).

(eum) posse: Accusative/infinite construction in indirect discourse (A.G. 577 ff.). The verb of saying is not expressed, but implied
in the general drift of the sentence (A.G. 580.a). The pronoun eum, with Caesar as the antecedent, is understood as the accusative
subject. posse: Present infinitive; the tense of the infinitive in indirect discourse is relative to that of the verb of saying (A.G. 584).
The present infinitive posse often has a future sense in indirect discourse (A.G. 584.b).

(1.3-4) Hac impulsi occasione qui iam ante se populi Romani imperio subjectos dolerius atque audacios de bello
consilia inire (4) incipit.
imperium. -i, n., control, dominion, military authority.

inoe, -ire, -ivi, or -ii, -itus, begin, form.

occasio, -onis, f., opportunity, favorable moment.

qui, quae, quod, who, what, which.

sui, sibi, se, or sese, nom. wanting, they, with or without themselves.

Hae ... occasione: Ablative of cause without a preposition after impulsi; the motive which influences the mind of the person acting is expressed by the ablative of cause (A.G. 404). Hae: Singular, feminine, ablative demonstrative pronoun used as an adjective modifying occasione (A.G. 296.1 and a).

impulsi: Nominative, perfect, passive participle used as a predicate, where in English a phrase or a subordinate clause would be more natural (A.G. 496). The pronoun ei, with Galli as the antecedent, is understood. Nominative subject of incipiant (A.G. 339).

qui ... dolerent: A relative clause of characteristic; the relative pronoun with the subjunctive is often used to indicate a characteristic of the antecedent, especially where the antecedent is otherwise undefined (A.G. 535). Here the relative expresses cause ("since they") (A.G. 535.e). qui: Plural, masculine, nominative relative pronoun used substantively (A.G. 305). The antecedent is impulsi (A.G. 307). Nominative subject (A.G. 339). dolerent: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). Imperfect subjunctive; the tense of the subjunctive is in secondary sequence and follows the rules for the sequence of tense after the historical present incipiant (A.G. 482-85, esp. 485.e).

ante: Adverb (A.G. 215.6, 217.b and 320-21).

se ... subiectos (esse): Accusative/infinitive construction in indirect discourse after dolerent (A.G. 577 ff.). se: Plural, masculine, accusative direct object of the infinitive (A.G. 300.1). The antecedent is qui, the subject of dolerent (A.G. 299). subiectos (esse): Supply esse to form the perfect, passive, infinitive (A.G. 188). Siedler claims that this common ellipsis in Caesar creates speed (Siedler, 31). The tense of the infinitive in indirect discourse is relative to that of the verb of saying (A.G. 584).

populi Romani: Possessive genitive with imperio (A.G. 343). This expression has an invariable word order (A.G. 598.k).

imperio: Dative indirect object of the passive infinitive subiectos (esse); verbs which in the active voice take the accusative and dative retain the dative when used in the passive (A.G. 370).

liberius: Comparative adverb (A.G. 218 and 320-21). Liberty for the Gauls is a theme in Book 7. In the first chapter alone it is repeated three times: liberius, in libertatem, and libertatem (1.3, 1.6, and 1.8). For the noun libertas in Book 7 see 1.5, 1.8, 4.4, 37.4, 64.3, 66.4, 71.3, 72.6, 72.13, 77.14, 89.1. See especially the juxtaposition of liberty and slavery in Critognatus’ speech at 7.77. Paul Murphy maintains that while liberty is the main theme of the book, Caesar matches almost every mention of it with an instance of Gallic barbaria (Paul Murphy, 241). After their concern for liberty in Chapter 1, they massacre Roman merchants at 3.1 and “Vercingetorix habet dilectum egentium et perditorum (4.3). Thus the Roman reader felt no sympathy at learning that hortatur ut comminis libertatis causa arma capiant (4.4). Even less was the (sic) so stirred at learning how Vercingetorix enforced discipline - through death by torture and by burning, through lopping off ears and gouging out eyes (4.10)” (P. Murphy, 241-42) According to Murphy, the only case where libertas is not conjoined to barbaria is at 89.1-2. (P. Murphy, 242)

atque: The conjunction connects a word (audacius) which strengthens or corrects the first term (liberius) and means “and in fact, and even” (OLD atque 4).

audacius: Comparative adverb (A.G. 218 and 320-21).

de bello: Prepositional phrase. de with the ablative here means "about, concerning" (OLD de 12).

consilia: Accusative direct object of the infinitive inire (A.G. 387 and 451.3). The phrase consilium inire is an idiom that means “to form a plan or plot” (OLD ineo 7.b). Notice that the noun is here plural, implying numerous plots.

inire: Complementary infinitive after incipiant (A.G. 456).

incipiunt: The main verb of the main clause (A.G. 278.b).

1.4-5 Indictis inter se principes Galliae conciliiis silvestribus ac remotis locis queruntur de Acconis morte; (5) posse hunc casum ad ipsose recidere demonstrant; miserantur communem Galliae fortunam;

ae, and.
ad. on to, to, against.

communis, -e, common, in common, public, general.
de, about, concerning.

fortuna, -ae, f., condition, state, fate, misfortune, circumstance.
bic, haec, hoc, this; he, she, it.

inter, with, to, among.

loca, -orum, n., pl., places.
mors, mortis, f., death.

princeps, -ipis, m., head man, leader, chief, prince.

recedo, -cidere, -cidi, -casurus, come upon, fall to the lot of.
silvestris, -e, covered with woods, wooded, woody.

Acesso, -onis, m., Acco.
casus, -us, m., misfortune, evil plight.

consilium, -i, n., meeting, assembly, council.
demonstror, -arc, -avi, -atus, point out, show, say, mention, explain.

Gallia, -ae, f., Gaul.

indico, -dicere, -dixi, -dixit, convove, call, appoint.

ipse, -a, -um, he, they, with or without himself, themselves.
miseror, -ari, -atus, lament, deplore.
possum, posse, potui, -----, be able.

queror, queri, questus, complain of, make complaint of.

remotus, -a, -um, far off, remote.
sui, sibi, se, or sese, nom. wanting, each other, themselves.
He notes that "Caesar reports a number of speeches in which the Gauls encouraged each other to revolt; here too he uses these speeches to show the motives and beliefs which led the Gauls to rebel. The Gallic leaders invariably represent the Roman rule as intolerable slavery." (C. Murphy, 122-23, 125-126) Kahn notes that "since a strong dramatic conflict requires well-matched antagonists, Caesar quaeruntur conjunction (A.G. 323.d)."

"Propositio silvestribus ac remotis locis Galliae miserantur..." (A.G. 329.a). Kahn claims that the council scene functions as a substitute for choral odes between major episodes (Kahn, 251).

For their tragic flaw, see Vercingetorix checks emotion and retains his composure; 37, Convictolitavis is dedicated to the cause of liberty; 62, the Gauls surrenders for the common good.  Kahn says that they were lead to the one thing he feared most - a coalescence of the tribes in a war of liberation." (Fuller, 6.44.2-3). Caesar’s ferocious campaigns had no more than stunned the Gallic tribes, and the hideous fate of Acco like a Domaclean sword hung over the head of every chieftain. Thus it came about that his systematic devastations and slaughterings, instead of compelling coercion, awakened desperation, and they were lead to the one thing he feared most - a coalescence of the tribes in a war of liberation." (Fuller, 132) See Appendix A.

hunc casum posse: Accusative /infinitive construction in indirect discourse after demonstrant (A.G. 577 ff.). hunc: Singular, masculine, accusative demonstrative pronoun used as an adjective modifying casum (A.G. 296.1 and a). posse: Present infinitive; the tense of the infinitive in indirect discourse is relative to that of the verb of saying (A.G. 584).

ad ipos: Prepositional phrase, ad with the accusative here means "on to, to, against" (OLD ad 2). ipos: Plural, masculine, accusative demonstrative pronoun used substantively (296.2 and 298.d). The antecedent is principles, the subject of demonstrant (A.G. 298). Here, the demonstrative pronoun is used for emphasis instead of the indirect reflexive se (A.G. 298.e and 300.b).

recidere: Complementary infinitive after posse (A.G. 456).

demonstrant: The main verb of the main clause (A.G. 278.b). The pronoun ei, with principles as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271 a).

miserantur: The main verb of the simple sentence (A.G. 278.1). The verb comes in the first position when the idea in it is emphatic (A.G. 598.d). The pronoun ei, with principles as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a).

communem...fortunam: Accusative direct object of miserantur (A.G. 387).

Galliae: Possessive genitive with fortunam (A.G. 343). See Appendix A.

(1.5-6) omnibus pollicitationibus ac praemiis deposcunt qui belli initia facient et sui capitis (6) periculo Galliam in libertatem vindicent.

ac, and.
caput, -itis, n., head; by metonymy, life, safety.
et, and.

Gallia, -ae, f., Gaul.
initia, -orum, n., pl., the initial phase, first part.
omnis, -e, all, of every kind, all sorts of.

pollicitatio, -onis, f., offer, promise.
qui, quae, quod, who, what, which.

vindico, -are, -avi, -atus, restore, set free, liberate, deliver.

bellum, -i, n., war, warfare.
deposco, -poscere, -pos soci, request, earnestly call for.
faci, facere, feci, factus, cause, occasion, bring about.
in, into.
libertas, -atis, f., freedom, liberty, independence.
peri culum, -i, n., risk, danger, hazard.
praemium, -i, n., reward, recompense.
suus, a, -um, their, with or without own.
omnibus pollutionibus ac praemisis: Two ablatives of means (A.G. 409). ac: The conjunction connects the two ablatival nouns and means “and” (OLD atque 12).

deposcunt: The main verb of the main clause (A.G. 278.b). The pronoun ei, with principes as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a).

qui ... faciant ... vindicent: A relative clause of characteristic; the relative pronoun with the subjunctive is often used to indicate a characteristic of the antecedent, especially where the antecedent is otherwise undefined (A.G. 535). qui: Plural, masculine, nominative relative pronoun used substantively (A.G. 305). The antecedent is omitted, supply eos (A.G. 307.c). Nominative subject (A.G. 339). faciant ... vindicent: The main verbs of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). Present subjunctives; the tense of the subjunctives is normally in secondary sequence after the historical present deposcunt (A.G. 482-85). Here it is in primary sequence through repraesentatio (A.G. 485.e and 585.b Note).

belli: Possessive genitive with initia (A.G. 343).

initia: Accusative direct object of faciant (A.G. 387). The noun initium in the plural means “the initial phase, first part” (OLD initium 3).

et: The conjunction connects the two main verbs in the relative clause faciant ... vindicent (A.G. 324.a).

sui capitis: Objective genitive with periculo (A.G. 348). sui: Singular, neuter, genitive possessive pronoun used as an adjective modifying capitis (A.G. 302). capitis: Here, the noun caput means “the life of a person, especially when endangered” (the use of the name of one thing to indicate some kindred thing) (A.G. 641) (OLD caput 4).

periculo: Ablative of specification (A.G. 418.a). “As the Romans had no such categories as we make, it is impossible to classify all uses of the ablative of specification (originally instrumental) is closely akin to that of manner, and shows some resemblance to means and cause.” (A.G. 418.a Note)

Galliam in libertatem vindicent: The phrase in libertatem vindicare is an idiom that means “to free a country (Galliam) from oppressive rule, liberate” (OLD vindico 3.b).

Galliam: Accusative direct object of vindicent (A.G. 387). See Appendix A.

in libertatem: Prepositional phrase, in with the accusative here means “into” (a state or condition) (OLD in 2). libertatem: For the theme of liberty in Book 7, see liberius at 1.3.

(1.6-7) In primis rationem esse habendam dicunt, prius quam eorum clandestina (7) consilia efferantur, ut Caesar ab exercitu intercludatur.

ab, from.
clandestinus, -a, -um, secret, hidden.
dico, dicere, dixi, dictus, say.
exercitus, -us, m., army.
in primis, first.
is, ea, id, he, she, it, that, this.
ratio, -onis, f., plan.

In primis: Adverbial phrase, originally a prepositional phrase, in with the ablative plural of the adjective primus means “first” (OLD imprimis). This is balanced by postremo at 1.8.

rationem esse habendam: Accusative/infinitive construction in indirect discourse after dicunt (A.G. 577 ff.). rationem habendam: The phrase rationem habeo is an idiom that means “to take into consideration” (OLD habeo 19.d). esse habendam: The infinitive esse with the gerundive forms the second periphrastic (passive) present infinitive implying necessity (A.G. 194.b and 196). The tense of the infinitive in indirect discourse is relative to that of the verb of saying (A.G. 584).

dicunt: The main verb of the main clause (A.G. 278.b). The pronoun ei, with principes as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a).

prius quam ... efferantur: Temporal clause; the conjunction prius quam (“before”) is common with the imperfect subjunctive when the action that it denotes did not take place. After an historical present (dicunt) the present subjunctive is used instead of the imperfect (A.G. 551.b and Note 2). prius quam: The conjunction is written as two words (OLD priusquam). efferantur: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b).

eorum: Plural, masculine, genitive demonstrative pronoun used substantively (A.G. 296.2). The antecedent is ei (principes), the supplied subject of dicunt (A.G. 297.e). Possessive genitive with consilia (A.G. 343). The more normal form here would be the indirect reflexive possessive adjective sua (as the subordinate clause reflects the thought of the subject of the main clause), but the demonstrative pronoun eorum is an allowable (although rare) alternative (A.G. 300.b).
candida consilia: Nominative subject (A.G. 339). ut ... intercludatur: The interrogative adverb ut (“how”) with the subjunctive forms an indirect question in apposition to rationem (A.G. 531.1). intercludatur: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). Present subjunctive; the tense of the subjunctive is normally in secondary sequence after the historical present dicunt (A.G. 575). Here it is in primary sequence through repraesentatio (A.G. 485.e and 585.b Note).

Caesar: Nominative subject (A.G. 339). See Appendix A.

ab exercitu: Ablative of separation with the preposition ab after intercludatur (A.G. 401).

(1.7-8) Id esse facile, quod neque legiones audeant absente imperatore ex hibernis egredi neque imperator sine praesidio (8) ad
Id esse facile: Accusative/infinitive construction in indirect discourse after dicunt (A.G. 577 ff.). Id: Singular, neuter, accusative demonstrative pronoun used substantively (A.G. 296.2). The antecedent is the idea of separating Caesar from his army contained in the previous indirect question (ut ... intercludantur) (A.G. 297.e). esse: Present infinitive; the tense of the infinitive in indirect discourse is relative to that of the verb of saying (A.G. 584). facile: Singular, neuter, accusative predicate adjective modifying id after esse (A.G. 283-84).

quod ... possit: Causal clause; the conjunction quod ("because") normally takes the indicative when the reason is given on the authority of the writer or speaker (A.G. 540.1). Here quod takes the subjunctive as a subordinate clause in indirect discourse after dicunt (A.G. 580). adeunt ... possit: The main verbs of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278-b). Present subjunctives; the tense of the subjectives is normally in secondary sequence after the historical present dicunt (A.G. 482-85). Here it is in primary sequence through repraesentatio (A.G. 485.e and 585.b Note). Notice the change in subject from the plural legiones to the singular imperator.

neque ... neque: The repeated conjunction connects the two main verbs in the causal clause and means "neither ... nor" (OLD neque 7).

legiones: Nominative subject (A.G. 339). "In theory a legion consisted of 6000 men; but battles, accidents, and disease so reduced this number that Caesar’s legions probably averaged about 4000 men, or even less. The following table gives the divisions of a legion and their theoretical strength:

- century [centum, hundred] = 100 men
- 2 centuries = 1 maniple = 200 men
- 3 maniples = 1 cohort = 600 men
- 10 cohorts = 1 legion = 6000 men." (Walker, 23)

absente imperatore: Ablative absolute (A.G. 419-20). absente: Present participle of absens (A.G. 170.b). The participle ends in -e rather than -i in the ablative singular when used in an ablative absolute (A.G. 121.2). The present participle represents the action as in progress at the time indicated by the tense of the main verb (A.G. 489). imperatore: I.e., Caesar. "The general was technically called leader (dux) until he had won a victory; after the first victory he had a right to the title imperator, commander. Caesar used this title from the time he defeated the Helvetii (B.C. 58) until his death." (Kelsey, 25)

ex hibernis: Ablative of place from which with the preposition ex (426.1). hibernis: Plural, neuter, ablative, adjectival used substantively (A.G. 288). The noun castris is understood from constant association (A.G. 288.e). "The winter-quarters (hibernia, or castra hibernia) were made more comfortable than the ordinary encampments, by the substitution of straw-thatched huts (causa) for tents. Many Roman camps became the nucleus of permanent settlements, which still exist to-day. ... all names of English towns ending in -chester point to Roman encampments." (Kelsey, 35)

egredi: Complementary infinitive after adeunt (A.G. 456).


sine praesidio: Prepositional phrase, sine with the ablative means "without the accompaniment of" (OLD sine 1).

ad legiones: Accusative of place to which with the preposition ad (A.G. 426.2)

pervenire: Complementary infinitive after possit (A.G. 456).

(1.8) Postremo in acie praestare interfici quam non veterem belli gloriam libertatemque quam a maioribus acceperint recuperare.

a(b), from.

acies, -ei, f., line of battle, battle.
gloria, -ae, f., fame, renown.
interficio, -dere, -feci, -fectus, slay, kill.
maiores, -um, m., pl., forefathers, ancestors, forebears.
postremo, at last, finally.

quam, (rather) than.
qui, quae, quod, who, what, which.
vetus, -eris, old, former, ancient, long-standing.

in acies: The infinitive phrase functions as the subject of the impersonal infinitive praestare (A.G. 454). in acie: Ablative of place where with the preposition in (locative ablative) (A.G. 426.3).

praestare: Impersonal infinitive construction in indirect discourse after dicunt (A.G. 577 ff.). Impersonal use of the verb meaning “it is preferable, it is better” (A.G. 208.c) (OLD praesto 4). The following infinitive phrase functions as the subject (A.G. 454). Present infinitive; the tense of the infinitive in indirect discourse is relative to that of the verb of saying (A.G. 584).
quam ... recipere: Relative clause in indirect discourse after dicunt (A.G. 279.a). quam: Relative adverb meaning “(rather) than” after the comparison implied in praestare (OLD quam 9.b). Here the comparison is being made between the two infinitives interfici ... recipere: The infinitive construction is regularly continued after a comparative with quam in indirect discourse rather than switching to the subjective in the dependent clause (A.G. 583.c).
non: Adverb; when non is especially emphatic it begins the clause (A.G. 217.e, 320-21, and 599.a).
vetere ... gloriatur tempore: Two accusative direct objects of the infinitive recipere (A.G. 387 and 451.3). vetere: The adverb should be construed with both nouns gloriatur ... libertatem but agrees in number with only the nearest noun (A.G. 286.a).
libertatem: For the theme of liberty in Book 7, see liberius at 1.3. -que: The enclitic conjunction connects the two accusative nouns gloriatur ... libertatem (A.G. 324.a).
belli: Objective genitive with gloriatur (A.G. 348).
quam ... accipereint: Relative clause; a subordinate clause in indirect discourse takes the subjunctive (A.G. 303 and 580).
quam: Singular, feminine, accusative relative pronoun used substantively (A.G. 305). The antecedent is both gloriatur and libertatem, agreeing with the nearest noun (A.G. 305.a). Accusative direct object of accipereint (A.G. 387). accipereint: Perfect subjunctive; the tense of the subjunctive is normally in secondary sequence after the historical present dicunt (A.G. 482-85). Here it is in primary sequence through representatio (A.G. 485.c and 585.b Note). The pronoun ei, with principes as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a).
a maioribus: Ablative of source with the preposition a(b) (A.G. 403.1). a: The preposition ab (may) but not necessarily, see for example ab religiis at 2.3) lose the consonant ‘b’ and lighten the quantity of ‘a’ to ‘a’ before a consonant (OLD ab). maioribus: Irregular comparative adjective used substantively meaning “ancestors, forebears” (A.G. 129 and 291.c Note 3) (OLD maior 3.b).

(2.1-2) His rebus agitatis, profitentur Carnutes se nullum periculum communis salutis causa recusare, principesque ex (2) omnipius bellum facturos politentur;

agitare,-are,-avi,-atus, consider, discuss, debate, deliberate on.
Carnutes,-um, m., pl., the Carnutes.
communis,-e, common, in common, public, general.
facio, facere, feci, factus, bring about, make, carry on.
nullus, a, -um, no, not any...
periculum,-i, n., risk, danger, hazard.
principes,-cipis, first in order, foremost.
-que, and.
res, rei, f., matter, affair, matter of business.
sui, sibi, se, or se-se, nom. wanting, they, with or without themselves.
bellum, -i, n., war, warfare.
causa,-ae, f., abl. with the gen., for the sake of, on account of.
ex, from the number of, from among, of.
hic, haec, hoc, this; he, she, it.
onsumes,-iun,m., pl., all men, all.
pollicerer,-licere,-licitus, promise, offer.
pollicetur,-feteri,-fessus, declare openly, avow.
recurso,-are,-avi,-atus, refuse, make refusal, decline.
salus,-utis,f., prosperity, safety, preservation.

His rebus agitatis: Ablative absolute (A.G. 419-20). His: Plural, feminine, ablative demonstrative pronoun used as an adjective modifying rebus (A.G. 296.1 and a). agitatis: The perfect tense of the participle represents the action as completed at the time indicated by the tense of the main verb (A.G. 489). An iterative form of ago (A.G. 263.2).
profitentur: The main verb of the coordinate clause His ... recusare (A.G. 278.a). The historical present, giving vividness to the narrative, is present in Chapter 2 (A.G. 469). This usage, common in all languages, comes from imagining past events as going on before our eyes (repraesentatio) (A.G. 469 Note).
Carnutes: Nominative subject (A.G. 339). This tribe had surrendered to Caesar with only the threat conflict the year before, see BG 6.2-4 and 6.44. This is the first tribe specifically named in the conspiracy. See Appendix A.
se ... recusare: Accusative/infinitive construction in indirect discourse after profitentur (A.G. 577 ff.). se: Plural, masculine, accusative direct reflexive pronoun (A.G. 300.1). The antecedent is Carnutes, the subject of profitentur (A.G. 299). recusare: Present infinitive; the tense of the infinitive in indirect discourse is relative to that of the verb of saying (A.G. 584).
nullum periculum: Accusative direct object of the infinitive recusare (A.G.387 and 451.3).

communis salutis causa: A preceding genitive with the ablative of causa means “for the sake of” (A.G. 359.b and 404.c).
principesque: Plural, masculine, accusative predicate adjective modifying se, the supplied subject of factores (esse) (A.G. 283).
-que: The enclitic conjunction connects the two main verbs profitentur ... pollicentur (A.G. 324.a).
ex omnibus: Prepositional phrase, ex with the ablative instead of the partitive genitive means “from the number of, from among, of” (A.G. 346.c) (OLD ex 17). omnipius: Plural, masculine, ablative, adjective used substantively (A.G. 288).
bellum: Accusative direct object of the infinitive factores (esse) (A.G. 387 and 451.3).
(se) factores (esse): Accusative/infinitive in indirect discourse after pollicentur (A.G. 577 ff., esp. 580.c). Carry down the pronoun se from above as the accusative subject. factores (esse): Supply esse to form the future active infinitive (A.G. 188). The tense of the infinitive in indirect discourse is relative to that of the verb of saying (A.G. 584).
pollicentur: The main verb of the coordinate clause principesque ... pollicentur (A.G. 278.a). The pronoun ei, with Carnutes as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a).
et, quoniam in praesentia obsidibus cavere inter se non possint ne res efferator, ut iure iurando ac fide sanctiatur petunt collatis militarii signis, quo more eorum gravissima caeremonia continetur, (3) ne facto initio belli ab reliquis desanitur.

ab, by.
bellum, -i, n., war, warfare.
caveo, caveere, cavi, cauto, to give surety, provide guarantees.
contineo, -tinere, -tinui, -tentus, consist of.
effero, -ferre, extuli, elatus, spread abroad, publish.
facio, facere, feci, factus, bring about, make.
gravis, -e, sup. -issimus, serious, solemn, important.
initium, -i, n., beginning, commencement.
is, ea, id, he, she, it, that, this.
iurus iurandum, iuris iurandi, n. (ius + gerundive of iuro), oath.
mos, moris, f., custom, practice.
non, not.
peto, petere, petivi, and petii, petitus, ask, request.
qui, quaer, quae, qui, what, which.
reliqui, -orum, m., pl., the rest.
sancio, sancire, sancxi, sanctus, render sacred, bind, confirm.
sui, sibi, se, or sese, nom. wanting, each other, themselves.
ac, and.
caeremonia, -ae, f., religious ceremony, sacred rite, ritual.
confero, -ferre, -tuli, collatus, bring together, gather, collect.
desero, -serere, -serui, -seruitus, leave, abandon, desert.
et, but at the same time, and yet.
fides, ei, f., pledge of good faith, promise.
in praesentia (supply temporal), for the moment, for the present, temporarily.
inter, with, to, among.
iuro, see ius iurandum.
militaris, -e, military.
ne, lest, so that ... not.
obses, -idis, m. and f., hostage.
possus, posse, potui, ——, be able.
quoniam, since, seeing that, because.
res, rei, f., matter, affair, circumstance.
signum, -i, n., standard.
ut, so that.

et: The conjunction here has a slight adversative force and means “but at the same time, and yet” OLD et 14).

quotiam ... petunt: The order of the clauses can be rewritten as: petunt ut ... sanctiatur quoniam ... possint ne ... efferator.
non possint: Causal clause; the conjunction quoniam ("since") introduces a reason given on the authority of the writer or speaker and normally takes the indicative (A.G. 540.a). Here quoniam takes the subjunctive as it is dependent upon the purpose clause which follows (ut ... sanctiatur) and is regarded as an integral part of that clause (attraction) (A.G. 593). For the same construction see also 7.72.2 (do not confuse this with quoniam taking the subjunctive in indirect discourse as at 7.64.2 and 89.2).
possint: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). Present subjunctive; the tense of the subjunctive is normally in secondary sequence after the historical present petunt (A.G. 482-85). Here it is in primary sequence through repraesentatio (A.G. 485.e and 585.b Note). The pronoun ipsi, with the participants of the council as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a).
in praesentia: Adverbial phrase, originally a prepositional phrase, in with the plural, neuter, accusative of praesens means “for the moment, for the present, temporarily” (OLD praesens 16.b).
caveo: Complimentary infinitive after possint (A.G. 456). Here, the infinitive caveo means “to give surety, provide guarantees” (OLD caveo 8).
inter se: Prepositional phrase, inter with the plural, masculine, accusative reflexive pronoun se, “among themselves”, is regularly used to express reciprocal action (A.G. 301.f). se: Plural, masculine, accusative direct reflexive pronoun (A.G. 300.1). The antecedent is ipsi, the supplied subject of possint (A.G. 299).
non: Adverb, the adverb generally precedes the verb if it belongs to no one word in particular (A.G. 217.e, 320-21, and 599.a).
(veritii) ne ... efferator: The conjunction ne ("lest") with the subjunctive forms a substantive clause of fearing. Here the verb of fearing, veritii (vereor, vererii, veritus sum, fear, dread, be afraid of) must be supplied in the form of a partiple agreeing with ipsi, the supplied subject of possint (A.G. 564). efferator: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). Present subjunctive; the tense of the subjunctive is normally in secondary sequence after the historical present petunt (A.G. 482-85). Here it is in primary sequence through repraesentatio (A.G. 485.e and 585.b Note).
res: Nomnative subject (A.G. 339).
ut ... sanctiatur: The conjunction ut (“so that”) with the subjunctive forms a substantive clause of purpose which is used as the object of the verb petunt denoting an action directed toward the future (A.G. 563). sanctiatur: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). Present subjunctive; the tense of the subjunctive is normally in secondary sequence after the historical present petunt (A.G. 482-85). Here it is in primary sequence through repraesentatio (A.G. 485.e and 585.b Note). The following negative substantive clause of purpose ne ... desanitur functions as the subject of the passive verb (A.G. 566).

petunt: The main verb of the main clause (A.G. 278.b). The pronoun ei, with Carnutes as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a).
collatis militaribus signis: Ablative absolute (A.G. 419-20). collatis: The perfect tense of the participle represents the action as completed at the time indicated by the tense of the main verb (A.G. 489). Passive participle of confero.
quo ... continetur: Relative clause; a clause dependent on a subjunctive clause (ut ... sanctiatur) normally takes the subjunctive (attraction) (A.G. 303 and 593). However, when a dependent clause is not regarded as a necessary logical part of the clause, the indicative is used. The indicative serves to emphasize the fact, as true independently of the statement contained in the subjunctive...
omnibus

gerundive used as an adjective modifying antecedent is qui aderant: Relative clause (A.G. 303).

eius: Singular, feminine, genitive demonstrative pronoun used as an adjective modifying rei (A.G. 296.1 and a).

constituto: The perfect tense of the

rerens: Present participle of reor, -are, -avem, -are, -avit, -ata, to become, to grow.

collaudatis Carnutibus: Ablative absolute (A.G. 419-20).

scatter-brained,” (Gardner, 185) Caesar subtly inserts this fear of the Carnutes to introduce the second characterization of the Gallic character, the ‘barbarian type’. For a discussion of the barbarian character type as opposed to the noble character type in the BG, see Mannetter, 9-23. For other instances of the barbarian type in Book 7 see Chapter 3, the unprovoked attack of the Romans; 4, Vercingetorix tortures and maims; 5 the treachery of the Britons; 6, Caesar fears-Gallic treachery; 7, the Gauls are panic-stricken; 12, the Gauls are fickle; 13, the Gauls are panic-stricken; 17, the Gauls are indolent; 19, the Gauls are full of bravo; 20, Vercingetorix deceives his own people; 21, the Gauls are fickle; 26, the Gauls are terror-stricken; 28, the Gauls are panic-stricken; 32, the Aedui nearly engage in civil war; 37, Convicitotivis betrays Caesar; 38, Laiuticuces deceives his own people and slaughters innocent Romans; 40, the Aedui are fickle; 42, the Aedui are treacherous and slaughter innocent Romans; 43, the Aedui are fickle and treacherous as they secretly plot rebellion; 53, the Gauls are full of bravo; 63, the Aedui are fickle; 66, the Gauls are rash and too easily swear an oath; 70, the Gauls are panic-stricken; 76, the Gauls are full of confidence; 77, Citrognatus proposed cannibalism. Notice that in some instances the Gauls can exhibit both character types, as at Chapters 4, 37, and 77.

facto initio bellii: Ablative absolute (A.G. 419-20).

facentem: Present participle of fari, -are, -avem, -are, -avit, -ata, to say, to speak.

Deponent verbs (see Gotoff, 343-44).  Possessive genitive with eri (A.G. 288).  The antecedent is eri (the subject when the verb is put into the passive (A.G. 566).  The clause functions as the subject of the impersonal verb sanciuntur; a substantive clause used as the object of a verb becomes the subject when the verb is put into the passive (A.G. 566).

deserantur: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b).  Present subjunctive; the tense of the subjunctive is normally in secondary sequence after the historical present petunt (A.G. 482-85).  Here it is in primary sequence through representatio (A.G. 485.e and 585.b Note).  The pronoun el, with Carnutes as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a).  Kahn notes that although the Gauls are presented with a nobility of character, “they exhibit a tragic flaw, instability of character. They lack perseverance, are fickle, impetuous, susceptible to rumor and prone to swift turnabouts in crisis. In distress they are treacherous. They do not readily submit to authority.” (Kahn, 252) Gardner notes that the Gauls are characterized as “impulsive, emotional, easily-swayed, fickle, loving change, credulous, prone to panic, scatter-brained,”

... datum initii belli

constituto deberentes

dato

 حسين

... ad litteram

quire

qui

omnibus

constituto

dato

qui

... ab omnibus qui aderant

omnibus


dati

... ab omnibus qui aderant

omnibus


adsum, *esse, affue, -----, be at hand, be present.

collaudo, -are, -avi, -atut, praise highly, extol, commend.

consistuo, -stituere, -stitui, -stitutus, resolve upon, determine.

do, dare, dedi, datus, give.

ius, see ius iurandum.

omnia, -ium, m., pl., all men, all.

res, rei, f., business, event, matter, affair.

tum, then, thereupon.

Tum: Adverb (A.G. 271 b and 320-21).

collaudatis ... constiuto: Notice the asyndeton between the three ablative absolutes (A.G. 323.b).  Asyndeton here gives an impression of rapidity to the events. Siedler counts 71 examples of asyndeton in Book 7 (Siedler, 46).  See also Siedler, 31.

collaudatis Carnutibus: Ablative absolute (A.G. 419-20).

collaudatis: The perfect tense of the participle represents the action as completed at the time indicated by the tense of the main verb (A.G. 489).  Caesar has previously noted the effect of strong leadership among the Gauls at 5.54.4: Tantum apud homines barbaros valuit esse aliquos repertos principes inferendi belli tantamque omnibus voluntatem commutationem attulit ... Carnutibus: See Appendix A.

dato ... aderant: Ablative absolute with a dependent clause (see Gotoff, 9-12).

dato iure iurando: Ablative absolute (A.G. 419-20).

dato: The phrase iurandum is an idiom that means “a binding formula to be sworn to, an oath” (whether or not in legal contexts) (OLD ius 25).  iurando: Singular, neuter, ablative gerundive used as an adjective modifying iure denoting necessity, obligation or propriety (A.G. 500.1).  omnibus: Ablative of agent with the preposition ab with the passive participle dato (A.G. 405).

ab omnibus: Plural, masculine, ablative, adjective used substantively (A.G. 288).

ab reliquis: Ablative of agent with the preposition ab with the passive participle deserrantur (A.G. 405).

reliquis: Plural, masculine, ablative absolute used substantively (A.G. 288).

Tum: Adverb (A.G. 271 b and 320-21).

collaudatis Carnutibus, dato iure iurando ab omnibus qui aderant, tempore eius iurandi conicitto ab concilio discidetur.

... ab omnibus qui aderant

Tum, collaudatis Carnutibus, dato iure iurando ab omnibus qui aderant, tempore eius iurandi conicitto ab concilio discidetur.

ab, by, from.

Carnutes, -um, m., pl., the Carnutes.

cum, -i, n., with, together.

concilium, -i, n., meeting, assembly, council.

disscedo, -cedere, -cessi, -cessurus, go away, depart, leave.

is, ea, id, he, she, it; that, this.

iuss iurandum, iuss iurandi, n. (ius + gerundive of iuro), oath.

qui, quae, quod, who, what, which.

tempus, -oris, n., time.

Tum: Adverb (A.G. 271 b and 320-21).

omnibus

declarant

... ab omnibus qui aderant

... ab omnibus qui aderant

... adsum, *esse, affue, -----, be at hand, be present.

collaudo, -are, -avi, -atut, praise highly, extol, commend.

constituo, -stituere, -stitui, -stitutus, resolve upon, determine.

do, dare, dedi, datus, give.

ius, see ius iurandum.

omnia, -ium, m., pl., all men, all.

res, rei, f., business, event, matter, affair.

tum, then, thereupon.
participle represents the action as completed at the time indicated by the tense of the main verb (A.G. 489).

**ab concilio**: Ablative of place from which with the preposition ab (A.G. 426.1).
**(id) discitutur**: The main verb of the main clause (A.G. 278.b). Impersonal use of the intransitive passive verb (A.G. 208.d). Supply id as the subject (A.G. 318.c).

**(3.1-2)** Ubi ea dies venit, Carnutes, Cotuato et Conconnetodumno ducibus, desperatis hominibus, Cenabum signo dato concurrunt civisque Romanos qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant, in his Caesaris iussu C. Fufium Citam, honestum equitem Romanum, qui rei frumentariae iussu Caesaris praeerat, (2) interficiunt bonaque eorum diripiunt.

 bona, -orum, n., pl., possessions, property, goods.
 Caesar, -aris, m., Caesar.
 causa, -ae, f., abl. with the gen., for the sake of, on account of.
 civis, -is, m., citizen.
 concurrer, -currere, -cucurri or -curri, -cursus, run together, run up, rush.
 Cotuatus, -i, m., Cotuatus.
 dies, -ei, m. and f., day.
 do, dare, dedi, datum, give.
 equus, -itis, m., knight, one of the equestrian order.
 frumentarius, -a, -um, having to do with grain or supplies.
 homo, hominis, m., man, person.
 ibi, in that place, there.
 interficio, -ferere, -feci, -fectus, slay, kill.
 iussus, -us, m., order, bidding, command.
 prae sum, -esse, -fu, ----, preside over, have command of, have charge of.
 qui, quae, quod, who, what, which.
 Romanus, -a, -um, Roman.
 ubi, when.

 C. Fufius Cita, -i, -ae, m., Gaius Fufius Cita.
 Carnutes, -um, m., pl., the Carnutes.
 Cenabum, -i, n., Cenabum.
 Conconnetodunnus, -i, m., Conconnetodunnus.
 constituo, -stitüere, -stitu, -stitutus, settle.
 desperatus, -a, -um, without hope, desperate.
 diripio, -ripere, -ripui, -reptus, plunder, pillage.
 dux, ducis, m., leader, general, commander.
 et, and.
 hic, haec, hoc, this; he, she, it.
 honestus, -a, -um, worthy of honor, honorable, upright, noble.
 in, among.
 is, ea, id, he, she, it, that, this.
 negotior, -ari, -atus, transact business, trade.
 -que, and.
 res, rei, f., (with frumentaria) supply of grain, supplies.
 signum, -i, n., signal.
 venio, venire, veni, ventus, come, arrive.

 Ubi ... venit: Temporal clause; the relative adverb ubi (“when”) with the indicative introduces a subordinate clause (A.G. 543). venit: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b).

 Carnutes: Nominative subject of concurrunt ... interficiunt ... diripiant (A.G. 339). See Appendix A.
 Cotuato et Conconnetodunnus ducibus: Ablative absolute with a noun (ducibus) taking the place of the participle (there is no participle for “being”) (A.G. 419.a-20). Cotuato: See Appendix A. et: The conjunction connects the two ablative nouns (A.G. 324.a). Conconnetodunnus: See Appendix A. ducibus: A plural predicate noun referring to two singular nouns (A.G. 284.a).
 desperatis hominibus: Ablative phrase in apposition to ducibus (A.G. 282).
 Cenabum: Accusative of place to which without a preposition (as the name of a town) (A.G. 427.2). See Appendix A.
 concurrunt: The main verb of the coordinate clause Ubi ... concurrunt (A.G. 278.a). The historical present, giving vividness to the narrative, is present in Chapter 3 (A.G. 469). This usage, common in all languages, comes from imagining past events as going on before our eyes (representsatio) (A.G. 469 Note).

civisque Romanos: Accusative direct object of interficiunt (A.G. 387). civis: Accusative plural noun; -is for -es is the regular form in i-stem nouns (A.G. 65-7 and 74.c). -que: The enclitic conjunction connects the two main verbs concurrunt ... interficiunt (A.G. 324.a).
 negotiandi causa: The genitive of the gerund with the ablative of causa expresses purpose (A.G. 504.b). “The Romans in Gallic cities were chiefly engaged in loaning money, in buying grain and other commodities, and in farming revenues.” (Kelsey, 401)
 negotiandi: Singular, neuter, genitive gerund (A.G. 501-02).

 honestum equitem Romanum: An accusative phrase in apposition to the proper noun C. Fufius Citam (A.G. 282).
 rei frumentariae: Dative indirect object of the intransitive compound verb praeerat (A.G. 370). The phrase, often translated as ‘corn
supply’, is actually wheat or grain supply as corn is a new world product. “The soldier’s staple food was wheat, issued in the grain, ground by him in a portable hand mill ... and made into a rough kind of bread, probably resembling a chupatty baked on hot stones or embers. He seldom ate meat, was allowed no wine, and drank vinegar when obtainable. His corn ration and clothing were charged against his pay, which Caesar increased from 120 denarii a year to 225; he also allowed his men corn, when it was in plenty, without any restrictions. That the Roman soldier could march and fight as he did on so meager a ration certainly redounds to his astonishing physical endurance.” (Fuller, 85)

issu: Ablative of specification (A.G. 418).

Caesars: Possessive genitive with issu (A.G. 343). See Appendix A.

interficiunt: The main verb of the coordinate clause civis ... interficiunt (A.G. 278.a). The pronoun ei, with Carnutes as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a). Collins provides this assessment of the Carnutes’ actions: “the negociatores on whom the Carnutes fell probably got about what they deserved, and I suspect that C. Fufius Cita had little to learn from those profiteers that Tacitus (Agri. 19) has so severely described.” “Krieg, Handel, und Piraterie: dreieinig sind sie, nicht zu trennen”, and theprocess of economic penetration and exploitation so cogently described by Cicero for the province: nummus in Galia nullus sine civium Romanorum tabulis conmovetur (Pro Font. 11) was rapidly extended to Gallia Comata by the greedy adventurers who followed Caesar’s victories. They were men who knew all the ways of money-getting, omnis vias pecuniae norunt (QF I, 1, 15) and they made the most of their opportunities.” (Collins, 938)

bonaque: Accusative direct object of diripiunt (A.G. 387). bona: Plural, neuter, accusative adjective used substantively meaning “possessions, property” (A.G. 107 and 288) (OLD bonum 8). -que: The enclitic conjunction connects the two main verbs interficiunt ... diripiunt (A.G. 324.a).


diripiunt: The main verb of the coordinate clause bonaque ... diripiunt (A.G. 278.a). The pronoun ei, with Carnutes as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a). (3.2) Celeriter ad omnis Galliae civititates fama perfertur.

ad. to.
civitas, -tatis, f., state, nation.
Gallia, -ae, f., Gaul.
perfero, -ferre, -tuli, -tatu, convey, bring, report.

ad omnis Galliae civititates: Accusative of place to which with the preposition ad (A.G. 426.2). omnis: Accusative plural adjective; -is for -es is the regular form in i-stem adjectives (A.G. 114.a and 116). Galliae: Locative case of Gallia, -ae, f. (A.G. 43.c). See Appendix A.

fama: Nominative subject (A.G. 339).

perfertur: The main verb of the simple sentence (A.G. 278.1).

(3.2-3) Nam, ubique maior atque inlustrior incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significat; hanc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt, ut (3) tum accidit.

'accido, -cidere, -cidi, ------, (imper.), it happens.
alii, -orum, m., other persons, others.
clamor, -oris, m., loud call, shout.
et, and.
hic, haece, hoc; this; he, she, it.

inlustri, -is, -e; comp. -ior, remarkable, noteworthy.

num, for.
proximi, -orum, m., pl., the nearest men, next men.
regio, -onis, f., region, territory.
significo, -are, -avi, -atus, transmit news.
tum, then.
ut, as.

Nam: Conjunction, here explanatory meaning “for” (OLD nam 2).


incidit: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). The present tense is not the historical present but denotes a state as now...
existing in present time (A.G. 465.1).

clamore: Ablative of means (A.G. 409). “On this occasion probably men were posted all along the route, ready to receive and at once transmit news. The Mexicans, whose civilization previous to the coming of Europeans was in some respect analogous to that of the Gauls, carried messages 300 miles in one day by relays of couriers, stationed six miles apart.” (Kelsey, 401)

per agros regionesque: Prepositional phrase, per with the accusative here means “all over, throughout” (OLD per 4). -que: The enclitic conjunction connects the two accusative nouns in the prepositional phrase (A.G. 324.4).

significant: The main verb of the main clause (A.G. 278.b). The noun Galli is understood as the subject (A.G. 271.a). The present tense is not the historical present but denotes a state as now existing in present time (A.G. 465.1).

hanc: Singular, feminine, accusative demonstrative pronoun used substantively (A.G. 296.2). The antecedent is res (A.G. 297.e). Accusative direct object of both excipiunt ... tradunt (A.G. 387).

ali: Plural, masculine, nominative pronoun used substantively meaning “other persons, others” (OLD alius 2). Nominative subject of excipiunt ... tradunt (A.G. 339).


exceptu: The main verb of the coordinate clause hanc ... excipiunt (A.G. 278.a). The present tense is not the historical present but denotes a state as now existing in present time (A.G. 465.1).

et: The conjunction connects the two main verbs in the sentence excipiunt ... tradunt (A.G. 324.a).


tradunt: The main verb of the coordinate clause proximis tradunt (A.G. 278.a). The present tense is not the historical present but denotes a state now existing in present time (A.G. 465.1).

ut ... accidit: The relative adverb ut (“as”) with the indicative introduces a parenthetical remark (OLD ut 12). accidit: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). Impersonal use of the verb, supply id as the subject (A.G. 207). The tense of the verb is perfect (A.G. 473).


NAM QUAE CENABI ORIENTE SOLE GESTA ESSENT ANTE PRIMAM CONFECTAM VIGILIAM IN FINIBUS ARVERNORUM AUDITA SUNT, QUOD SPATIUM EST MILIUM PASSUUM CIRCAET CENTUM LX.

ANTE, BEFORE.
audio, -ire, -ivi or -ii, -itus, learn (by hearing), hear of.
centum, indeclinable numerical adjective, hundred.
conficio, -ficere, -feci, -fectus, complete, finish.
gero, gerere, gessi, gestus, do, carry on, carry out, perform.
L. in expression of number, 50.
nam, for.
passus, -us, m., step, pace, = 4 feet, 10 ¼ inches.
primus, -a, -um, first.
quis, -iddy, quid, who? what?
spatium, -i, n., space, distance.
vigilia, -ae, f., watch.

Arverni, -orum, m., pl., the Arverni.
Cenabum, -i, n., Cenabum.
ciricet, about.
fines, -ium, m., pl., borders, hence territory, country, land.
in, in.
mille, milia, thousand, thousands.
orior, oriri, ortus, rise.
perfero, -ferre, -tuli, -atus, convey, bring, report.
qui, quae, quod, who, what, which.
sol, -is, m., the sun.
sum, esse, fui, futurus, be.
X, in expression of number, = 10.

Nam: The particle is put before an interrogative pronoun (quae) in lively or impatient questions (OLD nam 7).
quae ... gesta essent: Indirect question with the subjunctive; the phrase is the subject of auditia sunt (A.G. 573-75). quae: Plural, neuter, nominative interrogative pronoun used substantively meaning “what things” (A.G. 148). Nominative subject (A.G. 339). gesta essent: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). Pluperfect subjunctive; the tense of the subjunctive is in secondary sequence and follows the rules for the sequence of tense for indirect questions after auditia sunt (A.G. 575).

Cenabum: Locative case of the city name Cenabum, -i, n. (A.G. 49.4). See Appendix A.

oriente sole: Ablative of time when (A.G. 423.1).

ANTE PRIMAM CONFECTAM VIGILIAM: Prepositional phrase, ante with the accusative is here temporal and means “before” (an event) (OLD ante 6). “Before 9 P.M.” (Kelsey, 401) primam: Ordinal numeral used as an adjective modifying vigiliam (A.G. 132-35).

confectam: Accusative, perfect, passive participle modifying vigiliam used as a predicate, where in English a phrase or a subordinate clause would be more natural (A.G. 496). vigiliam: “The night, from sunset to sunrise, was divided into four watches (vigiliae), numbered prima, ending at 9 o’clock; secunda, ending at midnight; tertia, from midnight to 3 A.M.; and quarta, from 3 o’clock to sunrise.” (Kelsey, 35)
in finibus Arvernorum: Ablative of place where with the preposition in (locative ablative) (A.G. 426.3). finibus: In the plural the noun means “bounds, territories” (A.G. 107). Arvernorum: Possessive genitive of the tribe name Arverni with finibus (A.G. 343). “the Arverni were mentioned as important at 1.31, but this is their first involvement in the action.” (Hammond, 237) See Appendix A.
audita sunt: The main verb of the main clause (A.G. 278.b).

QUOD ... XL: Relative clause (A.G. 303). quod: See below. XL: See below.

QUOD SPATIUM: Nominative subject (A.G. 339). quod: Singular, neuter nominative relative pronoun (A.G. 305). The antecedent is spatium in its own clause (adjectival use) (A.G. 397.6). est: The main verb of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). The present tense is not the historical present but denotes a state as now existing in present time (A.G. 465.1).
I.B CHAPTERS 4-5: VERCINGETORIX BECOMES REX OF THE ARVERNI AND BUILDS A COALITION OF TRIBES; THE BITURIGES JOIN THE REVOLT

Simili ratione ibi Vercingetorix, Celtillus filius, Arvernum, summae potentiae adulescens, cuius pater principatum Galliae totius obtinerat et ob eam causam, quod regnum appetebat, ab civitate erat interficeti, convocatis suis clienribus facile incendit.

Simili ratione: Ablative of manner with a limiting adjective (A.G. 412). This phrase is to be taken with the ablative absolute convocatis suis clientibus: i.e. they are called together in the same way that news is spread at 3.2-3.


Celtillus: Possessive genitive with filius (A.G. 343). See Appendix A.

Arvernum: A nominative noun in apposition to the proper noun Vercingetorix (A.G. 282).


adulescens: A nominative noun in apposition to the proper noun Vercingetorix (A.G. 282).

cuius ... obtinerat ... erat interficeti: Relative clause (A.G. 303). This clause both justifies and explains Vercingetorix’s imperial ambitions and forebodes his ultimate failure. cuius: Singular, masculine, genitive relative pronoun used substantively (A.G. 305). The antecedent is Vercingetorix (A.G. 307). Possessive genitive with pater (A.G. 343). obtinerat ... erat interficeti: The main verbs of the subordinate clause (A.G. 278.b). The pluperfect tense of the verbs denotes an action completed in past time (A.G. 477).
the transitive verb.
cognosco
ad
consilio
completed at the time indicated by the tense of the main verb (A.G. 489).
eius
Cognito eius consilio
clientibus
more grandly, following his father's ill-fated ambition, to lead all Gaul in a rebellion against Rome. Whatever his initial intention may
Chapter 4 (A.G. 469). This usage, common in all languages, comes from imagining past events as going on before our eyes
facile
consilium
existimo
ab
Fortuna
expel
lictus
prevent
hinder
qui
saeculum
who, what, which.

Prohibetur: The main verb of the main clause (A. G. 278.b). The verb comes in the first position when the idea in it is emphatic (A. G. 598.d). The pronoun *is*, with Vercingetorix as the antecedent, is understood as the subject (A. G. 271.a).


qui ... existimabant: Relative clause (A. G. 303). qui: Plural, masculine, nominative relative pronoun used substantively (A. G. 305).