

LESSON XXIII

CAESAR ROUTS THE POMPEIANS

Dē Bellō Cīvīlī 3.95

BEFORE YOU READ WHAT CAESAR WROTE

Introduction

The battle of Pharsalus on August 8, 48 BCE, did not go Pompey's way. In the sections prior to the passage you will read, Caesar describes his own careful and rational efforts to prepare for a decisive battle, that is, a set battle where the armies lined up and engaged. It would have been to Pompey's advantage to avoid such a battle. He had more men and better access to supplies. But, as Caesar describes it, Pompey had to deal with a camp full of senators eager to return home in victory. Not only did they pressure Pompey to engage Caesar in a set battle, they interfered with strategy and even the placement of troops along the line. They were jockeying for political posts and appointments too, as if the battle with Caesar had already been won. Now, of course, as always, we must bear in mind that Caesar's goal in the *Dē Bellō Cīvīlī* is to present his opponents not as representatives of Republican government, but instead as self-serving partisans of one man, Pompey, hence the term "Pompeians." In Caesar's presentation, Pompey becomes a weak leader surrounded by greedy, arrogant, and boastful men who overestimate their own capacities (Labienus does not appear in this passage, but Labienus may serve as an example). Cicero's private correspondence serves to corroborate Caesar's general portrait, but Pompey himself would, of course, have painted a rather different picture of his coalition. And in fairness to Pompey, we should also note that we lack not only Pompey's view of Caesar, but also a source equivalent to Cicero for a look inside Caesar's camp. At all events, in the passage for this lesson, Caesar portrays the Pompeians in a panic and in full flight as his own forces storm their camp. The Pompeians head for the hills (literally)!

Keep This Grammar in Mind

Guideposts: Uninflected Forms and Latin Syntax

In reading Latin, we focus rightly on the inflected forms of verbs, adjectives, nouns, and pronouns. This makes sense because this is the aspect of Latin that differs most dramatically from English, where word order conveys so much meaning. We should not lose sight, however, of how crucial uninflected forms are to building thought and to guiding readers through the thought and syntax of a Latin sentence. These uninflected forms are especially important in reading prose.

As anyone who has ever attempted to write an essay will understand, one of the most difficult challenges in writing good prose is to guide the reader from one thought to the next, and it is this aspect of writing prose that also, in some respects, makes it more difficult than writing poetry. One may scoff, but it is permissible for poets to leave gaps, and make abrupt transitions. Poets may use striking images where prose writers must generally signal, if not justify, any shift in focus.

This topic is much larger than we have space for in one short lesson, so we focus here on the uninflected forms of the passage presented in this lesson, which may serve as a case study (no pun intended).

Adverbs

Adverbs may, of course, modify verbs. This is one of their most common uses. Examples from this lesson's passage include (in simplified form):

Diūtius multitudinem telōrum sustinēre [nōn] potuerunt.

They were unable to endure *longer* (i.e., *for too or very long*) the great number of spears.

Cohortēs ibi erant relictæ.

The cohorts had been left *there*.

Castra industriē dēfendēbantur.

The camps were being defended *vigorously*.

In each of these examples, the adverb is not problematic. The adverb serves either to illustrate the manner in which the action was performed or to extend the meaning of the verb in some other way.

Adverbs may also, however, modify adjectives, other adverbs, or whole clauses:

Militēs, etsī fatīgātī, tamen ad omnem labōrem animō parātī erant.

The soldiers, although tired, *nevertheless* were ready in spirit for every effort.

What does the word "nevertheless" mean on its own? Not much. Could we remove it? Yes. The result: "The soldiers, although tired, were ready in spirit for every effort." We still have a contrast, but it is not as strong. *Tamen* is a clear signal and guidepost that states, in effect, "Stop, look; what came before this word should be contrasted with what comes after this word!" In other words, the soldiers were exhausted, but, despite their exhaustion, remained ready to make further physical efforts. This required great spiritual strength. The adverb *tamen* helps Caesar convey this thought economically.

Vērō diūtius multitudinem telōrum sustinēre [nōn] potuerunt.

They *truly* could no longer endure the number of spears.

What does the adverb "truly" modify? It refers generally to the whole action of the clause, and thus serves to provide emphasis. The word is not inserted to counteract any suspicion that Caesar is lying in this passage. The adverb has thus been bleached of its literal meaning, and serves instead as a word that helps the reader understand that a turning point was reached in the battle.

Pompēiānī magis dē reliquā fugā quam dē castrōrum dēfensiōne cōgītābant.

The Pompeians were thinking *more* about the rest of their escape *than* about the defense of the camp.

In this example, the adverbs, which most immediately modify prepositional phrases, serve to coordinate the two prepositional phrases introduced by *dē*. One phrase was more important to the Pompeians' thinking than the other. The coordinated adverbs serve as our guides to the proportions.

Prepositions

We have looked at prepositions several times in this reader. Please pay attention in this lesson to how prepositions and prepositional phrases help build the relationships between words and thus supplement meaning. As such, they may frequently be viewed as adverbial in function.

Pompēiānīs ex fugā intrā vallum compulsīs nullum spatium darī oportēre existimāvit.
 He reckoned that it was advantageous that no space [or time] be granted to the Pompeians, having been driven *within* the rampart *in flight* (i.e., who had been driven within the rampart in flight).

Caesar uses a participle where we would use a subordinate clause, and within the phrase that modifies the indirect object (the Pompeians), the prepositions inform us where Pompey's soldiers began (in flight) and where they ended up (within the rampart). They serve, in effect, as adverbial phrases.

Castra ā cohortibus dēfendēbantur.
 The camp was defended *by* the cohorts.

Again, the prepositional phrase is adverbial, and serves to explain how the camps were being defended.

Conjunctions

Conjunctions allow the author to combine, dissociate, coordinate, subordinate, contrast, compare, individual words and phrases as well as whole clauses. Conjunctions are crucial syntactical tools for the prose author, and Caesar is a subtle master at exploiting the resources Latin had to offer.

Militēs cohortātus est, ut castra oppugnārent.
 He exhorted the soldiers to take the camp by assault.

The subordinate clause (a jussive noun clause) introduced by *ut* is one we have seen many times before. The whole clause serves as the object of the verb. *Ut* serves as the signal. Without the subordinate clause, we would not have known the substance of the exhortation. Could the thought have been expressed without *ut*? Certainly, but the logic would not have been as explicit, and the thought would have been more abrupt: He exhorted the soldiers: "Storm the camp!"

Et animō perterritī et lassitūdine confectī, missīs plērīque armīs signīsque militāribus, magis dē reliquā fugā quam dē castrōrum dēfensiōne cōgitābant.
 Both panicked in spirit *and* worn out with fatigue, very many men, their weapons *and* military standards having been lost, were thinking more about the remaining flight [i.e., the rest of their escape] than about the defense of the camp.

"And" is one of the most basic conjunctions, but note how important it is for establishing the parallel between mind and spirit in describing the panic and exhaustion of the "very many men" (*plērīque*). Another "and" combines weapons and military standards, thus completing the picture of complete disarray, as the soldiers could no longer be rallied without standards, and, even if they could be, they no longer had weapons. We have already looked at the adverbs and prepositions in this sentence, but we can observe here that these simple tools allow Caesar to paint a nuanced portrait of the Pompeians in full flight and panic.

Militēs, etsī magnō aestū fatigātī (nam ad merīdiem rēs erat perducta), tamen ad omnem labōrem animō parātī imperiō pāruērunt.
 The soldiers, *although* tired from the great heat (*for* the thing [i.e., battle] had been dragged out till noon), *nevertheless* [were] prepared in spirit for every effort, [and] obeyed the command.

Caesar uses the conjunction *etsi* to concede the fact that his soldiers were tired, the conjunction *nam* to explain why they were tired, and the adverb *tamen* to emphasize the contrast between their mental eagerness and their physical exhaustion. Again, Caesar paints a nuanced portrait through well-constructed and well-balanced combinations and contrasts. And what guides us through this thought? Conjunctions and an adverb.

Neque vērō diūtius multitudinem tēlōrum sustinēre potuērunt, sed, confecti vulneribus, locum reliquērunt.

And indeed no longer could they endure the multitude of spears, but, worn out by wounds, they abandoned the spot.

Neque signals that this sentence continues the thought of the previous sentence. Within the sentence itself, *sed* joins a contrasting statement, and, indeed, abandoning a position that one was previously trying to hold represents a contrast.

Now It's Your Turn

Translate the following pairs of sentences. To what part of speech do the underlined forms belong? How do the underlined forms contribute to the logic of the sentence? How do the first and second sentence of each pair compare to each other? How did the change affect the meaning?

- Militēs cohortātus est, ut castra oppugnārent.
Militēs cohortātus est, cum castra oppugnārent.

- Castra ā cohortibus industriē dēfendēbantur, multō etiam ācrius ā barbaris auxiliis.
Castra ā cohortibus industriē dēfendēbantur, sed multō ācrius ā barbaris auxiliis.

- Magis dē reliquā fugā quam dē castrōrum dēfensiōne cōgitābant.
Et dē reliquā fugā et dē castrōrum dēfensiōne cōgitābant.

4. Neque vērō diūtius multitūdinem tēlōrum sustinēre potuērunt, sed confectī vulneribus locum reliquērunt.
Et vērō diūtius multitūdinem tēlōrum sustinēre nōn potuērunt et confectī vulneribus locum reliquērunt.
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Wordbank

We list here all uninflected forms in Caesar *DBC* 3.95 to give you a quick overview of just how many such small words there are. They are important elements and crucial guides.

ā ab *prep w abl* from, away from

ācrius *adv* sharply, bitterly, violently; *from ācer ācris ācre* sharp, bitter

ad *prep w acc* to; towards

dē *prep w abl* away from, off; down from; on account of; concerning

diūtius *comp. adv. from diū* *adv* for a long time

et *conj* and, also; **et . . . et** both . . . and

etiam *conj* and also, also, even, yet

etsī *conj* even if, although

ex *prep w abl* out of, from within

ibi *adv* in that place, there

in *prep* into, toward, against (*w acc*); in, on, within (*w abl*)

industriē *adv* from **industri•us –a –um** industrious, diligent; zealous

intrā *prep w acc or adv* within, inside

magis *adv* more

multō *adv* much

nam *particle* certainly, indeed; (explanatory) for

neque *conj adv* not; not even

prōtinus *adv* straight on, forward; immediately; without pause; at once

quam *adv* than

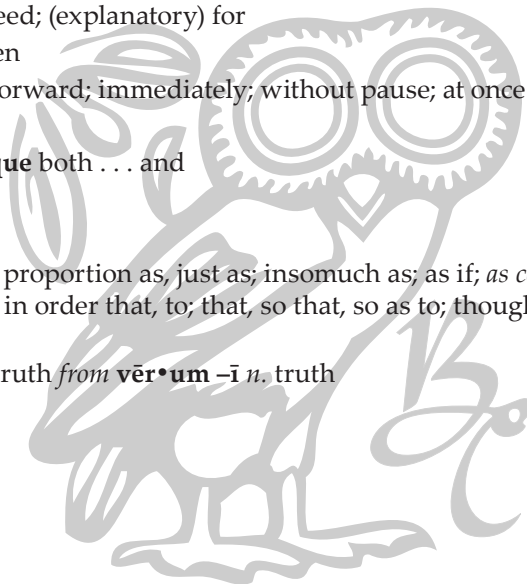
–que *conj* and; **–que . . . –que** both . . . and

sed *conj* but

tamen *adv* nevertheless

ut *as adv* (1) how? (2) as, in proportion as, just as; insomuch as; as if; *as conj* (3) *with the ind*, when, after; (4) *with the subjunctive*, that, in order that, to; that, so that, so as to; though, although; *after words of fearing*, that not, lest.

vērō *adv* truly, indeed, in truth *from vēr•um –ī n.* truth



HELPING YOU TO READ WHAT CAESAR WROTE

Summary

After the Pompeians were driven within their rampart in flight, Caesar reckoned that no time for recovery should be granted to the panicked Pompeians. He encouraged his soldiers to make use of the opportunity granted by fortune and to storm Pompey's camp. And his soldiers, even though they were tired from the day's heat (the battle had already dragged on till noon), were nevertheless ready to undertake any effort. They obeyed Caesar's command. Pompey's camp was vigorously defended by the cohorts who had been left there as a guard, but Pompey's Thracian and barbarian auxiliaries put up an even stiffer defense. The reason for this was that those soldiers who had fled back from the battle line were both panicking and worn out with exhaustion. Many of them had lost their weapons and military standards, and they were thinking more about continuing their flight than about defending the camp. And those soldiers who were within the rampart were not able to endure the number of spears for very long. Exhausted by their wounds, they abandoned the place, and immediately after this, relying on their leaders and the centurions and tribunes of the soldiers, everybody fled to the mountatins near the camp.

Vocabulary

- fug•a** –*ae f.* flight, fleeing, escape
vallum –*ī n.* palisade, rampart
comp•ellō –*ellere –ulī –ulsum* to drive together, round up; force, compel, impel, drive
null•us –*a –um* not any, no; nobody
- spat•ium** –(*i*)*ī n.* space, area; room
perterr•eō –*ēre –uī –itum* frighten greatly, terrify
oport•et –*ēre –uit* it is demanded; it is required
existim•ō 1 to value, esteem; form or hold an opinion; think, suppose, judge
cohort•or –*ārī –ātus dep* to encourage, cheer up; rouse
- benefic•ium** –(*i*)*ī n.* kindness, favor; help
fortū•a –*ae f.* chance, luck, fate
oppugn•ō 1 to attack, assault
- aest•us** –*ūs m.* agitation, passion; heat, fire
fatig•ō 1 to weary, harass; to be tired
merīdī•ēs –*ēī m.* noon; midday
- perduc•ō** –*ere –dūxī –ductum* to lead, guide; prolong
lab•or –*ōris m.* work, labor, toil
anim•us –*ī m.* mind; intellect; soul; heart; feelings
par•ō 1 to prepare; supply, provide; plan
imper•ium –(*i*)*ī n.* command; authority
- pār•eō** –*ēre –uī –itum* to obey, be subject; submit, yield

Notes

- 1–2. Pompēiānīs . . . compulsīs . . . perterritis:**
 dative indirect object of *dari*. The best way to handle the participle *compulsīs* is as a subordinate clause.
- nullum spatium:** “no space or time” for recovering; accusative subject of the infinitive *oportere* in indirect statement introduced by the present nominative participle *existimans* (which agrees with the subject *Caesar*)

- 4. Quī:** = *et eī* (*conjunctiō relātīva*)
aestū: ablative of cause
- 5. animō:** ablative of respect
imperīō: dative; why?

Making Sense of It

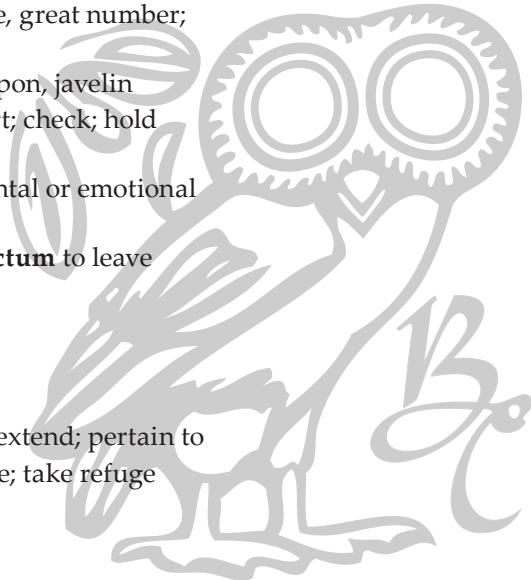
In the following passage, we provide the ellipted words and break out each sentences. Note that we are preparing you for Lesson XXIV where you will encounter the Latin only “as Caesar wrote it.”

[DBC 95] Caesar Pompēiānīs ex fugā intrā vallum compulsīs nullum spatium perterritīs darī oportēre existimans mīlitēs cohortātus est, ut beneficiō fortūnae ūterentur castraque oppugnārent.

Quī [mīlitēs], etsī magnō aestū fatīgātī (nam ad merīdiem rēs erat
5 perducta), tamen ad omnem labōrem animō parātī, imperiō [Caesaris] pāruērunt.



Vocabulary	Notes
<p>7. cohors cohortis <i>f.</i> court; enclosure, yard, pen; attendants, retinue, staff praesidi•ium –(i)ī <i>n.</i> protection; help; guard; garrison rel•inquō –inquere –īquī –ictum to leave behind, abandon; remain</p>	<p>7. cohortibus: ablative; why? praesidiō: “for a guard,” i.e., as a guard; dative of purpose</p>
<p>8. industri•us –a –um industrious, diligent; zealous defen•dō –dere –dī –sum to defend, guard, protect; look after barbar•us –a –um foreign; cruel, savage; uncivilized</p>	
<p>9. auxil•ium –(i)ī <i>n.</i> assistance, help, aid 10. ref•ugiō –ugere –ūgī to flee back; run away, escape perterr•eō –ēre –uī –itum frighten greatly, terrify lassitūd•ō –inis <i>f.</i> weariness, exhaustion, faintness</p>	<p>10. quī . . . militēs: Caesar has put the antecedent inside the relative clause. We may translate <i>militēs quī</i>. aciē: “from the battle line”; ablative of place where without a preposition</p>
<p>11. conf•iciō –icere –ēcī –ectum to make, construct; prepare plēr•usque –aque –umque very many, almost all reli•quus –qua –quum rest of, remaining, available; surviving; future; yet to be, owed</p>	<p>11. missīs . . . militāribus: ablative absolute plērīque: nominative plural subject of <i>cōgitābant</i>. The subject is, unusually, placed inside an ablative absolute</p>
<p>12. fug•a –ae <i>f.</i> flight, fleeing, escape; avoidance; exile dēfensi•ō –ōnis <i>f.</i> defense, protection cōgit•ō 1 to think; consider, reflect on, ponder; imagine, picture; intend, look forward to</p>	<p>13. quī . . . constiterant: why is the verb in this subordinate clause indicative?</p>
<p>13. const•ō –āre –itī to agree, correspond, fit, be correct; be dependent multitūd•ō –inis <i>f.</i> multitude, great number; crowd; mob</p>	
<p>14. tēl•um –ī <i>n.</i> dart, spear; weapon, javelin sustin•eō –ēre –uī to support; check; hold back; sustain vuln•us –eris <i>n.</i> wound; mental or emotional hurt; wound of love</p>	
<p>15. rel•inquō –inquere –īquī –ictum to leave behind, abandon; remain tribūn•us –ī <i>m.</i> tribune 16. alt•us –a –um high; deep mons montis <i>m.</i> mountain pertin•eō –ēre –uī to reach; extend; pertain to conf•ugiō –ugere –ūgī to flee; take refuge</p>	



Making Sense of It (Cont'd)

Castra [Pompēi] ā cohortibus, quae ibi praesidiō erant relictæ,
industriē dēfendēbantur, multō etiam ācrius ā Thrācibus barbarisque
auxiliīs [dēfendēbantur].

- 10 Nam quī aciē refūgerant mīlitēs, et animō perterritī et lassitūdine
confectī, missīs plērīque armīs signisque mīlītāribus, magīs dē reliquā
fugā [cōgitābant] quam dē castrōrum dēfensiōne cōgitābant.

Neque vērō diūtius [mīlitēs], quī in vallō constiterant, multitūdinem
tēlōrum sustinēre potuērunt, sed confectī vulneribus locum

- 15 reliquērunt, prōtinusque omnēs ducibus ūsī centuriōnibus tribūnisque
mīlitum in altissimōs montēs, quī ad castra pertinēbant, confugērunt.

Stopping for Some Practice

Translate each of the following sentences, identify the underlined word's part of speech, discuss any syntactical considerations (e.g., on mood), and discuss how the word contributes to the construction of the thought, idea, or argument conveyed by the sentence as a whole. For number three, discuss the impact that the absence of a conjunction has on the rest of the sentence.

1. Parvulae causae vel falsae suspīciōnis vel terrōris repentinī vel obiectae religiōnis magna
dētrīmenta saepe inferunt.

2. Parvulae causae et falsae suspīciōnis et terrōris repentinī et obiectae religiōnis magna dētrīmenta saepe inferunt.

3. Parvulae causae terrōris repentinī, falsae suspīciōnis, obiectae religiōnis magna dētrīmenta saepe inferunt.

4. At hostēs, etiam in extrēma spē salūtis, tantam virtūtem praestitērunt ut, cum prīmī eōrum cecidissent, proximī iacentibus insisterent atque ex eōrum corporibus pugnārent.

AFTER READING WHAT CAESAR WROTE

Notes

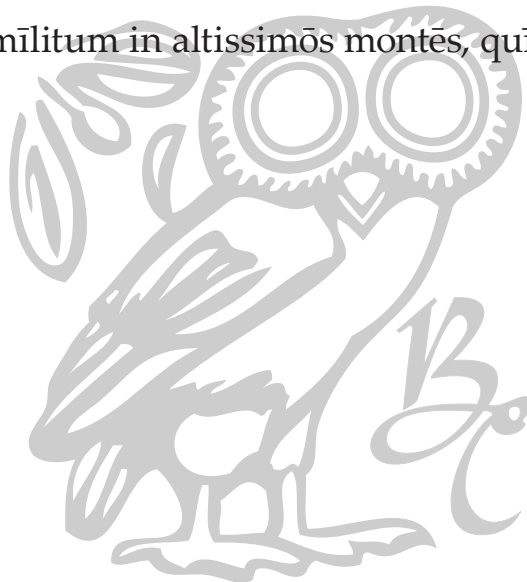
- 1–2. **Pompēiānis . . . compulsīs . . . perterritīs:** one way to translate this lengthy indirect object is to apply “panicked” (*perterritīs*) directly to the Pompeians, and then treat *compulsīs* as a subordinate clause.
- nullum spatium:** “no space,” no room or time to maneuver or recover.
7. **ā Thrācibus barbarisque auxiliīs:** Caesar represented Labienus as disparaging men in Caesar’s army who were Roman citizens, but from diverse regions of Italy. Caesar, on the other hand, mentions that the Thracians (who would have been considered barbarians too) as well as the other foreigners were fighting more bravely than Pompey’s Romans. What does this imply about Roman versus foreign zeal for Pompey’s cause? What does this imply about Caesar’s respect for fighting men of diverse ethnic origin?
- 8–9. **missīs . . . armīs signisque militāribus:** one of the greatest of humiliations was to lose one’s weapons and military standards. Soldiers could not fight without weapons, and commanders could not communicate effectively on the battlefield without military standards.
- 9–10. **magis . . . cōgitābant:** organized retreats were common. Even in disasters, however, the situation could be managed, if soldiers defended their camp. Pompey’s soldiers are in complete disarray.
- 12–14. **omnēs . . . confugērunt:** the only effective leadership Pompey’s officers provide is aiding the general flight to the hills. The rout is complete.

As It Was

[DBC 95] Caesar Pompēiānīs ex fugā intrā vallum compulsīs nullum spatium perterritīs darī oportēre existimans mīlitēs cohortātus est, ut beneficiō fortūnae ūterentur castraque oppugnārent. Quī, etsī magnō aestū fatīgātī (nam ad merīdiem rēs erat perducta), tamen ad omnem

5 labōrem animō parātī imperiō pārūerunt. Castra ā cohortibus, quae ibi praesidiō erant relictāe, industriē dēfendēbantur, multō etiam ācrius ā Thrācibus barbarīsque auxiliīs. Nam quī aciē refūgerant mīlitēs, et animō perterritī et lassitūdine confectī, missīs plērīque armīs signīsque mīlitāribus, magis dē reliquā fugā quam dē castrōrum

10 dēfensiōne cōgitābant. Neque vērō diūtius, quī in vallō constiterant, multitudinem tēlōrum sustinēre potuērunt, sed confectī vulneribus locum reliquērunt, prōtinusque omnēs ducibus ūsī centuriōnibus tribūnīsque mīlitum in altissimōs montēs, quī ad castra pertinēbant, confugērunt.



AFTER READING WHAT CAESAR WROTE

Thinking about How Caesar Writes

1. Caesar comments on the physical condition of his troops as well as on their mental readiness. He also comments on his opponents' physical condition and their mental readiness. How does Caesar construct the contrast between body and mind within each description? How does Caesar guide the reader in making comparisons between the two assessments? How does the structure of each assessment contribute to the formation of the comparison and/or help the reader in seeing points of comparison?
2. Identify each participle in the passage you just read, and translate it literally. After translating it literally, decide whether it could also be translated as a subordinate clause, and, if your answer is yes, please translate the participle (together with whatever other words you require from the sentence) as a subordinate clause.

Thinking about What You Read

1. Why does Caesar mention the ethnicity of those who best defended Pompey's camp? What does this imply about Roman allies? About Pompey's Roman troops? About the scale of Rome's civil war?
2. What do you think some of the obstacles were that Roman generals faced in coordinating multi-ethnic forces? What dangers do you think may have increased in a time of civil war?
3. Caesar once again stresses the importance of the soldiers' mental attitude or morale. Do you think that Caesar is right or wrong to emphasize this? Please explain.
4. Do you think that an army's morale matters as much for a modern army as it did for a Roman army? Please explain.

