CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES
ON THE
GALLIC WAR;
AND
THE FIRST BOOK OF THE
GREEK PARAPHRASE;
WITH
ENGLISH NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY, PLANS OF
BATTLES, SIEGES, ETC.,
AND
HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INDEXES.

BY
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THE REV. HENRY ANTHON, D.D.,
RECTOR OF ST. MARK'S CHURCH, IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,

THIS WORK

IS

Enscribed,

AS A BROTHER'S TRIBUTE TO SINCERE PIETY, DISTINGUISHED ABILITIES, AND SOUND AND UNOSTENTATIOUS LEARNING.
P R E F A C E.

The present edition of Caesar is on the same plan with the Sallust and Cicero, and, it is hoped, will prove equally acceptable. As Caesar's Commentaries are generally placed in the hands of students at an early period of their career, the explanatory notes have been specially prepared for the use of beginners, and nothing has been in fact omitted, that may tend to facilitate the perusal of the work. The Greek paraphrase is but little known in this country, and the first book, therefore, has been given partly as a literary novelty, and partly as an easy introduction to Greek studies. Considerable use has been made of it, as will be seen by the notes appended to this volume, in elucidating passages of the Latin work that are in any respect obscure, or the meaning of which has been disputed among previous commentators. It has also been found of importance on several occasions in settling the text. From whose pen the paraphrase proceeds is a matter of great uncertainty: it has been assigned by some to Maxinnus Planudes, by others to Theodore Gaza, while
by a third class the author has been regarded as alto-
gether unknown. Planudes, it is conceived, will be
found, on a careful investigation of the matter, to have
the best claim. The style of the paraphrase deviates,
it is true, in more than one instance, from classical
usage, yet still the discrepancy is not so marked as to
occasion any difficulty to the learner, and may very
easily be rectified by any competent instructor.

The wood-cuts, giving plans of battles, sieges, &c.,
cannot but prove useful. They are executed with
great ability by that talented artist, Mr. A. J. Mason

Columbia College, Jan. 18, 1838
LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR.
LIFE AND WRITINGS OF CÆSAR.

DR. BARTON.—HENRY ARLINGTON.

Dr. B. What odd-looking volume is that over which you are poring so attentively, Henry Arlington! Something very rare and curious, I suppose, to draw you off from our Oriel College election.

H. A very singular book, indeed, Dr. Barton, which I discovered yesterday, by mere accident, among the treasures of the Bodleian. It is Berger's treatise "De naturali pulchritudine Orationis," in which the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar are lauded to the skies, as a model of all that is excellent in writing.

Dr. B. I know the work well, and admire your patience in cultivating an acquaintance with it. Were I troubled with sleepless nights, I would certainly take to reading Berger, after retiring to my couch, in the full expectation of speedy and lasting relief.

H. I think you are too hard upon him, doctor. Amid a mass of heavy reading, I have found several things to arrest my attention and reward me for the labour expended upon his work. You surely do not regard Cæsar's Latinity as of inferior merit.

Dr. B. Quite the reverse, Henry. No writer equals Cæsar in elegant simplicity, and in that transparent clearness of style which forms the great charm of historical narrative. Lord Bacon, whom Berger not unaptly calls "Britannorum Socrates," has well expressed his wonder, that a mind rendered so "turbid" by ambition as Cæsar's was, should express itself in writing with so much calmness and serenity. My only objection is, that Berger pushes his theory much farther than either you or I will concede, when he undertakes to find, in the Commentaries of Cæsar, all the excellences of composition that are noted and praised, in a later age, in the treatise of Longinus.

H. I am entirely of your opinion, my dear doctor; and, having now satisfied my curiosity respecting Berger's work, will show you another,
of a different character, which I obtained this morning from Parker’s It is the second part of the “Fasti Hellenici,” by Clinton of ChristChurch. Are his dates in the case of Roman authors worthy of reli-
ance?

Dr. B. Most undoubtedly. No scholar of the present day has con-
ferred a more signal service on the literary chronology of Greece and Rome than this very able writer, or has contributed more essentially to raise the classical reputation of his country on the continent of Europe. But come, Henry, as Caesar has been thus far the theme of our conver-
sation, how would you like that we take up his life and literary charac-
ter, passing briefly over the former, and dwelling more at large upon the latter?

H. There is no one thing that would delight me more, Dr. Barton and I trust you will forgive me, if I occasionally interrupt you by a question or two, when any point seems to me to require any additional illustration on your part.

Dr. B. I shall consider all such interruptions, my dear Henry, as the surest proof that my remarks are not uninteresting, and shall be more pleased the oftener they occur. Let us proceed, then, to our task. Of all those whom history has honoured with the title of great, no one, per-
haps, deserved it more than the subject of our present remarks. A de-
scendant of the celebrated Julian house, which traced its fabulous origin to Aeneas, he was born in the year of Rome 654, and exactly a century before the advent of our Saviour. In his early boyhood he was an eye-
witness of the civil wars between Sylla and Marius, the latter his mater-
nal uncle; and when he attained to the beginning of manhood, or the age of seventeen, Sylla, who was then supreme, could not forgive him for being the nephew of Marius and the son-in-law of Cinna. He even issued against him a decree of proscription, which he was only induced to revoke by the solicitations of the vestal virgins and the influence of the Julian family. 1

H. Was it not on that occasion, doctor, that Sylla said he saw many Mariuses in Caesar? 2

Dr. B. It was; and the remark does credit to his sagacity and know-
edge of character, while it shows plainly, that, even at this early period of life, the young Roman had given some peculiar indications of latent talents and ambition. Having escaped from the proscription of Sylla he retired from the capital, and sought a retreat in Asia, where he com

1. Sueton. Vit. Jul. c. 1 Plutarch’s account differs from this, but is less ac-
2. “Caesari multius Marius inesse.” Sueton. ib
menced his military career in the suite of Thermus, the Roman govern-
er, from whom he received the civic crown on the capture of Mity-
lene. The death of Sylla, however, recalled him to Rome, and we
find him soon engaged in conducting a prosecution against Cornelius
Dolabella, charged by him with extortion in his province, but success-
fully defended by Hortensius and Cotta.

H. Was not this a bold step, doctor, for a young man to take against
a person who stood so high as Dolabella! for, if I remember correctly,
the latter had both held the consulship, and enjoyed the honours of a
triump.

Dr. B. Not at all bold, Henry, but one, on the contrary, of common
occurrence. The young patricians were fond of accusing distinguished
individuals, not so much from a patriotic motive, as in order to acquire
for themselves the reputation of eloquence. After the acquittal of Dol-
abella, Cæsar made a voyage to Rhodes, and became a pupil of Apolloon
Molo, a distinguished teacher of the art of oratory.

H. Ah! Was not this same Molo the preceptor of Cicero?

Dr. B. He was. Cicero heard him at Rome, B. C. 87, and afterward
at Rhodes, B. C. 78, so that you perceive these two eminent men were
almost fellow-pupils of the same instructor. Passing over the story
about the pirates, which you can find in the pages of your Plutarch, and
the services which he rendered to the Roman allies in Asia against the
encroachments of Mithridates, though possessing himself no actual mil-
tary command, we come to the period of his second return to Rome,
when he found Pompey at the head of the senate and republic. Since
Cæsar’s known attachment hitherto to the party of Marius operated as
an obstacle to his ambition, he now went over to the dominant faction
of the day, and united with Cicero in advocating the passage of the Man-
illian law, the object of which was to clothe Pompey with extraordinary
powers for ending the Mithridatic war.

H. I cannot see the policy of this step on Cæsar’s part. He was
only strengthening the hands of one, who, he must have known, would
one day prove his most formidable rival.

Vit. Jul. c. 2. Compare Aurel. Vict. c. 82.
5. Clinton’s Fasti Hellenici, part 2 p. 147.
6. Plutarch places the story of the pirates earlier in point of time, making Cæsar
to have been taken by them during his first visit to Asia. But consult Suetonius,
Vit. Jul. c. 4 and Crisius ad loc.
Dr. B. Pardon me, Henry; it was a stroke of consummate policy. The Manilian law, and the high prerogatives conferred by it upon a single individual, introduced divisions and dissensions among the leading men at Rome, and could not but tend to favour secretly the pretensions of those, who, like Caesar, wished one day to raise themselves above the laws of their country. The same principle of action governed his conduct, when, not long after this, he exerted his endeavours, along with other equally ambitious men, to have the tribunes of the commons, whose power Sylla had wisely curtailed, restored to all their former privileges; for he well knew that he would find, in most of them, so many ready tools for the accomplishment of his designs upon the liberty of his country.

II. But how did the people, with whom Marius had ever been a favourite, relish Caesar's abandonment of the principles of that leader?

Dr. B. You err, Henry, in common with many others, as to this part of Caesar's history. At his first entrance into the political arena, when the influence of Pompey was paramount, any professed adherence to the principles that governed the party of Marius would have been fatal to Caesar's advancement in the state. When, however, he felt himself more securely established in public favour, the mask was dropped. The memory of Marius, notwithstanding all his enormities, was still cherished by the Roman populace, for he had, in one sense, been their champion against the party of the senate, and Caesar now neglected no opportunity of flattering the multitude, by showing respect to the name of their former leader. When questor, he had the boldness, on delivering a funeral eulogy upon his aunt Julia, to produce before the view of the people the images of Marius, which had not been seen since the dictatorship of Sylla. And, when elevated to the office of ædile, he caused the statues and trophies of the conqueror of the Cimbri to be restored to their former places. From this period he was suspected of aspiring to absolute power, and was even accused of it in the senate; but his largesses among the populace, and the splendour of his public shows, found him too many friends and devoted partisans for the senate to venture on his condemnation.


2 Plut. Vit. Cæs. c. 5.

H. This reminds me, doctor, of the timidity of the senate, when his
defence of the accomplices of Catiline, and his conduct generally, in
relation to that affair, caused him to be more than suspected of a participa-
tion in the conspiracy.

Dr. B. Yes, the senate were afraid of the people without, who, with
loud cries, were demanding their favourite. His life, however, was
actually in danger from the Roman knights that stood around the senats-
house as a guard, and he was mainly saved by the interference of Cicero.

H. You made some allusion, a moment ago, to his lavish expendi-
tures. Where did he obtain the means for supporting these?

Dr. B. By borrowing. He is said, before he enjoyed any public
office, to have owed 1300 talents, over £300,000. And when, after
his praetorship, which was not long subsequent to the period just men-
tioned by me, he set out for a government in Spain, he himself confessed
that he was, what would be in our own currency more than £2,000,000,
worst than nothing!

H. These debts, of course, were never paid.

Dr. B. His extortions in Spain enriched him to such a degree, that
he not only liquidated this almost incredible sum, but even had wealth
sufficient remaining to shield himself from a public prosecution, and to
purchase the services of a large number of partisans. So much for the
tender mercies of Roman magistrates in the management of their prov-
inces!

H. And for the purity of justice at home. But do tell me, doctor,
where were Pompey and Crassus at this time?

Dr. B. Cæsar had reconciled them, and thus obtained their united
aid for the attainment of the consulship. He attached the former also
still more strongly to himself, by giving him his daughter Julia in mar-
rriage. We have now reached an important era in the history of the
ambitious Roman whose career we are delineating, and this was the
government of Gaul, which he obtained not long after the union of his
daughter with Pompey. The Vatinian law gave him this province for

1. Suetonius states, that his life was threatened by the equites, even while he was
in the senate-house: that the senators sitting near him moved away in alarm, and
that only a few remained by him to afford protection: "Vix pasci complexus togaque
objecta protegerint." (Sueton. Vit. Jul. c. 14.) Plutarch's account is followed,
however, in the text. Consult Crusius, ad Sueton. I. c.

2. Plut. Vit. Cæs. c. 5.—Appian. B. C. 2, 8. Crassus had to become surety for
him before he could leave Rome for his government. Plut. Vit. Crass. c. 7.—Id. Vit
Cæs. c. 11. The computation in the text makes the Attic talent of silver 244l. 13s. 4d
Compare Knight, Prolegom. ad Hom. § 56, and Boeckh's Public Economy of Athen
vol. i., p. 25.

five years, and, at the expiration of this period, his command was continued for five years longer. The Gallic war, then, in all its branches, continued for the space of nearly ten years, and, during that time, Caesar is said to have reduced by force or by the terror of his arms eight hundred cities, to have subjugated three hundred communities or nations, to have defeated in battle at different periods three millions of men, and to have slain one third of this number, and led another third into captivity.

H. An exaggerated account, most probably.

Dr. B. Of course, as such statements always are. Yet still, from the known valour of the Gallic race, and the cold-blooded cruelty with which, according to Caesar's own account, many of his victories were followed up, the carnage of the whole war must have been appalling in the extreme. In the midst of his conquests, as may well be imagined, the Roman commander neglected no opportunity of amassing the most extensive riches, and, with this view, plundered both the temples of the Gallic deities, and the land of allies as well as enemies. Everything, in fact, that might serve to augment his power, appeared to him just and honourable; and Cicero relates, that he had often on his lips the well-known passage of Euripides, that, if justice is to be violated, it ought to be for sovereign power. Do you know the lines to which I allude, Henry?

H. It occurs in the "Phoenissae," in the speech of Eteocles to his mother:

Εἶπερ γὰρ ἄδικων χρή, τερανίδος πίε
Κάλλιστον ἄδικων—

But was no notice taken by the Roman senate of the course of conduct in which he thus openly indulged?

Dr. B. His enemies at Rome were by no means inactive, and an effort was made to have commissioners sent by the senate, for the purpose of investigating the charges preferred against him; but the splendour of his numerous victories, the favour of the people, and the large sums which he privately distributed, caused every attempt of the kind to prove ineffectual.

H. I have seen it remarked somewhere, Doctor Barton, that the sol-

1. The civil war broke out, according to Suetonius, before the expiration of the second period of five years. So Plutarch, c. 15, ἕτη γὰρ οὐκ ἔλεγα πολεμήσας περὶ Ρώματιν, κ. τ. λ.

Compare, however, the remarks of Bayle, Dict. Hist. s. v. Cæsar.

diers of the republic became eventually, by reason of his strong personal influence, the soldiers of Caesar.

Dr. B. The remark is perfectly correct. His soldiers became strongly attached to him, in consequence of the care that he ever evinced for their comfort and emolument. He seemed, indeed, to be merely the depositary of the riches which he accumulated from day to day, and to set a value on these only as they furnished him with prizes for valour, and with recompenses for military merit. His character in this respect bears a striking resemblance to that of the celebrated Napoleon. Though perhaps, after all, the motive of each will be found to have been a purely selfish one; for he who labours to accomplish a certain end must, in order to succeed, have instruments fitted for his purpose, and under his absolute control. If soldiers be devoted to their leader, he is already more than half victorious.

H. Talking of Napoleon, doctor, I have lately seen a French work which purports to contain his military criticisms on the campaigns of Caesar. Do you regard it as possessing any claims to authenticity?

Dr. B. I am surprised at your question, Henry. The work to which you refer is a miserable affair, which bears the impress of falsehood on its very front. The criticisms which it contains are below contempt, and never could have emanated from the great leader of modern times. They are the puny offspring of some anonymous scribbler. Let me give you, in their stead, the remarks of another writer, that are far more worthy of your notice. I will read them to you from the volume before me. "Though the Commentaries on the Gallic War comprehend but a small extent of time, and are not the general history of a nation they embrace events of the highest importance, and detail, perhaps, the greatest military operations to be found in ancient story. We see in them all that is great and consummate in the art of war. The ablest commander of the most warlike people on earth records the history of his own campaigns. Placed at the head of the finest army ever formed in the world, and one devoted to his fortunes, but opposed by prowess only second to their own, he and the soldiers he commanded may be praised almost in the words in which Nestor praised the heroes who had gone before him; for the Gauls and Germans were among the bravest and most warlike nations then on earth. In his clear and scientific details of military operations, Caesar is reckoned superior to every one, except, perhaps, Polybius. In general, too, when he speaks of himself,
it is without affectation or arrogance. He talks of Caesar as of an indifferent person, and always maintains the character which he has thus assumed; indeed, it can hardly be conceived that he had so small a share in the great actions he describes, as would appear from his own representations. With the exception of the false colours with which he disguises his ambitious projects against the liberties of his country, everything seems to be told with fidelity and candour."

H. Do you think that he is as accurate in his account of German as of Gallic manners?

Dr. B. I do not. He had remained so long in Gaul, and had so thoroughly studied the habits and customs of its people, for his own politica purposes, that whatever is delivered concerning that country may be confidently relied on. But his intercourse with the German tribes was only occasional, and chiefly of a military description. Some of his observations on their manners, as their hospitality, the continence of their youth, and the successive occupation of different lands by the same families, are confirmed by Tacitus; but in other particulars, especially in what relates to their religion, he is contradicted by that great historian. The researches of modern writers have also thrown some doubts on the accuracy of Caesar's German topography.1

H. With regard to the eighth book of the Commentaries on the Gallic war, is there not some doubt which of the two be the author, Hirtius or Oppius?

Dr. B. There is; but I believe that a careful examination of the point will lead to a conviction that the book in question came from the pen of Hirtius.

H. Is this the same Hirtius that fell at Mutina?

Dr. B. The same. Either from affection or gratitude, he was always attached to the party of Caesar; but, after the death of the dictator, he declared against Antony. Being created consul along with Pansa, he set out with his colleague to attack Antony, who was besieging Brutus in the city of Mutina, the modern Modena; and, as you well know, they gained a victory over their opponent, but Hirtius was killed in the battle, and Pansa died a few days after of his wound.

H. You made some remarks, doctor, in the commencement of this conversation, respecting Caesar's style; allow me to ask what you would regard as its most distinguishing characteristic?

Dr. B. Its perfect equality of expression. There was in the mind of Caesar a serene and even dignity. In temper nothing appeared to agitate or move him; in conduct, nothing diverted him from the attainment

of his end. In like manner, in his style, there is nothing swelled or depressed, and not one word which is not chosen with a view to its ultimate effect, without any view towards embellishment. The opinion of Cicero, who compared the style of Cæsar to the unadorned simplicity of an ancient Greek statue, may be considered as the highest praise, since he certainly entertained no favourable feelings towards the author; and the style was very different from that which he himself employed in his harangues or philosophical works, or even in his correspondence. The same writer thinks, that this exquisite purity was not insensibly obtained, from domestic habit and familiar conversation, but from assiduous study and thorough knowledge of the Latin tongue.  

H. Still, however, notwithstanding its purity and elegance, do you not think that the style of Cæsar is somewhat deficient in both vivacity and vigour?  

Dr. B. I do, Henry. And you will also occasionally find a term introduced that militates even against the acknowledged purity of his language. But still, if we consider, that these memoirs were hastily drawn up during the tumult and anxiety of campaigns, and were noted down, from day to day, without care or premeditation, we shall be very easily inclined to pardon a deficiency of vigour on the one hand, and an occasional deviation from purity on the other.  

H. The remark which you have just made, doctor, reminds me of a question that occurred to me the other day relative to Cæsar’s Ephemeris, or Diary. Do you think that this work and the Commentaries are the same or different productions?  

Dr. B. I am inclined to think with Bayle, that they are distinct works, and that the Ephemeris, or Ephemerides, may have been a journal of Cæsar’s life. There are, it is true, several objections to this opinion, which are urged with great ability by Fabricius, Vossius, and others. But still the opposite side of the question appears by far the more reasonable one. Servius quotes the Ephemerides, as does also Plutarch, and Frontinus and Polyænus seem to refer to them, since they relate many of Cæsar’s stratagems not mentioned in the Commentaries, and must, in all probability, have read them in the other work. The circumstance quoted by Servius from the Ephemerides is a very remarkable one. He states, that Cæsar, on one occasion, was made prisoner by the Gauls, and, being hurried along, was met by a Gallic chieftain, who exclaimed in an insulting tone, when he beheld him in this state, “Cæ-  

sar, Cæsar." Now, according to Servius, this proper name Cæsar happened to mean, in the Gallic tongue, "let him go," and the consequence was, that the persons who held Cæsar prisoner, and who, it seems, were ignorant of his rank, mistook the words of the Gallic chief for an order to release him, and, in consequence, allowed him to escape.

H. Rather a whimsical story, doctor.

Dr. B. Quite so, Henry; and if Celtic scholars had only viewed it in this light, they would have been saved a great deal of trouble in endeavouring to find a Gaelic word sounding like Cæsar, and signifying, to quote the language of Servius, dimitte. But we have said enough at present respecting the life and writings of the Roman commander. His other productions will form the subject of a conversation when we meet again in Michaelmas term. Farewell.
C. JULII CÆSARIUM COMMENTARII
DE
BELLO GALLICO
### ENGRAVINGS.

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I. General description of Gaul.

Chap. 1. Divisions and description of Gaul.

II. The war with the Helvetii.

Chap. 2. The Helvetii, dissatisfied with their existing settlements in Gaul, and instigated by Orgetorix, form the design of migrating, and seeking a larger and more commodious territory in the same country. They have also in view, as an ulterior object, the sovereign control of Gaul. 3. Preparations for this step. Orgetorix appointed to superintend them. He forms a secret plan for self-aggrandizement with two influential nobles in two other states. 4. The plot discovered. Orgetorix put to his trial. Rescued by his retainers. Death. 5. The Helvetii go on notwithstanding with their preparations for removing. 6. Two routes present themselves. 7. Caesar resolves to prevent their intended march through the Roman province. They send ambassadors requesting permission to pursue this route. 8. Works erected by Caesar. Answer in the negative given to the Helvetic ambassadors. The Helvetii attempt to force the passage of the Rhone. Are repulsed. 9. They obtain permission from the Sequani to pass through their territories. 10. Plans of Caesar to prevent their progress. 11. Complaints of the Gauls respecting the injuries they were suffering from the Helvetii. 12. The Tigrini are defeated by the Romans near the river Arar. 13, 14. Ambassadors sent to Caesar by the Helvetii. His answer to them. 15. The cavalry of the Gallic auxiliaries defeated by the Helvetii. The march of both armies.
16-20. Caesar complains of the dilatory conduct of the Aedui in supplying provisions. Liscus replies in extenuation, and discloses the ambitious designs and treachery of Dumnorix. Caesar pardons the latter at the instance of his brother Divitiacus. 21, 22. P. Considius causes by his fears a favourable opportunity to be lost of attacking the Helvetii to advantage. 23-26. Engagement between the Romans and Helvetii. The latter entirely routed. 27, 28. They submit to the Romans, and are ordered to return to their own country. 29. Comparative estimate of the number of the Helvetii that left home, and of the number that returned after the war.

III. War with Ariovistus.

Chap. 30-32. A general assembly of Gaul called with Caesar’s permission. Complaints preferred to him against Ariovistus and the Germans. 33. Caesar resolves to interfere. 34. Sends ambassadors to Ariovistus requesting an interview. Answer of Ariovistus declining one. 35, 36. A second embassy sent, with the demands of Caesar. Answer of Ariovistus. 37, 38. Caesar obtains a interview with Ariovistus, and occupies Vesontio. 39. Remains at Vesontio for a few days to procure provisions for his army. The Roman soldiers are seized with a panic at the accounts which they receive of the great stature and courage of the Germans. 40. Caesar’s speech to them. 41. Good effects of this harangue. March. 42-46. Interview between Caesar and Ariovistus. It is broken off by an attack of the German horse. 47. Negotiations renewed by Ariovistus. Roman ambassadors imprisoned. 48. Ariovistus avoids coming to a battle. Meantime skirmishes of the horse take place daily. German mode of fighting described. 49, 50. Caesar’s two camps. The smaller one attacked by Ariovistus. Caesar learns from the German prisoners why their countrymen avoided a general engagement. 51-54. The two armies come at last to a conflict, and the Germans are defeated. The ambassadors who had been detained by Ariovistus are retaken by the Romans. Caesar places his army in winter quarters under the charge of Labienus and then sets off for Cisalpine Gaul to hold his circuit.

1. Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli, appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se different. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a
cultu atque humanitate Provinciae longissime absunt, 'minimeque ad eos mercatores sæpe commecant, atque ea, quæ ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important; a proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolum, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt: qua de causa Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere quotidians præliis cum Germanis contendunt, 'cum aut suis finibus eos proficiente, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt. Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano; 'continentur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum; attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetii flumen Rhenum; vergit ad septentriones. Belgæ ab extremis Galliæ finibus oriuntur; pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni; spectant in septentriones et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenæos montes, et eam partem Oceani, quæ est ad Hispaniam, pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.

2. Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus et ditissimus fuit Orgetorix. Is, 'Marco Messala et Marco Pisone Consulibus, regni cupiditate inductus, conjurationem nobilitatis fecit; et civitati persuasit, ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent: perfacile esse, cum virtute omnibus praestarent, totius Galliæ imperio potiri. Id hoc fæcilius eis persuasit, quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno, latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit: altera ex parte, monte Jura altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios; tertia, lacu Lemanno, et flumine Rhodano, qui Provinciam nostram ab Helvetii dividit. His rebus siebat, ut et minus late vagarentur, et minus facile fœtimis bellum inferre possent: qua de causa homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore affliciebantur. Pro multitudine autem hominum, et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis, angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem millia passuum ducenta et quadraginta, in latitudinem centum et octoginta patebant.
3. *His rebus adducti, et auctoritate Orgetorigis permoti, constituerunt ea, quae ad proficiscendum pertinere, comparare; jumentorum et carorum quam maximum numerum coëmere; *sementes quam maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumenti suppeteret; cum proxinis civitibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt; *in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. Ad eas res conficiendas Orgetorix deligitur. Is sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit. In eo itinere persuadet Castico, Catamantaledis filio, Sequano, cujus pater *regnum in Sequanis multis annos obtinuerat, et a senatu populi Romani amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate sua occuparet, quod pater ante habuerat; itemque Dumnonigii Aeduo, fratri Divitiaci, qui eo tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat, ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur persuadet, eique filiam suam in matrimonium dat. *Perfacile factu esse, illis probat, conata perficere, propterea quod ipse sua civitatis imperium obtinuerat: non esse dubium, *quin totius Galliæ plurimum Helvetii possent: se suis copiis suoque exercitu *illis regna conciliaturum, confirmat. Hac oratione adducti, inter se fidem et jusjurandum dant, *et, regno occupato, per tres potentissimos ac *fimmissimos populos, *totius Galliæ sese potiri posse sperant.

5. Post ejus mortem nihil minus Helvetii id, quod constituerant, facere conantur, ut e finibus suis eexant. Ubi jam se ad cam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata ædificia incendunt; frumentum omne, præter quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt; ut, 2domum reditionis spe sublata, paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent: trium mensium molitia cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre jubent. Persuadent Rauracis, et Tulingis, et Latobrigis, finitimis, uti, 4eodem usi consilio, oppidis suis vicisque exustis, una cum iis proficiscantur: Boiosque, qui 5trans Rhenum incoluerant, et in agrum Noricum transierant Noreiam que oppugnarant, 6receptos ad se, socios sibi adsciscunt.


7. Cæsari cum id nuntiatum esset, eos per Provinciam nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci, et, quam maximis potest itineribus, in Galliam ulteriorem contendit, et ad Genevam pervenit: Provinciae toti quam maximum militum numerum imperat (erat omnino in
DE BELLO GALlico.

Gallia ulteriore legio una); pontem, qui crat ad Genevam, jubet rescindi. Ubi de ejus adventu Helvetii certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt, nobilissimos civitatis, ejus legationis Nameius et Verudoctius principem locum obtin- ebant, qui dicerent, "sibi esse in ano, sine ullo male- ficio iter per Provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum: rogare, ut ejus voluntate id sibi facere liceat." Caesar, quod memoria tenebat, Lucium Cassium Consulem occisum, exercitumque ejus ab Helvetiis pulsum, et sub jugum missum, concedendum non putabat: neque homines inimico animo, data facultate per Provinciam itin- eris faciundi, temperatos ab injuria et maleficio existi- nabat. Tamen, ut spatium intercedere posset, dum milites, quos imperaverat, convenirent, legatis respondit, "diem se ad deliberandum sumturum; si quid vellent, ante diem Idus Apriles reverterentur."

8. Interea ea legione, quam secum habebat, militibusque, qui ex Provincia conveuerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flu- men Rhodanum influit, ad montem Juram, qui fines Sequan- norum ab Helvetiis dividit, millia passuum decem novem murum, in altitudinem pedum sedecim, fossamque perducit. Eo opere perfecto, præsidia disponit, castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere pos- sit. Ubi ea dies, quam constituerat cum legatis, venit, et legati ad eum reverterunt, negat, "se more et exemplo Populi Romani posse iter ulli per Provinciam dare; et, si vim facere contentur, prohibitum ostendit." Helvetii, ea spe dejecti, navibus junctis retibusque compluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodani, qua minima altitude fluminis erat, non nunquam interdum, sæpius noctu, si perrumpere possent, conati, operis munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi, hoc conatu destiterunt.

9. Relinquebatur una per Sequanos via, qua, Sequanis invitis, propter angustias ire non poterant. His cum sua sponte persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnorigem
ATTEMPT OF THE HELVETI TO CROSS THE RHONE AND FORCE THE INTRENCHMENTS OF CAESAR


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Æduum mittunt, ut eo deprecatore a Sequanis impetrarent. Dumnorix gratia et largitione apud Sequanos plurimum poterat, et Helvetiis erat amicus, quod ex ea civitate Orgetorigis filiam in matrimonium ducerat; et, cupiditate regni adductus, novis rebus studebat, et quam plurimas civitates suo sibi beneficio habere obstrictas volebat. Itaque rem suscipit, et a Sequanis impetrat, ut per fines suos ire Helvetios patiatur; obsidesque uti inter sese dent, perficit: Sequani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant; Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et injuria transeant.

10. Cæsari renunciatur Helvetii esse in animo, per agrum Sequanorum et Æduorum iter in Santonum fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in Provincia. Id si fieret, intelligebat magno cum Provinciae periculo futurum, ut homines bellicosos, Populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. Ob eas causas munitioni, quam fecerat, Titum Labienum legatum praefecit: ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit, duasque ibi legiones conscribat, et tres, quæ circum Aquileiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit; et, quæ proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Centrones, et Graioceli, et Caturiges, locis superioribus occupatis, itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his præliis pulsis, ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris Provinciae extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris Provinciae die septimo pervenit; inde in Allobrogum fines : ab Allobrogibus in Segusianos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra Provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.

11. Helvetii jam per angustias et fines Sequanorum suas copias transduxerant, et in Æduorum fines pervenerant, eorumque agros populabantur. Ædui, cum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos ad Cæsarem mittunt rogatum auxilium: "ita se omni tempore de Populo Romano meritos esse, ut pœne in conspectu exercitus nostri agri
vastari, liberi eorum in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint." Eodem tempore Ædui Ambarri, necesse sarii et consanguinei Æduorum, Cæsarem certiorem faciunt, se, depopulatis agris, non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere: item Allobroges, qui trans Rhodanum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad Cæsarem recipiunt, et demonstrant, sibi praeter agri solum nihil esse reliqui. Quibus rebus adductus Cæsar, non expectandum sibi statuit, dum, omnibus fortunis sociorum consumtis, in "San- tonos Helvetii pervenirent.

12. Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Æduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, judicari non possit. Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintulis junctis transibant. Ubi per exploratores Cæsar certior factus est, tres jam copiarum partes Helvetios id flumen transduxisse, quartam vero partem citra flumen Ararim reliquam esse; de tertia vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris prosectus, ad eam partem peruenit, quæ nondum flumen transierat. Eos impeditos et inopinantes aggressus, magnam eorum partem concidit: reliqui fugæ sese mandarunt atque in proximas sylvas abdiderunt. Is pagus appellabatur Tigurinus: nam omnis civitas Helvetia in quatuor pagos divisa est. Hic pagus unus, cum domo exisset, patrum nostrorum memoria, Lucium Cassium Consulem interfecerat, et ejus exercitum sub jugum miserat. Ita, sive casu, sive consilio Deorum immortalium, quæ pars civitatis Helvetiae insignem calamitatem Populo Romano intulerat, ea princeps pœnas persolvit. Qua in re Cæsar non solum publicas, sed etiam privatæ injurias ultus est, quod ejus socii Lucii Pisonis avum, Lucium Pisonem legatum, Tigurini eodem prælio, quo Cassium, interfecerant.

commoti, 'cum id, quod ipsi diebus viginti aegerrime con
fecerant, ut flumen transirent, uno illum die fecisse intelli-
ergent, legatos ad eum mittunt: 2cujus legationis Divico
princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano dux Helvetiorum fuerat.
Is ita 3cum Cæsare agit: "Si pacem Populus Romanus cum
Helvetiis faceret, in eam partem ituros 4atque ibi futuros
Helvetios, ubi eos Cæsar constituisset atque esse voluisset:
sin bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur et 5veteris
incommodi Populi Romani et pristinæ virtutis Helvetiorum.
6Quod improviso unum pagum adortus esset, cum ii, qui
flumen transissent, suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob
eam rem aut sua magno opere virtuti tribueret aut ipsos
despiceret: se ita a patriis maioribusque suis didicisse, ut
magis virtute, "quam dolo aut insidix, niterunt. Quare
"ne committeret, ut is locus, ubi constitissent, ex calamitate
Populi Romani et internecione exercitus nomen caperet,
aut memoriam proderet."

14. His Cæsar ita respondit: 8cEo sibi minus dubitati-
onis dari, quod eas res, quas légati Helvetii commemoras-
sent, memoria teneret: 10atque eo gravius ferre, quo minus
merito Populi Romani accidisset; 11qui si alicujus injuria:
sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo de-
ceptum, quod neque commissum a se intelligeret, quare
timeret; neque sine causa timendum putaret. 12Quod si
veteris contumeliae oblivisci vellet; num etiam recentium
injuriarum, 13quod eo invito iter per Provinciam per vim
tentasset, quod âEduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobragas
vxassent, memoriam deponere posse? Quod sua victoria
tam insolenter gloriarentur, quoque tam diu se impune
tulisse injurias admirarentur, eodem pertinere: consuessed
enim Deos immortales, 14quo gravius homines ex commuta-
tione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulciscì velint,
his secundiores interdum res et diurniorem impunitatem
concedere. 15Cum ea ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab iiis sibi
dentur, uti ea, quæ polliceantur, facturos intelligat, et si
Æduis de injuriis, quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant, sese cum iis pacem esse facturum.” Divico respondit: “Ita Helvetios a majoribus suis institutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare, con suerint: 'cujus rei Populum Romanum esse testem.” Hoc responso dato, discessit.

15. Postero die castra ex eo loco movent: idem facit Cæsar; equitatumque omnem, ad numerum quatuor millium, quem ex omni Provincia et Æduis atque eorum sociis co- actum habebat, praemittit, qui videant, quas in partes hostes iter faciant. 3Qui, cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti, alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiorum prælimium committunt; et pauci de nostris cadunt. Quo prælio 5sublati Helvetii, quod quingentiis equitibus tantam multitudinem equi- tum propulerant, audacios subsistere, nonnquam ex nov- issimo agmine prælio nostros laccessere, cæperunt. Cæsar suos a prælio continebat, ac 6satis habebat in presentia hostem rapinis, pabulationibus, populationibusque, prohibere. Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt, ute inter novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum non amplius quinis aut senis millibus passuum interesset.

16. 8Interim quotidie Cæsar Æduos frumentum, quod essent publice polliciti, flagitare: nam 9propter frigora, quod Gallia 10sub septentrionibus, ut ante dictum est, posita est, non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia 11suppetebat: 12eo autem frumento, quod flumine Arare navibus subvexerat, properea uti minus poterat, quod iter ab Arare Helvetii averterant, a quibus discedere nolěbat. 13Diem ex die ducere Ædui; 14conferri, comportari, adesse dicere. Ubi 15se diuitius duci intellexit, et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret; convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Divitiaco et Lisco, 16qui summo magistratu praerat (quem 17Vergobretum appellant Ædui), qui creatur annus, et vitae necisque in
suos habet potestatem), graviter eos accusat, quod, cum
neque emi, neque ex agris sumi posset, 'tam necessario
tempore, tam propinquus hostibus, ab iis non sublevetur;
præsertim cum magna ex parte eorum precibus adductus
bellum susceperit: multo etiam gravius, 2 quod sit destitutus,
quiritur.

17. 'Tum demum Liscus, oratione Cæsaris adductus,
'quod antea tacuerat, proponit: "Esse nonnullos, quorum
auctoritas apud plebem 'plurimum valeat; qui 'privati plus
possint, quam ipsi magistratus. 'Hos seditionosa atque im-
proba oratione multitudinem deterovere, ne frumentum con-
feran, quod præstare debeat. 5 Si jam principatum Galliæ
obtinere non possint, Gallorum, quam Romanorum imperia
perferre, satius esse, 6 neque dubitare debere, quin, si Hel-
vetios superaverint Romani, una cum reliqua Gallia Æduis
libertatem sint erepturi. 9 Ab iisdem nostra consilia, quæque
in castris gerantur, hostibus enunciari: hos 10 a se coërceri
non posse. Quin etiam, quod necessario rem coactus
Cæsari enunciari, intelligere sese, quanto id cum periculo
fecerit, et ob eam causam, quam diu potuerit, tacuisse."

18. Cæsar hac oratione Lisei Dumnorigem, Divitiaci fra-
trem, 11 designari sentiebat: sed, quod pluribus præsentibus
eas res jactari nolebat, celeriter concilium dimittit, Liscum
retinet: 12 quærit ex solo ea, quæ in conventu dixerat. Dicit
liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto ab aliis quærerit;
reperit esse vera. "Ipsum esse Dumnorigem, summa au-
dacia, magna apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratia, cu-
pidum rerum novarum: 13 complures annos portoria, reliqua-
que omnia Æduorum vectigalia, parvo pretio redemta ha-
bere, propteraca quod illo 14 licente contra liceri audeat nemo.
His rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse, et 15 facultates
ad largiendum magnas comparasse: magnum numerum
equitatus suo sumtu semper alere et circum se habere:
neque solum domi, sed etiam apud sinitimas civitates 16 lar-
giter posse: atque hujus potentiae causa matrem in Bituri-
gibus, homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo, collocaesse. ipsum ex Helvetiis uxorem habere: sororem ex matre et propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates collocaesse: favere et cupere Helvetiis propter eam aflinitatem: odisse etiam suo nomine Caesarum et Romanos, quod eorum adventu potentia ejus diminuita, et Divitiacum frater in antiquum locum gratiae atque honoris sit restitutus. Si quid accidat Romanis, summam in spem per Helvetios regni obtinendi venire; imperio Populi Romani non modo de regno, sed etiam de ea, quam habeat, gratia desperare. Reperiebat etiam inquirendo Caesar, quod praelium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium ejus fuga factum a Dumnorige atque ejus equitibus (nam equitatu, quem auxilio Caesaris Edui miserant, Dumnorix præerat), corum fuga reliquum esse equitatum perterrinum.

19. Quibus rebus cognitis, cum ad has suspensiones certissimae res accederent, quod per fines Sequanorum Helvetios transduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia non modo injussu suo et civitatis, sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Eduorum accusaretur: satis esse causae arbitratur, quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret, aut civitatem animadvertere juberet. His omnibus rebus imum repugnabat, quod Divitiaci fratris summum in Populum Romanum studium, summam in se voluntatem, egregiam fidem, justitiam, temperantiam cognoverat: nam, ne ejus supplicio Divitiaci animum offende-ret, verebatur. Itaque priusquam quicquam conaretur, Divitiacum ad se vocari jubes et, quotidianis interpretibus motis, per Caium Valerium Prociillum, principem Galliae provinciae, familiarem suum, cum omnium rerum fidem habebat, cum eo colloquitur: simul cum monet, qua ipso presente in concilio Gallorum de Dumnorige sint dicta, et ostendit, quae separationis quiaque de eo apud se dixerit: petit atque hortatur, ut sine ejus offensione animi vel ipse de eo, causa cognita, statuat, vel civitatem statuere jubeat.
20. Divitiacus multis cum lacrymis, Cæsarem complexus, obsecrare cœpit, "ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret: seire se, illa esse vera, nec quenquam ex eo plus, quam se, doloris capere, propterea quod, cum ipse gratia plurimum domi atque in reliqua Gallia, ille minimum propter adolescentiam posset, per se crevisset; quibus opibus ac nervis, non solum ad minuendam gratiam, sed pæne ad pernicem suam uteretur: sese tamen ct amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi commoveri. Quod si quid ei a Cæsare gravius accidisset, cum ipse eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret, nomenem existimaturum, non sua voluntate factum; qua ex re futurum, uti totius Galliae animi a se averterentur." Hæc cum pluribus verbis flens a Cæsare peteret, Cæsar ejus dextram prendit; consolatus rogat, finem orandi "faciat: tanti ejus apud se gratiam esse ostendit, uti et reipublicae injuriam et suum dolorem ejus voluntati ac precibus condonet. Dumnorigem ad se vocat; fratrem adhibet; quæ in eo reprehendat, ostendit; quæ ipse intelligat, quæ civitas queratur, proponit; monet, ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones viter; preterita se Divitiaco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnorigi custodes ponit, ut, quæ agat, quibuscum loquatetur, seire possit.

21. Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus, hostes sub monte consedisse millia passuum ab ipsius castris octo; quales esset natura montis et quales in circuitu ascensus, qui cognoscerent, misit. Renunciatum est, facilem esse. De tertia vigilia Titum Labienum, legatum pro praetore, cum duabus legionibus, et iis ducibus, qui iter cognoverant, summum jugum montis ascendere jubet; quid sui consili si sit, ostendit. Ipse de quarta vigilia eodem itinere, quo hostes erant, ad eos contendit, equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. Publius Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur, et in exercitu Lucii Sullæ, et postea in Marci Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus praemittitur.

22. Prima luce, cum summus mons a Tito Labieno
teneretur, 'ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille et quingentis passibus abesset, neque, ut postea ex captivis committerit, aut ipsius adventus, aut Labieni, cognitus esse: Considius, 2 quo admissus, ad eum accurreret; dicit, montem quem a Labieno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri; id se 3 a Gallicis armis atque insignibus cognovisse. Caesar suas copias in proximum collum 4 subducit, aciem instruit. Labienus, ut erat ei praecipsum a Cæsare, ne praelium committeret, nisi ipsius copiae 5 prope hostium castra visae essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte occupato nostros expectabat praedioque abstinebat. 6 Multo denique die per exploratores Caesar cognovit, et montem a suis teneri, et Helvetios castra movisse, et Considium, timore praeteriurium, 7 quod non vidisset, pro viso sibi renunciasse. Eo die, 8 quo consuerat intervallo, hostes sequitur, et millia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

23. Postridie ejus diei, 9 quod omnino biduum supererat, cum exercitu frumentum metiri oportet, et quod a Bibracte, oppido Æduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius millibus passuum octodecim aberat, 10 rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit, iter ab Helvetīs avertit, ac Bibracte ire contendit. Ea res per fugitivos Lucii Æmilio, 11 decurionis equitum Gallorum, hostibus nuneatur. Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romanos 12 discedere a se existimarent, eo magis, quod pridie, superioribus locis occupatis, praelium non commovissent; sive eo, quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent; commutato 13 consilio atque tinere converso, nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac laessere coeperunt.

24. Postquam id 14 animum advertit, copias suas Cæsar in proximum collum subducit, equitatumque, qui sustineret hostium impetum, misit. Ipse interim 15 in colle medio triplexem aciem instruxit legionum quatuor veteranarum, ita, uti supra se in summō jugo duas legiones, 16 quas in Gallia eiteriore proxime conscripserat, et omnia auxilia col

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locaret; ac totum montem hominibus compleri, et interea sarcinas in unum locum conferri, et cum ab his, qui in superiore acie constiterant, muniri jussit. Helvetii, cum omnibus suis carris securi, impedimenta in unum locum con
tulerunt: ipsi, 2 confertissima acie, rejecto nostro equitatu, phalanget facta, 3 sub primam nostram aciem successerunt.

25. Caesar, primum su°, deinde omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut, æquato omnium periculo, spem fugae tol
eret, cohortatus suos, prælium commisit. Milites, e loco superiore pilis missis, facile hostium phalangem perfrege
tur. Ea disjecta, gladiis destructis in eos impetum fecerunt. 7 Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento, quod, pluribus eorum scitis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et colligatis, cum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere, neque, sinistra impedita, satis commode pugnare poterat; multi ut, diu jacato brachio, praenotarent scutum manu emittere, et nudo corpore pugnare. Tandem vulneribus defessi, et 8 pedem referre, et, quod mons suberat circiter mille passuum, eo se recipere cœperunt. Capto monte et succedentibus nostris, Boii et Tulingi, qui hominum millibus circiter quindecim agmen hostium claudebant, et novissimis præsidio erant, 16 ex itinere nostros latere aperto aggressi, circumvenere: et id conspicati Helvetii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare et prælium redintegrare cœperunt. 11 Romani conversa signa bipartito intulerunt: prima, ac secunda acies, ut victis ac summotis resisteret; tertia, ut venientes exciperet.

26. Ita 15 ancipiti prælio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius cum nostrorum impetus sustinere non possent, 13 al
teri se, ut cœperant, in montem recerperunt; alteri ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt. Nam hoc toto prælio, cum ab 14 hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum sit, 15 aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. 16 Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod provallo carros objecerant, et e loco superiore in nostros veni
entes tela conjiciebant, et nonnulli, inter carros rotasque mataras ac tragulas subjiciebant nostrosque vulnerabat Diu cum esset pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Ærgetorigis filia, atque unus e filii captus est. Ex eo prælio circiter millia hominum centum et trǐginta superfuerunt, eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt. Ënum partem noctis itinere intermisso, in fines Lingonum die quarto pervenerunt, cum, et propter vulnera militum, et propter sepuratum occisorum, nostri, triduum morati, eos sequi non potuissent. Cæsar ad Lingonas literas nunciosque misit, ne cos frumento, neve alia re juvarent: qui si juvissent, se eodem loco, quo Helvetios, habiturum. Ipse, triduo intermisso, cum omnibus copiis eos sequi cepit.

27. Helvetii, omnium rerum inopia adducti, legatos de deditione ad eum miserunt. Ëqui, cum eum in itinere convenissent, seque ad pedes propecessissent, suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem petissent, atque eos in eo loco, quo tum essent, summ adventum expectare jussisset, paruerunt. Ëo postquam Cæsar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos, qui ad eos per fugissent, poposcit. Dum ea conquiritur et conferuntur, nocte intermissa, circiter hominum millia sex ejus pagi, qui ÊVerbigenus appellatur, sive timore perterriti, ne, armis traditis, supplicio afficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti, quod, in tanta multitudine dedititiorum, suam fugam aut ëoccultari, aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent, prima nocte ex castris Helvetiorum egressi, ad Rhenum finesque Germanorum contenderunt.

28. Quod ubi Cæsar ërescit, ëquorum per fines ierant, his, uti conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse vel lent, imperavit: ñreductos in hostium numero habuit: reliquos omnes, obsidibus, armis, perfugis traditis, in deditionem accipit. Helvetios, Êulingos, Êlatobrigos in fines suos, unde erant prefecti, reverti jussit; et quod, ëomnibus fructibus amissis, domi nihil erat, quo famem tolerarent, ÊAllodrobibus imperavit, ut iis frumenti copiam facerent: ëipsos
oppida vicosque, quos incenderant, restituere jussit. Id ea maxime ratione fecit, quod noluit, eum locum, unde Helvetii discesserant, "vacare; ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, e suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent, et finitimi Galliae provinciæ Allobrogibusque essent. "Boios, potentibus Æduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent, concessit: quibus illi agros dederunt, quosque postea in parem juris libertatisque conditionem, atque ipsi erant, receperunt.

29. In castris Helvetiorum "tabulae repertæ sunt, "literis Graecis confectæ et ad Cæsarem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim "ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent: et item separatim pueri, senes, mulieresque. Quorum omnium rerum "summa erat, "capitum Helvetiorum millia ducenta et sexaginta tria, Tuulingorum millia triginta sex, Latobrigorum quatuordecim, Rauracorum viginti tria, Boiorum triginta duo: ex his, qui arma ferre possent, ad millia nonaginta duo. Summa omnium fuerunt ad millia trecenta et sexaginta octo. Eorum, qui domum redierunt, "censu habito, ut Cæsar imperaverat, repertus est numeros millium centum et decem.

30. Bello Helvetiorum confecto, totius fere Galliæ legati, principes civitatum, ad Cæsarem gratulatum convenerunt: "intelligere sese, tametsi, pro veteribus Helvetiorum injuriis Populi Romani, ab iis pænas bello repetisset; "amen eam rem non minus ex usu "terrae Galliæ, quam Populi Romani accidisse: propteræa quod eo consilio, florentissimis rebus, domos suas Helvetii reliquissent, uti toti Galliæ bel- lum inferrent, imperioque potirentur, locumque domicilio "ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex omni Gallia opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum judicassent, reliquasque civitates "stipendiarias haberent." Petierunt, "uti sibi concilium totius Galliæ "in diem certam indicere, idque Cæsaris voluntate facere, liceret: sese habere quasdam res, quas ex communis consensu ab eo petere vellent." Ea re permissa.
diem concilio constituerunt, et jurejurando, ne quis enun
ciaret, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset, inter
ze sanxerunt.

31. 2Eo concilio dimisso, idem principes civitatun, 3qui
ante fuerant ad Cæsarem, reverterunt, petieruntque, uti sibi
se a reto de sua omniumque salute cum eo agere liceret.
Ea re impetrata, sese omnes flentes Cæsari ad pedes pro-
jecerunt: 5quod non minus se id contendere et laborare, ne ea,
quæ dixissent, enunciarentur, quam uti ea, quæ vellent, in-
petrarent; propoterea quod, si crunciatum esset, summum in
erucriatum se venturos viderent.” Locutus est pro his Di-
vitacuus Aeduus: “Galliae totius 6factiones esse duas-
harum alterius 7principatum tenere Aeduos, alterius Arver-
nos. Hi cum tantopere de potentatu inter se multos annos
contenderent, factum esse uti ab Arvernis Sequanisque
Germani mercede arcesserentur. 9Horum primo circiter
millia quindecim Rhenum transisse: posteaquam agros, et
cultum, et copias Gallorum homines serì ac barbari adamas-
sent, transductos plures: nunc esse in Gallia ad centum et
viginti millium numerum: cum his Aeduos eorumque 10clie-
tes semel atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam ca-
lamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem
senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse. Quibus præliis ca-
lamitatibusque fractos, qui et sua virtute, et Populi Romani
11hospitio atque amicitia, plurimum ante in Gallia potuissent,
coactos esse Sequanis obsides dare, nobilissimos civitatis,
et jurejurando civitatem obstringere, sese neque obsides
repetituros, neque auxilium a Populo Romano imploraturas,
neque recusaturos, quod minus perpetuo sub illorum ditione
atque imperio essent. 12Unum se esse ex omni civitate
Aednorum, qui adduci non potuerit, ut juraret, aut liberos
suos obsides dare. Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse,
et Romam ad senatum venisse, 13auxilium postulatum, quod
solus neque jurejurando neque obsidibus teneretur. Sed
pejus victoribus Sequanis, quam Aeduis victis, accidisse.
propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germanorum, in eorum finibus consedisset, tertiamque partem agri Sequani, 1qui esset optimus totius Galliæ, occupavisset, et nunc de altera parte tertia Sequanos decedere juberet; propterea quod, paucis mensibus ante, Harudum millia hominum viginti quatuor ad eum venissent, 2quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. Futurum esse paucis annis, uti omnes ex Galliæ finibus pellerentur, atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent: 3neque enim conferendum esse Gallicum cum Germanorum agro, 4neque hanc consuetudinem victus cum illa comparandam. Ariovistum autem, 5ut semel Gallorum copias prælio vicerit, quod prælium factum sit ad Magetobriam, superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cujusque liberos poscerè, et in eos omnia exempla cruciatusque edere, si qua res non ad nutum aut ad voluntatem ejus facta sit: 6hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium: non posse ejus imperia diutius sustineri. 7Nisi si quid in Cæsare Populoque Romano sit auxilii, omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum, quod Helvetii fecerint, 10ut domo emigrent, aliud domicilium, alias sedes, remotas a Germanis, petant, fortunamque, quæcumque accidat, experiantur. 11Hæc si enuciat Arioesto sint, non dubitare, quin de omnibus obsidibus, qui apud eum sint, gravissimum supplicium sumat. Cæsar em vel auctoritate sua 12atque exercitus, vel recenti victoria, vel nomine Populi Romani deterrere posse, ne major multitudo Germanorum Rhenum transducatur, Galliamque omnem 13ab Ariovisti injuria posse defendere.”

32. Hac oratione ab Divitiaco 14habita, omnes, qui adcrant, magno fletu auxilium a Cæsare petere cæperunt. Animadvertit Cæsar, unos ex omnibus Sequanos nihil earum rerum facere, quas ceteri facerent; sed tristes, capite demisso, terram intueri. Ejus rei causa quæ esset, miratus, ex ipsis quaœsiit. Nihil Sequani 16respondere, sed in eadem cristitia taciti permanere. Cum ab iis sæpius quæreret, neque ulla omnino vocem 16exprimere posset, idem Divit
iacus Æduus respondit: "Hoc esse miseriorem gravio remque fortunam Sequanorum, præ reliquorun, quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri, acque auxilium implorare auderent, abscentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesse, horrerent: propterea quod reliquis tamen fugac facuitas daretur; Sequanis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate ejus essent, omnes cruciatus essent perferendi."

33. His rebus cognitis, Cæsar Æduorum animos verbis confirmavit, pollicitusque est, sibi cem rem curæ futuram: magnam se habere sper, et beneficio suo et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum finem injuris facturum. Hac oratione habita, concilium dimisit; et secundum ea multæ res eum hortabantur, quare sibi cem rem cogitandum et susciendum putaret; in primis quod Æduos, fratres consanguineosque sappenumero ab Senatu appellatos, in servitate atque in ditione videbat Germanorum teneri, eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequanos intelligebat: quod in tanto imperio Populi Romani turpissimum sibi et republce esse arbitrabatur. Paulatim autem Germanos consuecere Rhenum transire, et in Galliam magnam cern multitudoen venire, Populo Romano periculosum videbat: neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat, quin, cum ommem Galliam occupassent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in Provinciam exirent, atque inde in Italian contenderent; praesertim cum Sequanos a Provincia nostra Rhodanus divideret. Quibus rebus quam maturum occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantium sumserat, ut ferendus nonvideretur.

34. Quamobrem placuit ei, ut ad Ariovistum legatos mittet, qui ab eo postularent, ut aliquem locum medium utriusque colloquio diceret: velle sese de republica et summis utrisque rebus cem eo agere. Ei legationi Ariovistus respondit: "Si quid ipsi a Cæsare opus esset, sese
ad eum venturum fuisset; si quid ille so velit, illum ad se venire oportere. Praeterea se neque sine exercitu in cas partes Galliae venire audere, quas Caesar possideret; neque exercitum sine magno commenatu atque emolimento in unum locum contrahere posse: sibi autem mirum videri, quid in suo Gallia, quam bello vicisset, aut Caesar, aut omnino Populo Romano negotii esset.

35. His responsis ad Cæsarem relatis, iterum ad eum Cæsar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: Quoniam tanto suo Populique Romani beneficio affectus (cum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a Senatu appellatus esset), hanc sibi Populoque Romano gratiam referret, ut in colloquium venire invitatus gravaretur, neque de communi re dicentium sibi et cognoscendum putaret; haec esse, quae ab eo postularet: primum, ne quam hominum multitudinem amplius trans Rhenum in Galliam transduceret: deinde obsides, quos haberet ab Æduis, redderet, Sequanisque permitteret, ut, quos illi haberent, voluntate eius reddere illis liceret; neve Æduos injuria laisseret, neve his sociisve eorum bellum inferret: si id ita fecisset, sibi Populoque Romano perpetuam gratiam atque amicitiam cum eo futuram: si non impetraret, sese (quoniam Marco Messala Marco Piso Consulibus, Senatus censisset, uti, quicumque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo reipublicæ facere posset, Æduos ceterosque amicos Populi Romani defendere), sese Æduorum injurias non neglecturum.

36. Ad hæc Ariovistus respondit: Jus esse belli, ut, qui vicissent, iis, quos vicissent, quemadmodum vellent, imperarent: Item Populum Romanum victis non ad alterius præscriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium, imperare consuesse. Si ipse Populo Romano non præscriberet, quemadmodum suo jure uteretur; non oportere sese a Populo Romano in suo jure impediri. Æduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam tassent et armis congressi ac superati essent, stipendiarios esse factos. Magnam Cæsarem injuriam facere, qui suo C
adventu vectigalia sibi deteriora faceret. Æduis se obside redditurum non esse, neque iis, neque corum sociis 'injurit bellum illaturum, si in eo mancrent, quod convenisset, stipediumunque quotannis penderent: si id non fecissent, 'longe iis fraternum nomen Populi Romani abfuturum. ²Quod sibi Cæsar denunciaret, se Æduorum injurias non neglecturum; neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse. Cum velit, congregaretur; intellecturum, quid invicti Germani, ⁴excitatiissimi in armis, qui 'inter annos quatuordecim tectum non subissent, virtute possent.'

37. Hæc eodem tempore Cæsari mandata referebantur, et legati ab Æduis et a Treviris veniebant: Ædui questum, quod 'Harudes, qui nuper in Galliam transportati essent, fines corum popularentur; sese ne obсидibus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redinnere potuisse: 'Treviri autem, ⁸pagos centum Suevorum ad ripas Rhoni consec ineffe, qui Rhenum transire conarentur; iis praesesse Nasuam et Cimberium fratres. Quibus rebus Cæsar ¹⁰vehementer commotus, naturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova manus Suevorum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese conjuxisset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque ¹¹re frumentaria, quam celerrime potuit, comparata, magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit.

38. Cum tridui viam processisset, nunciatum est ei, Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Vesontio- nem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequanorum, ¹³contendere, triduique viam a suis finibus profecisse. Id ne accideret, magno opere sibi praecavendum Cæsar existimabat: namque omnium rerum, quæ ad bellum usui erant, ¹⁵summa erat in eo oppido facultas; idque natura loci sic muniebatur, ut magnam ¹⁶ad ducendum bellum daret facultatem, propter quod flumen ¹⁷Dubis, ¹⁸ut circino circumductum, pene totum oppidum cingit: reliquum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum ¹⁹sexcentorum, ¹⁹qua flumen intermitit, moens ²⁰continet magna altitudine, ita ut radices ejus montis ex utraque
parte ripae fluminis contingant. Hunc murus circumdatus arcem efficit et cum oppido conjungit. Huc Cæsar magnis nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit, occupatoque oppido, ibi præsidium collocat.

39. Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem, rei frumentariae comeatusque causa, moratur, ex percunctatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitazione in armis esse prædicabant, sæpenumero sese, cum eis congressos, ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum ferre potuisse, tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. Hic primum ortus est a Tribunis militum, præfectis religiisque, qui, ex urbe amicitiae causa Cæsarem securi, non magnum in re militari usum habebant: quorum alius, alia causa illata, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessarium esse dicerent, petebant, ut ejus voluntate discedere liceret: nonnulli, pudore adducti, ut timoris suspicionem vitarent, remanebant. Hi neque vultum fingere, neque interdum lacrymas tenere poterant: abditi in tabernaculis, aut suum fatum querebantur, aut cum familiaribus suis commune pecculum miserabantur. Vulgo totis castris testamenta obsignabantur. Horum vocibus ac timore paulatim etiam ii, qui magnum in castris usum habebant, milites centurionesque, quique equitatu præerant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his minus timidos existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri, sed angustias itineris et magnitudinem silvarum, quæ intercederent inter ipsos atque Ariovistum, aut rem frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari possent, timere dicebant. Nonnulli etiam Cæsari renunciabant, cum castra moveri ac signa ferri jussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites, nec propter timorem signa laturos.

40. Hæc cum animadvertisset, convocato consilio, omniumque ordinem ad id consilium adhibitis centurionibus, vehementer eos incusavit; primum, quod, aut quam in
partem, aut quo consilio ducerentur, sibi quærendum aut cogitandum putarent. Ariovistum, se consule, cupidissime Populi Romani amicitiam appetisse; cur hune tam temere quisquam ab officio discessurum judicaret? Sibi quidem persuaderi, cognitis suis 'postulatis atque æquitate conditionum perspecta, cum neque suam, neque Populi Romani gratiam repudiaturum. Quod si, furare atque amentia impulsus, bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur? ²aut cur de sua virtute, aut de ipsius diligentia, desperarent? ³Factum ejus hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, cum, Cimbris et Teutonis a Caio Mario pulsis, non minorem laudem exercitus, quam ipse imperator, meritus videbatur: factum etiam nuper in Italia servili tumultu, ⁵quos tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina, quam a nobis accepissent, sublevarent. Ex quo judicari posset, quantum haberet in se ⁶constantia; propterea quod, quos aliquando inermos sine causa timuissent, hos postea armatos ac victores superassent. Denique hos esse cosdem, quibuscum sæpenurego Helvetii congressi, non solum in ⁷suis, sed etiam in illorum finibus, plerumque superarint, qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitu non potuerint. Si quos ⁸adversum prædium et fuga Gallorum commoverit, hos, si quærent, reperire posse, diuturnitate belli defatigatis Gallis, Ariovistum, cum multos menses castris se ac paludibus tenuisset, ⁹neque sui potestatem fessisset, desperantes jam de pugna et dispersos subito adortum, magis ¹⁰ratione et consilio, quam virtute, vicisse. Cui rationi contra homines barbaros atque imperitos locum fuisse, hac, ne ipsum quidem sperare, nostros exercitus capi posse. ¹¹Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem angustiasque itinerum conferrent, facere arroganter, cum aut de officio imperatoris desperare, aut præscribere viderentur. Hæc sibi esse curæ; frumentum Sequanos, Leucos, Lingonas subministrare; jamque esse in agris frumenta matura: de itinere ipso ¹²brevi tempore iudicaturas. Quod non fore dicto audientes milites, nequa
gnalaturi dicantur, nihil se ea re commoveri: 'scire enim, quibuscumque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut, male re gesta, fortunam defuisse; aut, aliquo facinore comperto, avaritiam esse conjunctam. Suam innocentiam *perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetiorum bello, esse perspectam. *itaque se, quod in longiorem diem collaturus esset, repraesentaturum, et proxima nocte de quarta vigilia castra moturum, ut quam primum intelligere posset, utrum apud eos pudor atque officium, an timor valeret. Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola *decima legione iturum, de qua non dubitaret; sibique eam praetoriam cohortem futuram.” Huic legioni Caesar et indulserat praecipue, et propter virtutem confiabant maxime.

41. Hac oratione habita, mirum in modum conversæ sunt omnium mentes, summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi innata est, *princepsque decima legio, per tribunos militum, ei gratias egit, quod de se optimum judicium fecisset; seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam confirmavit. Deinde reliquæ legiones, per tribunos militum et *primorum ordinum centuriones, egerunt, ut Caesaris satisfacerent: se neque unquam dubitasse, neque timuisse, neque de summa belli suum judicium, sed imperatoris esse, existimavisse. Eorum satisfactione accepta, et itinere exquisito per Divitiacum, quod ex aliis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut millium amplius *quinquaginta circitn locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quarta vigilia, ut dixerat, profectus est. Septimo die, cum iter non intermitteret, ah exploratoribus certior factus est, Ariovisti copias a nostris millibus passuum quatuor et viginti abesse.

42. Cognito Caesaris adventu, Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: *“quod antea de colloquio postulasset, id per se fieri licere, quoniam propius accessisset: seque id sine periculo facere posse *existimare. Non respuit conditionem Caesar: jamque eum ad *sanitatem reverti arbitrabatur, cum id, quod antea petenti denegasset, ultro polliceretur; magnamque in
spem veniebat, pro suis tantis Populique Romani in cum beneficiis, cognitis suis postulatis, fore, uti pertinacia desisteret. Dies colloquio dictus est, ex eo die quintus. Interim, cum sape ulterium itaque legati inter eos mitterentur, Ariovistus postulavit, ne quem predictum ad colloquium Caesar adduceret: vereri se, ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur: uterque cum equitatu veniret: alia ratione se non esse venturum. Caesar, quod neque colloquium interposita causa tolle volebat, neque salutem suam Gallorum equitatu committere audebat, commodissimum esse statuit, omnibus equis Gallis equitus detractis, eo legionarios milites legionis decimae, cui quam maxime considebat, imponere, ut præsidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus factum esset, haberet. Quod cum fieret, non irrindicule quidam ex milibus decimae legionis dixit: "plus, quam pollicitus esset, Caesar em ei facere; pollicitum, se in cohortis praetoria loco decimam legionem habiturum, nunc ad eum rescribere."
I. IBER.

I. CAl'.

XLIV.

27

Pnus etiam quam nostram amicitiam appetissent: Populi Romani hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque amicos non modo 'sui nihil deperdere, sed gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores velit esse: quod vero ad amicitiam Populi Romani attulissent, id iis eripi, quis pati posset? Postulavit deinde eadem, quæ legatis in mandatis dederat, "ne aut Æduis, aut corum sociis bellum inferret; obsides redderet: si nullam partem Germanorum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur."

44. Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit; de suis virtutibus multa prædicavit: Transisse Rhenum sese, non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe, magnisque præmiis, domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Gallia, ab ipsis concessas; obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere jure bellii, quod victores victis imponere consuerint; non sese Gallis, sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse; omnes Galliæ civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse, ac contra se castra habuisse; eas omnes copias a se uno prælio fusas ac superatas esse; si iterum experiri velit, iterum paratum sese decetare; si pace uti velint, iniquum esse, de stipendio recusare, quod sua voluntate ad id tempus pependerint. Amicitiam Populi Romani sibi ornamento et presidio, non detrimento, esse oportere, idque se ea spe petisse. Si per Populum Romanum stipendium remittatur, et deditiæ subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum Populi Romani amicitiam, quam appetierit. Quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam transducat, id se sui muniendi, non Galliæ impugnandæ causa facere; ejus rei testimonium esse, quod, nisi rogatus, non venerit, et quod bellum non intulerit, sed defenderit. Se prius in Galliam venisse, quam Populum Romanum. Nunquam ante hoc tempus exercitum Populi Romani Galliæ provinciæ fines egressum. Quid sibi vellet? Cur in suas possessiones veniret? Provinciam suam hanc esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi
non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos, 1qui in suo jure se interpellaremus 2Quod fratres a Senatu Æduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum, neque tam imperitum esse rerum, ut non sciret, neque bello Allobrogum proximo Æduos Romanis auxilium tulisse, neque ipsos in his contentionibus, quas Æ'dui secum et cum Sequanis habuissent, 3auxilio Populi Romani usos esse. Debere se suspicari, simulata Æsareum: amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui opprimendi causa habere. 4Qui nisi decedat atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro amico, sed pro hoste habiturum: 5quod si eum interfecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque Populi Romani gratum esse facturum; id se ab ipsis per eorum numtios comperturn habere, quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam 6ejus morte redimere posset. Quod si decessisset, ac liberam possessionem Galliæ sibi tradisset, magno se illum praemio remuneraturum, et, quæcumque bella geri vellet, sine ullo ejus labore et periculo confecturum.

45. 7Multa ab Æsare in cam sententiam dicta sunt, quare negotio desistere non posset, et "neque suam, neque Populi Romani consuetudinem pati, uti optime meritos socios deseret: neque se judicare, Galliam potius esse Ariovisti, quam Populi Romani. Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutenos ab Q. Fabio Maximo, quibus Populus Romanus ignovisset, neque in provinciam redegisset; neque stipendium imposuissest. 8Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, Populi Romani justissimum esse in Gallia imperium: si judicium Senatus observari oporteret, liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluissest."

46. Dum hæc in colloquio geruntur, Æsareum municatum est, equites Ariovisti propius tumulum accedere, et 1'ad nostros adequitare, lapides telaque in nostros conjicere. Æsare loquendi finem 1facit seque ad suos recipit. suisque impe
ravit, ne quod omnino telum in hostes rejicerent. Nam, etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu prælium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat, ut, pulsis hostibus, dici posset, eos ab se per fidem in colloquio circumventos. Posteaquam in vulgus militum elatum est, qua arrogantia in colloquio Ariovistus usus omni Gallia Romanis interdixisset, impetumque in nostros ejus equites fecisse, eaque res colloquium ut diremisset: multo major alacritas studiumque pugnandi majus exercitu injectum est.

47. Biduo post Ariovistus ad Cæsarem legatos mittit, velle se de his rebus, quæ inter eos agi cæptæ, neque perfectæ essent, agere cum eo: uti aut iterum colloquio diem constituaret; aut, si id minus velit, ex suis aliquem ad semitteret. Colloquendi Cæsari causa visa non est; et eo magis, quod pridie ejus diei Germani retineri non poterant, quin in nostros tela conjicerent. Legatum ex suis sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum, et hominibus feris objecturum, existimabat. Commodissimum visum est, Caïum Valerium Procillum, Caïi Valerii Caburi filium, summa virtute et humanitate adolescentem (cujus pater a Caio Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat), et propter fidem et propter linguæ Gallicæ scientiam, qua multa jam Ariovistus longinquæ consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset, ad eum mittere, et Marcum Mettium, qui hospitio Ariovisti usus erat. His mandavit, ut, quæ diceret Ariovistus, cognoscerent et ad se referrent. Quos cum apud se in castris Ariovistus conspexisset, exercitu suo præsente, conclamavit: "Quid ad se venirent? An speculandi causa?" Conantes dicere prohibuit et in catenas conject.

48. Eodem die castra promovit et millibus passuum sex a Cæsaris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie ejus diei praeter castra Cæsaris suas copias transduxit, et millibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit, eo consilio, uti fru
mento commecatuque, qui ex Sequanis et Aeduis supportaretur, Caesarem intercluderet. Ex eo die dies continuos quinque Caesar pro castris suas copias produxit, et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus prælio contendere ei potestas non deesset. Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuít; euestri prælio quotidie contendit. 2Genus hoc erat pugne, quo se Germani exercuerant. Equitum millia erant sex: totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi; a quos ex omni copia singuli singulos, suas salutis causa, delegaverat. Cum his in præliis versabantur, ad hos se equites recipiebant: ahi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant: si qui, graviore vulnere accepto, equo deciderat, circumsestebant: si quo erat longius prodeundum, aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut, jubis equorum sublevati, currsum adæquarent.


50. Proximo die, instituto suo, Caesare e castris utrisque copias suas eduxit; paulumque a majoribus progressus, aciem instruxit, hostibusque pugnandi potestatem fecit. Ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire intellexit, circiter meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum Ariovistus par-
tem suarum copiarum, quae castra minora oppugnaret, misit 'acriter utriusque usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis occasu suas copias Ariovistus, multis et illatis et acceptis vulneribus, in castra reduxit. Cum ex captivis quæreret Caesar, quam ob rem Ariovistus prælio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germanos ca consuetudo esset, ut matres familæ corum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum prœlrium committi ex usu esset, nec ne: cas ita dicere, "Non esse fas, Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam prœlio contendissent."


fugam conversa esset, a dextro cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram aciem premebant. Id cum animadvertisset Publius Crassus adolescens, qui 1equitatu præerat, quod expeditior erat, quam hi qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

53. Ita prœlium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt, 2neque prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum millia passuum ex eo loco circiter quinquaginta pervenerint. Ibi perpauci aut, viribus consis, transnatare contenderunt, aut, lintribus inventis, sibi salutem 3repere-runt. 4In his fuit Ariovistus, qui, naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus, ea profugit: reliquis omnes consecenti equites nostri interesserunt. 5Duæ fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueva natione, quam ab domo secum eduxerat; altera Norica, regis Vocionis soror, quam in Gallia 6duxerat, a fratre missam: utræque in ea fuga perierunt. 7Duæ filiae harum altera occisa, altera capta est. Caius Valerius Procillus cum a custodibus in fuga 8trinis catenis vincitus traheretur in ipsum Cæsarem, hostes equitatu persequentem, incidit. Quæ quidem res Cæsari non minorem, quam ipsa victoria, voluptatem attulit; quod hominem honestissimum provinciæ Galliæ, sumum familiarem et hospitem, ereptum e manibus hostium, sibi restitutum videbat, 8neque ejus calamitate de tanta voluptate et gratulatione quicquam fortuna diminuerat. Is, se presente, de se 10ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur, an in aliud tempus reservaretur: sortium 11beneficio se esse incolumem. Item Marcus Mettius repentus et ad eum reductus est.

BOOK II.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. CONFEDERACY OF THE BELGÆ. CÆSAR'S WAR WITH THEM.

Chap. 1. The Belgæ enter into a confederacy against the Roman power. 2. Cæsar marches against them. 3. The Remi surrender upon his approach. 4. They inform him of the strength and designs of the confederates. 5. March of Cæsar, and his encampment on the banks of the Axona. 6. Bibra, a town of the Remi, attacked by the Belgæ. 7. Relief sent to it by Cæsar. Siege raised. 8, 9. The armies drawn up on both sides, but without coming to an engagement.

10. The Belgæ, after a collision with the light troops and cavalry of the Romans, in which they are worsted, resolve to return home, in order to defend their own territories against the Aedui. 11. The Romans attack their rear and make great slaughter. 12. Cæsar marches against the Suessiones, and obliges them to submit. 13, 14. Advancing next into the country of the Bellovacæ, he pardons them at the intercession of Divitiacus. 15. Account of the Nervii, who resolve to stand on their defence against the Romans. 16–28. War with the Nervii. Their overthrow and submission. Great losses sustained by them in this contest. 29–33. War with the Aduatæ. They submit, but falling treacherously upon the Romans during the night, are many of them cut to pieces, and the rest sold for slaves.

II. EXPEDITION OF P. CRASSUS INTO ARMORICA.

Chap. 34. Crassus sent against several maritime states, and subdues them.
II. Transactions subsequent to the reduction of the Belgæ.

Chap. 35. High opinion entertained of Cæsar's success in this war by the barbarians. Embassies sent to him even from nations beyond the Rhine. Cæsar passes into Italy for the purpose of going to Illyricum, after having placed his army in winter quarters among the Carnutes, Andes, and Turones. A thanksgiving of fifteen days decreed by the senate.

1. Cum esset Cæsar in citeriore Gallia in hibernis, ita uti supra demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores afferebantur, literisque item Labieni certior fiebat, omnes Belgas, quam tertiarn esse Galliæ partem dixeramus, contra Populum Romanum conjurare, obsidesque inter se dare: condurandi has esse causas: primum, quod vererentur, ne, omni pacata Gallia, ad eos exercitus noster adduceretur: deinde, quod ab nonnullis Gallis solicitarentur, partim qui, ut Germanos diutius in Gallia versari noluerant, ita Populi Romani exercitum hiemare atque inveterascere in Gallia moleste ferebant; partim qui mobilitate et levitate animi novis imperiis studebant: ab nonnullis etiam, quod in Gallia a potentioribus atque his, qui ad conducendos homines facultates habebant, vulgo regna occupabantur, qui minus facile eam rem in imperio nostro consequi poterant.

2. Iis nuntiis literisque commotus, Cæsar duas legiones in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit, et, inita aestate, in interiorem Galliam qui deduceret, Quintum Pedium legatum misit. Ipse, cum primum pabuli copia esse inciperet, ad exercitum venit: dat negotium Senonibus reliquisque Gallis, qui finitimi Belgis erant, uti ea, qua apud eos gerantur, cognoscant, seque de his rebus certiorem faciant. Hi constanter omnes nunciaverunt, manus cogit, exercitum in unum locum conduci. Tun vero dubitandum non existimavit, quin ad eos proficisceretur. Re frumentaria provisa, castra movet, diebusque circiter quindecim ad fines Belgarum pervenit.

3. Eo cum de improviso celeriusque omnium opinione venisset, Remi, qui proximi Galliæ ex Belgis sunt, ad eum
legatos, Iccium et Antebrogium, primos civitatis, miserunt, qui dicerent, se suaque omnia in fidem atque in potestatem Populi Romani permittere: neque se cum Belgis reliquis consensisse, neque contra Populum Romanum omnino con jurasse: paratosque esse et obsides dare, et imperata facere, et oppidis recipere, et frumentum ceterisque rebus juvare: reliquis omnes Belgas in armis esse: Germanosque, qui cis Rhenum incolunt, sese cum his conjunxisse; tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem, ut ne Suessiones quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos, qui codem jure et eisdem legibus utantur, nunun imperium ununque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, deterrere potuerint, quin cum his consenti- rent.

4. Cum ab his quaereret, quae civitates, quantaeque in armis essent, et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat: plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis: Rhenumque antiquitas trans ductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse, Gallosque, qui ea loca incoherent, expulisse; solosque esse, qui, patrum nostrorum memoria, omnia Gallia vexata, Teutonos Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint. Qua ex re fieri, uti carum rerum memoria magnam sibi auctoritatem, magnosque spiritus in re militari sulerent. De numero eorum omnia se habere explorata, Remi dicebant; propterea quod propinquitatis affinitatibusque conjuncti, quantam quisque multituidinem in commun Belgarum concilio ad id bellum polluitus sit, cognoverint. Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos et virtute, et auctoritate, et hominum numero, valere: hos posse conficere armata millia centum: polluitos ex eo numero electa millia sexaginta, totiusque belli imperium sibi postulare. Suessiones suos esse finitimos, latissimos fercissimosque agros possidere. Apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentissimum, qui cum magna partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae, imperium obtinuerit: nunc esse regem Galbam: ad hunc, propter justitiam prudentiamque, totius belli sum-

5. Cæsar, Remos cohortatus liberaliterque oratione pro secum, omnem senatum ad se convenire, principumque liberos obsides ad se adduci jussit. Quæ omnia ab his diligenter ad diem facta sunt. Ipse, Divitiacum Æduum magnopore cohortatus, docet, quanto opere rei publicæ communisque salutis interitis, manus hostium distineri, ne cum tanta multitudine uno tempore configendum sit. Id fieri posse, si suas copias Ædui in fines Bellovacorum introduce rent, et eorum agros populari cœperint. His mandatis, eum ab se dimittit. Postquam omnes Belgarum copias, in unum locum coactas, ad se venire vidit, neque jam longe abesse ab his, quos miserat, exploratoribus, et ab Remis cognovit, flumen Axonam, quod est in extremis Remorum finibus, exercitum transducere maturavit, atque ibi castra posuit. Quæ res et latus unum castrorum ripis fluminis muniebat, et post eum quae essent tuta ab hostibus reddebat, et, commeatus ab Remis reliquisque civitatisbus ut sine periculo ad eum portari posset, efficiebat. In eo flumine pons erat. Ibi præsidium ponit, et in altera parte fluminis Quintum Titurium Sabinum legatum cum sex cohortibus reliquit: castra in altitudinem pedum duodecim vallo, fossaque duodeviginti pedum, munire jubet.

6. Ab his castris oppidum Remorum, nomine Bibrax, aberat millia passuum octo. Id ex itinere magno impetu Belgæ oppugnare cœperunt. Ægre eo die sustentatum est. Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum oppugnatio est hæc Ubi, D 2
circumjecta multitudine hominum totis mænibus undique lapides in murum jaci cæpti sunt, murusque defensoribus nudatus est, 1 testudine facta 2 portas succedunt murumque subruunt. Quod tum facile siebat. Nam, cum tanta multitudine lapides ac tela conjicerent, 3 in muro consistendi possitas erat nulli. Cum sinem oppugnandi nox fecisset, Iccius, Remus, 4 summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tum oppido præerat, unus ex his qui legati de pace ad Cæsaren venerant, nuncius ad eum mittit, nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse.

7. Eo 5 de media noce Cæsar, isdem ducibus usus qui nuncii ab Iccio venerant, Numidas et Cretas sagittarios, et funditores Balearares, subsidio oppidanis mittit: quorum adventu et Remis, cum spe defensionis, studium propagandii accessit, et hostibus eadem de causa spes potiundi oppidi discessit. Itaque, paulisper apud oppidum morati, agrosque Remorum depopulati, omnibus vicis ædificiisque, 6 quos adire poterant, incensis, ad castra Cæsaris omnibus copiis contenderunt, 7 et ab millibus passuum minus duobus castra posuerunt; quæ castra, ut fumo atque ignibus significabatur, amplius millibus passuum octo in latitudinem patebant.

8. Cæsar primo, et propter multitudinem hostium, 8 et propter eximiam opinionem virtutis, prælio supersedere statuit; quotidie tamen equestribus præliis, quid hostis virtute possset, et quid nostri auderent, 9 solicitationibus periclitabatur. Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris, ad aciem instruendum natura opportuno atque idoneo (quod is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paululum ex planitie editus, tantum adversus in latitudinem patebat quantum loci acies instructa occupare poterat, atque 10 ex utraque parte lateris dejectus habebat, 11 et, frontem leniter fastigatus, paulatin ad planitiem redibat), ab utroque latere ejus collis transversam fossam obduxit circiter passuum quadringentorum; et 12 ad extremas fossas castella consti
CAMP AND POSITION OF CÆSAR AFTER THE PASSAGE OF THE RIVER AXONA, AND POSITION OF
THE FORCES OF THE BELGE.

F. Forts erected at each extremity of the Intrenchments. G. Morass between the two Armies. H. Hill on which the Camp of Cæsar was
laced. I. Army of Cæsar in battle array. K. Battle of the Cavalry.
uit, ibique tormenta collocavit, ne, cum aciem instruxisset, hostes, quod tantum multitudo poterant, ab lateribus pugnantes suos circumvenire possent. Hoc facto, duabus legionibus, quas proxime conscripserat, in castris relictis, ut, si qua opus esset, subsidio duci possent, reliquas sex legiones pro castris in acie constituit. Hostes item suas copias ex castris eductas instruxerant.

9. Palus erat non magna inter nostrum atque hostium exercitum. Hanc si nostri transirent, hostes expectabant; nostri autem, si ab illis initium transeundi fieret, ut impeditos aggrederentur, parati in armis erant. Interim prelic equestri inter duas acies contendebatur. Ubi neutrī transeundi initium faciunt, secundīre equitum proelio nostrīs Caesar suōs in castra reduxit. Hostes protinu s ex eo loco ad flumen Axonam contendorunt, quod esse post nostra castra demonstratum est. Ibi vadis repertis, partem suarum copiarum transducere conati sunt, eo consilio, ut, si possent, castellum, cui praeerat Quintus Titurius legatus, expungnerent, pontemque interscinderent; si minus potuissent, agros Remorum popularentur, qui magno nobis usui ad bellum gerendum erant, commeatque nostros prohiberent.

10. Caesar, certior factus ab Titurio, omnem equitatum, et levis armaturae Numidas, funditores sagittariosque, pontem transducit, atque ad eos contendit. Acriter in eo loco pugnatum est. Hostes impeditos nostri in flumine aggressi, magnum eorum numerum occiderunt. Per eorum corpora reliquos, audacissime transire conantes, multitudo telorum repulerunt; primos, qui transierant, equitatu circumventos interfecerunt. Hostes, ubi et de expugnando oppido, et de flumine transeundo, spem se fefellisse intellexerunt, neque nostros in locum iniqüiorem progredi pugnandi causa viderunt, atque ipsos res frumentaria deficer ecepit, concilio convocato constituerunt, optimum esse, domum suam quemque reverti, ut, quorum in fines primum Romani exercitum introduxissent, ad cos defendendos undique
convenient, et potius in suis, quam in alienis finibus, descertarent, et domesticis copiis rei frumentariae uterentur. Ad eam sententiam, cum reliquis causis, hæc quoque ratio eos deduxit, quod Divitiacum atque Æduos finibus Bellovorum appropinquare cognoverant. His persuaderi, ut diutius moraretur, neque suis auxilium ferrent, non poterat.

11. Ea re constituta, secunda vigilia magno cum strepitu ac tumultu castris egressi, nullo certo ordine neque imperio, cum sibi quisque primum itineris locum peteret, et domum pervenire properaret, fecerunt, ut consimilis fugæ profectio videretur. Hac re statim, Cæsar, per speculatores cognita, insidias veritus, quod, qua de causa discederent, nondum perspexerat, exercitum equitatumque castris continuavit. Prima luce, confirmata re ab exploratoribus, omnem equitatem, qui novissimum agmen moraretur, praemisit. His Quintum Pedium et Lucium Aurunculeium Cottam legatos praefecit. Titum Labienum legatum cum legionibus subsecuit jussit. Hi, novissimos adorti, et multa millia passuum prosecuti, magnum multitudinem eorum fugientium conciderunt, cum ab extremo agmine, ad quos ventum erat, consistenter, fortiterque impetum nostrorum militum sustinerent; prioresque (quod abesse a periculo viderentur, neque ultra necessitate neque imperio continenter), exaudito clamore, perturbatis ordinibus, omnes in fuga sibi præsidium ponerent. Ita sine ullo periculo tantum eorum multitudinem nostri interfecerunt, quantum fuit diei spatium: sub occasumque solis destiterunt, sequens in castra, ut erat imperatum, receperunt.

12. Postridie ejus diei Cæsar, priusquam se hostes ex terrore ac fuga reciperent, in fines Suessionum, qui proximi Remis erant, exercitum duxit, et, magno itinere confecto, ad oppidum Noviodunum contendit. Id ex itinere oppugnare conatus, quod vacuum ab defensoribus esse audiebat propiter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem, paucis defendentibus, expugnare non potuit. Castris munitis, vineas
agere, quaeque ad oppugnandum usui erant, comparare coepit. Interim omnis ex fuga Suessionum multitudo in oppidum proxima nocte convenit. Celeriter vinceis ad oppidum actis, 1 aggere jacto, auribusque constitutis, magnitudine 2 operum, quae neque viderant ante Galli neque audierant, et celeritate Romanorum permuti, legatos ad Cæsarem de deditione mittunt, et, petentibus Remis ut conservarentur, impetrant.

13. Caesar, obsidibus acceptis, primis civitatis atque ipsius 4 Galbae regis duo bus filiis, armisque omnibus ex oppido traditis, in deditionem Suessiones acceptit, exercitumque in Bellovacos duxit. Qui cum se suaque omnia in oppidum 5 Pratuspantium contulissent, atque ab eo oppido Caesar cum exercitu circiter millia passuum quinque abesset, omnes 6 majores natu, ex oppido egressi, manus ad Caesar tendere, et voce significare cœperunt, sese in ejus fidem ac potestatem venire, neque contra Populum Romanum armis contendere. Item, cum ad oppidum accessisset, castraque ibi poneret, pueri mulieresque ex modo passis manibus, suo more, pacem ab Romanis petierunt.

14. Pro his Divitiacus (nam post discersum Belgarum, dimissis 6 Eduorum copiis, 4 ad cum reverterat), facit verba: "Bellovacos omni tempore 6 in fide atque amicitia civitatis 6 Eduæ fuisses: impulsos a suis principibus, qui dicerent, 6 Eduos, a Caesar in servitute redactos, omnes indignitates contumelasque perferre, et ab 6 Eduis defecisse et Populo Romano bellum intulisse. 10 Qui hujus consilii principes fuissent, quod intelligerent quantum calamitatem civitati intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse. Petere 11 non solum Bellovacos, sed etiam pro his 6 Eduos, ut sua clementia ac mansuetudine in eos utatur. Quod si fecerit, 6 Eduorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum, 12 quorum auxilliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare consuerint."

15. Caesar, 13 honoris Divitiaci atque 6 Eduorum causa,
sese eos in fidem recepturum, et conservaturum, dixit: sed, quod erat civitas magna inter Belgas auctoritate, atque hominum multitudine præstabat, sexcentos obsides poposciit. His traditis, omnibusque armis ex oppido collatis, ab eo loco in fines Ambianorum pervenit, qui se suaque omnine nona mora dediderunt. Eorum fines Nervii attingebant: quorum de natura moribusque Cæsar cum quaereret, sic repertis: "Nullum aditum esse ad eos mercatoribus: nihil pati vini, reliquarumque rerum ad luxuriam pertinentium, inferri, quod his rebus relanguescere animos et remittit virtutem existimarent: esse homines feros, magnaque virtutis: incipitatem atque incusam reliquis Belgas, qui se Populo Romano dedissent, patriamque projectissent: confirmare, sese neque legatos missuros, neque ullam conditionem pacis accepturos."

16. Cum per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset, inveniebat ex captivis, Sabim flumen ab castris suis non amplius millia passuum decem abesse: trans id flumen omnes Nervios consedisse, adventumque ibi Romanorum expectare, una cum Atebatibus et Veromanduis, finitimis suis (nam his utrisque persuaserat, uti eandem belli fortunam experirentur): expectari etiam ab his Aduatucorum copias, atque esse in itinere: mulieres, quique per actatem ad pugnam inutiles viderentur, in cum locum conjectisse, quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset.

17. His rebus cognitis, exploratores centurionesque praemitterit, qui locum idoneum castris deligant. Cumque ex definitiis Belgis reliquisque Gallis complures, Cæsarem seuti, ma iter facerent; quidam ex his, ut postea ex captivis cognitum est, eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta, nocte ad Nervios pervenerunt, atque iis demonstrarunt, inter singulas legiones impedimentorum magnum numerum intercedere, neque esse quicquam negotii, cum prima legio in castra venisset, reliquæque legiones magnum spatium abessent, hanc sub sarcinis adoriri...
ARRIVAL OF CÆSAR AT THE RIVER SAMBRE, AND HIS BATTLE WITH THE BELGÆ.


To face p. 43.
'qua pulsa, impedimentisque direptis, futurum, ut reliqua contra consistere non auderent. 2Adjuvabat etiam eorum consilium qui rem deserefabant, quod Nervii antiquitus, cum equitatu nihil possent (neque enim ad hoc tempus 3ei rei student, sed, quicquid possunt, pedestribus valent copiis), quo facilius finitimorum equitatum, si prædandi causa ad eos venisset, impedirent, teneris arboribus 4circiter et rubis sentibusque interjectis effecerant, ut instar muri hæ sepes munimenta praebert; quo 5non modo intrari, sed ne perspici quidem posset. His rebus cum iter agminis nostri impediretur, non omissendum sibi consilium Nervii aestimaverunt.

18. Loci natura erat hæc, 6quem locum nostri castris delegerant. Collis, 7ab summo æqualiter decliwis, ad flumen Sabim, quod supra nominavimus, vergebat. Ab eo flumine pari acclivitate collis nascebat, adversus huic et contra- rius, 8passus circiter ducentos infima apertus, ab superiore parte 9silvestris, ut non facile introrsus perspici posset. Intra eas silvas hostes in occulto se continebant: 10in aperto loco, secundum flumen, paucæ stationes equitum videbantur. Fluminis erat altitudo pedum circiter trium.

19. Cæsar, equitatu praemisso, subsequebatur omnibus copiis: sed 11ratio ordoque agminis aliter se habebat, ac Belgæ ad Nervios detulerant. Nam, quod ad hostes appropinquabat, consuetudine sua Cæsar sex legiones 12expeditas ducebat: post eas totius exercitus impedimenta collocarat: inde 13duæ legiones, quæ proximæ conscriptæ erant, totum agmen cladebant, presidioque impedimentis erant. Equites nostri, cum fundioribus sagittariisque flumen transgressi, cum hostium equitatu praebatur cœperunt. Cum se illi 14identidem in silvas ad suos recipierent, ac rursus ex silva in nostros impetum facerent, neque nostri longius, quam 15quem ad finem porrecta ac loca aperta pertinebant, ce- dentes insequi auderent: interim legiones sex, quæ primæ venerant, 16opere dimenso, castra munire cœperunt. Ubi
prima impedimenta nostri exercitus ab his, qui in silvis abditī latebant, visa sunt (quod tempus inter eos committerī prēlīi convenerat), ita, ut intra silvas aciem ordines-que constituerant, atque ipsi sese confirmaverant, subito omnibus copiīs provolaverunt impetumque in nostros equites fecerunt. Ilīs facile pulsīs ac proturbātis, incredibili celeritate ad flumen decucurrerunt, ut pāne uno tempore et ad silvas, et in flumine, et jam ā manibus nostrīs hostes vide- rentur. Eadem autem celeritate adverso colle ad nostra castra, atque eos, qui in opere occupati erant, contenderunt.

20. Ĉæsari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum proponendum, quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurrī oporteret: signum tuba dandum: ab opere revocāndī mīlites: quō paulo longius aggeris petendi causa processerant, arcessendi: acies instruenda, mīlites cohortāndi, signum dandum: quārum rerum magnam partem temporis ūrevera, et successus et incursus hostium impediebat. His difficultātibus duæ res ērant subsidio, scientia atque usus mili-tum, quod, superioribus prēlīis exercitati, quīd fieri oporteret, non minus commodē ā sībī prescribere, quam ab aliis docerī poterant; et quod ab opere singulisque legi-onibus singulos legatos Ĉæsar discedere, nisi munitis castrīs, vetuerat. Ĥi, propter propinquitatem et celeritatem hostium, nihil jam Ĉæsaris imperium spectabant, sed per se, quae videbantur, administrabant.

21. Ĉæsar, necessariis rebus imperatis, ad cohortandos mīlites, quam in partem fors obtulit, decucurrit, et ad legionem decimam devenit. Mīlites non longiōre oratione cohortātus, quām uti sāe pristīnā virtūtis memoriam reten-nerent, neu perturbarentur animo, hostiumque impetum fortiter sustinerent; quod non longius hostes aberant, quam quo telum adjici possēt, prēlīi committendī signum dēdit. Atque in alteram partem ītem cohortāndi causa profectus, pugnantibus occurrit. Temporis tanta fuit exiguitas, hostiumque tam paratus ad dimicandum animus, ut non
modo 1 ad insignia accommodanda, 2 sed etiam ad galeas induendas scutisque 3 tegumenta detrahenda tempus defuerit. Quam quisque in partem ab opere casu devenit, quaque prima signa conspexit, 4 ad haec constitit, ne, in quærendo suos, 5 pugnandi tempus dimitteret.

22. Instructo exercitu, magis ut loci natura, 6 dejectusque collis, et necessitas temporis, quam ut rei militaris ratio atque ordo postulabat, cum diversis locis legiones, alia alia in parte, hostibus resisterent, sepibusque densissimis, ut ante demonstravimus, interjectis 7 prospectus impediretur; neque certa subsidia collocari, neque quid in quaque parte opus esset provideri, neque ab uno omnia imperia 8 administrari poterant. Itaque, in tanta rerum iniquitate, fortunæ quoque eventus varii sequebantur.

23. 9 Legionis nonae, et decimæ milites, 10 ut in sinistra parte acie constiterant, pilis emissis, cursu ac lassitudine examinatos, vulneribusque confessos Atrebates (12 nam his ea pars obvenerat), celeriter ex loco superiore in flumen compulerunt; et, transire conantes insecutæ gladiis, magnum partem eorum 13 impeditam interfecerunt. Ipsi transire flumen non dubitaverunt; et, in locum iniquum progressi, rursus regressos ac resistentes hostes, redintegrato prælio, in fugam dederunt. Item alia in parte 14 diversæ duæ legiones, undecima et octava, profligatis Veromanduis, quibus cum erant congressi, 15 ex loco superiore in ipsis fluminis ripis praebantur. 16 At tum, totis fere 17 a fronte, et ab sinistra parte, nudatis castris, 18 cum in dextro cornu legio duodecima, et non magno ab ea intervalllo septima consti tisset, omnes Nervii conferrii agmine, duce Boduognato, qui summam imperii tenebat, ad eum locum contenderunt: quorum pars 19 aperto latere legiones circumvenire, pars 20 sumnum castrorum locum petere, cepit.

24. Eodem tempore equites nostri, 21 levisque armaturæ pedites, qui cum iis una fuerant, quos primo hostium impetui pulsos 22 dixeram, cum se in castra recipserent, adversis
hostibus occurrebant, ac rursus 2aliam in partem fugam pe-

ebant: et 3calones, qui ab 4decumana porta, ac summo jug.
collis, nostros victores flumen transisse conspexerant, pra-
dandi causa egressi, cum respexissent et hostes in nostris
castris 4versari vidissent, praecipites fugae sese mandabant.
Simul corum, qui cum impedimentis veniebant, clamor frem-
itusque oriebatur, 5aliique aliam in partem perterriti fere-
bantur. Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Treveri, 6quorum
inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis, qui aux-
ilii causa ab civitate missi ad Caesarem venerant, cum mul-
titudine hostium castra nostra compleri, legiones premi et
pæne circumventas tenceri, calones, equites, funditores,
Numidas, 7diversos dissipatosque, in omnes partes fugere
vidissent, desperatis nostris rebus, domum contenderunt:
Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque
corum hostes potitos, civitati renunciaverunt.

25. Caesare, 8ab decimæ legionis cohorataone ad dextrum
cornu profectus, ubi suos 9urgeri, signisque in unum locum
collatis duodecimæ legionis confertos milites sibi ipsos ad
pugnam esse impedimento; quartæ cohortis 10omnibus cen-
turionibus occisis, signiferoque interfecro, signo amioso,
reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus aut vul-
neratis aut occisis, in his 11primopilo, Publio Sextio Baculo,
fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto, 12ut
jam se sustinere non posset; reliquis esse tardiores, et
nonnullus ab novissimis desertos praedio excedere ac tela
vitare; hostes neque 13a fronte ex inferior loco subeunte
intermittere, et ab utroque latere instare; 14et rem esse in
augusto vidit, neque ullum esse subsidium, quod submitti
posset: scuto 15ab novissimis uni militi detracto (quo
ipso eo sine scuto venerat), in primam aciem processit, centuri-
onibusque nominatim appellatis, reliquis cohortatus milites,
16signa inferre et manipulos laxare jussit, quo facilius gladiis
uti possent. 17Cujus adventu spe illata militibus, ac redin-
tegrato animo, cum 18pro se quisque, in conspectu impera-
toris, et jam in extremis suis rebus, operam navare cuperent, paulum hostium impetus tardatus est.


27. Horum adventu tanta rerum commutatio facta est, ut nostri, etiam qui vulneribus confecti 6procubuissent, scutis innixi, prælium redintegrarent; tum calones, perterritos hostes conspicati, 7etiam inermes armatis occurrerent; equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugae virtute delerent, 8omnibus in locis pugnæ se legionariis militibus praeferrent. At hostes, etiam in extrema spe salutis, tantam virtutem 9praestitent, ut, cum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi jacentibus insistenter, atque ex eorum corporibus pugnarent; his dejectis, et coacervatis cadaveribus, qui superessent, 10uti ex tumulo, tela in nostros conjicerent, et pila intercepta remitterent: 11ut non nequicquam tantæ virtutis homines judicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere iniquissimum locum: quæ facilia ex difficillimis animi magitudo 12redegerat.

28. Hoc prælio facto, et 13prope ad internecionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto, majores natu, quos una cum pueris mulieribusque in 14æstuaria ac paludes collectos dix-
eramus, hac pugna nunciata, cum victoribus nihil impedium, victis nihil tutum arbitrarentur, omnium, qui supererant, consensu legatos ad Cæsarem miserunt seque et dediderunt: et, in commemoranda civitatis calamitate, ex sexcentis ad tres senatores, ex hominum millibus sexaginta vix ad quingentos, qui arma ferre possent, sese reductos esse dixerunt. Quos Cæsar, ut in miseris ac supplices usus misericordia videretur, diligentissime conservavit, suisque finibus atque oppidis uti jussit, et finitimis imperavit, ut ab injuria et maleficio se suosque prohiberent.

29. Aduatuci, de quibus supra scrisimus, cum omnibus copiis auxilio Nerviis venirent, hac pugna nunciata, ex itinere domum reverterunt; cunctis oppidis castellisque deserti sua omnia in unum oppidum, egregie natura munitum, contulerunt. Quod cum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimis rupes despectusque haberet, una ex parte leniter acclivis aditus, in latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum, relinquebatur: quem locum duplici altissimo muro munierant; tum magni ponderis saxa et præeacutas trabes in muro collocarant. Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati; qui, cum iter in provinciam nostram atque Italianam facerent, iis impedimentis, quae secum agere ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depositis custodiæ ex suis ac præsidio sex millia hominum reliquerunt. Hi, post eorum obitum, multis annos a finitimis exagitati, cum alias bellum inferrent, alias illatum defendenter, consensu eorum omniumpacefacta, hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt.

30. Ac primo adventu exercitus nostri crebras ex oppido excursiones faciebant, parvulisque præliis cum nostris contendebant: postea, vallo pedum duodecin, in circitu quindicim millium, crebrisque castellis circummuniti, oppido ses continebant. Ubi, vincis actis, aggere exstructo, turrium procul constitui viderunt, primum iridere ex muro, atone increpitare vocibus, quo tanta machinatio ab tanto
spatio institueretur? quibusnam manibus, aut quibus viribus, præsertim hominum tantulæ staturæ (nam plerumque hominibus Gallis, 'præ magnitudine corporum suorum, brevitatis nostra contentu est), tanti oneris turrim in muros sese collocare considerent?

31. Ubi vero moveri, et appropinquare mænibus vide runt, nova atque inusitata specie commoti, legatos ad Cæsarem de pace miserunt, qui, ad hunc modum locuti:

"Non se existimare Romanos sine ope divina bellum gerere, qui tantæ altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere, "et ex propinquitate pugnare, possent: se suaque omnia eorum potestati permittère," dixerunt.

"Unum petere ac deprecari: si forte, pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset, Aduatucos esse conservandos, ne se armis despoliaret: sibi omnes fere finitimos esse inimicos, ac suae virtutii invidere; a quibus se defendere, traditis armis, non possent. "Sibi præstare, si in cum casum deducerentur, quamvis fortunam a Populo Romano pati, quam ab his 'per cruciatum interfici, inter quos dominari consuressent."

32. Ad hæc Cæsar respondit: "Se magis consuetudine sua, quam merito eorum, civitatem conservaturum, si prius, quam murum aries attigisset, se dedissent: sed deditiones nullam esse conditionem, nisi armis traditis: se id, quod in Nerviis fecisset, facturum, finitimisque imperaturum, ne quam dedititiis Populi Romani injuriam inferrent." Re nunciata ad suos, "quæ imperarentur, 10facere" dixerunt. Armorum magna multitudine de muro in fossam, quæ erat ante oppidum, jacta, sic ut prope summam "muri aggerisque altitudinem acervi armorum adæquarent; et tamen circiter parte tertia, ut postea perspectum est, celata atque in oppido retenta, portis patefactis, eo die pace sunt usi.

33. Sub vespérum Cæsar portas claudi militésque ex oppido exire jussit, ne quam noctu oppidani ab militibus injuriam acciperent. Illi, ante inito, ut intellectum est, con-
silio, quod, deditione facta, nostros 'præsidia deducturos, aut
denique indiligentius servaturos, crediderant, partim cum
his, quæ retinuerant et celaverant, armis, partim scutis ex
cortice factis aut viminibus intextis, quæ subito (ut tempo-
ris exiguitas postulabat), pellibus indexerant, tertia vigilia,
qua minime arduus ad nostras munitiones ascensus vide-
batur, omnibus copiis repente ex oppido eruptionem fece-
runt. Celeriter, ut ante Cæsar imperarat, ægnibus signifi-
catione facta, ex proximis castellis eo concursum est, pug-
natumque ab hostibus 4ita acrier, ut a viris fortibus, in ex-
trema spe salutis, iniquo loco, contra eos, qui ex vallo tur-
ribusque tela jacerent, pugnari debutit, cum in una virtute
omnis spes salutis consistaret. Occisis ad hominum milli-
bus quattuor, reliqui in oppidum rejecti sunt. Postridie ejus
diei, refractis portis, cum jam defenderet nemo, atque in-
tromissis sui libus nostris, sectionem ejus oppidi universal
Cæsar vendidit. Ab his, qui emerant, capitum numerus ad
eum relatus est millium quinquaginta trium.

34. Eodem tempore a Publio Crasso, quem cum legione
una miserat ad Venetos, Unellos, Osismios, Curiosolitas,
Sesuvios, Aulercos, Rhedones, quæ sunt maritimæ civitates
Oceanumque attingunt, certior factus est, omnes eas civi-
tates in ditionem potestatemque Populi Romani esse re-
dactas.

35. His rebus gestis, omni Gallia pacata, tanta hujus
belli ad barbaros opinio perlata est, uti ab his nationibus,
quæ trans Rhenum incoherent, mitterentur legati ad Cæsa-
rem, quæ se obsides daturas, imperata facturas, pollicercen-
tur: quas legationes Cæsar, quod in Italian Illyricumque
properabat, inita proxima aestate ad se reverti jussit. Ipse
in Carnutes, Andes, Turonesque, quæ civitates propinquæ
his locis erant, ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hiberna
deductis, in Italian profectus est, ob easque res, ex literis
Cæsaris, dies quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante
id tempus accidit nulli.
BOOK III.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. War with some of the Alpine Communities.
Chap. 1. Galba, Cæsar's lieutenant, sent against the Nantuates, Veragri, and Seduni. After some successful battles he brings them to terms, and establishes his winter quarters among them. 2. Secret movement of the Gauls. 3-6. They attack the Roman quarters, but are defeated in a sally. Galba draws off his troops into the province, and winters there.

II. War with the Veneti.
Chap. 7, 8. The Veneti, and other states bordering upon the ocean, break out into sudden revolt. 9-11. Preparations for the war on the part of Cæsar. 12, 13. The maritime power of the Veneti, their advantages of situation, and a description of their vessels. 14-16. Cæsar, finding it in vain to attack them by land, comes to a naval engagement with them. The Veneti are defeated, and submit. They are treated with great rigour.

III. War with the Unelli.
Chap. 17. Q. Titurius Sabinus is sent, during the progress of the war with the Veneti, into the country of the Unelli. Viridovix, leader of the revolted Gauls, offers battle to Sabinus, who declines an engagement. Reasons of the latter for this course. 18, 19. The Gauls, urged on by the apparent cowardice of Sabinus, attack the Roman camp, but are defeated with great slaughter.
IV. Expedition of Crassus into Aquitania.

Chap. 20-22. The Sotiates defeated by Crassus and compelled to submit. An account of the Soldurii. 23-27. The greater part of Aquitania surrenders, after some farther fighting, to Crassus.

V. Expedition of Caesar against the Morini and Menapii.

Chap. 28. Caesar marches against the Morini and Menapii. They attack him as he is encamping, but are repulsed. 29. Caesar is prevented from completely subjugating them by violent storms, whereupon he leads his army into winter quarters.


2. Cum dies 3hibernorum complures transissent, frumen tumque eo comportari jussisset, subito per exploratores certior factus est, ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis concesserat, omnes noctu diessisse, montesque, qui impenderent, a maxima multitudine Sedunorum et Veragrorum teneri. 3Id aliquot de causis acciderat, ut subito Galli belli renovandi legionisque opprimendae consilium caperent: primum, quod
legionem, neque eam plenissimam, detractis cohortibus duabus, et compluribus singillatim, qui commeatus petendi causa missi erant, absentibus, propter paucitatem despiciebant: tum etiam, quod, propter iniquitatem loci, cum ipsi ex montibus in vallem decurrerent, et tela conjicerent, ne primum quidem posse impetum sustinere existimabant. Accedebat, quod suos ab se liberos abstractos obsidum nomine dolebant: et Romanos non solum itinerum causa, sed etiam perpetuae possessionis, culmina Alpium occupare conari, et ea loca finitimae provinciae adjungere, sibi persuasum habebant.

3. His nuntiis acceptis, Galba, cum neque opus hibernorum, munitionesque plene essent perfectae, neque de frumento reliquoque commeatu satis esset provisum, quod, ditione facta, obsidibusque acceptis, nihil de bello timendum existimaverat, consilio celeriter convocato, sententias exquirere cæpit. Quo in consilio, cum tantum repentinae periculi praeter opinionem accidisset, ac jam omnia sere superiore loca multitudine armatorum completa conspicerentur, neque subsidio veniri, neque commeatus supportari interclusis itineribus possent, prope jam desperata salute, nonnullæ hujusmodi sententiae dicebantur, ut, impeditentis relictis, eruptione facta, iisdem itineribus, quibus eo pervissent, ad salutem contenderent. Majori tamen parti placuit, hoc reservato ad extremum consilio, interim rei eventum experiri et castra defendere.

4. Brevi spatio interjecto, vix ut his rebus, quas constiussent, collocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus, signo dato, decurrere, lapides gæsaque in vallum conjicere: nostri primo integris viribus fortiter repugnare, neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere: ut quæque pars castrorum nudata desertibis premi videbatur, eo occurrere, et auxilium ferre: sed hoc superari, quod diurnitate pugnae hostes defessi prælio excedebant, aliis integris viribus succedebant: qua-
rum rerum a nostris propter 'paucitatem dici nihil poterat; ac non modo defesso ex pugna excedendi, sed ne saucio quidem ejus loci, ubi constiterat, relinquendi, ac sui recipiendi, facultas dabatur.

5. Cum jam amplius horis sex continenter pugnaretur, ac non solum vires, sed etiam tela, nostris 'desicerent, atque hostes acerius instarent, languidioribusque nostris vallum scindere, et fossas compleere, coepissent, resque esset jam 'ad extremum perducta casum, Publius Sextius Baculus, 'primi pili centurio, aem Nervico praelio compluribus confection vulneribus 'diximus, et item Caius Volusenus, tribunus militum, vir et consilio magni et virtutis, ad Galbam accurrunt, atque 'unam esse spem salutis docent, si eruptione facta, extremum auxilium experirent. Itaque, 'convocatis centurionibus, celeriter milites certiores fecit, paulisper intermitterent praelium, ac tantummodo tela missa 'exciperent, sequre ex labore reficerent; post, dato signo, ex castris erumperent, atque omnem spem salutis in virtute ponerent.

6. Quod jussi sunt, faciunt; ac, subito 'omnibus portis eruptione facta, 'neque cognoscendi, quid fieret, neque sui colligendi, hostibus facultatem relinquunt. Ita commutata fortuna, eos, qui 'in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant, undique circumvenertos intericiunt, et, ex hominum millibus amplius triginta, quem numerum barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat, 'plus tertia parte interfecta, reliquos perterritos in fugam conjiciunt, ac ne in locis quidem superiores consistere patiuntur. Sic, omnibus hostium copiis 'fusis, armisque exutis, se in castra munitionesque suas recipiunt. Quo praelio facto, quod saepius fortunam tentare Galba nollet, atque 'alio sese in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat, aliis occurrisses rebus viderat, maxime frumenti commeatusque inopia permotus, postero die omnibus ejus vici adiectis incensis, in Provincia reverti contendit; ac, nullo hosti prohibente, aut iter demorante, incolumem legi-
onem in Nantuates, inde in Allobrogas, perduxit, ibique hiemavit.


8. Hujus est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas omnis orae maritimae regionum earum; quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt, et scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt, et, in magnō impetu maris atque aperto, paucis portubus interjectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerant, habent vectigales. Ab ipsis fit initium retingendi Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides, quos Crasso dedissent, recuperatus existimabat. Horum auctoritate finitimī adducti (ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia), eadem de causa Trebium Terrasidiumque retinet, et, celeriter missis legatis, per suos principes inter se conjurant, nihil nisi communi consilio acturos, eundemque omnis fortūnae exitum esse laturos; reliquaque civitates solicitant, ut in ea libertate, quam a majoribus acceperant, permanere, quam Romanorum servitutem perferre, 10mallet. Omni ora maritimae celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta, communem legationem ad Publimum Crassum mittunt, "si velit "suos recipere, obsides sibi remittat."

9. Quibus de rebus Caesar ab Crasso certior factus,
quod ipse aberat longius, naves interim longas ædicari in flumine Ligeri, quod influit in Oceanum, remiges ex Provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari iubet. His rebus celeriter administratis, ipse, cum primum per anni tempus potuit, ad exercitum contendit. Veneti, reliquaque item civitates, cognito Cæsaris adventu, simul quod, quantum in se facinus admississet, intelligebant (legatos, quod nomen apud omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper suisset, retentos ab se et in vincula conjectos), pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare, et maxime ea, quæ ad usum navium pertinente, providere instituunt; hoc majore spe, quod multum natura loci confidebant. Pedestria esse itinera concisa æstuaris, navigationem impeditam propter inscientiam locorum paucitatemque portuum sciebant; neque nostros exercitus propter frumenti inopiam diutius apud se morari posse, confidebant: ac jam, ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se plurimum navibus posse: Romanos neque ullam facultatem habere navium, neque eorum locorum, ubi bellum gesturi essent, vada, portus, insulas novisse: ac longe aliam esse navigationem in concluso mari, atque in vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano, perspiciebant. His initis consiliis, oppida munirem, frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant, naves in Venetiam, ubi Cæsarem primum bellum gesturum constabat, quam plurimas possunt, cogunt. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismios, Lexovios, Namnetes, Ambiliatos, Morinos, Diablantes, Menapios adsciscunt: auxilia ex Britannia, quæ contra eas regiones posita est, accessunt.

10. Erant hæ difficulitates belli gerendi, quas supra ostendimus; sed multa Cæsarem tamen ad id bellum incitabant: injuria retertorum equitum Romanorum; rebellic facta post deditionem; defectio datis obsidibus; tot civitatum conjuratio; in primis, ne, hæ parte neglecta, reliquæ nationes idem sibi licere arbitrarentur. Itaque cum inteligeret, omnes fere Gallos novis rebus studere, et ad bel-
lum mobiliter celeriterque excitari, omnes autem homines natura libertati studere, et conditionem servitutis odisse; priusquam plures civitates conspirarent, partiendo sibi ac latius distribuendu exercitum putavit.

11. Itaque Titum Labienum legatum in Treviros, qui proximi Rheno flumini sunt, cum equitatu mittit. Huic mandat, Remos reliquosque Belgas adeat, atque in officio contineat; Germanosque, qui 'auxilio a Belgis accessit diciabantur, si per viam navibus flumen transire conentur, prohibeat. Publium Crassum quoccum cohortibus legionariis duodecim, et magno numero equitatu, in Aquitaniam proficisci jubit, ne ex his nationibus auxilia in Galliam mittantur, ac tantae nationes conjungantur. Quintum Titurium Sabinum legatum cum legionibus tribus in Unellos, Curiosolitas, Lexoviosque mittit, qui eam manum distinendum curet. Decimum Brutum adolescentem classi, Gallicisque navibus, quas ex Pictonibus et Santonis reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire jussarat, praeficit, et, cum primum possit, in Venetos proficisci jubit. Ipse eo pedestribus copiis contendit.

12. Erant ejusmodi fere situs oppidorum, ut, posita in extremis lingulis promontoriiisque, neque pedibus aditum haberent, cum ex alto se aestus incitavisset, quod bis accidit semper horarum viginti quatuor spatio, neque navibus, quod, rursus minuente aestu, naves in vadis afflictarentur. Itaque quare oppidorum oppugnatio impediebatur; ac, si quando magnitudine operis forte superati, extruso mari aggere ac molibus, atque his ferme oppidi mœnibus adæquatibus, suis fortunis desperare coeperant, magno numero navium appliculo, cujus rei summam facultatem habebant, sua deportabant omnia, seque in proxima oppida recipiebant. Hic se rursus isdem opportunitatibus loci defendebant. Haec eo facilius magnum partem aestatis faciebant, quod nostræ naves tempestatibus detinebantur; summaque erat vasto atque aperto mari, magnis aestibus, raris ac propo nullis portibus, difficultas navigandi.
13. Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factæ armataque erant. Carinae aliquanto planiores, quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum æstus excipere possent: prora admodum erectæ, atque item puppes, ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque accommodatae: naves totæ factæ ex robore, ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam: transtra pedalibus in latitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis, digitis pollicis crassitudine: anchoræ, pro funibus, ferreis catenis revinctæ: pelles pro velis, aluatæque tenuiiter confectæ, sive propter lini inopiam atque ejus usus inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis verisimile, quod tantas tempestates Oceani tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri, ac tanta onera navium regi velis non satis commodo, arbitrabantur. Cum his navibus nostræ classi ejusmodi congressus erat, ut una celeritate et pulsu remorum praestaret, reliqua, pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum, illis essent aptiora et accommodatiora: neque enim his nostræ rostro nocere poterant: tanta in eis erat firmitudo: neque propter altitudinem facile telum adjiciebatur; et eadem de causa minus commodo copulis continebantur. Accedebat, ut, cum sævire ventus cæpisset et se vento dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius, et in vadis consisterent tu-tius, et, ab æstu derelicte, nihil saxa et cautes timerent: quarum rerum omnium nostris navibus casus erant extimescendi.

14. Compluribus expugnatis oppidis, Cæsar, ubi intellexit, frustra tantum laborem summæ, neque hostium fugam captis oppidis reprimi, neque his noceri posse, statuit exspectandum classem. Quæ ubi convenit, ac primum ab hostibus visa est, circiter ducentæ et viginti naves eorum paratissimæ, atque omni genere armorum ornatissimæ, factæ ex portu, nostri adversæ constiterunt: neque satis Bruto, qui classi præerat, vel tribunis militum centurioni-busque, quibus singulae naves erant attributæ, constabat, quid agerent, aut quam rationem pugnæ insisterent. Ros-
tro enim noceri non posse cognoverant; turribus autem excitatis, tamen has altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus superabat, ut neque ex inferiore loco satis commode tela adjici possent, et missa ab Gallis gravius acciderent. Una erat magno usui res præparata a nostris, fœlæe præacutæ, insertæ affixeæque longuriis, non absimili forma muralium falcium. His cum funes, qui antennas ad malos destinabant, comprehendit adductique erant, navigio remis incitato praerumpæbantur. Quibus abscessis, antennæ necessario concidebant, ut, cum omnis Gallicis navibus spes in velis armamentisque consistebat, his erectis, omnis usus navium uno tempore eriperetur. Reliquum erat certamen positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile superabant, atque eo magis, quod in conspectu Cesaris atque omnis exercitus res gerebatur, ut nullum paulo fortius factum latere posset: omnes enim colles ac loca superiora, unde erat propinquis despectus in mare, ab exercitu tenebantur.

15. Dejectis, ut diximus, antennis, cum singulas biæ ac ternæ naves circumsteterant, milites summa vi transcendere in hostium naves contendebant. Quod postquam barbari fieri animadverterunt, expugnatis compluribus navibus, cum ei rei nullum reperiret auxilium, fuga salutem petere contendebant: ac, jam conversis in eam partem navibus, quo ventus ferebat, tanta subito malacia ac tranquililitas extitit, ut se ex loco movere non possent. Quæ quidem res ad negotium conficiendum maxime fuit opportuna: nam singulas nostris consecratio expugnaverunt, ut perpæca ex omni numero, noctis interventu, ad terram pervenerint, cum ab hora fere quarta usque ad solis occasum pugnarentur.

16. Quo prælio bellum Venetorum totiusque oræ maritimæ consecutum est. Nam, cum omnis juventus, omnes etiam gravioris ætatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant; tum, navium quod ubique fuerat, unum in locum coëgerant: quibus amissis, reliqui, neque quo se recipere possent neque quemadmodum oppida defenderent. habe-
bant. Itaque se suaque omnia Cæsari dediderunt. "In quos eo gravius Cæsar vindicandum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris jus legatorum conservaretur. Itaque, omni senatu necato, reliquos sub corona vendidit.

17. Dum hæc in Venetis geruntur, Quintus Titurius Sabinus cum iis copiis, quas a Cæsare acceperat. in fines Unellorum pervenit. His præerat Viridovix, ac summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum, quaæ defecerant, ex quibus exercitum magnasque copias coægerat. "Atque his paucis diobus Aulerci Eburovices, Lexoviiique, senatu suo interfecto, quod auctores bellorum esse nollebant, portas clauserunt seque cum Viridovice coniunxerunt: magnaque præterea multitudine undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum latronumque convenerant, quos spes prædandi, studiumque bellandi, ab agricultura et quotidiano labore revocabat. Sabinus idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris sese tenebat, cum Viridovix contra eum duum millium spatio consedisset, quotidieque productis copiis pugnandi potestatem laceret: ut jam non solum hostibus in contentionem Sabinum veniret, sed etiam nostrorum militum vocibus nonnihil carperetur: tantamque opinionem timoris præbuit, ut jam ad vallum castrorum hostes accedere auderent. Id ea de causa faciebat, quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, præsertim eo absente, qui summam imperii teneret, nisi æquo loco, aut opportunitate aliqua data, legato dimicandum non existimabat.

18. "Hac confirmata opinione timoris, idoneum quemdam hominem et callidum delegit, Gallum, ex his, quos auxilii causa secum habebat. Huic magnis præmiis pollicitationibusque persuadet, uti ad hostes transeat; et, quid tieri velit, edocet. Qui ubi pro perfuga ad eos venit, timorem Romanorum proponit: "quibus angustiis ipse Cæsar a Venetis prematur," docet: "neque longius abesse, quin proxima nocte Sabinus clam ex castris exercitum educat, et ad Cæsarem auxiliis fœundi causa proficiscatur." Quod ubi audium est, conclamant omnes, occasionem negotii bene
gerendi amittendam non esse, ad castra iri oportere. 
 Multæ res ad hoc consilium Gallos hortabantur: superi-
 rum dierum Sabini cunctatio, perfugae confirmatio, inopia
 cibariorum, cui rei parum diligentem ab iis erat provisum,
 spes Venetici belli, et quod fere libenter homines id, quod
 volunt, credunt. His rebus adducti, non prius Viridovicem
 reliquoque duces ex concilio dimittunt, quam ab his sit
 concessum, arma uti capiant et ad castra contendant. Qua
 re concessa, laeti, ut explorata victoria, sarmentis virgultis-
 que collectis, quibus fossas Romanorum compleant, ad ca-
 stra pergunt.

19. Locus erat castrorum editus, et paulatim ab imo ac-
 clivis circiter passus mille. Huc magno cursu contende-
runt, ut quam minimum spatii ad se colligendos armandos-
 que Romanis daretur, exanimatique pervenerunt. Sabinus,
suos hortatus, cupientibus signum dat. Impeditis hostibus
 propter ea, quæ ferebant, onera, subito duabus portis erup-
tionem fieri jubet. Factum est opportunitate loci, hostium
 inscientia ac defatigatione, virtute militum, superiorum pug-
narum exercitatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum impe-
tum iverrent, ac statim terga verterent. Quos impeditos in-
 tegriss viribus milites nostri consecuti, magnum numerum
 eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites consectati, paucos, qui
 ex fuga evaserant, reliquerunt. Sic, uno tempore, et de
 navali pugna Sabinus, et de Sabini victoria Caesar certior
 factus; civitatesque omnes se statim Titurio dediderunt.
 Nam, ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promtus
 est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates
 perferendas mens eorum est.

20. Eodem fere tempore, Publius Crassus, cum in Aqui-
taniam pervenisset, quae pars, ut ante dictum est, et regio-
um latitude, et multitudo hominum, ex tertia parte
 Galliae est aestimanda, cum intelligeret in his locis sibi bel-
um gerendum, ubi paucis ante annis Lucius Valerius Præ-
 coninus, legatus, exercitu pulso, interfectus esset, atque

21. Pugnatum est diu atque acriter, cum Sotiates, superioribus victoriis freti, in sua virtute totius Aquitaniae salutem positam putarent; nostri autem, quid sine imperatore, et sine reliquis legionibus, adolescentulo ducе, efficiere possent, perspicie cuperent. Tandum, confecti vulneribus, hostes terga vertere. Quorum magno numero interfectis, Crassus ex itinere oppidum Sotiatum oppugnare coepit. Quibus fortiter resistentibus, vineas turresque egit. Illi, alias eruptione tentata, alias e cuniculis ad aggerem vineasque actis (cujus rei sunt longe peritissimi Aquitani, propertea quod multis locis apud eos æariae secturae sunt), ubi diligentia nostrorum nihil his rebus profici posse intellexerunt, legatos ad Crassum mittunt, seque in deditionem ut recipiat petunt. Qua re impetrata, arma tradere jussi, facto.

22. Atque, in ea re omnium nostrorum intentis animis, alia ex parte oppidi Adcantuanus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum sexcentis devotis, quos illi soldurios appellant (quorum hæc est conditio, uti omnibus in vita commodis una cum his fruantur, quorum se amicitiae dediderint; si quid iis per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant, aut sibi mortem consciscant: neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui, eo interfecto, cujus se amicitiae
devovissent, mortem recusaret), cum iis Adcantuannus, eruptionem facere conatus, clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato, cum ad arma milites concurrisset, vehementerque ibi pugnatum esset, repulsus in oppidum, tamen uti eadem ditionis conditione uteretur, ab Crasso impetravit.

23. Armis obsidibusque acceptis, Crassus in fines Voca-tium et Tarusatium profectus est. Tum vero barbari com-moti, quod oppidum, et natura loci et manu munitum, paucis diebus, quibus eo ventum erat, expugnatum cognoverant, legatos quoquoversus dimittere, conjurare, obsides inter se dare, copias parare cceperunt. Mittuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati, quae sunt citerioris Hispaniae, finitimae Aqui-taniae: inde auxilia ducesque aressuntur. Quorum adventu magna cum auctoritate, et magna cum hominum multitudine, bellum gerere conantur. Duces vero ii deliguntur, qui una cum Quinto Sertorio omnes annos fuerant, sum mamque scientiam rei militaris habere existimabant. Hi consuetudine Populi Romani loca capere, castra munire, commeatibus nostros intercludere instituunt. Quod ubi Crassus animadvertit, suas copias propter exiguitatem non facile diduci, hostem et vagari et vias obsidere et castris satis præsidii relinquere; ob eam causam minus commode frumentum commeatumque sibi supportari; in dies hostium numerum augeri; non cunctandum existimavit, quin pugna decertaret. Hac re ad consilium delata, ubi omnes idem sentire intellexit, posterum diem pugnae constituit.

24. Prima luce, productis omnibus copiis, duplici acie instituta, auxiliis in medium aciem coniectis, quid hostes consilii caperent expectabat. Illi, etsi propter multitudinem, et veterem belli gloriam, paucitatemque nostrorum, se tuto dimicaturos existimabant, tamen tutius esse arbitrabantur, obsessis viis, commeatu intercluso, sine ullo vulnere victoria potiri: et, si propter inopiam rei frumentariae Romani sese recipere cepissent, impeditos in agmine et sub sarcinis, inferiores animo, adoriri cogitabant. Hoc consilio
DE BELLO GALlico.

probato ab ducibus, productis Romanorum copiis, sese castris tenebant. Hae re perspecta, Crassus, cum sua cunctatione atque opinione timoris hostes nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum esse castris tenebant. Hac perspecta, Crassus, cum sua cunctatione atque opinione timoris hostes nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effecisset; atque omnium voces audirentur, expectari diutius non oportere, quin ad castra iretur; cohortatus suos, omnibus cupiditibus, ad hostium castra contendit.

25. Ibi cum alii fossas compleverunt, alii, multis telis conjectis, delenosores vallo munitionibusque depellerent, auxilaresque, quibus ad pugnam non multum Crassus confidebat, lapidibus telisque subnunistrandis, et ad aggerem cespilibus comportandis, specierat et opinionem pugnantium praebent; cum item ab hostibus constanter ac non timide pugnaretur, telaque ex loco superiore missa non frustra acciderent; equites, circumvictis hostium castris, Crasso renunciaverunt, non cadem esse diligentia ab decumana porta castra munita, facilemque aditum habere.

26. Crassus, equitum praefectos cohortatus, ut magnis praemisis pollucitationibusque suos excitarent, quid fieri velit ostendit. Illi, ut erat imperatum, eductis quatuor cohortibus, quae, praesidio castris reliquit, intritae ab labore erant, et longiore itinere circumspectis, ne ex hostium castris conspici possent, omnium oculis mentibusque ad pugnam in tentis, celeriter ad eas, quas diximus, munitiones pervene runt, atque, his prorutis, prius in hostium castris constituerunt, quam plane ab iis videri, aut, quid rei gereretur, cognoscit possit. Tum vero, clamore ab ea parte audito, nostri redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriae accidere consuevit, acerius impugnare eoperunt. Hostes undique circumventi, desperatis omnibus rebus, se per munitiones dejicere et fuga salutem petere intendere. Quos equitatus apertissimis campis concoctatus, ex millium quinquaginta numero, quae ex Aquitania Cantabrisque convenisse constabat, vix quarta parte relicta, multa nocte se in castra recepit.

27. Hac audita puella magna pars Aquitaniae sese

28. Eodem fere tempore Cæsar, etsi prope exacta jam aestas erat, tamen, quod, omni Gallia pacata, Morini Menapiique supererant, qui in armis essent neque ad eum unquam legatos de pace misissent, arbitratus, id bellum celeriter confici posse, eo exercitum adduxit: qui longe alia ratione, ac reliqui Galli, bellum agere instituerunt. Nam quod intellegebant, maximas nationes, quæ prælio contendissent, pulsas superatasque esse, continentesque silvas ac paludes habeabant, eo se suaque omnia contulerunt. Ad quarum initium silvarum cum Cæsar pervenisset, castraque munire instituisset, neque hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in opere nostris, subito ex omnibus partibus silvae evolaverunt et in nostros impetum fecerunt. Nostri celeriter arma ceperunt, eosque in silvas repulerunt, et, compluribus interfectis, longius impeditioribus locis secuti, paucos ex suis deperdiderunt.

29. Reliquis deinceps diebus Cæsar silvas cadere instituit, et, ne quis inermibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam, quæ erat caesa, conversam ad hostem collocabat, et pro vallo ad utrumque latus exstruebat. Incredibili celeritate magno spatio paucis diebus coniecto, cum jam pecus atque extrema impedimenta ad nostris tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent; ejusmodi sunt tempestatibus consecutæ, uti opus necessario intermitteret, et, continuatione imbrium diutius subpellibus militibus contineri non possent. Itaque vastatis omnibus eorum agris, vicis ædificiisque incensis, Cæsar exercitum reduxit, et in Aulercis, Lexovisisque, reliquis item civitatibus, quæ proxime bellum fecerant, in hibernis collocavit.
C. JULII CAESARIS

COMMENTARIJ

DE

BELLO GALLICO

BOOK IV.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. WAR WITH THE USIPTES AND TENCHTHERI.
Chap. 1-3. The Usipetes and Tenchtheri, two German nations, being expelled by the Suevi, pass over into Gaul. A description is given of the manners of the Suevi, and their mode of life. 4. The Usipetes and Tenchtheri drive out the Menapii from their habitations.
5, 6. Caesar resolves to make war upon the Usipetes and Tenchtheri.

II. CAESAR'S BRIDGE OVER THE RHINE, AND HIS CROSSING INTO GERMANY.

III. CAESAR PASSES INTO BRITAIN
suffers by a severe tempest. 30-36. Revolt of the Britons. A description of their mode of fighting from chariots. They are subdued. Caesar returns to Gaul.

IV. War with the Morini and Menapii.

Chap. 37. Revolt of the Morini. 38. Labienus is sent against them. Their subjugation. Territory of the Menapii ravaged by Titurius and Cotta. Thanksgiving at Rome.

1. Ea, quæ secuta est, hieme, qui fuit annus ¹Cneio Pompeio, Marco Crasso consulibus, Usipetes Germani, et item Tanchtheri, magna cum multitudine hominum, flumen Rhenum transierunt, non longe a mari, ᾧ quo Rhenus influit Causa transeundi fuit, quod, ab Suevis complures annos exagitati, bello premebantur et agricultura prohibebantur. Suevorum gens est longe maxima et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium. Hi ³centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis singula millia armatorum bellandi causa ex finibus educunt. Reliqui, qui domi manserint, se atque illos alunt. Hi rursus invicem anno post in armis sunt; illi domi remanent. ⁴Sic neque agricultura, nec ratio atque usus bellii, intermittitur. Sed ⁵privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est; neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet. Neque multum frumento, sed ⁶maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in venationibus; quæ res et cibi genere, et quotidiana exercitacione, et libertate vitæ (quod, a pueris ⁷nullo officio aut disciplina assuefacti, nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciant), et vires alit, et immani corporum magnitudine homines efficit. Atque in eam se consuetudinem adduxerunt, ut ⁸locis frigidissimis, neque vestitus, praeter pelles, habeant quicquam (quarum propter exiguatatem magna est corporis pars aperta), et laventur in fluminibus.

2. Mercatoribus est ad eos aditus magis eo, ut, ⁹quæ bello ceperint, quibus vendant, habeant, quam quo ullam rem ad se importari desiderent: ¹⁰quinetiam jumentis, quibus maxime Gallia delectatur, quæque impenso paran-
pretio, Germani importatitiis non utuntur; 1 sed quae sunt apud eos nata, 2 parva atque deforma, haec quotidiana exercitacione, summi ut sint laboris, efficient. Equestribus praebis saepe ex equis desiliunt, ac pedibus praeliuntur; equosque eodem remanere vestigio assuefaciunt; ad quos se celeriter, cum usus est, recipiunt: neque corum moribus 3 turpius quicquam aut inertius habetur, quam ephippiis uti. 4 Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum, quamvis pauci, adire audent. Vinum ad se omnino importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines, atque effeminari, arbitrantur.

3. 6 Publice maximam putant esse laudem, quam latissime a suis finibus vacare agros: haec re significari, magnum numerum 7 civitatium suam vim sustinere non posse. Itaque, una ex parte, a Suevis, circiter millia passuum sexcenta agri vacare dicuntur. 8 Ad alteram partem succedunt Ubii (8 quorum fuit civitas ampla atque florens, ut est captus Germanorum), 10 et paulo quam sunt ejusdem generis ceteri humaniores; propterea quod Rhenum attingunt, multumque ad eos mercatores ventitant, et ipsi propter propinquitatem Gallicis sunt moribus assuefacti. Hos cum Suevi, multis saepe bellis experti, propter 11 amplitudinem gravitatemque civitatis, finibus expellere non potissent, tamen vectigales sibi fecerunt, ac multo 12 humiliores infirmioresque redegerunt.

4. 13 In eadem causa fuerunt Usipetes et Tenchtheri, quos supra diximus, qui complures annos Suevorum vim sustinerunt; ad extremum tamen, agris expulsi, et multis Germaniae locis triennium vagati, ad Rhenum pervenerunt: 14 quas regiones Menapii incolebant, et ad utramque ripam fluminis agros, edificia, vicosque habebant; sed tantae multitudo aditu perterriti, ex his edificiis, quae trans flumen habuerant, 15 demigraverant, et, cis Rhenum dispositis prae- sidiis, Germanos transire prohibebant. Ilii, omnia experti, cum neque vi contendere propter inopiam navium, neque
clam transire propter custodias Menapiorum, possent, reverti se in suas sedes regionesque simulaverunt; et, tridui viam progressi, trursus reverterunt, atque, omni hoc itinere una nocte equitatu confecto, inscios inopinantesque Menapios oppresserunt, qui, de Germanorum discessu per exploratores certiores facti, sine metu trans Rhenum in suos vicos remigraverant. His interfectis, navibusque eorum occupatis, priesquam ea pars Menapiorum, quae citra Rhe- num quinta in suis sedibus erat, certior fieret, flumen transierunt, atque, omnibus eorum aedificiis occupatis, reliquam partem hiemis se eorum copiis aluerunt.

5. His de rebus Cesare certior factus, et infirmitatem Gallorum veritus, quod sunt in consiliis capienda mobiles, et novis plerumque rebus student, nihil his committendum existimavit. Est autem hoc Gallice consuetudinis, uti et viatores, etiam invitatos, consistere cogant, et, quod quisque eorum de quaque re audierit aut cognoverit, quaerant; et mercatores in oppidis ultrus circumstatis, quibusque ex regionibus veniant, quasque ibi res cognoverint, pronunciare cogant. His rumoribus atque auditionibus permoti, de ummis sape rebus consilia ineunt, quorum eos e vestigio pénitere necesse est, cum incertis rumoribus serviant, et plerique ad voluntatem eorum facta respondeant.

6. Qua consuetudine cognita, Cesare, ne graviori bello occurreret, maturius quam consuerat ad exercitum proficisci tur. Eo cum venisset, ea, quae fore suspicatus erat, distantia cognovit; missas legationes a nonnullis civitatibus ad Germanos, invitatosque eos, uti ab Rheno discедерent; omniaque quae postulassent, ab eis fore parata. Qua spe adducti Germani latius jam vagabantur, et in fines Eburonum et Condusorum, qui sunt Trewirorum clientes, pene rerant. Principibus Galliae evocatis, Cesare ea quae cognoverat dissimulanda sibi existimavit, eorumque animis permulsis et confirmatis, equitatuque imperato, bellum cum Germanis gerere constituit.
7. Re frumentaria comparata, equitibusque delectis, iter in ea loca facere coepit, quibus in locis esse Germanos audiebat. A quibus cum paucorum dierum iter abesset, legati ab his venerunt, quorum haec fuit oratio: "Germanos neque priores Populo Romano bellum inferre, neque tamen recessare, si laecessantur, quin armis contendant; quod Germanorum consuetudo haec sit a majoribus tradita, quicumque bellum inferant, resistere, neque deprecari: haec tamen dicere, venisse invitatos, ejectos domo. Si suam gratiam Romani velint, posse eis utiles esse amicos: vel sibi agros attribuunt, vel patiantur eos tenere quos armis possederint. Sese unis Suevis concedere, quibus ne Dii quidem immortales pares esse possint: reliquum quidem in terris esse neminem, quem non superare possint."

8. Ad haec Cæsar, quæ visum est, respondit; sed exitus fuit orationis: "Sibi nullam cum his amicitiam esse posse, si in Gallia remanerent: neque verum esse, qui suos fines tueri non potuerint, alienos occupare: neque ullos in Gallia vacare agros qui dari, tantæ præsertim multitudini, sine injuria possint. Sed licere, si velint, in Ubiorum finibus considerere, quorum sint legati apud se, et de Suevorum injuriis querantur, et a se auxilium petant: hoc se ab iis impetrarurum."

9. Legati haec se ad suos relatos dixerunt, et, re deliberata, post diem tertium ad Cæsarem reversuros: interea ne propius se castra moveret, petierunt. Ne id quidem Cæsar ab se impetrari posse dixit: cognoverat enim, magnam partem equitatus ab iis aliquid diebus ante prædandi frumentandique causa ad Ambivaretostrans Mosam missam. Hos expectari equites, atque ejus rei causa moram interponi, arbitrabatur.

10. Mosa profluit ex Monte Vosego, qui est in finibus Lingonum, et, parte quadam ex Rheno recepta, quæ appellatur Vahalis, insulam efficit Batavorum, neque longius ab eo millibus passum octoginta in Oceanum transit.
Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt, et longo spatio per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricorum, Triborum, Trevorum citatus fertur; et, ubi Oceano appropinquat, in plures diffuit partes, multis ingentibusque insulis effectis, quorum pars magna a fersis barbarisque nationibus incolitur (ex quibus sunt, qui piscibus atque ovis avium vivere existimantur), multisque capitibus in Oceanum influit.

11. Caesar cum ab hoste non amplius passuum duodecim millibus abesset, ut erat constitutum, ad eum legati revertunt: qui, in itinere congressi, magnopere, ne longius prograderetur, orabant. Cum id non impetrassent, petebant, uti ad eos equites, qui agmen antecessissent, praemitteret, eosque pugna prohiberet; sibique uti potestatem faceret, in Ubios legatos mittendi: quorum si Principes ac senatus sibi jurejurando fidem fecissent, ea conditione, quæ a Caesare ferretur, se usuros ostendebant: ad has res conficiendas sibi tridui spatium daret. Hæc omnia Caesar eodem illo pertinere arbitrabatur, ut, tridui mora interposita, equites eorum, qui abessent, reverteretur: tamen sese non longius millibus passuum quatuor aquisitionis causa processurum eo die dixit: huc postero die quam frequentissimi convenirent, ut de eorum postulatis cognosceret. Interim ad praefectos, qui cum omni equitatu antecesserant, mittit, qui nunciaret, ne hostes prælio lacesserent, et, si ipsi lacesserentur, sustinerent, quoad ipse cum exercitu propius accessisset.

12. At hostes, ubi primum nostros equites conspexerunt, quorum erat quinque millium numerus, cum ipsi non amplius octingentos equites habèrent, quod ii, qui frumentandi causa ierant trans Mosam, nondum redierant, nihil timentibus nostris, quod legati eorum paulo ante a Caesare discesserant, atque is dies induciis erat ab eis petitus, impetu facto, celeriter nostros perturbaverunt. Rursus resistentibus nostris, consuetudine sua ad pedes desiluerunt, sub-
fossisque equis, compluribusque nostris dejectis, reliquis in fugam conjecterunt, atque ita perterritos egerunt, ut non prius fuga desisterent, quam in conspectu agminis nostri venissent. In eo praetio ex equitibus nostris interfectis quatuor et septuaginta, in his vir fortissimus, Piso, Aquitanus, amplissimo genere natus, cujus avus in civitate sua regnum obtinuerat, amicus ab Senatu nostro appellatus. Hic cum fratri 2 intercluso ab hostibus auxilium ferret, illum ex periculo eripuit: ipse, equo vulnerato dejectus, quoad potuit, fortissime restitit. Cum circumventus, multis vulneribus acceptis, cecidisset, atque id frater, qui jam praetio exsererat, procul 3 animum advertisset, incitato equo se hostibus obtulit atque interflectus est.

13. Hoc facto praelio, Caesar neque jam sibi legatos audiendo, neque conditiones accipiendas arbitrabatur ab his, qui 4 per dolum atque insidias, petita pace, 5 et ultra bellum intulissent: expectare vero, dum hostium copiae augerentur, equitatusque reverteretur, summae dementiae esse judicabat; et, cognita Gallorum 6 infirmitate, quantum jam apud eos hostes uno praelio auctoritatis essent consecuti, sentiebat: quibus ad consilia capienda nihil spatii dandum existimabat. His constitutis rebus, et consilio cum legatis et quaestore communicato, 7 ne quem diem pugnæ praetermitteret, opportunissima res accidit, quod postridie ejus dictum, eadem et perfidia et simulatione usi Germani, frequentes, omnibus principibus majoribusque natu adhibitis, ad eum in castra venerunt; simul, ut dicebatur, 8 sui purgandi causa, quem contra atque esset dictum, et ipsi petissent, praelium pridie commisisserant; simul ut, si quid possent, 9 de in duciis fallendo impetrarent. Quos sibi Caesar oblatos 10 ga visus, illico retineri jussit; ipse omnes copias castris eduxit, equitatumque, quod recenti praelio perterritum esse existimabat, agmen subsecu quiz jussit.

14. Acie triplici instituta, et celeriter octo millium itinere confecto, prius ad hostium castra pervenit, quam, quid age-
CAESAR SURPRISES AND ATTACKS THE CAMP OF THE GERMANS.


To face p. 73
retur, Germani sentire possent. Qui, omnibus rebus subito perterriti, et celeritate adventus nostri, et 1discessu suorum, neque consilii habendi neque arma capiendi spatio dato, perturbantur, copiasne adversus hostem educere, an castra defendere, an fuga salutem petere, præstare: Quorum timor cum fremitu et concursu significaretur, milites nostri, 2pristini diei perfidia incitati, in castra irruperunt. Quorum qui celeriter arma capere potuerunt, paulisper nostris restiterunt, atque inter carros impedimentaque prælium commiserunt: at reliqua multitudo puerorum mulierumque (nam cum omnibus suis domo excesserant Rhenumque transierant), passim fugere cæpit; 3ad quos consecutandos Cæsar equitatum misit.

15. Germani, 4post tergum clamore audito, cum suos interfici viderent, armis abjectis, signisque militariibus relictis, se ex castris ejecterunt: et, cum 5ad confluentem Mosæ et Rheni pervenissent, 6reliqua fuga desperata, magno numero interferto, reliqui se in flumen praecipitaverunt, atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis oppressi, perierunt. Nostri ad unum omnes incolumes, perpaucis vulneratis, 7ex tanti belli tunore, cum hostium numeros capitum quadringentorum et triginta millium fuisse, se in castra receperunt. Cæsar his, quos in castris retinuerat, discedendi potestatem fecit: illi supplicia cruciatusque Gallorum veriti, quorum agros vexaverant, remanere se apud eum velle dixerunt. His Cæsar libertatem concessit.

16. Germanico bello confecto, 8multis de causis Cæsar statuit, sibi Rhenum esse transeundum: quorum illa fuit justissima, quod, cum videret, Germanos tam facile impelli, ut in Galliam venirent, 9suis quoque rebus eos timere voluit, cum intelligerent, et posse et audere Populi Romani exercitum Rhenum transire. 10Accessit etiam, quod illa pars equitatus Usipetum et Tenchtherorum, quam supra commemoravi, prædandi frumentandique causa Mosam transisse, neque prælio interfuisse. post fugam suorum se trans Rhe-
num in fines Sigambrorum receperat seque cum iis conjunxerat. 1 Ad quos cum Caesar nuncios misisset, qui postularent, eos, qui sibi Galliaeque bellum intulissent, sibi dederent, respondeunt: "Populi Romani imperium Rhenum finire: si, se invito Germanos in Galliam transire non æquum existimaret, 2cur sui quicquam esse imperii aut potestatis trans Rhenum postularet?" Ubii autem, qui uni ex Transrhenanis ad Cæsarem legatos miserant, amicitiam fecerant, obsides dederant, magnopere orabant, "ut sibi auxilium ferret, quod graviter ab Suevis premerentur; vel, si id facere 3occupationibus reipublicæ prohiberetur, exercitum modo Rhenum transportaret: id sibi ad auxilium spemque reliquī temporis satis futurum: tantum esse 4no- men atque opinionem ejus exercitus, Ariovisto pulso, et hoc novissimo prælio facto, etiam ad ultimas Germanorum nationes, uti opinione et amicitia Populi Romani tuti esse pos- sint. Navium magnam copiam ad transportandum exercitum pollicebantur."

17. Cæsar his de causis, quas commemoravi, Rhenum transire decreverat; sed navibus transire, neque satis tutum esse arbitrabatur, 5neque suæ neque Populi Romani dignitatis esse statuebat. Itaque, etsi summa difficultas faciendi pontis 6proponebatur, propter latitudinem, rapiditatem, altitudinemque fluminis, tamen id sibi contendendum, aut aliter non transducendum exercitum, existimabat. 7Rationem pontis hanc instituit. Tigna bina sesquipedalia, paulum ab imo præcucuta, 8dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis, intervallo pedum duorum inter se jungebat. Hæc cum machationibus immissa in flumen defixerat, 9fustucisque adegerat, 10non sublicæ modo directa ad perpendicularum, sed prona ac fastigata, ut secundum naturam fluminis procumberent; 11ius item contraria bina, ad cundem modum juneta, intervallo pedum quadragenum, 12ab inferiore parte, contra vim atque impetum fluminis conversa statuebat. 11Hæc utraque insuper bipedalibus trabibus immissis 12quantum corum tignorum
A. Two piles, each a foot and a half thick, joined together at the distance of about two feet. B. Two opposite piles similarly joined together. C. Large beam extended between them. D. Braces. E. Timbers laid across. F. Stakes sunk in the river as buttresses. G. Fences against trunks of trees, &c. sent down the river. H. Form of the beams a foot and a half thick. I. Form of the beam extended between them. K. Figure of the two piles braced together. L. Braces. M. A detached brace. N. Spars laid athwart. O. Hurdles.
DE BELLO GALLICO.

junctura distabat, binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte, distinebantur: quibus disclusis atque in contrariam partem vincentis, tanta erat operis firmitudo, atque ea rerum natura, ut, quo major vis aequae se incitavisset, hoc arctius illigata teneretur. Hec directa materie injecta contextebantur, et longuriis cratibusque consternebantur: ac nihilo secius sublice et ad inferiorem partem fluminis oblique agebantur, quae, pro pariete subjectae, et cum omni opere conjunctae vim fluminis exciperent: et aliae item supra pontem mediocri spatio, ut, si arborum trunci, sive naves dejiciendi operis essent a barbaris missae, his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur, nee ponti nocerent.

18. Diebus decem, quibus materia coepta erat composita, omni opere effecto, exercitus transducitur. Caesare, ad utramque partem pontis firma præsidio relictum, in fines Sigambrorum contendit. Interim a compluribus ciuitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, quibus pacem et amicitiam petiti et ad se adduxisse jubeat. At Sigambri, ex eo tempore quo pons institutus est, fugis comparatis, hortantibus quos ex Tentheris et Usipetibus apud se habebant, finibus suis esserant, quae omnia exportaverant, sequitur in solitudinem ac silvas abstulerant.

19. Caesare, paucos dies in eorum finibus moratus, omnibus vicis edificiosque incensiis, frumentisque succisis, se in fines Ubiorum receptus; atque illis auxilia suaum pollicitus, si ab Suevis premeretur, hæc ab iis cognovit: Suevos, posteaquam per exploratores pontem fieri comperissent, more suo concilio habito, nuncius in onmis partes dimissus, uti de oppidis demigrarent, liberos, uxores, suae omnia in silvas deponerant, atque onmis qui arma ferre possent munum in locum convenirent; hunc esse delectum medium fere regionum earum quas Suevi obtinerent: hic Romanorum adventum expectare atque ibi decertare constituisse. Quod ubi Caesare comperit, omnibus his rebus confectis, quarum
rerum causa transducere exercitum constituerat, ut Germanis metum injiceret, ut Sigambros ulciscretur, ut Ubios obsidione liberaret, diebus omnino decem et octo trans Rhenum consumtis, satis et ad laudem et ad utilitatem perfectum arbitratus, se in Galliam recepit, pontemque rescidit.

20. Exigua parte æstatis reliqua, Cæsar, etsi in his locis, quod omnis Gallia ad septentriones vergit, maturæ sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod, omnibus fere Gallicis bellis, hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat: et, si tempus anni ad bellum gendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitratus, si modo insulam adisset, genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset: quæ omnia fere Gallis crant incognita. Neque enim temere præter mercatores illo adit quisquam, neque iis ipsis quicquam, præteroram maritimam atque eas regiones quæ sunt contra Gallias, notum est. Itaque, evocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, neque quanta esset insulee magnitudo, neque quæ aut quantae nationes incolerent, neque quæ quod usum belli haberent, aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad majorum navium multitutinem idonei portus, reperire poterat.

21. Ad haec cognoscenda, priusquam periculum faceret, idoneum esse arbitratus Caium Volusenum, cum navi longa praemittit. Huic mandat, uti, exploratis omnibus rebus, ad se quamprimum revertatur: ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam transjectus. Huc naves undique ex finitimis regionibus et, quam superiore æstate ad Veneticum bellum fecerat, classem jubes convenire. Interim, consilio ejus cognito et per mercatores perlato ad Britannos, a compluribus ejus insulae civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, qui policeantur obsides dare, atque imperio Populi Romani obtemperare. Quibus auditis, liberaliter pollicitus, hortatusque ut in ea sententia permanerent, eos domum remittit, et cum his una Commiun, quem ipse, Atrebatibus superatis, regem
ibi constituerat, cujus et virtutem et consilium probabat, et quem sibi fidelem arbitrabatur, cujusque auctoritas in iis regionibus magni habebatur, mittit. Huic imperat, quas possit adeat civitates, horteturque ut Populi Romani idem sequantur; seque ecelerit eo venturum nunciet. Volusenus, perspectis regionibus, quantum ei facultatis dari potuit, quin navi egredi ac se barbaris committere non auderet, quinto die ad Caesarem revertitur; quaeque ibi perspexisset renunciavit.

22. Dum in his locis Caesar navium parandarum causa moratur, ex magna parte Morinorum ad eum legati venerunt, qui se de superioris temporis consilio excusarent, quod homines barbari, et nostri consuetudinis imperiti, bellum Populo Romano fecissent, seque ea, quae imperasset, facturos pollicerentur. Hoc sibi satis opportune Caesar accidisse arbitratus, quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat, neque belli gerendi, propter anni tempus, facultatem habebat, neque has tantularum rerum occupationes sibi Britanniae anteponendas judicabat, magnum his obsidum numerum imperat. Quibus adductis, eos in fidem receptit. Navibus circiter octoginta onerariis coactis contractisque, quot satis esse ad duas transportandas legiones existimabat, quicquid praeterea navium longaram habebat, quæstori, legatis, praefectisque distribuit. Huc accedebant octodecim onerariae naves, quæ ex eo loco ab millibus passuum octo vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum pervenire possent. Has equitibus distribuit; reliquum exercitum Quinto Titurio Sabino et Lucio Aurunculeio Cotta, legatis, in Menapios atque in eos pagos Morinorum, ab quibus ad eum legati non venerant, deducendum dedit. Publum Sulpitium Rufum, legatum, cum eo præsidio quod satis esse arbitrabatur, portum tenere jussit.

23. His constitutis rebus, nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem, tertia fere vigilia solvit, equitesque in ulteriorem portum progradi, et naves conscendere, et se sequi
jussit: a quibus cum id paulo tardius esset administratum, ipse 1hora diei circiter quarta cum primis navibus 2Britanniam attigit, atque ibi in omnibus collibus 3expositas hostium copias armatas conspexit. Cujus loci hae erat natura: 4adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in littus telum adjici posset. Hunc 5ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum arbitratus locum, dum reliqua naves eo convenirent, 6ad horam nonam in anchoris expectavit. Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis, et quae ex Voluseno cognosset, et quae fieri vellet, ostendit, 7monuitque (ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut maritimae res postularent, ut quae celerem atque instabilem motum habeant), ad nutum et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur. His dimissis, et ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo, et 8sublatis anchoris, circiter millia passuum septem ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano littore naves constituit.

24. At barbari, consilio Romanorum cognito, præmisso equitatu, 9et essedariis, quo plerumque genere in præliis uti consuerunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti, nostros navibus egredi prohibebant. Erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves, propter magnitudinem, nisi in alto, 10constitui non poterant; militibus autem, ignotis locis, impeditis manibus, magno et gravi armorum onere oppressis, simul et de naves desiliendum, 11et in fluctibus consistendum, et cum hostibus erat pugnandum: cum illi aut ex arido, aut paululum in aquam progressi, 12omnibus membris expediti, notissimis locis, audacter tela conjicerent, 13et equos insuefactos incitarent. Quibus rebus nostri perterriti, atque hujus omnino generis pugnæ imperiti, non eadem alacritate ac studio, quo in pedestribus uti præliis consuerant, utebantur.

25. Quod ubi Cæsar animum advertit, naves longas, 14quarum et species erat barbaris inusitator, et motus ad usum expeditior, paulum removeri ab 15onerariis navibus. et


27. Hostes praelio superati, simul atque se ex fuga recuperunt, statim ad Caesarem legatos de pace miserunt: obsides daturos, quaque imperasset sese facturos, polliciti
sunt. Una cum his legatis Commius Atrebas venit, quem
supra demonstraveram a Cæsare in Britanniam præmissum.
Hunc illi e navi egressum, cum ad eos oratoris modo imperatoris mandata perferret, comprehenderat atque in vincula conjetecerat: tum, prælio facto, remiserunt et in pendentia pace ejus rei culpam in multitudinem contulerunt, et propter imprudentiam ut ignosceretur, petiverunt. Cæsar questus, quod, cum ultro in continentem legatis missis pacem ab se petissent, bellum sine causa intulissent, ignoscere imprudentiæ dixit, obsidesque imperavit: quorum illi partem statim dederunt, partem, ex longinquoribus locis arcessitam, paucis diebus sese daturos dixerunt. Interea suos remigrare in agros jussurunt, principesque undique convenire et se civitatesque suas Cæsari commendare coeperunt.

28. His rebus pace confirmata, post diem quartum, quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves octodecim, de quibus supra demonstratum est, quæ equites sustulerant, ex superiore portu leni vento solverunt. Quæ cum appropinquarent Britanniarum, et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coorta est, ut nulla eorum cursum tenere posset, sed aliae eodem, unde erant profectæ, referrentur; aliae ad inferiorem partem insulæ, quæ est propius solis occasum, magno soli cum periculo dejicerentur: quæ tamen, anchoris jactis cum fluctibus complerentur, necessario adversa nocte in altum proiectæ, continentem petierunt.

29. Eadem nocte accidit, ut esset luna plena, qui dies maritimos aestus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit; nostrisque id erat incognitum. Ita uno tempore et longas naves, quibus Cæsar exercitum transportandum curaverat, quasque in aridum subduxerat, aestus complebat; et onerarias, quæ ad anchoras erant deligatæ, tempestas afflictabant; neque ulla nostris facultas aut administrandi, aut auxiliandi, dabatur. Compluribus navibus fractis, reliquæ cum essent, funibus, anchoris, reliquisque armamentis amissis, ad navi
gandum inutiles, magna, id quod necesse erat accidere, totius exercitus perturbatio facta est: neque enim naves erant aliae, quibus reportari possent; et omnia deerant, quæ ad reficiendas eas usui sunt, et, quod omnibus constabat hiemari in Gallia oportere, frumentum his in locis in hiemem provisum non erat.

30. Quibus rebus cognitis, principes Britanniae, qui pos. proelium factum ad ea, quæ jussaret Cæsar, facienda con. venerant, inter se collocuti, cum equites et naves et fru- mentum Romanis decesse intelligerent, et punicatem militum ex castrorum 3exignitate cognoscerent, quæ hoc erat etiam angustiora, quod sine impedimentis Cæsar legiones trans- portaverat, optimum factu esse duxerunt, rebellione facta, frumento commeatuque nostros prohibere, et 4rem in hiemem producere, quod, iis superatis, aut reditu interclusis, nemi- nem postea belli inferendi causa in Britanniam transiturum confidebant. Itaque, rursus conjuratione facta, paulatim ex castris discedere, ac suos clam ex agris deducere ceperunt.

31. At Cæsar, etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat, tamen et 5ex eventu navium suarum, 6et ex eo, quod obsides dare intermiserant, fore id, quod accidit, suspicabatur. Itaque 7ad omnes casus subsidia comparabat: nam et fru- mentum ex agris quotidie in castra conferebat, et, quæ 8gravissime afflictæ erant naves, carum materia atque ære ad reliquas reficiendas utebatur, et, quæ ad eas res erant usui, ex continentí comportari jubebat. Itaque, cum id summo studio a militibus administraretur, duodecim navibus amissis 9reliquis ut navigari commode posset, effecit.

32. Dum ea geruntur, legione ex consuetudine una fru- mentatum missa, quæ appellabatur septima, neque ulla ad id tempus belli suspicione interposita, cum pars 9hominum in agris remaneret, pars etiam in castra ventitaret, ii, qui pro portis castrorum 10in statione erant, Cæsari renunciarunt, pulverem majorem, quam consuetudo ferret, in ea parte videri, quam in parte legio iter fecisset. Cæsar id, quod
erat, suspicatus, aliquid novi a barbaris initum consilii, cohortes, quæ in stationibus erant, secum in eam partem pro- fiscisici, duas ex reliquis in stationem succedere, reliquas armari et constestim esse subsequi jussit. Cum paulo longius a castris processisset, suos ab hostibus premi, atque ægre sustinere, et, conferta legione, ex omnibus partibus tela conjici, animum advertit. Nam quod, omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento, pars una erat reliqua, suspicati hostes, huc nostros esse venturos, noctu in silvis delituerant: tum dispersos, depositis armis, in metendo occupatos, subito adorti, paucis interfectis, reliquos incertis ordinibus perturbaverant: simul equitatu atque essedis circumde- sant.

33. Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae: primo per omnes partes perequitant, et tela conjicunt, atque ipso terrore equorum, et strepitu rotarum, ordines plerumque perturbant; et, cum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverint ex essedis desiliunt, et pedibus preliantur. Aurigæ interim paulatim ex prælio excedunt, atque ita curru se collocant, ut, si illi a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum, in præliis praestant; ac tantum usu quotidiano et exercitacione efficiunt, uti, in declivi ac præcipiti loco, incitatos equos sustinere, et brevi moderari ac flectere, et per temonem percurrere, et in jugo insistere, et inde se in currus citissime recipere consuerint.

34. Quibus rebus, perturbatis nostris novitate pugnae, tempore opportunissimo Cæsar auxilium tulit: namque ejus adventu hostes constiterunt, nostri se ex timore receperunt. Quo facto, ad laecessendum at ad committendum prælium alienum esse tempus arbitratus, suo se loco continuat, et, brevi tempore intermisso, in castra legiones reduxit. Dum hæc geruntur, nostri omnibus occupatis, qui erant in agris, reliqui discesserunt. Secutæ sunt continuos complures dies tempestates, quæ et nostros in castris contine-
rent, et hostem a pugna prohiberent. Interim barbari nuncios in omnes partes dimiserunt, paucitatemque nostrorum militum suis praedicaverunt, et, quanta prædæ faciendæ, atque in perpetuum sui liberandi, facultas daretur, si Romanos castris expulissent, demonstraverunt His rebus celeriter magna multitudine peditatus equitatusque coacta, ad castra venerunt.

35. Cæsar, etsi idem, quod superioribus diebus acciderat, fore videbat, ut, si essent hostes pulsi, celeritate periculum effugerent; tamen nactus equites circiter triginta, quos Comminus Atrobas, de quo ante dictum est, secum transportaverat, legiones in acie pro castris constituivit. Commissio prælio, diutius nostrorum militum impetum hostes ferre non potuerunt, ac terga verterunt. Quos tanto spatio securi, quantum cursu et viribus efficere potuerunt, complures ex iis occiderunt; deinde, omnibus longe lateque afflictis incensisque, se in castra receperunt.

36. Eodem die legati, ab hostibus missi ad Cæsarem de pace, venerunt. His Cæsar numerum obsidum, quem antea imperaverat, duplicavit, eosque in continentem adduci jussit, quod, propinquâ die æquinocitii, insirmis navibus, íhiemi navigationem subjiciendam non existimabat. Ipse, idoneam tempestatem nactus, paulo post medium noctem naves solvit, quæ omnès incolumnes ad continentem pervenerunt; sed ex his oneraria duæ eosdem, quos reliquæ, portus capere non potuerunt, et paulo infra delata sunt.

37. Quibus ex navibus cum essent expositi milites circiter trecenti, atque in castra contenderent, Morini, quos Cæsar, in Britanniam proficiscens, pacatos relinquaret, spe prædæ adducti, primo non ita magno suorum numero circumsteterunt, ac, si sese interfici nollet, arma ponere jussissent. Cum illi, orbis facto, sese defenderent, celeriter ad clamorem hominum circiter millia sex convenerunt. Qua re nunciata, Cæsar omnem ex castris equitatum suis auxilio misit. Interim nostri milites impetum hostium sus-
tinuerunt, atque amplius 'horis quatuor fortissime pugnaverunt, et, paucis vulneribus acceptis, complures ex iis occiderunt. Postea vero quam equitatus noster in conspectum venit, hostes abjectis armis terga verterunt, magnusque eorum numerus est occisus.

38. Cæsar postero die Titum Labienum legatum, cum iis legionibus, quas ex Britannia reduxerat, in Morinos, qui rebellionem fecerant, misit. Qui, cum ²propter siccitates paludum, quo se reciperebant, non haberent (³quo perfugio superiore anno fuerant usi), omnes fere in potestatem Labieni venerunt. At Quintus Titurius et Lucius Cotta, legati, qui in Menapiorum fines legiones ⁴duxerant, omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, ædificiis incensis, quod Menapii se omnes in densissimas silvas abdiderant, se ad Cæsarem receperunt. Cæsar in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit. ⁵Eo duæ omnino civitates ex Britannia obsides miserunt; reliquæ neglexerunt. His rebus gestis, ex litteris Cæsaris dierum viginti ⁶supplicatio a Senatu decreta est.
THE ARGUMENT.

I. CAESAR'S SECOND EXPEDITION INTO BRITAIN.

Chap. 1. Caesar, leaving orders with his lieutenants to build and equip a fleet, sets out for Illyricum, where he puts a stop to the incursions of the Pirostæ. 2-7. Returning thence into Gaul, he marches against the Treviri, and quiets the disturbances in that province. Dumnorix, withdrawing from the Roman camp with the Aeduan cavalry, is pursued and slain. 8. Caesar passes over into Britain. 9. Forces the enemy from the woods in which they had taken shelter. 10, 11. Caesar refits his fleet, which had suffered severely in a storm. 12-14. A description of Britain and its inhabitants. 15-22. Cassivellaunus, the leader of the Britons, is defeated in several encounters. The Romans cross the Tamesis. Surrender of the Trinobantes and several other British tribes. 23. Caesar returns to Gaul.

II. WAR WITH AMBIORIX.

Chap. 24, 25. The Roman army, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, is distributed over a wider extent of country than usual. Tasgetius slain among the Carnutes. 26-37. Revolt of Ambiorix and Cativoleus. The camp of Titurius Sabinus is attacked. Ambiorix, by an artful speech, induces Titurius to quit his camp, and, attacking him on his march, cuts him off with his whole party. 38-43. The winter quarters of Q. Cicero are attacked by the Eburones and their confederates. Brave defence of Cicero. 41. The noble emu-
lation of Pufilio and Varenus. 45-52. Caesar, on being informed of the danger in which Cicero was, marches to his relief. The Gauls raise the siege at his approach, and proceed to give him battle. They are defeated. 53, 54. Indutiomarus, who had resolved to attack the quarters of Labienus, retreats into the country of the Treviri on hearing of Caesar's victory. Caesar resolves to spend the whole winter himself in Gaul. Commotions in different parts of Gaul, and particularly among the Senones.

III. Insurrection among the Treviri Repressed.

Chap. 55, 56. Commotion among the Treviri. The Germans are invited by them to cross the Rhine, but refuse. Cingetorix declared a public enemy by the Treviri. 57. Labienus, being in a strongly fortified camp, sends messengers into the different states and collects a large body of horse. 58. A sally is made from the Roman camp, and Indutiomarus is slain.

1. 'Lucio Domitio, Appio Claudio, consulibus, discedens ab hibernis Caesar in Italiam, ut quotannis facere consuerat, legatis imperat, quos legionibus praefecerat, uti, quamplurimas possent, hieme naves edificandas veteresque reficiendas curarent. Earum modum formamque 2 demonstrat. Ad celeritatem onerandi subductionesque paulo facit humiliores, quam quibus in 3 nostro mari uti consuevimus; atque id eo magis, quod propter crebras commutaciones aestuum minus magnos ibi fluctus fieri cognoverat: ad onera et ad multitudinem jumentorum transportandam paulo latiores, quam quibus in reliquis utimur maribus. 4 Has omnes actuarias imperat fieri, quam ad rem multum humilitas adjuvat. Ea, quae sunt usui 5 ad armandas naves, ex Hispania apportari jubet. Ipse conventibus Galliae citerioris peractis, in 6 Illyricum profectus, quod a Pirustis finitimam partem Provinciae incursionem vastari audiebat. Eo cum venisset, civitatibus milites imperat, certumque in locum convenire jubet. Quae re nunciata, Pirustæ legatos ad eum mittunt, qui doceant, nihil earum rerum publico factum consilio, seseque paratos esse demonstrant, 7 omnibus rationibus de injuriis satisfacere. Accepta oratione eorum
Caesar obsides imperat, eosque ad certam diem adducit jubet: nisi ita feceerint, sese bello civitatem persecuturum demonstrat. His ad diem adductis, ut imperaverat, arbitros inter civitates dat, qui item aestimant pænamque constituant.

2. His confectis rebus convenitibusque peractis, in citeriorum Galliam revertitur, atque inde ad exercitum proficiscitur. Eo cum venisset, circuitis omnibus hibernis, singulari militum studio, in summa omnium rerum inopia, circiter sexcentas ejus generis, ejus supra demonstravimus, naves et longas viginti octo invenit instructas, neque multum abesse ab eo, quin paucis diebus deduci possent. Collaudatibus militibus atque iis qui negotio præfuerant, quid fieri velit, ostendit, atque ommes ad portum ilium convenire jubet, quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam transmissum esse cognoverat, circiter millium passuum triginta a continentii. Huic rei quod satis esse visum est militum, reliquit: ipse cum legionibus expeditis quatuor et equitibus octingentis in fines Trevarorum proficisciur, quod hi neque ad concilia veniebant, neque imperio parebant, Germanosque transrhenanos solicitare dicebantur.

3. Hae civitas longe plurimum totius Galliae equitatum valet, magnasque habet copias peditum, Rhenumque, ut supra demonstravimus, tangit. In ea civitate duo de principatu inter se contendebant, Indutio marus et Cingetorix: ex quibus alter, simul atque de Caesaris legionumque adventu cognitum est, ad eum venit; se suosque ommes in officio futuros, neque ab amicitia Populi Romanorum defecuturos confirmavit; quaeque in Trevisis gererentur, ostendit. At Indutionarius equitatum pleatumque cogere, iisque, qui per eum in armis est non poterant, in Silviam Ardennam abditis, qua ingredi magnitude per medias fines Trevarorum a flumine Rheno ad initium Remorum pertinet, bellum parare instituit. Sed postea quam nonnulli principes ex ea civitate, et familiaritate Cingetorigis adducti et adventu nostri exercitus perterrit, ad Caesarem venerunt.
et de suis privatim rebus ab eo petere coeperunt, quoniam civitati consulere non possent: Indutiomarus, veritus ne ab omnibus desereretur, legatos ad Cæsarem mittit; sese idecirco ab suis discedere atque ad eum venire noluisse, quo facilius civitatem in officio contineret, ne omnis nobilitatis discessu plebs propter imprudentiam laboreretur. Itaque esse civitatem in sua potestate, seque, si Cæsar permetteret, ad eum in castra venturum, et suas civitatisque fortunas ejus fidei permisserunt.

4. Cæsar, etsi intelligebat, qua de causa ea dicerentur, quæque eum res ab instituto consilio detrerrerat, tamen, ne astatem in Treviris consumere cogeretur, omnibus ad Britannicum bellum rebus comparatis, Indutiomarum ad se cum ducentis obsidibus venire jussit. His adductis, in iis filio propinquisque ejus omnibus, quos nominatim evocaverat, consolatus Indutiomarum hortatusque est, uti in officio permaneret: nihil tamen secius, principibus Trevirorum ad se convocatis, hos singillatim Cingetorigi conciliavit: quod eum merito ejus ab se fieri intelligebat, tum magni interesse arbitrabatur, ejus auctoritatem inter suos quam plurimum valere, cujus tam egregiam in se voluntatem perspexisset. Id factum graviter tulit Indutiomarus, suam gratiam inter suos minui; et, qui jam ante inimico in nos animo fuisset, multo gravius hoc dolore exarsit.

5. His rebus constitutis, Cæsar ad portum Itium cum legionibus pervenit. Ibi cognoscit, quadraginta naves, quæ in Meldis factæ erant, tempestate rejectas, currum tenere non potuisse, atque eodem, unde erant profectæ, revertisse: reliquas paratas ad navigandum atque omnibus rebus instructas inventit. Eodem totius Galliæ equitatus convenit, numero millium quattuor, principesque omnibus ex civitatibus: ex quibus perpaucos, quorum in se fidem perspexerat, relinquere in Gallia, reliquis obsidum loco secum ducere, decreverat; quod, eum ipse abesset, motum Galliæ verebatur.

6. Erat una cum ceteris Dumnorix Æduus, de quo ab
nobis antea dictum est. Hunc secum habere in primis constituerat, quod eum cupidum rerum novarum, cupidum imperii, magni animi, magnae inter Gallos auctoritates, cognoverat. Accedebat hinc, quod iam in concilio Æduorum Dumnorix dixerat, sibi a Caesar regnum civitatis deferri; quod dictum Ædui graviter ferebant, neque recusandi aut deprecandi causa legatos ad Caesarem mittere audebant. Id factum ex suis hospitibus Caesar cognoverat. Ille omnibus primo precibus petere contendit, ut in Gallia relinquaret; partim, quod insuetus navigandi mare timebat; partim, quod religionibus sese diceret impediri. Posteaquam id obstinate sibi negari vidit, omni spe impetrandi ademta, principes Galliae solici
tare, sevocare singulos honorabilem cepit, uti in continentem remanerent; metu territare, non sine causa fieri, ut Gallia omni nobilitate spoliaretur: id esse consilium Caesaris, ut, quos in conspectu Galliae interficere vereretur, hos omnes in Britanniam transductos necaret: idem reliquis interponere, jusjurandum poscere, ut, quod esse ex usu Galliae intellexissent, communi consilio administrarent. Hac a compluribus ad Caesarem deferebant.

7. Qua re cognita, Caesar, quod tantum civitati Æduae dignitatis tribuerat, coercendum atque deterrendum, quibus-cunque rebus posset, Dumnorigem statuebat; quod longins ejus amentiam proregdi videbat, prospiciendum, ne quid sibi ac rei publicae nocere posset. Itaque dies circiter viginti quinque in eo loco commoratus, quod Cornus ventus navigationem impediebat, qui magnam partem omnis temporis in his locis flaire consuevit, dabat operam, ut in officio Dumnorigem contineret, nihil tamen secius omnia ejus consilia cognosceret: tandem, idoneam nactus tempore statem, milites equitesque conscendere naves jubes. At, omnium impeditis animis, Dumnorix eum equibus Æduorum a castris, insciens Caesar, domum discendere cepit. Qua re nunciata, Caesar, intermissa profectione atque omnibus
rebus postpositis, magnam partem equitatus ad eum inscendit, retrahique imperat: si vim faciat neque pareat, interfici jubet: nihil hunc se absente pro sano facturum arbitratus, qui praesentis imperium neglexisset. Ille enim revocatus resistere ac se manu defendere suorumque idem implorare cœpit, saepe clamitans, "liberum se liberæque civitatis esse." Illi, ut erat imperatum, circumsistunt atque hominem interficiunt; at Ædui equites ad Cæsarem omnes revertuntur.

8. Ilis rebus gestis, Labieno in continentæ cum tribus legionibus et equitum millibus duobus relictis, ut portus tueretur et rem frumentarium provideret, quæque in Gallia gererentur cognosceret, consiliumque pro tempore et pro re caperet, ipse cum quinque legionibus et pari numero equitum quem in continentì relinquebat, solis occasu naves solvit, et, leni Africo provectus, media circiter nocte vento intermissio, cursum non tenuit, et, longius delatus aestu, orta luce, sub sinistra Britanniam relictam conspexit. Tum rursus, aestus commutationem securus, remis contendit, ut eam partem insulæ caperet, qua optimum esse egressum superiore æstate cognoverat. Qua in re admodum sūt militum virtus laudanda, qui vectoriis gravibusque navigiis, non intermisso remigandi labore, longarum navium cursum adæquarunt. Accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere tempore: neque in eo loco hostis est visus, sed, ut postea Cæsar exposito exercitu et loco castris idoneo capto, ubi ex captivis cognovit, quo in loco hostium copiæ conseissent, cohortibus decem ad mare relictis et equitibus trecentis, qui præsidio navibus essent, de tertia vigilia ad hostes contendit, eo minus veritus navibus, quod ir littore
molli atque aperto deligatas ad anchoram relinquebat; et praesidio navibus Quintum Atrium præfecit. Ipse, noctu progressus millia passuum circiter duodecim, hostium copias conspicatus est. Illi, equitatu atque essedis ad flumen progressi, ex loco superiore nostros prohibere et prœlium committere ceperrunt. Repulsi ab equitatu, se in silvas abdiderunt, locum nacti, egregie et natura et opere munitionum, quem domestici belli, ut videbatur, causa jam ante preparaverant: nam terebris arboribus successis omnes introitus erant praecussi. Ipsi ex silvis rari ²propugnabant, nostros-que intra munitiones ingredi prohibebant. At milites legiones septimae, ³testudine facta et aggere ad munitiones adjecto, locum ceperunt eosque ex silvis expulerunt, paucis vulneribus acceptis. Sed eos fugientes longius Caesar prosequi vetuit, et quod loci naturam ignorabat, et quod, magna parte diei consumta, munitioni castrorum tempus relinqui volebat.

10. Postridie ejus diei mane tripartito ⁴milites equitesque in expeditionem misit, ut eos, qui fugerant, persequerentur. His aliquantum itineris progressis, cum jam extremi essent in prospectu, equites a Quinto Atrio ad Cæsarem venerunt, qui nunciarent, ⁵superiore nocte, maxima coorta tempestate, prope omnes naves afflicatas atque in littore ejectas esse; quod neque anchoræ funesque ⁶subsisterent, neque nautæ gubernatoresque vim pati tempestatis possent: itaque ⁷ex eo concursu navium magnum esse incommodum acceptum.

11. His rebus cognitis, Cæsar legiones equitatumque revocari atque initerre desistere jubet: ipse ad naves reversitur: cadem fere, quæ ex munitis literisque cognoverat, ⁸coram perspicet, sic ut, amissis circiter quadraginta navibus, reliqua tamen refici posse magno negotio viderentur. Itaque ex legionibus ⁹fabros delegit, et ex continentibus alios arcessiri jubet; Labieno scribit, ¹⁰ut, quam plurimas posset, iis legionibus quæ sint apud eum, naves instituat. Ipse, etsi res erat multæ operæ ac laboris, tamen commodissimum
esse statuit omnes naves \textsuperscript{1}subduci et cum castris una munitione conjungi. In his rebus circum dies decem consumit, nec nocturnis quidem temporibus ad laborem militum intermissis. Subductis navibus castrisque egregie munitis, easdem copias, quas ante, praesidio navibus reliquit: ipse eodem, \textsuperscript{2}unde rederat, profisciscitur. Eo cum venisset, majores jam undique in eum locum copiae Britannorum convenerant, \textsuperscript{3}summa imperii bellique administrandi communi consilio permissa Cassivellauno, cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis, a mari circiter millia passuum octoginta. Huic \textsuperscript{4}superiore tempore cum reliquis civitatibus continentia bella intercesserat: sed nostro adventu permoti Britannii hunc toti bello imperioque praefecerant.

12. Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur, \textsuperscript{5}quos natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt: maritima pars ab iis, qui praedae ac bellii inferendi causa ex Belgis transierant; qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatim appellantur, \textsuperscript{6}quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, et bello illato ibi remanserunt atque agros colere cæperunt. \textsuperscript{7}Hominum est infinita multitudo, creberrimaque edificia, fere Gallicis similia: pecorum magnus numerus. \textsuperscript{8}Utuntur aut ære, aut taleis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo. \textsuperscript{9}Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum; sed ejus exigua est copia: ære utuntur importato. \textsuperscript{10}Materia cujusque generis, ut in Gallia, est, præter fagum atque abietem. Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare, fas non putant; hæc tamen alunt \textsuperscript{11}animi voluptatisque causa. Loca sunt temperatiora, quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.

13. Insula natura \textsuperscript{12}triquetra, cujus unum latus est contra Galliam. Hujus lateris alter angulus, qui est \textsuperscript{13}ad Cantium, quo fere omnes ex Gallia naves appellantur, ad orientem solem: inferior ad meridiem spectat. Hæc latus tenet circiter millia passuum quingenta. Alterum vergit \textsuperscript{14}ad His-
DE BELLO GALlico.

paniam atque occidentem solem, qua ex parte est Hibernia, 1·dimidio minor, ut æstimatur, quam Britannia; 2·sed pari spatio transmissus, atque ex Gallia, est in Britanniam. In hoc medio cursu est insula, quæ appellatur 3·Mona; complures præterea minores objectæ insulae existimantur; de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt, 4·dies continuos triginta sub bruma esse noctem. Nos nihil de eo percontationibus reperiebamus, 5·nisi certis ex aqua mensuris breviore esse, quam in continent, noctes videbamus. Hujus est longitudo lateris, ut fert illorum opinio, 6·septingentorum millium. Tertium est 7·contra septentriones, cui parti nulla est objecta terra; sed ejus angulus lateris maxime ad Germaniam spectat: huic millia passuum octingenta in longitudinem esse existimatur. Ita omnis insula est in circuitu vicies centum millium passuum.

14. Ex his omnibus longe sunt 6·humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt, quæ regio est maritima omnis; neque multum a Gallica differt consuetudine. Interiores plerique frumenta non servunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt, pellibusque sunt vestiti. Omnes vero 9·se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod coeruleum efficit colorem, 10·atque hoc horridiore sunt in pugna aspectu: 11·capilloque sunt promisso atque omni parte corporis rasa, præter caput et labrum superius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum liberis; sed, si qui sunt ex his nati, corum habentur liberi, 12·quo primum virgo quæque deducta est.

15. Equites hostium essedariique acriter prælio cum equitatu nostro in itinere conflixerunt, 13·tamen ut nostri omnibus partibus superiores fuerint, atque eos in silvas collesque compulerint: sed compluribus interfectis, 14·cupidius insecuti, nonnullus ex suis amiserunt. At illi, intermisso spatio, imprudentibus nostri atque occupatis in munitione castrorum, subito se ex silvis ejecterunt, impetuque in eos facto, qui crant in statione pro castris collocatis.
acriter pugnaverunt: duabusque 1submissis cohortibus a Caesare, 2atque his primis legionum duarum, 3cum hæ, per-
exiguo intermisso loci spatio inter se, constitissent, novo
gener e pugnÆ perterritis nostris, per medios audacissimo
perruperunt, seque inde incolumes receperunt. Eo die
Quintus Laberius Duras, tribunus militum, interficitur. Illi,
pluribus immissis cohortibus, repelluntur.

16. Toto hoc in genere pugnÆ, 4cum sub oculis omnium
ac pro castris dimicare tur, intellectum est, nostros propter
gravitatem armaturae, quod neque insequi 6cedentes possent,
neque ab signis discedere auderent, minus aptos esse ad
hujus generis hostem; equites autem magno cum periculo
5dimicare, propter ea quod illi etiam consulto plurumque
cederent, et, cum paulum ab legionibus nostros removissent,
ex essedis desilirent 8et pedibus dispari prælio contende-
rent. Equestris autem præl ii ratio et cedentibus et inse-
quentibus par atque idem periculum inferebat. Accedebat
huc, ut, nunquam 9conferti, sed rari magnisque intervallis
præliarentur, stationesque dispositas haberent, atque alios
alii deinceps exciperent, integrique et recentes defatigatis
succeederent.

17. Postero die procul a castris hostes in collibus con-
sisterunt, rario se ostendere et 10lenius, quam pridie,
nostros equites prælio lacessere cœperunt. Sed meridie,
cum Cæsar pabulandi causa tres legiones atque omnem
equitatum cum Caio Trebonio legato misisset, repente ex
omnibus partibus ad pabulatores advolaverunt, 11sic, uti ab
signis legionibusque non absisterent. Nostri, acriter in eos
impetu facto, repulerunt, neque finem sequendi fecerunt,
12quod subsidio confisi equites, cum post se legiones vide-
rent, præcipites hostes egerunt: magnoque eorum numero
interfecto, neque sui colligendi, neque consistendi, aut ex
essedis desiliendi facultatem dederunt. Ex hac fuga pro-
tinus, quæ undique conven erant, auxilia discesserunt: neque
post id tempus unquam 13summis nobiscum copiis hostes
contenderunt.
18. Caesar, cognito consilio corum, ad flumen Tamesum in fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit; quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc aegre, transiri potest. Eo cum venisset, 'animation adverto, ad alteram fluminis ripam magnas esse copias hostium instructas: 'ripa autem erat acitis sudibus praefixis munita; ejusdemque generis sub aqua defixa sude flumine tegebantur. His rebus cognitis a captivis per fugisque, Caesar, praeviso equitatu, conestim legiones subsequi jussit. Sed ea celeritate atque eo impetu mitem irunt, *cum capit homo aqua exstanter, ut hostes impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent, ripasque dimitterent ac se fugae mandarent.

19. Cassivellaunus, ut supra demonstravimus, omni desposita spe contentionis, dimissis amplioribus copiis, millibus circiter quatuor essedariorum reliquis, itineri nostra servabat, paululumque *ex via excederebat, locisque impeditis ac silvestribus sese occultatit, atque iis regionibus, quibus nos iter facturos cognoverat, pecora atque homines ex agris in silvas compellebat; et, cum equitatus noster, liberius praedando vastandique causa, se in agros efluenderet, omnibus vis notis semitisque essedarios ex silvis emittebat, et *magnum cum percuto nostrorum equitum cum iis confligebat, atque hoc metu latius vagari prohibebat. *Relinquebatur, ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Caesar pataretur, et tantum in agris vastandis incendiosis factendum hostibus noceretur, quantum labore atque itinere legionarii milites efficere poterat.

20. Interim Trinobantes, prope firmissima eurum regionum civitas, ex qua Mandubratium adolescens, Caesaris fidei secutus, ad eum in continentem Galliam venerat (ejus pater Imauentius in ea civitate regnum obtinuerat, 'interfectusque crat a Cassivellauno, ipse fuga mortem vitaverat), legatos ad Cæsarem mittunt, pollicenturque, sese ei dedituros atque imperata facturos: petunt, ut Mandubratium ab injuria Cassivellauni defendat, *atque in civitatem
mutat, qui præsit imperiumque obtineat. His Cæsar imperat obsides quadraginta frumentumque exercitui, Mandubratiumque ad eos mittit. Illi imperata celeriter fecerunt, obsides ad numerum frumentaque miserunt.

21. Trinobantibus defensis atque ab omni militum injuria prohibitis, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancales, Bibroci, Cassi, legationibus missis sese Cæsari dedunt. Ab his cognoscit, non longe ex eo loco oppidum Cassivellauni absesse, silvis paludibusque munitum, quo satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. (Oppidum autem Britannii vacant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandae causa convenire consuerunt.) Eo proficiscitur cum legionibus: locum reperit egregie natura atque opere munitum; tamen hunc duabus ex partibus oppugnare contendit. Hostes, paulisper morati, militum nostrorum impetum non tulerunt, seseque alia ex parte oppidi ejecerunt. Magnus ibi numerus pecoris perpertus, multique in fuga sunt comprehensi atque interfecti.

22. Dum hæc in his locis geruntur, Cassivellaunus ad Cantium, quod esse ad mare supra demonstravimus, quibus regionibus quatuor reges præerant, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, Segonax, nuncios mittit, atque his imperat, uti, coactis omnibus copiis, castra navalia de improviso adoriantur atque oppugnent. Ii cum ad castra venissent, nostri, eruptione facta, multis eorum interfectis, capto etiam nobili duce Lugotorige, suis incolumes reduxerunt. Cassivellaunus, hoc prælio nunciato, tot detrimentis acceptis, vastatis finibus, maxime etiam permutos defectione civitatum, legatos per Atrebatem Commium de deditione ad Cæsarem mittit. Cæsar, cum statuisset hiemem in continent propter repentinos Galliarum motus agere, neque multum aestatis superesset, atque id facile extrahi posse intelligeret, obsides imperat, et, quid in annos singulos vectigalis Populo Romano Britannia penderet, constituit interdicit at-
que imperat Cassivellauno, ne Mandubratio, neu Trinobantibus bellum faciat.

23. Obsidibus acceptis, exercitum reducit ad mare, naves invenit refectas. His deductis, quod et captivorum magnum numerum habebat, et nonnullae tempestate deperierant naves, duobus commeatibus exercitum reportare instituit. Ac sic accidit, uti ex tanto navium numero, tot navigatibus, neque hoc, neque superiore anno, ulla omnino navis, quæ militæ portaret, desideraretur: at ex iis, quæ inanes ex continenti ad eum remitterentur, et prioris commeatus expositis militibus, et quas postea Labienus faciendas curaverat numero sexaginta, perpaucae locum caperent; relicquae fere omnes rejicerentur. Quas cum aliquandiu Caer frustra expectasset, ne anni tempore a navigazione excluseret, quod æquinocium suberat, necessario 5 angustius militæ collocavit, ac, summa tranquillitate consecuta, seunda inita cum solvisset vigilia, prima luce terram attigit, omnesque incolumes naves perduxit.

24. Subductis navibus, concilioque Gallorum Samaro brivæ peracto, quod eo anno frumentum in Gallia propter siccitates angustius provenerat, coactus est aliter, ac superioribus annis, exercitum in hibernis collocare, legionesque in plures civitates distribuere: ex quibus unam in Morinos ducendam Caio Fabio legato dedit; alteram in Nervios Quintio Ciceroni; tertiam in Essunos Lucio Roscio; quartam in Remis cum Tito Labieno in contínio Trevirorum hie mare iussit; tres in Belgio collocavit: his Marcus Crassum quaestorem, et Lucium Munatium Plancum et Caum Trebonium, legatos, praefecit. Unam legionem, quam proximo trans Padum conscripserat, et cohortes quinque in Eburones, quorum pars maxima est inter Mosam ac Rhenum, qui sub imperio Ambiorigis et Cativolci erant, misit. His militibus Quintum Titurium Sabinum et Lucium Aurunœlicium Continentam, legatos, præesse iussit. Ad hunc modum distributis legionibus, facillime inopiae frumentariæ sese mederi posse
existimavit: atque harum tamen omnium hiberna (præter eam, quam Lucio Roscio in pacatissimam et quietissimam partem ducendam dederat), 1millibus passuum centum con tinebantur. Ipse interca, quoad legiones collocasset muni taque hiberna cognovisset, in Gallia morari constituit.

25. Erat in Carnutibus summo loco natus Tasgetius, cujus maiores in sua civitate regnum obtinuerant. Huic Cæsar, pro ejus virtute atque in se benevolentia, quod in omnibus bellis singuli ejus opera fuerat usus, majorum locum restituerat. 2Tertium jam hunc annum regnantem inimici palam, multis etiam ex civitate auctoribus, interfecturunt. Defertur ea res ad Cæsarem. Ille veritus, 3quod ad plures pertinebat, ne civitas eorum impulsu deficeret, Lucium Plancum cum legione ex Belgio celeriter in Carnutes proficisci jubet, ibique hiemare; quorumque opera cognoverit Tasgetium interfæctum, hos comprehensos ad se mittet. Interim ab omnibus legatis et estoribus, quibus legiones TRANSdiderat, certior factus est, in hiberna perventum locumque hibernis esse munitum.

26. Diebus circiter quindecim, quibus in hiberna ventum est, initium repentini tumultus ac defecutionis ortum est ab Ambiorige et Cativolco: qui cum 4ad fines regni sui Sabino Cottaque præsto fuissent, frumentumque in hiberna commovissent, Indutiomari Treviri nunciis impulsi, suos consectaverunt, subitoque oppressi signatoribus, magna manu castra oppugnatum venerunt. Cum celeriter nostri arma cepissent vallumque ascendissent, atque, una ex parte Hispanis equibus emissis, equestri prælio superiores fuissent, desperata re, hostes suos ab oppugnatione reduxerunt. Tum suo more conclamaverunt, uti aliqui ex nostris ad colloquium prodirent; habere sese, quæ 6de re communi dicere vellent, quibus rebus controversias minui posse sperarent.

27. Mittitur ad eos colloquendi causa Caius Arpineius, eques Romanus, familiaris Quintii Titurii, et Quintus Jui nius ex Hispania quidam, qui jam ante 7missu Cæsaris ad
Ambiorigem ventitare consueverat: apud quos Ambiorix ad hunc modum locutus est: "Sese pro Cæsaris in se beneficiis plurimum ei coniheri debere, quod ejus opera stipendio liberatus esset, quod Aduatucis finitimis suis pendere consuisset: quodque ei et filius et fratris filius ab Cæsare remissi essent, quos Aduatuci, obsidum numero missos, apud se in servitute et catenis tenuisset: neque id, quod fecerit de oppugnatione castrorum, aut judicio aut voluntate sua fecisse, sed coactu civitatis; suaque esse ejusmodi imperia, ut non minus haberet juris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem. Civitati porro hanc fuisse bellis causam, quod repentinae Gallorum conjurationi resistere non potuerit: id se facile ex humilitate sua probare posse, quod non adeo sit imperitus rerum, ut suis copiis Populum Romanum se superare posse confidat: sed esse Galliae commune consilium; omnibus hibernis Cæsaris oppugnandis hunc esse dictum diem, ne qua legio altera legioni subsidio venire posset: non facile Gallos Gallis negare potuisse, præsertim cum de recuperanda communi libertate consilium initum videretur. Quibus quoniam pro pietate satisfecerit, habere se nunc rationem officii pro beneficiis Cæsaris; monere, orare Titurium pro hospitio, ut sua ac milium saluti consulat: magnum manum Germanorum conductam Rhenum transisse; hanc afflere biduo. Ipsorum esse consilium, velutne prius, quam finitimis sentiant, eductos ex hibernis milites aut ad Ciceroncem aut ad Labicum deducere, quorum alter millia passuum circiter quinquaginta, alter paulo amplius ab his absit. Illud se polliceri et jurejurando confirmare, tutum iter per fines suos daturum; quod cum faciat, et civitati sese consulere, quod hibernis levetur, et Cæsari pro ejus meritis gratiam referre." Hac oratione habita, discedit Ambiorix.

28. Arpincius et Junius, quæ audierint, ad legatos deferunt. Illi, repentina re perurbati, etsi ab hoste ea dicebantur, non tamen negligenda existimabant: maximeque
Hac re cruovebantur, quod, civitatem ignobilem atque humilem exorum sua sponte Populo Romano bellum facere ausam, vix erat credendum. Itaque ad consilium rem deferunt magnaque inter eos existit controversia. Lucius Aurunculceius compluresque tribuni militum et primorum ordinum centuriones “nil temere agendum, neque ex hibernis injussu Caesaris discedendum,” existimabat: “quantasvis, magnas etiam copias Germanorum sustineri posse munitis hibernis,” docebant: 2\textsuperscript{a} rem esse testimonio, quod primum hostium impetum, multis ultro vulneribus illatis, fortissime sustinuerint: 2\textsuperscript{a} re frumentaria non premi: interea et ex proximis hibernis et a Caesare conventura subsidia:” postremo, “quid esse 2\textsuperscript{a}levius aut turpius, quam, auctore hoste, de summis rebus capere consilium?”

29. Contra ea Titurius, 5\textsuperscript{a}sero facturos,” clamitabant, “cum maiores hostium manus, adjunctis Germanis, convenissent: aut cum 6\textsuperscript{a}aliquid calamitatis in proximis hibernis esset acceptum, brevem consulendi esse occasionem: Caesarem arbitrari profectum in Italiam: neque aliter Carnutes interficiendi Tasgetii consilium fuisse capturos, neque Eburones, si ille adesset, tanta cum contentione nostri ad castra venturos esse: 7non hostem auctorem, sed rem spectare; subesse Rhenum; magno esse Germanis dolori Ariovisti mortem et superiores nostras victorias: 8ardere Galliam, tot contumeliis acceptis sub Populi Romani imperium redactam, superiore gloria rei militaris extincta.” Postremo, “quis hoc sibi persuaderet, 8\textsuperscript{a}sine certa re Ambiorigem ad ejusmodi consilium descendisse? Suam sententiam in utramque partem esse tutam: 10si nil sit durius, nullo periculo ad proximam legionem perventuros; si Gallia omnis cum Germanis consentiat, 11\textsuperscript{a}unam esse in celeritate positam salutem. Cottæ quidem atque eorum, qui dissentirent, consilium quem haberet exitum? In quo si non 12præsens periculum, at certe longinquæ obsidione fames esset pertinentiæcendum.”
30. Hac in utramque partem disputacione habita, cum a Cotta primisque ordibus acriter resisteretur, Vincite," inquit, "si ita vultis," Sabinus, et id clarior e voce, ut magna pars militum exaudiret: "neque is sum," inquit, "qui gravissime ex vobis mortis periculo terrear: hi sapient, et si gravius quid acciderit, abs te rationem reposecent: qui, si per te liceat, perendino die cum proximis hibernis conjuncti, communem cum reliquis bellii casum sustineant, nec rejecti et relegati longe ab ceteris aut ferro aut fame intereat."

31. Consurgitur ex consilio; comprehendunt utrumque et orant, "ne sua dissensione et pertinacia rem in summum periculum deducant: facilem esse rem, seu maneant, seu proficiscantur, si modo unum omnes sentiant ac probent; contra in dissensione nullam se salutem perspicere." Res disputacione ad median noctem perducitur. Tandem dat Cotta permotus manus; superat sententia Sabini. Pronunciatur, prima luce ituros: consumitur vigiliis reliqua pars noctis, cum sua quisque miles circumspiceret, quid secum portare posset, quid ex instrumento hibernorum relinquere cogaretur. Omnia excogitatur, quare nec sine periculo maneatur et languore militum et vigiliis periculum augeatur. Prima luce sic ex castris proficiscuntur, ut quisbus esset persuasum, non ab hoste, sed ab homine amicissimo Ambiorige consilium datum, longissimo agmine maximisque impedimentis.

32. At hostes, posteaquam ex nocturno fremitu vigiliisque de profectione eorum senserunt, collocatis insidiis bipartito in silvis opportuno atque occulto loco, a millibus passuum circiter duobus, Romanorum adventum expectabant: et, cum se major pars agminis in magnam convallem demisisset, ex utraque parte ejus vallis subito se ostenderunt, novissimosque premere et primos prohibere ascensu atque iniquissimo nostris loco praelium committere coeperunt.

33. Tum demum Titurius, ut qui nihil ante providisset, trepidare, concursare, cohortesque disponere: haec tamen
TITURIUS SABINUS AND ACRUNCULEIUS GOTTA, BEING ATTACKED BY AMBIORIX, FORM THEIR TROOPS INTO AN ORG

A. Roman Army formed into an organ. B. Barrow. C. Ambiorix appearing on a sudden and surrounding the Roman forces. To face p. 103
ipsa timide atque ut eum omnia deficere viderentur: quod plerumque iis accidere consuevit, \textit{\textit{1}}qui in ipso negotio consilium capere coguntur. \textit{\textit{At Cotta, qui cogitasset, haec posse in itinere accidere, atque ob eam causam profectionis \textit{\textit{2}}auctor non fuisset, nulla in re communi saluti deerat, et in appellandis cohortandisque militibus, imperatoris; et in pugna, militis officia præstaban. Cumque propter longitudinem agminis \textit{\textit{3}}minus facile per se omnia obire, et, quid quoque loco faciendum esset, providere possent, \textit{\textit{4}}jusserunt pronuntiare, ut impedimenta relinquuerent atque in orbem consisterent. Quod consilium etsi in ejusmodi casu reprehendendum non est, tamen \textit{\textit{5}}incommode accidit: nam et nostris militibus \textit{\textit{6}}spem minuit, et hostes ad pugnam alacritatis efficiit, quod non sine summo timore et desperatione id factum videbatur.} 

\textit{\textit{34. At \textit{\textit{7}}barbaris consilium non defuit: nam duces eorum tota acie \textit{\textit{8}}pronuntiare jussurunt, \textit{\textit{9}}ne quis ab loco discenderet: \textit{\textit{10}}illorum esse prædam, atque illis reservari, quacumque Romanii reliquisserunt: proinde omnia in victoria positae existimarent." \textit{\textit{11}}Erant et virtute et numero pugnandos nostris, tamen etsi ab duce et a fortuna deserebantur, tamen omnem spem salutis in virtute ponebant, et, quoties quæquo cohors \textit{\textit{12}}procurreret, ab ea parte magnus hostium numerus cedebat. Qua re animadversa, Ambiorix pronuntiari jubet ut procul tela conjiciat, ne proprius accedant, et, quam in partem Romanii impetum fecerint, \textit{\textit{13}}cedant (levitate ar morum et quotidiana exercitatione nihil iis nocere posse) \textit{\textit{14}}rursus se ad signa recipientes inequantur.}

\textit{\textit{35. Quo præcepto ab iis diligentissime observato, cum \textit{\textit{15}}caepiam cohors ex orbe excesserat atque impetum fecerat, hostes velocissime refugiebant. Interim eam partem nudari necesse erat et ab latere aperto tela recipi. Rursus, cum}
in eum locum, unde erant progressi, reverti coeperant, et ab iis, qui cesserant, et ab iis, qui proximi steterant, circumveniebantur; sin autem locum tenere vellent, nec virtuti locus relinquebatur, neque ab tanta multitudine conjecta tela conferti vitare poterant. Tamen tot incommodis conflictati, multis vulneribus acceptis, resistebant et, magna parte diei consumta, cum a prima luce ad horam octavam pugnaretur, nihil, quod ipsis esset indignum, committebant. Tum Tito Balventio, qui superiore anno primum pilum duxerat, viro fortii et magnae auctoritatis, utrumque femur tragula transjicitur. Quintus Lucanius, ejusdem ordinis, fortissime pugnans, dum circumvento filio subvenit, interficitur: Lucius Cotta, legatus, omnes cohortes ordinesque adhortans, in adversum os funda vulneratur.

36. His rebus permotus Quintus Titurius, cum procul Ambiorigem suos cohortantem conspexisset, interpretem suum, Cneium Pompeium, ad eum mittit, rogatum, ut sibi militibusque parcat. Ille appellatus respondit: "si velit secum colloqui, licere; sperare, a multitudine impetrari posse, quod ad militum salutem pertineat; ipsi vero nihil nocitum iri, inque cam rem se suam fidem interponere." Ille cum Cotta saucio communicat, "si videatur, pugna ut excedant et cum Ambiorige una colloquantur: sperare, ab eo de sua ac militum salute impetrare posse." Cotta se ad armatum hostem iturum negat atque in eo constitit.

37. Sabinus, quos in præsenta tribunos militum circum se habebat et primorum ordinum centuriones, se sequi jubet, et, cum propius Ambiorigem accessisset, jussus arma abjiciere, imperatum facit, suisque, ut idem faciant, imperat. Interim, dum de conditionibus inter se agunt, longiorque consulto ab Ambiorigete instituitur sermo, paulatim circumventus interficitur. Tum vero suo more victoriam conclamant atque uhulatum tollunt, impetuque in nostros facto, ordines perturbant. Idi Lucius Cotta pugnans interficitur
cum maxima parte militum, reliqui se in castra recipiunt, unde erant egressi: ex quibus Lucius Petrosidius aquilifer, cum magna multitutudine hostium premetur, aquilam intra vallum projecit, ipse pro castris fortissime pugnans occiditur. 1illi ægre ad noctem oppugnationem sustinent: noctu ad unum omnes, desperata salute, se ipsi interficiunt. Pauci ex prælio elapsi, incertis itineribus per silvas ad Titum Labienum legatum in hiberna perveniunt atque eum de rebus gestis certiorem faciunt.

38. Hac victoria 2sublatus Ambiorix, statim cum equitatu in Aduatucos, qui erant ejus regno finitimi, proficiscitur; neque noctem neque diem intermitit, peditatumque se subsequi jubet. 3Re demonstrata, Aduatucisque concitatis, postero die in Nervios perveniit, hortaturque, “ne sui in perpetuum liberandi atque ulciscendi Romanos, pro iis, quas acceperint, injuriis, occasionem dimittant: interfectos esse legatos duo magnamque partem exercitus interisse” demonstrat; 4“nil esse negotii, subito oppressam legionem, quæ cum Cicerone hiemet, interfici; se ad eam rem profitetur adjutorem.” Facile hae oratione Nerviis persuadet.

39. Itaque, confestim dimissis nunciis ad Cetrones, Grudios, Levacos, Pleumoxios, Geidunos, qui omnes sub eorum imperio sunt, quam maximas manus possunt, cogunt, et de improviso ad Ciceronis hiberna advolant, nondum ad eum fama de Titurii morte perlata. 5Huic quoque accidit, quod fuit necesse, ut nonnulli milites, qui 6ignationis munionisque causa in silvas discessissent, repentino equitum adventu interciparentur. His circumventis, magna manu Eburones, Nervii, Aduatuci atque horum omnium socii et clientes, legionem oppugnare incipiunt: nostri celeriter ad arma concurrunt, vallum conscendunt. ⁷Ægre is dies ⁷sustentatur, quod omnem spem hostes in celeritate ponebant, atque, hanc adepti victoriam, in perpetuum se fore victores confidebant

41. Tunc duces principesque Nerviorum, qui aliquem sermonis aditum causamque amicitiae cum Cicerone habebant, colloqui sese velle dicunt. Facta potestate, eadem, quæ Ambiorix cum Titurio egerat, commemorant, "omne esse in armis Galliam, Germanos Rhenum transisse, Cæsar is reliquorumque hiberna oppugnari." Addunt etiam de Sabini morte. Ambiorigem ostentant fidei facienda causa: "errare eos" dicunt, "si quicquam ab his praesidii sperent, qui suis rebus disfident; sese tamen hoc esse in Ciceronem Populumque Romanum animo, ut nihil nisi hiberna recusest atque hanc inveterascere consuetudinem nolint: licere illis incolumibus per se ex hibernis discedere, et quæcumque in partes velint, sine metu proficisci." Cicero ad haec annum modo respondit. "Non esse consuetudinem Populi Romani, ullam accipere ab hoste armato conditionem: si ab armis discedere velit, se adjunctore utantur, legatosque ad Cæsarem mittunt: sperare, pro ejus justitia, quæ petierint, impetratos"
42. Ab hac :pe repulsī Nervii, 1 vallo pedum undecim et fossa pedum quindecem hiberna cingunt. 2 Hae et superiorum annorum consuetudine a nostris cognoverant, et, quosdam de exercitu nacti captivos, ab his docebantur: 3 sed, nulla ferramentorum copia, quae sunt ad hunc usum idonea, gladiis cespite cum circumcidere, manibus 4 sagulisque 5 terram exhaurire cœgebantur. Qua quidem ex re hominum multitudo cognosci potuit: nam minus horis tribus 6 millium decem in circuitu munitionem perfecerunt: reliquisque diebus turres 7 ad altitudinem valli, falses 8 testudinesque, quas iidem captivi docuerant, parare ac facere cœperunt.

43. Septimo oppugnationis die, maximo coorto vento, 9 ferventes fusili ex argilla glandes fundis et 10 fervescacta jacula in casas, qua more Gallico stramentis erant tectae, jacere cœperunt. Hae celeriter ignem comprehenderunt et venti magnitudine in omnem castrorum locum 11 distulerunt. Hostes, maximo clamore insecuti, quasi parta jam atque explorata victoria, turres testudinesque 12 agere et scalis vaculum ascendere cœperunt. At tanta militum virtus atque ea præsentia animi fuit, ut, cum undique flamma torrerentur, maximaque telorum multitudo premerentur, suaque omnia impedimenta atque omnes fortunes conflagrare intelligerent non modo 13 demigrandi causa de vallo decederet nemo, sed pane ne respiceret quidem quisquam; ac tum omnes acer-rime fortissimeque pugnarent. Hic dies nostris longe gra-vissimus fuit; sed tamen 14 hunc habuit eventum, ut eo die maximus hostium numerus vulneraretur atque interficeretur, 15 ut se sub ipso vallo constipaverant recessunque primis ultimis non dabant. Paulum quidem intermissa flamma, 16 et quodam loco turri adacta et contingente vallum, tertiae cohorsis centuriones ex eo, quo stabant, loco recesserunt suosque omnes removerunt; nutu vocibusque hostes, "si introire vellent," vocare cœperunt, quorum progressi ausus est nemo. Tum ex omni parte lapidibus conjectis 17 detur-bati, turrisque succensae est.

45. Quanto erat in dies gravior atque asperior oppugnatio, et maxime quod, magna parte militum confecta vulneribus, res ad paucitatem defensorum pervenerat, tanto crebriores literæ nuntiique ad Caesarem mittebantur: quorum pars reprehensa in conspectu nostrorum militum cum
cruciatus necabantur. Erat unus intus Nervius, nomine Vertico, loco natus honesto, qui a prima obsidione ad Ciceronem perfugerat, suamque ei sidem praestiterat. Hic servo spe libertatis magnisque persuadit praeliiis, ut literas ad Caesarem deferat. Hae ille in jaculo illigatas effert, et, Gallus inter Gallos sine ulla suspicione versatus, ad Caesarum pervenit. Ab eo de periculis Ciceronis legionisque cognoscitur.

46. Caesar, acceptis litteris hora circiter undeclia diei, statim nuncium in Bellovacos ad Marcum Crassum questoremmittit; cujus hiberna aberant ab eo millia passuum viginti quinque. Jubet media nocte legionem profiscisci, celeriterque ad se venire. Exiit cum nuncio Crassus. Alterum ad Canum Fabium legatum mittit, ut in Atrebatum fines legionem adducat, qua sibi iter faciendum sciebat. Scribit Labieno, si reipublicae commodo facere posset, cum legione ad fines Nerviorum veniat: reliquam partem exercitus, quod paulo aberat longius, non putat expectandam; equites circiter quadringentos ex proximis hibernis cogit.

47. Hora circiter tertia ab antecursoribus de Crassi adventu certior factus, eo die millia passuum viginti progressit. Crassum Samarobrivae prescit, legionemque ei attribuit, quod ibi impedimenta exercitus, obsides civitatum, litteras publicas, frumentumque omne, quod eo tolerandae hiemis causa devexerat, relinquebat. Fabius, ut imperatum erat, non ita multum moratus, in itinere cum legione occursit. Labienus, interitu Sabini et caede cohortium cognita, cum omnes ad eum Trevirorum copiae venissent, veritus, ne, si ex hibernis fugae similem profectionem fecisset, hostium impetus sustinere non posset, praeertim quos recenti victoria efferri sciret, litteras Caesaris remittit, quanto cum periculo legionem ex hibernis ducatur esse: rem gestam in Eburonibus perscribit: docet, omnes peditatus equitatusque copias Trevirorum tria millia passuum longe ab suis castris consedisse.
48. Cæsar, consilio ejus probato, etsi, opinione trium legionum dejectus, ad duas redierat, tamen unum communis salutis auxilium in celeritate ponebat. Venit magnis itinerebus in Nerviorum fines. Ibi ex captivis cognoscit, quæ apud Ciceronem gerantur, quantoque in periculo res sit. Tum cuidam ex equitibus Gallis magnis præmiis persuadet, uti ad Ciceronem epistolam deferat. Hanc 2 Græcis conscriptam literis mittit, ne, intercepta epistola, nostra ab hostibus consilia cognoscantur. 3 Si adire non possit, monet, ut tragulam cum epistola, ad amentum diligata, intra munitones castrorum abjiciat. In literis scribit, se cum legionibus profectum celeriter affore: hortatur, ut pristinam virtutem retineat. Gallus, periculum veritus, ut erat praecipitum, tragulam mittit. Hæc 4 casu ad turrim adhæsit, neque ab nostris biduo animadversa, terto die a quodam milite conspicitur; demta ad Ciceronem defertur. 5 Ille perlectam in conventu militum recitat, maximaque omnes lătitia afficit. Tum 6 fumi incendiorum procul videbantur, quæ res omnem dubitationem adventus legionum expulit.

49. Galli, re cognita per exploratores, obsidionem relinquunt, ad Cæsarem omnibus copiis contendunt; eæ erant armatorum circiter millia sexaginta. Cicero, 7 data facultate, Gallum ab codem Verticone, quem supra demonstravimus, repetit; qui literas ad Cæsarem referat; hunc admonet, iter caute diligenterque faciat: perscribit in literis, hostes ab se discessisse, omnemque ad eum multitudinem convertisse. Quibus literis circiter media nocte 8 Cæsar allatis suos facit certiores, eosque ad dimicandum animo confirmat: postero die luce prima movet castra, et circiter millia passuum quatuor progressus, 10 trans vallenum magnam et rivum multitudinem hostium conspicatur. Erat magni periculi res, cum tantis copiis iniquo loco dircicare. 11 Tum, quoniam liberatum obsidione Ciceronem sciebat, eoque omnino remittendum de celeritate existimabant, consedit, et, quam æquissimo potest loco, castra communit. Atque hæc,
etsi erant exigua per se, vix hominum millium septem, præ-sequitur nullis cum impedimentis, 5 tamen angustiis viarum quam maxime potest, contrahit, eo consilio, 6 ut in summam contentionem hostibus veniat. Interim, speculatoribus in omnes partes dimissis, explorat, quo commodissimo itinere vallem transire possit.

50. Eo die, parvulis equestribus præliis ad aquam factis, utrique sese suo loco continent; Galli, quod ampliores copias, quæ nondum convenirent, expectabant; Cæsar, si forte timoris simulatione hostes in suum locum elicere posset, ut 5 citra vallem pro castris præliio contenderet; si id efficere non posset, ut, exploratis itineribus, minore cum periculo vallem rivumque transiret. Prima luce hostium equitatus ad castra accedit, præliumque cum nostris equitibus committit. Cæsar consulto equites cedere seque in castra recipere jubet; simul ex omnibus partibus castra altiore vallo muniri, 6 portasque obstrui, atque in his administrandis rebus quam maxime concursari et cum simulatone timoris agi jubet.

51. Quibus omnibus rebus hostes invitat copias transducunt, aciemque iniquo loco constitunt; nostris vero 6 etiam de vallo deductis, propriis accedunt, et tela intra munitionem ex omnibus partibus conjiciunt; præconibusque circummissis pronuntiari jubent, "seu quis Gallus seu Romanus velit ante horam tertiam ad se transire, sine periculo licere; post id tempus non fore potestatem:" 6 ac sic nostros contemserunt, ut obstructis in speciem portis singulis ordinibus cespitum, quod ea non posse introrumpere videbantur, alii vallum 7 manu scindere, alii fossas complevere inciperent. Tum Cæsar, omnibus portis eruptione facta equitatuque emissos, celeriter hostes dat in fugam, sic, uti omnino pugnandi causa resisteret nemo; magnumque ex eis numerum occidit, atque omnes armis exuit.

52. Longius proseque veritus, quod silvæ paludesque intercedebant, 8 neque etiam parvulo detrimento illorum locum
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relinqui videbat, omnibus suis incolunibus copiosis eodem die ad Ciceronem pervenit. Institutas turres, testudines, munitionesque hostium admiratur: producta legione cognoscit, non deciminum quemque esse relictum militem sine vulnere. Ex his omnibus judicat rebus, quanto cum periculo et quanta cum virtute res sint administratae: Ciceronem pro ejus merito legionemque collaudat: centuriones singillatim tribunosque militum appellat, quorum egregiam suae virtutem testis testimonio Ciceronis cognoverat. De casu Sabini et Cotta certius ex captivis cognoscit. Postero die concione habita rem gestam proponit, millites consolatur et confirmat: quod detrimentum culpa et temeritate legati sit acceptum, hoc æquiore animo ferendum docet, quod, beneficio Deorum immortalium et virtute eorum expiato incommodo, neque hostibus diutina laetatio, neque ipsis longior dolor relinquatur.

53. Interim ad Labienum per Remos incredibili celeritate de victoria Caesaris fama perfertur, ut, cum ab hibernis Ciceronis abesset millia passuum sexaginta, eoque post horam nonam diei Caesar pervenisset, ante medium noctem ad portas castrorum clamor oritur, quo clamore significatio victoriae gratulatioque ab Remis Labieno fieret. Hac fama ad Treviros perlata, Indutoiamus, qui postero die castra Labieni oppugnare decreverat, noctu profugit, copiasque omnes in Treviros reducit. Caesar Fabium cum legione in sua remittit hiberna, ipsa cum tribus legionibus circum Samarobrivam trinis hibernis hiemare constituit; et, quod tanti motus Galliae exiterant, totam hiemem ipse ad exercitum manere decrevit. Nam illo incommodo de Sabini morte perlato, omnes fere Galliae civitates de bello consultabant, nuncios legationesque in omnes partes dimittebant, et, quid reliqui consilii caperent atque unde initium bellicum siceret, explorabant, nocturnaque in locis desertis concilia habebant. Neque ullum fere totius hiemis tempus sine sollicitudine Caesaris intercessit, quin aliquem
de conciliis ac motu Gallorum nuncium acciperet. In his
ab Lucio Roscio legato, quem legioni decimae tertiae praefecerat, certior est factus, magnas Gallorum copias earum
civitatum, quae 1Armoricae appellantur, oppugnandi sui causa
convenisse: neque longius millia passuum octo ab hibernis
suis afuisse, sed nuncio allato de victoria Caesaris, disces-
sisse, adeo ut fugae similis discessus videretur.

54. At Caesar, principibus cujusque civitatis ad se evo-
catis, alias territando, cum se scire, quae fient, denuncia-
ret, alias cohortando, magnam partem Galliae in officio ten-
uit. Tamen Senones, quae est civitas in primis firma et mag-
nae inter Gallos auctoritatis, Cavarinum, quem Caesar apud
eos regem constituerat (cujus frater Moritasgus, adventu in
Galliam Caesaris, cujusque majores regnum obtinuerant),
terficere publico consilio conati, cum ille praesensisset ac
profugisset, usque ad fines insecuti, regno domoque expul-
rent: et, missis ad Caesarem satisfaciendi causa legatis,
cum is omnem ad se senatum venire jussisset, dicto audi-
entes non fuerunt. 2Tantum apud homines barbaros valuit,
esse repertos aliquos principes belli inferendi, tantamque
omnia voluntatum commutationem attulit, ut praeter AEduos
et Remos, quos 3præciuuo semper honore Caesar habuit,
alteros pro vetere ac perpetua erga Populum Romanum fide,
alteros pro recentibus Gallici belli officiiis, nulla fere civitas
fuerit non suspecta nobis. 4Idque adeo haud scio miran-
dumne sit, cum compluribus aliis de causis, tum maxime,
5quod, qui virtute belli omnibus gentibus praeferebantur, tan-
tum se ejus opinionis deperdisisse, ut a Populo Romano
imperia perferrent, gravissime dolebant.

55. Treviri vero atque Indutiomarus totius hiemis nullum
tempus interniserunt, quin trans Rhenum legatos mitterent,
civitates solicitarent, pecunias pollicerentur, magna parte
exercitus nostri interfecta, multo minorem superesse dice-
rent partem. Neque tamen ulli civitati Germanorum per-
suaderi potuit, ut Rhenum transiret, cum “se bis expertos”

I. 2
dicerent, "Ariovisti bello et Tenchtherorum transitu, non esse amplius fortunam tentandam." 'Hac spe lapsus Indutiomarus, nihil minus copias cogere, exercere, a finitimis equos parare, exules damnatosque tota Gallia magnis præmiis ad se allicere cœpit. Ac tantiam si iis rebus in Gallia auctoritatem comparaverat, ut undique ad eum legationes concurrerent, gratiam atque amicitiam publice privatimque peterent.

56. Ubi intellectus aultro ad se veniri, altera ex parte Senones Carnutesque conscientia facinoris instigari, altera Nervios Aduatucosque bellum Romanis parare, neque si volantiorum copias defore, si ex finibus suis prorediœ cœpisset: arma tum concilium indicit (hoc more Gallorum est initium belli), quo lege communi omnes puberes armati convenire consuerunt; qui ex iis novissimis venit, in conspectu multitudinis omnibus cruciatibus auctus necatur. In eo concilio Cingetorigem, alterius principem factionis, generum suum (quem supra demonstravimus, Cæsaris secundum fidem, ab eo non discessisse), hostem judicat, bonaque ejus publicat. His rebus confectis, in concilio pronuntiat, accessitum se a Senonibus ct Carnutibus aliisque compluriibus Galliarum civitatibus, hoc iter facturum per fines Reromum, eorumque agros populaturum, ac prius, quam id faciat, Labieni castra oppugnaturum: quæ fieri velit, præcipit.

57. Labienus, cum et loci natura et manu muniissimas castris sese teneret, de suo ac legionis periculo nihil timebat; ne quam occasione rei bene gerendæ dimitteret, cogitabat. Itaque a Cingetorige atque ejus propinquis ortione Indutiomari cognita, quam in concilio habuerat, nuncios mittit ad finitimis civitatibus, equitesque undique evocat: iis certum diem conveniendi dicit. Interim prope quotidie cum omni equitatu Indutiomarus sub castris ejus vagabatur alias ut situm castrorum cognosceret, alias colloquendi aut territandi causa: equites plerunque omnes tela intra vallum conjiciabant. Labienus suos intra munitiones continebat.
LABIENUS, BY A PRETENDED FLIGHT, INDUCES THE TREVIRI TO CROSS THE RIVER IN THEIR FRONT, AND DEFEATS THEM.

timorisque opinionem, quibuscumque poterat rebus, au-
gebat.

58. Cum majore in dies contentione Indutiomarus ad
castra accederet, nocte una, intromissis equitibus omnium
finitimarum civitatum, quos arcessendos curaverat, tanta
diligentia omnes suos custodiis intra castra continuit, ut
nulla ratione ea res enunciari aut ad Treviro perferri pos-
set. Interim ex consuetudine quotidiana Indutiomarus ad
castra accedit, atque ibi magnam partem diei consumit;
equites tela conjiciunt, et magna cum contumelia verborum
nostros ad pugnam evocant. Nullo ab nostris dato re-
sponse, ubi visum est, sub vesperum dispersi ac dissipati
discendunt. Subito Labienus duabus portis omnem equita-
tum emittit; præcipit atque interdicit, proterritis hostibus
atque in fugam conjectis (quod fore, sicut accidit, videbat),
umum omnes petant Indutiomarum; neu quis quem prius
vulneret, quam illum interfecit viderit, quod morta reli-
quorum spatium nactum illum effugere nollet: magna pro-
ponit iis, qui occiderint, præmia: submittit cohortes equiti-
bus subsidio. Comprobat hominis consilium fortuna; et,
cum unum omnes peterent, in ipso fluminis vado depræhen-
sus Indutiomarus interficitur, caputque ejus reseritur in ca-
stra: redeunte equites, quos possunt, consectantur atque
occidunt. Hac re cognita, omnes Eburonum et Nerviorum,
quæ convenerant, copiæ discendunt; pauloque habuit post
id factum Cæsar quietiorem Galliam.
BOOK VI.

THE ARGUMENT.

1 Commotions throughout nearly all Gaul, in consequence of the overthrow and death of Titurius.

II. Caesar's expedition against the Suevi.

III. Punishment of Ambiorix and the Eburones.
Chap. 29. Caesar, fearing the want of provisions, repasses the Rhine, and marches against Ambiorix. 30. The great power of fortune exemplified in the escape of Ambiorix. 31. Ambiorix disbands his troops, and counsels them to provide for their own safety. 32-34. Caesar, having divided his forces, lays waste the territories of the Eburones. 35. A body of Sicambri cross the Rhine, in order to take part in the plundering of the Eburones, but turn off for the purpose of sur
prising Atuatica. 36-43. The Roman camp attacked by the Sicambri. Some cohorts, which had gone out to forage, are in great danger. A part are cut to pieces, the rest make their way, by dint of fighting, back to the camp. The Germans return across the Rhine. The alarm of the Romans dissipated by the arrival of Cæsar. 44. The country of the Eburones being completely wasted, Cæsar holds a council of Gaul, and inquires into the conspiracy of the Senones and Carnutes. Acco punished. Cæsar places his troops in winter quarters, and sets out for Italy to hold the circuits.

1. **Multis de causis Cæsar, majorem Galliæ motum expectans,** "per Marcum Silanum, Caium Antistium Reginum, Titum Sextium, legatos, "dilectum habere instituit: simul ab Cneio Pompeio "proconsule petit, "quoniam ipse ad urbem cum imperio reipublicæ causa remaneret, quos ex Cisalpina Gallia consulis "sacramento rogavisset, ad signa convenire et ad se proficisci jubaret: "magni interesse etiam in reli-quum tempus ad opinionem Galliæ existimans, tantas videri Italiæ facultates, ut, si quid esset in bello detrimenti accep-tum, non modo id brevi tempore "sarciri, sed etiam "majoribus adangeri copiis posset. "Quod cum Pompeius et reipublicæ et amicitiae tribuisset, celeriter confecto "per suos dilectu, tribus ante exactam hiemem et constitutis et ad-ductis legionibus, duplicatoque earum cohortium numero, quas cum Quinto Titurio amiserat, et celeritate et copiis docuit, quid "Populi Romani disciplina atque opes possent.

2. Interfecto Indutiomaro, "ut docuimus, ad ejus propin-quo a Treviris imperium defertur. Illi finitimos Germanos solicitate et pecuniam polliceri non desistunt: cum ab proximis impetrare non possent, ulteriores tentant. Invenitis nonnullis civitatibus, "jurejurando inter se confirmant, ob-sidibusque de pecunia cavent: Ambiorigem sibi societate et federe adjungunt. Quibus rebus cognitis, Cæsar, cum undique bellum parari videret, Nervios, Aduatucos, Mena-pios, adjunctis "Cisrhenanis omnibus Germanis, esse in armis, Senones "ad imperatum non venire, et cum Carnufi-
bus finitimisque civitatis consilia communicare, a Treveris Germanos crebris legationibus solicitari; maturius sibi de bello cogitandum putavit.

3. Itaque 'nondum hieme confecta, proximis quatuor coactis legionibus, de improviso in fines Nerviorum contendit, et prius, quam illi aut convenire aut profugere possent, magno pecoris atque hominum numero capto, atque ea præda multibus concessa, vastatisque agris, in deditionem venire atque obsides sibi dare coegit. Eo celeriter confero negotio, rursus in hiberna legiones reduxit. Concilio Galliæ primo vere, 'uti instituerat, indicto, cum reliqui, praeter Senones, Carnutes, Trevirosoque, venissent, initium belli ac defectionis hoc esse arbitratus, ut 'omnia postponere vide-retur, concilium Lutetiam Parisiorum transfert. Confines erant hi Senonibus, civitatemque patrum memoria conjunxerant; 'sed ab hoc consilio a fuisse existimabantur. 'Hac re pro suggestu pronunciata, codem die cum legionibus in Senones proficiscitur, magnoque itinerebus eo pervenit.

4. Cognito ejus adventu, Acco, qui princeps ejus consilii fuerat, jubet in oppida multitudinem convenire; 'conantibus, priusquam id effici posset, adesse Romanos nunciatur; necessario sententia desistunt, legatosque deprecandi causa ad Caesarum mittunt; 'adeunt per Æduos, quorum antiquitas erat in fide civitas. Libenter Caesar petentibus Æduis 'dat veniam, excusatatemque accipit; quod æstivum tempus instantis belli, non quaestionis, esse arbitrabatur. Obisdibus imperatis centum, hos Æduis custodiendos tradit. Eodem Carnutes legatos obsidesque mittunt, uti 'deprecatoribus Remis, quorum erant in clientela: eadem ferunt 'responsa. Peragit concilium Caesar, equitesque imperat civitatibus.

5. Hac parte Galliæ pacata, 'totus et mente et animo in bellum Trevirorum et Ambiorigis insistit. 'Cavirimum cum equitatu Senonum secum proficisci jubet, ne quis aut ex hujus iracundia, aut ex eo, quod meruerat, odio civitatis,
motus existat. His rebus constitutus, quod pro explorato habebat, Ambiorigem præelio non esse concertaturum, reliqua ejus consilia animo circumspiciebat. Erant Menapii propinqui Eburonum finibus, perpetuis paludibus silvisque muniti, qui uni ex Gallia de pace ad Cæsarem legatos nunquam miserant. Cum iis esse hospitium Ambiorigi sciebat: item per Treviro venisse Germanis in amicitiam, cognoverat. Hæc prius illsi detrahenda auxilia existimabat, quam ipsum bello lacesseret; ne, desperata salute, aut se in Menapios abderet, aut cum Transrhenanis congregi cogeretur. Hoc inito consilio, totius exercitus impedimenta ad Labienum in Treviro mittit, duasque legiones ad eum proficisci jubet: ipse cum legionibus expeditis quinque in Menapios profisciscitur. Illi, nulla coacta manu, loci præsidio froti, in silvas paludesque confugiunt, suaque eodem conferunt.

6. Caesar, partitis copiis cum Caio Fabio legato et Marco Crasso quaestore, celeriterque effectis pontibus, adit tripartito, ædificia vicosque incendit, magno pecoris atque hominum numero potitur. Quibus rebus coacti Menapii, legatos ad eum pacis petendæ causa mittunt. Ille, obsidibus acceptis hostium se habiturum numero confirmat, si aut Ambiorigem, aut ejus legatos, finibus suis recepissent. His confirmatis rebus, Commiun Atrebatem cum equitatu custodis loco in Menapiis relinquit; ipse in Treviro profisciscitur.

7. Dum haec a Cæsare geruntur, Treviri, magnis coactis peditatus equitatusque copiis, Labienum cum una legione, quæ in eorum finibus hiemabat, adoriri parabant: jamque ab eo non longius bidui via aberant, cum duas venisse legiones missu Cæsaris cognoscunt. Positis castris a militibus passuum quindecim, auxilia Germanorum expectare constituint. Labienus, hostium cognito consilio, sperans, temeritate eorum fore aliquam dimicandi facultatem, praesidio cohortium quinque impedimentis relicto, cum viginti
Erat inter Labiennum atque hostem difficili transitu illum ripisque præruptis: hoc neque ipse transire in animo habebat, neque hostes transituros existimabat. nAu- gebatur auxiliorum quotidie spes. Loquitur in consilio palam, “quoniam Germani appropinquare dicantur, sese suas exercitusque fortunas in dubium non devocaturum, et postero die prima luce castra moturum.” Celeriter hæ ad hostes deferuntur, ut ex magno Gallorum equitatus numero nonnullis Gallicis rebus favere natura cegebat. Labienus noctu, tribunis militum primisque ordínibus coactis, quid sui sit consili, proponit, et, quo facilioribus hostibus timoris det suspicionem, majore strepitu et tumultu, quam Populi Romani fert consuetudo, castra moveri jubet. His rebus fugæ similem profectionem efficit. Hæ quoque per exploratores ante lucem, in tanta propinquitate castrorum, ad hostes de feruntur.

ponit. Celeriter nostri clamore sublato pila in hostes immittunt. Illi, ubi praeter spatium, quos fugere credebant, infestis signis ad se ire viderunt, impetum modo ferre non potuerunt, ac, primo concursu in fugam conjicti, proximas silvas petierunt: quos Labienus equitatu consectatus, magno numero interfecit, compluribus captis, paucis post diebus civitatem receptit: nam Germani, qui auxilio veniebant, percepit Trevirorum fuga, sese domum contulerunt. Cum iis 2 propinqui Indutiomari, qui defectionis auctores fuerant, comitati eos, ex civitate excesserent. Cingetorigi, quem ab initio permansisse in officio demonstravimus, principatus atque imperium est traditum.

9. Caesar, postquam ex Menapiis in Treviros venit, duas de causis Rhenum transire constituit: quorum erat altera, quod auxilia contra se Treviris miserant; altera, ne Ambiorix ad eos receptum haberet. His constitutis rebus, paulum supra eum locum, quo ante exercitum transduxerat, facere pontem instituit. Nota atque instituta ratione, magno militum studio, paucis diebus opus efficierit. Firmo in Treviris præsidio ad pontem recepto, ne quis ab iis subito motus oriretur, reliquas copias equitatumque transduci. Ubii, qui ante obsides dererant atque in deditionem vene- rant, purgandi sui causa ad eum legatos mittunt, qui deceant, "neque ex sua civitate auxilia in Treviros missa, neque ab se fidem læsam:" petunt atque orant, "ut sibi parcat, ne communi odio Germanorum innocentes pro nocentibus pænas pendant:" si amplius obsidum velit, dare pollicentur. 5 Cognita Caesar causa reperit, ab Suevis auxilia missa esse: Ubiorum satisfactionem accipit; aditus viasque in Suevos perquirit.

10. Interim paucis post diebus fit ab Ubiiis certior, Suevos omnes unum in locum copias cogere, atque iis nationibus, quæ sub eorum sint imperio, denunciare, uti auxilia petitatibus equitatusque mittant. His cognitis rebus, rem frumentariam providet, castris idoneum locum deligit, Ubiiis
imperat, ut pecora deducant sueque omnia ex agris in oppida conferant, sperans, barbaros atque imperitos homines, inopia cibariorum alictos, ad iniquam pugnandi conditionem posse deduci: mandat, ut crebros exploratores in Suevos mittant, quaque apud eos gerantur, cognoscant. Illi imperata faciunt, et, paucis diebus intermissis, referunt, "Suevos omnes, posteauam certiorum nuncii de exercitu Romanorum venerint, cum omnibus suis sociorumque copis, quas coegissent, penitus ad extremos fines sese recepisse: silvam esse ibi infinita magnitudine, quae appellatur Bace-nis: hanc longe introrsus pertinere, et, pro nativo muro objectam, Cheruscos ab Suevis, Suevosque ab Cherusicis, in-juriis incursionibusque prohibere: ad ejus initium silvae Suevos adventum Romanorum expectare constituisse."

11. Quoniam ad hunc locum perventum est, non ali-enum, esse videtur, de Galliae Germaniaeque moribus, et quo differeant ex nationes inter sese, proponere. In Gallia, non solum in omnibus civitatibus atque in omnibus pagis partibusque, sed etiam in singulis domibus, factiones sunt: earumque factionum principes sunt, qui summam auctoritatem eorum judicio habere existimantur, quorum ad arbitrium judiciumque summa omnium rerum consiliorumque redate. Idque ejus rei causa antiquitus institutum videtur, ne quis ex plebe contra potentiorum auxilii egeret: suos enim quisque opprimi et circumveniri non patitur, neque, aliter si faciant, ullam inter suos habent auctorita-tem. Hae eadem ratio est in summa totius Galliae: namque omnes civitates in partes divisae sunt duas.

12. Cum Caesar in Galliam venit, alterius factionis principes erant Ædui, alterius Sequani. Hi cum per se minus valerent, quod summa auctoritas antiquitus erat in Æduis, magnaeque eorum erant clientela, Germanos atque Ariovistum sibi adjunxerant, eosque ad se magnis factis pollicitationibusque perduxerant. Proelis vero compluribus factis secundis, atque omni nobilitate Æduorum interfecta,
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Mantum potentia antecesserant, ut magnam partem clientium ab Æduis ad se transducerent, obsidesque ab iis principum filios acciperent, et publice jurare cogerent, nihil se contra Sequanos consilii initiuros; et partem finitimi agri, per vir occupatam, possiderent; Gallæque totius principatum ob inerent. Qua necessitate adductus Divitiacus, auxilii pe tendi causa Romam ad Senatum profectus, infecta re redierat. Adventu Cæsaris facta commutatione rerum, obsibus Æduis redditis, veteribus clientelis restitutis, novis pei Cæsarem comparatis (quod hi, qui se ad eorum amicitiam aggregaverant, meliore conditione atque æquiori imperio se uti videbant), reliquis rebus eorum, gratia, dignitate amplificata, Sequani principatum dimiserant. In eorum locum Remi successerant; quos quod adequare apud Cæsarem gratia intelligebatur, ii, qui propter veteres inimicitias nullo modo cum Æduis conjungi poterant, se Remis in clienteleam dicabant. Hos illi diligenter tuebantur. Ita et novam et repente collectam auctoritatem tenebant. Eo tum statu erat, ut longe principes haberentur Ædui, secundum locum dignitatis Remi obtinèrent.

13. In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo: nam plebes pænc servorum habetur loco, quà per se nihil audet et nullo adhibetur consilio. Plerique, cum aut Ære alieno, aut magnitudine tributorum, aut injuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus: in hos eadem omnia sunt pura, quà dominis in servos. Sed de his duobus generibus alterum est Druidum, alterum equitum. Illi rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones interpretantur. Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque ii sunt apud eos honore. Nam fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt; et, si quod est admissum facinus, si cædes facta, si de häreditate, si de finibus controversia est, idem decernunt; præmia penasque constituunt: si qui aut...

14. Druides a bello abesse consuerunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt; militiae vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati praeiiis, et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt, et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur: itaque annos nonnulli vicenos in disciplina permanent. Neque fas esse existimant, ea litteris mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Graccis utantur litteris. Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur; quod neque in vulgum disciplinam esferri velint, neque eos, qui discant, litteris confisos, minus memoriae studere: quod fere plerisque accidit, ut præsidio literarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant. In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios: atque hoc maxime ad virtutee excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de
mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de Deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et juventuti transdunt.


16. Natio est omnium Gallorum admodum dedita religiosis, atque ob cam causam, qui sunt affecti gravioribus morbis, quique in præliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolaturos vovent, administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur; quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse aliter Deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur: publicaque ejusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia. Alii in mani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta vimi nibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus succensis, circumventi flamma exanimantur homines. Supplicia eorum, qui in furto, aut in latrocinio, aut aliqua noxa sint comprehensi, gratiora Diis immortalibus esse arbitrantur: sed, cum ejus generis copia deficit, ad innocentium suppli cia descendunt.

17. Deum maxime Mercurium colunt: hujus sunt plurima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quæstus pecuniæ mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc, Apollinem et Martem et Jovem et Minervam: de his eandem fere, quam reliquæ gentes, habent opinionem; Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia transdere; Jovem imperium coelestium tenere; Martem bella regere. Huic, cum prælio di micare constituerunt, ca, quæ bello ceperint, plerumque de
vovent. \textsuperscript{1}Quæ superaverint, animalia capta immolant; reliquas res in unum locum conferunt. Multis in civitibus harum rerum exstructos tumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet: neque sæpe accidit, ut, \textsuperscript{2}neglecta quispam religionem, aut capta apud se occultare, aut posita tollere auderet: gravissimunque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constituendum est.

18. Galli se omnes \textsuperscript{3}ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant, idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam, \textsuperscript{4}spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium, finiunt; dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, \textsuperscript{5}ut noctem dies subsequatur. \textsuperscript{6}In reliquis vitae instutitis, hoc fere ab reliquis differunt, quod suos liberos, nisi cum adoleverint, ut munus militæ sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur; filiumque puerili ætate in publico, in conspectu patris, assistere, turpe ducunt.

19. \textsuperscript{7}Viri, quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis, aestimatione facta, cum dotibus communicant. Hujus omnis pecuniaë \textsuperscript{8}conjectimatio habetur, fructusque servantur: uter eorum \textsuperscript{9}vita superarit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum pervenit. Viri in uxores, sicut in liberos, vitae necisque habent potestatem: et, cum pater familiae, illustriore loco natus, decessit, ejus propinquii conveniant, et, de morte si res in suspicionem venit, de uxoribus \textsuperscript{10}in servilem modum questionem habent, et, \textsuperscript{11}si compertum est, igni atque omnibus tormentis excruciatas interficiunt. Funera sunt \textsuperscript{12}pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et sumtuosa; omniaque, quae \textsuperscript{13}vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia: \textsuperscript{14}ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, justis funeribus confecatis, una cremabantur.

20. Quæ civitates \textsuperscript{15}commodius suam rem publicam administrare existimabant, habent legibus sanctum, si quis quid de re publica a finitimis rumore ac fama acceperit,
uti ad magistratum deferat, neve cum quo alio communicet: quod sæpe homines temerarios atque imperitos falsis rumoribus terreri, et ad facinus impelli, et de summis rebus consilium capere cognitum est. Magistratus, quae visa sunt, occultant; quæque esse ex usu judicaverint, multitudini produnt. De re publica nisi per concilium loqui non conceditur.


22. Agriculturae non studium; majorque pars victus eorum in lacte, caseo, carne consistit: neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios; sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognitionibusque hominum, qui una coierint, quantum, et quo loco visum est, agri attribuunt, atque anno post alio transire cogunt. Eius rei multas afferunt causas; ne, assidua consuetudine capti, studium bellii gerendi agricultura commutent; ne latos fines parare studeant, potentioresque humiliores possessionibus expellant; ne accuratius ad frigora atque aestus vitandos edificent; ne qua oriatur pecuniae cupiditas, qua ex re factiones dissensionesque nascuntur; ut animi æquitate plebem continant, cum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis æquari videat.
23. Civitatibus maxima laus est, quam latissimæ circum se vastatis finibus solitudines habere. Hoc proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finiminos cedere, neque quenquam prope audere consistere: simul hoc se fore tutores arbitrantur, repentinae incursionis timore sublato. Cum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit, aut infert; magistratus, qui ci bello præsint, ut vitæ necisque habcant potestatem, deliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt, controversiasque minuant. Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines cujusque civitatis sunt; atque ea juvenitis exercendæ ac desidiae minuendæ causa fieri praedicant. Atque, ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit, "se decem fore; qui sequi velit, profiteantur," consurgunt ii, qui et causam et hominem probant, suumque auxilium pollicentur, atque ab multitudine collaudantur: qui ex iis secuti non sunt, in desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur, omniumque iis rerum postea fides derogatur. Hospites violare, fas non putant; qui quaque de causa ad eos venerint, ab injuria prohibent, sanctosque habent; iis omnium domus patent, victusque communicatur.

25. Hujus Hercyniae silvae, quae supra demonstrata est, latitudo novem dierum iter expedito patet: non enim aliter finiri potest, neque mensuras itinerum novem. 2 Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus, rectaque fluminis Danubii regione pertinet ad fines Dacorum et Anartium: hinc so flectit sinistrorsus, diversis ab flumine regionibus, multarumque gentium fines propter magnitudinem attingit: neque quisquam est hujus Germaniae, qui se aut adisse ad initium ejus silvae dicat, cum dierum iter sexaginta processerit, aut quo ex loco oriatur, acceperit. Multa in ea genera ferarum nasci constat, quae reliquis in locis visa non sint: ex quibus, quae maxime differant ab ceteris et memoriae prodenda videantur, haec sunt.

26. Est bos cervi figura, cujus a media fronte inter aures unum cornu existit, excelsius magisque directum his, quae nobis nota sunt, cornibus. Ab ejus summo, sicut palmæ, rami quam late diffunduntur. Eadem est feminae marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudoque cornuum.

27. Sunt item, quae appellantur Alces. Harum est consimilis capreis figura et varietas pellium; sed magnitudine paulo antecedunt, mutilaeque sunt cornibus, et crura sine nodis articulisque habent; neque quietis causa procumbunt, neque, si quo afflictæ casu conciderint, erigere sese aut sublevare possunt. His sunt arbores pro cubilibus: ad eas se applicant, atque ita, paulum modo reclinateæ, quietem capiunt: quorum ex vestigiis cum est animadversum a venatoribus, quo se recipere consuerint, omnes eo loco aut radicibus subruunt, aut accident arbores tantum, ut summa species earum stantium relinquatur. Huc cum se consuetudine reclinaverint, infirmas arbores pondere affligunt, atque una ipsæ concidunt.

28. Tertium est genus eorum, qui Uri appellantur. Hi sunt magnitudine paulo infra elephantos, specie et colore et figura tauri. Magna vis eorum, et magna velocitas neque homini, neque ferae, quam conspexerint, parcunt...

29. *Cæsar, postquam per Ubiros exploratores comperit, Suevos sese in silvas recepisse, *inopiam frumenti veritus, quod, ut supra demonstravimus, minime omnes Germani agriculturæ student, constituit, non progreoti longius: sed, ne omnino metum redivus sui barbaris tolleret, atque ut eorum auxilia tardaret, reducto exercitu, partem ultimam pontis, qua ripas Ubiorum contingebat, in longitudinem pedum ducentorum rescindit; atque in extremo ponte turrim tabulatorem quatuor constituit, praesiidiumque cohortium duodecim pontis tuendi causa ponit, magnisque cum locum munitiobus firmat. *Ei loco praesidioque Caium Volcatium Tullum adolescentem praefecit: ipse, cum maturescere frumenta inciperent, ad *bellum Ambiorigis profectus (per Arabennam silvam, quæ est totius Galliæ maxima, atque ab ripis Rheni finibusque Treverorum ad Nervios pertinet, millibusque amplius quingentis in longitudinem patet), Luciam Minucium Basilum cum omni equitatu præmittit, si quid celeritate itineris atque opportunitate temporis proficere possit; monet, ut ignes fieri in castris prohibeat, ne qua ejus adventus procul significatio fiat: sese confestim subsequi dicit.

30. *Basilus, ut imperatum est, facit; celeriter contraque omnium opinionem confecto itinere, multos in agris inopinantes deprehendit; corum indicio ad ipsum Ambiorigem contendit, quo in loco curn panesis equitibus esse diecebatur. Multum cum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari potest
fortuna. Nam sicut magno accidit casu, ut in ipsum incautum atque etiam imparatum incideret, 'priusque ejus adventus ab hominibus videretur, quam fama ac nuncius adventus afferretur: sic 2 magnae fuit fortunae, omni militari i instrumento, quod circum se habebat, crepto, rhedis equisque comprehensis, ipsum effugere mortem. Sed hoc eo factum est, quod, adiutio circumdato silva (ut sunt fere domicilia Galiorum, qui, vitandi aestus causa, plerumque silvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates), comites familiaresque ejus 'angusto in loco paulisper equum nostrorum vim sustinuerunt His pugnantibus, illum in equum quidam ex suis intulit: fugientem silvae texerunt. Sic et ad subeundum periculum, et ad vitandum, multum fortuna valuit.

31. 5 Ambiorix copias suas judicione non conduxerit, quod prelio dimicandum non existimaret, an tempore exclusus et repentino equitum adventu prohibitus, cum reliquum exercitum subsequi crederet, dubium est: 6 sed certe, dimissis per agros nuncius, sibi quemque consulere jussit: quorum pars in Arduennam silvam, pars in continentes paludes profugit: qui proximi Oceanum fuerunt, hi insulis sese occultaverunt, quas aestus efficere consuerunt: multi, ex suis finibus egressi, se suaque omnia 5 alienissimis crediderunt. Cativolcus, rex dimidiae partis Eburonum, qui una cum Ambiorige consilium inierat, aetate jam конfecus, cum laborem aut belli aut fugae ferre non posset, 9 omnibus precibus de testatus Ambiorigem, qui ejus consilii auctor fuisset, 10 taxo, cujus magna in Gallia Germaniaque copia est, se exaneravit.

32. Segni Condrusique, ex gente et numero Germanorum, qui sunt inter Eburones Treviroisque, legatos ad Caesar emiserunt, oratum, ne se in hostium numero duceret, neve 1 omnium Germanorum, qui essent citra Rhenum, unam esse causam judicaret: nihil se de bello cogitavisse, nulla Ambiorigii auxilia misisse. Caesar, explorata re 12 quaestione captivorum, si qui ad eos Eburones ex fuga

33. Partito exercitu, Titum Labienum cum legionibus tribus ad Oceanum versus, in eas partes, quæ Menapios attingunt, proficisci jubes: Caium Trebonium cum pari legi- onum numero ad cam regionem, quæ Aduatucis adjacet, depopulandam mittit: ipse cum reliquis tribus ad flumen 3Sabin, quod influit in Mosam, extremaque Arduennæ partes ire constituit, quo cum paucis equitibus profectum Ambiorigen audiebat. Discedens, 4post diem septimum sese reversum, confirmat: quam ad diem ci legioni, quæ in præsidio reliquèbatur, frumentum deberi sciebat. La- bienum Treboniumque hortatur, si reipublicæ commodo facere possint, ad cam diem revertantur; ut, rursus communicato consilio, exploratisque hostium rationibus, aliud belli initium capere possent.

34. Erat, 5ut supra demonstravimus, manus certa nulla, non oppidum, non præsidium, quod se armis defenderet; sed omnes in partes dispersa multitudo. Ubi cuique aut vallis abdita, aut locus silvestris, aut palus impedita, spem præsidii aut salutis aliquam offerebat, consederat. Hæc loca 6vicinitatibus erant nota, 7magnamque res diligentiam requirebat, non in summa exercitus tuenda (nullum enim poterat universis ab perterritis ac dispersis periculum acci- dere), sed in singulis militibus conservandos; quæ tamen
ex parte res ad salutem exercitus pertinebat. Nam et praedae cupiditas multos longius evocabat, et silvae incertis occultisque itineribus 'confertos adire prohibebant. Si negotium confici stirpemque hominem sceleratorum interfici velit, dimittendarum plures manus diducendique erant milites: si continere ad signa manipulos vellet, ut instituta ratio et consuetudo exercitus Romani postulabat, locus ipsa erat praedio barbaris, neque ex occulto insidiandi et dispersos circumveniendi singulis deerrat audacia. At in ejusmodi difficultatibus, quantum diligentia provideri poterat, providebatur; ut potius in nocens aliquid omitteretur, etiam omnium animi ad ulciscendum ardebat, quam cum aliquo militum detrimento noceretur. Caesar ad finitimas civitates nuncios dimittit, omnem ad se evocat spe praedae, ad dirigendos Eburones, ut potius in silvis Gallorum vita, quam legionarius miles, periclitetur; simul ut, magna multitudo circumfusa, pro tali facinore, stirps ac nomen civitatis tolatur. Magnus undique numerus celeriter convenit.

35. Hae in omnibus Eburonum partibus gerebantur, diesque septimus, quem Caesar ad impedimenta legionemque reverti constituerat. Hic, quantum in bello fortuna possit et quantos afferat casus, cognosci potuit. Dissipatis ac perterritis hostibus, ut demonstravimus, manus erat nulla, quae parvam modo causam timoris afferret. Trans Rhenum ad Germanos pervenit fama, diripit Eburones, atque ulro omnes ad prædam evocari. Cogunt equitum duo millia Sigambri, qui sunt proximi Rheno, a quibus receptos ex fuga Tenctheros atque Usipetes supra docuimus: transeunt Rhenum navibus ratibusque, triginta millibus passuum infra eum locum, ubi pons erat perfectus praediumque ab Caesaris relictum: primos Eburonum fines adeunt, multos ex fuga dispersos excipiunt, magnis pecoris numero, cujus sunt cupidissimi barbari, potiuntur. Invitat praedæ, longius procedunt: non hos palus, in bello latrociniisque natos, non silvae morantur: quibus in locis su
Caesar, ex captivis quaerunt; profectum longius reperunt, omnemque exercitum discessisse cogiscunt. Atque unus ex captivis, "Quid vos," inquit, "hanc miseram ac tennem sectamini prædam, quibus licet jam esse fortunatissimis? Tribus horis Aduatucam venire potestis: huc omnes suas fortunas exercitus Romanorum contulit: præsidii tantum est, ut ne murus quidem cingi possit, neque quisquam egredi extra munitiones audeat." Oblata spe, Germani, quam naci erant prædam, in occulto relinquunt, ipsi Aduatucam contendunt, uti codem duce, cujus hæc indicio cognoverant.

36. Cicerò, qui per omnes superiores dies præceptis Cæsaris summa diligentia militis in castris continuisset, ac ne calonem quidem quemquam extra munitionem egredi passus esset, septimo die, diffluens "de numero dierum Cæsarem fidem scrivaturum, quod longius cum progressum audiebat, neque uilla de reditu ejus fama afferatur; simul eorum permutus vocibus, "qui illius patientiam pene obsessionem appellabant, si quidem ex castris egredi non liceret; nullum ejusmodi casum expectans, quo, novem oppositus legionibus maximoque equitatu, dispersis ac pane deletis hostibus, in millibus passuum tribus offendi posset; quinque cohortes frumentatum in proximas segetes misit, quas inter et castra unus omnino collis intererat. Complures erant in castris ex legionibus aegri relieti; ex quibus "qui hoc spatio dierum convenuerant, circiter trecenti sub vexillo una mittuntur: magna præterea multitudo calonum, magna vis jumentorum, quæ in castris subsederat, facta potestate, sequitur.

37. Hoc ipso tempore, "casu Germani equites interveniunt, protinusque codem illo, quo venerant, certuv ab decumanà porta in castra irrumpere contantur: nec prius sunt nisi, objectis ab ea parte silvis, quam castris appropinquarent" asque co, ut, "qui sub vallo tenderent mercatores, rcpipiendi eti faculatem non haberen. Inopinantes nostri re, vertuntur, ac vix primum impetum cohors in statione sustinet. Circumnimduntur ex reliquis hostes partibus,
si quem aditum reperire possent. Ægro 4portas nostri
tuentur, reliquos aditus locus ipse per se munitioque defen-
dit. Totis trepidatur castris, atque alter ex alio causam
tumultus quærít; neque quo signa feruntur, 2neque quam in
partem quisque conveniat, provident. Alter capta jam
cstra pronunciat; alter, deleto exercitu atque imperatore,
victores barbaros venisse contendit: 5plerique novas sibi
ex loco religiones fingunt, Cottæque et Titurii calamitatem,
qui in eodem occiderint castello, ante oculos ponunt. Tali
timore omnibus perterritis, confirmatur opinio barbaris, ut
ex 4captivo audierant, nullum esse intus præsidium. Perrumpere
nituntur, seque ipsi adhortantur, ne tantam fortu-
nam ex manibus dimittant.

38. Erat Æger in præsidio relictus Publius Sextius Bacu-
lus, 5qui primum pilum ad Cæsarem duxerat, eujus menti-
onem 6superioribus præliis fecimus, ac diem jam quintum
cibo caruerat. Hic, diffusus suæ atque omnium saluti, iner-
mis ex tabernaculo prodit: videt imminere hostes, atque in
summo esse rem discrimine: caput arma a proximis atque
in porta consistit. Consequuntur hunc centuriones ejus
cohortis que 7in statione erat: paulisper una prælium sus-
tinent. 5Relinquit animus Sextium, gravibus acceptis vul-
eribus: Æger per manus tractus servatur. Hoc spatio in-
terposito, reliqui sese confirmant tantum, ut in munitionibus
consistere audeant, speciemque defensorum præbereant.

39. Interim confecta frumentatione, milites nostri clamo-
rem exaudiant; præcurrunt equites, quanto sit res in peri-
culo, cognoscunt. Hic vero nulla munitio est, quæ perter-
ritos recipiat: 5modo conscripti, atque usus militaris impe-
rìti, ad tribunum militum centurionesque ora convertunt:
quid ab his præcipiatur, expectant. Nemo est tam fortis,
quìn rei novitate perturbetur. Barbari, signa procul conspi-
cati, oppugnatione desistunt: redisse primo legiones cre-
dunt, quas longius discéssisse ex captivis cognoverant
postea, despecta paucitate, ex omnibus partibus impetum
faciunt
40. 1Calones in proximum tumulum procurrent: hinc celeriter dejecti se in signa munipulosque conjiciunt: eo magis timidos perterrent milites. Alii, 2cuneo facto ut celeriter perrumpant, consent, quoniam tam propinqua sint castra; et, 3si pars aliqua circumventa ceciderit, at reliquos servari posse confidunt: ali, ut in juge consistant, atque cundem omnes ferant casum. Hoc veteres non probant milites, quos sub vexillo una profectos docuimus. Itaque inter se cohorrati, duce Caio Trebonio, equite Romano, qui eis erat praepositus, per medios hostes perrumpunt, incolumesque ad unum omnes in castra perveniunt. Hos subsecuti calones equitesque codem impetu militum virtute servantur. At ii, qui in juge constiterant, 4nullo etiam nunc usu rei militaris percepto, neque in co, quod probaverant, consilio permanere, ut se loco superiore defendentur, neque eam, quam profuisse aliis vim celeritatemque viderant, imitari potuerunt; sed, se in castra recipere conati, iniquum in locum demiserant. Centuriones, quorum nonnulli, 5ex inferioribus ordinibus reliquarum legionum, virtutis causa, in superiores erant ordines hujus legiones transducti, ne ante partam rei militaris laudem amitterent, fortissime pugnantes consciderunt. Militum pars, horum virtute submotis hostibus, praeiter speciem incolumis in castra perveniit; pars a barbaris circumventa periiit.

41. Germani, desperata expugnatione castrorum, quod nostros jam constitisse in munitionibus videbant, cum ea praeda, quam in silvis deposuerant, trans Rhenum sese receperunt. Ae tenuit fuit etiam post discessum hostium terror, ut ea nocte, cum Caius Volusenus missus cum equitatu ad castra venisset, 6idem non faceret, adesse cum incolumi Caesarum exercitu. Sic omnium animos timor praecupaverat, ut, 7pane alienata mente, deletis omnibus copiis equitatum tantum se ex fuga recepisse, dicerent, neque, incolumi exercitu, Germanos castra oppugnatos suisse contenderent. Quem timorem Caesaris adventus sustulit.
42. Reversus ille, eventus bellii non ignorans, 1 unum, 
quod cohortes 2 ex statione et præsidio essent emisse, ques-
tus, ne minimo quidem casu locum relinqui debuisse, mul-
tum fortunam in repentina hostium adventu potuisse indica-
rit; multo etiam amplius, quod pæne ab ipso vallo portisque 
castrorum barbaros avertisset. Quarum omnium rerum 3 
maxime admirandum videbatur, quod Germani, qui eo con-
silio Rhenum transierant, ut Ambiorigis fines depopularen-
tur, ad castra Romanorum delati, 4 optatissimum Ambiorigi 
beneficium obtulerint.

43. Cæsar, rursus ad vexandos hostes profectus, magno 
coacto numero ex finitimis civitatibus, in omnes partes di-
mittit. 5 Omnes vici atque omnia ædificia, quæ quisque con-
spexerat, incendebantur; præda ex omnibus locis agebatur: 
frumenta non solum a tanta multitudine jumentorum atque 
hominum consumebantur, sed etiam annis tempore atque 
imbrisbus procuruerant; ut, si qui etiam in præsenta se 
occultassent, tamen iis, deducto exercitu, rerum omnium 
inopia pereundum videretur. 6 Ac saepe in eum locum ven-
tum est, tanto in omnes partes diviso equitatu, ut modo 
visum ab se Ambiorigem in fuga captivi, nec plane etiam 
abisse ex conspectu contenderent, ut, spe consequendi illata 
atque infinito labore suscepto, qui se summam ab Cæsare 
gratiam inituros putarent, pæne naturam studio vincerent, 
semperque paulum 7 ad summam felicitatem defuisse vide-
retur, atque ille latebris aut saltibus se eriperet et noctu oc-
cultatus alias regiones partesque peteret, non majore equi-
tum præsidio, quam quatuor, quibus solis vitam suam com-
nittere audebat.

44. Tali modo vastatis regionibus, exercitum Cæsar 
8 duarum cohortium damno Durocortorum Remorum reducit, 
concilioque in eum locum Gallae indicto, de conjuratione 
Senonum et Carnutum quaestionem habere instituit; et 9 de 
Accone, qui princeps ejus consiliui fuerat, graviore sententia 
pronunciata, 10 more majorum supplicium sumdit Nonnulli
judicium veri profugerunt; quibus cum aqua atque igni interdixisset, duas legiones ad fines Trevirorum, duas in Lingonibus, sex reliquas in Senonum finibus Agendici in hibernis collocavit; frumentoque exercitu proviso, ut instituerat, in Italiam ad conventus agendos profectus est.
C. JULII CAESARIS

COMMENTARI I

DE

BELLO GAL LICO.

BOOK VII.

THE ARGUMENT.

The war with Vercingetorix.

Chap. 1. The Gauls concert measures for renewing the war. 2, 3. The Carnutes massacre a number of Roman citizens at Genabum. 4. The command of the confederates given to Vercingetorix. 5. The Bituriges apply for aid to the Aedui, and, it being withheld, they join the confederates. 6. Cæsar's return to Gaul. 7, 8. The Arverni, who had revolted at the instigation of Vercingetorix, are overcome. 9, 10. Vercingetorix besieges Gergovia. Cæsar marches against him. 11. Vellaunodunum and Genabum taken by Cæsar. 12. Vercingetorix raises the siege of Gergovia, and marches against Cæsar, who is attacking Noviodunum. Cæsar defeats the cavalry of Vercingetorix, becomes master of Noviodunum, and marches towards Avaricum. 13-15. The Bituriges, by the advice of Vercingetorix, set fire to their towns that they may not furnish subsistence to the Romans. Avaricum alone is spared. 16, 17. The Romans before Avaricum suffer greatly for want of provisions. 18-21. Vercingetorix, being accused of treason, clears himself, and receives great applause. 22. The Gauls at Avaricum defend their walls with great skill and bravery. 23. The Gallic manner of building walls around their towns. 24-27. Avaricum, after a resolute defence, is taken, and the garrison and all the inhabitants put to the sword. 28. Vercingetorix consoles his men by a speech. 29-31. The war continued by Vercingetorix. 32, 33
Dissensions among the Aedui. Quieted by Caesar. 34, 35. Caesar marches towards Gergovia. Crosses the Elaver by a feint. Vercingetorix retires before him. 36. Caesar encamps near Gergovia, and seizes upon an eminence. 37-39. Revolt of the Aeduan forces. 40. Quelled by the prudence and diligence of Caesar. 41, 42. Roman camp attacked during Caesar’s absence. Fresh disturbances among the Aedui. 43-51. Caesar carries three of the enemy’s camps before Gergovia; but the Romans, pressing the attack too far, are repulsed with loss. 52. Caesar reproves in a speech the rashness of his soldiers. 53-56. War begun by the Aedui. Caesar crosses the Liger. 57-62. Labienus, after a successful expedition against the Parisii, returns to Caesar with all his forces. 63, 64. The revolt of the Aedui followed by that of almost all Gaul. Preparations for war. Vercingetorix reappointed commander-in-chief. 65-67. The Gauls again defeated in an engagement between the cavalry. 70. The Gauls again defeated in an engagement between the cavalry. 71. Vercingetorix sends away his cavalry. All Gaul summoned to the war. 72-74. Caesar surrounds Alesia with lines of circumvallation and contravallation. 75, 76. The Gallic auxiliaries assemble from all quarters, and strive to compel Caesar to raise the siege. 77, 78. Distress in Alesia. Remarkable speech of Critognatus. The Mandubii compelled to leave their own city. 79-87. The Gauls within and without make several attempts upon the Roman lines, but are always repulsed with loss. 88. At length the Romans, by a movement of the horse, defeat the Gauls with great slaughter. 89. Alesia surrenders, and with it Vercingetorix. 90. The Aedui and Arverni submit. Caesar sends his army into winter quarters.

1. Quieta Gallia, Caesar, ut constituerat, in Italian ad conventus agendos proficiscitur. Ibi cognoscit de Clodii caede: de Senatusque consulto certior factus, ut omnes Italici juniores conjurarent, dilectum tota provincia habere instituit. Eae res in Galliam Transalpinam celeriter perfunctur. Addunt ipsi et affingunt rumoribus Galli, quod res posceere videbatur, retineri urbano motu Caesarem, neque in tantis dissensionibus ad exercitum venire posse. Hac impulsi occasione, qui jam ante se Populi Romani imperio subjectos dolerent, liberius atque audacius de bello consilia
ine incipunt. Indictis inter se principes Galliae conciliis, silvestribus ac remotis locis, queruntur de Acconis morte; hunc casum ad ipsos recidere posse demonstrant; miserrantur communem Galliæ fortunam; omnibus pollicitationibus ac premiis deposcunt, qui belli initium faciant et sui capitis periculo Galliam in libertatem vindicent. Ejus in primis rationem habendam dicunt, priusquam eorum clandestina consilia efferantur, ut Cæsar ab exercitu intercludatur. Id esse facile, quod neque legiones, absente imperatore, audaxes ex hibernis egredi; neque imperator sine præsidio ad legiones pervenire possit: postremo in acie prestare interfici, quam non veterem belli gloriæ libertatemque, quam a majoribus acceperint, recuperare.

2. His rebus agitatis, profitentur Carnutes, "se nullum periculum communis salutis causa recusare, principesque ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicitur; et, quoniam in præsentia obsidibus inter se cavere non possint, ne res efferatur, ut jurejurando ac fide sanctificatur, petunt, collatis militaribus signis (quo more eorum gravissimæ ceremoniæ continentur), ne, facto initio belli, ab reliquis deservantur." Tum, collaudatis Carnutibus, dato jurejurando ab omnibus qui aderant, tempore ejus rei constituto, ab concilio disceditur.

3. Ubi ea dies venit, Carnutes, Cotuato et Conetoduno ducibus, desperatis hominibus, Genabum dato signo concurrunt, civesque Romanos, qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant (in his Calium Fusium Citam, honestum equitem Romanum, qui rei frumentariae jussu Cæsaris præerat), interficiunt, bonaque eorum diripiunt. Celeriter ad omnes Galliæ civitates fama perfertur: nam, ubi major atque illustrior incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significat; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt; ut tum accidit: nam, quæ Genabi oriente sole gesta essent, ante primam confectam vigiliam in finibus Arvernorum audita sunt; quod spatium est millium circiter centum et sexaginta.
4. 1Similī ratione ibi Vercingetorix, Celtilli filius, Arvernus, summae potentiae adolescens (cujus pater principatum Galliæ totius obtinuerat, et ob eam causam, quod regnum appetebat, ab civitate erat interfectus), convocatis suis clientibus, facile incendit. Cognito ejus consilio, ad arma concurritur: ab Gobanitione, patruo suo, reliquisque principibus, qui hanc tentandam fortunam non existimabant, expellitur ex oppido Gergovia: non destitit tamen, atque in agris habet dilectum egentium ac perditorum. Hac coacta manu, 3quoscumque adit ex civitate, ad suam sententiam perducit: hortatur, ut communis libertatis causa arma capiant: magnisque coactis copiis, adversarios suos, a quibus paulo ante erat ejectus, expellit 4ex civitate. Rex ab suis appellatur; dimittit quoquo versus legationes; obtestatur, ut in fide maneant. Celeriter sibi Senones, Parisios, Pictones, Cadurcos, Turones, Aulercos, Lemovices, Andes reliquosque omnes, 5qui Oceanum attingunt, adjungit: omnium consensus ad eum defertur imperium. Qua oblata potestate, omnibus his civitatibus obsides imperat, certum numerum militum ad se celeriter adduci jubet, armorum quantum quaque civitas domi, quodque ante tempus 6efficiat, constituit: in primis equitatui studet. Summae diligentiae 7summam imperii severitatem addit; magnitudine supplicii dubitantes cogit: nam, majore comisso delicto, igni atque omnibus tormentis necat: leviore de causa, auribus desectis, 8aut singulis effossis oculis, domum remittit, ut sint reliquis documento et magnitudine penæ perterreant alios.

5. His suppliciis celeriter coacto exercitu, Lucterium 9Cadurcum, summæ hominem audaciae, cum parte copiarum in Rutenos mittit: ipse in Bituriges profisciscitur. Ejus adventu Bituriges ad Æduos, quorum erant in sìde, legatos mittunt subsidium rogatum, quo facilius hostium copias sustinere possint. Ædui 10de consilio legatorum, quos Cæsar ad exercitum reliquerat, copias equitatus peditatuseque subsidio Biturigibus mittunt. 11Quí cum ad flumen Ligerim
venissent, quod Bituriges ab Æduis dividit, paucos dies ibi morati, neque flumen transire ausi, domum revertuntur, legatisque nostris renunciant, se Biturigum perfidiam veritos revitisse, quibus id consili suisse cognoverint, ut, si flumen transissent, una ex parte òipsi, altera Arverni se circumisisterent. Íd eane de causa, quam legatis pronunciarunt, an perfidia adducti fecerint, quod nihil nobis constat, non videntur pro certo esse ponendum. Bituriges eorum discessu statim se cum Arvernis conjungunt.

6. His rebus in Italiam Cæsari nunciatis, cum jam ille urbanas res virtute Cneii Pompeii commodiorem in statum pervenisse intelligeret, in Transalpinam Galliam profectus est. Eo cum venisset, magna difficultate afficiebatur, qua ratione ad exercitum pervenire posset. Nam, si legiones in Provinciam arcesseret, se absente in itinere prælio diminuturas intelligebat: si ipse ad exercitum contenderet, ne iis quidem, qui eo tempore pacati viderentur, suam sabitem recte committi videbat.


8. His rebus comparatis, òòpresso jam Lucterio et remot, quod intrare intra præsidia periculosum putabat, in Helvios proficiscitur: etsi mons Cevenna, qui Arvernos ab Helviis discludit, òòurissimo tempore anni, altissima nive iter impediebat: tamen discussa nive sex in altitudinem pedum ò
atque ita viis patefactis, summo militum labore ad fines Arvernorum pervenit. Quibus oppressis inopinantibus, quod se Cevenna, ut muro, munitos existimabat, ac ne singulari quidem unquam homini eo tempore anni semita patuerant, equitibus imperat, ut, quam latissime possint, vagentur et quam maximum hostibus terrem inferant. Celeriter hac fama ac nunciis ad Vercingetorigem perferuntur: quem perterriti omnes Arverni circumsistunt, atque obsecrant, ut suis fortuminis consulat, ne se ab hostibus diripiat; praesertim cum vidcat, omne ad se bellum translatum. Quorum ille precibus permotus, castra ex Biturigibus movet in Arvernus versus.

9. At Caesar, biduum in iis locis moratus, quod hac de Vercingetorige usu ventura opinione praeceperat, per causam supplementi equitatusque cogendi ab exercitu discedit; Brutum adolescentem iis copiis praeficit; hunc monet, ut in omnes partes equites quam latissime pervagentur: daturum se operam, ne longius triduo ab castris absit. His constitutis rebus, suis inopinantibus, quam maxima potest itineribus, Viennam pervenit. Ibi nactus recentem equitatum, quem multis ante diebus eo praemiserat, neque diurno neque nocturno itinere intermisso, per fines Aeduorum in Lingones contendit, ubi duae legiones hiemabant, ut, si quid etiam de sua salubre ab Aeduis iniretur consilio, celeritate praecurreret. Eo cum pervenisset, ad reliquas legiones mittit, priusque omnes in unum locum cogit, quam de eis adventu Arvernis nunciari posset. Hac re cognita, Vercingetorix rursus in Bituriges exercitum reducit, atque inde profectus Gergoviam, Boiorum oppidum, quos ibi Helvetico praedio victos Caesar collocaverat Aeduisque attribuerat, oppugnare instituit.

10. Magnam hac res Caesaris difficultatem ad consilium capiendum afferebat: si reliquam partem hiemis uno in loco legiones contineret, ne, stipendiariis Aeduorum expugnatis, cuncta Gallia deficeret, quod nullum amicis in eo
praesidium videret positum esse: sin maturius ex hibernis educeret, ne ab re frumentaria, duris subvectionibus, laboraret. Praestare visum est tamen, omnes difficultates perpeti, quam, tanta contumelia accepta, omnium suorum voluntates alienare. Itaque cohortatus 

Eduos de suppor-
tando commeatu, praemittit ad Boios, qui de suo adventu doceant, hortenturque, ut in siede maneant atque hostium impetum magno animo sustineant. Duabus Agendici legi-
onibus atque impedimentis totius exercitus relictis, ad Boios proficiscitur.

11. Altero die cum ad oppidum Senonum Vellaunoduni venisset, ne quem post se hostem relinquaret, quo expediere re frumentaria uteretur, oppugnare instituit, idque biduo circumvallavit: tertio die missis ex oppido legatis de deditione, arma conferri, jumenta produci, sexcentos obsides dari jubet. Ea qui conficeret, Caium Trebonium legatum relinquit: ipse, ut quam primum iter faceret Genabum Carnutum, proficiscitur, qui, tum primum allato nuncio de oppugnatione Vellaunoduni, cum longius eam rem ductum iri existimarent, praesidium Genabi tuendi causa, quod eo mitterent, comparabant. Huc biduo pervenit; castra ante oppidum positis, diei tempore exclusus, in posterum oppugnationem differt, quaque ad eam rem usui sint, militibus imperat: et, quod oppidum Genabum pons fluminis Ligeris continebat, veritus, ne noctu ex oppido profugerent, duas legiones in armis excubare jubet. Genabenses, paulo ante medium noctem silentio ex oppido egressi, flumen transire capebunt. Qua re per exploratores nunciata, Caesar legiones, quas expeditas esse jusserat, portis incensis, intromittit, atque oppido potitur, perpaucis ex hostium numero desideratis, quin cuncti vivi caperentur, quod pontis atque itinerum angustiæ multitudini fugam interclu-
serant. Oppidum diripit atque incendit, prædam militibus donat, exercitum Ligerim transducit atque in Biturigum fines pervenit.

13. Cæsar ex castris equitatum educi jubet, proeliumque cueste committit: laborantibus jam suis Germanos equites circiter quadringentos submittit, quos ab initio secum habere instituerat. Eorum impetu Galli sustinere non potuerunt, atque in fugam conjecit; multos amissos, se ad agmen receperunt: quibus profugatis, rursus oppidani pertinent triumphos eos, quorum opera plebeiam concitatam existimabant, ad Cæsarem perduxerunt, seseque ei dediderunt. Quibus rebus confectis, Cæsar ad oppidum Avaricum, quod erat maximum munitissimumque in finibus Biturigum atque agri fertilese regione, profectus est; quod, eo oppido recepto, civitatem Biturigum se in potestatem redacturum confidebat.

subleventur: pabulum secari non posse: necessario dis persos hostes ex ædificiis petere: hos omnes quotidie ab equitibus deleri posse. Præterea salutis causa rei famili- aris commoda neglige; vicos atque ædicia incendi oportere hoc spatio, a Boia quoquo versus, quo pabulando causa adire posse videantur. Harum ipsis rerum copiam suppetere, quod, quorum in finibus bellum geratur, eorum opibus subleventur: Romanos aut inopiam non laturos, aut magno cum periculo longius ab castris progressuros: neque interesse, ipsosne interficiant impedimentisne exuant, quibus amissis bellum geri non possit. Præterea oppida incendi oportere, quæ non munitione et loci natura ab omni sint periculo tuta; neu suis sint ad detractandam militiam receptacula, neu Romanis proposita ad copiam commeeatus prædamque tollendam. Hæc si gravia aut acerba videantur, multo illa gravius aestimare debere, liberos, conjuges in servitutem abstrahi, ipsos interfici; quæ sit necesse accidere victis."


16. Vercingetorix minoribus Cæsarem itineribus subseq- uitur, et locum castris deligit, paludibus silvisque munitum,
ab Avarico longe millia passuum sexdecim. Ibi 'per certos exploratores in singula diei tempora, quae ad Avaricum agerentur, cognoscebat, et, quid fieri vellet, imperabat: omnes nostras pabulationes frumentationesque observabat, dispersosque, cum longius necessario procederent, adoriebatur, magnaque incommodo afficiebat: etsi, quantunque ratione provideri poterat, ab nostris occurrebatur, ut in eis temporibus diversisque itineribus iretur.

17. Castris ad eam partem oppidi positis, oCaesar, quae intermissa a flumine et palude aditum, ut supra diximus angustum habebat, aggerem apparare, vineas agere, turres duas constituere coepit: nam circumvallare loci natura prohibebat. De re frumentaria Boios atque Æduos adhortari non destitit: quorum alteri, quod nullo studio agebant, non militum adjuvabant; alteri non magnis facultatibus, quod civitas erat exigua et infirma, celeriter, quod habuerunt, consumserunt. Summa difficultate rei frumentariae affecto exercitu, tenuitate Boiorum, indiligentia Æduorum, incendiis Ædiliciorum, usque eo, ut complures dies milites frumento caruerint, et, pecore e longinquioribus vicis adacto, extremam famem sustentarent, nulla tamen vox est ab iis audita, Populi Romani majestate et superioribus victoriis indigna. Quin etiam oCaesar cum in opere singulas legiones appellaret, et, si acerbius inopiam ferrent, se dimissum oppugnationem diceret; omniuniversi ab eo, "ne id fuerit," petebant: "sic se complures annos illo imperante meruisset, ut nullam ignominiam acciperent, nunquam infecta re discerent: hoc se ignominiae laturos loco, si inceptam oppugnationem reliquissent: praetare, omnes perferre acerbitates, quam non civibus Romanis, qui oGenabiperfidia Gallorum interissent, parentarent." Hac eadem centurionibus tribunisque militia mandabant, ut per eos ad Caesarem deferrentur.

18. Cum jam muro turres approinquassent, ex captivis Caesar cognovit, Vercingetorigem consumpto pabulo castra
movisse propius Avaricum, atque ipsum cum equitatu expeditisque, qui inter equites præliari consuessent, insidiarum causa eo profectum, quo nostros postero die pabulatum venturos arbitrarretur. Quibus rebus cognitis, media nocte silentio profectus, ad hostium castra mane pervenit. Illi, celeriter per exploratores adventu Cæsaris cognito, carros impedimentaque sua in arctiores silvas abdiderunt, copias omnes in loco edito atque aperto instruxerunt. Qua re nunciata, Cæsar celeriter sarcinas conferri, arma expediri jussit.

19. Collis erat leniter ab infimo acclivis: hunc ex omnibus fere partibus palus difficilis atque impedita cingebat, non latior pedibus quinquaginta. Hoc se colle, interruptis pontibus, Galli fiducia loci continebant, generatimque distributi in civitates, omnia vada ac saltus ejus paludis certis custodiis obtinebant, sic animo parati, ut, si cam paludem Romani perrumpere conarentur, hæsitantes premerent ex loco superiore: ut, qui propinquitatem loci videret, paratos prope æquo Marte ad dimicandum existimaret; qui iniquitatem conditionis perspiceret, inani simulatione sese ostentare cognoscere. Indignantes milites Cæsar, quod conspectum suum hostes ferre possent, tantulo spatio interjecto, et signum prælii exposcentes, edocet, "quanto detrimento et quot virorum fortium morte necesse sit constare victoriam: quos cum sic animo paratos videat, ut nullum pro sua laude periculum recusent, summae se iniquitatis condemnari debere, nisi eorum vitam sua salute habeat cariorem." Sic milites consolatus, eodem die reducit in castra; reliquaque, quæ ad oppugnationem oppidi pertinebant, administrare instituit.

20. Vercingetorix, cum ad suos redisset, proditionis in simulatus, "quod castra propius Romanos movisset, quod cum omni equitatu discessisset, quod sine imperio tantas copias reliquisset, quod ejus discessu Romani tanta opportunitate et celeritate venissent; non hæc omnia fortuito an'
sine consilio accidere potuisse; regnum illum Galliae malle Cæsaris concessu, quam ipsorum habere beneficio: tali modo accusatus ad hæc respondit: "Quod castra movisset, factum inopia pabuli, etiam ipsis hortantibus: quod propius Romanos accessisset, persuasum loci opportunitate, qui se ipsum 'munitione defenderet: equitum vero operam neque in loco palustri desiderari debuisse, et illicuisse utilem, quo sint profecti: sumnam imperii se consulto nulli discendentem tradisse, ne is multitudinis studio ad dimicandum impelleretur; 2 cui rei propter animi mollitiem studere omnes videret, quod diutius laborem ferre non possent. 3 Romani si casu intervenerint, fortunæ; si alicujus indicio vocati, huic habendum gratiam, quod et paucitatem eorum ex loco superiorem cognoscere, et virtutem despicerem, potuerint, qui, dimicare non ausi, turpiter se in castra receperint. Imperium se ab Cæsare per proditionem nullum desiderare, quod habere victoria posset, quæ jam esset sibi atque omnibus Gallis explorata: 5 quin etiam ipsis remittere, si sibi magis honorem tribuere, quam ab se salutem accipere videantur. Haec ut intelligatis," inquit, "a me sincere pronunciari, audite Romanos milites." Producit servos, quos in pabulatione paucis ante diebus exceperat et fame vinculisque excuciaverat. Hi, jam ante edocti, quæ interrogati pronunciarent, "milites se esse legionarios" dicunt: "fame et inopia adductos clam ex castris exisse, si quid frumenti aut pecoris in agris reperire possent: simili omnem exercitum inopia premi, nec jam vires sufficere cuquam, nec ferre 'operis laborem posse: itaque statuisse imperatorem, si nihil in oppugnatione oppidi profecisset, triduo exercitum deducere. Hæc," inquit, "a me," Vercingetorix, "beneficia habetis, quem proditionis insimulatis, cujus opera sine vestro sanguine tantum exercitum victorem fame plane consumtum videtis; quem, turpiter se ex hac fuga recipientem, ne qua civitas suis finibus recipiat, a me provisum est."

21. Conclamat omnis multitudo, et suo more armis con-
crepat; quod facere in eo consuerunt, cujus orationem approbant; sumnum esse Vercingetorigem ducem, nec de ejus fide dubitandum; nec 1majore ratione bellum administrari posse. Statuunt, ut decem millia hominum delecta ex omnibus copiis in oppidum submittantur, nec solis Birrigibus communem salutem committendam censent; 2quod penes eos, si id oppidum retinuissent, summam victoriae constare intelligebant.

22. 3Singulari militum nostrorum virtuti consilia cujusque modi Gallorum occurrebant, 4ut est summæ genus solertiae atque ad omnia imitanda atque efficienda, quæ ab quoque tradantur, aptissimum. Nam et 5laqueis falces avertebant, 6quas cum destinaverant, tormentis introrsus reducebant; et 7aggerem cuniculis subtrahebant, eo scientius, quod apud eos 8magnæ sunt ferrariae, atque omne genus cuniculorum notum atque usitatum est. 9Totum autem murum ex omni parte turribus contabulaverant, atque has 10coriis intexerant. Tum crebris diurnis nocturnisque eruptionibus aut 11aggeri ignem inferebant, aut milites occupatos in opere adorienbantur; 12et nostrarum turrium altitudinem, quantum has 13quotidianus agger expresserat, commissis suarum turrium malis, adæquabant; et 14apertos cuniculos præusta et præacuta materia et pice fervfacta et maximi ponderis saxis morabantur, mœnibusque appropinquare prohibebant.

23. Muris autem omnibus Gallicis hæc fere forma est. 15Trabes directæ, perpetuae in longitudinem, 16paribus intervallis distantes inter se binos pedes, in solo collocantur; 17hae revinciuntur introrsus et multo aggere vestiuntur. Ea autem, quæ diximus, 18intervalla grandibus in fronte saxis efficiuntur. His collocatis et coagentatis alius insuper ordo adjicitur, ut 19idem illud intervallum servetur, neque inter se contingant trabes, 20sed, paribus intermissis spatiis, singularis singulis saxis interjectis, arcte continentur. Sic deinceps omne opus contextitur, dum justa muri altitudo expleatur. 21Hoc cum in speciem varietatemque opus de-
forme non est, alternis trabibus ac saxis, quae rectis lineis suos ordines servant; tum ad utilitatem et defensionem urbium summam habet opportunitatem; 1quod et ab incendio apis et ab ariete materia defendit, quæ, 2perpetuis trabibus pedes quadragenos plerumque introrsus revincta, neque perrumpi, neque distrahi potest.

24. Iis tot rebus impedita oppugnatione, milites, cum toto tempore luto, frigore, et assiduis imbrisbus tardarentur, tamen continenti labore omnia haec superaverunt, et diebus viginti quinque aggerem, latum pedes trecentos et triginta, altum pedes octoginta, exstruxerunt. Cum is murum hostium pene contingeret, et Cæsar ad opus consuetudine excubaret militesque cohortaretur, ne quod omnino tempus ab opere intermitteretur: paulo ante tertiam vigiliam est animadversum, fumare aggerem, quem cuniculo hostes succenderant: eodemque tempore toto muro clamore sublato, duabus portis ab utroque latere turrium eruptione fiebat. Alii faces atque aridam materiem de muro in aggerem eminus jaciebant, 3picem reliquasque res, quibus ignis excitari potest, fundebant, 4ut, quo primum occurreretur, aut cui rei ferretur auxilio, vix ratio iniri posset. Tamen, quod 5instituto Cæsaris duæ semper legiones pro castris excubabant, pluresque partitis temporibus erant in opere, celeriter factum est, ut alii eruptionibus resisterent, alii 6turres reducerent, aggeremque interscinderent, omnis vero ex castris multitudo ad restinguendam concurreret.

25. Cum in omnibus locis, consumta jam reliqua parte noctis, pugnaretur, semperque hostibus spes victoriae reintegretur; eo magis, 7quod deustos pluteos turrium videbant, 8nece facile adire apertos ad auxiliandum animum advertabant, semperque ipsi recentes defessis succederent, omnemque Galliæ salutem in illo vestigio temporis positam arbitrarentur: accidit, inspectantibus nobis, quod, 9dignum memoria visum, praetermittendum non existimavimus. Quidam ante portam oppidi Gallus, qui 15per manus sevi ac
picis transditas glebas in ignem e regione turris projiciebat, scorpione ab latere dextro transjectus exanimatusque con-
cidit. Hunc ex proximis unus jacentem transtrogressus, 
eodem illo munere fungebatur: eadem ratione ictu scorpi-
onis exanimato altero, successit tertius et tertio quartus; nec prius ille est a propugnatoribus vacuus relictus locus, 
quam, restincto aggere atque omni parte submotis hostibus, 
finis est pugnandi factus.

26. Omnia experti Galli, quod res nulla successerat, 
postero die consilium ceperunt ex oppido profugere, hor-
tante et jubente Vercingetorige. Id, silentio noctis conati, 
non magna jactura suorum sese effecturos sperabant, prop-
terea quod neque longe ab oppido castra Vercingetorigis 
aberat, et palus perpetua, quae intercedebat, Romanos ad 
insequendum tardabat. Jamque hoc facere noctu appara-

tant, cum matres familiae repente in publicum procurrent 
flentesque, projectae ad pedes suorum, omnibus precibus 
petierunt, ne se et communes liberis hostibus ad supplicium 
dederent, quod ad capiendam fugam naturae et virium insir-
mitas impediret. Ubi eos in sententia perstare viderunt, 
quod plerunque in summo periculo timor misericordiam 
non recipit, conclusure et significare de fuga Romanis 
cœperunt. Quo timore perterriti Galli, ne ab equitatu Ro-
manorum vix praœoccuparentur, consilio destiterunt.

27. Postero die Caeesar, promota turri, directisque operi-
bus, quae facere instituerat, magnus coorto imbris, non inuti-
lem hanc ad capiendum consilium tempestatem arbitratus, 
quod paulo incautius custodias in muro dispositas videbat, 
suos quoque languidius in opere versari jussit, et, quid fieri 
vellet, ostendit. Legiones intra vineas in occulto expedi-
ditas cohotatur, ut aliquando pro tantis laboribus fructum 
victoriae perciperent: his, qui primi murum ascendissent, 
præmia proposuit, militibusque signum dedit. Ili subito 
ex omnibus partibus evolaverunt, murumque celeriter com-
pleverunt.
28. Hostes, re nova perterriti, muro turribusque dejecti, in foro ac locis patentioribus cunctatim constiterunt, hoc animo, ut, si qua ex parte obviam veniretur, acie instructa depugnarent. Ubi neminem in aequum locum sese demittere, sed toto undique muro circumfundi viderunt, veriti, ne omnino spec fuga tolleretur, abjectis armis, ultimas oppidi partes continentis impetu petiverunt: parsque ibi, cum angusto portarum exitu se ipsi premerent, a militibus; pars, jam egressa portis, ab equitibus est interfecta: nec fuit quisquam, qui prædæ studeret. Sic et Genabensi caede et labore operis incitati, non aetate confectis, non mulieribus, non infantibus pepercerunt. Denique ex omni co numero, qui fuit circiter quadraginta millium, vix octingenti, qui primo clamore audito se ex oppido ejecerant, incolumes ad Vercingetorigem pervenerunt. Quos ille, multa jam nocte, silentio ex fuga exceptit (veritus, ne qua in castris ex eorum concursu et misericordia vulgi seditio oriretur), ut, procul in via dispositis familiaribus suis principibusque civitatum, disparando deducendosque ad suos curaret, quæ cuique civitati pars castrorum ab initio obvenerat.

29. Postero die consilium convocato consolatus cohortatusque est, ne se admodum animo demitterent, neve perturbarentur incommodo: non virtute, neque in acie vicisse Romanos, sed artificio quodam et scientia oppugnationis, cujus rei fuerint ipsi imperiti: errare, si qui in bello omnes secundos rerum proventus expectent: sibi nunquam placuisse, Avaricum defendi, cujus rei testes ipsos haberet; sed factum imprudentia Biturigum, et nimia obsequentia reliqorum, uti hoc incommodum acciperetur: id tamen se celeriter majoribus commodis sanaturum. Nam, quæ ab reliquis Gallis civitates dissentirent, has sua diligentia adjuncturum, atque unum consilium totius Galliæ effecturum, cujus consensus ne orbis quidem terrarum possit obsistere: idque se prope jam effectum habere. Interea aequum esse, ab iis communis salutis causa impetrari, ut castra munire
instituerei, quo facilius repentinos hostium impetus sustinere possent.”

30. Fuit hae oratio non ingrata Gallis, maxime, quod ipse animo non defecerat, tanto accepto incommodo, neque se in occultum abliderat et conspectum multitudinis fugerat: plusque animo providere et præsentire existimabatur, quod, re integra, primo incendendum Avaricum, post deserendum consuerat. Itaque, ut reliquorum imperatorum res adversæ auctoritatem minuit, sic hujus ex contrario dignitas, incommodo accepto, in dies aegeratur: simul in spem veniebant, ejus affirmatione, de reliquis adjungendis civitatibus, primumque eo tempore Galli castra munire instituerunt, et sic sunt animo consternati, homines insueti laboris, ut omnia, qua imperarentur, sibi patienda et perferenda existimarent.


32. Cæsar, Avarici complures dies commoratus, summamque ibi copiam frumenti et reliquorum commenatus nactus, exercitus ex labore atque inopia refecit. Jam prope hieme confecta, cum ipso anno tempore ad gerendum bellum vocaretur et ad hostem proficisci constituisse, sive
eum ex paludibus silvisque elicere, sive obsidione premere posset; legati ad eum principes Æduorum veniunt, oratum, "ut maxime necessario tempore civitati subveniat: summo esse in periculo rem; quod, eum singuli magistratus antiquitatus creari atque regiam potestatem annum obtinere consuevit, duo magistratum gerant, et se uterque eorum legibus creatum esse dicat. Horum esse alterum Convictolitanem, florentem et illustrem adolescentem; alterum Cotum, antiquissima familia natum, atque ipsum hominem summae potentiae et magnae cognationis; cujus frater Valetiacus proximo anno eundem magistratum gessit: civitatem omnem esse in armis, divisum senatum, divisum populum; suas cujusque eorum clientelas. Quod si diutius alatur controversia, fore, uti pars cum parte civitatis confligat; id ne accidat, positum in ejus diligentia atque auctoritate."
34. Hoc decreto interposito, cohortatus Æduos, ut controversiarum ac disensionum obliviscerentur, atque, omnibus omissis his rebus, huic bello servirent, eaque, quæ meruissent, præmia ab se, devicta Gallia, expectarent, equitatumque omnem et pedium millia decem sibi celeriter mitterent, quæ in praesidiis rei frumentariae causæ disponent eam et eis controversiarum ac dissensionum obliviscerentur, atque, omnibus omissis his rebus, huic bello servirent, eaque, quæ meruissent, præmia ab se, devicta Gallia, expectarent, equitatumque omnem et pedium millia decem sibi celeriter mitterent, quæ in praesidiis rei frumentariae causæ disponent.

35. Cum uterque utrique esset exercitus in conspectu, fereque e regione castris castra poneret, dispositis exploratoribus, necubi effecto ponte Romani copias transducere erat in magnis Cæsari difficultatibus res, ne majorem æstatis partem flumine impediret; quod non fere ante autumnum Elaver vado transitur. Itaque, ne id accideret, silvestri loco castris positis, e regione unus eorum pontum, quos Vercingetorix rescindendos curaverat, postero die cum duabus legionibus in occulto restitit; reliquas copias cum omnibus impeditentibus, ut consueverat, misit, captis quibusdam cohortibus, uti numerus legionum constare videtur. His, quam longissime possent, progredi jussis, cum jam ex diei tempore conjecturam caperet in castra perventum, quondam publicis, quarum pars inferior integra remanebat, pontem reficere cepit. Celeriter effecto operae legionibusque transductis, et loco castris idoneo delecto, reliquas copias revocavit. Vercingetorix, re cognita, ne contra suam voluntatem dimicare cogeretur, magnis itineribus antecessit.

36. Cæsar ex eo loco quinquis castris Gergoviam pervenit, equestrique prædio eo die levī facto, prospecto urbī situ, quæ, posita in altissimo monte, omnès aditus difficiles habēbat, de expugnatione desperavit; de obsessione non prīma...
Agendum constituit, quam rem frumentariam expedisset. At Vercingetorix, castris prope oppidum in monte positis, mediocribus circum se intervallis separatim singularum civitatum copias collocaverat; atque omnibus ejus judi collibus occupatis, 1 qua despici poterat, 2 horribilem speciem præbebat: principesque earum civitatum, quos sibi ad consilium capiendum delegerat, prima luce quotidie ad se jubebat convenire, seu quid communicandum, seu quid administrandum videretur: neque ullum fere diem intermitterat, quin equestri prælio, interjectis sagittariis, "quid in quoque esset animi ac virtutis suorum, periclitaretur. Erat e regione oppidi collis sub ipsis radicibus montis, egregie munitus, atque ex omni parte circumcisus (quem si tenerent nostri, et aquæ magna parte et pabulatione libera 4 prohibituri hostes videbantur; sed is locus præsidio ab iis non nimis firme tenebatur): tamen silentio noctis Caesar, ex castris egressus, prius quam subsidio ex oppido veniri posset, dextra præsidio, potitus loco, duas ibi legiones collocavit, fossamque duplum pedum a majoribus castris ad minora perduxit, 5 ut tuto ab repentino hostium incursu etiam singuli commare possent.

37. Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Convictolitania Éduus, cui magistratum assignatum a Cæsare demonstravimus, solicitatus ab Arvernis pecunia, cum quibusdam adolescibis montis, egregie munitus, atque ex omni parte circumcisus (quem si tenerent nostri, et aquæ magna parte et pabulatione libera 4 prohibituri hostes videbantur; sed is locus præsidio ab iis non nimis firme tenebatur): tamen silentio noctis Cæsar, ex castris egressus, prius quam subsidio ex oppido veniri posset, dextra præsidio, potitus loco, duas ibi legiones collocavit, fossamque duplum pedum a majoribus castris ad minora perduxit, 5 ut tuto ab repentino hostium incursu etiam singuli commare possent.
iter adolescentibus et oratione magistratus et præmio deductis, cum se vel principes eujus consilii fore profiterentur ratio perìciendi quærebatur, quod civilatem temere ad suscipientiam bellum adduci posse non confidebant. Placuit, uti Litavicus decem illis millibus, quæ Cæsari ad bellum ministeri, præficeretur, atque ea ducenda curaret, fratresque eujus ad Cæsarem praecurrerent. Reliqua, qua ratione agi placeat, constitunt.

39. Eporedirix Æduus, summo loco natus adolescentis et summae domi potentiae, et una Viridomarus, pari ætate et gratia, sed 'genere dispari, quem Cæsar, sibi ab Divitiaco transditum, ex humili loco ad summam dignitatem perduxerat, in equitum numero convenerant, nominatim ab eo evocati. His erat inter se de principatu contentio, et in illa magistratu controversia alter pro Convictolitane, alter pro Ceto, summis opibus pugnaverant. Ex iis Eporedirix, cognito Litavici consilio, media fere nocte rem ad Cæsarem desert; orat, "ne patiatur, civitatem pravis adolescentium consiliis ab armis Populi Romani deficere, quod futurn provideat, si se tot hominum millia cum hostibus conjunxerint, quorum salutem neque propinqui negligere, neque civitas levi momento æstimare posset."

40. Magna affectus sollicitudine hoc nuncio Cæsar, quod semper Æduorum civitati præcipue indulserat, nulla interposita dubitatione legiones expeditas quatuor equitatumque omnem ex castris educit: nec fuit spatium tali tempore ad contrahenda castra, quod res posita in celeritate videbatur. Caium Fabium legatum cum legionibus duo castris præsidio relinquit. Fratres Litavici cum comprehendi jussisset, paulo ante reperit ad hostes profugisse. Adhortatus militis, "ne necessario tempore itineris labore moveantur," cupidissimis omnibus, progressus millia passuum viginti quinque, agmen Æduorum conspicatus, immiso equitatu, iterorum moratur atque impedit, interdicitque omnibus, ne quemquam interficiant. Eporedirigem et Viridomarum, quos illi interfectos existimabant, inter equites versari suosque appellare jubet. Iis cognitis et Litavici fraude perspecta, Ædui manus tendere, deditionem significare, et projectis armis mortem deprecari incipiunt. Litavicus cum suis clientibus, quibus more Gallorum nefas est etiam in extrema fortuna deserere patronos, Gergoviam profugit.

41. Cæsar, nuncius ad civitatem Æduorum missis, qui suo beneficio conservatos docerent, quos jure belli interfi-
cere potuisset, tribusque horis noctis exercitu ad quietem datis, castra ad Gergoviam movit. Medio fere itinere equites, ab Fabio missi, quanto res in periculo fuerit, exponunt; summis copiis castra oppugnata demonstrant; cum crebro integri defessis succederent nostrisque assiduo labore defatigarent, quibus propter magnitudinem castrorum perpetuo esset eisdem in vallo permanendum; multitudo sagitarum atque omni genere telorum multos vulneratos: ad hæc sustinenda magnus usui suis fuisse tormenta: Fabium discessu eorum, duabus relictis portis, obstruere ceteras, pluteisque vallo addere, et se in posterum diem similem ad casum parare. His rebus cognitis, Caesar summo studio militum ante ortum solis in castra pervenit.


43. Interim nuncius allato, omnes corum milites in potestate Caesaris teneri, concurrunt ad Aristium; nihil publico factum consilio demonstrant; quæestionem de bonis direptis decernunt; Litavici fratrumque bona publicant; legatos ad Caesarem sui purgandi gratia mittunt. Hæc facient quæ recuperandorum suorum causa: sed, contaminati facinore et capti compendio ex direptis bonis, quod ea res ad multos
pertinebat, et timore pœnæ exterriti, consilia clam de bello inire incipiunt, civitatesque reliquas legationibus sollicitant. Quæ tametsi Cæsar intelligebat, tamen, quam mitissime poteat, legatos appellat: "nihil se propter inscientiam levitationemque vulgi gravius de civitate judicare, neque de sua in Æduos benevolentia deminuere." Ipse, majorem Galliarum motum expectans, ne ab omnibus civitatibus circumsissetur, consilia inibat, quemadmodum ab Gergovia discederet ac rursus omnem exercitum contraheret; ne profectio, nata ab timore defectionis, similis fugæ videretur.

44. Hæc cogitanti "accidere visa est facultas bene gerenda rei. Nam, cum minora in castra operis perspicienti causa venisset, animadvertit collem, qui ab hostibus tenebatur, nudatum hominibus, qui superioribus diebus vix prœ multitudine cerni poterat. Admiratus quærit ex perfugis causam, quorum magnus ad eum quotidie numerus confluencebat. Constabat inter omnes, quod jam ipse Cæsar per exploratores cognoverat, "dorsum esse ejus judi prope æquum; sed hunc silvestrem et angustum, qua esset aditus ad altum oppidi partem: huic loco vehementer illos timere, nec jam aliter sentire, "uno colle ab Romanis occupato, si altum amisissent, quin pœne circumvallati atque omni exitu et pabulatione interclusi viderentur: ad hunc muniendum locum omnes a Vercingetorige evocatos.

45. Hac re cognita, Cæsar mittit complures equitum turmas eo de media nocte: iis imperat, ut paulo tumultuosius omnibus in locis pervagarentur. "Prima luce magnum numerum impedimentorum ex castris detrahit "mulionesque cum cassidibus, equitum specie ac simulacione, collibus circumvehiti jubet. His paucos addit equites, qui latius "ostenstionis causa vagarentur. Longo circuitu easdem omnes jubet pœteræ regiones. Hæc procul ex oppido videbantur, ut erat a Gergovia despectus in castra; neque "tanto spatio, certi quid esset, explorari poterat. Legionem unam "œcodem jugo mittit, et paulo progressam inferiore constituit loco,
silvisque occultat. Augetur Gallis suspicio, atque omnes billo ad munitionem copia transducuntur. Vacua castra hostium Caesar conspicatus, tectis insignibus suorum occultatisque signis militaribus, raros milites, ne ex oppido animadverterentur, ex majoribus castris in minora transducit, legatisque, quos singulis legionibus praefecerat, quid fieri vellet, ostendit: in primis monet, ut contineant milites, ne studio pugnandi aut spe præae longius progreditur: quid iniquitas loci habeat incommodi, proponit: hoc una celeritate posse vitari: occasionis esse rem, non proelii His rebus expositis, signum dat, et ab dextra parte alio ascensu eodem tempore Æduos mittit.

46. Oppidi murus ab planitie atque initio ascensus, recta regione, si nullus anfractus intercederat, mille et ducentos passus aberat: quicquid huic circuitus ad mollisendum clivum accesserat, id spatium itineris angebat. At medio fere colle in longitudinem, ut natura montis ferebat, ex grandibus saxis sex pedum murum, qui nostrorum impetum tardaret, præducerant Galli, atque, inferiori omni spatio vacuo relictum, superiorem partem collis usque ad murum oppidi densissimis castris compleverant. Milites, dato signo, celeriter ad munitionem perveniunt, camque transgressi, trinis castris potiuntur. Ac tanta fuit in castris capiendis celeritas, ut Tuctomarus, rex Nitiobrigum, subito in tabernaculo oppressus, ut meridie conquieverat, superiore corporis parte nudata, vulnerato equo, vix se ex manibus præsae milium eriperet.

47. Consecutus id, quod animo proposuerat, Caesar receptui cani jussit, legionisque decimae, qua tum erat comitatus, signa constitere. At reliquarum milites legionum, non exaudito tubae sono, quod satis magna vallis intercedebat, tamen ab tribunis milium legatisque, ut erat a Caesar praepceptum, retinebantur: sed, elati spe celeris victoriae et hostium fugae superiorumque temporum secundis præliis, nihil adeo arduum sibi existimabant quod non virtute con-
sequi possent; neque prius finem sequendi secerunt, quam muro oppidi portisque appropinquarent. Tum vero ex omnibus urbis partibus orto clamore, qui longius aberant, repentina tumultu perterriti, cum hostem intra portas esse existimarent, sese ex oppido ejecerunt. Matres familiae de muro vestem argentumque jactabant, et, pectoris fine prominentes, passis manibus obtestabantur Romanos, ut sibi parcerent, neu, sicut Avarici fecissent, ne mulieribus quidem atque infantibus abstinerent. Nonnullae, de muris per manus demissae, sese militibus transdebarant. Lucius Fadius, centurio legionis octavae, quem inter suos eo die dixisse constabat, excitari se Avaricensibus præmiis neque commissurum, ut prius quisquam muron ascenderet, tres suos nactus manipulares, atque ab iis sublevatus, muron ascendit. Eos ipse rursus singulos exceptans, in murum extulit.

48. Interim, qui ad alteram partem oppidi, ut supra demonstravimus, munitionis causa convenerant, primo exaudito clamore, inde etiam crebris nunciis incitati, oppidum ab Romanis teneri, præmissis equitibus, magno concursu eo contederunt. Eorum ut quisque primus venerat, sub muro consistebat, suorumque pugnantium numerum augebat. Quorum cum magna multitudo convenisset, matres familiae, quæ paulo ante Romanis de muro manus tendebant, suos obtestari, et more Gallico passum capillum ostentare, liberosque in conspectum proferre coeperunt. Erat Romanis nec loco, nec numero, æqua contentio: simul, et cursu et spatio pugnae defatigati, non facile recentes atque integros sustinebant.

49. Cæsar, cum iniquo loco pugnari hostiumque auger copias videret, præmetuens suis, ad Titum Sextium legatum, quem minoribus castris præsidio reliquerat, mittit, ut cohortes ex castris celeriter educret, et sub infimo colle ab dextro latere hostium constitueret: ut, si nostros loco depulsos vidisset, quo minus libere hostes insequenterur. ter-
reret. Ipse paulum ex eo loco cum legione progressus, ubi constiterat, eventum pugnae expectabat.


52. Postero die Cæsar, concionem advocate, "Temeritatem cupiditatemque militum reprehendit, quod sibi ipsi ju dicavissent, quo procedendum, aut quid agendum videretur, neque signo recipiendi dato constitissent, neque a tribunis militum legatisque retineri putissent: exposito, quid iniquitas loci posset, quid ipse ad Avaricum sensisset cum, sine duce et sine equitatu reprehensis hostibus, exploratam victoriam dimisisset, ne parvum modo detrimentum in contingente propter iniquitatem loci accideret. Quanto opere corum animi magnitudinem admiraretur, quos non castrorum munitiones, non altitudo montis, non murus oppidi tardare putisset; tanto opere licentiam arrogantiameque reprehendere, quod plus se, quam imperatorem, de victoria atque exitu rerum sentire existimarent: nec minus se in milite modestiam et continentiam, quam virtutem atque animi magnitudinem desideraret."

53. Hac habita concionem, et ad extremum oratione confirmatis militibus, "ne ob hanc causam animo permoverent, ne, quod iniquitas loci attulisset, id virtuti hostium tribuerent:" eadem de profectione cogitans, quæ ante senserat, legiones ex castris eduxit, aciemque idoneo loco constituit. Cum Vercingetorix nihil magis in æquum locum descenderet, levi facto equestri prælio atque eo secundo, in castra exercitum reduxit. Cum hoc idem postero die fecisset, satis ad Gallicam ostentationem minuendam militumque animos confirmandos factum existimans, in Æduos castra movit. Ne tum quidem insecutis hostibus, tertio die ad flumen Elaver pontem refecit, atque exercitum transduxit.

54. Ibi a Viridomaro atque Eporedirige Æduis appelatus, discit, cum omni equitatu Litavicum ad solicitandos Æduos profectum esse: opus esse, et ipsos antecedere ad confirmandam civitatem. Etsi multis jam rebus perfidiam Æduorum perspectam habebat, atque horum discessu ad maturari defecitionem civitatis existimabat; tamen eos retinendos non censuit, ne aut inferre injuriam videretur, aut
dare timoris aliquam suspicionem. Discendentibus his breviter sua in Æduos merita exponit: "quos et quam humiles accepiisset, compulsos in oppida, tumultatios agris, omnibus creptis copiis, imposito stipendio, obsidibus summa cum contumelia extortis; et quam in fortunam, quamque in amplitudinem deduxisset, ut non solum in pristinum statum re-dissent, sed omnium temperum dignitatem et gratiam antecessisse viderentur." His dati mandatis, eos ab se dimisit.

55. Noviodunum erat oppidum Æduorum, ad ripas Ligeris opportuno loco positum. Huc Cæsar omnes obsides Galliae, frumentum, pecuniam publicam, suorum atque exercitus impedimentorum magnam partem contulerat: huc magnum numerum equorum, in hujus belli causa in Italia atque Hispania coëmtum, miserat. Eo cum Eporedirix Viridomarusque venissent et de statu civitatis cognovissent, Litarvicum Bibracte ab Æduis receptum, quod est oppidum apud eos maxima auctoritatis, Convictolitanem magistratum magnamque partem senatus ad eum convenisse, legatos ad Vercingetorigem de pace et amicitia concilianda publice missos: non prætermittendum tantum commodum existimaverunt. Itaque, interfectis Novioduni custodibus, quique eo negotiandi aut itineris causa convenerant, pecuniam atque equos inter se partiti sunt; obsides civitatum Bibracte ad magistratum deducendos curaverunt; oppidum, quod ab se teneri non posse judicabant, ne cui esset usui Romanis, cencerentur; frumenti quod subito potuerunt, navibus avexitur; reliquum flumine atque incendio corruperunt; ipsi e finitimis regionibus copias cogere, praedidia custodiasque ad ripas Ligeris disponere, equitatumque omnibus locis, injiciendi timoris causa, ostentare coperunt, si ab re frumentaria Romanos exclusidere possent. Quam ad spem multum eos adjuvabat, quod Liger ex nivibus creverat, ut omnino vado non posse transiri videretur.

56. Quibus rebus cognitis, Cæsar maturandum sibi censuit, si esset in perficiendis pontibus periclitandum, n
prius, quam essent majores eo coactae copiae, dimicaret. Nam, ut commutato consilio iter in Provinciae converret, id nemo tunc quidem necessario faciendum existima-bat, cum quod infamia atque indignitas rei et oppositus mons Cevenna viarumque difficilas impedi-bat, tum maxime, quod abjuncto Labieno atque iis legionibus, quas una miserat, vehementer timebat. Itaque, admodum magnis diurnis atque nocturnis itineribus consecutis, contra omnium opinionem ad Ligerim pervenit; vadoque per equites invento, pro rei necessitate opportuno, ut brachia modo atque humeri ad sustinendas arma liberi ab aqua esse possent, disposito equitatu, qui vim fluminis refringeret, atque hostibus primo aspectu perturbatis, incolumem exercitum transduxit: frumentumque in agris et pecoris copiam nactus, repleto is rebus exercitu, iter in Senonas facere instituit.

57. Dum hae apud Caesarem geruntur, Labienus eo supplemento, quod nuper ex Italia venerat, relicito Agendicii, ut esset impedimentis praesidio, cum quatuor legionibus Lutetiam proficiscitur (id est oppidum Parisiorum, positum in insula fluminis Sequanae), cujus adventu ab hostibus cognito, magnae ex finitimis civitatibus copiae convenerunt. Summa imperii transditur Camulogeno Aulerco, qui, prope consec-tus aetate, tamen propter singularem scientiam rei militaris ad eum est honorem evocatus. Is cum animum advertisset, perpetuam esse paludem, quae influeret in Sequanam atque illum omnem locum magnopere impeditum, hic consedit nostrosque transitu prohibere instituit.

58. Labienus primo vineas agere, cratibus atque aggere paludem explere atque iter munire conabatur. Postquam id difficilium consieri animadvertit, silentio e castris tertia vigilia egressus, eodem, quo venerat, itinere Melodunum pervenit. Id est oppidum Senonum, in insula Sequanae positum, ut paulo ante Lutetiam diximus. Deprehensis navibus circiter quinquaginta celeriterque conjunctis, atque eo militibus impositis et rei novitate perterritis oppidanis quo-
rum magna pars ad bellum erat evocata, sine contentione oppido potitur. Recto ponte, quem superioribus diebus hostes resciderant, exercitum transducit et secundo flumine ad Lutetiam iter facere cœpit. Hostes, re cognita ab iis qui a Meloduno profugerant, Lutetiam incendunt pontesque ejus oppidi rescindiri jubent: ipsi 1 profecti a palude, in ripis Sequanœ, e regione Lutetiae, contra Labiœna castra considunt.

59. Jam Caesar a Gergovia discessisse audiebatur; jam de Æduorum defectione et secundo Gallia motu rumores afferebantur, Gallique in colloquis, interclœsum itinere et Ligeri Cœsarém, inopia frumenti coactum, in Provinciam contendisse confirmabant. Bellovaci autem, defectione Æduorum cognita, qui ante erant per se inâfideles, manus cogere atque aperte bellum parare cœperunt. Tum Labie-nus, tanta rerum commutatione, longe aliu sibi capiendum consilium, atque antea sensorat, intelligebat: neque jam, ut aliquid acquireret, prœlioque hostes lascseret; sed ut incolorem exercitum Agendicum reduceret, cogitabat. Namque altera ex parte Bellovaci, quæ civitas in Gallia maxïmam habet opinionem virtutis, instabant; alteram Camulogenus parato atque instructo exercitu tenebat: tum legiones, a prœsidió atque impedimentis interclœsas, maxînum flumen distinebat. Tantis subito difficultatibus objectis, ab animi virtute auxilium petendum videbat.

60. Itaque sub vesperum consilio convocato, cohortatus, ut ea, quœ imperasset, diligentier industriœque administra- rent, naves, quas a Meloduno deduxerat, singulas equitibus Romanis attribuit, et, prima confecta vigilia, quatuor millia passuum secundo flumine silentio progrœdi ibique se expec-tari jubet. Quinque cohortes, quas minime firmas ad dimicandum esse existimavat, 8 castris prœsidió relinquit: quinque ejusdem legionis reliquas de media nocte cum omnibus impedimentis adverso flumine magnœ tumultu proficiœci imperat. Conquirit etiam lintres: hæs, magnœ sonitu remorum incitatâs, in candem partem mittit. Ipse post
paulo, silentio egressus, cum tribus legionibus eum locum petit, quo naves appelli jussaret.


62. Prima luce et nostri omnes erant transportati et hostium acies cernebatur. Labienus, milites cohortatus, "ut sua pristina virtutis et tot secundissimorum præriorum memoriae retinere, atque ipsum Cæsarem, cujus ductu sæpenumero hostes superassent, prescntem adesse existimarent," dat signum proelii. Primo concursu ab dextro cornu, ubi septima legio consisterat, hostes pelluntur atque in fugam conjiciuntur: ab sinistro, quem locum duodecima legio tenebat, cum primum ordinem hostium transfixi pilis concidissent, tamen aceramatre reliqui resistebant, nec dabat suspicionem fugae quisquam. Ipse dux hostium Camulogenus suis aderat atque eos cohortabatur. At, incerto etiam nunc exitu victoriae, cum septimæ legionis tribunis esset nunciatum, quæ in sinistro cornu gererentur, post tergum hostium legiorem ostenderunt signa quæ intulerunt. Ne eo quidem tempore quisquam loco cessit, sed circumventi omnes interflectique sunt. Eandem fortunam tulit Camuloge-
nus. At ii, qui præsidio 1contra castra Labieni erant reliqui, cum prœlimium commissuum audissent, subsidio sui iurum collegique eeperunt, neque nostrorum militum victorum impetum sustinere potuerunt. Sic, cum suis fugientibus permixti, quos non silvæ montesque tesserunt, ab equitatu sunt interfeci. 2Hoc negotio confecto, Labienus revertitur Agendicum, ubi impedimenta totius exercitus reliqua erant: inde cum omnibus copiis ad Cæsarem pervenit.

63. Defectione Æduorum cognita, bellum augetur. Legationes in omnes partes circummittuntur: quantum gratia, auctoritate, pecunia valent, ad solicitandas civitates mituntur. Nacti obsides, quos Cæsar apud eos deposucerat, 3horum supplicio dubitantes territant. Petunt a Veringetorige Ædui, ad se veniat, 4rationesque belli gerendi communicet. 5Re impetrata, contendunt ut ipsis summa imperii transdataur; et, re in controversiam deducta, totius Galliæ concilium Bibraece indiciatur. Eodem conveniunt undique frequentes. 6Multitudinis suffragis res permittitur: ad unum omnes Veringetorigem probant imperatorem. Ab hoc concilio Remi, Lingones, Treviri a fuerunt: 7illii, quod amicitiam Romanorum sequiebantur; Treviri, quod aberant longius et ab Germanis præmebantur: quæ fuit causa, quare toto absens bello et neutris auxilia mitterent. Magno dolore Ædui ferunt, ut dejectos principatu; queruntur fortunæ commutationem, 8et Cæsaris in se indulgentiam requirunt; neque tamen, suscepto bello, 9sum consilium ab reliquis separare audent. Inviti, summae spei adolescences, Eporedirix et Viridomarus, Veringetorigi parent.

64. Ille imperat reliquis civitatibus obsides: 10denique ei rei constituit diem: hic omnes equites, 11quindecim millia numero, celeriter convenire jubet: peditatu, quem ante habuerit, se fore contentum dicit, neque fortunam tentaturum, aut in acie dimicaturum; sed, quoniam abundet equitatu, perfacile esse factu, frumentationibus pulationibusque Romanos prohibere: sequo modo animo sua ipsi frumenta cor

65. 3Ad hos omnes casus provisa erant presidia cohortium duarum et viginti, quæ ex ipsa coacta provincia ab Lucio Cæsare legato ad omnes partes opponebantur. Helvii, sua sponte cum finitimis prælio congressi, pelluntur, et Caio Valerio Donatauro, Caburi filio, princeps civitatis compluresque aliis interflectis, intra oppida murosque compelluntur. Allobroges, crebris ad Rhodanum dispositis presidiis, magna cum cura et diligentia suos fines tuentur. Cæsar, quod hostes equitatu superiores esse intelligebat, et, interclusis omnibus itineribus, nulla re ex Provincia atque Italia sublevati poterat, trans Rhenum in Germaniam mittit ad eas civitates, quas superioribus annis pacaverat, equitesque ab his arcessit, et levis armaturæ pedites, qui inter eos præliari consueverant. Eorum adventu, quod minus idoneis equis utebantur, a tribunis militum reliquisque, 5sed et equitibus Romanis atque evocatis, equos sumit, Germanisque distribuit.

66. Interea, dum hæc geruntur, hostium copiæ ex Arvernibus, equitesque, qui toti Galliæ erant imperati, conveniunt. Magno horum coacto numero, cum Cæsar in Sequanos per extremos Lingonum fines iter faceret, quo facilius subsidium Provinceæ ferri posset, circiter millia passuum decem ab Romanis trinis castris Vercingetorix consedit: convocatis-
que ad concilium prefectis equitum, "venisse tempus victoriae," demonstrat: "fugere in Provinciam Romanos Galliaque excedere: id sibi ad præsentem obtinendum libertatem satis esse; ad reliqui temporis pacem atque otium parum profici: majoribus enim coactis copiis reversuros, neque finem belli facturos. Proinde in agmine impeditos adoriantur. Si pedites suis auxilium ferant 'atque in eo morentur, iter confici non posse; si (id quod magis futurum confidat), relictis impeditamentis, sua saluti consulant, et usu rerum necessariarum et dignitate spoliatum iri. Nam de equitibus hostium, quin nemo eorum progredi modo extra agmen audeat, ne ipsos quidem debere dubitare. Id quo majore faciant animo, "copias se omnes pro castris habiturum, et terrori hostibus futurum." Conclamant equites, "sanctissimo jurejurando confirmari oportere, ne tecto recipiat, ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ne ad uxorem aditum habeat, qui non bis per agmen hostium perequiratur."

67. Probata re atque omnibus ad jusjurandum adactis, postero die in tres partes distributo equitatu, 4duæ se acies ab duobus lateribus ostendunt: 5una a primo agmine iter impedire capit. Qua re nunciata, Cæsar suum quoque equitatum, tripartito divisione, contra hostem ire jubet. Pugnatur una tune omnibus in partibus: consistit agmen: impedimenta inter legiones recipiuntur. Si qua in parte nostri laborare aut gravius premi videbantur, 6eo signa inferri Cæsar aciemque converti jubebat: quæ res et hostes ad sequendum tardabant et nostros 7spe auxiliis confirmabant. Tandum 8Germani ab dextro latere, summum jugum nacti, hostes loco depellunt; fugientes usque ad 9flumen, ubi Vercingetorix cum pedestribus copiis consederat, persequentur, compluresque interficiunt. Qua re animadversa, reliqui, ne circumvenirentur, veriti, se fugae mandant. Omnia locis fit caedes: tres nobilissimi Ædui capti ad Cæsarem perhibuntur: 10Cotus, praefectus equitum, qui controversiam cum Convictolitane proximis comitiis habuerat; et Cavarillus,
qui post defectionem Litavici pedestribus copiis præfuerat; et Eporedirix, quo duce ante adventum Cæsaris Aedu cum Sequanis bello contenderant.

68. Fugato omni equitatu, Vercingetorix copias suas, ut pro castris collocaverat, reduxit; protinusque Alesiam, quod est oppidum Mandubiorum, iter facere cœpit; celeriterque impedimenta ex castris educi et se subsequi jussit. Cæsar, impedimentis in proximum collem deductis, duabusque legionibus præsidio relictis, secutus, quantum die tempus est passum, circiter tribus millibus hostium ex novissimo agmine interfectis, altero die ad Alesiam castra fecit. Perspecto urbis situ, perterritisque hostibus, quod equitatu, quod maxime confidebant, erant pulsi, adhortatus ad laborem milites, Alesiam circumvallare instituit.

69. Ipsum erat oppidum in colle summo, admodum edito loco, ut, nisi obsidione, expugnari posse non videretur. Cujus collis radices duo duabus ex partibus flumina subluebant. Ante id oppidum planities circiter millia passuum trium in longitudinem patebat, circiter tribus millibus hostium ex novissimo agmine interfecit, altero die ad Alesiam castra fecit. Perspecto urbis situ, perterritisque hostibus, quod equitatu, quod maxime confidebant, erant pulsi, adhortatus ad laborem milites, Alesiam circumvallare instituit.

70. Opere instituto, fit equestre prælium in ea planitie, quam intersam collibus tria millia passuum in longitudinem patere, supra demonstravimus. Summa vi ab utrisque contenditur. Laborantibus nostris Cæsar Germanos submittit, legionesque pro castris constituit, ne qua subito irruptionem hostium peditatu fiat. Præsidio legionum addito,

71. Vercingetorix, priusquam munitiones ab Romanis perficiantur, consilium capit, omnem ab se equitatum noctu dimittere. Discendentibus mandat, “ut suam quisque eorum civitatem adeat, omnesque, qui per actatem arma possint, ad bellum cogant; sua in illos merita proponit, obtestaturque, ut suae salutis rationem habeant, nen se, de communi libertate optime meritis, hostibus in cruciatum dendent: quod si indiligentiores fuerint, millia hominum deflecta octoginta una secum interitura demonstrat; ratione inita, frumentum se exigue dierum triginta habere, sed paulo etiam longius tolerare posse pariendo.” His datis mandatis, qua erat nostrum opus intermissum, secunda vigilia silentio equitatum dimitit; frumentum omne ad se referri jubet; capitibus pœnam iis, qui non paruerint, constituit: pecus, ejus magna erat ab Mandubiis compulsa copia, virtim distribuit; frumentum parce et paulatim metiri instituit: copias omnes, quas pro oppido collocaverat, in oppidum recipit. His rationibus auxilia Galliae expectare et bellum administrare parat.

72. Quibus rebus ex perfugis et captivis cognitis, Caesar hæ generæ munitionis instituit. Fossam pedum viginti directis lateribus duxit, ut ejus fossæ solum tantundem pateret, quantum summa labra distabant. Reliquas omnes munitiones ab ea fossa pedes quadrinagento reduxit: id hoc
consilio (quoniam tantum esset necessario spatium complexus, "nec facile totum opus corona militum cingeretur), ne de improviso aut noctu ad munitiones hostium multitudino advolaret; aut interdiu tela in nostris, "operi destinatos, conjicere possent. Hoc intermisso spatio, duas fossas, quindecim pedes latas, eadem altitudine perduxit: quorum interiorem, campestribus ac demissis locis, aqua ex flumine derivata complevit. Post eas aggerem ac vallum duodecim pedum exstruxit; huic loricae pinnasque adiecti, "grandibus cervis eminentibus ad commissuras pluteorum atque aggeris, qui ascensum hostium tardarent; et "turres toto opere circundedit, quæ pedes octoginta inter se distarent.

appellabant. Ante hæc 'taleæ, pedem longæ, ferreis hamis infixis, totæ in terram infodiebantur; mediocribusque inter missis spatiis, omnibus locis disserebantur, quos stimulos nominabant.

74. His rebus perfectis, ²regiones secutus quam potuit æquissimas pro loci natura, quatuordecim millia passuum complexus, pares ejusdem generis munitiones, diversas ab his, contra exteriorem hostem perfect, ut ne magna quidem multitudine, si ita accidat ⁵ejus discessu, munitionum præsidia circumfundi possent: 'neu cum periculo ex castris egredi cogantur, dierum triginta pabulum frumentumque habere omnes convectum jubet.

75. Dum hæc ad Alesiam geruntur, Galli, concilio ⁵principum indicto, non omnes, qui arma ferre possent, ut cen·suit Vercingetorix, convocandos statuunt, sed certum numerum cuique civitati imperandum; ne, tanta multitudine confusa, nec moderari, nec discernere suos, nec ⁶frumentandique rationem habere possent. Imperant Æduis atque eorum clientibus, Segusianis, Ambivaretis, ⁷Aulercis Brannovicibus, millia triginta quinque; parem numerum Arvernis, adjunctis Eleutetis Cadurcis, Gabalis, Velaunis, qui sub imperio Arvernorum esse consuerunt; Senonibus, Sequanis, Biturigibus, Santonis, Rutenis, Carnutibus duodena millia; Bellovacis decem; totidem Lemovicibus; octona Pictori·bus et Turonis et Parisiis et Helviis; Suessionibus, Ambianis, Mediomatricis, Petrocoriis, Nerviis, Morinis, Nитобріgibus quina millia, Aulercis Cenomanis totidem; Atrebati·bus quatuor; Bellocassis, Lexoviis, Aulercis Ebrovicibus terna; Rauracis et Bois triginta; universis civitatibus, quæ Oceanum attingunt, quæque eorum consuetudine Armoricæ appellantur (quo sunt in numero Curiosolites, Rhedones, Ambibari, Caletes, Osismii, ⁸Lemovices, Veneti, Unelli), sex. Ex his Bellovaci suum numerum non contulerunt, quod se suo nomine atque arbitrio cum Romanis beïum gesturos dicerent, neque cujusquam imperio obtém·
peraturos: rogati tamen ab Commio, pro ejus nospitio bina millia miserunt.

76. Ἡujus opera Commii, ita ut antea demonstravimus, fidelì atque utili superioribus annis erat usus in Britannia Cæsar: quibus ille pro meritis civitatem ejus immunem esse jussērat, jura legesque reddiderat, atque ipsi Morinos attribuerat. Tanta tamen universæ Galliæ consensio fuit libertatis vindicandæ, et pristinæ belli laudis recuperandæ, ut neque beneficiis, neque amicitiaæ memoria, moverentur; omnesque et animo et opibus in id bellum incumberent, coactis equitum octo millibus et peditum circiter ducentis et quadraginta. ᾧ Hæc in Æduorum finibus recensebantur numerosque inibatur: praefecti constituēbantur: Commio Atrebatì, Viridomaro et Eporedirigi, Æduis, Vergasillauno Arverno, consobrino Vercingetorigis, summa imperii transditur. His delecti ex civitatibus attribuuntur, quorum consilio bellum administraretur. Omnes alacres et fiduciae pleni ad Alesiam proficiscuntur: neque erat omnium quisquam, qui aspectum modo tantæ multitudinis sustineri posse arbitaretur; præsertim ążancipiti præcio, cum ex oppido eruptione pugnaretur, ήforis tantæ copiæ equitatus peditatusque cernerentur.

77. At ii, qui Alesiæ obsidebantur, ᾧpræterita die, qua suorum auxilia expectaverant, consumtœ omni frumento, insci, quid in Æduis gereretur, concilio coacto, de exitu fortunarum suarum consultabant. Apud quos variis dictis sententiis, quarum pars ditionem, pars, dum vires suppeterent, eruptionem censebant, non prætereunda videtur oratio Critognati, propter ejus singularem ac nefariam crudelitatem. Ἡic, summo in Arvernis ortus loco, et magnæ habitus auctoritatis, “Nihil,” inquit, “de eorum sententia dicturus sum, qui turpissimam servitutem ditionis nomine appellant; neque hos habendos civium loco, neque ad consilium adhibendos, censeo. Cum iis mihi res sit, qui eruptionem probant: quorum in consilio, omnium vestrum con-
sensu, pristinae residere virtutis memoria videtur. Animi est ista mollitices, non virtus, inopiam paulisper ferre non posse. Qui ultro morti offerant, facilius reperiuntur, quam qui dolorem patienter ferant. Atque ego hanc sententiam probarem ('nam apud me multum dignitas potest), si nullam, præterquam vitae nostræ, jacturam fieri viderem; sed in consilio capiendo omnem Galliam respiciamus, quam ad nostrum auxilium concitavimus. Quid, hominum 2millibus octoginta uno loco interfectis, propinquis consanguineisque nostris animi fore existimatis, si pæne inipsis cadaveribus prælio decertare cogenitur? Nolite hos vestro auxilio 3exspoliare, qui vestra salutis causa suum periculum neglexerint; 4 nec stultitia ac temeritate vestra, aut imbecillitate animi, omnem Galliam prostrernere et perpetue servituti ad dicere. An, quod ad diem non venerunt, de eorum fide constantiaque dubitatis? Quid ergo? Romanos in illis ulterioribus munitionibus 5animine causa quotidie exerceri putatis? Si 6illorum nuncius confirmari non potestis, omni aditu praesepto; iis utimini testibus, appropinquare eorum adventum; cujus rei timore exterriti diem noctemque in opere versantur. Quid ergo mei consilii est? Facere, quod nostri maiores, nequaquam pari bello Cimbrorum Teutonumque, fecerunt; qui in oppida compulsi, ac simili inopia subacti, eorum corporibus, qui ætate inutiles ad bellum videbantur, vitam toleraverunt, neque se hostibus transside- runt. Cujus rei si exemplum non haberemus, tamen libertatis causa institui et posteris prodi pulcherrimum judicarem. 9Nam quid illi simile bello fuit? 10 Depopulata Gallia, Cim- bri, magnaque illata calamitate, finibus quidem nostris ali- quando exscesserunt, atque alias terras petierunt; jura, leges, agros, libertatem nobis reliquerunt: Romani vero quid petunt alius, aut quid volunt, nisi invidia adducti, quos fama nobiles potentessque bello cognoverunt, horum in agris civita- tabusque considerere, atque his æternam injungere servitutem? Neque enim unquam alia conditione bella gesserunt.
Quod si ea, quae in longinquibus nationibus geruntur, ignorantis, respicite finitimam Galliam, quae in provinciam redacta, jure et legibus commutatis, *securibus subjecta, perpetua premitur servitute.*

78. Sententiis dictis, constituunt, ut, qui valetudine aut ætate inutiles sint bello, oppido excedant, atque omnia pricius experiantur, quam ad Critognati sententiam descendant: illo tamen potius utendum consilio, si res cogat atque auxilia morentur, quam aut deditiois aut pacis subeundam conditionem. Mandubii, qui eos oppido receperant, cum liberis atque uxoribus exire cogunt. Hi, cum ad munitones Romanorum accessissent, flentes omnibus precibus orabant, ut se, in servitutem receptos, cibo juvarent. At Cæsar, dispositis in vallo custodiis, recepi prohíbebat.

79. Interea Commius et reliqui duces, quibus summa imperii permessa erat, cum omnibus copiis ad Alesiam pervenient, et, colle exteriore occupato, non longius mille passibus ab nostris munitionibus considunt. Postero die equitatu ex castris educto, omnem eam planiæ, quam in longitudinem tria millia passuum patere demonstravimus, complext, pedestresque copias paulum ab eo loco abductas in locis superioribus constituunt. Erat ex oppido Alesia despectus in campum. Concurritur, his auxiliis visis: fit gratulatio inter eos, atque omnium animi ad laïtiam excitantur. Iaqua productis copiis ante oppidum considunt, et proximam fossam cratibus integunt atque aggere explent, sequre ad eruptionem atque omnes casus comparant.

80. Cæsar, omni exercitu ad utramque partem munitiónum disposito, ut, si usus veniat, suum quisque locum teneat et nowerit, equitatum ex castris educi et prælium commitit jubet. Erat ex omnibus castris, qua summum undique jugum tenebant, despectus; atque omnium militia intenti animi pugnæ proventum expectabant. Galli inter equites raros sagittarios expeditosque levis armature interjecerant, qui suis cedentibus auxilio succurrerent, et nostrorum equi-
tum impetus sustinerent. Ab his complures de improviso vulnerati praelio excedebant. Cum suos pugnas superiores esse Galli considerent et nostros multitudo premi viderent, ex omnibus partibus et ii, qui munitionibus continebantur, et ii, qui ad auxilium convenerant, clamore et ululatu suo-rum animos confirmabant. Quod in conspectu omnium res gerebatur, neque recte ac turpiter factum poterat; utroque et laudis cupiditas et timor ignominiae ad virtutem excitabat. Cum a meridie prope ad solis occasum dubia victoria pugnaretur, Germani una in parte confertis turmis in hostes impetum fecerunt, eosque propulerunt: quibus in fugam conjectis, sagittarii circumventi interficisque sunt. Item ex reliquis partibus nostri, cedentes usque ad castra insecuti, sui colligendi facultatem non dederunt. At ii, qui ab Alesia processerant, misti, prope victoria desperata, se in oppidum receperunt.

81. Uno die intermisso, Galli, atque hoc spatio magnatum, scalarum, harpagonum numero effecto, media nocte silentio ex castris egressi, ad campestres munitiones accedunt. Subito clamore sublato, qua significacione, qui in oppito obsidebantur, de suo adventu cognoscere possent, creates projicere, fundis, sagittis, lapidibus nostros de vallo deturbare, reliques, quae ad oppugnationem pertinent, administrare. Eodem tempore, clamore exaudito, dat tuba signum suis Vercingetorix atque ex oppido educit. Nostri, ut superioribus diebus suus cuique locus erat definitus, ad munitiones accedunt: fundis, libralibus, sudibusque, quas in opere disposuerant, ac glandibus Gallos perterrent. Prospectu tenebris ademo, multa utrimque vulnera accipiantur; complura tormentis tela conjiciuntur. At Marcus Antonius et Caius Trebonius, legati, quibus eae partes ad defendendum obvenerant, qua ex parte nostros premi intellexerant, iis auxilio ex ulterioribus castellis deductos submittebant.

82. Dum longius ab munitione aberant Galli, plus mul
titudine telorum proficiebant: posteaquam propius successerunt, aut se ipsi stimulus inopinantes induebant, aut in scrob-es delapsi transfodiebantur, aut ex vallo ac turribus trans-jecti "pilis muralibus interibant. Multis undique vulneribus acceptis, nulla munitione perrupta, cum lux 2appeteret, ver-iti, ne ab latere aperto ex superioribus castris eruptione circumvenirentur, se ad suos receperunt. At 3interiores, dum ea, quæ a Vercingetorige ad eruptionem præparata erant, proferunt, priores fossas explent; diutius in iis rebus administrandis morati, prius suos discessisse cognoverunt, quam munitionibus appropinquarent. Ita, re infecta, in op-pidum reverterunt.

83. Bis magno cum detrimento repulsi Galli, quid agant, consulunt: locorum peritos adhibent: ab his 4superiorum castrorum situs munitionesque cognoscent. Erat a septen-trionibus collis, quem propter magnitudinem circuitus opere circumepti non potuerant nostri, necessarioque 5pæne ini-quo loco et leniter declivi castra fecerant. Hæc Caius An-tistius Reginus et Caius Caninius Rebilus, legati, cum dua-bus legionibus obtinebant. Cognitis per exploratores regi-onibus, duces hostium sexaginta millia ex omnibus numero de-ligunt carum civitatum, quæ maximam virtutis opinionem habebant; quid quoque pacto agi placeat, occulte inter se constituunt; adeundi tempus definiunt, cum meridies esse videatur. Iis copiis 6Vergassilauum Arvernun, unum ex quatuor dueibus, propinquum Vercingetorigis, præficiunt. Ille ex castris prima vigilia egressus, prope confecto sub lucee itinere, post montem se occultavit, militesque ex nocturno labore sese reficere jussit. Cum jam meridies appropinquare videretur, ad ea castra, quæ supra demons-travimus, contendit: eodemque tempore equitatus ad cam-pestres munitiones accedere et reliquœ copiœ pro castris sese ostendere cœperunt.

84. Vercingetorix ex aree Alesiœ suos conspicatœs, ex oppido egreditur; 7a castris longurios, musculos, falces rel-
iquaque, quae eruptionis causa paraverat, profert. Pugnatur uno tempore omnibus locis acriter, atque 'omnia entantur: qua minime visa pars firma est, huc concurritur. Romanorum manus tantis munitionibus distinctur, nec facile pluribus locis occurrit. Multum ad terrendos nostros valuit clamor, qui post tergum pugnantibis extitit, quod suum periculum in aliena vident virtute constare: omnia enim plerumque, quae absunt, vehementius hominum mentes perturbant.


86. His rebus cognitis, Cæsar Labienum cum cohortibus sex subsidio laborantibus mittit: imperat, si sustinere non possit, deductis cohortibus eruptione pugnet: id, nisi necessario, ne faciat. Ips e adit reliquis; cohortatur, ne labori succumbant; omnium superiorum dimicationum fructum in eo die atque hora docet consistere. Interiores, desperatis campestribus locis propter magnitudinem munitiionum, loca prærupta ex ascensu tentant: huc ea, quae paraverant, conferunt: multitudine telorum ex turribus propugnantes deturbant: aggere et cratibus fossas explent, aditus expedient: falcibus vallum ac loricam rescindunt.

87. Cæsar mittit primo Brutum adolescentem cum cohortibus sex, post cum aliis septem Caium Fabium legatum: post nam ipse, cum vehementius pugnarent, integros sub-
sudio adducit. Restituto praelio ac repulsis hostibus, eo, quo Labiennum miserat, contendit; cohortes quatuor ex proximo castello deducit; eodem se partem sequi, partem circumire exteriores munitiones, et ab tergo hostes adoriri jubet. Labiennus, postquam neque aggeres, neque fossae vim hostium sustinere poterant, coactus undequadraginta cohortibus, quas ex proximis praesidiis deductas fors obtulit, Caesarem per nuncios facit certiorem, quid faciendum existimet. Accelerat Caesar, ut praelio intersit.


89. Postero die Vercingetorix, concilio convocato, id bellum suscepisse non suarum necessitatum, sed communis libertatis causa, demonstrat; et quoniam sit fortunae cedendum, ad utramque rem se illis offere, seu morte sua Romanis satisfacere, seu vivum transdere velint. Mittuntu de his rebus ad Caesarem legati. Jubet arma transdi, prin-
cipes produci. Ipse in munitione pro castris consedit: eodem duces producuntur. 1Vercingetorix deditur, arma projiciuntur. Reservatis Æduis atque Arvernis, si 2per eos civitates recuperare posset, 3ex reliquis captivis toto exercitu capita singula prædæ nomine distribuit.

ΓΑΙΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ

ΑΙΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ.

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΘΗ ΓΑΛΑΤΙΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α.

ΠΆΣΑ ΜΕΝ Ἡ Γαλατία εἰς τρία μέρη διίημηται· οὖν τὸ μὲν οἱ Βέλγαι τὸ δὲ οἱ 'Ακούτανοι· τὸ τρίτον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχωριῶν μὲν Κέλται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἤμετέρως φονήν Γάλλοι ὁμομοιοῦσιν, κατηκοῦσιν καὶ οὗτοι μὲν παῖς ἐς τῇ τὴν διάλεκτον καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν διαίτητα ἐπὶ ἀλλήλων διεχοριζόμεθα. Τοὺς δὲ Κέλτας ἑπτά μὲν τῶν 'Ακουτανών ὁ Γαροφίνας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Βέλγων ὁ τε Ματώνας καὶ Σεκάναις διοικεῖται συναρμολογία. Πάντων τούτων χρίσματοι εἰσάει οἱ Βέλγαι πρώτοι μὲν, ὡς πολὴ ἀριστοτείχις ἐν ἐν τῆς τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐπαρχίας ἡμερήσιος τῆς διαφορῆς, καὶ οὐ μὴ πολλάκις ἐμπορίοι σφηνίω σπαθίσουσιν, τὰ προστατεύεται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θρήσκευται καὶ θηριώνεται ἑδέσμως· ἐπειδὴ δὲ, ἀνατριχεῖται εἰς τοὺς πέξας τοῦ 'Ρήμου Γερμανών, οἷς συνεχός πολεμοῦσιν. Ἰδίον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ 5 'Κελτίτους χρίσματα εἰσάει καὶ τοῖς Κέλταις· καὶ ἐνόημηκε μὲν γὰρ σχεδὸν μάχην τοῖς καθ' ἄυτος Γερμανοῖς συναπτόμενοι, ἐκ τῆς οἷόν ἐξελάνθεται, ἢ καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐμπάλλοντες. 4 Μήν οὖν Κελτικῆς, ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ 'Ρωμαίου ἀρχηγοῦ, τῆς πολιτείας Γαροφίμα καὶ τοῦ 'Αλιανικοῦ 'Ομεσοῦ περιλαμβάνεται, καὶ προσφατεί τῷ 'Ρήμῳ κατὰ τοὺς δὲ Σεκανοῦς τε καὶ τοὺς 'Ελβητίους· ἐρέων δὲ πρῶτον Ἀρχικῶν· ἢ δὲ Βελγίκης· ἀπὸ μὲν τὸς Κελτικῆς μεθοδοσίας άρχισθεῖσα, διήρκει μέχρις ἕπι τὰ κάτω τοῦ 'Ρήμου τετραγωσταθεῖται δὲ πρῶτον Ἀρχικῶν καὶ ἀναπληρῶν· ὡς δὲ 'Ακουτανῶν διήρκει μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Γαροφίμαν μέχρις ἕπι τὰ Πιερήμναια ὀργηθεῖται καὶ τῷ τοῦ 'Αλιανικοῦ 'Ομοσοῦ εἰς Ἰταλίαν τείνοντες ἀφοῦ δὲ τὰ με- ταχεῖον Ἀρχικῶν τε καὶ νυμιλόνων.

II. Πῶς δὲ ποιεῖ παροῦ τοῦ 'Ελβητίους ἀνικὸν πλευστατὸν· καὶ τῷ γένει λαμπρότατον, ὡς διόμεα ἡ Ὁργῆτομου. Ὡς δὲ μὲν ὀφθ. ἐπὶ ὑπάι σῦν Μάρκου Μεσσάλα τε καὶ Μάρκου Πελεσίων. τοῦ
καθίσταται επίθυμως, τρώων μὲν μετὰ τῶν εὐγενεστέρων συνήμοσει, ἥπεται δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνέπεισε πανδήμερος τῆς χώρας εἰκονιτείνειν, ὧδετον εἰπεῖτος εἶναι αὐτοὶς κρατήτοις οὖσι, πάσης τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχειν. Τουστότι δὲ μὴν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἑλληνῖοι ἐπιστευναν, ὡς παντοχέθεν τῆς σφῶν χώρας αὐτῶν περιφημίτοιντα γίνεται, τῷ μὲν, τῷ Ρήμῳ εὐφυτεύτῳ τε καὶ δαιμονίατο τινί, τῷ δὲ Ἑλληνικῷ ἀπὸ τῶν Γερμανῶν ἀποτίμητον τῇ δε, τῷ Τιθέμεντα, ὅρει θυρηστάτῳ τῇ ὑπνικῇ, καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑξακοικίας διοικήσεται τῇ δὲ, τῇ δὲ τῶν Λεβάνων λιμήν, καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαῖον ποιομαντό αὐτοῦς ἄπο τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπαρχίας διαγραφή

III. Τούτων μὲν οὖν πειθόμενοι, καὶ τῷ τοῦ Ὁρητόρου ἀξίωματι παραφυγής τε, τὰ πρὸς ὁδοιπορίαν πάντα ἐνεργείσατο παρασκευάζοντα, οἷον ὁποιήγια τε καὶ ἀρματα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα παντοτέρως ὑπέβαλεν, καὶ σπέρμας ὡς πλείστους, ἵνα ὁ στόχος σφιάζω καθ’ ὅδον διαφοροῦς, ποιεῖται, εἰρήνης δὲ καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὰς περιοχίδας πόλεις ποιήσαται. Εἰς δὲ τὸ ταῦτα διαμαρτάτειν δυὸ ἦτο σφιᾷ διαφέρειν νομίσατες, τῶν τρίτων τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐπεκρώσαν. Τὸν δ’ Ὁρητόρογον τοῦτοι κατεγραμμένος ἑποδείκνυτες, ἑκεῖνος τὴν προσθέλειν μὲν πρὸς ἐπέδατο. Καθ’ ὅδον δὲ Ἡσίσκιον τὸν Καθαραμαλέδους, τοῦ πολὸν χρόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνισάμενοις, καὶ φίλου ὑπὸ τὰς τῆς γερονίμους καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων κτερίστοις, τῇ τῷ ἐαυτοῦ πόλεως τοῦ πατρὸς τυφλοῦ τηρεῖτο ἐπεκρώσασθαι, καὶ λαμβάνον τὸν Ἑδωνίου, τῶν Διδυμάδους, τῶν τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἐδωνών ἀρίστον τε καὶ ἀρετητοῦ τὸ πλῆθει όντος, ἀδελφῶν, ταύτῳ ἐπεκρώσασθαι ἀκατεύθυς, τῷ ἐαυτοῦ θυγατέρῃ ἐκείνῳ διαφοροῦς, ὥστε εἰναὶ ὀψιάχως ἐξεκβιάζονται ταύτης τῇ ἐπιειρήσεσι. Οὐ μὴ γὰρ Ἑλληνικῷ, ἔφη, πάντων τῶν Κελτῶν δυνατοτιτόντων εἶναι ἱστολογοῦνται ἑγὼ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνοιχτόνος διαφερέσθω, ὡστε τῇ τῇ ἐμῇ διύομαι καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ στρατίῳ τὼν βασιλείας ύποσχόμαι ὅτιν τούτων συνεκρυψάσθαι. Τούτων μὲν οὖν τοῖς λόγοις πειθὸμενοῖς, καὶ δέξιος εἰπτούσι δῶντες καὶ λαβόντες, ὄπληθος προσδοκῶτες, εἰ ταῦτας τὰς βασιλείας τρισὶν τούτων μεγάλοις ὅμοιος κατάγοντες, ἢδος εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην Γαλατίαν ὑπαχείριον οιοίσεσθαι.
IV. Τούτων δ' οὖν οὕτως τοῖς 'Ελληνίτεσις σημαντικοῦν αυτὸς τῶν Ὅργετόφαγα δῆσαντες, κατὰ τὸ σαφὲς σύνθες ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς λόγων τῶν πεπραγμένων διδόναι ἐκλείειν· ἐκλείποτε δ' αὐτῷ ἁμαρτ. ἔλθεσαν τὸ ἄκον καθήμεσαί. Κυρίας ὦ δὴ ὡμοίας πῶς δικής ἐπελθοῦσις, ὁ Ὅργετόφαγες πάσης μὲν τὴν ἐκατοῦ οὐκ ένεπτε εἰς τοὺς μυρίον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὦσαν, πάντας τὰ πρὸς τούτος τοὺς ὑπόκους σε καὶ χρεωκείται (πάμπολοι δὲ καὶ οὐν οὕτως εἰς τὸ συνέδριον συναγαγόν, δὲ αὐτὼς μὲν ἔτι τὸ µὴ τῶν ἐκδόναις ἀποδέοθησαν θηρίῳ δ' οὗ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐπὶ τούτος τὴν πολύν καταλαβόντος, καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ ἐκάτη δικαίωμα δὲ σύνων φιλαίτερον ἔπειρογίαις, τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων ἀνδρῶς ἐκ τῶν ἀνθών παλλόντας ἐπὶ τούτως συναγεροῦσιν, μετιλλαχέον δ' Ὅργετοφαγεῖ, ὡς ἐπὶ αὐτῶς ὑποτετέειται τῶν 'Ελλη- 

V. Αὐτοῦ δ' ἀποδιονέος, οὔτεν τὸ ἦτον οἳ Ἐλληνὶ τοῖς τῆς ἔξοδον ἐπεχέρειμα ὑποτελέει ἐπειράσαντο. Ἐσειδῆ μὲν γὰρ τάχιστα παρασκενεῖσθαι ἐνόμισαν, τί πάντοτε μὲν τὶς πόλεις δόδεκα ὦσαν, τὰ ἢ ἄλλα πάντα ἕδαι ἐκαστος οἰκοδομήσατα καταφέξαστε, πάνταν οὖν ἄτι, πλὴν ὁ συνκεναζοῦσας ἠμέλλον, (ὑνα τῆς ἐπὶ οὐκ ξανάσδον ἀποφυγόντες, προθημότεροι τους κυνοῦντος ὑποδοντος) ἒπικησάντες, ἐκάστος μὲν ἄληθεν ἐκαστὶ εἰς τρεῖς μῆνας οἶκοθεν σφέασθαι ἐπιγείλλον. Τοὺς δὲ Ρώμαι- 

VI. Ἡςον δὲ παντάπασιν ὀδὸν δὲ, δ' ἐν ἔξεινμεν αὐτοῖς ὀδὸν 1' ἔραν· η' μὲν διὰ τῆς τῶν Ἐκακῶν χώρας στενῆς τῆς καὶ δύσιος, μετέχεδο τὸ ποὺ 2οῦς ὁροὶ καὶ 3οῦς 'Ρήσου πατρίορι, η' μόλις ἢν ἀμαξα διάγεοτο, ὅσος δ' 'Ρόδα ιοσποτὰ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπεκερήματο· ὡς ἀμήκνοις ἄκου ἡ ὰδοὺς εἰσελθείνι νηρατεύματι, εἰ καὶ ὀλίγοι κολλόντες. 11 δ' διὰ τῆς τῶν Ἐρωμαίων ἀπωφυγίας πολλ ἥσωσίτωρ 1' ἔραν καὶ ἐλάττων. Μεταξύ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἐλλη- 


συνελθείν προειπόν. Ἀβικ δ’ ἦν λεικοση ὁγήν τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς, ἐπὶ υπάτων Μάρκου Πελούνως καὶ Αὐλοῦ Γαβρίνου.

VII. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἐν τῇ Ῥωμή τοίς ὄντι, ἄνηγ-γέλθη, τοὺς Ἐλβητίους ἐν ὑψί ἔσειν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Γαλατία ἐπαρχίας τὴν ὁδὸν ποιεῖσθαι, διὰ τάχους τῆς πόλεως ἐξῆλθασιν, καὶ ὦς ἧδυνατό τάχιστα ἐν τῇ πέραν τῶν Ἀλπων Γαλατία παραγενόμενοι, πᾶση μὲν τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ ὑπόσους τ’ ἤδυνατο καὶ ἀριστον στρατιῶτας τὸ πράτερον ἐνὸς τάχιστον ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὄντος ἐπήγειλεν· τῆς δ’ ἐν τῇ Γενοὺς γέμφραν διέλυσαν. Οἱ δὲ Ἔλβητεοι, ὡς ἡσυχοῦν τάχιστα τὸν Καίσαρα ἀφυγμένον, προσ-δοὺς αὐτῶν πέμπουσι τοὺς ἀριστον τῆς σφρονός πόλεως, Νομισμάτω τε καὶ Βεροδοξίᾳ πάλιμένους, εἰπεῖν· τοὺς Ἐλβητίους ἐνθύμη-θήναι ἄσινως διὰ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, ὡς διὰ φιλίας, καὶ ταύτα τοῦ Καίσαρος σφια τὴν ὁδὸν συγχωρόντος τάχυν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλη γ’ οὐκ ἐφανείτο αὐτοῖς, πορεύεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ τὸν μὲν Ὀδυσσόν Κάσσον τὸν ὑπατὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλβητίων τεθηκέναι, τὴν δὲ ἑκένου στρατηγὸν ἀπασάν διαφωρηθείς τα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γ' ἡγίαν πεφθηκένει μεμνημένος, ἑκένους ταύτα συγχωρήτει εἶναι οὐχ ἡγίσατο. Οὐκ ἕτερο μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρας δυσμενές διὰ πιντὸς τοῖς Ρωμαίοις διαγεγεννημένους, τῶν συγχωρήθειν σφια τάχυν τῆς ὁδοῦ, τοῦ ὅρην τε καὶ πορεύν τὴν ἐπικράτειαν ἀφέσθαν. Ἄρα ὡς δὲ, ἔνας ὁ χρόνος, ἐν ὡς ἔναν τὴν ἐπικράτειαν ἐπαγγέλθην- τες στρατιῶτα συνελθέντος ἤμελλον, παρέλθη, τοὺς μὲν προσέβαζος τούτους ἀπεκρίνατο, διε ἤμεραν πρὸς τὸ περί τούτου βουλεύεσ-θαι αἰρηθέναι· ἐλ καὶ τα ἀοίδο βούλοιτο, τῇ τραχί δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου μηνὸς πάλιμ ἐκέλευεν εἰπανείναι.

VIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τὸ τε σὺν αὐτῷ ὄντι τάγματι, καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῆς ἐπαρχίας προακληθοῦσι αὐτοὶ στρατιῶταις, ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τὸν 2ον Ρήγων ἐμβαλλόντος Ἀεμάκου λινής μέχρις ἐπὶ τὸ τοὺς Σεκανοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐλβητίων διαφόρον Ἰουρίο ὄρος, τείχος τοῦ μὲν μήκος ἐκατόν καὶ πεντήκοντα δύο στάδια, τὸ δὲ ψυχὸς ἐκ καὶ δέκα πόδας δωδεκάδος, περιετάφρευεν. Ταύτα δὲ ποιησάμενος, φορουσάν ἐγκατέστησαν, ἑρωματαὶ τ’ ὑποδίειν ἔθεκα τοὺς Ἐλβητίους, εἰ βίας εἰς τὴν ἐπικράτειαν παρεῖκεν ἐπιχειρή- σεις, ἐκράτω. ᾿Ρηγίς δὲ ἡμέρας, ἐπεδήμουσα καὶ κατὰ τὸ συν-τεθέν τῶν πρόσεβος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανελθόντων, ἀνικνὸς αὐτοῖς ἀπηρήσατο μὴ δύσασθαι τινί, κατὰ γε τὸ νομιζόμενον καὶ σύμβας τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὴν διὰ τῆς ἐπαρχίας συγχωρέων ὁδὸν· εἱ δὲ δια ἐπιθέεν ἐπιχειρήσεις, ἐμποδίσεις αὐτοῖς ἔδιδασκε. Ταύτης μὲν οὖν τῆς ἔλπιδος ὅλ’ Ἐλβητίου σφαλέντες, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν πολλὰ σχεδίας τε καὶ πολλὰ πλοῖα ἄλλοις ἐπιχεί-αντες, οἱ δὲ ή τορήσαμος τε καὶ οὐκ ἰσχυρὸς ἦν βασις ὁ Ροδανός, ἐνιὸς μὲν καὶ ἴμεχαν, πολλὸς τόλμων δὲ νυκτός,
C. JULII CESARIS

IX. Μια μὲν οὖν ἔδει ἐτέρα ὅσος διὰ τῆς τῶν Σεκανῶν χώρας αὐτοῖς υπόλοιπος ἦν, ἣ διὰ ἔκαμος αὐτὸν τὴν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιβοσχοῦντος τε καὶ βέλεσιν αὐτοὺς βαλλόντων ἀπεσωμένοι, τοῦτον τοῦ ἐπιχειρήσατο ἐπαύσαντο.

Χ. Ο μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ τοὺς Ἐλβητίους ἐνθυμηθῆκε διὰ τῆς τῶν Σεκανῶν γῆς εἰς τὴν τῶν Σαντίκων πορεύεσθαι ἄκουσας, (ἀυτὴ δ' ἡ χώρα οὖ μακρὸν τῆς τῶν Τολυσατῶν πόλεως ἐν τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατεῖσι ὄψης, ἀπέχει) καὶ εἰ ταῦτα συμβῆσαι, κινήθεται πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐνθυμεῖτο, εἰ δυνατότερον τε καὶ χρῶστιν ἄροις, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πολέμους, ἐν τόποις εὐφυεῖς τε καὶ ἐνεργοτάτους πρόσχωσι τῆς ἐπικρατείσις γένοιτο τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἐνθυμομενῳ, τῶν μὲν ἔπαιρχον Τίτον Λαβιτίνον τόσοι τῷ ἔρθασι, περὶ ὅθεν ἐσμένη, ἐπέστησαν αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν ἐνδοξίαν τάξισιν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίων ἀπάρας, ἐκεῖ δὲ δύο νέα τάξιμα κατελεῖτο, καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς πρὸς τῇ Ἀκυλῆτη παραχειμαζόντα ἐκ τῶν χειμῶν ἐξήγαγε, καὶ ταῦτα πέντε ἔχουν, διὸ τῶν Ἀλπέων εἰς τὴν πέραν Γαλατίων ἐπιμαχομαι ἕως, ταῦτα ἐπορεύεθη. Ἕκασθα δὲ τοὺς τε Κεντροὺς καὶ τοὺς Υμητέρους, τοὺς τε Κατούρφας, τὰ ἄκρα τῶν Ἀλπέων κατασχῶν, καὶ τῆς ὅδος τῶν στρατῶν ἀποκλίνοντας ἐντεῦθεν ὑπασχομένως ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἀπὸ τῆς Οξέλου, ἐσχάτης τῆς ἐπὶ θέτερα τῶν Ἀλπέων Γαλατιῶν πόλεως ὄψης, εἰς τὴν τῶν Λυκοντίων χώραν ἐν τῇ πέραν ἑπαρχία ὄψιν, ἐβδομαίοις ἐπισκέψεως ἐντεῦθεν δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀλποδείγμων χώραν, κατείθεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Σεκανοφιλῶν ἱπτῶν στρατιῶν.


"Εστι δὲ τις ποιημάτων, ὃς ὁμοῖος, τοσαῦτα εἰς τὸν Ῥοδανόν εὐσβάλλων ἄτρεμιλα, ὡστε ὅποιος ἥτις, τῇ ὄψει μὴ διακρίνεσθαι. Τούτων οἱ Ἑληθήτων πολλὰς σχεδίας ἀνάλημα ἐπεξεργάστηκαν, διδάσκοντες. Μαθὼν δὲ παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων ὁ Καίσαρ εἰς μὲν τρεῖς φιλότους τῶν Ἑληθήτων ἐδήλωσεν τὸν ποιημάτων διαβάζει, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἐπὶ θάνατον τοῦ ποιημάτος ἔτει ὑπόλοιπον εἶναι, ἀμφὶ τὴν τρέτην φιλακῆς σὺν τριαίνοντος λάθος τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἄρας, ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν Ἑληθήτων τῶν ποιημάτων διαβεβηκότας ὄρμησε, καὶ τούτως ἀπροσδόκητος τε καὶ ἀμφὶ τὴν τοῦ ποιημάτος διάδασον ἀσχολομένοις ἄριστον ἐπιτελεῖα, παμπόλλοις αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν· ὁ δὲ λοιπὸν σχῆμα ἐπὶ τὰ πλήθον κατὰ διεσώρυξεν. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ φύλη Τυγονική ἐπικελεύει· τέταρτος γὰρ σφαλὰ τῶν Ἑληθήτων διηγομένης· ὃν οἴστη μόνη ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρων εξέλθονσιν, αὐτὸν τε τοῦ ὑπατοῦ Δούκιον Κάσσιον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἔκεινον στόματα ἐκφάγει, ὡτόν τὸν ἠγγέλον ἐπεμψατο. Ὁμίως οὖν ἐκ συντυχίας τινὸς, ἢ ἢ ὡς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης, οὕτω τῶν Ἑληθήτων οὐ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πάλαι δικοῦς κακώσαντες, τότε τῶν ἄλλων μόλιστα δίκαιον ἔστιν. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ταύτα ὁ Καίσαρ κατεργάσαμεν, οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸς τὸ δῆμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρὸς εαυτὸν ύβρέας αὐτῶς ἐτίμωσεν. τοῦτον τῶν γὰρ Κάσσιον τοῦ ὑπατοῦ ὑποτρέπτην Δούκιον Πείλονα, τοῦ τῶν Δούκιον Πείλονας, πενθεροῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος, πάππων, τῇ αὕτη καὶ Κάσσιον μάχη ὁ Ἑληθήτων ἀπεκτέινεθαν. 

Χ. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ποιημάτων οὐ νομίζεις ὁ Καίσαρ, τὸν αὐτῶς ποιημάν, ἢν θάτον τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν Ἑληθήτων στράτευμα κατα-
λαθεῖν δύνατο, ἵγερφώσει, καὶ οὕτω τὸ σιγάτευμα διεβιβάσειν Ὠς ὁὶ ά' Ἑλβίτης τῇ "αὐτῷ ταχίστα ἐφόδιος μετάπληγιτες, ὁπὶ ἃν αὐτοὶ ἐπιπότος ἐν εἰκοσι ἰχθείρας ἐποιήσαντο, ταῦτα ἔκεινον ἐν μιᾷ ήμερᾷ ἀγῶς κυαταπήματο, πρέπεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπέμψαντο τοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς πόλεως ἐπιφανεστάτους. Ὡς εἴτε δι' αὐτῶν Ἀληκώσα, ἐν τῇ κατὰ Κάσισιον μάχῃ στρατιῶτος τῶν Ἑλβίτην γενόμενοι, οὐκ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καύσαρα ὠρισικόντος ἔλεξε τοιοῦτον Ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ἔφη, Καίσαρ, ὑπείς ὁ 'Ρωμαῖος τοὺς Ἑλβίτην εἰρήνευσε, ὁ Ἑλβίτης ὅποις ἐν ἐκεῖ ἤλθησε καὶ προσανέτησε πορεύσασθαι τε καὶ ἔκει μενόσιν ἐλ' αὐτός ποδεμύντως διατελείτε, μέμνησθε μονὸν τῆς τῶν Ἑλβίτην ἀρχαίας ἀρετῆς, καὶ τῆς τοῦντος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀτελίας. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἤδημος φιλὴ, καὶ ταύτῃ ἐξ οὗ προειδόδος, καὶ τῶν τοιαύτων ἱδρυμαθητῶν ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτῇ μὴ δυναμένων, ἄφων ἐπεκλύστες, ταῦτα ἐχρατήσατε, μήτε διὰ τοῦτο μέγα φρονεῖτε, ἣ καὶ ἤδημος κινούσα νομίζετε παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἰμητέρων ἀργόνων μάλλον ἀρετῆς, ἡ πλεονεκίας τε καὶ δολὼσει κρατεῖν δεδομένη. Αλλ' ὅρις μὲν ποικὶ δῶς ο timeval ἐν ἀυτῷ ἐσμένει τὸν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἀτυχίας καὶ τῆς τοιοῦτον τοῦ εἰκενοῦ στρατοῦ πανολίθανα ἐπώνυμος γέννησι, ἡ γὰρ ταύτῃ μνημείον εἰς τὸν ἐκεῖ περιτείχει χρόνον ὑπολειφθῆ. Ἀληκώσα μὲν οὖν οὕτω ἔτειν.

XIV. Ὁ δὲ Κάσισιο διδὲ ποικὶ αὐτῷ ἄπεθανεν. Ἀλλ' ἤμεις μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πώς ὡς μὲν ἢ θείην διὰ μνήμης ἤχοντες ἤτον ὑπορεύμεν τοσοῦτον δὲ παράτερον ταχθην τὴν ἀναπληγίαν σφέρωσαν, ὅποιος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρ' ἄλλων οἰκίων ταύτῃ πεπονθήμεν ἢκε. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκαίν οἰκίας οἷς ἡρπάκοι συνήδεσαν, ὅδεις ἢν ἐφιάλαζον τῶν δὲ ἐξηπαθήσαν, οὐτὲ τί άκαίν τι πρόξει ὧν ὡς φοβείσθησαν μᾶλλον, οὐτὲ γε αὐτέρκες αὐτίς οὐκ ὧν φοβήσθησαν εἰναι νομίζοντες. Εἰ δὲ ταύτῃ τῆς παλαιάς ὡς ἀδικίας περί τοῦς Ῥωμαίους εἰπεν ἀναφάνεσθαι βουλήμαν, πῶς καὶ ταύτῃ τῆς πρώην ὡβρέως τῆς μενημ ἀποτελέσαται δυνάμειν; πρώον μὲν γὰρ, ἐμοὶ ἄκοινος, δία εἰς τὴν ἐπικράτειαν παριένει ἐπεχειρήσατε. ἐπείτα δὲ τοῖς θ' Ἐδουείς καὶ τοῖς Ἀμυλημοῖς καὶ τοῖς Ἀλλαθρείς δεινῶς ἐκκατοσταί. Οὗ δὲ οὖν σοφάρως εἶτ' ταχθῇ ἡ ἰμητέρα ὕπατερευδουσα, καὶ ὡς τοσοῦτον χρόνων ἀδικίαις διαγεγεννηθήκαν θανάσεσθε, εἰς ταυτὸ τοῦτο ἔπει. Φιλεῖ μὲν γὰρ τὸ θείον οὖν ἀντὶ ἀδικίας σφῶν πτυχῶς τιμωρείσθαι δέχθη, τοσοῦτον ἀδικίας τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολῶν χρόνων εὐθυμομανίας ἤγα, ἢν τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολῆ πάλλων διερώτων εἰ. Εἰς ταῦτα πάντα ὅμως, ἢγα, ἢν ὡμοίως δότε πιστῶν τι ὡς διδάσκαιν ὡς ἐπιπεδάσκαετε ἢ λέγετε, ἢν τάς περὶ τοίς Ἐδουείς καὶ τοῖς Ἀλλαθροίς ὡβρεῖς ἐκεῖνοις
ἐκδικεῖται, ἢμεῖς πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνίτοις εἰρηνεύουμεν. Καῖσαρ μὲν οὖσις εἶπεν. Ὅ δὲ Ἀλβίκος, Ἀλλὰ, Καῖσαρ, ἢρη, ἢμεῖς οἱ Ἑλληνίτοι όμορφοι παρά τῶν ἄλλων λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ’ οὐ διδόμα εἰδόθημεν τούτοι τε ήμεῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μάρτυρες ἔτη. Ταῦτα ἀποκεντάμενος ὁ Ἀλβίκος ἀπίων ὤχετο.

XV. Καὶ τῇ ὑπεραία ὁ Ἑλληνίτης μεταστρατοπεδέσαντο. Ὅ Καῖσαρ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποιήσατο, πλίντας τοὺς ἑπές ἐκ τῶν Ἐδουέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων εἰς τετρακισχίλιον ἐκατῶρ ἰθροισινές, ποὺ παρεῖσχεν οἱ πολέμιοι σκοτηρισμόν τοὺς προ-πέμψαν. Οὕτω δ’ οἱ ἑπείς ἀνδριζόμενοι πλησιότερον ἦ ἔδει τοὺς πολέμιοις ἐπικολούθησαν· ὅταν ἐν τοῖς ὄσυχροις τοῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίτων ἐπετέθη συμμίσθαι, ἤτηθαν· ὁλιγον μεῖν τοῖς ἔπεσον. Ταῦτα δὲ τῇ μάχῃ οἱ Ἑλληνίτης ἐπιθέτησαν, διι πεντικισιῶν μόνον ἑπείσαν τοῦτοι ἑπές σιφός ἑνίκησαν, θρασύτερον μὲν ὑπέμενον, καὶ ἐνιοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑποσφοράλακας εἰς μάχην προνυκαλοῦσα. Ὅ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας μάχεσθαι οὐκ εἶχα· ἠγάπα δ’ εἰ μόνον ἤλθαν τῇ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχων χώραν ἄνωτον διαφυλάττων. Ὁμας ἤμεθα πέντε καὶ δέκα πναρῆθον, ἐν αἷς μεταξὸ τῶν ἐγκατὸν τῶν Ἑλληνίτων καὶ τῶν πρότων τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ πλέουν ἕκατον σταθῶν διελέτετο.

XVI. Ἔν τούτῳ δ’ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ τοὺς Ἐδουέως δὴ δημοσία αὐτὸ ὑπέσχοντο οὗτοι ἀπῆτες. Διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ψυχός (πάσα γὰρ Ἡ’ Γαλατία, ὥς καὶ ἄνω προερυθήται, ἄριστα ἐστὶ) οὐχ ὅπῃς πέπον ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὁ σώτος, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ χαλὸν ἐν τῷ στρατῷ αὐτόρκεια ἦν. Ἐπειτα δὲ οὐδὲ τῷ διὰ τοῦ Ἀράμεως ἐπεισάκησα στίς χρήσθω οὐκ εἴην, οὑ ὁ Ἑλληνίτης, ὅν ἀπολύθεσθαι οὐκ ἑδούλετο, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράμεως ἀπετράπησιν. Οἱ δ’ Ἐδουεῖες εἴ ἤμερας εἰς ἤμεραν ἀνακδόως ἐποίησαν τοὺς μὲν ἄθροισως τοῦ ὁπον, ποτὲ δ’ ἄγεσθαι, ἀλλὰς δὲ καὶ παρεῖναι λέγοντες ἐντ’ αν παρέτεινον τὸν Καῖσαρα. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ός τάχιστα τούτῳ ἤθετο, ἀνυγκαλέσας αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρχοντες, οὐ πολλά ἐν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ στρατοπέδῳ ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν τῆς Ἀλβικακοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀράμου, τὸ μέγιστον τῶν Ἐδουέων ἀξίωμα Βεροῦβρετον καλοῦμαι τέχνης (τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τέλος κατ’ ἔστες χειροτονεῖται, καὶ βλού τε καὶ βασάνου κρίνειν τοὺς ἑπικόους ὅτι ἐπικόους κατεστίλλατο, διὶ οὐχ οὖν τοῖς ἄνωτοις ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑκεί χειροτονεῖται, καὶ πρὸς τούτους τοσιτάτας ἀποριας ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τῶν πολεμιῶν οὕτω πλῆθσις, ὅτ’ αὐτῶν οὐκ ὄψελετο, καὶ ταῦτα δ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸ πλεῖστον τούτον τὸν πόλεμον ἀραμένος. μᾶλλον δ’ ὡς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐγκατελείφθη, ἦττάσωτο.

XVII. Ταῦτα δ’ εἰπόντος τοῦ Καῖσαρος, ὁ Ἀλβίκος τοῖς ἐκεῖ-
C. JULII CÆSARIS

νον λόγοις πεισθεὶς, τότε ἐκμετάσκειν & κρύπτειν πρότερον γινομεναικήν. 'Ενλος μὲν γὰρ ἔσασκεν εἶναι παρά τῷ πλήθει μέγα ἰσχύος καὶ δημότας ὀντας πλεῖον αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρχόντων δυναμένους. Οὗτοι δ', ἔγη, εἰσὶν οἱ τοῖς σφόν στασιόδοσει τε καὶ ἄνοσίας λόγος τὸ πλῆθος, μὴ ὡς ἰδιοθῇ ὁ δραματικὸς ὁ σῖτος, ἀποτρέποντες. Καὶ μὲν οἱ τοιοι τῆς τῆς Γαλατιᾶς ἀρχήν μὴ δύνανται καταλαβεῖν, μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλβίτων, ή τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι ἑπιθυμούσην. Τὸ τούτω δὲ πάντα τὰ ἑκάτερων τῶν Ῥωμαίων σπάσματα τοῖς Ἑλβίταις διαγγέλλουσι. Καὶ τι, ἔγη, Καῖσαρ, ὅτι τούτῳ τὸ σφόν σου ἀναγκαζόμενος σχεδὸν κατέστη, οὐκ ἄγνω διὰ τούτῳ μεγάλως κυνδυνεύοντες· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτιαν ἔρχον ἢ δύνατα τούτῳ ἐπισήμασα. Λίσκου μὲν οὖν εἴπεν.

XVIII. Ὅ δε Καῖσαρ τοῦτο τῷ ἔκειτον λογῷ ὑποσχάται εὐθαν τὸν τὸν Διδυμικὸν ὀδέλφον Δομοφόρα μεταφάιμένος, τότε δ' ἐναντίον πολλῶν διασπείρασθαι μὴ βουλόμενος, ἐνθὺς μὲν διέλευσε τὴν ἀγοράν. Τὸν δὲ Λίσοναν κατασχόν, ἠρέτο μὲν αὐτὸν κατὰ μόνας, εἰ τὰ ὑπά αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὠφελείν ἀλλήθη εὗρ. Ὅ δε τούτῳ μετὰ πλείονος τὸτε ἐδήλωσε παραφήγης. Ἀλλοσ δὲ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ταῦτα ἐρωτῶν, ἀλλήθη ὡς κατασχόμενος εἶναι μὲν τῶν Δομοφόρων θρόσον ἄνδρα, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος διορθωτικῶς ἀναφημάτισθαι, κενοτρίζειν δ' ἐπιθυμοῦσί, τοῖς τὰς φόρους καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἑσθονίων προσόδους ἐνώπιοι πολλὰ ἐν τῇ ημερήσκειν αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὰς τιμῆσαντος, οὐδεὶς ἄντιποι ἐτύλλα. Ὡμαλείς εἰ τῶντόν, ἦμασιν, τὸν δ' ἐαυτῷ ἠνέχειν οἶκον, καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις εἰς τὰς διορθωτικὰς χρήματα συνελέξατο καὶ ἐπέσας μὲν πολλὰς ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν τρέξας δισάνα, καὶ ἀεὶ τούτοις περὶ ἐαυτῶν ἠξῄμοι στόχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείστοι, παρατήρησαν δίκαια. Ὁτι τὴν μὲν μητέρα ἐν τοῖς Βιοφάξιν ἄνδρι ἐπιφανεῖτο τε καὶ ἐκεῖ δυνατοτήτων συνήκας. ἀυτός δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἑλβίτων χρώμα ποινικά εἰς γάμον ἤγιαγε· καὶ τὴν πρὸς μητέρας αὐτοῦ ὀδέλφην, καὶ πάσας πρὸς τοὺς τῶν προσσικοῦσας, ἔλην ἐν ἀλλὰ πόλει, ἔξεδωκεν καὶ τα μὲν τῶν Ἑλβίτων φρονεῖ τε καὶ αὐτῶς διὰ τὴν ἐπιγραμμὰ ταύτην εὐνοεῖ. Μεσεί δὲ σε ἱδία, Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ῥωμαίους, ὃι ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ παραγενόμενοι, τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἠματίωσατε, Διδυμικὸν δὲ τὸν ὀδέλφον ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ξέφωματε καὶ δυνάμεις κατεστίσατε. 'Ωστ', ἔρεαν, ἥν μὲν ποτε δείχνω τι πάθωσιν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι, ἐν μεγάλῃ ἐπιλίδι τῆς διὰ τῶν Ἑλβίτων ἑισιλείας ἐστίν· ἂν δὲ τοιοῦτον τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικυριάτερα γίνεται, οὐχ ὡς τῆς ἑισιλείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἔχει διήνυσεις ὀνέμων ἑλπίδα ποιεῖται. Οἱ μὲν
οὕν ταύτ' ἐλεγον. Κατέμακρὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ὁ Καίσαρ, διὸ ἐν τῇ ὁλίγῳ πρόσθεν ἐκείνῳ τῶν ἔαυτοκ ἱππεῶν γεγενημένη ἢταὶ ὁ Δομινοῦξε τε καὶ οἱ ἐκεῖνοι ἱππεῖς τῆς συνήγης προκατήριζονν τούτων δὲ φυγὸντων, πᾶσην τὴν ἄλλην ἱππον τραπέζῃν τε, καὶ εἰς φυγήν ὀρμήσαν (τῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰς συμμαχίαν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑδουέων πεμφθέντων ἱππεῶν Ἑπάρχος ὁ Δομινουροῦ ὑπεδεδείκτω.)

XIX. Ταῦτα μὲν οὐν ἀκούσας ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ πρὸς ἡν ἦδη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἰχεν ὑποτιαν, σαφῆ πράγματα προσέταν γνοὺς, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Δομινόφυγα διά τῆς Σεκανίκης τοὺς Ελβητίους διαπομείναν ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς τε τὶς Σεκανόνου καὶ ἐκεῖναν ὀμφάρος ἀλλήλους δοῦσαι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ταῦτα οὖχ ὅταν ἔαυτο τε καὶ τῶν Ἑδουέων ἀκέλευστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος λαβόντα ποιῆσαι βρατὸς τοῦτος δὲ καὶ ὡτὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τῶν Ἑδουέων ἄρχοντος Μίκου κατηγορεθέναι ἔκεινον ὅρον, ἱκανός ἦσεν αὐτίκα ἐνδύματον τοῦ ἀυτοῦ ἐκείνου μετέχεσθαι, ἢ καὶ τούτο τῇ τῶν Ἑδουέων πόλει προστάτευεν. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ μόνον ταύτῃ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γνώμῃ ἐπανοιγοῖτο, διὸ τῶν τοῦ Δομινόφυγος τούτου ἀδελφῶν Δισίτιακόν μέλιστα τε τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φησοῦντα, ἱσυμοῦς θ' ἐωτίν ἐννοοῦσαν, καὶ ἀνδρὰ πρὸς τούτους ἰμαὶ καὶ σώφρονα καὶ μέτρον ὕστα ἐώφα· ὅστε, μὴ τοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πάθος ἐκείνος ἄρανος φέροι, ὁ Καίσαρ περίσσοπείτο. Τοιγαρόφ πρὸν τι τούτων ποίησα, τὸν μὲν Δισίτιακόν πρὸς ἐαυτοῦ ἐκάλεσε, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐαυτοῦ μετασχημάτως ἐρμηνεύσας, διὰ τοῦ Γαϊοῦ Βαληρίου Προακιλίου, τοῦ τῆς ἐν τῇ Γάλατις ἐπαρχίας ἐνχόντος, ἔπιτο τε σίλιον πιστοτάτον ὅτος, αὐτῷ διελέξῃ. Πάντα δὲ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ παρόντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησία περὶ τοῦ Δομινόφυγος ἐφέθεν, καὶ ἐκάστος παρ' ἐαυτῷ ἐν ὑπογέφιτο ἐκείνου κατηγόρησε, ὅλως ἄντω δέομαι σοι, ἡφι, ὁ Δισίτιακε, μὴ λυπεῖσθαι, ἐκὸν τῶν σὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦτον Δομινόφυγο μετελθὼ ἢ καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἑδουέων πόλει ἐκείνων κολαύειν κελεύον. XX. Τότε δὲ ὁ Δισίτιακος τὸν Καίσαρα περιλαβὼν, σὸν πολλοὺς δικρῶς λιπαρῶν ἠξίζοτο, μὴ τι δεινῶν πάθος ὁ ἀδελφός. Πάντα μὲν ταύτα, ἐφι, ὁ λέγεις, ὑλῆθη ὑπόν γινώσκων οὐδὲις ὑπὸ ὑπόν ἐποίησαν φαίνει. Ἐμοί μὲν γὰρ πλεῖον ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ χώρᾳ καὶ παρὰ τῇ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ Γαλατία ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ ἑγχώσαστος, τοῦ δ' ἀδελφοῦ ἤτοι διὰ τῆς νεώτητας ὑνηθέντος, δι' ἐαυτοῦ τῶν μεγάλην ὄνομαν κεκτήτης, ἥν οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸν τὴν ἐμὴν καθαίρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν σχέσιν ἀπώλειαν χρήται. 'Εγὼ δ' ὅρως τῆς τε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς πάντων ἐνεργοῦσα δοξῆς. Τοιούτων μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν παρὰ σοὶ ἑγχώσατο, ἔπειτα εἶ τε δεινὸν πάθοι ὑπὸ σοῦ
ο ομος ἀδέλφους, οὕτως ἔσται ὅστις οὗ μη νομῇ τοῦ μη ταῦτα ἐμοὶ συμπραττόμενος γενέσθαι· ὅστε πάντες ἂν οἱ Γάλλοι ἢν τῶν ἤρχοντο πρὸς με εὑροῦν προσφοριον. Ταῦτα τοῦ Διδυτικου νῦν πολλοὶ ὁμοῦ ποιοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος δεσμοῦν, ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτῷ δεξιωπάμενος παρεμβαθήσατο, μὴ πλεῖον λατρεῖν κελεύων. Τουσίτοι μὲν γὰρ, ἐκαί, παρ' ἐμοὶ μόνῳ αὐτὶ δεῖμαις δίκαιως, ὅστε καὶ ὃν ὁ οὕς ἀδέλφους τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἡδίκησεν, ὡς τε διὰ τοῦτο εἶχον λύτης, εἰκείνας μόνας συγγενῶςκοι. Ταῦτα εἶπον καὶ ἐκείνου παραλαβόν, τῶν Δομινόνγα μετεπέμψατο καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος αἰτεῖται, ὡς καὶ ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἕδοντο αὐτῷ μέριστα, δηλώσαις, παροήγησι οὔτη ποιεῖτιν, ὡστε εἰς τὸν ἐνεία χρόνον αὐτοκλάτερον διατελεύτιν, τα παρελθόντα τῷ ἐκείνου ἀδέλφῳ Διδυτικῷ συγγνώμαικεν λέγον. Οὕτω μὲν οὐν εἰκείνος νουθετήσαις ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποίησον, ἵνα τί τε ποιήσεις, οἷς τε συνετέει, μενώσειν οὖντι.
νίχοιτο) κατά το κελευθέρως, τό ὄρος κατασχών, τῶν Καίσαρων ἀνήμενεν οὗ μαγιόνες. Ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ προσελήφθη ἢ ἠμέλη, ἡνίκα ἀπαγγέλλουσι τῷ Καίσαρι οἱ κατάσχοι, τῶν μὲν Ἀπειγόνον τό ὄρος κατέχειν, καὶ τοὺς Ὁλέθριους μετακτοματεοδεύσασθαι. Τῶν δὲ Κονσίδιον ὑπὸ φύσις οὐκ εἰδεν ἦδον ἀπαγγέλλαι. Ταύτη μὲν ὄν ἡ ἦμερα ὁ Καίσαρ κατὰ τὸ εἰσόδιον διάστημα τοῖς πολεοδόμοις ἠρείπετο, καὶ ἔκρυσε τέτταρας σταδίους ὑπὲρ ἑστραποδεύσατο.

XXIII. Τῇ δὲ ὑστερώσα· ὅτι μὲν δύο ἡμέραι πάρταν ἀπελείποντο τοῦ δεύτερον τῇ πρῶτῃ διαδιδόναι, ὅτι δὲ πόλες μεγαλεὶ καὶ εἰς ἐνδαίμονα τῶν Ἑδονέων, Βιβρακτόνοι ὅπου, οὐ πλεῖον ἐντεῦθεν ἐκατόν τεταράκοντα τεσσάρων σταδίων ἀπῆλθον ὁ Καίσαρ τῷ σῖτῳ προσέσθεν, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλεθρίων ἀπετρεύσῃ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Βιβρακτῷ ἐπορεύετο. Τούτων δὲ εἰς τῆς Ἑλεθρίους ὑπὸ τινῶν ὑπὸ Δούκιου Αμιλίου, τοῦ τῶν Γάλλων ὕππαρχου, σφίζειν αὐτομολογήσαντον, ἀπαγελθέντως, αὐτοῖς τῇ ἦ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δέει σφῶς φεύγειν, ὁ διὰ τοῦτο μῆκεται ἡγούμενοι, τῇ τῇ προτεραίᾳ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ὄρος κατασχόντες μάχην οὐκ ὑπέρετον. ἔτοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοῖς ἀποκλείσεις βαρχώρες, μετενόησαν· καὶ τῆς πρὸς οἰκίαν σφῶς ὅσοι ἀποτρικίνητος· τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁμοθερός ἐκεῖνος διάκειν τι καὶ εἰς μάχην παρακαλέσαι ἢξεντο.

XXIV. Ταύτῃ δὲν κατασυνοψίμως ὁ Καίσαρ, τὸ στρατεύμα ὑπὸ τὸ πελάτον ὄρος ὑπήγαγε, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔποιον εἰς ταύτην ἐπὶ τῇ την πρῶτην τῶν πολεοδόμων ὥριμὴν ἐπισχέσειν ἐπέμψαν. Αὐτός δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ὄρει τὰ τέτταρα ἀρχαία τάγματα τρικτεῖ διαμένει, ἔπειτα ἐπίσης ἑαυτὸ τοὺς ἑπτά δύο, ἀ νεστήκει ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐλεθρίᾳ κατεγράμματο, τάγματα, καὶ πᾶν πρῶς τοῦτο τὸ συμμαχοῦν εἰς τῇ ἕκρωμα εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἔστησεν, ὡστε πᾶν τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος ἀνδροῖς ἀναπληρώσατο. Τούτῳ δὲ ποιησάμενος, καὶ πάντα τὰ σκευοφόρα εἰς ἐνα τόπον συναγείσας, τοῖς ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους οὕσιν αὐτὸ διαφυλάττειν παρήγγειλεν. 'Εν τῷ τῷ δ’ οἱ Ὁλέθριοι πάσης συν τοὺς σκευοφόρους τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καταδιώκαντες, τότε μὲν αὐτὰ εἰς ἐνα τόπον συνήθροισαν αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδροί τῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔποιον τρεφόμενοι, καὶ εἰς φάλαγγα τὴν σφῶν τάξειν ποιησάμενοι, ἐπὶ τοὺς πρῶτοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄργανον.

XXV. Ὅ δὲ καὶ Καίσαρ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἔποιον ἐκποίον ποιησάμενος, ἔναν, ὧν ἠμα πᾶσιν ὄντος τοῦ κενόνου, οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς φηγή οἷς κείμενον ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ὦμοι τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπείσαντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σύνοδος αὐτοὺς ἔξοδον, τὴν μάχην συνήγησε. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἕκρωμα Ῥωμαίοι ἐχώματι τον καὶ ἐτάξ-
Χ. Τοί δ’ ἀμφότερος ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐκείνην φύλαγγα διενεργεῖν ἐπεὶ δὲ 12 ξειπακώσαντες τὴν πόρωθον πάλιν, εἰρήμες ἐπεδραμόν σφίσει, τούτοι μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἐχθρὸς μέχριαν μάλιστα ἐνεποδέσμευν Γάλλον ὅτι οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν μὲν ἔχουσι πολλοῦ τῶν ἀσπίδων διατείμησιν τε καὶ τοῖς ὧμοιοι προσδεδεμένης ἔχοντες, ἔπειτα τῆς ἀλήθεις ἐγκαμπθέωσις, οὐτε μὴν ἀποστίμασαν, οὐδὲ γε γε τῆς ἀυτοίς εὐθὺς ἁγιουλομένης ἐπετείως ἀμφοῖν μᾶχαιραν ὡστέ ὁ πολλὸς μὲν αὐτῶν πολλὸν χρόνον πρὸς τὸ ἀποστίμασα χάλαζα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστίδων τῶν ἱστηκτικῶν σεισμῶν, τὰς τ’ ἄμθιδας ἀπεφήναν, καὶ γνωρίμων προειθότων μέχριαν.

Τίλος δὲ τραυμασμοὶ ἀπεφήναντες, ὃ πάντα τ’ ἀνεχόμενο τοῖς πρὸς ὃς ὧμος οἱ πλεῖστοι 2 εἰσατάρων σταθόν ἐπέχον ἀνεχόμενοι. Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος καταλαβοῦσι, καὶ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἐπιδιωκόντων, οἵτε Βοῖοι, καὶ οἱ Τοῦκληροι, 3 εὐταξιαρχίδων ἐπὶ πόλις τῶν Ἑλλήνων τεταγμένοι, εἰ πλαγιὸν γεγονυ μὲς τῶν Ρωμαίους ἐπεδράντες, περιεκέχθων ἀυτοῖς: καὶ τοῦτο οἱ ἐν τῷ ὄρει 'Ελλήνη τινακάτον, εἴ άχρίς πίλου τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἐπέκεισο, καὶ τῷ μάχῃ ἀνεχόμενο. Οἱ δὲ 'Ρωμαίοι διχῇ ἱπποῦς ταξικισοῦν, ἀλλοιον εἰς αὐτοῖς· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἴδια ἥττησαν τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἀντέχον οἱ δὲ ποὺς τοὺς ἀνεχόμεν ἑπότιτοι ἐπέκεισο.

XXVI. Ὡμοί δ’ ἀμφότερος αὐτῶν ἐπί μαχριαίοις ἀγωνισμένων, τίλος οἱ 'Ελληνοί ἀντέχειον οὐχ ἀνεχόμενον ἀλλ’ εἶδος οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ προφέρον, ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τε τὰ ἄμασα καὶ τὰ σκεφθόμεν ἀνεχόμενοι διὰ πτεισῆς μὲν γὰρ τάφις τῆς μέχρις, καίτερ μεῖροι δήλος 4 εἰ θεσμόν διαγεγερμένης, οὔδεις ἐκ νόμου ἔδει τὸν πόλεμον ἰδῖνην, Εἴτε πολὺ δὲ καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ 'Ρωμαίοι ἐπὶ τὰ σκεφθόμεν ἀνεχόμενου οἱ μὲν γὰρ 'Ελληνοί ὑπὲρ δὴ ἐρώμει ἐπὶ τὰ ἄμασα προβαλόντες, εἰς ὧμον εἰς τὸς ἐπόντως τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἀτάξενον· καὶ ἐνειοῦλ γε αὐτῶν μεταξὺ τῶν θ’ ἀραμέτων καὶ τῶν τροχίων, παλιὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἑστάλα ὑπαρθεμένα, ὡς τ’ ἐκεί ἐφόβησαν πολλοὶ τῶν Ρωμαίων. Τίλος δ’ ἄμος καὶ τούτων προκατηγοροῦσαν, τῶν σκεφθόμενοι καὶ τοῦτων στρατιοπεδοῦν ἐγκαμπτείς ἐγένοιοι οἱ 'Ρωμαίοι, Ἐκτιθέθη τε τὴν τοῦ ὸρνητοῦς θυγατέρας, καὶ ἐνά τῶν αὐτῶν νόμων ἐθόρυδρας. Ἐν δὲ ταύτης τῆς μέχρις ἐδώδος τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὸς τροικαδελκάκες μόροι περιχωρεύοντες, ὅλην τὴν τούτῳ τὴν ὤδον ὡς διαλείποντες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων, διὰ τὸ τρεῖς ἠμῶν περὶ τε τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τραχύνσι καὶ τὴν τὸν νεκρῶν φασάμεν διατρήςας, εἰσεῖσας διὸς μεν δυνηθέντων, ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀγγέλων τειμαρίου ἀμέτρως. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύριος χρύσακας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀγγέλους πέμψας, ἀνεγίγονες μηδὲν τῇ ἐπαρθενῶν τοῖς Ἐλληναῖς. ποιήσαν εἰς δὲ μὴν πολεμοῦσιν αὐτοῖς
θότων στρατιωτῶν, χρωσὶς δὲ τὰ τῶν τε παίδων καὶ τῶν γυναί-κων καὶ πάλιν τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ στρατεύσιμα ἐκ γεγονότων ἐνόμισε ἵππον εἰσαξομοιεῖν. ὃν πάντων ὁ ἄρχων τοιοῦτος ἦν τῶν μὲν Ἑλθητέων, ἐξι καὶ εὐκατο μυριάδες καὶ τρισχίλιοι. Τουλίγγοι δὲ, τριστφροί, καὶ ἐξακαίκιλιοι. Παραφῶν δὲ, τρισχίλιοι καὶ δισμύριοι. Βοῶν δὲ, δισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι. τῶν δὲ Δαυδ-δρίγων, μέριοι καὶ τετραχιλίοι. Καὶ τῶν μὲν στρατευμένων συμπάντων ὁ ἄρχων, ἐνεία μυριάδες τε καὶ δισχίλιοι. τῶν δ᾽ εξελθελθῶν τῆς χώρας συμπάντων ὁ ἄρχων, τριάκοντα ἐξι μυριάδες καὶ δισκαιχίλιοι. τῶν δ᾽ ἐπανοίων κελεύσατο τῳ Καίσαρῳ ἀρχηγότερον, εὐχέρεσθαι τῷ τῶν ἐνδεκα μυ-ριάδες.

 Yapıııı. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν τῷ πολέμῳ τοῦ Καίσαρος τέλος ἐπι-θέτος, ἐκ πασῶν αγχεῖν τῶν τῆς Γαλατίας πόλεων οἱ ἀριστο-παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρα ἔπι ταύτῃ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀκρι βου ένηθὸν εὐθὺς, λέγοντες τοιάδε: 'Αλλ' ημεῖς μὲν οὖν, Καίσαρ, ἐπεί σοι τοῖς Ἑλβητίοις, ἀνήθ' ὅν τὸ πόλιον τούς 'Ῥωμαίους ἐκάκωσον, τῶν πολέμων δίκην ἐπισθέτος, οὖχ ἦτον ταύτῃ εἰπὶ τῇ συμπά-σις τῆς Γαλατίας, ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων οφθαλμίας οἰκοποιί-οι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλβητίοι εὐ πρεποτοπείς τῇν σφῶν χώραν κατέλησαι, ἐν τῷ ἔχουτες πάση τῇ Γαλατία πόλεμον ἐκφέρεσαι, καὶ ταύτῃ καταστρέφεσαι, χώραν μὲν, ἄρτικα ἐνεργοτάτων μαχοσάκειν, οὐατοῖς εξελθοῦν τῇν δ᾽ ἄλλην ἠπασαρ. Γαλατιαίς ἐποτελεῖ ἔχειν. Ἰέμεθα δὲ σοι, ἔμασαν, έναία ἒμας σύνοδον πάσης τῆς Γαλατίας ποσιμαθῶς ἔχομεν γὰρ τὴν τῶν Γάλλων γνώμη τὴν παρὰ σοῦ δέδοιμαι. Οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτως εἶπον. Γενομένου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τούτου παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, συνάψαμεν, μηδένα ἄλλον, εἰ μὴ τούς ὑπὸ πάλιν τῶν Γάλλων ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀρέστες, ταύτῃ τῷ Καίσαρῳ ἀπαγγελεῖν.

achineryııı. Ταχέους μὲν οὖν τῆς οὐνόμος θυμανθοσθέλεις, αἱ αὐτοὶ ἢδη πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐλθότες ἀρχοτες τῶν πόλεων, τότε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανήλθον, δεδημονεὶ συχωρεῖν περὶ τῇς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς πάλιν τῶν ἄλλων Γάλλων σωτηρίας πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλέγεσαι. Τούτου μὲν οὖν τυχόντες, πάντες πρὸς τοῖς ποιοῖς αὐτοῦ διδαχθηθήναι προσπέπεσον, οὐ χρῆτον ἐπιθυμεῖν λέγοντες τῇ κοινολογηθηθέντα μὴ ἐκδημοσιεύσασθαι, ἢ σοίετοι ἀπερ βούλονται πιοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος γίνεσθαι. ὅτι οὐ αὐτῷ δημοσιεύθη σάρχ' ἄρξοντες ἰδρύς ἡμομορφήσεσαι. Ὑπὸ αὐτῶν δὲ Διδυμικοῦ ὁ Εὐσεβεὺς, λόγους ποιομένους, τοιοῦτο ἐλέεσθη, 'Εγένετο μὲν, ἐφι, δὸ τής Γαλατίας σχῆματι οὖν τῷ μὲν ἐνοῦ οἱ 'Ευσεβεῖς, διατέαν δ᾽ οἱ 'Αριστεῖον ἠχουσί οἱ ἐκείθεν πολῶν χῶν τοῖς Εὐσεβεῦ καθι τῇς Γαλατίαις ἀρχῆς ἐντυγχανόμενο, τέλος σφιν αὐτοῖς οὐ πιστέυοντες, μισθούσιος παρὰ τῶν Γαλατινόν μετε-
πεμψαντο· ὑν τὸ πρῶτον μὲν μύριοι μάκαρ καὶ πεντακοσίλιον
τῶν ἑβραίων ἔδειξαν· ἔτειτα δὲ ἄνδρες ἄρμεντα δοῦναι καὶ δάρῳ
βασιλείᾳ, τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τῇ διαίτῃ τῇ τῇ τῶν Γάλλων δυνάμει τερηθέντες, πλεοὺς καὶ πλεοὺς ἐπεραιώθησαν· ὥστε αὐτῶν νῦν
εἰσον ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ὡς δώδεκα μυριάδες. Τούτοις μὲν οἱ ΘΕΟΥΕΙΣ καὶ οἱ ἐκεῖνοι σύμμαχοι ἀποτελοῦν καὶ δεῖ συνεβαλόν.
Ἱππόδεντες δὲ, μεγάλους ἁγιάζαντες πάντας μὲν γὰρ τοὺς εὐγενεῖς, πάνταν τε τὴν σφῶν σύγχυσιν, πάντας τε πρὸς τοῦ-
τος τοῦς ἐπισέας ἀπείθαλον· ὡσθ’ οἱ τῇ σφῶν ποτὲ δυνάμει, καὶ
τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ξένεις τε καὶ φήμα μέγεθα ἵσχυσαντες
Ἐθνείς, τοῖς Σεκανοῖς μὲν ὂμηρους δοῦναι τοὺς πάντας τῶν
τῆς σφῶν πόλεως ἀριστῶν παίδας, καὶ ὅμως, ή μὴν μὴδὲ τοὺς
ὑμὴν ἀπαιτήσειν, μήτε δοθήσασαι παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀθέτησα
μήτε γε παρατίθεσθαι τῷ μὴ διὰ παντὸς τῶν Σεκανῶν ὑπακούειν. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν, ἤγη, μᾶνος εἰμὶ ἐγώ, ὡστε ἐν πᾶσι
τοῖς Ἐθνείς, ἢ τοῖς ἔλληνσι συναρχομετέχει, ή γὰρ ὑμήροις
tοὺς ἐμοὺς παίδας δοῦναι, οὐκ ἴδουν ἡνίοχον πεισθῆναι. Καὶ διὰ
τὴν ἀληθὰ τἀκτην ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἐθνείς πόλεως προφυγήν εἰς
τὴν Ῥώμην, ἤθελε δοθεῖσαι πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν παρεγενάμενην,
ὅτι μᾶνος ἐγώ οὕτε γε ἑνόρχος ἢν, οὗτε ὀμηροῦς ἐξεδώκειν.
'Αλλ' οἱ γεμίσαντες Σεκανοὶ νεκρῆτες, κάκιον νῦν τῶν ἠθετή
των Ἐθνείς πρόττουσιν. 'Ο μὲν γὰρ τῶν Γερμανῶν βασιλέως
Ἀριόβιστος εἰς τῇ ἐκείνων χώρᾳ καταμετέχει, καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας
ἐνεργοτάτης Σεκανικῆς γῆς τὸ τρίτον μέρος κατέχει· νῦν δὲ ἐτέ
τοῦ ἔλλων τρῖτον μέρος τοὺς Σεκανοὺς ἐξιστασθαι οἶ κελεύει
ὅτι ὀλίγους πρὸ τοῦ μηπών. 'Ἀριόβισθα δύο μυριάδες καὶ τετρακοσί
χίλιαν αὐτῷ προσφέρον, οἷς χώραν νῦν οἰκομαζέων· ὡστ' ἐκ
τούτων ἀνθρώπων, πάντας μὲν τῶν Γάλλων τῆς σφῶν χώρας
ἐκλείψασθαι· πάντας δὲ τοὺς Γερμανοὺς τὸν ἑβραίων διαβήσεις,
(οὐ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Γάλλων χώρας ἢ τῶν Γερμανῶν ὀρμία, οὔτ' ἢ τούτων υπεξέλεξεν τῇ ὑπὸ Γάλλων παραβλητεία). 'Ο
dὲ ὁ Αριόβισθος, τοὺς Γάλλους ἐν τῇ Ἀμιγετοβίβα ἀπεκ
μαχὴς, ὑπέροχον τι καὶ ἑγείρον ἄρχεν· ὀμηροὺς μὲν γὰρ
tοὺς πάντων τῶν ἀριστῶν αὐτεῖ παίδας, καὶ εἶτε γε πρὸς τὸ
νέμειν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην οὐ ποιεῖται, οὔδ' εἰ τὸ 
τῶν δεινοτάτων τούτως τοῖς ὀμηροῖς οὐ δοθ'· ἀνὴρ δ' ἐστὶν ὁρίζωι καὶ 
 wParamed, καὶ παράτολος, καὶ τὸ ὄλον ἢ ἐκείνον ἀρχή οὐκ ἐπ'
ἀνεκτίθοι· οὕτ' εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ σοῦ, Κύνθαι, καὶ τῶν ἔλλων Ῥωμαίων
βορειόμεθα, πάντες οἱ Γάλλοι ταῦτα τοῖς 'Ελβητίοις ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθομέθα· εἴκ μὲν τῆς ἡμετέρας γῆς ἐξελθεῖν, χώραν
dὲ τινὰ πόλιον ὑπὸ τῶν Γερμανῶν ἀφεστῆσαι ζητεῖν. Εἰ δὲ
γε ἐν γε λέγω νῦν, τῷ 'Ἀριοβίστῳ ἀπαγγέλῃ, οὐκ ἀμφι τοῦ μὴ
πολύ αὐτῶν τοὺς παρ' ἐαυτῶ ὀμηροῖς· ἀφελείταιτα τιμωρίσεσθαι "Γ"
Αλλά σφ, Καίσαρ, ἐὰν τῇ σαυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν 'Ρωμαίων φήμη, ἡ καὶ τῆς νεωστὶ ταύτης κατὰ τῶν Εὐλήτιων νικῆς δόξης παλινθείν, μὴ μεῖζον ἀριθμὸς Γερμανῶν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν διαβατι, καὶ τάσον πρὸς τούτοις τῆς Γαλατίας τοῦ 'Αριοβίστου ὃν μεσαίον ἐλευθερώσας.

XXXII. Ταῦτα τοῦ Διδυτιακοῦ εἰπόντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάν τε τῶν τιμωρῶν σφήνα γενόμενα τὸν Καίσαρα κλαίστοις ἱκέσεων. Μόνος δὲ τοὺς Ἑκατοντάς ο Καίσαρ συνεβεβη λείπονοι μὲν τούτων ποιοτικά, ἀνισότως δὲ, καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀκειμένους τε καὶ κάτω ἔθεσσας κατανοημένους, τὰ ποτὲ εἰς τοῦτο διαμάζοντας, αὕτως μὲν ἃ ὁμοίως ἐκεῖνον δ' ὀδεύεται ἀποκαταμένον, καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολλά περί τούτων ἐρωτήσαντο, ὃ 'Εδούες 'Αριδικικὸς σφῶν αὐτῶ ἀπερικήματο· 'Αλλ' οἱ Ἑκατοντάς, Καίσαρ, τουσώτῳ τῶν Ἑλλάς κύκων πράττουσιν, ὡσι τοῦτο μόνοι οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἀποθητίῳ ὀδύρονθαι, ὀδύρε γεμίᾳ ὁμορθῆς αὐτὸ τοῦ μισῆσαι. Τοῦτος μὲν γὰρ άλλοις Ἑλλάδος σφέγηνοι οἴνον 'υτών ἐπείμαθος, ὀδεύε 'τ' αὐτῶ τοῖς τῶν δεινοτάτων αὐτῶ ὄργαι.

XXXIII. Ταῦτα ὁ Καίσαρ ἁκόδασας, τοὺς Ἑλλάδους παρεμνῄσκατο, τοῦτο ἐπάνω μελήσειν αὐτῶς ὀπασοχήμενος· μεγάλα γὰρ ἐλπίδας ἔχειν, τὸν 'Αριοβίστον πολλὰ ὑπό αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων εὐφημετηθέντα, νῦν τούτων μεμηχένον παῦσεσθαι τῆς ὥθεσιν. Τοῦτοι μὲν τότε εἰρημένοι, διέλυσε τὴν ἀγορὰν. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πολλὰ αὐτὸν τοῦ τούτω τρόπῳ πράγματι ἐγχειρεῖ παρα-

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XXXIV. "Εδοξε μὲν οὖν τῷ Καίσαρι αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα συγγε-

νέσθαι, καὶ ἐπεμψε τίνα δεσομένου αὐτῶ, τινὰ ἤπων ἐν μέσῳ
ἐκατέρων τῶν στρατών, πρὸς τὸ εἰς λόγους ἀλλήλους ἔλθειν, ἐξαιρεθῶσιν διε αὐτῶν περὶ τῶν ἀμφότερος συμφερόντων πραγμάτων χρῆσιν συγγίνεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρισδίος τῷ τὸν Καίσαρος ἀγγέλω ἀπεκρινείτο. Ἡλί ήλθον ὦν, ἔρη, ἐγὼ παρὰ τῶν Καίσαρος ἐκέλευς ὡσαύτως οὐν ἐκεῖνον παρ’ ἐμὲ χρῆ ἔλθειν, εἰς παρ’ ἐμὸν θέλειν πρὸς τούτους δὲ, χωρὶς στρατεύματος εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν Καῖσαρ Καλαίτων ἐργοθην έν, οὔτε, γ’ ἀνένε μεγάλης δαπάνης τε καὶ πολλῆς ἀρχόλια τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς ἐνα συνάγειν δυναμὴν. Ἀλλ’ γὰρ, ἔρη, θαυμάζω, τι ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ Καλαίτι, ἣν ἐγὼ κατεπολέμηκα, οὐ τὸν Καῖσαρος, καὶ ὥ τῶν Ῥωμαίων θέλουσιν.

XXXV. Τούτων τῷ Καίσαρι ἀπαγγελθέντων, πρέσβεις πάλιν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρισδίοτον, τούδε λέγειν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτελεῖς, ἐπέμψατο. Ἐπεισε μὲν ἡμᾶς Καίσαρ, οὗ Ἀρισδίοτε: φησί δέ, ὅτι ἐπείδη σὺ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ τε καὶ σὺν τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐ πεποιθότως, διότι ἐπὶ τῆς ἐχθρίας ὑπατείας βασιλέως τε καὶ φιλον ὑπὸ τῆς γεροσύνης ἀναγορευθήναι, νῦν ἀντί τοῦ χάριν τούτων ἑκέλευσι ἀποδείδωσι τοιναύτας εἰς λόγους ἔλθειν, καίπερ ὅτι αὐτῶν δεικηθεὶς, διαφόρος ὑπερὶ περὶ τῶν χοινῶν ἀμφότερος πραγμάτων αὐτῶ διαλέγεσθαι θελεῖν, ταῦτα σοι ἐπιστέλλει πρῶτον μὲν, πλέον, τῶν Γερμανῶν εἰς τὴν Καλαίταν μὴ διαθέτεται ἐπείτα δὲ, τοὺς ἀκόμης παρὰ σοι ὑπαρχόντων ἀποδοθεῖ δε, καὶ τοῖς Σκανοῖς συγχρείεται ὅστε αὐτοί ἔχουσιν ἀποπέμπετε, μήτ’ έτι τοὺς Ἔδουεις ὑδρίζειν, μήτε γε ἐχθρίας, μήτε τοῖς αὐτῶν συμμάχοις ἀδίκους πόλεμον ἐπιφέρειν σε κελεύει. Καὶ εἰ μὲν οὕτω ποιεῖς, ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοι σοι φιλος πειράσονται διαγίνεσθαι εἰ δὲ μή, (ἐπὶ ὑπάτων μὲν γὰρ Μάρκου Μεσσάλα τε καὶ Μάρκου Πελισο- νος, ὁ γεροσύνη τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τῶν τῆς ἐν τῇ Καλαίτῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπιτροπεύεσσον, τοῦ δ’ Ἔδουεις καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν συμμάχους, ἐν όσῳ γε οἱ Ῥωμαίοι μὴ βλάπτοντο, ἀδίκας ἐπαρχίας ἐργά- σατο) διά ταῦτα μὲν ὅν τοὺς Ἔδουεις νῦν ὑπὸ σοῦ οὐρασίμους οὐ περιώνεται.

XXXVI. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα τῷ Ἀρισδίστῳ ἔλεγον, Ἐχθρίας δ’ ἀπεκρίνετο. Ἀλλ’ δίκιον τούτ’ ἔστιν, ἔφη, ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, τοὺς κρατῆσαντας τὸν ἐκτητέρους, ὅπως ἂν θολωται, ἄρχειν· οἰς Ῥωμαίοι δὲν ἐκφάγεσθαι, συ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην γνώμην, ἄλλ’ ὅπως ἂν σφαίρα δοκῇ ἀρχουντες. Ἡς μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ αὐτοῖς, τοῦ μὴ ἐλευ- θέρως τῷ σφαίρᾳ δικαίῳ χρῆσθαι, οὐκ ἔνοχολ, ἡθοῦτος τοῦτο μὲ ἐεὶ παρ’ ἑκένθιν πάχανεί. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἔδουεις τῆς τοῦ πολέ- μου τύχης πειράσαντες, καὶ μάχα ὑπ’ ἐμὸν ἐκτέλεσσατε, ὑπατείες μοι γεγένηται. Καὶ δ’ Καίσαρ μεγάλως μ’ ἀδίκει, ὡς τε ἐνθάδε παραγενόμενος, τοὺς ἔμοι ἠλάττωσε φόβους. Τούτο δ’ αὐτὶ ἀπαγγέλατε· ώς τοῖς Ἐδουείσι τοῖς αὐτῶν ὑμήρους οἷς ἀποδώ-
XXXVII. Εν ταύτῳ δὲ χρώμα ταύτα τε τῷ Καίσαρι δηγγελλόμενο, καὶ πρόσθεσις παρὰ τῶν 'Εδουέων καὶ τῶν Τρενθίων αὐτὸ ἢδον· τῶν μὲν, μεμφόμενοι, οὐτὶ ὁ 'Αροβίστως ἔφοβος, εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν περαιοθέτησε τὴν αὐτὸν χώραν ἀληθεύοντα, λέγοντες ὅτι ὡς εἰρήνης παρὰ τοῦ Ἀρισδίστου, καὶ κατά τοὺς ἄλλους τός τινί περιβραδύνεται, τυχεῖν μὴ δύναντο τῶν δὲ Τρενθίων, ἐκατὸν ὕψος Σουενών, Νασσόα τε καὶ Κιμβρίδου ἀδελφῶν ἱερεῖων, πρὸς ταῖς τῶν Ῥήγου ὃς ἄλλας στρατοπεδεύσασθαι, καὶ ταύτῃς ἐπιχειρεῖν τὸν ποιμῶν διαδαίνειν ἀγγέλλοντες. Τούτως μὲν οὖν πεισθεὶς ὁ Καίσαρ τοῖς λόγοις, σπευστιόν ἑαυτῷ ἡγήματο εἶναι, μὴ τῇ τοῦ Ἀρισδίστου παλαιᾷ στρατηγίᾳ ταῦτας τῆς τῶν Σουενών χειρὸς συμμείξαι, διαχειρίσετον αὐτῷ δύναται ἀπελευθερίαν. Τοιχαριοῦ ὡς ἑθυνθή τάχιστα τῶν στρατῶν ἀπεισισάμενος, εἰπὶ τῶν Ἀρισδίστου ἐμπάρει.
ξρασάν, ὑπεμεγέθεις τε καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτους εἶναι ἄλθρας τοὺς Γερμανοὺς, αὐτοῖς τ' ἐμπειρίᾳ πολέμου ὑπερβάλλειν πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους· ἐαυτοῦ γὰρ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς συμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑδή καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα μόνον καὶ τὰ δεινὰ αὐτών ὀρόματι δυνηθῆναι ἀνέχεσθαι· ἦστ' ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων τασσόντων ἐξαίρεσις φόβος πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς Καίσαρος στρατιῶν κατέλαβε, ὥστ' οὐκ ὀλίγον ταραττεσθαί πάντας τοὺς στρατεύσας. Καὶ οὕτως πρὸ τόν ὁ φόβος τοῖς τοῖς ταξιάρχοις, καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, τοῖς τ' ἐκ τῆς Ρωμῆς τὸν Καίσαρα κατὰ μιλίαν μόνον ἀκολουθήσας, ὁμος δὲ οὐ πάντως πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίον ἀλκίμους οὐσιν, ἔνεφο. Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος ἄλλην πρόφασιν προσβαλλόμενοι, δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον αὐτάν εἶναι τὶ ἀπελθῆναι Ἡλευόν, τοῦ Καίσαρος ἑδόντο συγχω- ρείν αὐτοῖς ἐτ' οὐχον ἀπετέναι, ἔνιοι δὲ γ' αὐτῶν, παρέχειν φόβον δόζαν οὐκ ἄξιοντες, κατέμενον μὲν. Οὗτοι δὲ οὗτοι σχηματι- εσθάλ πως ἴκανον ἦσαν, οὕτι γ' ἐνίοτε τὰ δάκρυα ἐπέχειν ἱδόναντο· κατακραυτόμενοι δ' ἐν ταῖς σφῶν σκηναῖς, η τὴν σφῶν ἕμφορον κατωφλοφοντο, ἦτ' οὖν μετὰ τῶν οἰκεῖων τῶν κοινῶν κινηθοῦ ἐποτινώτατο, καὶ μεστά ἦν πάντα τῶν τὰς διαθήκας ποιοῦντων. Ἐπειτα δὲ τοῖς τοῖς τοῖς λόγοις τε καὶ φόβοις καὶ αὐτό οἱ τῷ στρατοπεδῷ ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικῶτας ἀγάμενοι στρατιώται τε καὶ χιλιαρχοὶ καὶ ἑπαρχοί ἐταρατοῦντο. Τούτων δ' οἱ ἦτον δειλοὶ δουκείνθηνες, οὐ τῶν πολέμων εἰκάστως ὑποτεθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰς τῶν ὁδῶν στενότητας, καὶ τὸ τῶν μεταξὺ σφῶν τε καὶ τοῦ Ἀριστίσαντον ἐκουσὼν ὅλων μέγεθος, ἡ καὶ τὸ δύσκολον τῆς σιγαγογίας δεδείνα ἄρασον.' Ἐνιοὶ δὲ γ' καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἀπεγγείλαν, ως ὅπως 'Ἀν διεταρατοτεθεῖσθαι δῆλον, τοῖς τε στρατιώτασι τὰ σημεία σφεσθαὶ πιαφγεγ'έλλη, ἀπεθάνει πρὸς τότῳ τοῖς στρατιῶτας διὰ τῶν ἐκείνων φόβον χρῆσασθαι.

XL. 'Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἤσθεν οὗ Καίσαρ φόβον διαθέοντα ἐν τῇ στρατίᾳ, συγκαλεῖς πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ στρατεύματος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἵσχυρος αὐτοῖς μεμφέομενος, ἔλεξεν τοιάδε· Ἀνδρέας φίλοι, τούτῳ μὲν ὡμὴν μάλιστα ἐγκαλῶ, ὅτι ὑπὸ τε καὶ ἔφι' ὅτι ὑμᾶς ἄγω, πολυπταχιόνετε πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀριστίσαντος, ἔμοι ὑπατεύοντος, ἵσχυρός της πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φίλοις ἐπιθυμήσαντός, ἔπειτα διαφημίζω ὅπως ἅν τῆς ἐκείνου οὕτω ῥαδίως προσέθαν δοξῆ. Πολλῷ μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ θαυμόντα, ἐκεῖνον τὴν τ' ἐμὴν γνῶντα αἴτησιν, καὶ τὴν δικαιώματι αὐτῆς καταγό- σαντα, οὔτε τὴν πρὸς μέ, οὔτε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους φίλοις παρακατάλειπεν· πρὸς τοῖς πρός δὲ γ' ἐς καὶ θυμὸς τε καὶ ἀφοφημη- τευθεῖς, πολέμων ἡμῶν ἐπιφερόθη, τη δήποτε οὕτως ὑπηκούσετε; ἡ γ' δὲν ένέκα πέρι τ' ἑς ὁμοιότατα ἄλλης, καὶ τῆς μέις ἀνεπιλήπτετο προθυμίας; Τοῦτο μὲν τοῦ πολέμου ἐπὶ τῶν
Κ. Κατάλαυνον πιστών ὑπερασφαλέως, ὅποτε Γαϊδών Μαρίνου τούς τε Κιάβροις καὶ τοὺς Τουτονόρκτιμος ἐκ τῆς Ἡπείρου ἔξελενον, οὔτ' ἦτοι αἰσθανόμενοι ὅτι στρατιώται τῶν στρατηγῶν ἑτοὶ θανάτοι. Ἡ τετράγωνος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ νεώστη πρὸς τοὺς δυσώλιν ἐν τῇ Ἡπείρῳ πολέμῳ, καίτοι τούτοις ἦν χρεία καὶ ἢ δίδαξή ἦν πᾶσιν ἥρωι παρέξασθαι, μέγας συνεβάλλετος ἐς τ' ἐν τούτοις ὑμῖν ἐδει λέγωμαι, πάντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἡ σωφροσύνη συμβάλλεται οὖς ποτε μὲν ὑπὸ ὁπλίως εἰπή περιθόριον, τούτων ἑξεταὶ ὑπάρχετέ τοικεῖος. Πρὸς τοὺς τούτους δὲ ἐκείνου αὐτοί οὖν ἦσαν οἱ Γερμανοί, οὕς πολλὰς οἱ Ἐλβίτιοι ὁδὸν ἔπατον ἐν τῇ σφόντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνης αὐτῶν χώρᾳ, μέχρι γενικήσαν, ἀποτελεῖς δ' ὄνομα τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ στρατιᾷ γεγενήθη μὴ δυνηθέντες. Εἰ δὲ ἢ τῶν Γάλλων ἔποι τοῦ 'Αριστιστοῦ ἡμᾶς ἐκθέοντες οὖν, ἐξελέγοντο τοῖς πρῶτοις, εὐφράσωντο, τοῖς Γάλλοις επὶ τὸ πολέμῳ μισθομαρχίαν ἐκείνῳ ἔδοχον· καὶ οὐκ ἦν μαχεῖσθαι τῶν Ἀριστιστοῦ νομίζομεν, καὶ διὰ τούτοις ἀλάκτοις οὖσι, ἐκείνου πολλὸν χρόνον ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατόπεδῳ καὶ ὑπόθεσαν προκείμενα τόσοις ἀργεὶ ἐπιδέοιοι· ὅπερ μιᾶς ἐπαίτης τε καὶ δόλῳ, ἢ ἀρετὴ τε καὶ ἀλήθεια αὐτοῦς νοκήσαι. Εἰ αὐτὴ μέντοι ἢ ἀπάτη καὶ ἄνδρικαν ἀρβάδον τε καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἀδικίμων ἀγάπην, ἢ καὶ οὕτω τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ στρατιᾷ ἐπιτήρησαν; Εἰ δὲ τῶν μετὰ τῶν πρὸς τό δυσώλιον προσέπιτεν τολμῶντες τούτων γὰρ ἐμοὶ μέλει καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπιτῆθεν εἰς Σεκανίους οὔτε Ἰερών ἦμι πορίσομεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτίκα γνώσετε. Οὔτε δὲ πολλὰ ἄλλα παρὰ τῶν στρατιώτων λογοποιεῖ- ται, καὶ ὡς καὶ ὅτι ἐμοὶ τ' ὀδὸν πεισόμεθα, οὗτος γε τὰ σημεῖα ὀροσάτοι, τούτοις οὐδ' ὁποιονδέκα ἐγὼ ἐκπλήθομαι· εἰδεῖς, ὅτι ὁπόσοις τὸ πρὶν τοῦτο αὐτῆς, τούτων αἰτία ἐγένετο, ἢ ὅτι καὶ τὸ πολέμῳ ἠγάπηςαν, ἢ τ' οὖν τι κακοφύσαντες πάντως ἰδιοὺς ἠλέγχθησαν· οὕτω δὲ τὴν μὲν δικαιομαθή διὰ παντὸς, τὴν δ' εὔνυχιν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς 'Ελβίτες Πολέμου ἐγνώκαστε. Ἅμελει δ' ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἄν ἀνεβιαόμεν, τοῦτο γ' ἐπαραστῆσαι, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τετάρτης ἐναλαχῆς ἐνθενδεῖ Ἐξελάθων ὅπη ἄγχιστα καταμάθοι, πάντων τῆς αἰώνας τοῦ τοῦτον ἐνδεδω, ἢ τ' οὖν τι κακοφύσαντες πάντως ἰδιοὺς ὑπείρασθε· ἄν δὲ καὶ οὕτως οὐδεὶς ἤρρητο, ἤ γ' ὃς σὺν μόνος, ἢ μάλιστα θαρύν, δεκάτῳ τίγματι πορεύομαι· τούτου τε ἐδορυφορίαν μοι τίγμα ἐστειλα (τοῦτο μὲν γ' τῷ τίγματι τοῦ Καίσαρα μάλιστα ἀπομόδαζε, ἱσχυρὸς δὲ ταῦτ' ἀρετὴν ἐδιόρρην αὐτῷ.)

XLI. Ταύτα εἰπότος τοῦ Κάλαφας, ἰσαμασιοῦ πάντες οἱ στρατιώται μετενόησαν καὶ πολλὴ προθυμία αὐτοῖς τοῦ μα-
καὶ τὸ μὲν δέκατον τάχυμα διὰ τῶν χιλιάδων χάριτας αὐτῷ, ὅτι τοιαύτην ἁπάντας ἐχει δόξαν, ὁμολόγησαν· ἔτοιμους εἶναι εἰς τὴν μάχην λέγοντες. Ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται διὰ ταῦτα τῶν χιλιάδων καὶ τῶν πρῶτον ταξιάρχων ἐποίησαν, ὅτι τὸ Καίσαρ διαλλαχῆγαν· οὐδέποτε θυμήθητε φοβήσασθαι τε, ὡς τὴν διάκρισιν του πολέμου ἐπὶ τῇ σφόν γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ αὐτοφύτορος εἶναι, νομίζασθα λέγοντες. Ταύτῃ τῇ πρόφανῃ ὁ Καίσαρ ἀποδεξάμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Διότικακος, ὥς πάντων τῶν Γάλλων μάλιστα ἐπίστευε, τὴν οὖν ἐκείνη τὰ χίλια διακρίναι καὶ πεντηκόσια στάδια πάντοθεν ἐξέτασαι, τῇ τετάρτῃ (ὅσα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκχλησίᾳ τοῖς στρατιώταις ψύπηχνων) φυλακὴ ἐντεύθεν σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἄπηγγελε. Ἐθεοραμάς δ' αὐτῷ πορευομένῳ ἄπηγγελεν οἱ κατάσκοποι, ὡς τὸ του' Ἀριστικίου στράτευμα ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ πλεῖον πεντακόσιοι σταδίων ἄπηγγελοι.

ΧΛ. 'Ο δ' Ἀριστικίος τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐφοδίων γρός, ἐπέτειλεν αὐτῷ· ός όντι, ἐπείτε ἐγνέφερεν ἢδέ, ὁ πρότερον ἤταν πρώτος, ἔτεινεν προτέρου. Νομίζεις γὰρ ἠλέγεις, όντι όσινδών τοῦτο δύνασθαι ποιεῖν. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖ παρῆγεν ὁ Καίσαρ· σωφρονείς δ' ἤδη αὐτῶν ἐνόμιζεν· ὅτι οἱ πρότερον ἐκατ' αἰτήσιμαι ἀπερνήμεστοι τοῦτον υἱῶν ἐκχοῦσιος ὑπισχεῖτο ἐν μεγάλῃ τ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐλπίδι ἐγένετο, αὐτὸν τὴν σύμβασιν τῆς ἐκατ' αἰτήσιμος γρόν, πρὸ τῶν τοῦ δῆμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἔκειν ἐνδεχομένων παύσεσθαι τῆς ὑδρον· οὐ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ διαλογισμοῦ ἡμέρα εἰς ταύτης περιπταλεὶς ἤδέθη. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀμφότεροι παλλοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους πρὸςοβείς πεπεραστοὶ· ὁ Ἀριστικίος τὸν Καίσαρ οὕπετελεν· μήπως εἰς τὸν διαλογισμὸν ὑπάλλης ἠλέγει· 

 Philosophoi, μὲν γὰρ, μὴ δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος παραλογίσεσθαι· υπὸ ἀμφότερος μὲθ' ἑπείον ἔλθεν· ἄλλος δ' οὐκ ἔδρα λέγει. 

Ο μέντον Καίσαρ οὕτω τὸν διαλογισμὸν προφράσας πιστεύεις, οὕτω γε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωφρισίαν τοῖς τῶν Γάλλων ἐγείρεις· ἐπεδρέσας βουλόμενος, βέλειν τηγάματο εἶναι, πάντας τοὺς τῶν Γάλλων ἱπποὺς· ὅτι αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεσθεῖα, καὶ τοῖς τῶν δεκατῶν τάγματος στρατιώταις, οἷς μᾶλλον ἢδέ, τοῦτος ὁσιοθαυμάστων ἢν δεήσῃ μάχεσθαι, φρονήμενος προφιλεστάτην ἑχοι. Αὐτὸν δὲ δὴ ταῦτα ποικίλος, ἀπεστῇ τοὺς τῶν δεκατῶν τάγματος στρατιωτῶν τῆς ἐφθέγξατο, λέγων. Τὸν Καίσαρο πλείον, οὗ ὑποχνίζετο, ποικίλοις ὑποσχέομενοι μὲν γὰρ τὸ δεκατόν τάχυμα ἐν χώρα δορυφόρου φάλαγγας ἔζειν, νῦν εἰς τὴν ἐπιπάδα αὐτὸ καταγεγείνεται.

ΧΛ. Π. 'Ην δὲ μεγάλη πεδίας, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ οὐ μικρὸς γήλοφος, ἐξ ὑπὸ αὐτὸ ἀμφότερον τῶν στρατιστῶν ἀφεσιῶς· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστικίος διαλεκθησόμενοι ἢδέν.
καὶ ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ τοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἱππεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου γνήσιον · κάτωθι πεντήκοντα και ἐτήσιον· οἳ τῷ τῶν Ἀριστοκράτων ἱππεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἰσον κατέμειναν. Ὑδὲ Ἀριστοκράτης πάλιν τῷ Καίσαρος ἐπέστηκεν, ὡς δυὸλοτο ἄρτι τῶν ἱππῶν διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις δύο ἱππεῖς μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἔγειν. Ὑδὲ δὲ συνήλθον, ὁ Καίσαρ ωδέποις ἢγεῖτο τοῦ λόγου. Ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐνιαίον, ὡς Ἀριστοκράτης, ὡς ὡς ἐν τῇ γεροντικῇ καὶ ὡς ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ τέ καὶ ὡς ἱλιόν, ὑπατεύοντος μου, ἐβρήστατο ὡς θαλάς καὶ ὡς τοιοῦ ἄρτι τυχόν, ἀλλὰ μόνον τοῖς πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίως ὀποιογένεσας, συνέβη· ὅτι τοῦτο ξένον ἄν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οὕτω γε ἄντι τοῦ ταῦτα αἰτεῖν εὐλογον ἔχον, ταῦτα ὑμῶν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ τῆς συγχλήσεως τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐθύγερσις ἐκήρυξε. Τοις ἕκεν ὁ ὁδὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν προσωπίδι, νῦν τούτων μέμνησο. Πρὸς τὸν μὲν γὰρ πολλὰ τε καὶ δίκαια τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τοὺς ἑδονεῖς φιλᾶς αἰτία διαγροφᾶτο, πολλῶς τῇ αὐτοῖς ἡ γεροντικὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τιμὰς ἐβρήσθησα. Ἡπείτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἑδονεῖς πάσης τῆς θελατίας μυς ὑποτύπωσαν ὅτες, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τοῦτος Ῥωμαίως φίλος γενέσθαι, διαγραφᾶσα. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαίοι τοὺς σφήνοις φίλους τε καὶ συμμαχοῦσας τῶν μόνων οὐδὲν τῆς ὑπὸν ἀποδύλλεσθαι ἀνέχουσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς συμμαχικὰς τε καὶ τιμὰς καὶ δυνάμεις αὐξανόντας δοῦλονται. Αἱ μὲν οὖν οἱ ἑδονεῖς πρὸς τόν φίλον τοὺς Ῥωμαίως γενέσθαι εἶχον, ταῦτα ἄν τῆς ἑπείτα αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρεθῶσιν ἀνέχηται· Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις, ἃ σοῦ δείχνοντας προσέβεθεν ἐνετειλάμην, νῦν παρὼν πρὸς τοῖς διόρομαν πρὸς τοῖς, μήτε τοῖς ἑδονεῖς, μήτε γε τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι συμμαχοῦσας πόλεμον ἐπιφέρεις· ἑπείτα δὲ εἰ μὲν τοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι, νῦν τὴν ποτιδίων μή δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ γονὶς μή τελεῖς ἔπι τῶν Ῥωμαίων διωμαίνειν ἀνέχεσθαι. Καίσαρ μὲν σὲν τοις ἑπείτα εἴπερ.
ἐγὼ πάσας μηδὲ ἐνίκησα μέχρι καὶ ἔφεσα. Εἰ μὲν οὖν αὖθις συμβάλλειν μοι ἰδέειν, ἐγὼ καὶ ἐτὶ ἐποίημος ἦγο μάχεσθαι· εἰ δ’ εἰρήνην προαιροῦμαι, ἐδίκους ἦσιν ἔκεινος τοῦ τῶν δασμόν, οὐ μέχρι τοῦ γῶν αὐτόματοι ἀπῆνεγκαν, τελέοι παραιτεῖσθαι. Πρὸς τούτοις δ’ ἡ μὲν τῶν Ἱωμαῖων φίλα τε καὶ συμμαχία τιμήν μοι καὶ ἀφοφυγὴν, ἀλλ’ οὐ διὰ λαθήν χρῆ παρέχεσθαι. "Ἡ ἔτι διὰ τούτως Ὑπατοίς οὐκ ἐτί τελέθη, οὔτε προσκυνήσατε μοι ἀφετέρου, οὐχ ἤτοιν ἠδεὼν, ἢ ἦς τῆς τῶν Ἱωμαίων φιλίας ἐπεθῆσα, γνύν τιναν συμμαχίαν παραιτήσεως. "Ο δ’ οὐδ’ εἰς πολὺ πλῆθος Ἑγεμόνων εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν διαθέθειν, τούτο ὑπ’ ἅμα ἄσφαλεος, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἴνα τὴν Γαλατίαν κατασχῶ ποιῶ μαρτύρων δε, ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸ τερος οὐκ ἔξηνεγκα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἤμυναν. Πρὸς τούτοις δει καὶ ἐγώ ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ πρὸτερος ἠθέναν τῶν Ἱωμαίων· τὸ σημ’ μὲν γὰρ στρατιά τῶν Ἱωμαίων τῆς ἐλπιδατείας οὐδεπότε όου ἐξῆλθον. Τι οὖν σοι μοι θέλεις; οὐ τινὸς γ’ ἑκάστα καὶ τῇ ἑκάστῃ ἄρχῃ; οὐτ’ ἢν γὰρ ἡ Γαλατία εἰμί, ὅπερ καὶ ἢ ἅλλ’ τῶν Ἱωμαίων, ἐστὶν ἐπικράτεια· καὶ ὡς μὲν εἰ πόλεμον τῇ τῶν Ἱωμαίων ἐπαρχία ἐκφέρομεν, οὖν ἀνεκτέον μοι εἴη, οὕτω καὶ ὅμεις ἄδικοι ἄστε, τῆς ἐκῆς ἄρχῃς μοι άντιποιούμεθα. "Οτι δ’ οὐ σφῇς τοῦς Ἐδουεῖς φίλους τε καὶ συμμάχους ὑπὸ τῆς Ἱωμαίων γεγονοῦσα προφερέθηναι, οὕτως ὅμεις ἢλίθιος τε καὶ ἀλόγιστος εἰμί, δος μη γινώσκειν, δος οὔτ’ εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Ἀλλοθρῶν τῶν Ἱωμαίων πόλεμον οὐ Ἐδουεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐθο- ὑρίασιν, οὔτε γ’ αὕν τοῦ σημ’ πρὸς με πολέμο τοῖς Ἱωμαίως συμμάχους ἔχομαι. Δεῖ δε με ὑποκοινίσεως, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἐδουεῖς συμμαχίαν σε προφασίζουμεν, τοῦ καθαρίζει μ’ ἑκάστα ταῦτα τὴν στρατιὰν ἔχειν. 'Αλλ’ εἰ μὴ ἀπέδειξθης τε, καὶ τὸ σῶν στρατεύμα του ἄμμαν ἐπαγάγης, εὖ ἀδεί, ὅτι οὐκ ὃς φίλοι σοι, ἀλλ’ ὃς πολεμῴχρησμαι. Κάθε μὲν α’ ὑποκείμενος, πολλοὶ, εὖ οἴδα, ὅτι ἥρχουσα τῶν Ἱωμαίων ἑλκυρίας χαλάσσομαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνων ἄγγελων κατέμαθον· ἐδοκεῖ τὴν πάντων τοῦτοι φίλαν τῷ σω βανάτῳ δύνασιοι κτάσθαι. "Ἀν δ’ ἀπέδειξθης τε, καὶ ἔλευθερὼν μοι τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἄρχην καταλείψης, ἐγὼ σα ισχυρῶς ἀντικρίζομαι· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τις τετικα, σοῦ πόλεμος γένηται, τοῦτον ἀνέξει τοῦ τοῦ σοῦ πάνω τε καὶ κυνδύνου σου διαπράξεω. Τοσοῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ Ἀρμόδιος. 

XLV. Πολλά δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἔλεγεν ὁ Καίσαρ, διδάσκα- 

ουν αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐ μὴ δύνατο τούτοις τοῦ πραγμάτου άκμελεῖν. Οὔτε γὰρ ἔγω, ἔφη, οὔτε οἱ Ἱωμαίοι τοὺς μεγάλους υφήλιους ἤμιν γεγενημένους συμμάχους εἰσόδομεν προεσθήναι· έπετε δε οὔτε φημί τὴν Γαλατίαν μᾶλλον σου ἢ τῶν Ἱωμαίων εἶναι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀρμόδιοι, καὶ οἱ Ῥουθηνοὶ, ὅπως Κοίντου Φαβίου
Μαζίου ἑτηθησίνες, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰρωμαίων συνεγγώρισαν, οὕτε εἰς ἐπαρχίαν μεταστάντες, οὕτε γε φόσος ἐπιταχθέντες: ὥστε ἀν μὲν τῶν μαχοτατών χρόνον σχετικόμεθα, δικαιώτατοι εἶσαι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τής Γαλατίας ἄρχειν ἥν ἐδὲ τῇ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γεγονοῦσι γνώμην λογίζωμε, χρὴ τὴν Γαλατίαν, ἂν περὶ κατά στρατοψευσθοῦ ἀναθήματι, ἑλένθηκαν γενέσθαι.

XLVI. Πολλὰ δ' ἅπαν τωσίν λέγοντι τῷ Κᾶσαρι ὑπηγγέλθη, τοὺς τοῦ Ἰατροῦ ἱππεῖς ἐγγίζειν εἰς τῷ ὀρέι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἱππεῖς προσελάβηκε, ἱδὲ τοῖς σφενδόθηνε τι καὶ ἀνατείλειν εἰς αὐτός. ὃ μὲν οὖν Ἰατρὸς τοῦτο ἀκόςμος, διαλεγόμενος τ' ἐπαύσατο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκατοτόμους ἱππεῖς ἐνεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς δὲ παρηγγείλειν, μηδὲν βέλος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀναφερόμειν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατενεύει τὸ εἰρημένον τάχιστα ἀκούσμος ἤπομαχῆσαι, ὡς οὖν ἢδεκλε ποιεῖτι, ὡστε τοὺς πολεμίους ἠτηθήσεις δύνασθαι λέγειν, δόλοι ἐν τῷ διαλογισμῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σφοροῦσθαι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ τοῦ Ἰατροῦ στρατευμα δυνητέλθη, ποίησα ὑπενοίη ὁ Ἰατρὸς ἐν τῷ διαλογισμῷ χρημάτων, πάσης τῆς Γαλατίας τοὺς Ὀρισμένους ἀπείρεζεν, ὡς τι τοῦ ἐκείνου ἱππείς εἰς τοὺς Ἰρωμαίους ὑμήμην, τοῦτο τὸ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κᾶσαρος παύσαν πολλὸν μεῖζον προβολὴν τε καὶ σπουδὴ τοῦ μάχεσθαι, ἢ πρόσθεν, τοῖς στρατιωτικῖς ἐνέχθει.

XLVII. Μετὰ δὲ δῶσιν ἡμέρας ὁ Ἰατρὸς προσῆκε πρὸς τὸν Κᾶσαρα ἐπέμψατο, λέγοντι· ὡς περὶ τῶν ὧν ἐξαιτία διαλεγόμενοι πραγμάτων, χρῆσον αὐτῷ συγγίνεσθαι. Ἐδείτο μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς, ἡ αὕτη ἢμέρα τινὰ, πρὸς τῷ τοῖς λόγοις ἄλλοις ἐλέθην, ὀφθής, ἡ γὰρ τοῖς τῶν εὐαντίων πρὸς ταῦτα παρ' ἐκατοτόμων πέμπτεν. ὃ δὲ Κᾶσαρ καὶ μὲν τοῦ διαλεγόμεθα αὐθεν τοὺς ὑπὸ ἢμίτοιο ἐδέναι· τοὺς τοῦτοις δὲ καὶ ταύτα τῶν παρ' ἐκατοτόμῳ ἐπικινδυνῶς ἐκεῖνον πέμπτεν, καὶ οἴον εἶναι τοῖς ἄγροις τε καὶ βαρβαροῖς ἀνδραίας τούτοις ἐπιβαλεῖν. Ἀμείλεις Μάρκον Οὐαλήναν Ἰροῦλον, Ἀνδράν Ῥωμαλεῶτας, τὸν Γαλατίαν Καῦσαν, τὸν Θάλην Ὀλάκχον πολιτείαν ποτὲ ἐδοκεῖν, διὰ τῇ τῇ Γαλατίας διαλέκτῳ, ἢ διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ὁ Ἰατρὸς τοῦ τοῦλθε ἐχθῆςε, ἐμπείρως ἔχειν, καὶ οὕτω εἰς αὐτὸν ὄρθιες ἀλλὰν οὖν εἶχον οἱ Γερμαίοι πρὸς τούτους τε μετ' αὐτοῦ Μάρκον Τίτιον, ἔχον ποτὲ τῷ Ἰατροῦ εὐνόμον, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπέμψατο, τούτοις, ὃ λέγον ὁ Ἰατρὸς ἀκόσμως, ἐκατῷ τῷ παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἦπεργολείειν προστατεύσας. Ἐκείνους δὲ ἐπείδη τάχιστα κατεδεικνύει εἰς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Ἰατρὸς, πάσῃς παροιμίας τῆς τοῦτοι στρατεύσεις, Τίνος, εἴρη, ἐνεκα πρὸς ἡμῖν ἔκατον εἰς τοῦ κατασκεύασθαι ἐνέκα; Ἐπείτη δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτὰν λέγειν ἐπεχειροῦντας ἐκώλυσε τε καὶ πέθανεν αὐτοῖς ἔδορε.
Το κείμενο που πρέπει να διαβάσετε και να μεταφράσετε είναι ελληνικό. Ωστόσο, το κείμενο δεν είναι πλήρως καταλληλοποιημένο για μια μη ελληνική αναγνώριση της γλώσσας. Επομένως, δεν μπορώ να το μεταφράσω σε γραπτή μορφή.
Ρωμαίων κέρας τώς σφόν πλήθει ἑσυχρῶς αὐτοὺς ἐπίθεσιν. Ὁ οὖν Πούλλιος Κρώσσος νεκιάς, ὃς ἦπαρχος ἦν τοῦ Καίσαρος, τοῦτο κατανοούσα, ὅτι ἦτοι τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ὑδην ἐπιέζετο, τὴν τρίτην τάξιν τοῖς Ῥωμαιοῖς ἤδη πανοῦσιν εἰς ἐπικουρίαν ἔπεμψεν.

ΠΛ. Ἡ περὶ ἐδώς ὁ μὲν Ῥωμαίος τὴν μάχην ἀνώρθωσαν· πάντες δὲ ὁ πολέμιοι ἐνέδοσαν τε, καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ὠρασαν, οῖνε πρόθεν ἔστησαν, πρὶν ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ὀρέι, ἔτεταράκεντα ἐνεπεθὲν στάδια ἀπέχοντο, ἐγένοντο ὡσπον ὄλγοι, ἡ τῇ σφόν ὠρει ἠθαυροῦντες, τῶν πολιτῶν διαντικεύοντα ἐπεχείρησαν, ἢ πλούσιοι τῶν εὑροῦσαντες, εἰς αὐτοῖς διεσώθησαν· ώς ὁ Ἀρισθίκτος, ὁ δὲ ἀκάτιον πρὸς τῇ γῇ δεδεμένων εὐθῶν, ἐν αὐτῷ διέφυγε καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις πάντας, ὅιῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν, οἱ ἀπειρες κατέκαιναι. Ἡ μὲν Σουεῦ τῆς γένους, ἣν καὶ μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικῆς ὁ Ἀρισθίκτος ἐξήγαγεν· ὁ δὲ Ὀρείκα καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Βουκκόλος ἀδέλθη, ἢ ὡσπο τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς ἐαυτῷ περιμεθέασεν ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐγεναμηχνείς αὐτῇ καὶ τοῦτη τῇ γῇ ὀμφότεροι ἀπάλοντο· τῶν δὲ θυγατέρων ἡ μὲν ἐφονεύθη, ἡ δ’ ἐάλω. Ἀμέλει καὶ ὁ Μάρκος Βαλύρας Προκιλλός, ἐν ταυτῇ τῇ γῇ ὡσποτῶν τῶν φυλακῶν τρωπέδων συνύμενος, εἰς αὐτὸν τῶν Καίσαρα, τὴν τῶν πολεμιῶν ὑπὸν διάκονα εἰςέπεσεν· ἐφ’ οὗ οἶχ ἦτον τὸν Καίσαρα, ἡ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ τῇ νικῇ εὐφράνθη· ἄνδρα γὰρ πάσης τῆς ἐν τῇ Γαλατίᾳ ἐπαρχίας σωφρόνεστον, φίλον τοῦ ἐαυτῷ καὶ ζεύσαν γενόμενον, νῦν ἐκ μὲν τῶν χειρῶν τῶν πολεμίων διασώθητα, παρ’ ἐαυτῷ δ’ ὑπάντα ἔφορα, οὕτε τῇ αὐτῳ δυστυχὶς τῇ τοσαύτης ἢ ὀδοντῆς ἢ τῇ ἥλαττωσεν. Ἐλεγεν μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος, τοὺς Γερμανοὺς, ἐκαίνιον παράκοις, ποτέρον τοῦ κακεῖ, ἢ καὶ εἰς ἄλλον καιρὸν τηρηθείη, κληρώσασθαι τῇ δὲ τῶν κλήσεων ἐνεργείζει σῶον περιγεγένεσθαι.

ΛIV. Ταύτης τῆς μάχης πέραν τοῦ Ὁρέων διαγγελθείης, οἱ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Ὁρέων ὄχθως ἐκλιθάστης Σουεῦδος, εἰς τὴν σφόν χώραν τότε ἄνεχόρησαν, ὡς οἱ Οὐθίδοι, πλησίον τοῦ Ὁρέων οἰκονυτες, πεφανίσμένους ἐπιδιδάκτες, συνονοῖς αὐτῶν διήθησαν. Ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ δύο ἐνὶ θέρει μεγίστος κατεργαζόμενος πολέμως, ταχύτερον μὲν τι ἢ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἔτους ὄροι τῶν στρατιῶτας ἐν τοῖς χειμαδίοις ἐξάνθησε, καὶ αὐτῶις Τίτων Λαβινῖζ, τῶν ὑπαρχον ἐπεστησέν· αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἱταλίαν πρὸς τῷ συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι ἀπῆλθεν.
NOTES TO

CÆSAR’S COMMENTARIES
ON
THE WAR IN GAUL.

1. C. Julii Caesaris, &c. "Caius Julius Caesar's Commentaries on the War in Gaul." By commentaries are to be here understood brief narratives of events, composed in a plain, unambitious style, and the principal object of which is to preserve the remembrance of events for the benefit of those who may subsequently wish to compose fuller and more elaborate works. Thus Hirtius, in the epistle prefixed to the eighth book of the Gallic War, remarks, "Cæsaris commentarii editi sunt, ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus desset." Hence the term appears somewhat analogous to our modern expression "memoirs." The corresponding Greek forms are ἑπομνήματα, ἑπομνηματος, and ἀπομνημονεύματα. Hence Strabo, in speaking of Caesar's commentaries, has, "Ο Καίσαρ ἐν τοῖς ἑπομνήμασιν" (4, p. 117, ed. Casaub.); and hence also the memoirs of Socrates, by his pupil Xenophon, are entitled Σωκράτους ἀπομνημονεύματα. Plutarch (Vit. Cæs. c. 22) speaks of a work of Caesar's called Ἐφημερίδες, and it has been made a matter of discussion whether this was the same with the commentaries that we now have, or a distinct production. Rualdus (ad. Plut. Vit. Cæs. c. 22.—Op. ed. Retiske, vol. iv., p. 858, seq.) maintains the latter opinion, on the ground that the ancient writers everywhere quote, from the Ephemerides, passages not to be found in the commentaries. This opinion has found many advocates. On the other hand, Fabricius (Bibl. Lat. 1, 10, 2) contends that there are many lacunæ in the books of Caesar on the Gallic war, as they have come down to our time. The subject will be resumed in the "Life of Caesar."
NOTES ON THE FIRST BOOK.

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1. Gallia est omnis, &c. "All Gaul is divided into three parts." Caesar here means by "Gaul" that part which had not yet been subdued by the Romans. The latter had already reduced the Allobroges in the south, and had formed in that quarter what was called "Gallia Provincia," or "Gallia Narbonensis," or, as is the case in these commentaries, simply "Provincia." Consult Geographical Index.

2. Tertium, qui, &c. "The third, they who are called in their own language Celts, in ours Galli." The order of construction is, (ii) qui appellantur Celtae ipsorum lingua, Galli nostra (lingua, incolunt) tertiam (partem).

3. Cels. The Celts mark the parent stem, or genuine Gallic race. From the extent of their territory, the Greeks gave the whole country of Gaul the name of Кельтія (Celtica). Among the earlier Greeks, the whole of western Europe, at some distance from the shores of the Mediterranean, went by the appellation of the "Celtic land," χώρα Кельтія. (Scymn. Ch. v., 166.) Consult Geographical Index. The term Galli is only "Gael" Latinized.

5. Lingua. This is not correct as regards the Belgæ and Celtæ, who merely spoke two different dialects of the same tongue, the former being of the Cymric, the latter of the Gallic stock. The Aquitani, however, would appear to have belonged to the Iberian race, and to have spoken a language of Iberian origin. (Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois, vol. i., Introd. p. xii., seq.)

6. Institutes. "In customs."—Inter se. "From one another." Literally, "among themselves."

7. Gallos ab Aquitanis, &c. "The river Garumna separates the Galli from the Aquitani, the Matrona and Sequana divide them from the Belgæ." With flumen supply dividit. The student will note, that the singular verb dividit follows after the two nominatives Matrona and Sequana, as referring to one continuous boundary, and to the circumstance also of the Matrona being only a tributary of the Sequana.

8. Fortissimi sunt Belgæ. The same idea is expressed in Tacitus, Hist. 1, 76.—A cultu atque humanitate Provinciae. "From the civilization and intellectual refinement of the province." Cultus refers here to the mode of life, humanitas to mental improvement and culture; and hence cultus is given by Oberlinus, in his Index Latinitatis, as "vita ratio, ab omni ruditate remotasa." The civilization and refinement of the Roman province was principally derived from the Greek city of Massilia, now Marseilles. (Justin, 43, 4.)
1. *Minime sape commenat.* "Least frequently resort," i. e., very seldom penetrate to these distant regions.—*Ad effeminandos animos.* "To enervate their minds," i. e., break down their warlike spirit.

2. *Proximique sunt Germanis.* "And because they are nearest to the Germans," i. e., are in their immediate neighbourhood. According to the punctuation which we have adopted, this is the corresponding clause to the one beginning with *propterea quod.*

3. *Helvetii quoque.* Because they also dwell near the Germans.


5. *Eorum una pars.* "One part of these main divisions of Gaul." *Eorum* refers back to *Hi omnes,* or, in other words, to the Belgæ, Celtae, and Aquitani. As, however, the idea of territory is necessarily involved, we may, in order to adapt the phrase to our idiom, translate as if there were an ellipsis of *finium,* though, in reality, none such is to be supplied. As regards the remote reference which sometimes occurs in the case of *hic* and *is,* consult *Perizonius,* *ad Sanct. Min.* 2, 9 (vol. i., p. 276, ed. Bauer), where the present passage comes under review.

6. *Obtineo.* "Possess." *Obtineo* is here used in its primitive and genuine sense, "to hold against others," i. e., "to possess" or "enjoy." —*Initium capit,* &c. "Commences at the river Rhone." Literally, "takes its beginning from the river Rhone."

7. *Continentur.* "Is bounded." Literally, "is encompassed" or "hemmed in."—*Attingit etiam,* &c. "It touches also on the Rhine in the quarter of the Sequani and Helvetii." More literally, "on the side of the Sequani and Helvetii," i. e., where these two communities dwell.

8. *Vergit ad septentriones.* "It stretches away towards the north." Literally, "it inclines" or "tends towards the north," i. e., from its point of commencement on the Rhodanus.

9. *Ab extremis Galliarum finibus.* "From the farthest confines of Gaul." By Gaul is here meant the middle division of the country, or that occupied by the Celtae, who have been mentioned in the preceding sentence under the name of *Galli.* By *finium* the northern *Caesar* means the boundaries most remote from Rome, or, in other words, the northern.

10. *Speculant in septentriones,* &c. "They look towards the north and the rising sun," i. e., their country, commencing on the
northern borders of Celtica, faces, or stretches away to the north and east.

11. *Et cam partem Oceanis,* &c. "And that part of the Atlantic Ocean which is next to Spain," i. e., in the immediate vicinity of Spain, and washing its northern coast. The reference is to the lower part of the Bay of Biscay. As regards the force of *ad* in this passage, compare the common form of expression *esse ad urbem,* "to be near the city," and Cicero (*Ep. ad Fam. 15, 2,* *Castra ad Cybistra locavi.* "I pitched my camp in the neighbourhood of Cybistra."

12. *Spectat inter,* &c. "It looks between the setting of the sun and the north," i. e., it looks northwest; it faces towards that point. Morus thinks we ought to read *in* for *inter*; but the Greek paraphrase sanctions the common lection: ἀφορᾷ ἡ τὰ μεταχέ ἅρκτων τε καὶ Ἀναστόλῳ.

13. *Orgetorix.* This name is said by Celtic scholars to mean "chief of a hundred hills," from *or,* "a hill," *cod,* "a hundred," and *righ,* "a chief." (Compare Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois,* vol. ii., p. 289.)


15. *Regni cupiditate inductus.* "Led on by a desire of enjoying the chief authority." *Regni* is to be here regarded as equivalent to *regnandi.*—*Nobilitatis.* The higher class of chieftains are meant.

16. *Civitati.* "His state," i. e., the people. By *civitas* are here meant all the inhabitants of a district or state, under one and the same government. This usage is very frequent in our author.

17. *De finibus suis.* "From their territories." *Fines,* in the sense of "territories" or "country," is of very common occurrence in Caesar.

18. *Imperio potiri.* "To possess themselves of the sovereignty," i. e., to rule as masters over the other Gallic tribes.

19. *Id hoc facilest,* &c. "He persuaded them to that step the more easily on this account." The order is, *persuasit id eis facilis huc.—Undique loci natura continentur.* "Are confined on all sides by the nature of their situation," i. e., are kept in, are prevented from wandering far.

20. *Monte Jura.* The name, in Celtic, is said to mean "the domain of God," from *Jou,* an appellation for the Deity, and *rag,* the domain of a chieftain or ruler. The term appears a very appropriate
one to be applied by a barbarous people to a lofty mountain-range.

Consult Geographical Index.


22. Minus late. "Less widely," i. e., than they could have wished.—Hominex bellandi cupidi. "Men (like themselves) fond of warfare."

23. Pro multitudine, &c. "They thought, besides, that they possessed narrow territories, considering the extent of their population, and their high character for war and bravery." More literally, "narrow territories, in proportion to the number of inhabitants," &c.


Cluverius condemns the inaccuracy of this measurement, both as regards length and breadth. (Germ. 2, 4.) But we must bear in mind that Cæsar, when he wrote this, had never been in the land of the Helvetii, and followed, therefore, merely the rude estimate furnished him by some of that nation. Cæsar makes the length of Helvetia forty-eight geographical miles; the true distance, however, from Geneva to the Lake of Constance, is only forty. (Mannert, vol. ii., p. 214.)

1. His rebus adducti. "Induced by these considerations."—Ad proficiscendum. "To their departure."

2. Carrorum. "Of wagons." This term has two forms for the nominative, carrus and carrum. Cæsar employs the former, and the author of the commentaries on the Spanish war the latter (c. 6). The word is of Celtic origin, and denotes a kind of four-wheeled wagon. Compare the German Karre. In later Latinity the neuter form prevailed. (Adelung, Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat. vol. ii., p. 231.)

3. Sementes quam maximas facere. "To make as extensive sowings as possible," i. e., to sow as much land as possible.

4. In tertium annum, &c. "They fix upon their departure for the third year by a law," i. e., they fix upon the third year for their departure. The term lege is here employed as denoting merely the assent of the general assembly of the nation to the proposition of Orgetorix. It is analogous, therefore, in the present instance, to decreto.

5. Ad eas res conficiendas. The repetition of this phrase here is extremely inelegant, though it may be cited as one proof, among others that might be adduced, of Cæsar's having hastily written these commentaries, either at the close of each day, or else very soon after
the occurrences detailed in them. Oberlinus suggests *ad ea.* in place of *ad cas res confeiciendas*; but the emendation, though neat, rests on no MSS. authority.

6. Regnum obtinucrat. "Had enjoyed the sovereign power." (Compare note 6, p. 3.) The sovereign authority was not generally hereditary among the Gallic tribes, but was conferred by the people on the one whom they judged most worthy.

7. A senatu Populi Romani. "By the senate of the Roman people," i.e., by the senate of Rome. We have here adopted the reading of the oldest and best MSS. The copyists have been misled by the common form, S. P. Q. R., i.e., *senatu populoque Romano,* and have introduced it here, where it does not at all apply, for the title of "amicus" was conferred by the senate, not by the people. Compare book 4, c. 12, "amicus ab senatu nostro appellatus," and 7, 31, "enijus pater ab senatu nostro amicus erat appellatus."

8. Occuparet. The student will observe that the leading verb is in the present tense, *persnudet,* and yet the verb following is in the past tense, *occuparet.* The rule that operates in such cases is given as follows by Zumpt, L. G. p. 322. "When an historian uses the present for the perfect aorist, to transport his reader back to the time of which he is speaking, he often joins an imperfect with this present, which in sense is past."

9. Principatum obtinebat. "Enjoyed the chief authority." The phrase *principatum obtinere* applies to one who is the leader of his countrymen, but without the name of king. Thus we have in Lactantius, de fals. rel. 1, 13, "Primum Uranus eominere inter ceteros potestas expedit, et principatum habere, non regnum."

10. Percusile factu esse, &c. "He proves unto them that it was a very easy matter to accomplish their designs," i.e., that the accomplishment of their intended designs would be a very easy matter.

11. Quin totius Galliae, &c. "But that the Helvetii could do the most of all Gaul," i.e., were the most powerful state of all Gaul.

12. Illis regna conciliaturum. "Would gain for them the sovereignty in their respective states."

13. Et, regno occupato, &c. "And they entertain the hope, that, if the sovereign power be seized by each of them, they can make themselves masters of all Gaul, by means of its three most powerful and valiant communities." The three communities here re-
tered to are the Helvetii, Sequani, and Aedui, and the intended change is to be brought about after Orgetorix, Casticus, and Dumnorix shall have seized upon the sovereign power in their respective states.

14. Firmissimos. Some of the early editions read fortissimos, but it is a mere gloss, explanatory of firmissimos.

15. Totius Galliae potiri. The verb potiri governs the genitive or ablative. Cicero, whenever he employs it to express the acquisition of sovereignty or political power, uniformly joins it with a genitive. Caesar, on the other hand, sometimes employs the genitive, as in the present instance, and sometimes, as in chap. 2, joins the verb to the ablative of imperium.

16. Ea res. "This design."—Per indicium. "Through in formers." Literally, "by a disclosure" or "information."

17. Moribus suis. "According to their custom." Referring to the established usage of the nation in such cases.—Ex vinculis causam dicere. "To plead his cause in chains," i. e., to answer the charge in chains. Ex vinculis, literally, "out of chains," i. e., "from the midst of chains," encompassed all the time by them.

18. Damnatum pecunam, &c. The order is, oportebat pecunam, ut cremaretur igni, sequi (eum) damnatum. "It behooved the punishment, that he should be burnt by fire, to attend him if condemned." More freely, "His punishment, in case he were condemned, was to be burnt to death." Urere is simply "to burn," but cremare, "to burn to ashes." The punishment here mentioned was usual among the Gauls and other barbarous nations in cases of high treason.

19. Causae dictionis. "For the pleading of his case." Dictio causae is generally applied to the defendant in a cause, and means a full explanation and defence of his conduct.—Ad judicium. "To the trial."

20. Omnem suam familiar. "All his household." The reference is to his domestics, and all the individuals employed about his private affairs. Familia, in its primitive acceptation, denotes all the slaves belonging to one master.

21. Oberatos. "Debtors." The term oberatus properly denotes one who, being in debt to another, is compelled to serve the latter, and in this way discharge the debt by his labour and services. Compare Varro, L. L. 6, "Liber, qui suas operas in servitute, pro pecunia, quamdebitat, dat; dum soveret, nexus vocatur, et ab aere oberatus."
22. Eodem. "To the same place," i. e., the place of trial.—
*Per eos, ne causam diceret, &c.*  "By their means he rescued
himself from the necessity of pleading his cause."  More literally,
"he rescued himself, so that he should not plead his cause."  His
slaves and retainers rescued him out of the hands of his judges.

suum exsequi.*  "To enforce their authority."  Literally, "to fol-
low out their authority," i. e., to carry it onward to its destined
end, namely, the punishment of Orgetorix.

24. Magistratus. "The magistrates," i. e., of the Helvetii.—
Cogerent. "Were collecting."  More literally, "were compelling
the attendance."

25. Quin ipse sibi, &c. "But that he laid violent hands on
himself."  Literally, "but that he resolved on death against him-
self."

1. Oppida sua omnia, &c. Plutarch mentions the same circum-
stance. (Vit. Cæs. e. 18.)—*Præter quod.*  Elegantly put for
*præter id quod.*  "Except what."

2. Domum redidere. "Of a return home."  This is commonly
cited as an instance of a verbal noun governing the accusative,
according to the rules of earlier Latinity. *Domum,* however, is here
construed like the name of a town.  A better example of the ac-
cusative, governed by a verbal noun, may be obtained from Plautus
(*Amph. *1, 3, 21), "*Quid tibi curatio est hanc rem?*

i. e., meal or flour.  The Greek paraphrast employs the term ἀλφαρα.

4. *Eodem usi concilio.*  "Having adopted the same design," i.
e., having formed the same resolution of leaving home.

5. *Trans Rhenum.*  On the banks of the Saavus and Danube,
where they continued to dwell for about 130 years.  This country
on their leaving it, took the name of *Deserta Boïorum.*  (*Plin. H
N.* 3, 27.)

6. *Receptos ad se,* &c. "They receive, and unite to themselves
as confederates."  A participle and verb, in such constructions,
are to be translated as two verbs with the connective conjunction.

7. *Quibus itineribus.*  The noun to which the relative refers is
sometimes, as in the present instance, repeated after it, especially
in Caesar.  It appears to have been the style of legal documents.
(*Zumpt, J. G.* p. 237.)

8. *Vix qua,* &c.  Supply *parte* after *qua.*  "Along which a sin-
gle wagon could with difficulty be led at a time."  The student
will note the use of *qua parte* in the feminine, although the neuter gender, *unum* (*iter*), precedes. Instances of this are far from unfrequent. Thus, Cic. *pro Cæcini. c. 8*, "Ad omnes introitus, qua adiri poterit."—Cæs. *B. G.* 5, 44, "Per Alpes, qua proximum iter erat," &c.


11. *Allobrogum*, *qui nuper pacati erant*. They had been subdued by Caius Pomptinius, the *praetor*, and their territory now formed part of the Roman province. Adelung makes the name *Allobroges* denote "highlanders," from *Al*, "high," and *Broga*, "land." (Mithridates, vol. ii., p. 50.) With this O’Brien nearly agrees in his Irish-English Dictionary, deducing the term from *Aill*, "a rock," and *Brog*, "a habitation."

12. *Vado transitur." Is crossed by a ford," i. e., is fordable.

13. *Ex eo oppido." "From this town a bridge extends across to the Helvetii." The bridge began, in fact, a little below the town. —Some translate *pertinet* "belongs," which is altogether erroneous. The Greek paraphrast gives the true idea: 'Αφ' ἥς (Γενοῖς) καὶ γέφυρα ἐν τῇ Ἐλβητικῇ ἀρχῇ.


15. *Diem dicunt." They appoint a day." More literally, "they name a day."—*Qua die. Consult note 7.—Omnes convenient. "All are to assemble."

16. *Is dies.* The student will note the change from the feminine *qua die* to the masculine form. The common rule, that *dies* is masculine when it is spoken of a particular or specified day; but feminine when referring to duration of time, is not sufficiently exact: exceptions may be found to it in many writers. (Zumpt, *L. G.* p. 41.)

17. *Ante diem quintum, &c." The fifth before the Kalends of April." This answered to the 28th of March, the Kalends of April being the first of that month. It must be remembered that the Romans, in computing their time, always included the day from which, and also the day to which, they reckoned. In this way the 28th of March became the 5th before the Kalends of the ensuing month. Consult the article *Kalendæ*, in the Archeological Index.
As regards the phrase *ante diem quintum Kalendas*, it may be remarked, that the expression is idiomatic for *die quinto ante Kalendas*.


19. *Ab urbe.* "From the city," i. e., from Rome. Caesar, previously to the expiration of his consulship, had obtained from the people, through the tribune Vatinius, the provinces of Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum, with three legions, for five years; and the senate added Gallia Transalpina, with another legion. He set out from the city, as appears from the context, in the early part of the spring.

20. *Quam maximis potest itineribus.* "By as great journeys as possible," i. e., with all possible speed. Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἐστὶν ἕξιν τὰξιμα.

21. *Galliam ulterioriem.* "Farther Gaul," i. e., Gaul beyond the Alps, or Gallia Transalpina.

22. *Provinciae toti, &c.* "He orders as many soldiers as possible from the whole province," i. e., commands the whole province to furnish as many soldiers as it could. Literally, "he commands to the whole province as many," &c.

23. *Omnino.* "In all."—*Legio una.* "But a single legion." The legion, in the time of Polybius, contained 4200 men, to whom were added 300 horses. Lipsius thinks that Caesar's legions did not much exceed this estimate. (De Mil. Rom. lib. 1, dial. 5.) Consult remarks under the article legio, in the Archæological Index.


2. *Certiorcs facti sunt.* "Were informed." The adjective *certus* has frequently the meaning of "sure," "well acquainted," &c. Thus, *fac me, oro, ut sim certus, an.* "Inform me, I entreat, for a certainty, whether;" and again, *certi sumus, te hoc facisse,* "we know well that you did this." Hence arises the phrase, "*certiorum facere,* "to inform," "to make acquainted," as referring to information on which reliance may generally be placed.

3. *Principem locum obtinabant.* "Held the chief place," i. e., they were at the head of the embassy. Compare note 9, page 4.

—*Verudoctius.* This name is derived, by Celtic scholars, from *ver,* "a man," and *dacht,* or *docht,* "speech," as indicating a public speaker or orator; and, though given by Caesar as a proper name, may have been only, in fact, an appellation for one of the leaders of the embassy. (Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois. vol. ii, p. 297.)
4. *Sibi esse in animo.* "That it was their intention."—*Sine ullo maleficio.* "Without doing any harm."—*Ejus voluntate.*—With his consent."

5. *Occisum.* Supply *fuisse,* and so also after *pulsum* and *miss um.* The event alluded to in the text had taken place forty-nine years previous. A Cimbro-Teutonic horde, the same that were afterward defeated by Marius, after devastating central Gaul, united with the Helvetii, and resolved to attack the Roman province simultaneously at different points. The Tigurini, a tribe of the Helvetii, under the command of Divico, undertook to invade the territory of the Allobroges by the bridge of Geneva and the fords of the Rhone a little below this city. The rest of the Helvetii, together with their new allies, moved south. This plan of operations compelled the Romans to divide their forces. The Consul Cassius hastened to Geneva, while his lieutenant Scaurus made head against the Cimbr. and Teutones. Both commanders were unfortunate. Cassius and his army were cut to pieces by the Helvetii on the borders of the Lacus Lomanus, or Lake of Geneva; while Scaurus was defeated and taken prisoner by those whom he had endeavoured to oppose. *Liv. Epit.* 65.—*Oros.* 5, 15.—*Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois,* vol ii., p. 200, seq.

6. *Sub jugum missum.* "Sent under the yoke." Two spears were placed upright in the ground, and a third one was laid across them at top, forming what the Romans called *jugum.* Under this, they who were admitted to surrender upon these terms were compelled to pass without their arms.

7. *Data faculitate.* "If an opportunity were afforded them."—*Temperaturos ab injuria,* &c. "Would refrain from injury and outrage." Literally, "would restrain themselves." Supply *se* after *temperaturos.*

8. *Ut spatium intercedere posset.* "In order that some space of time might intervene."—*Diei sumturum.* "That he would take time." *Dies* is here put, not for the natural day, but for an indefinite period of time. Compare Davies, *ad loc.*

9. *Ante diem,* &c. "On the day before the Ides of April." The Ides of April fell on the 13th of that month. The date here meant is consequently the 12th. As regards the idiomatic expression *ante diem,* compare note 17, page 5. Consult also, for remarks on the Roman month, the article *Kalendae,* in the Archaeological Index.

10. *Qui in flumen,* &c. The Rhone actually flows into the Lake of Geneva; but Cæsar, being unacquainted with the country above
the lake, imagined that the lake flowed into or formed the river. There is no need, therefore, of the emendation adopted by some editors, who read *quem in flumen Rhodanum influit*, i. e., "into which the river Rhone flows." Besides, *flumen Rhodanum*, making *Rhodanum* an adjective, agreeing with *flumen*, is not in Cæsar's usual style.

11. *Ad montem Juram.* It will be remembered that there were only two ways by which the Helvetii could leave home; one by the fords of the Rhone into the Roman province; the other by the narrow pass between Mount Jura and the Rhone, and which led through the territories of the Sequani. Of these two, that which led into the province most required the attention of Cæsar; and as he could not expect to keep off the vast numbers of the Helvetii by the small force which he had with him, he drew a wall along the lower bank of the Rhone, in a line with the fords, from the point where the Lake of Geneva emptied into that river, to the spot where the Rhone divides, as it were, the chain of Jura into two parts, and forms the pass already mentioned between the river and the mountain. This narrow passage, moreover, would only lead the Helvetii into the territory of the Sequani; whereas the other, by the fords of the Rhone, would have carried them at once into the Roman province. Consult the plan at page 7 of the Latin text.

12. *Millia passuum decem novem.* "Nineteen miles in length." Literally, "nineteen thousand paces." The Roman *passus*, or "pace," was 1 yard, 1.85375 ft.; and as 1000 of them went to the *milliare*, or "mile," the latter was equivalent to 1617 yds. 2.75 ft.

We have given the reading of all the early editions. Vossius, regarding the length of the wall as too great, omits *novem*, entirely on his own authority, and is followed by many subsequent editors. But the Greek paraphrast has ικατον και πιντικονα ου τοτα, which favours the reading *decem novem*. Besides, what prevents our supposing that the wall was carried on until it reached some part of the chain of Jura, and had passed beyond all the fords?

13. *Castella communit.* "He carefully fortifies redoubts." *Communire* is equivalent to *valde munire.*—*Se invito.* "Against his will." Literally, "he himself being unwilling."

14. *Quam constituerat.* "Which he had appointed." The allusion is to the day before the Ides.

15. *Negat, se more,* &c. "He declares that he cannot, consistently with the usage and example of the Roman people," &c., i. 
.. that it was an unusual and unprecedented thing for the Roman
people to grant any one a passage through their province.—Exem-
plum refers to the behaviour of the Romans on similar occasions.

16. Ostendit. "He shows them plainly," i. e., he explicitly de-
clares.—Ea spe dejecti. "Disappointed in this hope." Literally,
"cast down from this hope."

17. Navigus junctis, &c. "Some by means of boats connected
together, and numerous rafts constructed for the purpose," i. e.,
some by a bridge of boats and by numerous rafts, &c. Before na-
vibus we must understand alii. The common text has it expressed
after factis.

18. Qua minima, &c. "Where the depth of the river was least."
—Si perrumpere possent. "If they could force a passage."—Ope-
ris munitione. "By the strength of our works." Alluding to the
wall which had been constructed between the lake and Jura, to-
gether with its ditch and numerous redoubts.

19. Propter angustias. "On account of the narrowness of the
pass."—Sua sponte. "Of themselves," i. e., by their own appli-
cation.

1. Ut eo deprecatore, &c. "In order that, he being the inter-
cessor, they might obtain what they wished from the Sequani," i.
e., through his intervention or mediation. With impetrarent supply
hoc, as referring to the passage through their territories. The com-
mon text has hoc expressed.

2. Gratia et largitione, &c. "By his personal influence and
liberality could accomplish a very great deal among the Sequani."
With poterat supply facere.

3. In matrimonium ducerat. "Had married." Literally, "had
led into matrimony." The Romans said ducere uxorem, "to marry
a wife," because the female was conducted, as a part of the cere-
nmony, from her father’s house to that of her husband. Hence du-
cere uxorem is for ducere uxorem domum, literally, "to lead a wife
home." So again, in speaking of a female taking a husband, the
Latin writers employ the verb nubere. Thus nubere viro, "to marry
a husband." Here the ellipsis is nubere se viro, literally, "to veil
herself for a husband," alluding to the bride’s wearing a flame-
coloured veil during the marriage ceremony.

4. Novis rebus studebat. "Was aiming at a change in the gov-
ernment," i. e., was plotting a revolution in the state. Literally,
"was desirous of new things."

5. Suo sibi beneficio obstrictas. "Firmly attached to himself
by reason of his kind offices towards them." He wished to have

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these states under strong obligations to himself, in order that they
might aid him in his ambitious designs.
6. Rem. "The affair," i. e., the negotiation.—Dent. Referring
to both parties, the Helvetii and Sequani.—Sequani, ne, &c. "The
Sequani, not to prevent the Helvetii from using this route," i. e.,
the Sequani, to give hostages not to prevent, &c.
7. Cæsaris renunciatur. "Word is brought to Cæsar." Re-
nunciare is properly applied to intelligence, that is brought to one
who had been previously expecting something of the kind; and it
is therefore the very term that is required here. Compare the re-
mark of Forcellini: "Renunciare proprie adhibetur, cum nuncium
alicujus rei expectantui afferimus."
8. Quae civitas. "Which state." Referring to the Tolosates
9. Id si ficeret, &c. "Should this be done, he clearly saw it
would be attended with great danger to the province, that it should
have for neighbours a warlike race," &c., i. e., for it to have in its
immediate vicinity a warlike race of men. The race alluded to are
the Helvetii.
10. Locis patentibus, &c. "In an open and very fertile tract
of country."
11. Ei munitioni. Referring to the wall that had been con-
structed between the lake and Mount Jura.—Legatum. "His
lieutenant." The number of legati, or lieutenants-general, depended
on the importance of the war.
12. In Italian. "Into Italy," i. e., into Hither, or Cisalpine
Gaul. Compare chap. 24, where the two legions here mentioned
are said to have been levied "in Gallia citeriore."—Magnis itiner-
ibus. "By great journeys."
13. Qua proximum iter. "Where the route was nearest," i. e.,
shortest. With qua supply pars. Thus, Martial, 3, 91, 5, "Qua
parte subaret, quærun," and again, 7, 73, 5, "Die qua te pars
14. Compluribus his præliis pulsis. "These having been routed
in numerous encounters." Polyænus (8, 23) makes mention of a
stratagem employed by Cæsar against these mountaineers. Under
cover of the morning mist, he led a portion of his forces by a circu-
ituous route to a part of the mountain which overhung the enemy's
position. On a sudden a shout was raised by those with him, and
was answered by the rest of his troops below, on which the barba-
rians, struck with terror, betook themselves to hasty flight. What
Polyænus adds, however, that Cæsar crossed the Alps on this oc-

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casion, without any fighting (Καὶ ἀμφοὶ ταῖς Ἀλπεῖς ὑπερήφαλεν), appears from the present passage to be incorrect.

15. Citerioris Provinciae. "Of the hither province." By ceterior provincia the Romans meant Cisalpine Gaul; by ulterior provincia, Transalpine. Both epithets were used with reference to Rome. — Extremum. Supply oppidum.

16. Rogatum auxilium. Supply dicentes. "Stating."— ito se omiii lempore, &c. "That they had so deserved at al. times of the Roman people, that their fields ought not to be ravaged," &c., i.e., that, on account of their constant fidelity to the Romans, they did not deserve to have their fields ravaged, &c.

1. Necessarii et consanguinei. "The friends and relations of the Aedui." By necessarii, among the Roman writers, those are meant to whom kind offices are, as it were necessarily, due, either on account of friendship or kindred.

2. Demonstrant. "Inform him." Equivalent here and else where to narrat.—Sibi prater agri, &c. "That nothing was left except the soil of their land," i.e., except the bare soil, except a devastated country. The genitive reliqui depends on nihil.

3. Omnibus fortunis sociorum consumtis. "All the resources of his allies having been destroyed," i.e., their fortunes having become completely ruined.

4. Santonos. The MSS. vary between Santones and Santonos, but the better class have Santonos. Both forms are in use. In the same way we have Teutoni and Teutones. Compare Cortius, ad Lucan, 1, 422, "Gaudetque amoto Santonus hoste."

5. Flumen est Arar. "There is a river called Arar." Now the Saone. Consult Geographical Index.


7. Id transibant. "Were now in the act of crossing it."—Lin tribus. "Small boats." These were formed of trees hollowed out. Compare Virgil, Georg. 1, 266, "Cavat arbore lintres." The Greeks called them μοῦδφυλοι. (Veget. 3, 7.) Compare also Livy (31, 26), "Novasque alias primum Galli, inchoantes, cava bant ex singulis arboribus."

8. Tres jam copiarum partes, &c. "That the Helvetii had by this time conveyed three parts of their forces across this river," i.e., three fourths of their whole force. Partes is governed by duxisse in composition, and flumen by trans. So the passive voice trans
duci may take an accusative, which, in reality, however, depends upon trans. Thus Belgae Rhenum antiquitus traducti. (Zumpt, L. G. p. 260.)

9. De terua vigilia. “At the beginning of the third watch,” i. e., at midnight. The Romans divided the night into four watches, each of three hours. The first began at six o’clock in the evening, according to our mode of computing time; the second at nine o’clock; the third at midnight; the fourth at three o’clock in the morning.

10. Impeditos et inopinantes. “Encumbered with their baggage, and not expecting him.”—Aggressus. Plutarch (Vit. Cæs. 18) says that it was Labienus who attacked the Helvetii on this occasion; but, according to Caesar’s account, which, of course, is to be preferred, Labienus had been left in charge of the works along the Rhone. Compare chap. 10.

11. Is pagus appellabatur Tigurinu>s. “This canton was called the Tigurine,” i. e., that of the Tigurini. Pagus here takes the place of pars, which had been previously used in speaking of this division of the Helvetii. For the etymology of pagus, consult Blomfield, Gloss. in Prom. Vinct. v. 20, p. 106.

12. In quarto pagos. Cellarius gives these four cantons as follows: Tigurinus, Urbigenus, Ambronicus, and Tugenus. The first two we obtain from Caesar, the remainder from Eutropius, Orosius, and Strabo. The only one of the four which is at all doubtful is that styled pagus Ambronicus, since the Ambrones were of German origin. (Cellarius, Geog. Antiq. vol. i., p. 222. —Mannert, vol. ii., p. 215.)


14. Consilio decurum immortalium. “In accordance with the counsels of the immortal gods,” i. e., by their special providence.


16. Quod ejus soviri, &c. “Because the Tigurini, in the same battle in which they had slain Cassius, had also slain his lieutenant, Lucius Piso, the grandfather of Lucius Piso, Caesar’s father-in-law.” Caesar, after having been divorced from Pompeia, whose character had suffered in the affair of Clodius and his violation of the rites of the Bona Dea, took, as a second wife, Calpurnia, the daughter of Lucius Calpurnius Piso, and procured the consulship the next year.
or his father-in-law, he himself having held it the year preceding.


17. Consequi. "To overtake."—In Arar. "Over the Arar."

1. Cum id, &c. "When they perceived that he had effected in a single day what they themselves had with very great difficulty accomplished in twenty days, namely, the crossing of the river." Literally, "namely, that they might cross the river." Ciacconius thinks that the words ut flumen transirent are a gloss, and not Cæsar’s. In this he is clearly wrong, as they appear to have been added by Cæsar for the sake of perspicuity.

2. Cujus legationis, &c. "At the head of which embassy was Divico."—Dux Helvetiorum. Compare note 5, page 6.—Bello Cassiano. "In the war with Cassius," i. e., in the war in which Cassius was the commander opposed to them.


4. Atque ibi futuros. "And would remain there." Compare the Greek paraphrast, καὶ ἐκεί μενοῦν.


6. Quod improviso, &c. "As to his having surprised one of their cantons."—Ne ob eam rem, &c. "He should not, on that account, ascribe anything too highly to his own valour, or greatly despise them," i. e., "he should not attribute the defeat of the Helvetii altogether to his own valour, nor look down with contempt on them." With tribueret supply quidquam.

7. Quam dolo. The common text has contenderent following after dolo. We have rejected it as a mere gloss, in which light it is also viewed by Gruter, Davies, and Oudendorp. Bentley recommends nitcrentur et contenderent.

8. Ne committeret. "He should not bring it to pass." More freely, "he should not cause."—Aut memoriam proderet. "Or should transmit the remembrance of such an event to posterity." The conclusion of this speech is in full accordance with the boastful and arrogant character ascribed to the Gauls by ancient writers.

9. Eo sibi minus, &c. "That he felt the less hesitation as to the course he was to pursue, because he well remembered," &c. Literally, "that less doubt was given him on this account, because," &c. Cæsar means that the very circumstances which the Helvetii had mentioned for the purpose of intimidating him had only in
duced him to make up his mind more promptly on the question, whether he would conclude a peace with them or go on with the war. For that the defeat of Cassius had happened undeservedly to the Romans, and he was resolved to avenge it.

10. Atque co gravius ferre, &c. "And that he felt the more indignant at them, the less they had happened in accordance with the deserts of the Roman people," i. e., that he resented them the more strongly, as they had happened undeservedly to his countrymen.—Eo gravius ferre. Literally, "that he bore them the more heavily."

11. Qui si alicujus, &c. The relative qui has here Populi Romani for its antecedent. "For that, had they been conscious to themselves of having done any previous injury to the Helvetii, it would not have been difficult for them to be on their guard against the latter; but that they were misled by this, because they were not aware that anything had been done by them on account of which they should fear; nor, on the other hand, did they think they ought to fear without cause." Caesar means, that the Romans, on the occasion alluded to, were rather surprised than defeated by the Helvetii. For they were not conscious of ever having wronged that people, and, of course, expected no danger from them, and had made no preparations to oppose them.

12. Quod si. "Even if, however."—Veteris contumelia. "Their former insult," i. e., the affront put by them upon the Roman name in the overthrow of Cassius.—Num etiam, &c. "Could he also lay aside the remembrance of recent injuries?" The order is, num etiam posse deponere memoriam recentium iuiniuriorum?

13. Quod tentassent. "In that they had attempted." More freely, "in their having attempted."—Quod gloriarerentur. "That, as to their boasting."—Quodque admirarentur. "And as to their wondering."—Eodem pertinent. "Both of these things tended to the same effect." Were of a similar tendency, i. e., only tended the more surely to provoke his anger.

14. Quo gravius homines, &c. "That men may feel the heavier affliction from a change of circumstances," i. e., from a reverse of fortune.—Quos pro scelere, &c The order is, concedere interdum secundiores res et diuturniorem impunitatem his, quos vellet utici sei pro scelere eorum.

15. Cum ca ita sint. "That although these things are so," i. e., although this is the case.—Ut ca, quae pollicentur, &c. "In order that he may perceive that they intend to fulfil their promises,"
...that he may perceive their sincerity by the fact of their giving hostages. The promises referred to are, that they will go into such part of Gaul as Caesar may appoint, and will dwell there for the time to come.

1. *Ejus rei,* &c. "That the Roman people themselves were a proof of that custom." Alluding to the defeat of Cassius.

2. *Quem ex omnī provincia.* The Roman infantry were always excellent, but their cavalry were comparatively infirm. Hence we find them generally employing the cavalry of their allies, and, in particular, Gallic horse. Caesar's cavalry was composed at first of Gauls, afterward German horse were also added.

3. *Quī, cupidius,* &c. "These, having pursued the enemy's rear too eagerly."—*Novissimum agmen.* That part of the line of march which is "newest" to a pursuing enemy, since they first came in contact with it.

4. *Alienō loco.* "In a disadvantageous place." *Alienō loco* is used in this sense in opposition to *suō loco,* which denotes a favourable place. *Sallust,* B. I. 54.—Liv. 42, 43.

5. *Sublati.* "Being elated." So B. G. 5, 37, "*Hac victoria sublatus Ambiorix.*" and B. C. 2, 37, "*Quibus omnibus rebus sublatus.*"—*Audaciūs subsistere corporunt.* "Began to make a bolder stand."

6. *Satis habebat in præsenti.* "Deemed it sufficient for the present."—Rapinis, &c. "From rapine, foraging, and laying waste the country." The common editions omit *pabulationibus.* Vossius first removed it from the text. It was restored by Davies, and is found in good MSS.

7. *Nostrum primum.* "Our van." Supply *agmen.* Caesar's intention was to join battle with the Helvetii, before they should proceed much farther through Gaul and reach the territory of the Santones. His object in following them for so long a period was to get the enemy on disadvantageous ground, and then engage and conquer them. The Helvetii constantly avoiding a general action, Caesar left the line of march, and betook himself to Bibracte, for two reasons: one was in order to procure corn for his army; the other was to impress the Helvetii with the belief that the Romans were fleeing, and thus to induce them to hazard an action. This latter event actually happened as he expected it would. Compare chap. 23.

8. *Interim quotidié,* &c. "Meanwhile Caesar kept daily importing the Aedui for the corn which they had promised in the
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name of the state." Flagitare is precisely the verb employed here, since it denotes an earnest and reiterated demand, accompanied with reproaches. The historical infinitive is here used in place of the imperfect flagitabat. It serves to impart more of imprecation to the style than the ordinary imperfect would; and, being frequently employed by historians, it gets its name of the historical infinitive. Some, however, supply an ellipsis of caput or caperunt, according as the context requires; but this is unnecessary.

9. Propter frigora. "On account of the severity of the climate." The plural is here employed to impart additional emphasis. The climate of Gaul was much colder at the period when Cæsar wrote than that of modern France is at the present day. The change has been brought about by the drying up of marshes, the cutting down of forests, and the more general cultivation of the soil. These forests and marshes covered at that time a large portion of the country.

10. Sub septentrionibus. "Under the north," i. e., towards the north. Cæsar here speaks of Gaul in its relation to the more southern position of Italy.

11. Suppesebat. "Was at hand." Equivalent to ad manum erat, or the simple aderat.

12. Eo autem frumento, &c. "Besides (autem) he was unable to make use of the corn which he had brought up the river Arar in vessels, for this reason (propterca), because the Helvetii, from whom he was unwilling to depart, had turned away their line of march from the Arar." Subehere has here its primitive meaning, "to bring up from a lower place to a higher."

13. Diem ex die ducere Aedui. "The Aedui put him off from day to day." More literally, "protracted the affair (i. e., the bringing of corn) from day to day." Duceare is here the historical infinitive used for the imperfect. Compare note 8, above.

14. Conferri, comportari, &c. "They told him it was collecting, bringing in, on the road," i. e., they assured him, at one time, that the corn was getting collected by individuals; at another, that these individuals were bringing it in to some place specified by the magistrates, in order to form the requisite supply for the Romans; and, at another time again, they told him it was actually on the road to his army, and near at hand. Compare the Greek paraphrase, who uses ἀφοίξετοι for conferri, and ἑινθοῦ for comportari.

15. Se diutus duci. "That he was put off too long." — Frn
mentum. The Roman soldiers had no meal or bread served out to them, but merely so much grain, which they had to pound and make into bread for themselves. Thus Lipsius remarks, "Nolebant curiouse et ab professo opifice panem coctum sumi, sed subitarium, et quem sua manu miles parasset." (De Mil. Rom. dial. 16.) Compare Sallust, B. I. 45.

16. Qui summo magistratu praecrat. "Who was invested with the chief magistracy." Magistratu is the old dative for magistratiui, a form of frequent recurrence in Caesar. Compare Struve, Lat. Declin., &c., p. 36.

17. Vergobretum. Gesner, in his Latin Thesaurus, gives this word a long penult, but the Greek paraphrast has it short, ἑρόβερτος. The term is derived, by Celtic scholars, from Fear-go-breith, equivalent to vir ad judicium, i.e., "a man for judging" or "trying cases." In Celtic, fear is "a man," go "to" or "for," and breatam, "a judge." Pelletier, in his Dictionary of the Breton tongue, gives breet and brawd, "a trial."

1. Tam necessario tempore. "On so urgent an occasion."—

Eorum precibus adductus. Compare chap. 11.

2. Quod sit destitutus. "Of his having been left unaided by them," i.e., not having been supplied with corn.

3. Quod antea tacuerat proponit. "Discloses what he had previously concealed." Taceo is one of those intransitive verbs which obtain a transitive force, because an action exerted upon another object is implied though not described in them. (Zumpt, L. G. p. 257.)

4. Plurimum valeat. "Is very powerful." The subjunctive is employed, as indicating the sentiments and conviction of the speaker, not of the historian himself. So possint, immediately after. Compare Crombie, Gymn. vol. ii., p. 10.

5. Privati. "Though private individuals." The earlier editions and very many of the MSS. have privatim, "in their private capacity," which is not by any means a bad reading. R. Stephens first gave privati.

6. Hos. Referring to these same individuals.—Seditiosa atque improba oratione. "By seditious and wicked speeches."—Fru-

mentum. "The corn."

7. Si jam, &c. "Adding, that, if they (the Aedui) cannot hold any longer the sovereignty of Gaul, it is better (for them) to submit to the dominion of Gauls than of Romans," i.e., it is better for them to obey the Helvetii, Gauls like themselves, than total
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strangers, like the Romans. _Obtinere_ is here equivalent to _divus tenere_, for the Aedui had at one time, as Cæsar himself informs us (chap. 43), enjoyed the dominion over all Gaul. Compare Davies, _ad loc._

8. _Neque dubitare debere_, &c. "And that they ought not to entertain a doubt, but that," &c. Some editions omit _debere._

9. _Ab iisdem_. "By these same individuals," i. e., the _private_ mentioned above.—_Quæque_. "And whatsoever things." _For et quaecumque._

10. _A sc_. "By himself," as Vergobretus.—_Quod necessario_, &c. "As to his having, being compelled by necessity, disclosed the affair to Cæsar, he was well aware at how great a risk he did this." _Necessario coactus_ is here equivalent to _necessitate coactus._

11. _Signari_. "Was meant." Literally, "was pointed at."—_Sed quod_, &c. "But since he was unwilling that these matters should be disclosed, so many being present," i. e., in the presence of so many. _Pluribus_, literally, "a larger number than ordinary._

12. _Quærit ex solo ea_. "He inquires from him in private about those things." _Solo_ refers to _Liscus._—_Dicit liberos_, &c. "_Liscus_ thereupon expresses himself with greater freedom and boldness._

13. _Complures annos_, &c. "That he had, for very many years, farmed the customs, and all the other public revenues of the Aedui, at a low rate, because, when he bid, _no one_ dared to bid against him." _By portoria_ the Roman writers mean the duties paid for goods imported or exported; _by vectigalia_ the public revenues generally. Those who farmed them were called _redentores_ or _publicani_, and the revenues were said in this way _esse redempta_, "to be contracted for," i. e., _to be farmed._

14. _Licentia_. From the deponent _liecri_, _not from_ the intransitive verb _lieco_. Several MSS. have _illo dicente_, and some editors incline to the opinion that this is the true reading. The Venice edition also gives _dicente._

15. _Facultates ad largiendum magnas_. "Extensive means for the exercise of _liberality,"_ i. e., _for bestowing presents and rewards._

16. _Largiter posse_. "Exercised a powerful influence." Equivalent to _esse potentissimum.—Hujus potentiae causa_. "In order to maintain this influence." Literally, "for the sake of this influence._

12. _Collocasse_. "He had given in marriage." Supply _nuptum_, which is expressed with _collocasse_ immediately after. _Collocaret_ in this sense is a legal expression.—_Ipsum ex Helvetius_, &c. He
had married the daughter of Orgetorix, as has been stated in chap. 3.

2. Fovere et cupere Helvetius. "That he favoured and wished well to the Helvetii." Cupere is here equivalent to bene velle, as voluntas occurs in the next chapter for benevolentia.

3. Odisse etiam suo nomine. "That he hated also on his own account," i.e., cherished a personal hatred towards.

4. In antiquum locum, &c. "Had been restored to his former degree of influence and consideration," i.e., had been reinstated in his former influence, &c.

5. Si quid accidat Romanis, &c. "That if anything adverse happen to the Romans," i.e., "if any disaster in war befell them." Summam in spem venire. "He entertained very great hopes."

6. Imperio Populi Romani. "That, under the sway of the Roman people," i.e., as long as the Roman people possessed the chief authority in Gaul.

7. Reperiebat etiam inquirendo, &c. The ellipsis, in this sentence, after inquirendo, gives it somewhat the appearance of an irregular construction, and has occasioned considerable trouble to many editors. Supply as follows: inquirendo (proelio equestri adverso), quod praelium equestre adversum, &c. "On inquiring into the unsuccessful engagement of the horse which had been fought a few days previous." The words understood are to be rendered fully, and quod praelium equestre adversum is merely to be translated "which." The common text has in quaerendo.


9. Certissimæ res accederent. "The most undoubted facts were added."—Quod. "How that." Caesar here proceeds to give an enumeration of the facts to which he refers.

10. Injussu suo, &c. "Without his own (Caesar's) orders, and those of his (Dumnorix's) state, but even without the knowledge of the latter." Ipsis refers to the Aedui.

11. Quare in cum, &c. "Why he should either himself punish him, or order the state (of the Aedui) so to do." When animadvertere is used, with the preposition in, as in the present case, it always denotes that the conduct deemed reprehensible has been carefully inquired into previous to its being punished.

12. Voluntatem. "Affection." Voluntas is here equivalent to benevolentia. So, in the 5th book, chapter 4, we have, "Cujus egregiam in se voluntatem perspexisset". Compare the remark of
12 Donatus (ad Terent. Phorm. Prol. 5, 30), "Voluntatem pro favore ponit."

13. Caium Valerium Procillum. This name is written variously in the MSS. Some give Traucillum, others Traucillum. The Greek paraphrast has Πρωτοκλητον.—Principem Gallicae Provinciae: "A leading man in the province of Gaul." Principem is here equivalent to inter primores.

14. Cui summam, &c. "In whom he was accustomed to place the highest confidence on every occasion." More literally, "the highest confidence in all things." —In concilio Gallorum. Compare chapters 16, 17, and 18.

15. Ostendit. Some editors omit ostendit, because commonefacit precedes. But its presence is necessary for the meaning. Caesar "reminds" (commonefacit) Divitiacus of certain things that had been said in the council, and now "shows" him other matters that were not previously known to the latter.


1. Ne quid gravius, &c. "That he would not determine anything too severe against his brother," i.e., would not pass too severe a sentence upon him.—Illa. "That those things which Caesar had mentioned."

2. Propterea quod, &c. "For this reason, because, at a time when he himself could effect a very great deal by his influence at home and throughout the rest of Gaul, and his brother very little by reason of his youth, the latter had become powerful through his (Divitiacus's) means, which consequence and power he was now employing," &c. Opibus and nervis, following after eresset, are both implied in that verb. Nervis is here employed in the sense of "power," the metaphor being borrowed from animals whose strength lies in their nerves.


4. Faciat. The conjunction ut is elegantly understood.—Tanti ejus apud se, &c. "He declares that his (Divitiacus's) influence with him (Caesar) is so great, that he will pardon both the injury done to the republic and the affront offered to himself, at his desire and entreaty." Literally, "to his wish and prayers."

5. Adhibet. "He brings in." Compare the Greek paraphrast.
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7. *Qualis esset natura montis, &c.* "He sent persons to ascertain what might be the nature of the mountain, and what its ascent by a circuitous route," i. e., what sort of a mountain it was, and whether it could be ascended, by a circuitous route, from behind.


9. *Legatum pro prætore.* "His lieutenant with praetorian powers." By a legatus pro prætore, in the time of the republic, was meant a lieutenant, having charge, under the auspices of a pro-consul or commander, of part of an army or province, and exercising, when necessary, praetorian powers or the functions of a prætor. The expression, as applied in the present case to Labienus, is a singular one, since he is elsewhere in these commentaries simply called legatus. (Spanhem, de usu et præst. N.N. p. 560.) At a later period, in the time of Augustus, by a legatus pro prætore was meant the governor of a whole province. (Dio Cassius, 43, 13.)

10. *Et is ducibus.* "And with those persons as guides."

*Ascendere.* Labienus was to take a circuitous route, and ascend the mountain in the rear of the enemy, so as to fall upon them by surprise when the signal should be given from below. Count de Crissé, after praising the plan of attack, finds fault with Cæsar for not having kept up the communication with Labienus by means of couriers, who could have informed him of all the movements of his lieutenant, and for not having agreed beforehand upon some signal, which was to be given by Labienus when he should have reached the summit of the mountain. These simple precautions would have prevented the failure of the plan.

11. *In Marci Crassi.* "In that of Marcus Crassus." Supply exercitu.


1. *Ipse.* "And when he himself," i. e., Cæsar. Compare the Greek paraphrast, καὶ τοῦ ἔλεγαρος ...... ἀφετῆτως.

2. *Equo admisso.* "With his horse at full gallop." Admisso Y 2
14 is here equivalent to concitato. The Greek paraphrast has ἰποτευεταί 
τῇ ἰππῳ, "with his horse all in a foam."

3. A Gallicis armis atque insignibus. "By the Gallic arms and ensigns." Oberlinus and others understand by insignibus, in this passage, the ornaments of the helmets; but the reference undoubtedly is to military standards. The Greek paraphrast also favours the same interpretation, expressing insignibus by onpeivow.

4. Subducit. "Draws off."—Ut erat ei praecipuum. "Since he had been instructed."—Ipsius. Referring to Cæsar

5. Prope. The Oxford MS. gives propter, which Oudendorp thinks was the original and genuine lection.

6. Multo denique die. "At length, after much of the day had passed." Equivalent to "cum multum diei processerat," as it is expressed by Sallust B. I. 51.

7. Quod non vidisset, &c. "Had brought back to him intelligence of what he had not seen, as if it had actually been seen by him." The Greek paraphrast expresses this very neatly, οὐκ εἴηερ ἡς ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλα—Sibi, i. e., Cæsari.

8. Quo consuerat intervallum. "At the usual distance." More literally, "with the usual interval," i. e., between his own army and theirs. The full expression is (eo) intervallum, quo (intervallum) consuerat (sequi).


10. Rei frumentarie, &c. "He thought he must provide for a supply of corn," i. e., make arrangements to procure it from the Aedu, upon whom he relied mainly for his supplies of grain. The full expression is, sibi prœspiciendum esse.

11. Decuriones equitum Gallorum. "A captain of the Gallic horse." A decurio, at first, as the name imports, commanded only ten horse; and there were three of these officers in every turma or troop of thirty men, making the whole number in the turma, including the Decuriones, thirty-three. (Varro, L. L. 4, 16.) In the time of Cæsar, however, a change had taken place. The turma now consisted of thirty-two horsemen, and the whole were commanded by one decurio, who retained the old name, although more than ten were now under his orders. Consult Vegetius, 2, 14, "Triginta duo equites ab uno decurione, sub uno vexillo, reguntur," &c.

12 Discendera a se "Were departing from them," i. e., were
urning off, and changing their route. Discendere is the imperfect of
the infinitive.—Superioribus locis occupatis. "Although the higher
grounds had been seized by them," i. e., by the Romans.—Quod
re frumentaria, &c. "Because they trusted that the Romans
could be cut off from their supply of corn," i. e., flattered them
selves with the hope of being able to accomplish this.
13. Consilio. Compare the commencement of chap. 10.—A no
14. Animum advertit. "Perceives." The same as animad-
vertit. The expression id animum advertit is nothing more than
vertit animum ad id. Several examples of the use of animum ad-
vertit for animadverto are given by Gronovius, ad Liv. 28, 14. A
familiar instance occurs in Sallust B. I. 93, "Animum advertit
cochleas," &c.
15. In colle medio, &c. "Drew up, on the middle of the hill, a
triple line of the four veteran legions, in such a way as to place
above him, on the very summit, the other two legions which he had
levied very recently in Hither Gaul, and all the auxiliaries," i. e.,
his drew up his four veteran legions on the slope of the hill, in three
lines; and then placed above them, on the top of the hill, the two
new legions, on whom, as consisting of recent levies, he could less
safely rely; and along with these last he stationed also the auxiliary
forces. The student will observe that the lines here spoken of are
not to be considered as composed of one continuous rank, but as so
many lines of cohorts, and that each cohort had its flank-companies,
if we may so speak, of velites, or light-armed troops. Compare the
remark of Count de Crissé, "à chaque cohorte étaient ses manches
de velites."
citerior is meant the northern part of Italy. Compare note 12,
page 7.
1. Et eum, &c. "And ordered this place to be guarded by
those who stood posted in the upper line." The reference is to
those on the top of the hill. Eum, i. e., eum locum, means the
place in which the baggage was.
2. Consertissima acie. "In very close array."—Phalange facta.
"A phalanx being formed." According to Orosius (6, 7), the
German phalanx consisted of a large body of men in close array,
with their shields locked over their heads. This would resemble
the testudo of the Romans. The Macedonian phalanx, on the other
hand, was an oblong battalion of Pikemen, consisting of sixteen in
flank and five hundred in front. The whole number, of course, was 8000. The amount of the German phalanx is not given. The phalanx of the Helvetii most probably resembled that of the Germans.

3. Sub primam, &c. "Came up close to our front line."

4. Suo. Supply equo.—Omnium. Governed by equis. Compare the Greek paraphrase: \( \pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\omicron\nu\omicron\ \rho\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \lambda\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omega\gamma\upsilon, \epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \iota\pi\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\omicron\sigma\omega\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\upsilon\alpha\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\upsilon\alpha\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\omicron\nu\).

5. Omnium. Referring both to his soldiers and himself.—E loco superiori. "From their higher position," i. e., from the slope of the hill.


7. Gallis magna, &c. "It proved a great hinderance to the Gauls, as regarded the fight, that, several of their shields being transfixed and fastened together by a single blow of the javelins, they were unable, as the iron point had bent itself, either to pull it out, or, their left hand being thus impeded, to make battle with sufficient advantage. So that many, after having for a long time tossed their arms to and fro, preferred flinging away the shield from their hands, and fighting with their persons unprotected by it." The student will bear in mind that their shields were locked above their heads, and lapped considerably over one another. Hence a javelin cast down from a higher place would pierce, of course, through more than one, and in this way fasten them together. Compare note 2.

8. Pedem referre. "To retreat." Literally, "to carry back the foot." Some editors insert Helvetii after coperunt, but this is sufficiently implied from the context.

9. Agmen hostium claudabant. "Closed the enemy's line of march," i. e., brought up the rear.

10. Ex iter, &c. "Having attacked our men as we pursued, on their open flank," i. e., on their right flank, which, on account of its not being covered by the shields of the soldiers, was more open to attack. Cæsar was guilty of a great error in pursuing the Helvetii on their retreat, without observing the Boii and Tulingi, who acted as a body of reserve, and who attacked him in flank as he passed by, and then began to surround him in the rear. He should have ordered the two legions posted on the top of the hill to follow immediately after him, and in this way might have opposed the attack of the Boii.

11. Romani conversa signa, &c. "The Romans, having faced
about, advanced against the enemy in two divisions;" i. e., the rear rank, consisting of the third line, faced about and advanced against the Boii and Tulingi, who were coming up in the rear; while the first and second lines continued facing towards, and made head against, the Helvetii, who were now coming down again from the mountain to which they had retreated. The two divisions were composed, the one of the third line, the other of the first and second lines.

12. Ancipiti prælio. "In a divided conflict." This engagement is here called anceps, because it was fought in two places, i. e., between the first division and the Helvetii, and between the second division and the Boii. The phrase ancipiti prælio commonly means, "in doubtful conflict."

13. Alteri. "The one party," i. e., the Helvetii, who had come down again from the mountain.—Alteri. The Boii and Tulingi.

14. Hora septima. The Romans divided the natural day, from sunrise to sunset, into twelve hours, which were, of course, of different lengths at different seasons of the year, being shorter in winter than in summer. The seventh hour will coincide with our one o'clock.


16. Ad multam noctem. "Until late in the night."

1. Mataras ac tragulas subjiciebant. "Kept plying lances and javelins from beneath." By matarœ are meant a kind of Gallic lances, of greater weight than the ordinary spear; and by tragulae, light javelins, with a strap attached, by which they were thrown. Strabo (4. p. 196, ed. Casaub.) calls the matura παλάτυα τι ἐλεοῦς, and the Greek paraphrast renders maturas by παλάτα. Hesychius makes mention of μαθαρεῖς, which he defines to be παλάτετα λαγχάδια, and adds that the word is a Celtic one. The Spanish matar, "to kill," and the old French term matrasser, which has the same meaning, appear to be deduced from the same root with matura. Compare Adelung, Mithridates, vol. ii., p. 64, and Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat. vol. iv., p. 597.

2. Orgetorigis filia. Plutarch (Vit. Cas. c. 18) informs us that the very women and children fought on this occasion till they were cut to pieces.

3. Nullam partem. The accusative, by a Hellenism, for the ablativ. Consult Vechnner, Hellenolex, v. 257. Oudendorp, Gruter,
and many other critics, very properly regard the expression, *nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso*, as tautological, and a mere gloss of the adverb *continenter* in the previous clause. It is omitted, besides, in the Greek paraphrase.

4. *Qui si juxissent, &c.* "For that, if they should aid them, he would regard them in the same light in which he did the Helvetii." i. e., as enemies. The full construction is, *se habiturum illos* (scil. Lingonias) *codem loco quo habeat Helvetios.*

5. *Qui, cum.* "When these."—*Atque cos in eo loco, &c.* "And when he had ordered them to wait his arrival in the place in which they then were, they obeyed." *Eos* refers to the whole of the Helvetii, who were ordered not to retreat any farther, but to wait Caesar's coming up. Hence we see the force of *essent* in the subjunctive mood, and the literal meaning of the clause *quo tum essent, "where they were said to be." If Caesar had written *quo tum erant,* it would have referred to the ambassadors merely.

6. *Eo.* Referring to the place where the Helvetii were when they sent the ambassadors, and where Caesar had ordered them to remain until he should come up.

7. *Verbigenerus.* Some commentators are in favour of *Urbigenerus* as a reading, and they suppose the original, or Celtic form of the name to have been *Urbegoew,* from *Urba,* a town of the Helvetii, mentioned in the *Itin. Anton.,* and *gouv,* a tract, or district (i. e., "a district near Urba"). The true form, however, is *Verbigenerus.* Compare Oberlin. *ad loc.* and the authorities there cited.

8. *Occultari.* "Be concealed," i. e., from Caesar.—*Aut omnino ignorari.* "Or altogether unknown," i. e., remain wholly unnoticed.—*Prima nocte.* "As soon as it was night." More literally, "at the beginning of the night." Some have *prima noctis vigilia,* others *prima noctis* (scil. *hora*).

9. *Resciti.* The verb *rescire* is generally employed when we come to the knowledge of anything which has been sought to be concealed from us, or which is unexpected, &c. Compare the remark of Aulus Gellius, 2, 19, "*Aliter dictum esse rescivi, aut rescire, apud cos qui diligenter locuti sunt, nondum invenimus, quam super his rebus, quae aut occulto consilio latuerint, aut contra spem opinionemre ususcerint.*"

10. *Quorum per fines verant, &c.* The order is, *imperavit his, per fines quorum verant, uti.* &c.—*Si sibi purgati esse vellent.* "If they wished to be free from all blame in his eyes."

11. *Reductos in numero hostium habuit.* "He treated them,
when brought back, as enemies;" i. e., either caused them to be put to death, or sold them as slaves; most probably the latter.

12. *Omnibus fructibus amissis.* "All the productions of the earth being destroyed." Some editions read *frugibus*, but less elegantly. *Fructus* is more extensive in meaning than *fruges*, and denotes not only the grain, but all the produce of the fields in general. Compare *Broukhus. ad Tibull.* 1, 1, 35.

13. *Ipsos.* Referring to the Helvetii, Tulingi, and Latobrigi.— *Restituere.* "To rebuild." Compare chap. 5.

1. *Vacare.* "To remain uninhabited." Plutarch (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 18) makes mention of, and bestows just praise on, the policy of Cæsar, in compelling the Helvetii to reoccupy their country.

2. *Boios, petentibus Aeduis, &c.* The construction is, "concessit Aeduis, petentibus ut collocarent Boios in suis finibus, quod illi (seil. Boii), cogniti erant egregia virtute."— *Quibus illi, &c.* The common text has merely a semicolon after *concessit*, but a fuller stop is required. Translate as follows: "Whereupon they gave them lands, and afterward admitted them to an equal participation of rights and freedom with themselves." More literally, "received them into the same condition with respect to rights and freedom as they themselves were in." Compare the Greek paraphrase: *Τούτοις μὲν οὖν οἱ Ἐδουιτῶν τότε μὲν χώραν ἔωσαν ἔπειτα οὐ εὐεργέτως τε καὶ αὐτούς ἐπόιησαν.*

3. *Tabulae.* "Lists." Literally, "tablets." The term *tabula*, as here employed, denotes any hard material, especially wood, on which characters were inscribed. The Roman *tabulae* were of wood covered with wax, and the instrument for writing was a *stylus*, sharp at one end and round or flat at the other. The round or flat end was used for rubbing the wax over when a correction was to be made. Hence the expression of Horace, *scpe stylum vertas*, "turn the stylus frequently," i. e., "be frequent in your corrections of what you write."

4. *Literis Graecis confecta.* "Made out in Greek characters." It is a very disputed question among philologists whether Cæsar here means to ascribe to the Helvetii a knowledge of the Greek language, or only an employment of the Greek characters. The latter is undoubtedly the more correct opinion. Cæsar, it is true, in the sixth book (c. 14), speaks of the Druids employing the Greek letters in their private and public transactions, but here again the reference appears to be merely to the characters of the Greek language, not to Greek words themselves. So again, when Strabo
uniforms us (4, p. 181, ed. Cas.) that, a little before his own age, the custom prevailed in Gaul of writing the forms of agreements, &c., in Greek (τὰ συμβόλα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γράφουσι), he cannot mean the Greek language by Ἑλληνικῆ, but only the letters of the Greek alphabet: the words were Celtic, the characters were Greek. Strabo likewise states the source whence this knowledge of the Greek characters was obtained, namely, the Phocean colony of Massilia, in the south of Gaul. Even supposing, therefore, that the Gallic tribes, in the vicinity of this place, had acquired a familiarity with, not merely the written characters, but the language of the Greeks themselves (a supposition far from probable), the same cannot certainly be said of the more northern tribes, and among them of the Helvetii. It will be remembered, too, that Caesar, on one occasion (B. G. 5, 48), sent a letter to his lieutenant written in Greek characters, lest it should otherwise, if intercepted, have been read by the Nervii. Now this certainly would not have been the case had the northern tribe just mentioned been acquainted even with the Greek characters, for Caesar's letter was composed of Latin words, expressed by Greek letters.


6. Summa curat. Ancient authorities differ as to these amounts. Plutarch (Vit. Cæs. e. 18) makes the whole number 300,000 (τριάκοσια μυριάκας.) Polyænus (8, 23) gives the number of the Helvetii at 80,000 (οίκτω μυριάκας). Strabo states that 400,000 Gauls perished, and that the rest returned home (4, p. 193, ed. Cas.). The discrepancy is occasioned, no doubt, by the errors of the copyists.

7. Capitum. Best rendered here by our English word "souls." Thus, "two hundred and sixty-three thousand souls of the Helvetii"

8. Censu habito. "An estimate having been made," i. e., an actual enumeration having taken place. The term census is here employed in its general sense. In its Roman acceptance, it meant a review of the people, and a valuation of their estates, together with an estimate of their numbers.

9. Gallia. The division named Celtica is here meant, since Belgica was at this time preparing for war.

10. Intelligere sese, &c. "Adding, that although, on account of former injuries done to the Roman people by the Helvetii, he (Cæsar) had inflicted punishment on the latter in war, still they themselves were sensible that this had happened no less to the ad-
rantage of the land of Gaul, than to that of the Roman people.” Supply diecantes after gratulatum, which is, in fact, however, contained in it. The student will observe the double genitive, in the expression injuriis Helvetiorum populi Romani, where populi is governed by Helvetiorum. In constructions of this kind one of the genitives is commonly active in its meaning (to borrow a grammatical expression), and the other passive. Thus, in the present instance, Helvetiorum is active, and populi passive. (Compare Perizonius, ad Sanct. Min. 2, 3.—Vol. i., p. 209, ed. Bauer.)


12. Ex magna copia. “From the large number who would in that event present themselves,” i. e., in case the Helvetii obtained the empire of Gaul.

13. Stipendiarias. “Tributary.” By stipendiarii the Roman writers, strictly speaking, mean those who paid a certain sum annually in money; and by vectigales those who rendered, as tribute, certain portion of the produce of the ground. The latter generally paid a tenth of corn (τῶν σειροφόμων) and a fifth of other produce (τῶν φυτευμένων). Compare Crassius, ad Suct. Vit. Jul. c. 20.

14. In diem certam. “For a particular day.”—Sese habere, &c. “That they had certain matters which they wished to ask of him, in accordance with the general consent,” i. e., if the general consent of their countrymen could be first obtained.

1. Ne quis enunciaret, &c. “That no one should disclose their deliberations, except those unto whom this office should be assigned by the assembly at large,” i. e., that the result of their deliberations should be communicated to Caesar by individuals whom the general assembly should authorize so to do, and by no others. Compare the Greek paraphrase: μηδένα ἡλλον, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ὧπε τῶν τῶν Γάλλων ἵπται τοῦτο αἵρεσις, ἐαυτά τῷ Καίσαρι ἀπαγγέλειν.

2. Eo concilio dimisso. “When the assembly, so summoned, had been held and had broken up.” Compare the Greek paraphrase ταῦτα ἐν τῆς συνθέει αἰσθήσεις.

3. Qui ante fuerant ad Cæsarem. “Who had been with Cæsar on the previous occasion.” Ad is here equivalent to apud. Cicero, and Scaliger regard these words as a mere interpolation. Bentley proposes venienter for fuerant. As regards the use of ad for apud, consult Drakenborch, ad Liv. 7, 7.
4. Secreto. The common text has *secreto in occulto*, which cannot possibly be correct. Oudendorp, indeed, endeavours to defend the common reading, by making *secreto* refer to the absence of all who might otherwise overhear the conference, and *oculto* to the secret nature of the place where the conference was held; but Bentley, with far more correctness, regards *in occulto* as a mere gloss, and we have therefore rejected it.

5. *Non minus se id, &c.* "That they strove and laboured no less anxiously to prevent what they might say from being divulged, than to obtain what they wished."

6. Factiones. "Parties." Factio, according to Festus, was originally a term of good import, "honestum vocabulum," and denoted merely a certain class or order of persons. Its meaning of "party" or "faction" arose at a subsequent period. Compare Dacier, ad loc.

7. *Principatum tenere.* "Stood at the head."—Hi. Referring to the Aedui and Arverni.—Potentatu. "The superiority." Potentatus is rather an uncommon word, but still is to be met with in some good writers. Thus Livy, 26, 38, "Aemulo potentatus inimicus rem Annibali aperit," and Lactantius (Div. Inst. 6, 17), "Opes istas et honores et potentatus et regna ipsa condemnet."

8. Sequanisque. The Sequani are here mentioned as having been the allies of the Arverni. In the sixth book (c. 11) the Sequani are said to have been at the head of one of the two great parties, and no mention is made of the Arverni.

9. Horum. "Of the latter." Referring to the Germans.—Posteaquam agros, &c. "That, after these savage and barbarous men had grown fond of the lands, and manner of living, and abundance of the Gauls, a larger number had been brought over." Copa is generally used in the plural for "forces," and in the singular for "abundance" or "plenty." But sometimes, as in the present instance, the plural is used in the sense of "abundance." Compare Oudendorp, ad Frontin. 2, 1, 18.

10. Clientes. "Dependants." Referring to the petty states in alliance with and dependant upon their power. When the term clientes is applied in these commentators to the retainers of individual chieftains, those persons are meant who are elsewhere called ambuchi or soldurii. Compare book 6, chap. 15 and 19.—Semel atque iterum. "Repeatedly." Literally, "once and again."

11. Hospitio. The reference is to public hospitality.
was entitled to this, their ambassadors were allowed a place of honour at public spectacles, and were splendidly entertained.


13. *Auxilium postulatum.* He did not, however, succeed in his application. (B. G. 6, 12.) His visit to Rome is incidentally referred to by Cicero (de Div. 1, 41), from whose language it appears that Divitiacus was one of the order of Druids.

1. *Qui esset.* "Which was, according to him." The subjunctive is here employed to express the sentiments of the speaker, not those of the writer himself. The same remark will hold good with respect to the other subjunctives in the course of the speech.

2. *Quibus locus,* &c. "For whom a settlement and habitations were to be procured."

3. *Neque enim,* &c. "For neither was the Gallic territory to be compared with that of the Germans, nor the mode of living here to be placed on an equality with that of theirs." The meaning is, that the Gallic territory was far superior in point of fertility to the German, and that the Gallic mode of life was more refined and civilized than that pursued by their German neighbours. The unusual mode of expression by which this idea is conveyed (it being more customary to place the inferior object in the first clause), has led Ciacconius to emend the sentence as follows: "*Neque enim conferendum esse cum Gallico Germanorum agrum.*" But we may easily conceive, that one thing may be so far superior to another as not to admit of a comparison with it, and hence the ordinary lection is correct enough.

4. *Neque hanc,* &c. Some editors, not attending to the peculiar force of *hic* and *ille*, make *hanc* refer to the Germans, and *illa* to the Gauls. *Hic* always relates to that which is near or belongs to the person speaking; *ille* to some remoter person or object Zumpt, L. G. p. 244.

5. *Ut semel.* "When once," i. e., "as soon as."

6. *Ad Magetobrium.* "In the vicinity of Magetobria." The place here alluded to is not known, and hence much uncertainty prevails about the true reading. Almost all the MSS. have *Admagetobria* as one word, which Oudendorp adopts. The early editions give *Amagetobria*, with which the Greek paraphrast agrees, Ἀμαγετοβρία. Oberlinus, however, whom we have been induced to follow, prefers *ad Magetobrium*, and thinks that traces of the ancient name may easily be recognised in the modern *Moigte de*
Broe, at the confluence of the Arar and Ogno, near the village of Pontaillier. This opinion derives strong support from the circumstance of a fragment of an ancient urn having been obtained from the bed of the Arar, near the place just mentioned, in the year 1802, on which the word MAGETOB could be distinctly traced. Compare Oberlinus, ad loc.

7 Et in cos omnia exempla, &c. "And exercised upon them all manner of cruelties." The expression exempla cruciatusque is put by an hendiadys for exempla cruciatum, and exempla itself is equivalent here to genera.

8. Hominem esse barbarum, &c. "That he was a savage, passionate, hot-headed man." Iracundus denotes one who is quick-tempered and passionate, iratus one who is merely angry at some particular time.

9. Nisi si. This form is used occasionally by the best writers, with the same force merely as the simple nisi. Thus, Cic. Ep. ad Fam. 14. 2, "Nisi si quis ad me plura scripsit," and Ovid, Ep. Her. 4, 111, "Nisi si manifesta negamus." Consult Oudendorp, ad loc.

10. Ut domo emigrent. "Namely, emigrate from home."—Fortunamque, quaecumque accidat, &c. "And make trial of whatever fortune may befall them," i. e., submit to whatever fortune, &c.

11. Hae. Alluding to the disclosures he was now making.—Non dubitare. Supply sese.

12. Atque exercitus. "And that of his army," i. e., the weight which the presence of his army would give to his interference in behalf of the Gauls.—Deterre. Supply eum, referring to Ariovistus.—Ne major multitudo, &c. "So as to prevent any greater number of Germans from being brought by him across the Rhine." Literally, "in order that any greater number of Germans may not be led across the Rhine."

13. Ab Ariovisti injuria. "From the outrages of Ariovistus."

14. Habita. "Having been delivered."—Unos ex omnibus Sequanos, &c. Hotomannus thinks it altogether incredible that the Sequani, who had invited Ariovistus into Gaul against the Aedui, and who had been accustomed to wage continual wars with them, should now be found acting in concert with the delegates of the latter people. The cruelty and oppression of Ariovistus, however, which the Sequani had experienced in a still stronger degree than even the Aedui, had very naturally brought about this result, and united in one common cause those who had previously been opar
enemies to each other. It will be seen, moreover, from chap. 35, that the Sequani were desirous of restoring to the Aedui the hostages which they had in their possession belonging to that nation, if Ariovistus would allow this to be done.

15. Respondere. The historical infinitive, for the imperfect respondebant. So permanere, at the end of the sentence, for permanebant.

16. Expromere. "Extort." Some more recent MSS. and many editions have possent instead of posset. This, however, is altogether erroneous, unless we read expromere. The phrase expromere vocem is applied to one who speaks, but expromere vocem to one who compels another to speak.

1. Hoc. "On this account."—Prae reliquorum. This is the reading of the Oxford MS. The common text has quam.

2. Absentis. "Even when absent."—Tamen fugae facultas daretur. "The means of escape were nevertheless afforded," i. e., they still had it in their power to escape his cruelty by flight. Some editions have tantum, which is an inferior reading.

3. Quorum oppida omnia, &c. This is explained a little farther on where Ariovistus states (ch. 44) that he had settlements in Gaul granted by the people of that country themselves. These settlements were the towns which he had first got possession of by agreeing to garrison and defend them, and which he subsequently retained in order to keep the Sequani and other Gauls under his control.


5. Gallorum animos, &c. "Strove to cheer by words the spirits of the Gauls." Compare the Greek paraphrast, τοὺς Γάλλους παρεμβάσατο.

6. Beneficio suo. "By his former kindness towards him." Caesar had, during his consulship the year previous, obtained for Ariovistus, from the Roman senate, the title of "King and friend." Compare Dio Cassius, 38, 34: Plutarch, Vit. Cæs. c. 19, and chapters 35, 42, and 43 of the present book.

7. Secundum ea, &c. "Besides these statements (on the part of the Gauls), many circumstances induced him to think that this affair ought to be considered of and undertaken by him." The
preposition *secundum* has here a meaning derived directly from its primitive force of following after something which has gone before.

8. *Multae res.* The reasons here assigned are all a mere pretence. Caesar’s real object was to subjugate the whole of Gaul, and the present state of affairs between the Gauls and Ariovistus afforded him a favourable opportunity of interfering in the political concerns of the country, and of taking the first step towards the accomplishment of his object.


11. *Sibi temperares.* “Would restrain themselves.” Temperare, with the dative, signifies “to set bounds to anything,” “to moderate,” or “restrain.” With the accusative it means “to regulate” or “arrange.”

12. *Cimbri Teutonicus.* Alluding to the famous inroad of these barbarian hordes upon the Roman territory. Consult Hist. Index.

13. *Praestitum cum Sequanos,* &c. “Especially since the Rhone alone separated the Sequani,” &c. Bentley thinks that from *praestitum* to *dividerit* is the interpolation of some later hand.

14. *Occurrendum.* “He must thwart.” Supply esse sibi.—*Tantos spiritus.* “Such airs of importance.” Compare the Greek paraphrast, ὅ γὰρ Ἀριῶστος πέρις ἕπερφενε. *Util aliquem locum,* &c. “To name some intervening place for a conference on the part of each,” i. e., where a mutual conference might be held.

16. *Et summis utriusque rebus.* “And about matters of the greatest importance to both of them.” Bentley thinks that, on account of the presence of *utriusque* in this clause, it should be thrown out of the previous one (utriusque colloquio). Caesar, however, often repeats the same word after a very short interval.

17. *Si quid ipsi,* &c. “That if he himself had need of anything from Caesar he would have come to him.” *Opus est* is either used impersonally, in which case it has, like verbs of wanting, an ablative; or personally, and then the thing wanted is in the nominative. This latter construction is most common with the neuters of pronouns and adjectives. *Zumpt, I. G.* p. 299.

2. *Sine magnó comméatú atique emolímento.* "Without great expenditure of means and great trouble." *Comméatus* has here a general reference to supplies of all kinds, including also those of money, or, as Plautus terms it (*Pseud.* 1, 5, 9), "*comméatus argentarius.*"—*Emolímentum,* in this passage, is equivalent to *labor* or *molítio.* For, as *éxit* is "*vitendo efficere aliquid,†" and *nisus* therefore the same as *labor* or *opéra,* so *emolíri* is "*molendo efficere aliquid,†" and *emolímentum* the same as *labor ipse.* Consult *Morus,* ad loc. The Greek paraphrase well expresses the Latin terms in question: ἰνε μεγάλης δαπάνης τέ καὶ πολλής ἀσχολίας.

3. *Quid negotió.* "What business."—*In sua Gallia.* These words depict very forcibly the arrogance of Ariovistus. *Floríus* (3, 10) gives the reply of the German leader as follows: "*Quis est auctem Cásar? Si vult, veniat. Quid ad illum quid agat Germanam nostram? Num ego me interpóno Romanis?*

4. *Quam bello vicísset.* The student will again mark the use of the subjunctive, as referring to the sentiments of the speaker, not hose of the writer.

5. *Iterum ad eum,* &c. Cásar's object, in sending these ambas- sadors a second time, was purposely to irritate Ariovistus, and lead him on to some act of hostility.

6. *Quoniam tanto suo,* &c. "That whereas, after having been treated with so much kindness by himself and the Roman people (since he had been styled king and friend by the senate, during his own (Cásar's) consulship), he was now making such a return as this to himself and the Roman people, as, when invited to come to a conference, to make a difficulty about complying, and to think that it was not necessary for him to speak and inform himself about a matter of common interest, these were the demands which he (Cásar) had now to make of him."

7. *Quam.* For *aliquam.*—*Deinde.* "In the next place."

8. *Voluntate ejus.* "With his full consent." *Ejus* refers to Ariovistus. *Voluntate sua* would have referred to Cásar.

9. *Sese.* In the common editions, the pronoun is omitted here, in consequence of its occurring again after the parenthesis. But its presence is requisite in both places for the sake of perspicuity.

10. *Marco Messalá,* &c. A. U. C. 693, B. C. 61.—*Senátus censuisset.* "The senate had decreed." Grotiús (*de Jure B.* et *P.* 3, 3, 10) shows that Cásar himself was not free from blame when he brought this war upon Ariovistus. There certainly was no need of any formal argument on this point, as the case speaks for itself.

12. *Quod commodo,* &c. "Should, as far as he could do so consistently with the interests of the republic, protect," &c., i. e., should take care that, while he was protecting the Aedui and the other friendly states, none of the more important interests of the Roman people were jeopardized by the step. *Quod* is used in this clause for *quantum.* Consult *Sanctius, Min.* vol. i., p. 596, where the present passage is quoted among others. The grammatical construction is, *defenderet Aeduos,* &c., *secundum id quod posset facere,* &c. Compare the Greek paraphrase, *καὶ διὸς γεὶ τοῖς Ρωμαίοισι μὴ βλαπτοῖντο.*

13. *Item.* "In like manner." Some MSS. have *idem,* which Scaliger adopts, and in which he is followed by several subsequent editors. The true reading is *item.*—*Victis.* "Their vanquished."—*Non ad alterius,* &c. "Not according to the dictates of another, but their own pleasure."

14. *Quemadmodum,* &c. "In what way they were to exercise their own rights." *Uteretur* refers back to *Populo Romano.*—*In suo jure.* "In the exercise of his rights."


16. *Magnam Cæsarem,* &c. "That Cæsar was striving to do him a great injury, since he was endeavouring, by his coming, to render his revenues less valuable to him." The student will mark the force of the two imperfects, *facere* (the imperfect of the infinitive) and *faceret.* He will note also the use of the subjunctive after the relative, as indicating the reason or cause of the previous assertion. Ariovistus had imposed a certain tribute on the Aedui, the payment of which was secured by hostages; Cæsar required these hostages to be given back, an act which, according to Ariovistus, would weaken his chance of a faithful payment of the tribute, and would render it less valuable, because less certain than before.

21. *Injuria.* "Without just cause."—*Si in eo manuercet,* &c. "In case they remained steadfast in that which had been agreed upon."

2. *Longe iis,* &c. "The title of brothers, given them by the Roman people, would be far from proving any assistance to them," i. e., would not save them from punishment. A metaphor borrowed from things that are far off, and consequently unable to lend any effectual aid.

3. *Quod sibi,* &c. "That, as to the menace which Cæsar had
employed towards him, namely, that he would not overlook any injuries done to the Aedui," &c.

4. Exercitatiissimi in armis. Compare Tacitus, Germ. 14, "Nec zvre terram aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri."

5. Inter annos quattuordecim. "During fourteen years." As inter signifies the medium between two extremes, so, when applied to time, it expresses the interval between the commencement and close of a given period, and may, therefore, be rendered by "while" or "during." Butler's Latin Prep. p. 70.


8. Pagos centum Suevorum. "That the new levies from the hundred cantons of the Suevi." The Suevi, according to Caesar (B. G. 4, 1), formed a hundred cantons, from each of which a thousand warriors were annually levied to make war abroad. The force mentioned in the text will amount, therefore, to 100,000 men. We must not, however, fall into the error of some, who regard it as the entire military strength of the Suevi.

9. Qui conarentur. "Who were endeavouring, as they said." The student will mark the force of the subjunctive here, as referring to the statements of those who speak, not of the writer himself.


11. Re frumentaria, &c. "His arrangements for a supply of corn being made as quickly as possible." This is very neatly expressed by the Greek paraphrast: ος ἠδυναθη ταχιστα τον σπαραν ἐνειαίσανος.

12. Contendere. "Was hastening."—Profecisse. "Had accomplished." This is the reading of one of the best MSS., and is adopted by Oudendorp in his smaller edition, Oberlinus, Lemaire, and others. The common text has processisse, which arose probably from a gloss. Bentley conjectures profectum esse.

13. Summa facultas. "A very great plenty." Facultas is here equivalent to copia. Most of the copyists, not understanding this, substituted difficultas, which produces a directly opposite meaning. Only a few MSS. have the correct reading facultas.

The early editions give the erroneous lection.

intervâ, led Grævius to suspect that *facultas* in the previous part of the sentence was a mere interpolation. It would appear rather to be one among the many arguments that might be adduced, in favour of the opinion that these commentaries were hastily penned on the spot.

15. *Dubis.* No MS. has *Dubis.* All are more or less corrupted here, and read *Adduabis, Alduadubis, Alduadusius, Adduadubis,* or *Alduadusius.* Amid this Farrago of uncouth forms, Celarius, following Strabo, Ptolemy, and other authorities, gave *Dubis* as the true reading, which has been received ever since. (Geogr. Antiq. 2, 2, 17.—Vol. ii., p. 136, ed. Schwartz.) Whence the corruption in the MSS. originated is difficult to say. Oberlinus thinks that the earlier name of the river was *Addua* or *Aldua,* and that some of the copyists placed its more recent name in the margin of a MS., in this form, *al. Dubis,* that is, *alias Dubis,* from a blending of which two names, through the ignorance of subsequent copyists, the strange forms above cited arose. Moebius, on the other hand (Bibl. Crit. Hild. 1824, p. 232), ingeniously suggests, that the true reading may have been *quod flumen adductum,* *ut circino circumductum,* omitting the name of the river altogether. The opinion of Oberlinus, however, is certainly the better of the two.

16. *Ut circino circumductum.* "As if traced round it by a pair of compasses," i. e., as if its circular course had been traced by a pair of compasses.

17. Sexcentorum. D’Anville (Notice de la Gaule, p. 694) thinks that we ought to read here MD in place of DC (i. e., *mille et quingentorum* instead of *sexcentorum*), because the base of the mountain in question actually measures 1500 feet. The MSS. and early editions, however, are all the other way. Perhaps Cæsar means here, in place of the ordinary foot, the pace of two and a half feet, which would reconcile the text with the actual measurement.

18. *Qua flumen intermittit.* "Where the river intermits," i. e., breaks off from its circular course, and ceases to flow round the place. Ciacconius thinks that we ought to read here *qua a flumine intermittitur,* because we have, in another part of these commentaries (7, 17), "*ad cam partem qua intermittis a flumine et palude,*" and again (7, 23), "*intermissae trabes.*" But all the MSS. give the received reading, and *intermittitur* is here employed in an intransitive sense. Consult Oudendorp, *ad loc.*; and Vechner, Hellenolex, p. 59, seq.

19. *Continet.* "Occupies," i. e., covers, or fills up.—*Contin-
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gant. "Touch it," i. e., the bank. Supply eam, scil. ripam.
Achaintre takes ripae for the nominative plural, agreeing with con-
tingant, and makes radices the accusative, governed by this verb.
Our construction, which is the received one, is far preferable. By
it, ripae becomes the genitive and radices the nominative.

1. Hunc murus circumdatus, &c. "A wall thrown around it
makes a citadel of this mountain, and connects it with the town."
Compare the Greek paraphrase: τοῦτο ὑπὸ τὸ δρος τοῖχος περιοικοδομηθαῖς
τῇ πόλει οὐζεύγνυσι, καὶ ἀκρόπολιν αὐτῆς τῷ ἔνεκταί. The student
will take care not to make hunc depend, in construction, on circum-
datus, as some recommend, for then the wall alone will form the
citadel, and not the mountain! Some remains of the wall are still
to be seen at the present day.

2. Nocturnis diurnisque. The more usual order would have
been diurnis nocturnisque, and Oudendorp actually adopts this in
his smaller edition. But Caesar places nocturnis first in order here,
as more stress is to be laid upon it in the idea that we are to form
of his rapid movements on this occasion. Compare Ramshorn, L.
G. p. 628, and Daehne, ad loc.

3. Ex percunctatione, &c. "From the inquiries of our men,
and the statements of the Gauls and traders, who assured them,"
&c. Prædicabant here implies a positive assertion, made in order
to impress another with a full belief of what we say.

4. Vultum. "Their look."—Aciem oculorum. "The fierce ex-
pression of their eyes." Compare the Greek paraphrase, τὰ δεινὰ
αὐτῶν ὠρᾶτα.

5. Tribunis militum. "The tribunes of the soldiers." These
were officers in the Roman army, who commanded a part of the
legion, generally a thousand men. They had also charge of the
works and camp. There were six in every legion. Consult Arche-
ological Index.—Prefectis. "The prefects." There were various
kinds of prefecti in the Roman army. Those here meant, how-
ever, are the prefects of the allies, who answered to the tribunes of
the soldiers among the Roman troops.

6. Urbe. Rome.—Amicitia causa. These were the young no-
bility to whom Plutarch alludes (Vit. Cæs. c. 19), and who, accord-
ing to him, had entered into Cæsar’s service only in hopes of living
luxuriously and making their fortunes.

7. Quorum alius, &c. "One of whom having assigned one ex-
cuse, another another, which they said made it necessary," &c.

8. Vultum fingere. "To command their countenance," i. e.,
preserve their countenance in its natural state, hide from view the fear which secretly influenced them.

9. Vulgo totis castris, &c. “As a general matter, wills were made throughout the whole camp.” Soldiers most commonly made their wills by word of mouth, while girding themselves for battle, and such a will was called testamentum in procinctu factum. (Consult Instit. Justin. i. 2, t. 2.) On the present occasion, however, their wills were formally made in writing, as appears from the literal meaning of obsignabantur, “were sealed.”

10. Magnum usum. “Great experience.”—Centuriones. A centurion commanded, when the legion was full, a hundred men, as the name itself imports. There were two in each maniple, and, consequently, six in each cohort, and sixty in each legion.

11. Quique equitatu praerant. “And those who were in command of the cavalry.” Exercitu for exercitui, the old dative. The decuriones are here meant. Compare note 11, page 14.

12. Qui se ex his, &c. “Those individuals of this latter class, who wished themselves to be regarded as less timid than the rest of the army, declared that they did not dread the enemy, but feared the narrowness of the roads, and the extent of woods which intervened between themselves and Ariovistus, or else, with respect to the corn, that it could not be supplied with sufficient readiness.” By his arc meant those, “qui magnum in castris usum habebant.” With rem frumentarium supply quod ad, and compare Perizonius, ad Sanct. Min. 2, 5.—Vol. i., p. 222, ed. Bauer.

13. Ut satis commode, &c. The conjunction ut, when joined in construction with a verb of fearing, such as timeo, metuo, &c., requires in our idiom the addition of a negative; while ne, on the other hand, when similarly construed, has an affirmative force. Thus timeo ut facias, “I am afraid you will not do it;” but timeo ne facias, “I am afraid you will do it.” The explanation is as follows: Timeo ut facias is, literally, “I am afraid, in order that you may do it,” i. e., I want you to do it, but am afraid you will not; and, on the other hand, Timeo ne facias is, literally, “I am afraid lest you may do it,” i. e., I do not want you to do it, but am afraid you will.

14. Signa ferri. “The standards to be borne onward,” i. e. the troops to march forward.—Dicto audientes. “Obedient to the order.” According to Dio Cassius (38, 35), Caesar’s soldiers pronounced the war an unjust and unauthorized one, and alleged that it had been merely undertaken by their commander to gratify his
own ambitious views. They threatened also to abandon him unless he changed his intention of attacking the Germans.

15. *Nec propter timorem signa latus*. "And would not advance in consequence of their fear."


17. *Omniumque ordinum, &c.* "And the centurions of all ranks being summoned to that council." On this occasion, then, all the centurions in the army (there were sixty in each legion) were called to the council of war; whereas, on ordinary occasions, the council was composed of the commander-in-chief, the legati or lieutenants, the tribunes of the soldiers, and only the chief centurion of each legion.

18. *Primum, quod, &c.* "In the first place, for presuming to think, that it was for them to inquire or deliberate, either in what direction or with what design they were to be led." Literally, "because they thought that they must inquire," &c.


2. *Aut cur de sua virtute, &c.* "Or why should they despair either of their own valour or of his prudent activity?"

3. *Factum ejus hostis periculum, &c.* "That a trial had been made of this foe within the memory of our fathers," i. e., in the days of our fathers. Compare the Greek paraphrast, *προς τευτόν αὐτος ἐπετέλεσθαι περικολούμενον*

4. *Factum etiam.* Supply *periculum.*—*Nuper.* Fourteen years previous.—*Servili tumultu.* "During the insurrection of the slaves." Literally, "during the servile tumult." The Romans applied the word *tumultus* (a much stronger term than *bellum*) to a war in Italy or an invasion of the Gauls. The allusion in the text is to the war of Spartacus the gladiator. (Consult Historical Index.) Among the gladiators and slaves, who flocked to the standard of this leader, were many of the German race, and hence the remark of Caesar.

5. *Quos tamen, &c.* "And yet these last the experience and discipline, which they had received from us, assisted in some respect." Alluding to their training as gladiators.

6. *Constantia.* "A firm and resolute spirit."—Inermes. More in accordance with the usage of Caesar than inermes. At first the insurgents were without arms to any great extent, and hence, from
their being so badly furnished with them, they are here called "un-
armed."

7 Suis. Referring to the territories of the Helvetii.—Iliorum.


9. Neque sui potestatem fecisset. "Without having given them
an opportunity of coming to an engagement with him." Facere
potestatem sui means generally, "to allow one's self to be approach-
ed," "to allow access to," &c.

10. Sui sibi esse curae. "That these things were a care to
him," i.e., that he had not neglected these things.

11. Qui suum timorem, &c. "That they, who ascribed their
fear to a pretended alarm relative to provisions and the narrowness
of the roads, acted presumptuously, since they appeared either to
distrust the official qualifications of their commander, or to dictate
unto him."—Hae sibi esse curae. "That these things were a care
to him," i.e., that he had not neglected these things.

12. Brevi tempore judicatuors. "Would soon have an oppor-
tunity of judging."

13. Quod non fore, &c. "That, as to the soldiers being reported
to be about to disobey his orders," &c., i.e., as to the report which
had reached him of the soldiers intending to disobey his orders.

24

1. Scire eum, &c. "For he knew, that either, in consequence
of some mismanagement of an affair, fortune had failed those com-
manders with whom an army was not obedient to orders; or else,
that the charge of avarice had been fastened upon their characters,
in consequence of some act of misconduct having been discovered."

-In place of conjunctam some read convictam, in the sense of
"aperte demonstratum," as in Ovid (Met. 13, 89) we have "furor
c vestibus." Compare Menken, Obs. L. L. p. 199.

2. Perpetua vita. "Throughout the whole of his past life."—
Felicitatem. "His good fortune."

3. Itaque sc. &c. "That he would, therefore, immediately do
what he intended to have put off to a more distant day." Repre-
sentare is a legal term, and denotes "to do a thing before the
time." Thus a person is said solutionem representare, who pays
the money before the day. It is from this general meaning that the
verb also obtains the signification of doing a thing immediately. 

Collaturus is used here in the sense of dilaturus.

4. Decima legione. The legions were called first, second, &c., from the order in which they were raised.—Pratoriam cohoretm. "A body guard." Among the Romans, the general was usual.y attended by a select band, called cohors pratoria, so called, according to Festus, because it never left the commander, or, as he was called in early Latin, the prator (i. e., qui praet exercitui).

5. Principes. In the sense of prima. Compare note 15, page 8.—Eit gratias egit. "Returned thanks to him."—Quod de se, &c. "For the very high opinion he had formed of them, and as- sured him," &c.

6. Primorum ordinum centuriones. "The centurions of the first centuries," i. e., the centurions of the first maniple of the Triarii, the centurions of the first maniple of the Principes, and the centuri- ons of the first maniple of the Hastati.—Egerunt uti Cesari satis- facerent. "Strove to excuse themselves to Cesar." 

7. Neque de summa belli, &c. "Nor had thought, that any de- cision respecting the management of the war appertained to them, but to their commander," i. e., nor had thought, that it was for them to decide upon the best mode of conducting the war, but rather for their general.

8. Satisfactione. "Excuse."—Itinere exquisito. "The route having been reconnoitred."—Ut millium amplius, &c. "And found to be such, that, by means of a circuit of more than fifty miles, it would lead his army through an open country," i. e., that, by taking a circuit of somewhat more than fifty miles, he might lead his army along it through an open country. The student will ob- serve, that, in order to connect the clause ut amplius, &c., with itinere exquisito, a new verb must be introduced in translating, which is easily implied from the general force of the participle ex- quisito.

9. Quinquaginta. Some read quadraginta. The Greek para- phrast has a number very wide of the truth, namely, 1250 stadia, equiv. eu: to something more than 156 Roman miles. 'Aμφί ρά 
χίλια διακόσια καλ ντισίσεωνα στάδια.

1. Quod antea de colloquio postulasset, &c. "Stating, that, as o his previous demand respecting a conference, this might now be carried into effect through his own means, since he had come nearer."

11. Exstimare. We have here given the reading of Oudendorp,
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Page. 266 in place of existimaret, the common lection. So also licere in the previous clause, instead of licet.


26 1. Aliaratione se non esse venturum. "That he would not come upon any other terms."—Interposita causa tolli. "To be thwarted by the interposing of any pretext," i. e., to be thwarted on any pretence by Ariovistus.

2. Gallorum equitatu. The cavalry in Caesar's army were all Gauls. He was afraid, therefore, lest, if attacked during the conference by the German horse, they might not prove a sufficient protection for his person. Many editions have equitatu, the old form of the dative.

3. Commodissimum esse statuit, &c. "He deemed it most expedient, all their horses having been taken from the Gallic cavalry, to mount on them the legionary soldiers," &c. The adverbial form co is equivalent here to in cos (scil. equos.) By the legionary soldiers are meant the regular troops of the legion, as distinguished from the velites.

4. Non inridicule. "Not without some humour," i. e., humorously enough. Compare the Greek paraphrast, ἄστιν τι ὕπογεγράφη. —EI. "For that legion."

5. Nunc ad equum rescribere. "Now enrolled them among the cavalry." When soldiers were first enlisted they were said scribi, their names being entered in the roll of the legion. If they were afterward transferred, from the corps into which they had been enrolled, to some other part of the service, they were said rescribi. The humour of the remark made on the present occasion consists in supposing, that a regular promotion had taken place to the rank and pay of cavalry. When the change of service was from the cavalry to the infantry, it was a military punishment; but, on the contrary, a military reward when the foot-soldier was transferred to the horse. For another explanation, consult Petit, Obs. 1, 6, and Gronovius, ad Senec. de Benef. 5, 6.

6. Tumulus terrenus satis grandis. "A rising ground of considerable height." Literally, "a mound (or hill) of earth."—Cas travis utrisque. Referring to the camp of Caesar and that of Ariovistus.

7. Ex equis. "On horseback." Compare the Greek form of expression, ἄφιν πανω.—Drach. The Greek paraphrast has τόπο. οὔ
if he read in his Latin MS. bonos in place of denos. It is highly improbable that only two would be brought to the conference on either side.

8. Commemoravit. "Recounted."—Quod. "How that."—Munera amplissima. It was customary, with the Romans, to send presents to those whom the senate had honoured with the title of king. Compare Liv. 30, 15.

9. Pro magnis hominum officiis. "In return for important services on the part of individuals."—Illum, cum neque aditum, &c. "That he (Ariovistus), although he had neither the means of deserving them, nor just cause to ask for them," &c. Aditum non habere implies the absence of any services on the part of Ariovistus towards the Roman people. Compare the explanation given in the Index Latinatis appended to the edition of Oberlinus: "Aditum non habere ad aliquem, nullis meritis esse, ob quae precari sustineas."


1. Sui nihil. "Nothing of their own." Equivalent to nihil sui juris, auctoritatis, opum, or ditionis.—Auctiores esse. "To be still farther advanced."

2. Quod vero ad amicitiam, &c. "Who then could bear to have that taken from them which they brought with them when they obtained the friendship of the Roman people?" i. e., to see them robbed of what they possessed before they became the friends of the Roman people. Literally, "for that to be taken from them which they had brought to the friendship," &c.

3. Postulavit deinde eadem, &c. "He then made the same demand which he had commissioned the ambassadors to make."

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5. Ab ipsis. "By the Gauls themselves.—Stipendium capere.

"That he exacted tribute."


7. Idque se, &c. "And that he had sought it with this expectation." Id here refers to the friendship of the Roman people. It would have been more perspicuous to have said eam, but the MSS all give the other form.

8. Stipendium remittatur, &c. "The tribute due him is to be withheld, and those who have surrendered to him are to be withdrawn from their allegiance."

9. Quod multitudinem, &c. "As to his leading a multitude of Germans across the Rhine into Gaul."

10. Sed defenderit. "But had warded it off," i.e., had acted merely on the defensive. Defenderc is here taken in its primitive sense, as equivalent to propulsare. Compare B. C. 1, 7, "Conclamant legionis XIII, quae aderat, milites ..... sese paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis injurias defenderc."

11. Se prius in Galliam venisse, &c. Here again Ariovistus falsely defends his conduct. The Roman commander Domitius had conquered the Arverni long before the German leader came into Gaul.

12. Quid sibi vellet? &c. By sibi Caesar is meant, by suas possessiones the possessions of himself, Ariovistus.—Provinciam suam, &c. "That this part of Gaul was his province, just as that other was ours." The student will mark the force of the pronouns here. Hanc refers to the quarter where Ariovistus now is, illam to the distant Roman province in the south of Gaul.

1. Qui in suo jure, &c. "Since we interrupted him in the enjoyment of his right."

2. Quid fratres, &c. "As to Caesar's saying that the Aedui had been styled brethren by the senate."—Bello Allobrogum, &c. The Dauphin editor is wrong in supposing that the war here meant is the one in which Domitius Aenobarbus and Fabius Maximus were employed against the Allobroges (Florus, 3, 2.) It is rather the one which Cneius Pontinus successfully waged against the same people.

3. Auxilio Populi Romani, &c. "Had derived any assistance from the Roman people."—Debere se suspicari, &c. "That he has strong reason to suspect that Caesar, having pretended friendship for the Aedui, inasmuch as he keeps an army in Gaul, keeps
it there, in fact, for the purpose of crushing him (Ariovistus)," i. e., that Caesar, under the pretense of friendship towards the Aedui, merely keeps an army in Gaul to crush him, Ariovistus.

4. Quis nisi decedat. "That, unless he depart." Qui for ille, as it begins a clause.

5. Quod si cum interfecerit, &c. It cannot be supposed, that this was a mere idle boast on the part of Ariovistus. Caesar already had at Rome many violent political enemies, who were eager for his destruction.—Gratum esse facturum. "He would do an agree-
able thing," i. e., would be doing a favour to, &c.

6. Eius morte redimere posset. "He could purchase by his (Caesar's) death."—Sine ullo ejus labor, &c. "Without any trouble and hazard on his part." Eius again refers to Caesar.

7. Multa ab Cesare, &c. "Many arguments were urged by Caesar to this effect, why, namely, he could not desist from his purpose," i. e., to show why he could not, &c.

8. Ignovisset. "Had pardoned." The Romans were said "to pardon" a conquered people, when they allowed them to retain their freedom, to enjoy their own laws, and create their own magistrates. On the other hand, a state was said to be reduced to a Roman province, when it was deprived of its laws, and was subject to the control of Roman magistrates, and to the payment of a certain tribute.

9. Quod si antiquissimum, &c. "If, then, the most distant period ought to be regarded," i. e., if the question was to turn upon the claims of earliest possession.—Si judicium senatus, &c. "If, on the other hand, the decision of the senate ought to be taken into consideration, then was it right that Gaul should be free, since they had willed that this country, after being conquered in war, shou still enjoy its own laws."

10. Ad nostros adequitare. With most of the compound verb the preposition may be repeated with its proper case. This is often done to impart strength to the expression. Compare the remarks of Perizonius, ad Sanct. Min. 3, 3.—Vol. i., p. 408, ed. Bauer.

11. Facit. We have adopted facit and recipit on the recom-
mandation of Oudendorp, although imperavit follows. This change of tense is elegant and frequent among the historical writers. Consult Oudendorp, ad loc.

1. Per fidem. "Under cover of plighted faith." Compare the explanation of Morus: "propter fidem datum et acceptam." Some commentators, however, give ver in this clause the force of contra,
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relying upon the Greek paraphrast, ὅλω ἐν τῷ διάλογῳ ὑπ’ ἀκτοθεοφιδαῖ. Per, however, has rather the force of contra in composition, as perfidus, perjurus, &c.

2. Posteaquam in vulgus militum, &c. "Liter it was spread abroad among the common soldiers."—Omni Gallia, &c. "Had interdicted the Romans from all Gaul."

3. Impetumque in nostros, &c. All the editions and MSS. have fecissent, which we have changed, nevertheless, to fecisse. As the text stands in the different editions, it cannot be correct. Some of the MSS. and earlier printed copies give ut before diremisset, but later editions rejected the conjunction until Davies restored it. As Clark, however, very correctly remarks, ut ought rather to be placed before fecissent; while, on the other hand, if it can be omitted before this verb, it can just as well be omitted before diremisset. In order to remove the difficulty, therefore, we have retained ut before diremisset, in the sense of quomodo, "how," but have changed fecissent to fecisse, so as to have a double construction in the same sentence. Translate as follows: "and that his cavalry had made an attack on our men, and how this circumstance had broken off the conference." Oudendorp conjectures vi diremisset for ut diremisset.

4. Injectum est. "Was infused." The Greek version has ἐνέπυ, which induced Wasse to conjecture innatum est for injectum est. (Add. ad Sall. p. 398.)

5. Neque perfectae essent. "And had not been brought to a conclusion."—Ut aut, &c. Supply et postulans.

6. Ex suis aliquem. The common text has ex suis legatis aliquem, but we have rejected legatis on the suggestion of Bentley. This emendation is supported also by the Greek version, which has merely, τινὰ τῶν ἱερων.


8. Civitate donatus crat. "Had been presented with the rights of citizenship." Foreigners, on whom this favour was conferred, prefixed to their own name the prænomen and nomen of the individual, through whose influence the privilege in question had been obtained, and regarded that person ever after as their patron. Thus Caburus, the father of Procillus, assumed the name of Caius Valerius Caburus, having taken the first and second names of Caius Valerius Flaccus, his patron.
9. *Qua multa jam, &c.* "Of which Ariovistus now, from long habit, made frequent use," i. e., which he now spoke fluently.—*Et quod in co, &c.* "And because the Germans could have no motive to inflict any personal injury in his case."

10. *Qui hospitio Ariovistus, &c.* "Who had enjoyed the hospitality of Ariovistus," i. e., was connected with him by the ties of hospitality. As the ancients had not proper inns for the accommodation of travellers, the Romans, when they were in foreign countries, or at a distance from home, used to lodge at the houses of certain persons, whom they in return entertained at their houses in Rome. This was esteemed a very intimate connexion, and was called hospitium, or *jus hospitii.*

11. *Quae diceret Ariovistus.* "What Ariovistus might have to say."—*Conclamavit.* "He called out in a loud tone and demanded."—*An speculandi causa?* "Was it to act as spies?" Literally, "was it for the sake of spying?"

12. *Promovit.* "He moved forward." Compare the Greek προδινο. —*Postridie ejus diei.* "The day after that day," i. e., the day following. Compare the Greek, τῇ δ' ἔστιν.—*Præter castra Caesaris.* "Past Caesar's camp."

1. *Ex eo die, &c.* "For five successive days after that day."—*Pro castris.* "Before his camp."—*Potestas.* "An opportunity." More literally, "the means of so doing."

2. *Genus hoc erat pugna, &c.* "The following was the kind of battle in which the Germans had exercised themselves," i. e., to which they had trained themselves.

3. *Quos ex omni copia, &c.* "Whom they had selected from the whole army, each horseman one, for his own protection." Compare *Tacitus, Germ.* c. 6.

4. *Hi, si quid erat durius, &c.* "These, if anything occurred of more than ordinary danger, ran to their assistance." *Hi* refers to the foot-soldiers.—*Si qui.* For *si quis.* —*Circumsistebant.* "Stood around to defend him."

5. *Longius.* "Farther than usual."—*Celerius.* "With greater speed than ordinary."

6. *Exercitatione.* "From constant practice."—*Ut jubes equorum, &c.* "That, being supported by the manes of the horses, they could equal their speed," i. e., could keep up with them.

7. *Ne diutius commentatu, &c.* It is a question for military men to decide, whether Caesar should have allowed Ariovistus to march past his camp, and cut off his communication with the quarter from
which his supplies were to come. It is probable that his object, in delaying a general action, was to accustom his men, in the mean while, by a succession of slight encounters, to the looks of so formidable a foe, as well as to their manner of fighting.

8. Acieque triplici instructa. "And his army being drawn up in three lines." Literally, "a triple order of battle being arranged."

—Primam et secundam aciem, &c. "He ordered the first and second lines to remain under arms." Compare Vegetius, 1, 25, "Si hostis incumbat, tum omnes equites et media pars pedium ad pulsandum impetum ordinantur in acie; reliqui post ipsos, ductis fossis, muniant castra."

9. Circiter hominum, &c. "Light troops, about sixteen thousand men in number." The term expeditus refers to the celerity of their movements and the lightness of their equipments. Most commonly, however, in our author, it merely means unencumbered by baggage.

10. Partem auxiliorum, &c. "A part of his auxiliaries." The forces sent by foreign states and monarchs were called auxilia.

11. Institutum suo. "According to his custom." Institutum here refers to a custom or practice, in accordance with some settled resolution or design.

12. A majoribus. "From the larger one." Supply castris. The larger camp was the one first pitched. Many MSS. and editions have castris expressed.


1. Acriter utrinque, &c. Dio Cassius (38, 48) informs us, that Ariovistus came near taking the camp of the Romans on this occasion: οὖν καὶ τὸ χαράκωρα αὐτῶν ἠδε. The χαράκωρα of Dio is the castra minora of Caesar. Dio adds, that the German leader, elated with his success, disregarded the predictions of the German females, and came to an action with Caesar.

2. Prælio. "In a general engagement."

3. Matres familiae. Tacitus (Germ. c. 8) states, that the ancient Germans believed there was something sacred and prophetic in the female sex, and that, therefore, they disdained not their advice, but placed the greatest confidence in them and their predictions. He speaks of Veleda and Aurinia in particular, as having been held in the highest veneration. The females among the Germans, who pretended to the gift of prophecy, were called Alrunae (i. e., Alraunen). Muratori gives the name as Alruminæ (vol. i., p. 370), and Jornandes, Algrumnae (de Reb. Get. c. 21). Compare Adelung, Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat. vol. i., p. 188.
4. Sortibus et vaticinationibus. "From lots and auguries.—Ez

u. "Advantageously."

5. Non esse fas. "That it was not the will of heaven." Fax
denotes what is in accordance with the divine law and the rules of
religion.

6. Omnes alarios. "All the auxiliaries." The allies were called
alarii from their being generally placed on the wings (ulae) of an
army when drawn up in order of battle.

7. Pro castris-minoribus. "Before the smaller camp. "—Pro
hostium numero. "Considering the number of the enemy."—Ut
ad speciem, &c. "That he might make use of the auxiliaries for
appearance," i. e., to make a show with them.

8. Generatim. "By nations," i. e., by tribes. Compare the
Greek paraphrast: καὶ ἡ φύλα.

9. Rhedes et carris. "With chariots and wagons." Both of
these are Gallic terms. The rhedæ was a kind of four-wheeled
chariot for travelling, and was introduced among, and much used
by, the Romans also. The rhedæ appear to have carried the families
of the Germans, the carrí their baggage and provisions.

10. Eo. "On these."—Passis crinibus. "With dishevelled
locks." Passis from pando. Most of the MSS. have manibus in-
stead of crinibus, and the Greek paraphrast appears to favour this
reading, since he has, τὰς χείρας πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας δργγένων. But
passis crinibus is the more usual form on such occasions. Perhaps,
however, Caesar joined them both, passis manibus crinibusque, as
in the 48th chapter of the 7th book.

11. Caesar singulis legionibus, &c. "Caesar placed a lieutenant
and quaestor over each legion."—Quaestorem. The office of the
provincial quaestor was, to see that provisions and pay were fur-
nished to the army, to keep an account of all moneys expended, &c.

12. Eos. Referring to the lieutenants and quaestors.—A dextro
cornu. "From the right wing," i. e., of his own army.—Minime
hram. "Weakest." Literally, "least strong."


14. Rejectis pilis. "Their javelins being flung aside." Com-
pare the Greek version, ἥ ἐξαρα ἄστροφα γέρος.

15. Phalanx facta. The German phalanx, as has already been
remarked, was analogous to the Roman testudo, the men being in
close array, with their shields locked over their heads. (Compare
note 2, page 15.) It will be observed, that as the Germans fought
by nations, on this occasion, there was as many phalanxes as na-
16. Qui in phalangas, &c. "Who leaped upon the phalanxes, and tore off with their hands the shields of the enemy, and wounded them from above," i.e., they tore away the shields which the enemy held above their heads, and then stabbed downwards. The soldiers who did this, kept moving about on the top of the shields, which formed a kind of roof beneath them. Oppian, in speaking of the war-steed, makes it ascend with the chariot upon the top of such a testudo, a plate of which may be seen in Lipsius, Poliorc. lib. 1, dial. 5, sub. fin.

17. A sinistro cornu. "On the left wing." The reference is to the army of the enemy. Their left was described above as weakest.—A dextro cornu. Alluding again to the German army.

1. Equitatu. Old dative.—Expedition. "More disengaged," i.e., more at liberty. The Crassus here mentioned was the son of Marcus Crassus, and lost his life, along with his father, in the expedition against the Parthians. His movement on the present occasion gained the day for the Romans.

2. Neque prius, &c. "Nor did they cease to flee until," &c. Prius and quam are separated by tnesis.

3. Repererunt. The common text has petierunt, which appears to have arisen from reperierunt, a faulty reading in one of the MSS. Heinsius conjectured pepererunt, of which Bentley approves; but the best MSS. have repererunt.

4. In his fuit Ariovistus. He died soon after in Germany, either of his wounds, or through chagrin at his defeat. Compare B. G. 5, 29, "Magnus esse Germanis dolori Ariovisti mortem." Plutarch says, that the number of killed in this battle amounted to eighty thousand.

5. Duæ fuerunt, &c. The Germans in general, according to Tacitus (Germ. 18), had but one wife each. In the case of their chieftains, however, who were anxious to strengthen and enlarge their power by family alliances, more than one wife was allowed.

6. Duxerat. "He had married." Compare note 6, page 3. —Utràque in ea fuga perierunt. The common text has utraque in ea fuga pererit. But the MSS. are the other way.

7. Filius. Nominative absolute, unless we understand erant. But this would be far less elegant.

8. Tris catenis vincit. "Bound with a triple chain."—In ipsum Casarem incidit. "Fell in with Caesar himself."
9. *Neque ejus calamitate, &c.* "Nor had fortune at all diminished, by the sufferings of such a man, the great pleasure and rejoicing which prevailed." More literally, "taken away anything from so great pleasure and rejoicing."

10. *De se ter sortibus, &c.* "That the lots had been thrice consulted respecting him." Tacitus (*Germ. 8*) describes the German mode of divining by lots as follows: "They cut a twig from a fruit-tree, and divide it into small pieces, which, distinguished by certain marks, are thrown promiscuously upon a white garment. Then the priest of the canton, if the occasion be public; if private, the master of the family; after an invocation of the gods, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, thrice takes out each piece, and, as they come up, interprets their signification according to the marks fixed upon them. If the result prove unfavourable, they are no more consulted on the same affair that day; if propitious, a confirmation by omens is still required."

11. *Beneficio.* "By the favour."

12. *Quos Ubii.* The common text has *ubi* in place of *Ubii*, and the advocates for the former insist that *Ubii* must be an erroneous reading, because the people of that name were too far removed from the seat of war. A singular specimen of critical acumen! just as if the relative position of the Ubii and Suevi had anything to do with the theatre of the war between Caesar and Ariovistus. A strong argument in favour of the reading *Ubii* may be obtained from the 37th chapter of this book, where the Treviri, the immediate neighbours of the Ubii, came to Caesar with the intelligence, that the Suevi were endeavouring to cross the Rhine in their vicinity. The Ubii, moreover, as appears from another part of these commentaries (*4, 3*), were old enemies of the Suevi. Davies, Clarke, Oudendorp, and many other editors, declare in favour of *Ubii* as a reading, which was first given by Rhenanus and Hotomannus on conjecture. The Greek paraphrase has also *di Ubii*.

13. *Proximi Rhenum.* "Next the Rhine," i.e., on the banks of that river. There is an ellipsis here of the preposition *ad*. Compare Lucretius, 2, 134, "*Proxima sunt ad vireis principiorum.*"

14. *Duobus.* The Helvetic and German. — *Tempus annu*.
"The season of the year."—*Hiberna*. "Winter-quarters." The winter-quarters of the Romans were strongly fortified, and furnished, particularly under the emperors, with every accommodation like a city, as storehouses, workshops, an infirmary, &c. Hence from them many towns in Europe are supposed to have had their origin;

15. \textit{In citeriorcm Galliam}. Gaul south of the Alps, or, the northern part of the Italian peninsula, otherwise called Cisalpine Gaul.---\textit{Ad conventus agendos}. "To hold the assizes." The governors of provinces generally devoted the summer to their military operations, and the winter to the civil part of their administration, which consisted in presiding over the courts of justice, hearing petitions, regulating taxes, &c.
1. *Cum isset Cæsar, &c.* The date is A. U. C. 697, in the consulship of Publius Cornelius Lentulus and Quintus Metelius Nepos.—*Crebri rumores.* "Frequent reports." Compare the Greek version, συχνὰ δ' ἄγγελας.

2. *Dixeramus.* Compare book 1, chap. 1.—*Conjurare.* "Were combining," i. e., were forming a confederacy.—*Omni Gallia.* Celtic Gaul is here meant, in contradistinction to Belgic.

3. *Partim qui.* "Some of whom."—*Ut.* "As, on the one hand."—*Ita Populi Romani, &c.* "So, on the other, they bore it impatiently, that an army of the Roman people should winter in Gaul, and the thing begin to grow into a custom." Literally, "should winter and grow old in Gaul." Compare the explanation of Donatus, *ad Terent, Hec.* prol. v. 4, "*Inveterascerent, i. e., in consuetudinem venirent.*"

4. *Partim qui mobilitate, &c.* "While others of them, from a natural instability and fickleness of disposition, were desirous of a change of government," i. e., were anxious for a revolution.

5. *Ab nonnullis etiam.* Supply *solicitarentur,* referring still to the Belgae.—*Qui ad conducundos, &c.* "Who possessed means for hiring troops."

6. *Eam rem consequi.* "To effect that end," i. e., to usurp governments.—*In imperio nostro.* "While we held the chief power in Gaul."

7. *In interiorem Galliam.* "Into inner Gaul." Oudendorp prefers *ulteriorem,* the reading of several MSS., as more in accordance with the phraseology of Cæsar. But *interior,* here, has precisely the same force as *ulterior,* with the additional advantage of its applying, with more force, to one who was to pass from northern Italy into farther Gaul, or, in other words, penetrate into the interior.

8. *Quintum Pedium.* A grandson of Julia, the sister of Cæsar

9. *Dat negotium Senonibus.* "He directs the Senones." More
Page 35

literally, “He gives a commission.”—Uti cognoscant. “To ascet
tam.”

of troops were raising.”—Exercitum conduci. “That an army was
collecting.”

11. Proficiscetur. The common text has duodecimo die before
proficiscetur. As these words, however, are wanting in most
MSS., and as they are utterly at variance with the rapidity of move-
ment which characterized the operations of Cæsar, we have ex-
cluded them from our edition. Oudendorp conjectures primo die,
or primo quoque die; Frotscher, propere. The Greek version has
ός τάχιστα ἦνα. Most of the editors who retain duodecimo die
enclose the words between brackets.

12. Celeriusque omnium opinione. “And sooner than any ex-
pected.”—Qui proximi Gallia, &c. “Who are the nearest of the
Belgæ to Celtic Gaul.” Compare the Greek version: έκ πάνω
τῶν Βελγῶν πληρωθάτοι τῆς Γαλατίας ὁικονομεῖς.

36 1. Neque se cum Belgis, &c. “That they had neither agreed
with the rest of the Belgæ,” i.e., entered into the confederacy
along with them.

2. Germanosque. These are enumerated towards the close of
chapter 4, namely, the Condruisi, Eburones, Caerces, and Parenani.—
Cis Rhenum. Referring to the southern bank of the Rhine, on
which several of the German tribes had settled.

suos. The Remi are here speaking of the Suessiones as “brethren
and kinsmen of their own.”—Poturint. Still referring to the
Remi.—His. Referring to the Belgæ who had combined against
the Roman power.

4. His. The pronoun now refers to the two ambassadors from
the Remi.—Quantæque. “And how powerful.”—Sic reperiebat
“He obtained this information.” Literally, “he thus found.”

5. Magnosque spiritus in re militari. “And great haughtiness
in warlike matters.” Compare the explanation of Achaintre: “Spir-
itus, i.e., sensus superbia ferociaque plenos.

6. Omnia se habere explorata. “That they had all things accu-
rately inquired into,” i.e., that they could give him accurate infor-
mation.—Propinquitatis, &c. “By neighbourhood and affinity.”
—Quantam multitudinem. “What number of men.”

op."—Electa millia sexaginta. "Sixty thousand picked men."—


8. Divitiaecum. Not to be confounded, of course, with Divitia-
cus the Aeduan chieftain. He held not only the Suessiones, but
also the Ambiani under his sway, and from the country of the latter
passed over into Britain. Cæsar is the only ancient writer that
makes mention of this Gallic expedition into the island.

9. Galbam. Many suppose this name to be an error on the part
of some copyist, both because Dio Cassius (39, 1) has 'Aδρά as the
appellation of the monarch in question, and also because Galba is a
Roman family name. But Suetonius informs us, that some in his
time considered Galba to be a term of Gallic origin, signifying
"corpulent" or "fat." (Vit. Galb. 3.) Perhaps, therefore, Adra
may have been the first part of the name, and Galba the latter.

10. Totius belli sumpam. "The direction of the whole war." Compare the Greek version: ὅτι ἡγεμόν καὶ στρατηγὸς πάντων ἰθημνος

ei.

1. Longissimeque absint. "And are very far distant." These
words have occasioned considerable trouble to the commentators.
Julius Cæsar, who for the most part gives the spirit, if he does not
follow the very words, of Cæsar, passes over them in silence. The
Greek paraphrases has ἅγατος τὴν Βελγίων, which is not true, since
the Menapii are as remote, if not more so. Vossius, therefore,
thinks that we must either reject the words in question, or read
longissimeque ab omni cultu absint, or else must transfer them to
the close of the chapter, and insert them after appellantur, as applying
to the four German tribes that are enumerated last. Davies,
however, is in favour of retaining the words where they are, and
giving longissime absint the meaning merely of valde remoti sint
We have adopted his opinion, which is followed also by Achaintre
and Lemaire.

2. Cœcasos. Traces of this name appear to exist in that of the
modern river Chiers, and of the Pæmani in that of Famennæ or Pa-
mine. Compare D'Anville, Not. de la Gaule, p. 188.

3. Liberaliterque oratione prosecutus. "And having spoken
kindly to them." Compare B. G. 4, 18, "Quibus pacem et amici-
tiam petentibus liberaliter respondit." So also B. C. 3, 104. B.
Alex. 71. The Greek version has φιλοφρονησάμενος, which amounts
to the same thing.

4. Ad diem. "By the day appointed."—Magnopere. "Stren-

B 2
The more correct form for *magnopere*. *So quanto opere for quantopere.* Compare Oudendorp, ad loc.

5. *Quanto opere, &c.* "How much it concerns the republic and the general safety, that the forces of the enemy be prevented from uniting." Literally, "be kept apart." Compare Lucretius, 5, 201, "Ets mare, quod late terrarum distinct oras," where distinct is equivalent, as Davies well remarks, to *a se invicem dividit*. The terms *rei publicae* have reference to Rome, and *communis salutis* to the Remi. The army of the Gauls would amount, when united, to 300,000 men, to oppose which Caesar had, at farthest, but 60 or 70,000. It was all important, therefore, to prevent a junction.

6. *Atque ida castra posuit.* For an account of the Roman camp consult Archaeological Index.

7. *Quaeres.* "This position."—*Post eum.* Referring to Caesar. Ciacconius, not understanding to what *eum* could here refer, changed it into *ea*. Davies, however, restored the true reading, although he himself errs in referring *eum* to *exercitum*.

8. *Cohortibus.* As there were ten cohorts in a legion, the number of men would range from 420 to 600, according to the size of the legion itself. Consult Archaeological Index.

9. *Duodeviginti pedum.* "Of eighteen feet," i.e., in breadth. Supply *in latitudinem*. Stewecchius (ad *Veget.* 3, 8) thinks that we ought to read here XIX. instead of XVIII., in consequence of the rule which Vegetius lays down respecting an uneven number: "*imparem enim numerum observare moris est.*" Caesar, however, followed his own rules. The Greek paraphrast makes the ditch 18 feet deep: ταφθαιται: ἐκ ἕκτοκάτεκτα τὸ βάδεα.

10. *Munire jubet.* Supply *suos*. The more usual, but less elegant, form would be *muniri jubet*. All military writers who allude to the position of Caesar on the present occasion, speak of it in high terms of praise.

11. *Ex itinere.* "On their march." Compare the Greek version ἐν τῷ ἐδώ.—*Sustentatum est.* "The attack was supported."—*Gallorum cadem atque,* &c. "The manner of attack on the part of the Gauls, as well as the Belgæ, is as follows.

1. *Testudine facta.* "A testudo being formed." To form a *testudo*, the soldiers joined their shields above their heads, and those on the banks locked theirs so as to defend their sides. This was done in order to secure themselves against the darts of the enemy, and from its resemblance to the form of a *testudo*, or "tortoise," it derived its nautical name. Under cover of this they came up to
the gates, and tried either to undermine the walls or to scale them. Consult Archæological Index.

2. *Portas succedunt.* That *succedere* is joined to an accusative as well as dative, is shown by Servius, ad Virg. Eclog. 5, 6, from Sallust, "*Cum murum hostium successisset.*" Consult Ouden-dorp, ad loc.

3. *In muro consistendi,* &c. "The power of standing on the wall was to no one," i. e., no one was able to stand on the wall.

4. *Summa nobilitate,* &c. "Of the highest rank and influence among his countrymen."—*Precerat.* "Was over," i. e., had the command of, or was governor of.

5. *Submittatur.* Some of the MSS. have the simple *mittatur*, but *submittatur* is preferable, as it denotes the sending secretly and unobserved by the foe.

6. *De media nocte.* "Soon after midnight."—*Hisdem ducibus,* &c. "Having used for guides the same persons who had come as messengers from Iclius."

7. *Numidas.* The Numidians were ranked among the light-armed troops. (Compare chapter 10.) The Cretans were remarkable for their skill in archery. Compare *Aelian, V. H.* 1, 10, Οἱ Κρήτες τοις τοξείων ἀναβολ. The inhabitants of the Balearic islands (Majorca and Minorca) were excellent slingers. Consult Geographical Index, s. v. Numidia, and *Balearcs.*

8. *Quorum adventu,* &c. "By the arrival of whom, both courage to ward off the attack, together with the hope of a successful defence, was added to the Remi, and, for the same reason, the expectation of making themselves masters of the town departed from the enemy," i. e., the Remi were inspired with fresh courage, and with the hope of finally beating off the enemy, while the latter, on their part, now despaired of accomplishing their object.

9. *Quos.* In the masculine as the worthier gender, but referring, in fact, to both *vicos* and *adificiis.* The construction of *adire* with an accusative is of common occurrence.

10. *Omnibus copiis.* Without the preposition *cum*, as in chapters 19 and 33. The preposition, however, is more commonly added.

11. *Et ab millibus,* &c. "And encamped within less than two miles of him."

12. *Et propter eximiam,* &c. "And on account of their high reputation for valour."—*Prælio supersedere.* "To defer a battle."

13. *Solicitationibus periclitabatur.* "Strove to ascertain by fra-
NOTES ON THE SECOND BOOK.

quent trials." Solicitationibus is here equivalent in fact to lernbus praelius.

14. Adversus. "Towards the enemy," i. e., on the side facing the enemy.—Quantum loci, &c. "As far as our army, when drawn up in line of battle, was able to occupy."

15. Ex utraque parte, &c. "Had a steep descent on both sides." Literally, "had descents of side on either part." Dejectus is here used for dejectio. Compare Livy, 9, 2, "Angustias septas dejectu arborum saxorumque ingentum objacente mole invencrunt."

16. Et frontem leviter fastigatus, &c. "And in front, gently sloping, sank gradually to the plain." Fastigatus is properly applied to what has a pyramidal form, and terminates in a slender or spiral top. It here refers, however, merely to the descent or slope of the hill. With frontem supply quoad.

17. Ad extremas fossas. "At the extremities of the ditch," i. e., at each end.—Tormenta. "Military engines," i. e., Catapultae, and Baliste, for throwing large stones, heavy javelins, &c. These would be analogous to our modern batteries.

1. Quod tantum, &c. "Since they could do so much by their numbers," i. e., were so powerful in numbers.—Pugnantes. "While engaged in the fight."

2. Si quae opus esset. "If there should be need in any quarter." With qua supply parte. Some editions have si quid, others si quon. The Greek paraphrase has ἢ τι ἔσον ἐσσετ. 3. Palus non magna. "A marsh of no large size."

4. Expectabant. "Waited to see."—Ut impeditos, &c. "Were ready under arms to attack them in their disorder," i. e., while more or less embarrassed in their movements by the attempt to cross. Compare the Greek paraphrase: ὄρθρι τοῦτο ἑχολογυτίσοις.

5. Secundiores equitum, &c. "The battle of the cavalry proving more favourable to our men," i. e., our men having the advantage in the battle of the horse. The common text has equitum nostrorum, which savours of a gloss.

6 Demonstratum est. Compare chapter 5.

7. Si minus potuissent. "In case they should not be able to do this."—Ad bellum gerendum. "For carrying on the war."—Prohiberentque. "And might cut off."

8. Lexis armaturae Numidas. These were armed merely with javelins, and, instead of a buckler, merely extended a part of their attire with their left hand. Compare the graphic description of Livy (35, 11), "Nihil primo aspectu contemptius. Equi homi
nesque paululi et graciles: discinctus et incrmis eques, prater-
quam quod jacula secum portat: equi sine frænis: deformis ipse
cursus, rigidæ servitce et extento capite currentium.” So also Clau-
dian, Bell. Gild. 15, 435, seq.

"Non contra clypeis teestos, gladiisque micantes
Ibitis, in solis longe fudcua telis :
Exarmatus crit, quum missile torsetit, hostis.
Dextra movet jaculum, prætentat pallia lavæ,
Cætera nudus eques.”

note 6, page 53.

10. Audacesissime. Plutarch’s language is at variance with this,
since he makes the Gauls to have fought badly. (Vit. Cæs. c. 20),
αλοχρῶ αγωνιομένως.

11. Oppido. Referring to Bibrax.—Se fefellisse. “Had dis-
appointed them.”

Referring to the respective territories of each.

1. Et domesticis copiis, &c. “And might avail themselves of
the supplies of provisions which they each had at home.” Domesticis copiis is here put for domestica copia.

2. Hæc quoce ratio. “The following consideration also”—
Divitieacum atque Aeduos, &c. They had done in conformity with
the request of Cæsar. Compare chapter 5.

3. His. Referring to the Bellovaci. They were desirous of re-
turning home, and defending their territories against the threatened
attack of the Aedui.

4. Nullo certe ordine neque imperio. “In no fixed order and
under no regular command,” i. e., in no order and under no disci-
pline.

5. Cum sibi, &c. “Each striving to obtain the foremost place
on the route.”—Consimilis. “Very like.” Consimilis is stronger
in meaning than similis, and not merely a more sonorous term (vox
sonantior), as Forcellini maintains.

6. Insidias veritus. Cæsar feared an ambuscade, because very
little acquainted with the country. Compare Dio Cassius, 39, 2,
Καῖσαρ δὲ θαυμάζει μὲν τὸ γεγνώμενον, οὕτω ἵππον εὖ δě σφαῖς εἴδος, ἄγους τὸν
χωρίων, ἐπιδιδίζει.

7. Cum ab extemo agmine, &c. “While those in the rear,
with whom our men first came up, made a stand.” &c.
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9. Quantum fuit dicæ spatium. "As the length of the day allowed." More literally, "as much as there was space of day."

10. Destiterunt. Supply interficerc. The later editions have destiterunt sequi, an inferior reading.

11. Ex itinere. "On his way," i.e., on the line of march—Paucis defendentibus. "Although only a few defended it," i.e., although the garrison was weak.

12. Vincas agcre. "To move forward the vinae." The vinae were mantlets or sheds, under which the besiegers worked the battering ram, or else approached the walls to undermine them. Consult Archaeological Index.

1. Aggere jacto. "A mound being thrown up." The agger was a mound or rampart composed of earth, wood, hurdles, and stones, which gradually increased in height towards the town, until it either equalled or overtopped the walls. Towers were erected on it, from which the soldiers threw darts or stones on the besieged by means of engines. Consult Archaeological Index.

2. Turribusque constitutis. "And towers being erected on it." The Romans had two kinds of military towers, those that were erected on the mound, and which are here meant, and those that were built at some distance from the besieged place, and were moved up to it on wheels. Consult Archaeological Index.

3. Operum. "Of the works." Referring to the agger, turres, &c.—Celeritate. "The despatch."—Impeuant. "They obtain this," i.e., that their lives should be spared.

4. Galba. Consult note 9, page 36.—Duxit. We have here given the reading of Oudendorp's smaller edition. The Bipout editor gives ducit, on the authority of several MSS., which is also followed by Daehne and others.

5. Bratuspantium. Scaliger and others think that this town was the same with Caesaramagus, now Beauvais. But D'Anville is more correct in making it correspond to Bratuspante, an old place that once stood near Breteuil in Picardie. (D'Anville, Geogr. Anc. vol. i., p. 84.)

6. Majores natu. "The aged men," or, those advanced in years. Literally, "those greater (i.e., farther advanced) by birth."

8. *Ad eum*. Referring to Cæsar.—*Facit verba.* "Speaks." Literally, "makes words," i. e., a discourse. *Verba habere* is "to hold a conversation with one;" but *verba dare*, "to impose upon a person."

9. *In fide atque amicitia, &c.* "Had always been steady in their attachment and friendship to the state of the Aedui."—*Qui ducerent.* "Who had assured them."—*Omnes indignitates, &c.* "All manner of indignities and insults."

10. *Qui huic, &c.* The order is, (Eos), *qui fuissent principes hujus consilii, profugisse in Britanniam, quod intelligerent, &c.*—*Principes.* "The authors." The prime movers.

11. *Non solum Bellovacos.* "That not only the Bellovaci themselves."—*Pro his.* "In behalf of these."—*Ut utatur.* "To exercise," i. e., to extend.

12. *Quorum auxiliis, &c.* "By whose aid and resources they (i. e., the Aedui) were accustomed, in case any war broke out, to support them," i. e., to support whatever wars happened to occur. *Quorum* refers to the Belgæ.


1. *His traditis.* "These hostages having been delivered." Supply *obsidibus.*

2. *Nihil pati vini, &c.* Athenæus informs us, on the authority of Posidonius, that the wealthier Gauls were accustomed to drink the wines of Italy and Massilia, and these, too, unmixed. (Ath. Deipnos. 4, 36.—Vol. ii., p. 94, ed. Schweigh.)

3. *Ad luxuriam pertinentium.* These words are wanting in many MSS., but they are rendered by the Greek paraphrast, and are also given by Celsus.

4. *Increpitare et incusare.* "That they inveighed against and complained of."—*Patriamque virtutem projecissent.* "And had abandoned the bravery of their fathers." More literally, "had thrown away."

5. *Confirmare.* "That they resolutely declared."

6. *Sabim flumen.* Achantre and Lemaire charge Cæsar with an error in geography here, and maintain, that, instead of *Sabim*, we ought to read either *Samaram*, or else *Scaldim*, more probably the latter. Their argument appears to be a plausible one.

7. *Advenitum.* "The coming up."
8. *Mulieres, quique, &c.* The order is, "*conjectisse mulieres, hominesque qui per actatem viderentur inutiles ad pugnam,*" &c.

9. *Eorum dieum, &c.* "The mode of marching, on the part of our army, during those days, having been carefully observed by them." More literally, "the custom of those days, in respect of the march of our army." As regards the construction of the genitive here, compare note 10, page 17. — Perspecta. Davies has edited prospecta, which is quite inappropriate.

10. *Neque esse quicquam negotii.* "And that there would be no difficulty." More literally, "and that it was no labour."

11. *Hanc sub sacris adoriri.* "In attacking this under its baggage," i. e., "in falling upon the soldiers of this legion while each of them was still bearing his load of baggage." By *impedimenta* are meant the heavier articles of baggage, such as tents, &c., whereas sacrinae denotes the load which each soldier carried. The *impedimenta* were conveyed along by beasts of burden and wagons, but the sacrinae formed part of the burden of each soldier. The load which each of them carried is almost incredible; provisions for fifteen days, sometimes more, usually corn, as being lighter, sometimes dressed food; utensils, such as a saw, basket, mattock, an axe, a reaping hook and leathern thong, a chain, a pot, &c., stakes, usually three or four, sometimes twelve, &c., the whole amounting to sixty pounds, not including the weight of his arms, for a Roman soldier considered these last, not as a burden, but as a part of himself. Under this load they commonly marched twenty miles a day, sometimes more. Compare Cic. Tusc. Quest. 2, 37.

1. *Qua.* Supply legione.—Reliquae. Supply legiones.

2. *Adjuebat ctiam, &c.* "It added weight also to the advice of those who brought this intelligence, that the Nervii from early times," &c.

3. *Ei rei student.* "Do they pay much attention to this," i. e., to the running of cavalry.—*Sec quicquid possunt,* &c. "But whatever they are able to do they effect by means of their foot-forces." With *valent supply efficer.*

4. *Incisis atque inflexis.* "Being cut in and bent," i. e., being half cut, so that they still continued to grow, the trees were then bent longitudinally, and their branches assumed a lateral direction.

5. *Crebris in latitudinem, &c.* "Numerous branches, and briers, and thorns intervening in a lateral direction." The branches are those of the young trees mentioned in the previous note. The intervals between these were filled up with briers and thorns, which
intermingled, as they grew, with the boughs of the trees, and the whole formed an impervious kind of hedge, which answered all the purposes of a regular fortification. The common text has *enatis* after *ramis*, which Oudendorp and others reject very properly as a mere gloss. It does not appear in the best MSS.


7. *Non omittendum,* &c. "That they ought not to neglect the advice which had been given them."

8. *Quem locum.* This species of repetition has already been alluded to. Compare note 7, page 4.

9. *Ab summo aequaliter declivis.* "Sloping with a regular descent from the summit."—*Collis nascebatur,* &c. "Another hill arose, over against and facing this," i. e., directly opposite. The two epithets *adversus* and *contrarius*, being nearly analogous, are used to impart additional force to the expression.

10. *Passus circiter ducentos,* &c. "Having the lower part clear and open for the space of about two hundred paces." In order to convey the true meaning of *apertus* here, we have rendered it by a double epithet. The literal meaning of the clause is, "open as to the lowest parts," *insima* being put for *quod ad insima loca.*


12. *In aperto loco.* Referring to the lower part of the hill, where there were no trees.—*Secundum flumen.* "Along the river."—*Stationes equitum.* "Troops of horse on guard."

13. *Ratio ordine,* &c. "The plan and order of the march was different from what the Belgæ had mentioned to the Nervii." More literally, "had itself otherwise than the Belgæ had mentioned," &c.

14. *Expeditas.* "Free from all encumbrance," i. e., who had laid aside the load of baggage which each soldier was accustomed to carry on the march. Compare note 11, page 42.

15. *Due legiones.* "The two legions."—*Totum agmen clau debant.* "Closed the whole line of march," i. e., brought up the rear.

16. *Identidem.* "From time to time," i. e., every now and then.

17. *Quem ad finem.* "As far as."—*Porrecta ac loca aperta.* "The clear and open ground." *Porrecta* literally refers to what stretches out in front, and is free from any obstacle or impediment.

18. *Opere dimenso.* "The work having been measured out," 

Cc
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43 i. e., a space of ground having been marked out for an encampment. Opus here refers to all the labour requisite for fortifying.

44 1. Prima impedimenta. "The first part of our baggage-tram." Referring to the wagons which conveyed the heavier baggage, and, on this particular occasion, a part also of the individual burdens of the soldiery.

2 Quod tempus, &c. "Which had been agreed upon between them as the time for joining battle."—Ita ut intra silvas, &c. "They on a sudden darted forth, with all their forces, in the same order in which they had posted their line of battle and ranks within the woods, and as they themselves had encouraged each other to do." Confirmaverant refers to previous concert and mutual exhortation.

3. Proturbatis. "Repulsed." The early reading was perturbatis, which, of course, is far inferior. Faernius restored the true section from an old MS. Compare Frontinus (2, 2, 4): "Equitatum pedites proturbantem." The primitive meaning of proturbo is to push off, or from, one.

4. In manibus nostris. "Close at hand." The phrase properly denotes, that the enemy were so near that they could almost be touched by the hand. Compare Sallust, B. I. 57: "Cupere prae tum in manibus facere," and Lipsius, Var. Lect. 2, 13: "In manibus esse, nisi fallor, dixit presentes esse, et ita propinquos ut pene manibus tangi possent."

5. Adverso colle. "Up the hill," i. e., up the opposite hill, or the one facing that down which they had rushed.

6. Vexillum proponeendum. "The standard to be displayed." This was of a crimson colour, and was displayed on the praetorium or general's tent. Plutarch, in his life of Fabius, c. 15, calls it χιτών κόκκινως, and in that of Marcellus, c. 26, φοινικώς χιτών, and it appears to have been, in fact, nothing more than a crimson cloak or chlamys attached to the top of a spear, χιτών being used here by Plutarch in the sense of χλαμή. Compare Schneider, Lex. s. v., and Lipsius, Mil. Rom. lib. 4, dial. 12, sub init.

7. Signum. "The signal of battle." The signal for the conflict to commence; and hence the Greek paraphrase renders it by τὸ πολεμικὸν.—Tuba. Consult Archæological Index.

8. Aggeris petendi causa. "In order to seek materials for the mound."—Milites cohortandi. Referring to the harangue, or short address to the troops before the action commenced.

9. Signum dentum. "The word to be given." This is the
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battl-word, called otherwise in Latin *tessera*, and in Greek *σώζωμα*, as the Greek paraphrast here correctly renders it. The object of giving the word was, that the soldiers might be able to distinguish those of their own side from the enemy, in case night should come on before the battle was over, or they should be separated from each other. The word was generally some auspicious term or name, such as *Victoria*, or *Libertas*, or *Jupiter Servator*, &c.

10. *Successus et incursus.* "The near approach and onset." Cæsar is fond of using terms nearly synonymous, one of which serves in some degree to explain the other. Thus we have "*patienda et perferenda*," B. G. 7, 30, and "*extremum et ultimum*," B. C. 1, 5, &c.

11. *Erant subsidio.* "Proved of advantage."—*Serventia et usus*. "The knowledge and experience."—*Exercitati*. "Having been practised."

12. *Singulisque legionibus.* "And from their respective legions."—*Nisi munitis castris*. "Unless the camp was previously fortified," i. e., until after the fortifications of the camp were finished.

13. *Nihil jam*, &c. "No longer now looked for any command from Cæsar," i. e., no longer waited for any orders from him. Count Turpin de Crissé very justly censures Cæsar, 1. for leading his archers, slingers, and cavalry across the Sabis, before his camp was at all fortified; 2. for not having reconnoitred the wood, before he attacked the enemy's horse at the bottom of the hill; 3. for rashly joining battle with the enemy on disadvantageous ground, when he ought to have kept his light troops on this side the stream, until the wood was reconnoitred and a suitable ford was found, and should have had one legion at the foot of the hill to support them if attacked. The experience of the Roman soldiers alone saved the army from utter defeat.

14. *Quam in partem*, &c. "In the direction which chance first presented." The common text has *sors*, which will not at all answer here.

15. *Quam quo telum*, &c. "Than whither a dart could be made to reach." *Adjicere telum* is to throw in such a manner that the weapon reaches its destined object.

16. *Pugnantibus occurrit.* "He found them already fighting." Literally, "he met with them," or "came in contact with them."

17. *Exiguitas.* "The scantiness," or "shortness."

1. *Ad insignia accommodanda.* "For fitting the military insignia to their helmets." The insignia here alluded to were the
45 skins of wild animals, such as bears, wolves, &c. Compare Polyb. 6, 22. Lipsius is wrong, in thinking that Caesar here refers in particular to crests. (Anal. ad Mil. Rom. dial. 2.)

2. Sed etiam ad galas inducendas. "But even for putting on their very helmets themselves." Oudendorp prefers inducendas, the reading of some MSS. and editions, as the more recondite term, and, therefore, the most likely to be the true reading, and to have been driven from the text by a glossarial interpretation. But the Greek paraphrase settles the point for us by his use of τετεθοῦσα. The Roman soldiers, when on the march, generally had their helmets hanging down on their breasts or backs, and replaced them on their heads when about to attack or be attacked.

3. Tegumenta. These covers were made of leather, and were put upon the shields in order to preserve the polish and ornaments of the latter. They are called by Cicero (N. D. 1, 14), "Clypeorum involucrum." The Roman soldiers were very fond of painting and otherwise adorning their shields, and Suetonius informs us, that Cæsar's soldiers in particular used to ornament their armour with silver and gold. (Vit. Cæs. c. 67. Compare Polyännus, 8, 28.)

4. Ad hæc constitit. "By these he took his station."—In quaerendo suos. We have here adopted the reading of one of Scaliger's MSS. It is far superior to the common lection in quaerendis suis.

5. Pugnandi tempus dimitteret. "He might throw away the time of fighting."


7. Prospectus impediretur. "The view in front was obstructed."—Neque certa subsidia collocari. "Neither could any succours be placed anywhere with certainty."

8. Administrari. "Do given."—In tanta verum iniquitate. "In so adverse a posture of affairs."

9. Legionis nonæ ct decimæ. "Of the ninth and tenth legions." Some MSS. and editions have legionum nonæ ct decimæ, of which Oudendorp does not disapprove, though he retains the ordinary lection. The Greek paraphrase has ἐκκάτου τι καὶ ἐκκάτου τάγματος.

10. Ut in sinistra, &c. "When they had taken their stations on the left part of the line." Acie is here the old form of the genitive, for aciei. Oudendorp restored this reading from MSS.
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11. Exanimatos. "Panting," i.e., almost breathless. Caesar frequently employs this term to denote those who with difficulty draw their breath through fatigue and exhaustion.

12. Nam his, &c. "For that part of the enemy had fallen to the lot of those," i.e., it was their lot to come in contact with that part of the foe. By his are meant the soldiers of the ninth and tenth legions.

13. Impeditam. "While impeded in their movements by the stream."

14. Diversae due legiones. "Two other legions," i.e., two legions different from those just mentioned. Compare the Greek paraphrast, ὕστερα ἄλλα τάγματα.

15. Ex loco superiore. "Having descended from the higher ground."

16. At tum. "At this stage of the fight, however." Compare the explanation of Oudendorp, "ea tempore, et ea re." Some of the MSS. have attonitis for at tum totis, without any sense whatever, while many of the later editions give merely ac totis. Our present reading at tum totis is due to the ingenuity of Oudendorp.

17. A fronte, &c. The eleventh and eighth legions had occupied a position in front of the camp, but had been drawn off by their pursuit of the Veromandui, and were now fighting on the banks of the stream. In like manner, the ninth and tenth legions, which had served as a guard for the left of the camp, were gone in pursuit of the Atrebates.

18. Cum in dextro cornu, &c. "The twelfth legion having taken up a position on the right wing, and the seventh also at no great distance from it." This remark is added by Caesar, in order to show where the two remaining legions were, which, together with the four already mentioned, were employed in fortifying the camp when the attack was made.

19. Aperto latere. "On their unprotected flank." The right flank of the twelfth, and the left of the seventh, were exposed, the latter in consequence of the advance of the other legions which had occupied the centre and left of the line.

20. Summum castrorum locum. "The summit on which stood the camp." Compare the Greek paraphrast, πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς τετράγωνης ἡπείρου. So also in chap. 24, we have, "ab decumana portae at summum jugo collis."
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21. Levisque armaturae pedites. The same with the excutes Consult Archaeological Index.

22. Dixeram. Vid. chapter 19.—Adversis hostibus occurrebant. "Met the enemy in front," i. e., face to face. The enemy were now in the Roman camp, and the cavalry and light-armed troops met them as they entered.

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1. Aliam in partem, &c. The more usual form of expression is "Aliam partem fuga petebant," and Ciacconius thinks we should read so here. The expression fugam pereire, however, as Davies remarks, is one occasionally met with in the best writers. Compare Virg. Aen. 12, 263. Liv. 9, 23. Or. A. A. 1, 552, &c.

2. Calones. "The soldiers' servants." The calones, in general, merely followed the army as attendants upon the soldiers. Occasionally they were not allowed at all. At other times, again, they formed no bad kind of troops, from their familiarity with the Roman exercise. Compare, as regards this latter point, the remarks of Josephus, B. I. 3, 4.

3. Decumana porta. "The Decuman gate." This was the name of the gate in the rear of the Roman camp, and was, on this occasion, of course, the farthest from the enemy. It derived its name from the circumstance of the tenth cohorts in the legion having their tents in its immediate vicinity. Compare the words of Lipsius (Mil. Rom., 5. 5.), "Decumana a cohortibus decimis, ipsis tendentibus, sic dicta."

4. Versari. "To be busily employed." Versari may otherwise be considered here as equivalent merely to the simple esse.—Precipites fugae, &c. "Consigned themselves headlong to flight."

5. Aliique aliam in partem, &c. "And, being greatly alarmed, they were carried some in one direction, others in another," i. e., they betook themselves to flight in different directions.

6. Quorum inter Gallos, &c. "Of whose valour there is a peculiarly high opinion among the Gauls."

7. Diversos dissipatosque. "Each in a different quarter, and scattered here and there." Diversos is here equivalent to alios alio loco.

8. Ab decima legionis cohortatione. Lipsius (Elocet. 2, 7) boldly, but without any authority, conjectures cum decima legionis cohorte.

9. Urgeri. "To be hard pressed." Signis in unum locum col. latis. "The standards having been brought together into one
place," i. e., in consequence of their having been brought, &c.—Sibi ipsos. More elegant than sibi ipsis, the common reading.

10. Omnibus centurionibus. There were six centurions in each cohort.—Signo amisse. To lose the standards was esteemed very disgraceful among the Romans, and the standard-bearer was punished with death, if the loss was occasioned by any misconduct of his. Sometimes a commander, in order to urge on his soldiers, threw the standard into the midst of the foe. Compare Lips. Mil. Rom. 4, 5.

11. Primopilo. "The chief centurion of the legion." The first centurion of the first maniple of the Triarii received this name. He was also called primus pilus, was intrusted with the eagle or main standard of the legion, ranked among the equites as regarded pay, and had a place in the council of war with the consul and tribunes.

12. Ut. "So that."—Tardiores. "Less active in their exertions."—Et nonnullos, &c. "And that some in the rear, being deserted by their leaders," i. e., having no leaders or inferior officers to urge them on to the fight.


14. Et rem esse in angusto. "And that affairs were desperate." Supply loco, and compare the Greek paraphrast: καὶ τὸ πράγμα ἥδη ἐν τῷ ἐξαιρετῷ εἶναι. Appian (de Reb. Gall. 4) makes Caesar to have been for a time completely encompassed on the hill by the forces of the Nervii: εἶς λόφῳ τινὰ μετὰ τῶν θεάουσαν φεῦγοντα περίπολον κύκλῳ (sl Nérisio).

15. Ab novissimis, &c. "Having been snatched by him from a soldier in the rear." Uni milite is by a Hellenism for ab uno milite. According to Florus (3, 10), the soldier was at the time in the act of fleeing from the battle. Celsus, however, makes him to have been contending with but little spirit.

16. Signa inferre, &c. "He ordered the troops to advance and open their files." Literally, "to extend, or widen, their maniples." They had been previously crowded together; he now ordered them to station themselves apart, or at intervals from each other, and in this way to keep the maniples distinct.

17. Cujus. Equivalent to hujus, as it begins the clause. The common text has hujus, but it is less elegant.—Redintegrato animo. "Their courage having revived." Literally, "being renewed."

18. Pro se. "To the best of his ability." Equivalent to pro sua virili parte.—In extremis sus rebus. "In the last extremity
of their affairs," i. e., when their affairs were in the last extremity. Compare the Greek paraphrase: έν τοῖς χαλέπωλασις πράγμαις.

1. Legiones. The seventh and twelfth.—Et conversa signa, &c. "And should advance with a double front against the foe." Convertere signa properly means, "to face about," and the literal signification of the clause, therefore, is, "should advance the standards turned about against the foe." It must be borne in mind, however, that, when the legions united, the seventh formed in the rear of the twelfth. When, therefore, the word was given, convertere signa, the seventh faced about against the foe in their rear, and the two legions then stood back to back, the twelfth having continued all the time facing in front. In this way conversa signa in- ferre, which, elsewhere, would mean "to face about and advance," gets here the signification, "to advance with a double front." The passage is generally misunderstood by commentators, but the meaning is well expressed by Count Turpin de Crissé: "César ordonne aux officiers de faire joindre peu à peu les deux légions, et, réunies, de s'adosser l'une à l'autre, faisant front de tous les côtés."

2. Ne aversi, &c. "Lest, being turned away, they should be surrounded by the enemy," i. e., of being attacked behind and surrounded. Their rear was defended by the other legion, who now stood with their backs towards them, and fronting the foe.


4. Decimam. Plutarch erroneously makes it the twelfth.

5. Versaretur. "Were." Equivalent to esset.—Nihil ad ecle- titatem, &c. "Made all the haste they could." Literally, "caused nothing to remain unaccomplished by them as regarded speed." The Greek paraphrase gives this elegant expression rather tamely: οβέν αύτεαν τῆς ταξιετάτος.

6. Proculiassent. "Had reclined upon the ground."—Scutis innixi. "Having supported themselves on their shields."


8. Omnibus in locis, &c. "Put themselves forward in every quarter for the fight before the legionary soldiers," i. e., strove to surpass them in valour. The common text has omnibus in locis pugnabant, quo sc, &c., which is not a bad reading.

9. Prostiterunt. "Displayed."—Jacentibus insisterunt. "Stood on them as they lay."—His. Referring to those just mentioned who had been standing on, and fighting from, the bodies of their countrymen.
10. *Ut ex tumulo.* "As if from an eminence." Compare the Greek paraphrase: ὡς ἐκ τινὸς γηλόφου, "As from a kind of hill."

11. *Ut non nequidquam,* &c. "So that it ought to be concluded, that men of so great valour had not, without good reason, dared to cross a very broad river, ascend very high banks, enter upon a very disadvantageous position; for their resolute spirit had rendered these things easy from having been most difficult," i. e., their conduct on this occasion was not the mere result of a momentary impulse, but in perfect accordance with the opinion always entertained of their valour. *Nequidquam* is here equivalent to *frustra,* or *sine causa.* The Greek paraphrase renders it by μάρτυριν.

12. *Redegerat.* In the sense of *reddiderat.* The term, as Davies observes, is one of uncommon occurrence, though used by Caesar B. G. 4, 3, "*Vectigales sibi fecerunt ac multo humiliores infirmi oresque redegerunt.*"

13. *Prope ad internecionem redacto.* "Being almost exterminated." Literally, "reduced to extermination." So *internecium bel lum,* "a war of extermination;" *internecium odium,* "a deadly hatred," i. e., which is only to be satisfied by the destruction of one or other of the parties.

14. *Aestuaria ac paludes.* "These low grounds and fens." By *aestuaria* are here meant low grounds, in which the waters settle after an inundation or heavy rains. The term *aestuarium,* however, is generally applied to an estuary, or arm of the sea, where the tide ebbs and flows.—*Diceramus.* Consult chapter 16.

1. *Nihil impeditum.* "That nothing was a hinderance," i. e., *48* that nothing was too difficult.—*Victis nihil tutum.* "That nothing was safe for the vanquished."

2. *Suisque finibus,* &c. "And directed them to continue to occupy their own territories and towns," i. e., allowed them to retain their lands and towns.

3. *Itinere.* In one of the MSS. *iter* occurs, which is the old form of declining: *viz., iter, iteris, iteri,* &c.

4. *Oppidum.* Thought by D'Anville to have been situate on the hill where stands the modern Falais.

5. *Quod cum ex omnibus,* &c. "For while it had on every side, round about, very steep rocks, and commanded a view of the country below." Literally, "very high rocks and lookings down."—*Quem locum.* Referring to the approach to the town.

6. *Ipsi.* The Aduatiae.—*Ex Cimbris.* Appian erroneously makes this remark concerning the Nervii (de Reb. Gall. 4). *Die*
Cassius, on the other hand, gives the correct account, in accordance with Caesar's (39, 4). "Aτοναυτεκολ..... καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ τε φρονημα τὸ τῶν Κυμάων ἔχοντες.

7. Hominium. After this word almost all the editions have una. But it is difficult to conceive what need there is of it in the sentence, and it is more than probable that it arose from the careless repetition, on the part of some copyist, of the termination of hominum. It is found, however, in almost all the MSS. But still, as it does not appear in others, and is omitted by the Greek paraphrast, we have thrown it out from our text.

8. Post corum obtum. "After the destruction of their countrymen." Referring to the disastrous overthrow of the Cimbri and Teutones by Marius.—Exagitati. "Having been harassed."

9. Cum alias, &c. "When at one time they made war on them, at another warded it off when made upon themselves," i. e., when at one time they acted on the offensive, at another on the defensive.


12. Turrim. This was a moveable tower, to be brought forward on wheels. Consult Archæological Index.

13. Quo. "For what purpose." This is the reading of Lipsius, Scaliger, and others. The MSS. and early editions have quod. Oudendorp thinks that perhaps quoi had been used here and elsewhere, for which cui was in later times the prevalent form.

1. Prae magnitudine, &c. "Compared with the large size of their own frames."—In muros. "Near the walls." Equivalent to juxta muros.

2. Moveri et appropinquare. "Was set in motion, and was approaching."—Ad hunc modum. "After this manner," or "to this effect."

3. Non. To be joined in construction with sine.—Qui possent. "Since they were able."

4. Et ex propinquitate pugnare. These words are omitted in many MSS. As they are retained, however, by others of good note, and are translated also by the Greek paraphrast, we have deemed it best to retain them.

5. Unum petere ac deprecari. "That they begged and earnestly entreated one thing."—Pro sua elementia, &c. "In accordance
with his wonted clemency and compassion."—Audirent. The subjunctive is here used, because it refers to the sentiments of the speakers, not to those of the historian, and hence audirent is equivalent, in fact, to "had heard, as they said."

6. Sibi praestare. "That it was better for them."—Si in sua casus deducerentur. "If they should be reduced to that state."

More literally, "to that unhappy condition."

7. Per cruciatum interfici. "To be tortured to death."

8. Magis consuetudine, &c. "In accordance rather with his usual custom, than from any merit on their part," i.e., than because they were at all deserving of lenity.—Aries. Consult Archaeological Index. The Romans generally spared those who surrendered, before the battering-ram struck their walls.

9. In Nerviis. "In the case of the Nervii." The common text has in Nervios, which is an inferior reading. Consult Burmann, ad Quintil. Decl. 15, 6.

10. Facere. The present with the force of the future. Consult Sanct. Min. 1, 14, and Perizonius, ad loc.

11. Muri aggerisque. The wall was that of the town, while the agger or mound was that of the Romans. The arms were cast between the wall and mound.


1. Præsidia deducturos. "Would draw off the guards."—Aut denique, &c. "Or, at least, would keep watch less carefully than usual." Denique is here equivalent to saltem. Compare Seneca, de Ira, 3, 18, "Quid instabat? quod periculum aut privatum aut publicum una nos minabatur? quantum fuit, lucem exspectare? denique ne senatores Populi Romani soleatus occideret?"

2. Pellibus induxerant. "They had covered with hides."—Tertia vigilia. The third watch began at twelve and ended at three.

3. Ignibus. "By signal-fires." Compare the Greek paraphrase, μυρκαίας.—Proximis. Nearest that part of the town from which the sally was made.

4. Ita acriter, &c. "As fiercely as it ought to have been fought by brave men." &c., i.e., with that spirit which might have been expected from brave men so situated.

5. Occisis ad hominum, &c. "About four thousand having been slain." The preposition is here to be rendered as an adverb, though, when the ellipsis is supplied, it will be found to govern a case as usual: thus, occisis millibus hominum ad numerum quatuor millium. Compare the remarks of Perizonius, ad Sanct. Min. 1, 16.

7. *Sectionem ejus oppidi,* &c. "Cæsar sold all the booty of that town," i. e., sold all the inhabitants as slaves, and their effects along with them. The inhabitants constituted the principal booty of the place. The primitive meaning of *sectio* is a cutting, or dividing into small portions. It is then applied to the purchasing of the booty of a captured place, or of the goods of a condemned or proscribed person; because the purchaser, in such cases, bought by the quantity, and sold out in small portions to others, or, as we would say, by retail. Sometimes, however, as in the present instance, the term *sectio* is taken to denote the booty or goods themselves. Our own expression, "retail," from the French *retailleur,* which is itself compounded of *re* and *tailleur,* "to cut," illustrates very forcibly the peculiar meaning of *sectio.*

8. *Ab his qui emerant,* &c. "The return made to him by those who had purchased, was fifty-three thousand souls." Literally, "there was returned unto him, by those who had purchased, the number of fifty-three thousand heads." The highest bidders made returns to Cæsar of the number which they had respectively bought, and the sum total was 53,000. Compare the Greek paraphrase: *όι δ' ἐκηρύξαντες ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἔφασαν ἄνθρωπον πεντακισιστηρίων καὶ πτυχιοίων.

9. *Oceanum.* The Atlantic. The tribes referred to in the text were situated in the westernmost portion of Gaul, partly along the coast from the Liger (Loire) to the Sequana (Seine), and partly a short distance in the interior.

10. *Illyricum.* Cæsar's authority extended over Illyricum, which had been given him with the province of Gaul.

11. *Dies quindecim,* &c. "A thanksgiving for fifteen days was decreed." A *supplicatio,* or thanksgiving, was decreed by the senate, for any signal victory, and was solemnly made in all the temples. On such occasions, the senators and people at large, crowned with garlands, attended the sacrifices. A *lectisternium* also took place, couches being spread for the gods, as if about to feast, and their images being taken from their pedestals, and placed upon these couches, round the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes. Compare the language of Plutarch in relation to the present occasion (Vit. *Cæs.* c. 21). 'Ἡ σύγκλητος πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέρας ἐψηφισατο θέλειν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ σχολάζειν ἀφτάζοντας.
BOOK III

1. *Quo.* “By which.” *Supply itinere.* — *Magnisique cum portoritis.* “And with heavy imposts.” It was this circumstance that caused the articles, which were brought into Gaul by the traders, for the use of Caesar’s army, to command so high a price, and Caesar, therefore, wished to lower this price, by breaking up the system of taxation which the inhabitants of the Alps had imposed upon all merchandise conveyed through their country. *Portorium* originally signified the duty levied on goods in a harbour (*in portu*), whence the name. The signification was afterward extended, and, as in the present instance, denoted the tax paid for liberty to carry goods through a particular country.

2. *Hic.* “This village.” *Supply vicus.* — *Flumine.* Orosius, 6, 8, gives *torrente.* The Greek paraphrast omits the term.

3. *Eum locum.* “This latter part,” i.e., that part of the village in which the cohorts were to have their winter quarters.

4. *Hibernorum.* “Of their wintering,” i.e., of their being in winter quarters. The term *hiberna* usually signifies the winter quarters themselves; it is here, however, taken for the time of remaining in them.

5. *Id aliquot de causis,* &c. “It had happened, on several accounts, that the Gauls had suddenly formed the design of renewing the war and crushing the legion.”

1. *Neque eam plenissimam.* “Which was not, in fact, a complete one.” More literally, “nor it completely full.” Equivalent to *et eam quidem non plenissimam.* Compare Cic. *Phil.* 2, 18, “*Certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva;*” and Liv. 5, 33, “*Prater sonum lingue, nec eum incorruptum retinet.*” By *legio plenissima* is meant one with the full complement of men as fixed by the usage or law of the day. This complement varied at different times. Consult Archeological Index, and compare note 23, page 5.

2. *Singillatim.* “Individually.” Compare the explanation of Morus: *Singulorum militum, qui singuli discesserant.*

3 *Decurrerent.* “Should run down.” Compare the Greek, *D p*
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Page 53 ταυτῶν καταδραπονίσαντες.—Ne primum quidem, &c. The common text has sumum after impetum, on the authority of some MSS., and sustineri instead of sustinere. The reading which we have adopted is far more elegant, and harmonizes with the Greek paraphrase: ὁδὲ τὴν πρώτην σφόδρα δρᾶν τῶν Πομαδοῦς ἐξεσθαί. With sustinere we must supply temporium idam.

4. Accedebant. “Another reason was.” More literally, “to this was added.”—Suos eō sc, &c. “That their children were torn from them,” &c.

5. Sibi persuasum habebant. “They were firmly persuaded.” More literally, “they had it persuaded unto themselves.”

6. Cum neque opus, &c. “As neither the labour of constructing winter quarters, and the requisite fortifications, were completed.” More literally, “completely gone through with.” Davies, Morus, and many other commentators, regard opus hibernorum munitionesque as a hendiadys for opus munitionum hibernarum, “the labour of fortifying winter quarters.” This, however, is incorrect. Opus hibernorum refers to the erecting of suitable buildings to accommodate the soldiers, and also of hospitals, armories, workshops, &c., all of which were contained in the winter quarters of the Romans.

7. Neque de frumento, &c. “Nor had a sufficient supply of grain and other provisions been procured.” More literally, “nor had sufficient provision been made with respect to grain and other sustenance.”

8. Neque subsidio veniri. The verb veniri is here taken impersonally, posset being understood. “Neither could assistance come to them.” Literally, “neither could it be come unto them with aid.”

9. Ad salutem contenderent. “They should hasten to some place of safety.”—Majori tomen parti placuit. “It pleased, however, the greater part,” i.e., it was the opinion of the majority of the council.

10. Hoc consilio. Referring to the design, as recommended, of leaving their baggage behind, and sallying forth from their winter quarters.

11. Rei eventum experiri. “To await the issue.” Literally, “to try the issue of the affair.”

13. Gasaque. "And javelins." The gærum was a Galic javelin, entirely of iron. Compare Hesychius, γαῦρος ἱρόλον ἱθοιδηρον, and Pollux, 7, 43. The latter makes it to have been used also by the Africans. Servius is equally explicit, but terms it a Gallic weapon. "Pilum, proprius est hasta Romana, ut Gessa Gallo- rum." Compare S. Augustin, loc. de Josuc, lib. 6, "Septuaginta interpretes, qui posuerunt Geson (Jos. 8, 18), miror, si et in Graecâ lingua hastum vel lancearum Gallicanum intelligi voluerunt, ea quippe dicantur Gesa." Consult Adelung, Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat. vol. iii., p. 785.

14. Integris viribus. "While their strength was fresh."—Frustra. "In vain," i.e., without effect.—Ex loco superiore. "From the higher position which they occupied," i.e., from the rampart on which they stood.

15. Eo occurrere. "Thither they ran." Occurro here denotes, "to run up to and confront." Cæsar means, that, wherever danger presented itself, thither the Roman soldiers ran and met it.

16. Sed hoc superari. "But in this they were overcome," i.e., the enemy had in this the advantage over them.

17. Quod diuturnitate pugna, &c. "Because the enemy, wearied by the long continuance of their exertions, from time to time kept retiring from the battle, while others kept succeeding to them with fresh strength." Pugna, when opposed, as in the present instance, to prælium, denotes the closeness of the fight, and the physical exertions of the combatants. Prælium, on the contrary, expresses rather the state of the battle, in whatever manner conducted. Pugna, too, may be either long or short, with or without preparation; whereas prælium refers to a contest of some length, for which, generally, preparation is made. Crombie, Gymn. vol. i., p. 128.


2. Deficierent. "Wcre failing."—Atque. "While."—Languidioribusque nostris, &c. "And, our men growing every moment more and more faint, had begun to hew down the rampart," &c.

3. Ad extremum casum. "To the last extremity.

4. Primi pili centurio. "The chief centurion of the legion," i.e., the first centurion of the first maniple of the triarii. Primopilus has already occurred in the second book (c. 25), as a military title.
applied to the oldest centurion (compare note 11, page 46). Here, however, though the same office is meant, the expression changes, and centurio primi pilí is employed. In this latter case, the term pilus, from which pili comes in the genitive, stands for centuria. Thus, Forcellini remarks, "Differunt autem primipilus et primus pilus; nam primus pilus est prima centuria; primipilus vero ejus centuriam ductor." Compare B. G. 5, 35, "Superiore anno primi pilum duexerat;" and Sueton. Calig. 44, "Plerisque centurionum, maturis jam, primos pilos ademit." The term pilus gets this meaning, from the circumstance of the soldiers composing it being armed with the javelin or pilum.


6. Unam esse spem salutis. "That the only hope of safety was," i. e., that their only chance of saving themselves consisted in making a sally.—Extremum auxilium. "A last resource." 

7. Convocatis centurionibus. The centurions were called together, in order that the necessary instructions might be passed through them to the soldiers.—Celeriter milites, &c. "He quickly gives orders to the soldiers through them." Literally, "informs the soldiers."

8. Exciperent. "To take up." Compare the Greek, φελάτην. As their own missiles had begun to fail them, they were directed to supply themselves, with a sufficient number for the intended sally, from the javelins cast by the enemy.

9. Omnibus portis. A Roman encampment had always four gates, porta praetoria, in front; decumana, in the rear, opposite the former; principalis dextra, on the right; principalis sinistra, on the left. Consult Archaeological Index.

10. Neque cognoscendi, &c. "They allow the enemy no opportunity either of ascertaining what was doing, or of rallying themselves."

11. In spem, &c. "Had entertained the hope of getting possession of the camp." Literally, "had come into the hope."

12. Plus tertia parte. Celsus gives 10,000, as the number of the slain, Orosius 30,000.

13. Fusis armisque exutis. "Being routed and stripped of their arms."

14. Alio consilio. "With one view," i. e., for one purpose.—Aliis occurrisse rebus. "That he had encountered things very different from this," i. e., had been unexpectedly involved in matters
very different from the object which had called him thither. He had come to make the route over the Alps safer and less expensive for the traders, but had met with things quite different in their nature, namely, an insurrection on the part of the Gauls, and hard fighting. He prudently resolved, therefore, to try fortune no farther.

1. Omnibus de causis, &c. "Cæsar had every reason to suppose that Gaul was reduced to a state of peace." More literally, "imagined from all reasons." Compare, as regards the force of pacatum, the Greek paraphrase: τὸν γαλατικὸν εἰπνείονας.

2. Atque ita, &c. "And when he had, therefore, set out for Illyricum, in the beginning of winter." With atque supply cum. Some editions omit the preposition before Illyricum. This latter country, as has already been remarked, formed part of Cæsar's government.

3. Mare Oceanum. "The ocean," i.e., the Atlantic. Oceanum, added here to mare, shows the sense in which the latter term is to be taken, as referring, namely, to the Atlantic, and not to the Mediterranean. Compare Catullus, 115, 6, "Usque ad Hyperboreos, et mare ad Oceanum;" Pomp. Mela, 2, 6, "Paulatim se in nostrum et Oceanum mare extendit;" and L. Ampelius, lib. mem. c. 1, "Atque, ex qua mare Oceanum."

4. Prefectos tribunosque militum. By prefecti militum are here meant the officers of the allies, of equal rank with the tribuni militum, or officers of the Roman troops. Each Roman legion contained six tribuni militum, and each legion of the allies six praecext militum. Consult Archæological Index.

5. Dimisit. They were not sent for the purpose of employing force, but to procure the corn by asking it from the Gauls. Hence the term legati, or "ambassadors," is applied to some of them in chapters 9 and 16.

6. Scientia atque usu. "In the knowledge and experience."—In magno impetu maris atque aperto. "Amid the strong and outspread ocean surge." Cæsar means, that the heavy swells of the Atlantic compelled the small Gallic vessels to keep close to the shore, and to run into the harbours of the Veneti whenever a storm threatened. This circumstance, of course, rendered them, in a manner, tributary to that nation. The term aperto is applied to the Atlantic in contradistinction to the Mediterranean, where there is land on every side. Porcellini explains impetus maris, in this passage, by "Spatium et latitudo maris, ubi libere fertur impetu suo atque agi"
notes on the third book.

55. *tatur.* So in Lucretius, 5, 201, *impetus coeli* is explained by Gis- 
fanius (Collect. p. 359) as meaning *celerrimus coeli ambitus.*

7. *Ipsi.* Referring to the Veneti.—*Viciqales.* “Tributary to 
them,” i. e., the Veneti levied a regular tax or impost upon them.

8. *Ut sunt,* &c. “Since the resolves of the Gauls are always 
nasty and sudden.” *Ut* is here employed in an explanatory sense.

9. *Onmis.* The accusative plural for *onnes.* Some, with less 
propriety, make it the genitive singular, agreeing with *fortune.*

10. *Mallent.* There is no necessity for substituting *malint.* 
Cæsar, on other occasions, also uses the imperfect subjunctive after 
the present tense: thus, *B. C.* 2, 39, “*Accelerat ut posset*”; *B.* 
*C.* 3, 109, “*Ut in potestate haberet, efficit*”; *B. Afr.* 37, “*Imperat 
ut essent præsto,*” &c.

11. *Suos.* “His countrymen.” Referring to those persons 
whom they had detained.

56. 1. *Quod ipsa aberat longius.* “Since he himself was at too 
great a distance,” i. e., could not come at once to the scene of 
action and superintend the preparations in person.

2. *Naves longas.* “Vessels of war.” The *naves longæ* were 
so called, from their being much longer than vessels of burden 
(*naves onerarie*). They were impelled chiefly by oars, the ships 
of burden by sails. Consult Archaeological Index.

3. *Remiges.* Freedmen and slaves were employed as marines 
and rowers.—*Institui.* “To be raised.”

4. *Quantum in se,* &c. “How great a crime they had com-
mitted against themselves,” i. e., how much they had injured them-

*themselves by their violation of the rights of the Roman ambas-
dadors. (Compare note 5, page 55.) This conduct would recoil upon 

themselves.

5. *Quod nomen.* “A title, which,” i. e., a class of persons 
who. We may very reasonably doubt, whether the persons here 
alluded to came under the denomination of ambassadors. Cæsar, 
however, was determined to regard them in this light, and, there-
fore, made their detention a plea for hostilities.

6. *Pro magnitudine.* “In proportion to the greatness.”—*Hoc 
majore spe.* “With the greater confidence on this account.”

7. *Pedestria esse itinera,* &c. “They knew that the approaches 
by land were interrupted by arms of the sea, and that access by sea 
was difficult through our ignorance of the country and the fewness 
of harbours.” *Pedestria itinera,* literally, “the foot-roads.” So
navigationem impeditam, literally, "that navigation was embar-
assed."

8. *Neque nostros, &c.* "And they were confident, that our ar-
 mies could not remain for any length of time among them," &c.—
*Ac jam, ut omnia, &c.* "And, besides, even though all things
should turn out contrary to their expectations." *Ut* is here ele-
gantly used for *quamvis*.

9. *Ac longe aliam, &c.* "And that the navigation was far other
in a confined sea, than in a very wide and open ocean," i. e., was
very different in a confined sea from what it was in a very wide, &c.
The confined sea is the Mediterranean, to the navigation of which
the Romans were accustomed.

10. *In Venetiam.* The accusative implies, that they were brough:
to the country of the Veneti from other quarters. The ablative
would have denoted, that the vessels were already at different parts
of the coast of that country, and were merely brought together to
some general place of assemblage.

11. *Erant ha, &c.* "Were such as we have already mentioned."

12. *Injuriae retentorum, &c.* "The insolent wrong done in de-
taining Roman knights." *Injuriae* is here what grammarians term
the plural of excellence, and hence, in translating, is entitled to an
epithet, in order to express its force more fully. The peculiar force
of the genitive will also be noted by the student. *Caesar* does not
mean the wrong suffered by the Roman knights in their private ca-
pacity, but the insult offered to the state by detaining its ambassadors.
The Greek paraphrase gives the meaning very clearly; *h 7ε εις
Πομαντος άρεις το 7ος κατάς ιαμανός καταχείν.

13. *Defectio datis obsideibus.* "A revolt after hostages had
been given." The student will mark the difference between *defectio* and
*rebellio.* The former denotes a mere "revolt," or refusal of obe-
dience to established authority. *Rebellio,* on the other hand, means
"a renewal of hostilities."

14. *Hae parte neglecta.* "If this part were overlooked," i. e.,
the movements in this part of Gaul. *Strabo* (4, 4, p. 195, *Cas.*)
assigns a reason, for the commencement of hostilities against the
Veneti, far different from any here mentioned by *Caesar.* He says
that this nation were prepared to interfere with that commander's
sailing to Britain, since they had this island as an emporium or
mart: *έτομοι γάρ ἡσαν κωλδείν τόν εις τήν Βρετανικήν πλοῖν, χρύμενα τῷ
ηπιοτρίο.*

15 *Notis rebus studere.* "Are found of change." The refer-
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56. ence is in particular to changes of government or authority. — *Natura libertati studere.* "Are naturally desirous of freedom."

57. 1. *Auxilium.* The MSS., with only a single exception, give *auxilio.* This exception is in the case of one of the earliest of the number, which reads in *auxilio," among the auxiliaries." If several MSS. confirmed this lection, observes Oudendorp, I should not condemn it.

2. *Cum cohortibus legionariis duodecim.* Each legion was divided into ten cohorts. *Cæsar* sent, therefore, one complete legion and two cohorts besides.

3. *Galliam.* Celtic *Gaul* is meant, or Gaul properly so called. — *Conjungantur.* "Become united," *i.e.*, form a union against him.

4. *Qui emus manum, &c.* "To keep that force from effecting a junction with the rest." Literally, "to take care that that body of men should be kept separated or apart." Compare the Greek, *τήν τεκέην δόγμαν ἔλεγγαν.*

5. *D. Brutum.* Not to be confounded with M. *Brutus,* one of the conspirators against *Cæsar.* Consult Historical Index.

6. *Situs.* "The situations." — *In extremis lingulis, &c.* "On the extreme points of tongues of land and promontories." The *lingulae* are lower than the *promontorii.* Compare the remark of Festus: "Lingua est Promontoria quoque genus non excellentis, sed moliter in planum decexi."

7. *Cum ex alto, &c.* "When the tide had come in from the deep," *i.e.*, when it was full tide. — *Quod bis accidit, &c.* We have adopted the emendation of Bertius, as proposed by him in Sallengre’s *Thesaurus Ant. Rom.* vol. ii., p. 948, namely, *viginti quattuor,* or *XXIV.,* in place of the common reading, *duodecim,* or XII. The ordinary lection is a blunder either of *Cæsar’s* or some copyist’s, most probably the latter, since, where the motion of the water is free, as on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, the period which elapses between two successive tides is never less than twelve hours and eighteen minutes, nor more than twelve hours and forty-two minutes. Perhaps, after all, the reading of the Oxford MS. is the true one, which omits the word *bis,* but retains XII.

8. *Quod rerum,* &c. "Because when the tide again ebbed, the ships were thrown upon the shoals." With *minuente supply sesse.* The student will note the expression in *radis.* *Cæsar* uses this form and not in *rada,* to denote that the vessels not only struck upon the shoals, but remained there. "The expression in *rada,* on
the other hand, would refer merely to their striking. Morus, in his
Index Lat., explains affectionem by veluti harentem teneri, but, as we
have just remarked, this idea is rather derived from in vadiis than
from the verb itself.

9. Utraque re. "By either circumstance," i. e., in either case,
whether the tide were high or low.

10. Magnitudine operis. "By the greatness of our works."—
Superati. Referring to the townsman, and equivalent to victi,
"overcome," or overpowered. Morus erroneously makes it the
genitive singular, agreeing with operis in the sense of "completed,"
or, to use his own words, "absoluti, ad finem perdueci."

11. Extruso mari, &c. "The sea being forced out by a mound
and large dams." We have here, in reality, a species of hendiadys.
The terms agger and moles both refer to the same works, the former
denoting their intended military use, as a mound on which to erect
towers and plant machines; the latter referring to their being made to
serve also as a species of dike or dam against the waters of the ocean.
Lipsius makes extruso equivalent here to excluso. In this he is
wrong. It is more properly to be explained by submoto ac veluti
repulso. Compare the Greek: ἵππωβελον χώρας τῆς Ἁλάδους.

12. Atque his, &c. "And these being almost made equal in
height to the walls of the town." His refers to the mound and
dams, or, keeping up still the idea of a hendiadys, to the mound
itself.

13. Appulso. "Being brought to the spot." Appellere is, liter-
ally, to impel or bring to any place, by either oars or sails, or both.
—Cujus rei, &c. "Of which kind of force they had a large sup-
ply. Compare the Greek: αὐτῶν (scil. νεῶν) ἐντροφοδοτεῖς.

14. Magnis aestibus, &c. "Where the tides ran high, and
where there were few and almost no harbours."

1. Factae armataeque erant. "Were built and equipped." 50
Arma, besides its warlike reference, is used by the Latin writers
for instruments or implements of every kind, and, when applied to a
vessel, denotes the rigging and equipment, either in whole or in
part, according to the context.

2. Carinae aliquanto planiores. "Their bottoms considerably
flatter."—Excipere. "To withstand." More literally, "to re-
ceive" the collision of. Compare the Greek paraphrase: ἵππωβελον.

3. Ad quamvis, &c. "For the purpose of enduring any force
and shock." Contumelia, as here applied to inanimate objects, de-
notes any shock, brunt, or violence.—Transtra pedalibus, &c.
4. **Pelles pro velis, &c.** "For sails they had raw hides, and thin dressed skins." *Aluta,* from *alumen,* "alum," with which it was dressed, denotes the skin or hide after it has been converted into leather by the process of tanning. *Pelles,* the raw hide, or a skin of any kind stripped off.

5. *Lini.* "Of canvas." Literally, "of linen."— *Eo.* "On this account."— *Quod est magis verisimile.* "As is more likely."

6. *Tanta onera navium.* "So heavy vessels."— *Satis commod.* "With sufficient ease," i. e., very readily, or easily.

7. *Cum his navibus,* &c. "The meeting of our fleet with these vessels was of such a nature, that the former had the advantage in agility only and the working of the oars," i. e., in engaging with them, our ships had no advantage but in agility, &c. Gruter suspects that *pulsi* has been received into the text from a gloss in the margin of some MS., because one MS. has *pulsi remorum incitatione.* His conjecture is very probably correct, as Caesar, on such occasions, is accustomed to employ some part of *incitare or incitatio;* so that the true reading here would appear to have been *incitatione remorum,* or rather *remorum incitatione.* In either case, whether we have *pulsi* or *incitatione,* the literal reference is to the impulse given to the vessel by the oars, which we have rendered freely by the term "working."


9. *Rostro.* "With their beak." Ships of war had their prows armed with a sharp beak, usually covered with brass, with which they endeavoured to run into their antagonists' vessel.

10. *Facile telum adjiciabatur.* "Was a dart easily thrown so as to reach." *Adjiciabatur* is equivalent here to *jacio batur ad.*

11. *Minus commodus,* &c. "They were less easily held by the grappling irons," i. e., the ships of the Veneti were too high to allow the grappling irons of the Roman vessels to be conveniently applied. We have given *copulis* (from *copula*) instead of the common reading *scopulis.* It is difficult to comprehend what the height of the Gallic vessels had to do with the rocks, but it is very easy to perceive the bearing which it has as regards the application of grappling irons. The reading *copulis* rests on the authority of the Palatine MS., and was first suggested by Hotomannus. It has been approved of by Bentley, Davies, Oudendorp, Morus, and many
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others  Scaliger, in order to save the common lection, conjectured *incommode* in place of *commode*, but the original difficulty is not completely obviated by this emendation. Scaliger's reading, however, was followed by many editors until the time of Clark, who restored *commode*.

12. *Et se vento dedissent*. These words labour very justly under the suspicion of being a gloss, and, as such, they are enclosed within brackets by Oudendorp, in his smaller edition.

13. *In vadis consisterent tutius*. "Could lie with more safety among the shallows."


15. *Neque his noceri posse*. "Nor could any serious injury be done them." *Noceri* is here used impersonally.—*Expectandum*. The common text has *expectandum*, for which we have given *expec-

tandum*, with Drakenborch, on MS. authority. Consult *Drakenb.* ad Liv. 40, 38.


17. *Quamrationempugnent consisterent*. "What mode of fighting they should adopt." Ciacconius suggests *instituere* for *insisterent*, but there is no necessity for the change. As Oudendorp remarks, the verb *insistere* involves the idea of ardour, zeal, and the most intense application to what we have in hand.

1. *Turribus autem excitatis*. "While if towers should be raised." Ships, when about to engage, had towers erected on them, whence stones and missive weapons were discharged from engines.


3. *Falces praeacuta*. "Hooks with sharp edges towards the points." A description of these is given by Vegetius (4, 46), "*Falx dicitur acutissimum ferrum, curvatum ad similitudinem falcis, quod contis longioribus inditum, collatorios funes, quibus antenna suspenditur, repente praeidit,*" &c.


5. *Comprehensi adductique erant*. "Were grappled and pulled towards us."
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6. Armamentisque. "And rigging." The term armamenta here refers to the ropes, sail-yards, &c.—Omnis usus navium "All advantage from their ships."


8. U nullum, &c. "So that no action a little braver than ordinary could escape observation."

9. Dejectis. The sail-yards were thrown down (i.e., fell by reason of the ropes being cut), either upon the deck of the vessel, or into the sea. The common reading, disjectus, is erroneous, and does not suit the case. Compare the Greek paraphrase, καταθηκήσαν.

10. Cum singulas, &c. "When two and three of our ships, at a time, had surrounded a single one of the enemy’s." Some editors erroneously refer binae ac ternae naves to the Gallic vessels, and singulas to the Roman, giving cum the meaning of "although." The Greek paraphrast understands the passage correctly: έδο ὃ τρεῖς τῶν Ρωμαίων ηῆς πλαν τῶν πολεμίων περιήςταιν.

11. Transcendere in hostium naves. "To board the enemies’ ships."


13. Singulas consecutati, &c. "Having pursued, took them one by one."—Ut. "Insomuch that."—Hora quarta. Answering to ten o’clock in the morning, according to our mode of reckoning time.

14. Gravioris etatis. "Of more advanced years." The literal reference in gravioris is to the increasing burden of years.—Aliquid consili aut dignitatis. "Aught of wisdom or respectability."

—Navium quod ubique fuerat. "What of ships they had anywhere possessed."

1. In quos eo gravius, &c. "Caesar determined to punish them with the greater severity."

2. Sub corona vendidit. "He sold as slaves." Various explanations are given to this phrase, some referring it to the circle or ring (corona) of Roman soldiers, who stood around the captives during the sale; others to the circumstance of the captives being ranged in a circle, the better to be inspected by purchasers; and others again explain it by the persons who were sold wearing garlands on their heads. This last appears to be the true reason,
from the language of Cælius Sabinus, and Cato, as quoted by Aulus Gellius (7, 4). The former remarks, "Sicuti antiquitus, mancipia, jure belii capta, coronis induta veniebant, et idcirco dicebantur sub corona venire." So also Cato: "Ut populus sua opera potius ob rem bene gestam coronatus supplicatum eat, quam re male gesta coronatus venecat."


4. Atque his paucis diebus. "A few days before also." Literally, "within these few days."—Aulerci Eburovices. There were four nations or tribes of the Aulerci. Consult Geographical Index.


8. Nonnihil carperetur. "Was in some degree carped at," i.e., censured, found fault with.—Præbuit. "Gave rise to."

9. Eo absente. "In the absence of that individual." Alluding o Cæsar.—Legato. Cicacioinis thinks legato superfluous here, but it is required, in fact, by the opposition of "qui summam imperii teneret."

10. Hac confirmata, &c. "Having confirmed the enemy in their opinion of his cowardice." Literally, "this opinion of his cowardice being confirmed."—Auxilia causa. "Among the auxiliaries" Literally, "for the sake of aid."

11. Proponit. "Makes known to them." Literally, "lays before them."—Quibus angustiis. "By what difficulties."—Neque longius abesse, quin, &c. "And that at no more distant period than the very next night, Sabinus intends to lead forth his army secretly from the camp," &c. More literally, "and that it was not farther off, but that on the next night Sabinus intends," &c. The comparative form longius alters somewhat the usual force of the phrase. The ordinary phraseology is as follows: "Haud multum abfuit quin interficeretur." "He wanted very little of being slain," i.e., was on the point of being slain.—Non longe abest quin faciat. "He is very near doing it."

1. Multæ res. "Many circumstances." Dio Cassius is here directly at variance with Cæsar, for he informs us, that the Gauls acted on this occasion without any reflection at all, being sateæ at the time with food and drink: πάντα γάρ τοι διακορεῖς καὶ τῆς τροφῆς καὶ ὅπῃ ποτὸς ἠδραν.

3. *Spec Venetii bella.* "The expectations they had formed from the war of the Veneti," i.e., of Caesar's being defeated by them. They were not aware that this war had already been brought to a close.

4. *Non prius Viridovix, &c.* "They do not allow Viridovix and the other officers to leave the council, before," &c.

5. *Circiter passus mille.* "For about a mile."—*Magno cursu.* "With great speed."—Quam minimum spatii. "As little time as possible."

6. *Exanimati.* "Out of breath." *Exanimatus,* in other authors, generally has the meaning of "alarmed," "in consternation." The literal reference, however, is the same in either case, namely, that of excessive palpitation, or a difficulty in drawing the breath, whether the result of fear or exhaustion.

7. *Integris viribus.* "With their strength still fresh."—Paucos "But few."


9. *Nam ut ad bella suscipienda,* &c. Compare with this the language of Livy: "Gallos primo impetu ferores esse, quos sustineri satis sit; corum corpora intolerantissima laboris atque aestus fluere, primaque praelia plus quam virorum, postrema minus quam feminarum esse."


11. *Ex tertia parte Galliae est estimanda.* "Is to be reckoned as the third part of Gaul." We have an expression here (ex tertia parte) which is far from being either elegant or usual. If the text be correct, about which, however, there is considerable doubt, ex tertia parte must be regarded as equivalent to *pro tertia parte.* Some MSS. give Gallia instead of Galliae, a reading which is very far from being a bad one.

12. *Paucis ante armis.* The event here alluded to happened in the war with Sertorius, whose side the Aquitani favoured. The Sertorian war had been ended twenty-seven years.—*Lucius Manilius.* One of the MSS. gives Lucius Manlius, and the Greek paraphrase has Λοξίας Μανλίας. Lemaire reads Lucius Mallius.

1. *Quae sunt civitates.* "Which are cities." *Civitas* generally has the meaning of "a state," but here that of urbs.—*His regionibus.* Referring to Aquitania, where Crassus was carrying on his
operations. The common text had *Quae sunt civitates, Gallia provincie finitimae, ex his regionibus*; but, as this was geographically false, the cities in question lying, not in Aquitania, but in the province itself, Ciaecconius, by omitting *ex*, and changing the punctuation, gave us what is now the received and true reading.

2. *Quo plurimum valebant.* "In which they were very powerful."

3. *Tandem.* We have adopted here the reading of several MSS. and early editions in place of *tamen*, the common lection, and have, with Giani, placed a period after *cuperent*, where the other editions have a colon. Those who retain *tamen* give it the force of *tandem*, instances of which usage are occasionally found. It is better, however, to make the actual change at once, of *tandem* for *tamen*, when we can do so on MSS. authority. Scaliger conjectures *tandem tamen*. The Greek paraphrat has τάλαι, which furnishes an additional argument in favour of *tandem*.

4. *Cuniculis ad aggerem, &c.* "Mines having been worked up to our mound and viney.*" The object of these mines was to destroy the Roman works, by either drawing away the earth from the mound, or by first propping up the roof of the mine with wooden supports, and then setting fire to these, in order that, when the props were burnt through, the superincumbent mass, and, along with it, the Roman works, might fall in.

5. *Cujus rei, &c.* "In which all the Aquitanis are by far the most expert."—*Aeraria sectura.* "Copper mines." The commentators make a very great difficulty here about the true reading, and look upon *sectura*, in the sense of "a mine," as an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. The truth is, however, we may very easily obtain this meaning from *sectura*, if we only bear in mind its derivation from *seco*, for it will denote a place where they cut and follow the veins or lodes of copper. (Compare Gesner, *Thesaur. L. L.* s. v.) Those who are in favour of reading *stricturae* find it no easy matter to fix its meaning in the present case. *Strictura*, according to Nonius (1, 77, and 12, 23), properly signifies a spark that flies off from a piece of metal struck with the hammer while red hot. It is then applied to a mass of metal in the furnace, and also to a mass of unwrought metal, and it is from this last that a signification is still farther sought to be obtained, about the correctness of which we may well entertain doubts, namely, "a mass of earth and stone from which ore is obtained by means of the furnace." This is the meaning which the advocates for *stricturae* wish to give it in the
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Page 62 present case. Another reading is structure, which is certainly superior to strictura, and may, after all, be the true lection, for it is found in some of the MSS.

6. Nihil his rebus profici posse. "That no advantage could be derived by them from these things."

7. In ea re intentis. "Were wholly engaged in this matter."

8. Cum sexcentis devotis. "With six hundred devoted followers, whom they call Soldurii." There is some doubt whether we ought to read here Soldurios or Saldunias. The term Soldurii is supposed to be of Celtic origin, soldaе, and the same with the Welsh saoldor, with which terms also the French soldat is connected, although some would derive it from the pay received, a soldis, vel a soldo. The other reading, Saldunias, finds some support from the language of Athenæus (6, 54), who, in quoting from Nicolaus Damascenus, calls the persons referred to in our text Σελδούρους, which Schweighaeuser, however, has changed to Σελδοβυρους, in order to reconcile it with the received text of Caesar. It is worthy of remark, moreover, that in the Basque language Saldi means "a horse," and Salduna "a cavalier." Still, as Σελδοβυρος is explained in Athenæus by εὐχαριστος, which is equivalent to the Latin devotos, the reading Soldurios must not be disturbed. Consult Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois, vol ii., p. 14, and 391, in notis, and Adelung, Gloss. vol. vi., p. 277.

9. Quorum haec est conditio. "The condition of whose association is this."

10. Aut sibi, &c. "Or make away with themselves." The primitive meaning of conseiscere is to determine, or resolve, after previous deliberation either with one's self or another. It then gets the additional signification of "to put in execution, to bring about what has been determined upon." Hence the phrase conseiscere mortem sibi, "to lay violent hands upon one's self," is well explained by Forcellini, "nempe exsequi id quod deliberaveris et decretaveris."

63 1. Cum iis Adcantuannus. These words are here added, for the sake of perspicuity, after the long parenthesis which intervenes, and hence the words Adcantuannus cum sexcentis devotis, in the beginning of the chapter, stand, as it were, absolutely.

2. Tamen uti, &c. "Obtained, notwithstanding, permission from Crassus to avail himself of the same terms of surrender with the rest."

3. Barbari. "These barbarous tribes." Referring to the Vo
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1. Sates and Tarusates.—Et natura loci et manu. "By both the nature of its situation and the hand of man," i. e., both by nature and art.

4. Paucis diebus quibus, &c. "In a few days after the Romans had come thither." The relative is here employed, agreeing with diebus, in place of the more usual form postquam or ex quo (Zumpt L. G. p. 307). With ventum est supply a Romans, or a nostris.

5. Citerioris Hispaniae. Hither Spain, the same with Hispania Tarraconensis, may be said, in general language, to have formed the northern part of the country, comprehending an extent equal to three fourths of modern Spain. The remaining part was called Ulterior, or Farther. The limits of each, however, are given with more accuracy in the Geographical Index.

6. Magna cum auctoritate. "With great confidence," i. e., with a high opinion of their own resources. Compare the explanation of Morus: "Cum opinione majoris dignitatis auctarumque virium."

7. Quinto Sertorio. The famous commander.—Omnes annos "During all the years of his warfare in Spain."—Summanque scientiam, &c. They were thought to possess great military skill from their having served under so able a commander, and for so great a length of time.

8. Consuetudine Populi Romani. "Following the custom of the Roman people." They had learned this under Sertorius.—Loca capere, &c. "Begin by selecting proper ground, fortifying a camp," &c. By loca is meant ground fit for an encampment. With regard to the use of instituo in the sense of incipio, compare Quintil. 1, 5, 63, and Burmann, ad loc.


10. Hostem et vagari, &c. "That the enemy both roamed at large over the country, and possessed themselves of the passes, and yet, at the same time, left a sufficient guard for their camp." Obsideō is here a verb of the third conjugation, from obsido, not obsideo.

11. Duplici acie instituta. The usual arrangement, on the part of the Romans, was three lines. On the present occasion, however, only two were formed, as the Roman army was inferior in numbers to that of the enemy: and, besides, the mountainous nature of the country enabled Crassus to dispense with the usual order of battle.

12. Auxiliis. The auxiliary forces were usually stationed on
the wings; here, however, they occupy the centre, because Crassus did not place much reliance upon them.


1. Cum sua cunctatione, &c. "When the enemy had, by their own delay, and the opinion which was now entertained of their cowardice, made our soldiers the more eager for battle." The commonly received reading is timidiiores hostes (i. e., hostes timidiiores jam facti), the adjective timidiiores agreeing with hostes in the nominative. This reading, although it has the sanction of some great names, appears to us a very inferior one, and not much in unison with the context. We have not hesitated, therefore, to substitute timidioris, the emendation of Robert Stephens and Vossius, of which Oudendorp thinks highly, although he retains timidiiores. By opinione timidioris is meant the opinion, which the Roman soldiers began to entertain of the enemy's cowardice, from seeing them, although superior in numbers, keeping in their camp; and this lection receives support also from the Greek paraphrase: τὴν φόβον παρείχων δῆμος, which is equivalent to τὴ φόβον ἕν παρείχου δῆμος. Compare also the language of Julius Celsus: "Romani hostium tarditatem non consilio impulantes, sed pavori," &c.

2. Quibus ad pugnam, &c. Compare note 12, page 63.—Speciem atque opinionem, &c. "Gave rise to the appearance and opinion of their being actually engaged in the fight," i. e., produced the appearance, and gave rise to the opinion on the part of the enemy, of their being actually combatants.

3. Constanter ac non timide. "Steadily and boldly." The Greek paraphrase either follows a different reading, or else very strangely mistakes the meaning of constanter, for he renders it by φρονίμως.

4. Non frustra acciderint. "Fell not without effect."—As Decumana porta. "In the quarter of the Decuman gate." As the Gallic camp, on this occasion, was fortified after the Roman manner, it had the same number of gates, and in the same quarters. Hence the name "Decuman gate" applied to the entrance in the rear.

5. Intritae ab labore. "Not fatigued by any previous labour." The common text has integræ, but this savours of a gloss. Intritaæ is equivalent with non trità, or non defatigatæ. A large number of MSS. have interritæ, but this appears to have arisen from a corruption of intritæ.
6. *Ad eas munitiones.* "To that part of the enemy’s works." alluding to the fortifications near the Decuman gate.

7. *His prorutis.* "These being pulled down." The common editions have prorutis and perruptis, especially the latter. Prorutis was first given by Faernus from one of his MSS., and has since been adopted into the best texts. It is far more graphic and vivid than either of the other two readings, and is, moreover, in accordance with the Greek paraphrase, which has καταβαλότατην.

8. *Plane ab iis videri posset.* "It could be clearly seen by them," i.e., the movement on the part of the Romans could be clearly discovered by the enemy.

9. *Intendeuerunt.* "Strove." This is the reading of nearly all the MSS. and early editions. The common text has contenderunt, "hastened." The Greek paraphrase has ἐπεχείρησαν, in accordance with our lection.

10. *Multa nocte.* "Late at night," i.e., after much of the night had passed.

1. *Supererant.* "Alone remained."

2. *Qui longe alia ratione, &c.* "Who resolved to carry on the war in a very different manner from the rest of the Gauls." The expression bellum agere, which rests on MSS. authority, is rarer and more elegant than bellum gerere, the reading of the common text. Thus Pomponius Mela, 1, 16, "Ut aliena etiam bella mercede age- rent;" and Quintilian, 10, 1, "Quis enim canceret bella melius quam qui sic egerit."

3. * Continentes.* "Extensive." The Greek paraphrast takes continentes here in the sense of "contiguous to their own country." The term is certainly susceptible of this meaning, but the other significance is more natural in the present instance.

4. *Longius, &c.* "Having pursued them too far, amid the more intricate parts."—Deperdiderunt. Some MSS. give disperdiderunt. One of the Oxford MSS. has desideraverunt, which is rather an interpretation of deperdiderunt.

5. *Inermibus imprudentibusque.* "While unarm’d and off their guard," i.e., while occupied in felling the trees of the forest, and unprovided, consequently, for any regular resistance.

6. *Materiam.* "Timber." This term is elsewhere used in the same sense, or in that of "wood," by Caesar. Compare also Cæsar, 6, 6, 23: "Multam materiam eciderat miles."

7. *Conversam ad hostem.* "Directly facing the enemy."—Ex-
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struebat. "Piled it up." The timber was to supply the place of a regular rampart.

8. *Magno spatio confecto.* "A large space being cleared." Literally, "being completed," or "finished," i.e., a large number of trees having been felled.


10. *Sub pellibus.* "In tents." Literally, "under the skins." The tents of the Roman soldiers were covered with skins. In winter quarters huts were erected. Canvas does not appear to have been employed until a comparatively late period. *Lipsius, Mil. Rom. lib. 5, dial. 5.*

11. *Quae proxime bellum fecerant.* "Which had made war upon him last." *Bellum facere* is here put for *bellum inferre*; thus, *B. G. 7, 2,* "Principesque se ex omnibus bellum facturos politicentur.*"
BOOK IV.

1. Cneo Pompeio, &c. B. C. 55, A. U. C. 699.—Germani. A people of Germany.—Et etiam Tenchtheri. These were also a German tribe.

2. Quo Rhenus influit. "Where the Rhine flows into it," i.e., near the mouth of that river.

3. Centum pagos. "A hundred cantons."—Ex quibus, &c. "From each of which they led forth annually, beyond their confines, a thousand armed men," &c. E finibus is equivalent here to extra patriam.—Bellandi causa. We have retained causa, though it is omitted by some MSS., and though the omission is approved of by Oudeudorp and others. For instances of this ellipsis, compare chap. 17, near its close, and also B. G. 5, 8, and consult Ruddiman, Instit. 2, 2, vol. ii., p. 245, and Perizon. ad Sanct. Min. 4, 4.

4. Sic neque agricultura, &c. "In this way neither is agriculture, nor are the art and practice of war, intermitted," i.e., discontinued, or forgotten.

5. Privati ac separati agri, &c. Tacitus makes a similar remark: M. G. 3, 9, "Arva per annos mutant, et supereat ager"—Incolendi causa. "For the sake of a residence."


8. Locis frigidissimis. "In the coldest parts of their country," i.e., in the parts farthest to the north, and the most exposed to the rigours of their climate.—Exiguitatem. "Scantiness."—Aperta. "Exposed," i.e., in a state of nudity.
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9. Quae bello ceperint, &c. The order is, ut hабеat (illos) q eí bus vеndant (ea) quе ceperint bello.

10. Quinetiam jumentis, &c. "The Germans, moreover, do not use imported cattle, in which the Gauls take the greatest delight, and which they procure at an extravagant price." All the MSS. give importatis his, but his is wanting in some of the earlier editions. Oudendorp, therefore, very neatly conjectures importatitiis, which he introduces into the text of his smaller edition, and in which he is followed by Oberlin. We have adopted the conjectura without any hesitation. Bentley, however, is in favour of importatis omitting his, and this reading is given by many editors.

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1. Sed quae sunt, &c. The grammatical construction is as follows: Sed (quod attinet ad) parva atque deformia (jumenta) quae nata sunt apud eos, efficiunt quotidiana exercitatione ut hæc sint summi laboris. In rendering, however, into our idiom, it will be neater to translate without reference to the actual ellipsis of quod attinet ad: "But the small and ill-shaped cattle which are bred among them, these they render, by daily exercise, capable of enduring the greatest toil."

2. Parva atque deformia. The common text has prava atque deformia, which savours strongly of a pleonasm. We have, therefore, adopted parva in place of prava, which is the reading of Oudendorp's smaller edition, and is given also by eight MSS. The Greek paraphrast, moreover, has μυράς, and Tacitus (M. G. 5), in speaking of the German cattle, says expressly that they were for the most part of small size: "plerumque improerent."

3. Turpius aut incertiis. "More shameful or spiritless." — Ephippiis. "Housings." The term ephippium does not denote a saddle, but a cloth laid on the back of a horse (ἰφ' ἔπη). Saddles were not used by the ancients. It is extremely probable, that they were not invented until the middle of the fourth century of our era. The earliest proof of their use is an order of the Emperor Theodosius, A. D. 385, by which those who wished to ride post-horses were forbidden to use saddles that weighed more than sixty pounds. Codex Theodos. 8, 5, 47.—Beckmann’s History of Inventions, vol. ii., p. 251, seqq.

4. Itaque ad quemvis, &c. "And hence they dare, however few they may be, to advance against any number of cavalry that use housings."

5. Importari non sinunt. At a later period, in the time of Tacitus, the Germans along the Rhine purchased wines from the Roman traders. Tacit. M. G. 23
6. *Publ.*  "In a public point of view," i. e., to the state at large.—*Vacare agros.* "For the lands to lie desolate," i. e., uninhabited and waste. Literally, "to be empty."—*Hac re signifi- cari.* "That by this it is shown."

7. *Civitatium.* The common form is *civitatum,* but many examples of genitives plural in *ium,* where the rules of the grammarians would lead us to expect the termination in *um,* may be found in Vossius, *Anal.* 2, 14, and Ruddiman, *Instit.* 1, 2, 59, *in notis,* vol. i., p. 93.

8. *Ad altem partem,* &c. "On the other side the Ubii are next to them." More literally, "the Ubii come up to the other side," i. e., are in their immediate vicinity.

9. *Quorum fuit civitas,* &c. "Whose state was at one time extensive and flourishing, considering the condition of the Germans," i. e., who once possessed an extensive and flourishing state for Germans. More literally, "as the state of the Germans is."

10. *Et paulo, quam sunt,* &c. The true reading here is extremely doubtful, owing to the discrepancy of the MSS. and editions. The generally received lection is *et paulo, quam sunt eus- dem generis,* *et ceteris humaniores.* Now to this there are two serious objections; one, that by it two different constructions are joined with one and the same comparative, of which but a very few instances can be found elsewhere; and the other, that by (hones) *eudesm generis,* and *ceteris,* the very same persons are meant, namely, the Germans; for it is absurd to say, that by the former of these expressions the Ubii are meant, since Cæsar would make them, in that event, a little more civilized than themselves! We have adopted, therefore, the emendation of Bentley. *By ceteri eudesm generis* are meant the rest of the German nation.

11. *Amplitudinem gravitatemque civitatis.*  "The extent and populousness of their state," i. c., the state of the Ubii. *Gravitatem* is here equivalent to *frequentiam.*

12. *Humiliores inrimioresque.* The former epithet refers to the diminution of their *amplitudo,* which embraces the ideas of both extent of territory and abundance of resources; the latter alludes to the lessening of their numbers.

13. *In cadem causa.*  "In a similar case," i. e., similarly situated, subject to the same treatment from the Suevi as that which the Ubii had endured. Compare the Greek paraphrase:  *тαυτὸ τοῦτοις οἱ Οὐατηρίζ τή καί οἱ Τηρχήροι ξάδον.*
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15. Demigraverant. We have adopted the pluperfect, as recommended by Morus, instead of the perfect, as given in the common text. The former of these tenses harmonizes better with the context.

1. Rursus revertunt. A pleonasm, of which examples often occur in the best writers: thus, Curtius, 3, 11, 14, "Rursus in prælium redeunt;" and Petronius, c. 10, "Rursus in memoriam revocatus."

2. Quicquâ in suis sedibus. These words are not in the common text. They were first restored by Oudendorp, from MSS.

3. Reliquam partem hiemis, &c. "They lived, for the remainder of the winter, on their provisions," i. e., on the provisions which they, the Menapii, had collected for their own consumption. Aluerunt se, literally, "they maintained," or "supported themselves." As regards the use of copiis, here, in the sense of "provisions," compare Tacitus, Ann. 15, 16: "Contraque prodiderit Corbulo, Parthos inopcs copiarum, et, paulo atterito, relieturos oppositionem."

4. Infirmitatem. "The fickleness." —Móibles. "Changeable." Nihil his committendum. "That no trust should be reposed in them," i. e., that none of his plans ought to be made known to them, and that their fidelity and attachment ought not to be taken for granted.

5. Est autem hoc Gallicæ consuetudinis. "For this is one of the Gallic customs." More literally, "this appertains," or "belongs to Gallic custom," i. e., forms a part of it; is one of their customs.


7. His rumoribus, &c. "Influenced by these reports and hear-says, they often concert measures respecting the most important affairs." Literally, "enter into consultations." —Excestigio. "Instantly."

8. Cum incertis rumoribus serviant. "Since they are mere slaves to uncertain rumours," i. e., have blind faith in them.—Etplerique ad voluntatem, &c. "And since most persons give them false answers adapted to their wishes." More literally, "answer things feigned according to their wish," i. e., feigned designedly to please them.

9. Ne graviori bello occurreret. "That he might not meet with
a more formidable war (than he had originally expected)," i.e., be involved in a more formidable one. The phraseology here employed by Caesar is equivalent to "ne in gravius bellum incideret." Caesar feared lest the Gauls, with their known fickleness, should make common cause against him along with the Germans.

10. Facta. "Had been already done," i.e., had already taken place. Compare the Greek: 
v

11. Ad Germanos. Referring to the Usipetes and Tenchtheri.

—Utì ab Rheno discederent. "To leave the vicinity of the Rhine," i.e., to advance into Gaul. Compare the language of Celsus, c. 65.

"Seque inferrent in intima Galliarum."


2. Suam gratiam. "Their friendship." —Vel sibi, &c. "Let them either assign lands to them."

3. Eos teuere. "To retain those subject to them." —Possede-rint. The subjunctive is here employed, as indicating what they, the speakers, asserted of themselves. So again possint expresses their own opinion, not that of Caesar also.

4. Concedere. "Yielded," i.e., acknowledged themselves inferior to. —Ne dìi quidem, &c. Compare the Homeric ἀναίδεα, as applied by the poet to his heroes. —In terris. "On the earth."


6. Neque ullos, &c. "Nor were there any lands vacant in Gaul." —Sine injuria. "Without injury," i.e., without positive injustice to the Gauls, or injury of some kind to the Roman sway. —Sint. "Are," i.e., are, as he informs them.

7. Ab iis. "From them," i.e., from the Ubii. The common text has ab Ubii. We have adopted, however, the conjecture of Brutus, which Oberlin erroneously ascribes to Morus. The Greek paraphrase accords with this: παρ' αυτῷ.

8. Hos expectari equites. "That the return of this body of cavalry was only waited for."
9. Vosego. This name is variously written: Vosegus, Vogensus, and Vosagus. We have given the preference to Vosegus, as sanctioned by MSS., by the language of an ancient inscription, and the usage of writers in the middle ages. Consult Venant. Fortunat 7, 4, and Greg. Turon, 10, 10, as cited by Cellarius, Geog. An. vol. ii., p. 141. Cortius, however, prefers Vogensus (ad Lucan. 1. 397), but consult Bentlier on the other side. (Animad. Hist. c. 5, p. 75.)

10. Et parte quodam, &c. We have adopted here the Bipsor reading with Oberlin, Murus, Lemaire, and Daehne. Oudendorp gives a very different lection, and one far inferior, as follows: insulamque efficit Batavorum, in Oceanum infuit, neque longius at Oceanum militibus passuum octoginta in Rheum transit.

1. Citatus. "In rapid course."—Oceano appropinquat. Some of the MSS. give oceanum, but Caesar more frequently employs the dative with this verb. Compare B. G. 5, 44, and 7, 82.

2. In plures diffuit partes. "Divides into several branches.

3. Qui piscibus atque ovis, &c. Compare Pliny, H N. 16, 1.—Mittis capitiibus. "By many mouths." Compare the Greek paraphrase: πολλαίς οὔφασις. Vossius denies that any other Latin writer employs caput in the sense of ostium; but compare Lucan, 3, 201, and Cortius, ad loc. Consult also Liv. 33, 41, and Crevics ad loc.

4. Ut erat constitutum. "As had been mentioned by them." Equivalent to ut erat dictum. It appears to be, in truth, a careless manner of expression in the present instance, since, as appears from chapter 9, Caesar had not consented to any such arrangement.

5. Sibi jurare, jurando fidem fecissent. "Should give them security by an oath." Fidem facere is here the same as fidem dare.—Et conditions, &c. "They assured him, that they would avail themselves of those conditions that might be proposed by Caesar," i. e., of whatever conditions might be proposed.

6. Eodem illo pertinere. "Tended to the same end," i. e., had this one object in view.—Qui abessent. "Who were said to be absent."

7. Prefectos. The commanders of turmae are here meant, being analogous to the Greek διάφανο. Miltit. Supply quosdam.

8. Sustinenter. "Only to stand their ground." Literally, "to sustain the attack."

"Amplius tria millia militum amissa;" and Nepos, 16, 2, 3, "Non amplius centum adolescentui." The reason why so small a number of German horse dared to attack so large a body of Roman cavalry, was the contempt which the former entertained for the latter from the circumstance of their using ephippia. Compare chapter 2.


1. Ita perterritos. "In such dismay."—In conspectu. The common text has in conspectum, but some of the MSS. exhibit in conspectu, which is undoubtedly the true reading. In conspectum venire refers merely to the action of the moment, but in conspectu venire, as Clarke well explains it, is to come into the sight of another, or of others, and remain there for some length of time. Compare Vechner, Hellenolex. p. 261, and Ramshorn, L. G. § 150, p. 290.

2. Intercluso. "Intercepted," i. e., cut off by the enemy from the rest of our troops.

3. Animum advertisset. For animadvertisset, which is the reading of the common text.—Incitato equo. "Spurring on his horse."

4. Per dolum atque insidias. "By deceit and treachery," i. e., with a deceitful and treacherous design.—Expectare. "To wait," i. e., to delay coming to an action.—Summa dementia esse. "To be the height of folly." Dementia, want of judgment on particular occasions; amentia, madness, total alienation of reason.

5. Infirmitate. "The fickleness."—Quantum jam, &c. "He was sensible how much reputation the enemy had already gained among them by the issue of a single battle." Eos refers to the Gauls, and hostes to the Germans.

6. Quibus. Referring back to eos, i. e., to the Gauls.

7. Ne quem diem, &c. "Not to let a day pass without bringing the enemy to an engagement." Quem for aliquem.

8. Omnibus principibus, &c. "All their leading men and elders being brought along." Literally, "being taken unto them."

9. Sui purgandi causa. "For the sake of clearing themselves."—Quod contra atque, &c. "Because, contrary to what had been said by them, and to what they themselves had requested, they had actually joined battle the day previous," i. e., had fallen upon our men.
10. *De inductis fallendo impetraeent.* "They might obtain a farther truce by deceiving him." It is more than probable, that both this and the previous statement are false, and that *Caesar* acted with bad faith towards the Germans, not they towards him. It is difficult to conceive, that their leading men would have put themselves so completely into the hands of the Romans, had their object been a treacherous one. On the other hand, Plutarch informs us (Vit. *Cas.* c. 12, seq.), that Cato actually charged *Caesar* with a violation of good faith on this occasion, and was for giving him up to the enemy. (Compare *Sueton.* Vit. *Jul.* c. 24.) The breach of good faith with which Cato charged him, seems to have consisted in his attacking the Germans while he had their ambassadors with him; more especially since *Dio Cassius* informs us (39, 47, seq.), that the battle was owing to the uncontrollable ardour of the younger warriors among the Germans, which their elders disapproved of to such a degree, as to send an embassy to *Caesar* for the purpose of explaining what had been done. This embassy, therefore, *Caesar* detained, and, in the mean time, marched against and conquered those for whom they had come to intercede.

11. *Gavisus.* Nearly all the MSS. and earlier editions give *gravius* without any meaning at all, and *gavisus,* therefore, has been substituted by all the more recent editors. With this latter reading also the Greek paraphrase concurs: τόσοις δὲ παραθείνει Καίσαρ ἡθεὶς, ἵκτορις μὴ κατίσχει.—*Illico.* The common text has *illos,* and the pronoun is said to be here redundant. (Consult *Arnzenius, ad Aurel. Vict.* c. 37, 43.) We have preferred, however, *illico,* the very neat emendation of Daehne, which is in some degree borne out by the language of *Celsus:* "Quos ubi *Caesar* adspexit, nulla penitus de re auditos illico capi jussit."

1. *Discessu suorum.* "By the departure of their own countrymen," i.e. by the absence of the leading men and elders, who had been detained by *Caesar.*—Perturbantur. "Are thrown into great confusion, and are altogether at a loss."

2. *Pristini diei.* "Of the day before." *Pristini* is here put for *pridiani,* examples of which usage also occur in *Cic. de Orat.* 1, 8. *Quint. Curt.* 8, 4. *Suet. Aug.* 94. Compare also the language of *Aulus Gellius* (10, 24), "Die *Pristino,* id est priorie, quod vulgo pridie dicitur."

3. *Ad quos consectandos.* The barbarity of this transaction admits of no excuse. Hottiman endeavours to save the credit of *Caesar,* by reading *conservandos* for *consectandos,* but this is directly
contradicted by the language of the next chapter, "suos interfici," &c. The Greek paraphrase also is express on this point: καὶ ἄ
μεν Καίσαρ ὁ πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς ἑλπίστασιν.

4. Post tergum clamore audito. This proceeded from the out-
cries of those who were pursued by the Roman cavalry.—Suos.
Referring principally to their children and wives.

5. Ad confluenterm, &c. "To the confluence of the Meuse and Rhine." The battle appears to have been fought near the spot
where now stands the modern Aix-la-Chapelle. By the confluence
of the Meuse and Rhine is meant the junction of the former river
with the Vahalis or Waal, a little above the modern Bommel.

6. Reliqua fuga desperata. "The rest of their flight being de-
spared of," i.e., all hope of farther flight being taken away.

7. Ex tanti belli timore. "After the alarm of so great a war," i.e., a war of so formidable a nature being ended.—Quadriniento-
rum, &c. Orosius makes the number 440,000; Plutarch 400,000.
But both these numbers are very probably exaggerated.

8. Multis de causis. According to Plutarch, Cæsar's true mo-
tive was a wish to be recorded as the first Roman who had ever
crossed the Rhine in a hostile manner. (Vit. Cæs. c. 22.) Dio
Cassius makes a similar statement (39, 48).

9. Suis quoque rebus, &c. "He wished them to be alarmed for
their own possessions also." Literally, "to fear for their own
things."

10. Accessit etiam. "Another reason likewise was." More
literally, "it was added also."—Quam supra commemoravi. Con-
sult chapter 12.

1. Ad quos. Referring to the Sigambri.—Eos. The Usipetes
and Tencltheri.

2. Cur sui quicquam esse, &c. "Why should he insist that any
right of commanding, or any authority whatsoever, belonged to him
across the Rhine?" Sui is the personal pronoun, governed by esse.

3. Occupationibus reipublicæ. "By his public engagements."
More literally, "by the occupation which the republic (i.e., public
affairs) afforded." Some MSS. have populi R. instead of reipubli-
cae, with which reading the Greek paraphrase (τῶν Populius) appears
to agree. Celsus, on the other hand, has "reipublicæ negotii oc-
cupatus."

4. Nomen atque opinionem. "The name and reputation."—Ad
últimas, &c. The preposition ad is here used in the same sense
as apud, which latter is the reading of the common text. Compare
Sanct. Min. 4, 6 and Perizonius, ad loc.
5. Neque sae, &c. "Nor consistent with his own character or the dignity of the Roman people." Dignitatis here varies slightly in meaning, according as it refers to Caesar or the Roman people at large.

6. Proponebatur. "Was manifest." Literally, "was placed before the view."—Id sibi contendendum. "That he must strive to effect this."

7. Rationem pontis, &c. "He determined upon the following plan of a bridge."—Tigna bina sesquipedalia, &c. "At the distance of two feet from one another, he joined together two piles, each a foot and a half thick, sharpened a little at the bottom, and proportioned to the depth of the stream." We have preferred rendering tigna by the word "piles," as more intelligible than "beams" in the present instance. The distributive bina refers to the circumstance of their being many pairs of these piles or beams.

8. Dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis. The meaning is, that they were of greater or less length, according to the various depths of the stream, being longest in the middle of the river, and diminishing in length according to the proximity to the banks. All, however, projected equally above the level of the water.

9. Hae cum machinationibus, &c. "When he had, by means of engines, sunk these into the river and held them down there, and had then driven them home by rammers." The participle and verb, immissa defixerat, are to be rendered as two verbs with the connective, immiserat et defixerat.

10. Fistucis. The fistucae here meant are not hand-rammers, but machines worked with ropes and pulleys, by which weights are raised to a considerable height, and then allowed to fall upon the pile beneath. Compare Vitruvius, 3, 3, and 10, 3, and also the explanation of Morus, ad loc.

11. Non sublicae modo, &c. "Not quite perpendicular, after the manner of a stake, but bending forward and sloping, so as to incline according to the direction of the stream." The slope of the piles will be perceived from the plan that is given of the bridge. The piles here spoken of were those on the upper part of the river, and which looked downward, or secundum flumen. In other words, they pointed down the stream.

12. His item contraria bina, &c. "Opposite these, at the distance of forty feet, lower down the river, he placed other pairs, joined in the same manner, and turned against the force and current of the river." The common text has contraria duo, for which
Clarke first gave contraria bina. Caesar very probably wrote contraria II., and hence the error arose. The context requires bina. So the distributive quadragenum refers to the several pairs. The piles here spoken of lay on the lower part of the river, and pointed up the stream. In either case, therefore, whether in the upper or lower part of the river, they were prona ac fastigata.


14. Hae utraque, &c. "Each of these pairs of piles, moreover, were kept from closing by beams let in between them, two feet thick, which was the space from one pile to another, fastened on both sides, at either extremity, by two braces."

15. Quantum corum tignorum, &c. Literally, "as far as the joining of these piles was apart." The reference is to the space of two feet which was left between the two piles of each pair, when they were first sunk into the river.

1. Quibus disclusis, &c. "These pairs being thus kept apart (by the beams let in), and, at the same time, firmly clasped by the braces in the opposite direction." This sentence is explanatory of the preceding one, hae utraque, &c., and contains, if the expression be allowed, the key to the whole structure. The beams let in between the two piles would have a tendency, of course, to keep them apart, while the braces above and below would have an opposite tendency, and would serve to keep the piles together. The greater the pressure, therefore, one way, the stronger the resistance the other; and the constantly acting power would be the current of the stream itself.

2. Tanta erat, &c. "So great was the firmness of the whole structure, and such was the nature of the materials employed, that the more powerfully the force of the current drove itself against the different parts, the more closely were they connected together and kept in their places." Literally, "by how much a greater force of water had urged itself on."

3. Hae directa materie, &c. "These cross-beams were overlaid and connected together, by rafters placed in the length of the bridge, and these again were covered over with poles and hurdles." Hae refers to the beams running across from one pair of piles to the opposite pair.—Directa materie. The term materie is very erroneously rendered "planks" by some editors. Planks would not be strong enough for the purpose. Directa is well explained by Clarke, from Lipsius: "secundum longitudinem pontis."

4 Longu iis. The longurii were long poles, placed across the
rafter, very close to one another, and the hurdles were strewn over these, in order to produce a more level surface.

5. Ac nihil secius, &c. "And, besides all this, piles were likewise driven in obliquely, at the lower part of the stream," &c. These piles, as will be perceived from the plan, served as props, or rather buttresses against the impulse of the waters. Had they not been placed where they were, the violence of the current might have carried the bridge over to the opposite side of the river.—Nihil secius. Literally, "nevertheless," i. e., notwithstanding all that had been done, a still further precaution was exercised by driving in piles, &c.

6. Pro pariete. Some of the MSS. and editions have pro ariete, which is not so bad a reading as it may at first appear to be; the piles in question being compared by it to the appearance which a battering-ram presents, when raised for the purpose of inflicting a blow. The Greek paraphrase has also ἐκεῖνος ῥηθεί. Still, however, the true lection is pro pariete, the idea intended to be conveyed being that of a buttress, or wall of support.

7. Et alia item, &c. These last, which Caesar immediately after calls defensores, were merely stakes fixed above the bridge to act as fenders. In the ordinary plans of Caesar's bridge they are arranged in a triangular form, with the apex of the triangle pointing up the stream. This is all wrong. They were placed in a row, very probably a double one, directly across, from one bank to the other, for in this way alone could they afford perfect security to the structure.

8. Dejiciendi operis. "For the purpose of demolishing the work." According to the generality of grammarians, we must here supply causa. (Sanct. Minerva. 4, 4.—Vol. ii., p. 49, ed. Bauer.) Zumpt, however, inclines to the opinion, that this form of expression arose from the construction of the genitive with esse. (Zumpt, L. G. p. 388.)

9. Quibus materia, &c. "After the materials had been begun to be brought together to the spot." Compare, as regards the force of quibus, note 4, page 63. Plutarch regards the erection of this bridge as a very wonderful act on the part of Caesar. In a late French work, however, on Caesar's wars, ascribed to the Emperor Napoleon, that distinguished commander is made to say, that this work of Caesar's has nothing extraordinary in it whatever, and that the bridges constructed over the Danube, in 1809, by General Bertrand, displayed far more skill, the difficulties to overcome being far
The Greek, ἵκαρπωθεν τῆς γέφυρας.
11. Hortantibus ipsis. "By the advice of those."—Quos ex Tenchthoris, &c. These were the cavalry, who had taken refuge, as already stated, with the Sigambri, and whom the latter had refused to deliver up to the Romans. Consult chap. 16.
12. In solitudinem ac silvas. Better than in solitudine ac silvis, as some read. The former expresses the idea of going into a place, and concealing one's self there; the latter of being already in the place before the attempt at concealment is made.
14. Hunc esse delectum, &c. "That this was selected, as being nearly in the centre of those regions which the Suevi possessed," i.e., as being almost the centre of their country.
2. Satis profectum. "That enough had been done by him." Profectum (from proficio, not from proficiscor) is here elegantly used for perfectum, which latter is the reading of some MSS. Compare B. G. 7, 65, "Ad reliquias pacem parum profici;" Livy, 3, 14, "ibi plurimum profectum est;" and Ovid, A. A. 2, 589, "Hoc tibi profectum Vulcane;" with the note of N. Heinsius.
3. Se in Galliam receptit. His true motive for retreating was the fear entertained by him of the Suevi. Hence Lucan (2, 570) makes Pompey say, that Caesar fled from the Rhine: "Rheni gelidis quod fugit ab undis."
5. In Britanniam, &c. Dio Cassius (39, 53) remarks, that no benefit whatever resulted either to Caesar himself, or to the state, from this expedition into Britain, and that Caesar's only motive, in going thither, was the honour of having been the first Roman that invaded the island. Plutarch's observations are pretty much to the same effect. (Vit. Cæs. c. 23.) Suetonius, on the other hand, informs us, that Caesar was attracted thither by the fame of the British pearls. (Vit. Jul. c. 47.) Pliny states, that this commander consecrated to Venus Genitrix a cuirass adorned with British pearls, "ex Britannicis margaritis factum." (N. H. 9, 57)
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8. Quem usum bellii haberent. "In what way they carried on war." Compare the version of De Crisse, "sur la manière dont ces peuples faisoient la guerre."—Aut quibus institutis uteren tur. "Or what customs they followed," i. e., what their customs were.

9. Caium Volusenum. The punctuation adopted in the text, namely, the comma after Volusenum, connecting it with the preceding clause, is the suggestion of Bentley, who also recommends the insertion of eum before cum. This latter emendation, however, is quite unnecessary.

10. Premittit. Suetonius (Vit. Jul. 58) states, that Cæsar reconnoitred the island in person. Of course the remark must be an erroneous one, since Cæsar's own assertion is entitled to far more credit. Some editors, however, and among them Ernesti, have endeavoured, by altering the text of Suetonius, to make it harmonize with that of the commentaries. Consult Crusius ad loc.

11. Duri. For se daturos. So obtemperare for se obtemperaturas. Compare B. G. 2, 32, "Ili se quæ imperarentur facere dixerunt;" and 7, 14, "Necessario dispersos hostes ex aedificis petere."

1. Magni habebatur. "Was regarded as extensive." The genitive of value. More literally, "was estimated highly."

2. Ut Populi Romani fidem sequantur. "To embrace the alliance of the Roman people."

3. Quantum ci facultatis, &c. "As far as opportunity could be afforded him."—Qui non auderet. "Since he did not venture." The student will note the force of the subjunctive.

4. De superioris temporis consilio. "For their past conduct."

5. Nostræ consuetudinis. Alluding to the Roman custom, of exercising humanity towards those who had yielded to their power, and of protecting them from the aggressions of the neighbouring states.

6. Has tantularum, &c. "That these engagements in such trifling affairs ought to be preferred by him to Britain." i. e., to the invasion of Britain.

9. Legati non venerant. This arose from dissensions among the Morini, some embracing the party of Caesar, others opposing it.

9. Tertia fere vigilia solvit. "He set sail about the third watch." The third watch began at midnight. The place from which Caesar sailed on this occasion was the portus Itius or Icicius, a little south of Calais, and, according to D'Anville, the same with the modern Witsand. (Strabo, 4, 5, p. 199, Cas.—D'Anville, Not de la Gaule, p. 389).

10. Solvit. Supply naves. Literally, "loosens his vessels," i.e., from the shore. The full form of expression is given in chapter 36; B. C. 1, 28, &c. So in Ovid, Her. 7, 9, "Certus es, Aenea, cum foedere solvere naves."


1. Hora diei eireter quarta. "About the fourth hour of the day," i.e., about ten o'clock in the morning. He sailed, it will be remembered, about midnight.

2. Britanniam attigit. D'Anville thinks that Caesar landed at the portus Lemenis, now Lymne, a little below Dover.


4. Adeo montibus, &c. "The sea was confined by mountains so close to it." Many commentators give angustis, in this passage, the sense of præruptis. But this is erroneous; the adjective carries with it here the idea rather of something that contracts, or makes narrower, any space. Compare Ramshorn, L. G. 6'206, p. 69:


6. Ad horam nonam. "Until the ninth," i.e., three o'clock in the afternoon.

7. Monuitque, &c. "And cautioned them, that all things should be performed by them at a beck and in a moment, as the principles of military discipline, and especially as naval operations required, since these are characterized by rapid and ever-varying movements."

More literally, "have a rapid and unstable motion." There is a good deal of doubt respecting the latinity of some parts of this passage, and it is more than probable that some corruption has crept into the text.

8 Sublatis anchoris "The anchors being weighed."—Aperte
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Page 79 ac plano litor. This was probably the portus Lemanus, alluded to under note 2, page 79.

9. Et essedaris. "And Essedarii." We have preferred an glossing the Latin term to paraphrasing it in our idiom. By essedaris are meant those who fought from the esseda, or British chariots of war. Essedum is said by the ancient writers to be a word of Gallic origin, and denotes a species of two-wheeled chariot in use among the Gauls and Britons. It is said to have been invented among the Belgae. Compare the authorities cited by Adelung, Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat. vol. iii., p. 359.


12. Et in fluctibus consistendum. "And to keep themselves steady amidst the waves." Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἐν τῷ ἄρχεντει.

13. Omnibus membris expediti. "Having the free use of all their limbs."—Notissimis locis. "In places which they knew perfectly."

14. Et equos insuefactos incitarent. "And spurred on their horses accustomed to such exercise." Insuefactos, equivalent to valde assuetos.

15. Quorum et species, &c. "Both whose figure was more novel to the barbarians, and whose movements were quicker for use," i.e., and which were more easy to be managed. The barbarians, in consequence of the commerce carried on with their shores by the merchants of Gaul, were accustomed to the sight of vessels of burden, but not to the figure of ships of war.

16. Oneraris navibus. The vessels of burden were employed on this occasion, it will be remembered, as transports.—Et remis incitari. "And to be rowed briskly forward."

1. Fundis. "By slings."—Tormentis. "Engines." The tormenta were engines for discharging heavy iron javelins, large stones, &c. The term itself is derived from torqueo, as referring to the mode of working the machine. Thus, "tormentum, quasi torqueantum, machina, qua tela, saxa, aliare missilia, nereo aut funs contento torqueantur et jacintur."

2. Quae res magnus usus, &c. "Which thing was of great service to our men."—Navium. Referring to the vessels of war.
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3. Qui decima legionis, &c. "He who bore the eagle of the tenth legion." The eagle, or main standard of the legion, was borne by the centurio primi pili, or primopilus, who was the oldest centurion in the legion. Consult Archæological Index, s. v., centurio and aquila.

4. Eares. "This thing," i. e., what he intended to do.—Aqui cum hostibus prodere. It was considered very disgraceful to lose any standard, but particularly so the main one of the legion. Commanders of ten availed themselves of this circumstance, for the purpose of urging on their troops, by casting the standard into the midst of the foe.

5. Præsittero. "Will promptly discharge." The future perfect (or, as it is more frequently, but very erroneously called, the future subjunctive) is here used to express prompt execution, the future being thus represented as already past. Compare Zumpt, L G. p. 320.

6. Tacitum dedecus. Alluding to the disgrace consequent on the abandonment of their standards. Compare the language of Lipsius (Mil. Rom. 4, 5), "Suadebat enim repetere (signa) non poena tantum, quæ manebat iis amissis, sed etiam pudor et religio, et quasi deæ ac sacra sua prodidissent."

7. Ex proximis navibus. All the MSS. have ex proximis primis navibus, but we have rejected primis with Hotomann, Scaliger, and some more recent editors, as savouring strongly of a pleonasm. The Greek paraphrast, moreover, has only ex τῶν ἰγγίστων ναυών. Ouden dorpl, indeed (ad Suet. Caes. 50, p. 82), endeavours to explain ex proximis primis navibus, by making it equivalent to ex iis navibus quæ in proximo ordine erant primæ; few, however, will agree with him.


9. Neque firmiter insistere. "Nor to get a firm footing." Literally, "nor to stand firmly."—Atque alius alia ex navi, &c. "And kept joining, one from one vessel, another from another, whatever standard each had chanced to meet," i. e., the men from different ships being compelled to join whatever standard they first came up with.

10. Singulares eg edientes. "Coming forth individually," or one by one.—Impeditæ. "Embarrassed in their movements."—In universos. "At our collected force."

11. Quod cum animum advertisset. For quod cum animadverteisset. The strict grammatical construction, however, is cum adversisset animum quod, i. e., vertisset animum ad quod.
12. *Scaphus longarum navium.* "The boats belonging to the ships of war."—*Speculatoria navis.* "The light vessels of observation," i.e., spy-vessels. These were light and fast sailing cutters, generally used to explore coasts, and to watch the movements of an enemy's fleet. According to Vegetius (4, 37), they were painted of a greenish blue colour, in order to escape observation. The sails and cordage were also greenish blue, and even the dress of the mariners and soldiers on board. "Ne tamen exploratoriae naves candore prodantur, colore veneto (qui marinis est fluitibus similibus) velat ingentur et funes: cera etiam qua ungere solent naves infectur. Nauta quoque et milites venetam vestem induunt, ut non solum per noctem, sed etiam per diem facultis laterant explorantes." With regard to the "cera" mentioned in this passage, consult Pliny, H. N. 35, 11.

13. *Simul.* For simul ac. "As soon as."

14. *Equites.* Alluding to the cavalry which had embarked in the eighteen transports. These had not been able to "hold on their course and reach the island." It will be seen, from chapter 28, that they had encountered a violent storm. *Tenere cursum* is applied to a vessel passing with a favourable wind to her point of destination, and is well explained in the Greek paraphrase by *ειθαναρμίν.*

15. *Legatos.* Dio Cassius (39, 51) says, that these ambassadors were some of the Morini, who were on friendly terms with them: περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τῶν Μορίων τινάς, φίλων σφόν δῆτον.


2. *Oratoris modii.* "In character of ambassador." We have recalled these words into the text with some of the best editors. They are found in numerous MSS., and in all the early editions until the Aldine. The reason urged for their omission is, that they savour of a mere gloss. But it may be stated, on the other hand, that the Greek paraphrase has ὅς πρέσβειον, and, besides, that Caesar would very naturally employ the words in question, to show that the laws of nations had been violated by the barbarians, in imprisoning a Roman ambassador.

—*Propter imprudentiam.* "On account of their indiscretion," i.e., as it was merely an act of indiscretion.

4. *Continerum.* Referring to Gaul.

5. *Accessitum.* "Sent for," i.e., since they had to be sent for.
—*Remigrarre in agris.* "To retire to their lands," i.e., to go
back to their usual occupations, the war being at an end.—Con
vere. Many editions have convenere, which is inferior, and makes
the sentence flow less smoothly.

6. Post diem quartum quam, &c. "On the fourth day after."
—Supra demonstration est. Consult chapter 23.

7. Cursum tenere. "Hold on its course," i.e., make any head-
way. Compare the Greek  eiduphojv.—Referrentur. "Were car-
ried back."

8. Quae est proprius, &c. "Which lies more to the west."—
Dejicerentur. Ciaconius, without any necessity, reads rejicerentur.
The verb dejicere is very properly employed here, as the vessels
"were carried down" to the lower part of the island.

9. Qui dies. "Which period," i.e., which day of the month.
All the MSS. have this reading. Some editions, however, omit
aies, and have merely quae, which then refers to luna. Compare,
however, the following expressions: "Jussu Pompeii, quae man-
data" (B. C. 3, 22); and, "Ante comitia, quod tempus." (Sal-
lust, B. I. 36. Compare Cortius, ad loc.) So also Horat. Od. 4,
11, 14, "Idus tibi sunt agenda, Qui dies," &c.

10. Nostrisque id erat incognitum. The Romans were accus-
tomed to the navigation of the Mediterranean, where the tides are
comparatively slight, and in some parts of which they hardly deserve
the name.

11. Afflictabat. "Broke from their moorings and dashed against
each other."—Administrandi. "Of managing them."

1. Totius exercitus, &c. Count Turpin de Crissé censures Ce-
sar very deservedly, for his imprudence in making this descent upon
Britain, before he had either obtained an accurate knowledge of the
coasts of the island, or had procured a sufficient supply of provis-
ions. Caesar's wonted good fortune, however, once more saved him.

2. Quod omnibus constabat. "Because it was evident to all." Literally, "because it was agreed upon by all."—His in locis. Re-
ferring to Britain.


4. Rem producere. "To prolong the war."—Reditu. Hoto-
mann very unnecessarily conjectures auditu. By reditu is meant,
of course, a return to Gaul.—Ex agris deducere. Compare the
conclusion of chapter 27. "Suos remigrare in agros jusserunt."

5 Ex eventu navium suarum. "From what had happened to
his ships." Compare Hirtius, B. G. 8, 21: "Quae Belloncorum
speculabantur eventum;" and Livy, 33, 48: "Ita Africa Hannibal
excessit, sopius patrict, quam suorum eventus miscratus."

6. Et ex eo quod intermiserant. "And from their having inter-
mittet." Literally, "and from this circumstance, because they had
intermitted."

7. Ad omnes casus. "Against every emergency." More lit-
erally, "against everything that might happen."

8. Graveissime afflicata. "Most seriously injured."—Acre. The
Romans made use of brass in the construction of their ships more
frequently than iron. Thus, they covered the rostrum or beak, and
occasionally the sides, with this metal. The nails or spikes, also
employed in securing the timbers of the vessel, were generally of
this same metal. Compare Vegetius (5, 4): "Utilius configiur
Liburna clavis arcis quam ferres." It must be borne in mind,
that what we here call brass was, strictly speaking, a kind of bronze.
The term as is indiscriminately used by the Roman writers to de-
note copper, brass, or bronze. It was not till a late period that
mineralogists, in order to distinguish them, gave the name of cu-
prum to copper. The oldest writer who uses the word cuprum is
Spartianus (Vit. Caracall. c. 9), which appears to have been formed
from the cyprium of Pliny (H. N. 33, 5).  

9. Reliquis ut navigari, &c. "He brought it to pass, that it
could be safely navigated with the rest," i. e., he enabled himself
to put to sea safely with the rest.

10. Hominum. Referring to the Britons, not to the Romans.
Compare the Greek paraphrase: μήροι ἐν τῶν Βρετανών ἑτι ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς
μενόντων. The British chieftains, it will be remembered, had at first
disbanded their forces, and then had begun to withdraw them se-
cretly from the fields again, in order to renew hostilities. The per-
sons mentioned in the text are those who still remained in the fields
(i. e., at home), and had not yet obeyed the latter call.

11. Pars etiam in castra ventitaret. "A part kept even com-
ing frequently into our camp." Compare the Greek, μήροις ἐκαὶ ἐν
τῶν Ἡρώων στρατιπέδῳ ἑπιμενόντων.

was customary." Literally, "than custom used to bring with it."
—In ea parte, &c. Compare note 7, page 5.

1. In stationem succedere. "To take their post," i. e., to suc-
ceed them as a guard for the gates. Compare the Greek, τῶν ἐκείνων
τόπον ἔπαθικος.  

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2. Et, conferta legione, &c. "And that, the legion being crowd-
ed together, darts were hurled upon it from all sides."

3. Quod. "Inasmuch as."—Ex reliquis partibus. "From the other parts of the adjacent country."—Pars una. "One quarter."

4. Paucis interfectis. Dio Cassius (39, 52) makes the loss to have been a more serious one.—Reliquos incertis ordinibus, &c. "They threw the rest into confusion for want of knowing their ranks." The Romans were out of their ranks, and mowing down the grain when the enemy attacked them. Hence the confusion which ensued from their inability to regain their ranks in so sudden an onset.

5. Genus hoc est, &c. "Their manner of fighting from chariots is as follows."—Per omnes partes. "In every direction." Compare the Greek: πάνωθι.

6. Ipso terrore equorum, &c. "By the very alarm occasioned to the horses of the foe, and the noise of their wheels," i.e., by the alarm which they excite in the horses of the foe, through their rapid movements up and down, and the rattling of their chariot wheels.

7. Cum se insinuaverint. "When they have insinuated them-
selves," i.e., have worked their way into.

8. Aurigae. "The charioteers." Each chariot held two per-
sons, the auriga, or driver, and the essedarius, or one who fought. So, in Homeric Antiquities, the chariot is called δίφρος (quasi δίφο-
ρος), from its carrying two persons (δί and φίρα), namely, the chari-
oteer, or ἡδονός, and the warrior, or παραβάρος. (Terpstra, Antiq. Hom. p. 306.)

9. Atque ita cum, &c. "And place themselves in such a situa-
tion with their chariot, that if their masters are overpowered by a number of the foe, they may have a ready retreat to their friends." By illi are here meant the essedarii.

10. Ita mobilitatem, &c. "Thus they exhibit in battles the agility of horse, the steadiness of foot," i.e., they answer a double purpose, serving both for cavalry and infantry.

11. Incitatos equos sustinere. "To rein in their horses when at full gallop." Sustinere is here equivalent to retinere. Compare Ovid, Fast. 5, 301:

"Sape Jovem vidi, cum jam sua mittere vellet
Fulmina, ture dato sustinuisse manum."

12. Et brevi, &c. "And in one instant to manage and turn
them." Many editors supply loco after brevi, but the sense requires an elipsis of tempore.
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Quibus rebus. "In this state of affairs." Quibus rebus may also be the dative, depending on tulit. The former construction, however, is the simpler of the two.

14. Constat urunt. "Stood motionless," i. e., stopped driving to and fro with their chariots.

15. Laccessendum. Some of the later editions, contrary to the best MSS., insert hostem after this word. Compare Livy, 33, 7, and Virgil, En. 5, 429.

16. Reduxit. Caesar here very artfully glosses over what was in reality a kind of flight on his part. Hence Lucan (2, 572) makes Pompey say of him on this occasion, "Territa quaevis ostendit terga Britannis."

17. Quicrant ignis, &c. "The rest of the Britons, who were in the fields, departed," i. e., left the fields to join the army of their countrymen. Compare chapter 32.

18. Continuous complures dies. "For very many days in succession."

Suis praedicae erunt. "Published to their countrymen."—Sui liberandi. "Of freeing themselves," i. e., from the Roman yoke, with which they were threatened.—His rebus. "By these means."

2. Nactus equites circiter triginta. "Having got about thirty horse." This small number surprises some of the commentators, who therefore read CCC. (i. e., trecentos, "three hundred") instead of XXX. (triginta). But the MSS. have all the latter number, and the Greek paraphrase, too, gives τριάκοντα. A parallel instance occurs in the commentaries on the African war (c. 6), where less than thirty Gallic horse put to flight two thousand Mauritian cavalry.

3. Ante dictum est, &c. Compare chapters 21 and 27.

4. Quos tanto spatio, &c. "Our men having pursued them as far as their speed and strength enabled them," i. e., as far as their strength enabled them to run. Literally, "having pursued them over as great a space as they were able to traverse by running and strength."

5. Omnibus longe lateque, &c. "All things far and wide being prostrated and burnt." Afflictis is here equivalent to exerxis or stratis. The common text has merely in place of affectis incensis-que, the reading adiectis incensis.

6. Propinqua die equinociti. "The equinox being at hand." In the 20th chapter, it was said, "exigui parte astantis reliqua," &c. Hence the autumn equinoctia is here, of course, meant. The equino-
nox (or time when the days and nights are equal, over all the globe) happens twice a year, on the 22d of March and 22d of September, the former being called the vernal, the latter the autumnal equinox.

7. *Hiemi navigationem subjiciendam.* "That his voyage ought to be exposed to a storm." The weather about the time of the equinox is generally very stormy.

8. *Eosdem, quos reliquae, &c.* "Were all able to make the same port with the rest." — *Paulo infra.* "A little lower down," i. e., lower down along the Gallic coast.

9. *Quibus ex navibus.* "From these two ships." Referring to the two *naves onerariae*, or transports.


11. *Orbe facto.* The orb, or circular order, was a disposition of which Caesar speaks in his commentaries, as highly advantageous in cases of danger and extremity. It was resorted to on the present occasion as a means of defence.

1. *Horis.* Some editors read *horas*, which requires an ellipsis of *quam*. The ablative, however, is more customary with Caesar.

2. *Propter siecitates paludum.* "On account of the dryness of the marshes." The marshes, which had formerly protected them, and had served as a barrier against the Romans, were now dry, it being the end of summer. Hence they were deprived of their usual place of retreat.

3. *Quo perfugio, &c.* "Of which refuge they had availed themselves the year before." The MSS. and editions vary here in a surprising degree. We have given the reading which harmonizes with the Greek paraphrase: ταυτῶ γὰρ τῇ ἀποχαράξει τῷ ποδόσεν ἦτε ἱκίσχαντο.

4. *Duxrant.* Compare chapter 22.—*Omnibus corum agris vasa-tatis, &c.* Caesar appears to have acted here upon the principle, that severe measures alone could check the natural tendency of the Gauls for insurrection and change.

5. *Eo.* "Thither," i. e., to his winter quarters among the Belgae.— *Reliquae neglexerunt.* Dio Cassius (40, 1) assigns this circumstance as a pretext on the part of Caesar for making a second descent on Britain.

BOOK V.

1. Lucio Domitio, &c. A. U. C. 700, B. C. 54.—Italian. Hither, or Cisalpine, Gaul is meant. This was Caesar's province.

2. Demonstrat. "He points out," i. e., gives a plan of.—Subductionesque. "And drawing them on shore." Compare chap. 11. Subducere naves is to draw vessels on shore; deducere naves, to draw them down from the land into the water.


4. Has omnes actuarias, &c. "He ordered them all to be made of a light construction, to which purpose their lowness in the water contributes greatly." By actuaria naves are meant vessels remarkable for lightness and swiftness, and so called from the ease with which they were impelled (quia facile agi potuerunt). They were managed by sails and oars, having but one bank of the latter, or, at farthest, two. Compare Livy (38, 38): "Decem naves actuarias (nulla quarum plusquam triginta remis agatur) habet."


6. Illyricum. This country, it will be remembered, was attached to, and formed part of, Caesar's province of Hither Gaul. The whole province was Cisalpine or Hither Gaul, Illyricum, and Transalpine Gaul. Compare Suetonius, Vit. Ces. c. 22.

7. Omnibus rationibus. "By all reasonable means," i. e., to make every reasonable compensation for the injury.

1. Civitatem. "Their whole state."—Arbitros inter civitates dat, &c. "He appoints arbitrators among the states, to estimate the damage, and fix the compensation." Compare the language of Forcellini, in explanation of the phrase aestimare litem. "Aestimare
Referring to the tutor, e., makes to previous forest him."

3. Sexcentas. Lipsius thinks this number incredible, considering the shortness of the time; but the reference is to old vessels that had been repaired, as well as to new ones that had been built.

4. Cujus supra demonstravimus. Referring to the naves actuarra mentioned in the previous chapter. Cujus is here put by attraction for quod, in imitation of the Greek.

5. Instructas. "Got ready." The proper term to be employed in such cases. Some editions have constructas, which is far inferior, and does not suit the number of vessels as well as instructas. Compare note 3.

6. Neque multum abesse, &c. "And that there was not much wanting of their being able to be launched in a few days," i.e., and that not many days were required to make them fit for launching.

7. Portum Itium. Consult Geographical Index, and compare note 9, page 79.—Transmissum. "Passage across."—A continenti. "From the continent," i.e., from the continent of Gaal, to the island of Britain; or, as we would say, from land to land.

8. Huie rei. "For this purpose," i.e., to execute these orders. Compare the Greek paraphrase, προς τὸ ἐπὶ τὰῦτα διδάσκαλον.


10. Cingetorix. O'Brien, in his Irish and English Dictionary, makes this name equivalent in Celtic to Cin-go-toir, i.e., "caput ad expeditionem," with Ver ("a man") prefixed. The name will then signify, the chief, or leader, of an expedition. Sir W. Beetham, on the other hand ("The Gael and Cymbri," p. 197), makes the name come from cingead, "valiant," and rig, "a king," with a similar prefix of Ver.


12. Silvam Arduennam. "The forest Arduenna," i.e., the forest of Ardennes. Compare B G. 6, 29, and consult Geographical Index. The student will mark he construction in silvam Arduennam addictis, which implies a going or conveying into the wood, previous to the act of concealment, whereas in silva Arduenna ab-
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88 ditis would mean that the persons concealed had been in the wood some period before the concealment took place.

89 1. Quoniam civitati consulere von possent. "Since they could not take any measures for the common welfare." The dissensions between Indutiomarus and Cingetorix prevented them from doing anything for the interests of the state at large, and they therefore came to Caesar to entreat his protection for themselves individually.

2. Laberetur. "Might fall off," i. e., might revolt.—Itaque esse civitatem, &c. "That the state, therefore, was completely under his control."

3. Permissurum. Some read commissurum, but the former is the true lection. The distinction between committere and permittere is drawn by Cicero, Verr. 2, 1, 32, "Incommoda sua nostris committere legibus, quam Solori suo permittere mac slurunt."

4. Quaeque cum res, &c. "And what cause detained him from his projected purpose."—Omnibus ad Britannicum, &c. "When everything was prepared for the British war," i. e., now that everything was ready, &c.

5. Nominatim. "Expressly."—Consolatus, &c. "He consoled Indutiomarus, and exhorted him," &c. Caesar consoled Indutiomarus, for the temporary deprivation of his son and relations, whom he intended carrying with him, as hostages, into Britain, and assured him that they should suffer no injury.

6. Hos singillatim, &c. "He reconciled these, man by man, to Cingetorix."—Quod cum meritò, &c. "This he both thought was done by him in accordance with the deserts of the latter, and at the same time imagined it was greatly his interest, that the authority of one, whose signal attachment towards himself he had clearly perceived, should be as great as possible among his own countrymen."

7. Suam gratiam, &c. "That his influence was lessened among his countrymen." His influence was lessened by the reconciliation which had been effected between Cingetorix and the other chief-tains.—Multa gravius hoc dolore exarist. "Blazed out with augmented fury, through resentment at this."

8. In Meldis. The Meldi here referred to were situate on the Sealdis, or Scheldt, between what are now Gand and Bruges. Some editors, imagining that there was only one Gallic tribe of this name, that situate on the Mediterranean coast, have changed Meldis into Belgis, but the old reading is correct.


2. Cupidum novarum rerum. "Fond of change," i. e., fond of
political changes, or of revolutions in the state.—Magna animi.  

"Of a high spirit."


4. Recusandi aut deprecandi causa. "For the purpose either of refusing his appointment, or entreatng to have it revoked."

5. Id factum. "This fact."—Ex suis hospitibus. "From his friends." More literally, "from those connected with him by the ties of hospitality."

6. Petere contendii. "Strove to obtain."—Religionibus. "By religious scruples." What these were we are not informed. Hofmann thinks, that the allusion is to the performance of some vow, or of funeral rites, while Relliecanus and Glandorp suppose Dumnorix to have pretended that the omen or auspices were unfavourable. This latter is the more probable opinion.

7. Obstinate. "Peremptorily."—Sevocare singulos. "To call them aside one by one."

8. Non sine causa fieri, &c. "That it was not done without some secret motive, that Gaul was stripped of all her nobility."

9. Hos omnes in Britanniam, &c. Alluding to the hostages which Caesar intended taking with him into Britain, as a means of keeping the Gauls quiet during his absence.—Fidem reliquis interponere. "He pledged his word to the rest."—Quod esse ex usu, &c. "Whatever they should understand to be for the interest of Gaul."

10. Quod tantum, &c. "Because he had ever paid so much respect to the Aeduan state."

11. Quod longius, &c. "And that, since he saw his mad folly going too far, he ought to take care, lest the other might have it in his power to do any injury to himself and the Roman government."

The construction of the latter part of the clause is, prospicendum (esse sibi, i. e., Caesaris) ne (ille, i. e., Dumnorix) posset nocere quid sibi (Caesari) ac reipublica.

12. Corus venus. "The northwest wind." Some editions have Caurus venus, but the form Corus is more common. The wind here meant is the same with the ἀνέφερς of the Greeks.

13. Nihilo tamen secius, &c. "But still, not the less on that account, to make himself acquainted with all his designs." Supply ut before cognoscere, from the previous clause.

14. Omniun impeditis animis. "While the attention of all was engaged," i. e., with the embarcation.
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1. Hunc. Referring to Dumnorix.—Pro sano. "As a prudent man," i.e., as might be expected from, or as became, a prudent man. Literally, "as a man in his senses."—Qui negotiasset. "Since he had slighted." The student will note the force of the relative here with the subjunctive mood.

2. Emm. "However." Emm is here used as an adversative particle, with the force of autem, instances of which are of no unusual occurrence in Tacitus, Plautus, and other writers. Compare the words of Gronovius (ad Liv, 34, 32), "Observarunt erudi
ti ex Plauto, hanc particulam (enim) interdum a fronte orationis inducere vim adversativae."

3. Rem frumentaria. The common text has rei frumentaria, but the accusative is far preferable. Consult Sanctius, Min. 3, 3, vol. i., p. 514.

4. Consiliumque pro tempore, &c. "And might take measures according to time and circumstance," i.e., such measures as time and circumstance might require.

5. Pari numero equitum, &c. "A body of cavalry equal to that which he was leaving on the continent." The student will mark the elegance of the construction in the text. It is equivalent to numero equitum pari ei numero quem relinquebat. The number of horse referred to is two thousand.

6. Leni Africo. "By a gentle southwest wind." The south west wind was called Africus by the Romans, because coming to them in the direction of Africa Propria, the modern district of Tunis.

7. Longius delatus aestu. "Being carried down a considerable distance by the tide." Longius, literally, "a greater distance than ordinary."—Sub sinistra relictam. "Far away on the left."


9. Virtus. "The patient endurance." Virtus here denotes patient endurance of the fatigue of rowing, or, in other words, bodily labour resolutely endured.—Vectoriis gravibusque navi
giis. "Though in transports and heavily laden vessels."

10. Cum annotinis. "With the ships employed the previous year." More literally, "with the ships of the previous year." Annotinus means, "of only one year." Compare the Greek paraphrase: εν τοις τοι προσθεν έτων. Some, very incorrectly, read annonariis, referring to vessels of burden used in transporting provisions.

11. Sui commodi. Supply causa So in Greek ἤτοι is often understood.
12. *Cohortibus decem.* Ten cohorts formed a legion, and the complement of cavalry for each legion was three hundred. *Caesar,* however, calls the force referred to "ten cohorts," and not "one legion," most probably because the cohorts in question belonged to different legions.

13. *Eo minus ventus navibus.* A somewhat unusual phrase, occurring also in Cicero, *Acad.* 4, 45, "Vos mihi veremini."

"In littore molli atque aperto." "On a smooth and open shore." Compare the explanation of *Morus:* "Mollis, nullis scopulis periculo loso; aperto, nullis rupibus aut prominentiis impedito."

1. *Crebris arboribus succisis.* The trees thus felled were placed together in form of an abattis or breastwork.—*Præclusi "Blocked up."

2. *Propugnabant.* "Came forth to fight."

3. *Testudine.* Consult Archæological Index.—*Aggere ad munitiones adjecto.* "A mound having been thrown up against the fortifications of the enemy." A mound is properly said to be thrown up, *jaci*; while a tower is said *agi* (or *excitari.* B. G. 5, 40).

4. *Milites.* "The foot." *Milites* is here opposed to *equites,* and is to be taken, therefore, in the sense of *pedites.* So in the 61st chapter of the 7th book, "exercitus equitatusque."

5. *Superiore nocte.* "On the preceding night."—*Afflictas, &c.* "Had been dashed against each other, and driven on shore." Some read *in littus,* but *in littore* is more graphic, since it implies, that the vessels had not only been driven on shore, but were still lying there.


7. *Ex eo concursu navium.* "From this collision of the vessels," i. e., from the ships thus running foul of one another.

8. *Coram perspicit.* "He sees with his own eyes," i. e., before him, on the spot. Compare the Greek paraphrase, *χῶραν αὐτὸς ἑαυτικῶς καρετικά.*—*Magno negotio.* "With great trouble."

9. *Fabros.* "The artificers." Each legion had its proper complement of artificers. Compare Vegetius, 2, 11, "*Habet praeterea legio fabros lignarios, instructores, carpentarios, ferrarios," &c., and consult *Stevenschius, ad loc.* p. 168. Under the term *fabri* *Caesar* here includes the *fabri lignarii,* or carpenters, and the *fabri ferrarii,* or smiths.
10. *Ut quam plurimas,* &c. "To build as many vessels as possible with the legions that are with him," i. e., with the legions which he commanded.

1. *Subducit.* "To be drawn on shore." Supply in aridum. The full form is given B. G. 4, 29.—*Una munitione.* "By one general fortification," i. e., the same rampart and ditch were to encompass the vessels and the tents.

2. *Unde.* Referring to the place where he was when the new reached him of the disaster of his vessels.

3. *Summa imperii,* &c. "The supreme command and direction of the war."—*Cassivellauno.* The derivation which Sir William Beetham gives for this proper name is extremely amusing, and shows the reckless handiwork of a professed etymologist. He deduces it from *Cass,* a man's name, and *bealinn* "a little mouth," and makes Cassivellaunus equivalent, therefore, to "Cass with the little mouth!"

4. *Superiore tempore.* "At a former period."—*Continentiam.* Put for *continuam.* So continentes *silvae* (B. G. 3, 28), and continentes *paludes* (B. G. 6, 31).

5. *Quos natos,* &c. "Who they say it has been handed down by tradition were born in the island itself," i. e., of whom they have a tradition that they were sprung from the very soil of the island itself. This is in accordance with the erroneous, but very prevalent, belief among so many of the nations of antiquity, that their first ancestors were produced or born from the earth. The Athenians in particular were remarkable for this, and hence the name *ab* *thydroth* which they applied to their race. Thus Thucydides remarks (1, 2), *τὴν γαλατικὴν οἰκουμένην ὑποκοινοῦν ὁ αὐτοὶ ἀεὶ.* Where the scholiast adds, *τὴν γίνεται ἑπολοντικόν* οὐ γὰρ ἐσεύν ὑδατον. The most ancient nations thought themselves indigenous, because, having long dwelt in the same country, they at length forgot their origin.

6. *Quibus orti ex cивitatibus.* "From which being sprung," *Civitatibus* is here repeated with the relative, according to *Caesar* s not unfrequent custom. Compare note 7, page 5.—*Bello Eclat.* "The war having been waged," i. e., when the war was over.

7. *Hominum est infinita multitudine.* "The number of inhabitants is unbounded," i. e., the population is immense.—*Gallicis consimilibus.* Compare Jornandes 2, 2: "*Virgeas habitant casus, communa tecta cum pecore, silvaeque illis saepe sunt domus.*"

8. *Utuntur aut aer,** &c. "They employ for money either copper or oblong pieces of iron, ascertained to be of a certain weight."
L iterally, “tried by a certain weight.” The term taleis, in this passage, occasions great trouble to the commentators, and they give it, generally speaking, the meaning of “rings,” because the Greek paraphrast renders it by δακτυλιος. Nothing, however, can be more erroneous than this interpretation. Talea properly denotes a wooden pin, or small piece of wood shaped like a spike, used in architecture for connecting together the timbers of an edifice. [Vitruv. 1, 5.] It is then applied to agricultural operations, and means a small branch of a tree, sharpened like a spike or stake, and planted in the ground to produce another tree. [Varro, R. R. 1, 40.] Caesar employs the term here in precisely the same sense, as far as regards shape; but as talea properly means something of wood, he appends the adjective ferreus, in order to show that the talea here meant were pieces of iron. The Britons, therefore, according to him, employed for money either copper, or small pieces of iron shaped like spikes. This view of the subject receives a striking confirmation from the custom said to have prevailed among the earlier Greeks. The earlier δωδος, according to ancient authorities, denoted originally “a spit,” i.e., a piece of iron or copper fashioned like a small spit, and used for money, and six of these made a drachma (δραχμη), or, “handful,” these being as many as the hand can grasp. Consult on this point, Plutarch, Vit. Lys. c. 17. Julius Pollux, 9, 6, § 77, who refers to Aristotle in support of this assertion. Eus. tath, ad II. 1, 465. Etymol. Mag. s. v., διδεκος.

9. Nascitur ibi plumbum album. “Tin is found there.” Literally, “is produced there.” By plumbum album is meant the κασσινερος of the Greeks. Compare Plin. H. N. 36, 16. The tin mines of England are situated in Cornwall, which occupies the southwestern extremity of the country.—In mediterraneis regionibus. This statement of Caesar’s is incorrect. Tin is not brought from the interior.

10. Materia. “Wood,” i.e., trees.—Fagum. “The beech.” The φαγος of Dioscorides (1, 121), and δεξια of Theophrastus (3, 10).

11. Animi voluptatisque causa. “For the sake of amusement and pleasure.—Loca sunt temperatora, &c. “The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, the cold being less intense.” The account which Tacitus gives of the climate of Britain (Vit. Agric. 12), agrees very well with what it is at present: “Coelum crebris imbrivus ac nebulis foedum: asperitas frigorum abest.”

12. Triquetra. “Triangular.” This, taking the general form of the island, is not very far from the truth. Caesar must have ob-
tained his information, respecting the shape of the island, from the account of others, since Britain was not circumnavigated by the Romans till the time of Agricola. (Tacit. Agric. 10.) In the same way are we to account for Cæsar’s acquaintance with the manners and customs of the Britons, since he never penetrated into the interior.

13. Ad Cantium. "At Kent."—Ad orientem solemn. Supply spectat.—Tenet circiter, &c. "Contains about five hundred miles." Measuring in a straight line from Bolerium Promontorium, or Land’s End, to Cantium Promontorium, or North Foreland &c. Distance does not exceed 344 British, or 356 Roman miles. If Cæsar included the irregularities of the coast, the measurement would be greatly enlarged.

14. Ad Hispaniam. This statement is very erroneous, as Spain lies to the south, not to the west of Britain.

1. Dimidio minor, &c. "Less than Britain, as is supposed, by a half." The superficial extent of Great Britain is computed at 77,370 square miles, and that of Ireland at 30,370; hence the magnitude of the former is upward of two and a half times that of the latter.

2. Sed pari spatio transmissus, &c. "But the passage across to Britain is the same distance as from Gaul."

3. Mona. The Isle of Man. Consult Geographical Index.—Complures præterea minores, &c. "Besides several other smaller islands are thought to lie facing in the channel." Some read subjectae for objecte, but the Greek paraphrase has ἀντικεῖδον. The Orkney and Shetland Islands are meant, but that they are properly speaking objecte is, of course, untrue.

4. Dies continuos triginta, &c. "That there is night for thirty successive days at the winter-solstice," i.e., 22d December. This report was without any foundation in truth.

5. Nisi certis ex aqua, &c. "But we perceived, by accurate water measures, that the nights were shorter than on the continent," i.e., but measuring the time by water-glasses, &c. The allusion here is to the clepsydra, or, as we would call it, water-clock. The clepsydra, as its name imports, was a Grecian invention, and was first adopted at Rome in the third consulship of Pompey. (Auctor dial. de caus. cor. eloq. 38.) In the most common kind of water-clocks, the water issued drop by drop through a hole in one vessel, and fell into another, in which a light body that floated marked the height of the fluid as it rose, by pointing to a scale of hours on the
side of the vessel, and thus indicated the time. All the clepsy-
drae, however, had this defect in common, that the water at first
flowed out rapidly, and afterward more slowly, so that they required
much care and regulation. Consult Beckman, History of Inven-
tions, vo! i., p. 136.

6. Septingentorum millium. “Seven hundred miles.” A cal-
culation which exceeds the truth 90 Roman miles. The length
of the western coast is 590 British, nearly equal to 610 Roman,
miles.

7. Contra Septentriones. “Opposite the north.” This is not
correct; the east is much nearer the truth.—Oentingenta. This
greatly exceeds the real measurement. The exact length is about
550 British, or 570 Roman, miles.

8. Humanissimi. “The most civilized.”—A Gallica consuetu-
dine. “From the customs of Gaul.” Compare B. G. 6, 21,
‘Germani multum ab hac consuetudine different.”

9. Se vitro inicuint. “Stain themselves with woad,” i. e., of
a blue colour. The Greek name for this plant is isatis; its other
appellation in Latin, besides vitrum, is glastum. This last is sup-
posed to be derived from the old British word glas, which means
not only “green,” but also “blue.” The Romans, it is thought,
confounded the glas of the Britons with the old German word glas,
applied first to “amber,” and afterward to “glass,” and hence gave
the name of vitrum to the plant in question.

10. Atque hoc, &c. “And hence they are of a more frightful
appearance in battle.” The Greek paraphrast very neatly expresses
this by, ὅτε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καταπληκτικάται τὸ στίγμα τοῦ.

11. Capilloque sunt promisso, &c. “They have, moreover,
long hair, and every part of the body shaved except,” &c.—Uxores
habent, &c. The order is, deni duodenique (Britanni) habent uxores
communes inter se. Render deni duodenique, “parties of ten or
twelve.”

12. Quo primum, &c. “By whom each female when a virgins
was first married.” With deducta est supply domum, and compare
the phrase ducere domum, “to marry.”

13. Tamen ut. “In such a way, however, that,” i. e., with so
little success that. Before tamen supply ita, and consult Palairet,

eagerly.”—Ill. Referring to the Britons.—Intermisso spatio.
“Some interval having elapsed.”—Imprudentibus nostris. “Our
men not expecting them.”
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1. Submissis. "Being sent to their aid." Put for Caesar's more usual form of expression, subsidio missis. Oudendorp is in favour of immissis.

2. Atque his primus, &c. "And these the first of two legions." The first cohort of a legion not only exceeded the rest in number, but contained the bravest men. Thus Vegetius remarks (2, 6), "Prima cohors reliquas et numero militum et dignitate praeedit." Lipsius, however, insists, that what Vegetius here says about superiority of numbers merely applies to later warfare, and that the first cohort only surpassed the rest in its containing braver men. (Mil. Rom. 1, dial. 4, p. 67, seq.)

3. Cum haec, &c. "When these had taken their ground at a very small distance from each other." The common text incorrectly punctuates after spatio, connecting inter se with constitissent. The Greek paraphrast gives the true meaning, ὅληγὼν ἄξιον ἄλλῳ ἀπεχοῦσών.


5. Cum dimicaretur. "As the battle was fought."—Intellectum est. Supply a nobis. "We perceived."


7. Dimicarc. Before this word praelio occurs in some editions. But, as it does not appear in many MSS., and is not at all needed, we have thrown it out.—Illic. Referring to the Britons.

8. Et pedibus, &c. "And fought with great advantage on foot." Literally, "fought on foot in unequal combat."—Equestris autem proelii ratio, &c. "The manner of fighting, however, on the part of the British horse, brought with it equal and the same danger to our cavalry, whether the former retreated or pursued." Compare the explanation of Lemaire: "Ratio qua equites Britanni pugnabant idem periculum Rom. exis inferebat, seu ii (Barbari scil.) cedent seu inequerentur."

9. Conferti. "In close array."—Rari. "Scattered here and there." The reference is to the cavalry of the Britons.—Atque alii alios, &c. "And kept relieving one another in succession, while the vigorous and fresh took the places of those that were wearied."

10. Lenius. "With less spirit."

11. Sic, uti ab signis, &c. "With so much fury, as to be close up with the standards and legions." Non absisterent, literally, "not to stand at a distance from," is here equivalent to prope starent.

13. Summis copiis. "With any very numerous force." Literally, "with numerous forces." Some render summis copiis, "with all their forces," but the Greek paraphrast favours the other interpretation, ὑπερτερ συνάμετά τοῖς Ῥωμαίωσι συνήμιζαν.

1. Animum advertit. For animadvertit, which appears in the common text, Gravius observes (ad Cic. Off. 2, 19) that the copyists have in many places altered this elegant form of expression, substituting for it the latter.

2. Ripa autem erat, &c. "The bank, moreover, was defended by sharp stakes fastened in front of it, while other stakes of the same kind, fixed down beneath the water, were covered by the river." Lipsius (Poliorcet. 5, dial. 3) thinks we ought to read here plumbo instead of flumine, because Bede, who lived in the eighth century, speaks in his history (1, 11) of certain stakes, still seen in his time in this quarter, which had lead attached to them in order to keep them in their places. Caesar, however, says they were sharpened at the end, which would supersede, of course, the necessity of any lead being employed; and besides, Bede may easily have been led into error with regard to the particular spot. Stakes kept in their places by means of lead indicate, moreover, a higher degree of civilization than that to which the Britons had thus far attained.

3. Cum capite solo, &c. "Though they were above the water with the head only," i.e., though their heads only were above the water. Literally, "though they were out of the water with the head alone."


5. Ex via. "From the beaten track." i.e., public road or highway.—Impeditis. "Intricate."

6. Magno cum periculo, &c. "With great danger to our horse."—Hoc metu. "By the fear of this."

7. Relinquabatur. "It remained."—Discedi. Supply ab equitibus. "The cavalry to depart."—Et hostibus noceretur. "And the enemy were injured."—Quantum labore, &c. "As far as the legionary soldiers could effect this amid fatigue and marching," i.e., amid the fatigue of a long march.

9. Aequa in civitatem mittat, &c. "And to send him into the state, to preside over it and hold the government." Compare the Greek paraphrase: καὶ αὐτὸν τὴν πόλιν καὶ σφῆνα ἄρξοντα πέρπειν. The reference is to Mandubratius.

1. Obsides ad numerum, &c. "Hostages, to the number required, and an abundant supply of corn." The student will mark the force of the plural in frumenta.

2. Ab omni militum, &c. "And secured from all violence on the part of the soldiery."—Cenimagni. Most probably the Cenomani, who had come over from Gaul and settled in Britain. The Greek paraphrase has Κρυμανοί.

3. Oppidum Cassivellauni. Bede (Hist. Ang. 1, 2) calls this town Cassibellum.


5. Locum. "The place in question." One MS. has lucum, which Oudendorp pronounces an inelegant reading.


7. Castra navalia. "The naval camp." This has already been mentioned in the 11th chapter.—Oppugnent. "Storm." Used here for expugnent, as adoriantur precedes.


1. Reectas. "Repaired."—His deductis. "These being launched." Supply ad mare. Literally, "being drawn down to the sea."

2. Duobus commetibus. "By two embarkations."

3. Navigationibus. "Voyages."—Desideraretur. "Was missing," i. e., was lost. The Greek paraphrast has καταπετάσθησα, "was sunk."

4. Prioris commetatus. "Of the previous convoy."—Locum aperent. "Made good the harbour," i. e., reached the island. More literally, "reached the (destined) place."

5. Augustius milites collocavit. "Stowed his troops in a narrower compass than usual."

Supply in arido.
7. Frumentum angustius provenerat. "Grain had been produced in less quantities than usual," i. e., the crop had partially failed, or there was a scarcity of grain.

8. In plures civitates. "Among a greater number of states," i. e., than had before been customary.—Essuos. Some editors suggest Aedus as a reading, because no mention is elsewhere made of the Essui. But Caesar is here speaking of nations near the lower Rhine, whereas the Aedui were at a considerable distance from that river.


1. Millibus passuum centum. There is an error in this, for from the confines of the Eburones to the winter quarters of Crassus the distance was nearly 180 miles. The Greek paraphrast, on the other hand, errs by excess, for he has εν δύσοικονα στάδιον μυρίαν περίπετον.

2. Tertium jam hunc, &c. The true reading of this passage is very much disputed. The one which we have given rests in part on the editions of Basle, Aldus (1580), Giareanus, &c., and partly on the Greek paraphrase: τῷ ἔτε τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν πρῶτο τῆς εἰς, οἱ δυσοικίας αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχηγῶν τοῦ τοῦ πράγματος αἵτων γεγενήμενών, ἵς ἤρμανοῖς ἐπιτειναν. Hunc refers to Tasgetius, not to annum.

3. Quod ad plures pertinebat. "Because several persons were concerned." Literally, "because it pertained to more persons than one."

4. In hiberna perventum, &c. "That they had reached their respective quarters, and that a place for wintering in had been fortified by each."

5. Ad fines regni sui, &c. "Had met Sabinus and Cotta on the borders of their kingdom."

6. De re communi. "Relative to their common interests."—Minus posse "Could be adjusted."

7. Missu Casaris. Equivalent to mittente Caesare. "Being despatched for this purpose by Caesar."

1. Plurimum ei, &c. "Acknowledged he was under very great obligations to him."—Stipendio liberatus esset. "He had been liberated from tribute," i. e., freed from the payment of it.

2. De oppugnatione castrorum. "As regarded the attack on our camp."
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3. Su aquatic esse imperia, &c. "And that his authority was of such a nature, that the people at large had no less power over him than he had over them."

4. Ex humilitate sua. "From his own weakness." Compare the Greek paraphrase, τοστον ἐκ πείρας τὴν ἱμην ταπεινωτητα δύναμι διδόναι.

5. Sed esse Galliae commune consilium. "But that it was the common design of Gaul," i.e., that it was a common and preconceived plan on the part of the whole nation.

6. Non facile Gallos, &c. "That it was no easy matter for Gauls to give a refusal to Gauls," i.e., a refusal to join with them.

7. Quibus quoniam, &c. "That since he had satisfied them, as far as duty to his country was concerned, so now he had respect to the claims of duty, as regarded the favours bestowed upon him by Caesar," i.e., as he had discharged his duty to his country, he would now discharge that which he owed to Caesar in return for his numerous kindnesses.—Pictate. The term pietas among the Roman writers has a very extensive meaning, denoting the duty which we owe to our parents, relations, friends, country, and the Deity. The reference in the present passage is to country merely.

8. Pro hospitio. "In consideration of the ties of hospitality."—Conductam Rhenum transisse. "Having been hired for the purpose, had crossed the Rhine."—Hane. "That this band."

9. Ipsorum esse consilium. "That it was for themselves to consider." Ipsorum refers to Titurius and Cotta. Compare the explanation of Lemaire: "Deliberavit ergo inter se (scil. Sabinus et Cotta), seum videre Romani, au velit," &c.

10. Quod cum faciat, &c. "That in doing this, he was both consulting for the good of his own state, in its being freed from the burden of winter quarters, and was making a proper return to Caesar for his acts of kindness towards him."

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2. Rem esse testimonio. "That the fact spoke for itself."—Multis ullo, &c. "Many wounds having been inflicted upon the latter, without any being received in return." Compare the explanation of Lemaire: "iam Romani intererant hostibus vulnera; ipsi vero non acciperunt."

3. Re fragmentaria non premi. "That they were not distressed for corn." Compare the Greek paraphrase, κατηρύσαν ἐνετεῖς οὐκ ἔδωκα.
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4. Levius aut turpius. "Weaker or more cowardly."—Auc-tore hoste, &c. "To deliberate concerning matters of the utmost importance when an enemy was the author of the step." Compare the Greek, κατι τήν τῶν τολεμίων γνώμην περί τῶν πάντων βουλευ-σιας. The reference is to the information derived from the enemy, on which their deliberations would be based.


7. Non hostem auctorem, &c. "That he did not look to the enemy as an authority for the step which he recommended, but to the fact itself."—Subesse. "Was near." Compare the Greek: πλατον μιν γάρ θ' Πρίνος.

8. Ardere Galliam, &c. "That Gaul burned with resentment, at having been reduced, after so many insults had been received by it, under the sway of the Roman people."


10. Si nil sit durius. "If no greater difficulty came in their way," i.e., if no attack were made by the Gauls. Unam salutem. "Their only safety." Compare Virgil, Æn. 2, 354, "Una salus vitiis."


1. Primisque ordinis. "And the principal centurions," i.e., the centurions of the first ranks. Consult Archaeological Index, and compare note 11, page 46.

2. Vincite. "Prevail," i.e., carry your point.— Negue est sum qui, &c. "For I am not the man among you to be very greatly alarmed at the danger of death."

3. Hi sapient, &c. "These will discover which of us is right, and, in case any disaster occur, will demand satisfaction, Cotta, from you," i.e., will call you to account for it. Hi refers to the Roman soldiers standing without, but near enough to hear what was said. Compare the Greek paraphrase: ὁταί δὲ φρονοσυνόν στρατιῶται, κ. τ. λ.

4. Quo. "Since they."—Perendino die. "On the third day hence." Perendie, from which the adjective perendinus comes, is
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102 derived, according to the grammarians, from *peremptus* and *dies*, and is the same as *perempta die*, the intervening day being meant by *die*.

5. *Rejecti et relegati*, &c. "As if forced away and banished by you to a distance from their countrymen." By *cæteris* are meant the Romans in the other winter quarters, while by *rejecti* and *relegati* is figuratively expressed the forced separation, by the command of their officers, of the troops of Cotta from those in the neighbouring provinces. Compare the Greek: ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν ἀλλων, ἢς οὐ κελεύεις, ἀποχωρεθίνεις, ἡ μαχαίρα, ἡ λίμω, αἰσχρὸς ἀποβανώσαι.

6. *Consurgitur ex concilio*, &c. "The members rise from the council, they embrace and beseech both Cotta and Sabinus."

7. *Rem.* "Affairs."—*Facile case rem.* "That it was an easy matter."—*Res disputatione perdueitur.* "The debate is protracted."

8. *Dat manus.* "Yields." Literally, "gives his hands." A figurative expression, borrowed from the form of making a surrender, by stretching forth, or holding up, hands.

9. *Pronunciatur*, &c. "Orders are issued for the troops to march at daybreak." Literally, "it is announced that they will depart," &c.

10. *Consumitur vigiliis*, &c. "Is spent without sleep, each soldier looking about among his effects, to see what he might be able to carry with him, what part of his winter stores he would be compelled to leave behind." The expression *ex instrumento hibernorum* is rendered by the Greek paraphrase ἐκ τῶν εἰκών.

11. *Omnia excogitantur*, &c. "Every reason is suggested, to show why they could not stay without danger, and why that danger would be now increased by the languor of the soldiers, and their want of sleep." The meaning of this passage has given rise to much controversy. Its import appears to us to be as follows: The Roman soldiers felt the disgrace of the step which they were about to take, and kept suggesting, therefore, in conversation with one another, various plausible arguments, to show that it was the only plan they could safely pursue in the present crisis.

12. *Posteaquam ex nocturno fremitu*, &c. "After they got intimation of their intended departure, by the noise which prevailed during the night, and their not retiring to repose."

13. *A millibus*, &c. "At the distance of about two miles." An idiom analogous to our own: mode of expression, "about two miles off."
14. Convallwm. The term convallis, though generally rendered "valley," yet conveys in strictness the idea of a long and extend-
ed one. Compare Festus, s. v.—Demisisset se. "Had descend-
ed."

15. Ut qui nihil ante, &c. "Since he had not at all foreseen the
danger, was thrown into the greatest alarm, ran up and down,"
&c.—Atque ut. "And in such a way that." Supply ita before ut.
1. Qui in ipso negotio, &c. "Who are compelled to deliber-
ate in the very moment of action," i. e., when they ought to act.
3. Minus facile per se, &c. "They could less easily perform every-
ting themselves," i. e., every part of their duty could not be
readily performed by them in person; or, they could not easily
visit every part. The reference is to Titurius and Cotta.
4. Jussurunt pronunciare. "They ordered the officers to an-
nounce to their men." Supply duces before pronunciare. We
have here adopted the reading of the earliest MSS. The common
text has pronunciari.
5. Incommode accidit. "It turned out untowardly on the pres-
ent occasion," i. e., proved unfortunate.
6. Spem minuit. This was produced by the abandonment of
their baggage, since the soldiers easily perceived from this step that
affairs were considered to be at the last extremity.—Quod videbatur
"Because it was apparent."
7. Vulgo. "Everywhere." Compare the Greek paraphrase,
vávroβεν.—Abrípere. "Tear away." A much more forcible read-
ing than arripere.
8. Barbaris consilium non defuit. "Judgment was not wanting
to the barbarians," i. e., the barbarians were not deficient in judgment
on this occasion.
9. Pronunciare jussurunt. "Ordered the different chieftains to
announce," i. e., to give orders to their respective followers.
10. Illorum. Referring to the Gauls.
11. Erant et virtute, &c. "Our men, by both their value and
numbers, were a match for the enemy in fighting." The mean-
ing is, not that the numbers of the Romans were equal to those of the
Gauls, but that the former had troops enough, considering their
bravery and discipline, to keep the latter in check.
12. Procurret. "Made a charge," i. e., rushed forth from the
orb.
13. Cedant. "To give way before them."—Levitate armorum.
That, from the lightness of their armour and daily practice, they could receive no harm," i. e., the agility which daily practice gave, and the light weight of their armour, would enable them to make a rapid and safe retreat whenever the Romans charged upon them.

14. *Rursus se ad signa, &c.* "To pursue them in turn when retreating to their standards," i. e., when returning to their former station in the orb.

15. *Excesserat.* "Had issued forth."—*Inlcrim eam pariem, &c.* "In the mean time, it was necessary for that part to be exposed, and for a shower of darts to be received by our men on their naked flanks."

1. *Locum tenere.* "To retain their place in the orb," and not sally forth.—*Virtuti locus.* "Room for displaying valour."—*Nec conferti vitarc poterant.* "Nor could they, being crowded together into a small compass, avoid," &c.


3. *Ad horam octavam.* This would answer to two o'clock in the afternoon; the first hour, according to the Roman computation, being from six to seven in the morning, or, more strictly, from sunrise to the beginning of the second hour.

4. *Primum pilum duxerat.* "Had been chief centurion." Consult Archaeological Index, and compare note 11, page 46.

5. *Ejusdem ordinis.* "Of the same rank," i. e., a *primipilus,* or centurion of the first rank.—*Subvenit.* "Is striving to aid."


7. *Ille.* Referring to Ambiorix.—*Ipsi vero, &c.* "That no harm, however, should be done to himself," i. e., he himself should be uninjured, whatever might be determined upon in relation to the lives of the soldiers.

8. *Ille.* Referring to Titurius.—*Cum Cotta saucio, &c.* "Communicates the answer of Ambiorix to the wounded Cotta, requesting him, if the step appear to him a proper one, to leave the battle," &c.

9. *Atque in eo constitit.* "And persisted in this resolve," i. e., of not going to Ambiorix.

10. *In præsentia.* "At the time." In the Greek paraphrase, *τὰτε—Imperatum facit* "Does what is commanded."
11. Longiorque consulto, &c. “And a discourse longer than ordinary is designedly begun by Ambiorix,” i.e., and the conference is designedly protracted by Ambiorix.


3. Re demonstrata. “The whole affair being laid before them,” i.e., having acquainted them with his success, and having explained to them the design which he had in view.


5. Huic. “To this officer.” Referring to Cicero. Hotomann and Davies give hic, on conjecture, which agrees with the ιτράδωα of the paraphrase, but some good MSS. sanction huic, which is certainly the more spirited reading.

6. Ligationis munitionisque causa. “To procure wood, and materials for the fortifications,” i.e., stakes for the ramparts, &c.


1. Magnis propouisit praemiu, &c. “Great rewards being offered to the messengers, if they should convey them to their destination.” Literally, “if they should carry them through,” i.e., in safety through the intervening dangers.

2. Turres admodum, &c. “One hundred and twenty towers in all.” More literally, “up to a hundred and twenty towers.” Hotomann thinks this number incredible, and it certainly appears a very large one if we take the term turris in its literal sense. Perhaps, however, nothing more is meant than a species of bastion, of which 120 might very easily have been raised during the period specified in the text.

3. Prausta sudes. “Stakes burnt at the end.” These were used in defending the rampart. — Muralium pilorum. “Of mural avelins.” These were thrown from the walls against those who were endeavouring to scale them. They were larger and heavier than those used in the field. Lipsius is silent respecting them.

4. Turres contabulantur. “Towers of several stories are raised.”
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Page. 106 This language would seem to sanction the conjecture given under note 2.—*Pinax loricæque,* &c. "Battlements and parapets are constructed of interwoven hurdles."

5. *Cum tenuissima,* &c. "Although he was in a very feeble state of health."

6. *Ut ultro milium concursu,* &c. "So that he was compelled at length, as their spontaneous act, by the flocking together and the entreaties of the soldiers, to show himself some indulgence."

7. *Qui aliquem sermonis aditum,* &c. "Who had any intimacy and grounds of friendship with Cicero." *By sermonis aditum habebant* is meant, literally, the having been accustomed to have interviews from time to time with the Roman officer.

8. *Ambiorigem ostentant,* &c. "In order to gain credit for what they said, they inform him with a boastful air of the arrival of Ambiorix." Compare the explanation of Morus: "*Ambiorigem adesse jactabundi divunt.*" They thought that Cicero would believe what they asserted, when he saw that so humble a state as the Eburones had actually commenced hostilities against the Roman power, and that Ambiorix himself was in arms against Cæsar, from whom he had heretofore received so many favours.

9. *Eos.* Referring to Cicero and the forces under him.—*His.* Alluding to the Romans in other winter quarters.

10. *Hoc esse in animo.* "Were so favourably disposed." Had such a regard.—*Hanc inveteratam consuetudinem.* "That this custom should grow into a precedent," i.e., should gather strength by long continuance.

11. *Ills.* The Romans.—*Per se.* "As far as depended upon them."

12. *Cicero ad hæc,* &c. This officer had already been apprized of the defeat and death of Sabinus by one of the fugitives.

13. *Adjutore.* "As an intercessor," or advocate. The Greek paraphrase gives *οἰκονομος,* "a co-operator."

14. *Pro ejus justitia.* "Through his wonted clemency." *Jus-\*titia* loses here a portion of its strict meaning, and denotes, not so much the desire to render to every one his due, as clemency or compassion. Compare Terence, *Heaut.,* 1, 1, 33, "*Max stultitiae in justitia tua sit aliquod praesidii.*"

107 1. *Vallo pedum undecim,* &c. "With a rampart eleven feet high, and a ditch fifteen feet wide." Some commentators suppose that the ditch was also fifteen feet deep, but this is unnecessary.
The Greek paraphrase, however, translates merely with reference to depth: καὶ τὰ ἄρρεν πεντακάδεκα τὸ βάθος.

2. Ηας. Referring to their knowledge of fortification.—Consuetudine. "By the experience."—Cognoverant. "They had learned."


4. Sagulisque. "And short cloaks." The term sagum (of which sagulum is a diminutive) is said to be of Gallic origin. Its shape was square, and hence Isidorus (Orig. c. 24) remarks, "Sagum Gallicum nomen est: dictum autem sagum quadrum, eo quod apud eos primum quadratum vel quadruplex erat." It was fastened by a clasp around the neck. The old French word saie points to the Celtic root. The Tartan plaid of modern times may be traced to the same costume. Consult Adelung, Gloss. vol. vi., p. 26.

5. Terram exhaurire. "To remove the earth." A very poetical form of expression for so plain a writer as Caesar. The Greek paraphrast imitates it very neatly by ἱκανεῖν.

6. Millium decem. Supply passuum. The MSS. and editions vary here, many having millium passuum XV. (i.e., quindecim). We have adopted the smallest number, although even this appears incredible.

7. Ad altitudinem valli. "Equalling the height of the rampart." Literally, "to the height."—Falces. "Grappling hooks." These were the falces murales, or what the Greeks called δορυφόρα. The hooks were bent into the shape of a pruning hook, and were fastened to long poles. They were employed for tearing down walls.

8. Testudinesque. "And mantlets." These were different from the testudos hitherto described in the notes to the previous books. They were a kind of mantlet or shed, very similar to the vincae, which were moved up to the ramparts by means of wheels, and under which the assailants worked the battering-ram, or undermined the walls.

9. Ferventes fusili, &c. "Red hot balls of cast clay." As regards the epithet fusilis here applied to argilla, compare the remark of Porcellini, "qualis est, ex qua statua fictiles fiunt."

10. Fervefacta jaecula. "Fiery javelins," i.e., javelins, or darts, with ignited combustibles attached to the head.—In casas qua, &c. Against the huts, which were covered with thatch after the Gallic
fashion." By *casæ* here are meant the winter huts of the soldiers. The Antonine column offers representations of similar ones.

11. Distulerunt. "Spread the flames."

12. Agere. "To advance." Compare, as regards the testudines, what has been remarked under note 8.

13. Demigrandi. "Of retiring from the fight." Equivalent to *loco cedendi*. Compare the Greek paraphrase, ὅχ ὅπος φυγῇ ἵππου.—*Respiceret*. "Looked behind him," i. e., at his effects falling a prey to the flames. Compare the language of Celsus: "Cum fortune corum incendio omnes absoruerentur, nunquam aliquis ad illas oculum reflecteret.

14. Hunc habuit exitum. "It had this issue," i. e., was attended with this good consequence.

15. Ut se sub ipso vallo, &c. "As they had crowded themselves together beneath the very rampart, and those farthest off gave no means of retreat to the foremost," i. e., prevented the foremost from retreating.

16. Et quodam loco, &c. "And a tower of the enemy's having been moved up in one quarter to our rampart, and touching it." The reference is to a moveable tower, of course.

17. Deturbati. "The enemy were dislodged."—*Turrisque succensa est*. "And the tower was set fire to from below."

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1. Qui jam primis, &c. "Who were now approaching the first ranks," i. e., were rising fast to the rank of *primipilus*, or chief centurion.

2. De loco. "For precedence."—*Summis simultatibus*. "With the greatest secret enmity."

3. Spectas. "Do you look for." Equivalent to *circumspicis* or *queris*. The common text has *exspectas*.—*Hic, hic dies*. We have adopted the reading of Oberlin, as more spirited than the common lection, *hie dies, hie dies*. Compare Sallust, *Cat*. 20, "*En illa, illa libertas."

4. Quaque pars, &c. "And where appeared to be the thickest part of the enemy."—*Omnium veritus existimationem*. "Having feared the opinion of all," i. e., anxious to preserve his reputation among all.


6. Verutum. "A javelin." By *verutum* is meant a light, slender javelin, shaped somewhat like a spit, or else as tapering as a
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7. **Hic casus.** “This accident.” — **Impeditum.** “Thus embarrassed.”

8. **In locum dejectus, &c.** “He stumbled and fell into a hollow.”

9. **In contentione, &c.** “In this honourable striving and contest.” *Contentione* refers to the spirit of emulation by which they were both actuated, *certamine* to their collision with the foe.

10. **Utrumque versavit.** “Directed alternately the movements of each.” Compare the explanation of Morus: “*Modo hac, modo illa sorte, per vices, uti voluit.*”—**Ut alter alteri, &c.** “That the one rival brought assistance and security to the other,” i. e., the one rival assisted and protected the other.

11. **Gravior atque aspcrior.** “More severe and difficult to endure.” Compare the Greek paraphrase, βαρνίρα τε καὶ χάλεπωτίρα τοίς Ἄρματοις.

12. **Res ad paucitatem, &c.** “Matters had come to a small number of defenders.”

1. **Unus Nervius.** “A certain Nervian.” **Unus** is here put for *quidam.* Compare the Greek paraphrase, τίς Ἀρμοθιός, and B. G. 2, 25, B. C. 2, 27. 

2. **Suamque in fidem praestiterat.** “And had given him proofs of his attachment.” — *Servo.* “A slave of his.” Supply *suo.*


4. **Hora undecima.** Corresponding to our five o’clock in the afternoon.

5. **Legionem.** Caesar had placed three legions in Belgium, the one here referred to under the command of Crassus, and two others, one under Lucius Munatius Plancus, and the other under Caius Trebonius. Compare chapter 24.

6. **Qua sibi iter faciendum sciebat.** “Where he knew he would have to pass.” — *Reipublica commodo.* “With advantage to the state,” i. e., to what the public interests required.

7. **Hora tertia.** “Nine o’clock in the morning.”

8. **Legionem.** “A legion.” Not the one which Crassus had brought, but one which Caesar had with him probably at the time.

9. **Literas publicas.** “The public documents.” — *Quod co, &c.* “Which he had brought thither for the sake of enduring the winter,” i. e., which he had stored there for the winter supply.
109. *Rem gestam, &c.* "He writes him a full account of what had taken place among the Eburones."—*Peditatus equitatusque copias.* A fuller form of expression than what other writers employ. Compare B. G. 6, 6, "*Magnis coactis peditatus equitatusque copiis.*"

110. 1. *Consilio ejus probato.* "His conduct being approved of."—*Etsi, opinione trium, &c.* "Although, being disappointed in his expectation of three legions, he had been reduced to two." Literally, "had returned to two."—*Unum communis salutis, &c.* "The only means of subserving the common safety."

2. *Græcis conscriptam literis.* "Written throughout in Greek characters," i. e., Latin words in Greek characters. Polyænus (8, 23, 6) alludes to this circumstance.

3. *Si adire non possit, monet.* "He cautions the messenger, if he cannot gain access to the camp."—*Ad amentum deligata.* "Fastened to the strap." By *amentum* is meant the strap used for hurling the javelin. Compare Festus: "*Amenta, quibus ut emittis possint, vincuntur jacula.*" The strap appears to have been fastened to the middle of the spear.

4. *Casu.* Dio Cassius (40, 9) says, that this was done purposely by the messenger, but the account of Cæsar is, of course, to be preferred.

5. *Ille perlectam, &c.* "He read it over, and then recited it aloud in an assembly of the soldiers." The student will mark the distinction between *lego,* "to read to one's self," and *recito,* "to read aloud," in order that others may hear.

6. *Fumi incendiorum.* It was the constant custom of Cæsar to burn the buildings of an enemy.—*Expulit.* "Dispelled."

7. *Armatorum.* "Men in arms." Put for *militum.* Compare Livy, 1, 29, "*Cursus armatorum,*" and Nepos, Dion. 9, "*Nave armatis ornat.*"

8. *Data facultate.* "An opportunity being thus afforded," i. e., by the departure of the enemy.—*Gallum repetit.* "Begs the Gaul again."—*Qui literas, &c.* "To carry back an answer to Cæsar."

9. *Cæsar.* The position of this word between *quibus literis* and *allatis,* is intended to indicate to whom the letter was brought, and is regarded as a great elegance. Compare Hunter, *ed Liv.* 1, 7, p. 302, and Crombie, *Gymnas.* vol. ii., p. 389.

10. *Trans vallem magnam.* Some editors object to the presence of *magnam* in the text, and it does not, in reality, appear to be
very correct. The Greek paraphrase, however, has μεγάλος φαράγγος. Caesar refers to a large valley, traversed by a stream, and on the opposite slope of which, across the stream, the army of the enemy was stationed.

11. *Tum.* "For the present, therefore." We have adopted here the meaning recommended by Flade (Obs. 1), who makes *tum* equivalent in this passage to "für die Gegenwart," or "für den Zeitpunkt." With this the Greek paraphrase agrees, τότε μὴ ὁδύν. Morus thinks the connexion obscure, and that Caesar ought to have written *ergo tum quidem.* This would have been too languid and spiritless.

1. *Tamen angustiis, &c.* "Yet he contracts it as much as he can by making the streets between the tents narrow." By *viae* are here meant the streets or lanes separating the tents of the different divisions of troops from each other. Of these avenues there were generally five running in the length of the camp, that is, from the *porta praetoria* to the *porta decumana,* and three across. Consult Archaeological Index, s. v. Castra.

2. *Ut in summam contentionem, &c.* This stratagem is mentioned by Frontinus, 3, 17, 6. Compare Stewecchius and Ouden- dorp, *ad loc.*—Quo commodissimo itinere. "By what most convenient route."

3. *Citra vallum.* His object was to entice them across the stream; or, if he could not effect this, to cross the stream himself at that point where he might do it with least danger.

4. *Portasque obstrui.* "And the gates blocked up." The mode of doing this is explained in the next chapter. It was meant, of course, as a feint.—*Atque in his administrandis, &c.* "And he directs them, in executing these orders, to run to and fro as much as possible, and act with the greatest degree of feigned alarm."

5. *Etiam de vallo.* In order to give rise still more strongly to an appearance of alarm on their part.

6. *Ac sic nostros contemserunt, &c.* "And to such a degree did they carry their contempt for our men, that the gate, being apparently blocked up, though, in fact, only by a single row of sods"—*Ea.* "That way," i. e., by the gates. Used adverbially.

7. *Manu.* The reference, of course, is to suitable instruments wielded by the hand. Compare the Greek paraphrase, τὸ ἱφυμα τῇ χείρι περιέρμων.

8. *Neque etiam, &c.* "And because he saw, that their position was abandoned by the enemy with no small loss on their part."
The enemy lost great numbers amid the marshes and forests, on abandoning the position which they had previously occupied, and Cæsar was afraid of encountering a similar loss, in case he pursued them too far. The reading and interpretation of this passage have been very much disputed. We have followed in both the authority of Oberlinus.

1. Producta legione. "The legion being drawn out from the camp."—Non decimum quemque, &c. "That every tenth man was not left unwounded," i. e., that less than every tenth man, &c.

2. Pro ejus merito. "As he deserved," i. e., in handsome terms. Literally, "according to his merit."—Appellat. "He addresses by name," i. e., he calls unto him and compliments by name. Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἰδνομαστὶ παρεκάλεσεν.

3. Rem gestam proponit. "He informs them of what had been done," i. e., of what had happened to Cotta and Sabinus.


5. Expiauto incommodo. "The disaster having been remedied." Compare the Greek paraphrase, τούτων ἱπατοθωμήσας.—Laetatio. A word not occurring elsewhere in any classical author, though sanctioned here by good MSS.


7. Trinis hibernis. "In three different quarters." Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἀνὰ τρία χειμάρραι.

8. Perlato. "Being brought unto them," i. e., being circulated among them.—Consultabant. "Were consulting." The use of the imperfect in this and the succeeding clauses is very graphic.

9. Quin acciperet. "Or without his receiving."

11. Armorica. Corresponding to the modern Bretagne. The name Armorica is said to be derived from ar, "upon," and moir, "the sea," and refers to a country lying along the ocean. Consult Geographical Index.

2. Tantum apud homines, &c. "So powerful an influence did it exercise among barbarous men, that some were found," &c., i. e., such was the force of example among a savage people.


4. Idque adeo. &c. "And I do not know indeed whether this
A remarkable deviation from Cæsar's usual mode of speaking in the third person. He alludes to the sudden change of sentiment on the part of the Gauls.

5. *Quod, qui,* &c. "Because they, who were accustomed to be ranked before all nations in martial valour, had lost so much of that reputation, as to have endured the command of the Roman people." The reference in *qui virtute belli,* &c., is to the Gauls in general. The expression *a Populo Romano imperia* is the same in effect as *Populi Romani imperia.* So "*legiones a Deiotaro,*" B. Alex. 3; and "*literæ a Cæsare,/*" B. C. 1, 1.

1. *Hac spe lapsus.* "Disappointed in this hope." Literally, "having fallen from this hope."—*Exercere.* The common text has *exigere a finitimis.* But *exercere* is sanctioned by the best MSS., and also by the term *ἀσκεῖν* employed in the Greek paraphrase.

2. *Ultro ad se veniri.* "That men were coming in unto him of their own accord."—*Conscientia facinoris.* The Senones on account of the expulsion of their king Cavarinus (chap. 54), the Carnutes on account of the assassination of Tasgetius (chap. 25).

3. *Armatum concilium.* Tacitus refers to the same custom as existing among the Germans. (M. G. 11.) Compare, as regards the Gallic custom, the remark of Stobæus (L. 13), *Κελτῶι αἰενόφαροι ὁιντες τὰ κατὰ πόλιν πάντα πράττοντι;* and Livy (21, 20), "*In his nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati ita mos gentis erat* .n *concilium venerunt.*" The early Franks only quitted their arms when going to church. Consult the Capitularies of Charlemagne, l. 7, p. 202.

4. *Omnibus cruciatibus,* &c. "Is subjected to, and put to death by, the cruellest tortures." More literally, "by every species of torture."

5. *Alterius principem factionis.* "The leader of the opposite party."—*Supra demonstravimus.* Consult chapter 3.—*Cæsaris secutum fidem.* "Had put himself under the protection of Cæsar"

6. *Huc.* "To them." In the Greek paraphrase *τὸς αὑτοὺς.*

7. *Sub castris ejus.* "Close to his camp."—*Cognosceret.* "He might reconnoitre."

1. *Timorisque opinionem.* Compare chapter 49, where Cæsar had recourse to the same stratagem against the Nervii.

2. *Intromissis.* "Being received within" the Roman *works.*—*Nulla ratione.* "In no way."
3. *Magna cum contumelia verborum.* "In very insulting language."

4. *Dispersi ac dissipati.* "In a scattered and disorderly manner."

5. *Præcipit atque interdicit,* &c. "He commands them, that when the enemy should be terrified and put to flight (which he foresaw would happen, as it did), they all aim at Indutiomarus alone, and he forbids any one wounding a man before he sees that chieftain slain." We have separated *præcipit* and *interdicit* in translating, in order to convey Cæsar's meaning more clearly.

6. *Mora reliquorum,* &c. "Having gained time by the delay occasioned in pursuing the rest."

7. *Hominis.* Referring to Labienus.—*Fluminis.* The river Mosa is meant, which separated the territory of the Remi from that of the Treveri. Compare Cluverius, 2, 14.

8. *Caputque ejus.* Florus (3, 10), by an error of memory, makes Dolabella, not Labienus, the Roman commander on this occasion.
BOOK VI.

1. *Per Marcum Silanum, &c.* Persons so appointed to levy forces were called *conquisitores*, from their seeking after those who endeavoured to avoid military duty. Sometimes senators, and, as in the present instance, *legati* were appointed to this duty. Compare Lipsius, *Mil. Rom.* 1, dial. 9, "Vides honestiores quos dam, atque e senatu conquisitores: imo ipsos legatos."

2. *Dilectum habere.* "To hold a levy," i. e., to raise forces. The common text has *delectum*, but *dilectum* is the more accurate form. Compare Gothofred, *ad Fest.* s. v. (Lindemann, *Corp. Gramm. Lat.* vol. ii., p. 405.)

3. *Proconsule.* Pompey had been consul the year previous, and was now proconsul, having had the province of Spain assigned him for the space of five years.

4. *Quoniam ipse ad urbem, &c.* "Since he himself (i. e., Pompey) was remaining near the city with military command, on account of the affairs of the republic, that he would order the troops which he (Pompey) had raised from Cisalpine Gaul, and which had taken the oath of fidelity to the consul, to repair to their standards and come to him (Cæsar)." Pompey, as has already been remarked in the previous note, had decreed unto him, while still in his consulship, the province of Spain, with proconsular powers, for the space of five years to come, and was allowed permission to levy as many troops as, and from whatever quarter, he pleased. (Dio Cass. 39, 33.) He levied, therefore, a part of his forces in Cisalpine Gaul, who took the military oath to him as consul. When he was preparing, however, to set out for his province, he was opposed by certain of the tribunes of the commons, and the result was that Afranius and Petreius, his lieutenants, were sent into Spain, while Pompey himself was compelled to remain in Italy. Being invested with military command (*cum imperio*), he could not by law enter the city, but was forced to stay in its vicinity, or, in other words, K k
Page without the walls (ad urbem). To avoid, however, the appearance of compulsory detention, Pompey pretended, that he remained for the purpose of superintending the supplies of corn for the capital, which Caesar here calls "reipublica causa." (Compare Die Cassius, 39, 39.) This duty had been assigned to Pompey, two years previous, by a law of which Cicero was the proposer. (Cic. pro Dom. c. 4, seq.—Dio Cass. 1. c.) Now, while Pompey was thus remaining near the city, Caesar requested him to send into Gaul the troops which the former had levied in Gallia Cisalpina, or Northern Italy. Pompey assented to the request, and the forces in question, amounting to one legion, were accordingly sent. It is worthy of remark, that this same legion was very artfully obtained back by Pompey, near the commencement of the contest between him and Caesar; a step which gave great offence to the latter (Hirtius, B. G. 8, 54.—Appian, B. C. p. 446, ed. Steph.), and which, according to Plutarch (Vit. Cas. c. 25), was one of the immediate causes of the outbreaking of the civil conflict.

5. Sacramento. Consult Archeological Index.—Rogerisset. The subjunctive here, and also in remaneret which precedes, refers to what Caesar had heard from others. The verb rogare has in this clause its secondary or derivative meaning. It signifies, properly, "to ask;" then "to elect to any office," the people being asked their opinion relative to the merits of the candidate, and in the present instance it means "to select" or "choose soldiers in a levy," they being interrogated as to their willingness to bind themselves by the military oath and act the part of good soldiers. Hence we have in Festus (p. 264, ed. Lind.), "Sacramento interrogari."

6. Magni interesse, &c. "Thinking it of great importance even for the time to come, as regarded the opinions which might be formed by the Gauls, that the resources of Italy should appear so great," &c., i.e., thinking it of great importance towards forming the future opinions of the Gauls.

7. Sarciri. "Be repaired." Sarcire properly means "to repair a garment, or article of clothing generally." Here, however, it is employed in a sense which is very common among legal writers, viz., "to repair damage," "to make whole." Thus we have in the laws of the twelve tables, "Si quadrupes pauperem faxit, dominus sarcito." On which Festus remarks: "Sarcito, in XII., Ser. Sulpicius ait significare damnum solvito, præstato."

8. Majoribus adangeri copiis. "Be more than compensated by an increase of forces," i.e., by a more powerful army than before.
9. Quod cum Pompeius, &c. "Pompey having granted this to both the interests of the republic and the claims of private friendship," i. e., both through regard for the republic and private friendship. Literally, "to both the republic and friendship."

10. Per suos. "By his officers," i. e., the legati already mentioned.—Et constitutis et adductis. "Being both formed and brought to him."

11. Populi Romani disciplina. Compare the spirited eulogium of Valerius Maximus on the discipline of the Roman armies (2, 8). "Disciplina militaris, acriter retenta, principatum Italiae Romano imperio peperit; multarum urbs, magnorum regum, et validissimorum gentium regimem largita est; fauces Pontici sinus patefecit; Alpium Taurique montis convulsa claustra tradidit, ortumque e parvula Romuli casa, totius terrarum orbis fecit column." "Disciplina militaris, acriter retenta, principatum Italiae Romano imperio peperit; multarum urbs, magnorum regum, et validissimorum gentium regimem largita est; fauces Pontici sinus patefecit; Alpium Taurique montis convulsa claustra tradidit, ortumque e parvula Romuli casa, totius terrarum orbis fecit column."


13. Jurejurando inter se, &c. "The two parties bind themselves to one another by an oath, and secure the payment of the money by means of hostages," i. e., the Treviri give hostages to the Germans as a security for the money. The verb cavco is used here in its legal sense. Compare the explanation of Forcellini: "Cavere re aliqua est re aliqua, veluti pignore, securum facere." So cavere ab aliquo is "to obtain security from one."

14. Cisrhenanis omnibus Germanis. The reference is to that part of the Belgæ who dwelt near the Rhine, namely, the Condusini, Eburones, Cersesi, and Pæmani. Compare Davies, ad loc.

15. Ad imperatum. "To perform what had been commanded them." Equivalent to, "ad id præstandum quod imperatum erat."

1. Nondum hieme confecta. "Winter being not yet ended," i. e., before the end of winter.

2. Uti instituerat. "As he had been accustomed to do." He was accustomed to hold a council of the states of Gaul every year. Compare chapter 44.


4. Sed ab hoc consilio, &c. "But were not to be concerned in this plot." More literally, "to have been away from this design." Compare the Greek paraphrase, τῆς τῶν Στράτων θεωρησις οἵ τε ἀπατήτων.

5. Hac re, &c. "This adjournment having been announced from the tribunal." The suggestus (called also suggestum) was
an elevated place formed of turf, stone, or wood, according to circumstances. From this speeches were delivered, and the presiding officer of a public assembly pronounced his opinion or judgment. Representations of it frequently occur upon Roman coins.

6. Conantibus, &c. "To them attempting to do so, before it could be accomplished, word is brought," &c.—Deprecandi. "Of excusing their acts." Compare the explanation of Davies: "Coepta sua excusandi."

7. Adeunt per Aeduos, &c. "They make their application through the Aedui, under whose protection their state was in former days." Quorum depends in construction on vide, not on civitas. The Senones had been clients and allies of the Aedui. Compare the explanation of Morus: "Senones erant clientes et socii Aeduvorum;" and the language of the Greek paraphrase, Τοῦτο δὲ έιδά τῶν 'Εδουιον, ὧν εκ τῶν παλαι ὑπάκου ήσαν, διεξανεν. The Senones had been clients and allies of the Aedui.

8. Dat veniam. "Grants them pardon."—Quod estivum tempus, &c. "Because he thought, that the summer season was the time for prosecuting war, not for legal investigations." More literally, "belonged to war pressing on," or "at hand."


10. Totus et mente, &c. "He applies himself with his whole heart and thoughts." We have altered, in translating, the order of mente and animo, in order to adapt the phraseology more to the English idiom.

11. Cavarijium. Compare chapter 54, book 5.—Ex hujus ira-cundia. "From this man's violent temper," i. e., his desire of revenge acting upon a disposition naturally irascible.—Ex eo quod meruerat, &c. "From that hatred on the part of the state, which he had incurred." He had become odious to the state, because Caesar had made him king over it.

1. Pro explorato. "For certain."—Reliqua ejus consina, &c. "He watched his other plans attentively," i. e., narrowly observed all his movements. Ejus refers to Ambiorix.

2. Perpetuis paludibus, &c. "Protected by one continued extent of marshes and woods." Compare the Greek paraphrase, κοινεχοί λύναις τε καὶ οίλαις πάντοτεν περιεχομένως.

4. Illii. Referring to Ambiorix.—*Ipsum*. Alluding to the same, and put in opposition to *auxilia*.

5. *In Menapiis se abderet*. "Might take refuge among the Menapii," i.e., "might go among the Menapii and hide himself there," as the accusative plainly indicates. *In Menapiis se abderet* would imply that he had been for some time among the Menapii before he concealed himself.

6. Congredi. "To connect himself with," i.e., to go and unite with. Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἕκαστος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ.

7. Loci prcEsidio. "On the strength of their situation." More literally, "on the aid which their situation afforded."

8. Adit tripartito. "Marches against them in three divisions." *Tripartito* is equivalent here to *per tres partes simul*. The Greek paraphrase, in like manner, has ἔρχεται.

9. Hiemabat. Some read *hiemaverat*; but *hiemabat* is the true lection, for the winter was not yet over. Oudendorp restored *hiemabat* to the text from good MSS., and the authority of the Greek paraphrase, which has Χειμάζοντι τῷ Δαβιδῷ.


11. *Cum viginti quinque cohortibus*. Five-and-twenty cohorts were the same as two legions and a half, ten cohorts making a legion. Caesar adopts here the former phraseology, as the cohorts probably belonged to several different legions.

1. *Flumen*. Rhellicanus and Mauutius make this river to have been the Mosella, but on this point there is no certainty whatever.


3. *In dubium non devocaturum*. "Will not involve in danger." Some read *recocaturum*, which is altogether incorrect, for he had not before exposed them to risk.

4. *Ut ex magno*, &c. "Since, out of a large number of Gallic cavalry, nature compelled some to favour the Gallic interests," i.e., since it was very natural, that, out of so large a number of Gallic horse as were then in the Roman camp, some should be found to favour the interests of their countrymen, and convey to them intelligence of the Roman movements.


6. *Quid sui sit consilii proponit*. "Lays before them his real design."

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7. *Fuga simulœm profectionem.* Frontinus (2, 5, 20) makes mention of this stratagem of Labienus.

8. *Speratam prædam.* Ciacconius suggests *paratam* for *speratam,* contrary to all the MSS. The Greek paraphrase has correctly, ἔπιστρεφων λείαν.

9. *Longum esse.* “That it was too long,” i. e., that it would be folly.

10. *Impeditam.* “Encumbered with baggage.”

11. *Eadem usus,* &c. “Practising the same deception as regarded his march,” i. e., keeping up the appearance of a retreat.

12. *Facultatem.* “The opportunity.”—*Impedito atque iniquo loco.* “In an embarrassed and disadvantageous situation.”

13. *Præstare.* “Display.”—*Adesse eum,* &c. “Imagine that he is present, and sees these things with his own eyes,” i. e., and is an eyewitness of your actions.


1. *Infestis signis ad se venire.* “Coming towards them with hostile standards,” i. e., marching to attack them.—*Impetum modo.* “Our charge merely,” i. e., even our charge.


3. *Ex Menapiis.* The narrative now goes back to the close of chapter 6.—*Quarum crat altera.* “The one of which was.” Some editions have *una,* which is far inferior.


1. *Barbaros atque imperitos homines.* “That a barbarous and ignorant people.” The reference is to the Suevi.

2. *Infinita magnitudine.* “Of prodigious extent.”—*Bacens.* A part, very probably, of the Hercynian forest.


5. *In omnibus pagis,* &c. “In all the cantons and parts of cantons.”—*In singulis domibus.* “In each family.”

6. *Earumque factionum,* &c. “And the heads of these parties are persons, who, in their opinion, are supposed to possess the
greatest influence: to whose will and decision the direction of all affairs and counsels is referred," i. e., on whose will and decision all their most important affairs and resolutions depend.

7. Idque ejus rei causa, &c. "And this custom seems to have been instituted from early times, for the following reason."

8. Ne quis ex plebe, &c. The reason here assigned was ir. like manner the basis of the Roman institution of patrons and clients.

9. Quisque. "Each leader," i. e., each patron.—Neque, aliter si faciant. We have here what grammarians call a syllepsis of number, or change from the singular to the plural. Compare Sanct. Min. 4, 10 (vol. ii., p. 365, ed. Bauer).

10. Hac cadem ratio est, &c. "This same principle prevails in the general administration of all Gaul." Compare the explanation of Morus: "In summa rerum publicarum, sive in administratione et forma universae civitatis Gallica."

11. Alterius factionis, &c. "The Aedui were at the head of one party."—Hi. "The latter." Referring to the Sequani.—Summa auctoritas. "The chief influence."

12. Jacturis. "Sacrifices," i. e., expenses or gifts. Jactura properly denotes what is thrown overboard in a storm in order to save the rest of the cargo. (Compare Cic. Off. 3, 23.) Herc, however, it is employed in the sense of pecuniary sacrifices or expenditures, or, in other words, of a present loss, in expectation of future benefit. Compare B. C. 3, 112, and Cic. ad Att. 6, 1. Consult also Gronovius, de Pec. Vet. 4, 4, p. 285.

1. Tantum potentia antecesserant. "The Sequani had so far surpassed the latter in power."—Is. Referring to the Aedui.


3. Commutatane. "A change." This change was brought about by Caesar's defeat of Ariovistus.—Obsidibus Aeduis redditis. "Their hostages being given back to the Aedui."


5. Reliquis rebus eorum, &c. "The rest of their affairs, their influence, their dignity being augmented." In order to avoid ambiguity, amplificata is here made to agree with dignitate instead of rebus.

6. Dimiserant. Used here for amiserant, but more graphic.

7 Quos quod adequare, &c. As quos begins the clause, it is to
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be regarded as equivalent to et eos. "And that, since it was known that they equalled the Aedui in Caesar's favour," &c. Quos refers to the Remi, and after adequare we must supply eos, i. e., Aeduos.


9. Qui aliquo sunt in numero, &c. "Who are of any note and are held in any estimation." Compare the explanation of Lemaire: "Digni habiti qui recenseantur et numerentur, quasi spectati homines."


11. Aere alieno. "By debt." Aes alienum means literally, "the money of another," i. e., due or owing to another. The first money coined by the Romans was of brass, and hence the use of as in this sense.


13. In hos. "Over these."—Quae dominis, &c. "As masters possess over their slaves." Equivalent to quae jura sunt dominis, &c.

14. Alterum est Druidum. "The one is that of the Druids." As regards this priesthood, consult Historical Index, s. v. Druides.

15. Illi rebus divinis intersunt. "The former take part in sacred matters," i. e., officiate in them. This is explained immediately after. The people are said adesse, "to be present" at sacrifices; the Druids interesse, "to be present and take a part."

16. Procurant. "They have charge of." Compare Strabo (4, p. 198, Cas.): ἑκατὸν ἀπὸ καὶ ἰων ἀρχον οἱ ἡρωικοί.—Religiones interpretantur. "They expound the principles of religion." Compare the Greek paraphrase, τὴν ἱστορίαν ἱστορεῖν.

17. Disciplinae causa. "For instruction." The Druids were ako a class of public instructors, and taught the doctrines of natural and moral philosophy to he young. Compare Strabo, 4, p. 197: οἱ θεοτυκοὶ ηὐθείας, καὶ τὴν ἱδικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀκοῦσι.  


19. Si cædes facta. "If murder has been committed." Supply sit.—Proemia poenasque. "The sum to be paid, and the punishment to be endured."
1. *Non stetit.* "Has not abided by." — *Sacrificiis interdicunt.* "They interdict from the sacred rites," i.e., they excommunicate him.

2. *Aditum corum, &c.* "All shun their company and converse." — *Ex contagione.* "By their contact," i.e., by coming in contact with them.

3. *Jus redditur.* "Is justice dispensed." — *Neque honos ullus communicatur.* "Nor do they share any of the honours of the state."

4. *De principatu.* "For the office of presiding Druid."


6. *Disciplina.* "This institution." Referring to the Druidical system. — *Reperta.* "To have originated."

7. *Diligentius eam rem cognoscere.* "To become more accurately acquainted with it." — *Illo.* "To that island."

8. *Militia vacationem, &c.* "They enjoy an exemption from military service, and immunities of every kind."


10. *Ediscere.* "To learn by heart." — *In disciplina.* "Under instruction."


12. *Id instituisse.* "To have established this custom." — *Quod neque in vulgum, &c.* "Because they wish neither the doctrines of their order to be published to the common people, nor those who learn, to rely on books and exercise their memory less."

13. *In primis hoc volunt persuadere.* "The Druids wish in particular to inculcate this idea," i.e., it is a favourite doctrine with the Druids.

14. *Non interire animas, &c.* "That the souls of men do not perish but pass, after dissolution, from one body to another." This is the famous doctrine of the transmigration of souls, or metempsychosis. Compare Strabo (4, p. 196), ἀφθάρως τὰς ψυχὰς λίγοιοι γαλάται. Consult also *Lucan, Pharsal.* 1, 450; *Mela, 3, 2; Amm. Marcell.* 15, 9, &c.

1. *Disputant.* "They reason." — *Et juventutis transdunt.* "And impart their reflections to the young."
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2. *Cum est usus.* "Whenever there is need."

3. *Omnes in bello versuntur.* "Are all engaged in war."

4. *Plurimos ambactos clientesque.* "The greatest number of retainers and clients." *Ambactus* is a Gallic term, and signifies a retainer, a person attached to a household, who receives a certain aere for his services, &c. Hence in the old glossaries it is explained by *duolos* *miθωράς,* although *duolos* here comes nearer, in meaning, to the feudal term "vassal," than to the Roman word "*servus.*" The Latin "*minister*" would explain its meaning better than *servus.* In the Gothic version of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, we have "Waldfini ist andhahts goths," i. e., *potesas est ministra dei* (13, 3, 4); and again, *διάκονος* (i. e., *minister*) is rendered by *andhants.* It is easy to see, therefore, that Dacier is quite wrong, when he seeks to make *ambactus* a word of Latin origin, and to derive it from *Ambigere.*

5. *Hanc inam gratiam,* &c. "This is the only kind of influence and authority with which they are acquainted." Compare, as regards the force of *gratiam* here, the remark of Morus: "*Gratiam, Benevolentiam,* non quam quis aliis ipse gratificando exhibet, sed in qua ipse est apud alios, quam inquit ab alius, et per quam sibi conciliat potestatem."

6. *Admodum dedita religionibus.* "Exceedingly addicted to superstitions rites and observances," i. e., is exceedingly superstitious. *Religionibus* is here equivalent, as Morus remarks, to "*ritibus sacrīs, iisque superstitiones.*"

7. *Pro victimis homines immolant.* This cruel and barbarous custom on the part of the Gauls is alluded to by many ancient writers. Consult *Strabo,* 4, p. 193, and *Diod. Sic.* 5, 31. They had a custom, also, of divining from such sacrifices the events of the future, deriving their omens from the palpitations of the limbs and fibres, the flowing of the blood, &c.


10. *Suplicia.* "That the immolation." Literally, "the pun
ishment," i. e., by the species of immolation just described, namely, burning. Diodorus Siculus (5. 32) informs us, that they kept their criminals for five years, and then burnt them all together.

11. Ejus generis. "Of this class of offenders." Supply nocentium.—Etiam ad innocentium supplicia. "Even to the offering up of the innocent."

12. Deum maxime, &c. "They chiefly worship the god Mercury," i. e., Mercury is the principal or favourite deity of the Gauls. By Mercury, Caesar here means a Gallic deity whose attributes in some degree resemble those of Mercury. This deity is thought by some to have been the same with Woden, whence Wodensdach, or wonstag, i. e., Wednesday, or dies Mercurii. Others, however, are in favour of Teutates (compare the Mercurius-Teutates of Livy, 26. 44, according to the old reading), and this name Teutates recalls the Phoenician Theut. Now, as commerce came into Gaul from Phœnicia, it is more than probable that this latter opinion is the correct one.

13. Hunc ferunt. "They regard this deity as." Literally, "they report that he is."—Viarum atque itinerum ducem. "Their guide in travelling and on journeys."

14. Ad quasus pecuniae, &c. "Exercises a very powerful influence over the acquisition of gain and over traffic."

15. Appollinem. Supply colunt, "they worship." According to Ausonius (Prof. 2), the god here styled Apollo was called in the Gallic tongue Belenus. Herodian, however (8. 3), gives the Celtic appellation as Belis, which approximates more closely to the name of the oriental sun-god Baal, to the early Greek form ἄπλεως (i. e., ἀπλος with the Doric α and the digamma), and the old Latin Apollo (i. e., A-bell-o or Apollo).

16. Martem. By Mars is here thought to be meant a Gallic deity named Esus, Hesus, or Heusus. (Lactant. de F. S. 1. 21. —Lucan, 1. 445.) Others, however, make Hesus to have been the same with Jove. Compare the Hu-Gadarn ("Hu the powerful") of Welsh tradition.

17. Jovem. The Gallic name of the deity here meant was Turan, from which Lucan (1. 446) forms Taranis. The root of Turun appears to be the same with Thor, the German Jupiter. In Gaelic, Tarann or Torann means "thunder."—Minervam. We have no Celtic name for the deity here meant.

18. De his eandem fere, &c. In Caesar's time the resemblance here spoken of was comparatively slight. At a later day, during
the time of the Roman emperors, the religious systems of Italy and Greece were inrafted on the Gallic creed, and the points of similarity became, of course, more manifest. The race of the Druids also passed away with the ancient faith.

19. Minervam, &c. "That Minerva imparted to mankind the first knowledge of manufactures and arts," i.e., first taught the principles of arts and trades. Minerva, in the Greek and Roman creed, was the parent of all the liberal as well as domestic arts.

1. Qua superaverint, &c. "They sacrifice whatever captured animals may have remained after the conflict." Supply ex elade or praelio. By animalia capta is here meant live booty in general, under which head captives are also included. Hence Athenaeus (4, 51, p. 160) remarks, that it was customary with the Gauls to sacrifice their prisoners taken in battle, δειν τοις δειίς τοις αιχμαλώτοις.

2. Neglecta religione. "Through disregard of religion."—Posita tollere. "To remove those things that have been deposited," i.e., in sacred places.—Ei rei. "For such an offence as this."

3. Ab Dite patre. "From Dis as their progenitor," i.e., from Pluto. Who is actually meant here by Dis, is very hard to say. The idea, however, intended to be conveyed would appear to be, that the Gauls were an aboriginal race, and sprung from the earth.

4. Spatia omnis temporis, &c. "They compute all their divisions of time, not by the number of days, but by that of nights." This mode of computation was not confined to the Celtic race. We have traces of it even in Scripture, "and the evening and the morning were the first day." The Gauls, according to this account of Caesar’s, would not say, for example, after seven days, but after seven nights. Compare the English forms of expression, "seven-night," and "fortnight."

5. Ut noctem dies subsequatur. The meaning is, that they counted their days from sunset to sunset, not from sunrise to sunrise.

6. In reliquis vita institutis. "In the other regulations of life."—Pere. "Chiefly."—Ut possint. "So as to be able."—Palam ad se adire. "To appear publicly before them."

7. Viri, quantas, &c. "Whatever sum of money the husbands receive from their wives, under the name of a dowry, so much of their own property, a valuation having been made, do they add to these dowries."

8. Conjunctim ratio habetur. "A joint account is kept."—Fruc-tusque servatnr. "And the interest is laid by."
9. Vitæ superavit. "Shall survive the other."—Pars utriusque, &c. "The portion of both, together with the interest of the previous period," i.e., the joint sum with all the profits till then arising from it.

10. In servilem modum, &c. "They examine the wives by torture, after the manner of slaves," i.e., just as slaves are treated among us. Among the Romans, citizens gave their evidence upon oath, but could not be put to the rack. Slaves only could be examined by torture.

11. Si compertum est. "If any discovery is made," i.e., if it be discovered that the husband was destroyed by poison, assassination, &c.

12. Pro cultu Gallorum. "For the Gallic mode of life," i.e., considering the little progress which they have made in refinement and elegances of life.

13. Vivis cordi fuisse. "To have been pleasing to the living." The custom here alluded to was common to many of the barbarous nations of antiquity. Articles of clothing, drinking vessels, favourite slaves, horses, &c., were consumed together with the deceased.

14. Ac paulo supra hanc memoriam. "And not long before our own time."—Justis funeribus confectis. "After the regular ceremonies had been performed." Great difference of opinion exists about the reading as well as sense of this passage. One source of difficulty arises from the circumstance of justa being often used by the Latin writers as equivalent to funera, which has made some commentators regard funeribus as a gloss. We have retained, however, the common reading, and have given justis the force of legitimis.

15. Commodius. "To greater advantage than others," i.e., more judiciously, with greater judgment.—Habent legibus sanctum. 'Have it enacted by law.' Sanctum is contracted for sancitum.

1. Imperitos. "Inexperienced in public affairs." Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἀπείρους πραγμάτων.


3. Per concilium. "In council." More literally, "while the council is sitting."

4. Germani multum, &c. "The Germans, on the other hand, differ widely from these customs," i.e., differ widely in custom from all this.
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5. Nam neque Druides habent. Cæsar means merely that the Druidical system did not extend into Germany, not that the Germans were without priests and priestesses of any kind. Compare Tacitus, Hist. 4, 61, 65.—Id. de Mor. Germ. c. 8.

6. Neque sacrificiis student. "Nor do they pay much attention to sacrifices," i.e., they have sacrifices among them, but do not pay by any means so much attention to them as the Gauls.

7. Vulcanum. "Fire." The Germans worshipped the sun on account of its genial influence; fire, from its aiding them as a protection against cold, and also in the preparation of their food; and the moon, from its assisting them with its rays during the long nights.

8. Acceperunt. Cæsar's statement is contradicted by that of Tacitus (de Mor. Germ. 9), who expressly informs us, that the Germans worshipped Mercury, Hercules, and Mars; and that a part of the Suevi sacrificed to Isis. Cæsar might easily have been deceived, as he passed only a few days within the limits of Germany.

9. In studiis rei militaris. "In military pursuits."—Ab parvalis, &c. "From their very infancy they inure themselves to toil and hardship."


11. Cujus rei nulla est occultatio. Compare the explanation of Lemaire: "Incognita est apud eos occultatio partium virilium. Non occultant secum; ideo facile dignoscuntur il qui commercium aliquod habuerunt cum feminis."

12. Aut parvis rhenorum, &c. "Or small coverings of deer hides." By rheno is here meant a covering of the skin of the reindeer. The name is supposed to come from rhen (rane or rein), a species of animal which we term reindeer. Compare Isidorus (19, 23), "Rhenones sunt velamina humororum et pectoris usque ad umbilicum."

13. Agriculturae non student. "They do not pay much attention to agriculture." The expression non studere rei is equivalent to non magnopere operam dare. Cæsar does not mean, that the Germans neglected agriculture entirely, but merely that it did not occupy any large share of their attention. Compare note 6.—Consistit. "Is spent."

14. Agri modum certum, &c. "Any fixed portion of land, or
limits which he can call his own," i. e., or ground especially ap-
propriated to him in ownership.

15. Gentibus cognationibusque, &c. "To the tribes and fam-
ilies," &c. The term gentibus is here equivalent to the Greek φύλαῖς.

16. Quantum, &c. "As much land as, and where, they see
fit."—Alio. "To a different quarter."

17. Ejus rei, &c. "They advance many reasons for this prac-
tice."—Assidua consuetudine. "By long continued custom," the
custom of residing in, and cultivating, the same places.—Studium
belli gerendi, &c. "They may exchange their attention to war for
agriculture."

18. Latos fines. "Extensive possessions," i. e., extensive
landed property.

19. Humiliores. "The weaker." Equivalent to tenuiores or
infirmiores. Compare Seneca (de Ira, 1, 3), "Nemo tam humilis
est, qui poenam vel summi hominis sperare non possit."

20. Accuratius. "With greater care."—Qua cupiditas. Qua
for aliqua.

21. Animi agitate. "In evenness of temper," i. e., in a con-
tented frame of mind.

1. Vastatis finibus. "By the desolation of their frontiers," i.
e., by laying waste the country that lies on their borders, and
driving out the nations by whom it had been inhabited.

literally, "peculiar to their valour."

3. Defendit. "Repels." Equivalent to propulsat. Compare
Ennius: "Serva cives, defende hostes, cum potes defendere;" and
Quintus Claudigarius: "Defendebat hostes a pinnis facillime."
(Enn. Fragm. ed. Hessel. p. 219.)

4. Sed principes, &c. "But the chiefs of the provinces and
cantons administer justice, and decide controversies among their
respective followers."

5. Desidia minuenda. "Of removing sloth." Minuenda is
here equivalent to tollenda, a meaning which this verb not unfre-
quently has among the best writers. Compare the expression "con-
troversias minuunt," just preceding, and also B. G. 5, 26. The
Lacedaemonians permitted predatory excursions, for a reason exactly
similar to the one here assigned. (Davies, ad loc.—Cragius, de
Rep. Laced. 3, p. 181.)

6. Profiteantur. "May give in their names."—Causam. "The
enterprise."—Ex iis. "Of these," i. e., of the individuals who have given in their names, and expressed their readiness to follow him as a leader.

7. Omniaque rerum, &c. "And all credit in everything is after this withheld from them."


9. Trans Rhenum colonias, &c. Cæsar refers probably to the same period that Livy mentions, 5, 34. The latter speaks of a Gallic colony having migrated, when Tarquinius Priscus was king at Rome, from their own country, towards the Hercynian forest.

10. Eratostheni. Consult Historical Index.—Urcyniam. The true root of the name is the German Hartz, i. e., Hartzwald. Consult Geographical Index.

11. Summamque habet, &c. "And enjoy a very high reputation for justice and military prowess." Laus is here employed to signify, not praise itself, but what calls for praise. Compare Forcellini: "Laus metonymica dicitur de recte factis, et virtute, quia his laudem meremur."

12. In eadem inopia, &c. "In the same scarcity, want, and hardiness as the Germans."—Eadem victu, &c. "The same sort of diet and clothing."

13. Gallis. Referring to those of the Volcae Tectosages who had not migrated with the rest of that nation into Germany, but had remained in Gaul.—Et transmarinarum, &c. "And their acquaintance with foreign commodities." More literally, "things that have crossed the sea."

14. Multa ad copiam, &c. "Supplies many articles of luxury as well as convenience."

1. Expedito. "To an expeditious traveller."—Finiri. "Be computed." Put here for dimetiri, i. e., to ascertain a space from limit to limit.

2. Oritur ab Helvetiorum, &c. "It begins at the confines of the Helvetii," &c.—Rectaque fluminis, &c. "And stretches directly along the river Danube." More literally, "in a direct line (recta regione) as regards the river Danube." The direction here meant is an eastern one.

3. Sinistrorsus, diversis ab flumine regionibus. "To the left hand, in a different direction from the river," i. e., it turns off from the left bank of the Danube, and stretches to the north.

4. Hujus Germaniae. "In this part of Germany."—Cum "Although."

6. *Est bos cervi figura.* The animal here described is, according to Cuvier, the reindeer. To the same effect are Buffon (Hist. Nat. vol. xii., p. 82, ed. 1764, 4to) and Beckmann (Buschings Abhandlungen). The term *bos* employed by Caesar has misled many, and induced them to imagine that the bison was meant, than which nothing can be more erroneous. The Romans were accustomed to use the term *bos* when speaking of any large-sized animal before unseen. Compare the expression *Lucas boves* applied to elephants. (Varro, L. L. 6, 3.—Plin, H. N. 8, 6.)

7. *Unum cornu existit.* "There grows a single horn."

8. *Siue palmae.* "Like palms." The reference is to the leaves, not to the tree itself. Beckmann, however, understands by *palmae* here the blades of oars.

9. *Alces.* According to Cuvier, the animal here meant is the "elk," or "elendhier" of the Germans, and "clan" of the French. Caesar's description, however, he very justly regards as altogether false, but remarks, that the very same disadvantages under which the *alces* labour according to Caesar, are ascribed in popular belief to the elk, whence its German name "elend," which means "miserable." Compare Buffon, Hist. Nat. vol. xii., p. 83.

10. *Varietas pellium.* "The varied colour of their skins," i. e., their dappled or spotted skins.

11. *Mutilaeque sunt cornibus.* This account does not, of course, suit the elk, unless Caesar saw merely the female animal. Perhaps, however, he merely describes the elk from the account of others, and in this way has fallen into error. Compare note 9.

12. *Siue nodis articulisque.* "Without ligatures and joints." This, of course, is incorrect. A stiff appearance of the limbs may have given rise to the opinion.

13. *Quo afflictae caus.* "Having been thrown down by any accident," i. e., having accidentally fallen.—*Erigere sese,* &c. "To raise or help themselves."

14. *Se applicant.* "They lean."—*Paulum modo reclinatae.* "Reclining only a little."

15. *A radicibus subruunt.* "Loosen at the roots."—*Accidum tantum.* "Cut in so far."—*Summa species.* "The full appearance."

16. *Infirmas arbores,* &c. "They throw down by their weight the weakened trees."
17. Tertium est genus eorum, &c. "The third kind of these animals consists of those which are called Uri." According to Cuvier, a species of mountain bull is here meant. The same distinguished naturalist thinks, that the bison and urus mark two distinct species, and that those writers, therefore, are in error who make the urus and bison the same animal. The German term for the urus is aver-ochs, contracted into wrochs (whence the Latin urus), and meaning "bull," or "ox, of the mountain," i.e., wild bull, or wild ox.

18. Paulo infra elephatos. "A little less than elephants." Here again Cæsar speaks from hearsay, as the exaggeration respecting the size of the urus plainly indicates.

1. Hos studiose foceis, &c. "These they take pains to catch in pits, and so kill them."

2. Adolescentes. In the common text homines adolescentes, but homines is not found in several MSS., and is quite unnecessary.—Exercens. Supply se.

3. Quae sint testimonio. "To serve as a proof." Equivalent to ut ea sint testimonio.

4. Sed assuescer ad homines, &c. "These animals, however cannot, even though taken quite young, become accustomed to man and tamed," i.e., become domesticated and tamed. Compare, as regards the expression pareuli excepti, the language of the Greek paraphrase: νεον λαβόται.

5. Amplitudo cornuum, &c. "The size, shape, and species of their horns."—Hec studiose conquista, &c. "These horns they carefully seek after, encompass them with silver around the rims, and use them for drinking cups at their most splendid feasts." This custom appears to have been very common among all the northern nations of Europe. Drinking vessels entirely of gold and silver, and fashioned like horns, have been dug up in Denmark. In the Runic calendars, moreover, festal days are marked by horns. Consult also Athenæus, 2, 51.

6. Cæsar postquam, &c. Having finished his digression respecting the manners, &c., of the Gauls and Germans, Cæsar here resumes his narrative, from which he had broken off at chapter 11.

7. Inopiam frumenti ventus. Dio Cassius says (40, 32), that Cæsar was in fact afraid of the Suevi; but this is not probable.—Supra demonstravimus. Consult chapter 22.

8. Bellum Ambiorigis. Compare chapter 5.—Per A'duennam silvam, &c. These words and all that follow, as far as patet, in-
elusive, are strongly suspected of being an interpolation, for they are absent from the Greek paraphrase, and appear, moreover, to clash with what has been stated in the third chapter of the 5th book. The number, too, of miles in length (five hundred), is altogether too great. D'Anville thinks that the true reading was CL. (i. e., centum et quinquaginta), from which, by an easy error on the part of the copyist, arose the other lection D. (i. e., quingenti).

9. Si quid celeritate, &c. "To see if he may be able to gain any advantage by rapidity of march and favourable opportunity."

10. Subsequi. According to the grammarians, the present is here employed for the future, subsecuturum esse. (Perizon. ad Sanct. Min. 1, 13.) In truth, however, Caesar here uses the present purposely, instead of the future, to give the narrative a more animated air, and bring the actions more directly before the eyes of the reader. Translate, therefore, "that he follows."

1. Basilus. He was afterward one of the conspirators who assassinated Caesar."—Ut imperatum est. "As was ordered."


1. Priusque ejus adventus, &c. "And his arrival itself was observed by the people, before any rumour or intelligence of that arrival was brought." All this is wanting in the Greek paraphrase. The true reading, moreover, is rendered very uncertain by the variations of the MSS.

2. Magnae fuit fortune, &c. "It was a piece of great good fortune on his part, that, after every implement of war, which he had around him, was taken away," &c.

3. Hoc eo factum est. "It happened in this way." More literally, "on this account."

4. Angusto in loco. "In a narrow pass."—Illum in equum, &c. "One of his friends mounted him on horseback."

5. Ambiorix copias suas, &c. "It is a matter of doubt whether Ambiorix did not draw together his forces through choice," i. e., purposely avoided assembling his forces.—An tempore exclusus, &c. "Or whether he was excluded from this step by the shortness of the time, and prevented from so doing by the sudden arrival of our horse, believing, at the same time, that the rest of our army was coming after."


7. In continentes paludes. The Greek paraphrast errs in render-
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1. continentes is here equivalent to continuas. Compare B. G. 3, 28.


9. Omnibus precibus, &c. "Having, with every kind of execration, devoted Ambiorix to the gods below, for having been the author of that design, killed himself with yew, of which tree there is an abundance in Gaul and Germany." The expression precibus detestari is equivalent here to diris devovere, i. e., to devote a person to destruction with bitter imprecations. Compare the Greek paraphrase, πάσαις καταράσατο κατάραις.

10. Taxo. With the juice of the berry, or a decoction of the leaves, both of which are regarded as extremely poisonous to men and animals. (Compare Plin. H. N. 16, 10.) A modern writer, however, cited by Fée (Flore de Virgile, p. 159), maintains, that the yew is harmless and may be used with advantage in medicine.

11. Omnium Germanorum, &c. "That there was one common cause for all the Germans," &c., i. e., that they were all joined in one common cause.

12. Questione captivorum. "From an examination of the prisoners."

13. Aduatucam. All the MSS. and early editions had ad Vatucam, which Ursinus first, and after him Valesius (Notit. Gall. p 566), joined into one word Aduatucam. A town of the Eburones is meant, as appears from what is immediately after added, and not the city of the Aduatici.

2. Quintum Tullium Ciceronem. The brother of the orator, and already mentioned in the fifth book, chapters 38, 39, &c.

3. Sabim. The editions have Scaldem, which creates very great difficulty, since the Scheldt does not flow into the Meuse, and the "Sylva Arduenna" did not extend to the confines of the Menapii, and the junction of the Scaldis and Mosz, if such junction ever existed. The Greek paraphrase, moreover, has Σάδεων. They who defend the reading Scaldem, suppose that the Scheldt and Meuse formed a junction in Caesar's time, and that the aspect of the country has become subsequently altered.


5. Ut supra demonstravimus. Compare chapter 31.—Manus
certa nulla. "No regular force." Because Ambiorix had not drawn together his forces, but had ordered them to lie concealed.

6. Vicinitatibus. "To those who dwelt in the neighbourhood." Compare Nepos, Alcib. 3, "Vicinitati negotium dant;" and Suetonius, Vit. Aug. 6, "Tenetque vicinitatem opinio." We have here, to adopt the language of grammarians, the abstract for the concrete.

7. Magnusque diligentiam, &c. "And it required great vigilance, on the part of Cæsar, not indeed to secure the safety of the whole army (for no danger could happen to them in a body, from a terrified and scattered foe), but to save the soldiers individually."—Ex parte. "In some measure."

1. Confertos. "In large parties."

2. Vellet. Supply Cæsar.—Diducendi. Equivalent to dividendi. Compare the Greek paraphrase, καὶ εἰς πολλὰ διαφεροστίον ἤν τὸ σωτήριον.

3. Instituta ratio. "The established discipline." Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἦ τῶν Ρωμαίων διδαχῆ.

4. In necundo aliquid omitteretur. Cæsar means, that he rather omitted an opportunity of injuring the enemy, than injured them to the detriment of his own soldiers.

5. Legionarius miles. "The soldiery of the legions," i. e., the Roman soldiers, who composed the regular legions.

6. Pro tali facinore. "As a punishment for such an offence," i. e., as was that which they had committed.—Stirps. "The race."—Tollatur. "May be annihilated." Those of the Eburones who survived on this occasion became merged in the name and nation of the Tungri. Compare Ritter, Hist. Gall. p. 107.

7. Magnus undique, &c. There is nothing corresponding to this in the Greek paraphrase.


9. Et quantos afferat casus. "And what changes she brings about." Literally, "how great accidents she brings with her" Compare the Greek paraphrase, καὶ πῶς ἀπεργαζότατο συννυχότα.

10. Manus erat nulla. "There was no collected body."


13. Erat perfectus. "Had been constructed." Perfectus is here equivalent to confectus, or the simple factus. Many read imperfectus, and translate the clause, "where the bridge was incomplete," i. e., partially destroyed, or broken off, by Cæsar. This
usage of imperfectus, however, is extremely harsh, and hardly in accordance with the idiom of the language. The term would rather carry with it the idea of something that had never been completed. If any change be allowed in the text, it would be perhaps the conjecture of Achaintre, who suggests persecutus for perfectus.

14. Multos ex fuga, &c. "They intercept many stragglers attempting to escape."

15. Non hos palus, &c. "No marsh, no woods retard these men, bred up amid war and depredations."

1. Fortunatissimis. A Graecism for fortunatissimos. This construction is classed by grammarians under the head of attraction. Compare Zumpt, L. G. p. 366.

2. Praesidii tantum est. "There is so little of a garrison." Tantum is equivalent here to tam parum. Compare B. C. 3, 2, "Tantum navium."—Ut ne murus, &c. "That the walls cannot even be manned." Compare the Greek paraphrase, ὅστε καὶ μὴ δέναιοι ἂν τὸ τοῦ ἱρώματος τεῖχος αναπληρῶν.

3. Usi codem duce. "Having taken the same individual for a guide."

4. De numero dierum, &c. "That Caesar would keep his promise respecting the number of days," i. e., during which he intended to be absent. Compare chapter 33.

5. Qui illus patientiam, &c. "Who called his forbearance almost a siege," i. e., complained that he kept them within the camp, with almost the same strictness as if an enemy were besieging the place.

6. Nullum ejusmodi casum, &c. "Expecting no event of such a nature, as that by means of it any harm could be received within three miles of his camp, while there were nine legions, and a very large body of cavalry opposed to the foe, and the enemy themselves were dispersed and almost annihilated." The nine legions, here referred to, were stationed in various quarters against the enemy. Cicero had with him the thirteenth legion and two hundred horse.

7. Qui hœ spatio, &c. "As many as had recovered in those few days," i. e., the days which had elapsed since Caesar's departure.—Sub vexillo una mittuntur. "Are sent out along with the detachment, under a standard of their own," i. e., in a separate body By vexillum is commonly meant the standard or banner of the cavalry; here, however, it denotes one under which the veteran foot who belonged to no particular legion, or the soldiers who were detached from their legion, were accustomed to fight. Compare Lipsius, Mil. Rom. p. 43.

9. Casu. The common text has et casu, but we have rejected the copulative as Clarke and Oudendorp recommend. Compare the Greek paraphrase: ἐν τοῦτῳ ὑμῖν κατὰ ἐνεργεῖαν.

10. Ab decumana porta. "By the decuman gate." This was the gate in the rear of the camp. Consult Archæological Index.

11. Qui sub vallo, &c. "The sutlers, who had their tents pitched close to the ramparts." tenderent is equivalent here to tentoria habereunt. Compare Virgil, Æn. 2, 29: "Hic Dolopum manus, hic sexus tendebat Achilles." On the other hand detenderc is to break up an encampment. Compare B. C. 3, 85: "Tabernaculisque detensis."

12. Mercatores. The sutlers were not allowed to reside within the camp, but pitched their tents without. They were so near, however, as easily to take refuge within the encampment, in case of any alarm. On the present occasion, the German horse came too suddenly upon them to allow of any escape.

1. Portas nostri tuctur. The German horse came directly up to the gates, as there were no ditches in front of these.—Reliquos aditus. "The other avenues of entrance."

2. Neque quam in partem, &c. "Nor to what quarter each one is to betake himself."

3. Plerique novas, &c. "Most of them form unto themselves strange superstitious notions, from the place where they were." The encampment wore an ill-omened appearance in their eyes, as connected with the overthrow of Sabinus and Cotta.

4. Captivo. The prisoner mentioned in chapter 35, and whom they had taken as a guide.

5. Qui primum pilum, &c. "Who had been chief centurion with Cæsar." Compare note 11, page 46.


7. In statione. "On guard." The term statio gets the meaning here given it from its referring to a body "standing" at their post on guard.

8. Relinquit animam Sextius. "Sextius faints." Davies is wrong in translating this, "Sextius dies." The Greek paraphrase gives the true meaning, ἐκπομπῇ στέχων. From what follows, it will be perceived that Sextius was still alive, for how can one be said to be dead who is immediately after said to have been saved? The error arose from confounding the phrase relinquere animam, "to faint," with relinquere animam, "to die."
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2. Cuneo facto. "Having formed a wedge." Soldiers were drawn up in the form of a wedge, in order to cut through the enemy's lines. According to Vegetius (3, 19), the Roman soldiers call this arrangement caput porcinum. It seldom failed of proving successful, since the missiles of those who composed it were all aimed at one point.


4. Nullo etiam nunc, &c. "Having as yet acquired no military experience." Compare the explanation of Achaintre, "qui nondum rei militaris experientiam habeabant."

5. Ex inferioribus ordinibus. "From the lower ranks."—Erant transducti. "Had been promoted." More literally, "had been transferred."

6. Fidem non faceret. "He could not induce them to believe." Literally, "he could not gain credit," i.e., for himself.—Adesse Caesarem. Hotomannus thinks that the following passage of Suetonius has reference to the events mentioned in this chapter. "Caesar obsessione castrorum in Germania nunciata, per stationes hostium, Gallico habitu penetravit ad suos." The opinion is a very probable one; but for in Germania, we must read in Gallia a Germanis.

7. Pane alienata mente. "As if almost divested of reason." Literally, "with an almost alienated mind."

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9. Modo conscripti, &c. "Those who had been only lately enlisted, and were, consequently, not familiar with the usages of war."


2. Ex statione et prasisdio essent emisse. "Had been sent off from guard and garrison."—Casu. Old form of the dative for easui.

3. Maxime mirandum videbatur. "It appeared the most surprising."

4. Optatissimum Ambiorigi, &c. "Had incidentally rendered a most acceptable service to Ambiorix."

5. Omnes vici, &c. A dreadful picture. Compare the remark of Barron: "Horrenda malorum et crumnarum que bellum secum effert imago hic nobis representatur."
6. Ac sape in cum locum, &c. "And matters often came to such a pass (i.e., it often happened) from the number of horse that were scattered in all directions, that the captives declared Ammoriix had just been seen by them in his flight, and was not even yet gone entirely out of sight; insomuch that some, who thought to stand high in the favour of Caesar, being inspired with the hope of overtaking him, and having assumed a task of infinite labour, almost overpowered nature by their zeal."

7. Ad summam felicitatem. "To complete success."—Atque elle, &c. "While he kept snatching himself from their hands by the aid of lurking-places or forests."

8. Duarum cohortum damno. Referring to the two cohorts cut to pieces by the Sicambri.


10. More majorum supplicium sumsit. "He inflicted punishment according to the custom of our ancestors," i.e., he punished according to ancient Roman usage. What this punishment was we learn from Suetonius (Ner. 49): "Nudi hominis cervicem inseri surce, corpus virgis ad necem cadi."

1. Quibus cum aqua, &c. "After he had interdicted these from fire and water," i.e., had banished them. The expression *aqua et ignis interdictio*, or the forbidding one the use of fire and water, was the Roman judicial form of inflicting the sentence of banishment. By the operation of this formula the individual was banished from Italy, but might go to any other place he chose. In the present case, it means banishment from the land of Gaul.

2. Exercitu. Old dative for exercitui
1. Cognoscit de Clodii cade. "He receives intelligence of the death of Clodius." A turbulent and licentious Roman, slain in an encounter by Milo, or rather by the retinue of the latter at the command of their master.

2. Senatus consulto. In consequence of the troubles attendant upon the death of Clodius, the senate passed a decree that the Interrex for the time being, the tribunes of the commons, and Pompey, who was outside the city, and proconsul, should see that the republic suffered no injury, and that the last-mentioned individual should hold a general levy throughout all Italy.

3. Ut omnes, &c. "That all the youth of Italy should take up arms." In dangerous wars, or on sudden emergencies, the regular mode of raising soldiers was dispensed with. Two flags were displayed from the capitol, one red for the infantry, and the other of a green colour for the cavalry. On such occasions, as there was no time for taking the military oath in due form, the consul or commander merely said, "Qui republicam salvam esse vult, me sequatur." This was called conjuratio, or crocatio, and men thus raised were styled conjurati, as being bound all at once by a military oath or engagement, i.e., quia simul jurabant. On the contrary, when the regular oath was taken, one soldier was chosen to repeat over the words, and the rest swore after him, every one as he passed along, saying, "idem in me." Consult Lipsius, Mfl. Rom. 1, dial. 6, p. 42, and Stewecchius, ad Veget. c. 6, p. 20.

4. Retineri urbano motu Cæsarem. Plutarch well remarks, that had Vercingetorix waited a little longer, until Cæsar was actually engaged in the civil war, the rising of the Gauls would have appeared not less formidable to the Romans than the inroad of the Cimbri and Teutones. (Vit. Cæs. c. 27.)
2. *Deposcunt, qui belli, &c.* “They call on some to begin the war, and assert the freedom of Gaul at the hazard of their own lives.”

3. *Ejus in primis rationem habendam.* “That care should be taken in particular of this,” i. e., that this point ought particularly to be attended to.

4. *In acie praestare interfici.* “That it was better to be slain in battle.” Compare the Greek paraphrase, κάλλιν εἶναι ἑλεγον μαχεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ δεώτος περὶ τῆς ἀποθέασεις.

5. *Et quoniam, &c.* “And since they cannot, at present, give hostages among themselves, as a security that the affair shall not be divulged, they require that an assurance be given them, by oath and on honour, the military standards being brought together for this purpose, by which custom their most sacred ceremonies are guarded.” Continere is here employed in the sense of custodire. Compare Cic. in Vatin. c. 5, “Non custodem ad continendas, sed portitorem ad partendas merces missum putatis;” and Terence, Eun. 1, 2, 23, “Quae vera audivi taceo, et contineo optime.”

6. *Ibi constiterant.* “Had established themselves there.” Supply sese.—Honestum equitem Romanum. The term honestus was specially applied to the knights, as illustris was to the senators. The Greek paraphrase well expresses honestum here by καλὴ κἀγαθὸς.

7. *Illustrior.* “More remarkable than ordinary.”

8. *Centum et sexaginta.* Supply passuum, which appears in the common text, though omitted in many MSS.

1. *Simili ratione.* “In like manner.”—Vercingetorix. The name Cingetorix is equivalent, according to Celtic scholars, to Cim-cedo-righ, i. e., “chieftain of a hundred heads,” or, in other words, “a captain,” or “leader.” Vercingetorix is the same appellation strengthened by a prefix, Ver-cim-cedo-righ, and means “great captain,” or “generalissimo.” These are evidently two titles of office, and the personal or proper names of the two individuals have perished. (Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois, vol. iii., p. 97, not.)

2. *Gallic totius.* The reference is to Celtic Gaul, not to the whole country. Compare B. G. 1, 1.

3. *Quoscunque adit, &c.* “As many of his countrymen as he has access to.” Civitate is here equivalent in effect to tota regione.

4. *Ex civitate.* “From the state,” i. e., from the country of the Arverni at large. Compare note 6, page 175, and the usage of the
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Greek language in the case of the substantive πολεμός.—Appellatur "He is saluted."


6. Efficiat. "Is to prepare."—Quodque ante tempus. "And before what time."—In primis equitatu studet. "He turns his attention in particular to cavalry."

7. Summam imperii sevcritatem. "The utmost rigour of authority."—Magnitudine supplicii, &c. "He brings over the waver-

8. Quo co tempore pacati viderentur. "And before what time."—Hi primis equitatu studet. "He turns his attention in particular to cavahy."

9. Cadurcum. "The Cadurcan," i.e., one of the Cadurci. So the Greek paraphrase has τῶν Καδούκων.

10. De consilio legatorum. "By the advice of the lieutenants."—Ad exercitum. "With the army."

11. Qui. An instance of what grammarians call synesis, where the relative agrees in gender, not with the antecedent, but with the person or thing to which that antecedent refers.

143 1. Ipsī. Referring to the Bituriges.

2. Id cūne de causa, &c. "Whether they acted thus for the reason which they mentioned to the lieutenants," &c.

3. Quod nihil nobis constat. "Inasmuch as we have no proof on the subject."

4. His rebus in Italiam, &c. "Intelligence of these things being brought into Italy to Caesar." The student will mark the force of the construction in Italiam.

5. Urbanas res, &c. Alluding to the agency of Pompey in quieting the disturbances that ensued after the death of Clodius.—Commodiorem in statum. "Into a more settled state."

6. Quo co tempore pacati viderentur. For they might still entertain hostile feelings towards him, and would, therefore, gladly seize this opportunity of gratifying those feelings.

7. Omnibus consiliis, &c. "That he ought to prefer a setting out for Narbo, to all other plans," i.e. ought to go to Narbo before he did anything else.

8. Rutenis provincialibus. "The Ruteni of the Roman province." The allusion is to those of the Ruteni whose towns were incorporated in the province, for there were others without its
9. In Helvios convenire. "To rendezvous among the Helvii," i. e., to go unto the Helvii and assemble there.

10. Represso jam, &c. "Lucterius being now checked and obliged to retire."—Intra prasidia. "Within the line of Roman garrisons."

11. Durissimo, &c. "It being the most inclement season of the year."—Discussa. "Being cleared away." Oudendorp prefers discisa, "being cut away," i. e., with axes, &c., as referring to the frozen snow.

1. Singulari quidem homini. "Even to a single person." Much less, therefore, to an army. The passage of Mount Cebrenna is to be ranked among the most memorable achievements of Caesar.

2. Quod hac de Vercingetorige, &c. "Because he had already conceived in mind, that these things would happen in the case of Vercingetorix," i. e., that Vercingetorix would act in this way. In Latin, usu venire is equivalent to accidere or evenire. Compare Cic. in Verr. 4, "Quod ego in paucis tamcn usu venisse eo molest fe
cro."

3. Per causam. "Under pretence."


5. Aeduisque attribuerat. "And had made tributary to the Aedui." Compare the explanation of Morus: "Ut iis stipendia et tributa solverent."

6. Oppugnare instituit. The boldness and despatch of Vercingetorix place him here in a very favourable light.

7. Ad consilium capiendum. "As to what measures he should pursue." More literally, "with regard to the forming of a plan."


1. Ne ab re frumentaria, &c. "Lest he might suffer inconvenience from the want of provisions, the conveyance being difficult."

2. Quam, tanta contumelia, &c. "Than by submitting to so great an affront, to alienate from him the affections of all his friends."

3. De supportando commecatu. "To supply him with provisions" Literally, "respecting the supplying of provisions."

4. Altero die. "On the second day."
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5. Arma conferri. The common text has proferri, which we have changed to conferri, on the authority of some of the MSS. The latter is more in accordance with the manner of Caesar, and prevents the awkward similarity of sound between proferri and produci.

6. Ipse ut quam primum, &c. "He himself sets out, in order to arrive as soon as possible at Genabum, a town of the Carnutes," i.e., with the intention of reaching Genabum as quickly as possible. We have retained the common reading faceret, instead of confeeret, which latter does not sound well after confeeret in the previous clause. The meaning and reading of the passage have both been much disputed, but the punctuation of Oberlin, namely, a comma after Carnutum, removes all the difficulty.

7. Cum longius, &c. "Thinking that it could be protracted to a still longer period," i.e., thinking that the place could hold out for some time longer.

8. Et, quod oppidum Genabum, &c. "And because a bridge over the Liger afforded the only means of egress from the town of Genabum." Continebat is well explained by Daehne, "ita coercept, ut alius non esset exitus." Oudendorp and most other editors make continebat equivalent here to "was adjacent" or "contiguous to," but the propriety of such an explanation is more than questionable.

9. Excebarc. "To keep watch there," i.e., at the bridge. Compare the Greek paraphrase, προφυλακτίν.


2. Ille oppidum, &c. After oppidum there follows in the common text Biturigum, positum in via, but as these words are wanting in most of the MSS. and earlier editions, and are included in brackets by many editors, we have rejected them at once from the text. The Noviodunum here meant was not the town of the Aedui, known by that name, but another place, between Genabum and Avaricum, now Neuvi-sur-Baranjon.


4. Cum reliqua administrarentur. "While the other things were getting performed."

5. Ex significacione Gallorum. "From the signs made to one another by the Gauls." Compare the explanation of Aehaintre, "ex signis vel autibus quibus inter se Galli utabantur."
6. *Commitit*. Hotomann suggests *commiti*, because Caesar did not, as appears from what follows, engage personally in the fight. The objection is quite unnecessary, since *commitit* and other verbs of the kind do not always imply personal agency or participation.

7. *Anni tempore*. The winter season, when the fodder was stored away within doors.—*Ex adisicia petere*. "Seek it from the houses."—Deleri posse. "Can be cut off."

1. *Hoc spatio, a Boia, &c.* "At such a distance from Boia, in every direction, as it appeared possible for the Romans to go in order to obtain forage." Great difference of opinion exists as to the true reading of this passage, some editors suggesting a *Bois*, others in place of a *Boia* giving *ab hoste*. We have retained the common lection, though labouring under strong suspicions of being corrupt. *Boia*, according to Davies, refers to the territory of the Boii, just as *Venetia* is used for the country of the Veneti. B. G. 3, 9. We would rather regard it as an appellation, on the part of the Boii, for the city of Gergovia. Thus Gergovia Boia, i. e., Gergovia Boiorum.

2. *Necque interesse, &c.* "And that it makes no difference whether they cut to pieces the latter themselves, or strip them of their baggage, since if this be lost, the war cannot be carried on by them." *Quibus* refers to *impedimentis*.

3. *Neu suis sint, &c.* "That they may neither be places of retreat for such of their countrymen as wished to avoid the war." Literally, "to their own countrymen, for avoiding the war."

4. *Romanis proposita*. "Placed as so many invitations to the Romans." Literally, "placed before their view unto the Romans." —Tollendam. Hotomann thinks this word superfluous here, but it is found in all the MSS., and, as Oudendorp remarks, its presence suits the plain and unelliptical style of Caesar.

5. *Quae at necesse, &c.* There is a striking resemblance between the advice here offered by Vercingetorix, and that on which he Russians acted in the memorable campaign of 1812. Vercingetorix would have done better, however, had he not spared Avaricum.

6. *Proponebant*. After this word there follows in the common text, *quod se, prope, and the sentence is made to close with confidebant after recuperatus*. We have thrown out the words in question as manifest interpolations, in accordance with the opinions of Oudendorp, Merus, and many other editors. Some MSS. omit
Page 147 quod se, prope, others want se prope, while others again for confidebant have ponabant. As Morus well remarks, "Hae sunt certa indicia verborum assutorum."

7. Flumine. The river here meant is the Avera, now Evvre, from which the city derived its name. Compare Mannert, Geogr. vol ii., p. 129.

148 1. Per certos exploratores. "By trusty scouts." The Greek paraphrasist errs in rendering this εια κα τασκοτων τινων. — In singulo diei tempora. "Every hour." Equivalent to "per singulas horas." So the Greek paraphrase has correctly, καθ' έκςατων ὑπαν.

2. Incertis temporibus. "At irregular times." Compare the Greek paraphrase, εν ἀπόφασις καιροῖς.

3. Caesar. As regards the position of this word in the sentence, compare note 9, page 110. In constructing take it first in order.—Quae intermissa, &c. "Which, not being surrounded by the river and marsh, had, as we have before said, a narrow approach," i. e., where the intermission of the river and marsh left a narrow passage.


5. Affecto. "Being straitened."—Tenuitate Boiorum, &c. "Through the poverty of the Boii, the negligence of the Aedui."

6. Et pecore, &c. "And were forced to satisfy their extreme hunger by cattle driven to the camp from the more distant villages." Ciacconius and Ursinus suggest abacto, but adacto is far preferable, and has all the MSS. in its favour.

7. Caesar cum, &c. "When Casar addressed himself to the legions one by one, while at work."—Sic aebtibius inopiam ferrent. "If they felt the scarcity too severe for them." Literally, "if they bore the scarcity too severely."

8. Universi. "They all with one accord."—Sic se complures, &c. "That they had, for several years, so conducted themselves under his command, as to have incurred," &c.

9. Quam non parentaret. "Than not avenge." The primitive meaning of parentare is "to perform the funeral rites of parents," or "near relations," i. e., to appease by such rites the shades of the departed. Its secondary meaning, as in the present case, is "to avenge," i. e., to appease the shade of a deceased friend, or countryman, by the death of the one who had deprived him of life.

1. *In arctiores silcas.* "In the thicker part of the woods," i. e., where the crowded state of the trees prevented access. The explanation of Davies is to the point: "*Ita vocat densiores, quia crebris arboribus arcebatur hominum aditus.*"

2. *Generatimque,* &c. "And being arranged tribe by tribe, according to their respective states." We must either adopt this mode of translating the clause, or else agree with Morus, that *in civitates* is superfluous, for it would be a manifest pleonasm to say, as some do, "being arranged by nations and states."

3. *Omnia vada ac saltus,* &c. "They held all the fords and passages of this morass with strong guards." More literally, with guards on which reliance could be placed. Compare the version of De Crisse, "ils occupoient par de fortes gardes les gués et les passages étroits qui se trouvoient dans le marais."

4. *Hesitantes premerent,* &c. "They would overpower them, while sticking in the mire, from the higher grounds."

5. *Ut qui propinquitatem,* &c. "So that whoever saw the near position of the two armies, would imagine that they were prepared to fight on almost equal terms; while whoever regarded the inequality of situation would discover, that the Gauls displayed them selves to the view with only an empty assumption of courage," i. e., made only an empty show of courage. Caesar means, that, if any one observed how very favourably the Gauls were posted, he would perceive, in a moment, that they derived all their courage from their situation, and, throwing this advantage aside, were mere empty boasters.

6. *Quanto detrimento,* &c. "With how great loss, and with the lives of how many men, even victory must necessarily be purchased." More literally, "how great loss, &c., victory must necessarily cost."

7. *Quod eastra,* &c. "That, as to his having moved his camp, this was done," &c.

1. *Munitione.* "By a natural fortification," i. e., by its own strength. Supply *naturali.*

2. *Cui rei,* &c. "To which step he saw them inclined through the effeminacy of their minds."

3. *Romani si casu,* &c. "That, if the Romans came up by chance, they should thank fortune; if invited by the information of any person, they should thank the informer, that they were enabled," &c.

5. Quin etiam ipsis, &c. "Nay, that he even gave back the command unto them, if they appear to bestow more honour upon him, than receive safety at his hands."


8. Armis concrepat. "Clash their arms."—In eo. "In the case of him."

1. Majore ratione. "With greater prudence."

2. Quod penes eos, &c. The common text has pane in eo, which is inferior to the reading here given.—Summam victorie. "The glory of the victory." Compare the explanation of Cellarius: "ne servati oppidi gloria solorum esset Biturigum, sed Gallorum omnium."

3. Singulari militarum nostrorum, &c. "Devices of every kind, on the part of the Gauls, opposed the uncommon bravery of our soldiers," i. e., the Gauls opposed, by devices of every kind, the valour of our soldiers, though displayed in a remarkable degree.

4. Ut est summae, &c. "Since they are a race of consummate ingenuity."—Quae ab quoque traduntur. "That are imparted by any one," i. e., which they see done by others.

5. Laqueis falces avertebant. "They turned aside the hooks with nooses." The falces, referred to here, are different from the mural hooks mentioned in the previous part of this work. (B. G. 3, 14, and 5, 42.) They appear to have been a species of ram, differing from the ordinary kind in having a curved, or hooklike, instead of a round iron, head. (Compare Vegetius, 4, 23.) The process, alluded to in the text, consisted in catching the head of this species of ram with a noose, and either drawing it within by means of engines, or else raising the head on high, and thus overturning the vineas under which the hook or ram was worked. (Vegetius, 1, c.—Appian, B. M. 71.)

6. Quas cum destinaverant, &c. "And when they had caught hold of them firmly, they drew them in by means of engines." Destinare is here equivalent to "laqueo præhensas falces figere." The term tormentum was applied by the Romans to any species of military engine or machine. Compare Cie. Ep. ad Fem. 15, 1, "Aggere, vincis, turribus, oppugnarti, ususque tormentis multis." The reference in our text appears to be to a species of crane.

7. Aggerem cumulatis, &c. "They removed the earth of the
mound by mines,” i.e., they undermine the mound. Wooden props were erected until the excavation was completed, and then, fire being communicated and the props thus consumed, the mound fell in. Compare Vegetius, 4, 23, and Steuenechius, ad loc.


9. Totum autem murum, &c. “They had covered, moreover, the whole wall, on every side with towers of several stories.” The expression murum turribus centabulaverant is equivalent in effect to murum turribus centabulatis instruxerant. The ordinary meaning of contabulare is “to cover over with boards or planks,” “to plank or floor with boards,” “to raise or frame a building of timber, and of several stories,” &c.

10. Cyprii. Towers of the kind mentioned in the text were usually covered with raw hides, as a protection against fire.

11. Aggeri. The mound was fenced or kept in by stakes, and to these the besiegers applied fire. The reference, however, is not merely to the mound itself, but to the wooden works and engines both upon and before it.

12. Et nostrarum turrium, &c. “Moreover, by splicing the upright timbers of their own towers, they kept equalling the height of ours as fast as the mound had daily raised them; and, having countermined them, they impeded the working of our mines by means of stakes burnt and sharpened at the end, and by throwing upon our men boiling pitch and stones of very great weight, and did not suffer them to get near the walls.”

13. Quotidianus agger. As the mound kept increasing in size, by the addition of fresh earth, the towers erected on it were likewise increased in the number of their stories. These the enemy, on their side, kept equalling.️—Expresecrat. Cæsar has here employed a technical term. Deprimère is “to let down,” and exprimère, “to raise,” or “elevate.”

14. Apertos cuniculos, &c. The term apertos has given rise to much discussion, and great diversity of opinion. We have adopted the explanation of De Crisè. According to a well-known rule, apertos morabantur is equivalent to aperuerunt et morabantur. Compare the version of De Crissé, “Si nous ouvriions une mine, ils l’éventaient, et la remplissaient de pieux pointus,” &c.

15. Træbes directæ, &c. “Straight beams, connected together in long rows,” i.e., long rows of straight beams, formed by connecting them at their extremities, and each row lying parallel to the
other. The expression *perpetua in longitudinem* is equivalent to *continuata serie rectae*. The corresponding Greek form would be ἐξοπλισθαί or προεξοπλισθαί, as is shown by Bos, *Animad. in Cas*. p. 21, from Josephus, B. I. 7, 33.

16. *Paribus intervallis distantes*, &c. These long parallel rows of beams were each two feet apart.

17. *Haec revinciantur*, &c. “These are mortised together on the inside, and then covered with a large quantity of earth,” i. e., one row is mortised to another. *Introrsus* is here the same as *in latitudinem*.

18. *Intervalla*. The space of two feet between the rows.—*In fronte saxis*, &c. “Are stopped closely in front with large stones.”

The interior of the wall is filled up with earth, the facing is of stone.

19. *Idem illud intervallum*. Alluding to the distance of two feet between each row.—*Neque inter se contingent*, &c. Excepting, of course, where they are mortised.

20. *Sed, paribus*, &c. “But, equal spaces intervening, each row of beams is kept firmly in its place, by a row of stones.” We have changed *intermissae* of the common text into *intermissis*, as more in accordance with the manner of Caesar, and as sanctioned by B. C. 1, 20, “*Nam certis spatiiis intermissis*,” &c.

21. *Hoc cum in speciem*, &c. “This work, both as regards appearance and variety, is not unpleasing to the eye, beams and stones being placed alternately, which keep their own places in straight lines; and, besides, it possesses very great advantage, as regards actual utility and the defence of cities.”

153 1. *Quod et ab incendio*, &c. “For the stone facing defends it from fire, and the timber from the battering-ram,” i. e., and the well-compactcd timber forms a security against the blows of the ram.

2. *Perpetuis trabibus*, &c. “Long rows of beams, each beam or the most part forty feet in length, being mortised on the inside.” Compare the explanation of Achaintre, “*Trabes crant perpetuae in longitudine, quadragesim pedibus constantes*.”

3. *Picem*. Hotomann inserts *ahi* here, and is followed by Scaliger. The emendation is unnecessary.

4. *Ut, quo primum*, &c. “So that a plan could hardly be formed at the moment, as to where we should first make opposition,” &c., i. e., so that it could hardly be determined at the moment, &c.

5. *Instituto Caesaris*. “By an established rule of Caesar’s.”—*Partitis temporibus*. “At stated times.” Literally, “at times parcelled out between them.”
6. Turres reducerent. "Drew back the towers." These were the moveable towers, and were placed on wheels. — Aggeremque interscinderent. "And made a cut across the mound," i.e., severed the communication between the part on fire and the rest of the mound.

7. Quod deustos pluteos, &c. "Because they saw the coverings of our towers burnt away." The plutei here meant, were coverings or defences erected on the tops of the towers, like a kind of roof, in order to protect the men while fighting. Hence the Greek paraphrast correctly calls them στρυγγες. Another species of plutei were in the form of moveable sheds, under which the soldiers worked. In either case, the plutei appear to have been formed of a framework covered with hides. Compare Vegetius, 4, 15. At first they were made of beams and planks, as the name pluteus literally denotes; afterward lighter materials, such as osiers, were employed. (Lips Poliorc. 1, dial. 7, p. 492, seq.)

8. Nec facile, &c. "And perceived that we could not easily go exposed to give assistance." — In illo vestigio temporis positam. "Depended on that very juncture."


10. Per manus transdictas. "Handed from one to another." — Scorpionem ab latero dextra, &c. "Wounded in the right side, and deprived of life, by a crossbow." As regards the term scorpio, consult Archaeological Index.


2. Propugnatoribus. "Defenders." Propugnator properly means one, who, being besieged, defends the ramparts of a fortified position; or, in nautical operations, one who fights from the deck of a vessel.


5. Naturae et virium infirmitas. "The weakness of their nature and strength," i.e., the natural weakness of their bodily powers.
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An hendiadys for "naturalis virium infirmitas." So in Justum, 2, 2: "lance usus ac vestium," for "lancea usus vestium." 6. Miscericordiam non recipit. "Admits not pity," i. e., turns a deaf ear to every feeling of pity.—Significare. "To give notice." 7. Directisque operibus. "And the works being now completely arranged," i. e., completed and arranged preparatory to the assault. Compare the explanation of Oudendorp: "ita dispositis, ut operibus illis jam factis noceri et appropriiquari posset urbi. The reading of the MSS. varies here, several of them having perfectis instead of directis; but the former is evidently a mere gloss or interpretation of the latter. The idea of completion is implied in directis. Some editions have derelictis, which is altogether wrong.

8. Non inuitlem, &c. "Thinking this no bad time for forming a plan," i. e., for making some attempt on the town.

9. Intra vineas in occulto. Oberlin thinks that in occulto ought to be rejected, as being a mere explanation of intra vineas. Not so. The expression intra vineas does not mean "under the vinea," but "within" (i. e., behind) "the vinea." If the troops then were stationed behind the vinea, they must, of course, be concealed some way, in order to escape the observation of the foe. Compare Barron, ad loc.

10. Expeditas. "Ready for battle," i. e., without any personal encumbrance except their mere armour.


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1. Obviam veniretur. "An attack should be made." The common text has obviam contra veniretur, but contra after obviam is an awkward pleonasm, or, at best, a mere interpretation of obviam. We have therefore rejected it in accordance with the opinion of Morus, Hotomann, Ursinus, Faeramus, and others.

2. Acie instructa. "With their force drawn up to receive it," i. e., the attack.

3. Continenti impetu. "Without stopping," i. e., in the greatest haste. Continenti is here equivalent to continuo.

4. Cum se ipsi premerent. "Crowding upon each other."—Nece funt quisquam, &c. "Nor was there any one of our men who seemed anxious for plunder."

5. Genabensi cade. "By the massacre at Genabum." Compare chapter 3.—Labore operis. Compare note 7, page 150. The reference is to the fatigues of the siege.
6. *Ex corum concursu.* "From their coming in a body"

7. *Disparandos.* "That they should be separated." Two MSS. have *disperandos,* which is certainly the more usual form. *Disparare,* however, though of rare occurrence, is found in Plantus, *Prot. Rud.* 6, and in Cicero, *de Inv.* 1, 28: "Disparatum autem est id, quod ab aliqua re per oppositionem negationis separatur."

8. *Quae cuique civitati, &c.* "Whatever part of the camp had fallen to each state originally," i. e., according as a particular part of the camp had originally been assigned to each state.

9. *Artificio quodam, &c.* "By a sort of art and knowledge in assault."—*Errare, si qui, &c.* "That they were mistaken, who think that all the issues of affairs, in war, are going to prove successful," i. e., who expect the issues of war to prove constantly successful.


11. *Consensu.* Old form for *consensui.*

12. *Ut castra munire instituerent.* "That they would set about fortifying their camp."

1. *Plusque animo, &c.* "And he was thought to possess greater forecast and sounder judgment than the rest."

2. *Insueti laboris.* "Unused to labour."—*Patienda et perferenda.* "Must be patiently endured." Caesar here employs two terms nearly synonymous, in order to strengthen the signification.

3. *Qui Avarico expugnato refugerant.* "Who had escaped from Avaricum, after it was taken."

4. *Certum numerum.* "A definite number," i. e., a fixed quota.

5. *Avarici.* Several MSS. have *Avarico,* but this is later Latinity. Compare *Julius Obsequens,* c. 114, "Asculo per ludos Romani trucidati;" and Justin. 2, 13, "Consilium inuent pontis inerrumpendi, quem illè Abydo veluti victor maris fecerat."

6. *Teutomarsus.* The MSS. vary surprisingly as regards this proper name. The common text has *Teutomatus,* but the Greek paraphrast gives *Touromatos.* We have adopted the form suggested by Oberlin. The Celtic termination in *mar* (i. e., illustrious, or celebrated) is of very frequent occurrence, as in *Viridomarus,* &c.

7. *Exercitum ex labore, &c.* "Refreshed his army after their fatigue and scarcity."
1. *Cum.* "Whereas."— *Singuli magistratus.* "A single magistrate."—*Annum.* "For a single year." Some editions have *annum,* but this savours of a gloss.

2. *Duo magistratum gerant.* "Two persons now exercise this office."—*Eorum.* Referring to the nation of the Aedui.

3. *Suas eujusque eorum clientelas.* "That each of them has his own adherents," i. e., his own clients or dependants. *Clientela* is here used for *clientes,* as elsewhere *servitus* for *servi.*

4. *Detrimento sumum.* Two MSS. have *detrimento suo,* one *detrimento sibi fore.* Bentley suspects that we ought to read *detrimento sibi fore.* The objection to *detrimento sumum* is, that it does not occur in any other writer, but still it is formed according to analogy, from *detrimento,* just as *portentosum* from *portentum.*

5. *Ea pars, quae minus sibi,* &c. Alluding to the defeated, or weaker faction.

6. *Ne quid de jure,* &c. "That he might not appear in any degree to infringe upon their privileges and laws."

7. *Doceturque,* &c. "And he was informed, that, only a few persons having been privately assembled for the purpose, one brother had been declared magistrate by the other, at a different place and different time from what he ought to have been." Cotos had been declared magistrate by his brother Valetiacus, before only a few, and at an unusual time and place.

8. *Remuniatur.* Equivalent here to *declaratur.* The formal word, in such cases, is *remuniarc.* Thus, *remuniatur consul,* *tribunus,* &c., i. e., *declaratur factus.*

9. *Qui per saeculodote,* &c. "Who had been elected by the priests, after the usual manner of the state, the inferior magistrates being present." Oberlin gives *intermissis magistratibus,* but acknowledges *intromissis* to be the preferable reading. This last is also in accordance with the Greek paraphrase, ταπότινα τῶν ἀρχόντων. The grounds of Cæsar's selection of Convictolitanis were, his having been created magistrate by the priests, the regular authority in such cases, and, secondly, this having been done in the presence of the magistrates, not of a small and secret number of partisans.

1. *Quæ in præsidiiis,* &c. "Which he might place in different garrisons, to protect his convoys of provisions."

2. *Illi.* "To that officer." Referring to Labienus.

3. *Ab altera parte,* &c. "Began to march on the opposite side of the Elaver." The two armies were now pursuing a parallel route, along the banks of the Elaver, with the river between them.
4. Cum uterque utrique, &c. "As each army was in sight of the other."—E regione. "Opposite."

5. Quod non fere ante autumnum, &c. The Elaver was greater in the summer, in consequence of the melting of the snow on the mountains. By the time autumn arrived this increase of waters would have passed away.

6. E regione, &c. "Opposite one of those bridges."

7. Captis quibusdam, &c. "Certain cohorts being selected, that the number of the legions might appear complete," i.e., in order to deceive the enemy, Caesar selected certain cohorts from the four legions which were ordered to march on, and arranged these cohorts in such a way as to give them the appearance of two additional legions, making up, together with the other, the whole number, as the enemy would suppose, of six legions, which they knew to be the strength of Caesar's army. Meanwhile he himself lay concealed near the ruins of the bridge with the two legions which he had kept back. The verb capere is here used in the sense of eligere. Compare Terence, Hec. 4, 1, 22, and the remark of Donatus, ad Terent Phorm. 2, 3, 23: "Capere dicimus, quom id, quod in nobis est, adsumimus, unde capere pro eligendo ponitur." The reading of the passage we have just been considering is involved in much uncertainty. We have followed that of the best editors. The common text has capitis quartis quibusque cohortibus. "Having selected every fourth cohort."

8. Isidem sublieis. "On the same piles."

9. Quintis castris. "In five days' march." Literally, "by five encampments," an encampment being made at the end of each day's march, according to Roman military usage. Castra is here equivalent to the Greek σταθμός, or the mansio of later Latinity. Compare Xen. Anab. 1, 2, 5, and Zonae, Ind. Graec. s. v.


11. De expugnatione, &c. The meaning is, that Caesar saw it was impossible to take the place by any sudden assault or storm (ἀπό κατάρας, as the paraphrase has it), and he must therefore seek to reduce it by a siege. Before, however, he entered upon the latter course, he would be compelled to make proper arrangements for a supply of provisions. Some MSS. omit the words desperavit; de obсидione, and they are not followed also by Julius Celsus; while, on the other hand, some give oppugnatione in place of expugnatione. Hence Oudendorp is led to suspect, that Caesar merely wrote, "de oppugnatione non prius agendum constituit."
1. *Qua despici poterat.* "Where there was a view down into the Roman encampment." Supply *in castra Romana*, and compare chapter 45.

2. *Horribilem speciem.* "A formidable appearance," i. e., in consequence of the immense multitude he had in arms.

3. *Quid in quoque, &c.* "What spirit and valour there was in each one of his own men."

4. *Prohibituri.* "Likely to prevent."—*Non nimis firmo.* Some recommend *non minus firmo*, on account of *tamen*, which follows; but the pointing which we have adopted for the whole sentence, from *era t a regione*, &c., makes the meaning clearly apparent. Cæsar is speaking of a particular post, the possession of which would enable his men to cut off the enemy from water and forage. This post, it is true, was remarkably well fortified, and steep on every side; Cæsar, *however*, marched against it by night, &c., because it was only defended by a weak garrison. *Tamen* refers back, therefore, to the clause ending with *circumcisus*, and the parenthesis is merely explanatory.

5. *Ut tuto, &c.* "So that his soldiers could even singly pass secure from any sudden attack on the part of the enemy."

6. *Ad Gergoviam.* "In the neighbourhood of Gergovia," i. e., under the walls of the city.—*Assignatum.* We have adopted this reading, as given in Oudendorp's smaller edition, from five of the best MSS. The common text has *adjudicatum*, which is a mere gloss. *Assignare* is often used in the sense here given to it, by Cicero, Tacitus, Suetonius, &c.

7. *Colloquitur.* "Holds a conference."

8. *Præmium communicat.* "He divides the bribe." Some MSS. and early editions have *primum communicat*, which appears to have been the reading of the Greek paraphrast, and also of Julius Celsus. Scaliger, however, correctly defends the common reading, as more in accordance with the context. Compare what follows a little after, "*celeriter adolescentibus et oratione magistratus et præmio deductis,*" &c.

9. *Ejus.* Referring to the state of the Aedui.—*Qua transducta.* "And that if it were brought over," i. e., to the common Gallic cause.

10. *Esse nonnulla, &c.* "That he had, it was true, received some marks of friendship from Cæsar, yet only so far as to have obtained at his hands a decision that was perfectly just in itself."
That he owed more, however, to the cause of their common freedom," i. e., than to the claims of private friendship.

11. Disceptatorem. "As an arbitrator." Compare, in defence of this reading, the remarks of Gronovius, ad Liv. 38, 35.

1. Deccm illis millibus. Compare chapter 34.

2. Quin, nefario, &c. "But that, after having committed so nefarious a deed, the Romans are now hurrying hither to put us to death."

3. Ostendit cives Romanos, &c. "He points, with these words, at some Roman citizens, who were proceeding in company with them, relying upon his protection."—Magnum numerum frumenti, &c. The persons plundered were Roman traders, who were conveying provisions to the army.

4. Suas injurias. "The wrongs they had received." Suas aere equivalent to sibi illatas, and is taken, as the grammarians term it, passively.


2. Quorum salutem, &c. "Since their relations could neither neglect their safety, nor the state regard it as a matter of small amount," i. e., the Aedui would not abandon so many thousand of their countrymen, nor unite with Cæsar against them.

3. Nulla interposita dubitatione. "Without a moment's hesitation."—Nec fuit spatium, &c. This remark is made to show the urgency of the crisis, since the Roman camp occupied a wide space of ground, and ought, as a matter of common prudence, to have been contracted in its limits on the departure of so large a force.


5. Deditionem significare. "To make signs of submission."

6. Cum suis clientibus. "With his followers." These were the same with the Soldurii, mentioned in the 22d chapter of the third book.—Gergoviam profugit. Cæsar would appear to have allowed Litavicus and his followers to escape for the following reasons: 1st. These turbulent men would be less formidable among the enemy, than in the bosom of the Aeduan state; and, 2d. He wished to conciliate the favour of the Aedui, whom he might have offended by any severity towards Litavicus. Had it
not been for these or similar motives, he might easily have stopped
the fugitives with his cavalry.

7. *Qui suo beneficio, &c.* "To inform them that they had been
spared through his kindness, when he might have put them to the
sword by the right of war."

1. *Ad Gergoviam.* "To the vicinity of Gergovia." Moro

2. *Equites.* "A party of horse."—*Fucrit.* Clarke suggests
*esset*, because the horsemen announced, according to him, in how
great danger affairs *then were* (*tunc temporis esset*). In this he is
wrong. The horsemen announced, on the contrary, in how great
danger affairs were when they left the camp, i. e., *quanto in pericu
lo res fucrit, quum equites missi sunt.*

3. *Eisdem in vallo, &c.* Because they were too few in number
to allow of some succeeding to others. Hence there is no neces-
sity for our reading *codem* in place of *eisdem*, as some suggest.

4. *Pluteosque vallo addere.* "And was adding parapets to the
rampart." By *plutei* are here meant a kind of breastwork. Com-
pare note 7, page 153, where the same term is employed to denote
a species of roof for a tower.

5. *Ad cognosceendum.* "To become fully informed." Compare
the Greek paraphrase: *τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀλφεῖαν γνῶσκειν.*

6. *Adjuvat rem, &c.* "Convictolitanis helps forward the sink-
ing posture of affairs," i. e., he fomented the disturbance, brought
about and carried thus far through his own and the schemes of Litavi-
icus.—*Ad furorem.* "To open outrage." More literally, "to
some mad act."

7. *Data fide, &c.* "They entice from the town Cabillonum, on
a promise of safety," i. e., of being allowed to proceed safely to his
place of destination.—*Idem facere.* To follow him out of the town,
and take their departure.

8. *Questionem de bonis, &c.* "Order an inquiry to be made
concerning the plundered property," i. e., the property of which
the Roman traders had just been pillaged. *By quaestio* is here
meant a judicial investigation.

9. *Reponsorandorum suorum causa.* Alluding to those of their
countrymen at present in the hands of Cæsar.—*Sed contaminati
facinore, &c.* "But being tainted with guilt, and charmed with
the gain arising from the plundered goods, because many persons
had a share in this," &c. The term *compendium* is well rendered
in the paraphrase by *ὁφλόνρα*; and denotes, in general, any benefit or
advantage (lucrum temporis, pecuniae vel opere), though here referring specially to a share of the plunder.

1. Nikil se propter inscientiam, &c. "That he did not conceive a worse opinion of the state, for the ignorance and fickleness of the lower orders, nor lessened in aught his regard for the Aedui." Compare the Greek paraphrase, ob έχθρισ κρός τήν πόλιν διακέισθαι, και ολόκληρον δια ταύτα αυτῆ εἴνους εἶναι λέγων.

2. Omne exercitum. Referring to his own and the forces of Labienus.—Ne prefectio, &c. "Lest a departure, proceeding from a fear of revolt, might wear the appearance of a flight."


4. Dorsum esse ejus rusti, &c. "That the top of this hill was almost level, but that it was likewise covered with woods and narrow, and that by it there was a passage to the other part of the town." The reading here given is that of almost all the MSS. Davies, however, suggests hac (scil. parte) silvestre et angustum, qua, &c. ; and Oudendorp, on the other hand, gives, on conjecture, hinc silvestrem, &c. We have preferred retaining the common lection with Barron, Achaintre, and others. The opponents of this reading consider hunc silvestrem a violation of the grammatical rule of gender; but the truth is, that Cæsar here employs, for the sake of perspicuity, the old Latin form dorsus, of the masculine gender. Thus, in Plautus (Mil. Glor. 2, 4, 44), we have, "Timeo quid rerum gesserim: ita dorsus totus prurit."

5. Uno colle ab Romanis, &c. Compare chapter 36.

6. Prima luce, &c. The common text has, after castris, the following, mulorumque produci, eque iis stramenta. We have rejected all this with some of the best editors. Nothing analogous in meaning is found either in Celsus or the Greek paraphrase; and, besides, the words in question are omitted in several MSS., as also in the Basic edition. The idea implied in mulorum is already expressed by impedimentorum, while the words eque iis stramenta appear to have crept into the text from the margin, where they were originally inserted as an interpretation of the erroneous reading mulorum. The Greek paraphrase is as follows: Πάμπολυ έι και σκευοσκεφών πλήθος, άμα τη ήμερα, έκ τού στρατοπέδου έξαγαγων, τοις ἵπποις κράνην ἱδνύνας, δειτε ἑπταν όδζαν ότις πολεμισκες παρέχεται, κ. τ. λ.

7. Mulionesque cum cassidibus. "And the muleteers, with helmets on them." By muliones are meant the drivers of the baggage.
8. Ostentationis causa. "To make a show."—Easdem regiones. "One and the same quarter."


10. Eodem jugo. "Towards the same hill." On the occasion of the dative, to mark motion towards a place, instead of the accusative, consult the remarks of Perizonius, ad Sanct. Min. 3, 14 (vol. i., p. 749, ed Bauer), and compare the Latin forms, quo, eo, hoc, &c.

1. Illo ad munitionem. "To that quarter, for the purpose of defending it." We have adopted the emendation of Vossius, which rests on the authority of one of his MSS. The expression ad munitionem is equivalent to ad locum defendendum, and derives additional confirmation from the words munitionis causa, which occur near the commencement of chapter 48. The common text has illo munitionum copia, &c., and they who adopt it make munitionum depend in construction upon copia, i. e., "the forces throughout the fortifications." It would be better to make illo govern munitionum, i. e., "to that quarter of the fortifications."

2. Insignibus. "The military insignia." These were of various kinds, according to the rank of the wearer. The standard-bearers, for example, had helmets covered with bearskin, the pilani wore on theirs the skins of wolves, &c. Compare Lipsius, Mil Rom. Anal.ect. ad dial. 2, p. 436.

3. Raros. "In small parties." Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἤλιον καὶ ἤλιος.

4. Occasionis esse rem, &c. "That the affair depended upon opportunity, not upon valour," i. e., upon the sudden seizing of an opportunity, &c.

5. Recta regione, &c. "In a straight line, if no winding intervened." Morus regards recta regione as a mere marginal gloss. It is found, however, in all the MSS. Besides, if there be a gloss anywhere, it is rather in what follows, viz., "si nullus anfractus intercederat."

6. Quicquid huic, &c. "Whatever of circuit was added to this ascent, in order to render the declivity less difficult, this served to increase the length of the route," i. e., whatever circuit they were obliged to take in order to lessen the steepness of the hill, only increased the length of the journey.—Huiæ. Supply ascensui. The reference is to the ascent in a straight line.

7. Praeduxerant. The emendation of Scaliger, in place of
the common reading *producerant*. It is supported by good MSS.

8. *Trinis castris*. "Of three separate camps," i.e., the camps of three separate Gallic nations. Caesar purposely uses the distributive here, as denoting that the different Gallic states, in the combined army, had separate encampments, according to what has been said in the 36th chapter. Of these camps he here takes three, in one and the same onset.

9. *Superiore corporis parte, &c.* He appears to have laid aside, as Hotomann remarks, his *thorax*, or piece of armour that covered the breast.

10. *Consecutus id, &c.* Achaintre does not exactly see what object Caesar had in view by this movement. The answer to this may be given in the words of the Roman commander himself (chap. 59), "ad Gallicam ostentationem minuendam militumque animos confirmandos."

11. *Retinebantur.* "Were sought to be kept back." The imperfect here denotes the efforts of the officers to restrain their troops from advancing too far. With what success this was done is stated immediately after, *sed, elati, &c.* "But our men, notwithstanding their efforts (i.e., the efforts of their officers to restrain them), flushed with the hope of a speedy victory," &c.

1. *Vestem.* This term may be rendered here by "vestments," but it refers, in fact, to various other articles besides mere clothing, such as coverings for couches, hangings, &c.

2. *Pectoris fine prominentes.* "Bending forward over the walls as far as the lower part of the bosom." Some MSS. have *pectore nudo*, and with this the Greek paraphrase agrees, γυμνῷ τῷ στήθι προενέψμενα. The reading we have adopted, however, is far more elegant. Compare B. A. 85, "Umbilici fine;" Apuleius, Flor. N. 15, "Scapularum finibus," &c.

3. *Avaricensibus præmis. *"By the rewards obtained in the storming of Avaricum," i.e., by the plunder obtained on that occasion.—*Neque commissurum, &c.* "And would not allow any one to scale the city wall before him."


5. *Exceptans.* "Taking hold of."—*Extulit.* "Drew them up."

6. *Munitionis causa.* "To defend that quarter." This expression appears to confirm the emendation of Vossius, mentioned in note 1, p. 164.

7. *Nec loco nec numero.* "Neither as regarded situation nor
numbers.” Well expressed by the Greek paraphrase, καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ ἀναρρήσεως ἐπιτίθησιν.

8. Spatio pugnae. “The long continuance of the fight.” Spatio is here equivalent to longinquitas or diuturnitas.


“At nos sibi conscia facti,
Præmetetens adhibet stimulos, torretque flagellis.”

1. Ab latere nostris aperto. “On our exposed flank.”

2. Similitudine armorum. The Aedui were armed after the general Gallic manner, and hence were mistaken for enemies by the Roman soldiers.

3. Exsertis. “Bare,” i. e., left bare and unencumbered of dress. The custom here alluded to by Caesar has given rise to much discussion. Among the Romans, the bare shoulder was a sign of war or of the hunt; but among the Gauls, as he himself informs us, one of peace. It is most probable that there was some regulation between the Roman and those of the Gallic states that were subdued, by virtue of which, the forces of the latter, when engaging in battle with the Romans against their countrymen, wore one shoulder bare in order to be more easily distinguished from the rest of the Gauls.

4. Excidere. We have here given the reading of the best MSS. The common text has exscindere. Consult Duker, ad Flor. 2, 2, 37.

5. At suis saluti fuit. “And preserved his own men by his death.” Clarke gives vitæ in place of saluti, from some MSS. But saluti is the preferable reading, as vitæ is used only a short distance before.


7. Exceperunt. “Support, &c.”


2. Exposito, quid, &c. “Having set before them what disadvantageousness of situation could effect,” i. e., the evil which might accrue from a disadvantageous situation.

3. Dimississet. “He had given up.”—Parvum modo detrimentum. “Only a trifling loss.”

4. Quanto opere. “By how much,” i. e., as greatly as.
b. *Plus se sentire.* "That they knew better."—Desiderunt. "Wished to see."

6. *Ad extremum.* "At the conclusion."—Ne animo perverserunt. "Not to be dispirited."

7. *Eadem de profectione,* &c. "Entertaining the same views as regarded his leaving the place, that he previously had." Caesar alludes here to his original intention of going to the Aedui, who were on the eve of revolt, and whom he was desirous of retaining in their allegiance to Rome. Compare chapter 43.


9. *Appellatus.* "Having been applied to," i.e., having been waited upon.—Et ipsos antecedere. "For themselves also to go before him. Some editions have præcedere, which amounts to the same thing.

10. *Horum discessu admaturari.* "Would only be hastened by the departure of these."—Eos retinendos non censuit. De Crissé indulges in some very able remarks, condemnatory of Caesar’s conduct upon this occasion, as being deficient in military foresight and prudence.

1. *Multatos agris.* "Deprived of their lands." Multare aliquam re is to deprive one of anything, as a mulct, or fine, in punishment for some offence that has been committed. Caesar refers here to what has been stated in the thirty-first chapter of the first book.

2. *Quamque in amplitudinem.* "And to what political consequence." The Aedui, at this time, numbered among their clients the Segusiani, Ambivareti, Brannovii, Aulercti Brannovices, Boii, and Mandubii.

3. *Omnium temporum,* &c. "The dignity and influence of all the previous periods of their state."—His datis mandatis. "Having charged them to bear these things in mind."


5. *Bibracte ab Aeduis receptum.* "Had been received by the Aedui into Bibracte."


7. *Si re frumentaria,* &c. We have adopted the reading recommended by Morus, excluding as a mere interpolation the words aut adductos inopia ex Provincia excludere, which are made to follow after Romanos excludere. The reasons for this lection are ably given by Morus.

8. *Ex nivibus.* "By the melting of the snows."
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168 9. *Si esset in perficiendis,* &c. "Even if some risk was to be run in completing the bridges." Compare the explanation of Baron, "Etiamsi aliquld periculi in perficiendis pontibus subeundum fuisset."

169 1. *Id nemo,* &c. We have given the reading of Morus, which has been adopted also by Oberlin and Daehne. The ordinary lection is (*ut nemo non tuuc quidem necessario facienda existimabat), *cum infamia,* &c.

2. *Quod abjuncto Labieno,* &c. "Because he feared greatly for Labienus, separated from him, and for the legions which he had sent along with that officer." We have given *abjuncto* on the authority of several MSS., with Oberlinus, Lé Maire, and Daehne. This same reading meets with the approbation also of Davies and Morus, and is in accordance, too, with the language of the paraphrase, ἀπὸντι Λαβινῷ. Oudendorp, following the conjectural emendation of Ciacconius, gives *Agendico* in place of *abjuncto,* but the former is a far inferior reading.

3. *Pro rei necessitate opportuno.* "Sufficiently suitable, considering the urgency of the case."

4. *Perpetuam paludem.* This, according to Achaintre, is the part of Paris now known by the name of *le Marais.*

5. *Difficilius.* "With more difficulty than he imagined."—*Egressus.* Labienus having tried the city on the south, and being impeded by the marsh, determined to make an attack on the north, and marched, therefore, to Melodunum, the modern *Melun.*

170 1. *Profecit a palude.* The MSS. vary. We have given the reading which is followed by most editors, and which is in accordance with the Greek paraphrase: *ἐκ τῆς λαμνῆς ἔκλειθε τινί.* Ciacconius, however, conjectures *protecti,* which Achaintre adopts and strongly advocates.

2. *Secundo Gallia motu.* "A successful commotion in Gaul." *Secundo* is here, according to Hotomannus and Morus, equivalent to "qui prosperè successerat." Many, however, translate it as a mere numeral.—*Interclusum itinere et Ligeri.* "Stopped on his route by the Liger." Equivalent to *interclusum itinere Ligeris transitu.* Literally, "cut off from his route and (from crossing) the Liger."


4. *Prætioque hostes accesseret,* &c. The fighting that took
place, after he had formed the resolution of leading off his army safe to Agendicum, was rendered necessary by the circumstances of the case, since he could not retreat without some collision with the foe; his chief object being to avoid, if possible, a general engagement.

5. *Maximam opinionem.* "The highest reputation."

6. *Distinctat.* Render *interchusas distinctat* as two verbs "cut off and kept away." The river was the Sequana; the baggage was at Agendicum. Compare chapter 57.

7. *Secundo flumine.* "Down the river," i. e., following the current of the stream (*secundo quasi sequendo*). So a little farther on we have *adverso flumine,* "up the river," i. e., against the stream.

8. *Castris.* According to Achaintre, the Roman camp was pitched on the slope of what is now Mount Saint Geneviève: "in dejectu montis Sanctæ Genovefæ."

9. *Conquirit etiam lintres.* "He collects also some small boats."

1. *Eum locum petit,* &c. The Roman army was thus divided into three separate bodies, and the object of this skilful arrangement was, to leave the enemy in uncertainty as to the particular spot, where Labienus intended to convey his troops across.

2. *Exercitus.* "The infantry." So called here because forming the main part of the army (*exercitus maxima pars*). Compare note 4, page 92.

3. *Administrantibus.* "Superintending."

4. *Preter consuetudinem tumultuari.* "That there was an unusual tumult." *Tumultuari* being a common verb, not merely a deponent, is here employed impersonally in the passive. By a common verb is meant one which, under a passive form, has both an active (i. e., deponent) and passive meaning. The truth is, deponent verbs in Latin are regular middle verbs; and when we speak of a common verb, we refer in fact to the middle and passive voices of one and the same verb. What tends to confirm this remark is the fact of so many old active forms of such verbs being found in the fragments, that have reached us, of the earlier Latin writers such as *cono, horto,* &c.

5. *Metiosedum.* The place here meant appears to be the modern Josay, a name arising probably from *Josedom,* itself an abbreviation of Metiosedum. The place is a short distance above Paris. D'An ville errs in making Metiosedum the same with Melodnum. Con
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6. *Nec dabat suspicionem fugae quisquam.* "Nor did any one of them betray the slightest suspicion of an intention to flee."

7. *Eandem fortunam t ulit.* "Met the same fate." Literally, "bore off the same fortune."

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1. *Contra castra Labieni.* "Over against the camp of Labienus."

2. *Hoc negotio confecto.* Caesar says nothing here of the five cohorts that were left as a guard for the camp. They would appear to have followed, when the battle was over, the five other cohorts that went up the river with the baggage. So, also, no mention is made of that part of the Gallic forces, which was stationed on the opposite side of the river, over against the Roman camp. It is probable, that they fled through the woods, and joined the rest of the fugitives, when they heard of the defeat of their countrymen.

3. *Horum supplicio, &c.* Hotomann thinks it incredible, that Gauls would treat their own countrymen thus, when the latter were Roman hostages. The fact, however, is expressly stated by Celsus, and is only another proof, after all, of the barbarous habits even of the most civilized part of the Gauls.

4. *Rationesque bellii secum communicet.* "And communicate to them his plans for conducting the war." Compare the Greek paraphrase: *i a τι όφισι περί τού πολί μου ἄνακουλωσατο.*

5. *Re impetrata, &c.* "Their request being granted, they insist that the chief command be made over to them," i. e., the supreme administration of affairs.

6. *Multitudinis suffragiis, &c.* "The decision is left to the votes of the multitude. To a man they all make choice of Vercingetorix as commander." Literally, "approve of," i. e., by their votes.


8. *Et Caesaris in se, &c.* "And they miss Caesar's indulgence towards them," i. e., they regret, feel the loss of, &c. The Aedui found Vercingetorix far different from Caesar, and felt the loss of that importance which they had enjoyed as a people through the favour of Caesar. Compare the explanation given to *requirunt* by Clarke, "desiderunt, amissam sentient."*
measures separately from the rest," i. e., pursue a separate interest from the rest.


11. Quindeceim millia. Some read millium, but millia is by epegesis, or opposition with equites.

1. Provinciae. In many MSS., and in some editions, ei is inserted before provinciae, and by ei provinciae the Aedui are thought to be meant. This is altogether erroneous. The Roman province is referred to.

2. Quorum mentes. "Whose minds, he hoped, had not settled down into a calm state from the former war," i. e., were not yet reconciled to the losses they had sustained in their former war with the Romans. The war, here alluded to, is that in which the Allobroges lost their independence, and were brought under the Roman yoke. Nine years had now elapsed since that period.

3. Ad hos omnes casus. "Against all these contingences."

4. Suos fines. We have recalled fines into the text, with Achaintre, on MSS. authority. Compare the Greek paraphrase: τὴν οφθὲν χάραν διαφωτάττουσι.

5. Sed et equitibus Romanis. "Nay, even from the Roman knights." By equitibus Romanis are here meant, not the Roman cavalry, but persons of the equestrian order, who were at that time with Caesar. The expression sed et has given rise to some discussion, as it almost always does when it occurs by itself, as in the present instance, in a Latin text. The reason is, that, since non modo, or some equivalent form, does not precede, it is a matter of uncertainty whether the conjunction sed has proceeded from the writer himself, or has been inserted by some copyist. (Compare Crisius, Ind. Lat. ad Sueton. vol. iii., p. 337.) In the present case it must certainly be retained. As regards the peculiar nature of this form of expression, consult Bauer, ad Sanct. Min. 4, 7, vol. ii., p. 305, and compare the remarks of Hoogeveen on ἀλλὰ καί, p. 20, Glasg. ed.


7. Toti Galliæ. The whole of Gaul, and not merely Celtica is meant. So a little farther on, "Galliaque excedere." Some editions have tota Gallia, which will be equivalent to per totam Galliam.

1. Atque in eo morentur. "And delay for this purpose," i. e., stop marching and turn about for this purpose—Magis futurum "Would rather be the case."
2. *Et dignitate.* "And of their honour."

3. *Copias omnes,* &c. The whole army was to be drawn out under arms before the camp, both to strike terror into the foe, and to encourage also by their presence the Gallic cavalry, while engaged with the enemy's horse.

4. *Due acies.* "Two of these divisions."—*A primo agmine.* "In front." The Roman army is called *agmen,* because on its march, while the divisions of Gallic horse, being prepared for battle and for acting on the offensive, are designated *acies.*

5. *Una.* "At one and the same time." According to Plutarch (Vit. Caes. c. 26), Caesar lost his sword in this battle, and the Arverni suspended it in one of their temples. His friends having pointed it out to him on a subsequent occasion, and urging him to have it taken down, he smiled, and declined granting their request, regarding the sword as a thing consecrated to the gods. If the story be true, Caesar must, as Plutarch remarks, have received some check in the commencement of the action.

6. *Eo signa inferri,* &c. "Caesar ordered the standards to be advanced and the army to face about towards that quarter," i. e., the army to face to that part and charge the foe.

7. *Spe auxili.* Because they knew from this, that if they were pressed too heavily Caesar would come to their aid.

8. *Germani.* We learn two things very clearly from these commentaries, that the Gallic cavalry was superior to the Roman, and the German to the Gallic.

9. *Flumen.* R. H. L. L. thinks the Arar (Saone) is here meant; but Achaintre, with more propriety, declares in favour of the Sequana.

10. *Cotus.* Compare chapter 33.—*Proximis comitiis.* "At the last election." Caesar speaks here *more Romano.*

2. *Alexiam.* This is the true form of the name. (Consult Vossius, ad Vell. Patern. 2, 47, and Ursinus, in loc.) Paternus has Alexia, and the Greek paraphrast the same, *'Αλεξια, together with some early editions. For the derivation of the name, according to the Greek writers, consult Geographical Index.

3. *Tribus millibus.* Julius Celsus says ten thousand: "*Inter cundum decem millibus hostium obtruncatis.*"

4. *Qua maxime confidebant.* We have followed here the reading of Achaintre, from one of his best MSS. It is far simpler and more elegant than the common lection. *qua maxime parte exercitus*
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5. *Duo flumina.* The Lutosa and Osera, now the Loze and Lozerain.

6. *Colles.* Seven or eight in number, according to Achaintro.

7. *Maceriam.* "A stone wall." By *maceria* is here meant a wall of stones, piled one upon the other without cement, or, as the Romans expressed it, made *sicco lapide*.

8. *Ejus munitionis.* Referring to the Roman lines of circumvallation, consisting of a rampart and ditch.


10. *Excubitoribus.* "By watches."

11. *Opere instituto.* "The work having been begun," i. e., while the work of circumvallation was in hands.—*Intermissam collibus.* "Being free from hills." Equivalent to *colle non tectam.* The plain lay between hills on every side.

1. *Atque angustioribus,* &c. "And, only the narrower gates having been left open, are crowded together in them." Vossius recommends that *relictis* be expunged; and, if this could be done, the sentence would certainly be benefited by it; but all the MSS. have the word in question. Oudendorp therefore explains it, by supposing that the larger gates of the town had been obstructed or blocked up by the ditch and stone wall (*maceria*), and that only the narrow gates were left by which they could enter.

2. *Veniri ad se confestim.* "That the enemy were coming that very instant against them." This mistake arose from the legions having been ordered to advance a little, which the Gauls took for a demonstration against the works.

3. *Dimittere.* For *dimittendi.*

4. *Ratione inita,* &c. "That, having made a computation, he had a short allowance of corn for thirty days, but that, by economy, he might hold out a little longer." More literally, "that he had scantily the corn of thirty days."

5. *Intermissum.* "Were intermitted," i. e., where a space was yet free from our works, the line of circumvallation not having as yet been carried so far.

6. *Pedum viginti.* "Of twenty feet in width."—*Directis lateribus.* "With perpendicular sides."—*Ut ejus fossae,* &c. "So that
Page 176 the bottom of this ditch might extend as far, as the brinks were apart at top," i. e., so that the breadth at the bottom might be equal to that at the top.

7. Reliquas omnes, &c. "All his other works he executed four hundred feet back from that ditch." Literally, "he drew back." We have recalled with Achaintre the reading of all the MSS. and best editions, namely, pedes instead of passus. Guischard first suggested passus, and this is also given by De Crissé and Oberlinus. Achaintre's argument against passus is conclusive. If the distance be 400 paces, and the whole circuit of the works only 11,000 paces, the ditch would have to be so near the city, as hardly to leave Vercingetorix room for his camp.

178 1. Nee facile totum opus, &c. "Nor could the whole work be easily manned with soldiers."

2. Operi destinatos. "While occupied on the works." Compare the Greek paraphrase, ἀφήτα τὰ ἔργα ἔχοντας.

3. Hoc intermisso spatio. Alluding to the four hundred feet, the space between the ditch and the other works.

4. Post eas. Behind the two fifteen-feet-ditches just mentioned, or, including the outermost one, of twenty feet, behind the three ditches.—Loricam pinnasque. "A parapet and battlements."

5. Grandibus cervis, &c. "Large stakes, cut in the form of stags' horns, projecting out at the junction of the parapet and rampart, to retard the ascent of the enemy," i. e., to prevent the enemy from quickly scaling the works. These stakes projected horizontally.—Pluteorum. Referring to the loria and pinnae combined.

6. Turreas. Fixed towers. They must, besides, not be confounded with the redoubts mentioned in a previous chapter.

7. Materiari. "To procure timber for the rampart," i. e., to fell timber in the adjacent forests, and drag it thence to the camp.

8. Diminutis nostris copiis. "Our troops being, in consequence of this, reduced in number."

9. Abscisis. Some have absceissis, but the most ancient MSS., as well of Caesar as of other authors, do not double the sibilant. Compare Vossius, Anal. 3, 26, p. 97.

10. Atque horum, &c. "And the ends of these being stripped of their bark and sharpened into a point." The common reading is dolabratis, "being lopped off with axes." The Roman writers, however, do not say dolabrace, but dolare ; and, besides, the best MSS. give delibratis, which harmonizes with the ἀποκίτας of the
Greek paraphrase. We have given the latter form, therefore, with Oudendorp and the best editors.

11. *Perpetuae fossae.* "A continued trench." The Latin expression conveys the idea of a number of trenches united together and forming one continued trench. Hence the distributive numeral *quinos* is employed, as referring separately to each of these supposed trenches, though, in fact, there is but one trench; and hence, in translating *quinos pedes alter*, we must say, in our idiom, "everywhere five feet deep." The distinction between these *perpetuae fossae* and the *scrobes* mentioned a little after, is well pointed out by a modern writer, Berlinghieri, in his work on Alesia, published at Lucca, in 1812: "Scrobes *sont aussi des fossés, mais coniques ou cylindriques, au lieu que le perpetue fossae est une fosse longitudinale ou un parallélipipède; par exemple, supposons que, dans une ligne de vingt pieds, il y eût dix trous cylindriques, d'un pied de diamètre chaque, ils auraient entr' eux neuf intervalles d'un pied chaque. J'appellerais d'abord ces trous scrobes, mais si j'enlevais le terrain qui forme les neuf intervalles, en établissant une communication entre les dix trous, j'aurais fait un fossé que j'appellerait fossa perpetua," p. 86.

12. *Hec illi stipites, &c.* "These stakes being sunk into this trench and fastened at the bottom, to prevent their being pulled out, projected above the level of the ground with their branches merely." By the *stipites* are meant the trunks of trees and large branches just mentioned, and the *rami* are the smaller boughs at the extremities of these, or at the place where boughs begin to grow. Compare the explanation of Morus: "Ab ramis emineeant, *ca parte tenus, qua rami enati erant, tegebantur; ab ea inde parte eminebant.*"

13. *Quo qui intraverant, &c.* "And they who entered within these impaled themselves on exceedingly sharp stakes." We have here an imitation of the Greek idiom. Compare Xenophon, Cyrop. 1, 6, 40, ἵνα ἐν τῷ σφόδρῳ φέουσιν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἵππιτως ἴνεν. *Hos cippos appellabant.* "These the soldiers called *cippi.*" *Cippus* properly means a trunk of a tree standing erect, and hence in one of the old glossaries it is explained by the Greek *κυπρός*. It then denotes a little square pillar placed over graves, with the name, &c., of the deceased engraved on it, and also a landmark, or boundary stone for fields. Achaintre, taking this last meaning for his guide, thinks that the Roman soldiers called the stakes in question *cippi*, because they served as so many limits to the enemy's progress. This is rather too fanciful. They would appear, on the
contrary, to have derived their name from their general resemblance to erect trunks of trees.

15. Quincuncem. The form of the quincunx was as follows.


17. Simul confirmandi, &c. "At the same time, for the purpose of giving strength and stability, one foot from the bottom in each was filled with trampled clay." Compare the explanation of Lipsius (Poliorcet. 2, dial. 2, p. 518), "Sententia est, e tribus illis pedibus altitudinis, terram ab imo deperisse; terra aggesta ad stabiliendum stipitem, et circa eum stipata et excultata."

18. Id ex similitudine, &c. "This they called a lily, from its resemblance to that flower." The pit resembled the calyx of the lily, and the inserted stake the pistil that projects from it.

179 1. Talca. "Stakes."—Ferreis hamis infixis. "With iron hooks fastened in them."—Omnibus locis. Referring to the space between the 20 feet ditch and the one 400 feet distant.

2. Regiones secutus, &c. "Having followed the course of the country, as evenly as the nature of the ground admitted, and having enclosed a space of fourteen miles, he constructed fortifications of the same kind in every respect, opposite to these, against an external foe." Discrass is well expressed by the καὶ ιδιωτϊα of the Greek paraphrase. Oberlinus thinks that pares ejusdem generis savours of a pleonasm, but quite unnecessarily. It is equivalent to similis et similis modo factas, or, as we have rendered it, "of the same kind in every respect."

3. Ejus discessu. There is evidently some error of the text here, and ejus has arisen out of some corruption or abbreviation of equitatus. For the reference is undoubtedly to the departure of the Gallic horse, mentioned in chapter 71, and the consequent danger of a large army's being brought against the fortifications from without. All we can do is to translate ejus discessu, "in consequence of the departure of the foe," making ejus refer to the latter, and
understanding by "the foe," the cavalry that had left Alesia. Eius cannot in any way apply to Caesar, as some would insist.

4. *Neu egredi cogantur.* The common text has erroneously *co-gerentur.*—*Confectum.* "Brought together," i. e., collected within the Roman works.

5. *Principum.* "Of the leading chieftains."

6. *Frumentandi rationem habere.* "To have any means for a regular supply of corn." Compare the Greek paraphrase, μὴ ἱκανὴ προνοή ἐκεῖν ὀδύνετό.

7. *Aulercis Brannovicibus.* The ordinary text has *Brannovis* following after *Brannovicibus,* but it has evidently arisen from some various readings of this latter name. Oberlinus and Daehne enclose it within brackets. We have rejected it from the text.

8. *Lemovices.* This reading is extremely doubtful. Consult Geographical Index.

1. *Hujus opera,* &c. "Caesar had, as we have before shown, availed himself of the faithful and valuable co-operation of this Commius in Britain." Compare chapter 21, book 4.

2. *Civilatem ejus.* The Atrebates.—*Immunem.* "Free from taxes." The reference is to imposts of every kind.

3. *Jura legesque,* &c. "Had restored its ancient rights and privileges, and had conferred on Commius himself the country of the Morini."

4. *Hac in Aeduorum,* &c. "These were reviewed in the country of the Aedui, and their number was taken down." Literally, "and an enumeration was entered into." The pronoun *hac* refers to *millia* understood.

5. *Ancipiti praelio.* "In an engagement pressing on both the front and rear." The front of the Romans would be attacked by Vercingetorix from the town, the rear by the confederate Gauls from without.

6. *Foris.* "Without," i. e., on the outside of the lines of co-travallation.


1. *Nam apud me,* &c. "For honour has a powerful influence over me."

2. *Mullibus octoginta.* This was the amount of the force which Vercingetorix had with him in the town. Compare chapter 71.

3. *Exspoliare.* "Utterly to deprive." Equivalent to *pentus spoliare.* The common text has *spoliare;* the reading which we give is Oudendorp's.
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NOTES ON THE SEVENTH BOOK.

4. Nec. We have here with the nolite that precedes a double negative in imitation of the Greeks, unless we prefer understanding velitis after nec. But this last is not so elegant. Compare Terence, Andr. 1, 2, 35, "Noque tu hand dicas tibi non predic-tum," and consult the other instances adduced by Vechner, Hel-lenotex. p. 381.

5. Animi causa. "For mere amusement." Compare the Greek paraphrase: ἣ τέφρως σφῶν ἵνα.

6. Illorum. Referring to the confederate Gauls without, who were coming to the relief of Alesia.—Eorum. Referring to the same.

7. Eorum corporibus, &c. They killed the children and those who were old and infirm, and subsisted on their flesh.

8. Si. "Even if."—Institut. "For one to be now established."

9. Nam quid illi, &c. "For what had that war like this which is now waged against us?" i. e., what were the miseries we then endured to these under which we are now suffering? Compare Morus, ad loc.

10. Depopulata Gallia. The verb depopulari, though regarded as a deponent, is, in fact, a common verb. Or rather, strictly speaking, the active, passive, and middle voices are all in use; for Valerius Flaccus, 6, 531, has "depopulare greges," and the author of the Commentaries on the Spanish War (c. 42), has "depopulavit." Compare note 4, page 171.

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2. Prius experiantur, &c. They resolve to have recourse to the horrid expedient recommended by Critognatus, only after having tried everything else.

3. Recipi prohibebat. According to Dio Cassius (40, 40), the whole of this miserable multitude perished with hunger in the space between the town and Roman camp! καὶ οὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ μέσῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, μὴ ἔτηρον σφᾶς δεχομένων, οἰκτρότατα ἀπόλοντο.


5. Abductas. One of the MSS. gives adductas, from which Ouden-dorp conjectured abductas, which we have received into the text. Oberlin retains abductas, the reading of the common editions, but explains it by sejunctas. The verb abduo certainly has on some occasions the meaning of remoque (compare Tibull. 2, 1, 82, and Gronov. de pec. vet. 4, 8), but always with more or less of conceal-
ment accompanying the act. Now there was no concealment whatever in the present case, since it is stated, in the next chapter, that the infantry on the higher grounds were spectators of the battle with the cavalry, and cheered their countrymen with their cries.

6. _Ad utramque partem._ "On both sides," i.e., on the line of circumvallation, against the besieged, and on that of contravallation against the foe without.

7. _Præventum._ The reading of the best MSS. The common text has _eventum_, which appears to be a mere gloss.

8. _Raros._ "Here and there." The reading of the best MSS., and much more elegant than _pugna superiores_, which is given in the common text. Compare the expressions _acer animi, disciplinae clarus_, &c.

2. Et _ii qui_, &c. Referring to the Gallic infantry, who beheld the equestrian conflict from the neighbouring heights. Compare note 5, page 182.

3. _Confertis turmis._ "In a compact body," i.e., with the several _turma_, or troops of horse, united into one. Compare the explanation of Achaintre: "Sur un seul front, sans intervalle."

4. _Harpagonum._ "Grappling hooks." A species of mural-hooks attached to long poles, and used to pull down the rampart, &c.

5 _Campestres munitiones._ Those described in chapter 74, which had been erected against the Gauls from without.

6. _Libralibus._ "Large stones." Supply _saxis_. The reference is to large stones thrown by the hand. So the Greek paraphrase has _μεγάλοις τε λίθοις_. This species of missile is mentioned by Vegetius (2, 3), "_Sed et manu sola omnes milites meditabantur libralia saxa jactare._" The soldiers who threw them were called _libra-tores_. Compare Tacitus, Ann. 2, 20, "_Funditores libra-toresque executere tela et proturbare hostem jubet;_" and also Ann. 13, 39, "_Libratoribus funditoribusque attributus locus, unde eminus glandes torquèrent._" By the Greeks they were called _αθόδουσα_. Compare Thucyd. 6, 69. Oudendorp and many others read _librilibus_, and refer in support of this lection to Festus, who explains _librilia_ as follows: "_Librilia appellabantur instrumenta bellica, sassa scilicet ad brachii crassitudinem, in modum flagellorum loris revineta._" From this description, the _librilia_ would appear to have been large stones, attached to a thong or strap, which were drawn back after...
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having been hurled at the foe; and so Lipsius regards them:

"Videtur emissum telum fuisset, et redactum. (Poliorcet. 4, dial. 3, p. 602.) Now it can hardly be supposed, that such weapons as these could have been used on the present occasion, when the Gauls were as yet at a distance; and Lipsius himself appears to favour this view of the subject: "In Festi librilibus harco; nam in Cas.
aris verbis longinquum non proponquam est telum." Libralibus, therefore, is evidently the true reading, not librilibus.

7. Glandibus. "Bullets." These were of lead, and of different shapes, some round, some trilateral, some oblong, &c. Consult Lipsius, Poliorcet. 4, dial. 3, p. 604, where delineations of them are given.

8. Ulterioribus castellis. Referring to the redoubts that were more remote from the immediate points of attack.

9. Plus proficiebant. "They did more execution."

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1. Pilis muralibus. "By the mural javelins." These were heavy iron javelins discharged from the ramparts by means of engines.

2. Appeteret. "Was approaching." Some editions have appa-

reret, but this is a mere gloss on appeteret.

3. Interiores. "Those within," i. e., the Gauls from Alesia.

Compare Morus: "Interiores, oppido inclusi."—Proferunt. "Are bearing forth from the town."

4. Superiorum castrorum. "Of the upper camp." This is ex-

plained immediately after.

5. Pane iniquo loco, &c. The situation was a disadvantageous one for the Romans, because the slope of the hill favoured the enemy, and the camp was commanded by the summit of the hill.

6. Vergasillanum. O'Brien makes this to have been, not a proper name, but an appellation of dignity; and derives it from the Celtic, fear-go-saighlean, i. e., "vir ad vexillum," or "vexillarius," in English "a banneret."

7. A castris. The reference is to the Gallic encampment under the walls of Alesia. Compare chapter 69.—Longurios, musculos, &c. "Long poles, moveable pent-houses, mural hooks." For an account of the musculus, and the origin of its name, consult Archaeological Index.

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1. Omnia tentatur. "Every expedient is tried."—Pars.

"Any part of our works."

2. Quod suum periculum, &c. "Because they perceive, that their danger depends upon the valour of others," i. e., that it rests
with others either to make them safe by a valiant resistance, or to bring them into danger by an abandonment of their posts. In other words, their safety depended on the valour of the other legions.

3. Utrisque ad animum occurrerit. "The same idea presents itself to the minds of either party."

4. Si rem obtinuerint. "If they stand their ground." More literally, "if they hold the affair as their own," i.e., if they hold their own. Compare the explanation of Baron, "Si in munitio-nibus restiterint," and also that of Achaintre, "In munitio-nibus defendendis si superiores evaserint."

5. Exiguum loci, &c. "A situation how little soever elevated, and making a descent, is of great importance to assailants." More literally, "the slightest elevation of situation, added to a declivity," &c. Compare note 5, page 183.

6. Agger, ab univer-sis, &c. "The earth, heaped up by all against our fortification." The term agger is here employed, because the earth thus heaped up resembled a mound. Compare the Greek paraphrase: ἐπίστε ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν καὶ λοχίων, καὶ ὑπὸ ἱππο-κελών.


8. Deductis cohortibus, &c. "To draw off the cohorts from the lines, and engage the enemy in a sally." This would be, of course, a desperate expedient, and, therefore, the directions of Labienus were, not to do so unless compelled by urgent necessity; in other words, not to make a sally unless the lines were no longer tenable in that quarter.


11. Brutum. Decimus Brutus, as is thought. The Greek paraphrase has Δίκαιον Βροϊτιον.

1. Circumire exteriores munitiones. Polyænus (8, 23, 11) makes mention of this stratagem, but states that Caesar sent out the troops by night, with directions to attack the rear of the enemy about the second hour of the morning. He makes, moreover, the force so sent out to have consisted of three thousand infantry and all the cavalry, ὕπλοι τρισχιλίων καὶ τῶν ἑπτάδες πάντων.

2. Aggeres. "The ramparts," i.e., the earth heaped up for this purpose.—Undequadraginta. The MSS. have XXXIX. (i.e.,
undecuadraginta), but Ciacconius very justly suspects the text of being erroneous, since thirty-nine cohorts are too large a number altogether for "chance to throw in the way."


4. *Cognito.* After this word there follows, in the ordinary text, the words (*quo insigni in praeitius uti consueverat*) enclosed in a parenthesis. We have rejected them from the text as a mere marginal, and, at the same time, erroneous gloss. The Roman commanders always wore the *paludamentum* in battle, as a matter of course, and there would be no need whatever of stating this in the text, unless, as Davies thinks, Cæsar's differed in colour from that of other generals, which is by no means likely. The clause in question is regarded as spurious by many critics, and, among others, by Morus, Brant, Lipsius, Achaintre, &c.

5. *Ut de locis superioribus,* &c. "Since these low and stooping grounds were plainly seen from the eminences."

6. *Fit protimus,* &c. Turpin de Crissé very justly censures Commius for not having brought his main body into action, in which event there can be no doubt but that Cæsar would have been completely defeated. The force detached under Vergasillaunus was 60,000, leaving 180,000 still under the orders of Commius. Had he attacked another part of the Roman lines with those troops, and thus kept them employed in one quarter, while Vergasillaunus was pressing them hard in another, and Vercingetorix was plying the attack within, the issue of the battle would have been widely different, and the name of Cæsar would have been handed down to posterity by the side of those of Crassus and Varus. Consult Thierry, *Hist. des Gaulois,* vol. iii., p. 196.

7. *Crebris subsidii.* "By reason of the frequent aid they had been compelled to render to each other."

1. *Vercingetorix deditur.* According to Plutarch (*Vit. Cæs.* c. 27), the Gallic chieftain arrayed himself in his most splendid armour, and, having caparisoned his horse, sallied out from the gates of the town. After he had taken some circuits around Cæsar, as the latter was sitting in his tribunal, he dismounted, put off his armour, and seated himself at the feet of the Roman general. Here he remained in silence, until Cæsar ordered him to be taken away and reserved for his triumph. Dio Cassius (40, 41) states, that he relied on Cæsar's former friendship for forgiveness. This reliance,
however, proved unavailing, since, after having been led in triumph at Rome, he was put to death in prison. \(\text{Dio Cass.} \, 1 \, \text{c.}\)

2. \textit{Per cos.} By keeping this part of the prisoners from slavery, and thus making them a means of gaining over the states, to which they belonged, to their former allegiance.

3. \textit{Ex reliquis captivis.} "Of the remaining captives he distributed throughout the whole army one to each soldier as booty." Literally, "in the name of booty."

4. \textit{Civitatem recipit.} "He recovers that state."
NOTES
ON THE
GREEK PARAPHRASE.

BOOK I.

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1. Kai o'toi μὲν πάντες κ. τ. λ. The paraphrase differs here, in a slight degree, from the order of the Latin text, by placing νάμοις before ἔλαιαν.


3. Γαρούμας. The terminations ης and ας became, among the Αeolians α, as in Homer (II. 2, 107), Θείστι. Hence the Latin cometa, planeta, poeta, from κομήτης, πλανήτης, ποιητής, and hence the Latins ordinarily changed the Greek names in ας into α; and the Greeks, on the other hand, turned the Roman names in α into ας, as Συλλάς, Γάλδιας, Γαρούμας, Ματρώνας, &c. The diphthong ον in the Greek form Γαρούμας is employed to express the peculiar sound of the Roman u, before the letters mn. Compare Schneider, Lat. Gr. vol. i., p. 37, and Hermann, de Emendanda ratione, G. G. p. 6, seq.

4. Ἡμερότατος τῆς ἔλαιαν. The Latin order is again changed. For τῆς we ought very probably to read καλ.

5. Ἐλοθητος. The ancient pronunciation of the θ approximated to a v, with a hissing through the teeth. Thus we have Σιρβίος for Servius, Βάφων for Varro, &c. Consult Matthiae, G. G. vol. i., p. 25, § 7, and Liskovius, Aussprache des Griech. p. 55.

189 1. Χίλια ἑννεκάδακα κ. τ. λ. These amounts will agree with those in the Latin text, if we reckon about 124 Roman paces to the stadium.
NOTES ON THE GREEK PARAPHRASE.  

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2. Προεξένθησε. In the MS. προεξένθησε, which we have altered with Jungermann.—Οἱ μὲν γὰρ κ. τ. λ. Caesar's speeches are in the third person, the paraphrast's in the first, which gives a more rhetorical air to what is spoken.

1. Πάσας μὲν τὰς πάλιν κ. τ. λ. We have nothing in the paraphrase corresponding to the Vicos ad quadríngentos of the Latin text. So a little farther on, for molíta cibaria we find merely ἀλήθεια.

2. Τούλιγγους. The Latobrigi are omitted here. They are mentioned, however, in the 28th chapter, but are there called Λακδηρίγας.

3. Τὸ Ῥήνου σταθαρός. A slip, on the part of the paraphrast, for τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ σταθαρός.

1. Δικοστῇ ὕψων. This modern phraseology shows the antiquity of the paraphrase not to be very great.—Γαβνίου. We ought to read Παβνίου. The form Παβνίου arose probably from a vicious pronunciation of the η.


3. 'Εκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα, κ. τ. λ. This number agrees pretty nearly with the Latin text, reckoning about 124 paces to the stadium.

1. Δυνατῶντοι κ. τ. λ. The Latin term bellicosos is here rendered by two adjectives.

2. 'Εκδονὼν. The name is written uniformly with the aspirate throughout the paraphrase. The Latin MS., very probably, from which the paraphrast translated, had Hedui, which occurs also in several editions.

1. Πολλὰς συκειδίας. No mention of lintres is made here, probably from the difficulty of finding an exactly analogous expression in Greek. Μονοείδα πλοία might, however, have answered, which occurs in Polybius, 3, 42, 2. Compare Livy, 21, 6, who, in speaking of the Gallic boats, observes, "cavabant ex singulis arboribus." In the 53d chapter, however, the paraphrast renders lintres by πλοιάρια, which is far from accurate.

2. Φυλῆς. The paraphrast employs φυλῆ, "a tribe," where the Latin means pars copiarum.

1. Ὅκτω σταθθῶν. Eight stadia would only make about one thousand paces or a little under. We ought therefore, in all probability, to read here, Ὅκτω καὶ τεταράκοντα σταθθῶν.

2. Ὑψικαλέσας αὐτῶν κ. τ. λ. We have nothing in the paraphrase or the following: "et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus netiri oporteret."
NOTES ON THE GREEK PARAPHRASE.

Page 196 1. Τεπθυμοώτουν. The paraphrase omits an entire sentence here, from neque dubitare debeant down to crepturi inclusive.

2. Ἦμων τῶν Ρωμαίων. We must read here ἦμων for ἦμων, in consequence of the change to the oratio directa, which occurs in this and the other speeches given in the paraphrase.

197 1. Καὶ ἵκαστος κ. τ. λ. It would be more correct to say καὶ ἵκαστος.

198 1. ὑποστραγηφ. The paraphrase takes no notice of pro prætore in the Latin text.

2. Δῶ καὶ ἕικα σταδίων. If the paraphrast read mille et quingentis passibus, he ought to have said πεισδρὼν καὶ ἕικα σταδίων.

3. Εἰδότων. This ought to be οἴκ εἰδότων, for Caesar has "neque, &c., cognitus esset."

199 1. ὡς ἱδὼν. More accurately, ὡς ἱδώνa.

2. ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ. Caesar says "in Gallia eiteriore." The paraphrast, however, means Northern Italy, which amounts to the same thing.

200 1. ἐξαναλώσαντες τὴν πολύβουν ἄλχην. A strange paraphrase of "ea disjecta." There is probably some error in the Greek.

2. Τετάρτων σταδίων. This number does not suit the Latin. Read ὅκτω σταδίων.

3. Πεντάκαιοχίδιοι. Read πεντακαιοχίδιοι καὶ μόριοι, to agree with the quindecim millia of the Latin text.

4. Ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ. Caesar has, however, ab hora septima. The seventh hour corresponds to the first hour after noon, according to our computation.

5. Διαδίποντες. Better, perhaps, ἐδιποντες. No mention is made, in the paraphrase, of the letters sent to the Lingones, neither is the triduo intermisso of the Latin text noticed.

201 1. Αὐτομαθάσαντις. Caesar merely calls them servos.

2. Συνηθοίκετο. Under this verb the paraphrast means to include both conquiruntur and conferuntur. So, in the beginning of the next chapter, ἀπάγειν has the combined force of conquirere and reducere.

3. Βεβιγίνη. Read βεβιγίνης. Another instance of the corrupt pronunciation of η.

4. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί. The Latin text has prima nocte.

202 1. Συναθροισθέντις. Directly opposite to the meaning of the Latin text, eo concilio dimisso.

204 1. Διοίκησι. We have nothing in the paraphrase for the following, "Absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrerent."
NOTES ON THE GREEK PARAPHRASE.

2. Σεκουσιανών. The Latin text has Sequanos. The paraphrase probably read Segusianos.

3. Τίνα δεσπόζειν. The Latin text, however, has legatos, not legatum. There is nothing, moreover, in the context for de Republica; nor for neque sine exercitu. We ought, perhaps, to insert οὗτος στρατίας.—For ἄμφελας read ἄμφολας.

1. 'Εκέινῳ Read έκείνῳ τί καὶ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις.
2. Λύτων. Read Ἐδουίων.

1. Συμβαλῶν μὴ οὐκ ἤττηθον. Read συμβαλῶν μοι, οὐκ ἤττηθον.
2. Πίπτε στάδιων. Five stadia are here given for the sake of a round number, since they amount, in fact, to about 625 feet.

3 Τῶν Γάλλων. Nothing in the Greek for mercatores.

1. 'Ελεγον. Confirming the lection of the earlier text, and disproving the emendation of Scaliger.

1. Αύξησ. No mention made of the Lingones, nor is there anything in the paraphrase for "jamque esse in agris frumenta mutuans."

2. Δορυφορίαν τάγμα. This, and δορυφόρου φάλαγγος in the 42d chapter, are interpretations rather than close renderings.

1. Οὐδέποτε φοβηθήναι τε. Nothing in the Greek for "se neque unquam dubitasse."

2. 'Αμφὶ τὰ χίλια κ. τ. λ. This number is altogether too large.

We ought to read πριάκοντα καὶ πρίακοντα στάδια.

1. Στάδια πεντήκοντα. This does not agree with Cæsar's "pas-sibus ducentis."

2. Δῶο ἐπτεῖς. The Latin text has "dcnos." Perhaps the paraphrase read dīnos.

3. τὸν. Nothing in the paraphrase for "quod munera amplissima missa."

1. Πραγμάτων. Nothing in the paraphrase for "neque perfecte essent."

2. Πρὸς τούτοις. The paraphrase has omitted from "et eo magis" down to "conjicerent."

3. "Ἀνάφημα ψυχαλέγοντος. Not a correct paraphrase for "summa virtute et humanitate adolescentem," but referring to the body which Cæsar means to apply to the disposition and character.

1. Διηλθασαν. Nothing in the paraphrase for "et millibus passuum duobus ultra cume castra fecit."

2. Τάσπον. No Greek for "circiter passus sexcentos." A little lower down, τέταρας σταδίων is given for passus sexcentos, where some read quingentes, which would be too small for the Greek.

1. Τέταρακοντα στάδια. Read τέταρακώντα στάδια.
HISTORICAL INDEX.
HISTORICAL INDEX.

A.

Acco, ònus, a chieftain of the Scnônes, at the head of the confederacy, formed against the Romans, by his own nation together with the Carnûtes and Trevirî. He was condemned in a general assembly of Gaul, which Cæsar had caused to convene for that purpose, and was punished with death. B. 6, c. 4, and 44.

Adcantuannus, a chieftain of the Sotiates. He endeavoured, together with six hundred devoted partisans, to escape from the town of the Sotiates, when attacked by Crassus, one of Cæsar's lieutenants. His attempt, however, proved unsuccessful, and he was driven back into the place and forced to surrender. B. 3, c. 22.

Aemilius, L., a Roman officer, a decurio of the Gallic horse. B. 1, c. 23.

Ambiôrix, ëgis, king of one half of the Eburones, as Catoicicus was of the other. He received many favours from Cæsar, but proved unfaithful to him, and entrapped and defeated two of his officers, Titurius and Cotta. Cæsar marched against him and ravaged his country, but Ambiôrix, after many very narrow escapes, finally eluded his pursuit. B. 5, c. 24, 27, 31.—B. 6, c. 2, 5, 29.

Anterrocus, a distinguished individual among the Remi, sent along with Iccius, as ambassador to Cæsar, in the second year of the Gallic war. B. 2, c. 3.

Antistius Reginus, C., a lieutenant of Cæsar's in Cisalpine Gaul, appointed by that commander, along with Silanus and Sextius, to levy troops, in the sixth year of the Gallic war. B. 6, c. 1.

Antonius, M., the famous triumvir. He was one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul. B. 7, c. 81.

Ariovistus, a German monarch, who, having been invited into Gaul by the Arverni and Sequâni, made himself master, eventually, of a large portion of that country, which he governed with great cruelty and oppression. He was totally defeated by Cæsar, and escaped with only a few of his followers into Germany. B. 1, c. 31, seq.

Aristius, M., a military tribune under Cæsar, during the Gallic war. The Aedui, on their first revolt, plundered him of his baggage, but steps were soon after taken to restore to him the value of his property. B. 7, c. 42, 43.

Apsineius, C., a Roman knight, sent by Titurius and Cotta, along with Q. Junius, to hold a parley with Ambiôrix, after the latter had made an attack on the Roman winter quarters. B. 5, c. 27.

Atrius, Q., an officer to whom Cæsar gave the charge of his fleet,
when riding at anchor on the coast of Britain, while he himself marched into the interior of the island. B. 5, c. 9, 10.

Aurunculeius. Æid. Cotta.

B.

Baculus, Sextius P., a centurion of the first rank in Caesar's army, who on various occasions distinguished himself by his valor. B. 2, c. 25.—B. 3, c. 5.—B. 6, c. 38.

Balventius, T. a centurion of the first rank, slain in the affair of Titurius and Cotta. B. 5, c. 35.

Bodocognatus, the leader of the Nervii, in the attack made by the latter on the army of Caesar. B. 2, c. 23.

Brutus, Decimus, a young Roman officer, styled, on some occasions, by Caesar, merely Brutus adolescens. He was intrusted with the command of the Roman fleet in the war with the Veneti, whom he defeated. On a subsequent occasion we find him placed over the troops sent into the country of the Arverni. In the affair of Alesia he was despatched with six cohorts, from one part of the Roman lines, to lend aid to his countrymen in another part, when hard pressed by Vergassilanus. B. 3 c. 2.—B. 3, c. 14, 15.—B. 7, c. 9, 87.

C.

Caburus, Valerius C., a Gallic chieftain, holding the supreme command among the Helvii. B. 7, c. 65.

Caesar, Julius C. Æid. sketch of his life at the commencement of this volume.

Caesar, L., a lieutenant of Caesar's, placed by him with twenty-two cohorts in charge of the Roman province. B. 7, c. 65.

Camulogenses, a Gallic chieftain, of the Auderean nation, who, though far advanced in years, was requested by the Parisii, on account of his great military talents, to take the command of their forces against Labienus. He was slain in the battle that ensued, after a brave but ineffectual resistance. B. 7, c. 57, 62.

Carnaillus, one of the four kings of Cantium in Britain, ordered by Cassivellanus to make an attack, together with the other three monarchs, on the naval camp of Caesar. The attempt failed, and the Britains were repulsed with great slaughter.

Cassivellanus, a British king, who ruled over the country lying towards the mouth of the Tamesis, on the northern bank of that river. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces against Caesar, but was eventually overcome and forced to submit. B. 5, c. 11, 18, 20, 21, 22.

Cassius, L., a Roman consul defeated and slain by the Helvetii. His army was compelled to pass under the yoke. B. 1, c. 7, 12.

Casticus, a chieftain of the Sequani, on whom Orgetorix prevailed to seize the supreme power in his native state, which his father Catamantab (–alidis) had enjoyed before him. B. 1, c. 3.

Cativolus, king of one half of the Eburones, as Ambiorix was of the other. He was the associate of the latter chieftain in the defeat of the Roman force under Titurius and Cotta; but, afterward, when Caesar had completely routed the forces of his nation, he, being unable through age
to bear the fatigues of war, poisoned himself with the juice of the yew-tree. B. 5, c. 24.—B. 6, c. 31.

Cavarillus, a chieftain of high rank among the Aedui, and commander of the infantry after the revolt of Litavicus. He was taken prisoner in the battle in which Vercingetorix was defeated, a short time before the latter betook himself to Alesia. B. 7, c. 67.

Cavarinus, appointed by Cæsar King of the Senones, in opposition to the claims of Moritasgus, the reigning monarch. A plan was formed, among the Senones, for his assassination; but Cavarinus, apprized of the plot, saved his life by flying to the camp of Cæsar. B. 5, c. 54.—B. 6, c. 5.

Cicero, Q., brother of M. Tullius Cicero, was one of Cæsar’s lieutenants in Gaul, and displayed much courage and ability on many trying occasions, especially in defending his winter quarters among the Nervii. B. 5, c. 39, 40, 43, 48.—B. 6, c. 36. During the civil war he abandoned the side of Cæsar, and espoused the party of Pompey; but, after the battle of Pharsalia, he went over again to the former and obtained a pardon. He was proscribed, at a subsequent period, by the triumvirate, and put to death together with his son. Cic. Ep. ad Att. 5, 3.—Id. ibid. 11, 8.—Id. ibid. 11, 9.—Dio. Cassius, 47, 10.—Appian, B. C. 4, 20.

Cimberius, brother of Nasūa, who, together with the latter, commanded a large force of the Suevi that were encamped on the Rhine and endeavouring to cross and effect a junction with Ariovistus. The over throw of the German monarch by Cæsar induced them to retire. B. 1, c. 37.

Cigetorix, a chieftain of the Treveri, who contended with Indutiorus for the sovereignty. He favoured the cause of the Romans, was proscribed by Indutiorus, but restored by Cæsar and made prince of his native state. B. 5, c. 3, 4, 56, 57.—B. 6, c. 8.

Clodius, P., a Roman of noble birth, but infamous for the corruption of his morals. He caused himself to be adopted into a plebeian family, for the purpose of being elected tribune of the commons, and, while holding this office, had a number of laws passed, favourable to the people, but contrary to the principles of the Roman constitution. He cherished also a bitter hatred against Cicero, and procured his banishment from Italy, on the ground that he had violated the law in the punishment inflicted upon the accomplices of Catiline. Clodius was eventually assassinated by the retinue of Milo, in an accidental encounter which took place between him and the latter individual, as Milo was journeying towards Launium and Clodius was on his way to Rome. Cic. Or. post red. in Sen.—Id. pro Dom.—Id. de Harusp.—Id. pro Milone.—Id. Ep. ad Att. 1, 12.—Id. ibid. 1, 18.

Commius, a chieftain of the Atrebates, whom Cæsar, in return for some important services, made king over that people. He was sent by the Roman general into Britain, to induce the states in that island to acknowledge the Roman power and form an alliance with Cæsar. After being employed by the latter on several other occasions, he finally joined the side of the confederate Gauls, and fought against the Romans. His efforts and those of his countrymen proved unsuccessful; but he was afterward chosen by the Bellovaci to be one of their leaders, and renewed the contest. On a subsequent occasion, he was, at the instigation of Labienus, enticed into a conference by C. Volusenus Quadratus, and narrowly escaped with his life, being severely wounded on the head
Commius was at last defeated, and obliged to submit to Antonius. B. 4, c. 21, 27, 35.—B. 6, c. 6.—B. 7, c. 76.—B. 8, c. 6, 23, 48.

Conetodūnus, a leader of the Carnutes, and a man of the most resolute and daring spirit, who, together with Cotūnus, seized upon Genabum, and put to death all the Roman traders whom they found there. B. 7, c. 3.

Considūs, P., an officer in Cæsar’s army, of great experience in military affairs, and who had served under Sylla and Crassus. He was sent out by Cæsar in the war with the Helvetii, to watch and report the movements of the enemy, but he allowed his fears to get the better of his judgment, and thus prevented Cæsar from executing a movement that must have been crowned with complete success. B. 1, c. 21, 22.

Convictolitānis, a young Aeduan nobleman, the competitor of Cotus for the sovereign power. Cæsar, to whom the affair was left by the state, decided in favour of Convictolitānis. The latter, however, not long after, being gained over by Vercingetorix, induced his countrymen to revolt from the Romans. He was appointed commander of the Aeduan cavalry, but was taken prisoner in battle. B. 7, c. 32, 33, 55, 67.

Cotta, Aurunculēus L., one of Cæsar’s lieutenants in Gaul. When Ambiorix was seeking to entice him and his colleague Sabinus from winter quarters, Cotta was opposed to leaving the encampment, but finally yielded to the wishes of the other. This compliance cost him his life. The Roman army was drawn into an ambuscade. Cotta and Sabinus were both slain, and but few of the private soldiers escaped. B. 2, c. 11.—B. 4, c. 22, 38.—B. 5, c. 24, 28, 30, 31, 33, 36, 37.

Cotūs. Vid. Conetodūnus.


Crassus, P., one of Cæsar’s lieutenants in Gaul. He reduced the Veneti and other maritime states under the Roman sway; and was victorious also over the Aquitani and Sotiales. B. 2, c. 34.—B. 3, c. 20, seqq.

Critognātus, a chieftain of the Arverni, remarkable for the horrid speech made by him in council at Alesia, that the garrison should subsist on the bodies of the weak and those that were useless for the war. B. 7, c. 77.

D.

Divico, an influential noble among the Helvetii, who had been at the head of their forces in the war with Crassus. He was the leader of the embassy sent to Cæsar by the Helvetii, after the defeat of part of their forces by that commander. B. 1, c. 13, 14.

Divitiācus, an Aeduan noble, of high rank among his countrymen, and possessing great influence with Cæsar, from his strong attachment to the Roman interests. B. 1, c. 3, 16, 18, 20, 31, 41.—B. 2, c. 5.—B. 6, c. 12.

Druides, the ministers of religion among the Gauls and Britons. Britain, according to Cæsar, was the great school of the Druids, and their chief settlement was in the island called Mora by Tacitus, now Anglesey. The natives of Gaul, who wished to be thoroughly versed in the mysteries of Druidism, resorted to this island in order to complete their studies. Many opinions have been formed respecting the origin of their name. The common derivation is from īpes, “an oak,” either from
their inhabiting, and teaching in, forests, or, as Pliny states, because they never sacrificed but under an oak. But it is hard to imagine how the Druids should come to speak Greek. Some deduce the name from the old British word dru, or drew, "an oak." This latter derivation receives considerable support from a passage in Diodorus Siculus (5, 31), who, speaking of the philosophers and priests of Gaul, the same with the Druids, says that they were called Σαρωκίδαι, a term which some of the commentators trace to the old Greek form σάρωκις (todor), "a hollow oak." Wesseling, however, it must be confessed, condemns this reading, and is in favour of receiving into the text the form Δρουκίδαι, where others again read Σαρουκίδαι. Among the many oriental derivations which have been given, the best is that from the Sanscrit term Drueidh, signifying "poor," "indigent." In historical conformity with this derivation, it has been urged, that, among the Hindoos, we may observe in the Sannassii the professional mendicant, while among the Druids poverty was rather a merit than a disgrace. The arguments in favour of the oriental origin of the Druids are deserving of great attention, though too numerous to mention here. The Druids held the same doctrines in effect with Pythagoras, the worship of one Supreme Being, a future state of rewards and punishments, the immortality of the soul, and a metempsychosis. The Druids appear to have possessed considerable acquaintance with natural philosophy, astronomy, arithmetic, and botany. Their influence over the minds of the people was unbounded; and so strongly was this felt by the Romans in Britain, that they were compelled to massacre a large number of this priesthood in order to ensure their conquest of that island.

Dumnörix, a nobleman of the Aedui, and brother to Divitiacus. He was of an ambitious turn, and united with Orgetorix for purposes of self-aggrandizement. He afforded also to the Helvetii, by interceding for them, a passage through the territory of the Sequani. Dumnorix was accused before Caesar by Liscus, but obtained pardon, through the entreaties of Divitiacus. He refused to accompany Caesar into Britain, and endeavoured to escape from the Roman camp, but was overtaken and put to death on the spot. B. 1, c. 3, 9, 18, 20.—B. 5, c. 6, 7.

E.

Eporedörix, a chieftain of the Aedui, who, before the arrival of Caesar in Gaul, commanded the forces of his countrymen against the Sequani. He revolted from Caesar and joined Vereingetorix, but was taken prisoner by the Romans in a battle of the cavalry. B. 7, c. 39, 55, 63, 67.

Eporedörix, another Aeduan noble, chosen one of the commanders of the confederate army that marched to the relief of Vereingetorix. B. 7, c. 76.

Erastosthènes, a native of Cyrene, and the second who was entrusted with the care of the Alexandrian library. He was famous for his acquaintance with mathematical geography, and was the first that introduced into a map a regular parallel of latitude. B. G. 6, 24.

F.

Fabius, Maximus Q., a Roman consul, defeated the Arverni and Ruteni. B. 1, c. 45. Compare Liv. Epit. lib. 61 Q q 2
Fabius, C., one of Caesar’s lieutenants in Gaul. His services are recorded in several parts of the Commentaries. B. 5, c. 24.—B. 7, c. 41, 87, 90.

Fabius, L., a centurion of the eighth legion, who signalized his valour in the siege of Gergovia. He was slain by the foe. B. 7, c. 47, 49, 50.

G.

Galba, King of the Suebians, was appointed commander of the forces raised by the Belgæ, in the second year of the Gallic war, to withstand the power of Rome. After Caesar’s victory, his sons were delivered up to the Roman general as hostages. B. 2, c. 4, 13.

Galba, S., one of Caesar’s lieutenants in Gaul. He was sent against the Veragri, and subdued them. This same individual was afterward one of the conspirators against Caesar. B. 3, c. 1, sqq.

Gobannius, a chieftain of the Alverni, and nephew of Vercingetorix. Along with the other leading men of the state, he banished his nephew from Gergovia, when the latter was busily employed in exciting his dependants and partisans against the Romans. B. 7, c. 4.

I.

Iccius, a nobleman of the Remi, sent along with Antebrogius as an ambassador to Caesar, during the second year of the Gallic war. B. 2, c. 3.

Imamentius, King of the Trinobantes in Britain, and father of Mandubatus. He was slain by Cassivellanus. B. 5, c. 20.

Indutiomarus, a leading chieftain among the Treviri, and father-in-law to Cingetorix, with whom he contended for the sovereignty in his native state. Being disappointed in his ambitious views, he took part against the Romans, and made an attack on the encampment of Labienus, but was repulsed and slain. B. 5, c. 3, 4, 29, 55, 58.

Jenius, Q., a native of Spain, sent as an ambassador by Sabinus to Ambiorix, along with C. Arpinenus, when the Gauls were attacking the winter quarters of the Romans. B. 5, c. 27.

L.

Labienus, T., Caesar’s principal lieutenant in the Gallic war, and the one of whom he makes most frequent mention. In the beginning of the civil contest, he left Caesar for Pompey, escaped from the battle of Pharsalia, and was killed in that of Munda. Labienus appears to have parted with almost all his former success, on abandoning the side of his old commander. B. 1, c. 21.—B. 5, c. 58.—B. 6, c. 7.—B. 7, c. 58, 59, 86.

Lucius, chief magistrate, or Vergobretus, of the Aedui, who gave Caesar information of the conduct and designs of Dumnoniorix. B. 1, c. 16, 17.

Litavius, a young Aeduan nobleman, of a very distinguished family, who persuaded his countrymen to join the Gallic confederacy against the Romans. His designs, however, were thwarted by the vigour and promptness of Caesar, and he was compelled to flee with some of his retainers to Gergovia. He was afterward received by the Aedui into Biblacte. B. 7, c. 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 55
Lucterius, a chieftain of the Cadurci, hence called Caducus, whom Vercingetorix sent among the Ruteni, with a part of his forces. B. 7, c. 5.

M.

Mandubratius, a chieftain of Britain, one of the nation of the Tinovantes, whose father Imanuentius had enjoyed the sovereign power, but had been put to death by Cassivellaunus. The son fled from the power of the latter to the protection of Caesar, who interested himself in his behalf, and restored him to his former rank in the state. B. 5, c. 20, 22.

Metrius, M., an individual connected with Ariovistus by the ties of hospitality, and who was sent as ambassador to him along with C. Valerius Procilius. The German monarch, however, threw them both into chains the moment they entered his camp, and lots were thrice drawn for the purpose of ascertaining whether they should be burned alive at once, or their punishment deferred to some future occasion. Their lives were saved by the lots always proving favourable. The battle with Caesar then took place, and, after the defeat of the Germans, Metrius and Procilius were recovered by the Romans among the mass of fugitives. B. 1, c. 47, 53.

Minucius, Basilius L., an officer in Caesar's army, and prefect of cavalry. He was sent with a body of horse against the Treviri, conquered them, and compelled Ambiorix to flee to the woods. B. 6, c. 29, 30.

Moritasagus, King of the Senones, at Caesar's arrival in Gaul, and brother of Cavarinus. B. 5, c. 54.

Munatius, Plancus L., a lieutenant of Caesar's, appointed along with M. Crassus and C. Trebonius to the command of three legions sent into winter quarters in Belgium. B. 5, c. 24.

N.

Namaeus, a chieftain of the Helvetii, sent along with Vero-doctius at the head of an embassy to Caesar. B. 1, c. 7.

Nasua, a leader of the Suevi. Vid. Cimerius.

O.

Orgetorix, a nobleman among the Helvetii, ranking first, according to Caesar, in extraction and riches. He was led by his ambitious feelings to form a conspiracy among the nobles, and prevailed upon the people to quit their country and seek settlements elsewhere, more suitable to their national character and numbers. Orgetorix was appointed to superintend the preparations for departure, and two years were allowed for this purpose; but he soon fell under suspicions of treasonable conduct, and was put to his trial. He managed, however, to rescue himself from the hands of justice, by the aid of his retainers and debtors; but while the state was endeavouring to support its authority by force, he died, as was suspected, by his own hand. B. 1, c. 2, 3, 4.

P.

Pedius, Q., grandson of one of the sisters of Julius Caesar, and a lieutenant of that commander's in the Gallic war. He served under him
also in Spain, and, after the death of Cæsar, had a law passed (Lex Pedea) which had for its object the banishment of his assassins. Augustus named him his colleague in the consulship, after the death of Hirtius and Pansa. He died B. C. 43, a few days after the proscriptions of the second triumvirate. B. 2, c. 2, 11.—Vell. Pat. 2, 65.—Cic. pro Planc. 14.

Petreius, M., a centurion in the army of Cæsar, who fell fighting bravely at the siege of Gergovia. B. 7, c. 50.

Petrosidius, L., a standard-bearer in the troops under Sabinus and Cotta. He was slain while bravely fighting during the affair with Ambiorix. B. 5, c. 37.

Piso, L., consul B. C. 112. Five years after he served as lieutenant under the consul Cassius, but was slain, together with him, by the Tigrini. He was an ancestor of L. Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar. B. 1, c. 12.


Pompeius, Cn., a Roman, related probably to Pompey the Great. He was sent by Sabinus, whose interpreter he was, to confer with Ambiorix during the attack made by the latter on the Roman forces. After they had been enticed from their winter quarters among the Eburones. B. 5, c. 36.

Pulfrico, T., a centurion in the army of Cæsar, remarkable for his valour, who had a long contest and rivalry with L. Varemus, another centurion, respecting individual prowess. When Cicero's winter quarters were attacked by the Nervii, they both sallied forth from the encampment, and displayed the greatest bravery without the fortifications. B. 5, c. 44.

R.

Roscius, L., a lieutenant of Cæsar's, sent with the third legion among the Essui. B. 5, c. 24.

S.

Sabinus, Titurius Q., a lieutenant of Cæsar's, mentioned in several parts of the Commentaries, and, in general, a successful officer. He was entrapped, however, at last, by Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, and lost his life in an ambuscade. His conduct in this latter affair displayed very little judgment or military experience. B. 2, c. 5, 10.—B. 3, c. 11, 18, 19.—B. 4, c. 38.—B. 5, c. 24, seq.

Sedulius, prince and leader of the Lemovices, was slain during the siege of Alesia, in the attack made by the Gauls without Cæsar's lines of contravallation. B. 7, c. 88.

Segonax, one of the four kings mentioned by Cæsar as ruling over Cantium in Britain. B. 5, c. 22.


Sertius, T., a Roman officer, sent by Crassus among the Veneti, for the purpose of procuring corn, and detained by them. B. 3, c. 7, 8.

Spartacu>s, a gladiator, who escaped from his place of exercise, with several of his companions, and, taking up arms against the Romans, soon round himself at the head of many thousands. After many successes, and having proved himself an able and formidable opponent, he was defeated and slain in an action with Crassus, B. C. 71.

Sulpicius, P., a lieutenant of Cæsar's, intrusted by him with the charge
Tascetius, a nobleman of the Carnutes, raised to the sovereignty by Caesar, a station which his forfathers had enjoyed before him. He was assassinated in the third year of his reign. B. 5, c. 25.

Taximogulus, one of the four kings of Cantium in Britain, at the time of Caesar's arrival. B. 5, c. 22.

Terrasidius, T., a lieutenant of Caesar's, sent among the Esuubii, for the purpose of procuring corn, and detained by them. B. 3, c. 7, 8.

Teutomarus, king of the Nitoiriges, joined Vercingetorix with a large body of cavalry. He was surprised by the Romans, while sleeping in his tent at midday, and narrowly escaped being taken. B. 7, c. 31 46.

Titurius. Vid. Sabinus.

Trebius Gallus, M., an officer sent among the Curiestes, to procure corn, and detained by them. B. 3, c. 7, 8.

Trebonius, C., a lieutenant of Caesar's. He had been previously tribune of the commons, and had caused the law to be passed which gave Gaul as a province to Caesar, Syria to Crassus, and Spain and Africa to Pompey, for five years. During the civil war he sided with Caesar, and A. Ú. C. 708 (B. C. 45) the latter, having abdicated the consulship before the end of the year, named Trebonius in his place for the three months that remained. And yet, though he owed all his preferment to Caesar, he joined in the conspiracy against him. After the death of Caesar, the senate conferred on Trebonius the government of Asia, but he was slain at Smyrna by Dolabella, B. C. 43. B. 5, c. 17, 24. — B. 7, c. 11, 31. — Cic. Phil. 11, 2. — Liv. Epit. lib. 110. — Suet. Cæs. c. 24.

Trebonius, C., a Roman knight, in the army of Caesar during the Gallic war. He distinguished himself by his bravery when the winter quarters of Cicero were unexpectedly assailed by the German horse which had crossed the Rhine. B. 6, c. 40.

V.


Valerius Procillus, son of C. Valerius Caburus, and an individual of great distinction in the Roman province. Being well acquainted with the Gallic language, and a person besides on whom Caesar could rely with the utmost confidence, he was sent by that commander, along with M. Mettius, to hold a conference with Ariovistus. The German king imprisoned them both, but they were rescued by the Romans during the flight of his army. B. 1, c. 47, 53.


Vercingetorix, a young nobleman of the Arverni, distinguished for his abilities and for his enmity to the Romans. He was chosen commander-in-chief of the confederate army raised by the states of Gaul, and used every endeavour to free his country from the Roman yoke. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful; he was besieged in Alesia, compelled to surrender, and, after being led in triumph at Rome, was cruelly put to death. B. 7, c. 4, seq.
Vergasillaunus, a chieftain of the Arverni, who commanded a part of the Gallic forces that marched to the relief of Alesia. He made a most desperate attack on the Roman lines of contravallation, and, had he been properly supported, would in all probability have come off victorious. As it was, he was finally defeated and taken prisoner. B. 7, c. 76, 83, seqq.

Vergobretus, the official title of the chief magistrate among the Aedui. Consult note 17, page 10.

Vertico, a Nervian noble, who was with Cicero when the winter quarters of the latter were attacked by the Eburones, and prevailed on a slave of his to convey a letter from Cicero to Caesar, asking for aid. B. 5, c. 45, 49.

Vernobortius, a chieftain of the Helvetii, sent, along with Nameius, at the head of an embassy to Caesar. Their object was to request permission to march through the Roman province. B. 1, c. 7.

Viridomarbus, a chieftain of the Aedui, of humble origin but great merit, and whom Caesar accordingly had raised to the highest dignity in the state. He afterward sided with the confederate Gauls against Caesar, and was one of the commanders of the army that marched to the relief of Alesia. B. 7, c. 38, 39, 54, 55, 63, 76.

Viridovix, the leading chieftain among the Unelli. He was chosen commander of the forces raised by the Armorican states against Sabinus, and made, contrary to his own better judgment, an attack on the camp of the Roman officer. The attempt ended in total defeat. B. 3, c. 17, 18, 19.

Volcaathus Tullus, C., a Roman officer, who was left by Caesar in charge of the bridge over the Rhine, when he was setting out on the expedition against Ambiorix. B. 6, c. 29.

Volusenus, C., a Roman officer sent by Caesar with a vessel of war to reconnoitre the coasts of Britain, and obtain information respecting its harbours and landing-places. Mention has been already made of him under the article Commius B. 3, c. 5.—B. 4, c. 21.
A.

**ALDUANDUBIS.** Consult note 15, page 22.

**ADUATÜCA,** a fortified place nearly in the middle of the territory occupied by the Eburones. It is mentioned B. 6, c. 32, 34, and, according to Mannert, must not be confounded with Aduatucum, the modern Tongres, since the former place stood nearer the Rhine than Aduatucum. *Mannert, Geogr.* vol. ii., p. 200.

**Aduatucum,** called by Ptolemy Ἀτούακουτος, and in the *Itin. Ant.* Aduaca Tungrorum; the capital of the Aduatici, now Tongres. B. 2, c. 29.

**Aduatuci,** a people of Gallia Belgica, whose territory extended from the Scaldis, or Scheldt, eastward as far as Mose Pons, or Maestricht. They were of German origin, and originally formed part of the great invading army of the Teutones and Cimbri. Being left behind in this quarter to guard a part of the baggage, they finally settled here. Caesar knows them merely by the name of Aduatici, but their later name appears to have been Tungri. (Compare Tacitus, *M. G.* c. 2.) Hence the modern name Tongres given to Aduatucum. *Mannert, Geogr.* vol. ii., p. 198.

**Aeduī,** in some MSS. and early editions Hadui, one of the most powerful nations in Gaul, dwelling between the Liger (Loire) and Arar (Saône), and extending downward to near Langdunum (Lyons). Their territory corresponded, therefore, to the greater part of modern Burgundy and Nièvrais (Mannert, *Geogr.* vol. ii., p. 177), or, to adopt the more recent phraseology, the departments de la côte d’or, de la Nièvre, de Saône et Loire, du Rhône.

**Agendicum,** the capital of the Senones, now Sens, situate below the confluence of the Vanne and Icena or Itumna, now the Yonne. This city is called by Ptolemy Ἅγενδικος, and in the *Itin. Ant.* Agendicum.

**Alesia,** a strongly-fortified town of the Mandubii, near the sources of the Sequana or Seine, and situate on the summit of a mountain, now Mount Auxois. It was washed on two sides by the small rivers Lutosa and Osera, now Oze and Ozerain. Alesia is famous for the siege it stood against Caesar. It was taken and destroyed by him, but was afterward rebuilt, and became a place of considerable consequence under the Roman emperors. It was laid in ruins, in the ninth century, by the Normans. At the foot of Mount Auxois is a village still called Alise. According to tradition (*Diod. Sic.* 4, 19), Alesia was founded by Hercules, which would imply that the place had been originally a Phænician stronghold for purposes of inland traffic. The Greek writers, however, say that it took its name from the wanderings of that hero on his expedition into Spain, ἀνὰ τὴν κατὰ τὴν στρατευμ ὅλης. 

R. R.
ALLOBROGES, a people of Gaul, between the Isère, now Isere, and Rhodanu's, now Rhone, in the country answering to Dauphiné, Piedmont, and Savoy. Their chief city was Vienna, now Vienne, on the left bank of the Rhodanu's, thirteen miles below Lugdunum, or the modern Lyons. They were reduced beneath the Roman power by Q. Fabius Maximus, who hence obtained the surname of Allobrogicus. According to Celtic scholars, the name Allobroges means "Highlanders," being formed from Al, "high," and Broga, "land." (Adelung, Mithrid. vol. ii., p. 50.)

Alpes, a celebrated chain of mountains, separating Italy from Gaul and Germany. The name is derived from their height, Alp being the old Celtic appellation for a lofty mountain. (Adelung, Mithrid. vol. ii., p. 42.) They extend from the Sinus Flanaticus, now Gulf of Quarnero, at the top of the Gulf of Venice, and the sources of the river Colapis, now Kulpe, to Vada Sabatia, now Savona, on the Gulf of Genoa. The whole extent, which is in a crescent form, is nearly 600 British miles. They have been divided by both ancient and modern geographers into various portions, of which the principal are, 1. Alpes Maritime (Maritime Alps), beginning at the environs of Nizza (now Nice), and extending to Mons Vesulus (now Monte Viso). 2. Alpes Cottiae (Cottian Alps), reaching from the last-mentioned point to Mont Cenis. 3. Alpes Graice (Great Alps), lying between Mont Iseran and the Little St. Bernard, inclusively. 4. Alpes Penninae (Penneine Alps), extending from the Great St. Bernard to the sources of the Rhone and Rhine. 5. Alpes Rhodanica (Rhodanian Alps), from St. Gothard to Mount Brenner in the Tyrol. 6. Alpes Noricae (Noric Alps), from the latter point to the head of the river Plavis (now la Piave). 7. Alpes Carnicae sic Juhae (Carnic or Julian Alps), terminating in the Mon Albius on the confines of Illyricum. Among the Peninne Alps is Mont Blanc, 14,676 feet high. The principal passes at the present day are, that over the Great St. Bernard, the one over Mont Simplon, and the one over Mont St. Gothard.


Ambarri, a Gallic tribe, dwelling between the Aedui and Allobroges, on either bank of the Arar, or Saône, in what is now la Bresse (departement de l'Arly).

Ambialiti, or Ambiliati, a Gallic nation, forming one of the Armorician states, and the same with the Ambibari.

Ambiani, a people of Belgic Gaul, whose capital was Samarobriva, after-ward called Ambianum, now Amiens. They occupied that part of Picardie which is now called departement de la Somme.

Ambienum. Vid. Samarobriva.

Ambibari, a nation forming one of the Armorician states. They are supposed to have dwelt between the Curiosolites, Aulerci Diablintes, Essui, and Unelli, and to have occupied what is now the diocese of Arranchez, or departement de la Manche. No mention is made of them by the ancient geographical writers.

Ambiliati. Vid. Ambiliati.

Ambivareti, or Ambivarëti (for we have in the Greek paraphrase, B. 7, c. 75, Ἀμβίβαρετος, and at c. 90, Ἀμβίβαρετος), a Gallic tribe ranked among the clients of the Aedui, whence Glareanus and Ciaconius suspect them to be the same with the Ambarri. Almost all the MSS. call them the Ambivarëti. The ancient geographical writers are silent respecting them.

Ambivarii, a Belgic tribe, a short distance beyond the Mosan or Meuse. B 4, c. 9.
Anatrites, or Anatriti, a Dacian tribe, dwelling on the eastern bank of the Tisicrus, now Teiss, in what is now part of Transylvania. Ptolemy (3, 8) says of them, κατῆχουν εἰς τὴν Δακίαν, ἀρρητοστάτου μὲν ἄρχοντος ἄνδ ὑπερῶν, "Anartoi.

Ancalities, a British nation, neighbours to the Trinobantes. Horse-ly makes them correspond to the natives of Berkshire, but it is all un-ertainty. B. 5, c. 21.

Andes, a Gallic tribe, whose territory corresponded to part of modern Anjou, or what is now termed the department de la Mayenne. They lived along the northern bank of the Liger or Loire, not far from the mouth of that river. By Tacitus and Pliny they are called Andecavi and Andegavi. Caesar says they were very near the sea, but in this there is a slight inaccuracy, as the Namnetes or Namnetes intervened.

Aquileia, a celebrated city of Italy, in the territory of Venetia, between the Alsa and Natiso, and about seven miles from the sea. It was a very important place, and regarded as the bulwark of Italy on its north-eastern frontier. Even in Caesar's time it was a military post of great consequence; but its most flourishing period was under the empire. In Strabo's day it had become the great emporium of all the trade of Italy with Pannonia and Illyria. It was sacked and razed to the ground by Attila. Eustathius informs us, that the name of this city was derived from the Latin word Aquila, as denoting the legionary standard, the place having been originally a Roman encampment.

Aquitania, one of the three main divisions of Gaul, lying between the Garumna, now Garonne, and the Pyrenees. As it was less than either of the other two divisions of Gaul, Augustus extended it to the Liger, or Loire. The Aquitani, according to Strabo, resembled the Iberi more than the Gauls, and were, in fact, intermingled with numerous tribes from Spain. B. 1, c. 1. - B. 3, c. 20. - Strabo 4, p. 190, Cas.

Arar (-āris), a very slow and smooth-running river of Gaul. It rises near Mons Vobesus, now Mont Vosge, and, after a southern course, falls into the Rhôneus or Rhone. The modern name is Sâone. The city of Lugdunum, now Lyons, stands near the junction of the two rivers. B. 1, c. 12.

Arduenna (Silva), a forest of Gaul, the longest in the country, now Ardenne. It reached, according to Caesar, from the Rhine and the territories of the Treviri, to those of the Nervii, being upward of fifty miles in length. Others, however, make the extent much longer. If it covered the whole intervening space between the countries of the Treviri and Nervii, it would greatly exceed fifty miles. The original Gallic name would seem to have been Ar Denn, i. e., "the profound" or "deep" (forest). Ar is the article, while Denn in the Kynric, Don in the Bas-Breton, and Domhainn in Gaelic, denote respectively, "profound," "thick." B. 5, c. 3. - B. 6, c. 29. - Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois, vol. ii., p. 41.


Armorica, or Aremorica, a Celtic term, applied in strictness to all parts of Gaul lying along the ocean. In Caesar, however, the appella- tion is confined merely to the tract of country which corresponds to Normandy and Brittany. The name is derived from the Celtic, Ar Moer, i. e., Am Mur, "on the sea." B. 2, c. 34. - B. 3, c. 7, 9, 17, 29. - B 7 c. 4. - Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois, vol. i., p. 39.
Arvernii, a powerful people of Gallia Celtica, whose territories lay between the sources of the Elaver, or Allier, and the Duranian, or Dor-dogne. Their district is now Auvergne. The capital city was Augustonometum, now Clermont, at least after the time of Caesar. The Arvernii enjoyed a high reputation for valour and national strength when Caesar came into Gaul. One of their cities, Gergovia, resisted all his efforts to make himself master of it, in the war with Vercingetorix. B. 1, c. 31, 45, &c.

Atrebates, a people of Gallia Belgica, enjoying a high reputation for valour. Their territory lay in a southeast direction from that of the Morini, and to the southwest of that of the Nervii, answering to the modern Artois, or the department du Pas de Calais. Their chief city was Nemecatum, now Arras, or, as the Flemings call it, Atrecht. B. 2, c. 4.—B. 4, c. 21.—B. 7, c. 75.

A U L I A T I C I. Vid. Aquatici.

Aulerci, under this appellation were comprehended four different nations in Gaul. 1. Aulerci Brannovices, clients of the Aedui, whose territory lay between the latter people and the Segusiani, and answered, according to D'Anville, to the modern Brionnais. 2. Aulerci Cenomanni, lying off to the northwest from the former, above the Andes and Turones, and west of the Carnutes. Their country answered to the modern department de la Sarthe. Their chief city was Sunindum, afterward Cenomani, now Mans. 3. Aulerci Étuvonvices, sometimes called incorrectly Eburovices, lying to the northwest of the Carnutes, along the west bank of the Sequana or Seine, below Lutetia, the modern Paris. Their chief town was Mediolanum, afterward Étuvonvices, now Evreux; or, more correctly, le vieil Evreux, a village between Evreux and Passy sur Eure. They occupied that part of Normandy which is now the department de l'Eure. 4. Aulerci Diablintes, lying to the northwest of the Cenomanni. Their capital was Neodinum, afterward Diablintes, now Jableins.

Auscii, a people of Aquitania, to the northwest of the Volcae Tectosages. Their capital city was Climberris, afterward Augusta, at a still later period Ausci, and now Ausch. It stood on the left bank of the Ger, one of the southern branches of the Garonne. B. G. 3, 27.

Aixona, a river of Gaul, in the territory of the Remi, now the Aisne. It runs in a southwest direction, joins the Isāra, now Isère, and falls, together with it, into the Sequana, or Seine. B. 2, c. 5, 9.

Bačënis, a large forest of Germany, corresponding to the western portion of the Thuringian Forest, and forming part of the Hercynia Silva, or Black Forest. It extended between the rivers Fulda and Verra, on the right bank of which last dwelt the Cherusei, as far as the Allea, which flows into the Visargis, or Weser. According to Eccard, it was called, at a later day, Bocconia or Buchonia. B. 6, c. 10.

Baleares, a name anciently applied to the islands of Majorca and Minorca, off the coast of Spain. The word is derived from the Greek bálλειν, "to strike," and referred to the skill of the inhabitants in the use of the sling. The island of Ebusus, now Ibiza, is erroneously regarded by many as belonging to the Baleares; it rather formed one of the group called Pityusae. B. 2, c. 7.
Batavorum Insula, so called from its being bounded on two sides by the northern and southern branches of the Rhine, and on the third by the sea. It corresponds at the present day to a part of the Duchy of Gueldres and a large portion of southern Holland. B. 4, c. 10.

Belgæ, a people originally of German extraction, and forming the third great division of Gaul. Their country was bounded, on the east and north by the Rhine, on the south by the Marne and Seine (Matrona and Sequana), and on the west by the English Channel. The Belgæ enjoyed a very high reputation for valour, which Caesar attributes to their frequent collisions with the German nations on their northern and eastern frontiers. Thierry derives their name from the Kymric Belgiaidd, the radical of which is Belg, "warlike." B. 1, c. 1, seq.

Belgica, the country occupied by the Belgæ in Gaul, the extent of which, in Caesar's time, is given under the previous article. In the new division of Gallia made by Augustus, whose object was to render the provinces more equal in size, the countries of the Helvetii, Lingones, and Sequani, which, till that time, were included' in Gallia Celtica, were added to the nations of Gallia Belgica.


Bellovaci, a powerful nation of the Belgæ, to the north of the Parisii. Their capital was Caesaromagus, afterward Bellovaci, now Beauvais. B. 2, c. 4, 13.—B. 7, c. 59, 75.

Bibracte (-is), the capital of the Aedui, afterward called Augustodunum, now Autun. Some writers dissent from this opinion, and make Bibracte to have been near the modern Beaufray, and others again in favour of Pébrac. Both of these locations, however, are erroneous. Consult Lemaire, Index Geogr. ad Cas. Op. p. 208.

Bibrax (-acis), a town of the Remi, eight Roman miles from the Axona or Aisne. Some make it correspond to the modern Bray, others to Braisne. D'Anville, however, correctly decides in favour of Bièvre. B. 2, c. 6.

Bibroci, a nation of Britain, who inhabited what now forms the northwestern part of Berkshire. Their chief town was Bibracte, now Bray. B. 4, c. 21.

Bigerriones, or Bigerrones, a people of Aquitania, at the foot of the Pyrenees, to the west of the Convenae. Their country corresponded to the modern Bigorre, in the department des haute-Pyrénées. B. 3, c. 27.

Bituriges, the name of two nations in Gaul, the Bituriges Cubi, and Bituriges Vivisci. The former were situate to the west of the Aedui, in Gallia Celtica. Their chief city was Avaricum, afterward Bituriges, now Bourges, and their territory corresponded to a part of the modern Berry and Bourbonnais, department du Cher et de l'Indre. The Bituriges Vivisci were situate near the mouth of the Garumna, their capital being Burdigala, now Bordeaux.

Bota, a name given to the territory occupied by the Boii, in Gaul. B 7, c. 14. Consult note 1, p. 47.

Boii, a people of Gallia Celtica, to the west and southwest of the Aedui, along the banks of the Liger and Elaver. These, however, were not the primitive settlements of the nation, but those which they obtained from the Aedui, after the defeat of the Helvetii (with whom they had
united their forces) by the Romans. (B. 1, c. 5, 25.) The Boii appear to have passed at a very early period into Germany, and to have settled along the Danube. A part of them afterward penetrated into what was called, from them, Bohemia (Boierheim, i.e., residence of the Boii), and another part moved in a western direction, and united with the Helvetii, as already stated. The Boii who settled in Boierheim or Bohemia were afterward expelled by the Marcomanni, and retired into other seas, called, in like manner, Boetaria, corrupted into Bavaria, and now Bavaria. (Manner, Geogr. vol. ii., p. 189. Compare vol. iii., p. 473, seq.)


d. Bravispanium, a town of the Bellovacii, the site of which is placed by D'Anville at Geatzenche, a village between Breteuil and Montdidier. B. 2, c. 13.


d. Britannia, the island of Great Britain. Little was known to the Romans of this island until the invasion of Caesar. This commander endeavored, although ineffectually, to reduce it. After a long interval, Ostorius, in the reign of Claudius, subjugated the southern part; and Agricola, subsequently, in the reign of Domitian, extended the Roman dominion to the Firth of Forth and Clyde. The whole force of the empire, although exerted to the utmost under Severus, could not, however, reduce to subjection the hardy natives of the highlands. Britain continued a Roman province until A.D. 426, when the troops were in a great measure withdrawn, to assist Valentinian III. against the Huns, and never returned. The Britons had become so encraved under the Roman yoke, as to be unable to repel the incursions of the inhabitants of the north. They invoked, therefore, the aid of the Saxons, by whom they were themselves subjugated, and compelled at last to take refuge among the mountains of Wales.


C.


d. Carilimon, a town of the Aedui, on the Arar, now Châlons, on the Saône. It appears to have been a place of great trade, and many Roman merchants were settled there. B. 7, c. 42, 90.

d. Cadurei, a people in the lower part of Gaul, to the west of the Ruteni and Arverni. Their capital was Divona, afterward Cadurei, now Cahors. B. 7, c. 4, 64, 75.

d. Ceræsi, a people of Gallia Belgica, between the Treviri and the river Mosa, or Meuse, who, with the Condruisi, Eburones, and Pæmâni, went under the general appellation of Germans. D'Anville finds a trace of their name in the little river Cheers, between Monson and Sedan. B. 2, c. 4.

d. Caledes, a people of Gallica Celtica. They are mentioned by Caesar along with the Osismi, Rhedones, Ambibani, &c., and are therefore thought to have occupied part of the modern Brittany (Bretagne). B. 7, c. 75.

d. Cantirbesi, a warlike people of Spain, inhabiting the northern part, along the shores of the Sinus Cantabricus, or Bay of Biscay. Their country answered to the modern Biscay and part of Asturias. B. 3, c. 26.

d. Cantium, a part of England, now Kent. Compare the German Kante, "a corner"
Carcaso, now Carcasonne, a city of the Volcae Tectosages, on the Roman province. It was situated on the river Atax, or Aude, and by inland in a western direction from Narbo Martius or Narbonne. B. 3, c. 20. Ptolemy writes the name Ῥαρκασων, while Pliny and others give Carcasso.

Carnutes, a nation of Gaul, between the Sequana and Liger, and to the west of the Parisii, Senones, and Aureliani. Although occupying a very extensive tract of country, they were nevertheless clients of the Reini. Their territory was the principal seat of the Druids, who held here their courts for the administration of justice, on which account it was regarded as a kind of centre for Gaul. B. 2, c. 35.—B. 5, c. 25, 29, 54, &c.

Cassi, a people of Britain, whose territory, according to Cambden, answered to the modern hundred of Caishow. B. 5, c. 21.

Catulges, a Gallic tribe dwelling among the Cottian Alps. Their chief town was Caturigomagus, now Charges. B. 1, c. 10. Consult Le Maire, Ind. Geogr. Æd. Cis. Op. p. 228, seq.

Cebruna Mons, a chain of mountains, now called the Ccevennes, commencing in the country of the Volcae Tectosages, and running on through the territories of the Ruteni, Gabali, and Helvii. It unites finally with the chain of Jura, which comes in from the northeast. B. 7, c. 8, 56.

Celte, the most powerful and indigenous of the three great nations which occupied Gaul. (Vid. Gallia.) It is commonly supposed, that they called themselves Gail or Gael, out of which appellation the Greeks formed their Kάτα, and the Romans Galli. Some, however, deduce the name from the Gaelic "ceilt," an inhabitant of the forest. (Thierry, Hist. des Gaulois, vol. i., p. 29.)

Cenimagni, a people of Britain, whose chief town was Venta, now Castle, near Norwich. They were the same with the Iceni, though on Horsely's map of Britain they are made to occupy merely the southern part of the territory of that people. B. 5, c. 22.

Cenomanni, one of the tribes of the Aulerci. Vid. Aulerci.

Centrones, a Gallic nation, dwelling among the Graian Alps, to the north of the Catulges. Their territory answered, according to D'Anville, to the modern Tarentaise. The village of Centron still marks the site of their chief city. B. 1, c. 10.

Cetriones, a people of Gallia Belgica, clients of the Nervii, whose chief city was Centor, now Courtray. B. 5, c. 39.

Cerusci, a people of Germany, between the Weser and the Elbe, southeast of the Chauci. Under the conduct of Arminius, they defeated and slew three Roman legions commanded by Varus, in the Saltus Teutobergiensis, or Bishoping of Paderborn. This event happened in the reign of Augustus, A.D. 10. They were afterward defeated by Germanicus. B. 6, c. 9.

Cimbris, a German nation, who, in conjunction with the Teutones, invaded Italy with a numerous army, and horde, and were defeated by Marcus and Catulus. Their original seats are thought to have been the Cimbric Chersonese, or modern Jutland. B. 1, c. 33.—B. 2, c. 29, &c.

Cisalpina Gallia, or Gaul this side of the Alps, so called with reference to Rome, and forming, in fact, the northern part of Italy. It extended from the foot of the Alps to the rivers Rubicon and Macris. Vid. Gallia.

Comosates, a people of Aquitania, lying along the coast of the Sinus
Cantabricus, below the Bituriges Vivisci. Their chief city was Coccis, on the coast, some distance above Aquae Augustae, the modern Acqua or Dax. B. 3, c. 27.

Condrusi, a people of Gallia Belgica, on the Mosa or Meuse, to the north of the Treviri and Pannani. B. 2, c. 4.

Confluentes, i.e., Mosel et Rhini, the confluence of the Meuse and Rhine, or, in other words, the point where the Meuse joins the Waal, which latter river branches out from the Rhine. B. 4, c. 15.

Confluentes, a name applied to the junction of the Moselle and Rhine, at a place where now stands the modern Coblenz.

Curiololites, an Armoric nation in Gaul, north of the Veneti and northwest of the Redones. They occupied part of the modern district of St. Malo, or, in other words, the country between Dinant and Lamballe in Brittany. B. 2, c. 34.

D.

Daci, the inhabitants of Daessia, a country corresponding to the modern Wallachia, Transylvania, Moldavia, and that part of Hungary which lies to the east of the Tibiscus, or Teiss. B. 6, c. 25.

Danubius, the largest river in Europe, except the Rha, or Wolga. It rises in the Black Forest (according to the ancients, in the chain of Mons Abnoba), and flows into the Euxine Sea, after a course of 1620 miles. The Danube receives sixty navigable rivers, and 120 smaller streams. The ancients gave the name of Ister to the eastern part of this river, after its junction with the Savus or Saare. B. 6, c. 24.

Decetia, a city of the Aedui, on the Liger, to the southwest of Augustodunum. It corresponds to the modern Decize, in the department de la Nièvre. B. 7, c. 33.

Diablentes, a nation of the Aulerici. Vid. Aulerici.

Dubis, a river of Gaul, now the Donbs, rising in the chain of Mount Jura, and falling, after a course of sixty leagues, into the Arar or Saône near Cabillonum, the modern Chalon. B. 1, c. 38.

Duocortorum, the capital of the Rhemi, afterward called by the name of that nation, and now Rheims. B. 6, c. 44.

E.

Eburones, a nation of Gallia Belgica, to the southwest of the Ubii. Cæsar mentions them along with some other tribes, as known by the common appellation of Germans. Their territory lay on both sides of the Mosa or Meuse, in what is now the Pays de Liège. They were celebrated for their success, under Ambiorix, against Sabinus and Cotta. Their chief town was Aduatuca. B. 2, c. 4.

Elaver (-eris), now the Allier, a river of Gaul, rising in part of the chain of Cebenna (Mont Lozère), and, after running a northerly course of about seventy-two leagues, falling into the Liger or Loire. B. 2, c. 34.

Eleti Cadurci, a branch of the Cadurci in Aquitania. They are called in many editions Eleutheri Cadurci, but erroneously; since Eleutheri is a term of Greek origin, and, besides, could hardly be applied to a Gallic tribe like the Eleuteti, who, in place of being "free," (Δευθεροι) would seem to have been clients of the Arverni. B. 7, c. 75.
Elusates, a people of Aquitania, to the northwest of the Voecosages. Their chief city was Elusa, now Euse. In more modern days, the seat of government was transferred to Ausci, now Auch, the town of Elusa or Euse having been sacked by the Normans. B. 3, c. 27.

Essui, a people of Gaul, supposed to have been the same with the Saii, and lying to the north of the Diablintes and Cenomani. Their chief city was Saii, now Sezze, on the river Olina or Orne. B. 4, c. 24.

Esusii, a people in the Alpes Maritima, north of the Edenates. They are sometimes called Esubiani. The river Ubaye runs through what was formerly their territory. B. 3, c. 7.

G.

Gabali, a people of Aquitania, below the Arverni, whose clients they were, and between the Ruteni and Vellauni. Their chief city was Andritum, afterward Gabali, now Mende.

Gallia, ancient Gaul, bounded on the west by the Atlantic, and on the north by the Rhenus or Rhine, on the east by the Rhenus and Alps, and on the south by the Pyrenæi Montes and Sinus Gallicus, or Gulf of Lyons. The greatest breadth was 600 English miles, but much diminished towards each extremity, and its length was from 480 to 620 miles. It was, therefore, more extensive than modern France before the revolution. Gaul was divided, in Caesar's time, between the Celta, Belgæ, and Aquitani, the former occupying the central parts, the Belgæ the northern near the Rhenus, and the Aquitani the southern near Spain. Besides these there was what the Romans called their Province (Provincia) in the southern part of the country, on either side of the Rhenus. Vid. Provincia. Augustus, however, holding a general assembly of the states of Gaul, B.C. 27, made a new division of the country, in which he showed more attention to equality in the extent of provinces, than to any distinction of the several people that inhabited them. Thus the Aquitani, who were before limited to the Gardine, were made to communicate their name to a province which encroached upon the Celta, as far as the mouth of the Loire, and that which the Celta had contiguous to the Rhine was taken into the limits of a province called Belgica. Lugdunum (Lyons), a colony founded after the death of Julius Caesar, and before the triumvirate, gave the name of Lugdunensis to what remained of Celtic Gaul; while the Roman province took that of Narbonensis, from the city of Narbo, now Narbonne, on the lower coast. Out of these four great divisions were formed in a later age seventeen provinces.

Garites, a people of Aquitania, between the Elusates and Ausci, in part of Gascony, or the more modern department du Gers. B. 3, c. 27.

Garumna, now the Garonne, a river of Gaul, rising in the valley of Arran, among the Pyrenees, and falling into the Oceanus Cantabricus, or Bay of Biscay. Its length is about two hundred and fifty miles. After its junction with the Dordogne (Duranins) below Bordeaux (Burdigala), it assumes the name of Gironde. The Garonne is navigable to Tolosa or Toulouse, and communicates with the Mediterranean by means of the canal of Louis the Fourteenth. B. 1, c. 1.

Garumni, a Gallic tribe, near the head waters of the Garumna, and
north of the Convenae, in the modern department of a Haute-Garonne. 

Geirdeni, or, according to D'Anville, Gorduni, a people of Belgie Gaul, on the seacoast, above the Morini. B. 5, c. 39.

Genaeum, the chief city of the Aureliani, called subsequently after the name of that people, and now Orleans. It was situate on the Liger or Loire, which ran through it.

Genova, a town at the western extremity of the Lacus Lemanaus or Lake of Geneva, and on the southern bank of the Rhodanus or Rhone. The modern name is Geneva; or Genfi, as the Germans call it. B. 1, c. 6, 7.

Gergovia, the capital of the Arverni, a place remarkable for its strength, and the only Gallic city the siege of which Caesar was compelled to raise. It was situate in the immediate vicinity of the spot where now stands the modern Clermont, or ancient Augustonemetum. It is incorrect, however, to make Gergovia identical with the latter place. Consult Le Mair, Ind. Geogr. ad Cas. Op. p. 260, seq.

Gergovia (Bororum), a town of the Boii, supposed to be the same with the modern Moulins, in the Bourbonnais. B. 7, c. 9. The MSS. vary as to the form of the name, some giving Cortona, others Gorgobina.

Germania, a general name among the Romans for the nations dwelling beyond the Rhine. The Tungri first assumed this appellation, on crossing that river. It was afterward applied to the other Germanic tribes, as they successively appeared in Gaul, until, at last, it became a name for all the natives of Germany. The appellation is derived from 'war,' "war," and "man," "a man," denoting brave or warlike men; and the initial G takes the place of W, the latter not occurring in the Roman alphabet.

Germania, a large country of Europe, bounded on the south by the Danube, on the east by the Vistula, on the north by the Sims Codanus or Baltic Sea, and on the west by the German Ocean. The inhabitants were called Germani by the Romans, but their true name was Teutones. B. 6, c. 21, seq.

Gordeni, more correctly Geiduni, which see.

Graiocelli, or Garocelli, a Gallic tribe, between the Caturiges and Centrones, and the farthest nation of Hither Gaul, being just on the frontiers of Transalpine Gaul. Their chief town was Oceluin, now Ussel, in Piedmont. B. 1, c. 10.

Gruidi, a Belgic tribe, clients of the Nervii, whose territory lay between the Scaldis (Scheldt) and Ocean. Traces of their name remain in the modern land van Groede (district of Groede) above l'Ecluse, to the north. B. 5, c. 39.

H.

Harudes, a German tribe, in the vicinity of the Marcomanni, between the Rhine and the head waters of the Danube. Their territory was in the quarter where are now the cities of Rothweil and Frustenboerg.

Helvetii, a Gallic tribe, whose country was bounded on the north by the Rhenus (Rhine) and Lacus Brigantium (Lake of Constance), which separated it from Vindelicia and Rhetia; on the south by the Rhodanus (Rhone) and Lacus Lemanus (Lake of Geneva), which divided it from the Roman province; on the east by a branch of the Rhidian
Alps, and on the west by Mount Jura. Their territory, therefore, was of less extent than modern Switzerland. B. 1, c. 2, 3, seq.

Hercynia (Silva), a very extensive forest of Germany, the breadth of which, according to Cæsar, was nine days' journey, while its length exceeded sixty. It extended from the territories of the Helvetii, Nemo-
tes, and Rauraci, along the Danube to the country of the Daci and Anartiæ. Then, turning to the north, it spread over many large tracts of land, and is said to have contained many animals unknown in other countries, of which Cæsar describes two or three kinds. But few ves-
tiges of this ancient forest remain in modern times, and those include the Black Forest, which separates Alsace from Suabia; the Steyger in Franconia; the Spissard on the Mayn; the Thuringer in Thuringia; the Hessewald in the Duchy of Cleves; the Bohemerewald which encom-
passes Bohemia, and was in the middle ages called Hercynia Silva; and the Hartz Forest in Lünenberg. The name Hercynia is supposed to come from the German word hartz, "resin," which still remains in the name of the present Hartz Forest. B. 6, c. 24.

Hibernia, Ireland, a large island in the Mare Atlanticum (Atlantic Ocean). It is washed on the east by Oceanus Virginius (St. George's Channel), which separates it from Britannia; on the north by Mare Hi-
bergicum (Irish Sea), and on all other parts by the Atlantic. Cæsar's account of this island is extremely brief, consisting of very little more than the mention of its name and the circumstance of its lying to the west of Britain. The appellation Hibernia appears to have been pronounced by those from whom the Romans received it, as if written 'Ioweria,' whence Ierne, another ancient name for the island, would seem to have been formed. The modern name Erin is regarded by some as the primitive Erse root.

Hispania, a country of Europe, in the southwestern part of that con-
tinent, and forming a kind of peninsula. The name is supposed to be derived from the Phænician sapian, "a rabbit," the early Phænician colonists having found vast numbers of those animals there. Hence, on a medal of Hadrian, Spain is represented by the figure of a female, with a rabbit at her side. The whole peninsula was divided by the Romans into Hither and Farther Spain, or Ulterior and Ulterior. The for-
er was also called Tarraconensis, from Tarraco, its capital, the modern Tarragona, and extended from the foot of the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Durius, now Dovero, on the Atlantic shore, comprehending all the north of Spain, together with the south as far as a line drawn below Carthago Nova or Carthagena, and continued in an oblique direction to Salamanca or Salamanca. Farther Spain was divided into two provinces, Bética and Lusitania. The former was situated between the Anas or Guadaira, and Tarraconensis; while Lusitania corresponded in a great degree, though not entirely, to modern Portugal, being less in extent from north to south, but stretching farther inland to the east.

Illyricum, a country bordering on the Adriatic, opposite Italy. The name of Illyrians, however, appears to have been common to the numer-
ous tribes, which were anciently in possession of the countries situate to the west of Macedonia, and which extended along the coast of the
Adriatic, from the confines of Istria and Italy to the borders of Epirus. Still farther north, and more inland, we find them occupying the great valleys of the Saure and Draxe, which were only terminated by the junction of those streams with the Danube. This large tract of country, under the Roman emperors, constituted the provinces of Illyricum and Pannonia. B. 2, c. 35.—B. 3, c. 7.—B. 5, c. 1, &c.

**Insula Batavorum.** Vid. Batavorum Insula.

**Italia, Italy,** a large and well-known country of Europe. It was bounded on the south by the Mediterranean; on the southwest by the Mare Inferum or Tyrrenenum, also a part of the Mediterranean; on the north by the Alps; and on the northeast by the Mare Adriaticum, called also Mare Superum, and now Gulf of Venice. The main divisions of this peninsula, in the time of Cæsar, were Cisalpine Gaul in the north, extending to the rivers Rubicon and Macris; Magna Graecia in the south, comprising the provinces of Campania, Apulia, Messapia, Locania, and Bruttorum Ager; and Italia Propria, between Magna Graecia and Cisalpine Gaul. Augustus extended the name of Italy to the foot of the Alps.

**Itius Portus,** a harbour in the country of the Morini in Gaul, answering, according to D'Anville, to the modern Vitseaud or Vissaut. Cæsar set out from this place when he sailed the second time for Britain.

**J.**

**Jura, Mons,** a chain of mountains, extending from the Rhodanus or Rhonc, to the Rhenus or Rhine, and separating Helvetia from the country of the Sequani. The name is said to be in Celtic, Jou-rag, and to signify, "the domain of God." The most elevated parts of the chain are the Dole, 5082 feet above the level of the sea; Mont Tendre, 5170; and the Reculet (the summit of the Thoiry), 5196. B. 1, c. 2, 6, 8.

**J.**

**Latobrigi,** a people of whom little certain is known. They appear to have been neighbours of the Helvetii, Rauraci, and Tulingi, and occupied, most probably, what corresponds to the modern Klettgau.

**Lemanis Portus,** now Lymne, a harbour of Britain, a little below Dubris or Dover, where Cæsar is thought to have landed on his first expedition to that island. B. 4, c. 23.

**Lemanus Lacus,** now the Lake of Geneva, a beautiful lake between the territories of the Helvetii and Allobroges. It is of a crescent form, the concave side being uppermost, and forty-five miles long. Its greatest breadth is about twelve miles. The Rhone traverses this lake throughout its whole length. B. 1, c. 2, 8.—B. 3, c. 1.

**Lemonea,** the chief city of the Pictones or Pietāvi, now Poitiers.

**Lemovices,** a Gallic tribe between the Garumna and Liger, and west of the Arverni. Their capital was Augustoritum, afterward Lemovices, now Limoges, in the department de la Haute Vienne. A nation likewise called Lemovices, are mentioned by Cæsar (7, 75) as forming part of the gentes Armoricae. Either, therefore, there was more than one tribe of this name in Gaul, or for Lemovices in the passage just quoted we must read Leonives.
LEPONTII, a Gallic tribe, dwelling near the sources of the Rhone among the Lepontine Alps. The Lepontine Alps separated Italy from the Helvetii, and the Lepontii inhabited that part of them which lies between the Great St. Bernard and St. Gotard. B. 4, c. 9.

LEUCI, a nation of Belgic Gaul, north of the Lingones and Sequani, and separated from the Rhine by the Tribocii and Rauraci. Their country answered to the present departments of La Meuse and La Meurthe. B. 1, c. 40.

LEVACI, a nation of Belgic Gaul, on the river Scaldis, and northwest of the Nervii, lying between them and the Grudii. Their territory now forms part of Louvaine. B. 5, c. 39.

LEXOVII, a nation of Celtic Gaul, on the coast, below the mouth of the Sequana. Their capital was Noviomagus, afterward called Lexovii, now Lausanne. B. 3, c. 9, 17.—B. 7, c. 75.

LIGER (=ėris), or Ligeris (=is), now the Loire, the largest river in Gaul. It rises in Mount Cebonna, now Cevennes, and for the one half of its course runs directly north, then turns to the west, and falls into the Atlantic between the territories of the Pictones and Namnetes. The Liger receives numerous tributaries, the most remarkable of which are the Elaver or Allier, Carus or Cher, Andria or Indre, and Vincenna or Vienne. B. 4, c. 9.—B. 7, c. 55, &c.

LINGONES, a people of Celtic Gaul, north of the Aedui, and having the Sequana on the east and Senones on the west. The rivers Mossa, Sequana, and Matrona arose in their territories. Their chief city was Andomadunum, afterward Lingones, now Langres. B. 1, c. 26, 40.—B. 4, c. 10, &c.

LUTETIA, the capital of the Parisii, on an island in the Sequana, now Paris. The city began to increase in importance under the first French kings, and was extended to the two banks of the river, the island being connected with them by bridges. B. 6, c. 3.—B. 7, c. 57, 58.

M.

MAGETOBRIA, a city of Gaul, near which Ariovistus defeated the combined forces of the Gauls. It is supposed to correspond to the modern Moigie de Broe, near the village of Pontailler. Consult Explanatory Notes, page 27, note 8.

MANDUBII, a tribe of Celtic Gaul, clients of the Aedui, and situate in the northern part of their territory, on the borders of the Lingones. Their chief city was Alesia, now Alsace. Their territory answers to that part of the former Duchy of Burgundy once called l'Auxois, now the department of la Côte d'or. B. 7, c. 68, 71, 78.

MARCOMANNI, a nation of Germany, in the southeastern part of the country. Their territories were bounded on the west by the Rhine, on the south by the Danube, and on the north by the Mauritius, or Mayn. In the time of Augustus they removed from this quarter, in order to escape the Roman yoke, and wrested from the Boii the country which had been called from them Boierheim (or Bohemia), now Bohemia. (Vid. Boii.) The name Marcomanii denotes "border men." B. 1, c. 51.

MATISCO, one of the more important cities of the Aedui, and a place of considerable trade. According to the Notitia R. I. it was famed for its manufacture of arrows. It is now Mâcon, in the department de Saône-et-Loire. B. 7, c. 90.
MATRÔNA, t. e. Marne, a river of Gaul, which formed part of the ancient boundary between Gallia Belgica and Celtica. It rose in the territory of the Lingones, near Andosadunum or Langres, and emptied into the Sequana or Seine, a little above Lutetia or Paris. Its course is about ninety-two leagues. B 1, c. 1.

Mediomatriciæ, a people of Belgie Gaul, between the Treviri to the north, and the Lunci to the south. Their chief town was Divodurum, afterward Mediomatricus, now Metz. They were regarded as one of the most powerful of the Belgie tribes. Their territory answers now to what is called le pays Messin. B 4, c. 10.—B 7, c. 75.

MELDI, a Gallic tribe, northeast of the Parisii. Their chief town answers to the modern Meaux. B 5, c. 5.

MELDÉNUNUM, a town of the Senones, now Autun, on an island in the Sequana or Seine, in a southeastern direction from Paris. B 7, c. 58, 60.

MENAPH, a nation of Belgie Gaul, in the vicinity of the lower Rhine, and occupying, according to Casar, possessions on both sides of that river. The Toxandri were their neighbours to the south. Their fortress, called Castellum Menaporum, answers to the modern Kessels, on the Meuse. B 2, c. 4.—B 3, c. 9.—B 4, c. 4, 22, &c.

METHOSÉNUNUM, a town a short distance above Lutetia or Paris, and answering to the modern Josay. Consult note 5, page 171. B 7, c. 61.

MONA. There were two islands of this name. One was between Britain and Hibernia, and is now the Isle of Man. Of this Caesar speaks (B 5, c. 13). The other is mentioned by Tacitus (Ann. 14, 29.—Vit. Agric. 14), and corresponds to the modern Anglesey. This latter island was remarkable as being one of the principal seats of the Druids.

MORINI, a tribe of Belgie Gaul, whose country lay along the coast, opposite Cantiurn or Kent. Their chief city was Ternianna, now Therouanne, and their territory answered to the modern Boulongnais (department du Pas-de-Calais), to part of the county of Artons (department du Nord), and a portion of Flanders along the sea. B 2, c. 4.—B 3, c. 9, &c.

MOEA, the Meuse or Marse, a river of Gaul, rising among the Lingones, a little to the west of Mount Vogesus, and falling into the Vabans or Waal. Its course is about 160 leagues. B 4, c. 10.

N.

NAMNETES, or Nannetes, a people of Celtic Gaul, on the northern bank of the Liger, near its mouth. Their chief city was Condivium, afterward Nannetes, now Nantes, in the department de la Loire Inferieure. B 3, c. 9.

NANTUACES, a Gallic tribe, whose territory lay south of the Lacus Leumonis or Lake of Geneva, in that part of the Alps now called Chablais and le bas de la Vallée. B 3, c. 1, 7.—B 4, c. 10.

NARBON, now Narbonne, the capital of the Roman province, in the territory of the Volcâ. Tectosages, near the seacoast, and on the river Atax or Au
e. It became, by means of this stream, a seaport and place of great trade. Narbo was one of the oldest cities of the land, and had an extensive commerce long before the Romans established themselves in this quarter. Its favourable situation caused that people to send a celo-
Nemès, a German tribe, along the western bank of the Rhine, between the Vangiones to the north and the Tribocci to the south. Their territory corresponds to part of the Grand Duchy of Baden. Their principal city was Noviomagus or Spires. B. 1, c. 51.

Nerii, a powerful and warlike people, in Belgic Gaul, whose territory lay to the northeast of that of the Atrebates. The river Scaldis or Scheldt passed through a part of their country. The value of the Nerii is fully attested by the account which Caesar gives of them. They were of German origin. Their chief city was Bagacum, now Baray, which appears to have fallen about the end of the fourth century, and to have been supplanted by Cameracum, now Cambray, and Tournay, now Tournay. B. 2, c. 4, 17, 28, 29.—B. 5, c. 24, &c.

Nittoritges, a Gallic tribe, southwest of the Cadurci. Their territory lay on either side of the Garumna or Garonne, corresponding to the modern Agennais, in the department de Lot et de Garonne, and their chief town was Aginnum, now Agen. B. 7, c. 7, 31, 46, 75.

Norêa, a city of Noricum, the capital of the Taurisci, near the modern village of Neumarkt, in the province of Stiria. B. 1, c. 5. (Maunder, Geogr. vol. iii., p. 646.)

Noricum, an extensive country, bounded on the north by the Danube, on the west by the Oenus or Inn, on the south by Italy, and on the east by Pannonia. It corresponded, therefore, to Suèzbourg, Carinthia, and parts of Austria and Stiria. It was famous for its mines of iron. Noricum was first conquered by the Romans in the reign of Augustus. Tiberius led the expedition. B. 1, c. 5.

Noviodûnum. There were three cities of this name in Gaul. I. Noviodumum Aedrorum, a city of the Aedui, on the banks of the Liger, now Nevers. (B. 7, c. 55.) II. Noviodumum Suessionum, a city of the Suessiones, now Soissons. (B. 2, c. 12.) III. Noviodunum Biturigum, a city of the Bituriges, now Neury-sur-Baranjon. (B. 7, c. 12.)

O.

Océum, a city among the Cottian Alps, now Usseau, in Piedmont B. 1, c. 10.

Octodûrus, the chief city of the Veragri, among the Pennine Alps, now Martigny, in the Valais. B. 3, c. 1.

Orcynia, a name given by the Greek writers to the Hercynian forest. Osismii, a people of Gallic Celtica, in the westernmost extremity of the country, forming one of the Gentes Armoricae. Their territory corresponds to a part of modern Brittany, and their chief city was Vorganiun, afterward Osismii, now Korbez. In their country was Brivates Portus, now Brest. B. 2, c. 34.—B. 3, c. 9, &c.

P.

Pâris, or Po, the largest river in Italy, anciently called also Eridanus. It rises in Mons Vesulus, now Monte Viso, near the sources of
the Druentia or Durance, runs in an easterly direction for more than 500 miles, and discharges its waters into the Adriatic, about thirty miles south of Portus Venetus, the modern Venice. B. 5, c. 24.

Pæmæni, a people of Belgic Gaul, about whom all other writers except Caesar are silent. Their territory lay on the eastern side of the river Mosa or Meuse, and corresponds to a part of the modern district of Liege. B. 2, c. 4.

Parisii, a Gallic tribe, north of the Carnutes and Senones. Their chief city was Lutetia, afterward Parisii, now Paris. B. 6, c. 3.—B. 7, c. 4, &c.

Petrocorii, a Gallic tribe, east of the mouth of the Garumna. Their chief city was Vesuna, afterward Petrocorii, now Perigeuz, the capital of Perigord. B. 7, c. 75.

Pictões, a Gallic tribe, below the mouth and along the southern bank of the Liger or Loire. Their chief city was Limonum, afterward Pictones, now Pontiers, in the department de la Vienne. B. 2, c. 2.

Pirusæ, a people of Dalmatia, in Illyricum, on the confines of Panonia. They appear to be the same with the Pyræi of Pliny. (H. N. 3, 22.)

Pleumoxii, a people of Belgic Gaul, northeast of the Atrebates, and whose territory lay in the vicinity of Turnacum or Tournay. B. 5, c. 39.

Provincia Romana, the first Roman province formed in Gaul. It extended from the Pyrenees to the Alps along the coast, and was bounded on the east by the Alps, on the west by the chain of Mount Cebenna, now Cevennes, and on the north, where it narrowed off, by the Ambani, Sequani, and Helvetii. This tract of country was at first called simply Provincia, afterward Gallia Braccata, from the bracæ worn by the inhabitants, and finally Gallia Narbonensis. The bracæ were a species of striped under garment covering the thigh. Celtic Gaul, for distinction sake from Gallia Braccata, was sometimes called Gallia Comata, from the long hair worn by its inhabitants. The more modern Provence corresponded to only a part of the ancient Provincia. The following departments answer to the latter in its full extent: the départements des Pyrénées orientales, de l'Arriège, de l'Ande, de la Haute Garonne, du Tarn, de l'Hérault, du Gard, de Vaucluse, des Bouches du Rhône, du Var, des Basses Alpes, des Hautes Alpes, de la Drôme, de l'Isère, de l'Ain.

Pyrenæi Montes, a well-known range of mountains, separating Gallia from Hispania. The whole chain is about 294 miles in length. The name is derived from the Celtic Pyren or Pyrn, "a high mountain," from which may also be deduced the name of Mount Brenner in the Tyrol.

R.

Rauraci, a Gallic tribe, above the Helvetii, and between the Sequani and the Rhine. Their chief town was Rauriacum, afterward called Augusta Rauracorum, and now Augst, a small village near Basle. B. 1 c. 5, 29.—B. 5, c. 75.—B. 6, c. 25.

Remi, a powerful nation of Gallia Belgica, to the southwest of the Treveri. Their chief town was Durocortorum, afterward Remi, now Rheims. B. 2, c. 3.—B. 5, c. 54, &c.

Rhenus, a celebrated river of Europe, rising in the Lepontine Alps,
a little to the east of Mount St. Gothard, in the country of the Grisons. It passes, in its course, through Lacus Brigantinus or the Lake of Constance, and afterward through Lacus Acronius or the Lake of Zell, and continues to run nearly west until it reaches Basilia or Basle. Here it takes a northern direction, and becomes the boundary between Gallia and Germania, and afterward between the latter and Belgium. At Sehent or Schenken Schans, the Rhenus sends off its left-hand branch, the Vahalís or Waal, which flows west, and joins the Mosa or Meuse. After parting with the Vahalís, the Rhenus flows on a few miles farther to the north, and then divides into two streams, of which the one to the right hand had the name of Flovo, or Flevus, or Flevum, now the Yssel, and the other that of Helium, now the Lech. The latter joins the Mosa above the spot where now stands Rotterdam. The Yssel was originally unconnected with the Rhine, but was joined to it by the canal of Drusus. Before it reached the sea, it traversed a small lake called Flevo, which by the increase of waters it received through the Yssel from the Rhine, became in time expanded, and now forms the Zuyder Zee. The whole course of the Rhine is 900 miles, of which 630 are navigable, from Basle to the sea. B. 4, c. 10, 16, 17.—B. 6, c. 9, &c.

Rhodanis, now the Rhone, a large and rapid river of Europe, rising among the Lepontine Alps, not more than two leagues south of the sources of the Rhine. It passes through the Lake Lemanus, now Lake of Geneva, and, after flowing with a very swift current in a southern direction, empties into the Sinus Gallicus or Gulf of Lyons. Its whole course is about 400 miles.

Ruteni, a people of Gaul, to the northwest of the Volcae Arecomici, and occupying the district now called Le Rouergue. Their capital was Segodunum, afterward denominated Ruteni, and now Rhodes. Part of the Ruteni were in the Roman province, and part without in Celtic Gaul. The capital of the provincial Ruteni was, strictly speaking, Albiga, now Albâ. B. 1, c. 45.—B. 7, c. 7, &c.

S.

Sabis, now the Sambre, a river of Belgic Gaul, rising among the Nervii, and joining the Mosa in the territory of the Adiatici. B. 1, c. 45.—B. 7, c. 7, 64, 75.

Samarobriva, a city of Gallica Belgica, in the territory of the Ambiani, and on the southern bank of the river Samara or Somme. It was afterward called Ambianum, and is now Amiens. B. 5, c. 24, 45, 51.

Santones, a people of Gallia Celtica, whose territory lay between the Pictones on the north, and the mouth of the Garumna on the south. Their chief town was Mediolanum, afterward called Santones, now Saintes. B. 1, c. 10, 11.—B. 3, c. 11.

Scaldis, now the Scheldt or Escaut, a river of Belgic Gaul, rising about fifteen miles south of Camaracum, now Cambrai, and falling into the German sea near the modern island of Walcheren. Its whole course does not exceed 120 miles. B. 6, c. 33.

Seduni, a nation of Gaul, to the southeast of the Lacus Lemanus, and occupying the upper part of the Vallis Pennins or Valais. Their chief town was Civitas Sedunorum, now Sion. B. 3, c. 1, 2.

Sedusii, a German tribe, on the western bank of the upper Rhine, near the Tribocci, Vangiones, and Nemetes. B. 1, c. 51.
SEGNI, a people of Gallica Belgica, in the vicinity of the Condres. The modern Ciry or Cuney is thought to indicate the site of their ancient capital. B. 6, c. 32.

SEGONTIAE, a people of Britain, the situation of whose territory is not exactly known. Horseby places them in the northern part of the territory of the Belgae, below the Atrebati. Some suppose them to have been a colony from Saguntum in Spain; but this is extremely visionary. B. 5, c. 21.

SEGUSSIANI, a people of Gallia Celtica, to the south of the Aedui, and in whose territory lay the city of Lugdunum, now Lyons. D’Anville makes Lugdunum to have been a place of Roman origin (Geogr. Anc. vol. i., p. 66). Others, however, with more probability, regard it as having been at first one of the towns of the Segusiani. The chief town of this Gallic tribe was Forum Segusianorum, now Feurs. B. 1, c. 10.

SEGONES, a powerful and warlike nation of Gallia Celtica, to the northwest of the Aedui. In the time of Cæsar, however, they had lost a portion of their former strength and influence, and were a kind of clients to the Aedui, though they had still many other tribes in clientship to themselves. Their chief city was Agendicum, afterward called Senones, now Sens. B. 5, c. 54.—B. 6, c. 3.

SEQUANA, a river of Gaul, rising in the extreme northern part of the territory of the Aedui, and, after a course of about 250 miles, falling into the Oceanum Britannicum or English Channel. B. 1, c. 1, &c.

SEQUANI, a people of Gallia Celtica, not of Belgica as Prolemay states. Their country was bounded on the east by Mount Jura, which separated it from the Helvetii; on the north by Mount Vossegus; on the west by the country of the Aedui and Lingones; and on the south by the Ambiani and Allobroges. The Sequani are well known in the history of Gaul, as having called in the aid of Ariovistus against their victorious rivals the Aedui. After the defeat of the latter by the German leader, the Sequani themselves felt severely the power of the conqueror. Cæsar’s arrival in Gaul, however, put a stop to this state of things, and the Aedui regained, through his means, their former ascendency. The chief town of the Sequani was Vesontio, now Besançon. B. 1, c. 9, &c.

SESUVI, one of the Armorine states in Gaul. Their particular situation is unknown. Vid. Armorica.

SIBUSIATES, a people of Aquitania, the situation of whose territory is not exactly agreed upon. Some make it to have extended along the river Art or Adour, not far from the borders of Hispania, and think that the town of Sabusse, between Dax and Bayonne, marks the site of their ancient capital. Others, however, assign them a position a little below the Bituriges Vivisci, near what is called at the present day Tête de Bach, in the department de la Gironde. The former of these opinions is the more probable. B. 3, c. 27.

SIGAMBRI, a German nation, in Cæsar’s time dwelling near the Rhine, but whose earlier settlements would appear to have been farther inland. They crossed the Rhine, when intelligence was brought them that the territory of the Eburones was given up to plunder, and came very near surprising the camp of Q. Cicero. B. 6, c. 25, &c.

SOTIATES, a people of Aquitania, lying below the Nitribiges, and along the lower banks of the Garumna or Garonne. Their chief town was Sotiatum, now Sus. B. 3, c. 20.

SUSSIONES, a people of Galia Belgica lying to the southwest of the
Remi. Their capital, in Caesar's time, was Noviodunum, afterward called Augusta Suessionum, and also Suessiones, now Soissons. We have given the penultimate of the name as short; it is found, however, in Greek with both quantities; Σουςσίωνες and Σουςσίωνες. B. 2, c. 1, &c.

Suevi, a powerful nation of Germany, consisting of many tribes, and inhabiting the eastern section of the country, from the Danube to the confines Codanus or Baltic. Traces of the ancient name still remain in that of the modern Swabia. B. 4, c. 1.

T.

Tamesis, the Thames. Caesar is supposed to have crossed this river at Cænae Stakes, seven or eight miles above Kingston. Horsley, however, thinks that he forded it near that town. B. 5, c. 11.

Tarbelli, a people of Aquitania, lying along the Atlantic coast, below the Cocosates, and extending to the Pyrenees. Their chief city was Aquae Augustae, now Aqqs or Dax. B. 3, c. 27.

Tarusates, a people of Aquitania, east of the Tarbelli, and north of the Aquitani. The modern town of Tursa, or Teursan, retains traces of the ancient name. B. 3, c. 27.


Tenchthéri, a German nation, who, in conjunction with the Usipetes, crossed the Rhine and drove out the Menapii from the settlements occupied by the latter. They were defeated by Caesar, and the remainder of their force was compelled to seek protection among the Sigambri. B. 4, c. 1, &c.


Tolosa, a city of Aquitania, in the territory of the Tolosates, now Toulouse. The situation of the place, on the northern bank of the Garumna, was very favourable for trade, and under the Romans it became the centre of the traffic which was carried on between the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts of this part of Gaul. At a later period, Tolosa became the capital of the Visigords. B. 3, c. 20, &c.

Treviri, a nation of Gallia Belgica, northeast of the Remi, and between the Mosa and the Rheims. Their chief city was Augusta Trevirorum, now Trèves. B. 1, c. 37, &c.

Trinovantes, a people of German origin, who crossed the Rhine, and, according to D’Anville, established themselves between this river and Mons Vossegus. Their capital was not Argentoratum (Strasburg), though this city was within their territory, but Brocomagus, now Brumt. B. 1, c. 51, &c.

Trinobantes, a nation of Britain, inhabiting what are now the counties of Essex and Middlesex. B. 5, c. 20.

Tulingi, a German tribe, whose territories lay to the north of the Helvetii, and on the other side of the Rhine. The modern Stuhlingen marks the site of their ancient capital. B. 1, c. 5, &c.

Turones, a powerful nation of Gallia Celtica, whose territory lay to the northeast of the Pictones, and along the banks of the Liger or Loire. Their capital was Cæsarodunum, afterward called Turones, now Tours. B 2, c. 35.
U

Ubii, a German nation, dwelling along the eastern banks of the Rhine. During the reign of Augustus, they were removed by Agrippa to the opposite or left bank, in Gaul. At a subsequent period, Agrippina, the mother of Nero, established a colony of veterans in their territory, called from her Colonia Agrippina, now Cologne. B. 1, c. 54, &c.

Unelli, a people of Gallia Celtica, forming one of the Armoric states, and lying to the northwest of what is now called Normandy. Their territory was bounded on three sides by the sea, and off the coast lay the islands of Casarea, now Jersey; Sarnia, now Guernsey; and Reduna, now Alderney. Their chief town was Coriellum, now Gourl. B. 2, c. 34, &c.

Uspiétés, a German tribe. Vid. Tenchtheri.

V.

Vahális, the left branch of the Rhenus, now the Waad. It joins the Mosa or Meuse, at the island of Voorn, and falls into the German Sea. B. 4, c. 10.

Vangiones, a people of Gallia Belgica, on the western bank of the Rhine, above the Nemetas. They were of German origin. Their chief town was Borbomagus, now Worms. B. 1, c. 51.

Velauni, a small tribe of Gallia Celtica, called also Vellavi. whose territory lay to the northwest of that of the Helvii, and at the sources of the Liger or Loire. Their chief city was Revessio, afterward called Vellavi, now Saint-Paulthien; and not le Puy, as D'Anville maintains. B. 7, c. 75.

Velocasses, less correctly called Bellocassi, a nation of Belgic Gaul, whose territories lay to the northwest of the Parisii. Their chief town was Rotomagus, now Rouen. B. 2, c. 4.

Veneti, a nation of Gallia Celtica, in the western extremity, above the Namnetes and mouth of the Liger, and bordering on the Atlantic. They were the most powerful among the Armoric states, and were conspicuous for their skill in navigation, and strong naval force. Their chief town was Dariorigum, afterward called Veneti, now Vannes. B. 2, c. 34, &c.

Vergri, a tribe who lived above the Nantuates, in the middle of the Pennine Valley, which they inhabited along with the Seduni. Their chief city was Octodurus, now Martigni, as the French term it, or, as it is called by the Germans, Martenach. B. 3, c. 1.

Veromandúi, a people of Gallia Belgica, to the northwest of the Remi. Their capital was Augusta Veromandorum, now St. Quentin, on the Samara or Somme. They were of German origin. B. 2, c. 4.

Versontio, the chief town of the Sequani, now Besançon. B. 1, c 33, &c.

Vienna, now Vienna, the chief city of the Allobroges, on the eastern bank of the Rhodanus or Rhone, and about thirteen miles to the south of Lugdunum or Lyons. B 7, c. 9.

Vocates, a people of Aquitania, whose particular situation is not clearly known. D'Anville thinks that by Vocates are meant, in fact, the Vasates, whose territory lay along the lower bank of the Garunna,
About ninety miles from the mouth of that river, and whose capital was Cossio, afterward called Vasates, now *Bazas*. B. 3, c. 27.

*Vosconti*, a tribe in the southern part of Gaul, lying to the east of the Rhone, and separated from it by the Segalauni. They were about 100 miles from the mouth of the river. Their chief town was Dea, now *Die*. B. 1, c. 10.

*Vosègus*, less correctly Vogèus, a branch of Mount Jura, stretching forth in a northern direction as far as the country of the Treviri, and sending out branches through the territories of the Sequani, Lingones, Leuci, and Mediotrici. It contains the sources of the *Arar* or *Saone*, the *Mosa* or *Meuse*, and the *Mosella* or *Moselle*. The modern name of the range is *La Vosge* or *Les Vosges*, but, besides this, different parts bear different appellations. B. 4, c. 10.

*Volcae*, a numerous and powerful nation of southern Gaul, divided into two great branches, the Arcomici and Tectosages. I. The *Volcae Arcomici* occupied the southwestern angle of the Roman province in Gaul, and had for their chief city Nemausus, now *Nismes*. II. The *Volcae Tectosages* lay without the Roman province, in a southwest direction from the Arcomici. Their capital was Tolosa, now *Toulouse*. The nation of the Volcae would appear from their name to have been of German origin. Compare the German *volk*, "people," &c., whence comes the English "folk." The true Roman pronunciation of *Volcae* was *Volka*. B. 7, c. 74, &c.
ARCHÆOLOGICAL INDEX.

A.

ACTUARÌÆ (scil. navæs), ships contrived for lightness and expedition, and having but one bank of oars on each side, or, at farthest, two. They were of various kinds, and called by various names, such as celoces, lembi, phæseli, &c. The most remarkable, however, were the navæs Liburnæ, a kind of light galley used by the Liburnians, a people of Dalmatia. To ships of this kind Augustus was in a great measure indebted for his victory at Actium.

AESTIVA (scil. castra), a summer encampment, as opposed to Hiberna (scil. castra) or winter-quarters. They were sometimes styled Aestivalia.

AETAS MILITARIS, the period during which every Roman citizen was compelled to perform military duty, unless otherwise exempted. It began with the seventeenth year, and terminated at the close of the forty-fifth. (Aul. Gell. 10, 28.)

AGGER, the military name for the mound erected in besieging places. It was composed of earth, wood, and hurdles, and stone, and was gradually advanced towards the town, always increasing in height until it equalled or overtopped the walls. On it were erected towers of several stories, from which darts and stones were discharged against the defenders of the place by means of engines.

ALA, the wing of an army. Alæ, in the plural, is frequently applied to the allied forces, both cavalry and infantry, as distinguished from the cavalry and infantry of the legions.

ALARI, a name applied to the allied cavalry and infantry, from their fighting on the wings (in alis). Vid. Alæ.

AMENTUM, a leathern strap, or thong, used for hurling a javelin, and fastened to the middle. Occasionally the javelin was drawn back by means of it, after having been hurled against the foe, but this was only in close quarters.

ANTESIGNANI, a name given to the soldiers who fought before the standards, or in the first line, as those who were stationed behind the standards were called Postsignani or Subsignani.

AQUILA, the eagle, or main standard of the Roman legion, was a representation of that bird in silver or gold, more commonly the former, and holding a thunderbolt in its claws, with the figure of a small chapel above the wings, that were extended as if in flight.

ARIES, or battering-ram, one of the most formidable of the Roman machines of war. It was a long beam, like the mast of a ship, and armed at one end with iron in the form of a ram’s head, whence it had its name. It was suspended by the middle with ropes or chains, fast-
ened to a beam that lay across two posts; and, hanging thus equally balanced, it was oy a hundred men, more or less (who were frequently changed), violently thrust forward, drawn back, and again pushed forward, until, by repeated blows, it had shaken and battered down the wall with its iron head.

Auxilia, the troops sent by foreign kings and states. They usually received both pay and clothing from the republic, although they sometimes were supported by those who sent them.

B.

Balista, a species of military engine for discharging darts, arrows, and stones. They were of different sizes, and consequently produced more or less effect. Some were used in battles, and might be called field-pieces; others were employed in sieges, which was the use most commonly made of them. There was another kind of engine, used for similar purposes, and called a catapulta. The balista, however, must have been the heavier of the two, and the more difficult to carry, because there was always a greater number of catapultae in the ancient armies. According to some, the balista discharged heavy stones and ponderous javelins, but the catapultae lighter missiles. Some of the balista threw stones of three hundred weight upward of a hundred and twenty-five paces. The stones from the balista, according to Josephus, beat down battlements, and broke the angles of towers, nor was there any phalanx so deep, but one of these missiles could sweep a whole file of it from one end to the other. Folard, in his commentary on Polybius, says, their force was very nearly equal to that of our artillery.

Buccina, a wind-instrument, similar to our horn, and commonly used by the Romans when changing the watches. Hence it is sometimes used for the watch itself; as, ad tertiam buccinam, for ad tertiam vigiliam.

C.

Calendae, the name given by the Romans to the first day of the month. It is more commonly written Kalendae, which see.

Calones, the servants or attendants of the soldiers. According to Festus, they derived their name from the circumstance of their carrying wooden sticks or clubs, "Calones militum servi dixi, quod ligneas clavas gerebant, nam Greci ligna sola vocant." These "lignae clara" would appear, however, from a remark of Servius (ad Virg. AEn. 6, 1), to have been the same with the valli or stakes, which the Roman soldiers usually bore, as a part of their ordinary load, but which the calones carried when their masters were advancing to battle. The calones were occasionally found to make good fighting men, when matters had come to extremities. (Pitisc. Lex. Ant. s. v. p. 331, vol. i.)

Castra, a camp. The wood-cut which faces the next page will give a good idea of its shape and divisions. The discipline of the Romans was chiefly conspicuous in their marches and encampments. They never passed a night, even in the longest marches, without pitching a camp, and fortifying it with a rampart and ditch. The form of the Roman camp was square, and was always of the same figure. In later ages, however, they sometimes, in imitation of the Greeks, made it circular, or adapted
ROMAN CONSULAR CAMP ACCORDING TO POLYBIUS
it to the nature of the ground. It was surrounded by a ditch, usually nine
feet deep and twelve feet broad, and by a rampart or vallum, composed of
the earth dug from the ditch, and having sharp stakes stuck into it. The
camp had four gates, one on each side. They were called porta Prae-
toria, next the enemy; Decumana, opposite to the former; porta Prin-
cipalis Dextra, on the right side of the camp, at one end of the main
street called Principia; and Principalis Sinistra, on the left side, at
the other end. The camp was divided into two parts, called the upper and
lower, by the main street just mentioned. In the lower part the troops
were disposed in the following order. The cavalry were in the middle;
on both sides of them were the triaun, principes, and hastati, or the
third, second, and first Roman ranks; and next to these, on both sides,
were the cavalry and foot of the allies, who were always posted in separate
places, lest they should form any plots by being united. The velites
commonly occupied the empty space between the ramparts and tents,
which was 200 feet broad. The tents were covered with leather or
skins, extended by means of ropes. In each tent were usually ten sol-
diers, with their decanus or petty officer who commanded them. The
different divisions of the troops were separated by intervals called Viz.
Of these there were five longwise, i.e., running from the decuman to-
wards the pratorian side; and three across, one in the lower part of the
camp, called quintana, and two in the upper, namely, the principia, and
another between the pratorium and the pratorian gate. The following
illustration of the accompanying wood-cut will render our meaning
 clearer.
1. Ground on which stood the Praetorium, or general's tent, with a
sufficient space around for the tents of his suite.
2. Ground behind the tents of the Tribunes, for their horses, bag
gage, &c.
3. Ground on which the tents of the Tribunes were pitched.
4. Ground behind the tents of the Prefects of the Allies, for their
norses, baggage, &c.
5. Ground on which the tents of the Prefects of the Allies were
pitched.
6. A cross street, one hundred feet wide, called Principia. (Vid.
Principia.)
7. A cross street, fifty feet wide, on both sides of which were the
tents of the Roman horse.
8. The Horse of two Roman legions, in ten turme or troops each.
9. The Triarii of two Roman legions (Vid. Triarii), in ten manipes
each, facing on two different streets.
10. Two streets, each fifty feet wide, between the Triarii and Prin-
cipes of two legions.
11. The Principes of two Roman legions (Vid. Principes), in ten
manipes each.
12. The Hastati of two Roman legions (Vid. Hastati), in ten mani-
plies each.
13. Two streets, each fifty feet wide, between the Hastati of the two
Roman legions and the Horse of the Allies.
14. The Horse of the Allies, wanting the Extraordinarii (Vid. No.
25), and placed in two different parts of the camp. The forces of the
allies, both cavalry and infantry, were always separated in this manner
to prevent plotting, as we have already remarked.
15 The Infantry of the Allies, wanting the Extraordinarii, and, like the horse, placed in two different parts of the camp.

16. The Quintana (scil. via), a street fifty feet wide, running across the camp, between the fifth and sixth maniples of each line. Hence, as it comes after the fifth maniple, reckoned from the Principia, it received the name of Quintana.

17. The Quaestorium, or Quaestor's tent.

18. The tents of the Legati. The space in front of these and the Quaestorium was called the Forum, where things were sold, &c.

19. Esecati Equites, or Veteran Horse. (Vid. Evocati.)

20. Evocati Pedites, or Veteran Foot.

21. Ablecti Equites (Vid. No. 25), or Horse of the Consular life-guards

22. Ablecti Pedites, or Foot of the Consular life-guards.

23. A cross street, one hundred feet wide.


25. Extraordinarii Equites. A third part of the allied horse, and a fifth part of the allied foot, were selected, and posted near the consul under the name of Extraordinarii, and one troop of horse, and maniple of foot, called Ablecti, or Selecti, to serve as his life-guard.


27. Quarters for strangers coming to the camp.

28. A space two hundred feet broad, between the outermost tents and the rampart.

29. Rampart, or Vallum.

30. Ditch, usually nine feet deep and twelve feet broad.

31. Porta Principalis Dextra.

32. Porta Principalis Sinistra.

33. Porta Decumana (i. e., Decimana), so called because all the tens of the maniples end here.

34. Porta Prætoria.

35. A traverse breastwork, with a ditch, opposite to, and protecting, each of the gates.

Catapulta, a military engine for discharging stones, arrows, and other missiles. Vid. Ballista.

Centurio, the commander of a century, or body of troops, which consisted, when full, of 100 men, but was generally under this amount. There were two centurions in each maniple, called by the same name, but distinguished by the title prior, "former," and posterior, "latter," because the one was chosen and ranked before the other. The centurion of the first century of the first maniple of the triarius was called centurio primi pilus, or primoplus, or primus pilus. He presided over all the other centurions, and had the charge of the eagle, or chief standard of the legion, whereby he obtained both profit and dignity, being ranked among the equites. He had also a place in the council of war, with the consul and tribunes. There were altogether sixty centurions in a legion, and, consequently, there was a wide field for promotion, from being the lowest centurion of the tenth maniple of the hastati, to the rank of primus pilus.

Clapeus, a round shield of inferior size to the scutum. The latter was of an oblong shape, four feet long and two feet and a half broad, made of wood joined together with little plates of iron, and the whole
covered with a bull’s hide. The scutum had also an iron boss (umbo) jutting out in the middle, which the clupeus wanted.

Cohors, a division of the Roman legion, of which it contained ten. When the legion was full, i.e., 6000 men, each cohort contained, of course, 600; but, generally speaking, the number was below this. Each legion then was divided into ten cohorts, each cohort into three maniples, and each maniple into two centuries.—Cohors Pretoria, Vid Pretoria.

Consul, the official title of the two chief magistrates of the Roman state. In the latter years of the republic, they were elected at the end of July or beginning of August, and were installed into office on the first day of January. None could be elected to this office under forty-three years of age, but this regulation was often disregarded.

D.

Decurio, a commander of horse. Each turma, or troop of thirty horse, had three decuriones, or commanders of ten, but he who was first elected commanded the troop, and was called dux turmae. Each decurio had an optio or deputy under him.

Delectus, a levy of soldiers. A day was previously appointed, on which all those who were of the military age (from seventeen to forty-six) were ordered to be present at the capitol. On the day fixed, the consuls, seated in their curule chairs, held a levy, by the assistance of the military or legionary tribunes, unless hindered by the tribunes of the commons. It was determined by lot in what order the tribes should be called. The consuls ordered such as they pleased to be cited out of each tribe, and every one was obliged to answer to his name under a severe penalty. They were careful to choose those first, who had what were thought lucky names, as Valerius, Salvinus, Statorius, &c. The names were written down on tables; hence scribere milites, to enlist, to levy or raise soldiers.

E.

Equites. There were usually 300 cavalry joined to each legion, called justus equitatus, or ala. They were divided into ten turmae, or troops of thirty each, and each turma into three decuriae, or bodies of ten men.

Evocati, veteran soldiers, who had served out their time, but were induced again to enlist, or, in other words, were invited so to do. They were exempted from all the drudgery of military service, such as procuring wood, water, forage, standing guard, &c.

Excubium. These were watches either by day or by night. On the other hand, vigilia denoted only watches by night, of which there were four, each three hours long.

Exercitus. A consular army consisted of two Roman legions with the due number of cavalry, and two legions of the allies together with the allied cavalry; making, in all, 20,000 men; in the time of Polybius, however, 18,600.

F.

Funditores, slingers obtained from the Balearic Islands, Achaia, Crete, Arabia, &c. The best were the Balcarians, or inhabitants of Ma-
porca and Minorca, who were trained up in this exercise from early boy-
hood. The slings of the fundatores discharged their stones with so
much force, that neither buckler nor headpiece could sometimes resist
their impetuosity. Instead of stones, the slings were sometimes charged
with leaden balls like our bullets, which they carried to a much greater
distance than stones.

G.

Gala#a, a helmet. This defensive piece of armour was of brass or
iron and came down to the shoulders, but left the face uncovered.
Hence, the command of Caesar at the battle of Pharsalia, which in a
great measure determined the fortune of the day: Faciem feri miles,
"Soldier, strike the face." Pompey's cavalry, being chiefly composed
of young men of rank, were as much afraid of having their visages dis-
figured as of death.

Gladius, a sword. The Roman sword was short, straight, heavy,
cut and thrust, and worn on the right side, so as not to interfere, in
drawing, with the shield. The long sword of the cavalry, which was
also curved, was worn on the left.

Gradus, the military pace. This the soldiers were trained with great
care to observe, and were, therefore, when encamped, led out thrice a
month, sometimes ten, sometimes twenty miles, as the general felt in-
clined. They usually marched at the rate of twenty miles in five hours;
sometimes, with a quickened pace, twenty-four miles in that time.

H.

Hastatí, the name given to the first rank of the Roman legion. Vid
Legio.

Hiberna, winter-quarters. The winter-quarters of the Romans were
strongly fortified, and furnished, particularly under the emperors, with
every accommodation like a city, as storehouses (armaria), workshops
(fabrica), an infirmary (raetudinarium), &c. Hence from them many
towns in Europe are supposed to have had their origin; in England par-
ticularly, those whose names end in easter or chester.

I.

Idus, the Ides of the month, falling in March, May, July, and Octo-
ber on the fifteenth; and in the other months on the thirteenth. Vid.
Kalendae.

Impedimenta. Baggage. The heavier baggage of the Roman armies,
such as the tents, mills, &c., were carried on beasts of burden, for wag-
ons were rarely used, as being more cumbersome. Everything else
formed part of the load of the Roman soldier himself, which amounted
to sixty pounds weight, exclusive of his armour. Under this load they
commonly marched twenty miles a day, sometimes more. The articles
borne in this way by the private soldier were as follows: provisions for
fifteen days, sometimes more, usually corn, as being lighter, sometimes
dressed food, utensils, a saw, a basket, a mattock, an axe, a reaper's
hook and leathern thong, a chain, a pot, &c., stakes, usually three or four,
sometimes twelve.

Jugum, a yoke. Two pieces of wood were set upright, and another
was placed across them at the top, so that the whole figure resembled that of the Greek capital II. Sometimes spears were employed instead of pieces of wood. Under this species of frame the conquered army were compelled to pass, after having previously laid down their arms.

Jumenta (Sarcinaria), beasts of burden, employed for carrying the heavier baggage. *Vid. Impedimenta.*

Justus Equitatus, the complement of Roman cavalry attached to a legion, amounting to 300 in number, but not including the allied horse.

Juvenes. Men were called Juvenes among the Romans, especially the poets, as long as they were able to assist the state, or, in other words, from seventeen to forty-six, which were the limits of the military age.

K.

Kalendæ. The name given to the first day of the Roman month, and derived from the old Latin verb kaló, -are, "to call" (compare the Greek καλέω, -ô), because a priest then called out to the people that it was new moon. The other divisions were the nones and ides. The nones were so termed, because, counting inclusively, there were nine days between them and the ides; and these last derived their name from the circumstance of their nearly dividing the month (from the old verb iduo, -are, "to divide"). In March, May, July, and October, the nones fell on the seventh, and the ides on the fifteenth. In the other months, the nones fell on the fifth, and the ides on the thirteenth. The Romans, in marking the days of the month, counted backward. Thus, they called the last day of December pridie kalendas, or pridie kalendarum Januarii; marked briefly prid. kal. Jan.; and the day before that, or the thirtieth of December, tertio kal. Jan.; for it must be borne in mind, that, in reckoning, they always included both the day to which, and the one from which, they counted, and therefore, in the case just cited, did not say secundo, but tertio. The following Calendar will make the whole subject clearer.
A TABLE OF THE KALENDS, NONES, AND IDES.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Days of the Month</th>
<th>April, June, September, and November</th>
<th>January, August, and December</th>
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In leap-year, both the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth days of February were marked sexto Kalendas Marti, or Martias, and hence this year is called Bissextilis, because the sixth day before the Kalends of March was reckoned twice. The student will observe that in such expression as sexto Kalendas there is an elliptis of die ante.

I.

LECTISTERNIUM. Vid SUPPLICATIO.

LEGATUS, a lieutenant-general. The consul appointed these legati, and their number depended on the importance of the war. They must not be confounded, however, with the legati Cesaris. These last were
governors appointed by the emperors over those provinces that were placed under the immediate superintendence of the monarch.

Legio, a legion. The number of men differed at different times. The earliest legion, as established by Romulus, is said to have contained 3000 men, with a complement of 300 horse. In the time of M. Valerius Publicola, we find the numbers of the legion increased to 4000 men, but the amount of cavalry still the same. During the war with Hannibal, 1000 infantry and 100 cavalry were added, so that the legion then amounted to 5000 infantry and 400 horse. This change, however, was not by any means a fixed one, since, according to Polybius, the number frequently returned to 4000. Not long after, however, the quota rose to 6200, since we find Scipio carrying over into Africa legions containing 6200 infantry and 300 cavalry. In the time of the emperors, the complement appears to have been 6100 infantry. Caesar’s legions, however, during the Gallic war, would appear to have been comparatively small, since we are informed, in one part of the Commentaries (5, 49), that in two legions there were scarcely 7000 men. In the composition of a legion, there were 10 cohorts, 30 maniples, 60 centuries. In other words, 2 centuries made a maniple, 3 maniples a cohort, 10 cohorts a legion. If the century had contained 100 men, as its name indicated, the whole number in a legion would have been 6000 men; but a century often contained less than 100. The different kinds of infantry which made up the legion were three, the hastati, principes, and triarii. The hastati were so called, because they first fought with long spears, which were afterward laid aside as inconvenient. They consisted of young men, in the flower of life, and formed the first line in battle. The principes were men of middle age, in the vigour of life, and occupied the second line. Anciently they seem to have been posted first, whence their name. The triarii were old soldiers of approved valour, who formed the third line, whence their name. They were also called Pilani, from the pilum or javelin which they used; and the hastati and principes, who stood before them, Antepilani. In the descriptions of Caesar’s battles, however, there is no mention made of the soldiers being divided into hastati, principes, and triarii, but only of a certain number of legions and cohorts, which Caesar generally drew up in three lines.

Littus, a claron, bent a little at the end, like an augur’s staff. It was used for the cavalry. The tuba, on the other hand, was straight, and employed by the infantry. The cornu or horn was bent almost round. The bucina was commonly used for changing the watches.

Loricata. I. A coat of mail, generally made of leather, covered with plates of iron, in the form of scales, or iron rings twisted within one another like chains. II. A battlement, or defence of towers and walls, constructed either of stone or hurdles.

M.


Muscculus, a species of moveable penthouse. It was a small machine, on wheels, shaped like an arched sort of wagon, and was sent in advance of the large towers, that also moved on wheels, to level the way for them, fill up the enemy’s ditch if necessary, clear away rubbish, remove pales, and make a solid road to the very foot of the walls. The Romans
believed that a close alliance subsisted between the whale (balena) and a smaller species of the same tribe, called musculus, and that, when the former became blind, from the enormous weight of its eyelids dropping over and closing up the organ, the latter swam before and guided it from all shallows which might prove injurious to it. Hence this machine was called musculus, as it explored and smoothed the way for the larger engines.

Naves Longæ, vessels of war, so called because they were of a longer shape than vessels of burden. The ships of war were impelled chiefly by oars, the ships of burden by sails. The vessels of war were variously named from their rows or banks of oars. Those which had two rows or tiers of oars were called biremes; three, triremes; four, quadriremes; five, quinquiremes. The Romans scarcely had any ships of more than five banks of oars, and, therefore, those of six or seven banks are called by a Greek name, hexeeres, heptiæres. Great difficulty has always existed among the moderns as to the mode in which the oars were arranged and the rowers sat. The most plausible opinion is that of Howell, a recent writer on "the War Galleys of the Ancients." According to him, the arrangement of the oars in a bireme, trireme, and quinquireme were as follows:

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The rowers are all thus placed midships, on stages or rows of benches one above the other, and ample room is left for an elevated deck for combat at the poop and prow.

Naves Oneraræ, vessels of burden. These were broader and rounder than the naves longæ, or vessels of war. The latter were known by a helmet at the masthead, whereas the ships of burden had a basket suspended there, as their sign, whence they are sometimes called corbile.


O.

Ocreæ, greaves for the legs, to protect the bone in front, sometimes worn only on the right leg, as the left was guarded by the shield. They were commonly made of a species of tin or bronze, for the sake of lightness.

Ordines. Vid. Legio.

P.

Paludamentum, the military robe or cloak of the Roman commander, of a scarlet colour, bordered with purple, sometimes worn also by the chief officers. The signal for battle was often given by elevating the paludamentum upon a spear above the prætorium or general's tent.
Pilani. Vid. Legio.
Pluteus, a species of moveable gallery, on wheels, shaped like an arched sort of wagon, for the protection of archers, who were stationed in it to clear the walls with their arrows, and thus facilitate the approach of storming-parties and the erection of scaling-ladders. The Musculus was a smaller machine of the same description, but employed for a different purpose. Vid. Musculus.

Porta. For an account of the four gates in the Roman camp, vid. Castra.

Præfectus, a name given to the officers who commanded the allies, both horse and foot, and who, in the extent of their commands, resembled the legionary tribunes. Vid. Tribuni. He who commanded the cavalry of a legion was called Præfectus Alæ.

Prætoria Cohors, a select band of troops, forming the general's body-guard; not to be confounded, however, with the prætorian cohort that became so conspicuous for evil in the time of the emperors.

Prætorium, the general's tent and quarters in a Roman encampment. Vid. Castra.

Principes, a name given to the second rank of a legion. Vid. Legio

Principia, a broad avenue or street, separating the Roman camp into two parts, the upper and lower. Here the tribunal of the general was erected, when he either administered justice or harangued the army; here, also, the tribunes held their courts, punishments were inflicted, the principal standards of the army and the altars of the gods stood Vid. Castra.

Q.

Quintana, one of the streets of the Roman camp. Vid. Castra.

R.

Remus. For the arrangements of the banks of oars on board a Roman galley, vid. Naves.

Rostrum, the prow or beak of a ship of war, made of strong timber, armed with brazen plates. These beaks had usually three teeth or points, which were so placed that the blow inflicted by them on the enemy's vessel, would be, to use a modern nautical phrase, nearly between wind and water. From their beaks being shod with brass, these vessels are often called Erate.

S.

Sacramentum, the Roman military oath taken by each soldier. The form does not seem to have been always the same; the substance of the oath, however, was, that they would obey their commander, not desert their standards, &c.

Sagittarii, archers. The Cretans were esteemed excellent archers. We do not find that the Romans used the bow in the earliest times of the republic. They introduced it afterward; but it appears that they had scarcely any archers, except those of the auxiliary troops.

Sagum, the military cloak of the officers and soldiers in the Roman
army. It was an open robe drawn over the other clothes, and fastened with a clasp. When there was a war in Italy all the citizens put on the sagum.

Scorpiones, a series of military engine, which resembled gigantic cross-bows, and threw weighty javelins, large beams of wood headed with iron, and heavy stones. The most powerful of these machines consisted of two distinct beams, inserted each into an upright coil of ropes, tightly twisted in such a way that the ends of the arms could not be drawn towards each other without increasing the tension of the ropes, so as to produce a most violent recoil.


Strigæ, the rows of tents between the different vicinae. Vid. Castra.

Supplicatio, a thanksgiving. When a general had obtained a signal victory, a thanksgiving was decreed by the senate to be made in all the temples, and what was called a Lectisternium then took place. Couches were spread for the gods, as if about to feast, and their images were taken down from their pedestals, and placed upon these couches around the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes.

T.

Tentoria. The Roman tents were covered with leather or skins, extended by means of ropes. Hence, sub pellibus hiemare, "to winter in tents."

Testudo. I. A penthouse moving upon wheels, under which the battering-ram was sometimes brought near to the ramparts, and beneath which it was worked. The name arose from the circumstance of the ram's thrusting its head out, and drawing it in again, as a tortoise from its shell. II. A body of soldiers with their shields locked over their heads, and those of the outer files protecting their sides. Sometimes this form was assumed when troops were attacked on all sides. More commonly, however, it was employed for the purpose of approaching the enemy's ramparts, and scaling them. The name testudo, in this case, is derived from the resemblance which the locked shields bore to the shell or covering of the tortoise.

Triarii, the name given to the Roman veterans, from their occupying the third rank. Vid. Legio.

Triabini (militiam), military tribunes, of whom there were six in each legion, who commanded under the consul, each in his turn, usually month about. In battle a tribune seems to have had charge of ten centuries or about 1000 men.

Threemers, vessels of war, with three banks of oars. Vid. Naves

Turrets, towers used in the Roman military works. There were two kinds, the moveable and fixed. The fixed towers were erected on the agger or mound, and were raised sufficiently high, by means of several stories, &c. as to command the enemy's ramparts. From them were discharged showers of darts, stones, and other missiles, by means of various engines, such as baliste, catapultae, scorpiones, &c. They were also raised along the Roman lines of circumvallation; and at the siege of Alesia Caesar is supposed to have erected 1561. II. The moveable towers were pushed forward and brought back on wheels, fixed below, on the inside of the planks. To prevent them from being set on fire by the enemy, they were covered with raw hides and pieces of coarse cloth,
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termed centones. They were of an immense bulk, sometimes forty or fifty feet square, and higher than the walls or even the towers of the city. Whenever they could be brought up to the walls, a place was seldom able to stand one long.

V.

Vallum, the ramparts of a Roman encampment, composed of the earth dug out from the ditch, and having sharp stakes stuck into it to keep it together. Vid. Castra.

Velites, light-armed troops. They were equipped with bows, slings, seven javelins or spears with slender points like arrows, so that, when thrown, they bent, and could not easily be returned by the enemy; a Spanish sword, having both edge and point; a round buckler (parma) about three feet in diameter, made of wood and covered with leather; and a helmet or casque for the head, generally made of the skin of some wild beast. When the army was drawn up in order of battle, the velites were placed in the spaces or intervals between the maniples, or else on the wings.


Vinea, sheds or mantlets, constructed of wood and hurdles, and covered with earth, or raw hides, or any other material that could not easily be set on fire. They were pushed forward by wheels below. Under them the besiegers either worked the ram or tried to undermine the walls.

THE END.
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**Vigiliae. *Vid. Excubiae.***

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*THE END.*
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Title: Commentaries on the Gallic War... with notes by Charles Anthon.

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