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DE BELLO GALLICO

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CÆSAR'S GALLIC WAR

FOUR BOOKS

*Οὕτω δὲ ὁ θεὸς Καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκεν.*

STRABO iv. 1.

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EDITED BY J. H. AND W. F. ALLEN AND J. B. GREENOUGH

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BOSTON

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## NOTE.

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THIS edition follows, with slight changes of orthography, the text of Nipperdey, the more important various readings being given in the notes. It is believed to be an advantage even to the youngest learner to deal with a standard text, and to know something of those variations which make the reading of an ancient classic differ from that of a modern author. In illustration of the narrative, constant use has been made of the more recent authorities, Mommsen, Long, Merivale, and the "History of Julius Cæsar" by Napoleon III., with the excellent school edition of Moberly. Much care has been taken, with the earlier portion especially, to furnish in the notes a guide to the thorough study of syntactical construction, for which no author is, by general consent, so well adapted as Cæsar.

The present volume contains the first four books of the Gallic War. A second part, when published, will contain the remaining books, with the three of the Civil War.

CAMBRIDGE, July 1, 1874.

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## CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
THE LIFE OF CÆSAR . . . . .	vii
BOOK I.— <i>Helvetian War; Campaign against Ariovistus</i>	I
BOOK II.— <i>The Belgian Confederacy</i> . . . . .	35
BOOK III.— <i>Alpine Campaign; Naval Campaign; Southern Gaul</i> . . . . .	53
BOOK IV.— <i>Campaign against the Germans; First Inva- sion of Britain</i> . . . . .	69
<hr/>	
NOTES . . . . .	I



## THE LIFE OF CÆSAR.

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CÆSAR JULIUS CÆSAR was born, by the common account, July 12, B.C. 100; or, by a probable reckoning, two years earlier.\* When "almost a boy," he was made a priest of Jupiter by Marius, his uncle by marriage. When still a youth of 18 or 20, he boldly refused to divorce his wife Cornelia, daughter of Cinna, and barely escaped the proscription of Sulla, who "saw many a Marius in that young man."

Though of patrician birth, Cæsar was thus early allied with the popular party, which began to make head directly after the dictator's death. He went through the usual course of political honors to which a Roman of the higher ranks felt himself entitled. At the age of 35 (assuming the earlier date) he was Quæstor in Further Spain. Two years later he was Curule Ædile, an office which gave great opportunity to court popular honor, in its charge of public games and exhibitions.† By this time he was recognized as a party leader who would not scruple at the most daring and questionable measures, and was even suspected of having a hand in the schemes of Catiline.

\* The common date rests on the statement of Plutarch, Suetonius, and Appian, that he died at the age of 56. On the other hand: 1. Marius, who died B.C. 86, would hardly have given a priesthood to a child of 13; 2. he received the usual honors, by the common reckoning, each two years earlier than the legal age; 3. certain coins struck by him in B.C. 49 have the date LII., apparently the years of his age.

† In Cæsar's games, "all the equipments, even the cages of the wild beasts, appeared of massive silver; and by a liberality which was all the more princely, that it was based solely on the contraction of debt" (in Latin phrase, "paid by other men's money").

In B.C. 63 he was elected Pontifex Maximus,—that is, official head of the state religion,—in opposition to the leader of the aristocracy, Quintus Catulus. This was an open declaration of war against the governing aristocracy. Cæsar, it is said, refused a large offer made by Catulus to buy him off the course; and when the day of election came said to his mother, who would have kept him out of the struggle, “To-day shall see me *pontifex maximus* or an exile.” The holy office alone could protect him from his creditors.

At this period Cæsar was chiefly known as a dissolute debtor and demagogue. Before leaving for his province, he was obliged to find security to the amount of 800 talents,—more than a million dollars. He is reported to have said, in his reckless way, that he wanted four million sesterces to be worth just nothing at all. But in Further Spain, as *pro-prætor* (B.C. 62), he displayed the civil and military ability which afterwards made him famous, as well as the financial ability which enabled him to pay off his debts in one campaign.

He returned to Rome the following year, and soon formed a political coalition with Pompey and Crassus, his contribution to the common stock being his influence in the political clubs and control of votes. This coalition is sometimes called “the first triumvirate.”\* One part of the bargain was that Cæsar should have the consulship for the next year (B.C. 59), and after that the government of Gaul for five years.† This embraced the three provinces of *Gallia Nar-*

\* The term “triumvirate” means properly a commission or board of three men, invested by law with special powers and functions. This was the case with the triumvirate of Octavianus (Augustus), Antony, and Lepidus; but this earlier one was only a private knot of political aspirants.

† It was a law that both consuls and prætors should have their power (*imperium*) continued for a year after their term of office, and, under the title proconsul or *proprætor*, govern one of the military provinces. If the proconsul was not relieved at the end of the year, his power continued by the necessity of the case. In one

*bonensis, Gallia Cisalpina* (North Italy), and *Illyricum*. Crassus and Pompey received no special authority at first, but remained in the city, ostensibly as private persons, to look after the interests of the coalition. This was further strengthened by the marriage of Pompey with Cæsar's young and beautiful daughter Julia.

After two successful campaigns in Gaul, in the spring of B.C. 56, Cæsar met his two confederates at Luca, in Etruria, to arrange their future schemes. The conference was held with great display, almost like a royal court. More than 200 senators were present, and 120 lictors were in attendance, attached to the several magistrates. At this conference it was agreed that Pompey and Crassus should hold the consulship the following year, and, after their term of office, should receive by popular vote a similar command to that held by Cæsar, — namely, that Pompey should command in Spain and Crassus in Syria for five years each; also that, when Cæsar's five years were up, he should receive in the same way a second term of five years. His ten years' administration would then close at the end of B.C. 49; after which time — an interval of ten years having elapsed — he would be eligible again as consul.

The programme was duly carried out. Crassus departed (B.C. 54) to his province, where he was defeated the next year by the Parthians in the battle of Carrhæ, and shortly after entrapped and killed. Pompey put his province in the hands of one of his subordinates, and remained in the neighborhood of Rome, unwilling to remove from the seat of his personal influence. The death of his wife Julia (B.C. 54) soon sundered the ties which bound him to Cæsar.

instance, that of Pompey, an extraordinary power was conferred upon the proconsul by act of the people (the Manilian Law). Regularly, however, the assignment of provinces was reckoned a part of the administrative powers of the Senate; and a law of Caius Gracchus directed that the consular provinces should be determined before the election, — that is, a year and a half in advance, — and then that the consuls should draw lots which to have.

Jealous from the first, he gradually became openly hostile to him; and at last he found himself leader of the Senate and the aristocracy against his revolutionary schemes.

The remainder of Cæsar's life belongs to the general history of Rome. At the close of the Gallic war, the senatorial party required that he should disband his army. This he refused to do, unless Pompey should make an equal surrender of military force. From these demands grew the charge of false play on each side, until the Civil War broke out (B.C. 49), and Pompey fled to Greece, where he was defeated the following year at Pharsalia. After his death, and the complete destruction of his party, Cæsar returned to Rome; \* where, under the title and authority of Perpetual Dictator, he laid the first foundations of the imperial constitution. His reforms — some of them necessary, some enlightened and wise far beyond the statesmanship of his time — provoked the hate of a fanatic party, who vainly thought to restore the Republic; and on the Ides of March, B.C. 44, he was murdered in the Senate-house, by a conspiracy under the lead of Marcus Brutus.

#### GAUL AND GERMANY.

The district upon whose government Cæsar entered in the spring of B.C. 58 consisted primarily of the two Gallic provinces, Cisalpine and Transalpine. Cisalpine Gaul was the northern portion of Italy, which had been several centuries earlier occupied by invaders from Gaul proper, and which was not yet reckoned as politically a part of Italy: it was a wealthy, populous, and orderly country, the proconsul's main dependence for troops and supplies, and his regular winter residence. Transalpine or Narbonnese Gaul received its name from its capital, the Roman colony Narbo.

\* It is a remarkable illustration of Roman feeling, that, on the day of his triumph, Cæsar, the epicurean rationalist, mounted on his knees the long flight of steps that led up to the Capitol, that by this act of ostentatious humility he might avert those divine judgments supposed to be provoked by inordinate felicity.

It contained some thriving cities and peaceful districts; but it had as a whole been only recently brought under the authority of Rome, and was still essentially a foreign country. It comprised the whole coast of the Mediterranean, from the Pyrenees to the Alps, its northern boundary being an irregular and uncertain line, separating the conquered nations of Gaul from those which were still free. To these two provinces was attached Illyricum, which was a source of strength, but did not receive much of his attention.

The authority of the governor over his province was that of a military commander, who was not amenable to the laws which protected the citizens in Rome. A few privileged cities or nations, as the old Greek city Massilia, and the allied tribe of the Ædui (after they were brought within the limits of the empire), were wholly exempted from his authority; but all other parts of the province, even Roman colonies like Narbo, were liable to tribute, and more or less under the jurisdiction of the governor. Each province had its financial officer, or quæstor, who ranked next the governor himself: the commander was likewise attended by staff-officers, *legati* (usually three in number), appointed by the Senate from persons of rank and position; and by an indefinite number of aids, *contubernales* or *comites*, who composed what was sometimes, but incorrectly, called the prætorian cohort. A consular army consisted regularly of two legions (at this time of from 3,000 to 3,600 men); to these were added auxiliaries, both foot and horse, while the governor had power to levy new legions as he required them. Thus we find that Cæsar had six legions in his campaign against the Nervii.

The free territories adjoining a Roman province were in no respect under the authority of the governor; but they were regarded as a legitimate field for his ambition, and there was no lack of pretexts for war. The Roman policy was to enter into friendly relations with one of the parties or tribes in the free territory, load this with favors and privileges, and make use of it to overcome their rivals; in Gaul the Ædui were the favored nation.

Cæsar's province, at its western extremity, touched Spain, a country which had belonged to the empire for more than 150 years. North of it lay three great nationalities, with all of which he was brought in contact. There were the Gauls, the Germans, and the Britons.

Free Gaul (*Libera Gallia*) consisted of all the unsubdued territory between the Pyrenees on the one side, and the Rhine and the Alps on the other, thus comprising, in general, modern France and Belgium, with parts of Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. The central portion of this territory, fully a half in extent and population, was occupied by Gauls proper, or, as they called themselves, Celts. Southwest of these were the Aquitani, of Iberian race, cognate to the Spanish. Northeast were the Belgians, whose ethnic affinities are much disputed; all that can be considered certain is that they were largely mixed with Germans.

The Gauls were an intellectual and prosperous people, far more civilized than either Germans or Britons. The country, though extensively covered with forests, especially towards the north, was well provided with roads and bridges. The entire population has been reckoned at about seven millions. The people of the Gallic race were tall, fair-complexioned, of restless, sanguine temperament, and addicted to fighting; but skilled in many arts,—some portions in weaving; the Aquitani, especially, in mining and engineering; and the Bretons (*Veneti*) in open-sea navigation, which they followed with stout high-built ships, leather sails, and iron chain-cables. Their dress included trousers and shirts with sleeves; they had a barbaric taste for gaudy ornament; their arms were showy, but clumsy and ineffective beside the tempered weapons of the Romans.

With their culture, however, had come degeneracy in many shapes. They were divided into violently hostile factions, through which they fell an easy prey to the invader. They had numerous flourishing cities; which, however, had no political power, like those of Greece and Italy, but were merely places of residence and trade. Their government

had fallen under the control of an arrogant and luxurious aristocracy, and their religion under a cruel and domineering priesthood. Of the two great factions, into which they were divided, the Ædui were the leaders in one, and they had thought to gain supremacy by entering into alliance with Romans. Their antagonists, the Sequani, had naturally looked in the opposite direction for allies, and found them in the Germans.

The Germans occupied nearly the same territory as at the present day; not so far west as now, but on the other hand extending farther to the east. Less advanced in civilization than the Gauls, they were still far from being savages. They appear to have been just emerging from what is known as the barbarous state,—beginning to acquire fixed habitations, and to cultivate the ground: they had no cities. They had brought with them from their migrations a remarkable political system, based upon an original community of origin, in which the patriarchal organization had already expanded into a multitude of petty nations, grouped into larger combinations of race. Their institutions were thoroughly democratic; they had noble families, but these possessed no political prerogatives; they elected kings, whose power was hardly greater than that of their general magistrates.

“The tribes which descended upon Britain had entered Europe not as a set of savages or wandering pastoral tribes, or mere pirates and warriors, but as colonists, who, rude as they may have been in dress and manners, yet, in essential points, were already a civilized people.” Various considerations, says a recent writer, make it probable “that the Germans had come down from the northeast not very long before the Christian era, and intruded themselves, as a wedge, between those two more anciently recorded nations (Scythians and Celts). . . . We shall see evidence of the continuous advance of a civilized race from the confines of India to these islands, and nothing indicative of a great rush from the North of wild hordes bent upon robbery and destruction, as it has been usually represented to have been. The gradual drying of the Caspian Sea left the interior of Asia more and more barren; the knowledge

of the useful metals facilitated the conquest of the savages of the West; and predatory bands of Huns and Turks, and allied nomadic nations, are likely to have accelerated the movement, by rendering the labors of agriculture less remunerative. Thus the migration, being one that proceeded from constantly acting causes, extended over many centuries. . . .

“In these mere names [of plants and fruits], setting aside all other sources of information, we discover that these people came from their home in the East with a knowledge of letters and the useful metals, and with nearly all the domestic animals; that they cultivated oats, barley, wheat, rye, and beans; built houses of timber, and thatched them; and what is important, as showing that their pasture and arable land was intermixed, and acknowledged as private property, they hedged their fields and fenced their gardens. Cæsar denies this; but the frontier tribes, with whom he was acquainted, were living under certain peculiar Mark laws, and were, in fact, little else than an army on its march. The unquestionably native, and not Latin or Celtic, origin of such names as Beach and Hawthorn, of Oats and Wheat, prove that although our ancestry may have been indebted to the provincials of the empire for their fruit-trees, and some other luxuries, for a knowledge of the fine arts, and the Latin literature, and a debased Christianity, the more essential acquirements, upon which their prosperity and progress as a nation depended, were already in their possession.” — PRIOR, *Popular Names of British Plants*. Introd. 1863.

The Britons were, like the Gauls, of Celtic race, and resembled them in every respect, except that, being further from the civilized world, they were ruder, freer, and more warlike.

It was the destiny of Julius Cæsar to bring the great Gallic people into the system of civilization and government represented by Rome: it was a definite and large extension of the bounds of civilized society. From him, too, we have the earliest authentic accounts of the other two nationalities, the Germans and the Britons.

#### THE CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL.

The campaigns of Cæsar in Gaul lasted through eight seasons (B.C. 58–51), and are told in eight books, — the last

written by Hirtius, an officer of Cæsar,—each book containing the operations of a single year. The following is a brief outline:—

I. Cæsar checks the attempt of the Helvetians to colonize in Western Gaul, and forces them, after a bloody defeat, to return to their own territory. He then engages with a powerful tribe of Germans, who had made a military settlement in Eastern Gaul, and drives them, with their chief Ariovistus, beyond the Rhine.

II. A formidable confederacy of the northern populations of Gaul is suppressed, with the almost complete extermination of the bravest Belgian tribe, the Nervii, in a battle which seems to have been one of the most desperate of all Cæsar ever fought. In this campaign, the coast towns of the west and northwest (Brittany) are reduced to submission.

III. After a brief conflict with the mountaineers of the Alps, who attacked the Roman armies on their march, the chief operations are the conquest of the coast tribes of Brittany (Veneti, etc.), in a warfare of curious naval engineering in the shallow tide-water inlets and among the rocky shores. During the season, the tribes of the south-west (Aquitani), a mining population, allied to the Iberians or Basques, are reduced by one of Cæsar's officers.

IV. An attack from the Germans on northern Gaul is repulsed; and Cæsar follows them, by a bridge of timber hastily built, across the Rhine. Returning, he crosses to Britain in the early autumn, for a visit of exploration.

V. The partial conquest of Britain (second invasion) is followed by various movements in northern Gaul, in which the desperate condition of the Roman garrisons is relieved by the prudent and brave conduct of Labienus and Quintus Cicero.

VI. Cæsar makes a brief expedition across the Rhine, against the Germans. Some general disturbances are quelled, and northern Gaul is reduced to peace.

VII. Vercingetorix, a brave and high-spirited chief of southern Gaul, effects a confederacy of the whole country, which is at length subdued. Vercingetorix, in brilliant equipment, surrenders himself, to secure the quiet of the country, and is taken in chains to Rome, where he is afterwards put to death in Cæsar's triumph.

VIII. Slight insurrections, breaking out here and there, are easily subdued; and the subjugation of Gaul is made complete.

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## THE GALLIC WAR.

### BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION: Description of Gaul (Chap. 1).

THE HELVETIAN WAR.—Orgetorix, an Helvetian chief, plans the invasion of Gaul: he conspires with the chiefs of several Gallic tribes; is brought to trial, escapes, and is put under the ban; soon afterwards dies (2-4). The Helvetians complete their preparations, and gather near the Rhone, requesting leave to pass peaceably through the Province. Cæsar delays them by pretexts, while he hastily throws up an earthwork to prevent their crossing the river. They attempt the passage, but are repulsed (5-8). Forming a league with the Sequani, they penetrate and ravage the territory of the Ædui, friends of Rome, who solicit protection. Cæsar, levying a force of upwards of 30,000, overtakes and cuts to pieces their rear-guard (*Tigurini*), at the crossing of the Arar (9-12). An embassy of the Helvetians, headed by the aged Divico, leads to no result. A cavalry skirmish, in which the Romans are worsted, together with the delay of supplies, shows the bad faith of a party among the Ædui, headed by Dumnorix; who is arrested, but spared on the intercession of his brother Divitiacus, and put under close guard by Cæsar (13-20). Cæsar makes preparations for attack, but is prevented by a false alarm, and moves towards Bibracte. The Helvetians, now well in advance, turn about for battle. They are forced to retreat to a hill, and attempt to flank the Romans; but are completely routed, and fly towards the north (21-26). They are at length forced to surrender. Six thousand escape, but are retaken, and put to death. The remainder are compelled to return to Helvetia, and rebuild the villages which they had destroyed (27-29).

THE WAR WITH ARIOVISTUS.—The chief populations of Gaul seek terms of amity, representing the condition of the country, especially under the invasions of the German Ariovistus, by whom the Sequani are chiefly oppressed (30-33). Cæsar sends envoys

to him, but receiving a haughty reply sets out on a forced march towards the German frontier (34-38). His men are greatly terrified, but are cheered by his assurances, especially of reliance on the tenth legion (39-41). At the request of Ariovistus, a conference is held, but is broken up by signs of bad faith among the Germans (42-46). A second conference, proposed by Ariovistus, is refused, and he throws into chains the messengers sent by Cæsar. After a cavalry skirmish, an indecisive battle follows, and the Germans fall back to their camp (47-50). Cæsar attacks the camp: the Germans, marshalled by tribes, defend their families and equipage. A close and furious engagement follows, in which the Germans are routed and driven to the Rhine. Ariovistus escapes, a part of his household is taken, and Cæsar returns to his winter quarters (51-54).

**G**ALLIA est omnis divisa in partes tres; quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. <sup>2</sup> Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgæ, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant, atque ea quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent important; proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt. <sup>3</sup> Qua de causa Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere quotidianis proeliis cum Germanis contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt. <sup>4</sup> Eorum una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano; continetur Garumna flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum; attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum; vergit ad septentriones. <sup>5</sup> Belgæ ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur, pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni, spectant in septentrionem et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos

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montes et eam partem Oceani quae est ad Hispaniam pertinet, spectat inter occasum solis et septentriones.

2. Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus Orgetorix. Is, M. Messala et M. 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 Galliae imperio potiri. <sup>2</sup> Id hoc facilius 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 Helvetiis dividit. His rebus fiebat, ut et minus late vagarentur, et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent; qua ex parte homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore adiciebantur. <sup>4</sup> Pro multitudine autem hominum, et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis, angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in latitudinem CLXXX patebant.

3. His rebus adducti, et auctoritate Orgetorigis permoti, constituerunt ea quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent comparare, jumentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coemere, sementes quam maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumenti suppeteret, cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. <sup>2</sup> Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt, in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. Ad eas res conficiendas Orgetorix deligitur. <sup>3</sup> Is sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit. In eo itinere persuadet Castico, Catamantaloedis filio, Sequano, cujus pater regnum in Sequanis multos annos obtinuerat, et a senatu populi Romani amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate sua occuparet, quod pater ante habuerat; itemque Dumnorigi Haeduo,

fratri Divitiaci, qui eo tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur persuadet, eique filiam suam in matrimonium dat. <sup>4</sup>Perfacile factu esse illis probat conata perficere, propterea quod ipse suae civitatis imperium obtenturus esset: non esse dubium, quin totius Galliae plurimum Helvetii possent; se suis copiis suoque exercitu illis regna conciliaturum confirmat. <sup>5</sup>Hac oratione adducti, inter se fidem et jusjurandum dant, et regno occupato, per tres potentissimos ac firmissimos populos, totius Galliae sese potiri posse sperant.

4. Ea res est Helvetiis per indicium enuntiata. Moribus suis Orgetorigem ex vinculis causam dicere coegerunt. Damnatum poenam sequi oportebat, ut igni cremaretur. <sup>2</sup>Die constituta causae dictionis, Orgetorix ad iudicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum milia decem, undique coëgit, et omnes clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit; per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit. <sup>8</sup>Cum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis jus suum exsequi conaretur, multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent, Orgetorix mortuus est; neque abest suspitio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

5. Post ejus mortem, nihilo minus Helvetii id quod constituerant facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant. Ubi jam se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata aedificia incendunt; frumentum omne, praeterquam quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt, ut — domum reditionis spe sublata — paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent; trium mensium molita cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre jubent. <sup>2</sup>Persuadent Rauracis et Tulingis et Latobrigis finitimis, uti, eodem usi consilio, oppidis suis vicisque exustis, una cum iis proficiscantur; Boiosque, qui

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trans Rhenum incoluerant, et in agrum Noricum transierant Norciamque oppugnarant, receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.

6. Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo exire possent: unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Juram et flumen Rhodanum, vix qua singuli carri ducerentur; mons autem altissimus impendebat, ut facile perpauci prohibere possent: <sup>2</sup>alterum per provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius, propterea quod inter fines Helvetiorum et Allobrogum, qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodanus fluit, isque nonnullis locis vado transitur. Extremum oppidum Allobrogum est, proximumque Helvetiorum finibus, Genua. <sup>3</sup>Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet. Allobrogibus sese vel persuasuros (quod nondum bono animo in populum Romanum viderentur) existimabant, vel vi coacturos, ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur. <sup>4</sup>Omnibus rebus ad profectionem comparatis, diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes conveniant. Is dies erat a. d. v. Kal. Apr., L. Pisone A. Gabinio consulibus.

7. Caesari 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 Genuam pervenit. <sup>2</sup>Provinciae toti quam maximum potest militum numerum imperat — erat omnino in Gallia ulteriore legio una; pontem, qui erat ad Genuam, jubet rescindi. <sup>3</sup>Ubi de ejus adventu Helvetii certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt, nobilissimos civitatis, cujus legationis Nammeius et Verudoctius principem locum obtinebant, qui dicerent 'sibi esse in animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum: rogare, ut ejus voluntate id sibi facere liceat.' <sup>4</sup>Caesar, quod memoria tenebat L. Cassium consulem occisum, exercitumque ejus ab Hel-

vetiis pulsum et sub jugum missum, concedendum non putabat; neque homines inimico animo, data facultate per provinciam itineris faciendi, temperaturos ab injuria et maleficio existimabat. <sup>5</sup>Tamen, ut spatium intercedere posset, dum milites quos imperaverat convenirent, legatis respondit diem se ad deliberandum sumpturum; si quid vellent, ad Id. Apr. reverterentur.

8. Interea ea legione, quam secum habebat, militibusque qui ex provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flumen Rhodanum influit, ad montem Juram, qui fines Sequanorum ab Helvetiis dividit, milia passuum decem novem, murum in altitudinem pedum sedecim, fossamque perducit. <sup>2</sup>Eo opere perfecto, praesidia disponit, castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere possit. <sup>3</sup>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 conentur, prohibitorium ostendit. <sup>4</sup>Helvetii, ea spe dejecti, navibus junctis ratibusque compluribus factis, alii vadis Rhodani, qua minima altitudo fluminis erat, nonnumquam interdium, saepius 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 Haeduum mittunt, ut eo deprecatore a Sequanis impetrarent. <sup>2</sup>Dumnorix gratia et largitione apud Sequanos plurimum poterat, et Helvetiis erat amicus, quod ex ea civitate Orgetorigis filiam in matrimonium duxerat; et cupiditate regni adductus novis rebus studebat, et quam plurimas civitates suo beneficio habere obstrictas volebat. <sup>3</sup>Itaque rem suscipit, et a Sequanis impetrat ut per fines suos Helvetios ire patiantur, obsidesque uti inter sese dent perficit: Se-

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quani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant; Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et injuria transeant.

10. Cæsari renuntiatur Helvetiis esse in animo per agrum Sequanorum et Haeduorum iter in Santonum fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in Provincia. <sup>2</sup>Id si fieret, intellegebat magno cum periculo provinciae futurum, ut homines bellicosos, populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. <sup>3</sup>Ob eas causas, ei munitioni quam fecerat T. Labienum legatum praefecit; ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit, duasque ibi legiones conscribit, et tres, quae circum Aquileiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit, et, qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. <sup>4</sup>Ibi Centrones et Graioceli et Caturiges, locis superioribus occupatis, itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his proeliis pulsus, ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciae extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae die septimo pervenit; inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segusiavos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.

11. Helvetii jam per angustias et fines Sequanorum suas copias traduxerant, et in Haeduorum fines pervenerant, eorumque agros populabantur. Haedui, cum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos ad Cæsarem mittunt rogatum auxilium: <sup>2</sup>Ita se omni tempore de populo Romano meritos esse, ut paene in conspectu exercitus nostri agri vastari, liberi eorum in servitutum abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint. <sup>3</sup>Eodem tempore Haedui Ambarri, necessarii et consanguinei Haeduorum, Cæsarem certiore faciunt, sese, depopulatis agris, non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere. <sup>4</sup>Item Allobroges, qui trans Rhodanum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad

Caesarem recipiunt, et demonstrant sibi praeter agri solum nihil esse reliqui.<sup>6</sup> Quibus rebus adductus, Caesar non exspectandum sibi statuit, dum, omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis, in Santonos Helvetii pervenirent.

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

13. Hoc proelio facto, reliquas copias Helvetiorum ut consequi posset, pontem in Arare faciendum curat, atque ita exercitum traducit.<sup>2</sup> Helvetii, repentino ejus adventu commoti, cum id quod ipsi diebus xx aegerrime confecerant, ut flumen transirent, illum uno die fecisse intellegerent, legatos ad eum mittunt; cujus legationis Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano dux Helvetiorum fuerat.<sup>3</sup> Is ita cum Caesare egit:

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‘Si pacem populus Romanus cum Helvetiis faceret, in eam partem futuros atque ibi futuros Helvetios, ubi eos Caesar constituisset atque esse voluisset; sin bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur et veteris incommodi populi Romani, et pristinae virtutis Helvetiorum. <sup>4</sup>Quod improviso unum pagum adortus esset, cum ii, qui flumen transissent, suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae magnopere virtuti tribueret, aut ipsos despiceret; se ita a patribus majoribusque suis didicisse, ut magis virtute quam dolo contenderent, aut insidiis niterentur. <sup>5</sup>Quare ne committeret, ut is locus, ubi constitissent, ex calamitate populi Romani et interneccione exercitus nomen caperet, aut memoriam proderet.’

14. His Caesar ita respondit: ‘Eo sibi minus dubitationis dari, quod eas res, quas legati Helvetii commemorassent, memoria teneret, atque eo gravius ferre, quo minus merito populi Romani accidissent: <sup>2</sup>qui si alicujus injuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum, quod neque commissum a se intellegeret quare timeret, neque sine causa timendum putaret. <sup>3</sup>Quod si veteris contumeliae oblivisci vellet, num etiam recentium injuriarum, quod eo invito iter per provinciam per vim temptassent, quod Haeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse? <sup>4</sup>Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur, quodque tam diu se impune injurias tulisse admirarentur, eodem pertinere. Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiore interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. <sup>5</sup>Cum ea ita sint, tamen si obsides ab iis sibi dentur, uti ea quae polliceantur facturos intellegat, et si Haeduis de injuriis quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant, sese cum iis pacem esse facturum.’ <sup>6</sup>Divico

respondit: 'Ita Helvetios a majoribus suis institutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare consuerint; ejus rei populum Romanum esse testem.' Hoc responso dato discessit.

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

16. Interim cotidie Caesar Haeduos frumentum, quod essent publice polliciti, flagitare. Nam propter frigora, quod Gallia sub septentrionibus (ut ante dictum est) posita est, non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia suppetebat: eo autem frumento, quod flumine Arare navibus subvexerat, propterea minus uti poterat, quod iter ab Arare Helvetiis averterant, a quibus discedere nolebat. <sup>2</sup> Diem ex die ducere Haedui: *conferrri, conportari, adesse*, dicere. Ubi se diutius 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, qui summo magistratui praeerat quem *vergo-bretum* appellant Haedui, qui creatur annuus, et vitae

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necisque in suos habet potestatem, —<sup>8</sup> graviter eos accusat, quod cum neque emi neque ex agris sumi posset, tam necessario tempore, tam propinquis hostibus, ab iis non sublevetur; praesertim cum magna ex parte eorum precibus adductus bellum susceperit, multo etiam gravius quod sit destitutus queritur.

17. Tum demum Liscus, oratione Caesaris adductus, quod antea tacuerat proponit: 'Esse nonnullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus possint quam ipsi magistratus. <sup>2</sup> Hos seditiosa atque improba oratione multitudinem deterere, ne frumentum conferant, quod praestare debeant: si jam principatum Galliae obtinere non possint, Gallorum quam Romanorum imperia praeferre; neque dubitare [debeant] quin, si Helvetios superaverint Romani, una cum reliqua Gallia Haeduis libertatem sint erepturi. <sup>3</sup> Ab eisdem nostra consilia, quaeque in castris gerantur, hostibus enuntiari; hos a se coerceri non posse. Quin etiam, quod necessario rem coactus Caesari enuntiarit, intellegere sese quanto id cum periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam, quam diu potuerit, tacuisse.'

18. Caesar hac oratione Lisci Dumnorigem, Divitiaci fratrem, designari sentiebat; sed, quod pluribus praesentibus eas res jactari volebat, celeriter concilium dimittit, Liscum retinet. <sup>2</sup> Quaerit ex solo ea quae in conventu dixerat. Dicit liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto ab aliis quaerit; reperit esse vera: 'Ipsam esse Dumnorigem, summa audacia, magna apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratia, cupidum rerum novarum. <sup>3</sup> Complures annos portoria reliquaque omnia Haeduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere, propterea quod illo licente contra liceri audeat nemo. <sup>4</sup> His rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse, et facultates ad largiendum magnas comparasse; magnum numerum equitatus suo sumptu

semper alere et circum se habere, neque solum domi, sed etiam apud finitimas civitates largiter posse; atque hujus potentiae causa matrem in Biturigibus homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo collocasse, ipsum ex Helvetiis uxorem habere, sororem ex matre et propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates collocasse. <sup>5</sup> Favere et cupere Helvetiis propter eam adfinitatem, odisse etiam suo nomine Caesarem et Romanos, quod eorum adventu potentia ejus deminuta, et Divitiacus frater in antiquum locum gratiae atque honoris sit restitutus. <sup>6</sup> 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.' <sup>7</sup> Reperiebat etiam in quaerendo Caesar, quod proelium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium ejus fugae factum a Dumnorige atque ejus equitibus, — nam equitatu, quem auxilio Caesari Haedui miserant, Dumnorix praeerat: eorum fuga reliquum esse equitatum perterritum.

19. Quibus rebus cognitis, cum ad has suspiciones certissimae res accederent, — quod per fines Sequanorum Helvetios traduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia non modo injussu suo et civitatis, sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Haeduorum accusaretur, — satis esse causae arbitrabatur, quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret, aut civitatem animadvertere juberet. <sup>2</sup> His omnibus rebus unum repugnabat, quod Divitiaci fratris summum in populum Romanum studium, summam in se voluntatem, egregiam fidem, justitiam, temperantiam cognoverat: nam ne ejus supplicio Divitiaci animum offenderet verebatur. <sup>3</sup> Itaque prius quam quicquam conaretur, Divitiacum ad se vocari jubet, et quotidianis interpretibus remotis, per C. Valerium Procillum, principem Galliae provinciae, familiarem suum, cui summam omnium rerum fidem habebat,

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cum eo colloquitur; <sup>4</sup> simul commonefacit quae ipso praesente in concilio Gallorum de Dumnorige sint dicta; et ostendit quae separatim quisque de eo apud se dixerit; petit atque hortatur, ut sine ejus offensione animi vel ipse de eo causa cognita statuatur, vel civitatem statuere jubeat.

20. Divitiacus, multis cum lacrimis Caesarem complexus, obsecrare coepit, ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret: <sup>2</sup> 'Scire se illa esse vera, nec quemquam ex eo plus quam se doloris capere, propterea quod, cum ipse gratia plurimum domi atque in reliqua Gallia, ille minimum propter adulescentiam posset, per se crevisset; quibus opibus ac nervis non solum ad minuendam gratiam, sed paene ad perniciem suam uteretur; sese tamen et amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi commoveri. <sup>3</sup> Quod si quid ei a Caesare gravius accidisset, cum ipse eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum non sua voluntate factum; qua ex re futurum, uti totius Galliae animi a se averterentur.' <sup>4</sup> Haec cum pluribus verbis flens a Caesare peteret, Caesar 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. <sup>5</sup> Dumnorigem ad se vocat, fratrem adhibet; quae in eo reprehendat ostendit, quae ipse intellegat, quae civitas queratur, proponit; monet ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; praeterita se Divitiaco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnorigi custodes ponit, ut quae agat, quibuscum loquatur, scire possit.

21. Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus hostes sub monte consedissee milia passuum ab ipsius castris octo, qualis esset natura montis et qualis in circuitu ascensus, qui cognoscerent misit. <sup>2</sup> Renuntiatum est facilem esse. De tertia vigilia T. Labienum, legatum pro praetore, cum duabus legionibus et iis

ducibus qui iter cognoverant, summum jugum montis ascendere jubet; quid sui consilii sit ostendit. Ipse de quarta vigilia eodem itinere, quo hostes ierant, ad eos contendit, equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. <sup>3</sup> P. Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur, et in exercitu L. Sullae et postea in M. Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus praemittitur.

22. Prima luce, cum summus mons a Labieno teneatur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille et quingentis passibus abesset, neque, ut postea ex captivis comperit, aut ipsius adventus aut Labieni cognitus esset, Considius equo admissis ad eum accurrit; <sup>2</sup> dicit montem, quem a Labieno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri; id se a Gallicis armis atque insignibus cognovisse. Caesar suas copias in proximum collem subducit, aciem instruit. <sup>3</sup> Labienus, ut erat ei praeceptum a Caesare, ne proelium committeret, nisi ipsius copiae prope hostium castra visae essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte occupato nostros exspectabat, proelioque abstinencebat. <sup>4</sup> Multo denique die per exploratores Caesar cognovit et montem a suis teneri, et Helvetios castra movisse, et Considium, timore perterritum, quod non vidisset pro viso sibi renuntiasse. Eo die, quo consuerat intervallo, hostes sequitur, et milia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

23. Postridie ejus diei, quod omnino biduum supererat, cum exercitui frumentum metiri oporteret, et quod a Bibracte, oppido Haeduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius milibus passuum XVIII aberat, rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit: iter ab Helvetiis avertit, ac Bibracte ire contendit. <sup>2</sup> Ea res per fugitivos L. Aemilii, decurionis equitum Gallorum, hostibus nuntiatur. <sup>3</sup> Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis quod pridie, superioribus locis occupatis, proe-

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lium non commisissent, sive eo quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent, commutato consilio atque itinere converso, nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac lacessere coeperunt.

24. Postquam id animum advertit, copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subducit, equitatumque, qui sustineret hostium impetum, misit. <sup>2</sup> Ipse interim in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quatuor veteranarum [ita uti supra]; sed in summo jugo duas legiones, quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat, et omnia auxilia conlocari, ac totum montem hominibus compleri, et interea sarcinas in unum locum conferri, et eum ab his qui in superiore acie constiterant muniri jussit. <sup>3</sup> Helvetii cum omnibus suis carris secuti, impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt; ipsi confertissima acie, rejecto nostro equitatu, phalange facta, sub primam nostram aciem successerunt.

25. Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae tolleret, cohortatus suos proelium commisit. Milites e loco superiore, pilis missis, facile hostium phalangem perfregerunt. <sup>2</sup> Ea disjecta, gladiis dextris in eos impetum fecerunt. Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento, quod pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et conligatis, cum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere neque sinistra impedita satis commode pugnare poterant, multi ut, diu jactato brachio, praeoptarent scutum manu emittere, et nudo corpore pugnare. <sup>3</sup> Tandem vulneribus defessi, et pedem referre et, quod mons suberat circiter mille passuum, eo se recipere coeperunt. <sup>4</sup> Capto monte et succedentibus nostris, Boii et Tulingi, qui hominum milibus circiter xv agmen hostium claudebant, et novissimis praesidio erant, ex itinere nostros latere aperto adgressi circumvenire; <sup>5</sup> et id conspicati Helvetii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare

et proelium redintegrare coeperunt. Romani conversa signa bipartito intulerunt: prima et secunda acies, ut victis ac summotis resisteret; tertia, ut venientes sustineret.

26. Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius cum sustinere nostrorum impetus non possent, alteri se, ut coeperant, in montem receperunt, alteri ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt. <sup>2</sup>Nam hoc toto proelio, cum ab hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod pro vallo carros objecerant, et e loco superiore in nostros venientes tela coniciebant, et nonnulli inter carros rotasque mataras ac tragulas subiciebant, nostrosque vulnerabant. <sup>3</sup>Diu cum esset pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Orgetorigis filia atque unus e filiis captus est. <sup>4</sup>Ex eo proelio circiter hominum milia cxxx superfuerunt, eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt: nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso, in fines Lingonum die quarto pervenerunt, cum et propter vulnera militum, et propter sepulturam occisorum, nostri triduum morati eos sequi non potuissent. <sup>5</sup>Caesar ad Lingonas litteras nuntiosque misit, ne eos frumento neve alia re juvarent: qui si juvissent, se eodem loco quo Helvetios habiturum. Ipse, triduo intermisso, cum omnibus copiis eos sequi coepit.

27. Helvetii, omnium rerum inopia adducti, legatos de deditioe ad eum miserunt. Qui cum eum in itinere convenissent, seque ad pedes projecissent, suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem petissent, atque eos in eo loco, quo tum essent, suum adventum expectare jussisset, paruerunt. <sup>2</sup>Eo postquam Caesar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos, qui ad eos perfugissent, poposcit. Dum ea conquiruntur et conferuntur, nocte intermissa, circiter hominum milia vi ejus pagi qui *Verbigenus* appellatur, sive timore perterriti, ne armis

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traditis supplicio adficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti, quod in tanta multitudine dediticiorum suam fugam aut occultari aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent, prima nocte e castris Helvetiorum egressi, ad Rhenum finesque Germanorum contenderunt.

28. Quod ubi Caesar rescit, quorum per fines ierant, his, uti conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse vellent, imperavit: reductos in hostium numero habuit; reliquos omnes, obsidibus, armis, perfugis traditis, in deditionem accepit. <sup>2</sup> Helvetios, Tulingos, Latobrigos in fines suos, unde erant profecti, reverti jussit; et quod, omnibus fructibus amissis, domi nihil erat quo famem tolerarent, Allobrogibus imperavit, ut iis frumenti copiam facerent; ipsos oppida vicosque, quos incenderant, restituere jussit. <sup>3</sup> 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 provinciae Allobrogibusque essent. <sup>4</sup> Boios, petentibus Haeduis, quod egregia virtute erant cognati, ut in finibus suis collocarent, concessit; quibus illi agros dederunt, quosque postea in parem juris libertatisque condicionem atque ipsi erant receperunt.

29. In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis confectae et ad Caesarem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim pueri, senes mulieresque. <sup>2</sup> Quarum omnium rerum summa erat capitum Helvetiorum milia CCLXIII, Tulingorum milia XXXVI, Latobrigorum XIII, Rauracorum XXIII, Boiorum XXXII; ex his qui arma ferre possent, ad milia XCII. <sup>3</sup> Summa omnium fuerunt ad milia CCCLXVIII. Eorum qui domum redierunt, censu habito, ut Caesar imperaverat, repertus est numerus milium C et X.

30. Bello Helvetiorum confecto, totius fere Galliae legati, principes civitatum, ad Caesarem gratulatum convenerunt: 'Intellegere sese, tametsi pro veteribus Helvetiorum injuriis populi Romani ab his poenas bello repetisset, tamen eam rem non minus ex usu terrae Galliae quam populi Romani accidisse; <sup>2</sup>propterea quod eo consilio, florentissimis rebus, domos suas Helvetii reliquissent, uti toti Galliae bellum inferrent, imperioque potirentur, locumque domicilio ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex omni Gallia opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum judicassent, reliquasque civitates stipendiarias haberent.' <sup>3</sup>Petierunt, uti sibi concilium totius Galliae in diem certam indicere idque Caesaris voluntate facere liceret: sese habere quasdam res, quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere vellent. <sup>4</sup>Ea re permissa, diem concilio constituerunt, et jurejurando, ne quis enuntiaret, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt.

31. Eo concilio dimisso, idem principes civitatum, qui ante fuerant, ad Caesarem reverterunt, petieruntque, uti sibi secreto in occulto de sua omniumque salute cum eo agere liceret. <sup>2</sup>Ea re impetrata, sese omnes flentes Caesari ad pedes projecerunt: 'Non minus se id contendere et laborare, ne ea quae dixissent enuntiarentur, quam uti ea quae vellent impetrarent; propterea quod, si enuntiatum esset, summum in cruciatum se venturos viderent.' <sup>3</sup>Locutus est pro his Divitiacus Haeduus: 'Galliae totius factiones esse duas; harum alterius principatum tenere Haeduos, alterius Arvernos. Hi cum tantopere de potentatu inter se multos annos contenderent, factum esse, uti ab Arvernibus Sequanisque Germani mercede arcesse-  
rentur. <sup>4</sup>Horum primo circiter milia xv Rhenum transisse; posteaquam agros et cultum et copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, traductos plures; nunc esse in Gallia ad centum et xx milium numerum.

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<sup>5</sup>Cum his Haeduos eorumque clientes semel atque iterum armis contendisse; magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse. <sup>6</sup>Quibus proeliis calamitatibusque fractos, qui et sua virtute et populi Romani hospitio 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 imploratorios, neque recusatorios quo minus perpetuo sub illorum ditione atque imperio essent. <sup>7</sup>Unum se esse ex omni civitate Haeduorum, qui adduci non potuerit ut juraret, aut liberos suos obsides daret. Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse, et Romam ad senatum venisse auxilium postulatum, quod solus neque jurejurando neque obsidibus teneretur. <sup>8</sup>Sed pejor victoribus Sequanis quam Haeduis victis accidisse, propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germanorum, in eorum finibus consedisset, tertiamque partem agri Sequani, qui esset optimus totius Galliae, occupavisset, et nunc de altera parte tertia Sequanos decedere juberet, propterea quod paucis mensibus ante Harudum milia hominum XXIII ad eum venissent, quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. <sup>9</sup>Futurum esse paucis annis, uti omnes ex Galliae finibus pellerentur, atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent; neque enim conferendum esse Gallicum cum Germanorum agro, neque hanc consuetudinem victus cum illa comparandam. <sup>10</sup>Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallorum copias proelio vicerit, quod proelium factum sit ad Magetobriam, superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cujusque liberos poscere, et in eos omnia exempla cruciatusque edere, si qua res non ad nutum aut ad voluntatem ejus facta sit. <sup>11</sup>Hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium: non posse ejus imperia diutius sustinere. Nisi si quid in Caesare populoque Romano sit auxilii,

omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum quod Helvetii fecerint, ut domo emigrent, aliud domicilium, alias sedes, remotas a Germanis, petant, fortunamque, quaecumque accidat, experiantur. <sup>12</sup> Haec si enuntiata Ariovisto sint, non dubitare, quin de omnibus obsidibus, qui apud eum sint, gravissimum supplicium sumat. Caesarem vel auctoritate sua atque exercitus, vel recenti victoria, vel nomine populi Romani, deterere posse, ne major multitudo Germanorum Rhenum traducatur, Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti injuria posse defendere.'

32. Hac oratione ab Divitiaco habita, omnes qui aderant magno fletu auxilium a Caesare petere coeperunt. Animadvertit Caesar unos ex omnibus Sequanos nihil earum rerum facere quas ceteri facerent, sed tristes, capite demisso, terram intueri. <sup>2</sup> Ejus rei quae causa esset miratus, ex ipsis quaesivit. Nihil Sequani respondere, sed in eadem tristitia taciti permanere. Cum ab his saepius quaereret, neque ullam omnino vocem exprimere posset, idem Divitiacus Haedus respondit: <sup>3</sup> 'Hoc esse miseriorem et graviorem fortunam Sequanorum quam reliquorum, quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri neque auxilium implorare audent; absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrerent, propterea quod reliquis tamen fugae facultas daretur, Sequanis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate ejus essent, omnes cruciatus essent perferendi.'

33. His rebus cognitis, Caesar Gallorum animos verbis confirmavit, pollicitusque est sibi eam rem curae futuram; magnam se habere spem, et beneficio suo et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum finem injuriis facturum. Hac oratione habita, concilium dimisit. <sup>2</sup> Et secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur, quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret: imprimis, quod Haeduos, fratres consanguineosque

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saepenumero a senatu appellatos, in servitute atque in ditione videbat Germanorum teneri, eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequanos intellegebat; quod in tanto imperio populi Romani turpissimum sibi et reipublicae esse arbitrabatur. <sup>8</sup> Paulatim autem Germanos consuescere Rhenum transire, et in Galliam magnam eorum multitudinem venire, populo Romano periculosum videbat; neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat, quin, cum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in provinciam exirent, atque inde in Italiam contenderent; <sup>4</sup> praesertim cum Sequanos a provincia nostra Rhodanus divideret: quibus rebus quam maturime occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat, ut ferendus non videretur.

34. Quamobrem placuit ei, ut ad Ariovistum legatos mitteret, qui ab eo postularent, uti aliquem locum medium utriusque conloquio deligeret: velle sese de re publica et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere.

Ei legationi Ariovistus respondit: ‘Si quid ipsi a Caesare opus esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse; si quid ille se velit, illum ad se venire oportere. <sup>8</sup> Praeterea se neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire audere, quas Caesar possideret, neque exercitum sine magno commeatu atque molimento in unum locum contrahere posse. <sup>4</sup> Sibi autem mirum videri, quid in sua Gallia, quam bello vicisset, aut Caesari aut omnino populo Romano negotii esset.’

35. His responsis ad Caesarem relatis, iterum ad eum Caesar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: ‘Quoniam tanto suo populi Romani beneficio adfectus, cum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a senatu appellatus esset, hanc sibi populoque Romano gratiam referret, ut in conloquium venire invitatus gravaretur, neque de communi re dicendum sibi et cognoscendum

putaret, haec esse quae ab eo postularet: <sup>2</sup>primum, ne quam multitudinem hominum amplius trans Rhenum in Galliam traduceret; deinde obsides, quos haberet ab Haeduis, redderet, Sequanisque permetteret, ut quos illi haberent, voluntate ejus reddere illis liceret; neve Haeduos injuria lacesseret, neve his sociisque eorum bellum inferret. <sup>3</sup>Si id ita fecisset, sibi populoque Romano perpetuam gratiam atque amicitiam cum eo futuram: si non impetraret, sese, — quoniam, M. Messala M. Pisone consulibus, senatus censuisset uti quicumque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo reipublicae facere posset, Haeduos ceterosque amicos populi Romani defenderet, — se Haeduum injurias non neglecturum.'

36. Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: 'Jus esse belli, ut qui vicissent, iis quos vicissent, quem ad modum vellent, imperarent: item populum Romanum victis non ad alterius praescriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium, imperare consuesse. <sup>2</sup>Si ipse populo Romano non praescriberet quem ad modum suo jure uteretur, non oportere sese a populo Romano in suo jure impediri. <sup>3</sup>Haeduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam temptassent, et armis congressi ac superati essent, stipendiarios esse factos. Magnam Caesarem injuriam facere, qui suo adventu vectigalia sibi deteriora faceret. <sup>4</sup>Haeduis se obsides redditurum non esse, neque iis neque eorum sociis injuria bellum inlaturum, si in eo manerent quod convenisset, stipendiumque quotannis penderent; si id non fecissent, longe iis fraternum nomen populi Romani afuturum. <sup>5</sup>Quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret se Haeduum injurias non neglecturum, neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse. Cum vellet, congrederetur: intellecturum quid invicti Germani, exercitissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIV tectum non subissent, virtute possent.'

37. Haec eodem tempore Caesari mandata refere-

bantur, et legati ab Haeduis et a Treveris veniebant: Haedu questum, quod Harudes, qui nuper in Galliam transportati essent, fines eorum popularentur: <sup>2</sup> sese ne obsidibus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redimere potuisse; Treveri autem, pagos centum Suevorum ad ripam Rheni consedissee, qui Rhenum transire conarentur; his praeesse Nasuam et Cimberium fratres. <sup>3</sup> Quibus rebus Caesar vehementer commotus, maturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova manus Suevorum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese conjunxisset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque, re frumentaria quam celerrime potuit comparata, magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit.

38. Cum tridui viam processisset, nuntiatum est ei Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Vesontionem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequanorum, contendere, triduique viam a suis finibus profecisse. <sup>2</sup> Id ne accideret, magnopere sibi praecavendum Caesar existimabat. Namque omnium rerum, quae ad bellum usui erant, summa erat in eo oppido facultas; idque natura loci sic muniebatur, ut magnam ad ducendum bellum daret facultatem, propterea quod flumen [alduas] Dubis ut circino circumductum paene totum oppidum cingit; <sup>3</sup> reliquum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum sexcentorum, qua flumen intermittit, mons continet magna altitudine, ita ut radices montis ex utraque parte ripae fluminis contingant. <sup>4</sup> Hunc murus circumdatus arcem efficit, et cum oppido conjungit. Huc Caesar magnis nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit, occupatoque oppido, ibi praesidium conlocat.

39. Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem rei frumentariae commeatusque causa moratur, ex percontatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant,

— saepe numero sese cum his congressos ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum dicebant ferre potuisse, — tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. <sup>2</sup> Hic primum ortus est a tribunis militum, praefectis reliquisque, qui, ex urbe amicitiae causa Caesarem secuti, non magnum in re militari usum habebant: quorum alius alia causa inlata, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret, petebat ut ejus voluntate discedere liceret; nonnulli pudore adducti, ut timoris suspicionem vitarent, remanebant. <sup>3</sup> Hi neque vultum fingere neque interdum lacrimas tenere poterant: abditi in tabernaculis aut suum fatum querebantur, aut cum familiaribus suis commune periculum miserabantur. Volgo totis castris testamenta obsignabantur. <sup>4</sup> Horum vocibus ac timore paulatim etiam ii qui magnum in castris usum habebant, milites centurionesque quique equitatu praerant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his minus timidus existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri, sed angustias itineris, magnitudinem silvarum quae intercederent inter ipsos atque Ariovistum, aut rem frumentariam, ut satis commode supportari posset, timere dicebant. <sup>5</sup> Nonnulli etiam Caesari nuntiabant, cum castra moveri ac signa ferri jussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites, neque propter timorem signa laturus.

40. Haec cum animadvertisset, convocato consilio, omniumque ordinum ad id consilium adhibitis centurionibus, vehementer eos incusavit: primum quod aut quam in partem aut quo consilio ducerentur sibi quaerendum aut cogitandum putarent. <sup>2</sup> Ariovistum se consule cupidissime populi Romani amicitiam appetisse: cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio discessurum judicaret? Sibi quidem persuaderi, cognitis suis postulatis atque aequitate condicionum perspecta, eum neque suam neque populi Romani gratiam

repudiaturum <sup>3</sup> Quod si furore atque amentia impulsus bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur? aut cur de sua virtute aut de ipsius diligentia desperarent? <sup>4</sup> Factum ejus hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, cum, Cimbris et Teutonis a Gaio Mario pulsus, non minorem laudem exercitus quam ipse imperator meritus videbatur; factum etiam nuper in Italia servili tumultu, quos tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina, quae a nobis accepissent, sublevarent. Ex quo judicari posse, quantum haberet in se boni constantia, propterea quod, quos aliquamdiu inermos sine causa timuissent, hos postea armatos ac victores superassent. <sup>6</sup> Denique hos esse eosdem, quibuscum saepenumero Helvetii congressi, non solum in suis, sed etiam in illorum finibus, plerumque superarint; qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitui non potuerint. <sup>7</sup> Si quos adversum proelium et fuga Gallorum commoveret, hos, si quaerent, reperire posse, diuturnitate belli defatigatis Gallis, Ariovistum, cum multos menses castris se ac paludibus tenuisset, neque sui potestatem fecisset, desperantes jam de pugna et dispersos subito adortum, magis ratione et consilio quam virtute vicisse. <sup>8</sup> Cui rationi contra homines barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset, hac ne ipsum quidem sperare nostros exercitus capi posse. <sup>9</sup> Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem angustiasque itineris conferrent, facere arroganter, cum aut de officio imperatoris desperare aut praescribere viderentur. <sup>10</sup> Haec sibi esse curae: frumentum Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones subministrare, jamque esse in agris frumenta matura; de itinere ipsos brevi tempore judicaturos. <sup>11</sup> Quod non fore dicto audientes neque signa laturo 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 convictam: suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetio-

rum bello esse perspectam. <sup>12</sup> Itaque se quod in longiorem diem conlaturus fuisset repraesentaturum, et proxima nocte de quarta vigilia castra moturum, ut quam primum intellegere posset, utrum apud eos pudor atque officium an timor valeret. <sup>13</sup> Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum, de qua non dubitaret, sibi que eam praetoriam cohortem futuram.' Huic legioni Caesar et indulserat praecipue, et propter virtutem confidebat maxime.

41. Hac oratione habita, mirum in modum conversae sunt omnium mentes, summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi innata est; princepsque decima legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit, quod de se optimum iudicium fecisset, seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam confirmavit. <sup>2</sup> Deinde reliquae legiones cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centurionibus egerunt, uti Caesari satisfacerent: se neque umquam dubitasse, neque timuisse, neque de summa belli suum iudicium, sed imperatoris esse existimavisse. <sup>3</sup> Eorum satisfactione accepta, et itinere exquisito per Divitiacum, quod ex aliis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut milium amplius quinquaginta circuitu locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quarta vigilia, ut dixerat, profectus est. <sup>4</sup> Septimo die, cum iter non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est, Ariovisti copias a nostris milibus passuum quattuor 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. <sup>2</sup> Non respuit condicionem 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 eum beneficiis, cognitis suis postulatis, fore uti pertinacia desisteret.

<sup>3</sup> Dies conloquio dictus est ex eo die quintus. Interim saepe ultro citroque cum legati inter eos mitterentur, Ariovistus postulavit, ne quem peditem ad conloquium Caesar adduceret: vereri se, ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur; uterque cum equitatu veniret; alia ratione sese non esse venturum. <sup>4</sup> Caesar, quod neque conloquium interposita causa tolli volebat, neque salutem suam Gallorum equitatu committere audebat, commodissimum esse statuit, omnibus equis Gallis equitibus detractis, eo legionarios milites legionis decimae, cui quam maxime confidebat, imponere, ut praesidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, haberet. <sup>5</sup> Quod cum fieret, non inridicule quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit, plus quam pollicitus esset Caesarem facere: pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum; ad equum rescribere.

43. Planities erat magna, et in ea tumulus terrenus satis grandis. Hic locus aequo fere spatio ab castris Ariovisti et Caesaris aberat. Eo, ut erat dictum, ad conloquium venerunt. <sup>2</sup> Legionem Caesar, quam equis devexerat, passibus ducentis ab eo tumulo constituit. Item equites Ariovisti pari intervallo constiterunt. Ariovistus ex equis ut conloquerentur, et praeter se denos ut ad conloquium adducerent, postulavit. <sup>3</sup> Ubi eo ventum est, Caesar initio orationis sua senatusque in eum beneficia commemoravit, quod rex appellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissime missa; quam rem et paucis contigisse, et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui docebat; illum, cum neque aditum neque causam postulandi justam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua ac senatus ea praemia consecutum. <sup>4</sup> Docebat etiam, quam veteres quamque justae causae necessitudinis ipsis cum Haeduis intercederent, quae senatus consulta, quotiens quamque honorifica, in eos facta essent, ut omni tempore totius

Galliae principatum Haedui tenuissent, prius etiam quam nostram amicitiam appetissent. <sup>6</sup> 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 adtulissent, id iis eripi quis pati posset? <sup>6</sup> Postulavit deinde eadem quae legatis in mandatis dederat: ne aut Haeduis aut eorum 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 praedicavit: 'Transisse Rhenum sese non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe magnisque praemiis domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Gallia ab ipsis concessas, obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere jure belli, quod victores victis imponere consuerint. <sup>2</sup> Non sese Gallis, sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse; omnes Galliae civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse, ac contra se castra habuisse; eas omnes copias a se uno proelio pulsas ac superatas esse. <sup>3</sup> Si iterum experiri velint, se iterum paratum esse decertare; si pace uti velint, iniquum esse de stipendio recusare, quod sua voluntate ad id tempus pependerit. Amicitiam populi Romani sibi ornamento et praesidio, non detrimento esse oportere, idque se ea spe petisse. <sup>4</sup> Si per populum Romanum stipendium remittatur, et dediticii subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum populi Romani amicitiam quam adpetierit. <sup>5</sup> Quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam traducat, id se sui muniendi, non Galliae impugnandae causa facere: ejus rei testimonium esse, quod nisi rogatus non venerit, et quod bellum non intulerit, sed defenderit. <sup>6</sup> Se prius in Galliam venisse quam populum Romanum.

Numquam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romani Galliae provinciae finibus egressum. Quid sibi vellet? cur in suas possessiones veniret? <sup>7</sup> Provinciam suam hanc esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos, quod in suo jure se interpellaremus. <sup>8</sup> Quod fratres Haeduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum, ut non sciret neque bello Allobrogum proximo Haeduos Romanis auxilium tulisse, neque ipsos, in his contentionibus quas Haedui secum et cum Sequanis habuissent, auxilio populi Romani usos esse. <sup>9</sup> Debere se suspicari simulata Caesarem amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui opprimendi causa habere. Qui nisi decedat, atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro amico, sed hoste habiturum. <sup>10</sup> Quod si eum interfecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum: id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam ejus morte redimere posset. <sup>11</sup> Quod si discessisset, et liberam possessionem Galliae sibi tradidisset, magno se illum praemio remuneraturum, et quaecumque bella geri vellet, sinè ullo ejus labore et periculo confecturum.'

45. Multa ab Caesare in eam sententiam dicta sunt, quare negotio desistere non posset; et 'Neque suam neque populi Romani consuetudinem pati, uti optime merentes socios desereret, neque se judicare Galliam potius esse Ariovisti quam populi Romani. <sup>2</sup> Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutenos ab Q. Fabio Maximo, quibus populus Romanus ignovisset, neque in provinciam redeisset, neque stipendium imposuisset. <sup>3</sup> Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, populi Romani justissimum esse in Gallia imperium; si judicium senatus observari oport-

teret, liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset.

46. Dum haec in conloquio geruntur, Caesari nuntiatum est equites Ariovisti propius tumulum accedere, et ad nostros adequitare, lapides telaque in nostros conicere. <sup>2</sup>Caesar loquendi finem facit, seque ad suos recipit, suisque imperavit, ne quod omnino telum in hostes reicerent. <sup>3</sup>Nam etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu proelium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat, ut pulsus hostibus dici posset eos ab se per fidem in conloquio circumventos. <sup>4</sup>Posteaquam in vulgus militum elatum est, qua adrogantia in conloquio Ariovistus usus omni Gallia Romanis interdixisset, impetumque in nostros ejus equites fecissent, eaque res conloquium ut diremisset, multo major alacritas studiumque pugnandi majus exercitui injectum est.

47. Biduo post Ariovistus ad Caesarem legatos mittit: 'Velle se de his rebus, quae inter eos agi coeptae neque perfectae essent, agere cum eo: uti aut iterum conloquio diem constitueret, aut, si id minus vellet, e suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret.' <sup>2</sup>Conloquendi Caesari causa visa non est; et eo magis, quod pridie ejus diei Germani retineri non poterant, quin in nostros tela conicerent. Legatum e suis sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum, et hominibus feris objecturum existimabat. <sup>3</sup>Commodissimum visum est Gaium Valerium Procillum, C. Valeri Caburi filium, summa virtute et humanitate adulescentem, — cujus pater a Gaio Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat, et propter fidem et propter linguae Gallicae scientiam, qua multa jam Ariovistus longinqua consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset, — ad eum mittere, et M. Metium, qui hospitio Ariovisti utebatur. <sup>4</sup>His mandavit, ut quae diceret Ariovistus cognoscerent, et ad se referrent. Quos cum

apud se in castris Ariovistus conspexisset, exercitu suo praesente conclamavit: 'Quid ad se venirent? an speculandi causa?' Conantes dicere prohibuit, et in catenas conjecit.

48. Eodem die castra promovit, et milibus passuum sex a Caesaris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie ejus diei praeter castra Caesaris suas copias traduxit, et milibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit, eo consilio, uti frumento commeatuque, qui ex Sequanis et Haeduis supportaretur, Caesarem intercluderet.

<sup>2</sup>Ex eo die dies continuos quinque Caesar pro castris suas copias produxit, et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus proelio contendere, ei potestas non deesset. <sup>3</sup>Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit, equestri proelio cotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat pugnae, quo se Germani exercuerant.

<sup>4</sup>Equitum milia erant sex, totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi, quos ex omni copia singuli singulos suae salutis causa delegerant: cum his in proeliis versabantur. <sup>5</sup>Ad eos se equites recipiebant: hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant; si qui, graviore vulnere accepto, equo deciderat, circumstebant; si quo erat longius prodeundum, aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut jubis equorum sublevati cursum adaequarent.

49. Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit, ne diutius commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum locum, quo in loco Germani consederant, circiter passus sexcentos ab iis, castris idoneum locum delegit, acieque triplici instructa ad eum locum venit. <sup>2</sup>Primam et secundam aciem in armis esse, tertiam castra munire jussit. Hic locus ab hoste circiter passus sexcentos, uti dictum est, aberat. Eo circiter hominum numero sedecim milia expedita cum omni equitatu Ariovistus misit, quae copiae nostros perterrerent et munitione prohiberent. <sup>3</sup>Nihilo secius Caesar, ut ante constituerat,

duas acies hostem propulsare, tertiam opus perficere jussit. Munitis castris, duas ibi legiones reliquit et partem auxiliorum, quattuor reliquas in castra majora reduxit.

50. Proximo die, instituto suo, Caesar e castris utrisque copias suas eduxit, paulumque a majoribus castris progressus, aciem instruxit, hostibus pugnandi potestatem fecit. <sup>2</sup>Ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire intellexit, circiter meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum Ariovistus partem suarum copiarum, quae castra minora oppugnaret, misit. <sup>3</sup>Acriter utrimque usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis occasu, suas copias Ariovistus, multis et inlatis et acceptis vulneribus, in castra reduxit. <sup>4</sup>Quam ex captivis quaereret Caesar, quamobrem Ariovistus proelio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matresfamiliae eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset necne; eas ita dicere: 'Non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam proelio contendissent.'

51. Postridie ejus diei Caesar praesidium utrisque castris quod satis esse visum est reliquit, omnes alarios in conspectu hostium pro castris minoribus constituit, quod minus multitudine militum legionariorum pro hostium numero valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur; ipse, triplici instructa acie, usque ad castra hostium accessit. <sup>2</sup>Tum demum necessario Germani suas copias castris eduxerunt, generatimque constituerunt paribus intervallis, Harudes, Marcomannos, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusios, Suevos, omnemque aciem suam rhedis et carris circumdederunt, ne qua spes in fuga relinqueretur. <sup>3</sup>Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quae in proelium proficiscentes passis manibus flentes implorabant, ne se in servitutem Romanis traderent.

52. Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quaestorem praefecit, uti eos testes suae quisque virtutis haberet; ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse animadverterat, proelium commisit. <sup>2</sup>Ita nostri acriter in hostes, signo dato, impetum fecerunt, itaque hostes repente celeriterque procurrerunt, ut spatium pila in hostes coniciendi non daretur. Rejectis pilis, cominus gladiis pugnatum est. <sup>3</sup>At Germani celeriter, ex consuetudine sua phalange facta, impetus gladiatorum exceperunt. Reperiti sunt complures nostri milites, qui in phalanges insilirent, et scuta manibus revellerent, et desuper vulnerarent. <sup>4</sup>Cum hostium acies a sinistro cornu pulsa atque in fugam conversa esset, a dextro cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram aciem premebant. <sup>5</sup>Id cum animadvertisset P. Crassus adolescens, qui equitatu praerat, quod expeditior erat quam ii qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

53. Ita proelium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt, neque prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum, milia passuum ex eo loco circiter quinquaginta pervenerunt. <sup>2</sup>Ibi perpauca aut viribus confisi tranare contenderunt, aut lintribus inventis sibi salutem pepererunt. In his fuit Ariovistus, qui naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus ea profugit: reliquos omnes equitatu consecuti nostri interfecerunt. <sup>3</sup>Duae fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueva natione, quam domo secum duxerat, altera Norica, regis Voctionis soror, quam in Gallia duxerat a fratre missam: utraeque in ea fuga perierunt. Duae filiae harum altera occisa, altera capta est. <sup>4</sup>Gaius Valerius Procillus, cum a custodibus in fuga trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, in ipsum Caesarem, hostes equitatu persequentem, incidit. <sup>5</sup>Quae quidem res Caesari non minorem quam ipsa victoria voluptatem adtulit, quod hominem hones-

tissimum provinciae Galliae, suum familiarem et hospitem, ereptum e manibus hostium, sibi restitutum videbat; neque ejus calamitate de tanta voluptate et gratulatione quicquam fortuna deminuerat. <sup>6</sup>Is se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur, an in aliud tempus reservaretur: sortium beneficio se esse incolumem. Item M. Metius repertus et ad eum reductus est.

54. Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nuntiato, Suevi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti coeperunt; quos Ubii, qui proximi Rhenum incolunt, perterritos [senserunt;] insecuti, magnum ex his numerum occiderunt. <sup>2</sup>Caesar una aestate duobus maximis bellis confectis, maturius paulo quam tempus anni postulabat, in hiberna in Sequanos exercitum deduxit; hibernis Labienum praeposuit; ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

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## BOOK II.

THE BELGIAN CONFEDERACY. — A league of the Belgian tribes is reported to Cæsar, who moves rapidly to the north, and accepts the submission of the Remi (1-3). Account of the Belgians and their tribes. Cæsar advances to the Axona, relieves the siege of Bibrax, the chief place of the Remi, and establishes a camp, strongly fortified (4-8). The Belgians attempt to cross the Axona, but are driven back, and pursued with great slaughter (9-11). Surrender of the Suessiones and Bellovaci: report of the Nervii, who wait to give battle across the Sabis (12-16). Position of the two forces: the Nervii attack with great fury, and throw the Romans into confusion, which is partly overcome by their admirable discipline (17-20). After various fortune, the Nervii assault the camp, which is saved, after a desperate struggle, by the personal address and courage of Cæsar (21-22). Labienus comes up with the tenth legion, and the tide is turned; the Nervii are crushed and almost exterminated (26-28). The Aduatuci: after sundry skirmishes they sue for peace; but renewing the fight after their surrender, are subdued, and upwards of 50,000 are sold as slaves (29-33). Meanwhile Crassus secures the submission of the coast population of the Veneti, etc.; Gaul appears wholly reduced to peace, and embassies are sent to Cæsar even from beyond the Rhine (34, 35).

CUM esset Cæsar in citeriore Gallia [in hibernis], ita uti supra demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores afferebantur, litterisque item Labienî certior fiebat, omnes Belgas (quam tertiam esse Galliae partem dixeramus), contra populum Romanum conjurare, obsidesque inter se dare. <sup>2</sup>Conjurandi has esse causas: primum quod vererentur ne, omni pacata Gallia, ad eos exercitus noster adduceretur; deinde quod ab nonnullis Gallis sollicitarentur, — partim qui, ut Germanos diutius in Gallia versari noluerant, ita populi Romani exercitum hiemare atque inveterascere in Gallia moleste ferebant; <sup>3</sup>partim qui, mobilitate et levitate animi, novis imperiis studebant; ab nonnullis

etiam, quod in Gallia a potentioribus atque iis qui ad conducendos homines facultates habebant, vulgo regna occupabantur, qui minus facile eam rem imperio nostro consequi poterant.

2. His nuntiis litterisque commotus, Caesar duas legiones in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit, et in ita aestate, in interiorem Galliam qui deduceret, Q. Petium legatum misit. <sup>2</sup> Ipse, cum primum pabuli copia esse inciperet, ad exercitum venit. Dat negotium Senonibus reliquisque Gallis, qui finitimi Belgis erant, uti ea quae apud eos gerantur cognoscant, seque de his rebus certiores faciant. <sup>3</sup> Hi constanter omnes nuntiaverunt manus cogi, exercitum in unum locum conduci. <sup>4</sup> Tum vero dubitandum non existimavit quin ad eos proficisceretur. Re frumentaria comparata, castra movet, diebusque circiter quindecim ad fines Belgarum pervenit.

3. Eo cum de improviseo celeriusque omni opinione venisset, Remi, qui proximi Galliae ex Belgis sunt, ad eum legatos Iccium et Andocumborium, primos civitatis, miserunt, qui dicerent: <sup>2</sup> 'Se suaque omnia in fidem atque in potestatem populi Romani permittere, neque se cum Belgis reliquis consensisse, neque contra populum Romanum conjurasse, paratosque esse et obsides dare et imperata facere et oppidis recipere et frumento ceterisque rebus juvare; <sup>3</sup> reliquos omnes Belgas in armis esse, Germanosque, qui cis Rhenum incolant, sese cum his conjunxisse, tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem, ut ne Suessiones quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos, qui eodem jure et isdem legibus utantur, unum imperium unumque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, deterrere poterint quin cum his consentirent.'

4. Cum ab his quaereret, quae civitates quantaque in armis essent, et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat: <sup>2</sup> plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis,

Rhenumque antiquitus tractos propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedissee, Gallosque qui ea loca incolerent expulsi, solosque esse qui, patrum nostrorum memoria, omni Gallia vexata, Teutonos Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint; qua ex re fieri uti, earum rerum memoria, magnam sibi auctoritatem magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent. <sup>3</sup> De numero eorum omnia se habere explorata Remi dicebant, propterea quod propinquitatibus adfinitatibusque conjuncti, quantam quisque multitudinem in communi Belgarum concilio ad id bellum pollicitus sit cognoverint. <sup>4</sup> Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos et virtute et auctoritate et hominum numero valere: hos posse conficere armata milia centum, pollicitos ex eo numero electa sexaginta, totiusque belli imperium sibi postulare. Suessiones suos esse finitimos: latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere. <sup>5</sup> Apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentissimum, qui cum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit: nunc esse regem Galbam; ad hunc propter justitiam prudentiamque suam totius belli summam omnium voluntate deferri: <sup>6</sup> oppida habere numero XII, polliceri milia armata quinquaginta; totidem Nervios, qui maxime feri inter ipsos habeantur, longissimeque absint; quindecim milia Atrebates, Ambianos decem milia, Morinos XXV milia, Menapios VII milia; Caletos X milia; Velocasses et Veromandos totidem; Aduatucos decem et novem milia; Condrusos, Eburones, Caeroesos, Paemanos, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur, arbitrari ad XL milia.

5. Caesar Remos cohortatus liberaliterque oratione prosecutus, omnem senatum ad se convenire, principumque liberos obsides ad se adduci jussit. Quae omnia ab his diligenter ad diem facta sunt. <sup>2</sup> Ipse Divitiacum Haeduum magnopere cohortatus, docet

quanto opere rei publicae communisque salutis intersit manus hostium distineri, ne cum tanta multitudine uno tempore confligendum sit. <sup>3</sup> Id fieri posse, si suas copias Haedui in fines Bellovacorum introduxerint, et eorum agros populari coeperint. His mandatis, eum ab se dimittit. <sup>4</sup> Postquam omnes Belgarum copias in unum locum coactas ad se venire vidit, neque jam longe abesse ab iis quos miserat exploratoribus et ab Remis cognovit, flumen Axonam, quod est in extremis Remorum finibus, exercitum traducere maturavit, atque ibi castra posuit. <sup>5</sup> Quae res et latus unum castrorum ripis fluminis muniebat, et post eum quae essent tuta ab hostibus reddebat; et, commeatus ab Remis reliquisque civitatibus, ut sine periculo ad eum portari posset efficiebat. <sup>6</sup> In eo flumine pons erat. Ibi praesidium ponit, et in altera parte fluminis Q. Titurium Sabinum legatum cum sex cohortibus reliquit; castra in altitudinem pedum XII vallo fossaque duodeviginti pedum munire jubet.

6. Ab his castris oppidum Remorum nomine Bibrax aberat milia passuum octo. Id ex itinere magno impetu Belgae oppugnare coeperunt. Aegre eo die sustentatum est. <sup>2</sup> Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum oppugnatio est haec. Ubi circumjecta multitudine hominum totis moenibus undique in murum lapides jaci coepti sunt, murusque defensoribus nudatus est, testudine facta, portas succedunt murumque subruunt. <sup>3</sup> Quod tum facile fiebat. Nam cum tanta multitudo lapides ac tela conicerent, in muro consistendi potestas erat nulli. <sup>4</sup> Cum finem oppugnandi nox fecisset, Iccius Remus, summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tum oppido praefuerat, unus ex iis qui legati de pace ad Caesarem venerant, nuntium ad eum mittit: nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse.

7. Eo de media nocte Caesar, isdem ducibus usus

qui nuntii ab Iccio venerant, Numidas et Cretas sagittarios et funditores Baleares subsidio oppidanis mittit; quorum adventu et Remis cum spe defensionis studium propugnandi accessit, et hostibus eadem de causa spes potiundi oppidi discessit. <sup>2</sup> Itaque, paulisper apud oppidum morati, agrosque Remorum depopulati, omnibus vicis aedificiisque quos adire poterant incensis, ad castra Caesaris omnibus copiis contenderunt, et ab milibus passuum minus duobus castra posuerunt; quae castra, ut fumo atque ignibus significabatur, amplius milibus passuum octo in latitudinem patebant.

8. Caesar primo, et propter multitudinem hostium et propter eximiam opinionem virtutis, proelio superseedere statuit; cotidie tamen, equestribus proeliis, quid hostis virtute posset et quid nostri auderent periclitabatur. <sup>2</sup> Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris ad aciem instruendam natura opportuno atque idoneo, — quod is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paululum ex planicie editus, tantum adversus in latitudinem patebat quantum loci acies instructa occupare poterat, atque ex utraque parte lateris dejectus habebat, et in frontem leniter fastigatus paulatim ad planiciem redibat, — <sup>3</sup> ab utroque latere ejus collis transversam fossam obduxit circiter passuum quadringentorum et ad extremas fossas castella constituit, ibique tormenta conlocavit, ne, cum aciem instruxisset, hostes (quod tantum multitudine poterant) ab lateribus pugnantibus suis circumvenire possent. <sup>4</sup> Hoc facto, duabus legionibus quas proxime conscripserat in castris relictis, ut, si quo 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 exspectabant; nostri autem, si ab illis initium transeundi fieret, ut impeditos adgrederentur, parati in armis

erant. <sup>2</sup>Interim proelio equestri inter duas acies contendebatur. Ubi neutri transeundi initium faciunt, secundiore equitum proelio nostris, Caesar suos in castra reduxit. Hostes protinus ex eo loco ad flumen Axonam contenderunt, quod esse post nostra castra demonstratum est. <sup>3</sup>Ibi vadis repertis, partem suarum copiarum traducere conati sunt, eo consilio, ut, si possent, castellum, cui praeerat Q. Titurius legatus, expugnarent, pontemque interscinderent; si minus potuissent, agros Remorum popularentur, qui magno nobis usui ad bellum gerendum erant, commeatuque nostros prohiberent.

10. *Caesar*, certior factus ab Titurio, omnem equitatum et levis armaturae Numidas, funditores sagittariosque pontem traducit, atque ad eos contendit. <sup>2</sup>Acriter in eo loco pugnatum est. Hostes impeditos nostri in flumine adgressi, magnum eorum numerum occiderunt: per eorum corpora reliquos, audacissime transire conantes, multitudine telorum repulerunt; primos, qui transierant, equitatu circumventos interfecerunt. <sup>3</sup>Hostes ubi et de expugnando oppido et de flumine transeundo spem se fefellisse intellexerunt, neque nostros in locum iniquiorem progredi pugnandi causa viderunt, atque ipsos res frumentaria deficere coepit, concilio convocato, constituerunt optimum esse domum suam quemque reverti, et, quorum in fines primum Romani exercitum introduxissent, ad eos defendendos undique convenirent, ut potius in suis quam in alienis finibus decertarent, et domesticis copiis rei frumentariae uterentur. <sup>4</sup>Ad eam sententiam cum reliquis causis haec quoque ratio eos deduxit, quod Divitiacum atque Haeduos finibus Bellovacorum adpropinquare cognoverant. His persuaderi ut diutius morarentur, 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 fugae profectio videretur. <sup>2</sup> Hac re statim Caesar per speculatores cognita, insidias veritus, quod qua de causa discederent nondum perspexerat, exercitum equitatumque castris continuit. <sup>3</sup> Prima luce, confirmata re ab exploratoribus, omnem equitatum qui novissimum agmen moraretur praemisit. His Q. Pedium et L. Aurunculeium Cottam legatos praefecit; T. Labienum legatum cum legionibus tribus subsequi jussit. <sup>4</sup> Hi, novissimos adorti, et multa milia passuum prosecuti, magnam multitudinem eorum fugientium conciderunt; cum ab extremo agmine, ad quos ventum erat, consisterent, fortiterque impetum nostrorum militum sustinerent, priores, quod abesse a periculo viderentur, neque ulla necessitate neque imperio continerentur, exaudito clamore, perturbatis ordinibus, omnes in fuga sibi praesidium ponerent. <sup>5</sup> Ita sine ullo periculo tantam eorum multitudinem nostri interfecerunt, quantum fuit diei spatium; sub occasumque solis destiterunt, seque in castra, ut erat imperatum, receperunt.

12. Postridie ejus diei Caesar, 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. <sup>2</sup> Id ex itinere oppugnare conatus, quod vacuum ab defensoribus esse audiebat, propter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem, paucis defendentibus, expugnare non potuit. <sup>3</sup> Castris munitis, vineas agere quaeque ad oppugnandum usui erant comparare coepit. Interim omnis ex fuga Suessionum multitudo in oppidum proxima nocte convenit. <sup>4</sup> Celeriter vineis ad oppidum actis, aggere jacto turribusque constitutis, magnitudine operum, quae neque viderant ante Galli neque audie-

rant, et celeritate Romanorum permoti, legatos ad Caesarem de deditioe mittunt, et petentibus Remis, ut conservarentur impetrant.

13. Caesar obsidibus acceptis primis civitatis, atque ipsius Galbae regis duobus filiis, armisque omnibus ex oppido traditis, in deditioem Suessiones accepit, exercitumque in Bellovacos ducit. <sup>2</sup> Qui cum se suaque omnia in oppidum Bratuspantium contulissent, atque ab eo oppido Caesar cum exercitu circiter milia passuum quinque abesset, omnes majores natu, ex oppido egressi, manus ad Caesarem tendere, et voce significare coeperunt sese in ejus fidem ac potestatem venire, neque contra populum Romanum armis contendere. <sup>3</sup> Item, cum ad oppidum accessisset, castraque ibi poneret, pueri mulieresque ex muro passis manibus suo more pacem ab Romanis petierunt.

14. Pro his Divitiacus — nam post discessum Belgarum, dimissis Haeduum copiis, ad eum reverterat — facit verba: ‘ Bellovacos omni tempore in fide atque amicitia civitatis Haeduae fuisse: <sup>2</sup> impulsos a suis principibus, qui dicerent Haeduos, ab Caesare in servitutum redactos, omnes indignitates contumeliasque perferre, et ab Haeduis defecisse, et populo Romano bellum intulisse. <sup>3</sup> Qui ejus consilii principes fuissent, quod intellegerent quantam calamitatem civitati intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse. <sup>4</sup> Petere non solum Bellovacos, sed etiam pro his Haeduos, ut sua clementia ac mansuetudine in eos utatur. <sup>5</sup> Quod si fecerit, Haeduum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum, quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare consuerint.’

15. Caesar honoris Divitiaci atque Haeduum causa sese eos in fidem recepturum et conservaturum dixit; quod erat civitas magna inter Belgas auctoritate, atque hominum multitudine praestabat, sexcentos obsides poposcit. <sup>2</sup> His traditis, omnibusque armis ex oppido

conlatis, ab eo loco in fines Ambianorum pervenit, qui se suaque omnia sine mora dederunt. Eorum fines Nervii attingebant; quorum de natura moribusque Caesar cum quaereret, sic reperiebat: Nullum aditum esse ad eos mercatoribus; nihil pati vini reliquarumque rerum inferri, quod iis rebus relanguescere animos [eorum] et remitti virtutem existimarent: <sup>4</sup> esse homines feros magnaque virtutis; increpitare atque incusare reliquos Belgas, qui se populo Romano dedidissent patriamque virtutem projecissent; confirmare sese neque legatos missuros, neque ullam condicionem pacis accepturos.

16. Cum per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset, inveniebat ex captivis Sabim flumen ab castris suis non amplius milia passuum x abesse: <sup>2</sup> trans id flumen omnes Nervios consedissee, adventumque ibi Romanorum exspectare, una cum Atrebatis et Veromanduis, finitimis suis (nam his utrisque persuaserant, ut eandem belli fortunam experirentur); <sup>3</sup> exspectari etiam ab his Aduatucorum copias atque esse in itinere; mulieres quique per aetatem ad pugnam inutiles viderentur in eum locum conjecisse, quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset.

17. His rebus cognitis, exploratores centurionesque praemittit, qui locum idoneum castris deligant. Cum ex dediticiis Belgis reliquisque Gallis complures Caesarem secuti una iter facerent, quidam ex his, ut postea ex captivis cognitum est, eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta, nocte ad Nervios pervenerunt; <sup>2</sup> atque his demonstrarunt inter singulas legiones impedimentorum magnum numerum intercedere, neque esse quicquam negotii, cum prima legio in castra venisset, reliquaeque legiones magnum spatium abessent, hanc sub sarcinis adoriri; qua pulsa impedimentisque direptis, futurum ut reliquae contra consistere non auderent. <sup>3</sup> Adjuvabat etiam eorum

consilium qui rem deferebant, quod Nervii antiquitus, cum equitatu nihil possent (neque enim ad hoc tempus ei rei student, sed, quicquid possunt, pedestribus valent copiis), <sup>4</sup>quo facilius finitimorum equitatum, si praedandi causa ad eos venissent, impedirent, teneris arboribus incisus atque inflexis, crebrisque in latitudinem ramis enatis, et rubis sentibusque interjectis, effecerant ut instar muri hae sepes munimenta praebere, quo non modo non intrari, sed ne perspicere quidem posset. His rebus cum iter agminis nostri impediretur, non omittendum sibi consilium Nervii existimaverunt.

18. Loci natura erat haec, quem locum nostri castris delegerant. Collis ab summo aequaliter declivis ad flumen Sabim, quod supra nominavimus, vergebat. <sup>2</sup>Ab eo flumine pari adclivitate collis nascebatur adversus huic et contrarius, passus circiter ducentos infimus apertus, ab superiore parte silvestris, ut non facile introrsus perspicere posset. <sup>3</sup>Intra eas silvas hostes in occulto sese continebant; in aperto loco secundum flumen paucae stationes equitum videbantur. Fluminis erat altitudo pedum circiter trium.

19. Caesar equitatu praemisso subsequebatur omnibus copiis; sed ratio ordoque agminis aliter se habebat ac Belgae ad Nervios detulerant. <sup>2</sup>Nam quod ad hostis adpropinquabat, consuetudine sua Caesar sex legiones expeditas ducebat; post eas totius exercitus impedimenta conlocarat; inde duae legiones, quae proxime conscriptae erant, totum agmen claudebant, praesidioque impedimentis erant. <sup>3</sup>Equites nostri, cum funditoribus sagittariisque flumen transgressi, cum hostium equitatu proelium commiserunt. <sup>4</sup>Cum se illi identidem in silvas ad suos reciperent, ac rursus ex silva in nostros impetum facerent, neque nostri longius quam quem ad finem porrecta loca aperta pertinebant cedentes insequi auderent, interim legiones sex, quae primae venerant, opere dimenso, castra

munire coeperunt <sup>5</sup> Ubi prima impedimenta nostri exercitus ab iis qui in silvis abditi latebant visa sunt, quod tempus inter eos committendi proelii convenerat, ut intra silvas aciem ordinesque constituerant atque ipsi sese confirmaverant, subito omnibus copiis provolaverunt, impetumque in nostros equites fecerunt. <sup>6</sup> His facile pulsus ac proturbatis, incredibili celeritate ad flumen decurrerunt, ut paene uno tempore et ad silvas et in flumine et jam in manibus nostris hostes viderentur. Eadem autem celeritate adverso colle ad nostra castra, atque eos qui in opere occupati erant, contenderunt.

20. Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum proponendum (quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurrere oporteret), signum tuba dandum, ab opere revocandi milites, qui paulo longius aggeris petendi causa processerant arcessendi, acies instruenda, milites cohortandi, signum dandum. Quarum rerum magnam partem temporis brevitatis et successus hostium impediens. <sup>2</sup> His difficultatibus duae res erant subsidio, — scientia atque usus militum, quod superioribus proeliis exercitati, quid fieri oporteret, non minus commode ipsi sibi praescribere quam ab aliis doceri poterant; et quod ab opere singulisque legionibus singulos legatos Caesar discedere nisi munitis castris vetuerat. <sup>3</sup> Hi, propter propinquitatem et celeritatem hostium, nihil jam Caesaris imperium exspectabant, sed per se quae videbantur administrabant.

21. Caesar, necessariis rebus imperatis, ad cohortandos milites quam in partem fors obtulit decurrit, et ad legionem decumam devenit. <sup>2</sup> Milites non longiore oratione cohortatus, quam uti suae pristinae virtutis memoriam retinerent, neu perturbarentur animo, hostiumque impetum fortiter sustinerent, quod non longius hostes aberant quam quo telum adici posset, proelii committendi signum dedit. <sup>3</sup> Atque in

alteram partem item cohortandi causa profectus, pugnantibus occurrit. <sup>1</sup>Temporis tanta fuit exiguitas, hostiumque tam paratus ad dimicandum animus, ut non modo ad insignia adcommodanda, sed etiam ad galeas induendas scutisque tegimenta detrudenda tempus defuerit. <sup>2</sup>Quam quisque ab opere in partem casu devenit, quaeque prima signa conspexit, ad haec constitit, ne in quaerendis suis pugnandi tempus dimitteret.

22. Instructo exercitu, magis ut loci natura dejectusque collis et necessitas temporis, quam ut rei militaris ratio atque ordo postulabat, cum diversis legionibus aliae alia in parte hostibus resisterent, sepiusque densissimis (ut ante demonstravimus) interjectis prospectus impediretur, neque certa subsidia conlocari, neque quid in quaque parte opus esset provideri, neque ab uno omnia imperia administrari poterant. Itaque, in tanta rerum iniquitate, fortunae quoque eventus varii sequebantur.

23. Legionis nonae et decimae milites, ut in sinistra parte acie constiterant, pilis emissis, cursu ac lassitudine exanimatos vulneribusque confectos Atrebates — nam his ea pars obvenerat — celeriter ex loco superiore in flumen compulerunt, et transire conantes insecuti, gladiis magnam partem eorum impeditam interfecerunt. <sup>1</sup>Ipsi transire flumen non dubitaverunt, et in locum iniquum progressi, rursus resistentes hostes redintegrato proelio in fugam conjecerunt. <sup>2</sup>Item alia in parte diversae duae legiones, undecima et octava, profligatis Veromanduis, quibuscum erant congressi, ex loco superiore in ipsis fluminis ripis proeliabantur. <sup>3</sup>At totis fere a fronte et ab sinistra parte nudatis castris, quom in dextro cornu legio duodecima et non magno ab ea intervallo septima constitisset, omnes Nervii confertissimo agmine, duce Boduognato, qui summam imperii tenebat, ad eum

locum contenderunt; quorum pars aperto latere legiones circumvenire, pars summum castrorum locum petere coepit.

24. Eodem tempore equites nostri levisque armaturae pedites, qui cum iis una fuerant, quos primo hostium impetu pulsos dixeram, cum se in castra reciperent, adversis hostibus occurrebant, ac rursus aliam in partem fugam petebant; <sup>2</sup> et calones, qui ab decumana porta ac summo jugo collis nostros victores flumen transisse conspexerant, praedandi causa egressi, cum respexissent et hostes in nostris castris versari vidissent, praecipites fugae sese mandabant. <sup>3</sup> Simul eorum, qui cum impedimentis veniebant, clamor fremitusque oriebatur, aliique aliam in partem perterriti ferebantur. <sup>4</sup> Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Treveri, quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis, qui auxilii causa ab civitate ad Caesarem missi venerant, cum multitudine hostium castra compleri, legiones premi et paene circumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores, Numidas diversos dissipatosque in omnes partes fugere vidissent, desperatis nostris rebus, domum contenderunt; Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque eorum hostes potitos, civitati renuntiaverunt.

25. Caesar ab decimae legionis cohortatione ad dextrum cornu profectus, ubi suos urgeri, signisque in unum locum conlatis, duodecimae legionis confertos milites sibi ipsos ad pugnam esse impedimento vidit, — <sup>2</sup> quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis, signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso, reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in his primipilo P. Sextio Baculo, fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto, ut jam se sustinere non posset; <sup>3</sup> reliquos esse tardiores, et nonnullos ab novissimis deserto proelio excedere ac tela vitare, hostis neque a fronte ex inferiore loco

subeuntes intermittere, et ab utroque latere instare, et rem esse in angusto vidit, neque ullum esse subsidium quod summitti posset, — <sup>4</sup> scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto, quod ipse eo sine scuto venerat, in primam aciem processit; centurionibusque nominatim appellatis, reliquos cohortatus, milites signa inferre et manipulos laxare iussit, quo facilius gladiis uti possent. <sup>6</sup> Cujus adventu spe inlata militibus, ac redintegrato animo, cum pro se quisque in conspectu imperatoris etiam in extremis suis rebus operam navare cuperet, paulum hostium impetus tardatus est.

26. Caesar, cum septimam legionem, quae juxta constiterat, item urgeri ab hoste vidisset, tribunos militum monuit, ut paulatim sese legiones conjungerent, et conversa signa in hostes inferrent. <sup>2</sup> Quo facto, cum alius alii subsidium ferret, neque timerent ne aversi ab hoste circumvenirentur, audacius resistere ac fortius pugnare coeperunt. <sup>3</sup> Interim milites legionum duarum, quae in novissimo agmine praesidio impedimentis fuerant, proelio nuntiato, cursu incitato, in summo colle ab hostibus conspiciebantur; <sup>4</sup> et T. Labienus, castris hostium potitus, et ex loco superiore quae res in nostris castris gererentur conspicatus, decimam legionem subsidio nostris misit. <sup>5</sup> Qui, cum ex equitum et calonum fuga, quo in loco res esset, quantoque in periculo et castra et legiones et imperator versaretur, cognovissent, nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui fecerunt.

27. Hoc adventu tanta rerum commutatio est facta, ut nostri, etiam qui vulneribus confecti procubissent, scutis innixi proelium redintegrarent; tum calones, perterritos hostes conspicati, etiam inermes armatis occurrerent; equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugae virtute delerent, omnibus in locis [pugnant, quo] se legionariis militibus praeferrent. <sup>2</sup> At hostes etiam in extrema spe salutis tantam virtutem praestiterunt,

ut, cum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi jacentibus insisterent, atque ex eorum corporibus pugnarent; <sup>1</sup> his dejectis, et coacervatis cadaveribus, qui superessent ut ex tumulo tela in nostros conicerent, et pila intercepta remitterent: ut non nequiquam tantae virtutis homines judicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere altissimas ripas, subire iniquissimum locum; quae facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo redegerat.

28. Hoc proelio facto, et prope ad interneconem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto, majores natu, quos una cum pueris mulieribusque in aestuaria ac paludes conjectos dixeramus, hac pugna nuntiata, cum victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum arbitrarentur, omnium qui supererant consensu, legatos ad Caesarem miserunt, seque ei dederunt; <sup>2</sup> et in commemoranda civitatis calamitate, ex sexcentis ad tres senatores, ex hominum milibus LX vix ad quingentos, qui arma ferre possent, sese redactos esse dixerunt. <sup>3</sup> Quos Caesar, ut in miseros 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 scripsimus, cum omnibus copiis auxilio Nervii venirent, hac pugna nuntiata, ex itinere domum reverterunt; cunctis oppidis castellisque desertis, sua omnia in unum oppidum egregie natura munitum contulerunt. <sup>2</sup> Quod cum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despectusque haberet, una ex parte leniter adclivis aditus in latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum relinquebatur; quem locum duplici altissimo muro munierant: tum magni ponderis saxa et praeacutas trabes in muro conlocabant. <sup>3</sup> Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati, qui, cum iter in provinciam nostram atque

Italiam facerent, iis impedimentis, quae secum agere ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depositis, custodiam ex suis ac praesidium sex milia hominum una reliquerunt. <sup>4</sup> Hi post eorum obitum multos annos a finitimis exagitati, cum alias bellum inferrent, alias inlatum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium pace facta, hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt.

30. Ac, primo adventu exercitus nostri, crebras ex oppido excursions faciebant, parvulisque proeliis cum nostris contendebant; postea vallo pedum XII in circuitu XV milium crebrisque castellis circummuniti, oppido sese continebant. <sup>2</sup> Ubi vineis actis, aggere exstructo, turrim procul constitui viderunt, primum inridere ex muro, atque increpitare vocibus, quod tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio instrueretur: <sup>3</sup> quibusnam manibus aut quibus viribus praesertim homines tantulae staturae — nam plerumque hominibus Gallis prae magnitudine corporum suorum brevitata nostra contempti est — tanti oneris turrim in muro sese collocare confiderent?

31. Ubi vero moveri et adpropinquare moenibus viderunt, nova atque inusitata specie commoti, legatos ac Caesarem de pace miserunt, qui ad hunc modum locuti: <sup>2</sup> 'Non existimare Romanos sine ope divina bellum gerere, qui tantae altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere possent; se suaque omnia eorum potestati permittere' dixerunt. <sup>3</sup> 'Unum petere ac deprecari: si forte pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset Aduaticos esse conservandos, ne se armis despoliaret. <sup>4</sup> Sibi omnes fere finitimos esse inimicos ac suae virtuti invidere; a quibus se defendere traditis armis non possent. <sup>5</sup> Sibi praestare, si in eum casum deducerentur, quamvis fortunam a populo Romano pati, quam ab his per cruciatum interfici, inter quos dominari consuessent.'

32. Ad haec Caesar respondit: 'Se magis consue-  
tine sua quam merito eorum civitatem conservatu-  
m, si prius quam murum aries attigisset se dedidis-  
sent: sed deditionis nullam esse condicionem nisi  
armis traditis. <sup>2</sup> Se id quod in Nervii fecisset factu-  
rum, finitumisque imperaturum, ne quam dediticiis  
populi Romani injuriam inferrent.' Re nuntiata ad  
suos, quae imperarentur facere dixerunt. <sup>3</sup> Armorum  
magna multitudine de muro in fossam, quae erat ante  
oppidum, jacta, sic ut prope summam muri aggerisque  
altitudinem acervi armorum adaequarent, et tamen  
circiter parte tertia, ut postea perspectum est, celata  
atque in oppido retenta, portis patefactis, eo die pace  
sunt usi.

33. Sub vesperum Caesar portas claudi militesque  
ex oppido exire jussit, ne quam noctu oppidani ab  
militibus injuriam acciperent. Illi, ante inito (ut in-  
tellectum est) consilio, quod deditione facta nostros  
praesidia deducturos aut denique indiligentius serva-  
tuos crediderant, — <sup>2</sup> partim cum iis quae retinuerant  
et celaverant armis, partim scutis ex cortice factis aut  
viminibus intextis, quae subito, ut temporis exiguitas  
postulabat, pellibus induxerant, — tertia vigilia, qua  
minime arduus ad nostras munitiones ascensus vide-  
batur, omnibus copiis repentino ex oppido eruptionem  
fecerunt. <sup>3</sup> Celeriter, ut ante Caesar imperarat, igni-  
bus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis eo con-  
cursum est, pugnatumque ab hostibus ita acriter est, ut  
a viris fortibus in extrema spe salutis, iniquo loco,  
contra eos qui ex vallo turribusque tela jacerent, pug-  
nari debuit, cum in una virtute omnis spes salutis  
consisteret. <sup>4</sup> Occisis ad hominum milibus quattuor,  
reliqui in oppidum rejecti sunt. Postridie ejus diei  
refractis portis, cum jam defenderet nemo, atque in-  
tromissis militibus nostris, sectionem ejus oppidi uni-  
versam Caesar vendidit. Ab iis qui emerant, capitem

numerus ad eum relatus est milium quinquaginta trium. [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn)

34. Eodem tempore a P. Crasso, quem cum legione una miserat ad Venetos, Unellos, Osismos, Curiosolitas, Esvios, Aulercos, Redones, quae sunt maritumae civitates Oceanumque attingunt, certior factus est omnes eas civitates in dicionem potestatemque populi Romani esse redactas.

35. His rebus gestis, omni Gallia pacata, tanta hujus belli ad barbaros opinio perlata est, uti ab iis nationibus, quae trans Rhenum incolerent, mitterentur legati ad Caesarem, qui se obsides daturas, imperata facturas pollicerentur. <sup>2</sup> Quas legationes Caesar, quod in Italiam Illyricumque properabat, inita proxima aestate ad se reverti jussit. <sup>3</sup> Ipse in Carnutes, Andes Turonesque, quae civitates propinquae his locis erant, ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hibernacula deductis, in Italiam profectus est. <sup>4</sup> Ob easque res ex litteris Caesaris dies quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.

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BOOK III.

ALPINE CAMPAIGN. — A garrison, under the command of Servius Galba, had been set to guard the passes of the Upper Rhone, but is threatened by a formidable force, and brought into extreme danger (1-3). After sustaining an attack of some six hours, the garrison make a sudden sally, drive back the enemy, destroy the neighboring villages, and retire to the lower country, south of Lake Geneva, for the winter (4-6).

NAVAL CAMPAIGN. — The sea-faring tribes of Brittany form a strong league, under lead of the Veneti, and demand back their hostages from Crassus (7, 8). Cæsar prepares a fleet upon the Loire; the enemy fortify themselves on the coast. Labienus is sent to guard the north, and Crassus to the south; and Brutus is put in command of the Roman fleet (9-11). Situation of the Venetian strongholds; description of the fleets (12, 13). Engagement of the fleets: the enemies' sailyards are cut away, and their ships dispersed; they surrender, their leaders are slain, and the rest sold as slaves (14-16). Meanwhile Sabinus, who is sent among the Unelli, on the Channel, a little further north, is attacked by them, but drives them back with great slaughter, and compels their surrender (17-19).

SOUTHERN GAUL. — Crassus, in Aquitania, after some skirmishing, is threatened by a strong league, relying chiefly on the *soldurii*; but attacks them in their camp, and secures the conquest of the whole region (20-27). Cæsar, meanwhile, proceeds against the Morini, &c., along the coast of Flanders; and, as they retire to their marshes, falls back to winter quarters near the mouth of the Seine (28, 29).

CUM in Italiam proficisceretur Caesar, Servium Galbam, cum legione duodecima et parte equitatus, in Nantuatis, Veragros Sedunosque misit, qui ab finibus Allobrogum et lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano ad summas Alpes pertinent. <sup>2</sup>Causa mittendi fuit, quod iter per Alpes, quo magno cum periculo magnisque cum portoriis mercatores ire consuerant,

patefieri volebat. Huic permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in his locis legionem hiemandi causa conlocaret. <sup>3</sup> Galba, secundis aliquot proeliis factis, castellisque compluribus eorum expugnatis, missis ad eum undique legatis, obsidibusque datis et pace facta, constituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus conlocare, et ipse cum reliquis ejus legionis cohortibus in vico Veragrorum, qui appellatur Octodurus, hiemare; <sup>4</sup> qui vicus, positus in valle, non magna adjecta planicie, altissimis montibus undique continetur. <sup>5</sup> Cum hic in duas partes flumine divideretur, alteram partem ejus vici Gallis ad hiemandum concessit, alteram vacuum ab his relictam cohortibus adtribuit. Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit.

2. Cum dies hibernorum complures transissent, frumentumque eo comportari jussisset, subito per exploratores certior factus est ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis concesserat, omnes noctu discessisse, montesque, qui impenderent, a maxima multitudine Sedunorum et Veragrorum teneri. <sup>2</sup> Id 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 — propter paucitatem despiciebant; <sup>3</sup> tum etiam quod propter iniquitatem loci, cum ipsi ex montibus in vallem decurrerent et tela conicerent, ne primum quidem posse impetum suum sustineri existimabant. <sup>4</sup> 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 deditione facta obsidibusque acceptis nihil de bello timendum existimaverat, consilio celeriter convocato, sententias exquirere coepit. <sup>2</sup> Quo in consilio, cum tantum repentini periculi praeter opinionem accidisset, ac jam omnia fere superiora loca multitudine armatorum completa conspicerentur, neque subsidio veniri neque commeatus supportari interclusis itineribus possent, <sup>3</sup> prope jam desperata salute, nonnullae hujusmodi sententiae dicebantur, ut impedimentis relictis, eruptione facta, isdem itineribus quibus eo pervenissent, ad salutem contenderent. <sup>4</sup> Majori tamen parti placuit, hoc reservato ad extremum consilio, interim rei eventum experiri, et castra defendere.

4. Brevi spatio interjecto, vix ut iis rebus quas constituisent conlocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus signo dato decurrere, lapides gaesaeque in vallum conicere. <sup>2</sup> Nostri primo integris viribus fortiter repugnare, neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere, ut quaeque pars castrorum nudata defensoribus premi videbatur, eo occurrere et auxilium ferre; sed hoc superari, quod diuturnitate pugnae hostes defessi proelio excedebant, alii integris viribus succedebant: <sup>3</sup> quarum rerum a nostris propter paucitatem fieri 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 nostros deficerent, atque hostes acrius instarent, languidioribusque nostris vallum scindere et fossas complere coepissent, resque esset jam ad extremum perducta casum, <sup>2</sup> P. Sextius Baculus, primi pili centurio, quem Nervico proelio compluribus confectum vulneribus diximus, et item Gaius Volusenus, tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni et virtutis, ad Galbam adcurrunt, atque unam

esse spem salutis docent, si eruptione facta extremum auxilium experirentur. <sup>8</sup> Itaque, convocatis centurionibus, celeriter milites certiores facit, paulisper intermitterent proelium, ac tantummodo tela missa exciperent seque 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. <sup>2</sup> Ita commutata fortuna, eos qui in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant undique circumventos interficiunt; et ex hominum milibus amplius triginta, quem numerum barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat, plus tertia parte interfecta, reliquos perterritos in fugam coniciunt, ac ne in locis quidem superioribus consistere patiuntur. <sup>3</sup> Sic omnibus hostium copiis fuis, armisque exutis, se in castra munitionesque suas recipiunt. <sup>4</sup> Quo proelio facto, quod saepius fortunam temptare Galba nolebat, atque alio se in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat, aliis occurrisse rebus viderat, maxime frumenti commeatusque inopia permotus, postero die, omnibus ejus vici aedificiis incensis, in provinciam reverti contendit, ac nullo hoste prohibente aut iter demorante, incolumem legionem in Nantuatis, inde in Allobroges perduxit, ibique hiemavit.

7. His rebus gestis, cum omnibus de causis Caesar pacatam Galliam existimaret, superatis Belgis, expulsis Germanis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis, atque ita inita hieme in Illyricum profectus esset, quod eas quoque nationes adire et regiones cognoscere volebat, subitum bellum in Gallia coörtum est. <sup>2</sup> Ejus belli haec fuit causa. P. Crassus adolescens cum legione septima proximus mare Oceanum in Andibus hiemarat. <sup>3</sup> Is, quod in his locis inopia frumenti erat, praefectos tribunosque militum complures in finitimas civitates

frumenti causa dimisit; quo in numero erat T. Terrasidius missus in Esvios, M. Trebius Gallus in Curiosolitas, Q. Velanius cum T. Silio in Venetos.

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 magno impetu maris atque aperto paucis portibus interjectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerunt, habent vectigales. <sup>2</sup>Ab his fit initium retinendi Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides, quos Crasso dedissent, recipaturos existimabant. <sup>3</sup>Horum auctoritate finitimi adducti (ut sunt Gallorum subita et repentina consilia), eadem de causa Trebium Terrasidiumque retinent; et celeriter missis legatis, per suos principes inter se conjurant, nihil nisi communi consilio acturos, eundemque omnis fortunae exitum esse laturos; <sup>4</sup>reliquasque civitates sollicitant, ut in ea libertate quam a majoribus acceperant permanere, quam Romanorum servitatem perferre mallent. <sup>5</sup>Omnis ora maritima celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta, communem legationem ad P. 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 aedificari in flumine Ligere, quod influit in Oceanum, remiges ex provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari jubet. His rebus celeriter administratis, ipse, cum primum per anni tempus potuit, ad exercitum contendit. <sup>2</sup>Veneti reliquaeque item civitates, cognito Caesaris adventu [certiores facti], simul quod quantum in se facinus admisissent intellegebant, legatos — quod nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisset — retentos ab se et in vincla conjectos, pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare, et maxime

ea quae ad usum navium pertinent providere instituunt, hoc majore spe, quod multum natura loci confidebant. <sup>3</sup> Pedestria esse itinera concisa aestuariis, navigationem impeditam propter inscientiam locorum paucitatemque portuum sciebant, neque nostros exercitus propter frumenti inopiam diutius apud se morari posse confidebant: <sup>4</sup> 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. <sup>5</sup> His initis consiliis, oppida muniunt, frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant, naves in Venetiam, ubi Caesarem primum esse bellum gesturum constabat, quam plurimas possunt, cogunt. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismos, Lexovios, Namnetes, Ambiliatos, Morinos, Diablintres, Menapios adsciscunt; auxilia ex Britannia, quae contra eas regiones posita est, arcessunt.

10. Erant hae difficultates belli gerendi, quas supra ostendimus, sed multa Caesarem tamen ad id bellum incitabant: injuriae retentorum equitum Romanorum, rebellio facta post deditioem, defectio datis obsidibus, tot civitatum conjuratio; imprimis ne, hac parte neglecta, reliquae nationes sibi idem licere arbitrarentur. <sup>2</sup> Itaque cum intellegeret omnes fere Gallos novis rebus studere, et ad bellum mobiliter celeriterque excitari, omnes autem homines natura libertati studere et condicionem servitutis odisse, priusquam plures civitates conspirarent, partiendum sibi ac latius distribuendum exercitum putavit.

11. Itaque T. Labienum legatum in Treveros, qui proximi flumini Rheno sunt, cum equitatu mittit. Huic mandat Remos reliquosque Belgas adeat, atque in officio contineat; Germanosque, qui auxilio a Belgis

arcessiti dicebantur, si per vim navibus flumen transire conentur, prohibeat.<sup>2</sup> P. Crassum, cum cohortibus legionariis duodecim et magno numero equitatus, in Aquitaniam proficisci jubet, ne ex his nationibus auxilia in Galliam mittantur, ac tantae nationes conjungantur. <sup>3</sup> Q. Titurium Sabinum legatum cum legionibus tribus in Unellos, Curiosolites Lexoviosque mittit, qui eam manum destinendam curet. <sup>4</sup> Decimum Brutum adulescentem classi Gallicisque navibus, quas ex Pictonibus et Santonis reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire jusserat, praeficit, et, cum primum posset, in Venetos proficisci jubet. Ipse eo pedestribus copiis contendit.

12. Erant ejusmodi fere situs oppidorum, ut, posita in extremis lingulis promunturiisque, neque pedibus aditum haberent, cum ex alto se aestus incitavisset (quod [bis] accidit semper horarum XII spatio), neque navibus, quod rursus minuente aestu naves in vadis afflictaerentur. <sup>2</sup> Ita utraque re oppidorum oppugnatio impediabatur; ac si quando — magnitudine operis forte superati, extruso mari aggere ac molibus, atque his oppidi moenibus adaequatis — suis fortunis desperare coeperant, magno numero navium adpulso, cujus rei summam facultatem habebant, sua deportabant omnia, seque in proxima oppida recipiebant: ibi se rursus isdem opportunitatibus loci defendebant. <sup>3</sup> Haec eo facilius magnam partem aestatis faciebant, quod nostrae naves tempestatibus detinebantur, summaque erat — vasto atque aperto mari, magnis aestibus, raris ac prope nullis portibus — difficultas navigandi.

13. Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factae armataeque erant: carinae aliquanto planiores quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere possent; <sup>2</sup> prorae admodum erectae, atque item puppes ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque adcommodatae; naves totae factae ex robore

ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam; transtra pedalibus in altitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine; <sup>3</sup> ancorae pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctae; pelles pro velis alutaeque tenuiter confectae, hae 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 commode posse arbitrabantur. <sup>4</sup> Cum his navibus nostrae classi ejusmodi congressus erat, ut una celeritate et pulsu remorum praestaret; reliqua pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum, illis essent aptiora et accommodatiora. <sup>5</sup> Neque enim his nostrae rostro nocere poterant — tanta in iis erat firmitudo — neque propter altitudinem facile telum adiciebatur, et eadem de causa minus commode copulis continebantur. <sup>6</sup> Accedebat ut, cum saevire ventus coepisset et se vento dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius, et in vadis consisterent tutius, et ab aestu relictæ nihil saxa et cautes timerent; quarum rerum omnium nostris navibus casus erat extimescendus.

14. Compluribus expugnatis oppidis, Caesar, ubi intellexit frustra tantum laborem sumi, neque hostium fugam captis oppidis reprimi neque iis noceri posse, statuit exspectandam classem. <sup>2</sup> Quae ubi convenit ac primum ab hostibus visa est, circiter ccxx naves eorum, paratissimae atque omni genere armorum ornatissimae, profectae ex portu, nostris adversae constiterunt; neque satis Bruto, qui classi praeerat, vel tribunis militum centurionibusque, quibus singulae naves erant adtributae, constabat quid agerent, aut quam rationem pugnae insisterent. <sup>3</sup> Rostro enim noceri non posse cognoverant; turribus autem excitationis, tamen has altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus superabat; ut neque ex inferiore loco satis commode tela adici possent, et missa ab Gallis gravius accide-

rent. <sup>4</sup>Una erat magno usui res præparata a nostris, — falces præacutaæ insertaæ adfixaæque longuriis, non absimili forma muralium falcium. <sup>5</sup>His cum funes, qui antemnas ad malos destinabant, comprehensi adductique erant, navigio remis incitato prærumpebantur. <sup>6</sup>Quibus abscisis antemnae necessario concidebant; ut, cum omnis Gallicis navibus spes in velis armamentisque consisteret, his ereptis, omnis usus navium uno tempore eriperetur. <sup>7</sup>Reliquum erat certamen positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile superabant, atque eo magis, quod in conspectu Cæsaris atque omnis exercitus res gerebatur, ut nullum paulo fortius factum latere posset; omnes enim colles ac loca superiora, unde erat propinquus despectus in mare, ab exercitu tenebantur.

15. Disjectis (ut diximus) antemnis, cum singulas binæ ac ternæ naves circumsteterant, milites summa vi transcendere in hostium naves contendebant. <sup>2</sup>Quod postquam barbari fieri animadverterunt, expugnatis compluribus navibus, cum ei rei nullum reperiretur auxilium, fuga salutem petere contenderunt. <sup>3</sup>Ac jam, conversis in eam partem navibus quo ventus ferebat, tanta subito malacia ac tranquillitas exstitit, ut se ex loco commovere non possent. <sup>4</sup>Quaë quidem res ad negotium conficiendum maxime fuit opportuna: nam singulas nostri consectati expugnaverunt, ut perpaucaë ex omni numero noctis interventu ad terram pervenerint, cum ab hora fere quarta usque ad solis occasum pugnaretur.

16. Quo proelio bellum Venetorum totiusque orae maritimaë confectum est. Nam cum omnis juvenus, omnes etiam gravioris aetatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant, tum navium quod ubique fuerat unum in locum coëgerant; <sup>2</sup>quibus amissis, reliqui neque quo se reciperent, neque quem ad modum oppida defenderent habebant. Itaque se

suaque omnia Caesari dediderunt. <sup>3</sup>In quos eo gravius Caesar vindicandum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris jus legatorum conservaretur. Itaque, omni senatu necato, reliquos sub corona vendidit.

17. Dum haec in Venetis geruntur, Q. Titurius Sabinus, cum iis copiis quas a Caesare acceperat, in fines Unellorum pervenit. His praeerat Viridovix, ac summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum quae defecerant, ex quibus exercitum magnasque copias coegerat; <sup>2</sup>atque his paucis diebus Aulerci, Ebuovices, Lexoviique, senatu suo interfecto, quod auctores belli esse nolebant, portas clauserunt, seque cum Viridovix conjunxerunt; magnaue praeterea multitudo undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum latronumque convenerat, quos spes praedandi studiumque bellandi ab agricultura et cotidiano labore revocabat. <sup>3</sup>Sabinus idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris sese tenebat, cum Viridovix contra eum duum milium spatio consedisset, cotidieque productis copiis pugnandi potestatem faceret; ut jam non solum hostibus in contemptionem Sabinus veniret, sed etiam nostrorum militum vocibus nonnihil carperetur; tantamque opinionem timoris praebuit, ut jam ad vallum castrorum hostes accedere auderent. <sup>4</sup>Id ea de causa faciebat, quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, praesertim eo absente qui summam imperii teneret, nisi aequo loco aut opportunitate aliqua data, legato dimicandum non existimabat.

18. Hac confirmata opinione timoris, idoneum quendam hominem et callidum delegit, Gallum, ex iis quos auxilii causa secum habebat. Huic magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque persuadet, uti ad hostes transeat, et quid fieri velit edocet. <sup>2</sup>Qui ubi pro perfuga ad eos venit, timorem Romanorum proponit; quibus angustiis ipse Caesar a Venetis prematur docet; neque longius

abesse quin proxima nocte Sabinus clam ex castris exercitum educat, et ad Caesarem auxilii ferendi causa proficiscatur. <sup>3</sup>Quod ubi auditum est, conclamant omnes occasionem negotii bene gerendi amittendam non esse, ad castra iri oportere. <sup>4</sup>Multae res ad hoc consilium Gallos hortabantur: superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio, perfugae confirmatio, inopia cibariorum, cui rei parum diligenter ab iis erat provisum, spes Venetici belli, et quod fere libenter homines id quod volunt credunt. <sup>5</sup>His rebus adducti, non prius Viridovicem reliquosque duces ex concilio dimittunt, quam ab his sit concessum, arma uti capiant et ad castra contendunt. <sup>6</sup>Qua re concessa, laeti ut explorata victoria, sarmentis virgultisque collectis, quibus fossas Romanorum compleant, ad castra pergunt.

19. Locus erat castrorum editus, et paulatim ab imo adclivis circiter passus mille. Huc magno cursu contenderunt, ut quam minimum spatii ad se colligendos armandosque Romanis daretur, exanimatique pervernerunt. <sup>2</sup>Sabinus, suos hortatus, cupientibus signum dat. Impeditis hostibus propter ea quae ferebant onera, subito duabus portis eruptionem fieri jubet. <sup>3</sup>Factum est opportunitate loci, hostium inscientia ac defetigatione, virtute militum et superiorum pugnarum exercitatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum impetum ferrent, ac statim terga verterent. <sup>4</sup>Quos impeditos integris viribus milites nostri consecuti, magnum numerum eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites consecutati paucos, qui ex fuga evaserant, reliquerunt. <sup>5</sup>Sic uno tempore et de navali pugna Sabinus et de Sabini victoria Caesar certior factus *est*; civitatesque omnes se statim Titurio dederunt. <sup>6</sup>Nam ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.

20. Eodem fere tempore P. Crassus cum in Aquita-

niam pervenisset, — quae pars, ut ante dictum est, et regionum latitudine et multitudine hominum ex tertia parte Galliae est aestimanda, — cum intellexeret in iis locis sibi bellum gerendum, ubi paucis ante annis L. Valerius Praeconinus legatus exercitu pulso interfectus esset, atque unde L. Mallius proconsul impedimentis amissis profugisset, non mediocrem sibi diligentiam adhibendam intellegebat. <sup>2</sup> Itaque re frumentaria provisā, auxiliis equitatuque comparato, multis praeterea viris fortibus Tolosa et Narbone (quae sunt civitates Galliae provinciae finitimae his regionibus) nominatim evocatis, in Sontiatum fines exercitum introduxit. <sup>3</sup> Cujus adventu cognito, Sontiates magnis copiis coactis equitatuque, quo plurimum valebant, in itinere agmen nostrum adorti, primum equestre proelium commiserunt; deinde equitatu suo pulso, atque insequentibus nostris, subito pedestres copias, quas in convalle in insidiis conlocaverunt, ostenderunt. Hi nostros disjectos adorti, proelium renovarunt.

21. Pugnatum est diu atque acriter, cum Sontiates, superioribus victoriis freti, in sua virtute totius Aquitaniae salutem positam putarent; nostri autem quid sine imperatore et sine reliquis legionibus adulescentulo duce efficere possent, perspici cuperent: tandem confecti vulneribus hostes terga vertere. <sup>2</sup> Quorum magno numero interfecto, Crassus ex itinere oppidum Sontiatum oppugnare coepit. Quibus fortiter resistentibus, vineas turresque egit. <sup>3</sup> Illi, alias eruptione temptata, alias cuniculis ad aggerem vineasque actis (cujus rei sunt longe peritissimi Aquitani, propterea quod multis locis apud eos aeraeae † secturaeque 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, faciunt.

22. Atque in ea re omnium nostrorum intentis ani-

mis, alia ex parte oppidi Adiatunnus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum sexcentis devotis, quos illi *soldurios* appellant, —<sup>2</sup> quorum haec est condicio, uti omnibus in vita commodis una cum iis fruantur quorum se amicitiae dederint; si quid his per vim accadat, aut eundem casum una ferant, aut sibi mortem consciscant; neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui eo interfecto, cujus se amicitiae devovisset, mori recusaret, —<sup>3</sup> cum his Adiatunnus, eruptionem facere conatus, clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato, cum ad arma milites concurrissent vehementerque ibi pugnatum esset, repulsus in oppidum, tamen uti eadem deditiois condicione uteretur ab Crasso impetravit.

23. Armis obsidibusque acceptis, Crassus in fines Vocatium et Tarusatium profectus est. Tum vero barbari commoti, quod oppidum et natura loci et manu munitum paucis diebus, quibus eo ventum erat, expugnatum cognoverant, legatos quoque versum dimittere, conjurare, obsides inter se dare, copias parare coeperunt. <sup>2</sup> Mittuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati, quae sunt citerioris Hispaniae finitumae Aquitaniae: inde auxilia ducesque arcessuntur; quorum adventu, magna cum auctoritate et magna cum hominum multitudine bellum gerere conantur. <sup>3</sup> Duces vero ii deliguntur, qui una cum Q. Sertorio omnes annos fuerant, summamque scientiam rei militaris habere existimabantur. Hi consuetudine populi Romani loca capere, castra munire, com meatibus nostros intercludere instituunt. <sup>4</sup> Quod ubi Crassus animadvertit, — suas copias propter exiguitatem non facile diduci, hostem et vagari et vias obsidere et castris satis praesidii relinquere, ob eam causam minus commode frumentum com meatumque sibi supportari, in dies hostium numerum augeri, — non cunctandum existimavit quin pugna decertaret. <sup>5</sup> Hac re ad consilium delata, ubi

omnes idem sentire intellexit, posterum diem pugnae constituit. [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn)

24. Prima luce, productis omnibus copiis, duplici acie instituta, auxiliis in mediam aciem coniectis, quid hostes consilii caperent exspectabat. <sup>2</sup> Illi, etsi propter multitudinem et veterem belli gloriam paucitatemque nostrorum se tuto dimicaturos existimabant, tamen tutius esse arbitrabantur, obsessis viis, com meatu intercluso, sine ullo vulnere victoria potiri; et, si propter inopiam rei frumentariae Romani sese recipere coepissent, impeditos in agmine et sub sarcinis infirmiore animo adoriri cogitabant. Hoc consilio probato, ab ducibus productis Romanorum copiis, sese castris tenebant. <sup>3</sup> Hac re perspecta, Crassus, cum sua cunctatione atque opinione timoris hostes nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effecissent, atque omnium voces audirentur, exspectari diutius non oportere quin ad castra iretur, cohortatus suos, omnibus cupientibus, ad hostium castra contendit.

25. Ibi cum alii fossas complerent, alii multis telis coniectis defensores vallo munitionibusque depellerent, auxiliaresque (quibus ad pugnam non multum Crassus confidebat) lapidibus telisque subministrandis et ad aggerem cespitibus comportandis speciem atque opinionem pugnantium praeberent; <sup>2</sup> cum item ab hostibus constanter ac non timide pugnaretur, telaque ex loco superiore missa non frustra acciderent, equites circumitis hostium castris Crasso renuntiaverunt, non eadem esse diligentia ab decumana porta castra munita, facilemque aditum habere.

26. Crassus, equitum praefectos cohortatus ut magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque suos excitarent, quid fieri velit ostendit. <sup>2</sup> Illi, ut erat imperatum, eductis iis cohortibus quae praesidio castris relictae intritae ab labore erant, et longiore itinere circumductis, ne ex hostium castris conspici possent, omnium oculis menti-

busque ad pugnam intentis, celeriter ad eas quas diximus munitiones pervenerunt, atque his prorutis, prius in hostium castris constiterunt quam plane ab his videri, aut quid rei gereretur cognosci posset. <sup>3</sup>Tum vero, clamore ab ea parte audito, nostri redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriae accidere consuevit, acrius impugnare coeperunt. <sup>4</sup>Hostes undique circumventi, desperatis omnibus rebus, se per munitiones deicere et fuga salutem petere intenderunt. <sup>5</sup>Quos equitatus apertissimis campis consecutus, ex milium quinquaginta numero, quae ex Aquitania Cantabrisque convenisse constabat, vix quarta parte relicta, multa nocte se in castra recipit.

27. Hac audita pugna, maxima pars Aquitaniae sese Crasso dedit, obsidesque ultro misit; quo in numero fuerunt Tarbelli, Bigerriones, Ptianii, Vocates, Tarusates, Elusates, Gates, Ausci, Garumni, Sibuzates, Cocosates: paucae ultimae nationes, anni tempore confisae, quod hiems suberat, hoc facere neglexerunt.

28. Eodem fere tempore Caesar, etsi prope exacta jam aestas erat, tamen quod, omni Gallia pacata, Morini Menapiique supererant qui in armis essent, neque ad eum umquam legatos de pace misissent, arbitratus id bellum celeriter confici posse, eo exercitum adduxit; qui longe alia ratione ac reliqui Galli bellum gerere coeperunt. <sup>2</sup>Nam quod intellegebant maximas nationes, quae proelio contendissent, pulsas superatasque esse, continentesque silvas ac paludes habebant, eo se suaque omnia contulerunt. <sup>3</sup>Ad quarum initium silvarum cum Caesar pervenisset, castraque munire instituisset, neque hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in opere nostris, subito ex omnibus partibus silvae evolarunt, et in nostros impetum fecerunt. <sup>4</sup>Nostri celeriter arma ceperunt, eosque in silvas repulerunt, et compluribus interfectis, longius impeditioribus locis secuti, paucos ex suis deperdiderunt.

29. Reliquis deinceps diebus Caesar silvas caedere instituit, et ne quis inermibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam, quae erat caesa, conversam ad hostem conlocabat, et pro vallo ad utrumque latus exstruebat. <sup>2</sup>Incredibili celeritate magno spatio paucis diebus confecto, cum jam pecus atque extrema impedimenta ab nostris tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent, ejusmodi sunt tempestates consecutae, uti opus necessario intermitteretur, et continuatione imbrium diutius sub pellibus milites contineri non possent. <sup>3</sup>Itaque vastatis omnibus eorum agris, vicis aedificiisque incensis, Caesar exercitum reduxit, et in Aulercis Lexoviisque, reliquis item civitatibus quae proxime bellum fecerant, in hibernis conlocavit.

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## BOOK IV.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE GERMANS. — The Suevi (*Swabians*), the most powerful tribe of Germans : their customs and warlike habit. They expel the Usipetes and Tencteri, who in their turn invade Northern Gaul (1-4). Advancing to strengthen the Gauls, who are about to yield, Cæsar demands that the Germans withdraw : after some parley, they furiously attack the Roman cavalry (5-12). Detaining their envoys, Cæsar attacks their camp, defeats and drives them to the Rhine (13-15). He then resolves to cross the Rhine : description of the Bridge (16, 17). After a short campaign in Germany, he returns to Gaul (18, 19).

FIRST INVASION OF BRITAIN. — Motives for the expedition : the reconnoissance and preparations (20-22). Arrival in Britain : resistance of the Britons ; valor of a Roman centurion. Cæsar lands, and after a sharp battle drives back the natives, who sue for peace (23-27). Meanwhile the Roman cavalry are forced back by a storm, and the fleet is seriously injured ; on which the Britons renew hostilities (28-32). They attack a foraging party : their mode of fighting from war-chariots. Gathering a large force, they attack the Roman camp : defeating them, Cæsar makes peace and returns to Gaul to avoid the stormy season (33-36). Suppressing some disturbances, he quarters his forces among the Belgians for the winter (37, 38).

**E**A quae secuta est hieme, qui fuit annus Gnaeo Pompeio, Marco Crasso consulibus, Usipetes Germani et item Tencteri magna cum multitudine hominum flumen Rhenum transierunt, non longe a mari quo Rhenus influit. <sup>2</sup> Causa transeundi fuit quod, ab Suevis complures annos exagitati, bello premebantur et agricultura prohibebantur. Suevorum gens est longe maxima et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium. <sup>3</sup> Hi centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quottannis singula milia armatorum bellandi causa ex finibus educunt. Reliqui, qui domi manserunt, se atque illos alunt. <sup>4</sup> Hi rursus in vicem anno post in

armis sunt, illi domi remanent. Sic neque agricultura nec ratio atque usus belli intermittitur. <sup>5</sup> Sed privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est, neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet. <sup>6</sup> Neque multum frumento, sed maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in venationibus; quae res et cibi genere et cotidiana exercitatione et libertate vitae, quom a pueris nullo officio aut disciplina adsuefacti nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciant, et vires alit, et immani corporum magnitudine homines efficit. <sup>7</sup> Atque in eam se consuetudinem adduxerunt, ut locis frigidissimis neque vestitus praeter pellis haberent quicquam, quarum propter exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta, et lavarentur in fluminibus.

2. Mercatoribus est aditus magis eo, ut quae bello ceperint quibus vendant habeant, quam quo ullam rem ad se importari desiderent. <sup>2</sup> Quin etiam jumentis, quibus maxime Galli delectantur, quaeque impenso parant pretio, Germani importatis non utuntur; sed quae sunt apud eos nata, parva atque deformia, haec cotidiana exercitatione summi ut sint laboris efficiunt. <sup>3</sup> Equestribus proeliis saepe ex equis desiliunt ac pedibus proeliantur, equosque eodem remanere vestigio adsuefecerunt, ad quos se celeriter, cum usus est, recipiunt; neque eorum moribus turpius quicquam aut inertius habetur quam ephippiis uti. <sup>4</sup> 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. Publice maximam putant esse laudem quam latissime a suis finibus vacare agros: hac re significari magnum numerum civitatum suam vim sustinere non posse. Itaque una ex parte a Suevis circiter milia passuum sexcenta agri vacare dicuntur. <sup>2</sup> Ad alteram

partem succedunt Ubii, quorum fuit civitas ampla atque florens, ut est captus Germanorum, et paulo [quam] sunt ejusdem generis [et] ceteris humaniores, propterea quod Rhenum attingunt, multumque ad eos mercatores ventitant, et ipsi propter propinquitatem [quod] Gallicis sunt moribus adsuefacti. <sup>8</sup> Hos cum Suevi, multis saepe bellis experti, propter amplitudinem gravitatemque civitatis finibus expellere non potuissent, tamen vectigales sibi fecerunt, ac multo humiliores infirmioresque redegerunt.

4. In eadem causa fuerunt Usipetes et Tencteri, quos supra diximus, qui complures annos Suevorum vim sustinuerunt; ad extremum tamen, agris expulsi et multis locis Germaniae triennium vagati, ad Rhenum pervenerunt: <sup>2</sup> quas regiones Menapii incolebant, et ad utramque ripam fluminis agros aedificia vicosque habebant; sed tantae multitudinis aditu perterriti, ex iis aedificiis quae trans flumen habuerant demigraverunt, et cis Rhenum dispositis praesidiis Germanos transire prohibebant. <sup>3</sup> Illi 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 rursus 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. <sup>4</sup> His interfectis navibusque eorum occupatis, priusquam ea pars Menapiorum, quae citra Rhenum erat, certior fieret, flumen transierunt; atque omnibus eorum aedificiis occupatis, reliquam partem hiemis se eorum copiis aluerunt.

5. His de rebus Caesar certior factus, et infirmitatem Gallorum veritus, quod sunt in consiliis capiendis mobiles et novis plerumque rebus student, nihil his

committendum existimavit. <sup>2</sup>Est enim hoc Gallicae consuetudinis, uti et viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant, et quid quisque eorum de quaque re audierit aut cognoverit quaerant; et mercatores in oppidis vulgus circumstet, quibusque ex regionibus veniant quasque ibi res cognoverint pronuntiare cogant. <sup>3</sup>His rebus atque auditionibus permoti de summis saepe rebus consilia ineunt, quorum eos in vestigio paenitere necesse est, cum incertis rumoribus serviant, et plerique ad voluntatem eorum ficta respondeant.

6. Qua consuetudine cognita, Caesar, ne graviori bello occurreret, maturius quam consuevit ad exercitum proficiscitur. <sup>2</sup>Eo cum venisset, ea quae fore suspicatus erat, facta cognovit: missas legationes ab nonnullis civitatibus ad Germanos, invitatosque eos uti ab Rheno discederent, omniaque quae postulassent ab se fore parata. <sup>3</sup>Qua spe adducti, Germani latius vagabantur, et in fines Eburonum et Condrusorum, qui sunt Treverorum clientes, pervenerant. <sup>4</sup>Principibus Galliae evocatis, Caesar 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. <sup>2</sup>A quibus cum paucorum dierum iter abesset, legati ab iis venerunt, quorum haec fuit oratio: 'Germanos neque priores populo Romano bellum inferre, neque tamen recusare, si lacessantur, quin armis contendant, quod Germanorum consuetudo haec sit a majoribus tradita, quicumque bellum inferant, resistere neque deprecari. <sup>3</sup>Haec tamen dicere, venisse invitos, ejectos domo; si suam gratiam Romani velint, posse iis utiles esse amicos; vel sibi agros adtribuunt, 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 quae visum est Caesar 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; <sup>2</sup>neque ullos in Gallia vacare agros, qui dari tantae praesertim multitudini sine injuria possint; sed licere, si velint, in Ubiorum finibus considerare, quorum sint legati apud se et de Suevorum injuriis querantur et a se auxilium petant: hoc se Ubiis imperaturum.'

9. Legati haec se ad suos relatueros dixerunt, et re deliberata post diem tertium ad Caesarem reversuros: interea ne propius se castra moveret petierunt. Ne id quidem Caesar ab se impetrari posse dixit. <sup>2</sup>Cognoverat enim magnam partem equitatus ab iis aliquot diebus ante praedandi frumentandique causa ad Ambivaritos trans Mosam missam: hos exspectari 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, quae appellatur Vacalus † insulamque efficit Batavorum, in Oceanum influit, neque longius ab Oceano milibus passuum LXXX in Rhenum influit. <sup>2</sup>Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt, et longo spatio per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricum, Tribocorum, Treverorum citatus fertur; et, ubi Oceano adpropinquavit, in plures defluit partes, multis ingentibusque insulis effectis, quarum pars magna a feris 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 XII milibus abesset, ut erat constitutum, ad eum legati revertuntur; qui in itinere congressi magnopere ne

longius progrediretur orabant. <sup>2</sup>Cum id non impe-  
trassent, petebant uti ad eos equites qui agmen ante-  
cessissent praemitteret, eosque pugna prohiberet,  
sibique ut potestatem faceret in Ubios legatos mit-  
tendi; quorum si principes ac senatus sibi jurejurando  
fidem fecisset, ea condicione quae a Caesare ferretur  
se usuros ostendebant: ad has res conficiendas sibi  
tridui spatium daret. <sup>3</sup>Haec omnia Caesar eodem  
illo pertinere arbitrabatur, ut tridui mora interposita  
equites eorum, qui abessent, reverterentur: tamen  
sese non longius milibus passuum quattuor aquationis  
causa processurum eo die dixit; huc postero die quam  
frequentissimi convenirent, ut de eorum postulatis  
cognosceret. <sup>4</sup>Interim ad praefectos, qui cum omni  
equitatu antecesserant, mittit qui nuntiarent ne hostes  
proelio lacesserent; et, si ipsi lacesserentur, sustine-  
rent, quoad ipse cum exercitu propius accessisset.

12. At hostes, ubi primum nostros equites conspexerunt, quorum erat quinque milium numerus, cum ipsi non amplius octingentos equites haberent, quod ii qui frumentandi causa ierant trans Mosam nondum redierant, nihil timentibus nostris, quod legati eorum paulo ante a Caesare discesserant atque is dies indutiis erat ab his petitus, impetu facto celeriter nostros perturbaverunt; <sup>2</sup>rursus resistentibus, consuetudine sua ad pedes desiluerunt, subfossis equis compluribusque nostris dejectis, reliquos in fugam conjecerunt, atque ita perterritos egerunt, ut non prius fuga desisterent quam in conspectum agminis nostri venissent. <sup>3</sup>In eo proelio ex equitibus nostris interficiuntur quattuor et septuaginta; in his vir fortissimus, Piso Aquitanus, amplissimo genere natus, cujus avus in civitate sua regnum obtinuerat, amicus ab senatu nostro appellatus. <sup>4</sup>Hic cum fratri intercluso ab hostibus auxilium ferret, illum ex periculo eripuit, ipse equo vulnerato dejectus, quoad potuit, fortissime restitit: cum circum-

ventus, multis vulneribus acceptis, cecidisset, atque id frater, qui jam proelio excesserat, procul animadvertisset, incitato equo se hostibus obtulit atque interfec-tus est.

13. Hoc facto proelio, Caesar neque jam sibi legatos audiendos neque condiciones accipiendas arbitrabatur ab iis, qui per dolum atque insidias, petita pace, ultro bellum intulissent: <sup>2</sup>expectare vero, dum hostium copiae augerentur equitatusque reverteretur, summae dementiae esse judicabat; et cognita Gallorum infirmitate, quantum jam apud eos hostes uno proelio aucto-ritatis essent consecuti sentiebat; quibus ad consilia capienda nihil spatii dandum existimabat. <sup>3</sup>His con-stitutis rebus et consilio cum legatis et quaestore com-municato, ne quem diem pugnae praetermitteret, opportunissima res accidit, quod postridie ejus diei mane, eadem et perfidia et simulatione usi Germani frequentes, omnibus principibus majoribusque natu adhibitis, ad eum in castra venerunt: <sup>4</sup>simul, ut dice-batur, sui purgandi causa, quod (contra atque esset dictum, et ipsi petissent) proelium pridie commisissent; simul ut, si quid possent, de indutiis fallendo impetra- rent. <sup>5</sup>Quos sibi Caesar oblatos gavisus, illos retineri jussit; ipse omnes copias castris eduxit, equitatum-que, quod recenti proelio perterritum esse existimabat, agmen subsequi jussit.

14. Acie triplici instituta, et celeriter VIII milium itinere confecto, prius ad hostium castra pervenit quam quid ageretur Germani sentire possent. <sup>2</sup>Qui omni-bus rebus subito perterriti, et celeritate adventus nostri et discessu suorum, neque consilii habendi neque arma capiendi spatio dato, perturbantur; copiasne adversus hostem ducere, an castra defendere, an fuga salutem petere praestaret. <sup>3</sup>Quorum timor cum fremitu et concursu significaretur, milites nostri, pristini diei perfidia incitati, in castra inruperunt. <sup>4</sup>Quo loco qui

celeriter arma capere potuerunt, paulisper nostris restiterunt, atque inter carros impedimentaue proelium commiserunt: at reliqua multitudo puerorum mulierumque — nam cum omnibus suis domo excesserant Rhenumque transierant — passim fugere coepit; ad quos consecrandos Caesar equitatum misit.

15. Germani, post tergum clamore audito, cum suos interfici viderent, armis abjectis signisque militaribus relictis, se ex castris ejecerunt, et cum ad confluentem Mosae et Rheni pervenissent, reliqua fuga desperata, magno numero interfecto, reliqui se in flumen praecipitaverunt; atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis oppressi perierunt. <sup>2</sup> Nostri ad unum omnes incolumes, perpauca vulneratis, ex tanti belli timore, cum hostium numerus capitum ccccxxx milium fuisset, se in castra receperunt. <sup>3</sup> Caesar iis, quos in castris retinuerat, discedendi potestatem fecit. Illi supplicia cruciatumque Gallorum veriti, quorum agros vexaverant, remanere se apud eum velle dixerunt. His Caesar libertatem concessit.

16. Germanico bello confecto, multis de causis Caesar statuit sibi Rhenum esse transeundum: quarum illa fuit iustissima, quod, cum videret Germanos tam facile impelli ut in Galliam venirent, suis quoque rebus eos timere voluit, cum intellegerent et posse et audere populi Romani exercitum Rhenum transire. <sup>2</sup> Accessit etiam, quod illa pars equitatus Usipetum et Tencterorum, quam supra commemoravi praedandi frumentandique causa Mosam transisse, neque proelio interfuisse, post fugam suorum se trans Rhenum in fines Sugambrorum receperat, seque cum iis conjunxerat. <sup>3</sup> Ad quos cum Caesar nuntios misisset, qui postularent, eos qui sibi Galliaeque bellum intulissent sibi dederent, responderunt: 'Populi Romani imperium Rhenum finire: si se invito Germanos in Galliam transire non aequum existimaret, cur sui

quicquam esse imperii aut potestatis trans Rhenum postulare? <sup>4</sup>Ubi autem, qui uni ex Transrhenanis ad Caesarem legatos miserant, amicitiam fecerant, obsides dederant, magnopere orabant ut sibi auxilium ferret, quod graviter ab Suevis premerentur; vel, si id facere occupationibus reipublicae prohiberetur, exercitum modo Rhenum transportaret: id sibi *ad* auxilium spemque reliqui temporis satis futurum. <sup>5</sup>Tantum esse nomen atque opinionem ejus exercitus, Ariovisto pulso et hoc novissimo proelio facto, etiam ad ultimas Germanorum nationes, uti opinione et amicitia populi Romani tuti esse possint. Navium magnam copiam ad transportandum exercitum pollicebantur.

17. Caesar, his de causis quas commemoravi, Rhenum transire decreverat; sed navibus transire neque satis tutum esse arbitrabatur, neque suae neque populi Romani dignitatis esse statuebat. <sup>2</sup>Itaque, etsi summa difficultas faciendi pontis proponebatur propter latitudinem, rapiditatem, altitudinemque fluminis, tamen id sibi contendendum, aut aliter non traducendum exercitum existimabat. <sup>3</sup>Rationem pontis hanc instituit. Tigna bina sesquipedalia, paulum ab imo praeacuta, dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis, intervallo pedum duorum inter se jungebat. <sup>4</sup>Haec cum machinationibus immissa in flumen defixerat, fistucisque adegerat, — non sublicae modo directe ad perpendicularum, sed prone ac fastigate, ut secundum naturam fluminis procumberent, — his item contraria duo ad eundem modum juncta, intervallo pedum quadragenum, ab inferiore parte contra vim atque impetum fluminis conversa statuebat. <sup>5</sup>Haec utraque insuper bipedalibus trabibus immissis, quantum eorum tignorum junctura distabat, binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte distinebantur; quibus disclusis, atque in contrariam partem revinctis, tanta erat operis firmitudo atque ea rerum natura, ut, quo major vis aquae se incitavisset,

hoc artius inligata tenerentur. <sup>6</sup> Haec directa materia injecta contexebantur, ac longuriis cratibusque consternebantur; ac nihilo secius sublicae et ad inferiorem partem fluminis oblique agebantur, quae pro ariete subjectae et cum omni opere conjunctae vim fluminis exciperent; <sup>7</sup> et aliae item supra pontem mediocri spatio, ut, si arborum trunci sive naves deiciendi operis essent a barbaris missae, his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur, neu ponti nocerent.

18. Diebus decem, quibus materia coepta erat comportari, omni opere effecto, exercitus traducitur. Caesar, ad utramque partem pontis firmo praesidio relicto, in fines Sugambrorum contendit. <sup>2</sup> Interim a compluribus civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt; quibus pacem atque amicitiam petentibus liberaliter respondit, obsidesque ad se adduci jubet. <sup>3</sup> Sugambri, ex eo tempore quo pons institui coeptus est, fuga comparata, hortantibus iis quos ex Tencteris atque Usipetibus apud se habebant, finibus suis excesserant, suaque omnia exportaverant, seque in solitudinem ac silvas abdidierant.

19. Caesar, paucos dies in eorum finibus moratus, omnibus vicis aedificiisque incensis, frumentisque succisis, se in fines Ubiorum recepit; atque iis auxilium suum pollicitus, si ab Suevis premerentur, haec ab iis cognovit: <sup>2</sup> 'Suevos, posteaquam per exploratores pontem fieri comperissent, more suo concilio habito, nuntios in omnes partes dimisisse, uti de oppidis demigrarent, liberos, uxores, suaque omnia in silvis deponerent, atque omnes, qui arma ferre possent, unum in locum convenirent; hunc esse delectum medium fere regionum earum, quas Suevi obtinerent; hic Romanorum adventum exspectare, atque ibi decertare constituisse.' <sup>3</sup> Quod ubi Caesar comperit, omnibus rebus iis confectis, quarum rerum causa traducere exercitum constituerat, ut Germanis metum

iniceret, ut Sugambros ulcisceretur, ut Ubios obsidione liberaret, diebus omnino decem et octo trans Rhenum consumptis, satis et ad laudem et ad utilitatem profectum arbitratus, se in Galliam recepit, pontemque rescidit.

20. Exigua parte aestatis reliqua, Caesar, etsi in his locis (quod omnis Gallia ad septentriones vergit) maturae sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit: <sup>2</sup>quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde sumministrata auxilia intellegebat; et, si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitratur, si modo insulam adisset et genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset; quae omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. <sup>3</sup>Neque enim temere praeter mercatores illo adit quisquam, neque iis ipsis quicquam praeter oram maritimam atque eas regiones, quae sunt contra Gallias, notum est. <sup>4</sup>Itaque vocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, neque quanta esset insulae magnitudo, neque quae aut quantae nationes incolerent, neque quem usum belli haberent aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad majorum navium multitudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat.

21. Ad haec cognoscenda, priusquam periculum faceret, idoneum esse arbitratus, Gaium Volusenum cum navi longa praemittit. Huic mandat, ut exploratis omnibus rebus ad se quam primum revertatur. <sup>2</sup>Ipsae cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus. Huc naves undique ex finitimis regionibus, et quam superiore aestate ad Veneticum bellum effecerat classem, jubet convenire. <sup>3</sup>Interim, consilio ejus cognito, et per mercatores perlato ad Britannos, a compluribus insulae civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, qui polliceantur obsides dare, atque imperio populi Romani obtemperare. <sup>4</sup>Quibus auditis, liberaliter pollicitus, hortatus-

que ut in ea sententia permanerent, eos domum remittit; et cum iis una Commium, quem ipse Atrebatibus superatis regem ibi constituerat, cuius et virtutem et consilium probabat, et quem sibi fidelem esse arbitrabatur, cuiusque auctoritas in his regionibus magni habebatur, mittit. <sup>5</sup> Huic imperat, quas possit adeat civitates; horteturque ut populi Romani fidem sequantur, seque celeriter eo venturum nuntiet. <sup>6</sup> Volusenus, perspectis regionibus omnibus, quantum ei facultatis dari potuit, qui navi egredi ac se barbaris committere non auderet, quinto die ad Caesarem revertitur, quaeque ibi perspexisset renuntiat.

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 nostrae consuetudinis imperiti bellum populo Romano fecissent, seque ea, quae imperasset, facturos pollicerentur. <sup>2</sup> Hoc sibi Caesar satis opportune accidisse arbitratus, quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat, neque belli gerendi propter anni tempus facultatem habebat, neque has tantularum rerum occupationes Britanniae anteponeudas iudicabat, magnum iis numerum obsidum imperat. Quibus adductis, eos in fidem recepit. <sup>3</sup> Navibus circiter LXXX onerariis coactis contractisque, quot satis esse ad duas transportandas legiones existimabat, quod praeterea navium longarum habebat, quaestori, legatis praefectisque distribuit. <sup>4</sup> Huc accedebant XVIII onerariae naves, quae ex eo loco ab milibus passuum VIII vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum venire possent: has equitibus distribuit. Reliquum exercitum Q. Titurio Sabino et L. Aurunculeio Cottae legatis in Menapios, atque in eos pagos Morinorum ab quibus ad eum legati non venerant, ducendum dedit; P. Sulpicium Rufum legatum, cum eo praesidio quod satis esse arbitrabatur, portum tenere iussit.

23. His constitutis rebus, nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem, tertia fere vigilia solvit, equitesque in ulteriorem portum progredi et naves conscendere et se sequi jussit. <sup>2</sup> A quibus cum paulo tardius esset administratum, ipse hora circiter diei quarta cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit, atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas hostium copias armatas conspexit. <sup>3</sup> Cujus loci haec erat natura, atque ita montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adigi posset. <sup>4</sup> Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum locum arbitratus, dum reliquae naves eo convenirent, ad horam nonam in ancoris exspectavit. <sup>5</sup> Interim, legatis tribunisque militum convocatis, et quae ex Voluseno cognosset et quae fieri vellet ostendit, monuitque ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut maritumae res postularent (ut quae celebrem atque instabilem motum haberent), ad nutum et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur. <sup>6</sup> His dimissis, et ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et sublatis ancoris, circiter milia passuum septem ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano litore naves constituit.

24. At barbari, consilio Romanorum cognito, praemisso equitatu et essedariis, quo plerumque genere in proeliis uti consuerunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti, nostros navibus egredi prohibebant. <sup>2</sup> Erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves propter magnitudinem nisi in alto constitui non poterant; militibus autem, ignotis locis, impeditis manibus, magno et gravi onere armorum oppressis, simul et de navibus desiliendum et in fluctibus consistendum et cum hostibus erat pugnandum; cum illi aut ex arido, aut paulum in aquam progressi, omnibus membris expeditis, notissimis locis, audacter tela conicerent, et equos insuefactos incitarent. <sup>3</sup> Quibus rebus nostri perterriti, atque hujus omnino generis pugnae imperiti, non eadem alacritate

ac studio quo in pedestribus uti proeliis consuerant nitebantur.

25. Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, naves longas, quarum et species erat barbaris inusitator, et motus ad usum expeditior, paulum removeri ab onerariis navibus, et remis incitari, et ad latus apertum hostium constitui, atque inde fundis, sagittis, tormentis hostes propelli ac summoverti jussit; quae res magno usui nostris fuit. <sup>1</sup>Nam, et navium figura et remorum motu et inusitato genere tormentorum permoti, barbari constiterunt, ac paulum modo pedem retulerunt. <sup>2</sup>Atque nostris militibus cunctantibus, maxime propter altitudinem maris, qui decimae legionis aquilam ferebat, contestatus deos ut ea res legioni feliciter eveniret: <sup>3</sup>*Desilite, inquit, milites, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero.* Hoc cum voce magna dixisset, se ex navi projecit, atque in hostes aquilam ferre coepit. <sup>4</sup>Tum nostri, cohortati inter se, ne tantum dedecus admitteretur, universi ex navi desiluerunt. Hos item ex proximis [primis] navibus cum conspexissent, subsequuti hostibus adpropinquarunt.

26. Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter. Nostri tamen, quod neque ordines servare neque firmiter insistere neque signa subsequi poterant, atque alius alia ex navi, quibuscumque signis occurrerat, se adgregabat, magnopere perturbabantur; <sup>1</sup>hostes vero, notis omnibus vadis, ubi ex litore aliquos singulares ex navi egredientes conspexerant, incitatis equis impeditos adoriebantur, plures paucos circumsistebant, alii ab latere aperto in universos tela coniciebant. <sup>2</sup>Quod cum animadvertisset Caesar, scaphas longarum navium, item speculatoria navigia militibus compleri jussit, et quos laborantes conspexerat, his subsidia submittebat. <sup>3</sup>Nostri simul in arido constiterunt, suis omnibus consecutis, in hostes impetum fecerunt, atque

eos in fugam dederunt; neque longius prosequi potuerunt, quod equites cursum tenere atque insulam capere non potuerant. Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Caesari defuit.

27. Hostes proelio superati, simul atque se ex fuga receperunt, statim ad Caesarem legatos de pace miserunt; obsides daturos quaeque imperasset facturos esse polliciti sunt. Una cum his legatis Commius Atrebas venit, quem supra demonstraveram a Caesare in Britanniam praemisum. <sup>2</sup>Hunc illi e navi egressum, cum ad eos oratoris modo Caesaris mandata deferret, comprehenderant atque in vincula coniecerant: tum, proelio facto, remiserunt; et in petenda pace ejus rei culpam in multitudinem contulerunt, et propter imprudentiam ut ignosceretur petiverunt. <sup>3</sup>Caesar questus, quod, cum ultro in continentem legatis missis pacem ab se petissent, bellum sine causa intulissent, ignoscere imprudentiae dixit, obsidesque imperavit; quorum illi partem statim dederunt, partem ex longinquioribus locis arcessitam paucis diebus sese daturos dixerunt. <sup>4</sup>Interea suos remigrare in agros jusserunt, principesque undique convenire, et se civitatesque suas Caesari commendare coeperunt.

28. His rebus pace confirmata, post diem quartum quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves xviii, de quibus supra demonstratum est, quae equites sustulerant, ex superiore portu leni vento solverunt. <sup>2</sup>Quae cum adpropinquarent Britanniae et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coërta est, et nulla earum cursum tenere posset; sed aliae eodem, unde erant profectae, referrentur, aliae ad inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis occasum, magno sui cum periculo deicerentur; quae tamen, ancoris jactis, cum fluctibus complerentur, necessario adversa nocte in altum provectae 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 Caesar exercitum transportandum curaverat, quasque in aridum subduxerat, aestus compleverat; et onerarias, quae ad ancoras erant deligatae, tempestas adflictabat, neque ulla nostris facultas aut administrandi aut auxiliandi dabatur. <sup>2</sup> Compluribus navibus fractis, reliquæ cum essent — funibus, ancoris reliquisque armamentis amissis — ad navigandum inutiles, magna (id quod necesse erat accidere) totius exercitus perturbatio facta est. <sup>3</sup> Neque enim naves erant aliae, quibus reportari possent; et omnia deërant quae ad reficiendas naves erant usui; et, quod omnibus constabat hiemari in Gallia oportere, frumentum his in locis in hiemem provisum non erat.

30. Quibus rebus cognitis, principes Britanniae, qui post proelium ad Caesarem convenerant, inter se conlocuti, cum equites et naves et frumentum Romanis deesse intellegerent, et paucitatem militum ex castrorum exiguitate cognoscerent, — quae hoc erant etiam angustiora, quod sine impedimentis Caesar legiones transportaverat, — optimum factu esse duxerunt, rebellione facta, frumento commeatuque nostros prohibere, et rem in hiemem producere; quod his superatis, aut reditu interclusis, neminem postea belli inferendi causa in Britanniam transiturum confidebant. Itaque rursus conjuratione facta, paulatim ex castris discedere ac suos clam ex agris deducere coeperunt.

31. At Caesar, etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat, tamen et ex eventu navium suarum, et ex eo quod obsides dare intermiserant, fore id quod accidit suspicabatur. Itaque ad omnes casus subsidia comparabat. <sup>2</sup> Nam et frumentum ex agris cotidie in castra conferebat, et quae gravissime adflictae erant naves, earum materia atque aere ad reliquas reficiendas utebatur; et quae ad eas res erant usui ex con-

tinenti comportari jubebat. <sup>3</sup>Itaque cum summo studio a militibus administraretur, duodecim navibus amissis, reliquis ut navigari commode posset effecit.

32. Dum ea geruntur, legione ex consuetudine una frumentatum missa, quae appellabatur septima, neque ulla ad id tempus belli suspicione interposita, — cum pars hominum in agris remaneret, pars etiam in castra ventitaret, — ii qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant Caesari nuntiaverunt pulverem majorem quam consuetudo ferret in ea parte videri, quam in partem legio iter fecisset. <sup>2</sup>Caesar, id quod erat suspicatus, aliquid novi a barbaris initum consilii, cohortes quae in stationibus erant secum in eam partem proficisci, ex reliquis duas in stationem cohortes succedere, reliquas armari et confestim sese subsequi jussit. <sup>3</sup>Cum paulo longius a castris processisset, suos ab hostibus premi, atque aegre sustinere, et conferta legione ex omnibus partibus tela conici animadvertit. <sup>4</sup>Nam quod, omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento, pars una erat reliqua, suspicati hostes huc nostros esse venturos, noctu in silvas delituerant; tum dispersos, depositis armis, in metendo occupatos, subito adorti, paucis interfectis, reliquos incertis ordinibus perturbaverant, simul equitatu atque essedis circumdederant.

33. Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae. Primo per omnes partes perequitant, et tela coniciunt, atque ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant; et cum se inter equitum turmas insinnaverunt, ex essedis desiliunt, et pedibus proeliantur. <sup>2</sup>Aurigae interim paulatim ex proelio excedunt, atque ita currus conlocant, uti si illi a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. <sup>3</sup>Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in proeliis praestant; ac tantum usu cotidiano et exercitatione efficiunt, uti in declivi ac praecipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere, et brevi moderari ac flectere, et

per temonem percurrere, et in iugo insistere, et se inde **incurtus citissime** recipere consuerint.

34. Quibus rebus, perturbatis nostris novitate pugnae, tempore opportunissimo Caesar auxilium tulit: namque ejus adventu hostes constiterunt, nostri se ex timore receperunt. <sup>2</sup> Quo facto, ad lacessendum et ad committendum proelium alienum esse tempus arbitratu, suo se loco continuit, et brevi tempore intermisso in castra legiones reduxit. <sup>3</sup> Dum haec geruntur, nostris omnibus occupatis, qui erant in agris reliqui discesserunt. Secutae sunt continuos complures dies tempestates, quae et nostros in castris continerent, et hostem a pugna prohiberent. <sup>4</sup> Interim barbari nuntios in omnes partes dimiserunt, paucitatemque nostrorum militum suis praedicaverunt, et quanta praedae faciendae atque in perpetuum sui liberandi facultas daretur, si Romanos castris expulissent, demonstraverunt. His rebus, celeriter magna multitudo peditatus equitatusque coacta, ad castra venerunt.

35. Caesar, etsi idem quod superioribus diebus acciderat fore videbat, — ut, si essent hostes pulsi, celeritate periculum effugerent, — tamen nactus equites circiter triginta, quos Commius Atrebas (de quo ante dictum est) secum transportaverat, legiones in acie pro castris constituit. <sup>2</sup> Commisso proelio, diutius nostrorum militum impetum hostes ferre non potuerunt, ac terga verterunt. <sup>3</sup> Quos tanto spatio secuti, quantum cursu et viribus efficere potuerunt, complures ex iis occiderunt; deinde, omnibus longe lateque aedificiis incensis, se in castra receperunt.

36. Eodem die legati ab hostibus missi ad Caesarem de pace venerunt. His Caesar numerum obsidum, quem antea imperaverat, duplicavit, eosque in continentem adduci jussit; quod, propinqua die aequinoctii, infirmis navibus hiemi navigationem subiciendam non existimabat. <sup>2</sup> Ipse, idoneam tempestatem nactus,

paulo post mediam noctem naves solvit; quae omnes incolumes ad continentem pervenerunt: sed ex iis onerariae duae eosdem quos reliqui portus capere non potuerunt, et paulo infra delatae sunt.

37. Quibus ex navibus cum essent expositi milites circiter trecenti, atque in castra contenderent, Morini, quos Caesar in Britanniam proficiscens pacatos reliquerat, spe praedae adducti, primo non ita magno suorum numero circumsteterunt, ac, si sese interfici nollent, arma ponere jusserunt. <sup>2</sup>Cum illi, orbe facto, sese defenderent, celeriter ad clamorem hominum circiter milia sex convenerunt. Qua re nuntiata, Caesar omnem ex castris equitatum suis auxilio misit. <sup>3</sup>Interim nostri milites impetum hostium sustinuerunt, atque amplius horis quattuor fortissime pugnaverunt, et paucis vulneribus acceptis complures ex his occiderunt. <sup>4</sup>Postea vero quam equitatus noster in conspectum venit, hostes abjectis armis terga verterunt, magnusque eorum numerus est occisus.

38. Caesar postero die T. Labienum legatum, cum iis legionibus quas ex Britannia reducerat, in Morinos, qui rebellionem fecerant, misit. Qui cum, propter siccitates paludum, quo se reciperent non haberent (quo superiore anno perfugio fuerant usi), omnes fere in potestatem Labieni pervenerunt. <sup>2</sup>At Q. Titurius et L. Cotta legati, qui in Menapiorum fines legiones duxerant, omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, aedificiis incensis, quod Menapii se omnes in densissimas silvas abdiderant, se ad Caesarem receperunt. <sup>3</sup>Caesar in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit. Eo duae omnino civitates ex Britannia obsides miserunt, reliquae neglexerunt. His rebus gestis, ex litteris Caesaris dierum viginti supplicatio a senatu decreta est.

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## NOTES.

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AS CÆSAR, though in many respects a book for advanced students, is often the first Latin classic put into the learner's hands, it may be well to give a few hints as to the method of study.

1. Before beginning to read, the learner should be familiar with the forms of Inflection, the simpler rules of Agreement and Construction of Cases (Gr. § 75, especially Rules 1-10, 14, 21, 26), and the Definitions contained in § 45.

2. In every sentence, begin by finding the *leading verb with its subject*, and its *direct object* if it has one; and so make the main thought clear before trying to bring in the subordinate parts.

3. Always look first at the *inflectional terminations*, so that the number, case, tense, person, &c., will instantly occur upon seeing a Latin word. The great fault of most learners is carelessness about inflections. It is much better to guess at the meaning of the word and know its form, than to neglect the form and be careful of the meaning.

4. In the use of Notes, it is generally best not to consult them till you have fairly tried without their aid; but, even if the sentence seems quite clear, never neglect to consult them afterwards. Sometimes they will give you information; generally they will put the matter in a new or clearer light.

5. Until you are quite familiar with the Syntax, *consult all the references to the Grammar*.<sup>\*</sup> These at first are more numerous and elementary; but further on — especially in "Indirect Discourse" — they should be carefully studied, with the examples, and the more difficult points explained by the teacher.

6. Many references at first are to the short Rules for Parsing (Grammar, pp. 210, 211): it may be well to have most of these Rules quite familiar before going into the details of Syntax.

7. Lastly, remember that Cæsar was a man of action and great intelligence; that he always had a plain story to tell, and knew just what he meant to say. He is often awkward; he may be crafty, unscrupulous, insincere; but he is never obscure. And one should never be satisfied until he sees, or thinks he sees, exactly what his meaning is.

<sup>\*</sup> The references are to Allen and Greenough's and Gildersleeve's Latin Grammars.

## BOOK FIRST.

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HELVETIAN WAR. — Early in the year 58 B.C., the whole population of Helvetia (northern Switzerland), amounting to about 360,000, attempted to pass by an armed emigration through the heart of Gaul, in order to settle somewhere near the shore of the Bay of Biscay, possibly with the hope of being masters of the whole country. They were hemmed in by the great natural barriers of the Alps, the Lake of Geneva, and the Jura mountains on the south and west ; and pressed on the north by great hordes of Germans, who kept up a continual border war. Their fields were scant, their harvests insufficient, their people hardy and fearless. Their ambitious chief, Orgetorix, had prepared them so well for this enterprise, that his flight and death — when he was charged with guilty conspiracy, and put on trial for his life — caused no delay. The attempt was held in check by Cæsar, during a fortnight's parley, till sufficient earthworks had been thrown up along the Rhone to withstand their advance ; the advance was then made in force along the narrow pass between that river and the Jura. But the Helvetians did not succeed in getting more than fifty miles beyond the frontier, when they were overtaken by Cæsar ; who by a few light skirmishes and two bloody battles forced them back to their own territories, with the loss of more than 200,000 lives. This brief campaign, lasting only from March to June, is called the Helvetian war.

## PAGE

2. *Gallia*, that is, independent Gaul, excluding the Roman province (*Provincia*) in the south-east, as well as *Gallia Cisalpina*, now northern Italy. It occupied the territory of France, including to the Rhine boundary, with most of the Netherlands and Switzerland (see Map).

*omnis* (predicate), *as a whole*. — *est divisa, is divided*: the adjective use of the participle, not the perfect passive (§ 72, 2, b ; G. 439, R).

*Belgæ*, probably of the *Cymric* branch, allied to the Britons and the modern Welsh : they inhabited the modern *Belgium*, *Picardy*, and *Champagne*, and were considerably mixed with Germans (see ii. 1). — *Aquitani*, of the Spanish Iberians (the modern *Basques*), inhabiting the districts of *Gascony* and *Guienne* (see iii. 20). — *Celtæ*, probably of the *Gaelic* branch, represented by the Irish and the Highland Scotch.

*aliam*: *alteram* would be more usual, as meaning the second in the list. — *tertiam qui . . . appellantur, the third* [those inhabit] *who are called, &c.* It would read in full, *tertiam* [partem ii incolunt] *qui, etc.* — *ipsorum linguâ, in their own tongue*. — *nostrâ, sc.\* linguâ*,

\* Understand.

**Gall:** the word GAL is said to mean *battle*; hence GALA, warrior. [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn)

**linguā** (abl. of specification, § 54, 9, R. 26; G. 397) . . . *differunt*, *differ in language, customs, and laws*. The language of the Aquitani was Basque; of the Gauls proper, Celtic; of the Belgians, probably, Celtic mixed with German. (Observe that when three words, as *lingua*, etc., are used together, by Latin use there should either be no conjunction at all, as here, or one should be used with all except the first.)

**inter se** = *from one another*: the preposition *inter* may be used to show any *reciprocal* relation, see § 19, 3, *d*.

**dividit:** the verb is singular, because the two rivers make one boundary (§ 49, 1, *b*; G. 202, R<sup>1</sup>); as we should say, *is divided by the line of the Seine and Marne*.

2. **horum**, part. gen. with *fortissimi*, § 50, 2 (R. 10); G. 366.—**propterea quod**, *because*; lit. *because of this, that, &c.* These adverbial phrases, which are numerous in Latin, should always be carefully analyzed, though generally rendered by a single word in English. (Beginners constantly confound *propterea*, *for that reason*, with *præterea*, *besides*.)

**cultu**, *civilisation*, as shown by outward signs; *humanitate*, *refinement*, of mind or feeling.

**provinciæ:** the province of *Gallia Narbonensis*, organized about B. C. 120. Its chief cities were Massilia (*Marseilles*), an old Greek free city, and the capital, Narbo (*Narbonne*), a Roman colony. The name *Provincia* has come down in the modern *Provence*.

**minime sæpe commeant**, *least often penetrate*. The verb *commeo* means, especially, *to go back and forth* in the way of traffic. The main line of trade lay across the country, by the river Loire.—**mercatores**: these were traders or pedlars, mostly from the seaport of Massilia; they travelled with pack-horses, mules, and waggons. A very common article of traffic (as with our Indian traders) was intoxicating drinks,—wines from the southern coast; which, especially, as Cæsar says, “tend to debauch the character.” These people, it is said, would give the traders a boy for a jar of wine.

**ea**, object of *important*.—**effeminandos**, § 73, 2 (R. 41); G. 428.—**Germanis**, dat. § 71, 6 (R. 15); G. 356 (compare *d*; R<sup>4</sup>). The name is said to mean *men of war*.

**trans Rhenum**: the Rhine was, in general, the boundary between Gauls and Germans; though, as we shall see, a few German tribes had settled on the hither side.

**contineniter** (adverb from the participle of *contineo*, *hold together*), *incessantly*; strictly, *without any interruption*.

3. *qua de causa, and for this reason*, (§ 45, 6<sup>2</sup>; G. 612): in apposition with *quod*. — *contendant*.

*Helvetii*, here, it will be noticed, reckoned as Gauls.—*præcedunt, excel*; lit. *walk before*.

*procllis*, abl. of means; *finibus*, abl. of separation. — *cum prohibent, while they keep them off* (*pro-habeo*). Observe that this conjunction is not properly spelled *quum*, on account of the old rule forbidding *u* to follow *u* or *v* in the same syllable (§ 1, 2, *b*); but *cum* or *quom*. — *ipsi* (emphatic), *themselves*.

4. *eorum una pars, one division of them* (the Gauls), the people being put for the country. — *quam . . . dictum est, which* (*it has been* [already] *said*) *the Gauls hold*. [Notice that in direct discourse it would be *Galli obtinent*: the subject-nom. is changed to acc., and the indic. to the infin. after the verb of *saying*, *dictum est*, § 57, 8, *e* (R. 39); G. 527.] Here *quam* is the object and *Gallos* the subject of *obtinere*; while the clause is the subject of *dictum est* (§ 70, 2, *a*<sup>2</sup>; G. 528). — *obtinere* (*ob-teneo*), not *obtain*, but *occupy*: strictly, *hold against* all claimants; what is called in law *adverse possession*. *Ob* in composition almost always has the sense of *opposing* or *coming in the way of* any thing.

*ab Sequanis, on the side of, &c.* — *vergit, etc., slopes to the north*; that is, the highlands (*Cevennes*) are along the southern boundary, and the rivers flow in their main course northerly.

*septentriones* (*septem triones, "the seven plough-oxen"*), i. e. the constellations of the great and little Bear. The word is used both in the singular (as a compound) and in the plural.

§. *ad Hispaniam, next to Spain*, i. e. the Bay of Biscay.

2. *nobilissimus* (root *GNO, know*), *of highest birth*. Popular revolutions had, among the Gauls as among the Greeks and Romans, mostly dispossessed the old chiefs, or kings; and they had established an annual magistrate called *Vergobret* (ch. 20). But the heads of the ruling families would naturally be ambitious to recover what they could of the old class power; and Orgetorix is represented as aspiring to create a monarchy in Gaul.

*Orgetorix*: this name, by a probable derivation, means the *slayer*.

*Messala, etc.* (§ 84, 1): this was B.C. 61, three years before *Cæsar's* first campaign in Gaul. The construction of *consulibus* is abl. absolute, § 54, 10, *b* (R. 35); G. 408; not so formal as *while Messala and Piso were consuls*, but merely in *their consulship*. This was the usual way of denoting the year.

*conjuratonem, a league*, sworn to fidelity by oath (*juro*). — *nobilitatis*: from the account given in ch. 4, we see how immense was the class power still held by the nobles.

**ovitati persuasit**, § 51, 2, *a* (R. 16); G. 345: the direct object of **persuasit** is **the clause ut . . . exirent** (§ 70, 3, *a*; G. 546, R 1); compare **id**, two lines below. All citizens, probably, had a right to vote; but their votes were easily "persuaded" by such means as Orgetorix possessed. (For the sequence of tenses in **exirent**, see § 58, 10, R.; G. 510).

**perfacile** (predicate with **esse**, while its subject is the infinitive clause with **potiri**): *that it was quite easy, since they exceeded all men in valor, to win the empire of all Gaul.* — **esse**, indirect disc., depending on some such word as *he said* (§ 70, 2, *c*; G. 652, R<sup>2</sup>).

**cum præstarent**, subjunctive after **cum**, meaning *since*, § 62, 2, *e*; G. 587, 4. — **imperio**, § 54, 6, *d* (R. 31); G. 405. The word properly means, *authority held by force of arms*.

2. **hoc facilius**, *all the easier*: § 54, 6, *e* (R. 33); G. 400. — **id**, obj. of **persuasit** (§ 51, 2, *c*; G. 344): we should say, *persuaded them of it.* — **quod** (adverbial accus.), correlative of **hoc**: *the more easily, because, &c.* — **loci naturā**, *by the nature of the country.* — **continentur**, *are held in.*

**una ex parte**, *on one side*: as in **undique**, *on* (lit. *from*) *all sides*, **hinc**, *on this side*, &c. The effect on the senses is supposed to come *from* the direction referred to.

3. **his rebus**, *by these means.* — **fiobat** (imperf.) = *it was coming about more and more* (§ 58, 3; G. 222): the subject is the clause **ut . . . possent** (see § 70, R).

**qua ex parte**, *on which ground*: — some editions have **qua de causa**. — **homines** (a sort of apposition) = *being* (as they were) *men eager for war.* — **bellandi**, § 50, 3, *b* (R. 12); G. 374.

**adfiiebantur** = **affliciebantur**: for the rule as to assimilation of consonants, compare § 1, 3, *g*. In this edition the *unchanged* form of the preposition is usually preferred.

4. **pro**, *in proportion to.* — **multitudine**: their numbers, including some small dependent populations, were 368,000 (see ch. 29). — **angustos fines** = *too narrow limits*: those here given are about 40 miles each way larger than the present boundaries of Switzerland.

**millia passuum**, *miles* (1000 paces), the regular way of stating this measure, **millia** being acc. of *extent of space* (R. 23), and **passuum** partit. genitive. The **passus** was the *stretch* from heel to heel, i. e. from where the heel is raised to where it is set down again; and is reckoned at five Roman feet. A Roman mile (**mille passuum**) was about 400 feet less than ours; it measures the distance which a soldier would march in "a thousand paces."

**patebant**: throughout the latter part of this chapter notice the use of the imperfect of *description* or *general statement*, compared with the perfect of *simple narrative* in **persuasit**, above, and **constituerunt**, &c., below.

3. **permoti**: this word seems to show something more than mere "persuasion" on the part of Orgetorix, cf. ch. 2'. — **quæ pertinent**, dependent clause in indir. disc., § 66, 1, *d*; G. 653.

Observe that Latin employs different moods for the two forms of quotation, one for what is called Direct and the other for Indirect Discourse. Whenever the writer or speaker takes the responsibility of the statement, it is put in the Indicative, with commands in the Imperative. These are the moods of DIRECT DISCOURSE. When any thing is told not simply as a fact, but that *some one thought or said so*, the leading statement is put in the Infinitive, and all subordinate parts (including commands) in the Subjunctive. These are the moods of INDIRECT DISCOURSE. The narrative in this chapter will require a careful attention to the above distinction. Let the learner here study attentively the introductory paragraph and Remark of § 67 (G. 651). In Cæsar, all the speeches are given in the form of narrative; that is, in Indirect Discourse.

**comparare . . . confirmare**: these infinitives are construed as the *direct object* of the leading verb **constituerunt**, § 57, 8, *c* (R. 38); G. 424.

**quæ pertinent**, subjunctive because depending on the infinitive **comparare**: § 66, 2 (R. 47); G. 666.

**quam maximum**, as *great as possible* (§ 17, 5, *b*; G. 317. — **jumentorum**, *beasts of burden*, properly, *yoke-animals* (root YU, kindred with YUG in **jungo**, **jugum**); **carrorum**, *two-wheeled carts*, suited to the narrow and rough roads.

2. **conficiendas** (FAC), *completing*: **con** in composition generally means *together*; or, as here, may be simply intensive. — **lego**: probably passed in a public assembly, which is what a Roman would understand by **lex**. — **in tertium annum confirmant**, *fix for the third year*.

3. **sibi suscepti**, *took on himself*. Observe the force of **sub**, as if he put his shoulders *under* the load. — **civitates**, *clans*, such as the Ædui, Sequani, &c., — more than 80 in all, — whose territory had no local name, but was known only by that of the clan, which was sovereign and wholly independent, except for voluntary alliances (see ch. 30). The name **Gallia** itself — as was said of Italy a few years ago — was only "a geographical expression," implying no political sovereignty.

**persuadet**, *prevails on*: **suadet** would be, simply, *urges*. — **obtinerat**, *had held*. — **amicus**, an honorary title given by the Roman Senate to friendly powers. — **ut . . . occuparet**, *to lay hands on*. This clause is the object of **persuadet** (§ 70, 3, *a*; G. 576, R<sup>1</sup>; for the sequence of tenses, see § 58, 10, *b*; G. 510, R), which in English would be expressed by the infinitive. — **ante**, here an adverb; in English we should say *before him*.

**Dumnorigi** (dat. after *persuadet*, p. 4), Dumnorix, a younger brother, restless, ambitious, and strongly attached to the old aristocracy of the clan: therefore a bitter enemy of the Roman supremacy. He afterwards headed a desertion of Cæsar's cavalry, just before the second invasion of Britain, but was pursued and killed (v. 6).

**4. Divitiāci**: this Æduan chief was of the order of Druids; he had been in Rome, where he made the acquaintance of Cicero and other eminent Romans. He was thoroughly impressed with the power and superiority of the Romans, and was a faithful friend and ally of Cæsar.

The name is by some thought to be a Druid title. The party of Druids, represented by Divitiacus and Liscus (chap. 16), was the popular party, strong especially in the large towns: it was opposed by the old clan feeling kept up by military or tribal chiefs (*principes*), such as Orgetorix and Dumnorix. The former, or popular party was headed by the Ædui, the latter, or aristocratic, by the Sequani and Arverni. The Druids were a religious or priestly order, jealous of the aristocracy (*equites*) of the tribe or clan, which represented what may be called the patriotic or "native-Celtic" party (see vi. 12-17). A knowledge of this division helps clear up many of the events of Cæsar's campaigns. Divitiacus was a name well known at Rome. A later writer gives an interesting picture of the Gallic chief standing and leaning on his shield while he made his appeal before the senate, declining (as a suppliant) the seat which was in courtesy offered him.

**qui**, i. e. Dumnorix. — **principatum**, highest rank, as distinct from political power. — **plebi acceptus**, a favorite with the people. — **ut idem conaretur**, to make the same attempt (lit. attempt the same thing): i. e. put down the constitutional authority, and establish a rule of military chiefs.

**4. perfacile factu** (§ 74, 2, R; G. 437, R<sup>1</sup>), very easy to do: in predicate agreement with **conata perficere**, which is subj. of **esse**. — **illis probat, undertakes to show them**, i. e. to Casticus and Dumnorix (conative present, § 58, 2, b; G. 218, R<sup>2</sup>).

**non esse dubium quin**, there is no doubt (he says) that: here **esse** is infin. of indirect disc.; for the construction of **quin**, see § 65, 1, b; G. 551. — **Galliæ**, partitive gen. with **plurimum**. — **plurimum possent** = were the strongest. — **confirmat, asserts** (confidently).

**5. oratione, plea, or argument** (abl. of means). — **fidem et jusjurandum**, i. e. assurance confirmed by oath. (This way of expressing a single idea by two nouns instead of a noun and adjective is called *hendiadys*; and is very common in Latin, especially in poetry.)

**regno occupato** (abl. absolute, expressing condition, see § 54,

10, *b*, R; G. 408, R), *in case they should get in their hands the royal power*: — *si occupaverimus*. — *per tres populos*, i. e. Helvetii, Ædui, and Sequani; a league between these, they hope, will secure their power over all Gaul. — *posse*, equivalent to a future infinitive (see § 58, 11, *f*; G. 240). — *Galliæ*, governed by *potiri*; see § 54, 6, *d*; G. 405.

4. *ea res*, *this thing* (i. e. conspiracy). The word *res* would often be best rendered by some more specific word in English, as *action*, *fact*, *event*, *estate*, &c., according to the passage. The Helvetians were prepared to emigrate in a body, and subdue the rest of Gaul; but not to surrender to Orgetorix the power thus acquired. His act was treason, — a conspiracy within a conspiracy.

*moribus suis*, *according to their custom* (abl. of manner). — *ex vinculis* (= *vinoulis*; so *hindrance* for *hinderance* in English), *out of chains*, i. e. standing in chains. A Latin idiom, cf. *ex equis*, *on horseback*. — *causam dicere*, *to plead his case*, a technical expression for being brought to trial.

*damnatum* (sc. *eum*, object of *sequi*), *if condemned*. (In this sentence, the subject of *oportebat* is the clause *damnatum . . . sequi*; the subject of *sequi* is *pœnam*; and *ut . . . cremaretur* is in apposition with *pœnam*, defining the punishment: § 70, 4, *f*; G. 559.) Translate, *it must needs be that the penalty should overtake him, if condemned, of being burned with fire*. (For the ablative in 1, see § 11, i. 3, *b*<sup>2</sup>; G. 60, 3, *a*. This form is often used by Cæsar and earlier writers.)

2. *die constituta*, *on the day appointed*, § 55, 1 (R. 34); G. 392; for the gender of *die* see § 13, 2, N. — *causæ dictionis*, *of the pleading of the case* (it would be more usual to say *dicendæ*): doubled genitives used in this way are said to be more frequent with Cæsar than with any other writer (§ 50, 2, R<sup>4</sup>; G. 361, R<sup>2</sup>).

*ad iudicium*, *near the [place of] judgment*. — *familiam*, *clansmen*: by Roman use, this would mean *slaves*; but it is more probable that it here means all who bore his name, or regarded him as their chief. — *ad . . . decem millia*, *to [the number of] 10,000*. — *clientes*, *retainers*, volunteer or adopted followers; *obæratos*, *debtors*, the only class of slaves that seems to have been known in Gaul, see vi. 13, 2. — *per eos*, *by their means* (§ 54, 4, *b*; G. 403).

3. *cum . . . conaretur*, *when the state attempted*: relative time, § 62, 2, *b*; G. 582. — *neque . . . suspitio* (the true spelling of this word), *and the suspicion is not wanting*. The negative *neque* (= *and not*) is oftener best translated by dividing in this way.

*quin . . . consciverit* (*consciasco*), *that he decreed death to himself (his own death)*, i. e. *committed suicide*. Observe that *ipse*, *self*, agrees in Latin rather with the subject; not, as in English, with the

object. "Orgetorix (it will be noticed) was never in the power of the magistrates, he was not put in chains, nor did he die in prison."

5. *nihilo minus*, often written in one word, as in English, *nevertheless*. — *constituerant, had resolved*: observe the pluperfect, as following the historical present. — *ut . . . exeant*, in apposition with *id*: as we should say, "namely, to go forth."

*ubi arbitrati sunt, when they judged*: observe the regular use of the perfect indicative with *ubi, postquam, etc.*, § 62, 2, *a*; G. 563. — *rem, enterprise*. — *oppida, towns*, fortified and capable of defence; *vicos, villages*, i. e. groups of houses about a single spot. (In a city, *vicus* is a *street*, considered as the houses occupied; *via* is the travelled way between them.) The villages and houses were burned, partly to cut off hope of return; partly to prevent their being occupied by their enemies, the Germans. — *incendunt, set fire to*.

*præterquam quod, excepting what*: observe that in this phrase *quam* means *than*, and *præter* is the comparative of *præ*: lit. *further than what*. — *comburunt, burn up*. — *molita cibaria, milled bread-corn*: every man to take his own supply for three months' use. — *domum*, § 55, 3, *b*; G. 410, following *reditionis*.

2. *Rauracis, etc.*, German tribes from Baden, just north of the Rhine. — *uti*, the older form for *ut*, common in Cæsar. — *una cum his, along with them* (lit. *by one way*).

*Bolos* (from whom the name *Bohemia* is derived): a Celtic tribe, whom the great German advance had cut off from their kinspeople towards the west, and who were now wandering homeless, some of them within the limits of Gaul.

5. *Noricum, Noreiam* (see map), the name sometimes given in modern times to the district about Nuremberg, some distance further north. — *receptos . . . adasciscunt*: in English, in a sentence like this, we should use a separate verb instead of the participle (§ 72, 3; G. 667). Translate, *they receive the Boii into their own number (ad se), and vote them in as allies to themselves*.

6. *omnino, in all, i. e. only*. — *itinerà, itineribus*: observe the form of this relative sentence (common in Cæsar), which gives the antecedent noun in both clauses. It is usually omitted in one or the other (see § 48, N): in English, almost always in the relative clause; in Latin, quite as often in the other. — *possent* (potential subj. § 60, 2, *a*; G. 602), i. e. *they might go out* [if they desired].

*Sequanos, i. e. the region now called Franche Comté, north of the Rhone*: they gave their name to the river Seine (*Sequana*), living near its upper waters. — *inter . . . Rhodanum*: the pass now guarded by the Fort *l'Ecluse*, about nineteen Roman (eighteen

and a half English) miles below Geneva. Between Geneva and this point the banks are steep on both sides the river; but with many spots of lower ground where a passage could easily be made. The Rhone at this part was the boundary of the Roman province. The choice was between crossing the river and proceeding along its northern bank.

**vix, qua, etc.**, where carts could scarcely be hauled in single file (see § 18, 2, a; G. 95). — **autem** (a mild adversative), now.

2. **multo facilius**, much easier in itself; but it required them to crush the Roman legion at Geneva, and force their way through about fifty miles of territory occupied by the Roman arms. — **propterea quod**, see note to ch. 1<sup>o</sup>. — **nuper pacati erant**, had been lately subdued (reduced to peace). A rebellion "of despair," B. C. 61, had been subdued by C. Pomptinus.

**locis**, loc. abl. (§ 55, 3, f; G. 385). — **vado**, by ford (wading, vadendo).

**Genua (Genva)** is nearest to the modern German name (*Genf*); it is also spelled *Genava* and *Geneva*. The name is said to mean a mouth.

3. **sese persuasuros** [esse] (notice that in the future infinitive, used in indirect discourse, **esse** is usually omitted; in direct disc. it would be **persuadebimus**), they thought they should persuade: its object is **Allobrogibus**. — **bono animo** = well disposed: five years before, their envoys in Rome had intrigued with Catiline's agents, whom they at length betrayed (see Cicero, Cat. iii. § 22).

4. **a. d. v. Kal. Apr.** (see § 56, 1, f; G. App.), nominally, March 28 (§ 84, 3; G. App.). According to the astronomer Leverrier, the true date was March 24, or just after the spring equinox: others have made it as late as April 16. The calendar was in a state of great confusion at this time, and till Cæsar's reform, 12 years later. (For a character of the consuls Piso and Gabinius, see Cicero's speech on his own exile, *Pro Sestio*: "Select Orations.")

7. **Cæsari**: he was at this time at Rome, having laid down his consulship, preparing to set out for his province. Every consul was entitled to the governorship of a province for one year after his term of office, and by a special law Cæsar's province had been conferred for a term of five years. This news hastened his movements.

**id**, in appos. with **eos . . . conari** (the real subject of **esset**), that they were attempting to force a march, &c. — **maturat**, hastens; travelling, his biographers say, 100 miles in a day. The subject, **Cæsar**, is here omitted with the leading verb, being expressed in the relative clause.

**quam maximis potest itinēribus** (§ 17, 5, c; G. 317): **potest** is usual with Cæsar in this phrase, which is elliptical. In full it

would be, *tam magnis quam maximis*, as great as the greatest; i. e. the greatest possible (ch. 10<sup>2</sup>).

**ab urbe**: this word, unless some other place is indicated, always means Rome, THE CITY. Cæsar was *near*, but not *in* the city, not being permitted to enter it while holding the military authority (*imperium*) of proconsul. — **ulteriorem**, i. e. beyond the Alps. The northern part of modern Italy was still called *Gallia Cisalpina*, and was a part of Cæsar's province.

2. **provinciæ** (dat.) *imperat*, *levies on the province*. The "entire province" probably included Dalmatia as well as Cisalpine Gaul, both being in Cæsar's jurisdiction.

3. **certiores facti sunt**, *were informed*. — **qui dicerent**, *who were* [instructed] *to say* (§ 64, 1; G. 544). — **sibi . . . liceat**: observe carefully the construction of the indirect discourse (§ 67, R. and 1; G. 653): in direct discourse it would be, "*Nobis est in animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter habemus nullum; rogamus, ut tua voluntate id nobis facere liceat.*" A little attention to this in the beginning will relieve this very frequent construction in Cæsar of all difficulty.

**sibi**, dat. of possession (§ 51, 3; G. 349); of **esse**, the subj. is the clause *iter . . . facere*, while the whole passage **sibi . . . liceat**, is the object of **dicerent**. Render, *that they had* [it] *in mind to make, &c.* — **aliud . . . nullum**, like the English, *other passage had they none*. — **rogare**: of this verb the subject is **se**, understood; and the object is the clause **ut . . . liceat** (§ 70, 3, a; G. 546, R<sup>1</sup>): *they begged it might be allowed them to do this with his consent*.

4. **L. Cassium . . . occisum** [esse], object of **memoria tenebat**, as a phrase of *knowing* (§ 57, 8, e; G. 527). This defeat happened B. C. 107, in the terrible invasion of the Cimbri or Teutons, the Helvetians being their allies. "The army of Cassius was one of six swept away by these barbarians."

6. **sub jugum**, *under the yoke* (hence the word *subjugate*). The *jugum* was made by sticking two spears in the ground, and laying another across them above. To pass under this was equivalent to *laying down of arms* by a modern army.

**concedendum** [esse], depending on **putabat**, impersonal (see § 73, 1, R; G. 427, R<sup>1</sup>): *thought that no concession should be made*, lit., "that it must not be yielded."

**homines**, subj. of **temperaturos** [esse], depending on **existimabat**: *he judged that men of hostile temper* (abl. of quality, § 54, 7; G. 402), *if the opportunity were given* (abl. absolute) *of making a march* (gerundive, § 73, 3, a; G. 429) *through the province, would not (neque) refrain from wrong and mischief*.

5. **dum . . . convenirent** (§ 62, 2, d; G. 574), *until the men*

*should muster.* — *diem se sumpturum* [esse], *he would take time.* *si quid reverterentur* (subj. for imperat. § 67, 3; G. 664): in direct discourse, *if you wish any thing* (said he), *return on the 13th of April.*

8. *ea legione, with that legion* (abl. of instrum.). In this sentence, observe how all the qualifying clauses come first, and the direct objects *murum, fossam*, come next before the leading verb *perducit* (§ 76, 1); while each relative belongs to *the verb which comes next after it* unless another relative intervenes, — a very convenient rule in analyzing a long and difficult sentence.

*decem novem, nineteen*, following the windings of the river (see note, ch. 6). — *murum*: this rampart, or earthwork, was on the south side of the river, leaving the passage undisputed along the northern bank.

The banks of the Rhone in this part are generally rugged and steep, with sharp ravines; there are only four short reaches — a little over three miles in all — in this course of eighteen miles requiring defences, and only two places where the river is fordable. Some remains of Cæsar's works can still be traced, according to the French engineers who surveyed the ground under the orders of Napoleon III. According to Cæsar's statement, the work was continuous (this is the meaning of *perducit*). We may assume, however, that the earth-wall was not necessarily built up to the full height (16 feet) the whole distance, but was often formed by digging away from the natural bank to form the trench. At the same time, we must remember that the Roman soldiers were accustomed to an amount of labor with the spade which no army at the present day would submit to.

2. *castella, bastions or redoubts*, along the line of the works. — *quo facilius possit, that he may the more easily*: the usual construction (§ 64, 1, a; G. 545, 2). — *se invito* (abl. abs.), *against his will*.

3. *negat se posse, says he cannot.* — *si conentur*, future condition in indirect discourse: direct, it would be *si conabimini*. — *prohibiturum* [se esse] *ostendit, shows that he shall stop them* (pointing to his works).

4. *dejecti, down-cast*: *de* in composition generally has the meaning *down*. — *nonnumquam, sometimes* (§ 41, 2, e, R.). — *si . . . possent*, an indirect question (§ 67, 2, f; G. 603), depending on *conati*: *trying if they could break through.* — *conatu*, abl. of separation, following *destiterunt, desisted*.

9. *Sequanis invitis* (abl. abs. of condition), *in case the Sequani should refuse.* — *sua sponte, by their own influence*: a rare meaning of this phrase, which is generally, *of their own accord.* — *eo*

**deprecatore** (abl. of instrum.), *by his means as advocate.* — **impetretant**, *they might obtain* [it].

2. **gratiā**, *personal influence*; **largitione**, *lavish gifts and hospitalities*, like those of old chiefs of the clan. — **duxerat**: this word is used of the man who marries a wife, i. e. he *leads* her to his own house; of the woman it is said, **nubit viro** (dat.), i. e. she *puts on the veil* for him. — **novis rebus** (dat. § 51, 2, b; G. 346, R<sup>2</sup>), *revolution*, change in the state. — **habere obstrictos**, *to keep close bound*.

3. **impetrat** has for obj. **ut . . . partiantur**; and **perficit, utl . . . dent**: *obtains* (from their good will) *that they will allow the Helvetii to go, &c., and brings it about that they exchange hostages.*

7. 10. **renuntiat**, *word is brought back*, i. e. from messengers sent to ascertain: the subject is the clause **Helvetiis esse, etc.** (see note 7<sup>3</sup>). — **Tolosatum**, of *Tolosa*, the modern *Toulouse*.

The *Santones* give the name to the modern province of *Saintonge*, on the Bay of Biscay. This is so far from the borders of the Province, as to show that *Cæsar* was only searching for a pretext; for of course he had no authority to interfere, unasked, with a passage through the territory of the *Sequani*. One motive in writing the *Commentaries*, we must remember, was to produce political effect in Rome.

2. **futurum** [esse] **ut haberet, etc.**, *it would be to the great peril of the province* (§ 70, R) *that he would have*: nearly = **se habiturum** [esse], a kind of periphrastic future (§ 58, 11, f; G. 240) carried into the past by sequence of tenses (*intellegebat*). — **locis** (loc. abl.) **patentibus**, *in an open country*: the S. W. part of Gaul is a broad river valley, giving easy access to the province.

3. **munitiōni præfecit**, *he put in command of the fort.* — **Labienum**: this was *Cæsar's* best officer, a prominent and influential politician, of strongly democratic sympathies. He served *Cæsar* faithfully through the Gallic wars, but when the Civil war broke out, he joined what he conceived to be the party of the republic, went over to Pompey, and was killed at Munda.

**legatum**, *aid, or staff-officer*. There were generally three of them assigned to the commander by the Senate, his wishes being considered in the selection.

**magnis itineribus**, as in ch. 7<sup>1</sup>. It is also the usual phrase for *forced marches* of an army. The ordinary day's march of the Romans was about 15 miles; a *magnum iter* was from 20 to 25 miles, — each soldier carrying, besides his trenching tools, personal baggage (*sarcina*), five wooden palisades for fortifying the camp: in all, a weight often of 50 or 60 pounds.

**legiones**: a legion at this time consisted, theoretically, of ten cohorts of 600 men each, — all infantry; each cohort being divided

into three maniples. *Cæsar's* legions, in fact, contained less than 3500 men each.

**Aquileiam** : an important Roman colony at the head of the Adriatic. It continued to be the chief port of trade for this region till outgrown by Venice.

**qua proximum iter**, i. e. by way of Susa and Turin, by Mt. Genève. Ocelum is identified with *Houlx*, a little south-west of Turin. The more direct way by Mt. Cenis began to be used under Augustus.

4. **compluribus . . . pulsatis**, interlocked order, his agreeing with **pulsatis** (§ 76, 2, *h*). — **ab Ocelo pervenit**, *came through* from Ocelum. — **trans Rhodanum**, towards the west, as the Rhone, at Lyons, turns abruptly to the south. His object was to head off the Helvetians, who had advanced westwardly, north of the upper course of the river, and had now reached the territory of the *Ædui*. *Cæsar's* army by this time amounted to near 25,000 men; the Helvetians had between 80,000 and 100,000 warriors to oppose him, with (probably) at least 8500 waggons.

11. **jam traduxerant**, *had already brought across*; **per angustias**, i. e. though the *pas de l'Ecluse*, before described. The emperor Napoleon III. enters into a calculation to show that *Cæsar's* absence cannot have occupied less than two months; so that the following events took place in the latter part of June. — **rogatum** (supine), *to ask*.

2. **ita se**, understand **dicentes** or some such word. In direct discourse, this will be, "Ita [*nos*] . . . *meriti sumus*, ut *pæne* in conspectu exercitus *tui*, . . . *liberi nostri* . . . non *debeant*:" *we have so deserved . . . that our fields ought not to be wasted, &c.*

**meritos** : "Alone among the Gauls," says Tacitus, "the *Ædui* claim the name of brotherhood with the Roman people" (Ann. xi. 25). There was even a later fiction of a common descent from Troy for the Arverni (Lucan, i. 427). So it was an old notion that Britain had its name from Brutus, a grandson of Ascanius.

3. **Hædui Ambarri**, *the Ædui near the Arar (or Saone)*, occupying the angle between that river and the Rhone. (Some editions omit *Hædui* in this title; others write, *eodem tempore quo Ædui, Ambarri quoque*.)

**necessarii**, *close connections* (bound by *necessitudo*, which *Cæsar* used to call *necessitas*); **consanguinei**, *blood-kindred*.

**depopulatis agris . . . prohibere**, *their fields were already wasted, and they were with difficulty attempting to keep off, &c.* (see § 72, 3, R; G. 667, R<sup>1</sup>).

S. 4. **nilil esse reliqui** (part. gen.), *there is nothing left to them, except the very soil of the fields*.

5. *non expectandum, must not wait.* — *soforum*: the Helvetians would be sure to levy upon the allies of the Romans wherever they found them.

12. *flumen, etc., the Arar (Saone) is a river which flows through, &c.*; not *between*, which would be expressed by *dividit*. The Saone joins the Rhone about 75 miles south-west of Lake Geneva. — *lenitate*, not so much *slowness* as *smoothness*; contrasting not only with the Rhone, but with the swiftness and turbidness of the rivers in Italy. “Cæsar knew no streams ‘waving their lazy lilies.’”

*ratibus, rafts* of logs; *lintribus, canoes* of hollowed logs, joined, perhaps, two and two, with a broad deck covering them. The swift streams of the south of Europe are often crossed by boats swung from moorings at some distance up-stream, and carried across either way by the force of the current. — *in . . . fluat*, indir. question following *judicari*.

2. *partes*, object of *duxisse*; *flumen* governed by *trans* in composition (§ 50, 2, *b*; G. 330, R<sup>1</sup>), *had conveyed three parts . . . across this river.* — *Ararim*: for the acc. in *im*, see § 11, i. 3, *a*<sup>1</sup> (names of rivers). — *reliquam = relictam*: in fact this adjective is, from its meaning, a kind of participle.

*de tertia vigilia = just at midnight*, the night, from sunset to sunrise, being divided into four equal watches.

3. *concidit (con, cædo), cut to pieces.* — *mandarunt = mandaverunt* (§ 30, 6, *a*; G. 191<sup>b</sup>), *abandoned* (lit. *give in hand, manu, do*); *abdiderunt, hid* (lit. *put away*).

*pagus*, properly, “a military district round a fortified place.” This district (*Tigurinus*) is about the modern *Zurich*.

4. *L. Cassium*, see ch. 7<sup>a</sup>. — *deorum*: this reference to a special providence is noticeable in so stern a realist as Cæsar. Compare his curious account of the divine omens which accompanied his victory over Pompey, B. C. iii. 105.

*quæ pars intulerat . . . ea persolvit*, render *that part which, &c.* (see § 48, 3, *b*, R; G. 622).

*pœnas persolvit, paid to the uttermost the penalty.* Punishment was regarded among the ancients, not as *suffering* to be *inflicted*, but as of the nature of a *fine* or *penalty* to be *paid*; hence *sumere, to inflict*, and *dare* or *solvere, to suffer*.

In 1862, numerous remains were discovered buried in two trenches, probably of those slain in this battle, — “pell-mell, skeletons of men, women, and children.” — *Hist. of Julius Cæsar*.

5. *injurias, wrongs*, not simply *damage*, as the word came to mean afterwards. From Cæsar's point of view, an offensive war against Rome is necessarily wrong. Besides, hostility or friend-

ship towards a foreign state might become a family tradition, and so a bounden duty. — *ultus est, avenged.*

**socer**: L. Calpurnius Piso, father of Shakespeare's Calphurnia, and consul of the present year (see end of ch. 6).

**13. consequi, overtake** (hence the frequent meaning *acquire*). — **faciendum curat, provides for making** (§ 72, 5, c; G. 431).

**2. cum . . . intellegent**, clause of relative time (§ 62, 2, b; G. 282). — **id**, object of *fecisse*, and in appos. with *ut . . . transirent*. — **diebus viginti, in the course of 20 days** (§ 55, 1; G. 392). — **in, upon**, not simply *over*.

**legatos**, a participle of *lego* (*depute*), used as a noun; hence, diplomatically, *envoy* or *ambassador*, and in military affairs *aid* or *lieutenant*. — **legationis**, a collective noun, and so answering (by *synesis*) to the plural *legatos*. — **Divico**, now an old man, since the battle in which he was commander took place 49 years before.

**9. 3. si pacem, etc.**: compare the form of direct discourse given to this address, § 67, at the end. — **in eam partem . . . ubi, to whatever part**, i. e. of Gaul. They were not, however, to be turned back from their migration. — **reminisceretur** (subj. for imperat.): *remember* [said he]. — **incommodi, disaster**: for the government of the genitive, see § 50, 4, a; G. 375.

**4. improvise, unexpectedly, by surprise** (properly abl. abs. § 54, 10, c; G. 438, R<sup>2</sup>). — **suis, to their own people** (§ 47, 3, a; G. 195, R<sup>1</sup>). — **ne tribueret** (for imperative), *do not ascribe it*. — **dolo, craft: insidiis, ambuscade**.

**5. ne committeret ut, etc., let it not be, &c.** (§ 70, 4, e; G. 557). — **ubi constitissent, where they had taken their stand** (notice the intensive force of *con*).

**14. eo** (abl. of means) **minus . . . quod, . . . tenerat; he had all the less hesitation because he kept in mind, &c.**

**eo gravius . . . quo minus** (§ 54, 6, e, R); he was the more incensed, in proportion as the Roman people had less deserved, &c.

**2. qui si fuisset, now if they** (the Roman people) *had been*. — **non fuisset** (for *fuisset* of dir. disc.), *it would not have been*. — **eo deceptum [esse], they had been deceived by this**.

**quare timeret**: this indirect question is the subject of **commisum** [esse], in the sense of *any thing that should give them fear*, and follows **intellegeret**: *because they* (the Roman people) *did not know what they had done to be afraid of*.

**3. quod si** (§ 52, 3, b; G. 331, R<sup>2</sup>) . . . **vellet, now if they should consent to forget, &c.** — **num posse = what! could they, &c.**

**injuriarum, obj. of memoriam**. — **eo invito = against their will** (**quod . . . vexassent** is a clause of *fact*, properly indicative, § 70, 5; G. 525, but subj. by indirect discourse).

4. *sua, their own* (the Helvetians); so *se tulisse* (= *intulisse*), *that they had committed*. The clause *quod . . . admirarentur* is subj. of *pertinere*: *As for their insolent boasting of their victory and their surprise* (no doubt) *that they had been so long unpunished in their wrong, it amounts to the same thing.*

5. *quos . . . his, to grant an interval of prosperity and longer impunity to those whom they wish to punish for their guilt.* "Divico had not said any thing in the way of direct boasting. This eloquent passage was perhaps an answer to his manner, or to the fact that he was the same Divico who had slain L. Cassius." Observe the change to primary tenses, when the language of Cæsar expresses a general truth.

6. *cum, though* (§ 62, 2, *e*; G. 587).—*sibi, to him*, Cæsar.—*facturos, sc. eos.*—*Hæduis, dat. after satisfaciant, pay damages.*—*ipsis, dat. after intulerint.*

10. 15. *equitatum*: the cavalry was wholly made up of contingents furnished by subjects (of the provinces) or allies (as the *Ædui*).—*coactum habebat, lit., had got together* (§ 70, 3, *b*; G. 230): more strictly held (had in hand) after being collected.

2. *cupidius, too eagerly* (§ 17, 5, *a*; G. 312).—*novissimum agmen, the rear*: *agmen* is the army in line of march (*ago*); and its *newest* part is that which comes along last.—*alieno loco, an unfavorable ground* ("another's"); so *suo* would be *favorable* ("his own").

3. *sublati (tollo), elated.*—*equitibus, abl. of means.*—*subsistere, to make a stand.*—*novissimo agmine (loc. abl.), at their rear.*

4. *satis habebat, held it sufficient.*—*hostem . . . prohibere, in appos. with satis, as object of habebat.*

5. *ita, uti, so that* (correl.).—*quinis, senis, distributives, implying that this was the constant or average distance between the two armies.* The country here is very irregular and broken; so that it was impossible for Cæsar to get any advantage by a rapid march, or by an attack on the Helvetian rear.

16. *cotidie* = *quotidie* (§ 1, 2, *b*).—*Hæduos frumentum, required corn of the Ædui* (§ 52, 2, *c*; G. 333).—*flagitare, historical infinitive* (§ 57, 8, *h*; G. 850).—*frigora, the cold season, or spells of cold*: not *the cold* in general.—*pabuli, green fodder* (root in *pasco*).—*frumento, object of uti.*—*propterea . . . quod, see ch. 1<sup>a</sup>.*

2. *ducere* (histor. infin.), *dragged on.*—*conferrī, etc. [frumentum]: as English has no present passive, translate actively, "said it was getting together, was coming in, was close by."*—*metiri, measure out*: the allowance was 50 pounds a month.—*Divitiaco,*

**Lisco**, abl. in appos. with **principibus**.—**summo magistratui præerat**, held the chief office, of which the Celtic title was *guerg breth*, “executor of judgment,” represented in Latin by *Vergobretus*.—**in suoa**, over his people.

**11. 3. necessario** (attrib.), at so urgent a time; **propinquis** (pred.), with the enemy so near.

**17. privatim plus possint**, have more power in private station: some copies read *privati*, as private men.

**2. improba oratione**, reckless talk.—**ne** (§ 70, 3, e; G. 549) . . . **præferre**, from bringing the corn which they were bound to furnish; [representing that] if they could no longer hold the chief rank in Gaul, they prefer the rule of Gauls to [that of] Romans.

This sentence gives a good example of what is called a Various Reading. It must be remembered that these Commentaries were first written as rough notes, or memoranda, and were afterwards copied by hand for centuries before their form was fixed by printing. The sentence as it stands is that given in the best editions; some of which, however, have **perferre**, bear, for **præferre**, prefer. In the above rendering, **præstare** has the active meaning to furnish; and **quam** the meaning than, after the comparative implied in **præferre**. This makes the sense clear, but is awkward and hard. To remedy it, the neatest and best conjecture is to put the pause after **conferant**, read **debeat** for the plural **debeant**, and **perferre** for **præferre**, thus: “deterere ne frumentum conferant; quod præstare debeat, si jam principatum Galliæ obtinere non possint, Gallorum quam Romanorum imperium perferre.” Here **quod** is because, and **quam** follows the comparative in **præstare**, taken in the neuter sense of excel; and the passage reads, from bringing in the corn; since it must be better (**præstare debeat**) to bear, &c. But there is no manuscript authority for **debeat**. Some would read **dicant** for **debeant**: since, they say, it is better, &c.; but this is mere conjecture. Others, again, put **satis esse** after **perferre**; but this is only an explanatory note, written by some early editor.

**neque dubitare quin**, § 65, 1, b; G. 550.—**debeant**: a word given thus in brackets is one of which the authority is doubtful; it may sometimes require to be omitted in translation.—**superaverint**, perf. subjunctive for fut. perf. (same form) of direct disc.—**Hæduis**, dative, § 51, 2, e; G. 346.

**3. a se**, i. e. by Liscus, as chief magistrate.—**quin etiam**, nay even: often written as one word.—**quam diu**, as long as.—**necessario**, unavoidably; coactus, on compulsion.

**18. pluribus presentibus** (abl. abs.), in the presence of several.—**jactari**, bandied about (freq. of jacio).

**2. ex solo**, from him apart.—**secreto** (secerno), each by himself.—**summa audacia**, [a man] of utmost boldness.

3. *portoria, customs-dues*, levied at the frontier, collected (apparently) as by the Romans, through *publicani*, who bid for the contract at public auction. The other *vectigalia*, farmed out for collection in the same way, were tithes on farm produce, rent of public pastures, &c. — *redempta*, agreeing with *vectigalia*, and taken with *habere*, *had bought in* (see 15<sup>1</sup>). — *illo die nocte*, *when he bid*.

4. *ad largiendum, for gifts*, to buy political support.

12. *largiter posse, had extensive power*. — *causā, for the sake*: as always when thus following a genitive. — *potentiæ, power*, as an attribute of the person: *potestas* is power to do any thing; *facultas*, opportunity; *imperium*, military authority. — *collocasse, had established* in marriage (*nuptum*). — *Biturigibus*, near the modern *Bourges*. — *ex matre, on the mother's side*.

5. *favere . . . Helvetiis* (dat.), *he favored the Helvetians and desired* [their success]: some such object must be supplied to *cupere*. — *adfinitatem, family alliance*. — *suo nomine, on his own account* (a legal phrase applying to business debts, &c.).

6. *si quid accidat* (a mild phrase), *in case of any disaster*. — *imperio* (abl. of circumstance), *under the rule*.

7. *quod . . . factum, a kind of adverbial phrase = in regard to the unsuccessful cavalry-skirmish fought the other day*.

19. *res, facts*. — *accederent, were added*: *accedo* is used as a kind of passive of *addo*. — *inter eos, i. e. the Helvetii and Sequani*. — *in jussu suo, etc., without his authority* (§ 12, 4, *b*) or *that of the state*: here *suo* is equivalent to a genitive. — *in scientibus ipsis*, without his own knowledge or that of the *Ædui*. — *in eum animadverteret, should bend his mind upon him, i. e. proceed against or punish him*.

2. *quod . . . cognoverat, that he well knew, &c.* (the present inceptive, *cognosco*, having the meaning *to learn*). This clause, in apposition with *unum*, might in English be introduced by some such word as *namely*. — *studium, attachment* as partisan; *voluntatem, good will* as friend. — *supplicio, punishment* or *execution*. This word is derived from the adjective *supplex, down-bent*, signifying *on the bended knee*; i. e. either as a suppliant for mercy, or (as here) to receive the blow of the executioner.

3. *prius quam conaretur, before he should attempt*; see § 62, 2, *c*; G. 579. — *per* connects *Procillum* with *colloquitur*. — *principem, a leading man*.

13. *commonefacit, warns or notifies* (root in *moneo*). — *ipso, i. e. Divitiacus*. — *apud se, in his (Cæsar's) presence*. — *offensione animi, displeasure* (of *Divitiacus*); *ipse, which follows, refers to Cæsar*: he hopes, in what steps he takes or orders to be taken against *Dumnorix*, not to incur the resentment of his brother.

20. **ne quid gravius** (a common phrase), *no severe measures*.

2. **scire se**, etc. "I know," said he, "that this is true, and no one can be more pained at it than I."—**plus doloris**: except as an adverb, this comparative can only be used, as here, with the partitive genitive.—**ipse, se, suam, sese**, all refer to Divitiacus; **ille** to Dumnorix, which is also the subject of **crevissset** and **utere-tur**.—**opibus ac nervis**=*sineus of power*, obj. of **utere-tur**.—**gratiam** as well as **perniciem** takes **suam**.—**amore fraterno** (§ 47, 5, c; G. 363, R'), *love to his brother*.

3. a **Cæsare accidisset**=*should be done by Cæsar*.—**futu-rum [esse] uti . . . averterentur** (periphrastic future infin. § 58, 11, f; G. 240), *the heart of all Gaul would be turned from him*.

4. **rogat [ut] faciat**, see § 70, 3, f, R; G. 546, R<sup>2</sup>.—**tanti, of so great account** (§ 54, 8, a; G. 379).—**condonet**: "Cæsar pretended to yield to the prayers of the Druid, but in fact he yielded to necessity. He was in great straits, with a warlike enemy in front and doubtful allies around him, on whom his army was dependent for food" (Long: compare v. 6).

**præterita, things bygone** ("the past").—**Dumnorigi ponit (=adponit)**, *sets over him*.

21. **qualis esset, etc.**, indir. question after **cognoscerent**.—**natura, character**; **qualis . . . ascensus**=*the chance of ascending it at [various points of] its circuit*.—**qui cognoscerent** (§ 65, 2, a; G. 634): the antecedent of **qui** is **quosdam**, or some such word, as object of **misit, he sent men to ascertain**.

2. **facilem, sc. ascensum**.—**pro prætore, with powers of prætor**. The prætor, like the consul, held the *imperium*, or power to command; a *legatus*, not possessing this in his own right, might be temporarily invested with it by his commander.

14. **ducibus** (pred.), *as guides*.—**qui . . . cognoverant, i. e.** of the party of reconnoissance.—**consilii, limiting quid**, so signify-ing not *his plan* as a whole, but what he chooses to show of his plan.—**de quarta vigilia, about 2 A.M.**: the sun at this season rising here about 4 o'clock.—**contendit** (root TEN), *pushed on*.

3. **Sullæ, Crassi**: Sulla (the dictator) had conducted the war against Mithridates about 30 years before (B. C. 88–84), and Crassus that against Spartacus some years later (B. C. 71).

22. **aut Labieni, or Labienus's**: this predicate use of the geni-tive is rare in Latin.—**equo admisso**=*at full speed* (with reins thrown loose).

2. **insignibus, i. e. devices** on shields and helmets,—stags' horns, eagles' plumes, &c.,—the origin of modern heraldry. (Ob-serve that the name *Gallie* here applies to the Helvetians.) The inference from this report would be, that Labienus had been cut to

pieces, and Cæsar must expect an attack at once. This accounts for his next movement, which was to fall back and wait in line of battle, while Bibienus was vainly expecting him.

3. *ut, as.*—*ne . . . committerent . . . essent*, subject of *erat præceptum*.—*ut . . . fieret*, so that the attack might be made on all sides at once.—*monte occupato, etc.*, having seized the height continued to look out for our men.

4. *multo die* (loc. abl.), late in the day.—*quod non vidisset*, what he had not seen, sc. *id*, obj. of *renuntiasset*.—*pro viso*, as if seen.—*quo*, sc. *eodem*, at the same interval as usual.—*tria* (acc.), § 55, 2, b; G. 335.

23. *diei*, § 50, 4, e, r; G. 418 (end).—*omnino*, in all (only).—*cum* = within which.—*Bibracte*, the modern *Mont Beauvray*, a considerable hill, about 10 miles west of *Autun* (*Augustodunum*).—*rei frumentariæ* (dat.), the supply of corn.

2. *fugitivos, runaways*. The regular word would be *transfugas*: the term which generally means fugitive slaves is here applied, contemptuously, to deserters from the cavalry of the Gallic allies.

*decurionis*: the auxiliary cavalry (the entire cavalry force) was divided into *alæ*, consisting each of 10 *turmæ*, and these again into three *decuriæ*, of probably 10 men, each commanded by a *decurio*. *Æmilius* was the senior officer.

3. *eo magis* (abl. of difference), all the more.—*locis, etc.*, though holding higher ground.

15. *eo quod . . . confiderent* (abl. of cause), for this reason because they felt sure that they (the Romans) could be cut off from their supplies.

*itinere converso*: the fatal step which led to their complete destruction.

The Helvetians were now well in advance of Cæsar, and might probably have continued their march unmolested to the coast, had not their vain confidence turned them back. Cæsar's army was at this time not far from 60,000 men, including about 20,000 auxiliaries, mostly "Gaulish mountaineers;" so that he was a full match, in a fair field, for the Helvetians, who had now about 70,000 fighting men.

24. *animum advertit* (= *vertit animum ad*: usually written as one word, *animadvertit*): to turn the mind upon any thing is to notice it; hence this phrase takes a direct object (*id*) like a single transitive verb.—*qui sustineret* = to sustain (§ 64, 1; G. 544).

2. *in colle medio, half way up the hill*.—*triplicem aciem, etc.*—four veteran legions in triple line. The legion being composed of ten cohorts, four stood in the first line, — 10 men deep, —

and three in each of the other lines, disposed in the following order (*quincunx*):

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4	7	3	2	1
		10	6	5
			9	8

each cohort being mentioned in order of rank. — *in summo jugo*, i. e. on the level top of the hill. — *ao* = *and thus*. — *sarcinas*, see 10<sup>o</sup>. — *sum*, *this* [place]. — *his qui*, etc., simply, *those who stood in the upper* (i. e. rear) ranks: these were the two new legions, opposed to *veteranarum*, above.

3. *phalange facta*: the phalanx was a close, compact body, distinguished from the legion, in which the men stood usually six feet apart, so as to give them great freedom of action. (See what is said of the interlocking of the shields in the next chapter.) — *sub . . . successerunt*, *came up close below*.

25. *suo* [equo], *having sent back his own and all the others' horses*. This was often done before an engagement (cf. Sall. Cat. 59). Probably Cæsar distrusted the good faith of his cavalry, which consisted principally of Gauls. He is reported to have said to his men, "I will mount again when the enemy run."

*pilis*, *javelins*: these consisted of a stout staff, with a long, sharp, slender head, projecting about nine inches, making a weapon about six feet long, which could be thrown with considerable force about 100 feet. Each Roman soldier (heavy-armed) had two of these, and a short cut-and-thrust sword. The mode of attack was (as here) to hurl the javelins, and then rush with the sword upon the disturbed ranks of the enemy.

2. *impedimento*, dat. of service, § 51, 5 (R. 20); G. 350. — *pluribus*, *several*. For the whole of this description, compare what is said of the form of this javelin and the close order of the phalanx. — *scutis*, *shields* of plank, five feet long, designed to protect the whole body: these were pierced and pinned together at the edges where they overlapped. — *evellere*, *pull them out*. — *sinistra impedita* (parenthesis), *since the left hand was shackled*. — *multi ut*, *many* [to such a degree] *that*. — *nudo*, *unprotected*.

3. *pedem referre*, *fall back*: not *retreat*, which would be *terga vertere*. — *mille*, acc. of distance, the idea of distance being implied in *suberat*.

4. *capto monte*, *when they had reached the hill*. — *agmen claudebant*, *brought up their rear*. The Boii or Tulingi, with about 15,000 men, had been in front of the Helvetian line of march, and were consequently in the rear when they faced round to attack Cæsar. They now struck at his exposed flank (*latere aperto*) as they came upon the field (*ex itinere*).

16. *conversa signa intulerunt*, *faced about and charged in two divisions*. These stood not back to back, but at right angles

facing outward; the two front lines facing forward, while the third met the flank attack of the new-comers (*venientes*).

26. *ancipiti*, *two-headed*, thus facing two ways at once. — *alteri*, the Helvetians; *alteri*, the Boii, &c.

2. *ab hora septima*, i. e. from a little past 1 P. M.; sunset was about eight, so that each of the twelve daylight hours was about an hour and a quarter of our time. — *aversum hostem* = *an enemy's back*. — *ad multam noctem*, *till late in the night*. — *pro vallo*, *as a barricade*. — *e loco superiore*, *from vantage-ground*, i. e. the height of the carts, &c. — *coniciebant*, *subiciebant*, *hurled* (from above), *thrust* (from below). For the form of these words, see § 1, 3, *d*. The semi-vowel *j* is lost before *i*: therefore in most dictionaries look for *conjiicio*, *subjiicio*. — *mataras*, Gallic pikes, thrown from the hand; *tragulas*, heavy javelins, used by Gauls and Spaniards, and thrown by aid of a thong.

4. *Lingonum*, i. e. the southern part of *Champagne*, towards the north. — *propter* gives the reason of *morati*.

5. *Lingonas*, Greek form of the accusative (§ 11, iii. 6, *f*), common in these names of tribes. — *qui si juvissent* = *for if they should*, &c. — *eodem loco habiturum*, *would hold on the same footing*.

In the year 1860, numerous burial mounds near the place of this battle (in which considerably more than 100,000 human beings must have perished) were opened, and found to contain skeletons buried face downward, with knives, bracelets, rings, and hair-pins of bronze, very similar to the relics discovered shortly before in the lake-dwellings of Switzerland. It has been conjectured that these lake-dwellings were among those destroyed at the time of the Helvetian migration (see De Saulcy, *Campaigns of Cæsar in Gaul*).

27. *qui . . . paruerunt*; observe the change of subject in this sentence, from *legati* to *Cæsar*, as well as the change of mood with the same subject, *convenissent*, *paruerunt*. The syntax will present no difficulty.

2. *qui perfugissent*, fugitive slaves from the Province. — *conquiruntur*, *conferuntur*: to express the present in English, it is often better to use the active form, *while they are hunting these up and bringing them together*. — *nocte intermissa*, *when the night was past*: i. e. it was then ascertained what had happened early in the evening. — *Verbigenus*, from the parts between Berne and Lucerne.

17. *occultari*, *be hid* from Cæsar; *ignorari*, *unknown* to anybody. — *contenderunt ad*, *made* (rapidly) *for*.

28. *quorum*: the antecedent is *his* (dat.) following *imperavit*, the direct object of which is *utl . . . reducerent*. — *sibi* (dat. of

reference), *in his eyes*. — *reductos . . . habuit, when brought back, he treated them as enemies*, i. e. massacred them all: the phrase is regularly used in this signification.

*in deditionem accepti*: by this act they became formally the subjects of the Republic, and were entitled to its protection, as well as required to obey its requisitions and pay tribute.

2. *reverti, turn back* (from a march or journey; *redire, go back*, from a place of rest). — *fructibus = frugibus* (which is found in some copies), grain and other field produce. — *copiam facerent, provide a supply*. — *ipsos*, the Helvetians.

3. *ea ratione, with this view*: the word is connected both with *res, thing*, and *reor, think*.

4. *potentibus Hæduis, to the Ædui, at their request*: dat. after *concessit*, of which the object is, *ut Boios collocarent*. (*Boios* is put first in the sentence, for emphasis.) — *parem atque ipsi erant = equal with themselves* (§ 43, 3, a<sup>1</sup>). — *condicionem*: for the form of this word, see § 1, 3, h.

29. *tabulæ, tablets*, of the shape of a folding slate, with wax spread inside, written with a pointed instrument called *stilus*.

*litteris Græcis*, i. e. in Greek characters, probably learned from colonists at Marseilles, as the Gauls had no alphabet of their own. Specimens of Gallic names on coins are in the names DUBNOREX, DIVICIACOS, VERCINGETORIXS. — *ratio, an estimate*, followed by the indir. question *qui . . . exisset — confectæ, made out*.

2. *capitum, "souls"*. — *ad millia xcii, about 92,000*.

3. *summa, the sum*: *fuerunt* agreeing with the plural predicate. Deducting the Boii, who were adopted by the Ædui, this reckoning would show an actual loss, in slain or captives (slaves), in this short campaign, of about 250,000, including probably about 150,000 women and children, or other non-combatants.

GERMAN CAMPAIGN. — The latter half of this Book is taken up with the expulsion of a military settlement of Germans, which had been made a few years before, under Ariovistus, chief of the tribe of Suevi.

The occasion of this new campaign was the following. The Ædui, jealous of the Sequani, who lived a little to the north, had laid excessive tolls on their trade, which consisted chiefly in the export of salted meats for the southern market.\* This led to a war, in which the Sequani had invited the aid of the Germans under Ariovistus, about three years before the campaign of Cæsar. The Germans, once in Gaul, had exacted a large share of territory, and proved to be grasping and oppressive masters. Meanwhile the Helvetian war began to threaten. The Roman Senate, to make safe, passed the decrees before mentioned, promising favor and friendship to the Ædui (ch. 11); and at

\* "From this region," says Strabo, "the best of pickled pork is sent to Rome" (iv. p. 192).

the same time sent messengers to Ariovistus, saluting him as king and friend (ch. 35), recognizing his claims on Gaul, and (it was said) inviting him to Rome. This was the year before, in Cæsar's consulship. Now, however, that the fear of the Helvetians was passed, Cæsar found himself obliged to take sides in the old quarrel.

**18. 30. populi Romani, against, &c.** (obj. gen. after *injuriis*). — **ab his repetisset, had inflicted on them** (see ch. 12<sup>b</sup>). — **ex usu, to the advantage.**

2. **ea consilio, with this design,** expressed by the purpose-clause *uti . . . haberent*. — **florentissimus rebus, i. e.** with no plea of necessity. — **domicilio, for habitation.** — **ex magna copia = from a wide choice,** implied in **quem . . . judicassent**. — **stipendiarias, tributary: stipendium** is the tax paid by a subject community.

3. **uti sibi liceret, that it might be allowed them.** — **concilium totius Galliæ:** of course Cæsar had no authority to allow or prohibit a congress of independent Gaul. But, considering his power and ambition, they thought it best to secure his countenance (**voluntate, not auctoritate**) beforehand. They also had business that specially concerned him.

4. **jurejurando sanxerunt, ordained under oath of secrecy:** the object is **ne quis, etc.** — **nisi quibus, etc., except [to those] to whom some commission should be assigned** (pluperf. for fut. perf.).

**31. eo concilio dimisso, i. e.** when this assembly had been held and dissolved, after providing for the business now described. — **secreto, apart; in occulto, in a secret place.** — **idem (idem), nom. plural.**

2. **Cæsari, dat. of reference (§ 51, 7, a; G. 343, R<sup>3</sup>) = at Cæsar's feet.** — **id** (in appos. with **ne . . . enuntiarentur**) **contendere, etc.,** they no less urgently desired their account to be kept secret, than to obtain the thing they sought (disc. **dixissent,** for fut. perf. of direct).

3. **factiones duas, see note, ch. 3<sup>a</sup>.** — **principatum, headship.** — **alterius, notice the parallel expressions alterius Hæduos, alterius Arvernos.** Such antitheses are often a great help in translation. — **Arvernos:** these inhabited the mountainous country S. W. of the Ædui, the modern *Auvergne*. — **factum esse uti, it came to pass that, &c.** — **Sequanis:** these were the rivals of the Ædui on the north.

4. **feri ac barbari:** as to the condition of the Germans, see Introduction. — **adamassent (= adamavissent, § 30, 6, a; G. 191<sup>b</sup>), had become attached.** — **horum (emph.), of the latter.** — **copias (= opes), resources.** — **plures, notice the emphasis, also in nunc.**

5. **clientes, the subject states of the Ambarri, Segusiavi, &c.** — **omnem . . . equitatum, of course an exaggeration: Divitiacus**

was himself a noble, probably a senator; while his brother, Dumnorix, was a commander of the Eduan cavalry.

6. qui . . . potuissent, [they] *who had once, &c., were compelled.* — repetituros, *demand back.* — quo minus, following a verb of refusing (§ 65, 1, a; G. 547), seems originally to have been a phrase of courtesy, implying a less point-blank refusal than *ne* or *quin*. — *dicione*, i. e. to do their bidding. — *potuerit*, in direct discourse *potuit*, the perfect having a tendency to remain in the perfect, contrary to the rule.

7. Romam venisse, see note, ch. 3.

8. *pejus accidisse*, a worse thing had befallen. Observe that a misfortune is usually said *accidere* (verb-root CAD), as if it fell on one; while a good thing is said *evenire*. — *Ariovistus*, supposed to be the German word *Heerfürst*, "prince of the host."

*tertiam partem*, i. e. upper *Alsace*, a part of the German conquest of 1870. This was the same proportion of conquered land taken by the German invaders (*Burgundians*) in this very territory, in the fifth century of the Christian era. It seems to have been the ancient common law of conquest (Liv. ii. 41). — *optimus*: this district (*Franche Comté*) is one of the most beautiful in France, and the "best wooded." The chief export was dried meat and hams. — *nunc . . . juberet*: so too the *Burgundians*. — *occupavisset*, taken possession of. — *quibus . . . pararentur*, for whom room and settlements must be prepared. — *juberet*, in direct, *jubet*, he bids. — *quibus . . . pararentur*, = *who were to be provided with a place for habitation* (subj. of purpose).

9. *futurum esse uti* (periphrastic future), the result would be. — *neque enim* introduces an explanation admitting no doubt. — *hanc = nostram* (§ 20, 2, a), said with some feeling of superiority or contempt.

10. *autem*, again, a slight antithesis between the king and the things mentioned before. — *ut . . . vicerit*, indir. disc. for *ut vicit* (§ 62, 2, a; G. 563), *having once conquered.* — *Magetobriam*, a little west of *Vesontio* (*Besançon*). — *in eos . . . edere*, gave forth, i. e. *wreaked all sorts of torments on them.* — *oruciatuque = of torture* (hendiadys).

11. *barbarum*, etc., *rude, passionate, and hasty.* — *nisi si* (see § 61, 4, a; G. 592, R<sup>b</sup>), etc., *unless they find some aid.*

20. *idem*, in appos. with *ut . . . experiantur.* — *ut emigrant*, that is, *to forsake their home.*

12. *hæc*, notice the emphasis. — *quin sumat*, that he will inflict upon (§ 57, 2, N); lit. *take a penalty of.* — *Rhenum*, acc. after *trans* in *traducatur* (§ 52, 2, b; G. 330, R<sup>1</sup>).

32. *habita*, *having been spoken* (the usual word). — *unos*, alone. This whole scene is "most illustrative of the Gallic character."

2. *quæ esset*, indir. question after *miratus*. — *respondere*, historical infinitive. [libtool.com.cn](http://libtool.com.cn)

3. *hoc*, in this respect. — *soli*, they alone. — *ne . . . quidem*, not even secretly. — *absentis* (pred.), even when absent. — *tamen*, even yet, whatever they might have to suffer. — *Sequanis*, dat. of virtual agent with *perferendi* (§ 51, 4, a; G. 353), the *Sequani* must endure (changing the voice). — *tamen*, i. e. even as it was.

33. *sibi curæ* (dat. of service, § 51, 5; G. 350), a care to him. — *et . . . et*, construe after *adductum*, induced by both . . . and.

2. *secundum*, in accordance with: lit. following (§ 73, 2, N; G. 427, R<sup>1</sup>). — *quare putaret*, indir. question, following *hortabantur*. — *Hæduos*, obj. of *videbat* and subj. of *teneri* (below).

21. *appellatos* (pred.), who had been often called. — *quod*: the antecedent is the preceding clause *quod . . . intellegebat*.

3. *periculosum*, pred., agreeing with *Germanos consuescere*, etc., he saw it was dangerous to the Roman people for the Germans, little by little, to get in the way of crossing the Rhine, &c. — *sibi temperaturos quin exirent*, would check themselves from going forth. — *ut, as*; *fecissent* being subjunctive as dependent on *exirent*, § 66, 2 (R. 47); G. 666.

4. *Rhodanus* = only the Rhone. — *rebus*, dat. following *occurrendum* [*sibi*], § 51, 2, d (R. 18); G. 346: which things he thought must be met at once. — *tantos spiritus*, such temper. — *ferendus*, bearable.

34. *ab eo*, of him (§ 52, 2, c, R; G. 333, R<sup>2</sup>). — *conloquio* (dat.), for a conference. — *medium utriusque*, between the two. — *de re publica agere*, to treat on public business.

2. *si quid, etc.*, if he needed any thing from Cæsar. Observe in this sentence that the reflexives *ipse* and *se* refer to Ariovistus, and the demonstratives *is*, *ille*, to Cæsar. — *se velit*, wants of him: the secondary accus. is in analogy with verbs of asking. The acc. of neuter pronouns is often used with intransitive verbs or as a double accusative.

4. *mirum quid . . . esset*, a sort of indir. question: it seemed strange to him what business, &c. — *in sua Gallia*, in his own [part of] Gaul.

35. *tanto . . . adfectus*, distinguished by so great favor, &c. (see note before ch. 30): *beneficio* is explained by *cum . . . esset*, and *gratiam referret* by *ut . . . putaret*; the first *sibi* refers to Cæsar and the second to Ariovistus. In this sentence the causal clause is *quoniam . . . putaret*, and the leading verb is *esse*: Since, though so greatly favored by the Romans, he made such an ill return (*hanc gratiam referret*) as to grudge coming to a conference when invited, and would neither speak nor hear about the

common business, [therefore] *this demand is made upon him, &c.* "Ariovistus knew as well as any one how much gratitude he owed to Rome for these *beneficia*."

22. 2. *ne quam, not any.* — *voluntate, consent.* — *ejus* refers to Ariovistus, and *illis* to the Sequani.

3. *si non impetraret, if he (Cæsar) should not get* [this pledge]. — *Messala, etc., i. e. B. C. 61. M. Messala, etc., simply in the consulship, &c., only to indicate the year.* — *obtineret, should hold* (as governor). — *quod = so far as.* — *commodo reipublicæ, to the advantage of the state.* — *consuisset, had voted.* — *defenderet*: see the reasons, in the note referred to above. — *se, a repetition of sese* above, to bring it nearer to its verb.

36. *jus, a right.* — *vicissent* for *vicerint* (fut. perf.) of direct disc. — *is, obj. of imperaret*: *that those who conquer shall rule those they conquer as (quem ad modum) they will.* The verbs are in the past by sequence of tenses (§ 58, 10, *d*; G. 216). — *item, in like manner.* — *victis, obj. of imperare.* — *alterius, any one's else.*

3. *sibi stipendiarios, tributary to himself.* — *qui faceret = in making* (§ 65, 2, *c*; G. 637).

4. *non . . . neque*: [on the one hand] *he would not restore, &c., but* [on the other] *he would not wrongfully (injuriâ), &c.* — *convenisset = had been agreed.* — *longe . . . a futurum, the name of brothers would be a great way off from them, i. e. too far to help them.*

5. *quod, etc., the whole clause is construed as an adverbial accusative: as to Cæsar's threat, &c.* — *secum, sua, observe that these refer one to Ariovistus, the other to his antagonist.* — *congrederetur* (for *imperat.*), *they might come on when they would; they should know, &c.* — *quid possent, what their strength was.*

37. *eodem tempore, et = at the same time* [when] *this message, &c.*

23. *questum, to complain* (supine). — *Treveris, from the region of Trèves, in the valley of the Moselle.* — *qui . . . essent, who (they said) had just come over* (§ 66, 1; G. 509).

2. *ne . . . datis, not even by giving hostages.* — *pagos* (see note, ch. 12<sup>d</sup>): these divisions were those known as *hundreds*, meaning not only the people, but the district (see iv. 1).

3. *maturandum sibi, that he must hasten.* — *resisti* (impers. § 51, 2, *f*; G. 208) *posset, resistance could be made.*

*minus facile, i. e. it would be impossible; but this would be a word of ill omen.* — *ad, towards.*

38. *Vesontionem, the modern Besançon, about ninety miles E. N. E. of the former battle-ground.* — *profecisse, had advanced.*

2. **ne**, following **præcavendum** (§ 70, 3, *e*; G. 549). — **facultas** = *facility for obtaining* (see note, ch. 31<sup>6</sup>). — **Dubis**, the modern *Doubs*. This name is said to mean “black river;” or, in the form *Alduasdubis*, “river of black rocks.” — **ut**, as it were.

3. **spatium**, obj. of **continet**. — **sexcentorum**, pred. gen. after **est**; for construction with **amplius**, see § 54, 5, *c*; G. 311, R<sup>1</sup>. — **ripæ** (dat.), following **contingant**.

4. **hunc** [montem]: *this an encompassing wall makes into a fortress*. — **occupato**, *taken possession of*.

39. **vocibus**, *talk*. — **prædicabant**, *vaunted*.

24. **sæpenumero**, *oftentimes*. Adverbs are frequently thus strengthened by a qualifying word, usually a genitive: as *hic loci*, &c. — **congressos**, *when they met them*. — **occupavit**, *seized*.

2. **tribunis militum**, infantry officers, six to each legion, who took command in turns of two months each; **præfectis**, commanders of cavalry and auxiliaries; **reliquis**, i. e. aids or *attachés* (*contubernales, comites*), who attended the governor or commander of a province for the sake of military practice. All these were often appointed from mere personal or political motives, and were of small use in the service, as it proved here. This staff was sometimes called, irregularly, the *prætorian cohort*.

**amicitiæ causa**: Cæsar's earlier career had been that of a political adventurer. He was deeply in debt, and probably could not afford to refuse positions to the “poor relations” of his creditors, trusting the valor of his veterans to cover their short-comings.

**alius alia causa**, *on various pretexts* (§ 47, 9; G. 306). — **quam diceret**, *which, he said* (§ 66, 1, *d*, R; G. 539, R).

3. **vultum fingere**, *put on a brave face*. — **abditæ**, *hiding*. — **testamenta obsignabantur**, indicating utter despair. The word refers to a will, sealed and witnessed in due form, — not the mere informal declaration permitted to soldiers on the eve of battle (*in procinctu*). “Did they make the Germans their executors? The mixture of vexation and comedy in Cæsar's narrative is amusing” (Moberly).

4. **in castris** = *in military life*. — **centuriones**, two to each maniple, who were promoted from the ranks, like modern “non-commissioned officers.” — **rem frumentariam** . . . **timere** (accus. of anticipation, § 67, 2, *c*; G. 470), *feared* [for] *the supply of corn, lest it might not be conveniently brought in* (§ 70, 3, *f*; G. 552).

5. **cum jussisset**, for **cum jusseris** (fut. perf.) of direct disc. — **dicto audientes**, *obedient to the word of command*. — **signa laturos**, *would carry the standards*, i. e. *advance*. These were bronze eagles carried on a flag-staff, one to each legion; and of course must be borne in the thick of the fight.

40. **omnium ordinum**: the centurions ranked from one to six in each of the ten cohorts (see note, ch. 24<sup>1</sup>). To the ordinary council of war, only the first in each cohort was summoned. This was a full council of all the officers. — **sibi quærendum . . . putarent**, *thought they ought to inquire or have any idea*, in agreement with the interrog. clause *quam . . . ducerentur*.

2. **se consule** (direct, **me consule**), *in his consulship*. — **cur quisquam judicaret**, *why should any one so hastily think?* For the form of question, see § 67, *d*, R; G. 654, R<sup>1</sup> (direct, *judicet*, *dubit* subj.); for the use of **quisquam**, implying a negative, see § 21, 2, *h*. — **discessurum**, *would fall away*. — **sibi persuaderi**, *for his part he was persuaded* (*mihî persuadetur*, § 51, 2, *f*; G. 208): the subject of *persuaderi* is *eum . . . repudiaturum*.

25. 3. **quod si intulisset**, *but if he had, &c.* (dir. disc. *intulit*). — **quid tandem**, *what, pray, were they afraid of?* — **sua**, *their own*; **ipstus**, *his own*: *ipse*, used in this way, is an *indirect reflexive*.

4. **periculum** (root in *experior*), *a trial*. — **Cimbris, etc.**, A.D. 102 and 101, a little more than forty years before. — **servilli tumultu**, the insurrection of the slaves (gladiators) under Spartacus, B.C. 73-71. These consisted largely of the Germans captured by Marius. A war at home, i. e. in Italy or on its borders, was called *tumultus* (see Cic. Phil. viii. 1). — **quos . . . sublevarent** (changing to passive so as to keep the emphasis), *who yet were considerably helped by the training and discipline they had got from us*.

5. **quantum boni**, *how much advantage* (§ 47, 4, *a*; G. 195, R<sup>2</sup>), *firmness has* (for the tense of *haberet*, see § 58, 10, *d*). — **inermos**, i. e. the slaves of Spartacus's force. — **quos . . . hos**: notice the relative as usual preceding the antecedent.

6. **hos**, the Germans with Ariovistus. — **quibuscum congressi, etc.** (changing the relative clause), *whom they have often met and beaten on their own ground* (as well as, &c.). — **qui**, i. e. the Helvetii. — **potuerint**, see § 58, 10, *c*, R; G. 513.

7. **adversum prælium**, see ch. 31<sup>1</sup>. — **si quos . . . commoveret**, *if any were alarmed by*. — **hos, etc.**, *they could learn that when the Gauls were wearied out, &c.* — **Ariovistum**, subj. of *vicisse*. — **neque . . . fecisset**, *had given them no chance at him*.

8. **cui rationi, etc.** (putting the noun in the demonstrative clause): *not even Ariovistus himself hoped that our armies could be taken in by a stratagem which there had been room for against unskilled barbarians*.

9. **qui . . . conferrent**, [as to those] *who laid their own cowardice to the pretence about provisions, &c.* — **desperare, etc.**, *to be discouraged about the commander's doing his duty*. — **præscribere, sc. officium**.

10. *subministrare, were [now] furnishing.*

11. *quod dicitur* (see § 70, 2, a; G. 528): *as to its being said that they would not, &c. — nihil, noway. — quibuscumque, dat. after audiens dicto: i. e. no one has ever had a mutinous army, who has not either been unsuccessful by his own fault, or been convicted of avarice by some overt act. — suam, his own, emphatic by position; equivalent to in his case. — innocentiam: the technical word, meaning freedom from the charge of plunder and extortion. In fact, Cæsar's fault lay just the other way, a lavish and reckless generosity. (In this sentence, in chiasmic order, innocentiam is opposed to avaritiam, and felicitatem to male gesta, a peculiarly Latin turn.)*

26. 12. *quod . . . fuisset, what he had intended to defer; representaturum, he will do at once. — prætoriam cohortem = body-guard, the correct use of the term: compare note, ch. 39<sup>2</sup>.*

This celebrated speech of Cæsar to his men, though in what seems to us the awkward and cold form of indirect discourse, is an admirable model of military eloquence, and deserves attentive study.

41. *innata est, sprang up. — optimum iudicium fecisset, had expressed the most favorable opinion (a technical phrase).*

2. *cum tribunis . . . egerunt, etc., urged upon the tribunes to apologize. — summa belli = the policy of the campaign. — suum, imperatoris, predicate after esse (§ 50, 1, c; G. 365).*

3. *satisfactione, apology (compare satisfacerent, above). — ei, in him. — milium [passuum] limits circuitu, by a circuit of more than fifty miles. — locis apertis, through the open country, so as to avoid a return of the panic.*

4. *a nostris, from ours (i. e. forces).*

42. *per se, so far as he was concerned (the regular expression with licet).*

2. *petenti [Cæsari], when he asked it. — fore uti desisteret (periphrastic future following apem), that he would cease from his stubbornness.*

27. 3. *ultra citroque, hither and yon (lit. beyond and this side). — alia ratione, on any other terms. — veniret for veniat (hortatory) of direct discourse.*

4. *interpositā causā (abl. abs.), by putting in an excuse. (Notice that excuse has the same root as causā.) — Gallorum equitatu: he had no other, see note, ch. 23<sup>2</sup>. — equitibus, dative following detractis (§ 51, 2, e; G. 346). — eo, upon them (= iis, § 48, 5<sup>2</sup>). — si quid, etc., if there should be need of any active measures: quid is adverbial acc. (§ 52, 3; G. 331, R<sup>2</sup>); factō, § 54, 1, d; G. 390.*

5. *quod cum fieret, while this was taking place.* — *ad equum rescribere, he enrolled them among the knights.* The equites were not only the cavalry-service in war, but a special privileged class in Roman politics.

43. *satis grandis, pretty large.* — *tumulus terrenus = a smooth (i. e. not rocky) hill.*

2. *equis, on horseback.* — *passibus ducentis = 320 yards.* — *denos, ten on each side.*

3. *beneficia, favors.* — *munera*: according to Livy (xxx. 15), the gifts sent to Masinissa were “a golden crown and bowl, a curule chair, an ivory staff, an embroidered toga, and a tunic with palm-leaf figures” (worn in triumphal processions). — *pro . . . tribui, was usually granted only in return for special services.*

*docebat, reminded.* — *aditum, way of intercourse.* — *ea præmia consecutum, had attained these prizes,* as if he had eagerly sought them (compare introductory note to ch. 30). The tone of Cæsar’s speech shows his intention of affronting the pride of Ariovistus.

4. *necessitudinis, alliance.* The word means, strictly, any close bond of a moral nature, such as kindred, family connection, guest-friendship, or personal intimacy (see note to Cicero, Verres I. § 11). — *ipsis, the Romans.* — *intercederent, came in.* — *senatus consulta, properly, executive orders of the Senate, which had no authority to pass laws.* — *ut, how.*

28. 5. *sui nihil, nothing of their own (dignity, &c.).* — *quod . . . adtulissent, what they had brought [as their contribution] to the alliance.*

6. *postulavit eadem = he made the same demands.* — *at, at least.*

44. *rogatum et arcessitum = at the request and summons.*

2. *sibi, on him (referring to the main subject).*

3. *pace uti, enjoy peace.* — *sua voluntate, by their own consent.* — *oportere, impersonal:* its subject is *amicitiam . . . esse.* — *id (neut.), this result:* not the friendship (*amicitiam*), which was their own voluntary offer.

4. *si . . . remittatur, future cond. (§ 67, 1, c; G. 659):* the pres. for imperf. for greater vividness. — *per, through the means of.* — *subtrahantur, are got away (by underhand means).* — *non minus libenter, with no less pleasure.*

5. *quod . . . traducat, as for his bringing over (the quod clause of fact, made subj. by indir. disc.).* — *defenderit, warded off.*

29. 7. *hanc Galliam, this part of Gaul.* — *ut . . sic, as . . so.* — *quod = in that.*

8. *imperitum rerum, ignorant of affairs.* — *bello proximo, i. e. B. C. 62.*

9. *debere se suspicari, etc., he had ground to suspect, that Cæsar, in keeping an army in Gaul, kept it with pretence of friendship, [but really] to ruin him.*

10. *nobilibus gratum, a favor to the nobles.* Cæsar was the recognized head of the party opposed to the Senate and nobility. Many of the aristocracy would be glad of any safe way to be rid of him. See Cic. Fam. viii. 1, for the way rumors of disaster to Cæsar were spread among his enemies in Rome.—*id compertum habere, had ascertained* (§ 72, 3, b; G. 230).

45. *in eam sententiam quare = to this effect [to show] that.—negotio, enterprise.—neque se judicare, and he did not consider.*

2. *bello superato, B.C. 121, when the Allobroges were subdued, and the Province (probably) organized.—ignovisset, had pardoned: in fact, they lay beyond the naturally strong frontier of the Cevennes.*

3. *antiquissimum quodque (see § 17, 5, c) = as far back as you can go, i. e. to those victories of Fabius.*

**30.** 46. *conicere = conicere: see § 1, 3, d.*

3. *periculo legionis, danger to the legion.—committendum non ut dici possit = no ground should be given for saying (cf. § 70, 4, e; G. 557).—per fidem, through [misplaced] trust.*

4. *elatum est, it was reported.—qua adrogantia usus, with what display of insolence.—omnia Gallia (abl. of separation, with interdixisset, § 54, 1; G. 388), had ordered the Romans (dat. following inter-), away from all Gaul.—ut, how (indir. question).*

47. *uti constitueret, following velle (§ 70, 3, b; G. 532).—si minus, if not.*

2. *retineri quin, be kept from (§ 65, 1, b; G. 550).—poterant = potuerant.—legatum e suis = one of his own officers.—magno . . . missurum, it would be at great risk that, &c.*

3. *Flacco, governor of Gaul B.C. 83. It was customary for slaves or aliens to become clients of the person from whom they received freedom or citizenship; and to take his gentile name (§ 15, 1<sup>9</sup>). Thus here Procillus takes the name (C. Valerius) of his patron Flaccus, retaining his own as cognomen.—civitate donatus erat, § 51, 1, c; G. 348.—quã multã . . . utebatur, which Ariovistus spoke freely.—peccandi causa, ground of offence.*

**31.** 48. *a Cæsaris castris.* This camp is placed by Napoleon III. at the southern foot of the Vosges mountains, a few miles N. W. of Mühlhausen, just at the point where there is a break between the Vosges and the spurs of the Jura, opening from the valley of the Saône into that of the Rhine. The reversed march of Ariovistus placed him just in this passage, so as to cut off Cæsar's

supplies. This pass is now commanded by the famous fortress of Belfort. [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn)

3. *hoc*, pointing to the description which follows.

4. *singuli* [equites] *singulos* [pedites], *one apiece*. — *versabantur*, *acted*.

5. *si quo . . . prodeundum*, *if there was occasion*, &c., (*quo* = *to any place*). — *exercitatione*, *through training*. — *sublevati*, *supporting themselves*. — *cursum adæquarent*, *keep pace with them*.

49. *castris* (loc. abl.), *in camp*. — *acie triplici*, see ch. 24<sup>2</sup>.

2. *castra munire*, *to fortify the camp*. Whenever the Roman halted, even for a single night, a regular camp was laid out, measured with great precision by certain fixed rules (based on the science of augury), and thoroughly fortified with earth-wall, ditch, and palisades. The spade was as familiar to the Roman soldier as the sword or javelin. The camp was regularly a quadrangle, its size proportioned to the number of the troops. In this case, Cæsar had one larger camp about two miles to the east of the Germans, and a smaller one rather more than half a mile to the west of them. Thus Ariovistus could not retreat either way, without passing the Roman entrenchments.

32. 50. *instituto suo*, *according to his plan*. — *potestatem*, *opportunity*.

3. *inlatis et acceptis*, *after giving and receiving*.

4. *matres familiæ*: according to Tacitus (Ger. 8), it was not matrons only, but women as a class, to whom this prophetic power was ascribed. — *sortibus*, *lots of leaves or twigs marked with certain signs*; *vaticinationibus*, tokens interpreted from the noise of waters, river-eddies, &c. — *ex usu*, *expedient*. — *utrum . . . necne*, § 71, 2; G. 460. — *non esse fas*, *it was not the divine will*. — *novam lunam* (cf. Tac. G. 11): so the Spartans refused to advance to Marathon before the full moon.

51. *alaris*: the auxiliaries as distinguished from the legionary (Roman) troops. — *quod minus valebat*, *because he was weak in comparison with the enemy*. — *ad speciem*, *to make a show*, as if the two legions were still there, while in fact they had joined the other force at the greater camp. — *acie*, of legionaries alone.

2. *generatim*, *by tribes or clans*. — *Marcomannos*, this term is explained as "men of the Mark," or military frontier.

3. *eo*, *hither*, i. e. among the carts and wagons. — *proficiscentes*, [the men] *as they advanced* (obj. of *implorabant*).

33. 52. *singulos legatos*, *a legatus in command of each legion*. This was the beginning of a very important reform in the military organization. Cæsar felt so keenly the evil of the command

being divided among six tribunes, that he detailed one of his aids (*legati*) nominally to assist the tribunes. After this time, we find the *legatus* as the regular commander of a legion, with the six tribunes under him. On this occasion he appointed an adjutant (*quæstor*) to that one of the six legions which was intended to be under his own special command.

2. *ita . . . ut, so . . . that.* — *spatium, room, i. e. time.* — *rejecit, throwing aside.*

3. *in phalangas* (acc. plur. § 11, iii. 6, *f*), *against the phalanxes.* These were compact bodies of 300 to 400 men each, with shields close locked in front. — *revellerent, etc., i. e. instead of pushing from beneath, they grasped the enemies' shields at the upper edge, and so struck down from above (desuper).*

4. *a sinistro cornu, on their left wing.*

5. *P. Crassus, son of Marcus Crassus the triumvir.* — *expedit, more disengaged.* — *versabantur, were engaged.*

53. *restitutum est, contrasted with laborantibus, above.* — *Rhenum: the nearest point was a little below Basel, about fifty miles distant.*

2. *tranare contenderunt = by great effort swam across.* — *reliquos omnes, said to be 80,000.*

3. *duæ uxores: only chiefs among the Germans, says Tacitus (G. 18), had more than one wife; and this was for the sake of honor and alliances.* — *Sueva, see iv. 1.* — *utræque perierunt: for Cæsar's massacres of women and children, compare iv. 14, vii. 28.* — *in Cæsarem incidit, happened on Cæsar himself.*

4. *Procllus, see § 47, 3.* — *trinis catenis, three [sets of] manacles.*

34. 5. *neque . . . deminuerat, nor had Fortune, by any harm to him, &c.*

6. *se præsentæ, in his own presence.* — *ter: it was the regular usage of the Germans to consult the lot thrice (Tac. G. 10). This has come down to the present day in sundry games, &c.*

54. *Ubi* (some older editions have *ubi*): these lived near the modern *Cologne*, and were deadly enemies of the *Suevi* (see iv. 3).

2. *maturius, earlier, the decisive battle with Ariovistus was fought about the 10th of September.* — *in citeriorem Galliam, south of the Alps.* *conventus: the proconsular Courts held for the administration of justice.*

**THE BELGIAN CONFEDERACY.**—The people of Northern Gaul, including Flanders and the Netherlands, were far remote from any country hitherto occupied by the Roman arms. They lived amid forests and swamps hard to penetrate; they claimed kindred with the German tribes rather than the more fickle and effeminate Celts; and they had a fierce and resolute spirit of independence, like that which the Dutch exhibited long after in the same regions, against the armies of Spain.\* The Belgian tribes, and particularly the Nervii, appear in this confederation to have offered to Cæsar a more formidable and desperate resistance than any he met elsewhere, until the great rising of B. C. 52; and when their spirit was once broken, the conquest of Gaul was simply a question of time.

PAGE

**35.** *in hibernis*: it is doubtful whether this expression can be used except of an army or a campaign. — *crebri* = *thick-coming*. — *adferebantur, fiebat* (observe the imperfect of repeated action) = *kept coming in; was informed from time to time*. — *conjurare, uncting under oath*: “any war against Rome is a ‘conspiracy;’ a nation enslaved by Rome is ‘pacified.’”

**2.** *vererentur*, subj. as following *esse* (§ 66, 2; G. 666). — *Gallia*, i. e. Celtic Gaul. — *exercitus noster*, i. e. in the way of regular garrisons on their frontier. — *partim qui, etc.*, the three classes were, first, those jealous of the Roman power; second, the restless, who dreaded a strong settled rule; third, those who held a sort of despotic authority as chiefs.

*ut . . . ita, while . . . at the same time.* — *inveterascere, get a foothold*; lit. “grow old.” — *moleste ferebant, were impatient*.

**3.** *novis imperiis* (dat. § 51, 2, b; G. 345) *studebant, wanted rotation in authority.* — *nonnullis*, i. e. the chiefs of clans.

**36.** *vulgo regna occupabantur, royal power was constantly usurped*, by “coups d’état” on a small scale. — *imperio nostro* (loc. abl.), *under our dominion*.

**2.** *duas legiones, making eight in all, amounting perhaps to 60,000 men, including auxiliaries.* The proconsul seems to have had absolute authority to raise these levies.

**2.** *pabuli copia, a supply of food, so that his army could move.* — *dat negotium, gives it in charge.* — *Senonibus*: they were north of the Ædui, on the upper course of the Seine. Their name is preserved in the city of *Sens*. — *ut cognoscant, to learn*.

\* A very striking account of the country and its inhabitants will be found in the introduction to Motley’s Dutch Republic.

3. *constanter, consistently*, i. e. their accounts all agreed. — *cogi, were gathering; conduct, were massing.*

4. *non dubitandum quin, there should be no hesitation about.* With *dubitare* in this meaning the infinitive is the ordinary construction.

3. *de improviso, unexpectedly.* — *omni opinione* (§ 54, 5, b; G. 399, R<sup>1</sup>), *than any one could think.* — Remi, north of the river Marne, the territory near *Rheims*, in Champagne. They were friendly to the Romans, whose victory over Ariovistus had made them the second power in Gaul (see vi. 12). — *ex Belgis, of the Belgæ* (for *Belgarum*: § 50, 2, R; G. 371, R<sup>5</sup>).

2. *oppidis* (loc. abl.) *recipere, receive them* (the Romans) *in their fortified places.*

3. *Suessiones* (obj. of *deterre*), west of the Remi: the territory about the modern *Soissons*.

*ut ne . . . potuerint* (= *possent*, § 58, 10, c, R; G. 513), *that they* (the Remi) *could not even dissuade, &c.* — *qui utantur, although enjoying the same rights and laws* (§ 65, 2, e; G. 637, under which construction it would also be subj. in direct disc.).

*unum imperium*, i. e. a confederacy, which did not, however, prevent the secession of the *Suessiones* along with the other *Belgæ*. — *quin consentirent, from uniting with them.*

4. *reperiebat* (imperf.), *found, by repeated inquiry.*

2. *plerosque, a great many of:* see the end of the chapter, and compare, with respect to the *Nervii*, Tac. G. 28. They were apparently, however, of Celtic blood; though they considered the German a more proud and heroic descent.

37. *propter fertilitatem: construe with consedissee.* — *feri*, i. e. it was coming to be the case.

3. *omnia explorata = full information.* — *propinquitatibus, blood-relationships; adfinitatibus, alliances by marriage.*

4. *Bellovacos, near Beauvais.* — *plurimum valere, have most power.* — *suos, i. e. of the Remi.*

5. *regem: showing that the overthrow of royal power* (see i. 2) had not yet taken place among the Belgians. — *cum . . . tum, not only . . . but also.* — *belli summam = conduct of the war.*

6. *Nervios, to the north of the Suessiones; Atrebates, near Arras; Ambianos, near Amiens; Caletos, near Calais; Veromanduos, in Vermandois; Condrusos, at Condros; Germani, considered here (by Zeuss) to be a Celtic name meaning "hill-people."*

5. *liberaliter prosecutis, making liberal promises.* — *diligenter, promptly.*

38. 2. *quanto opere* (often written *quantopere*) . . . *intersit, how greatly it concerns both the republic (Rome) and their common*

*interest* (§ 50, 2, *d*; G. 381).—*ne confingendum sit, lest they should have to contend.*

3. *Bellovaacorum*, as lying farthest west, and most remote from Cæsar's field of operations, so as to divide the enemy (cf. ch. 10<sup>4</sup>).—*introduxerint*, perf. subj. (for fut. perf.), as following *docet*.

4. *ad se venire*, *were coming straight towards him.*—*postquam ab iis . . . cognovit*, *when he learned from those whom, &c.*—*Axonam*, the *Aisne*, here flowing nearly due west, and joining the Seine below Paris, through the Oise.—*in extremis finibus*, generally, *in the remotest part*; *Bibrax*, a town of the Remi, lying eight miles beyond. While here, Cæsar's camp was protected by this river in the rear, and in front by a small marshy stream.—*castra*, the traces of Cæsar's works at this place were discovered in 1862, on a low hill called *Mauchamp*.

6. *duodeviginti pedum*, 18 feet (in width).

6. *segre sustentatum est*—*they hardly held their own.*

2. *oppugnatione*, *style of attack.*—*circumjecta . . . mœnibus* (dat.), *having thrown a multitude of men about the walls.*—*cœpti sunt*, see § 38, 1, *a*; G. 424, R<sup>1</sup>.

*tæstudine facta*, *making a tortoise*: a military term for a formation in which the men, standing in a compact mass, held their shields above their heads, lapping over each other so as to form a continuous roof, the edges of the shields appearing like the scales of a tortoise-shell.

3. *tum*, *in this instance.*

4. *finem . . . fecisset*, *had put an end to the assault.*

7. *isdem duobus usus*, *employing the same men as guides.*

§ 9. *Numidas* (from Algiers), *Cretas*: both these, especially the *Cretans*, were famous bowmen.—*Baleares*, from the small islands east of Spain: they were celebrated slingers.—*subsidio oppidanis* (§ 51, 5; G. 350), dat. of service and of indir. object.—*potitundi oppidi*, § 73, 2, R; G. 428, R<sup>2</sup>.

2. *morati*, *depopulati*, *having delayed, having laid waste*: observe that Latin can employ a *perfect active participle* only (as here) of deponent verbs. The corresponding construction has to be continued in the abl. absolute, with *incendo*: *viols incensis*, *having set fire to, &c.*—*omnibus copiis* (abl. of accompaniment, see § 54, 6, *a*; G. 391, R<sup>1</sup>), *with all their troops.*—*ab . . . duobus*, *less than two miles off*: *ab* is used here adverbially (§ 56, 2, *d*; G. 416, R).—*amplius*: this may be acc. of extent (§ 55, 2; G. 335); or *millibus* may be abl. of distance, and *amplius* construed as in § 54, 5, *c*; G. 311, R<sup>4</sup>.

8. *eximiam opinionem*, *the eminent reputation* had of their valor.—*proelio supersedere*, *to defer the engagement* (lit. to *sit*

above it, as in judgment).—*periclitabatur, experimented*: this gives the original meaning of *periculum, risk*.

2. *looo, dat. after obduxit, along a place, &c.*—*looi* (construct with *tantum*), *spread over as much ground as, &c.*—*lateris dejectus* = *a lateral slope.*—*in frontem, etc., rising abruptly in front, slopes gently to the plain in the rear (re-).*

3. *transversam, at right angles to his front, probably running back to the river, as well as extending somewhat towards the enemy, at which end he placed the redoubts (castella).* The remains of the works (note, ch. 5<sup>d</sup>) do not, however, agree fully with Cæsar's description: probably some parts of the works have been effaced.

*tormenta, engines, worked with levers and pulleys, a sort of clumsy siege-artillery.* They were of two classes: *catapultæ*, which shot nearly level, generally arrows and darts; and *ballistæ*, which shot at a high angle, generally stones and beams.

4. *si . . . esset, if there should be need of any thing = any need.*

9. *palus, a wet meadow* (before referred to), traversed by the little stream *Miette.*—*si . . . expectabant, waited [to see] whether.*—*si . . . fieret, in case they should begin the passage.*

40. 2. *proelio equestri, a cavalry-skirmish, which proved more favorable to the Roman side (secundiore nostris).*—*post, behind.*

3. *castellum, the fortified camp ("tête de pont") held by Sabinus, ch. 5<sup>d</sup>.*—*interscindere, cut away* (between).—*si minus potuissent, if they should not succeed.*

10. Cæsar: words thus italicized are wanting or obliterated in the ms.—*Numidas, etc.*: these light-armed troops were trained runners, and so "got round by the bridge to the ford in time to stop the passage of the Belgians." Moberly thinks they must have been taken up *en croupe* behind the horsemen.

2. *adgressi, at the stream below, probably, at the left of Cæsar's camp.*

3. *nostros, subj. of progredi depending on viderunt: and saw that our men were not [disposed to] advance to worse ground to fight them.*—*domum . . . reverti*: thus the confederacy dissolves suddenly into a mere defensive alliance, and the Nervii, &c., are cut to pieces in detail.—*convenirent, etc.*: understand *ut* after *constituerunt* (§ 70, 3, *f*, R; G. 546, R<sup>3</sup>).—*eos, antecedent of quorum, above.*

4. *Divitiacum . . . adpropinquare, see ch. 5<sup>d</sup>.*—*neque . . . ferrent = and so fail to carry relief to their own people.*

41. 11. *nullo certo ordine, in no regular order of march.* "Imagine a *débauche* of 236,000 men, besides camp-followers, women, &c."—*fecerunt ut*: § 70, 4, *e*; G. 557.

2. *nondum perspexerat* = *he could not yet see clearly*, the object being *qua . . . discederent*.

4. *cum . . . consistenter*, *while those in the rear whom they overtook stood firm*. — *priores* (understand *et*), *and those in advance*.

5. *tantam . . . spatium* = *killed as many of them as the time allowed* ("as the day was long").

12. *Noviodunum*, the modern *Soissons*, about 20 miles west of *Bibrax*. Its modern name is given from the tribe whose capital it was: *civitas Suessionum*.

2. *ex itinere*, i. e. without delaying his march. — *paucis defendentibus* (concessive), *though there were few defenders*.

3. *vineas*, *sheds* ("mantelets"), light galleries of timber which could be pushed up close to the enemy's works. They were named from the arbors or trellised galleries of vineyards.

4. *aggere*, *mound* or embankment, sloping upward to the height of the wall to be attacked, for training the siege artillery (ch. 8<sup>o</sup>). — *turribus*, light movable towers, to be occupied by archers, &c., to clear the walls of defenders.

49. 13. *obsidibus acceptis*, *taking as hostages, &c.* — *Bellovacos*: their territory lay about 40 or 50 miles due north of Paris.

2. *Bratuspantium*, *Breteuil*, at the head of the Somme valley. — *circiter*, etc., [only] *about five miles, &c.* — *in ejus fidem venire* (dep. on *significare*), *that they committed themselves to his good faith*, i. e. "surrender at discretion."

3. *cum accessisset, poneret*, *had arrived, was fixing*.

14. *facit verba*, *acts as spokesman*.

2. *perferre*, *were suffering*: its subj. is *Hæduos*. In fact, the *Ædui* "had paid for the regaining of their ancient power by the Roman alliance, by the loss of their civil liberty; and were nearly in the position of a protected sovereign state in India, with *Labienus* for a vigorous military resident" (*Moberly*). — *defecisse*, *had withdrawn*: its subj. is *Bellovacos*.

3. *qui . . . fuissent* = *all the movers of this policy*.

4. *sua clementia*, *his own* [characteristic or well-known] *clemency*.

5. *si fecerit*, perf. subj. for fut. perf. of dir. disc., following the present *facit*. — *quorum . . . consuerint*, *by whose aid and resources they are accustomed to sustain whatever wars befall them*.

15. *quod*, etc., giving the reason of *poposcit*. — *magna auctoritate*, *of great influence*: the genitive is more common. — *præstabat*, *was at the head*.

43. 2. *Ambianorum*, about *Amiens*, near the coast of the Channel.

3. *pati, they suffer* (§ 67, 1, *a*<sup>3</sup>; G. 527, *R*<sup>3</sup>). — *eorum*: this word is doubtful here; probably a note written in the margin by some editor: better as a general truth, *animos, temper.* — *remitti, relaxed.*

4. *projecissent, had abandoned.* — *confirmare, they declared positively that they would not, &c.*

16. *Sabim, the Sambre, which flows northeasterly into the Meuse (Mosa).* The Nervii occupied the basin of this river and of the upper Scheldt.

2. *Atrebatii, etc., small tribes to the south and west.*

3. *Aduatucorum, Germans, living farther to the east.* — *quique = eosque qui, following conjecisse.* — *in eum locum quo, into a place whither, &c.*

17. *ex . . . Gallis, for part. genitive* (§ 50, 2, *e, R*<sup>1</sup>; G. 371, *R*<sup>5</sup>) *following complures, many of the Belgians, &c.* — *una, along with him.* — *eorum dierum: observing our army's custom of march in these days* (§ 50, 2, *R*<sup>4</sup>).

2. *demonstrarunt, made known.* — *inter singulas legiones = between every two legions.* — *impedimentorum magnum numerum = a very long baggage-train.* — *intercedere, intervened.* — *neque . . . negotii, and there would be no difficulty.* — *hanc, i. e. the first legion.* — *consistere, make a stand.*

3. *adjuvabat: the subj. is quod Nervii . . . effecerant, etc., the advice of those who reported the matter was reinforced by the fact that, &c.*

44. *antiquitas, of old:* the hedges, described below, were an immemorial custom, and are still, it is said, common in this region. One is mentioned, existing in England, about 400 years old. — *neque student, pay no attention.* — *quicquid possunt, etc. = all the strength they have is in infantry.*

4. *quo facilius impedirent, in order to check more easily.* — *teneris arboribus, etc., having notched and bent down young trees, and allowed their boughs to grow out thick breadthwise, and by throwing in brambles and thorns, they had made these hedges to furnish defences like a wall, which not only could not be broken into, but could not even be seen through.* — *consilium, i. e. the plan of attacking the first legion.*

18. *æqualiter declivis, with uniform slope.*

2. *adversus hunc, in front of ours.* — *passus . . . apertus, open at the foot for about 200 paces.*

3. *secundum flumen, down stream.* — *stationes equitum, cavalry pickets.*

19. *agmen, line of march (ago).* — *aliter . . . ac, otherwise [than] as* (§ 44, 3, *a*<sup>3</sup>).

2. *hostiæ*, acc. plur. (§ 11, i. 3, c; G. 60, 1): this form is constantly found in earlier writers, but is rare in most editions of Cæsar. — *expeditas*, *unincumbered* (i. e. without baggage). — *conlocarat*, *had put in its place*: this word is often confounded with *conlegere*, *collect*. — *proxime conscriptæ*, *the last levies*; while the veterans, as usual, must bear the brunt of the fight.

4. *neque . . . auderent*, *and our men did not venture to follow their retreat (cedentes) farther than the limit to which the level and open ground (porrecta loca aperta) extended*. — *opere dimenso*, *having staked out the works*.

45. 5. *convenerat*, *had been agreed on* (compare Eng. *conventional*). — *ut . . . confirmaverant*, *just as they had formed their line, &c., they dashed forward (provolaverunt)*: i. e. in the same order they held already. — *omnibus copiis*, *in full force* (abl. of accompaniment).

6. *in flumine*: the Sambre is nowhere more than three feet deep at this point. — *in manibus nostris*, i. e. within reach of our weapons. — *adverso colle contenderunt*, *pushed straight up hill*. — *occupati* (this participle is only used as an adjective), *were still at work*.

20. *vexillum*, *flag*. The signal for battle was first given by a flag, or pennon, displayed from the general's tent; the sounding of the *tuba* then followed, as an order to form ranks; last came the *signum*, or order to engage.

The *vexillum*, in its ordinary use, was a small red cavalry-flag, hung from a cross-piece on the flagstaff; often used, also, by detached bodies of troops. The *signum*, or standard, was of metal, and belonged regularly to the legion and its divisions (21<sup>4</sup>).

*paulo longius*, *to a considerable distance* (§ 17, 5, a). — *aggeris*, i. e. *earth* for the entrenchments. — *cohortandi*, *must be encouraged*, see § 35, 1, b. — *successus*, *close approach*.

2. *usus*, *experience*. — *quid . . . oporteret*, indir. quest., object of *præscribere*. — *legatos*, those whom he had assigned to the several legions (see note, i. 52<sup>1</sup>).

3. *nihil expectabant*, *could no longer wait*: *nihil* (properly adv. acc.) is stronger than *non*. — *quæ videbantur* = *what seemed best*.

21. *quam in partem*, *to whatever division* (sc. *in eam partem*). — *decumam*, see i. 41.

2. *non longiore . . . quam* = *with only so many words as, &c.* — *neu* = *neve*: the *ne* being correl. to *ut*, above. — *quod posset*, gives the reason for *signum dedit*: for the subj. in *posset*, see § 65, 2, c; G. 313.

46. 3. *pugnantibus occurrit*, *finds them already fighting*. — *insignia*, the ornaments of the helmet, &c. — *tegimenta*, *leather*

*covers*. — *deseruit*, notice the sequence of tenses (§ 58, 10, c, R; G. 513).

4. *signa*, either of the legion (an eagle) or of the maniple (a hand). What was the standard of the cohort is not known. — *hæc*, antecedent to both *quam* and *quæ* (§ 47, 2, a; G. 281, E<sup>2</sup>).

*constitit*: the Roman soldier was so thoroughly drilled, that to whatever part of the legion he found his way, he knew perfectly well the duties belonging to it.

22. *dejectus, the fall*. — *rei . . . ordo, the rule and method of the military art*. — *diversis legionibus* (abl. abs.), *the legions facing various ways*, each fighting the enemy that was nearest. — *certa subsidia, regular reserves*. — *quid . . . opus esset* (§ 54, 1, d, R; G. 390; subj. of *provideri*, depending on *poterat* understood), *it could not be seen at a distance what was wanting anywhere*. — *administrari, attended to*. — *tanta iniquitate, so unfavorable condition*.

23. *exanimatos, out of breath*, agreeing with *Atrebates*, obj. of *compulerunt*. — *ex loco superiore* = *standing as they were on higher ground*.

2. *et . . . progressi, i. e. though they had advanced upon unfavorable ground*.

3. *diversæ, i. e. which had advanced in different directions*. — *ex loco superiore* = *having gone down from the higher ground*.

4. *nudatis, exposed* by the advance of these four legions. — *quom* (see note, i. 1<sup>2</sup>) *constitisset*, subordinate to the preceding abl. absolute, *nudatis castris*.

47. *aperto latere, on the uncovered flank*. — *castrorum*, not a partitive but a possessive genitive: *the height upon which the camp stood*.

24. *cum reciperent, while gathering back*. — *adversis hostibus, plump on the enemy*, who had entered on the other side. — *occurrerant . . . ferebantur*: these imperfects belong to the side-action (§ 58, 3, a; G. 222) interrupting the main narrative, which is resumed in the perfects *contenderunt, etc.*, at the end of the chapter.

2. *decumana porta*: the camp had four gates, the *prætoria* in front (towards the enemy), *decumana* in the rear, *principalis dextra* on the right and *sinistra* on the left (facing the *prætoria*).

4. *Treviri*, from the valley of the *Moselle*: their capital city was the present Treves. They claimed German origin. — *optinio, reputation*. — *auxilii causâ, as auxiliaries*. — *desperatis . . . contenderunt, losing hope in our fortunes, pushed for home*. — *Romanos, obj. of renuntiaverunt; castris, obj. of potitos, had got possession of*.

**25. Cæsar, subj. of processit** (p. 48): this sentence is a fine example of the force of a Latin period, holding the main act in suspense till all the circumstances bearing on it have been brought into a single view (see § 76, 4). — **signisque conlatis** (causative), and *since*, &c.

2. **quartæ cohortis**: this stood on the left of the front line, and so bore the brunt of the attack (see i. 24<sup>o</sup>). Each cohort had three maniples. — **primipilo**: the *primus pilus* was the first centurion of the first cohort, and thus stood on the extreme right of the line.

3. **tardiores, rather slack** (discouraged). — **hostis, acc. plur.** — **neque, correl. to et** (p. 48).

**48. in angusto, in a strait.** — **vidit, repeated** from line 4 of this chapter, on account of the length of the sentence and the number of particulars.

4. **ab novissimis, in the rear.** — **signa inferre, to charge.** — **laxare, open out.** — **militi, dative after detracto,** the almost universal construction of *persons* from whom any thing is taken.

5. **operam navare, to do his best.**

**26. urgeri, hard pushed.** — **conversa signa, etc. = then wheel about and charge.**

2. **neque timerent, and no longer feared.** — **aversi, in the rear,** i. e. while their backs were turned.

3. **cursu incitato, setting out on a run.**

4. **nihil reliqui fecerunt, left nothing undone in the way of speed.**

**27. inermes armatis, unarmed threw themselves on the armed enemy.** — **quo** (§ 64, 1, a; G. 545, 2, with the implied comparative) **præferrent, that they might show themselves superior.**

**49. 3. ut . . . conicerent:** the natural order of the sentence would be (following *tantam virtutem*), *and that when these too were struck down, and corpses were piled in heaps, those who survived still hurled weapons, &c.* — **ut . . . deberet, so that it must be judged that not without good hope of success** (*neququam*), &c. The subj. of *deberet* is *homines . . . ausos esse, etc.* — **animi, spirit.**

**28. prope ad interuiccionem:** this destruction of a brave people was not so complete as their despair here represents. The Nervii were again in revolt three years later (v. 26), and two years after sent a force of 5000 men to Alesia (vii. 75). — **æstuaria:** the country lying to the north (the modern Zealand) is low and marshy, cut up with tidewater inlets and bays. — **impeditum, in the way** (lit. *hindered*).

2. **vix ad quingentos = ad vix quingentos, to barely 500.**

3. **miseriçordia, mercy** (an abridged form of the same word). It

has been observed that Cæsar's dealings with the Gauls were comparatively merciful at first: at least, after enormous massacre, the remnant had something to hope for. But after he was twice repulsed from Britain, when Gaul made another effort for independence, his "gentleness" was shown by such acts as cutting off the hands of all his prisoners who had borne arms (viii. 44), and in the treatment of Vercingetorix, kept for years in chains, and then killed in cold blood in his conqueror's triumph.

29. *cum venirent, while on the way. — in unum oppidum*: not far from *Namur*, at the confluence of the Meuse and Sambre. [Napoleon III. thinks it the same with the citadel of *Namur*, which lies opposite the town between the rivers; but this appears far too small (see ch. 39), and so striking a position would hardly have been left unnoticed (see Motley's *Dutch Rep.* iii. 224). Others place it at *Falaise*, opposite Huy, on the Meuse below *Namur*.]

3. *Cimbris Teutonicisque*, see note, i. 7<sup>4</sup>.

30. *agere ac portare*: the cattle would be *driven*; the rest *carried*: *agere* and *ferre* are the usual words for plunder. — *sex milia*: this German military colony was probably adopted into the tribe of *Aduatuci* (whose name is Celtic, meaning *runners*), giving rise to the story that the whole tribe were of German descent.

4. *alias . . . alias, in one quarter . . . in another.* — *inferrent*, the regular word for offensive war. — *inlatum [sibi] defenderent, warded it off (de-fendo) when brought against them.* — *consensu eorum, by compact with them* (i. e. the *finitimi*).

30. *quindecim millium*: fifteen miles would be preposterous for so small a hill as that at *Namur*: hence Napoleon III. understands *pedum* instead of *passuum*. But this would be nearly 3 miles, while the works on his plan measure hardly more than one.

2. *vineis, sheds* to protect the works under construction (ch. 12<sup>4</sup>); *aggere*, the sloping *mound*, up which the tower was pushed and hauled on rollers; *turrim*, a movable *tower*, of several stories (*tabulata*), the upper part containing engines. Sometimes the towers were built in parts, and taken along as part of the regular siege-train. — *ab tanto spatio, so far off* (an adverbial phrase).

3. *quibusnam*: the enclitic *nam (num)* gives a sarcastic emphasis to the question: *by what hands, pray, or what strength, &c.* — *præ, in comparison with.* — *contemptul*, a curious example of the dat. of service (§ 51, 5, R; G. 350). — *conlocare = conlocaturos esse*: some editions have *turrim moturos sese considerent*.

31. 2. *existimare, sc. se: they thought that not without divine aid, &c.* — *se . . . permittere, they surrendered themselves, &c.*

3. *deprecari*, besought (i. e. to be spared: *de-precor*). — *pró*, in accordance with. — *quam audirent*, which they constantly heard of.

4. *inimicos*, i. e. their neighbors regarded them as interlopers. — *traditis armis*, if their weapons should be given up.

5. *præstare*, it was better. — *quamvis fortunam*, any fortune whatever (*quam vis*, what you will).

**51.** 32. *aries*, battering-ram, a long beam with an iron head (like a ram's), suspended from a framework and swung with great force against a wall, crumbling the strongest masonry.

2. *ne quam injuriam inferrent* (§ 21, 2, *d*), to inflict no harm. — *ad suos*: the message was carried to their people, not simply reported to them, which would require *suis*.

3. *summam altitudinem*, the full height.

33. *ante into*, previously agreed on. — *aut denique*, or at any rate.

2. *pellibus induxerant*, had covered with hide. (Apparently used like *dono*, etc., § 51, 1, *c*; G. 348: the regular construction would be with the dat., *quibus pelles induxerant*) — *qua* [parte], where. — *repentino*, of a sudden.

3. *ita . . . ut*, they fought as fiercely as brave men must fight, &c. (observe the impersonal use of the passive, § 39. *c*; G. 344). — *in extrema spe* = for their last chance. — *in una virtute*, in mere bravery.

4. *sectionem*, auction-sale of confiscated property. The purchaser was called *sector*.

**52.** 34. *Venetos*, etc., the name of the Veneti is found in the modern *Vannes*, and of the Redones in *Rennes*. — *maritimæ civitates*, the modern Brittany: they are spoken of at length in Book III.

35. 2. *Illyricum*: this province, east of the Adriatic, made part of Cæsar's government.

3. *Carnutes*, between the Seine and the Loire, comprising *Orleans*: their name is found in the modern *Chartres*. — *Andes* (*Anjou*), near the lower Loire; *Turōnes*, the modern *Tours*. — *propinquæ*, apparently meaning near the Veneti, &c.

4. *supplicatio*, a public ceremonial of thanksgiving. Ten days was the longest that had ever been granted before, excepting to Pompey who was honored with twelve days for his victory over Mithridates. It should be remembered, however, that Cæsar's party was now all-powerful at Rome.

www.libtool.org BOOK THIRD.

ALPINE CAMPAIGN. — The higher valleys of the Alps were inhabited by tribes who got a scanty living by working in mines, and often waylaid and plundered expeditions on the march (see Strabo, iv. 6). The two legions sent by Cæsar under Q. Pedius (ii. 2) had been attacked by these predatory people while passing into the valley of the Rhone above the Lake (*Valais*). Hence this expedition, which was intended to strike terror into the mountain tribes.

**53.** *Nantuatis* (acc.), etc. These tribes occupied the valley of the Upper Rhone, above the Lake of Geneva.

2. *iter per Alpes*: the pass of the *Great St. Bernard*, which reaches the Rhone valley at *Martigny* (the ancient *Octodurus*), at the great bend of the river. — *magno cum periculo* = *but only with great danger*. — *magnis portoriis*, *heavy transit-duties*.

**54.** 4. *hic, ejus*, both referring to the same subject.

2. *montes*: not the higher ranges, but the lower heights directly upon the valley.

2. *id. this*, in appos. with *ut . . . caperent*. — *opprimendæ*, *crushing*, the usual meaning of this word. — *neque eam plenissimam*, etc., *and that not a very full one, since two cohorts had been detached, &c.* — *singillatim*, *in small parties*.

3. *cum ipsi . . . decurrerent*, *since they could charge down from the hills upon the valley*.

4. *accedebat quod* = *and besides (it was added that)*. The subject of *accedebat* is the clause *quod . . . dolebant*, *they were angry that their children were taken from them as hostages*. — *Romanos . . . adjungere*, obj. of *habebant*, and in agreement with *persuasum*: *they had persuaded themselves that the Romans were attempting, &c.*

3. *perfectæ*, referring both to *opus* and *munitiones*, but agreeing with the nearest. — *satis esset provisum*, *sufficient provision had been made*.

**55.** *concilio*, a council of officers.

2. *præter opinionem* = *unexpectedly*. — *subsidio venire* = *that any one should come to their aid*: *veniri* is impersonal, depending on *posset* implied in *possent*.

3. *nonnullæ sententiæ*, *several opinions* (or votes) given by the officers in council.

4. *majori . . . placuit*, *it was determined by the majority*. — *hoc . . . defendere*, *to reserve this course for the extremity, and meanwhile, &c.*

4. *his rebus . . . administrandis*, for settling and putting into effect what they had resolved on.

2. *integris viribus*, as long as their strength was whole. — *repugnare*, *mittere*, *occurrere*, *ferre*, *superari*, historical infinitives, implying incessant action. — *ut . . . videbatur*, as any part seemed, &c.: a relative clause, of which the antecedent is *eo*. — *alii* = while others.

3. *non modo . . . sed ne . . . quidem*, not only not, but not even, &c.

5. *cum pugnaretur*, when the fight had been [and was still] going on (§ 58, 3, *b*; G. 225). — *languidioribus nostris* (dat. of reference), while our men were failing. — *deficerent*, began to fail. — *vallum complere*, the rampart was made for the most part of earth thrown up in digging the ditch; so that to tear down the one was at the same time to fill up the other.

56. *extremum auxilium* = a desperate resource.

3. *intermitterent*, hort. subj. following *certiores facit* in the sense of *instructs*. — *tela . . . exciperent*, gather up the spent weapons.

6. *cognoscendi facultatem*, opportunity of finding out. — *sui colligendi*: observe that *sui* is plural in meaning, though agreeing with *colligendi* (§ 73, 3, *a*<sup>2</sup>; G. 429, R). It is, however, properly the gen. sing. of *suum* (§ 19, 3, *c*).

2. *circumventos interficiunt* = they surround and kill. — *ex milibus*, for part. gen. after *parte*.

3. *exutiis*, stripped, agreeing with *copiis*: § 51, 1, *c*; G. 348.

4. *alio consilio . . . aliis rebus* = saw that he had met a different state of things from what he had in mind when he came: (lit. remembered that he had come with one design, and saw that he had met another state of things).

NAVAL CAMPAIGN. — The peninsula of Armorica (*Bretagne*, Brittany, or Little Britain, so called since the emigration from Great Britain to escape the Saxon invasion) has always been the home of the hardest, most independent, and most strongly characterized of all the Gallic populations. Its scenery is wild and secluded, the character of its coast is clearly given in Cæsar's narrative, and its language remains Celtic to this day. No one of Cæsar's campaigns shows more strikingly his boldness and fertility of resource than this.

7. *inita hieme*, in the beginning of winter ("winter being entered on").

2. *mare* following *proximus* as the superl. of *prope* (§ 56, 2, *a*; G. 356, R<sup>4</sup>).

3. *præfectos*, officers: a general term for those assigned (*præficiō*) to any service or command.

**57.** 8. *hujus civitatis*, i. e. the Veneti, on the southern coast of Brittany, the modern *Morbihan*. — *longe amplissima*, very great indeed. — *consuerunt*, are accustomed (§ 58, 5, R; G. 227, R<sup>2</sup>). — *in magno . . . aperto*, in the great and open violence of the sea = on a sea exposed to great and violent storms. — *omnes habent vectigales*, treat all as tributaries, i. e. levy tolls upon.

2. *ab his fit initium*, etc, they begin by detaining these.

3. *ut sunt*, etc., as in fact the resolutions of the Gauls are, &c. — *eundem . . . laturos* = they would bear in common the result of whatever fortune.

4. *quam acceperant*, indic. as a clause of fact (§ 67, 1, b; G. 630, R<sup>1</sup>). — *quam perferre*, than to endure, following the comparative contained in *mallent*.

5. *remittat* (sc. *ut*), hort. subj. depending on the message implied in *legationem mittunt*.

9. *aberat longius*, was too far off to take command at once in person. — *naves longas*, galleys, propelled by a large number of oars. Ships of burden (*onerariæ*) were built broad, with a view to capacity. — *Ligere*, the Loire, where Crassus was wintering. — *institul*, to be assigned to the several galleys.

2. *in se admissent*, had taken on themselves: *admitto* alone is the ordinary phrase for *commit*. — *legatos . . . conjectos* (the specific act), in appos. with *facinus*.

**58.** 3. *pedestria itinera*, etc., travelling by land was cut off. — *inscientiam*, i. e. the Romans' lack of acquaintance. — *neque . . . confidebant*, and they trusted that our armies could not, &c.

4. *ut . . . acciderent* (concessive, § 57, 5; G. 610), granting that every thing should turn out contrary to their expectation. — *plurimum posse*, were strongest. — *facultatem*, supply. — *longe aliam . . . atque*, very different . . . from. — *concluso*, enclosed (like the Mediterranean).

5. *Osismos*, etc, the coast tribes as far as Flanders. The name *Lexovii* remains in *Lisieux*; *Namnetes* in *Nantes*; *Diablintres* in *Fablins*.

10. *injuriae retentorum equitum*, the wrong done by detaining the knights (§ 72, 3, a; G. 667, R<sup>2</sup>). — *rebellio*, renewal of hostilities (not *rebellion*). — *no . . . arbitrarentur*: a new rising was threatened by the Belgians, while the maritime tribes, it is said, were already fearful of an attempt upon Britain. (Observe that this clause is under the same construction as the nominatives *injuriae*, *defectio*, etc.)

2. *excitari*: the present infin. here corresponds to the imperfect of *descriptio*, *excitabantur*: while *odisse* answers to *oderunt* taken as a present, *all men naturally hate*.

11. *mandat adeat, gives it in charge (manu dare) to advance upon* (§ 70, 3, f, R; G. 547, R<sup>2</sup>).

59. *arcessiti [esse] dicebantur, were reported to have been summoned.*

2. *Aquitaniam, in S. W. Gaul (see i. 1<sup>5</sup>). The people were of different race and language from the other Gauls, and took little interest in their affairs, not even joining in the great revolt of Book vii. But Cæsar may not have known this (Moberly).*

3. *Unellos, etc., in Normandy.*

4. *Decimum Brutum, afterwards one of the conspirators against Cæsar, under the more celebrated Marcus Brutus. — Pictonibus, Santonis, south of the Loire (Poitou and Saintonge).*

12. *ejus modi . . . ut, of such sort that. — cum . . . incitavisset — at high tide. — æstus, tide: properly the surging movement of boiling water; hence applied both to extreme heat and to ocean-tides. — bis, apparently an error of most MSS. Some editors read xxiv. instead of xii.; others refer it to the general ignorance or carelessness of ancient writers. — minuente, at the ebb: intransitive, as if from the passive form used as a reflexive.*

2. *utraque re, in either case. — superati, agreeing with the subj. of cœperunt. — his (aggere ac molibus) . . . adæquatis, when these were brought level with the walls.*

3. *hæc faciebant, this they continued to do. — eo facilius . . . quod, the more easily, that, &c. — vasto mari, etc., in each of these points contrasted with the sheltered and tideless waters of the Mediterranean.*

13. *ipsorum, their own. — aliquanto planiores, considerably more flat-bottomed. — quo . . . possent, that they might more easily take the shallows and the ebb-tide.*

2. *admodum erectæ, quite elevated. — robore, oak timber.*

60. *contamellam, buffeting. — transtra, etc., the decks of beams a foot in depth fastened with iron bolts the thickness of a [man's] thumb.*

3. *pelles, hides; alutæ, leather. — tanta onera navium, ships of so great burden. — non satis commode, not very well: Cæsar does not like to say that any thing is impossible.*

4. *nostræ classi, etc., the encounter of our fleet with, &c. — una, only. — præstaret, had the advantage (i. e. our fleet). — pro loci natura, considering the nature of the ground.*

5. *rostrò, beak, a sharp projecting brazen point, to strike and disable the enemy's ship; copulis, grappling-irons, with which the ships were held so that they might be boarded. When this could be done, the superior skill of the Roman soldiers could always be depended on (see ch. 14<sup>7</sup>).*

6. *accedebat ut*—and besides, followed by *ferrent, consistere*, and *timerent*, which in English would be in the direct construction.—*se vento dedissent*, ran before the wind, a nautical phrase: hence the noun is repeated. The clause *cum . . . dedissent* is parenthetical.—*consisterent, came to anchor*; *ab æstu relictae, etc., if stranded by the ebb had nothing to fear, &c.*—*casus, the chance of all these things.*

14. *neque . . . posse, that the enemy's retreat could not be prevented by capturing their towns, and that no damage could be done them.*

2. *paratissimæ, fully equipped*; *ornatissimæ, thoroughly furnished.* The battle was fought in the bay of *Quiberon*, Cæsar looking on from shore.—*neque Bruto constabat, and it was not clear to Brutus.*

3. *excoitatis, built up.*—*ex barbaris navibus, on the part of the enemy's ships* (compare i. 2<sup>d</sup> note).

61. 4. *magno usui, of great service*, in fact turning disaster to victory: but Cæsar will not use words that hint a possible defeat.—*muralium falcium, wall-hooks*, long poles with sickle-shaped hooks attached (like those used by "hook-and-ladder" companies) used to pull down walls: it limits *formæ* (understood), dat. after *absimill*.

5. *prærumpebantur, they* (the halyards) *were torn away*: observe the position of *funes* in the relative clause.

7. *paulo fortius actum, one of Cæsar's mild expressions for an act of remarkable daring.*

15. *singulas, etc., two or three ships about each.*—*contendebant, made repeated efforts*: compare with *contenderunt* (2), describing a single act.

2. *expugnatis . . . navibus, when a good many of their ships had been boarded.*

3. *conversis . . . navibus, i. e. steered so as to run before the wind.*—*malacia, calm* (a Greek word).

4. *pervenerint, came to land*: *pervenirent* would be equally correct, and is found in some copies; but the perfect conveys more distinctly the act of landing.—*hora quarta, about 10 A.M.*

16. *cum . . . tum, while . . . at the same time*: imitating a very frequent Greek construction ( $\mu\epsilon\nu . . . \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ).—*convenerant, coegerant, i. e. for this war.*—*quod ubique, all there was anywhere*, followed by the partitive gen. *navium*.

2. *quo, i. e. [any refuge] whither*; *quem ad modum* (often written as one word), *how.*

62. 3. *eo . . . quo, with the intention that.*—*vindicandum, vengeance should be inflicted.*—*omni senatu necato, an instance*

of Cæsar's *clementia*. — sub corona vendidit, sold [as slaves] at public auction: ~~lit. under the wreath~~, since the captives "were crowned like an animal for sacrifice."

"This can hardly mean that Cæsar sold the whole nation by auction. The mention of the Senate makes it probable that the inhabitants of the capital Dariorigum [*Vannes*] are meant. Even so the rigor is terrible; and the more so, as regards the senate, from the grim alternative which the next chapter suggests [of being massacred by their own people, ch. 17<sup>2</sup>] as the only one open to these unfortunate rulers" (Moberly).

"He has not said, as he does on another occasion (ii. 33), how many were sold, but we may infer that he depopulated the country of the Veneti at least; and it appears from a later book (vii. 75) that all the Armoric states must have been greatly reduced by this unfortunate war. The only naval power in Gallia that could be formidable to the Romans was totally destroyed, and neither the Veneti nor their allies gave the proconsul any more trouble" (Long).

17. Unellorum, along the Channel coast of Normandy. A more correct reading is said to be Venelli. — magnas copias, considerable forces (not supplies, as these fell short, see 18<sup>4</sup>), most likely meaning here irregular troops (*perditorum hominum*, see next section) as opposed to exercitum.

2. his paucis diebus, i. e. about the same time. — perditorum, desperate: it was now the third year of constant war in Gaul.

3. carperetur, was *carped at*, his reputation "picked to pieces."

4. opportunitate, a favorable chance (*opportunus*).

18. edocet, instructs.

2. pro perfuga, in the character of a deserter. — neque longius esse quin = not later than: i. e. the time was not farther off.

§3. 4. superiorum dierum, on the previous days. — confirmatio, positive assertion. — parum diligenter, i. e. (in Cæsar's style) very negligently. — spes . . . belli = hope founded on, &c. — fere . . . credunt = most men are glad to believe, &c.

5. non prius, . . . quam, not . . . until.

6. ut . . . victoria (abl. abs.) = as if victory were already won. — sarmentis, sprouts or young growth; virgultis, brushwood.

19. paulatim adolivis, gently rising. — magno cursu, on a full run.

3. factum est, etc., it resulted from the advantage of ground, the enemy's awkwardness and fatigue, the courage of the men and their practice in former fights.

4. quos: the antecedent is eorum. — reliquos paucos, few of the remainder (§ 50, 2, R<sup>2</sup>; G. 368, R<sup>2</sup>). — ac = but.

SOUTHERN GAUL. — The campaign in Aquitania was made merely for strategic reasons, was not provoked by any attack or threat of one, and

appears to have been quite unnecessary (see note, ch. 11<sup>7</sup>) as well as difficult and dangerous. The Aquitani were not closely allied with the Gauls, took no share in their wars, and were at a secure distance. They had no strong military league or combination, but consisted of small isolated clans, and were besides of more industrial habit, being good miners and engineers. As a mere narrative, however, this is an interesting episode of the war.

**64. 20. ex tertia parte** (an idiomatic phrase) = *as a third part*, a greatly exaggerated reckoning. Many of Cæsar's geographical statements (e.g. the account of Britain, v. 13) are extremely ignorant or careless.

**Præconinus, Mallius**: these defeats were 20 years before (B. C. 78), when the Aquitani united with the Marian leader Sertorius, who held Spain for six years against Rome.

2. **Tolosa et Narbone** (early editions add **Carcassone**): Tolosa was an old Gallic town; Narbo, a Roman colony established by the policy of Caius Gracchus, B. C. 118. It became the capital of the Roman province, to which it gave its name. — **Sontiatum**, south of the Garonne, S. E. of the modern Bordeaux: the name remains in the modern *Sôts*.

3. **conlocaverunt**: some editions have the pluperfect, which seems to be required. — **ostenderunt, unmasked**.

**21. superioribus victoriis**, i. e. those just related. — **sine imperatore adolescentulo duce**: an *imperator* is the chief commander of an army, holding the *imperium*, or power of military command conferred on him by regular formalities; **dux** is a general designation for any person holding a command, and might be given to a subordinate officer, like Crassus, who acted as an agent and under the *imperium* of his superiors.

**perspici**: the subj. is the indirect question **quid . . . possent**. — **vertère**, histor. infin. The perfect form in **ere** is very rare in early prose.

3. **uniculis, mines**, so called from their likeness to rabbits' burrows. — **æraris structuræque** (hendiadys), *copper mines*. [The dagger † indicates a corrupt or doubtful reading. Some editions omit the **-que**, and others have **structuræ, works**.] — **diligentiâ**, *through the watchfulness*. — **faciunt, they do** [it].

**65. 22. soldurica, knights**, from the Basque SOLDI, *horse*. It is related that these *soldurii* "were dressed in royal garments like their chief."

2. **condicio**: the same condition was found among the Germans (vi. 23), and was the foundation of feudal vassalage.

3. **cum his** (repeated from **cum devotis**), *with these* (I say).

23. *Vocatium, etc.*, further west. — *quibus*, *within which*. — *quoque versum*, *in every direction* (*quoque* the adverb of *place* formed from the distributive *quisque*; *versum*, the adverb of *direction* usually connected with prepositions, as *ad . . . versum*). It is often written *quoquoversum*.

2. *Hispaniæ*: these Iberian populations were allied to the Aquitani (i. 1<sup>a</sup>). Spain had been subject to Rome for more than 150 years, but was always rather mutinous, and had made several attempts at independence, especially under Sertorius (see note, ch. 20<sup>1</sup>). It was also the last stronghold of Pompey's party in the civil war, till finally subdued at Munda, B.C. 45.

3. *omnes annos*, i. e. B. C. 78–72. — *loca capere*, *to occupy positions, &c.*, i. e. make systematic preparations for war.

4. *quod*, in appos. with the clause *suas . . . augeri*; or (altering the punctuation) it may be taken as a conjunction, the clause being the direct object of *animadvertit*. — *diduci*, *be scattered in various directions*. — *minus commode* = *with great difficulty*.

66. 24. *duplici*, i. e. *two cohorts in depth* (cf. i. 24<sup>2</sup>). His numbers were too few to allow greater depth. — *in mediam aciem*, *to the centre of his line*, where they would be kept in hand by his legionaries (see ch. 25<sup>1</sup>). — *expectabat*, *waited [to see] what, &c.*

2. *obsessis viis . . . potiri*, in English, *to block the roads, cut off supplies, and win the victory without a wound*. — *esse recipere*, *to withdraw from Aquitania*, — *in agmine*, *on the march*. — *infirmiore animo* = *dispirited*, an adjective phrase in the same construction with *impeditos* (§ 45, 4). — *adoriri cogitabant*, *had in mind to attack*. — *ab duclibus*, under the inferior officers.

3. *sua*, *their own*. — *opinione timoris*, *the notion [they had given] of their own cowardice*. — *expectari*, depending on *cohortatus*. — *omnibus cupientibus* = *to the eager desire of them all*.

25. *opinionem pugnantium*, i. e. an impression as if actually engaged.

2. *ab decumana porta*, i. e. *in the rear* (generally).

26. 2. *intritas, unworn*. [Observe that while in the compound verb the preposition *in* has an intensive force (*intero, to crumble*), in the compound adjective it has a negative force. Many participles have thus two exactly opposite meanings: as *infractus, broken up or unbroken*.]

67. *prius quam*: this phrase is often used with the indicative to show that one actual fact precedes another, just as succession is denoted by *post quam*. Here the subjunctive subordinates the temporal clause to the main idea, just as with *cum* (§ 62, 2, *b* and *c*).

5. *apertissimis campis*, i. e. the broad treeless plains which abound in this part of the country. — *consecratus*, (intensive from

*sequor*), *overtaking in hot chase*. — *multa nocte*, *late at night* (loc. abl.). — *Cantabria*, a very hardy people of the western Pyrenees.

27. *Tarbelli*, etc.: some of the names will be recognized in the modern *Tarbes*, *Bigorre*, *Garonne*. — *ultima*, *remotest*.

28. *omni . . . pacata*, *while all the rest of Gaul was subdued*. — *Morini*, etc., on the islands and low coast-lands of Flanders and further north. The Celtic MOR signifies *sea*. — *alia ac*, *different from*.

4. *longius*, *too far* (farther than was safe).

68. 29. *deinceps*, i. e. in the days next following. — *conversam*, *fronting*, i. e. with the boughs turned towards the enemy. — *pro vallo*, *as a palisade*.

2. *tenerentur*, were *just getting within reach*. — *ejusmodi uti . . . intermitteretur*, *such that the work was constantly interrupted* (*broken off* would have been *intermissum sit*).

3. *Aulerois*, etc., along the Seine, near *Evreux* and *Lisieux*. — *proxime*, *last*.

## BOOK FOURTH.

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**PASSAGE OF THE RHINE.**—The year B. C. 55 appears to have been marked by a general movement in the migration of the German tribes. An advance, consisting of the two populations Usipetes and Tencteri, crowded forward by the more powerful Suevi, crossed the lower Rhine into northern Gaul. Cæsar assumed the defence of the country he had just conquered; drove them back across the Rhine; followed them up by an expedition into their own territories, and fully established the supremacy of the Roman arms. Another brief campaign in Germany, two years later, confirmed this success; and the Rhine became the military frontier, recognized for many centuries, between the Roman empire and the barbarian world. In the common opinion of France it is to this day the natural boundary, established (as it were) in perpetuity by the arms of Julius Cæsar.

## PAGE

**69.** **Pompeio, Crasso:** this was B. C. 55. The coalition between Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, sometimes called the First Triumvirate, had been formed five years before. In carrying out their scheme, he held the Government of Gaul, while the others took into their own hands this year the whole control of affairs at home (see *Intro.*, “Life of Cæsar.”)

**Usipetes, Tencteri,** from beyond the Rhine, a little below Cologne.

2. **Suevis:** this people (the modern *Swabians*) occupied the greater part of central Germany, and was made up of several independent tribes. The name is held to mean *wanderers*.—**premebantur, had been crowded** (§ 58, 3, *b*; G. 225).

3. **centum pagos** (see i. 12): there is probably some confusion here with the ancient German institution of the *Hundred*, a division of the population giving its name to a district of territory. Each *hundred* seems to have sent 1000 men (*singula milia*) to the army. The term early lost its numerical value, and became a mere local designation.

4. **anno post, the year after.**—**in vicem (in vicem), in turn.**

**70.** 5. **privati . . . agri,** i. e. the land was held in tribal communities,—a state of things almost universal among primitive nations. (But some of the Germans appear to have been more advanced: see *Introduction*, near the end.)—**longius anno:** i. e. the Hundred had no fixed possessions, but was transferred yearly from one tract to another, its place being taken by another Hundred. This would prevent at once forming local attachments, and too rapid exhausting of the soil.

6. *frumento, etc.*: they were still in a half-nomadic state, though with some little advance in agriculture (compare vi. 22, and Tac. Germ. 26). — *maximam partem* (adv. acc.), *for the most part*. — *quom* (some copies read *quod*) . . . *faciant*; this clause is a parenthesis: *since from childhood they are trained to no service or discipline, and do nothing whatever against their will*, — a lively contrast of barbarous manners with the severity of Roman family discipline. — *alit*, the subj. is *quæ res*. — *homines* (pred.) *efficit*, *makes [them] men, &c.*

7. *eam*, correl. with *ut*. — *locis frigidissimis* = *even in their extreme climate*. — *haberent*, *have*; *lavarentur*, *bathe* (imperf. by sequence of tenses following *adduxerunt*).

2. *eo, ut . . . habeant*, *so that they may have [some one] to whom, &c.* — *quam quo . . . desiderent*, *than that they want, &c.* (For the use of *quo* with the implied negative, see § 66, 1, R; G. 541, R<sup>1</sup>).

2. *impenso pretio*, *at high cost*. — *Importatis non utuntur* = *do not import for use*. — *deformia*, *ill-shaped*. — *summi laboris*, [*capable*] *of great labor* (gen. of quality).

3. *eodem vestigio*, *on the same spot (foot-print)*. — *cum usus est*, *when there is need*. — *ephippii*, *saddles* (a Greek word).

4. *quamvis pauci*, *however few*.

3. *publice*, i. e. *to them as a community*. — *a suis finibus*, *on (back from) their boundaries*. — *una . . . Suevis*, *extending from [the territory of] the Suevi in one direction*. — *agri*, *the region* (nom. plur.). The extent of waste lands "is here much exaggerated."

71. 2. *Ubi*, *along the Rhine, between the Usipetes and the Suevi*. — *captus*, *capacity*. — *paulo . . . humaniores* (omit the words in brackets), *somewhat more civilized than the others of that race (Germans)*.

3. *gravitatem*, *importance*. — *humiliores* (pred.), *sc. so as to be*.

4. *in eadem causa*, *in the same case*. — *ad extremum*, *at length*.

2. *ad utramque ripam*, *along both banks*.

3. *vi contendere* = *to force a passage*.

4. *priusquam . . . fieret*, § 62, 2, c; G. 579. — *eorum copias*, *on their supplies* (cattle and corn).

5. *infirmi-tatem*, *weakness of purpose* = *fickleness*. — *nihil . . . committendum*, *nothing should be left to their discretion*.

72. 2. *est . . . consuetudinis*, *it is [a point] of Gallic custom* (§ 50, 1, d; G. 365, R<sup>1</sup>). — *vulgus circum-sistat . . . cogant*, *a crowd surrounds the traders, and compels, &c.* With the former verb, the crowd is taken as a whole; with the second, the inquisitive questioners are thought of.

3. *rebus atque auditionibus, facts or hearsays*. — in *vestigio, on the spot*, i. e. presently (*sur-le-champ*). — *serviant* = *are ruled by*. — *plerique . . . respondeant, many give false answers to suit their whim*.

6. *graviori bello, too serious a war* (i. e. unmanageable). — *maturius, earlier* in the season. — *ad exercitum*: the army was now in Normandy (iii. 29).

2. *uti . . . discederent, to advance from the Rhine further into Gaul*. The Belgæ, it will be remembered, claimed kindred with the Germans, and were no doubt ready to retaliate their bloody defeat upon the Romans. — *fore parata, should be got ready* (the regular fut. infin. passive, depending on some such word as *promiserunt*).

4. *quæ cognoverant, the facts he had learned* (the subj. *cognovisset* would make it an indir. question). — *permulsis, calmed from their terror* (lit. *soothed by stroking*, like a nervous horse).

7. *equitibus delectis*: the quota of cavalry was required of each of the allied states.

2. *priores* = *as aggressors* (compare the language of Ariovistus, i. 36). — *neque recusaro quin, they do not decline*. — *quicumque*: the antecedent is *eis* (dat.) implied with *resistere*. — *neque deprecari, and ask no quarter*.

3. *hæc tamen dicere, this however we say* [said they]. — *his, to the Romans*; *eos, sc. agros*. — *concedere, yield, as inferior*.

73. 8. *quæ visum est, as it seemed good* (see i. 14, 43). — *verum, right*.

2. *Ubiorem, see ch. 3<sup>2</sup>*. — *quorum sint, etc., whose envoys* (he informs them) *are now with him to complain, &c.*

9. *post diem tertium* (= *tertio die*), i. e. *the next day but one*. (The first and last day are usually counted in the reckoning: so in French *en huit jours* = *in a week*.) — *id, the two days' delay*.

2. *trans, i. e. westwardly*. — *expectari, translate actively, they were waiting for*.

10. *Vosego, the Vosges*: in fact, "from the plateau of Langres, the cradle of French rivers." — *parte . . . recepta*: the Rhine branches in these low marshy regions, one branch (*Vacalus*, the modern *Waal*), uniting with the Meuse near *Bois-le-Duc* (see note, ch. 15).

2. *Nantuatium* (compare iii. 1): the name is said to mean *river-people*. This list of names is incomplete. — *citatus, with rapid course*. — *feris . . . nationibus*: see the introduction to Motley's "Dutch Republic."

11. *ut erat constitutum, as had been arranged* (the return of the envoys).

**74.** 2. eos (antedec. to qui), *the cavalry who, &c.* — potestatem faceret, *would give authority.* — condicione . . . usuros, *would keep the terms offered by Cæsar.*

3. eodem illo pertinere, *tended the same way with the other* (see ch. 9), i. e. to gain time till the German cavalry should arrive. — aquationis causa: a small stream (the *Niers*) lay between him and the German encampment.

12. ubi primum . . . conspexerunt, *as soon as they came in sight.* — amplius octingentos, *more than 800* (§ 45, 3, c; G. 311, R'). — perturbaverunt, *threw into disorder.*

2. resistantibus, sc. nostris. — subfossis, *stabbed in the belly.* — ita perterritos, *so panic-stricken.*

3. regnum obtinuerat, *had held royal power.*

**75.** 13. neque jam, *no longer*: knowing how little his own cavalry (of Gauls) were to be trusted, and that the arrival of the main body of the Germans would put them at once to flight, Cæsar resolved to attack at the first opportunity, right or wrong. — ab *his* qui, *from men who, &c.*

2. quantum auctoritatis, *how great prestige the enemy had gained by one battle.* — quibus, i. e. the enemy.

3. quæstore, see i. 52<sup>1</sup>. — res, in appos. with quod . . . venerunt. — eadem perfidia: their perfidy Cæsar takes for granted, as the best apology for his own; but the presence of the chiefs and old men looks more as if they came (as they said) to offer amends for the attack of the day before.

4. contra atque, *contrary to what.* — si quid . . . de indutiis = *whatever they could in the way of truce* (de with the abl. is nearly the same with the part. gen.). — fallendo, i. e. by another trick.

5. quos, illos, both refer to the same subject. — quos oblatos gavisus, *delighted that they were put in his power.* By detaining their chief men, he would at once perplex and disable them. — subsequi, *to follow in the rear*; he could not trust them in the intended attack.

14. quid ageretur, *what was going on.*

2. ne . . . an . . . an (§ 71, 2; G. 460): the three infinitives all belong to præstaret, *whether it were better.*

4. quo loco = *here on the ground* (a military phrase), where they had some slight advantage.

**76.** reliqua multitudo: the presence of women and children shows that it was a migration for settlement, not a mere inroad for plunder. — ad quos consecrandos (frequent. of sequor), *to hunt them down*, a fit business for the cowardly and treacherous Gallic horse. Referring to this massacre of helpless fugitives, Plutarch writes that, "when the Senate was voting public thanksgiving and

processions on account of the victory, Cato proposed that Cæsar should be given up to the barbarians to expiate that breach of faith, that the divine vengeance might fall upon its author rather than upon Rome" (Life of Cæsar).

15. *confluentem*: the reasons are very strong against placing this action in the low lands at the confluence of the Rhine and Meuse (*Mosa*); among them the great distance, more than 120 miles, from the place where Cæsar actually crossed the Rhine. It will make the whole narrative much clearer, to regard this (with Goeler) as the confluence of the Rhine and Mosella (*Moselle*) at Coblenz, the ancient *Confluentes*. In this view the text has been confused by the likeness of the names, while ch. 10 appears to be a note added perhaps by some geographer. — *reliqua fuga*, further flight.

2. *ex . . . timore* = relieved from [the apprehension of] so great a war.

3. *discedendi potestatem*, permission to depart. Cæsar practically acquits them of the charge of treachery (compare his dealings with the Veneti, iii. 16). The attack and massacre were purely for "moral effect." — *supplicia* = vengeance.

16. *illa*, the following. — *justissima*, most reasonable. — *suis . . . intellegent*, he wished them to fear for their own affairs also, since they would understand, &c. (*oum intellegent* is here nearly equivalent to a participle).

2. *accessit quod* = and besides. — *quam . . . transisse*, which, as I mentioned above (the conjunction *that* of indirect discourse cannot be used in English to introduce a relative clause). Observe that Cæsar the writer uses the first person (*commemoravi*); Cæsar the actor is always in the third. — *Sugambrorum*, just north of the Ubii.

3. *qui postulerent . . . dederent*, to require them to surrender those who, &c. — *finire*, was the limit of (see introd. note, Book iv.). — *se invito*, without his own consent. — *sui imperii* (pred. after *esse*), under his power.

4. *occupationibus reipublicæ*, by the demands of state affairs.

5. *opinionem*, reputation. — *navium*, boats.

17. *nequo . . . esse*, it did not belong to his dignity, &c.

2. *latitudinem*, etc. Cæsar's passage of the Rhine was most probably at Bonn, where the high and rocky banks begin; or at Neuwied, 20 or 25 miles further south, where there is a break in the chain of hills (but here, it is said, the bottom is rock, and not fit for driving piles). The width of the river at either place is about 1400 feet; its depth is very variable. It is now crossed in these parts by floating bridges of boats.

3. *rationem, plan.* The brief description which Cæsar gives of his rough and ready but very serviceable engineering may be made clearer by giving its different points as follows: —

1. A pair of unhewn logs, a foot and a half thick (*tigna bina sesquipedalia*), braced two feet apart, and sharpened at the end, is driven with rammers (*fistucis*) into the bottom, sloping a little with the stream (4).

2. A similar pair is driven in opposite, 40 feet below, sloping a little against the stream (4): the upper ends of the two pairs would thus be some 25 or 30 feet apart, the width of the roadway.

3. A beam of square timber, two feet thick (*trabs bipedalis*), and about 30 feet long, is made fast at the end by ties (*fibulis*) between the logs of each pair, — which are thus kept at a proper distance apart, while they are strongly braced against the current (5).

4. A suitable number (probably about 60) of these trestles, or timber-arches, having been built and connected by cross-ties, — this part of the structure must be taken for granted, — planks are then laid lengthwise of the bridge (*directa materia*), resting on the heavy floor-timbers; and upon these, again, saplings and twigs (*longurii, crates*) are spread, to prevent the jar and wear of the carts upon the flooring (6).

5. Piles (*sublicæ*) are then driven in below, resting obliquely against the logs, to which they serve as shores or butts (*pro ariete*), and other heavier piles a little way above, to break the force of floating logs or boats sent down to destroy the bridge (7).

*tigna*, probably unhewn logs. — *bina*, two and two, i. e. in pairs. — *pedum duorum*, i. e. between the timbers of each pair.

4. *machinationibus immissa*, driven in with engines (a sort of pile-drivers). — *sublicæ modo*, like a pile. — *fastigate*, sloping (like the rafters of a house). — *ut . . . procumbent, so as to fall forward with the current.* — *ab inferiore parte*, down stream.

5. *hæc utraque . . . distinebantur*, these two sets (or pairs) were held apart by two-foot timbers laid on above, — [in thickness] equal to the interval left by the fastening of the beams (*quantum . . . distabat*), with a pair of ties at each end. — *quibus [tignis] . . . revinctis*, which being held apart, and made fast again at the opposite end, i. e. the ties held them apart, while the main beams kept them from falling asunder.

78. *artius (= arctius)*, more closely.

6. *hæc . . . contexebantur*, these (the framework of timber) were covered with boards lengthwise. — *sublicæ . . . agebantur*, piles (or shores) were driven slanting on the lower side, so as to prop the bridge against the current. — *pro ariete*, as a buttress (abutting).

7. *aliæ item*, other piles a little way above, to serve as a breakwater or stockade. — *deiciendi operis*, sc. gratiâ (§ 73, 3,

*a*<sup>1</sup>, last example ; G. 429, R<sup>9</sup>, to throw down the work. — his defensoribus, *by these defences*. — neu . . . nocerent, and that they (trunci, etc.) might not harm the bridge.

18. diebus decem, *within ten days*. — traducitur, the histor. present, resumed from 16<sup>1</sup>.

3. hortantibus iis, etc., the few who had escaped the massacre of ch. 15, and had taken refuge across the Rhine.

19. succisis, *cut down to the ground*.

2. uti . . . convenirent, clause of result (§ 70, 3, *a*; G. 546, R<sup>1</sup>) following the verbal phrase nuntios . . . dimisisse. — omnes, sc. ut — hunc, etc., *this* (the place of meeting) *had been selected in the midst*, &c. ; medium, agreeing directly with hunc (§ 47, 6 ; G. 324, R<sup>9</sup>), in preference to the adverbial phrase in medio.

3. ut . . . liberaret, these clauses are in appos. with rebus iis.

79. ulcisceretur, *chastise*. — rescidit, *broke up*.

THE LANDING IN BRITAIN. — What is called the First Invasion of Britain, though it marks an interesting date in history, and gave fresh stimulus to Roman curiosity and ambition, was in itself an affair of small account. It was, in fact, only meant for a reconnoissance, or, perhaps, as opening the way to further schemes. Towards the end of summer, Cæsar sailed across to the white cliffs of Dover, coasted a few miles towards the west, and established a camp on the British coast. His cavalry, meanwhile, had been weatherbound in their transports, and then, after crossing, were driven back by rough winds without even coming to land. After holding an uneasy and perilous position for about three weeks, he returned to Gaul, without accomplishing anything beyond a barren display of hardihood.

20. exiguā . . . reliquā, *when but little of the summer was left* : ablative absolute (or it might be construed as simple loc. abl., *in the brief remainder of the summer* ; illustrating the development of the one from the other construction). — etsi . . . tamen . . . contendit, *though the winters are early, yet he made haste to advance*, &c.

2. omnibus bellis (loc. abl.), *in almost all*, &c. — hostibus, dat. after sumministrata, *furnished to the enemy*. — si . . . tamen, *even if time should fail, still*, &c. — magno usui, dat. of service. — fore : the subj. is the clause si . . . cognovisset, *he thought it would be of great advantage if*, &c. ; the pluperfect adisset, etc., representing the future perf. adierit, following arbitratur. [Observe in this sentence, that while Cæsar's action is given in the perfect (contendit), his reasons are in the imperfect (intellegebat, arbitratur) ; while the conditional clauses si deficeret, si adisset, are strictly future conditions carried into the past by the

sequence of tenses, § 59, 4, *f*; G. 598, R<sup>1</sup>.]—*quæ omnia*, all of which (§ 50, 2, R<sup>2</sup>; G. 368, R<sup>2</sup>).—*Gallis inoognita*, i. e. except to the secluded and jealous Veneti (iii. 8).

3. *neque enim* (neg. of *etenim*, § 43, 3, *d*; G. 500, R<sup>2</sup>), to be rendered with *quisquam*, for no one.—*temere*, without good reason.—*neque quicquam* = and nothing.—*is*, dat. after *notum* (§ 51, 4, *b*; G. 352).—*Gallias*, i. e. Celtic and Belgic Gaul.

4. *vocatis mercatoribus*, etc. = he called the traders, but could not, &c.—*quem usum* = what degree of skill.—*quanta . . . portus*, these indir. questions follow *reperire poterat*.

21. *periculum faceret*, making the trial (or risk).—*idoneum*, a fit person.—*navi longa*, see iii. 9<sup>1</sup>.—*quam primum*, as soon as possible.

2. *Morinos*, occupying the nearest point to Britain: in clear weather the British coast is in sight from these shores.—*quam classem*, the fleet which (§ 48, 3, *b*; G. 618).—*qui polliceantur*, to promise (§ 64, 1; G. 544), followed by *dare* as complem. infin. (§ 70, 2, *d*; G. 527, R<sup>1</sup>), a rare use, for *se daturus* [esse].

80. 4. *ut permanerent*, to remain, object-clause after *hortatus*.—*Atrebatibus superatis* (see ii. 23): the same people, it is said, occupied Berkshire in England, whence the supposed influence of *Commius*.—*ibi*, i. e. among the *Atrebates* (§ 48, 5; G. 613, R<sup>1</sup>).—*magni*, gen. of value (§ 50, 1, *i*; G. 399), of great account.

5. *huic*, indir. obj. of *imperat*; the direct obj. is the whole clause, down to *nuntiet*.—*fidem sequantur*, i. e. accept the protection of, or submit to.—*seque . . . nuntiet*, and tell them that he is coming.

6. *quantum* (sc. *tantum*) . . *auderet*, so far as opportunity could be given to one who did not venture, &c.—*perspexisset*, had investigated: for sequence of tenses, see § 58, 10, *e*; G. 511, R<sup>1</sup>.

22. *superioris temporis*, of the season before (see iii. 28).—*homines barbari* = being (as they were) barbarians.

2. *satis opportune*, quite seasonably.—*has . . . anteponeudas*, that occupation about such little matters should be put before [the invasion of] Britain.

3. *coactis*, gathered from various quarters; *contractis*, brought together into port (at *Boulogne*).—*quod . . . habebat*, all the galleys he had besides.—*ex eo loco*, etc., eight miles from there, at the port of *Ambleteuse*.—*tenebantur quo minus*, were detained from.—*equitibus*, cavalry, of whom there were 450.

81. 23. *idoneam tempestatem*, favorable weather.—*tertia vigilia*, at midnight. The date was August 26, high water being about half past seven, P.M.; the ships, therefore, would go out at

about half-tide. — *solvit, loosed or cast-off* the ships : used like our phrase *weighed anchor*. — *equites* : these were to embark at *Ambleteuse*, as above.

2. *paulo tardius* : they sailed after a delay of three days (ch. 28). — *hora quarta*, about half-past eight A.M., about an hour after high-tide. The landing was near Dover, where he lay at anchor till half past three.

3. *montibus angustis*, i. e. cliffs coming close to the shore.

4. *dum . . . convenient*, until the other ships should come up (§ 62, 2, *d*; G. 574).

5. *ut . . . postulerent*, as military science and especially seamanship require; relat. clause following *monuit . . . administrarentur*, enjoined that every thing should be done promptly. — *ut quæ . . . haberent* (§ 65, 2, *e*; G. 637), since they have, &c.

6. *his dimissis*, when they were sent to their posts (observe the *dispersive* effect of *di*-). — *æstum secundum* : the tide in this place would run west till about half past six. — *aperto . . . litore* : "at Lyme in Romney marsh, where the cliffs are far back from the beach, and there is a fine shingle."

24. *essedarils* : the *essedum* was a two-wheeled war-chariot. — *quo genere*, i. e. both horses and chariots, making a sort of flying artillery. — *copiis*, abl. of accompaniment (§ 54, 6, *a*; G. 391). — *egredi*, infin. for *ne* or *quominus* with subj.

2. *nisi in alto*, except in deep water. — *militibus*, dat. after *desiliendum*, the men had to leap down. — *oppressis* (taken with *militibus*), weighted as they were. — *cum . . . conicerent*, while they (the Britons), &c. — *arido*, dry ground. — *insuefactos*, trained to it, i. e. to charge to the water's edge.

3. *generis* (gen. after *imperiti*, § 50, 3, *b*; G. 373) : wholly unskilled in this sort of fighting.

82. *pedestribus*, on land, where the main strength lay with infantry. — *uti*, employ or exhibit.

25. *naves* (obj. of *jussit*, and subj. of *removeri*), ordered the vessels to be set back. — *species*, appearance. — *inusitator*, quite strange. — *latus apertum*, the exposed flank, i. e. the right, unprotected by their shields. — *tormentis*, engines, for hurling stones, darts, &c. (ii. 8<sup>o</sup>). — *quæ res*, this manœuvre.

2. *permoti*, thrown into confusion. — *constiterunt*. — *ac = atque*, and besides. — *paulum modo*, just a little.

3. *qui ferebat*, the one who carried : the antecedent of *qui* is *is*, the understood subj. of *inquit*. — *contestatus*, appealing to. — *aquilam* : the standard of the legion was a silver or bronze eagle, borne on a spear-shaft by the chief centurion (*primipilus*). — *legioni*, dat. of reference (§ 51, 7; G. 343).

4. ego certe . . . præstitero, *I at any rate shall have done, &c.* (see § 58, 7, R; G. 236).

5. inter se, *one another* (§ 19, 3, d; G. 212). — universi, *all at once*. — ex proximis [primis] navibus, *from the nearest ships* (those in the front line). — adpropinquarunt: the subject is, [those] *from, &c.*

26. pugnatum est = *they fought*. — ab utrisque, strictly, *by those on both sides*. — poterant . . . submittebat: notice the numerous *imperfects* of this description, implying repeated or continuous action. — alius alia ex navi = *from different ships* (§ 47, 9; G. 306). — quibuscumque signis, *dat. after occurrebat*; the antecedent noun and pronoun (*eis signis*), if expressed, would be *dat. after adgregabat*. The clause from *quod* to *adgregabat* is a parenthesis.

2. singulares, *in scattered groups*. — adoriebantur, *would attack*. — ab latere aperto (see ch. 15<sup>1</sup>), *on the exposed flank* of the Romans. — in universos, *upon the mass*.

3. speculatoria navigia, *swift light boats for reconnoissance*.

4. simul [atque], *as soon as*.

83. quod equites, *etc.*, they were windbound at Ambletuse (ch. 22<sup>4</sup>). — hoc unum . . . defuit: “in fact, a tide of disasters was now setting in to continue several years.”

27. quæ imperasset, *what he should require* (quæ imperaveris). — quem præmissum, ch. 21<sup>4</sup>.

2. oratoris modo, *in the character of envoy* (or *spokesman*). — ut [sibi] ignosceretur; *that* [this thing] *might be pardoned* (ignosco takes a direct object of the thing, with an indirect object of the person).

3. bellum . . . intulissent: these barbarous people might be pardoned for mistaking Cæsar's expedition as an invasion! — ignoscere: for the omission of the subject, see § 67, 1, a<sup>2</sup>; G. 527, R<sup>2</sup>. — arcessitam = *when they should be fetched*.

4. remigrare, *to move back*.

28. post diem quartum, *i. e. three days after*. — naves, *etc.*, see ch. 22<sup>4</sup>.

2. aliæ . . . aliæ, *some . . . others*. — sui (obj. gen. with periculo), *to themselves*. — occasum, *west*. — cum . . . complerentur, *since they were filling* as they lay at anchor. — adversa nocte, *in the face of the night*.

29. eadem nocte: this was the night of August 30; the moon was full at 3 A. M.

84. æstus maximos, *spring tides*. The ocean tides, rising here between 20 and 30 feet, were a strange phenomenon to those who had known only the tideless waters of the Mediterranean

(compare iii. 8').—*naves*, obj. of *compleverat*.—*afflictabat* (intensive), *dashed about*.—*facultas*, *opportunity* (to do a thing).

2. *id quod*, see § 48, 3, *e*; G. 612, R<sup>1</sup>.

3. *quod constabat*, *because it was settled*: the subj. is *opore*, of which the subj. is *hiemari*, *that to winter in Gaul was needful*.—*his in locis*: for the order of words see § 76, 3, *a*.

30. *prinoipes*, subj. of *duxerunt*.—*hoc angustiora*, *so much the smaller*: *hoc* is abl. of means (§ 54, 6, *e*; G. 400).—*optimum*, in pred. agreement with *frumento . . . producere*.—*duxerunt*, *thought*.—*frumento, commeatu*, *corn and other supplies*.—*rem*, *the business of the invasion*.—*his . . . interclusis*, abl. abs. of condition: *if these should be overcome*, &c.—*deducere*, *bring down towards the coast*.

31. *ex eventu navium*, *from what had befallen the ships*.—*ex eo quod*, *from the fact that*.—*suspiciabatur*, *began to suspect*.—*subsidia comparabat*, *made provision*.

2. *quæ . . . naves, earum, etc.*, *the timber and copper of those ships which*, &c. (§ 48, 3, *b*; G. 618).—*quæ . . . usui*, *whatever was of use*: the antecedent of *quæ* is *ea*, subj. of *comportari*.

85. *reliquis . . . effectit*, *he managed so that they could sail (navigari, impers.) tolerably with the rest*.

32. *geruntur*, § 58, 2, *e*; G. 220, R<sup>1</sup>.—*frumentatum*, *to get corn (supine)*.—*pars hominum*, *some of the people*.—*ventitaret*, *returned from time to time* (frequent., § 36, *b*).—*pro*, *in front of*.—*quam . . . ferret* = *than usual*.

2. *id quod erat* = *what was the fact*.—*aliquid . . . consilii*, *that some new design was undertaken*.—*ex reliquis duas*, *two of the others*.—*armari*, *to arm*; in verbs, thus used reflexively, English prefers the active and Latin the passive form.

3. *paulo longius*, *some little distance*.—*premi . . . sustinere*, *were getting pushed, and hardly held their ground*.—*conferta legione* (loc. abl. for *in confertam legionem*) = *the legion was formed in solid square, while weapons were hurled*, &c. Observe the force of Latin, in conveying a description, as here, by a participial phrase.

4. *suspicati*, *supposing* (§ 72, 1, *b*; G. 278, R).—*dispersos, occupatos*, *while scattered*, &c., agreeing with *milites*, governed by *adorti*.—*incertis ordinibus* (abl. abs.), *because the ranks were unsteady*.

33. *ex essedis*: these chariots are often represented with scythes at the axle, of which Cæsar makes no mention. They held six men each, and were drawn by two horses.—*cum se insinuerunt*, *when they have wound in*.

2. *paulatim*, *little by little* (§ 41, 1, *h*).—*illi*, i. e. the fighting men spoken of above.—*expeditum receptum*, *a ready retreat*.

3. *præstant, exhibit.* Cæsar was much struck with the efficiency of the German and British horse (see ch. 13), and made it the basis of important changes in the Roman army. — *ut . . . consuerint*, clause of result following *effodunt*. — *declivi ac præcipiti loco* = *a steep downward slope*. — *incitato equos sustinere*, to check their horses in full gallop (infin. after *consuerint*). — *brevi*, within a short space.

86. 34. *quibus rebus*, under these circumstances (loc. abl.). — *nostris*, dat. following *tulit auxilium*.

2. *alienum . . . arbitratus*, judging it an unfavorable time.

3. *quæ . . . continerent*, so as to keep (§ 65, 2; G. 633).

4. *prædicaverunt*, bragged about. — *quanta . . . facultas daretur*, what opportunity was offered (indir. question following *demonstraverunt*). — *ad castra*, towards the camp.

35. *ut effugerent* (in appos. with *idem*, the subj. of fore), namely, that if, &c. — *effugerent*, would escape: the future signification is from the effect of fore. — *equites triginta*: these few cavalry would be of no service in an engagement, but only in pursuit. To chase and cut down the beaten army was considered an essential part of the battle.

3. *tanto spatio*, over as much ground (§ 55, 2, b; G. 387).

36. *die æquinoctii*, the stormy season (Sept. 24). "Cæsar had therefore been nearly a month in Britain, without being able to advance a mile from the shore." — *hiemi, etc.*, thought the voyage ought not to be exposed to foul weather.

87. 2. *eisdem . . . portus*, the same parts with the others: *reliqui* is masc. (by *synesis*) as referring to *milites*; some editions have *reliquæ* [naves].

*paulo infra*: "the west current sets in on the French coast, while that to the east is still running in mid-channel."

37. *expositi*, landed. — not ita magno, not very large.

3. *horis*, abl. of comparison with *amplius*: a more common construction would be *horas*.

4. *postea quam* = as soon as.

38. *superiore anno*, see iii. 28<sup>a</sup>: the *tempestates* of ch. 34 were apparently merely gusty weather without rain.

3. *supplicatio*, compare end of Book ii.

The crossing of the Rhine had strongly impressed the mind of the Romans, and so too the passage into Britain, though in fact a failure. This unprecedented thanksgiving of 20 days we must remember, however, was voted by Cæsar's own party, who now held all the offices; and who would wish to cover up the impression of any ill success. In fact, though he had added nothing to Roman power, he had opened a new world to Roman ambition.

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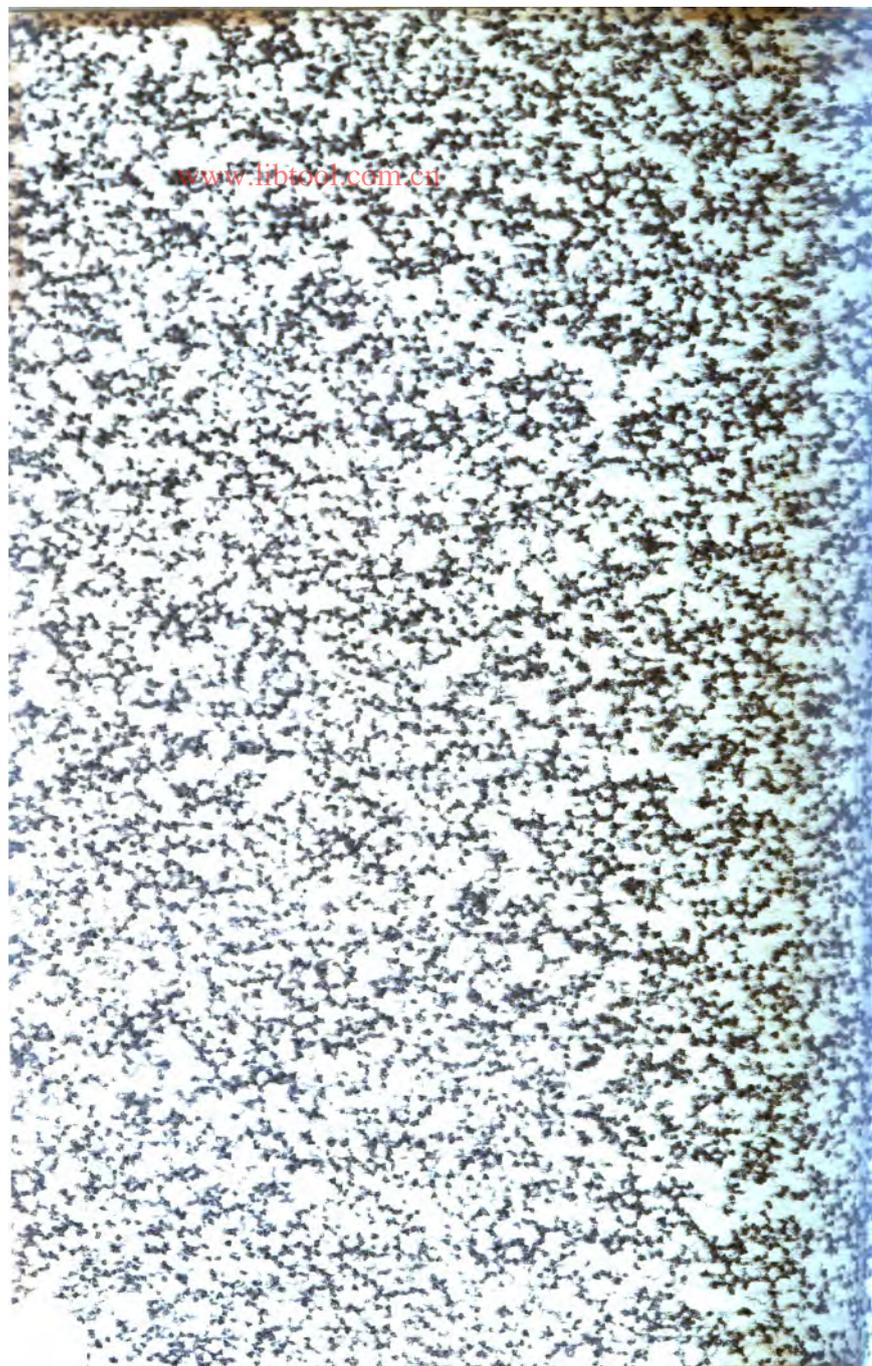
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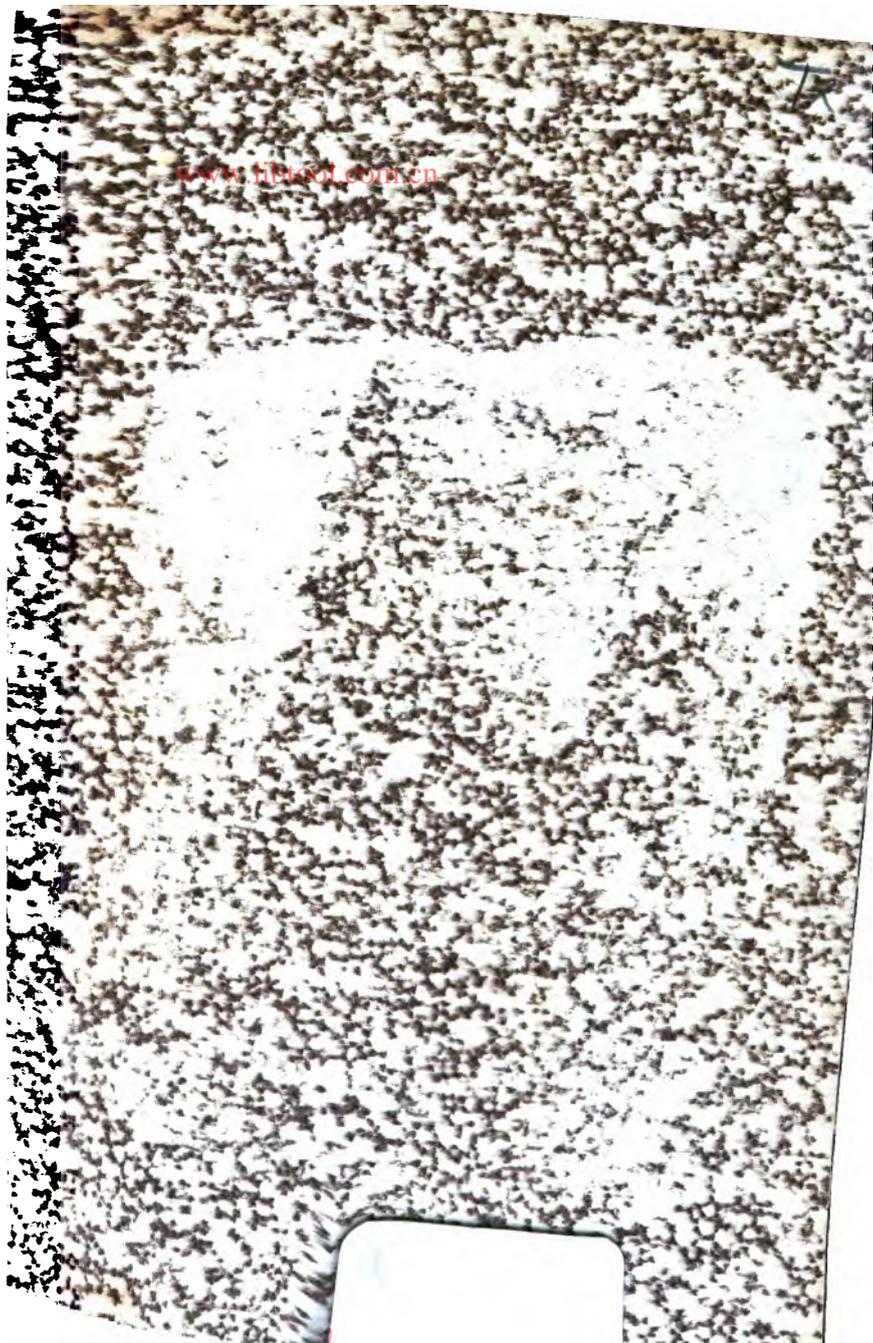
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