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Earl of Kintore.

C. JULII CÆSARIS
DE BELLO GALLICO
PRIMI QUATUOR LIBRI
COMMENTARIORUM,

Ex optima atque accuratissima FRANCISCI OUDEN-
DORPII editione expressi.

O R,

The First Four Books of C. JULIUS CÆ-
SAR'S Commentaries of his Wars in GAUL.

According to the excellent and accurate edition of
FRANCIS OUDENDORP.

With an English Translation as literal as possible, and
large explanatory Notes.

By JOHN MAIR, A. M.

The FOURTH EDITION.

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P R E F A C E.

THE mighty fame with which the name of JULIUS CÆSAR has been transmitted to posterity, is not owing to his valour and military achievements only : his genius and learning have contributed thereto as well as his arms. As he was endued with great natural parts, and had all the advantages of a polite and liberal education, he soon enriched his mind with whatever is valuable, curious, or exquisite in literature.

Rhetoric and *oratory* were the favourite studies of his youth ; which for some time he prosecuted at *Rhodes*, under the direction of the celebrated APOLLONIUS : and he gave early proofs of his proficiency therein, in his pleadings before the SENATE, and on many other occasions. The ancients universally allow, that his address was moving, his eloquence affecting and persuasive, and that the spirit and vivacity with which he enforced his argument, was such as sufficiently shewed he was no less capable of making a distinguished figure at the bar than in the field. CICERO, in enumerating the famous orators, speaks of CÆSAR as inferior to none of them. And in a letter to CORNELIUS NEPOS, “ Which
“ of all the orators, *says he*, whose whole life has been employed in that profession, can be preferred to CÆSAR ?
“ Which of them discovers more energy in expression, more
“ taste and delicacy in the choice of words ?” And QUINTILIAN further observes, that “ the same vigour, vehemence,
“ and fire, that he used to display in battle, animated also
“ his speeches and orations :” and adds, that “ he might
“ have rivalled TULLY, had not the love of power, and a
“ violent inclination to state-affairs, converted the *orator* in-
“ to the *general*.”

Nature had formed him for things great and uncommon ; and Fortune never failed to patronize and support him. His
a 2 undertakings,

undertakings, of whatever kind, though sometimes in appearance rash and dangerous, were nevertheless in the issue always crowned with success. “ CÆSAR, says VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, for the vastness of his designs, for the rapidity of his conquests, for invincible courage, and contempt of danger, may well be compared with ALEXANDER the Great.” PLUTARCH affirms, that “ in Gaul, during the space of nine years, he took five hundred towns by storm, conquered three hundred states, engaged with three millions of men at different times, killed one third, and took another prisoner.” But a full and particular account of his exploits in that country, as also in *Italy, Greece, Alexandria, Asia, Africa, and Spain*, will be best learned from his own commentaries, and other ancient histories. I shall therefore only further observe, that had his conduct been founded on the noble principles of virtue ; had his views been directed by love to his country, and a regard to public liberty ; had his great abilities been exerted for relieving the oppressed, and chastising the insolence of tyrants ; he had justly merited the applause and admiration of all ages, as one of the greatest and most renowned heroes of antiquity ; but his manifest affectation of grandeur, his unbounded ambition, and insatiable lust of power, fully the glory, and lessen the greatness of his otherwise exalted character.

The same happy genius that animated his *military conduct*, and rendered his name immortal as a *general*, has also conspired to spread his fame, and eternize his memory as a *writer*. He was the author of several works : amongst which, composed in his younger years, were some poems ; one in praise of *Heracles* ; another under the title of *Julii* ; a tragedy called *OEdipus* ; and his *Dicta collectanea*, or, *Collection of Apophthegms* : all which AUGUSTUS afterward forbid to be published. He composed also another poem, mentioned by SÆTUN, under the title of *Iter* ; or, *The journey*. He wrote two books against CATO, of a satirical strain, intitled *Anticatores*. Several of his orations and pleadings were published,

lished, as were also many of his epistles to the SENATE, to CICERO, and others. He was the author also of two books on the *Analogy of the Latin tongue*; which procured him no small reputation among the *grammarians*. He composed a treatise on *augury*. He wrote also on *astronomy*, or the *motion of the stars*; which he had studied in *Egypt*, before he reformed the *calendar*. There is likewise another performance of his mentioned by SERVIUS, under the title of *Ephemerides*.

But the only genuine works of CÆSAR that have come down entire to us, are, seven books of his wars in *Gaul*, and three of the civil wars. For the writer of the eighth book of the *Gallic war*, as also of the *Alexandrian, African, and Spanish war*, is not, says SÆTON, certainly known. Some will have HIRTIUS, and some OPIUS, to be the author of them. And some, from an apprehended disparity of the style in these books, imagine there were as many authors as books. But the more modern *critics* and *philologists* generally allow HIRTIUS, who was contemporary with CÆSAR, and survived him, to have been the author of all of them, except the book on the *Spanish war*; which is much inferior to any of the former, both in respect of language and composition. Some ascribe it to OPIUS, some to BALBUS, some to other persons; but most leave the matter quite undetermined.

The title *Commentaries*, with which CÆSAR has inscribed these books, plainly shews, that he never designed them as a *finished history*. He wrote them hastily, amidst the hurry of his expeditions, in the way of a plain simple narrative, without any thing of the dress and ornament that serve to embellish a history. He intended them purely as memoirs, to supply others with materials for composing a history afterwards in form. But CÆSAR, plain and simple as he is, has a chaste and elegant greatness in his manner. His negligence is happy, and far excels the studied accuracy of most other writers. His diction is delicate, and abounds with natural un-

affected

affected graces. What QUINTILIAN said of the works of MESSALA, may be justly affirmed of his, that they argue the birth and nobility of their author. He writes like a person of quality ; and you see the *gentleman*, as well as the *soldier* and *scholar*, in his memoirs.

“ It is universally agreed, *says* HIRTIUS, in his preface
 “ to the eighth book of the Gallic war, that no performance,
 “ even the most elaborate, has equalled the beauty of these
 “ commentaries : and however Cæsar might design them as
 “ memoirs for the use of future historians, yet, by furnish-
 “ ing materials in the way he has done, he has put it out of
 “ their power to write at all.” And CICERO to the same
 purpose observes, “ that some authors of inferior genius may
 “ be deceived by the bait here offered, and tempted to try
 “ their skill at polishing ; but that all wise men will be dis-
 “ couraged from such an attempt, and for ever despair of
 “ gaining honour that way.”

“ There is no book, *says* ROLLIN, more perfect in its
 “ kind than Cæsar’s commentaries. There is diffused through
 “ the whole an admirable elegance and purity of language.
 “ They ought always to be in the hands of young gentlemen,
 “ especially those of the army. It is the soldier’s book.
 “ The greatest generals in all times have made him their
 “ master. The reading of these memoirs have been always
 “ their employment and delight. They find in them the rules
 “ of the *art-military*, whether in sieges or battles, reduced
 “ to practice. They may learn also from them the manner of
 “ *composing memoirs*, which is no vulgar talent. It were to
 “ be wished, *adds he*, that all generals would regularly com-
 “ mit to writing the operations of the campaigns in which
 “ they command. What an assistance would that be to hi-
 “ storians ! and what a light to posterity !”

But without insisting further on the character of CÆ-
 SAR

AR or his writings, I shall conclude this *prefatory discourse* with a brief account of what is here offered to the public : which are the first four books of the *Gallic* war, with an *English* translation and notes. These contain the history of CÆSAR's military transactions, and the progress of his arms, in *Gaul*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, during the space of four years, wherein occur a great variety of incidents both by land and sea. And this portion or specimen of CÆSAR's writings, perused with proper care and attention, will bring the learner, under the direction of a judicious master, to a good measure of acquaintance with the author's style, and enable him to read the other books of his wars by himself, or at least, with the assistance of a free translation.

The *Latin*, or *text*, is taken from the accurate edition of FRANCIS OUDENDORP, published at *Leyden* 1737. This editor had a choice collection of the *oldest manuscripts* and *editions* ; he spared no pains to free the works of CÆSAR from false readings, and to restore them to their original purity ; and his endeavours have been so far successful, that this edition is universally allowed to be the most correct now extant.

The translation is designed for the use of beginners, or such as have no great knowledge in the *Latin* tongue, and is on that account as literal as possible. As the *idiom* of the *Latin* and *English* differ widely, I have been obliged in several places, in order to smooth the *English*, or render the sense more intelligible, to insert words in the translation that have none to answer them in the original : and these are in a different character. I have not followed Mr BLADEN's method of rendering proper names of people, countries, towns, rivers, and mountains, by modern *French* appellations. The provinces or counties in *France*, differ from those in *Old Gaul*, not in name only, but in number, and extent of territory ; the people too are many of them of a different extraction ; several towns that made a figure in CÆSAR's time, are now in ruins or extinct, others have changed their situation,

tion, and many now flourish whose foundations were not then laid; to give therefore such names to the people, provinces, and cities we meet with in these commentaries, as those are now called by, that live, lie, or are situate near or about the same parts of *Gaul*, where the former are said to have been, is, in my opinion, to give many of them false names; and can serve no purpose, but to perplex the learner, and confound ancient and modern geography. The surest and best way of tracing CÆSAR's marches, expeditions, and incampments, with advantage and pleasure is, to use a correct map of *Old Gaul*; and, if you will, an index, containing the ancient and modern names of rivers, mountains, and such towns in CÆSAR's time as still subsist, but are now known by other names. On this consideration I have retained most of the ancient *Latin* names, and have used no modern appellations, except a very few that have been long since received into the *English* language, and are now by that means naturalized.

The *notes* are of various kinds, *geographical, historical, critical, and classical*; being extracted from the best commentators, such as VOSSIUS, DAVISIUS, EDMONDS, CLARKE, OUDENDORP, and others; with which are interspersed a few that occurred to the translator. All which are designed for the benefit of the learner, and will, it is hoped, serve to clear some obscure passages, cast a light upon the author, illustrate his manner, and make him better and more easily understood, than possibly he could have been without such a help.

N. B. The little point used in Holland, and some other foreign countries, as in p. 2. l. 21. after the words *bellum gerunt*, which is always followed by a small letter, and is a middle interpunction betwixt the colon and great point, is, for the sake of uniformity, imitated in the translation.

C. JULII CÆSARIS
 COMMENTARIORUM
 DE BELLO GALLICO
 LIBER I.

The ARGUMENT.

I. *A description of Gaul. II. The Helvetii invade it; XII. but are defeated by Cæsar in two battles, XXVIII. and sent back into their own country. XXX. The Gauls complain to Cæsar of the oppression of Ariovistus and the Germans, who had crossed the Rhine, and settled among the Sequani. XXXIV. Cæsar sends ambassadors to Ariovistus on this affair. XXXVII. But, no satisfaction being obtained, he leads his army against him. XXXIX. The Roman soldiers at first are much discouraged by the accounts they receive of the fierceness of the Germans; XL. but are reanimated by Cæsar's speech. XLII. Cæsar and Ariovistus have an interview: XLVI. but to no effect. XLVIII. Upon which they have recourse to arms. LII. And the Germans, being defeated in a pitched battle, fly out of Gaul over into Germany.*

<p>I. GALLIA est omnis divisa in partes tris; quarum unam incolunt Belgæ; aliam Acquitani;</p>	<p>I. ALL Gaul is divided into three parts; whereof the Belgæ inhabit one; the Aquitani ano- A tertiam,</p>
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I. 1. *Gallia est omnis*] Our author means only that part of Gaul which was not then subdued by the Romans: for the Further Province, which lay toward the mouth of the Rhone on both sides, the country also of the Allobroges, and all from the Alps along the Po to the Adriatic, went under the name of *Gallia*: but these had all by this time submitted to the Roman arms, and make no part of the present subject.

tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli adpellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgæ: propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciæ longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores sæpe commeant, atque ea, quæ ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important: proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt. qua de causâ Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute præcedunt; quod fere quotidianis præliis cum Germanis contendunt; quum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bel-

ther; those who in their own language are called Celtæ, but in ours Galli, inhabit the third. These all differ from one another in language, customs, and laws. The river Garonne divides the Gauls from the Aquitani, the Marne and Seine divide them from the Belgæ. Of all these the Belgæ are the most warlike: by reason that they are at the greatest distance from the polite fashions and civilized manners of the province, and merchants do not often repair to them, and carry in those things which serve to effeminate their spirits: and they are next neighbours to the Germans, who live beyond the Rhine, with whom they wage war perpetually. for which reason also the Helvetii excel the rest of the Gauls in courage, because almost in daily conflicts they are contending with the Germans; whilst either they keep off them from their own territories, or themselves make war lump

2. *A cultu atque humanitate provinciæ]* That the Roman province in Further Gaul was better civilized, and had a more polite way of living than their neighbours, was owing chiefly to Massilia, now Marseilles, a city near the mouth of the Rhone, being a colony of the Phocensians from Greece, who brought along with them the liberal sciences, and introduced agriculture, architecture, the method of planting olives, pruning vines, and all the other arts of peace: by which, in a short time, the natural barbarity of the people's temper was corrected, their minds improved in all the civil and social virtues, and accustomed to live by laws, not arms; as we learn from *Justin*, xliii. 4.

um gerunt. 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 Rhenus; vergit ad Septentriones. Belgæ ab extremis Galliæ finibus oriuntur; pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni; spectant in Septentriones, et orientem Solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenæos montes, et eam partem Oceani, quæ est ad Hispaniam, pertinet; spectat inter occasum Solis et Septentriones.

II. Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus et ditissimus fuit Orgetorix. Is, M. Messala et M. Pisone Coss., regni cupiditate inductus, conjurationem nobilitatis fecit; et civitati persuasit, ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent: perfacile esse, quum

in their dominions. Of these countries one part, which we said the Gauls possess, takes its beginning at the river Rhone; is bounded by the river Garonne, the Atlantic ocean, and the confines of the Belgæ; it reaches also on the side of the Sequani and Helvetii to the river Rhine; and bends out toward the North. The Belgæ commence at the extreme confines of Gaul; extend to the lower part of the river Rhine; and jut out toward the North, and the rising Sun. Aquitania extends from the river Garonne to the Pyrenæan mountains, and that part of the Ocean, which is toward Spain; and bears betwixt the setting of the Sun and the North.

II. Orgetorix was by far the person of highest birth and greatest riches among the Helvetii. He, in the consulship of M. Messala and M. Piso, prompted by the love of sovereign power, formed a combination among the nobility, and persuaded the people to remove out of their own country with all their substance:

A 2

virtute

3. Eorum una pars] nempe finium Galliæ.

3. Belgæ ab extremis Galliæ finibus oriuntur] All the borders or confines of any country, to those who live within the country, are *fines extremi*: but our author here speaks in reference to Italy: in respect of which, the boundaries or confines of Gaul toward the Alps are *fines proximi*; and those on the other side, toward the Belgæ, are *fines extremi*.

virtute omnibus præstarent, totius Galliæ imperio potiri. Id hoc facilius cis 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 finitum bellum inferre possent. qua de causa homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore adficiebantur. Pro multitudine autem hominum, et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis, angustos se finis habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL, in latitudinem CLXXX patebant.

III. His rebus adducti, et auctoritate Orgetorigis

telling them, it was very easy for them, since they excelled all the states in courage, to seize the government of all Gaul. To this he persuaded them the more easily, because the Helvetii are cooped in on all sides by the situation of their country; on one side by the Rhine, a very broad and very deep river, which divides the country of the Helvetii from the Germans; one another side by Jura, a very high mountain, which is situate betwixt the Sequani and the Helvetii; on the third, by the lake Lemannus, and the river Rhone, which divides our province from the Helvetii. By this means it happened, both that they could spread less extensively, and could less easily make war upon their neighbours. on which account the people, naturally fond of war, were under great uneasiness. And in regard to their number of people, and considering their reputation for war and courage, they thought they had a confined country, which extended but 240 miles in length, and 180 in breadth.

III. Spurred on by these inducements, and moved by the permoti,

II. *Milia passuum, cexl. &c.*] Ph. Claverius *Germanie* ii. 4. observes, that both these dimensions are erroneous, and that the length of this country, where greatest, is not above 172 miles, and its greatest breadth no more than 76. N. B. *Milia*, says Oudendorp, is writ with one *l* in the oldest manuscripts.

permoti, constituerunt ea, quæ ad proficiscendum pertinerent, comparare,umentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coemere, sementes quædam maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumentum subpeteret, cum proximis civitatibus pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt; in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. Ad eas res conficiendas Orgetorix deligitur. Is sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit. In eo itinere persuadet Castico, Catamantaledis filio, Sequano, cujus pater regnum in Sequanis multos annos obtinuerat, & a S. P. Q. R. amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate sua occuparet, quod pater ante habuerat: itemque Dumnorigi Aduo, fratri Divitiaci, qui eo tempore

suasion of Orgetorix, they resolved to provide those things, that were requisite for the expedition; they bought up a very great number of beasts for carriage and waggon, tilled their ground to a great extent, that they might have plenty of corn in their journey, and renewed a peace and alliance with the neighbouring states. Two years time they thought would be sufficient for them to complete these preparations; against the third year they oblige themselves by a law to begin their march. For executing these projects Orgetorix is chosen agent. He takes upon himself an embassy to the neighbouring states. In this journey he persuades Casticus, the son of Catamantaledes, a Sequan, whose father had held the sovereignty among the Sequani for many years, and had been honoured with the title of friend by the senate and people of Rome, to assume in his own state the regal power, which his father formerly had held: and he likewise persuades Dumnorix the principatum

III. 1. *Ad eas res conficiendas Orgetorix deligitur*] Ciacconius, Gruterus, and Oudendorp look on these words as spurious; not simply because they are a tautology or repetition, but chiefly because it appears, by what follows, that the only thing committed to the care and trust of Orgetorix was, to negotiate a peace and alliance with the neighbouring powers.

2. *S. P. Q. R.*] i. e. *Senatu populoque Romano*. But Oudendorp observes, that in the most ancient M. S. it is, *Senatu populi Romani*; which he rather approves.

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

IV. Ea res ut est Helvetiis per indicium enun-

Æduan, the brother of Divitiacus, who at that time held the office of chief magistrate in the state. and was greatly beloved by the people, to attempt the same thing: and gives him his daughter in marriage. He demonstrates to them, that it would be very easy to effectuate their enterprise: for that he himself would have the command of his own state. and it was no question, but of all the states of Gaul the Helvetii were the most powerful: in short he assures them, that he himself with his proper forces, and with his own army, would procure kingdoms for them. Drawn over by this speech, they give a promise and oath to one another, and are big with hopes, upon assuming the regal power, of being able to make themselves masters of all Gaul by means of these three most powerful and intrepid nations.

IV. As soon as this design by means of a discovery was made
ciata,

3. *Principatum in civitate obtinebat*] Principatus denotes the office of chief magistrate or ruler, but without the name of King, L. vii. 4. *Principatum Galliæ totius obtinuerat, et ob eam causam, quod regnum adpetebat, ab civitate erat interfectus.* Such a ruler the Ædui called *Vergobretus*, as our author informs us, c. 16. *Vergobretum adpellant Ædui, qui creatur annuus, et vite necisque in suos habet potestatem.*

4. *Quin totius Galliæ plurimum, &c.*] This sentence may be thus supplied, *Quin ex civitatibus totius Galliæ, &c.*

IV. 1. *Ea res ut est*] The crime here pointed at, is not the intended expedition against the Gauls, but the measure he was concerting for seizing the regal power among the Helvetii, and making himself their king or sovereign.

ciata, moribus suis Orgetorigem ex vinculis causam dicere coegerunt. Damnatum poenam sequi oportebat, ut igni cremaretur. Die constituta causæ dictionis, Orgetorix ad iudicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum milia decem, undique coegit; et omnes clientes, obæratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit: per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit. Quum civitas, ob eam rem incitata, armis jus suum exsequi conarer, multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent, Orgetorix mortuus est: neque abest suspicio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

known to the Helvetii, they obliged Orgetorix, according to their custom, to undergo a trial in chains. The punishment that must needs have ensued upon his being condemned was, to be burnt alive. Upon the day appointed for the trial, Orgetorix brought together from all parts to the place of trial all his slaves, being about ten thousand men; to the same place he likewise brought all his dependents and debtors, of which he had a great number: by means of these he rescued himself from the trial. When the state, enraged at this conduct, were endeavouring to execute their law by force of arms, and the magistrates were getting together a great number of men out of the country for this purpose, Orgetorix died: nor was there wanting ground of jealousy, as the Helvetii imagine, that he had an active hand in his own death.

V. Post

2. *Ut igni cremaretur*] This was the usual punishment among the ancient Gauls and Germans for rebels to the state, or such as had taken up arms, committed hostilities against, or betrayed their country, or ambitiously endeavoured to subvert the established form of government. And, among the Romans, this kind of punishment was inflicted on a slave who had murdered his master.

3. *Omnem suam familiam*] Familia sometimes signifies the house, tribe, or clan of which one is descended; but, as it is not easy to conceive how any person could have so many blood-relations as are here mentioned. and have them convened too in so short a time as seems necessary in this case, I chuse to take the word here in its primitive and proper sense, to denote a stock of servants or slaves; such a number of which it is more probable a nobleman might keep and employ in husbandry and grazing.

4. *Et omnes clientes*] Our author speaks here more Romans.

V. Post ejus mortem nihilominus Helvetii id, quod constituerant, facere conantur, ut e finibus suis exeant. Ubi jam se ad rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata ædificia incendunt: frumentum omne, præter quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt; ut, domum reditionis spe sublata, paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent: trium mensium molita cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre jubent. Persuadent Rauracis, et Tulingis, et Latobrigis finitimis, uti eodem usi concilio, oppidis suis vicisque exustis, una cum iis proficiscantur: Bojique, qui trans Rhenum incoluerant, et in agrum Noricum transferant, Noriciamque obpugnant,

V. *After his death the Helvetii nevertheless endeavour to execute that which they had concerted, namely. to remove out of their own country. When now they thought themselves to be prepared for this purpose, they set fire to all their cities, being twelve in number, to their villages in number four hundred, and to the private houses that remained: they burn all the corn, except what they were to carry with them; to the end that, all hopes of returning home being cut off, they might be the more disposed to undergo all hazards: they order every one to carry for themselves from home a quantity of ground corn sufficient for three months. They persuade their neighbours the Rauraci, and Tulingi, and Latobrigi, to take up the same resolution, and, after burning their cities and villages, to go along with them: and the Boji, who dwelt beyond the Rhine, and had passed over into the territory of Noricum, and had besieged the city Norreceptos*

V. *In agrum Noricum transferant]* The Boji, whose country lay upon the east side of the Rhine, were a numerous people; and it would appear, from what is here said of them, that, to enlarge their territories, they were making incursions into Noricum, a pretty large country to the east of them, and had actually overrun a good part of that country, and besieged, if not taken Norreia, a principal city there: but, upon hearing of the intended expedition of the Helvetii, they dropt this undertaking, and joined them, in hopes of better booty. See Noricum described in *Ph. Cluverii Geograph. iii. 4.*

receptos ad se, socios sibi
adsciscunt.

*reia, they receive into their num-
ber, and join with themselves as
confederates.*

VI. Erant omnino iti-
nera duo, quibus itine-
ribus domo exire possent :
unum per Sequanos, an-
gustum, et difficile, inter
montem Jura, et flumen
Rhodanum, vix qua sin-
guli carri ducerentur ;
mons autem altissimus in-
pendebat, ut facile per-
pauci prohibere possent :
alterum per provinciam
nostram, multo facilius,
atque expeditius ; pro-
pterea quod Helvetiorum
inter fines, et Allobro-
gum, qui nuper pacati e-
rant, Rhodanus fluit, is-
que nonnullis locis vado
transitur. Extremum op-

VI. *There were but two ways,
by which they could go out of
their country : one through the
country of the Sequani, very
narrow and difficult, betwixt the
mountain Jura and the river
Rhone, by which carts one by
one could scarce pass ; and a very
high mountain hung over it in
such a manner, that a very few
men could easily have stopped
them in their journey : the other
lay through our province, much
easier ; and clearer of incumbran-
ces ; in regard that the Rhone
runs betwixt the confines of the
Helvetii and the Allobroges, who
had but lately been subdued by
the Romans, and it in several
places is passable by fords. Gene-*

B. pidum

VI. 1. *Quibus itineribus*] Our author frequently repeats the ante-
cedent with the relative. Thus, toward the end of this chapter,
diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes conveniant. c. 7. Hel-
vetii legatos ad eum mittunt, cujus legationis Namejus et Verudolius
principem locum obtinebant. c. 16. Diem instare, quo die frumentum mili-
ribus metiri oporteret. c. 29. Tabulae sunt reperte, quibus in tabulis, &c.

2. *Vix qua*] *Qua* is a kind of relative adverb, of the same import
as *qua via, qua parte, qua ratione, or qua re* : and is used though the
antecedent be not of the feminine gender or singular number.
Curt. iii. 4. *Per hoc dorsum qua maxime introrsum mari cedit.*
Cæs. viii. 51. *Locorum, qua Caesar iturus erat. Sall. Cat. 57. Sub*
ipsis radicibus montium, qua illi descensus erat. Cor. Nep. Eumen. 8.
Due erant viæ, qua ex Medis posset perveniri. And ea is used in
the same manner. Cæs. v. 51. Obstructis portis, quod ea non posse
introrumpere videbantur. Sall. Jug. 38. Locum hostibus introcundi
ledit, eaque Numida cuncti irrupere.

3. *Qui nuper pacati erant*] About two years before this by C.
Comptunius.

pidum Allobrogum est, proximumque Helvetiorum finibus Geneva. ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios perinet. Allobrogibus sese vel persuasuros, quod nondum bono animo in populum Romanum viderentur, existimabant, vel vi coacturos, ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur. Omnibus rebus ad profectiorem comparatis, diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes conveniant. is dies erat, a. d. v. Kal. Apr. L. Pisone, A. Gabinio Coss.

VII. Cæsari quum id nunciatum esset, eos per provinciam nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci, et, quam maximis potest itineri-

va is a frontier city of the Allobroges, and is next to the borders of the Helvetii. from this city a bridge reaches over to the Helvetii. Now they imagined they would either persuade the Allobroges, because they did not yet appear to be of a disposition well affected toward the Roman people, to suffer them to march through their country, or oblige them by force. And, having provided all things for their journey, they appoint a day, on which they should all meet upon the banks of the Rhone. the day was the fifth day before the Kalends of April, in the consulship of L. Piso and A. Gabinus.

VII. When it was told Cæsar, that they designed to take their route through our province, he makes all haste to be gone from the city, and, by very great marches, posts away for the fur-

bus,

4. *In populum Romanum*] In most of the MSS. says Oudendorp, these words are expressed by *P. R.* so that it is doubtful whether they are to be read in the accusative or ablative. But certain it is, that the Roman authors often use the preposition *in* with the ablative in this sense. *Sall. Cat. 52. Sint misericordes in furibus ararii.* *Virg. Æneid ii. 541. Achilles talis in hoste fuit Priamo.* *Propert. ii. 3. 10. Gaudeat, in pæro si quis amicus erat.*

5. *A. d. v. Kal. Apr.*] That is, *Ante diem quintum Kalendas Aprilis*, to be resolved thus: *Diem* or *die v. ante Kalendas Aprilis.* And as the Kalends were the first day of every month, the day here pointed at will, reckoning inclusively, as the Romans always do in such computations, be the twenty-eighth of March. c. 7. *A. d. Idus Apr.* that is, *Diem* or *die ante Idus Aprilis.* *Sall. Cat. 30. Ante diem vi. Kalendas Novembris*, that is, *Diem* or *die vi. ante Kalendas Novembris.* See Cortius on the place.

us, in Galliam ulterio-
rem contendit, et ad Ge-
nevam pervenit. Pro-
vinciæ toti quam maxi-
mum militum numerum
imperat; (erat omnino
in Gallia ulteriore legio
una) pontem, qui erat ad
Genevam, jubet rescindi.
Ubi de ejus adventu Hel-
vetii certiores facti sunt,
legatos ad eum mittunt,
probilissimos civitatis; cu-
jus legationis Namejus et
Verudoctius principem lo-
cum obtinebant; qui di-
cerent, sibi esse in animo,
sine ullo maleficio iter per
provinciam facere, pro-
pterea quod aliud iter ha-
berent nullum: rogare,
ut ejus voluntate id sibi
facere liceat. Cæsar, quod
in memoria tenebat, L. Cas-
sium Consulem occisum,
exercitumque ejus ab Hel-
vetiis pulsum, et sub ju-
gum missum, conceden-
dum non putabat: neque
homines inimico animo,
data facultate per provin-
ciam itineris faciundi,
temperaturos ab injuria
et maleficio existimabat.
Tamen, ut spatium inter-
cedere posset, dum mili-
tes, quos imperaverat,
convenirent, legatis re-
spondit, diem se ad deli-
berandum sumpturum; si

ther Gaul, and arrives at Ge-
neva. He orders a great num-
ber of forces to be raised in all
parts of the province; (for there
was in further Gaul only one le-
gion), and commands the bridge,
which was at Geneva, to be
cut down. When the Helvetii
were informed of his arrival,
they send several persons of the
highest quality in their state am-
bassadors to him; in which em-
bassy Namejus and Verudoctius
had the chief place; who were
to acquaint him, that they had a
design to march through the
province, without doing any
harm, because they had no
other way to prosecute their
journey: and that they begged,
they might be allowed to do this
by his permission. Cæsar, as he
kept in mind that L. Cassius
the consul had been slain, and
his army routed by the Helvetii,
and made to pass under the yoke,
was not of opinion this should be
granted: nor did he think, that
people of a hostile disposition, up-
on liberty of marching through
the province being allowed them,
could abstain from outrages and
mischief. However, that time
might be gained, till the forces,
which he had ordered to be rai-
sed, should get together, he told
the ambassadors, that he would
take time to advise the matter;
if they wanted any thing of

quid vellent, a. d. Idus Apr. reverterentur.

VIII. Interea ea legione, quam secum habebat, militibusque, qui ex provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flu-

him, they might return the day preceding the Ides of April.

VIII. In the mean time with the legion, which he had with him, and the soldiers, who had come from the province, he draws a wall and ditch to the men

VII. *A. d. Idus Apr.*] In April the Ides happen on the 13th day of that month; and so the day here appointed for the return of the ambassadors will be the 12th.

VIII. 1. *A lacu Lemanno, &c.*] This place has puzzled all the commentators: most of whom imagined that the wall here mentioned was drawn from the north-west corner of the lake Lemannus to the mountain Jura; and thus it is represented in many of the maps of old Gaul. But the inconveniencies that attend such a supposition, are, 1. Cæsar's cutting down the bridge at Geneva, would, in this case, not only have been needless, but would have been a disadvantage to himself, as interrupting the communication betwixt his camp or army, and the country on the other side of the river. 2. Cæsar tells us, towards the end of this chapter, that the Helvetii endeavoured to force a passage over the river in boats, on floats, and at the fords, but were repulsed from the forts built on this wall; which implies, that the wall had been raised on the southern banks of the river: whereas, by the present supposition, the wall is to the north of the Rhone, and no part of that river betwixt the Helvetii and the wall. 3. Had this been the situation of the wall, the narrow passage betwixt the Rhone and the mountain Jura, mentioned c. 6. had been blocked up: whereas we are told, c. 9. that this, notwithstanding the wall, was left free; and c. 11. that the Helvetii actually marched out of their country through it.

These inconsistencies put the learned Vossius upon another supposition. He says, there is a hill or mountain about nine or ten miles below Geneva, on the south side of the river Rhone. This he takes to be only a continuation of the mountain or ridge of mountains, called *Jura*, being only separated or disunited from them by a glen or hollow, in which the Rhone has its channel; and he makes no doubt but, in Cæsar's time, this mountain on the south side of the river went also by the name of *Jura*. This being supposed, he imagines the wall was drawn from the lake Lemannus, along the banks of the Rhone, to *Jura* on the south side of the river. By giving this situation to the wall, all the above objections will vanish; for there is now good reason for cutting down the bridge at Geneva, the boats and floats on the river may be repulsed from the

nen Rhodanum influit
ad montem Joram, qui
fines Sequanorum ab Hel-
vetiis dividit, milia pas-
sium decem novem, mu-
rum, in altitudinem pe-
dum sedecim, fossamque
perducit. Eo opere per-
fecto, præsidia disponit,
castella communit; quo
facilius, si se invito trans-
ire conarentur, prohibere

height of sixteen feet, and nine-
teen miles in length, along the
banks of the Rhone, from the
lake Lemannus, which falls in-
to the river Rhone towards the
mountain Jura, which divides
the country of the Sequani from
the Helvetii. This work being
finished, he plants guards, and
strengthens the forts; that he
might the more easily stop them,
if they should endeavour to break
possit.

the turrets on the wall, and the narrow pass betwixt the Rhone and
Jura on the north will be left open. But there are difficulties still
behind. The length of the wall, instead of nineteen miles will be
reduced to nine or ten. But, for a salvo to this, Vossius says the
text is here corrupted, and that originally it has been x. vel. ix. and
Davisius affirms, that Julius Celsus speaks of this wall as being ten
miles in length. But, not to insist on this, we have no accounts of
any mountain on the south side of the Rhone having ever been
called *Jura*; or, admitting there were, Cæsar could not say of it,
as he does in this place, that it divides the country of the Sequa-
ni from that of the Helvetii, since both these countries are on the
other side of the Rhone. Vossius is so sensible of this, that he is
for throwing out the words, *qui fines Sequanorum ab Helvetiis divi-
dit*, as spurious. Neither Davisius, Clarke, nor Oudendorp offer
any thing further to clear the matter.

But, upon considering the place narrowly, it appears pretty obvious,
that the words *ad montem Joram* may be here taken to signify, not
the term or limit of the wall, as all the commentators seem to un-
derstand them, but to denote the place where the lake Lemannus
dischargeth itself into the Rhone. By taking the words thus, all the
former difficulties are effectually removed; we are now at full liber-
ty to imagine the wall drawn from the lower end of the lake down-
ward along the banks of the river on the south side, as Vossius sup-
poses; and under no necessity of confining its length to ten miles,
but may stretch it to nineteen; agreeably to Appianus, who says,
that Cæsar fortified the banks of the Rhone to the extent of one hun-
dred and fifty furlongs. N. B. According to this reading, the com-
ma after *influit* must be dashed out; which is accordingly here done.

2. *Milia passuum decem novem, murum — perducit*] To be re-
solved thus: *Ducit murum per milia, &c.*

possit. 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, prohibitorum ostendit. Helvetii, ea spe dejecti, navibus junctis, ratibusque compluribus factis; alii, vadis Rhodani, qua minima altitudo fluminis erat, nonnunquam interdum, sæpius noctu, si percurrere possent, conati, operis munitione, et militum concursu et telis repulsi, hoc conatu destiterunt.

IX. Relinquebatur una per Sequanos via, qua, Sequanis invitis, propter angustias ire non poterant. His quum sua iponte persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnorigem

through contrary to his inclination. When the day, which he had fixed upon with the ambassadors, was come, and the ambassadors returned to him, he denied that he could, in a consistency with the custom and practice of the Roman people, grant a passage to any through the province; and, if they should endeavour to use force, he gave them to understand that he would hinder them. The Helvetii being balked in this expectation, some of them by boats coupled together, and a great many floats they had made; others by the fords of the Rhone, where the depth of the river was least, having tried, sometimes by day, and oftener by night, if they could force a passage, but being repulsed by the fortifications of the work, and the flocking together of the soldiers, and the darts, desisted from the attempt.

IX. One way was left, viz. through the country of the Sequani, by which, contrary to the inclination of the Sequani, they could not pass by reason of its narrowness. And as they could not prevail with them by their
Ædnum

3. *Navibus junctis*] That is, *Alii navibus junctis, &c.* The relatives *alii, pars, partim, modo, interdum*, are frequently expressed only in one part of a sentence, and are to be supplied to the other part or parts. Curt. vii. 4. *Obstat metus, aliis cupiditas*; i. e. *Obstat aliis metus, aliis cupiditas.* Sall. Jug. 31. *Incedunt per ora vestra magnifice, Sacerdotia et Consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes.* c. 83. *Ille probare partim abnuere.*

Eduum mittunt, ut eo
 lepreatore a Sequanis
 impetrarent. Dumnorix
 gratia et largitione apud
 Sequanos plurimum po-
 terat, et Helvetiis erat a-
 micus: quod ex ea civi-
 tate Orgetorigis filiam in
 matrimonium duxerat;
 et, cupiditate regni ad-
 ductus, novis rebus stu-
 debat, et quamplurimas
 civitates suo sibi beneficio
 habere obstrictas volebat.
 Itaque rem suscipit; et
 a Sequanis impetrat, ut
 per fines suos ire Helve-
 tios patiantur; obsides-
 que uti inter sese dent per-
 ficit: Sequani, ne itinere
 Helvetios prohibeant;
 Helvetii, ut sine maleficio
 et injuria transeant.

X. Cæsari renunciatur,
 Helvetiis esse in animo
 per agrum Sequanorum
 et Æduorum iter in San-

*own interest, they dispatch depu-
 ties to Dumnorix the Æduan,
 that through his mediation they
 might obtain this favour from
 the Sequani. Dumnorix by his
 complaisance and generosity had
 great influence among the Sequa-
 ni, and was a friend to the Hel-
 vetii: because from their coun-
 try he had got the daughter of
 Orgetorix in marriage; led on
 too by a fond desire for sovereign
 power, he was plotting a revol-
 ution, and therefore inclined to
 have as many states as possible
 laid under obligations to him by
 acts of kindness. Wherefore he
 undertakes the business; and
 prevails with the Sequani to
 permit the Helvetii to pass thro'
 their country; and caused them
 deliver hostages to one another:
 the Sequani, that they should not
 interrupt the Helvetii in their
 march; the Helvetii, that they
 should pass without offering mo-
 lestation and abuse to the coun-
 try.*

X. Word is brought to Cæ-
 sar, that the Helvetii designed
 to take their route through the
 territories of the Sequani and
 Æduorum

IX. *Sequani, ne itinere, &c.] That is, Uti Sequani dent obsides
 Helvetiis, ne itinere, &c. and, Uti Helvetii dent obsides Sequanis, ut
 sine, &c.*

X. *1. Cæsari renunciatur] Verbs compounded with re are sometimes
 used in the same sense as their simples. c. 39. Nonnulli Cæsari renun-
 ciabant, non fore dislo audientes milites. Sall. Jug. 4. Nunc ad inceptum
 redeo. c. 12. Numidæ caput ejus, ut jussi erant, ad fuguribani referunt.*

tonum fines facere, qui non longe a Tolosatium finibus abſunt; quæ civitas eſt in provincia. Id ſi fieret, intellegebat magno cum periculo provinciæ futurum, ut homines bellicosos, populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis ſuitimos haberet. Ob eas cauſas ei muniti-
oni, quam fecerat, T. Labienum legatum præfecit. ipſe in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit; duasque ibi legiones conſcribit; et tres, quæ circum Aquilejam hibernabant, ex hibernis educit; et, qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Centrones, et Graioceli, et Caturiges, locis ſuperioribus occupatis, itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his præliis pulſis, ab Ocelo, quod eſt citerioris provinciæ extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciæ

Ædui into the country of the Santones, who are not far from the borders of the Tolosates; who are a people in the province. If this ſhould happen, he was ſenſible, that, to the great danger of the province, the conſequence would be, that he ſhould have a warlike people, and enemies to the people of Rome, next neighbours to an open and very plentiful country. For theſe reaſons he ſet his lieutenant T. Labienus over the fortifications, which he had erected. he himſelf poſts away by great marches into Italy; and there raiſes two legions; and draws three, who wintered about Aquileja, out of their winter-quarters; and with theſe five legions haſtens to march by the neareſt road over the Alps into further Gaul. There the Centrones, and Graioceli, and Caturiges, having poſſeſſed themſelves of the higher ground, endeavour to ſtop his army in their march. But, having routed them in ſeveral battles, he came in ſeven days from Ocelum, which is the furtheſt town of the hither province, into the country of the Vocontii, who are a people of the further
die

2. *Circum Aquilejam*] A town of the Carni, ſituate on the north coaſt of the Adriatic, and to the eaſt of Venice.

3. *Citerioris provinciæ*] The Roman writers divide the province in the ſame manner as they do Gaul; that is, all to the eaſt of, or within the Alps, is called *Citerior*, or *Ciſalpina*; and all without or beyond the Alps, is called *Uterior*, or *Tranſalpina*.

ie septimo pervenit : in-
e in Allobrogum fines :
b Allobrogibus in Segu-
ianos exercitum ducit. hi
unt extra provinciam
rans Rhodanum primi.

XI. Helvetii jam per
ingustias, et fines Sequa-
orum suas copias trans-
uxerant, et in Æduorum
fines pervenerant, eorum-
que agros populabantur.
Ædui quum se, suaque ab
his defendere non possent,
legatos ad Cæsarem mit-
tunt, rogatum auxilium.
ta se omni tempore de
populo Romano meritos
esse, ut, pæne in conspe-
ctu exercitus nostri, agri
vastari, liberi eorum in
servitutem abduci, oppi-
da expugnari non debue-
rint. Eodem tempore,
Ædui Ambarri, necessa-
rii et consanguinei Æduo-
rum, Cæsarem certio-rem

province : after that he came
into the country of the *Allobro-
ges* : from the *Allobroges* he led
his army into the country of the
Segusiani. these are the first
without the province beyond the
Rhone.

XI. *The Helvetii by this time
had carried their forces through
the straits, and the territories
of the Sequani, and had come in-
to the dominions of the Ædui,
and were ravaging their coun-
try. The Ædui, as they were
not able to defend themselves and
their possessions against them,
send deputies to Cæsar to beg
assistance. alledging, that at
all times they had so deserved
of the Roman people, that their
country ought not to be laid waste,
their children led into captivity,
and their towns taken, in sight
almost of our army. At the same
time, the Ædui Ambarri, allies
and friends of the Ædui, inform
Cæsar, that they not without*
C faciant,

XI. 1. *De P. R. meritos esse*] The Ædui had very early entered
into an alliance with the Romans, and continued ever after faith-
ful and constant friends. Strabo *Geogr.* iv. p. 192. Οἱ δὲ Ἕδῳοι ἔ-
συνελνῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀνομάζοντο, ἔ-
πρωτοι τῶν ταύτη προσῆλθων πρὸς τὴν
ἐπὶ ἑαυτῶν συμμαχίαν. Tacit. *Annal.* xi. 25. *Primi Ædui senatorum in
urbe jus adepti sunt. Datum id fœderi antiquo, et quia soli Gallorum
fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant.*

2. *Ædui Ambarri*] Clarke and Oudendorp are of opinion, that
the word *Ædui* is either spurious, or joined here with *Ambarri* by
way of distinction, to denote those *Ambarri* that were next neigh-
bours to, and in alliance with the *Ædui*; and that in opposition
to some other people, called also *Ambarri*, but who had no con-
nection with the *Ædui*. See l. iii. c. 17. u. 1.

faciunt, sese; depopulatis agris, non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere. Item Allobroges, qui trans Rhodanum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad Cæsarem recipiunt, et demonstrant, sibi, præter agri solum, nihil esse reliqui. Quibus rebus adductus Cæsar non expectandum sibi statuit, dum, omnibus fortunis sociorum consumentis, in Santonos Helvetii pervenirent.

XII. Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Æduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, judicari non possit. id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus junctis transibant. Ubi per exploratores Cæsar certior factus est, tres jam copiarum partes Helvetios id flumen transduxisse, quartam vero partem citra flumen Ararim reliquam esse; de tertia vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris profectus, ad eam partem pervenit, quæ nondum flu-

difficulty withstood the efforts of the enemy against their towns, now that the country was laid waste. The Allobroges likewise, who had farms and possessions beyond the Rhone, fly to Cæsar, and assure him, that nothing was left them but their lands. With which proceedings Cæsar being moved, resolved not to wait, till the Helvetii, after destroying all the possessions of his allies, should arrive among the Santoni.

XII. The Arar is a river, which runs through the confines of the Ædui and the Sequani into the Rhone, with incredible smoothness, so that it cannot be determined by the eye, which way it flows. over this the Helvetii were passing on floats and in boats coupled together. When Cæsar by his scouts was informed, that the Helvetii had now carried over this river three parts of four of their forces, and that a fourth part remained on this side the river Arar; marching out of his camp with three legions about the third watch, he came up with that party who men

3. In Santonos] This word is declined either Santoni, -orum, of the second, or Santones, -um, of the third declension: in like manner Teutoni or Teutones.

XII. 1. De tertia vigilia] The Romans divided the night, that is, from sunsetting to sunrising, into four watches; the first watch began at sunsetting, and the third at midnight.

nen transferat. Eos in-
 editos, et inopinantes ad-
 gressus magnam eorum
 partem concidit : reliqui
 fugæ sese mandarunt, at-
 que in proximas silvas ab-
 siderunt. Is pagus adpel-
 labatur Tigurinus. nam
 omnis civitas Helvetia in
 quatuor pagos divisa est.
 Hic pagus unus, quum
 homo exisset, patrum no-
 strum memoria L. Cas-
 sium consulem intersece-
 rat, et ejus exercitum sub
 jugum miserat. Ita, si-
 casu, siue consilio Deorum
 immortalium, quæ pars
 civitatis Helvetiæ insi-
 gnem calamitatem popu-
 lo Romano inulerat ea
 princeps poenas persolvit.
 Qua in re Cæsar non so-
 lum publicas, sed etiam
 privatas injurias ultus est,
 quod ejus foceri L. Piso-
 nis avum, L. Pisonem le-
 gatum, Tigurini eodem
 prælio, quo Cassium, in-
 terfecerant.

XIII. Hoc prælio fa-
 cto, reliquas copias Hel-

had not yet crossed the river. Falling upon these whilst in this imbarressed condition, and under no apprehensions of such an attack, he slaughtered a great part of them : the rest betook themselves to flight, and sculked in the neighbouring woods. This was called the Tigurine canton. for the whole Helvetian state was divided into four cantons. This one canton, leaving their country, in the memory of our fathers, had cut off L. Cassius the consul, and made his army pass under the yoke. Thus, whether by chance, or by the providence of the immortal Gods, that part of the Helvetian state, which had given a remarkable stroke to the Roman people, first suffered punishment. In which action Cæsar not only revenged a wrong done the public, but also a private injury, because the Tigurini had killed the lieutenant-general L. Piso, the grandfather of L. Piso, his father-in-law, in the same battle, in which they had slain Cassius.

XIII. *This skirmish being ended, that he might pursue the*

C 2 *victorum*

2. *In quatuor pagos]* The four cantons of Helvetia, reckoning according to their situation from south to north, were the Urbigeni, Ambrones, Tugeni, and Tigurini.

3. *Ejus foceri]* Cæsar married first Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna ; by whom he had his daughter Julia : upon her death he married Pompeia, the daughter of Q. Pompey, and grand-daughter of Sylla ; whom he afterwards divorced : and some time after this he married Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Piso, here mentioned. See Suet. in *Jul.* c. i. 6. & 21.

vetiorum ut consequi posset, pontem in Arari faciendum curat, atque ita exercitum transducit. Helvetii, repentino ejus adventu commoti, quum id, quod ipsi diebus xx. ægerime confecerant, ut flumen transirent, uno illum die fecisse intellegerent, legatos ad eum mittunt: cujus legationis Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano dux Helvetiorum fuerat. Is ita cum Cæsare agit: Si pacem populus Romanus cum Helvetiis faceret, in eam partem ituros, atque ibi futuros Helvetios, ubi eos Cæsar constituisset, atque esse voluisset: sin bello persequi perseveraret; reminisceretur et veteris incommodi populi Romani, et pristinae virtutis Helvetiorum. Quod improviso unum pagum adortus esset, quum ii, qui flumen transissent, suis auxilium ferre non possent; ne, ob eam rem, aut suæ magno opere virtuti tribueret,

remaining forces of the Helvetii, he causes a bridge to be made upon the Arar, and so carries over his army. The Helvetii being surprised at his sudden arrival, as they understood he had performed in one day, a thing, which they with great difficulty had accomplished in twenty days, viz. their crossing the river, send ambassadors to him: in which embassy the chief person was Divico, who had been general of the Helvetii in the war against Cassius. He discourses with Cæsar to this effect: If the Roman people would conclude a peace with the Helvetii, the Helvetii would go to that quarter, and there abide, where Cæsar should settle them, and order them to be: but if he should persist to harass them by war; he ought to remember both the Roman people's former disaster, and the ancient bravery of the Helvetii. As to his having attacked one canton at unawares, when those who had crossed the river, could not bring assistance to their friends; he ought not to ascribe, on this account, either much to his own valour, or de-
aut

XIII. 1. *Adortus esset*] Divico wants to extenuate the glory of Cæsar's victory, and the defeat of the Tigurini; and therefore says *adortus esset*, when, agreeably to truth, he might and ought to have said *fugasset*.

2. *Magno opere*] Oudendorp says, that, in compliance with the most authentic MSS. he uses this separate form, and not *magno opere* in one word,

ut ipsos despiceret. Se
a patribus majoribus
suis didicisse, ut ma-
virtute, quam dolo
contenderent, aut insidiis
niterentur. Quare, ne
transmitteret, ut is locus,
si constitissent, ex cala-
mitate populi Romani et
interneccione exercitus no-
n caperet, aut memo-
riam proderet.

XIV. His Cæsar ita
respondit: Eo sibi minus
hesitationis dari, quod eas
res, quas legati Helvetii
commemorassent, memo-
riam teneret: atque eo gra-
tius ferre, quo minus me-
moriam populi Romani acci-
derent. qui si alicujus in-
juriæ sibi conscias fuisset,
non fuisse difficile cave-
re: sed eo deceptum,
quod neque commissum a
illis intellexeret, quare ti-
deret; neque sine causa

spise them. They had learned
from their fathers and ancestors,
to contend by gallant conduct,
rather than by trick, or depend
upon stratagems. Wherefore he
ought not to cause, that the place,
where they were incamped should
obtain a name from an overthrow
of the Roman people and the de-
struction of his army, or trans-
mit the memory thereof to poste-
rity.

XIV. To this Cæsar answer-
ed thus: That he was under the
less hesitation what to do, be-
cause he well remembered those
things which the Helvetian am-
bassadors had mentioned: and
that he resented them the more
heinously, the less they had been
occasioned by the behaviour of
the Roman people. who, if they
had been conscious to themselves
of practising any injustice, would
have been under no difficulty to
guard against them: but were
trepanned, because they were not
timendum

ord. Thus c. 38. Magno opere sibi præcavendum Cæsar existima-
t. ii. 5. Magno opere cohortatus, docet, quanto opere reip. commu-
que salutis interfit. iv. 26. Magno opere perturbabantur. vii. 52.
e have quanto opere, and tanto opere, in the same adverbial sense.
3. *Quam dolo contenderent*] Gruterus and Davisius suspect the
ord. contenderent to be spurious in this place, and think the read-
g should be *quam dolo, aut insidiis niterentur*; and Oudendorp
ems to be much of the same opinion.

4. *Aut memoriam proderet*] Thus Cor. Nep. Hannib. 8. De Mago-
is interitu duplex memoria prodita est. Gellius i. 19. In antiquis
anilibus memoria super libris Sybillinis hæc prodita est.

XIV. 1. *Legati Helvetii*] Commentators imagine that these words
have been only a marginal supply, and not originally in the text.

timendum putaret. Quod si veteris contumeliæ oblivisci vellet; num etiam recentium injuriarum, quod, eo invito, iter per provinciam per vim tentassent, quod Æduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse? Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur, quodque tam diu se impune injurias tulisse admirarentur, eodem pertinere. Confuisse enim Deos immortales, quo gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res, et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. Quum ea ita sint, tamen si obsides ab iis sibi dentur, uti ea, quæ polliceantur, facturos intellegat; et si Æduis de injuriis, quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant, sese

sensible of any thing committed by them, why they should be afraid; and did not think they ought to have been under apprehensions of danger without a reason. And though he were inclinable to forget the former offence; could he also drop the remembrance of fresh insolencies, that, in opposition to him, they had by force attempted a passage through the province, that they had given great disturbance to the Ædui, the Ambarri, and Allobroges? To the same purpose it was, that they boasted so proudly of their victory, and that they wondered they had borne with ill usage so long without taking vengeance. For the immortal Gods used to grant sometimes greater prosperity and longer continued impunity to those, whom they had a mind to punish for their wickedness, that such persons, upon a change of circumstances, might be the more grievously afflicted. Though these things were so, yet if hostages were given to him by them, to the end he might know they would perform the things,
eum

3. *Deponere posse*] The sentence may be thus supplied: Num etiam exillimabant eum posse deponere, &c. Most editions have *posset*.

3. *Quodque tam diu, &c.*] There is nothing said by the ambassadors in the former chapter that gives ground for this animadversion; and therefore we must suppose that their speech there is but imperfectly related.

4. *Quæ polliceantur*] Their promise was, *In eam partem ituros, atque ibi futuros, ubi eos Caesar constituisset, atque esse voluisset.* c. 13.

in iis pacem esse factum. Divico respondit :
 a Helvetios a majoribus
 institutos esse, uti ob-
 les accipere, non dare,
 consuerint : ejus rei po-
 tulum Romanum esse te-
 tem. Hoc responso dato,
 discessit.

XV. Postero die castra
 ex eo loco movent. Idem
 fecit Cæsar, equitatum-
 que omnem, ad numerum
 quatuor milium, quem ex
 omni provincia, et Ædu-
 is, atque eorum sociis co-
 lectum habebat, præmit-
 tit ; qui videant, quas in-
 vias iter faciant. Qui
 impudicus novissimum ag-
 gressi insecuti, alieno loco
 cum equitatu Helvetio-
 rum prælium commit-
 unt ; et pauci de nostris
 cadunt. Quo prælio sub-
 lati Helvetii, quod quin-
 gentis equitibus tantam
 multitudinem equitum pro-
 viderant, audacius sub-

which they promised ; and if
 they would satisfy the Ædui for
 the outrages which they had com-
 mitted upon them and their al-
 lies, also if they would satisfy
 the Allobroges on the same ac-
 count, he would conclude a peace
 with them. Divico replied :
 That the Helvetii had been so
 trained up by their ancestors,
 that they had been in use to re-
 ceive, not to give hostages : of
 this the Roman people were an e-
 vidence. After giving this an-
 swer, he departed.

XV. The day following they
 decamp from that place. Cæsar
 does the same, and sends all his
 horse before, to the number of
 four thousand, which he had got
 together from all parts of the
 province, and from among the
 Ædui, and their allies ; who
 were to observe, toward what
 quarter they directed their march.
 Who pursuing too keenly the rear
 of the army, came to a battle
 with the Helvetian horse on dis-
 advantageous ground ; and a
 few of our men were killed.
 Upon which skirmish the Hel-
 vetii being puffed up, because
 with five hundred horse they had
 repulsed such a number of caval-
 ry, began to halt on their march
 listere,

XV. Sublati Helvetii] That is, Elati. In like manner, v. 38.
 ac victoria sublati Ambiorix. B. Civ. ii. 37. Quibus omnibus re-
 bus sublati, nihil contra se Regem visurum existimabat.

sistere, nonnunquam et novissimo agmine prælio nostros laceßere coeperunt. Cæsar suos a prælio continebat, ac satis habebat in præsentia hostem rapinis, pabulationibus, populationibusque prohibere. Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt, uti inter novissimum hostium agmen, et nostrum primum, non amplius quinis aut senis milibus passuum interesset.

XVI. Interim quotidie Cæsar Æduos 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 subpetebat. eo autem frumento, quod flumine Arare navibus subvexerat, propterea uti minus poterat, quod iter ab Arare Helvetii averterant, a quibus discedere volebat. Diem ex die ducere Ædui, conferri, comportari, adesse di-

with greater confidence, and now and then from the rear of their army harass our men with skirmishes. Cæsar restrained his men from fighting, and thought it sufficient for the present, to keep the enemy from plundering, foraging, and ravaging the country. They continued their march for about fifteen days, in such manner, that there was not above five or six miles betwixt the enemies rear and our van.

XVI. In the mean time Cæsar from day to day was pressing the Ædui for the corn, which they had promised in the name of their state. for by reason of the cold, because Gaul is situated toward the North, as was before observed, not only the corns on the fields were not ripe, but indeed there was not a large enough quantity of forage for the horse, and he could not have the use of the corn which he had brought up the river Arar by shipping, because the Helvetii had directed their march away from the Arar, to part with whom he was very unwilling. The Ædui put off from day to day, told him they were gathering it up, bringing cere.

XVI. 1. *Diffum est, posita est*] Oudendorp thinks the word *est*, as here repeated, harsh and grating to the ear; and that therefore *est* after *diffum* ought to be struck out.

re. Ubi se diutius du-
 intellexit, et diem in-
 re, quo die frumentum
 litibus metiri oportet-
 ; convocatis eorum
 principibus, quorum ma-
 am copiam in castris
 bebat, in his Divitiaco,
 Lisco, qui summo ma-
 stratu præerat, (quem
 ergobretum adpellant
 Ædui, qui creatur an-
 us, et vitæ necisque in
 os habet potestatem)
 aviter eos accusat :
 od, quum neque eni,
 que ex agris sumi pos-
 , tam necessario tem-
 re, tam propinquis he-
 bus, ab iis non suble-
 tur ; præsertim quum
 agna ex parte eorum
 decibus adductus bellum
 ceperit ; multo etiam
 avius, quod sit destitu-
 e, queritur.

XVII. Tum demum Li-
 us oratione Cæsaris ad-
 ctus, quod antea tacue-
 t, proponit : Esse non-

*it together, that it was just rea-
 dy. When he found himself ab-
 used a long time, and the day
 just at hand, on which he must
 needs measure out the corn to the
 soldiers ; convening their great
 men, a considerable number of
 whom he had in the camp, and
 among these Divitiacus, and
 Liscus, who had the chief au-
 thority, (him the Ædui call
 Vergobretus, who is elected year-
 ly, and among his own people
 has the power of life and death)
 he severely reprimands them :
 because he had not been supplied
 by them with corn, when it
 could neither be bought nor got
 in the fields, in a time of such
 need, and the enemy being so
 nigh ; especially as he had un-
 dertaken the war, being induced
 to it in a great measure by their
 intreaties ; and much more hea-
 vily complains, that he was a-
 bandoned by them.*

XVII. Then at last Liscus,
 being moved by Cæsar's speech,
 declares openly what he had kept
 secret before : That there were
 D nullos ;

2. *Diutius du:]* Duco sometimes signifies to deceive, to impose up-
 on, to cajole, or chouse. Ter. Phorm. iii. 2. 15. Ut phaleratis dictis
 decas me.

3. *Magistratu præerat, (quem]* Magistratu is here the dative ; a
 manner of flexion pretty usual with Cæsar : c. 18. Equitatu Dum-
 rix præerat. c. 46. Studiumque pugnandi mojus exercitu injectum
 . vi. 42. Ne minimo quidem casu locum relinqui debuiss. vii. 29.
 consensu obsistere. B. Civ. i. 1. Senatu rei que publicæ se non deserv-
 um pollicetur. B. Afr. 47. Ufu militi esse. Several of the com-
 mentators look on quem in this place as superfluous.

nullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus possiat, quam ipsi magistratus: hos seditiosa atque improba oratione multitudinem deterrecere, ne frumentum conferant; quod præstare dicant, si jam principatum Galliae obtinere non possint, Gallorum, quam Romanorum, imperia perferre, neque dubitare debeant, quin, si Helvetios superaverint Romani, una cum reliqua Gallia Æduis libertatem sint erepturi. Ab eisdem nostra consilia, quæque in castris gerantur, hostibus enunciarî: hos a se coerceri non posse. Quin etiam, quod necessario rem coactus Cæsari enunciarit, intellegere sese, quanto id cum periculo fecerit; et ob eam causam, quam diu potuerit, tacuisse.

XVIII. Cæsar hac oratione Lisci Dumnori-

some persons, whose authority was of very great influence among the people, who could do more in a private capacity than the magistrates themselves: that these by seditious and knavish insinuations dissuaded the people from bringing in their corn; because they said it was better, if at present they could not obtain the empire of Gaul themselves, to be under the government of the Gauls than the Romans, nor ought they to doubt but the Romans, if they conquered the Helvetii, would deprive the Ædui, together with the rest of Gaul, of their liberty. That by the same persons our designs, and what passed in the camp, were not fled to the enemy: and that they could not be restrained by him. And further, that being obliged by necessity, he had discovered the matter to Cæsar, that he well knew, with how great danger he had done it: and for that reason had concealed it, as long as he could.

XVIII. Cæsar perceived by this speech of Liscus, that Dum-

gem,

XVII. *Dubitare debeant*] Clarke is of opinion, the reading in this place should be *dubitare debere*, and then it will be governed by *dicant* in the former part of the sentence: and Oudendorp thinks *debeant* ought to be thrown out, and then the reading will be *neque dubitare, quin*; that is, *neque se dubitare, quin, &c.* According to the present reading, *præstare dicant* and *dubitare debeant* do not well consist; in regard that *dicant* and *debeant* have different nominatives understood, that of the former being *nonnulli*, and that of the latter *plebs*.

in, Divitiaci fratrem, signari sentiebat: sed, quod pluribus præsenti-
bus eas res jactari nole-
t, celeriter concilium
mittit; Liscum retinet.
quærit ex solo ea, quæ
conventu dixerat. di-
liberius, atque auda-
cis. eadem secreta ab
his quærit: reperit esse
vera: Ipsum esse Du-
mnorigem, summa auda-
cia, magna apud plebem
propter liberalitatem gra-
ti, cupidum rerum no-
morum, complures annos
in sortoria, reliquaque o-
mnia Æduorum vectiga-
lia parvo pretio redempta
habere: propterea quod
nemo licente, contra liceri
videat nemo. His rebus
suam rem familiarem
auxisse, et facultates ad
augendum magnas con-
traxisse; magnum nume-
rum equitatus suo sumtu
per alere, et circum
habere: neque solum
domi, sed etiam apud fi-
nitimas civitates largiter
posse, atque hujus poten-
te causa, matrem in Bi-
rigibus, homini illic
nobilissimo, ac potentis-
simo, collocasse: ipsum
et Helvetiis uxorem ha-
bere: sororem ex matre et

*mnorix, the brother of Divitia-
cus, was pointed at: but, be-
cause he did not incline these
things should be talked of in the
presence of many, he immediate-
ly dismisses the council; and re-
tains Liscus. Asks him apart
about those things, which he had
said in the meeting. He tells him
the story with greater freedom,
and more assurance. he inquires
about the same things privately
at others: finds them to be true:
That this was Dumnorix, a man
of great spirit, in high favour
with the people on account of his
generosity, fond of a revolution
in state-affairs, and who had
farmed at a low rate for sever-
al years the customs, and all the
other taxes of the Ædui: which
happened by reason that, when
he offered money for them, no bo-
dy durst bid in opposition to him.
By this means he had both in-
creased his private fortune, and
acquired a great deal of wealth
to serve the purposes of corrup-
tion; he constantly maintained
a great number of horsemen at
his own charge, and kept them
about him: nor was his influ-
ence great only at home, but also
among the neighbouring states,
and, for the sake of promoting
his interest, he had married his
mother among the Bituriges, to
a man of very high birth and
great power there: he himself*

propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates conlocasse. Favere, et cupere Helvetiis, propter eam adfinitatem: odisse etiam suo nomine Cæsarem, et Romanos; quod eorum adventu potentia ejus diminuta, et Divitiacus frater in antiquum locum gratiæ atque honoris sit restitutus. Si quid accidat Romanis, summam in spem per Helvetios regni obtinendi venire: imperio populi Romani non modo de regno, sed etiam de ea, quam habeat, gratia desperare. Reperiebat etiam in quærendo Cæsar, quod prælium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium ejus fugæ factum a Dumnorige, atque ejus equitibus: (nam equitatu, quem auxilio Cæsari

had his wife from among the Helvetii; and had matched his sister by the mother's side, and his kinswoman into other states. He favoured and wished well to the Helvetii, on account of this affinity: he hated Cæsar and the Romans, even on his own account; because by their arrival in Gaul his power was lessened, and his brother Divitiacus restored to his former place of interest and dignity. If any thing disastrous should happen to the Romans, he would have the highest expectation of obtaining a throne by means of the Helvetii: whereas under the government of the Roman people he not only despaired of a throne, but even of keeping the authority which he had. Cæsar also found, upon inquiring into the manner of the unfortunate skirmish of the cavalry, which had happened a few days before, that the beginning of the flight had

Ædui

XVIII. 1. *In spem——venire*] See l. iii. c. 6. n. r.

2. *In quærendo Cæsar, quod prælium*] Interpreters have various conjectures about the construction of this sentence. Davisius thinks *quod* should be read *quom*, i. e. *quum*; and then the sentence will run thus, *Cæsar in quærendo reperiebat initium ejus fugæ factum a Dumnorige, &c. quum prælium equestre adversum, &c.* Perizonius ad Sanct. Minerv. p. 726. without altering *quod*, understands it thus, *Cæsar in quærendo prælium, or in quærendo in prælium equestre adversum quod factum esset, &c. reperiebat initium ejus fugæ, &c.* Oudendorp takes *quod* to be here put for *quale*, a sense it is sometimes used in; and then it runs, *Cæsar in quærendo quod prælium, i. e. quale prælium equestre adversum esset factum, &c. reperiebat initium ejus fugæ, &c.*

Ædui miserant, Dumno-
x præerat) eorum fu-
a reliquum esse equita-
m perterritum.

XIX. Quibus rebus co-
nitis, quum ad has suspi-
ones certissimæ res ac-
cederent: quod per fines
nequiorum Helvetios
transduxisset; quod ob-
ides inter eos dandos cu-
rasset; quod ea omnia
non modo injussu suo et
civitatis, sed etiam insci-
ditibus ipsis fecisset; quod
magistratu Æduorum
reus accusaretur, satis esse causæ
arbitratur, quare in
eum aut ipse animadver-
teret, aut civitatem ani-
madvertere juberet. His
omnibus rebus unum re-
magnabat, quod Divitia-
ci patris summum in po-
pulum Romanum studi-
um, summam in se vo-
luntatem, egregiam fi-
dem, justitiam, temperan-
tiam cognoverat. nam,
si ejus subpicio Diviti-
aci animum offenderet,
perirebatur. Itaque, prius
quam quidquam conarc-
tur, Divitiacum ad se vo-
cari jubet, et quotidianis
interpretibus remotis, per

been made by Dumnerix and his
horse; (for Dumnorix command-
ed the horse which the Ædui had
sent to Cæsar for his assistance)
and that by their flying off the
rest of the cavalry had been put
into a fright.

XIX. Which things being
examined into, and to these pre-
sumptions there being added some
very certain facts: namely,
that he had brought the Helve-
tii through the country of the
Sequani; that he had caused
mutual hostages to be given;
that he had done all this not on-
ly without Cæsar's order and
that of the state, but even with-
out their knowledge; and that
he was blamed by Liscus the
chief magistrate of the Æduri,
Cæsar thought this sufficient
reason, why he should either in-
flict punishment upon him him-
self, or order the state to bring
him to a trial. One thing stood
in the way of all this, namely,
that he had had proof of the firm
attachment of his brother Divi-
tiacus to the Roman people, of his
great affection toward himself,
of his singular fidelity, justice,
and moderation. for he was a-
fraid, lest, by punishing him, he
should alienate the affection of
Divitiacus. Wherefore Cæsar,
before he would attempt any
thing, orders Divitiacus to be
called, and, setting aside his or-

C. Valerium Procillum, principem Galliae provinciae, familiarem suum, cui summum omnium rerum fidem habebat, cum eo conloquitur: simul commonefacit, quæ ipso praesente in concilio Gallorum de Dumnorige sint dicta, et ostendit, quæ 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.

dinary interpreters, holds a conference with him, by means of C. Valerius Procillus, a grandee of the Roman province in Gaul, his intimate acquaintance, and in whom he reposed the highest confidence on all occasions: Caesar at once puts him in mind of what had been said concerning Dumnorix, whilst Divitiacus himself was present, in the council of the Gauls, and informs him what every one apart had said to him about him. He begs, and intreats, that, without offence to him, he might either pass sentence upon him himself, after bringing him to a trial, or order the state of the Ædui to do it.

XX. Divitiacus embracing Caesar, began to intreat with many tears, that he would not resolve upon any thing severe against his brother: told him, he knew those things to be true: and that nobody felt more affliction on that account than himself: in regard that Dumnorix had grown great by his means, when he by his interest had a mighty sway both in his own country, and in the rest of Gaul, and Dumnorix by reason of his youth very little. Which for-
solum

XIX. *C. Valerium Procillum*] See a further account of this gentleman, c. 47. and 53. The making choice of such a person for interpreter in this delicate affair, shews the prudence of Caesar's conduct.

XX. *Ac nervis*] A metaphor taken from animals, whose strength consists in their nerves or sinews.

um ad mirandam gratiam, sed pæne ad perniciem suam uteretur: festamen et amore fraterno, et existimatione vulgi commoveri. Quod quid ei a Cæsari gratius accidisset, quum ipse eum locum amicitiae ad eum teneret, neminem existimaturum non sua voluntate factum; quia ex re futurum, uti potius Galliæ animi a se converterentur. Hæc quum pluribus verbis fletus a Cæsare peteret, Cæsar ejus extram prændit; confortatus rogat, finem orationi faciat: tanti ejus apud eum gratiam esse ostendit, tanti et reipublicæ injuriam et suum dolorem ejus voluntati ac precibus condonaret. Dumnorigem ad eum vocat, fratrem adhibet: quæ in eo reprehendat, ostendit; quæ ipse intelligat, quæ civitas requeratur, proponit: monet, ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet: præterita se Divitiaco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnorigi custodes proponit: ut, quæ agat, quibuscum loquatur, scire possit.

tune and power, though he employed not only to lessen his reputation, but in a manner to his destruction: yet he was moved both with fraternal affection, and the people's judgement in such cases. For if any thing severe should befall him from Cæsar, as he held such a place of friendship with him, there was no body but would suppose, that it had been done at his desire; by which means it would come to pass, that the affections of all Gaul would be alienated from him. As he was begging this of Cæsar in many words with tears, Cæsar takes him by the right hand; and in a comforting manner desires him to make an end of requesting: tells him his interest with him was such, that at his desire and intreaty he would pardon both the injury done the commonwealth, and the vexation given himself. He summons Dumnorix before him, brings in his brother: shews him what he blamed in him; lays before him what intelligence he had got, and what his countrymen complained of: advises him to guard against all suspicious behaviour for the time to come: tells him he pardoned what was past for the sake of his brother Divitiacus. He sets spies over Dumnorix: that he might know what he did, and with whom he conversed.

XXI. Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus, hostes sub monte confedisse, milia passuum ab ipsius castris octo; qualis esset natura montis, et qualis in circuitu adscensus, qui cognoscerent, misit. Renunciatum est, facilem esse. De tertia vigilia T. Labienum legatum Proprætore cum duabus legionibus, et iis ducibus, qui iter cognoverant, summum jugum montis adscendere jubet; quid sui consilii sit, ostendit. ipse de quarta vigilia, eodem itinere, quo hostes ierant, ad eos contendit; equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. P. Confidius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur, et in exercitu L. Sullæ, et postea in M. Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus præmittitur.

XXII. Prima luce, quum summus mons a T. Labieno teneretur, i-

XXI. *The same day being informed by his scouts, that the enemy had incamped under a hill, eight miles from his camp; he sent out some to observe, what the situation of the hill was, and what sort of ascent it had on all sides. Word was brought back, that it was easy. About the third watch he orders his lieutenant, and Proprætor T. Labienus, by marching away with two legions, and those as guides who had spied out the road, to take possession of the top of the hill: and tells him what his design was. he himself about the fourth watch taking the same road, by which the enemy had gone, marches on toward them; and sends all the cavalry before him. P. Confidius, who was reputed very well skilled in military affairs, and who had been in the army of L. Sulla, and afterwards in that of M. Crassus, is dispatched forward with the scouts.*

XXII. *About the dawning of the day, when now the top of the hill was taken possession of*
ple

XXL. *Legatum Proprætore]* A general was anciently called *Prætor*, and he who commanded in the general's absence, was named *Proprætor*, or, according to the more ancient form, *pro Prætore* in two words, i. e. *missus seu constitutus loco Prætoris*. And probably Labienus is denominated so here, as having commanded in quality of *Prætor* whilst Cæsar was absent in Italy raising forces for this expedition. It is to be observed, that Cæsar no where else gives this appellation to Labienus.

2. *Eodem itinere, &c.] i. e. Ipse iens eodem itinere, quo hostes ierant, ad eos, i. e. ad hostes, contendit.*

ab hostium castris non
 ingius mille et quingen-
 passibus abesset; ne-
 ut postea ex captivis
 mperit, aut ipsius ad-
 entus, aut Labieni cog-
 tus esset; Considius e-
 o admissio, ad eum ad-
 erit: dicit, montem,
 em a Labieno occupa-
 voverit, ab hostibus
 eri: id se a Gallicis
 unis atque insignibus
 novisse. Cæsar suas
 apias in proximum col-
 m subducit; aciem in-
 ruit. Labienus, ut erat
 præceptum a Cæsare,
 prælium committeret,
 si ipsius copiarum prope ho-
 rum castra visæ essent,
 undique uno tempore
 hostes inpetus fieret;
 monte occupato, nostros
 spectabat, prælioque
 stinebat. Multo deni-
 e die per exploratores
 Cæsar cognovit, et mon-
 tem a suis teneri, et Hel-
 vetios castra movisse, et
 Considium, timore per-
 ritum, quod non vidis-

by T. Labienus, and Cæsar him-
 self was distant from the ene-
 my's camp not above a mile and
 a half; and neither his ap-
 proach, nor that of Labienus was
 perceived by the enemy, as he
 learned afterwards from the pri-
 soners; Considius, at full gal-
 lop, comes riding up to him; tells
 him, the hill, which he had or-
 dered to be seized by Labienus,
 was taken possession of by the
 enemy: this he had discovered
 from the Gallic arms and en-
 signs. Cæsar draws off his
 forces to the next hill; and
 forms them into battle order.
 Labienus, as he was ordered by
 Cæsar, not to enter upon battle,
 unless his forces were observed
 near the enemy's camp, that an
 attack might be made upon the
 enemy from all sides at the same
 time; after taking possession of
 the hill, waited for our men,
 and forbore fighting. At length
 when the day was far advan-
 ced, Cæsar had intelligence by
 his scouts, both that the hill was
 seized upon by his men, and that
 the Helvetii had decamped, and
 that Considius, dismayed with

E

set,

XXII. *Ipsæ ab hostium]* *Ipsæ* refers to Cæsar, not to Considius, as
 Bladen imagines; for the observations Considius was to make,
 required a much nearer approach than that here mentioned, espe-
 cially so early in the morning: and the terror he is said to have
 been under, toward the end of this chapter, is an argument of
 his having been very near the enemy, at least very near Labienus
 and his party, whom he by mistake took to be the Helvetii;

set, pro viso sibi renunciasse: Eo die, quo confuerat intervallo, hostes sequitur, et milia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

XXIII. Postridie ejus diei (quod omnino biduum supererat, quum exercitu frumentum metiri oporteret; et quod a Bibracte, oppido Æduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius milibus passuum XVIII aberat) rei frumentariæ prospiciendum existimavit, iter ab Helvetiis avertit, ac Bibracte ire contendit. Ea res per fugitivos L. Æmilii, Decurionis equitum Gallorum, hostibus nunciatur. Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis, quod pridie, superioribus locis occupatis, prælium non commisissent; sive eo, quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent, commutato consilio, atque itinere converso, nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac laceessere cœperunt.

fear, had reported to him as seen, what he saw not. This day Cæsar follows the enemy at the usual distance, and at night pitches his camp three miles from their camp.

XXIII. The next day (as there remained only two days to the time when he would be obliged to deliver out corn to the army; and as he was not above eighteen miles from Bibracte, which is by far the greatest and most opulent city of the Ædui) he thought proper to look out for provisions, directs his march away from the Helvetii, and proceeds to go for Bibracte. This is notified to the enemy by some deserters from L. Æmilius, a Captain of the Gallic horse. The Helvetii, whether because they imagined the Romans marched off from them, as being struck with fear, and this the rather, as they had not ventured an engagement the day before, when possessed of the higher ground; or because they hoped we might be cut off from provisions, changing their resolution, and altering their march, began to pursue and attack our men in the rear.

XXIV.

XXIII. Decurionis equitum Gallorum] The Roman turma, or troop, consisted of thirty horses, of which every ten had an officer called *Decurio*. By the Gallic horse here we are to understand those lately raised in Hither Gaul, or in the province.

XXIV. Postquam id
 animus advertit, copias
 Cæsar in proximum
 collem subducit; equita-
 tumque, qui sustineret
 hostium impetum, misit.
 In se interim in colle me-
 dio triplicem aciem in-
 iunxit legionum quatuor
 veteranarum, ita, uti su-
 per ea se in summo jugo du-
 cebat legiones, quas in Gal-
 lia citeriore proxime con-
 struxerat, et omnia auxi-
 lia conlocaret; ac totum
 montem hominibus com-
 pleti, et interea sarcinas
 in unum locum conferri,
 eum ab his, qui in su-
 periore acie constiterant,
 custodiri iussit. Helvetii
 cum omnibus suis carris
 etuti, impedimenta in u-
 num locum contulerunt.
 Hi, confertissima acie re-
 cto nostro equitatu, pha-
 lange facta, sub primam
 stram aciem successerunt.

XXIV. *Cæsar, after he per-
 ceives this, draws off his forces
 to the next hill; and sent the
 cavalry to make head against
 the assaults of the enemy. In
 the mean time he formed three
 lines, consisting of four veteran
 legions on the middle of the hill:
 in such manner, that, above him-
 self upon the summit of the hill,
 he might post the two legions,
 which he had lately raised in
 Hither Gaul, and all the auxi-
 liaries; and ordered the whole
 hill to be covered with his men,
 and the carriages in the mean
 time to be brought together into
 one place, and it to be guarded
 by those, who had their station
 in the upper army. The Helve-
 tii coming up with all their wag-
 gons, gathered their baggage into
 one place, and after having re-
 pulsed, in a very close body, our
 cavalry, forming themselves in-
 to a phalanx, they advanced to-
 ward our first line.*

E 2

XXV.

XXIV. 1. *Id animum advertit*] That is, *Vertit animum ad id*. This
 is more modern authors contract into *animadverto*. And Cæsar
 uses sometimes so too; as in c. 40. *Hæc quum animadvertisset*.
 2. *Phalange facta*] *Phalanx* is a word borrowed from the Mace-
 donians, by which was signified a body of pikemen, consisting com-
 monly of 500 in front, and 16 in flank or file, disposed in such close
 array, that their shields or targets met and closed above their heads.
 Their pikes, or spears, were of such a length, that those of the fifth
 rank would reach or extend three feet beyond the front. The
 pikes of the three last ranks lay over the shoulders of those be-
 fore

XXV. Cæsar, primum suo, deinde omnium ex conspectu remotis equis, ut, æquato omnium periculo, spem fugæ tolleret, cohortatus suos, prælium commisit. Milites, e loco superiore pilis missis, facile hostium phalangem perfregerunt. ea disiecta, gladiis destrixis, in eos inpetum fecerunt. Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento, quod, pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et conligatis, quum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evel- lere, neque, sinistra inpe-

XXV. Cæsar, having re- moved out of sight first his own horse, and then the horses of all the rest, that, upon making the danger of all equal, he might cut off all hopes of escape, after en- couraging his men, joined battle. The Roman soldiers, casting their darts from the rising ground, easily broke the phalanx of the ene- my. this being broke, they made a brisk attack upon them, sword- in-hand. It was a great in- cumbrance to the Gauls in fighting, that, many of their targets being pierced thro' and pinned together by a single shower of the darts, as the iron had dita,

fore them, and served to lock or knit them so firm together, that they were able to bear a prodigious shock; or, advancing forward in this united manner, could break the ranks of the enemy, and force their way through very great opposition. This method of fighting anciently used by the Macedonians, is here imitated by the Helvetii.

XXV. 1. *Gladiis destrixis*] Oudendorp assures us, from the most authentic MSS. that *destrixis* is the true orthography, and not *distrixis*, as in the common editions. Thus vii. 12, *Gladiis destri- xis portas occupaverunt.* viii. 23. *Quum utrinque gladii destrixi es- sent.* See also B. Civ. i. 46. 47. & 75.

2. *Uno ictu pilorum*] The pilum was a missive weapon, composed of a round or square piece of wood about three cubits long, joined to a piece of iron of the same length, which was jagged or barbed at the end, so that it could not easily be drawn out of any thing it had once pierced. The iron was slender about the neck, and would easily bow, even by its own weight, when stuck in the e- nemy's shield. Every soldier in the Roman army was commonly provided with two of these *pila*, which they darted at the enemy immediately before they came to close fight with the swords: though sometimes they had but one; which was the case here, as appears by the words *uno ictu pilorum*.

3. *Sinistra impedita*] viz. with the shield, and the dart fixed in i

...a, satis commode pu-
 ...are poterant; multi ut,
 ...jactato brachio, præ-
 ...arent scutum manu e-
 ...tere, et nudo corpore
 ...gnare. Tandem, vul-
 ...ribus defessi, et pedem
 ...erre, et, quod mons
 ...erat circiter M. passu-
 ...or, eo se recipere cœpe-
 ...at. Capto monte, et
 ...cedentibus nostris, Bo-
 ...et Tulingi, qui homi-
 ...en milibus circiter xv
 ...men hostium clauden-
 ...nt, et novissimis præsi-
 ...erant, ex itinere no-
 ...os latere aperto adgres-
 ...circumvenere: et id
 ...nspicati Helvetii, qui
 ...montem sese recepe-
 ...nt, rursus instare, et
 ...milium redintegrare cœ-
 ...unt. Romani conver-
 ...signa bipartito intule-
 ...nt: prima, et secunda

bowed, they could neither pull them out, nor fight conveniently enough, whilst their left hand was intangled; insomuch that many, after tossing their arm a long time, chose rather to drop the target out of their hand, and fight with their body uncovered. At length, fainting with wounds, they began to retreat, and, as there was a hill about mile off, to betake themselves to it. When they had seized upon the hill, and our men were following them, the Boji, and Tulingi, who, being about fifteen thousand men, lagged behind the enemy's army, and were a guard to their rear, attacking our men in the open flank upon the march, wheeled about upon their rear: and the Helvetii, who had retreated to the hill, observing this, began again to make assaults, and renew the fight. The Romans advanced their ensigns, acies,

4. *Latere aperto*] That is, says Oudendorp, a *dextra latere, quod* *tepeis non tegebatur*. But this sense would have been better expressed by *latere nudo* than *latere aperto*. These words seem to have another meaning: for understanding which, we must observe, that the Roman army is here marching towards the enemy in battle-order, i. e. in three parallel lines with large spaces or avenues between them. Now, the Boji and Tulingi attacked them in their march *aperto latere*, that is, upon the end or extremity of these three lines, where there were two open avenues, at which they might have entered and disordered the Roman ranks.

5. *Conversa signa bipartito intulerunt*] The Signiferi, or Standard-bearers, inclined the ensigns the way they were to go, and upon them the soldiers had their eye, as what served to direct their march: and hence *inferre signa in hanc aut illam partem*, is used to denote

acies, ut victis, ac sub-
motis resisteret; tertia,
ut venientes exciperet.

that were now turned about,
two ways: to the end that the
first and second line might make
head against those that had been
baffled, and beat off the field;
and that the third might encoun-
ter those that came upon them in
their march.

XXVI. Ita, ancipiti
prælio, diu atque acriter
pugnatum est. Diutius
quam nostrorum inpetus
sustinere non possent; al-
teri se, ut cœperant, in
montem receperunt, al-
teri ad inpedimenta et
carros suos se contule-
runt: nam hoc toto præ-
lio, quum ab hora septi-
ma ad vesperum pugna-
tum sit, aversum hostem

XXVI. Whereupon they
fought in dubious battle, a long
time, and with great bravery.
But when they could not any
longer bear the furious charge of
our soldiers; one part of them
retreated, as they had done at
first, to the hill; another betook
themselves to the baggage and
their waggons: for during this
whole battle, though they fought
from the seventh hour till the
evening, no man could see his
videre

denote the march of the army to this or that quarter. *Signa bipar-
tito intulerunt* imports, that the army divided, and directed their
march two different ways: the first and second line pursued their
march up the hill, in quest of the Helvetii; the third line faced
about toward the place they had come from, in order to encounter
the Boji and Tulingi, who had wheeled about from the flank, and
were coming in upon their rear. Most interpreters look on the word
conversa in this place as spurious. If it be retained, it can only be
understood of the ensigns of the third line, which were turned a-
bout, and directed the contrary way; for those of the first and
second proceeded in their march without alteration.

XXVI. 1. *Ancipiti prælio*] This may either signify, that it was
doubtful which side would be victorious; or it may respect the
two places where they were engaged at the same time.

2. *Ab hora septima*] The Romans divided their day, viz. from
sunrising to sunsetting, and that at all times of the year, into twelve
equal parts or hours. Their sixth hour is the same as noon, or
mid-day; and their seventh hour, at the time of the equinoxes,
will coincide precisely with our one of the clock; but in summer
it will be a little after, and in winter a little before that time.

edere nemo potuit. Ad
multam noctem etiam ad
impedimenta pugnatum
est: propterea quod pro
ullo carros objecerant,
de loco superiore in no-
vos venientes tela conji-
ciebant, et nonnulli inter
carros rotasque, mataras
et tragulas subiciebant,
ostrosque vulnerabant.
Cum quum esset pugna-
tum, impedimentis castrifi-
catione nostri potiti sunt. Ibi
Orgetorigis filia, atque u-
nus ex filiis captus est. Ex
prælio circiter homi-
num milia cxxx super-
erunt: eaque tota nocte
continenter ierunt: nul-
lam partem noctis itinere
intermisso, in fines Lin-
gonum die iv pervene-
runt, quum et propter
vulnera militum, et pro-
pter sepulturam occiso-
rum, nostri triduum mo-
rati, eos sequi non potu-
issent. Cæsar ad Lingo-

enemy turn his back. The fight
was maintained also at the car-
riages till the night was far
come on: for as they had set up
their waggons by way of ram-
part, they both cast their darts
from the rising ground upon our
men as they came up, and some
of them pushed pikes and lances
through between the carrs and
wheels, and wounded our men.
After they had fought a long
time, our men became masters of
their baggage and their camp.
There the daughter, and one of
the sons of Orgetorix were ta-
ken prisoners. After this battle
there remained of the enemy
about one hundred and thirty
thousand men: and they march-
ed incessantly the whole night:
and arrived the fourth day upon
the confines of the Lingones; ha-
ving discontinued their march no
part of the night; whereas
our men tarrying three days, both
because of the soldiers wounds,
and for the burial of the slain,
could not pursue them. Cæsar
nas

3. Nonnulli—subiciebant] Vossius resolves this sentence thus:
Nonnulli jaciebant mataras ac tragulas sub curribus, rotas inter.

3. Eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt.] Gruterus and Oudendorp
suspect, that either this or the following part of the sentence is spu-
ritious, as making an unsufferable tautology: and in regard the latter
looks like Cæsar's usual style, as in iii. 12. *Hec eo facilius magnam*
partem æstatis faciebant, they incline to throw out the former, and
read the sentence thus: *Eaque* (sciz. hominum milia) *nullam par-*
tem noctis itinere intermisso, &c. i. e. *per nullam partem noctis*.

5. Lingonas] The accusative plural, more Græco, for Lingones.

nas litteras, nunciosque 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.

XXVII. Helvetii, omnium rerum inopia adducti, legatos de deditio-
ne ad eum miserunt. qui quum 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. Eo postquam Cæsar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos, qui ad eos perfugissent, poposcit. Dum ea conquiruntur, et conferuntur, nocte intermissa, circiter hominum milia vi ejus pagi, qui Urbigenus adpellatur, sive timore perterriti, ne, armis traditis, subplicio adficeren-

sent letters and messengers to the Lingones, with orders not to supply them with corn, nor any thing else : adding, if they did supply them, he would treat them and the Helvetii alike. After an interval of three days, he began to follow them with all his forces.

XXVII. *The Helvetii, pressed by the want of every thing, sent ambassadors to him to treat about a surrender, who, after they had met him upon the road, and had prostrated themselves at his feet, and, addressing him in a humble manner, had with tears desired peace, and he had ordered them to wait his arrival in the place where they then were, submitted to his commands. After Cæsar came up, he demanded hostages, their arms, and the slaves who had deserted to them. Whilst these are seeking out, and getting together, a night intervening, about six thousand men belonging to the canton, which is called Urbigenus, whether discouraged with fear, lest, after giving up their arms, they should be put to death, or buoyed*
tur,

XXVII. 1. *Dum ea conquiruntur*] *Ea* refers to *obsides, arma, and servos*, and is on that account put plural and neuter.

3. *Nocte intermissa*] These words are used here, not so much to denote the time when the six thousand men endeavoured to make their escape, as to express the opportunity the night gave them for that purpose ; for they could never have entertained a thought of attempting with success any such project in the day-time.

ar, five spe salutis indu-
ti, quod, in tanta mul-
titudine dedititiorum, su-
am fugam aut occultari,
ut omnino ignorari pos-
se existimarent; prima
nocte, e castris Helvetio-
rum egressi, ad Rhenum
confinisque Germanorum
contenderunt.

XXVIII. Quod ubi
Cæsar rescit, quorum per-
iculis ierant, his, uti con-
quirent, et reducerent,
sibi purgati esse vellent,
imperavit; reductos in
hostium numero habuit:
ceteros omnes, obsidibus,
armis, perfugis traditis, in
ditionem accepit. Hel-
vetios, Tulingos, Lato-
brigos in fines suos, unde
erant profecti, reverti ius-
sit; et, quod, omnibus
fructibus amissis, domi
nihil erat, quo famem
tolerarent, Allobrogibus
imperavit, ut iis frumen-
ti copiam facerent: ipsos
oppida, vicosque, quos in-
tenderant, restituere ius-

up with hopes of escaping, be-
cause they imagined in such a
multitude of people surrendering
themselves, their flight might
either be concealed, or not be
known at all; going out of the
camp of the Helvetii in the be-
ginning of the night, made the
best of their way toward the
Rhine and the confines of the
Germans.

XXVIII. Which when Cæ-
sar came to know, he ordered
those, through whose country they
had travelled, to search them
out, and bring them back, if they
inclined to be acquitted by him
from being parties in the
crime; and when brought back
he ranked them among the num-
ber of his enemies: all the rest,
upon their delivering the hosla-
ges, their arms, and the desert-
ers, he admitted to a surrender.
He commanded the Helvetii, the
Tulingi, and the Latobrigi to re-
turn into their own country, from
whence they had come; and,
as there was nothing at home,
whereby they might keep them-
selves from starving, all the
fruits of the ground being de-
F sit.

XXVIII. 1. *Tulingos, &c.*] We need make no question but
the Rauraci, who came along with them, as narrated c. 5. were
ordered home with the rest, though they are not expressly men-
tioned here.

2. *Omnibus fructibus amissis*] They had taken care to clear the
country of provisions before they came away, by burning all the corn,
except what they brought along with them; as we are told, c. 5.

fit. 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 transfirent; et finitimi Galliae provinciae, Allobrogibusque essent. Bojos, petentibus Aëduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent, concessit: quibus illi agros dederunt; quosque postea in parem juris libertatisque conditionem, atque ipsi erant, receperunt.

stroyed, he ordered the Allobroges to furnish them with corn; and commanded themselves to rebuild the towns and villages which they had burnt. This he did chiefly for this reason, because he did not incline the country, out of which the Helvetii had gone, should be empty, lest the Germans, who dwell beyond the Rhine, on account of the richness of the soil, should come over from their own country to the country of the Helvetii; and be next neighbours to the Roman province in Gaul, and to the Allobroges. Upon a request made by the Aëdui for leave to settle the Boji in their country, because they were a people well known for extraordinary valour, he granted the petition: to whom they assigned lands; and whom afterwards they admitted into the same state, as to law and liberty, with themselves.

XXIX. In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis confectae, et ad Cæsarem relatae; quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent; et item separationem pueri, senes, mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum summa erat, capitum Helvetio-

XXIX. In the camp of the Helvetii was found a register writ in Greek, and brought to Cæsar; in which register was made out in particular a catalogue, shewing what number of them had come from home, that were able to bear arms; and likewise the boys, the old men, and the women apart by themselves. Of all which lists the sum was, of the Helvetii 263,000; of the Tulingi 36,000; of the La-
rum

num milia CCLXIII, Tung-
 orum milia XXXVI,
 Latobrigorum XIV, Rau-
 acorum XXIII, Bojorum
 XXXII. ex his, qui arma
 ferre possent, ad milia
 KCII. Summa omni-
 um fuerunt ad milia
 CCCCLXVIII. Eorum, qui
 domum redierunt, censu
 habito, ut Cæsar impera-
 verat, repertus est nume-
 rus milium c et x.

XXX. Bello Helvetio-
 rum confecto, totius fere
 Galliæ legati, principes
 civitatum, ad Cæsarem
 gratulatum convenerunt.
 intellegere sese, tametsi,
 pro veteribus Helvetio-
 rum injuriis populi Ro-
 mani, ab iis poenas bello
 repetisset, tamen eam rem
 non minus ex usu terræ

tobrigi 14,000; of the Rauraci 23,000; and of the Boji 32,000. among these there were about 92,000, that were able to carry arms. The total amount of all was about 368,000. Upon a review made, as Cæsar had ordered, of those who returned home, there was found the number of 110,000.*

XXX. The war with the Helvetii being ended, deputies from almost all parts of Gaul, being the grandees of the states, waited upon Cæsar to congratulate him upon his success. Told him, they were sensible, that tho', on account of former injuries committed by the Helvetii against the Roman people, he had

F 2

Galliæ,

XXIX. Summa omnium fuerunt ad milia] To make this sentence full and grammatical, we may understand *capita*, and resolve it thus; *Capita, ad milia cclxviii. fuerunt summa omnium.* Or *summa* may be here considered as a collective, i.e. a noun signifying many in the singular number, such as *populus*, *plebs*, *turba*, *pars*, *manus*, &c.; which, because of their collective, and consequently plural signification, are frequently joined with verbs or adjectives plural. Virg. Georg. iv. 378. *Pars epulis onerant mensas.* Liv. i. 40. *Clamor inde concursusque populi, mirantium quid rei esset.* See l. ii. c. 11. n. 1.

XXX. 1. Pro veteribus Helvetiorum injuriis populi Romani] Here two genitives are governed by one substantive, and in different senses, the one active, the other passive. By *injuriis Helvetiorum* are meant the injuries committed by the Helvetii, and by *injuriis populi Romani* are denoted the injuries suffered by the Roman people. This mode or manner of expression is somewhat intricate and involved, but pretty usual however in Cæsar ii. 17. *Eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta.* iii. 8. *Hujus civitatis auctoritas*

omnis

Galliæ, quam populi Romani accidisse: propterea quod eo consilio, florentissimis rebus, domos suas Helvetii reliquissent, uti toti Galliæ bellum inferrent, imperioque potirentur, locumque domicilium ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex omni Gallia obportunissimum ac fructuosissimum iudicassent, reliquasque civitates stipendiarias haberent. Petierunt, uti sibi concilium totius Galliæ in diem certam indicere, idque Cæsaris voluntate facere liceret; sese habere quasdam res, quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere vellent. Ea re permissa, diem concilio constituerunt, et jurejurando, ne quis enunciarer, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt.

the design of their meeting to any person, except to whom they were authorised by a general vote of the diet.

taken vengeance upon them by the war, yet this had fallen out no less for the interest of the country of Gaul, than of the Roman people: in regard that the Helvetii had left their own homes, when in very flourishing circumstances, with a design to make war upon all Gaul, and seize upon the government thereof, and, out of a great variety, to chuse for their habitation the place which they should judge the most convenient and the most plentiful in all Gaul, and to make the other states their tributaries. They desired that they might be allowed to summon against a certain day, an assembly of all the states of Gaul, and to do this by Cæsar's permission; for they had some things, which they inclined to request of him by the general consent of the states. This desire being granted, they appointed a day for the assembly, and obliged themselves by an oath, that no one should disclose

XXXI.

omnis oræ maritime. c. 18. Superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio. Præf. viii. Cæsaris commentarios rerum gestarum Galliæ. B. Civ. 1. 7. Omnium temporum injurias inimicorum. Cor. Nep. Epam. 5. Agamemnonis belli gloriam consecutus. Eumen. 10. Tanta fuit nonnullorum virtutis obrectatio.

2. *Ex usu terræ Galliæ*] See the note l. iii. 7.

3. *Nisi quibus——mandatum esset*] *Mandatum esset* is impersonal; and the sentence may be thus supplied: *Ne quis enunciaret rem seu consilium quibuspiam, nisi iis, quibus communi consilio mandatum esset enunciari.*

XXXI. Eo concilio dis-
 solto, iidem principes ci-
 vilium, qui ante fuerant
 ad Cæsarem, reverterunt,
 et optuleruntque, uti sibi se-
 creto in occulto de sua
 communiumque salute cum
 Cæsare agere liceret. Ea re
 petrata, sese omnes flen-
 tes ad Cæsari ad pedes pro-
 straverunt; non minus se
 contendere, et labora-
 re, ne ea, quæ dixissent,
 divulgarentur, quam, uti
 quæ vellent, inpetra-
 rent: propterea quod, si
 divulgatum esset, sum-
 mum in cruciatum se ven-
 tos viderunt. Locutus
 pro his Divitiacus Æ-
 duus: Galliæ totius facti-
 ones esse duas: harum
 alterius principatum te-
 nere Æduos, alterius Ar-
/>
 vernos. Hi quum tanto-
 tempore de potentatu inter se
 multos annos contende-
 rent, factum esse, uti ab
 Arvernīs, Sequanisque
 Germani mercede arces-
 sentur. Horum primo
 transierunt milia xv Rhe-
 num transisse: postea-

XXXI. *This assembly being
 broke up, the same grandees of the
 states, who formerly had been
 with Cæsar, returned to him,
 and desired, that they might be
 allowed to treat secretly with
 him in private upon an affair
 concerning their common safety.
 This request being obtained, they
 prostrated themselves all in tears
 at Cæsar's feet; told him, they
 were no less urgent and pressing,
 that what they said, might not
 be disclosed, than they were to
 obtain the things, which they
 were to request: because, if it
 should be divulged, they foresaw
 they would be reduced to the last
 degree of misery. Divitiacus
 the Æduan spoke for them: and
 represented, that there were but
 two factions in all Gaul: that
 the Ædui headed one of them,
 and the Arverni the other.
 When they had contended many
 years betwixt themselves with
 great keenness for the superiority,
 the consequence was, that the
 Germans were invited by the
 Arverni and the Sequani to
 their assistance for hire. At
 first about fifteen thousand of
 quam*

XXXI. 1. *Qui ante fuerant ad Cæsarem*] See l. iii. c. 9. n. 3.
 2. *Sibi secreto in occulto*] Most interpreters think either *secreto* or
in occulto spurious. Oudendorp is of opinion, the reading may be
 legitimate, by taking *secreto* to denote out of the hearing of others,
 and *in occulto* to import out of their sight or view; that is, they
 wanted to converse with Cæsar in some retired place, where they
 might neither be heard nor seen by any person but himself.

quam agros, et cultum, et copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, transductos plures: nunc esse in Gallia ad c et xx milium numerum: cum his Æduos, eorumque clientes semel atque iterum armis contendisse, magnam calamitatem passos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse. Quibus præliis 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: unum se esse ex omni civitate Æduorum, qui adduci non potuerit, ut juraret, aut liberos suos obsides daret. Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse, et Romam ad Senatum venisse, auxili-

them had crossed the Rhine: but after these savage and barbarous people fell in love with the country of the Gauls, and their way of living, and their army, more of them had been drawn over: that now there was to the number of 120,000 of them in Gaul: with these the Ædui and their dependents had disputed by force of arms once and again, but being worsted had received considerable damage, had lost all their nobility, their whole senate, and all their cavalry. Brought low by which wars and misfortunes, they who, both by their own interest, and by the friendship and favour of the Roman people, had bore a very great sway formerly in Gaul, were now forced to deliver up the persons of best quality in their country, as hostages to the Sequani, and oblige the state by an oath, that they should neither redemand the hostages, nor pray assistance from the Roman people, nor refuse to continue for ever under their authority and government: that he himself was the only man of the whole country of the Ædui, who could not be persuaded either to take the oath, or deliver his children for hostages. For this reason he fled from his country, and had come
um

3. *Romam ad Senatum venisse*] That Divitiacus came to Rome on this occasion, we are also told l. vi. 12.

quod postulat, quod so-
neque jurejurando,
neque obsidibus tenere-
r. Sed pejus victoribus
Sequanis, quam Æduis
accidisse: propter-
quod Ariovistus, rex
Germanorum, in eorum
finibus consedisset, terti-
amque partem agri Se-
quani, qui esset optimus
partis Galliæ, occupavisset,
et nunc de altera par-
te tertia Sequanos de-
cedere juberet; propterea
quod, paucis mensibus
ante, Harudum milia ho-
minum xxiv ad eum ve-
nissent; quibus locus ac
vires pararentur. Futu-
rum esse paucis annis, uti
omnes ex Galliæ finibus
eellerentur, atque omnes
Germani Rhenum trans-
irent: neque enim con-
siderandum esse Gallicum
Germanorum agro,
neque hanc consuetudi-
nem victus cum illa com-

to Rome to the Senate, to desire
their assistance, as being the on-
ly person tied up neither by oath
nor hostages. But a worse fate
had befallen the victorious Se-
quani, than the vanquished Æ-
dui: in regard that Ariovistus,
king of the Germans, had ta-
ken his seat in their country; and
seized upon a third part of the
land belonging to the Sequani,
which was the best of all Gaul,
and was now ordering the Se-
quani to remove out of another
third part; because, a few
months ago 24,000 of the people
called Harudes had come over to
him; for whom lands and pos-
sessions were to be provided. It
would come to pass within a
few years, that all the natives
would be banished out of the ter-
ritories of Gaul, and all the
Germans would cross the Rhine:
for the Gallic soil was not to be
compared with the soil of the
Germans, nor the one's way of
living to be matched with that
of the other. And that Ario-
parandam.

4. *Neque hanc consuetudinem, &c.*] These words denote the man-
ner of living in this country, i. e. in Gaul; which, as well as the
soil, was much better than that in Germany. The relative pro-
nouns *hanc* and *illa* relate not so much to words in the preceding
clause, as they serve to express the situation of the two countries;
hanc denoting the country that was nearest, or in which they now
lived, and *illa* the more remote country of the Germans. Here
observe, that, according to the idiom of the English language, we
say, that things of a worse or inferior kind are not to be compa-
red with things of a better or more excellent nature, and seldom
the contrary: but the Latin admits of both ways equally.

parandam. Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallorum copias prælio vicerit, quod prælium factum sit Admagetobriæ, superbe, et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cuiusque liberos poscere, et in eos omnia exempla cruciatuque edere, si qua res non ad nutum, aut ad voluntatem ejus facta sit. Hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium : non posse ejus imperia diutius sustineri : nisi si quid in Cæsare populoque Romano sit auxilii, omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum, quod Helvetii fecerint, ut domo emigrent ; aliud domicilium, alias sedes, remotas a Germanis, petant ; fortunamque, quæcunque accadat, experiantur. Hæc si enunciata Ariovisto sint, non dubitare, quin de omnibus obsidibus, qui apud eum sint, gravissimum supplicium sumat ;

vistus, when once he had defeated the forces of the Gauls in the battle, which was fought at Admagetobria, domineered in an insolent and cruel manner, demanded the children of every nobleman as hostages, and upon them shewed all the instances of barbarity and torture, if any thing was done not according to his will, or to his pleasure. That he was a man savage, passionate, and headstrong : that his yoke could not any longer be endured : unless there was some aid to be found in Cæsar and the Roman people, all the Gauls must do the same thing, that the Helvetii had done, that is, leave their country, and seek out another habitation, and other possessions, at a distance from the Germans ; and try their fortune, whatever should happen. If these things he had said should be told to Ariovistus, he made no doubt, but he would take the most severe revenge on all the hostages, that were with him ; that Cæsar either by his own reputation and that of his army, or by Cæsarem

5. *Omnia exempla cruciatuque edere*] Clarke has changed the reading into *omnia exempla cruciatu edere*, from an apprehension that *edere cruciatu* is no congruous Latin : but Oudendorp is of opinion, that *edere cruciatu* is just as good Latin as *edere clades* in Lucan iii. 680. and *edere cadem* in Livy, Justin, and others ; and, considering that *exemplum* is often put for *gravissimum supplicium*, he chuses to retain *exempla cruciatuque edere*, which is the reading in the most authentic MSS.

Cæsarem vel auctoritate
 a atque exercitus, vel
 centi victoria, vel no-
 ine populi Romani de-
 rrorere posse, ne major
 ultitudo Germanorum
 shenum transducatur,
 alliamque omnem ab
 oriovisti injuria posse de-
 cendere.

XXXII. Hac oratione
 Divitiaco habita, o-
 nes, qui aderant, ma-
 no fletu auxilium a Cæ-
 ere petere cœperunt. A-
 madvertit Cæsar, unos
 omnibus Sequanos ni-
 earum rerum facere,
 has ceteri facerent; sed
 istes, capite demisso,
 rram intueri. Ejus rei
 ussa quæ esset, miratus,
 ipsis quæsiit. Nihil
 uani respondere, sed
 eadem tristitia taciti
 rmanere. Quum ab
 sæpius quæreret, ne-
 ulla omnino vocem
 primere posset; idem
 Divitiacus Æduus re-
 ondit; Hoc esse mise-
 rem, graviolemque
 fortunam Sequanorum,

the fame of *his late victory*, or
 the name of the Roman people,
 might deter him from bringing
 any more of the Germans over
 the Rhine, and might protect all
 Gaul from the tyranny of *Ario-*
vistus.

XXXII. *This speech being
 delivered by Divitiacus, all,
 who were present, began to beg
 assistance of Cæsar with many
 tears. Cæsar observed, that of
 all present the Sequani alone did
 none of those things which the
 rest did; but full of sorrow,
 with drooping heads, looked to-
 ward the ground. And won-
 dering what the reason of this
 might be, he inquired at them-
 selves. The Sequani made no
 reply, but continued silent in the
 same disconsolate condition. Af-
 ter he had inquired at them sev-
 eral times, and could not extort
 any answer at all, the same Di-
 vitiacus the Æduan replied,
 That in this respect the case of
 the Sequani was more wretched
 and dismal than that of the rest;*
 G quam

XXXII. i. *Unos ex omnibus Sequanos*] It is nothing rare to see u-
 in the plural number, especially when joined with a substantive
 what wants the singular. iv. 7. *Sepe unis Suevis concedere*. c. 16. *Ubi*
legatos miserant. Ter. And. iv. 1. 51. *Ex unis geminas mihi con-*
nies nuptias. And sometimes it is put plural, even when the sub-
 ntive has the singular. Ovid ii. Pont. epist. 1. 7. *Una gaudia*.
 udent. ii. Symm. 83. *Unas capit impius et pius auras*.

quam reliquorum ; quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri, neque auxilium implorare audent ; absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrent : propterea quod reliquis tamen fugæ facultas daretur ; Sequanis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate ejus essent, omnes cruciatus essent perferendi.

XXXIII. His rebus cognitis, Cæsar Gallorum animos verbis confirmavit : pollicitusque est, sibi eam rem curæ futuram : magnam se habere spem, et beneficio suo, et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum, finem injuriis facturum. Hac oratione habita, concilium dimisit. Et secundum ea multæ res eum hortabantur quare sibi eam rem cogitandam et suspiciendam putaret : imprimis, quod Æduos fratres con-

because they durst not so much as complain when alone in private, nor implore assistance ; and dreaded the cruelty of Ariovistus when absent, as if he were present before them : for that others had the liberty at least to fly for it ; but every kind of cruel usage must be endured by the Sequani, who had received Ariovistus into their country, and whose cities were all in his power.

XXXIII. *After hearing these grievances, Cæsar with words of comfort cheered the spirits of the Gauls : and promised, that this affair should be taken care of by him : adding, he had great hopes, that Ariovistus, moved both by his acts of kindness and authority, would put an end to such oppression. After making this speech, he dismissed the council. And in consequence of these complaints many other things inclined him to think, that this affair ought to be considered and undertaken by him ; first, because he saw the Ædui, who had sanguineosque*

2. Tamen fugæ] Elegans ἀποσιώπῃς, inquit Oudendorpius, quod reliquis, si Ariovistum expellere non poterant, at fugæ tamen facultas.

XXXIII. 1. Beneficio suo] In the consulship of Cæsar, and partly by his interest, Ariovistus had been honoured with the title of King and ally by the Roman senate, and great and honourable presents had been conferred upon him. See c. 15. & 43.

anguineosque sæpenu-
tero a senatu adpellatos,
servitute atque in diti-
tate videbat Germanorum
meri; eorumque obli-
vis esse apud Ariovistum,
Sequanos intellegebat;
sed in tanto imperio po-
tenti Romani turpissimum
sibi et reipublicæ esse ar-
bitrabatur. Paullatim
autem Germanos consue-
dere Rhenum transire,
et in Galliam magnam
multitudinem ve-
nire, populo Romano pe-
riculosum videbat: neque
sibi homines feros ac bar-
baros temperaturos exi-
stimabat, quin, quum o-
mnem Galliam occupas-
sent, ut ante Cimbri, Teu-
tonique fecissent, in pro-
vinciam exirent, atque
inde in Italiam conten-
derent; præsertim quum
Sequanos a provincia no-
stra Rhodanus divideret:
in quibus rebus quam ma-
ximè occurrendum pu-
tabat. Ipse autem Ari-
ovistus tantos sibi spiri-
tus, tantam adrogantiam
sumserat, ut ferendus non
videretur.

been often honoured with the ti-
tles of brethren and cousins by
the senate, were kept in slavery
and under subjection to the Ger-
mans; and he understood their
hostages were in the custody of
Ariovistus and the Sequani:
which, considering the great
power of the Roman people, he
thought a scandal both upon him-
self and the commonwealth. And
for the Germans to get a custom
of crossing the Rhine by degrees,
and great numbers of them co-
ming into Gaul, he perceived
was dangerous to the Roman
state; nor could he imagine these
fierce and barbarous people would
restrain themselves to bounds,
but, after they had seized upon
all Gaul, would break in upon
the province, and after that
march for Italy, as the Cimbri
and Teutoni had done before;
especially since nothing but the
Rhone divided the Sequani from
our province: which evils he
was of opinion ought to be pro-
vided against with all possible
speed. And Ariovistus himself
had assumed so much pride, and
so much arrogance, that he ap-
peared to be insufferable.

G 2 XXXIV.

2. Ut ante Cimbri, Tuctonique] This happened about the year of
Rome 650, and about 46 years before this time, in the consulship
of Marius, by whom they were routed and dispersed; as related
by For. iii. 3. Eu trop. v. 1. & 2. and Vell. Paterc. ii. 12.

XXXIV. Quamobrem placuit ei, ut ad Ariovistum legatos mitteret, qui ab eo postularent, uti aliquem locum medium utriusque conloquio diceret: velle sese de republica et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere. Ei legationi Ariovistus respondit; Si quid ipsi a Cæsare opus esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse: si quid ille se velit, illum ad se venire oportere. Præterea se neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire audere, quas Cæsar possideret, neque exercitum sine magno commeatu, atque emolimento in unum locum contrahere posse: sibi autem mirum videri, quid in sua Gallia, quam bello vicisset, aut Cæsari, aut omnino populo Romano negotii esset.

XXXV. His responsis ad Cæsarem relatis, iterum ad eum Cæsar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: Quoniam tanto suo populi que Romani beneficio adfectus, (quum in consulatu suo rex at-

XXXIV. *Wherefore he thought proper to send ambassadors to Ariovistus, to desire of him, that he would appoint some place of a middle situation between them for a conference: that he wanted to treat with him about a public affair and things of the highest importance to them both. To this embassy Ariovistus replied; If he had had occasion for any thing from Cæsar, he would have waited upon him; and, if Cæsar wanted any thing from him, he must come to him. And further, that he durst neither come into those parts of Gaul, which Cæsar had possession of, without an army, nor could he bring together an army into one place without great expence and trouble: but it appeared strange to him, what business either Cæsar or even the Roman people could have in his part of Gaul, which he had subdued by war.*

XXXV. *This answer being brought to Cæsar, Cæsar again dispatches ambassadors to him with the following instructions: ince after being treated with so much kindness by himself and the Roman people, (for in his consul-*
que

XXXIV. *Emolimento]* This word is derived, not from *emolo*, but from *emolior*; and properly signifies the difficulty of any enterprise, or the efforts and endeavours to be used in order to accomplish a difficult project.

amicus a senatu ad-
 iutus esset), hanc sibi
 populoque Romano gra-
 tiam referret, ut in con-
 siliium venire invitatus
 gravaretur, neque de
 communi re dicendum
 et cognoscendum pu-
 teret; hæc esse, quæ ab
 eo postularet: primum,
 ut quam hominum mul-
 tudinem amplius trans
 Rhenum in Galliam
 transduceret; deinde ob-
 iectos, quos haberet ab
 Æduis, redderet; Sequa-
 ni quoque permetteret, ut,
 si eos illi haberent, vo-
 luntate ejus reddere illis
 liceret; neve Æduos in-
 iuria lacefferet: neve his
 sociisve eorum bellum in-
 ierret. Si id ita fecisset,
 si populoque Romano
 perpetuam gratiam at-
 que amicitiam cum eo
 curam: si non inpetra-
 ret, sese, (quoniam M.
 Messala, M. Pisone Cos.
 ordinatus censuisset, uti,
 si populoque Galliam pro-

ship he had been honoured with
 the title of king and ally by the
 senate), he made this return to
 him and the Roman people, that
 he grudged coming to an inter-
 view when desired, and did not
 think himself obliged to advise
 and concert a matter of common
 concern; the things, which he
 was to require of him, were
 these: first, that he should not
 bring any more people over the
 Rhine into Gaul; and next,
 that he should restore the hosta-
 ges, which he had from the Æ-
 duis; and grant to the Sequani,
 that they might be allowed to
 restore, by his permission, those,
 which they had; that he should
 not molest the Æduis by oppres-
 sion; nor make war upon them
 or their allies. If accordingly he
 should do this, he and the Roman
 people would be in constant ami-
 ty and friendship with him. If
 this he did not obtain, (since the
 senate, in the consulship of M.
 Messala and M. Piso, had de-
 creed, that whoever had Gaul
 for their province, should protect
 the Æduis and the other allies of
 vinciam

XXXV. 1. *Reddere illis liceret*] The position of these words makes
 uncertain, whether *illis* be governed by *reddere* or *liceret*. If by
 the former it will denote the Æduis; if by the latter, the Sequani.
 2. *Sese* (*quoniam*) In several editions *sese* is omitted; but Ouden-
 dorp, in compliance with the oldest MSS. has inserted it, and
 links the repetition of it, after this long parenthesis, agreeable to
 the perspicuous manner of writing Cæsar so much affects.

vinciam obtineret, quod commodo reipublicæ facere posset, Æduos ceterosque amicos populi Romani defenderet), se Æduorum injurias non neglecturum.

XXXVI. Ad hæc Ariovistus respondit: Jus esse belli, ut, qui vicissent, iis, quos vicissent, quemadmodum vellent, imperarent: item populum Romanum victis non ad alterius præscriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium imperare consueſſe. Si ipſe populo Romano non præſcriberet, quemadmodum ſuo jure uteretur; non oportere ſeſe a populo Romano in ſuo jure impediri. Æduos ſibi, quoniam belli fortunam tentaffent, et armis congreſſi, ac ſuperati eſſent, ſtipendiarios eſſe factos. Magnam Cæſarem injuriam facere, qui ſuo adventu veſtigalia ſibi deteriora faceret. Æduis ſe obſides redditurum non eſſe; neque iis, neque

the Roman people, as far as he could do it in a conſiſtency with the intereſt of the commonwealth), he would not overlook the injuries done the Ædui.

XXXVI. *To this Arioviſtus replied: It was the law of arms, that they who conquered, might govern thoſe whom they had conquered, in what manner they pleaſed: and that the Roman people uſed to govern thoſe they had vanquiſhed, not by the direction of others, but according to their own pleaſure. If he had not given directions to the Roman people, how they ſhould uſe their right; he ought not to be diſturbed by the Roman people in his right. That the Ædui, becauſe they had tried the fortune of war, and had coped with him at arms, and had been conquered, were become tributaries to him. That Cæſar was doing great injuſtice, who by his coming into Gaul was endeavouring to make his revenues worſe. That he would not reſtore to the Ædui their hoſtages; but would make war neither*
eorum

3. *Quod commodo*] *Quod* is here put for *quoad* or *quantum*. Thus Ter. Eunuch. ii. 1. 8. *Munus noſtrum ornata verbis, quod poteris: et iſtum æmulum, quod poteris, ab ea pellito.* Adelph. iv. 5. 58. *Prodidiſti te, et illam miſeram, et gnatum, quod quidem in te fuit.* Phorm. i. 2. 81. *Omnia hæc conſingam, quod erit mihi bonum atque commodum.* Plaut. Bacch. iii. 6. 21. *Ille, quod in ſe fuit, accuratum habuit.*

rum fociis injuria bel-
 la inlaturum, si in eo
 tenerent, quod con-
 sisset, stipendiumque
 annuū penderent: si
 non fecissent, longe iis
 internum nomen populi
 Romani a futurum. Quod
 si Cæsar denunciaret,
 Æduorum injurias non
 neglecturum; neminem
 eorum sine sua perniciē
 contendisse. Quum vel-
 let, congregare: in-
 velle, quid invicti
 Germani, exercitissimi
 armis, qui inter annos
 xv tectum non subissent,
 tutate possent.

upon them nor their allies un-
 justly, that is, if they continued
 in the performance of that,
 which had been agreed upon,
 and paid their tribute yearly:
 if this they did not, their being
 called brethren of the Roman
 people should be of little service
 to them. As to Cæsar's having
 signified to him, that he would
 not overlook the injuries done the
 Ædui; he let him know, that
 none had ever contended with
 him but to their own destruction.
 He might engage, when he plea-
 sed: he should find, what the
 invincible Germans, that were
 well exercised in arms, and who
 had not come under a roof these
 fourteen years, could do in point
 of valour.

XXXVII. Hæc eodem
 tempore Cæsari mandata
 deferrebantur; et legati ab
 Æduis et a Treviris ve-
 niebant. Ædui questum,
 quod Harudes, qui nuper
 Galliam transportati
 essent, fines eorum popu-
 larentur: sese ne obsidi-
 bus quidem datis pacem
 Ariovisti redimere potu-

XXXVII. At one and the
 same time this answer was
 brought to Cæsar; and deputies
 arrived from the Ædui and
 from the Treviri. The Ædui
 came to complain, that the Ha-
 rudes, who had lately been trans-
 ported into Gaul, were laying
 waste their country: and that
 they could not purchase peace from
 Ariovistus even by giving ho-
 stisse.

XXXVI. 1. Longe iis — a futurum] i. e. abs futurum, should be
 far off, or at a great distance from them; i. e. should stand them
 in little stead, as distant things commonly do. Thus Ovid. Me-
 t. iv. 649. Vade procul, ne longe gloria rerum, quas mentiris, ait,
 longe tibi Jupiter absit.

2. Inter annos] i. e. per annos. Thus Liv. i. 10. Bina inter tot
 annos opima parva sunt spolia. Cic. in Quintiana, Qui inter tot an-
 nos ne appellarit quidem Quintium.

isse. Treviri autem, pagos centum Suevorum ad ripas Rheni confedisse, qui Rhenum transire conarentur : iis præesse Nasuam, et Cimberium fratres. Quibus rebus Cæsar vehementer commotus, maturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova manus Suevorum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese conjunxisset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque, re frumentaria, quam celerissime potuit, comparata, magnis itineribus ad Ariovistum contendit.

XXXVIII. Quum tri-dui viam processisset, nunciatum est ei, Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Vesontionem, quod est oppidum maximum Sequanorum,

stages. And the Treviri came to inform, that the hundred cantons of the Suevi had incamped upon the banks of the Rhine, and were endeavouring to cross the Rhine : and that two brothers, Nasua and Cimberius, commanded them. At which news Cæsar being greatly alarmed, thought proper to make all dispatch, lest, if this new body of the Suevi joined themselves with the old forces of Ariovistus, they should less easily be withstood. Wherefore, having provided corn with all the haste he could, he posted away by great marches toward Ariovistus.

XXXVIII. When he had marched three days, word was brought him, that Ariovistus was gone with all his forces to take possession of Vesontio, which is the greatest city belonging to the Sequani, and that he was contendere,

XXXVII. 1. *Pagos centum Suevorum*] Cæsar informs us, iv. 1. that the country of the Suevi, a people in Germany, consisted of 100 divisions called *cantons*; and that they used to send out every year an army of 100,000 men, (each *canton* furnishing 1000) to make war upon their neighbours, or defend themselves, whilst the rest staid at home to manure the ground. And probably the meaning here is, that this army of 100,000 men had incamped upon the banks of the Rhine, with a design to cross the river, and penetrate into Gaul; and not that all the Suevi had left their country, in order to go upon such an expedition.

2. *Ad ripas Rheni*] *Ripa* is frequently used in the plural number, to denote the banks on one side of a river only. c. 54. *Suevi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti cæperunt.* vi. 29. *Partem ultimam pontis, quæ ripas Ubiorum contingebat, rescindit.* vii. 58. *In ripas Sequanæ, e regione Lutetia.* Pomp. Mela. iii. 2. *Ad ripas Rheni omnis expanditur.*

contendere, tridique vi-
a suis finibus proces-
se. Id ne accideret,
magno opere sibi præca-
vandum Cæsar existima-
vit. Namque omnium
arum, quæ ad bellum
essent erant, summa erat
in eo oppido facultas: id-
circo natura loci sic munie-
batur, ut magnam ad du-
randum bellum daret fa-
cilitatem: propterea quod
flumen Dubis, ut circino
circumductum, pæne to-
tum oppidum cingit: re-
manens spatium, quod est
in amplius pedum DC,
a flumine intermittit,
mons continet magna al-
titudine, ita ut radices
montis ex utraque parte
ad fluminis contingant.
Hunc murus circumdatus
procedit, et cum op-
pido conjungit. Huc
Cæsar magnis nocturnis
vigiliisque itineribus con-
stitit; occupatoque op-
pido, ibi præsidium con-
stituit.

XXXIX. Dum paucos
dies ad Vefontionem, rei
instrumentariæ commeatus-
que causa, moratur, ex
intercunctatione nostro-

advanced three days journey from
his own territories. Cæsar
thought it highly concerned him
to use all precaution, that this
might not happen. For in this
city there was great store of all
things, that were necessary for
the war, and it was so forti-
fied by the situation of the place,
that it afforded great conve-
nience for protracting the war:
in regard that the river Dubis,
as if led about with a pair of
compasses, surrounds almost the
whole city: a mountain of a
considerable height fences the re-
maining space, which is not a-
bove six hundred feet, where the
river fails to inclose the town,
and that in such manner that
the banks of the river reach the
roots of the mountain on both
sides. A wall drawn round
this mountain forms a citadel,
and unites it with the town.
Hither Cæsar posts by great
marches night and day; and
taking possession of the city, pla-
ces a garrison in it.

XXXIX. Whilst he stays a
few days at Vefontio, on account
of corn and provisions, upon our
men inquiring about the ene-
my's
H ruin,

XXXVIII. 1. Magno opere] See c. 13. n. 2.

2. Qua flumen intermittit] Intermittit is here used in a neuter sense,
and has much the same import as cessat, deficit, definit, or the like.

rum, vocibusque Gallo-
rum, ac mercatorum, qui
ingenti magnitudine cor-
porum Germanos, incre-
dibili virtute, atque ex-
ercitatione in armis esse
prædicabant, sæpenume-
ro sese cum eis congressos
ne vultum quidem, atque
aciem oculorum ferre po-
tuisse; tantus subito ti-
mor omnem exercitum
occupavit, ut non medio-
criter omnium mentes
animosque perturbaret.
Hic primum ortus est a
tribunis militum, præ-
fectis, reliquisque, qui ex
urbe, amicitiae causa, Cæ-
sarem secuti, magnum
periculum miserabantur,
quod non magnum in re
militari usum habebant.
Quorum alius, alia causa
inlata, quam sibi ad pro-
ficiscendum necessariam
esse diceret, petebat, ut
ejus voluntate discedere
liceret; nonnulli, pudore
aducti, ut timoris sus-
picionem vitarent, re-
munebant. Hi neque vul-
tum fingere, neque interdum
lacrimas tenere po-
terant: abditi in taber-
naculis aut suum fatum
querebantur, aut cum fa-
miliaribus suis communem
periculum miserabantur.
Volgo totis castris te-

my, and by the reports of the
Gauls, and merchants, who said
the Germans were of a huge
stature of body, of prodigious
courage, and experience in war,
that often they upon engaging
with them, had not been able to
bear even their looks, and the
fierceness of their eyes; such a
panic on a sudden seized the
whole army, that it not a little
dyscomposed the minds and spirits
of all. This first took rise a-
mong some military tribunes,
officers, and others, who, having
attended Cæsar, out of compli-
ment, from the city Rome, now
deplored the great danger they
thought themselves in, because
they had no great experience in
military affairs. Of whom
some, alledging different reasons,
which they pretended were pres-
sing upon them to be gone, peti-
tioned that they might be al-
lowed to depart by his permission;
some, moved by shame, to avoid
the imputation of cowardice,
staid still. These however could
neither put on chearful looks, nor
sometimes restrain tears: but
either shut up in their tents be-
wailed their destiny, or with
their comrades lamented the com-
mon danger. Generally through-
out the whole camp wills were
signed. And through the whi-
sperings and cowardice of these,
by degrees, even they, who had
stamenta

amenta obsignabantur. Horum vocibus, ac timore paulatim etiam ii, qui magnum in castris utilitatem habebant, milites, centurionesque, quique equitatu præerant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his minus timidos existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri, sed angustias itineris, et magnitudinem silvarum, quæ intercederent inter ipsos, atque Ariovistum, aut rem frumentariam, ut satis commodè subportari posset, timere dicebant. Nonnulli etiam Cæsari renuntiabant, quum castra moveri, ac signa ferri iussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites, neque propter timorem signa laturos.

XL. Hæc quum animadvertisset, convocato

XL. After he observed this, calling a council of war, and

H 2 consilio,

XXXIX. 1. *Aut rem frumentariam*] To be resolved thus: *Aut* dicebant se timere quod ad rem frumentariam, ut satis, &c.

2. *Ut*—*subportari posset, timere dicebant*] *Vereor, metuo, paveo, timeo*, followed by *ut*, denote hesitation or doubting; and *ut* in this case has the same import as *an, necne, ne, non*, Ter. Andr. iv. 2. 22. *Dies hic mi ut sit satis vereor ad agendum*, i. e. *Dubito an hic dies sit satis mihi ad agendum*. Hec. i. 2. 26. *Firmæ hæc vereor ut sint nuptiæ*. Andr. v. 4. 11. *Metuo, ut substat hospes*. ii. 2. 12. *Id paves, ne ducas tu illam, tu autem, ut ducas*.

XL. 1. *Convocato consilio*] *Consilium* as well as *concilium* is often used to denote an assembly of judges or counsellors; Sall. Jug. 29. *Rex in castra venit, ac pauca, præsentî consilio, locutus*. Suet. Aug. 35. *Sibique instituit consilia sortiri semistrîa*. And Cæs. iii. 3. *Consilio celeriter*

great experience in the camp, both soldiers, and centurions, and they who commanded the cavalry, were put into great confusion. And those amongst them, who inclined to be thought less daunted, pretended they were not afraid of the enemy, but of the narrow passes of the way, and the vast woods, that lay betwixt them and Ariovistus, or doubted, as to provision, whether it could conveniently enough be conveyed to them. And some insinuated to Cæsar, that upon his giving orders to decamp, and advance the ensigns, the soldiers would not obey orders, nor, by reason of their fear, advance the standards.

consilio, omniumque ordinum ad id consilium adhibitis centurionibus, vehementer eos incusavit: Primum, quod aut quam in partem, aut quo consilio ducerentur, sibi quærendum aut cogitandum putarent. Ariovistum, se consule, cupidissime populi Romani amicitiam adpetisse. Cur hunc tam temere quiscquam ab officio discessurum judicaret? sibi quidem persuaderi, cognitis suis postulatis, atque æquitate conditionum perspecta, cum neque suam, neque populi Romani gratiam repudiaturum. Quod si furore atque amentia impulsus bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur? aut cur de sua virtute, aut de ipsius diligentia desperarent? Factum ejus hostis periculum patrum nostrorum

admitting to this council the centurions of every rank, he severely reprimanded them: First because they had presumed to inquire or conjecture, whither, or upon what design they were led out. He told them, that Ariovistus, during his consulship, had most earnestly courted the friendship of the Roman people. And why should any one imagine he would go off from his duty in such a rash manner? for his part he was persuaded, were his demands understood by Ariovistus, and the equity of the proposals considered, he would slight neither his friendship, nor that of the Roman people. And if hurried on by fury and madness he should make war, what pray had they to be afraid of? why should they despair either of their own bravery, or of his activity? Trial had been made of this enemy in the memory of our fathers, when, upon the defeat of the Cimbri and Teutoni by C. Marius, the army appeared to have memoria,

leriter convocato, quo in consilio. B. Civ. ii. 40. Consilio convocato, de summa rerum deliberare incipit.

2. *Omniumque ordinum — adhibitis centurionibus*] Contrary to what was customary: for to a council of war were generally admitted only the *Legati*, *Questores*, *Tribuni*, and *Centuriones primorum ordinum*, i. e. *Principili*.

3. *Quod — sibi quærendum — putarent*] To this purpose, in Tacit. *hist. i. 84.* Otho addresses himself to the army. *Parendo potius, commilitones, quam imperia ducum sciscitando, res militares continentur — Vobis arma et animus sit, mihi consilium et virtutis vestra regimen relinquite.*

memoria, quum Cimbris
Teutonis a C. Mario
victis, non minorem lau-
dem exercitus, quam ipse
imperator, meritus vide-
tur. Factum etiam
tumultu in Italia, servili
tumultu; quos tamen a-
mici usus ac disciplina,
quum a nobis accepissent,
conpleverant: ex quo ju-
diciari posset, quantum
valeret in se boni con-
stantia: propterea quod,
quos aliquandiu inerimos
de causa timuissent, hos
postea armatos, ac victo-
ris superassent: denique
esse eosdem, quibus-
dam sæpenumero Helve-
tici congressi, non solum
vicerunt, sed etiam in illo-
rum finibus plerumque
intererant, qui tamen pa-
re esse nostro exercitu
non potuerint. Si quos
versum prælium et fu-
rum Gallorum commove-

*deserved no less praise than the
general himself. Trial had been
made also lately in Italy, during
the insurrection of the slaves:
whom by the by the practice and
discipline, which they had learn-
ed from us, had somewhat im-
proved: from whence might be
gathered, what a mighty ad-
vantage resolution carried in it:
in regard that, whom unarmed
they had been in dread of for
some time without reason, these
they afterwards had conquered
when armed, and flushed with
success: in fine, that these were
the same, with whom the Hel-
vetii had often engaged, and
whom they had frequently van-
quished, not only in their own
country, but even in theirs, who
yet could not be a match for our
army. If the unfortunate battle
and defeat of the Gauls startled
any of them, these, if they inqui-
red, would find, that Ariovistus,
after the Gauls were wearied
ret,*

1. Quum Cimbris et Teutonis] See c. 33. n. 2.

2. Servili tumultu] These were headed by one Spartacus, who,
with some others, made his escape out of Lentulus's school of gla-
diators at Capua. They consisted of slaves, peasants, outlaws, de-
bilitated, and other desperadoes; being mostly Gauls and Germans.
Plutarch in *Craſſus* informs us, to the number of 120,000, all
of a savage disposition. At first they were at a loss for want
of arms: but, after they had routed some troops sent against
them, and came to be provided with arms, they raged for three
years together up and down through Italy, carrying fire and
sword where-ever they came, and defeated the Consuls several
times. At last they were subdued, and an end put to this insur-
rection, by Craſſus and Pompey, in the year of Rome 682, about
thirteen years before this time.

ret, hos, si quærerent, reperire posse, diurnitate belli defatigatis Gallis, Ariovistum, quum 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. Cui rationi contra homines barbaros atque inperitos locus fuisset, hac, ne ipsum quidem sperare, nostros exercitus capi posse. Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariæ simulationem, angustiasque itinerum conferrent, facere adroganter; quum aut de officio imperatoris desperare, aut præscribere viderentur. Hæc sibi esse curæ; frumentum Sequanos, Leucos, Lingonas subministrare: jamque esse in agris frumenta matura: de itinere, ipsos brevi tempore judicatu-ros. Quod non fore dicto audientes milites, 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 fa-

with the long continuance of war, when for several months he had kept himself within camp and the fens, and had given no opportunity of battle, suddenly attacking them, when this time despairing of an engagement, and dispersed, had conquered more by policy and stratagem, than courage. For which method there might be room in war against a barbarous and unskilful people; but even Ariovistus himself did not expect, or that his army could be trepanned that way. Those who ascribed the fear to the pretence about provisions, and the narrow passes of the road, behaved insolently; and they seemed either to despair of their general's acting his part, or to offer him directions. These things should be his care; the Sequani, the Leuci, and the Lingones were to furnish corn: and by this time the corn upon the fields were ripe: as to the roads themselves should be judges in short time. As to the report, that the soldiers would not obey his orders, nor advance the standards, he was no way disturbed with that matter: for he well knew, that to whomsoever an army had refused obedience, the reason had been, that either, upon his mis-managing affairs, fortune had failed him; or, upon the discovery of some crime, his avarice had

cinor

ore comperto, avari-
 esse convictam: su-
 innocentiam perpe-
 vita, felicitatem Hel-
 viorum bello esse per-
 ctam. Itaque se, quod
 longiorem diem con-
 rus esset, repræsentaturum,
 et proxima nocte
 quarta vigilia castra
 turum, ut quamprimum
 intellegere posset,
 tum apud cos pudor
 ne officium, an timor
 eret. Quod si præter-
 nemo sequatur, ta-
 m se cum sola decima
 ione iturum, de qua
 dubitaret, sibi que e-
 Prætoriam cohortem
 aram. Haic legioni
 far et indulserat præ-
 que, et propter virtu-
 confidebat maxime.

*been made evident: as to him-
 self, his integrity had been de-
 monstrated in the whole tenor of
 his life, and his good fortune in
 the war with the Helvetii.
 Wherefore he would immediate-
 ly execute, what he once desig-
 ned to have put off to a more di-
 stant day, and would decamp
 next night, about the fourth
 watch, that he might as soon
 as possible understand, whether
 shame and regard to duty, or
 cowardice had the ascendant a-
 mong them. And tho' none else
 should attend him, yet he would
 march with the tenth legion only,
 of which he had no distrust, and
 it should be his life-guard. Cæ-
 sar had both chiefly favoured
 this legion, and because of their
 bravery, put the greatest trust in
 them.*

XLI.

5. *Repræsentaturum*] This is a law-term, which is properly applied
 money, and signifies to make instant or present payment. Thus,
 et. Aug. 102. *Legavit legionariis treccenes nummos: quam summam
 præsentari jussit, nam et confiscatam semper repositamque habuerat.*
 ud. 18. *Positis ante se cum pecunia fscis, repræsentaturus pro o-
 a dignam cuique mercedem.* And hence this verb, when applied
 any other purpose than that of payments, imports the doing of
 thing instantly or without delay. Phæd. iii. 10. 32. *Repræsen-
 it in se pœnam facinoris.* Suet. Claud. 34. *Pœnas parricidarum
 præsentabat, exigebatque coram.* Cic. Philipp. ii. 46. *Ego corpus
 nter obtulerim, si repræsentari morte mea libertas civitatis posset.*
 et. Vitell. 16. *Sape vulnera, nonnunquam necem repræsentantes ad-
 santibus.*

6. *Prætoriam cohortem*] A general was anciently called Prætor;
 hence his tent or pavilion was called prætorium, sciz. *taberna-
 tum*; and the company or battalion who waited upon him to
 guard his person, was called *Prætoria cohors*.

XLI. Hæc oratione habita, mirum in modum conversæ sunt omnium mentes, summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi innata est: princepsque decima legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit, quod de se optimum iudicium fecisset; seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam confirmavit. Deinde reliquæ legiones per tribunos militum et primorum ordinum centuriones egerunt, uti Cæsari satisfacerent: se neque umquam dubitasse, neque timuisse, neque de summa belli suum iudicium, sed imperatoris esse, existimavisse. 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. Septimo die, quum iter non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est, Ariovisti copias a no-

XLI. *After the delivery of this speech, the minds of all were in a strange manner altered and the greatest cheerfulness and fondness for going on with the war was produced: and first the tenth legion returned him thanks by their tribunes, because he had expressed a good opinion of them; and assured him they were very ready to prosecute the war. Then the rest of the legions endeavoured to apologize to Cæsar by their tribunes, and the centurions of the first rank protesting, they had never hesitated, nor been under any terror nor had imagined the forming a judgement with respect to the issue of the war was their part but belonged to their general. Their apology being admitted and the road surveyed by Divitiacus, because of all others he put the greatest confidence in him, and report being made, that by fetching a compass of somewhat more than fifty miles he might lead his army through a campaign country, he marched out as he had said, about the fourth watch. Upon the seventh day, not having stopt in his march, he was informed by his scouts that Ariovistus's army was dis-*

stris

XLI. *Per Divitiacum* — *ut milium, &c.*] The sentence may be thus supplied: *Itinere exquisito per Divitiacum* — *qui renunciavit ut milium amplius quinquaginta circuitu, &c.* See l. ii. c. 30. n. 1.

is milibus passuum IV
xx abesse.

XLII. Cognito Cæsa-
adventu, Ariovistus le-
tos ad eum mittit: quod
tea de conloquio postu-
set, id per se fieri lice-
quoniam propius ac-
fisset; seque id sine pe-
culo facere posse existi-
re. Non respuit con-
tionem Cæsar: jamque
in ad sanitatem reverti
bitratur; quum id,
od antea petenti dene-
fset, ultro polliceretur;
agnamque in spem ve-
bat, pro suis tantis, po-
llique Romani in eum
beneficiis, cognitis suis
stulatis, fore, uti perti-
cia desisteret. Dies
conloquio dictus est, ex
die quintus. Interim,
um sæpe ultro citroque
gati inter eos mitteren-
r, Ariovistus postula-
, ne quem peditum ad
conloquium Cæsar addu-
ret. vereri se, ne per
fidias ab eo circumve-
neretur: uterque cum e-
ritatu veniret; alia ra-
one se non esse ventu-
m. Cæsar, quod ne-
ue conloquium, interpo-
a causa, tolli volebat,
que salutem suam Gal-
rum equitatu committ-

stant from ours only twenty-
four miles.

XLII. Upon getting notice of
Cæsar's approach, Ariovistus
dispatches away ambassadors to
him: to acquaint him, that
what formerly he had been re-
quiring with respect to a conse-
rence, might for his part be done,
since he was come nearer; and
he thought he might now do it
without danger. Cæsar did not
reject the offer: and imagined
he was now come to a right tem-
per; since of his own accord he
offered that, which formerly he
had refused upon request; and
was in great hopes, considering
his own great favours and those
of the Roman people toward
him, it would come to pass, that,
after pondering his demands, he
would desist from his obstinacy.
The fifth day after this was ap-
pointed as the day for the inter-
view. In the mean time, as
messengers passed frequently to
and fro betwixt them, Ariovi-
stus desired, that Cæsar would
not bring any infantry to the con-
ference. for he was afraid,
lest in the way of surprise he
should be trepanned by them:
that both of them should come
escorted with a few cavalry:
and that he would not come up-
on other terms. Cæsar, as he
did not incline the conference
should be set aside for an al-
tere

tere audebat; commo-
dissimum esse statuit, o-
mnibus equis Gallis e-
quitibus detractis, eo le-
gionarios milites legionis
decimæ, cui quam ma-
xime confidebat, inpone-
re; ut præsidium quam
amicissimum, si quid opus
facto esset, haberet. Quod
quum fieret, non inridi-
cule quidam ex militibus
decimæ legionis dixit;
Plus, quam pollicitus ef-
fet, Cæsarem ei facere:
pollicitum se in cohortis
prætorix loco decimam
legionem habiturum;
nunc ad equum rescribere.

XLIII. Planities erat
magna, et in ea tumulus
terreus satis grandis. Hic
locus æquo fere spatio ab
castris utrisque aberat.
Eo, ut erat dictum, ad
conloquium venerunt.
Legionem Cæsar, quam
equis devexerat, passibus
cc ab eo tumulo consti-
tuit: item equites Ario-
visti pari intervallo con-
stituerant. Ariovistus, ex

ledged reason, and durst not trust
the safety of his person to the ca-
valry of the Gauls; thought the
most convenient way was, to
turn the Gallic riders off all the
horses, and to mount them with
the soldiers of the tenth legion, in
whom he placed the greatest con-
fidence; that he might have the
most friendly guard, if there
should be any occasion for action.
Which when done, one of the
soldiers of the tenth legion said
not unwittily, That Cæsar did
more for them than he had pro-
mised: he had promised to use
the tenth legion in place of a præ-
torian cohort; but now he had
raised them to cavalry.

XLIII. There was a spa-
cious plain, and in it a pretty
large mount of earth. This
place was nearly at an equal
distance from either camp. Thi-
ther, as had been agreed, they
repaired to the conference. Cæ-
sar posted the legion, which he
had brought up mounted on
horses, two hundred paces from
this mount: the cavalry also
of Ariovistus slept at the like
distance. Ariovistus proposed that
equis

XLII. *Ad equum rescribere*] When men were listed for the ser-
vice of the war, their names were written or entered in the mili-
tary rolls; and hence *scribere milites* signifies to levy soldiers. And,
under the like notion, *rescribere* is here used to denote a promo-
tion from a lower or higher order. For, on such occasions, their
names were expunged the rolls belonging to the order they left,
and entered in the rolls of the order to which they were advanced.

uis ut conloquerentur, præter se, denos ut ad conloquium adducerent, postulavit. Ubi eo venimus, Cæsar initio orationis sua senatusque eum beneficia commemoravit; quod rex adpellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissima missa; nam rem et paucis conspexisse, et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui docebat: illum, eum neque aditum, neque causam postulandi instam haberet, beneficio liberalitate sua ac festus, ea præmia consecutum. Docebat etiam, nam veteres, quamque instæ causæ necessitudinis ipsis cum Æduis intercederent; quæ festus consulta, quoties, namque honorifica, in his facta essent; ut omni tempore totius Galliæ principatum Ædui tenuerent, prius etiam, quam nostram amicitiam adpe-

they should discourse on horseback, and that, besides themselves, they should bring each ten persons to the conference. When they were come to the place, Cæsar in the beginning of his speech recounted his own and the senate's acts of kindness toward him; that by the senate he had been honoured with the title of king, that he had been honoured with the title of friend, and that very honourable presents had been sent him; which usage he told him happened but to few, and used to be bestowed for mens signal deserts: that he had obtained these honours, through his and the senate's favour and bounty, when he had neither access nor just ground to require them. He shewed him also, what ancient and what just grounds of alliance were betwixt them and the Ædui: what, how many, and how honourable decrees of the senate had been made in their favour; how at all times the Ædui had had the chief sway in all Gaul, even before they had courted our friendship. That it was the

I 2

tissent.

XLIII. 1. *Munera amplissima*] When the Romans conferred the title of King on any person, it was usual at the same time, in token of pledge of their friendship, to make him some rich and valuable present. Liv. xxx. 15. *Scipio Masinissam, primum regem appellatum, omnisque ornatum laudibus, aurea corona, aurea patera, sella curuli, scipione eburneo, toga picta, et palmata tunica donat.*

2. *Quam veteres*] See c. II. n. 1.

tissent. Populi Romani hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios, atque amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores vellet esse. Quod vero ad amicitiam populi Romani attulissent, id iis eripi, quis pati posset? Postulavit deinde eadem, quæ legatis in mandatis dederat, ne aut Æduis, aut eorum sociis bellum inferret; obsides redderet; si nullam partem Germanorum domum remittere posset, at ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur.

XLIV. Ariovistus ad postulata Cæsaris pauca respondit; de suis virtutibus multa prædicavit; transisse Rhenum sese non sua sponte, sed rogatum, et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe, magnisque præmiis domum propinquosque reliquisse: sedes habere in Gallia, ab ipsis concessas; obsides, ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere jure belli quod victores victis imponere confuerint: non sese Gallis, sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse: omnes Galliæ ci-

manner of the Roman people to be desirous, that their allies and friends should not only lose nothing of what they had, but should increase in interest, reputation, and honour. But who could endure, that should be forced from them, which till their alliance with the Roman people they had possessed? After this he demanded the same things, which he had given in charge to his ambassadors, that he should not make war either upon the Ædui, or their allies; that he should restore their hostages; if he could send back no part of the Germans to their own home, at least he should not suffer any more to cross the Rhine.

XLIV. Ariovistus made little answer to Cæsar's demands; but enlarged much on his own virtues; saying, he had crossed the Rhine not of his own accord, but at the request and invitation of the Gauls; that he had left his home and relations not without high expectations, and great rewards offered him: that he had his possessions in Gaul granted him by the Gauls themselves; that the hostages had been delivered by a proper motion of their own; that by the right of war he levied a tribute, which conquerors had been in use to impose upon the vanquished; that he had not made war

vitates

ates ad se obpugnandum venisse; ac contra castra habuisse: eas omnes copias a se uno præfusas ac superatas esse, si iterum experiri vellet, iterum paratum sese certare; si pace uti vellet, iniquum esse de stipendio recusare, quod sua voluntate ad id temeris pependerint. Amicitiam populi Romani si ornamento, et præstigio, non detrimento, esse portare: idque se ea spe fecisse. Si per populum Romanum stipendium retribuitur, et dedititii subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum populi Romani amicis, quam adpetierit. Quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam transfucat, id se sui muneris, non Galliæ inpermandæ, causa facere; his rei testimonium esse, quod, nisi rogatus, non venerit, et quod bellum non intulerit, sed defenderit. Sè prius in Galliam venisse, quam populum Romanum; num-

upon the Gauls, but the Gauls upon him: that all the states of Gaul had come to attack him; and had formed a camp in opposition to him: that all these forces had been routed and overthrown by him in one battle. if they had a mind to make another trial, he was ready to engage them a second time; if they inclined to enjoy peace, it was wrong to refuse payment of the tribute, which till this time they had paid chearfully. That the friendship of the Roman people ought to be his honour and security, not his disadvantage: and that he had courted it in this view. If by means of the Roman people his tribute should be discontinued, and those who had submitted to him be withdrawn from their alledgiance, he would no less heartily renounce the friendship of the Roman people, than he had sought it. As to his transporting a number of Germans into Gaul, he did this with a design to secure himself, and not to invade Gaul; an evidence of this was, that he had not come but upon invitation, and that he had not raised a war, but acted on the defence. That

quam
XLIV. 1. Bellum defenderit] Defendo is frequently put for arceo, oppulso, to keep off, to drive away. ii. 29. Quum alias bellum inferat, alias inlatum defenderent. vi. 23. Bellum civitas aut inlatum defendit, aut infert. B. Civ. i. 7. Conclamant milites sese paratos esse imperatoris sui injurias defendere. Virg. eclog. vii. 47. Solstitium cori defendit. Hor. od. i. 17. 3. Igneam defendit astatem capellis.

quam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romani Galliae provinciae fines egressum. Quid sibi vellet? cur in suas possessiones veniret? provinciam suam hanc esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines inpetum faccret, sic item nos esse iniquos, qui in suo jure se interpellaremus. Quod fratres a senatu, Aeduos appellatos diceret; non se tam barbarum, neque tam inperitum esse rerum, ut non sciret, neque, bello Allobrogum proximo, Aeduos Romanis auxilium tulisse, neque ipsos in his contentionibus, quas Aedui secum, et cum Sequanis habuissent, auxilio populi Romani usos esse. Debere se suspicari, simulata Cæsarem amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui obprimendi causa habere: Qui nisi decedat, atque

he had come into Gaul before the Roman people; that the army of the Roman people had never before this time gone beyond the bounds of their Gallic province. What could they mean? why did they incroach upon his possessions? this part of Gaul was his province, as the other ours. As liberty ought not to be allowed him, if he would make an attack upon our territories, so we likewise were unjust, who would disturb him in the possession of his right. As to his alledging, that the Aedui had been dignified with the title of brethren by the senate; he was not so barbarous, nor so unacquainted with the world, as not to know, that the Aedui had neither carried aid to the Romans, in their last war with the Allobroges, nor had they made use of the assistance of the Roman people in those broils, which the Aedui had among themselves, and with the Sequani. He had ground to suspect, that Cæsar, after pretending friendship, as he had an army in Gaul, kept it there on pur-
exercitum

1. *Fines egressum*] *Egredior* is compounded either of *ex* and *gradior*, or of *extra* and *gradior*. In the former case it rules the ablative, ii. 17. *Castris egressi*. Sall. Jug. 60. *Jam scalis egressi milites*. And in the latter, the accusative. Cæs. B. Civ. iii. 52. *Munitiones nostras egressi*. Plin. ep. 7. *Historia non debet egredi veritatem*.

3. *Sic item nos*] By a typographical mistake, *iterum*, instead of *item*, had crept into Oudendorp's text; which is here rectified from the authority of his notes.

4. *Bello Allobrogum proximo*] See c. 6. n. 3.

exercitum deducat ex his
regionibus, sese illum non
pro amico, sed pro hoste
habiturum; quid si eum
interfecerit, multis sese
civilibus, principibusque
populi Romani gratum
se facturum. Id se ab
his per eorum nuncios
comperit habere; quo-
modo omnium gratiam at-
que amicitiam ejus mor-
tore dimere posset. Quod
contemneret, et liberam
possessionem Galliae sibi
habidisset, magno se il-
li præmio remunera-
tum, et quaecunque bel-
ligeri vellet, sine ullo e-
ius labore et periculo con-
tenturum.

XLV. Multa ab Cæ-
sare in eam sententiam
dicta sunt, quare negotio
transigere non posset, et
suaque suam, neque popu-
li Romani consuetudi-
nem pati, uti optime me-
ritis socios desereret; ne-
que se judicare, Galliam
suum esse Ariovisti,
non populi Romani.
Illi superatos esse Ar-
vernos, et Rutenos ab
Q. Fabio Maximo, qui
populus Romanus ig-

pose to ruin him: and unless he
departed, and withdrew his ar-
my from these quarters, he would
not take him for a friend, but
for an enemy; and if he should
murder him, he would do an ac-
ceptable piece of service to ma-
ny of the nobility, and great men
among the Roman people. This
he had assurance of from them-
selves by their messengers; all
whose favour and friendship he
could purchase by his death. But
if he would depart, and give up
the free possession of Gaul to him,
he would gratify him with a
considerable reward, and what-
ever wars he inclined should be
carried on, he would finish them
without any trouble and danger
to him.

XLV. Many things were ad-
vanced by Cæsar on this head,
shewing why he could not desist
from his resolution, and that nei-
ther his own custom, nor that of
the Roman people, did permit him
to abandon well-deserving al-
lies; nor could he think that
Gaul belonged rather to Ariovi-
stus, than to the Roman people.
That the Arverni and the Ru-
teni had been subdued in war
by Q. Fabius Maximus, whom
the Roman people had pardoned,
novisset,

XLV. 1. *Bello superatos*.—ab, &c.] This happened about the
year of Rome 634, and 62 years before this time. Fabius Ma-
ximus took Bituitus, King of the Arverni, with his son Cogen-
tis, prisoner, after killing 20,000 of his men. This bloody
war was fought near the banks of the Rhone.

novisset, neque in provinciam redegisset, neque stipendium inposuisset. Quod si antiquissimum quodque. tempus spectari oporteret, populi Romani iustissimum esse in Gallia imperium: si iudicium senatus observari oporteret, liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset.

XLVI. Dum hæc in conloquio geruntur, Cæsari nunciatum est, equites Ariovisti proprius tumultum accedere, et ad nostros adequitare; lapides telaque in nostros conijcere. Cæsar loquendi finem fecit; seque ad suos recepit; suisque imperavit, ne quod omnino telum in hostes rejicerent. nam, etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectæ, cum equitatu prælium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat, ut, pulsus hostibus, dici

and had not reduced into a province, nor laid under tribute. And if the most ancient times must be looked into, the authority of the Roman people in Gaul was very just: if the judgement of the senate must be regarded, Gaul ought to be free, which when subdued in war they designed should have the use of their own laws.

XLVI. Whilst these things were transacting in the conference, it was told Cæsar, that the cavalry of Ariovistus were approaching nearer to the mount, and were riding up toward our soldiers; and were throwing stones and darts among our men. Cæsar made an end of speaking; and betook himself to his party; and commanded his men, not to return any weapon at all upon the enemy. for tho' he perceived a battle might be fought with the cavalry of Ariovistus, without any danger to his select legion; yet he was of opinion he

2. *In provinciam redegisset*] A country was said to be reduced to a province, or into the form of a province, when the people were laid under tribute, forbid the use of their own laws, and governed by magistrates sent annually from Rome; which at this time was the case of Gallia Narbonensis.

XLVI. 1. *Ad nostros adequitare*] Cæsar frequently repeats the preposition contained in the compound verb, c. 50. Cæsar e castris utriusque copias suas eduxit. ii. 11. Absesse a periculo c. 33. Ex oppido exire. iv. 26. Ex navi egredientes. c. 33. Per omnes partes perequitant,

isset, eos ab se per fidem
conloquio circumven-
Posteaquam in vol-
militum elatum est,
adrogantia in conlo-
Ariovistus usus, o-
Gallia Romanis in-
dixisset, inpetumque in
eius equites fecis-
et, eaque res conloqui-
ut diremisset: multo
major alacritas studium-
pugnandi majus ex-
itu injectum est.

ought to give no occasion to its
being said, after the enemy was
beat, that they had been drawn
into a snare by him at the con-
ference by breach of faith. Af-
ter the report was spread among
the common soldiers, with what
insolence Ariovistus had beha-
ved at the interview, and had
commanded the Romans to be gone
out of Gaul, and that his caval-
ry had made an attack upon our
men, and how this put an end to
the conference; a far greater
briskness and a greater eager-
ness to fight was infused into the
army.

XLVII. Biduo post A-

XLVII. Two days after, A-
K riovistus

1. *Per fidem*] *Fides* denotes the sacred and inviolable obligation
which parties were laid under by the nature of the thing, and perhaps
by express stipulation, to abstain from all acts of violence or
hostility during the conference. And *per fidem circumvenire* is much
the same as *fide data circumvenire*, to deceive under trust; or rather
which is worse, to make use of plighted faith as a means to execute
a treacherous design with more security and greater success. Sall. i.
6. *Ut te neque hominum, neque Deorum, pudet, quos per fidem, aut
jurio violasti!* Senec. de provid. 3. *Multa milia civium Roma-
rum, post fidem, immo per ipsam fidem trucidata.*

2. *Volgus militum*] *Volgus* is here put partitively, and governs the
relative plural. Thus, Cor. Nep. Alcib. 8. *Nam quum Lysander
aperisset vulgum Atheniensium in terram prædatum exiisse.*

3. *Ut diremisset*] *Ut* is here put for *quomodo* or *quemadmodum*,
how or in what manner. Thus, Ter. Andr. i. 1. 8. *Scis, ut sem-
per apud me justa et clemens fuerit servitus.* Eun. i. 2. 48. *Scis
in intimum te habeam, et mea consilia ut tibi credam omnia.* But
Ske is of opinion, that *ut* here is either spurious or misplaced;
retained, he is for placing it before *fecissent*, in the former
sense. Oudendorp approves of this; but adds, that *ut* is proba-
bly a false reading; for in some of the MSS. the word before *di-
risset* seems to be *vi*.

riovistus ad Cæsarem legatos mittit, velle se de his rebus, quæ inter eos agi cœptæ, neque perfectæ essent, agere cum eo : nti aut iterum conloquio diem constitueret ; aut, si id minus vellet, ex suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret. Conloquendi Cæsari causa visa non est, et eo magis, quod pridie ejus diei Germani retineri non poterant, quin in nostros tela conjicerent. Legatum ex suis sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum, et hominibus feris objecturum, existimabat. Commodissimum visum est, C. Valerium Procillum, C. Valerii Caburi filium, summa virtute et humanitate adolescentem (cujus pater a C. Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat) et propter fidem et propter linguæ Gallicæ scientiam,

riovistus dispatches ambassador to Cæsar, to acquaint him, that he was desirous to treat with him concerning those affairs, which had been begun to be treated between them, and had not been finished : and to request, that he would either appoint a day for an interview a second time ; or if he did not approve of this, that he would send some of his most trusty friends, as ambassador to him. To Cæsar there did not appear any occasion for a conference, and the rather, because the day before this the Germans could not be restrained from throwing darts among our men. And he imagined, he would with great danger send one of his Roman as ambassador to him, and in so doing, would expose him to the cruelty of savage mortals. Wherefore it appeared most proper, to send to him C. Valerius Procillus, the son of C. Valerius Caburus, a young gentleman of the highest virtue and humanity (whose father had been present

XLVII. 1. *Ex suis legatis aliquem*] Davisius is positive, that *legatis* is either spurious and superfluous, or, if retained, that it ought to be read *legatum*. Oudendorp further observes, that *aliquem* is wanting in some of the MSS. which, if thrown out, the reading would be, *Ex suis legatum ad se mitteret*, and so would answer exactly to *legatum ex suis*, &c. in the following sentence save one.

2. *C. Valerium Procillum*] This is the gentleman mentioned c. 19. He was not a Roman, but a Gaul ; being a grandee, or great man in the Roman province.

3. *Propter linguæ Gallicæ scientiam*] Cluverius, *Germ. i 5.* proves

a multa jam Ariovis-
is, longinqua consuetu-
ne, utebatur, et, quod
eo peccandi Germanis
iussa non esset, ad eum
mittere, et M. Mettium,
in hospitio Ariovisti u-
sus erat. His mandavit,
quæ diceret Ariovi-
is, cognoscerent, et ad
referrent. Quos quum
ad se in castris Ariovi-
is conspexisset, exerci-
tuum suo præsentem, concla-
mavit : Quid ad se veni-
tis ? an speculandi caus-
a ? conantis dicere pro-
hibuit, et in catenas con-
iecit.

*ed with the freedom of the city
by C. Valerius Flaccus) and that
both on account of his integrity,
and because of his skill in the
Gallic language, which now A-
riovistus, after long custom, much
used, and also because the Ger-
mans had no reason to take ex-
ception at him ; and with him
he sent M. Mettius, who had
an intimate acquaintance with
Ariovistus. These he ordered to
hear what Ariovistus would
say ; and report to him. Whom
when Ariovistus observed by him
in his camp, he cried out, in the
presence of his army : Why had
they come to him ? was it with
a design to be spies ? and as they
were endeavouring to speak, he
stopt them, and clapt them in
irons.*

XLVIII. Eodem die
castra promovit, et mili-

XLVIII. The same day he
decamped, and sat down under
K 2 bus

many arguments, that the Gallic and German tongues were
two dialects of the same original language ; but had in a long
course of time come to differ so widely, not only in pronuncia-
tion, but in the words themselves, that the Germans could not
at all understand the Gauls, nor the Gauls the Germans.

4. *Qua multa—utebatur*] Oudendorp takes *qua multa* to refer to
scientiam, and not to *linguæ Gallicæ*. His words are, *Ariovistus ute-
batur multa scientia*, i. e. *Habebat magnam ejus linguæ cognitionem* :
which is a sense very different from that in which these words are
commonly understood, and which I have given in the translation.

5. *Hospitio Ariovisti usus erat*] There being in these times no pu-
blic inns, travellers were obliged to lodge in private houses ;
which was often the occasion of a very intimate friendship be-
tween the parties : and hence *hospitium* is used to signify not only
lodging or entertainment, but friendship and intimacy thence de-
rived. See Cæsar to this purpose, vi. 23. and B. *Hisp.* 16.

bus passuum VI a Cæsaris castris sub monte confedit. Postridie ejus diei, præter castra Cæsaris suas copias transduxit, et milibus passuum XII ultra eum castra fecit; eo consilio, uti frumento, comæatuque, qui ex Sequanis et Ædnis subportaretur, Cæsarem intercluderet. Ex eo die dies continuos V Cæsar pro castris suas copias produxit, et aciem instructam habuit; ut, si vellet Ariovistus prælio contendere, ei potestas non deesset. Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit: equestri prælio quotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat pugnae, quo se Germani exercuerant. Equitum milia erant VI, totidem numero pedites velocissimi, ac fortissimi; quos ex omni copia singuli singulos, suæ salutis causa, delegerant. cum his in præliis versabantur: ad hos se equites recipiebant: hi, si quid erat durius, concurrebant:

a hill six miles from Cæsar's camp. The day after this, he led away his army past Cæsar's camp, and pitched his camp two miles beyond him; with a design to cut off Cæsar from the corn and provisions, which should be sent from the Sequani and Ædui. From this day Cæsar for five days successively drew out his forces before the camp, and formed them into battle order; to the end that, if Ariovistus had a mind to contend in battle, he might not want an opportunity. Ariovistus during all these days kept his army within the camp, but engaged daily in horse-skirmishes. The manner of fighting in which the Germans had exercised themselves, was this. They had six thousand horse, and the same number of very nimble and very hardy foot: whom they had picked out of all the army, each horseman one, as his guard: with these they intermingled in engagements; to these the horse betook themselves when worsted: these, in case of any hardship, flocked together to assist: if any, upon receiving a grievous wound, had dropt from his horse, they

XLVIII. 1. *Quos ex omni copia*] Copia even in the singular number is sometimes used to denote forces, or an army. B. Afr. 38. *Pedestrem copiam in secunda acie constituunt.* Tacit. Ann. ii. 52. *Mazippa levi cum copia, incendia et cædes, et terrorem circumferret.* Virg. Æneid ii. 564. *Respicio, et quæ sit me circum copia lustrò.* Sall. Cat. 56. *Ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa.*

qui, graviore vulnere
 cepto, equo deciderat,
 circumstabant; si quo e-
 rit longius prodeundum,
 et celerius recipiendum,
 tanta erat horum, exer-
 citatione, celeritas, ut,
 his equorum sublevati,
 cursum adæquarent.

XLIX. Ubi eum ca-
 vis se tenere Cæsar in-
 tellexit, ne diutius com-
 muneatui prohiberetur, ul-
 tra eum locum, quo in-
 ter Germani confede-
 rant, circiter passus de-
 cem milibus, castris idoneum
 locum delegit; acieque
 triplici instructa, ad eum
 locum venit. Primam
 et secundam aciem in ar-
 mis esse, tertiam castra
 munire iussit. Hic locus
 ab hoste circiter passus
 sexcentos, uti dictum est,
 distabat. eo circiter homi-
 num numero xvi milia
 expedita cum omni equi-

stood round him: if there was
 occasion to advance far, or to
 make a quick retreat, such was
 their nimbleness, through fre-
 quent practice, that, supported
 by the horses manes, they would
 keep pace with them.

XLIX. When Cæsar found
 he kept himself within his camp,
 that he might not any longer be
 cut off from provisions, he chose
 a place proper for a camp, be-
 yond the spot on which the Ger-
 mans had incamped, and about
 six hundred paces from them;
 and having drawn up his army
 in three lines, he came to the
 place. He ordered the first and
 second line to be in arms, and
 the third to fortify the camp.
 This place, as already said, was
 distant from the enemy about six
 hundred paces. thither Ario-
 visus dispatched about sixteen
 thousand of his men light armed,
 tati

2. Si qui——equo deciderat] Our author frequently uses *si qui* in
 the singular number for *si quis* vi. 13. Si qui eorum decreto non ste-
 rit.——Si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate. B. Civ. i. 84. Si qui locus
 misericordie relinquatur. ii. 24. Quem si qui vitare voluerit. B. A-
 x. 16. Si qui cessisset. B. Hiss. 22. Si qui transfugerit.
 XLIX. 1. Ultra eum locum] i. e. betwixt the camp of Ariovi-
 sus and the country of the Ædui and Sequani, with a design
 to secure a safe convoy for provisions.

2. Hominum numero xvi milia] The adding *numero*, in such sen-
 tences as this, is an idiom or mode of expression, peculiar to the
 Latin, and frequently cannot be handsomely rendered into English.
 5. Oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim. 48. Totidem numero
 pedites.

tatu Ariovistus misit ; quæ copiæ nostros perterrerent, et munitione prohiberent. Nihilo secius Cæsar, ut ante constituerat, duas acies hostem propulsare, tertiam opus perficere, iussit. Munitis castris, duas ibi legiones reliquit, et partem auxiliorum : quatuor reliquas in castra majora reduxit.

L. Proximo die, instituto suo Cæsar e castris utrisque copias suas eduxit : paullumque a majoribus progressus aciem instruxit ; hostibusque pugnandi potestatem fecit. ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire intellexit, circiter meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum Ariovistus partem suarum copiarum, quæ castra minora obpugnaret, misit. Acriter utrimque, usque ad vesperrum, pugnatum est. Solis occasu suas copias Ariovistus, multis et inlatis et acceptis vulneribus, in castra reduxit. Quum ex captivis quæreretur Cæsar, quamobrem Ariovi-

with all his cavalry ; which forces were designed to strike terror into our men, and hinder them from the work. Cæsar nothing the less of this, as he had appointed formerly, ordered two lines to oppose the enemy ; and the third to execute the work. Having fortified the camp, he left two legions there, and part of the auxiliaries : the other four legions he led back into the larger camp.

L. Next day, Cæsar according to his custom drew his forces out of both camps : and having advanced a little from the larger camp, disposed them in order of battle ; and gave the enemy an opportunity of fighting, when he found that even yet they did not stir out of their trenches, about noon he led back his army to their camps. Then at last Ariovistus sent part of his forces to attack the lesser camp. The dispute was maintained with great vigour on both sides, till the evening. At sun-set Ariovistus, after many wounds both given and received, led back his forces to their camp. Cæsar, upon inquiring at the prisoners, why Ariovistus had declined battle, found this to be the reason : Because among the

stus

pedites. ii. 4. Oppida habere numero xii. vii. 64. Omnes equites xv milia numero. B. Civ. i. 36. Naves longas, numero xii. &c. Sall. Jug. 93. Numero quinque quam velocissimos delegit.

us prælio non decerta-
t, hanc reperiēbat caus-
am: Quod apud Ger-
manos ea consuetudo ef-
f, ut matres familiæ eo-
rum fortibus et vaticina-
tionibus declararent, u-
trum prælium committi
ex usu esset, nec ne: eas
autem dicere, Non esse fas
Germanos superare, si
ante novam Lunam præ-
lio contendissent.

LI. Postridie ejus diei
Cæsar præsidio utrisque
castris, quod satis esse vi-
sum est, reliquit: omnis
alarios in conspectu ho-
stium pro castris minori-
bus constituit; quod mi-
nus multitudine militum
regionariorum, pro ho-
stium numero, valebat,
sed ad speciem alariis ute-

*Germans it was a custom, that
their elderly women determined
by oracles and divination, whe-
ther the battle could be fought to
advantage, or not: and that
they had declared, It was not de-
stined for the Germans to con-
quer, if they engaged in battle
before the new Moon.*

LI. *The day after this Cæsar
left what appeared sufficient for
a guard to both camps: and ran-
ged all the auxiliaries in sight of
the enemy before the lesser camp;
in order to make a showy ap-
pearance with the auxiliaries,
because he had no great store of
legionary soldiers, considering the
number of the enemy. And ha-
retur,*

L, 1. *Apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset]* To this purpose Tacit.
Hist. iv. 61. *Vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque feminarum fa-
dicas, et augescēte superstitione arbitrentur Deas.* And Plutarch in
Cæs. informs us, that part of their divination was taken from the
motion of wheels or whirlpools in rivers, and the noise of waters.
2. *Utrum prælium committi ex usu esset]* To be supplied and resol-
ved thus: *Utrum esset ex usu sibi prælium committi;* whether it
would be for their interest that a battle should be fought.
3. *Non esse fas]* *Fas* derived from *fando* properly signifies *id quod
Dii fati essent.* i. e. It was not the mind or will of the gods, that
the Germans should be victorious, if, &c.

LI. *Omnis alarios]* In the Roman armies, the legions, which
were the natural forces of the empire, composed the middle or
main body: those in the two extremities or wings, called *alarii*
from *ala*, were commonly made up of the auxiliary forces: and
the name *alarii* is used to signify the auxiliaries; whose reputation as
soldiers was always inferior to that of the Roman legions.

retur. Ipse, triplici instructa acie, usque ad castra hostium accessit. Tum demum necessario Germani suas copias castris eduxerunt, generatimque constituerunt, paribusque intervallis, Harudes, Marcomanos, Triboccos, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusios, Suevos: omnemque aciem suam rhedis et carris circumdederunt; ne qua spes in fuga relinqueretur. Eo mulieres inposuerunt, quæ in prælium proficiscentes milites passis crinibus flentes inplorabant, ne se in servitutem Romanis traderent.

LII. Cæsar singulis legionibus singulos legatos, et quæstorem præfecit; uti eos testis suæ quisque virtutis haberet. Ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse animum adverterat, prælium commisit. Ita nostri acriter in hostes, signo dato, impetum fecerunt. Itaque hostes repente celeriter-

ving drawn up his army in three lines, he advanced up to the enemy's camp. Then at last the Germans, being necessitated, drew their forces out of the camp, arranged, canton by canton, and at equal distances, the Harudes, the Marcomani, the Tribocci, the Vangiones, the Nemetes, the Sedusii, and the Suevi: and surrounded their whole army with their chariots and waggons, that no hopes of security by flight might be left. On these they placed the women, who, with their hair dishevelled, intreated the men with tears as they went on to battle, not to deliver them up for slaves to the Romans.

LII. Cæsar assigned to each legion a lieutenant, and a quæstor; that every one might have these as witnesses of his bravery. He himself, at the head of his right wing began the battle, because he perceived that part of the enemy to be least firm. Accordingly our men, upon a signal given, made an attack upon the enemy with great vigour. Whereupon the enemy rushed forward all on a sudden and with great

LII. *Quod eam partem minime firmam*] i.e. The enemy's left wing, which was opposite to the right wing of the Romans, and which Cæsar thought proper to attack first; from a persuasion, no doubt, that the best method to inspire his men with courage, and the surest as well as shortest way to victory, was, to begin with the weakest part of the enemy.

ne procurerunt; ut
 atium pila in hostes
 onjiciendi non daretur.
 ejectis pilis, comminus
 radiis pugnatum est. At
 Germani celeriter, ex
 consuetudine sua, pha-
 nge facta, inpetus gla-
 brum exceperunt. Re-
 rti sunt complures no-
 i milites, qui in pha-
 ngas insilirent, et scu-
 manibus revellerent,
 desuper vulnerarent.
 um hostium acies a si-
 tro cornu pulsa, atque
 fugam conversa esset;
 dextro cornu vehemen-
 tudine suorum
 stram aciem preme-
 nt. Id quum animad-
 vertisset P. Crassus ado-
 scens, qui equitatu præ-
 at, quod expeditior e-
 t, quam hi, qui inter
 miam versabantur, ter-
 m aciem laborantibus
 stris subsidio misit.

LIII. Ita prælium re-
 utum est, atque omnes
 stes terga verterunt,
 que prius fugere desti-
 unt, quam ad flumen
 nenum inilia passuum
 eo loco circiter quin-
 aginta pervenerint. I-
 perpauci, aut viribus
 ussi, transnatare con-
 derunt; aut, lintribus

*nimbleness; so that there was
 not time for throwing the darts
 at the enemy. Wherefore lay-
 ing aside the darts, they engaged
 in close fight with the swords.
 But the Germans, according to
 their custom, having quickly
 formed a phalanx, sustained the
 charge of the swords. There
 were found several of our sol-
 diers, that jumped up upon the
 phalanx, and pulled away the
 targets with their hands, and
 wounded from above those that
 lurked under them. When
 the enemy's army was routed in
 their left wing, and put to
 flight; in their right wing they
 greatly overpowered our army by
 their numbers. But after P.
 Crassus, a young gentleman,
 who commanded the horse, ob-
 served this, which he was the
 readier to notice, because he
 was more at liberty to look a-
 bout him, than those, who were
 employed in the action, he dis-
 patched the third line to relieve
 our men in distress.*

LIII. Whereupon the battle
 was renewed, and all the ene-
 mies turned their back, nor did
 they give over flying, till they
 were arrived at the river
 Rhine, about fifty miles from the
 place where the battle was
 fought. There a very few,
 either trusting to their strength,
 endeavoured to swim over; or,
 L inventis,

inventis, sibi salutem reppererunt. In his fuit Ariovistus, qui, naviculam deligatam ad ripam natus, ea profugit: reliquos omnes consecuti equites nostri interfecerunt. Duæ fuerunt Ariovisti uxores, una Sueva natione, quam ab domo secum eduxerat, altera Norica, regis Vocionis soror, quam in Gallia duxerat, a fratre missam. Utræque in ea fuga perierunt. Duæ filiarum, altera occisa, altera capta est. C. Valerius Proculus, quum a custodibus in fuga trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, in ipsum Cæsarem, hostis equitatu persequentem, incidit. Quæ quidem res Cæsari non minorem, quam ipsa victoria, voluptatem attulit: quod hominem honestissimum provinciæ Galliæ, suum familiarum, et hospitem, ereptum e manibus hostium, sibi restitutum videbat: neque ejus calamitate de

finding boats, made a shift to escape. Among these was Ariovistus, who, finding a wherry tied to the bank, made his escape in it: our horse coming up slaughtered all the rest. Ariovistus had two wives, one Suevan by nation, whom he had brought along with him from his own country: the other Norican, the sister of King Vocion, whom he had married in Gaul, she having been sent thither by her brother. Both perished in the flight. They had two daughters, whereof one was killed, and the other taken prisoner. C. Valerius Proculus whilst he was dragged by his keepers in the flight, being bound with three chains, fell in the way of Cæsar himself, as he was pursuing the enemy with his cavalry. Which event truly gave Cæsar no less pleasure than the victory itself: because he saw the most honourable person of the Roman province in Gaul, his own intimate acquaintance, and friend, rescued from the hands of enemies, and restored to him: and that fortune had not detracted any thing

LIII. 1. Una Sueva——altera Norica] See c. 37. n. 1. and the note c. 5.

3. Utræque in ea fuga perierunt] Uterque is used in the plural number to denote two, as well as in the singular. B. Afr. 61. Utrorumque exercitus.—Duces utrique. Sall. Cat. 30. Ii utrique ad urbem imperatores erant. Ter. Heaut. ii. 4. 14. Utrique ab utrisque devincimini.

ta voluptate et gratitudine quidquam fortune deminuerat. Is, se presente, de se ter fortius consultum dicebat, num igni statim necaretur, an in aliud tempus servaretur: fortium beneficio se esse incolumem. M. Mettius reperit, et ad eum reductus

from the great joy and rejoicing on this occasion by his misfortune. He told, that, in his own presence, a consultation had been held three times concerning him by lots, whether he should be put to death immediately by burning, or kept till another time: and that by the favour of the lots he had been saved. M. Mettius also was found, and brought back to him.

LIV. Hoc prælio transmenum nunciato, Suevi qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti ceperunt; quos Ubii, proximi Rhenum inveniunt, perterritos interficiunt, magnum ex his numerum occiderunt. Cæsar, una æstate duobus maximis bellis confectis, breviter paullo, quam tempus anni postulabat, hiberna in Sequanos exercitum deduxit: hiernis Labienum præponit: ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

LIV. *The news of this battle being spread beyond the Rhine, the Suevi, who had come to the banks of the Rhine, began to return home; whom the Ubii, who live next to the Rhine, pursued whilst under great consternation, and slaughtered a vast number of them. Cæsar, having ended two very considerable wars in one campaign, led his army into winter-quarters amongst the Sequani, somewhat sooner than the season of the year required: he gave the command of the winter-quarters to Labienus: he himself set out for farther Gaul to hold assizes.*

L 2 LIBER

LIV. *Quos Ubii, &c.*] The Ubii took this opportunity to revenge themselves upon the Suevi for former injuries, as may be learned from l. iv. 3.

2. *Ad conventus agendos*] The provincial magistrates generally spent the summer in warlike expeditions; in the winter they applied themselves to the civil part of their administration, i. e. they resided in the courts of justice, heard petitions and complaints, redressed grievances, granted writs under their seal, determined processes and controversies, prescribed regulations as to the taxes, contributions of corn and money, &c.

LIBER II.

The ARGUMENT.

I. *All the Belgæ enter into a combination against the Romans.* III. *except the Remi.* V. *Cæsar leads his army against them, and crosses the river Axona.* VI. *The city Bibrax is besieged by the Belgæ ; VII. but relieved by the Romans.* VIII. *A marsh that lay betwixt the Romans and the Belgæ prevents a battle ; after which the Belgæ endeavour to cross the river Axona, with a design to attack Q. Titurius.* X. *to whom Cæsar sends assistance : whereupon the Belgæ being repulsed, resolve to divide their forces, and go home to their respective countries.* XI. *The Romans pursue them, and make great slaughter.* XII. *Cæsar marches his army into the country of the Sueffiones, who submit to him.* XIII. *The Bellovaci do the same,* XV. *and also the Ambiani.* XVI. *He subdues the Nervii by force of arms,* XXIX. *and likewise the Aduatuci.*

I. **Q**Uum esset Cæsar in citeriore Gallia in hibernis, ita uti supra demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores adferebantur, literisque item Labienicertior fiebat, omnes Belgas, quam tertiam esse Galliæ partem dixeram, contra populum Romanum conjurare ; obsidesque inter se dare : conjurandi has esse causas : primum, quod vererentur, ne, omni pacata Gallia, ad eos exercitus noster adduceretur : deinde, quod ab nonnul-

I. **W**Hilst Cæsar was in hither Gaul in winter-quarters, as we have shown above, it was currently reported to him, and he was acquainted also by letters from Labienus, that all the Belgæ, who we said were a third part of Gaul, were conspiring against the Roman people ; and giving hostages to one another : the reasons of the combination were these : first, because they were afraid, lest our army, after all Gaul was subdued, should be brought upon them : and next, because they were solicited by some Gauls, part of whom, as they had not
lis

Gallis sollicitarentur, cum qui, ut Germanos aus in Gallia versari truerant, ita populi Romani exercitum hiemaeque inveterascere in Gallia, moleste ferebant: cum qui mobilitate et instate animi novis imperiis studebant: ab nonnullis etiam, quod in Gallia potentioribus, atque cum qui ad conducendos homines facultates habebant, vulgo regna occupantur; qui minus facile eam rem in imperio nostro consequi poterant.

I. Iis nunciis litterisque commotus Cæsar duas legiones in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit, et in aestate, in interiori Galliam qui deductus, Q. Peditum legatum misit. Ipse, quum tantum pabuli copia esset inciperet, ad exercitum venit. Dat nego-

inclined that the Germans should be any longer in Gaul, so they took it ill, that the army of the Roman people should winter and settle in Gaul: and of whom another part, from a fickleness and inconstancy of temper, were fond of revolutions: they were solicited by some too of an aspiring temper, because in Gaul dominions were frequently seized upon by men of power, and such as had money to hire people; who could less easily effect such a project under our government.

II. Cæsar being alarmed with these reports and letters, raised two new legions in hither Gaul, and about the beginning of summer sent his lieutenant Q. Peditus, to conduct them into the more inland parts of Gaul. He himself, as soon as there began to be plenty of grass for the horse, came to the army. He gives orders to the Senones, and
tium

. In imperio nostro] These words have the same import as *quando imperium habemus*, or *cum nos imperamus*. Thus, i. 33. In tantum imperio populi Romani. Sall. Jug. 14. In imperio vestro extorremus, &c. Justin. xxxvi. i. Judæos quoque, qui in Macedonico imperio sub Demetrio patre armis se in libertatem vindicaverant, jubigit.

II. 1. In interiorem Galliam] Vossius is positive, that the reader should be in *ulteriorem Galliam*; which indeed expresses more exactly the sense intended, and is agreeable to Cæsar's usual manner of opposing *ulterior* to *citerior*. And Oudendorp seems to be of the same opinion; but does not incline to alter the reading, without good authority from the MSS.

tium Senonibus, reliquisque Gallis, qui finitimi Belgis erant, uti ea, quæ apud eos gerantur, cognoscant: seque de his rebus certiores faciant. Hi constanter omnes nunciaverunt, manus cogi, exercitum in unum locum conduci. Tum vero dubitandum non existimavit, quin ad eos [xii die] proficisceretur. Re frumentaria provisa, castra movet, diebusque circiter xv ad fines Belgarum pervenit.

III. Eo quum de improviso, celeriusque omnium opinione venisset, Remi, qui proximi Galliæ ex Belgis sunt, ad eum legatos Iccium et Antebrogium, primos civitatis, miserunt: qui di-

other Gauls, that were next neighbours to the Belgæ, to procure intelligence of what was doing among them: and acquaint him with the matter. These all invariably reported, that forces were raising, and an army gathering together into one place. Then indeed he was of opinion that he ought not to hesitate any longer, but set out upon his march toward them [within twelve days]. Wherefore having provided corn, he decamps, and about fifteen days after arrived upon the confines of the Belgæ.

III. As he arrived there unexpectedly, and sooner than any imagined, the Remi, who are a province of the Belgæ, next to Gaul, dispatched away Iccius and Antebrogius, persons of the highest rank in their province, ambassadors to him: to acquaint

cerent,

2. xii die] As these words are wanting in most of the MSS, and do not appear very necessary to our author's purpose, Clarke has actually thrown them out: and Oudendorp, for the same reasons, has inclosed them in crotchets.

III. 1. Proximi Galliæ] Gallia is here taken in a strict sense, for the country of the Celtæ, as described l. i. 1.

2. Legatos—miserunt: qui dicerent] Cæsar, as well as most historians, frequently suppresses qui dicerent. Thus c. 6. Nuncios ad eum mittit, (qui dicerent) Nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse. iii. 8. Ad P. Crassum mittunt, si velit suos recipere, obsides sibi remittat. B. Civ. ii. 20. Ad Cæsarem mittit, paratum se esse, legionem, cui jusserit, transdere. B. Alex. 34. Nuncios ad Pharnacem misit, Armenia Cappadociæque decederet. Sall. Jug. 70. Litteras ad eum mittit, molliorem secordiamque viri accusare, testari Deos, &c. But not always. See examples, l. i. 7. B. Civ. ii. 36. B. Afr. 57.

ent, se suaque omnia
fidem atque potesta-
m populi Romani per-
tere, neque se cum
Belgis reliquis consensis-
neque contra popu-
Romanum omnino
jurasse; paratosque
esse, et obsides dare, et
operata facere, et oppi-
des recipere, et frumento,
et aliis rebus juvare:
et quos omnes Belgas in
armis esse: Germanos-
que, qui cis Rhenum in-
habitabant, sese cum his con-
iunxisse; tantumque esse
odium omnium furorē,
ut ne Sueffiones quidem
inter consanguineosque
Germanos, qui eodem jure, eisdem
legibus utantur, unum
imperium, unum-
que magistratum cum
his habeant, deterre-
reauerint, quin cum his
consentirent.

IV. Quum ab his quæ-
retur, quæ civitates, quan-
tumque in armis essent, et
quid in bello possent, sic
interrogabatur; plerosque
Belgas esse ortos ab Ger-
manis, Rhenumque an-

*him, that they resigned them-
selves and all they had to the
protection and disposal of the Ro-
man people, and that they had
not entered into the combination
with the rest of the Belgæ; nor
conspired at all against the Ro-
man people; and that they were
ready both to give hostages, and
submit to orders, and receive
him into their towns, and fur-
nish him with corn, and other
necessaries: and to tell him,
that all the rest of the Belgæ
were in arms: and that the
Germans, who live on this side
the Rhine, had joined with them
in the plot; and that such was
the desperate keenness of all of
them, that they could not so much
as dissuade their own brethren
and blood-relations, the Sueffio-
nes, who enjoyed the same privi-
leges, the same laws, and had
the same government, and the
same magistracy with them-
selves, from engaging with them
in this wild design.*

IV. Upon Cæsar's inquiring
at them, what states were in
arms, and of what force, and
what they could do in war, he
was informed, that most of the
Belgæ were descended of the
Germans, and that upon crossing
tiquitus

[Cum Belgis reliquis] The reading in several editions and MSS.
cum Belgis reliquisque; and in this case reliquis would denote the
Germans mentioned toward the end of the chapter.

tiquitus transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse; Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse: solosque esse, qui, patrum nostrorum memoria, omni Gallia vexata, Teutonos, Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint: quæ ex re fieri, uti earum rerum memoria magnam sibi auctoritatem, magnosque spiritus in re militari fumerent. De numero eorum omnia se habere explorata, Remi dicebant; propterea quod propinquitatibus adfinitatibusque conjuncti, quantam quisque multitudinem in comunni Belgarum concilio ad id bellum pollicitus sit, cognoverint. Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos et virtute, et auctoritate, et hominum numero valere: hos posse conficere armata milia centum, pollicitos ex eo numero electæ LX: totiusque belli imperium sibi postulare. Sueffiones suos esse finitimos; latissimos, feracissimosque agros possidere: apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum totius Galliæ potentissi-

the Rhine in former times, they had settled in this place on account of the fertility of the country; and had driven out the Gauls, who inhabited these quarters: and that they were the only people, who, in the memory of our fathers, when all Gaul was over-run, had kept the Teutoni and Cimbri from entering within their territories: when it had come to pass, that upon the memory of these achievements they had assumed to themselves a mighty air, and high spirit in military affairs. As to the number, the Remi told him, they had certain accounts of everything: for in regard of the connection with them by kindred and affinity, they had come to know, what number each of them had promised in the common council of the Belgæ to furnish for this war. That the Bellovaci were the most considerable among them both for courage, and reputation, and number of men: that they could furnish out 100,000 armed men, and had actually promised 60,000 picked out of that number: and claimed to themselves the management of the whole war. That the Sueffiones were their next neighbours; and possessed a very large and very fertile country: Divitiacus even in our times was king among them

um; qui quum magnæ
 artis harum regionum,
 in etiam Britannia, im-
 perium obtinuerit: nunc
 se regem Galbam: ad
 hunc propter justitiam,
 prudentiamque, totius
 belli summam omnium
 voluntate deferri: oppi-
 de habere numero XII;
 polliceri milia [armata
 iniquaginta: totidem
 Nervios, qui maxime fe-
 inter ipsos habeantur,
 longissimeque absint: xv
 milia Atrebates: Ambia-
 tes x milia: Morinos
 xv milia: Menapios ix
 milia: Caletos x milia:
 Velocasses et Veroman-
 dos totidem: Aduatucos
 ix milia: Condrusos,
 Eburones, Cæræfos, Pæ-
 manios, qui uno nomine
 Germani adpellantur, ar-
 bitrari ad xl milia.

V. Cæsar Remos co-
 ngratatus, liberaliterque
 oratione profecutus, o-
 mnem senatum ad se con-

*the most potent prince of all
 Gaul; who as he held the go-
 vernment of a great part of this
 country, so also that of Britain:
 their king at present was Gal-
 ba: upon him by the consent of
 all parties the management of
 the whole war was devolved,
 on account of his justice and pru-
 dence: they had twelve cities;
 and had promised to furnish
 50,000 armed men: the Ner-
 vii had promised as many, who
 are esteemed the most barbarous
 people among them, and lie at a
 very great distance: the Atre-
 bates had promised 15,000:
 the Ambiani 10,000: the Mo-
 rini 25,000: the Menapii 9000:
 the Caleti 10,000: the Velocas-
 ses and Veromandui as many:
 the Aduatuci 19,000: and that
 they imagined the Condrusi, the
 Eburones, the Cæræsi, and the
 Pæmani, who by one name are
 called Germans, had engaged
 for about 40,000.*

V. Cæsar having encouraged
 the Remi, and complimented them
 handsomely in a speech, ordered
 their whole senate to wait upon

M

venire,

VIV. r. *Longissimeque absint*] The Morini, the Menapii, and se-
 veral others here mentioned, were more remote, or lay at a
 greater distance from the Remi, than the Nervii did; and there-
 fore *longissime* must be taken to import, not that they were the
 most remote people of any here taken notice of, but only to de-
 note in general that they lay at a very great distance.

2. *Arbitrari ad xl milia*] i. e. Remi dicebant se arbitrari Eburones,
 et polliceri ad xl milia. N.B. The sum total of the several
 votas here mentioned amounts to 298,000.

venire, principumque liberos obfides ad se adduci iussit. quæ omnia ab his diligenter ad diem facta sunt. Ipse Divitiacum Æduum magno opere cohortatus, docet, quanto opere reipublicæ communisque salutis interfit, minus hostium distineri, ne cum tanta multitudi-
ne uno tempore confligendum sit. Id fieri posse, si suas copias Ædui in fines Bellovacorum introduxerint, et eorum agros populari cœperint. His mandatis, cum ab se dimittit. Postquam omnes Belgarum copias in unum locum coactas ad se venire vidit, neque jam longe abesse, ab his, quos miserat exploratoribus, et ab Remis cognovit; flumen Axonam, quod est in extremis Remorum finibus, exercitum transducere iussit, atque ibi castra posuit. Quæ res et latus unum castrorum ripis fluminis muniebat, et, post cum quæ essent,

him, and the children of their grandees to be brought to him as hostages. All which was punctually performed by them at the day appointed. He addressing himself with great earnestness to Divitiacus the Æduan, shows him how much it would contribute to the public cause and their common safety, that the forces of the enemy were divided, that they might not be obliged to engage with so great a number at one time. This might be brought about, if the Ædui would lead their forces into the territories of the Bellovaci, and begin to ravage their country. With these instructions he dismisses him. After he perceived all the forces of the Belgæ, now got together into one place, were approaching toward him, and had intelligence from the scouts which he had sent out, and from the Remi, that by this time they were not far off; he made all haste to carry his army over the river Axona, which is upon the remote confines of the Remi, and there pitched his camp. Which situation both secured one side of his camp by the banks of the river,

tuta

V. i. *In unum locum coactas*] In other authors we frequently find *in unum coactas*, without the addition of *locum*; but Cæsar loves to be particular and full. Thus, i. 34. *Exercitum in unum locum contrahere.* iii. 16. *In unum locum coegerant.* vi. 10. *Unum in locum copias egere.* vii. 9. *In unum locum cogit.* B. Civ. iii. 73. *Coæque in unum locum exercitu,* &c.

ta ab hostibus redde-
at, et commeatus ab
nemis, reliquisque civi-
tibus, ut sine periculo
eum portari posset, ef-
ciebat. In eo flumine
ons erat. ibi præsidium
onit; et in altera parte
luminis Q. Titurium Sa-
num legatum cum vi
phortibus relinquit. Ca-
ra in altitudinem per-
um XII vallo, fossaque
uodeviginti pedum mu-
re jubet.

VI. Ab his castris op-
idum Remorum, nomi-
e Bibrax, aberat milia
assuum VIII. id ex iti-
ere magno inpetu Bel-
æ obpugnare coeperunt.
Egre eo die sustentatum
st. Gallorum eadem,
que Belgarum, obpu-
natio est hæc. Ubi cir-
umjecta multitudo ho-
minum totis mœnibus,
undique lapides in mu-
um jaci coepti sunt, mu-
usque defensoribus nu-
atus est; testudine facta,

and rendered the places that
were behind him safe from the
enemy, and made it possible for
provisions to be brought in to him
without danger by the Remi, and
the other states. Upon this ri-
ver was a bridge, and on it he
places a guard; and leaves up-
on the other side of the river his
lieutenant Q. Titurius Sabinus
with six cohorts. And orders him
to fortify a camp with a ram-
part to the height of twelve feet,
and a trench of eighteen feet in
breadth.

VI. A city of the Remi, by
name Bibrax, was distant from
the camp eight miles. this the
Belgæ upon their march began
to assault with great fury. And
with much ado were they with-
stood by the inhabitants that
day. The Gauls method of storm-
ing towns and that of the Belgæ
being the same, is as follows.
After drawing a great number
of men round the whole town,
when stones begin to be thrown
against the wall on all sides,
and the wall is clear of the de-
fenders; then forming a testudo,
M 2 portas

2. Cum vi cohortibus] A legion in Cæsar's time consisted of about
6000 men; of which a cohort was the tenth part. i. e. 500: and
therefore the six cohorts here mentioned will amount to about 3000.

VI. 1. Testudine facta] The testudo was a figure the soldiers cast
themselves into, in such a manner, that their targets joined together
bund closed above their heads, and so protected them from darts or
stones thrown by the enemy. This target-fence was called testudo,
because it covered the men under it as the shell does the tortoise.

portas succedunt, murumque subruunt. Quod tum facile fiebat. nam quum tanta multitudo lapides ac tela conjicerent, in muro consistendi potestas erat nulli. Quum finem obpugnandi nox fecisset, Iccius Remus, summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tam oppido præerat, unus ex iis, qui legati de pace ad Cæsarem venerant, nuncios ad eum mittit, Nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse.

VII. Eo de media nocte Cæsar, iisdem ducibus usus, qui nuncii ab Iccio venerant, Numidas, et Cretas sagittarios, et funditores Balceares subsidio oppidanis mittit. quorum adventu, et Remis cum spe defensionis studium propugnandi acces-

they approach to the gates, and undermine the wall. Which on this occasion was easily done. for whilst so great a number were throwing stones and darts, it was possible for no man to stand upon the wall. When night had put an end to the assault, Iccius, one of the Remi, a person of the greatest quality and interest amongst his countrymen, and who at that time commanded the town, being one of those, who had come ambassadors to Cæsar about negotiating a peace, dispatches away couriers to Cæsar, to acquaint him, That unless assistance was sent him, he would not be able to hold out any longer.

VII. Cæsar, making use of the same persons for guides, that had come as messengers from Iccius, dispatches away thither about midnight some Numidian and Cretian archers, and some Balcarian slingers, for the relief of the townsmen. upon whose arrival, both resolution to hold out, with hopes of making good
fit ;

2. *Portas succedunt*] *Succedo* sometimes rules the accusative by virtue of the preposition *sub*, with which it is compounded. Tacit. Ann. ii. 20. Si murum succederent. Silius x. 596. Nequicquam armatos aufit succedere muros.

3. *Multitudo* — *conjicerent*] See c. 11. n. 1.

4. *Nuncios ad eum mittit, Nisi*] See c. 3. n. 2.

VII. 1. *Funditores Balceares*] *Insula Balceares* were the islands in the Mediterranean, now called *Majorca* and *Minorca*. The inhabitants were famous slingers, as being trained up to this art from their infancy. The boys had no victuals allowed them, but what they brought down from the top of some high post with their slings ; as we learn from Flor. iii. 8.

; et hostibus eadem de
 clausa spes potiundi oppi-
 discessit. Itaque paul-
 per apud oppidum mo-
 ti, agrosque Remorum
 depopulati, omnibus vi-
 s, ædificiisque, quos ad-
 poterant, incensis, ad
 castra Cæsaris omnibus
 copiis contenderunt: et
 milibus passuum mi-
 liis II castra posuerunt:
 hæ castra, ut fumo, at-
 que ignibus significaba-
 r, amplius milibus pas-
 suum VIII in latitudinem
 patebant.

VIII. Cæsar primo, et
 propter multitudinem ho-
 minum, et propter eximi-
 am opinionem virtutis,

their defence, was added to the
 Remi; and the enemy by the
 same means lost hopes of master-
 ing the city. Wherefore, after
 staying a short while before the
 town, and ravaging the country
 of the Remi; and after setting
 fire to all the villages and houses
 which they could come at, they
 marched away with all their for-
 ces towards Cæsar's camp: and
 pitched their camp within less
 than two miles of him: which
 camp, as appeared by the smoke,
 and the fires, extended to up-
 ward of eight miles in breadth.

VIII. Cæsar at first, both be-
 cause of the great number of the
 enemy, and on account of their
 extraordinary reputation for
 prælio

2. Vicis, ædificiisque, quos] The relative quos takes the more wor-
 y gender from the remote antecedent vicis. Thus, Sall. Jug. 49.
 posi atque signa militaria obscurati. B. Afr. 26. Oculos mentemque
 mare, dispositos directosque haberet. N. B. Vicis, ædificiisque is
 the same, says Udendorp, as vicorumque ædificiis.

3. Ad castra Cæsaris, omnibus copiis contenderunt.] Cæsar in such sen-
 tences as this sometimes omits the preposition cum. Thus, c. 19.
 subsequatur omnibus copiis.—Subito omnibus copiis provolaverunt.
 3. Omnibus copiis eruptionem fecerunt. iv. 24. Reliquis copiis subse-
 ti. v. 49. Ad Cæsarem omnibus copiis contendunt. B. Civ. i. 41. Om-
 nibus copiis ad Ilerdam proficiscitur. 63. Omnibus copiis transeunt. And
 sometimes adds it. i. 26. Cum omnibus copiis eos sequi cepit. 38. Cum
 is omnibus copiis contendere. iv. 21. Cum omnibus copiis in Morinos
 proficiscitur. B. Civ. i. 19. Ad se cum omnibus copiis veniret. ii. 36.
 cum magnis copiis adesse.

4. Et ab milibus passuum, &c.] i. e. Et ab (castris Cæsaris) milibus
 passuum, &c. Thus, v. 32. At hostes obportuno atque occulto loco, a
 viz. hibernis) milibus passuum ii Romanorum adventum expectabant.
 7. Positis castris a (Labieno) milibus passuum xv. auxilio Germano-
 rum expectare constituunt.

prælio supersedere statuit: quotidie tamen equestribus præliis, quid hostis virtute posset, et quid nostri auderent, periclitabatur. Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris ad aciem instruendam natura opportuno atque idoneo, quod is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paullulum ex planicie editus tantum adversus in latitudinem patebat, quantum loci acies instructa occupare poterat, atque ex utraque parte lateris dejectus habebat; et frontem leniter fastigatus paullatim ad planiciem redibat: ab utroque latere ejus collis transversam fossam obduxit circiter passuum CD: et ad extremas fossas castris constituit, ibique tormenta collocavit: ne, quum aciem instruxisset,

bravery, resolved to decline battle; he made trial however every day by horse-skirmishes, what the enemy could do in point of courage, and what our men durst attempt. And finding our men were not inferior to them, and the place before the camp being convenient and proper by its situation for drawing up the army in order of battle, because the little hill, where the camp was pitched, rising gently from the plain, extended as much in breadth on the fore-part, as the space the army when put in order of battle could take up, and had a steep fall along the side on either hand; and ascending in an easy manner toward the brow, turned by degrees to a plain: on both sides of this hill he drew a ditch in a cross direction to the hill about four hundred paces in length: and toward the end of the ditches he erected bulwarks, and planted engines on them: lest, after he
hostes

VIII. 1. *Periclitabur.*] This verb is used in the same sense, lib. vii. 36. *Quin, equestri prælio, quid in quoque esset animi, periclitaretur.* And B. Civ. i. 72. *Cur denique fortunam periclitaretur.*

2. *Dejectus habebat*] *Dejectus* is here a substantive noun; and is also to be so understood c. 22. *Ut loci natura dejectusque collis, &c.*

3. *Et frontem leniter fastigatus*] Many of the MSS and editions have *in frontem*, &c. But Oudendorp, in compliance with some of the most authentic copies, has thrown out the preposition: and then *frontem fastigatus* makes an elegant ellipsis; to which we may understand *quod ad, secundum* or *versus*. Thus, c. 18. *Infima apertus.*

hostes (quod tantum multitudine poterant) ab lateribus pugnantes suos circumvenire possent. Hoc facto, duabus legionibus, quas proxime contempserat, in castris relictis, ut, si qua opus esset, subsidio duci possent, reliquas sex legiones pro castris in acie constituit. Hostes item suas copias ex castriseductas instruxerant.

IX. Palus erat non magna inter nostrum ac hostium exercitum. Nec si nostri transirent, hostes expectabant; non autem, si ab illis initium transeundi fieret, ut ineditos adgrederentur, armati in armis erant. Interim prælio equestri per duas acies contendebatur. Ubi neutri transire initium faciunt, secundiore equitum prælio castris, Cæsar suos in castra reduxit. Hostes propterea ex eo loco ad flumen Axonam contendebant, quod esse post nostra castra demonstratum est. Ibi vadis repertis, castra suarum copiarum

had drawn up his army, the enemy (as they were so powerful in respect of number) might surround his men, whilst they were fighting, in the flanks. This being done, leaving the two legions, which he had lately raised, in the camp, that they might be brought out as reserves, if there should be any occasion, he drew up the other six legions before the camp in order of battle. The enemy likewise drawing their forces out of the camp, put them in proper order.

IX. There lay a small marsh betwixt our army and that of the enemy. the enemy waited to see if our men would pass this; and our men, in case a passage should have been first attempted by the enemy, stood ready in arms, to attack them whilst incumbered in the marsh. In the meantime the horse was engaged in a skirmish betwixt the two armies. But as neither party would attempt to cross the fen, upon the skirmish of the cavalry turning out fairly on our side, Cæsar led back his men into the camp. The enemy immediately marched away from this place to the river Axona, which we said was behind our camp. And there finding fords, they endeavoured to pass.

[Si qua opus esset] i. e. Si qua parte, or Si qua ratione: If any where, or upon any account, there should be occasion for them.
l. i. c. 6. n. 2.

transducere conati sunt ; eo consilio, ut, si possent, castellum, cui præerat Q. Titurius legatus, expugnarent, pontemque interscinderent : si minus potuissent, agros Remorum popularentur, qui magno nobis usui ad bellum gerendum erant ; commeatuque nostros prohiberent.

X. Cæsar certior factus ab Titurio, omnem equitatum, et levis armaturæ Numidas, funditores, faggittariosque pontem transducit, atque ad eos contendit. Acriter in eo loco pugnatum est. Hostes inpeditos nostri in flumine adgressi, magnum eorum numerum occiderunt ; per eorum corpora reliquos audacissime transire conantes, multitudine telorum repulerunt ; primos, qui transierant, equitatu circumventos interfecerunt.

voured to transport part of their forces ; with a design, if they could, to force the little camp which the lieutenant Q. Titurius had the charge of, and cut down the bridge : and if they could not do this, to ravage the country of the Remi, which was of great service to us for carrying on the war ; and so cut off our men from provisions.

X. Cæsar being informed of this by Titurius, conveys along the bridge all his cavalry, and light armed Numidians, as all his slingers, and archers, and marches away toward them. There was a sharp dispute on this occasion. Our men attacking the enemy whilst intangled in the river, slew a great number of them ; and with a multitude of darts repulsed the rest as they were endeavouring in a most resolute manner to come over on the carcasses of those that were killed ; and surrounding with the cavalry such as had got over at first, they cut them to pieces. The Hostes

IX. 1. *Si minus potuissent.*] In several editions the reading is, *Si minus, agros, &c.* And most interpreters take *potuissent* for a marginal explication, which at length has crept into the text. Oudendorp, however, retains it, as being found in some very old MSS.

2. *Commeatuque nostros prohiberent*] In Clarke and most of the modern editions, the reading is, *Commeatusque nostros sustinebant.* But Oudendorp assures us, that in the oldest editions and best MS the reading is as he has given it.

hostes, ubi et de expu-
tando oppido, et de flu-
mine transeundo spem se
fuisse, intellexerunt,
que nostros in locum
quiorem progredi pu-
tandi causa viderunt,
que ipsos res frumenta-
re deficere coepit; con-
silio convocato, constitu-
erunt, optimum esse, do-
mum suam quemque re-
verti; et quorum in fi-
nis primum Romani ex-
ercitum introduxissent,
eos defendendos undi-
que convenirent; ut po-
tius in suis, quam in ali-
enis finibus decertarent;
domesticis copiis rei
famentariæ uterentur.
Eam sententiam, cum
iniquis causis, hæc quo-
que ratio eos deduxit;
sed, Divitiacum atque
duos finibus Bellovaco-

enemy, when they found their
hopes had deceived them, both
with respect to their taking the
city Bibrax, and as to their pass-
ing the river, and when they
perceived our men would not come
out to a place of disadvantage in
order to fight them, and provi-
sions began to fail them; calling
a council of war, agreed, it was
best for every man to return to
his own country; and obliged
themselves to meet from all parts
for the defence of those, into whose
territories the Romans should first
lead their army; that so they
might dispute the matter rather
in their own, than in a foreign
country; and have the use of the
provisions of corn they had at
home. Among other reasons, the
following consideration likewise
led them into this resolution; be-
cause they had got intelligence,
that Divitiacus and the Ædui
were approaching toward the
N rum

X. 1. Undique convenirent] i. e. Constituerunt, optimum esse, —
verti; et ut undique convenirent. Such a variation of the mood,
as if either expressed or understood, is not at all unusual. iv. 35.
Cæsar, etsi idem, quod superioribus diebus acciderat, fore videbat, ut
essent hostes pulsi, celeritate periculum effugerent. vii. 17. Prestare,
ut perferre acerbitates, quam non civibus Romanis parentarent.
Civ. i. 83. Tenere uterque propositum videbatur: Cæsar, prælium
non committere; ille ut opera Cæsar's impediret.
2. In suis, quam in alienis finibus] Cæsar places an elegance in
repeating the preposition. Thus, i. 33. In servitute atque in ditione.
9. In concluso mari, atque in apertissimo oceano. vi. 11. In omni-
bus civitatibus, in pagis, in domibus. c. 16. In furto, aut in latroci-
nio. c. 21. In venationibus atque in studiis. B. Civ. i. 5. In incendio
atque in desperatione, &c. See l. iii. c. 1. n. 1.

rum adpropinquare, cognoverant. His persuaderi, ut diutius morarentur, neque suis auxilium ferrent, non poterat.

XI. Ea re constituta, secunda vigilia magno cum strepitu ac tumultu castris egressi, nullo certo ordine, neque imperio, quum sibi quisque primum itineris locum peteret, et domum pervenire properaret, fecerunt, ut consimilis fugæ profectio videretur. Hac re statim Cæsar per speculatores cognita, insidias veritus; quod, qua de causâ discederent, nondum perspexerat, exercitum, equitatumque castris continuit. Prima luce, confirmata re ab exploratoribus, omnem equitatum, qui novissimum agmen moraretur, præmisit. His Q. Pedium, et L. Aurunculeium Cottam, legatos præfecit. T. Labienum legatum cum legionibus tribus

confines of the Bellovaci. As the Bellovaci could not be prevailed upon to stay any longer and not carry aid to their people now in such danger.

XI. *This resolution being fixed, marching out of their camp about the second watch with great noise and confusion, without observing any distinct order or command, and as every one strove for the first step of the road and were in great haste to get home, they caused such disorder that their departure appeared like a running away. Cæsar, having notice of this immediately by his spies, but fearing an ambuscade; because he had not yet discovered, upon what account they were gone off, kept his army and the cavalry within the camp. But at break of day, upon a confirmation of the matter by his scouts, he dispatched away all the cavalry to annoy their rear. And set over them two lieutenants, Q. Pedius and L. Aurunculeius Cotta. And ordered his lieutenant T. Labienus to follow them with three*

3. *Neque suis auxilium]* Neque here, as in many other places, put for *et non*.

XI. 1. *Equitatum.*—His] Collectives signify several or many in the singular number; and are therefore frequently joined with verbs, adjectives, or relatives plural. vii. 21. *Conclamat multitudo et suo more armis concrepat: quod facere in eo consueverunt, cujus rationem adprobant.* B. Civ. iii. 49. *Cæsaris exercitus utebatur, quibus.* c. 93. *Aciei signum dedit: illi celeriter procucurrerunt.* S. Jug. 58. *Magna pars vulnerati aut occisi.* See the note l. i. c. 2 and l. iii. c. 17. n. 2.

sequi jussit. Hi nominos adorti, et multa passuum profecuti, magnam multitudinem eorum fugientium concidunt: quum ab extremo agmine, ad quos ventum erat, confisterent; interque inpetum nominorum militum sustinebant; priores, quod abest a periculo viderent, neque ulla necessitas neque imperio continerentur, exaudito clamore, perturbatis ordinibus, omnes in fuga sibi subsidium ponerent. Ita de ullo periculo tantam eorum multitudinem nominos interfecerunt, quantum fuit diei spatium: de occasumque solis duxerunt, seque in castra, prout erat imperatum, reverterunt.

XII. Postridie ejus diei Cæsar, prius quam se hostes ex terrore ac fuga reverterent, in fines Sueffionum, qui proximi Remis erant, exercitum duxit; et magno itinere confectus, ad oppidum Noviodunum contendit. Id eximie obpugnare conatus, quod vacuum ab de-

legions. These attacking their rear, and pursuing them for several miles, slaughtered vast numbers of them as they fled: whilst these in the rear, with whom they came up, halted; and with great courage received the charge of our soldiers; those in the van, because they thought themselves at a distance from danger, and were not restrained by any necessity or command, upon hearing the noise, as the ranks were quite disordered, placed all their security in flight. Thus our men, without any danger to themselves, slaughtered prodigious numbers of them as long as day lasted: and at sun-set gave over the pursuit, and returned to the camp, as they had been ordered.

XII. Next day Cæsar, before the enemy could recover themselves from their consternation and flight, led his army into the country of the Sueffiones, who were next neighbours to the Remi; and, after performing a great march, set out for the town called Noviodunum. But after endeavouring to surprise it as he passed along, because he was in-

N 2 fensoribus

Ad quos ventum erat] Gruterus and Oudendorp suspect these words to have been a marginal gloss.

senioribus esse audiebat, propter latitudinem fossæ, murique altitudinem, paucis defendentibus, expugnare non potuit. Castris munitis, vineas agere, quæque ad obpugnandum usui erant, comparare cœpit. Interim omnis ex fuga Sueffionum multitudo in oppidum proxima nocte convenit. Celeriter vineis ad oppidum æctis, aggerem jacto, turribusque constitutis, magnitudine operum, quæ neque viderant ante Galli, neque audierant, et celeritate Romanorum

formed it wanted a garrison, he was not able to take it, by reason of the breadth of the ditch, and the height of the wall, tho' few were to defend it. Wherefore having fortified his camp, he began to set up vineæ, and to provide what things were necessary for a siege. In the meantime all the army of the Sueffiones after their flight came flocking to the town the night following. However, having quickly reared the vineæ against the town, cast up a mount, and erected turrets, the Gauls amazed both with the hugeness of the works, which they had neither seen before, nor heard of, permoti,

XII. 1. *Vineas agere*] The *vineæ* were a kind of wicker boxes, under the shelter whereof the soldiers would advance to the walls, and undermine them. They had a sloping or hanging roof, that stones, or whatever else was tumbled down, might easily slide off them.

1. *Aggerem jacto*] *Aggeres* were mounts or banks of earth thrown up, with a design not only to fill up the trench or ditch that surrounded the town, but were often raised to such a height, that they equalled the height of the town-walls: and upon these were frequently erected turrets, from whence the soldiers discharged their missile weapons upon the inhabitants; and so protected their own men from their assaults, till they had time to undermine the wall, or beat it down with engines. See l. vii. c. 24. and B. Civ. ii. 15.

3. *Turribusque constitutis*] Turrets were of two kinds, viz. *turres fixæ*, and *turres mobiles*. The *turres fixæ* were those erected on the mount, or *agger*; the materials whereof were earth, stone, and wood. The *turres mobiles* were large structures of wood, in a square form, equal in height to the walls, or a little higher: they were built at a distance from the town, and rolled forward to the walls, upon wheels fixed below, within the planks, by men either within or behind them; and were filled with armed men, well prepared to annoy the besieged. See c. 30. & 31. and B. Civ. ii. 9.

ermoti, legatos ad Cæsarem, de deditione mittunt, et, petentibus Remiis, ut conservarentur, impetrant.

XIII. Cæsar, obsidibus acceptis, primis civitatis, atque ipsius Galbæ regis, et duobus filiis, armisque omnibus, ex oppido traditis, in deditionem Sueffiones accepit; exercitumque in Bellovacos ducit. Qui quum se, suavitate omnia in oppidum Bratuspantium contulissent, atque ab eo oppido Cæsar cum exercitu circumter milia passuum v abesset, omnes majores nationis ex oppido egressi, matris ad Cæsarem tendere, voce significare cœperunt, sese in ejus fidem ac protectionem venire; neque contra populum Romanum armis contendere: item, quum ad oppidum accessisset, castrametum ibi poneret, pueri, mulieresque ex muro passim manibus, suo more, pacem ab Romanis petierunt.

XIV. Pro his Divitiac-

and with the dispatch of the Romans, send deputies to Caesar to treat about a surrender, and, upon the intercession of the Remi for their preservation, obtain their request.

XIII. Caesar, having received as hostages the chief persons of their state, and among these, the two sons of Galba himself their king, and all the arms in the town being delivered up, admitted the Sueffiones to a surrender, and leads his army against the Bellovaci. Who having thrown themselves and all their effects into the town of Bratuspantium, and being informed that Caesar with his army was but about five miles from the town, all their old men going out of the city, began to stretch out their hands to Caesar, and make signs with their voice, that they would come under his protection and tuition; and would not contend any longer against the Roman people by arms: in like manner, when he was come to the town, and was pitching his camp there, the boys and women from the wall with hands spread out, according to the manner of their country, begged peace of the Romans.

XIV. For these Divitiacus

XIII. Bratuspantium] This, says Davinius, seems to be the town called *Casaromagus* by Ptolemy; the name having been charac-
teristic of Julius or Augustus Caesar.

cus (nam post discessum Belgarum, dimissis Æduorum copiis, ad eum reverterat) facit verba. Bellovacos omni tempore in fide, atque amicitia civitatis Æduæ fuisse : impulsos ab suis principibus, qui dicerent, Æduos, a Cæsare in servitutem redactos, omnes indignitates contumeliasque perferre, et ab Æduis defecisse, et populo Romano bellum intulisse. Qui hujus consilii principes fuissent, quod intellegerent, quantam calamitatem civitati intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse. Petere non solum Bellovacos, sed etiam pro his Æduos, ut sua clementia ac mansuetudine in eos utatur. Quod si fecerit, Æduorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum ; quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare confuerint.

XV. Cæsar honoris Divitiaci, atque Æduorum causa, sese eos in fidem recepturum, et conservaturum, dixit : sed, quod

(for after the departure of the Belgæ, dismissing the forces of the Ædui, he had returned to Cæsar) intercedes, Representing, that the Bellovaci at all times had been in alliance and friendship with the state of the Ædui : that they had both revolted from the Ædui, and made war upon the Roman people, at the instigation of their nobility, who had told them that the Ædui were reduced into a state of slavery by Cæsar, and were suffering all manner of indignities and ill usage. That those who were the ringleaders in this plot, had fled into Britain, because they now found what a mighty calamity they had brought upon their country. That not only the Bellovaci, but also the Ædui in their behalf, begged, that he would exercise his mercy and clemency toward them. Which if he did, he would raise the credit of the Ædui amongst all the Belgæ ; with whose aid and forces they had been in use to support themselves, when any wars happened.

XV. Cæsar replied, that out of regard to Divitiacus, and for the sake of the Ædui, he would receive them into his protection, erat

v. XIV. 1. *Petere non solum*] Davisius and Clarke observe, that in some of the most ancient editions the reading is, *Præterea petere præ solum*, &c.

Quorum auxiliis] *Quorum* refers to Belgas, not to Æduorum.

at civitas magna inter
Belgas auctoritate, atque
hominum multitudine
træstabat, ut obsides po-
scit. His traditis, o-
nibusque armis ex op-
ido conlatis, ab eo loco
fines Ambianorum per-
venit, qui se, suæque o-
nia, sine mora, dedide-
runt. Eorum fines Ner-
vi adtingebant: quorum
e natura moribusque
Cæsar quum quæreret,
reperiebat: Nullum
litum esse ad eos mer-
catoribus: nihil pati vi-
ti, reliquarumque rerum,
luxuriam pertinenti-
um, inferri: quod iis re-
bus relanguescere animos
eorum, et remitti virtu-
tem existimarent: esse ho-
mines feroces, magnæque
virtutis: increpitare, at-
que incussare reliquos Bel-
gas, qui se populo Roma-
no deditissent, patriam-
que virtutem projecissent:
non firmare, sese neque le-
vatos missuros, neque ul-
am conditionem pacis
accepturos.

and save them: but, as their
state was of great note amongst
the Belgæ, and very considerable
for number of people, he demand-
ed 600 hostages. These being
delivered, and all the arms of
the town given up, he marched
away from this place to the coun-
try of the Ambiani, who surren-
dered themselves, and all they
had, without demur. Upon their
country bordered the Nervii:
concerning whose character and
manners Cæsar, upon inquiry,
found: That merchants have no
access to them: that they suffer-
ed no wine, nor other things, that
contribute to luxury, to be import-
ed: because they were of opi-
nion, that by such things their spi-
rits were enervated, and their
courage impaired: that they
were a savage people, and of
great bravery: that they had
often upbraided and blamed the
rest of the Belgæ, who had sub-
mitted themselves to the Roman
people, and renounced their native
fortitude: and that they openly
declared, they would neither send
ambassadors, nor accept of any
terms of peace.

XVI.

XV. 1. *Ad luxuriam pertinentium*] These words are wanting in
many of the best MSS. and Oudendorp greatly suspects, that ori-
ginally they have been only an explanatory note affixed to the
margin by some commentator.

2. *Confirmare*] Cæsar frequently uses the verb *confirmo* in this
sense. i. 41. *Seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimum confirmavit.*
ii. 33. *Discedens post diem vii sese reversurum confirmat.* B. Civ.
74. *Se statim signa translaturus confirmant, &c.*

XVI. Quam per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset; inveniebat ex captivis, Sabim flumen ab castris suis non amplius milia passuum x. abesse: trans id flumen omnis Nervios confedisse; adventumque ibi Romanorum expectare una cum Atrebatibus, et Veromanduis, finitimis suis. nam his utrisque persuaferant, uti eandem belli fortunam experirentur. expectari etiam ab his Aduatucorum copias, atque esse in itinere: mulieres, quique per ætatem ad pugnam inutiles viderentur, in eum locum conjecisse, quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset.

XVII. His rebus cognitis, exploratores, centurionesque præmittit, qui locum idoneum castris deligant. Quumque ex deditiis Belgis, reliquisque Gallis complures, Cæsarem secuti, una iter facerent: quidam ex his, ut postea ex captivis cognitum est, eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta,

XVI. After he had made three days march in their country; he was informed by some prisoners, that the river Sab was not above ten miles distant from his camp: that all the Nervii had incamped on the other side of that river: and that there, together with their neighbours, the Atrebrates, and Veromandui, they waited the arrival of the Romans. for they had persuaded both these states to try the same fortune of war with themselves. that the forces likewise of the Aduatuci were expected by them, and were actually on their march: that they had put the women, and those who by reason of their age appeared unfit for fighting, into a place, to which an army could not approach on account of marshes.

XVII. Upon this intelligence he dispatches forward his scouts and centurions to chuse out a convenient place for a camp. And as a good many of the Belgæ that had submitted, and of the other Gauls, attended Cæsar, and marched along with him: some of these, as we learned afterwards from the prisoners, having observed the manner of our army's march during these days, went off in the night to the Nervii.

XVI. Triduum] Clarke reads triduo.

XVII. 1. Eorum dierum, &c.] See l. i. c. 30. n. 1.

docte ad Nervios perve-
nerunt, atque iis demon-
strarunt, inter singulas le-
giones, impedimentorum
magnum numerum inter-
dare; neque esse quid-
am negotii, quum pri-
ma legio in castra venis-
set, reliquæque legiones
magnum spatium abes-
sent, hanc sub sarcinis
moriri: qua pulsa, inpe-
dimentisque direptis, fu-
rum, ut reliquæ contra
insistere non auderent.
Adjuvabat etiam eorum
consilium, qui rem defe-
bant: quod Nervii an-
tiquitus, quum equitatu
nil possent, (neque e-
nim ad hoc tempus ei rei
adessent, sed, quidquid
esset, pedestribus va-
lent copiis), quo facilius
hostium equitatum,
praedandi causa ad eos
venissent, impedirent, te-
narum arboribus incisis, at-
que inflexis crebrisque in

vii, and told them, that a great
quantity of baggage marched be-
twixt the several legions; and
that it would be no difficulty,
when the first legion was arri-
ved in the camp, and the other
legions were a great way off,
to attack this first legion whilst
incumbered with their carria-
ges: upon the routing of which,
and the seizing of their baggage,
it would come to pass, that the
rest would not have courage to
make any further stand. To the
advice of those who brought the
information, it also added weight;
that the Nervii of old, as they
had no cavalry, (nor even to
this day do they make that their
study, but all the forces they have
consist of infantry), in order to
resist more effectually the caval-
ry of their neighbours, if at any
time they should come upon them
with a design to plunder, had
made a fortification, by notching
young trees, and bending down
the boughs in a close manner to-

O latitudinem

2. *Sub sarcinis*] *Sarcina* denotes chiefly the arms and provisions
which every soldier on a march was obliged to carry. *Sall. Jug. 45.*
in agmine, uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et
arma portaret.

3. *Inpedimentisque direptis*] *Inpedimenta* denotes all the heavy bag-
gage and artillery, which was carried or drawn by horses, and con-
sisted of tents, kitchen-furniture, and other utensils, corn and other
provisions, tools and instruments, for digging trenches, fortifying
the camp, and other military works. And on this occasion each
legion marched before their own baggage; so that, upon their be-
ing routed, the enemy would presently have become masters of it.

4. *Atque inflexis crebrisque, &c.*] Interpreters are much divided a-
bout

latitudinem ramis, [*enatis*] et rubis sentibusque interjectis effecerant, ut instar muri hæ sepes munimenta præberent : quo non modo intrari, sed ne perspici quidem possit. His rebus quum iter agminis nostri impediretur, non omittendum sibi consilium Nervii æstimaverunt.

XVIII. Loci natura erat hæc, quem locum nostri castris delegerant. Collis ab summo æqualiter declivis ad flumen Sabim, quod supra nominavimus, vergebat : ab eo flumine pari adclivitate collis nascebatur adversus huic, et contrarius, passus circiter cc infima apertus, ab superiore parte silvestris ; ut non facile introrsus perspici

ward the sides, and stuffing the vacancies with brambles and thorns, in such a way, that the hedge served as a fence instead of a wall : which was not only impassable, but could not so much as be seen through. When therefore the progress of our army should come to be interrupted by this fence, the Nervii were of opinion the advice offered ought not to be neglected.

XVIII. The situation of the place, which our men had made choice of for a camp, was as follows. A little hill descending evenly from the top reached to the river Sabis, which we mentioned above : and a little hill of a like ascent, over against and opposite to this, took its rise from the river, being open toward the foot for about 200 paces but so woody in the upper quarter, that its inner parts could not possibly

bout the reading in this place. Clarke reads and points thus : *Teneris arboribus incisus atque inflexis, crebrisque latitudinem ramis enatis, et rubis sentibusque interjectis, effecerant, ut, &c.* By which reading, it is obvious, that, notwithstanding the notching, cutting, and plashing of the trees, and the bending down of the branches, the growth still continues, and such a hedge will be *sepes viva*, i. e. quickset. But Oudendorp, upon comparing the different readings of the MSS. is of opinion, that *que* in *crebrisque*, and the word *enatis*, are spurious ; which he has therefore printed in a different character : and thinks the pointing ought to be as above.

5. *Quo non modo intrari*] See the note l. iii. c. 4.

XVIII. *Infima apertus*] *Infima* may either be esteemed an ablative, and resolved by supplying *ab parte* from the following clause ; or rather an accusative ; and then *infima apertus* will be Gracism, to which we may understand *quod ad*. See c. 8. n. 3.

met. Intra eas silvas
hostes in occulto sese con-
celebant : in aperto loco,
secundum flumen, paucæ
munitiones equitum vide-
bantur. Fluminis erat al-
tudo pedum circiter III.

XIX. Cæsar, equitatu
remisso, subsequēbatur
copiis : sed, ra-
tione ordoque agminis ali-
se habebat, ac Belgæ
Nervios detulerant.

In quod ad hostes ad-
propinquabat, consuetu-
e sua Cæsar VI legio-
nis expeditas ducebat :
et eas totius exercitus
impedimenta conlocarat :
et duæ legiones, quæ
proxime conscriptæ e-
rant, totum agmen claudē-
bat, præsidioque inpedi-
entis erant. Equites no-
cum funditoribus sa-
variisque flumen trans-
iit, cum hostium equi-
um prælium commiserunt.
Cum se illi identidem
in silvas ad suos recipe-
re, ac rursus ex silva in
nostros inpetum facerent,
nosque nostri longius,
eum quem ad finem por-
tata, ac loca aperta per-
sequebantur, cedentes insequi

be clearly discovered by the eye.
The enemy kept themselves con-
cealed within this wood : upon
the open ground along the river,
appeared a few troops of horse.
The depth of the river was about
three feet.

XIX. Cæsar, sending his ca-
valry before, followed close after
with all his forces : but the form
and order of his march was quite
otherwise, than the Belgæ had
reported to the Nervii. for Cæ-
sar, as he was now approach-
ing toward the enemy, conduct-
ed in the van, according to his
custom, six legions clear of bag-
gage : behind these he ranged
the carriages of the whole ar-
my, then the two legions, that
had been lately levied, shut up
the rear, and were a guard to
the carriages. Our horse with
the slingers and archers having
crossed the river, engaged in bat-
tle with the cavalry of the ene-
my. Whilst they every now and
then scampered off to the woods
to their companions, and then a-
gain made a sally from the woods
upon our men, nor durst our men
pursue them as they fled any fur-
ther, than as far as the plain
and open ground reached : in
the mean time the six legions,

O 2 . auderent ;

XIX. 1. *Perreſta, ac loca aperta*] Daviſius thinks the poſition of
theſe words harſh and unuſual ; and therefore, agreeably to ſome
of the MSS. alters their order thus : *Perreſta ac aperta loca*.
Burke, to ſoften the harſhneſs of the poſition, underſtands *perreſta*
absolutely

auderent; interim legiones sex, quæ primæ venerant, opere dimenso, castra munire cœperunt. Ubi prima impedimenta nostri exercitus ab his, qui in silvis abditi latebant, visa sunt; quod tempus inter eos commit-tendi prælii convenerat, ita ut intra silvas aciem ordinesque constituerant, atque ipsi sese confirma-verant, subito omnibus copiis provolaverunt, in-petumque in nostros equi-tes fecerunt. His facile pulsus ac proturbatis, in-credibili celeritate ad flu-men decucurrerunt; ut pæne uno tempore et ad silvas, et in flumine, et jam in manibus nostris hostes viderentur. Eadem autem celeritate adverso colle ad nostra castra, at-que eos, qui in opere occu-pati erant, contenderunt.

XX. Cæsari omnia u-no tempore erant agenda: vexillum proponendum,

who came first up, after measu-ring out the ground, began to for-tify the camp. As soon as the foremost carriages of our army were observed by those, who lay concealed in the woods; which was the time agreed upon among them for giving battle, as they had formed their lines and ranks within the thickets, and anima-ted one another, they rushed out on a sudden with all their for-ces, and made an attack on our cavalry. Having easily broken and dispersed them, they came running down to the river with such incredible swiftness; that almost at the same instant the e-nemy seemed to be both at the woods, and in the river, and amongst us. And with the same nimbleness did they advance up the hill toward our camp, and those, who were employed in the works.

XX. Cæsar had all parts to act at once: the flag was to be hung out, which was the sign quod

absolutely or substantively, i. e. *parrecta camporum, ac loca aperta*. but has not supported this conjecture by adducing any like instances. Oudendorp, would the MSS. permit, is for throwing out *loca*.

2. *In manibus nostris*] These words import, the enemy were so near, that the Romans might engage them hand to hand, or in close fight. Thus, Sall. Jug. 57. *Cupere prælium in manibus facere*.

XX. 1. *Vexillum proponendum*] Cæsar here enumerates the cere-monies

mod erat insigne, quum
arma concurrere oportet:
signum tuba dandum:
ab opere revocandi milites:
qui paullo longius, aggeris petendi
caussa, processerant, ar-
restandi: acies instruenda:
milites cohortandi:
signum dandum. Quam
rerum magnam partem
temporis brevitatem, et
successus et incursum ho-

when it was necessary to repair
to arms: the signal to be given
by the trumpet: the soldiers to
be drawn off from the works:
those to be recalled, who had
gone to some distance with a de-
sign to fetch materials for the
rampart: the army to be ran-
ged in order of battle: the men
to be encouraged: and the word
to be given. A great part of
which shortness of time, and the
sudden approach and furious
strife

signes or methods commonly used by the Roman generals, in order
to prepare, dispose, and animate the soldiers for battle. The first
whereof was, the displaying or exposing of the *vexillum*, which was
a scarlet or red flag hung out on the *prætorium*, or general's tent.

2. *Signum tuba dandum*] After exposing the flag to the eye, the
next alarm was to the ear by a peal of trumpets, called *Classicum*,
i. e. quasi *calassicum*, from the old verb *calo*, to call.

3. *Milites cohortandi*] Having made some impression on the sol-
diers minds by premonitions entering at their eyes and ears, the
general next addressed himself to the passions in a speech, in or-
der to rouse their courage, warm their spirits with a sense of glo-
ry, and inspire them with a contempt of death and danger.

4. *Signum dandum*] The general, in the last place, that his men
might readily distinguish one another from the enemy, gave them
the word, called *signum*, *tessera*, or *symbolum*; which was different
on different occasions. That given by Cæsar at the battle of Thap-
pæ was *Felicitas*, as Hirtius informs us, *B. Afr.* 83. At other times
he used *Venus genetrix*. Marius gave *Lar Deus*: Sylla gave *Apollo*
Delphicus; Brutus and Cassius gave *Libertas*; and others have given
Virtus, *Triumphus imperatoris*, *Dæus nobiscum*, &c. *N. B.* This *tes-*
sera was sometimes delivered *viva voce*, and at other times writ-
ten on tablets, and distributed among the officers and soldiers.

5. *Et successus et incursum*] Cæsar here, and in many other places,
uses words that are pretty much synonymous, but generally takes
care to make the posterior words explicative of the former. vii. 30.
ut omnia sibi patienda et perferenda existimarent. *B. Civ.* i. 5. *De-*
terminatur ad illud extremum atque ultimum senatusconsultum. ii. 4. *Ut*
invisis, latitantibus, atque incognitis rebus magis confidamus. *B. A-*
lex. xi. *Festinantem ac properantem, &c.*

stium impediēbat. His difficultatibus duæ res erant subsidio, scientia atque usus militum; quod superioribus præliis exercitati, quid fieri oporteret, non minus commode ipsi sibi præscribere, quam ab aliis doceri poterant: et quod ab opere singulisque legionibus singulos legatos Cæsar discedere, nisi munitis castris, vetuerat. Hi, propter propinquitatem et celeritatem hostium, nihil jam Cæsar's imperium spectabant; sed per se, quæ videbantur, administrabant.

XXI. Cæsar, necessariis rebus imperatis, ad cohortandos milites, quam in partem fors obtulit, decucurrit; et ad legionem decimam devenit. Milites non longiore oratione cohortatus, quam uti suæ pristinæ virtutis memoriam retinerent, neu perturbarentur animo, hostiumque inpetum fortiter sustinerent; quod non longius hostes aberant, quam quo telum adjici posset, præ-

charge of the enemy prevented. Under these difficulties two things were of advantage to the Romans, first the skill and experience of the soldiers; because having had much practice in former battles, they could no less patly suggest to themselves, what was necessary to be done, than be informed by others: and next, whereas Cæsar had forbid the several lieutenants to stir from the works and their respective legions till the camp should be fortified. These, on account of the near approach and nimble motions of the enemy, did not now mind Cæsar's orders; but of themselves executed what appeared proper.

XXI. Cæsar, having given the necessary orders, ran about to encourage his men where ever fortune threw them in his way; and came to the tenth legion. Where having encouraged the soldiers by no further speech, than intreating them to keep up the remembrance of their wonted bravery, not to be confused in their thoughts, and valiantly to withstand the assault of the enemy; in regard the enemy was at no greater distance, than a dart could be cast, he gave the

lii

6. *Imperium spectabant*] Davifius and some others read, *expectabant*: and then the sense would be, These did not wait for orders from Cæsar, but of themselves, &c.

committendi signum
edit. Atque in alteram
partem item cohortandi
caussa profectus, pugnan-
tibus occurrit. Tempo-
ris tanta fuit exiguitas,
hostiumque tam paratus
ad dimicandum animus,
ut non modo ad insignia
ad commodanda, sed et-
iam ad galeas induendas,
scutisque tegimenta de-
trahenda, tempus defue-
rit. Quam quisque in
partem ab opere casu de-
venit, quæque prima signa
conspexit, ad hæc consti-
tuit; ne, in quærendis suis,
pugnandi tempus dimitte-
ret.

XXII. Instructo exer-
citu, magis, ut loci na-
tura, dejectusque collis,
necessitas temporis;

signal for joining battle. And going to another part of the army, with a design likewise to encourage them, he found them already engaged. Such was the shortness of time, and so bent upon fighting were the minds of the enemy, that time was wanting not only for regulating the ensigns, but even for putting on the head-pieces, and pulling the covers off the targets. On whatever part of the army any one by chance lighted as he came from the works, and on whatever standard he first cast his eye, at this he took his station: that he might not lose the time to be employed in fighting, in seeking out his own company.

XXII. *The army being drawn up, rather as the situation of the ground, and declivity of the hill,*
quam,

XXI. 1. *Ad galeas induendas*] The Roman soldiers, when on a march, did not wear their helmets on their head; but had them hanging over their shoulder down upon their breast or back.

2. *Scutisque tegimenta detrahenda*] The Roman shields and targets as well as their other pieces of armour, were not only made of fine materials, and fitted in the best manner to answer the purposes of fighting, but were moreover curiously embellished with decorations of silver and gold, and other ornaments; and therefore, to preserve them from being sullied by dust or rain, they kept them under covers of leather when in the camp, or on a march. To this purpose, Juv. xi. 108. *Argenti quod erat, solis fulgebat in armis.* And Suet. Jul. 67. *Habebat milites tam cultos, ut argento et ferro politis armis ornaret. Simul et ad speciem, et quo tenaciores eorum prælio essent metu damni.* Nor was this a conceit peculiar to the Romans, but a prevailing custom among most nations that have made any figure in the world; particularly the Persians, as we learn from Justin, xi. 13. and the Greeks too, as may be gathered from Cor. Nep. *Agésil.* 3.

quam, ut rei militaris ratio, atque ordo postulabat: quum diversis locis legiones aliæ 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, fortunæ quoque eventus varii sequebantur.

XXIII. Legionis nonæ et decimæ milites, ut in sinistra parte acie confiterant, pilis emissis, cursu ac lassitudine exanimatos, vulneribusque confectos Atrebates (nam his ea pars obvenerat) celeriter ex loco superiore

and exigency of the time permitted; than as the form and order of the art-military required: whilst the legions in different places and in separate bodies were making head against the enemy, and the view of the fight was intercepted by thick hedges that intervened, as we formerly observed; proper reserves could neither be posted, nor provision made of what was needful in every quarter, nor all the necessary orders given by one person. Wherefore upon such a disadvantageous situation of affairs, various events of fortune also ensued.

XXIII. The soldiers of the ninth and tenth legion, as they were posted in the left part of the army, after throwing their darts, quickly drove the Atrebates (for these had fallen in their way) breathless with running and fatigue, and covered with wounds, from the higher in

XXII. *Quum diversis locis legiones aliæ*] In a great many of the MSS. the reading is, *Quum diversis legionibus aliæ*, &c. But, as the common reading is received and approved by Davisius and Clarke, Oudendorp does not take upon him to alter it.

XXIII. 1. *Acie*] This genitive occurs frequently in the best authors. B. Afr. 51. *Pars acie ante opus instructa sub hoste stabat.* Sall. Jug. 21. *Et quia die extremum erat.* Virg. Georg. i. 208. *Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas.*

2. *Exanimatos*] *Anima* is used sometimes to denote the breath, as in Ter. Phorm. v. 6. 28. *Accessi: adfriti: animam compressi: aurem admovi.* And hence *exanimatus* sometimes signifies breathless, or out of breath. Cæsar. iii. 19. *Cursu contenderunt, exanimatique pervenerunt.* Plaut. Asin. ii. 17. *Sed quid illud, quod exanimatus currit hic Leonida?*

flumen compulerunt ; transire conantes, infecti gladiis, magnam partem eorum inpeditam interfecerunt. Ipsi transire flumen non dubitaverunt ; et in locum iniquum progressi rursus repressos ac resistentes hostes, redintegrato prælio, fugam dederunt. Item in parte diversæ duæ legiones, undecima, et decima, profligatis Veromanduis, quibuscum eorum congressi, ex loco superiore in ipsis fluminis ripis præliabantur. At non totis fere a fronte, sed ab sinistra parte nudata castris, quum in dextero cornu legio duodecima, et non magno ab ea intervallo septima constitisset ; omnes Nervii confluentissimo agmine, duce Boduognato, qui summam præterii tenebat, ad eum locum contenderunt : quorum pars aperto latere legiones circumvenire, pars minimum castrorum locum invadere cœpit.

XXXIV. Eodem tempore equites nostri, levissimæ armaturæ pedites, cum iis una fuerant, primo hostium in-

ground to the river, and pursuing them with their swords, as they endeavoured to pass the water, slaughtered a great part of them whilst intangled in the river. They themselves did not boggle to cross the river ; and having advanced forward to a place of disadvantage, renewing the battle, they again put to flight the enemy that had turned back and opposed them. In like manner in another quarter two different legions, the eleventh and eighth, having broke the Veromandui, with whom they had engaged, were fighting from the higher ground upon the very banks of the river. But then the whole camp almost on the front and left side being left naked, the twelfth legion having been posted in the right wing, and the seventh at no great distance from it ; all the Nervii in a very close body, with Boduognatus as their leader, who had the chief command, advanced towards this quarter : part of whom began to invade the legions on the open flank, and part to make toward the highest part of the camp.

XXIV. At the same time our horse, and the light-armed foot, that were joined with them, who I said were broke upon the enemy's first attack, as they were

petu pullos dixeram, quum se in castra reciperent, adversis hostibus occurrebant, ac rursus aliam in partem fugam petebant: et calones, qui ab Decumana porta, ac summo jugo collis, nostros victores flumen transisse, conspexerant, prædandi causa egressi, quum respexissent, et hostes in nostris castris versari viderent, præcipientes fugæ sese mandabant; simul eorum, qui cum impedimentis veniebant, clamor fremitusque oriebatur; alique aliam in partem perterriti ferebantur. Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Treviri, quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis, qui, auxilii causa ab civitate missi,

retiring to the camp, met the enemy full in the face, and again fled off to another quarter: and the servants of the army, who from the Decuman port, and top of the hill, had observed our men with victory on their side cross the river, going out with a design to plunder, when they looked back, and saw the enemy marching up and down in our camp, in great confusion betook themselves to flight: at the same time a cry and shriek arose among those who were coming up with the baggage; and away they ran in great fright, some one way, some another. With all which events the cavalry of the Treviri being greatly alarmed, whose reputation for courage is extraordinary among the Gauls, and who had come to Cæsar, having been sent by their state to his assistance, when they observed our

XXIV. 1. *Quos—pulsos dixeram*] Toward the end of c. 19.

2. *Aliam in partem fugam petebant*] *Aliam partem fuga petere* the more usual form of expression; but *fugam petere* is also found in good authors. Liv. ix. 23. *Qua potest, quisque fugam per diversa petunt.* Virg. *Æneid.* xii. 263. *Petet ille fugam.* Ovid. *de art. amandi* i. 552. *Terque fugam petiit, terque retenta manu.*

3. *Qui ab Decumana porta*] The Roman camp was of a square form, and had four gates, one toward the middle of each side. That here mentioned was called *Porta Decumana*, because the tenth cohorts of the several legions had their tents fronting it; and the gate on the side opposite to this was called *Porta Prætoriana* from the *prætorium*, or general's tent, that stood nigh to it. N. L. Clarke is for transposing the words thus: *Calones, qui a summo jugo collis nostros victores flumen transisse conspexerant, Decumana portæ prædandi causa, egressi, &c.* which expresses the sense intended in somewhat clearer manner.

I Cæsarem venerant, cum multitudine hostium in castra nostra complerent, legiones premi, et præcipue circumventas teneri, pilones, equites, funditores, Numidas, diversos dissipatosque in omnes vias fugere vidissent, desperatis nostris rebus, cum omnium contenderunt: Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque eorum hostes copiosos, civitati renunciaverunt.

XXV. Cæsar, ab decimæ legionis cohortatione se ad dextrum cornu profectus; ubi suos urgeri, signisque in unum locum conlatis duodecimæ legionis confertos milites sibi copiosos ad pugnam esse impedimento; quartæ cohortis omnibus centurio-

camp filled with great number of the enemy, the legions overcharged and blocked up, being almost inclosed, the servants of the army, the horse, the slingers, and Numidians, flying off different ways and in scattered parties on all sides, giving up our affairs for lost, posted away home: and reported to their countrymen, that the Romans were broken and routed, and that the enemy had made themselves masters of their camp and carriages.

XXV. Cæsar, after encouraging the tenth legion, proceeded to the right wing; where he found his men overcharged, and the standards of the twelfth legion being huddled together into one place, the soldiers were crowded so thick as to be a hindrance to one another in fighting; all the centurions of the

P 2

nibus

XXV. 1. *Ab decimæ legionis cohortatione*] We were told c. 21. that Cæsar had left the tenth legion, and was gone off to encourage some other part of the army; and therefore Liptius, to avoid tautology, is for reading in this place, *cum decimæ legionis cohorte*, i. e. Cæsar went off to the right wing, attended with a cohort of the tenth legion as a guard to his person. But Vossius looks upon all that intervenes betwixt the words *In aliam partem* c. 21. and this place, as a digression upon the state and posture of the two armies; and that Cæsar here again resumes the relation of his own conduct, beginning with his departure from the tenth legion, as having given no account of his own actions since that time.

2. *Ubi suos urgeri*] The more modern authors write *urgeti*. The several clauses of this long period depend, as to their construction, upon the verb *vidit*, that occurs some lines beyond the middle of the chapter.

nibus occisis, signifero-
que interfecto, signo a-
misso, reliquarum cohori-
tium omnibus fere cen-
turiationibus aut vulneratis,
aut occisis, in his Primopilo,
P. Sextio Baculo,
fortissimo viro, multis
gravibusque vulneribus
confecto, ut jam se susti-
nere non posset; reli-
quos esse tardiores, et
nonnullos ab novissimis
desertos prælio excedere,
ac tela vitare, hostis ne-
que a fronte ex inferiore
loco subeuntes intermit-
tere, et ab utroque latere
instare, et rem esse in an-
gusto vidit, neque ullum
esse subsidium, quod sub-
mitti posset; scuto ab no-
vissimis uni militi detra-
cto (quod ipse eo sine
scuto venerat), in pri-
mam aciem processit,
centurionibusque nomi-
natim adpellatis, reliquos
cohortatus milites, signa
inferre, et manipulos la-
xare jussit, quo facilius
gladiis uti possent. Cu-
jus adventu spe inlata
militibus, ac redintegra-
to animo, quum pro se
quisque in conspectu im-

fourth cohort were slain, and the
standardbearer cut off, and the
ensign lost, almost all the centu-
rions of the other cohorts being
either wounded, or killed, among
these P. Sextius Baculus, the
Primopile, a very valiant man
was covered with so many and
so dangerous wounds, that by
this time he was not able to
stand; the rest were turned
languid, and some after being
abandoned by those in the rear
were slipping out of the field,
and avoiding the darts that
were flying about their ears,
on the other hand the enemy,
tho' advancing from the lower
ground, gave no respite in the
front, and pressed hard on both
flanks, and matters were now
in a critical situation, and no
succours, that could be sent;
whereupon Cæsar, snatching a
shield from one of the soldiers in
the rear (for he had come hither
without one), advanced to the
first line, and calling the centu-
rions by name, and having en-
couraged the rest of the soldiers,
ordered them to advance the
standards, and widen the ranks
of the maniples, that they might
use their swords with greater
ease. Upon whose approach

peratoris

3. *Primopilo*] The first or principal centurion of a legion.

4. *Pro se quisque*] i. e. *Quisque pro sua parte*, or *quisque pro sua vi-
rili parte*, or *quantum quisque potest*: Every one for his own part, or
according to his abilities, or to the utmost of his power. B. Civ. i. 33.
Pro se quisque id munus recusabat.

eratoris, et jam in extremis suis rebus operam lavare cuperent, paullum hostium inpetus tardatus est.

XXVI. Cæsar quum septimam legionem, quæ iuxta constiterat, item argueri ab hoste vidisset, Tribunos militum movit, ut paullatim sese regiones conjungerent, et conversa signa in hostes transferrent. Quo facto, quum alius alii subsidium ferrent, neque timerent, ne aversi ab hoste circumvenirentur, audacius resistere, ac fortius pugnare coeperunt. Interim milites legionum duarum, quæ in novissimo agmine præsidio impedimentis fuerant, prælio nunciato, cursu incitato, in summo colle ab hostibus conspiciiebantur: et T. Labienus, castris hostium positus, et ex loco superio-

hopes of victory being infused into the soldiers, and their courage renewed, whilst every one for his own part in the presence of his general, and now in this desperate juncture of affairs was eager to exert his utmost efforts, the fury of the enemy was a little repressed.

XXVI. Cæsar observing that the seventh legion, which stood hard by, was likewise overpowered by the enemy, desired the Tribunes of the soldiers to unite the two legions by degrees, and joining back to back to face about upon the enemy. Which being done, as they were assisting to one another, and under no fears of being surrounded by the enemy in their rear, they began to make a bolder stand, and fight with greater courage. In the mean time the soldiers of the two legions, that had been left in the rear as a guard to the baggage, doubling their pace, upon the news of the battle, were discerned by the enemy on the top of the hill: and T. Labienus, having made himself master of the enemy's camp, and observing from the
re,

XXVI. 1. *Alius alii subsidium ferrent*] Partitives, such as *alius, alter, quisque*, &c. signify many severally, and as it were one by one; and are therefore frequently joined with verbs and adjectives plural. Sall. Jug. 53. *Alius alium læti adpellant*. Cat. 22. *Alius alii tanti facinoris conscii*. Justin. xv. 2. *Auxilium ferre alter alteri volunt*. Ovid. Met. i. 59. *Cum sua quisque regant diverso flamina tra-*
tu. Clarke, however, in this place reads *aiis alii subsidium ferrent*.

re, quæ res in nostris castris gererentur, conspicatus, decimam legionem subsidio nostris misit. qui, quum 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.

XXVII. Horum adventu tanta rerum commutatio facta est, ut nostri, etiam qui vulneribus confecti procubissent, scutis innixi, prælium redintegrarent; tum calones, perterritos hostes conspicati, etiam inermes armatis occurrerent; equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugæ virtute delerent, omnibus in locis pugnæ se legionariis militibus præferrent. At hostes, etiam in extrema spe salutis, tantam virtutem præstiterunt, ut, quum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi jacentibus insisterent, atque ex eorum corporibus pugnarent: his dejectis, et

higher ground, what was doing in our camp, detached the tenth legion to our relief. who, understanding by the flight of the cavalry and the servants, in what posture our affairs were, and in how great danger both the camp, and the legions, and the general were, made all possible dispatch.

XXVII. Upon their arrival such an alteration of affairs ensued, that our men, even those who had dropt down quite covered with wounds, renewed the fight, leaning against their targets; the servants of the army also, observing the enemy under great consternation, rushed even without arms upon their armed adversaries; and the cavalry, to wipe off the ignominy of their flight by gallant actions, in all places of the battle thrust themselves in before the legionary soldiers. But the enemy, even when they had little hopes of getting off safe, displayed such prodigious courage, that, after their foremost ranks had fallen, those in the next ranks got up upon them as they lay on the ground, and fought standing on their
coacervatis

2. *Decimam legionem subsidio nostris misit*] We were told c. 23. that the ninth and tenth legion having defeated the Atrebatæ pursued them over the river. And comparing the account there given with what is here said, we may learn how they had been employed during the whole action.

coacervatis cadaveribus, qui superessent, ut ex tumultu, tela in nostros conicerent, et pila intercepta remitterent: ut non nequidquam tantæ virtutis homines judicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere altissimas ripas, subire iniquissimum locum: quæ facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo redegerat.

XXVIII. Hoc prælio facto, et prope ad interuersionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto, majores natu, quos una cum pueris, mulieribusque in æstuaria ac paludes collectos dixeramus, hac pugna nunciata, quum victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum arbitrantur; omnium qui supererant, consensu, legatos ad Cæsiarem miserunt, seque ei

dead bodies; these again being overthrown, and their carcases heaped on one another, those who survived discharged from thence, as from a mount, their weapons upon our men, and taking up our darts returned them: so that we ought to conclude it was not for nought that men of such bravery had adventured to cross a very broad river, ascend very high banks, and come up to a place of great disadvantage: all which, though extremely difficult, their greatness of spirit rendered easy.

XXVIII. This battle being ended, and the nation and name of the Nervii brought almost to utter destruction, their old men, who together with the boys and women we said had been drawn together into islands and fens, upon the news of this battle, thinking nothing could withstand the conquerors, and that nothing was secure to the vanquished; by the consent of all that remained, dispatched away ambassadors to Cæsar, and surrendered themselves to him, and in redediderunt,

XXVII. *Quæ facilia*—redegerat] Redigere facilia is an expression somewhat rare. We find, however, redigere thus applied by Cæsar once more, viz. iv. 3. *Vestigales sibi fecerant, ac multo humiliores infirmioresque redegerunt.*

XXVIII. *Qui supererant*] In some few copies the reading is *Qui superarant*. But the sense is the same; for *superare* is frequently put for *supervivere*, *superstes esse*, or *superesse*. Virg. *Æneid.* iii. 339. *Quid puer Ascanius? Superatne, et vescitur aura?* Georg. iii. 296. *Hoc satis armentis: superat pars altera cura.*

dediderunt, et in commemoranda civitatis calamitate, ex DC, ad III senatores; ex hominum milibus LX, vix ad D, qui arma ferre possent, sese redactos esse dixerunt: quos Cæsar, ut in miseros ac subplices usus misericordia videretur, diligentissime conservavit; suisque finibus atque oppidis uti iussit; et finitimis imperavit, ut ab injuria et maleficio se suosque prohiberent.

XXIX. Aduatuci, de quibus supra scripsimus, quum omnibus copiis auxilio Nervii venirent, hac pugna nunciata, ex itinere domum revertentur: cunctis oppidis castellisque desertis, sua omnia in unum oppidum, egregie natura munitum, contulerunt. Quod quum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despectusque haberet, utra ex parte leniter adclivis aditus, in latitudinem non amplius cepedum relinquebatur: quem locum duplici altissimo muro munierant: tum magni ponderis faxa, et præacutas trabes in muro conlocarant. Ipsi

counting the calamities of their country, they affirmed that their senators were reduced from six hundred to three persons; and that of sixty thousand men, scarce five hundred, that could bear arms, were left: whom Cæsar, that he might appear to use clemency toward the miserable and submissive, most carefully preserved; and appointed they should enjoy their own country and cities; and commanded their neighbours to restrain themselves and their friends from offering them injuries and ill usage.

XXIX. The Aduatuci, of whom we spoke above, coming with all their forces to the assistance of the Nervii, upon the news of this battle, returned home after they were upon the road: and deserting all their other towns and forts, conveyed their whole effect into one city, that was well fortified by situation. Which as it had very steep rocks and precipices on all sides round about, there was left upon one side an entrance of an easy ascent, not above 200 feet in breadth: which place they fortified with a double wall of a prodigious height: upon the wall also they placed stones of a considerable weight, and sharp stakes ready for use in case of an assault. These people were descended from the Cimbri
crant

erant ex Cimbris, Teutonisque prognati; qui, quum iter in provinciam nostram, atque Italiam facerent, iis impedimentis, quæ secum agere, ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depositis, custodiæ ex suis ac præsidio VI milia hominum una reliquerunt. Hi, post eorum obitum, multos annos a finitimis exagitati, quum alias bellum inferrent, alias inlatum defenderent, consensu eorum omnium pace facta, hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt.

XXX. Ac, primo adventu exercitus nostri, crebras ex oppido excursionem faciebant, parvulisque præliis cum nostris contendebant: postea, vallo pedum XII, in circuitu XV milium, crebrisque castellis circummuniti, oppido sese continebant. Ubi, vineis

and Teutoni; who, when they were making an incursion into our province, and into Italy, having lodged on this side the Rhine such carriages as they could not drive along, and carry with them, left six thousand of their men to take care of and guard them. These, after their overthrow, having been harrassed for many years by their neighbours, one while making war upon others, another while defending themselves, at last concluding a peace by the joint consent of all, made choice of this place for a settlement.

XXX. And, upon the first approach of our army, they made frequent sallies from the town, and engaged with our men in slight skirmishes: but after they were inclosed with a rampart of twelve feet in height, and fifteen miles in compass, and a great many forts, they kept themselves within the town. When, upon e-

Q actis,

XXIX. Citra flumen Rhenum] i. e. on the south side of the Rhine.

XXX. 1. In circuitu XV milium] Cæsar frequently suppresses the word passuum. i. 41. Ut milium amplius quinquaginta, &c. iii. 17. Viridovix contra eum duum milium spatio consedisset. v. 12. Hujus est longitudo lateris pcc milium. c. 42. Nam minus horis tribus milium X in circuitu munitionem perfecerunt. vi. 29. Milibusque amplius D in longitudinem patet. vii. 3. Quod spatium est milium circiter elx. viii. 20. Plus minus iix milibus. B. Civ. i. 18. Quod oppidum a Corfinio vii milium intervallu abest, &c.

2. Crebrisque castellis circummuniti] It was the manner of the Romans

actis, aggere exstructo, turrim procul constitui viderunt, primum iuridere ex muro, atque increpitare vocibus, quo tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio institueretur? quibusnam manibus, aut quibus viribus, præsertim homines tantulæ staturæ (nam plerumque hominibus Gallis, præ magnitudine corporum suorum, brevitās nostra contemtui est), tanti oneris turrim in muros sese conlocare confiderent?

XXXI. Ubi verò moveri, et adpropinquare moenibus viderunt, nova atque inusitata specie commoti, legatos ad Cæsarem de pace miserunt; qui ad hunc modum locuti: Non se existimare, Romanos sine ope divina bellum gerere; qui tantæ altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere [et ex propinquitate pugnare] pos-

recting of the vineæ, and throwing up a mount, they observed a turret rearing up at a good distance, at first they fell a scoffing from the walls and upbraided the Romans by speeches, crying, to what purpose was such a huge machine set up at such a distance with what hands, or with what force did they expect to bring forward a turret of such a bulk to the walls, especially as they were men of such low stature? (for our short stature is often matter of derision to the men of Gaul in comparison of the largeness of their bodies).

XXXI. But when they saw it moving, and approaching to the walls, being astonished at the strange and unusual sight, they dispatched away ambassadors to Cæsar to treat about a peace; who spoke to this effect. That they were of opinion, the Romans carried on the war now without the assistance of the gods; who were able to push forward engines of such a height with so much swiftness, [and bring the matter to close fight].

sent:

mans, in besieging great and strong cities, to draw, in the first place, a wall or rampart quite round the town, at a considerable distance from it, and strengthen the same with forts or turrets erected at convenient intervals: the design whereof was, to cut off the inhabitants from provisions, and to secure themselves against sallies or eruptions from the town, and assaults or invasions of their friends and allies from the country. See l. vii. c. 69.

XXXI. *Et ex propinquitate pugnare*] These words are wanting in many

sent: se, suaque omnia eorum potestati permittere, dixerunt. unum petere, ac deprecari; si forte pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset, Aduaticos esse conservandos, ne se armis despoliaret sibi omnes fere finitimos esse inimicos, ac suæ vitæ invidere; a quibus se defendere, traditis armis, non possent. sibi præstare, si in eum casum deducerentur, quamvis fortunam a populo Romano pati, quam ab his per cruciatum interfici, inter quos dominari consueissent.

XXXII. Ad hæc Cæsar respondit; Se magis consuetudine sua, quam merito eorum, civitatem conservaturum, si prius, quam murum acies attigisset, se dedidissent; sed deditionis nullam esse conditionem, nisi armis traditis: se id, quod in Nervii fecisset, facturum, finitimisque imperaturum, ne quam deditionis

and told him, they resigned themselves, and all they had to his disposal. one thing they begged, and intreated; if peradventure out of his clemency and mercy, which they had heard of from others, he should determine to save the Aduatuci, that he would not rob them of their arms. that almost all their neighbours were their enemies, and envied their valour; against whom they would not be able to defend themselves, after delivering up their arms. that it would be better for them, if they were to fall under such calamity, to suffer any usage from the Roman people, than to be put to death in the way of torture by those, among whom they had been in use to command.

XXXII. To this Cæsar replied; That he would save their city, more in compliance with his usual manner, than on account of their deservings, if they surrendered themselves before the battering ram touched their walls; but that there could be no terms of surrender, unless their arms were delivered up; that he would do by them, as he had done by the Nervii, and would command their neighbours,

Q 2 populi

many of the old MSS. and do not connect well with the other part of the sentence; for which reasons Oudendorp has inclosed them within crotchets. He suspects also the word dixerunt, in the following clause.

populi Romani injuriam inferrent. Re nunciata ad suos, quæ imperarentur, facere dixerunt. Arriorum magna multitudine de muro in fossam, quæ erat ante oppidum, jacta, sic, ut prope summam muri aggerisque altitudinem adæqui armorum adæquarent: et tamen circiter parte tertia, ut postea perspectum est, celata, atque in oppido retenta, portis patefactis, eo die pace sunt usi.

XXXIII. Sub vespere Cæsar portas claudi, militesque ex oppido exire jussit, ne quam noctu oppidanum ab militibus injuriam acciperent. Illi, ante inito, ut intellectum est, consilio, quod, deditione facta, nostros præsidia deducturos, aut denique indiligentius servaturos crediderant, partim cum his, quæ retinuerant et celaverant, armis; par-

not to offer any injury to those who had submitted to the Roman people. The matter being reported to their countrymen, they said they would do what was ordered. Accordingly a great quantity of arms was thrown over the wall into the trench, that was without the town, in-somuch that the heaps of arms almost equalled the top of the wall and rampart: and yet about a third part was concealed, and reserved in the city, as was afterwards discovered; where-upon the gates being opened, they enjoyed peace for that day.

XXXIII. Toward evening Cæsar ordered the gates to be shut, and the soldiers to withdraw from the city, that the townsmen might not receive any ill usage from the soldiers in the night. But they, as was afterwards understood, having entered into a plot beforehand, because a surrender being made, they imagined our men would draw off their guards, or at least keep them to their duty with less care, partly with those arms

XXXII. *Facere dixerunt*] i. e. *Se facturos dixerunt*. The present tense is often used to denote what is future; *velle*, *posse*, or *debere* being understood. iv. 21. *Polliceantur dare obsides*, i. e. *se datu-ros obsides*; or, *se velle dare obsides*. vii. 21. *Penes eos, si id oppidum retinuisent, summam victorie constare intellegebant*. viii. 52. *Judicabat causam suam facile obtineri*. Flor. i. 12. *Adactus miles jurejurando nisi capta urbe non remcare*. See l. 4. c. 21. n. 2.

m, scutis ex cortice factis, aut viminibus intextis, quæ subito (ut temporis exiguitas postulabat) pellibus induxerant;ertia vigilia, qua minime arduus ad nostras munitiones adscensus videbatur, omnibus copiis repente ex oppido eruptionem fecerunt. Celeriter, ut ante Cæsar imperarat, ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis eo concursum est: pugnatumque ab hostibus ita acriter, ut acrius fortibus, in extrema salutis, iniquo loco contra eos, qui ex vallo arribusque tela jacerent, agnari debuit; quum una virtute omnis spes salutis consisteret. Occisi ab hominum milibus, reliqui in oppidum collecti sunt. Postridie celsis diei, refractis portis, cum jam defenderet nemo, atque intromissis milibus nostris, sectionem oppidi universam Cæsar vendidit. Ab his,

which they had reserved and concealed, and partly with shields made of bark, or framed of wicker, which (as the shortness of the time required) they had hastily covered with hides; about the third watch, suddenly made a sally from the town with all their forces, on the side where the ascent to our fortifications appeared the least difficult. This being quickly notified by fires, as Cæsar had ordered beforehand, the soldiers came running thither from the neighbouring forts: and the fight was maintained by the enemy with as much vigour, as it ought to have been by men of courage, in the last hopes of safety, and upon disadvantageous ground, against those who were discharging their weapons from the rampart and turrets; all their hopes of safety depending on their bravery only. About four thousand of their men being slain, the rest were forced back into the town. The day after, Cæsar, having broke up the gates, no body now defending them, and introducing our soldiers, exposed to sale the whole spoils of the city. The number

Qui

XXXIII. Sectionem ejus oppidi, &c.] The spoils of a sacked city, and the confiscated goods of condemned persons, were called *sectiones*, and the purchasers thereof were called *sectores*. Aconius Verrem ii. *Sectores autem disti sunt, qui spem lucri sui secuti bona deminatorum simul auctionabantur, proque his pecunias persequantur, itea pro compendio, suo singula quaque populo vendiderunt.*

qui emerant, capitum numerus ad eum relatus est milium LIII.

XXXIV. Eodem tempore a P. Crasso, quem cum legione una miserat ad Venetos, Unellos, Osismios, Curiosolitas, Sefuvios, Aulercos, Rhedones, quæ sunt maritimæ civitates, Oceanumque adtingunt, certior factus est, omnes eas civitates in ditionem potestatemque populi Romani esse redactas.

XXXV. His rebus gestis omni Gallia pacata, tanta hujus belli ad barbaros opinio perlata est, uti ab his nationibus, quæ trans Rhenum incoherent, mitterentur legati ad Cæsarem, quæ se obsides daturas, imperata facturas, pollicerentur. Quas legationes Cæsar, quod in Italiam Illyricumque pro-

of persons sold for slaves was given in to him by those, who purchased them, being fifty-three thousand.

XXXIV. At the same time he was informed by P. Crassus, whom with one legion he had dispatched away against the Veneti, the Unelli, the Osismii, the Curiosolitæ, the Sefuvii, the Aulerci, and the Rhedones, which are maritime states, and lie upon the Atlantic ocean, that all these nations were brought under the dominion and power of the Roman people.

XXXV. All Gaul being subdued by these expeditions, so great a fame of this war was spread among the barbarians, that ambassadors were sent to Cæsar from those nations, who live beyond the Rhine, who promised they would give hostages, and submit to orders. Which embassies Cæsar, because he was hastening for Italy and Illyricum, ordered to return to him the be-

perabat,

XXXIV. Sefuvios] Vossius observes, that these people are mentioned by none of the ancients; and by Cæsar only in this place: which makes him suspect, that Sefuvios is a corrupt reading, instead of Lexovios, a people whom Cæsar frequently joins with the other states here enumerated; as iii. 9. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismios, Lexovios, &c. c. 11. In Unellos, Curiosolitas, Lexoviosque mittit. c. 29. Cæsar exercitum reduxit, et in Aulercis Lexoviosque, in hibernis collocavit.

XXXV. 1. Quæ——daturas——facturas] In several copies the reading is, Qui——daturos——facturos; referring to legati. But Oudendorp rather approves of quæ daturas, &c. which is the reading in the most ancient MSS. and refers to nationibus.

perabat, inita proxima æstate ad se reverti jussit. Ipse in Carnutes, Andes, Turonesque, quæ civitates propinquæ his locis erant, ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hiberna deductis, in Italiam profectus est. Ob easque res, ex litteris Cæsaris, dies xv supplicatio decreta est. quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.

ginning of next summer. Accordingly he set out for Italy, after leading the legions into winter quarters among the Carnutes, the Andes, and the Turones, which were the states adjacent to the places, where he had carried on the war. And for these achievements, upon Cæsar's letter, a public thanksgiving for fifteen days was voted by the senate. an honour which before this time had happened to none.

2. *Dies xv supplicatio*] See the note l. iv. c. 38.

LIBER III.

The ARGUMENT.

I. *The lieutenant general Ser. Galba subdues several countries situated betwixt the Rhone and the Alps. II. The Seduni and Veragri rebel, but are overthrown by Galba. VII. At the same time a rebellion happens among the Veneti, Unedi, Curiosolitæ, and other states in Gaul on the coast of the Atlantic ocean. IX. Cæsar orders ships to be built, and prepares for a war against the Veneti; which is attended with great difficulties. XII. After many fruitless attempts to reduce them by land, XIV. he at last conquers them by an engagement at sea. XVII. While in the mean time his lieutenant Q. Titurius by a stratagem defeats the Unelli; XX. and P. Crassus carries on a war with great success in Aquitania. XXVIII. Cæsar undertakes an expedition against the Morini and Menapii; but, after some small victory, is obliged by the season of the year to lead back his army to winter-quarters.*

I. **Q**Uum in Italiam proficisceretur

I. **W**Hen Cæsar was setting out for Italy, he
Cæs. r.

Cæsar, Serv. 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. Causa mittendi fuit, quod iter per Alpis, quo magno cum periculo, magnisque cum portoriis mercatores ire consueverant, patefieri volebat. Huic permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in eis locis legionem, hiemandi causa, conlocaret. Galba, secundis aliquot præliis factis, castrisque compluribus eorum expugnatis, missis ad eum undique legatis, obsequiisque datis, et pace facta, constituit, cohortis duas in Nantuatibus conlocare, et ipse cum reliquis ejus legionis cohortibus in vico Veragrorum, qui adpellatur Octodurus, hiemare. qui vicus, posi-

dispatched away Servius Galba with the twelfth legion, and party of horse, against the Nantuates, Veragri, and Seduni, who extend from the confines of the Allobroges, and the lake Lemannus, and river Rhone to the top of the Alps. His reason for sending him was, 'because he inclined a road should be opened along the Alps, thro' which merchants with great danger, and paying high imposts, were in use to travel. To him he granted leave to distribute the legion in these places, on purpose to winter, if he should think it necessary. Galba, after fighting some successful skirmishes, and taking several of their forts, upon deputies being sent to him from all the country round, and hostages given him, and a peace concluded, resolved to quarter two cohorts among the Nantuates, and to winter himself with the other cohorts of that legion in a village of the Veragri, which is called Octodurus, which village, situated in a valley, the circumjacent plain not being

I. 7. Cum periculo, magnisque cum, &c.] It is Cæsar's manner to repeat the prepositions. I. 44. *Ædii secum, et cum Sequanis.* I. 32. *Ad laceffendum, et ad committendum.* VIII. 41. *Sine ullo periculo et sine suspitione.* B. Civ. II. 28. *Apud Domitium, atque apud Julia.* III. 6. *Ex victoria et ex sua liberalitate.* See I. II. c. 10. n. 2.

2. Portoriis] Portorium denotes the duty or custom imposed upon the Roman merchants by the inhabitants of the Alps for the liberty of conveying goods through their country to and from Italy.

tus in valle, non magna adjecta planicie, altissimis montibus undique continetur. Quum hic in duas partes flumine divideretur, alteram partem ejus vici Gallis concessit, alteram, vacuam ab illis relictam, cohortibus ad hiemandum adtribuit. Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit.

II. Quum 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 inpendere, a maxima multitudine Sedunorum et Veragrorum teneri. Id aliquot de causis acciderat, ut subito Galli belli renovandi, legionisque obprimendæ consilium caperent. Primum, quod legionem, neque eam plenissimam, detractis cohortibus duabus et compluribus singillatim, qui, commeatus petendi causa, missi erant, absentibus, propter paucitatem despiciebant: tum etiam, quod, propter iniquitatem loci, quum ipsi ex

large, is environed on all sides by very high mountains. And as it was divided into two parts by a torrent, one part of the village he assigned to the Gauls, the other, left empty by them, he allotted for the cohorts to winter in. This quarter he fortified with a rampart and ditch.

II. After a good many days had passed in the winter-quarters, and he had ordered corn to be brought in, he was informed on a sudden by his scouts, that all the people had gone off in the night, from that part of the village, which he had assigned to the Gauls, and that the hills, which hang over the village, were taken possession of by vast numbers of the Seduni and Veragri. For several reasons it happened, that the Gauls all on a sudden entered into a design of renewing the war, and cutting off this legion. First, because they despised a single legion, on account of the smallness of their number, and it not very full, two cohorts having been detached away to the Nantuates, and several particular parties absent, who had been sent out with a design to fetch in provisions: then again, because they imagined, their very first assault could

R.

montibus

montibus in vallem decurrerent, et tela conjicerent, ne primum quidem posse inpetum suum sustineri, existimabant. Accedebat, quod suos ab se liberos abstractos obsidum nomine dolebant; et Romanos, non solum itinerum causa, sed etiam perpetuæ possessionis, culmina Alpium occupare conari, et ea loca finitimæ provinciæ adjungere, sibi persuasum habebant.

III. His nunciis acceptis, Galba; quum neque opus hibernorum, munitionesque plene essent perfectæ, neque de frumento, reliquoque comineatu satis esset provisum; quod, deditione facta, obsidibusque acceptis, nihil de bello timendum existimaverat; consilio celeriter convocato, sententias exquirere coepit. quo in consilio, quum tantum repentini periculi præter opinionem accidisset, ac jam omnia fere superiora loca multitudine armatorum

not be withstood, on account of the disadvantageous situation of the place, as they were to come running down, and discharge darts from the hills into the valley. To this was added, that they were grieved their children should be taken from them under the name of hostages; and they had a firm persuasion, the Romans endeavoured to seize upon the summit of the Alps, and unite this country to their neighbouring province in Gaul, not only for the sake of a passage to and from Italy, but even for perpetual possession.

III. Galba, upon receiving this intelligence; as the works of the wintering camp, and fortifications were not quite finished, nor sufficient provision made of corn, and other stores; because after a surrender was made, and hostages received, he imagined nothing of war was to be dreaded; quickly calling a council of war, began to ask the sentiments as to what was proper to be done. in which council, as so much danger all on a sudden and beyond expectation had happened, and by this time almost all the higher ground was seen covered with multitudes of armed men, and none could complete

II. *Sibi persuasum habebant*] Vossius observes, that this expression is unusual; for that none of the ancients ever said, *Mi persuasum habeo*; but, *Mihi persuasum est*.

completa conspicerentur, neque subsidio veniri, neque commeatus subporari, interclusis itineribus, possent; prope jam desperata salute, nonnullæ hujusmodi sententiæ dicebantur, ut, impedi-
mentis relictis, eruptione facta, iisdem itineribus, quibus eo pervenissent, ad salutem contenderent. Majori tamen parti placuit, hoc reservato et extremum consilio, interim rei eventum experi-
ri, et castra descendere.

IV. Brevi spatio interfecto, vix ut his rebus, quas constituissent, concipiendis, atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus, signo dato, decurre-
re; lapides, gæsaque in vallum conjicere. Nostri primo integris viribus fortiter repugnare, neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere: ut quæque pars castrorum nudata defensoribus premi videbatur,

to their relief, nor provisions be brought in, the passages being blocked up; despairing now almost of safety, the sentiments of some were delivered to this purpose, that, leaving the baggage, and making a sally, they should march off for saving their lives, the same way, by which they had come thither. It seemed proper however to the greater part, reserving this expedient to the last, in the mean time to attend the issue of the affair, and defend the camp.

IV. After a short interval, that scarce allowed time to regulate and execute the things which they had concerted for defence, the enemy, on a signal given, came running down from all quarters; and poured in stones and darts upon the rampart. Our men at first, when their strength was fresh, courageously withstood them, nor from their higher station on the rampart did they discharge any weapon without effect: as any part of the camp wanting defenders appeared to be overpowered, thi-

R 2

eo

III. 1. *Neque subsidio veniri*] From *possent* in the following clause, understand here *possent*, impersonally taken.

2. *Rei eventum experiri*] *Experiri* is sometimes used in much the same sense as *opperiri*. i. 31. *Fortunamque, quæcumque accidat, experiantur*. B. Civ. ii. 30. *Belli fortunam experiri*. Curt. v. 8. *Ut eadem constantia animorum, qua præterita tolerastis, experiamini, quicquid deinde fors tulerit*.

eo occurrere, et auxilium ferre: sed hoc superari, quod diuturnitate pugnae hostes defessi praelio excedebant, alii integris viribus succedebant: 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.

V. Quum jam amplius horis vi continenter pugnaretur, ac non solum vires, sed etiam tela nostris deficerent, atque hostes acrius instarent, languidioribusque nostris, vallum scindere, et fossas complere coepissent, resque esset jam ad extremum perducta casum, P. Sextius Baculus, primipili centurio, quem Nervico

ther they flocked, and carried assistance; but in this they were overmatched, that during the long continuance of the skirmish the enemy as they turned weary retired from the action, and others with fresh vigour came up in their room: none of which things could be practised by our men, on account of the smallness of their number; and not only to one weary was liberty of retiring from the action not allowed but not even to a wounded person was leave granted to abandon the place, where he had his station, and withdraw himself.

V. When now the conflict had been maintained for more than six hours without intermission, and not only strength, but even weapons began to fail on our side, and the enemy were pushing more furiously, and whilst our men turned more remiss, had begun to demolish the rampart, and fill up the ditch, and the matter was now brought to the utmost crisis, P. praelio

IV. *Ac non modo defesso*] i. e. non modo non. Thus, Liv. i. 40. Non modo civica, sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis. Justin. ii. 1. Itaut non modo prima generare homines, sed ne advenas quidem recipere ac tueri possent. And Caes. ii. 17. Quo non modo intrari, sed ne perspicere quidem possit.

V. 1. *Nostris deficerent*] Here deficio rules the dative. Thus, Virg. Georg. i. 149. Cum jam glandes atque arbusta sacrae deficerent sylvae. Valer. Max. v. § 1. Nisi vinum nobis defecisset. But it much oftener governs the accusative. Virg. Georg. i. 290. Noctes lentius non deficit humor. Horat. epist. I. xi. 30. Animus si te non deficit aquas. Caes. ii. 10. Ipsos res frumentaria deficiente cepit. vii. 50. Quem jam sanguis viresque deficiunt.

prælio compluribus confectum vulneribus diximus, et item C. Volusenus, tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni et virtutis, ad Galbam accurrunt, atque unam esse spem salutis docent, si, eruptione facta, extremum auxilium experirentur. Itaque, convocatis centurionibus, celeriter milites certiores facit, paullisper intermitterent prælium, ac tantummodo tela missa exciperent, seque ex labore reficerent; post, dato signo, ex castris erumperent, atque omnem spem salutis in virtute ponerent.

VI. Quod iussi sunt, faciunt; ac subito omnibus portis eruptione facta, neque cognoscendi, quid fieret, neque sui conligendi hostibus facultatem relinquunt. Ita commutata fortuna, eos, qui in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant, undique circumventos, interficiunt, et ex hominum

Sextius Baculus, a centurion of the first rank, who we said had been disabled by a great many wounds in the battle against the Nervii, and also C. Volusenus, a tribune of the soldiers, a man both of great conduct and courage, came running to Galba, and told him the only chance for preservation was, if they tried the last resource, by making a sally on the enemy. Whereupon, convening the centurions, he quickly orders the soldiers to discontinue fighting for a little, and only ward off the darts thrown by the enemy; and refresh themselves after their fatigue; and afterward, upon a signal given, to sally out of the camp, and place all their hopes of safety in their bravery.

VI. What they were ordered, they execute; and making a sally suddenly at all the gates of the camp, lest it in the power of the enemy neither to know what was a doing, nor to rally themselves. Whereupon fortune taking a turn, those, who had conceived hopes of making themselves masters of the camp, being surrounded on all sides, they cut
milibus

2. Confectum vulneribus diximus] See l. ii. c. 25.

VI. 1. Qui in spem—venerant] Venire in spem has much the same import as habere spem, or sperare; and qui in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant, signifies much the same as qui sperabant potiri castris. Thus, i. 18. Si quid accidat Romanis, summam in spem regni per Helvetios obtinendi venire. vii. 30. Simul in spem veniebant.

milibus amplius xxx, quem numerum barbarum ad castra venisse constabat, plus tertia parte interfecta, reliquos perterritos in fugam conjiciunt, ac, ne in locis quidem superioribus, consistere patiuntur. Sic omnibus hostium copiis fulis, armisque exsotis, se in castra munitionesque suas recipiunt. Quo prælio factæ, quod sæpius fortunam tentare Galba nolebat, atque alio se in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat, aliis occurrere rebus viderat, maxime frumentum, commeatusque inopia permotus, postero die omnibus ejus vici ædificiis incensis, in provinciam reverii contendit; ac, nullo hoste prohibente, aut iter demorante, incolumem legionem in Nantuatensibus, inde in Allobrogas, perduxit, ibique hiemavit.

VII. His rebus gestis, quum omnibus de causis Cæsar pacatam Galliam existimaret, superatis Belgis, expulsi Germanis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis, atque ita, inita hieme,

to pieces, and out of above thirty thousand men, which number of barbarians it was certain had come up to the camp, more than a third part being slain, the rest struck with great consternation they put to flight, and suffered them to halt, no not upon the tops of the mountains. Thus having routed all the forces of the enemy, and stript them of their arms, they betake themselves to their camp and fortifications. Which battle being finished, as Galba did not incline to try fortune any more, and considered he had come into winter-quarters for one purpose, and saw he had met with other sort of work, but determined chiefly by want of corn and provisions, the day following, after setting fire to all the houses of the village, he set out to return toward the province; and no enemy opposing or interrupting his march, he brought the legion safe to the country of the Nantuates, from thence to that of the Allobroges, and there he wintered.

VII. After these achievements, when Cæsar on all considerations imagined Gaul entirely brought under subjection, the Belgæ being vanquished, the Germans expelled, the Seduni among the Alps defeated, and
in

2. Nantuatensibus, — Allobrogas] are both accusatives; the last being used, more Græco, instead of Allobroges.

in Illyricum profectus esset, quod eas quoque nationes adire, et regiones cognoscere volebat; subitum bellum in Gallia coortum est. Ejus belli hæc fuit causa. P. Crassus adolescens cum legione VII proximum mare Oceanum in Andibus hibernavit. Is, quod in his locis inopia frumenti erat, præfectos, tribunosque militum complures in finitimas civitates, frumenti, comæque petendi causa, dimisit. quo in numero erat T. Terrasidius missus in Esubios; M. Trebius Gallus, in Curiosolitas; Q. Velanius, cum T. Silio, in Venetos.

VIII. Hujus est civitatis longe amplissima auctoritas omnis oræ maritimæ regionum earum, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare con-

thereupon, in the beginning of winter, had set out for Illyricum, because he inclined to visit those nations likewise, and be acquainted with their country; a sudden war broke out in Gaul. The occasion of that war was this. P. Crassus a young gentleman had taken up his winter-quarters with the seventh legion next to the sea on the Atlantic ocean among the Andes. He, because there was a scarcity of corn in this country, sent out the officers of horse, and several military tribunes to the neighbouring states, with a design to seek in corn and provisions. amongst which number, T. Terrasidius had been dispatched away to the Esubii; M. Trebius Gallus, to the Curiosolitæ; and Q. Velanius, with T. Silius, to the Veneti.

VIII. The potency of this state is by far the most considerable of any of the districts on the whole sea coast, both because the Veneti have a great deal of shipping, with which they have been in use to trade to Britain; and so

VII. *Mare Oceanum.*] Thus Catull. *carm.* 116. *Usque ad Hyperboreos, et mare ad Oceanum.* Pomp. Mela ii. 6. *Paulatim se in nostrum et Oceanum mare extendit.* In like manner, Cæs. i. 30. *Ex usu terræ Gallicæ.* iii. 13. *Digitus pollicis crassitudine.* B. Afr. 3. *Nullum portum terræ Africæ.*

VIII. *Hujus civitatis auctoritas*] Crassus, in compliment to the distinguished opulence of the Veneti, and the great figure they made at that time, sent two officers to them, when he sent but one to each of the other states. For the construction see l. i. c. 30. n. 1.

fuerunt ; et scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt ; et in magno inpetu maris, atque aperto, paucis portibus interjectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consueverunt, habent vectigales. Ab iis fit initium retinendi Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides, quos Crassus dedidissent, recuperaturos existimabant. 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 fortunæ exitum esse laturos ; reliquasque civitates sollicitant, ut in ea libertate, quam a majoribus acceperant, permanere, quam Romanorum servitutem perferre, mallet. Omni ora maritima celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta, communem legationem ad P. Crassum mittunt, si velit suos recipere, obsides sibi remittat.

excel the rest in knowledge and experience of naval affairs and as there are a few sea-ports that lie on this great tempestuous and open sea, which they are masters of, they have almost all those for their tributaries who have been in use to traffick on this sea. By them first of all were detained Silius and Velanius, because by their means they imagined they would recover the hostages which they had delivered to Crassus. Their neighbours led by their example (and the resolutions of the Gauls are sudden and hasty) with the same view detain Trebius and Terrasidius : and quickly sending messengers to each other, they enter into a combination among themselves by means of the grandees, to do nothing but in public concert, and that they should all share the same issue of fortune ; and the other states they importune, to chuse rather to persist in asserting that liberty which they had received from their ancestors, than endure slavery from the Romans. All the sea-coast being quickly drawn over to their measures, they dispatch away a common embassy to P. Crassus, to let him know if he had a mind to receive the officers, he must send back to them their hostages.

I.

IX. Quibus de rebus Cæsar ab Crasso certior factus, quod ipse aberat longius, naves interim longas ædificari in flumine Ligeri, quod influit in Oceanum, remiges ex provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari jubet. His rebus celeriter administratis, ipse, quum primum per anni tempus potuit, ad exercitum contendit. Veneti, reliquæque item civitates, cognito Cæsaris adventu, simul quod, quantum in se facinus admisissent, intellegebant, legatos, quod nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisset, retentos ab se, et in vincula coniectos; pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare, et maxime ea, quæ ad usum navium pertinent, providere instituant, hoc majore spe, quod multum natura loci confidebant. Pedestria esse itinera concisa æstuarii, navigationem inpedi-

IX. Of which proceedings Cæsar was informed by Crassus, and as he was at a great distance himself, he orders in the mean time ships of war to be built on the river Loire, which runs into the Ocean, rowers to be procured from the province, and mariners and pilots to be provided. These orders being speedily executed, he himself, as soon as he could for the season of the year, sets out for the army. The Veneti, and likewise the other states, having intelligence of Cæsar's arrival, and withal being conscious, what a horrid crime they had been guilty of, in that the ambassadors had been detained by them, and clapt in chains, a name which among all nations had been always sacred and inviolable; considering the greatness of their danger, prepare for war, and set about the providing of those things chiefly, which serve for the purpose of shipping, and this they did with the greater hopes, because they depended much on the situation of their country. They knew the entrance by land was cut off to a narrow pass by arms of the

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IX. 1. Naves interim longas] See l. iv. c. 21. n. 1.

2. Quantum in se facinus admisissent] properly signifies what a load of guilt they had brought upon themselves; or, what a crime they had committed to their own disadvantage or danger.

3. Quod nomen ad omnes nationes] Ad is here used in the same sense as apud. Thus, i. 31. Principes, qui ante fuerant ad Cæsarem, reverterunt. v. 53. Ipse ad exercitum manere decrevit. B. Civ. iii. 60. Nec res illis obfensionem, et contemtionem ad omnes adjulit.

tam propter inscientiam locorum, paucitatemque portuum sciebant: neque nostros exercitus, propter frumenti inopiam, diutius apud se morari posse, confidebant. ac jam, ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se plurimum navibus posse. Romanos neque ullam facultatem habere navium, neque eorum locorum, ubi bellum gesturi essent, vada, portus, insulas novisse: ac longe aliam esse navigationem in concluso mari, atque in vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano, perspiciebant. His initis consiliis, oppida muniunt, frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant: naves in Venetiam, ubi Cæsarem primum bellum gesturum constabat, quam plurimas possunt, cogunt. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismios, Lexovios, Nannetes, Ambiliatos, Morinos, Diablintes, Menapios adsciscunt: auxilia ex Britannia, quæ contra eas regiones posita est, arcescunt.

sea, and that shipping was pretty impracticable by reason of our want of acquaintance with the coast, and the paucity of harbours: and they were persuaded our army could not stay long among them, for want of corn. and again, tho' every thing should fall out contrary to their expectation, yet they were very powerful in sea. They well knew that the Romans had neither any number of ships, nor were acquainted with the shallows, ports, and islands of the place, where they were to carry on the war: and that the practice of navigation was quite a different thing in narrow sea, and on the wide and open Ocean. Having entered into this resolution, they fortified their towns, conveyed corn from the country into the towns: and get together all the shipping they could to Venetia, where it was thought Cæsar would begin the war. They engaged as associates to themselves in this war, the Osismii, the Lexovii, the Nannetes, the Ambiliati, the Merini, the Diablintes, and the Menapii: and sent auxiliaries out of Britain, which lies over against this country

4. *In concluso mari, atque in vastissimo—Oceano]* The former notes a sea shut up within land, such as the Mediterranean; which alone the Romans hitherto had been acquainted; the latter respects the great Atlantic ocean, that washes the western coast of Gaul, and to which at this time they were entire strangers.

X. Erant hæc difficultates belli gerendi, quas supra ostendimus. sed multa Cæsarem tamen ad id bellum incitabant; injuriæ retentorum equitum Romanorum, rebellio facta post deditionem, defectio datis obsidibus, et civitatum conjuratio: in primis, ne, hac parte neglecta, reliquæ nationes sibi idem licere, arbitrantur. Itaque, quum intellexeret, omnes fere Gallos novis rebus studere, et ad bellum mobiliter celeriterque excitari, omnes autem homines natura libertati studere, et conditionem servitutis odisse; prius quam plures civitates conspirarent, partiendum sibi, ac latius distribuendum exercitum statuit.

XI. Itaque T. Labienum legatum in Treviros, qui proximi flumini Rheno sunt, cum equitatu mittit. Hinc mandat, quædam, reliquosque Belgas adeat, atque in officio continet; Germanosque, qui auxilio a Belgis cessuri dicebantur, si per vias navibus flumen transf-

X. *These were the difficulties in carrying on the war, which we mentioned above, but yet many things induced Cæsar to undertake this war; such as, their insolence in detaining the Roman knights, the rebellion raised after a surrender, the revolt after hostages had been given, the combination of so many states: and above all, lest, upon his neglecting this point, other nations should think themselves at liberty to do the same. Wherefore, as he understood, that almost all the Gauls were fond of revolutions, and were easily and speedily roused to war, and that all men naturally loved liberty, and abhorred a state of slavery; before any more states should enter into the combination, he thought proper to divide his army, and distribute it into different quarters.*

XI. *Accordingly he dispatches away T. Labienus his lieutenant with the cavalry to the Treviri, who are situated next to the river Rhine. Him he orders to visit the Remi, and the rest of the Belgæ, and keep them in obedience; and oppose the Germans, who were said to be sent for as auxiliaries by the Belgæ,*

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X. *Ad bellum mobiliter excitari]* Imports a forwardness to engage in war, from a natural fickleness and levity of temper, for which the Gauls were in a peculiar manner remarkable.

ire contentur, prohibeat. P. Crassum cum cohortibus legionariis XII, et magno numero equitatus in Aquitaniam proficisci jubet, ne ex his nationibus auxilia in Galliam mittantur, ac tantæ nationes conjungantur. Q. Titurium Sabinum legatum cum legionibus III in Unellos, Curiosolitas, Lexoviosque mittit, qui eam manum distinendam curet. D. Brutum adolescentem classi, Gallieisque navibus, quas ex Pictonibus, et Santonis, reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire jusserat, præfecit; et, quum primum posset, in Venetos proficisci jubet. Ipse eo pedestribus copiis contendit.

XII. Erant ejusmodi fere situs oppidorum, ut posita in extremis lingulis promontoriisque, neque pedibus aditum haberent, quum ex alto se æstus incitavisset, quod bis accidit semper, horarum XII spatio; neque

if in the way of force they should attempt to cross the river in boats. He orders P. Crassus with twelve legionary cohorts and a great party of horse, to march into Aquitania, lest from this country auxiliaries should be sent into Gaul, and such powerful nations be united. He dispatches Q. Titurius Sabinus his lieutenant with three legions to the Unelli, Curiosolitas, and Lexovii, to take care to curb that body. Young D. Brutus he sets over the fleet, and the Gallic vessels, which he had given orders to get together from among the Pictones, and the Santons, and the other provinces that continued in obedience; and orders him to sail toward the Veneti, as soon as he could. He himself marched away thither with the foot by land.

XII. The situation of the towns was generally such, the being built on the extremity of capes and promontories, they neither afforded access by land, after the tide had rushed in from the main, which happened at ways twice in the space of twelve navibus

XI. 1. *In Galliam mittantur]* Gallia is here taken in a strict confined sense, for the country of the Celtæ or Galli. See i. 1.

XII. 1. *Se æstus incitavisset]* The same manner of expression occurs to. 17. *Quo major vis aquæ se incitavisset, hoc artius inligarentur.*

2. *Quod bis accidit semper, horarum XII spatio]* There is the same frequent

navibus, quod, rursus minuentæ æstu, naves in vadis adfluctarentur. Ita utraque re oppidorum obpugnatio impediabatur: ac, si quando magnitudine operis forte superati, extruso mari aggere ac molibus, atque his ferme oppidi mœnibus adæquatis, suis fortunis desperare cœperant; magno numero navium adpulso, cujus rei summam facultatem habebant, sua deportabant omnia, seque in proxima oppida recipiebant: ibi se rursus iisdem obportunitatibus loci defendebant. Hæc eo facilius magnam partem æstatis faciebant, quod nostræ naves tempestatibus detinebantur; summaque erat vasto atque aperto mari, magnis æstibus, raris ac prope nullis portibus, difficultas navigandi.

XIII. Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factæ, armatæque erant. Carinæ aliquanto planiores, quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius

hours; nor by shipping, because, again upon the ebbing of the tide, the vessels were like to be dashed to pieces on the shallows. Thus by both impediments the storming of the towns was obstructed: and, if perchance at any time the townsmen mastered by the hugeness of the works, the sea having been excluded by a bank and mounts, and these equal in height almost to the walls of the town, began to despair of their case; bringing up a great number of ships, of which they had prodigious store, they carried off all their effects, and betook themselves to the next towns: and there again defended themselves by the same advantages of situation. This they practised the more easily a great part of the summer, because our ships were kept back by storms; and the danger of sailing in that wide and open sea was extremely great, the tides being strong, and the havens pretty distant from one another, and very few in number.

XIII. For their ships were built and rigged in this manner. Their bottoms were somewhat flatter than those of our vessels, that they might the more easily admit of shallows, and the ebbing

frequency of tides now as in Cæsar's time, viz. two in one day, for the space of twenty-four hours. And his expression imports no more, than that twelve hours only intervened betwixt any one tide and the next following; so that both may be said to have happened within the space of twelve hours.

vada, ac decessum æstus excipere possent : proræ admodum erectæ, atque item puppes ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque adcommodatæ. naves totæ factæ ex robore, ad quamvis vim et contumeliam perferendam. transtra pedilibus in latitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis, digiti pollicis crassitudine ; anchoræ, pro funibus, ferreis catenis revinctæ ; pelles pro velis, alutæque tenuiter confectæ. Hæ 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 arbitrabantur. Cum his navibus nostræ classis ejusmodi congressus erat ; ut una celeritate, et pulsa remorum præstaret ; reliqua, pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum, illis essent aptiora et adcommodatiora : neque enim his nostræ rostro nocere poterant ; (tanta in eis

of the tide : their forecastles were raised very high, and in like manner were their poops, fitted for the boisterousness of the billows and storms. the ships were built entirely of oak, for enduring any kind of stress and rough handling. the seats for the rowers, being planks of a foot in breadth, were fastened with iron nails, of the thickness of an inch ; their anchors were made fast to iron chains, instead of cables ; and in place of sails they had skins, and thin dressed leather. These they used either for want of canvas, and ignorance of its use ; or else, which is more probable, because they imagined such a raging Ocean, and such violent gales of wind were not to be resisted, and ships of such burden conveniently enough managed by sails of this sort. The conflict our fleet had with these ships was such ; that they had the better of them only in nimbleness of motion, and plying of the oars ; all other things, considering the situation of the place, and considering the fury of the tempests, were better fitted and more adapted on their side : for neither could our ships harm them with their beaks (such was their firmness) nor were darts easily thrown into
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erat firmitudo) neque propter altitudinem facile telum adjiciebatur; et eadem de causa minus commodè scopulis continebantur. Accedebat, ut, quàm sævire ventus cœpisset, et se vento dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius, et in vadibus consistereut tutius, et ab æstu derelictæ nihil saxa et cautes timerent: quarum rerum omnium nostris navibus casus erant extimescendi.

XIV. Compluribus expugnatis oppidis, Cæsar, ubi intellexit, frustra tantum laborem sumi, neque hostium fugam captis oppidis reprimi, neque his noceri posse, stavit expectandam classem; quæ ubi convenit, ac primum ab hostibus visa est, circiter cœxx naves eorum paratissimæ, atque

them on account of their height; and for the same reason were less easily locked in by rocks. To this was added, that when a breeze began to freshen, and they had suffered themselves to drive before the wind, they could both more easily endure the storm, and ride more safely on the shallows, and when left by the tide had nothing to fear from rocks and shelves: of all which things the hazard was much to be dreaded by our vessels.

XIV. Cæsar, after taking a good many towns, when he found, that so much fatigue was undergone to no purpose, that the enemy's escape upon taking the towns could neither be prevented, nor damage done them, resolved to wait for his fleet; immediately upon the arrival of which, and its being seen by the enemy, about 220 of their ships well equipped, and provided with
omni

was a long iron spike, that stuck out from the prow, in shape somewhat like a bird's bill or beak, which, being directed full against the enemy's ship, was fair to stave or someway disable her.

2. *Scopulis continebantur*] The height of a ship above water being no good reason for her easily avoiding the danger of rocks, several of the commentators are for substituting *topulis* instead of *scopulis*; and then by *copula* they understand the grappling irons, with which they caught hold of the enemy's ships, and pulled them alongside, in order to board them. This would make good sense; but *copula* is never used by good authors to express the like meaning. Scaliger reads, *Minus incommode scopulis continebantur.*

omni genere armorum ornatiſſimæ, profectæ ex portu, noſtris adverſæ conſtiterunt : neque ſatis Bruto, qui claſſi præerat, vel tribunis militum, centurionibusque, quibus ſingulæ naves erant adtributæ, conſtabat, quid agerent, aut quam rationem pugnæ inſiſterent : roſtro enim noceri non poſſe cognoverant : turribus autem excitatis, tamen hæc altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus ſuperabat ; ut neque ex inferiore loco ſatis commode tela adjici poſſent, et miſſa ab Gallis gravius acciderent. Una erat magno uſui res præparata a noſtris, falces præacutæ, inſertæ adfixæque longuriis, non abſimili forma muralium falcium. His quum funes, qui antemnas ad malos deſtinabant, comprehenſi, adductique erant, navigio

all ſorts of arms, ſailing out of the harbour, drew up over againſt ours : nor did Brutus, who commanded the fleet, or the tribunes of the ſoldiers, and centurions, to whoſe charge the ſeveral ſhips were aſſigned, well know what to do, or what method of fighting to uſe : for they knew that no damage could be done by the beaks : and tho' towers were erected on the decks, yet the height of the poops of the barbarians ſhips overtopped them ; ſo that from our inferior ſituation darts could not be diſcharged with ſufficient advantage, and thoſe thrown by the Gauls came down with greater violence. One thing provided by our men was of great ſervice, viz. ſharp hooks, clapt on and faſtened to poles, in ſhape not unlike the hooks uſed in demolishing walls at a ſiege. When with theſe the ropes, which faſtened the yards to the maſt, were ſeized and ſtretched, by pushing away the ſhip with the oars, they were rent aſunder upon the

remis

XIV. 1. *Omni genere armorum*] Dio, xxxix. affirms, that the Veneti had no arms aboard their ſhips in this engagement : and therefore Daviſius and Clarke take *armorum* here to denote the tackling and rigging of the ſhips ; but this is a ſenſe the word is ſeldom uſed in except by poets.

2. *Antennas ad malos deſtinabant*] *Deſtino* here ſignifies to tie on blind. Thus, B. Civ. i. 15. *Has quaternis anchoris ex quatuor angulis deſtinabant, ne fluctibus moverentur.* And Vitruv. v. 12. uſes it oftener than once in the ſame ſenſe. But the MSS. in this place differ ; ſome have *deſtinebant*, others *detinebant*.

remis incitato, prærum-
pebantur. quibus absci-
sis, antennæ necessario
concidebant, ut, quum
omnis Gallicis navibus
opes in velis armamentif-
que consisteret, his ere-
ptis, omnis usus navium
eodem tempore eriperetur.
Reliquum erat certamen
positum in virtute; qua
nostri milites facile su-
perabant, atque eo magis,
quod in conspectu Cæsa-
ris, atque omnis exerci-
tus res gerebatur; ut nul-
lum paullo fortius factum
patere posset: omnes e-
nim colles, ac loca supe-
riora, unde erat propin-
quus despectus in mare,
ab exercitu tenebantur.

XV. Disiectis, ut dixi-
mus, antennis, quum sin-
gulas binæ ac ternæ na-
ves circumsteterant, mi-
lites summa vi transcen-
dere in hostium naves
contendebant. Quod
postquam barbari fieri
animadverterunt, expu-
gnatis compluribus navi-
bus, quum ei rei nullum
reperiretur auxilium, fu-
ga salutem ptere con-
tenderunt. Ac, jam con-
versis in eam partem na-
vibus, quo ventus fere-
bat, tanta subito mala-
cia, ac tranquillitas exsti-

*tearing away of which, the
yards of necessity dropt down,
so that, whereas all the hopes of
the Galic fleet depended on their
sails and rigging, these being ta-
ken off, the whole use of their
ships was taken away at the
same time. The remaining part
of the dispute depended on cou-
rage; in which our men easily
excelled, and that the more, as
the action was carried on in the
sight of Cæsar, and the whole
army; so that no exploit any
way gallant could escape obser-
vation: for all the hills, and ri-
sing grounds, from whence there
was a near prospect to the sea,
were covered with the army.*

XV. *The sailyards, as we
said, being broken down, the
soldiers with the utmost fury en-
deavoured to board the enemy's
ships, tho' two or three of their
vessels surrounded each of ours.
Which after the barbarians per-
ceived to be the case, and after
a great many of their ships were
taken, as no relief against this
misfortune could be found, they
endeavoured to consult their
safety by flight. And, having
now turned their ships toward
that quarter, to which the wind
directed, all on a sudden such a
calm and stillness ensued, that*

tit, ut se ex loco movere non possent. Quæ quidem res ad negotium conficiendum maxime fuit obportuna. nam singulas nostri confectati expugnauerunt, ut perpaucæ ex omni numero, noctis interventu, ad terram pervenerint, quum ab hora fere iv, usque ad solis occasum, pugnaretur.

XIV. Quo prælio bellum Venetorum, totiusque oræ maritimæ confectum est. nam quum omnis juvenus, omnes etiam gravioris ætatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant; tum, navium quod ubique fuerat, in unum locum coegerant: quibus amissis, reliqui neque, quo se reciperent, neque, qucinadmodum oppida defenderent, habebant. Itaque se, suaque omnia, Cæsari dederant: in quos eo gravius Cæsar vindicandum statuit, quo diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris jus legatorum conservaretur. Itaque, omni senatu necato, reliquos sub corona vendidit.

they could not stir out of the place. Which accident truly was extremely favourable for putting an end to the affair. for our men pursuing took them one by one, so that but very few of their number, by the coming of the night, escaped to land, after they had fought almost from four of the clock till sunset.

XVI. By which battle was ended the war with the Veneti and the whole sea-coast. for all the youth, and also all those of maturer age, who were men of parts or high station, had assembled thither; and had all brought together all the shipping which they any where had: which being lost, the rest neither knew whether to fly, nor how to defend their towns. Wherefore they surrendered themselves, and all they had, to Cæsar: on whom Cæsar resolved to inflict vengeance the more severely, to the end that the privilege of ambassadors in time coming might be maintained by barbarians with greater care. Wherefore, having put all their senators to the sword, he sold the rest for slaves.

XVII

XV. *Ab hora fere iv.]* i. e. from about ten of the clock for noon till sunset. See l. i. c. 26. n. 2.

XVI. *Sub corona vendidit]* Corona denotes a chaplet, which, by w

XVII. Dum hæc in Venetis geruntur, Q. Titurius Sabinus cum iis copiis, quas a Cæsare acceperat, in fines Unellorum pervenit. His præerat Viridovix, ac summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum, quæ defecerant; ex quibus exercitum, magnasque copias coegerat. Atque his paucis diebus Aulerci Eburovices, Lexoviique, senatu suo interfecto, quod auctores belli esse nolebant, portas clausurunt, seque cum Viridovice conjunxerunt: magnaque præterea multitudo undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum latronumque convenerant, quos spes prædandi, studiumque bellandi ab agricultura, et quotidiano labore revocabat. Sabinus idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris sese tenebat; quum Viridovix

of sign or badge, was put on the head of captives designed to be sold for slaves, or hung over the window of the prison or place where they were kept; under which the merchants stood to buy and receive them.

XVII. 1. *Aulerci Eburovices*] Clarke and Oudendorp agree, that these words denote but one people, and that *Eburovices* is added to distinguish those here meant from the inhabitants of some other district, who went also by the general name of *Aulerci*; in the same manner as *Ædui Ambarri*, mentioned i. 11.

2. *Multitudo—convenerant*] See l. ii. c. 11. n. 1. To which add B. Alex. 32. *Multitudo—Cæsari occurrerunt.* B. Hist. 4. *Multitudo—quum exissent.*

XVII. *Whilst these things are doing, amongst the Veneti, Q. Titurius Sabinus arrives with the forces, which he had received the charge of from Caesar, in the country of the Unelli. Over these presided Viridovix, and held the chief command of all the states that had revolted; from among which he had got together an army, and a mighty force. And during these few days the Aulerci Eburovices, and the Lexovii, having murdered their senators, because they refused to be the raisers of the war, shut their gates, and joined themselves with Viridovix: a vast number moreover of desperate fellows and highwaymen had flocked together from all parts of Gaul, whom the hopes of plunder, and an itch for war called off from husbandry and daily labour. Sabinus on a spot convenient for every purpose kept himself within his camp; whilst Viridovix incamped over against him at the*

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contra eum duum milium spatio confedisset, quotidieque productis copiis pugnandi potestatem faceret, ut jam non solum hostibus in contumeliam Sabinus veniret, sed etiam nostrorum militum vocibus nonnihil carperetur: tantamque opinionem timoris præbuit, ut jam ad vallum castrorum hostes accedere auderent. Id ea de causa faciebat, quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, præsertim eo absente, qui summam imperii teneret, nisi æquo loco, aut obportunitate aliqua data, legato dimicandum non existimabat.

XVIII. Hac confirmata opinione timoris, idoneum quemdam hominem et callidum delegit Gallum ex his, quos auxilii causa secum habebat. Huic magnis præmiis pollicitationibusque persuadet, uti ad hostes transeat: et quid fieri velit, edocet. Qui ubi pro perfuga ad eos venit, timorem Romanorum proponit: quibus angustiis ipse Cæsar a Veneti prematur, docet: neque longius abesse, quin proxima nocte Sabinus clam

distance of two miles, and drawing out his forces every day gave an opportunity of battle, in some that Sabinus was now come to contempt not only with the enemy, but was even somewhat braided with the banter of his own men: and such a suspicion of cowardice did he occasion that the enemy now had the assurance to come up to the rear part of the camp. He behaved thus on pretence, that he did not think it proper for a lieutenant to engage with such a number of enemies, especially when he was absent, who had the chief command, unless on favourable ground, or some advantage given

XVIII. After confirming the suspicion of cowardice, he made choice of a person proper for the purpose and subtle, being one of those Gauls, whom he had along with him as auxiliaries. He persuaded by large presents and many promises, to go over to the enemy: and instructs him to what he inclined should be done. Who being arrived among them as a deserter, set forth the consternation of the Romans: informs them, to what straits Cæsar himself was reduced by the Veneti: and that Sabinus was on the point of drawing his army next night out

x castris exercitum educat, et ad Cæsarem, auxiliii ferendi causa, proficiscatur. Quod ubi autumatum est, conclamant omnes, occasionem negotii bene gerendi amittendam non velle: ad castra ire oportere. Multæ res id hoc consilium Gallos hortabantur: superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio; perfugæ confirmatio; inopia cibariorum, cui rei earum diligenter ab iis erat provisum; spes Venetici belli; et quod fere libenter, homines id, quod volunt, credunt. His rebus adducti, non prius Viridovicem, reliquosque duces ex concilio dimittunt, quam ab his sit concessum, arma uti capiant, et ad castra contendant. Qua re concessa, læti, ut explorata victoriæ, samentis, virgultisque collectis, quibus fossas Romanorum compleant, ad castra pergunt.

XIX. Locus erat castrorum editus, et paulatim ab imo adclivis circiter passus M. Huc magno cursu contenderunt; ut quam minimum spatii ad se conligendos armandosque Romanis da-

the camp privately, and marching away to Cæsar, for his relief. Upon hearing of which, all cried out, that an opportunity of managing their business to purpose was not to be let slip: and that they must needs go to the Roman camp. Many things encouraged the Gauls to this resolution: the hesitation of Sabinus for several days past; the intelligence from the deserter; want of victuals, against which provision had been made by them with too little care; their expectation with respect to the war against the Veneti; and mens aptness generally to believe a thing that they wish. Spurred on by these motives, they would not suffer Viridovix, and the other officers to stir out of the council, till leave should be granted by them, to take arms, and go to the camp. Which being granted, away they march to the camp in high spirit, as if the victory had been already gained, having provided fascines and faggots, wherewith to fill up the Roman trenches.

XIX. The camp was on a rising ground, and had a gradual ascent for about 1000 paces from the level. Hither they passed with great speed; that as little time as possible might be given the Romans to rally

retur,

XVIII. Superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio] See l. i. c. 30. n. 1.

retur, exanimatique pervenerunt. Sabinus suos hortatus, cupientibus signum dat. Impeditis hostibus, propter ea, quæ ferebant, onera subito duabus portis eruptionem fieri jubet. Factum est obopportunitate loci, hostium inscientia, ac defatigatione, virtute militum, superiorum pugnarum exercitatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum inpetum ferrent, ac statim terga verterent. quos impeditos integris viribus milites nostri consecuti, magnum numerum eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites confecti, paucos, qui ex fuga evaserant, reliquerunt. Sic uno tempore, et de navali pugna Sabinus, et de Sabini victoria Cæsar certior factus: civitatesque omnes se statim Titurio dediderunt. nam, ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.

XX. Eodem fere tempore, P. Crassus, quum in Aquitaniam pervenisset, quæ pars, ut ante dictum

and arm themselves, and so came up quite out of breath. Sabinus having encouraged men, gives them the signal eagerly wishing for it. When the enemy were much incumbered, by reason of the burden of fascines, which they carried, he orders a sally to be made suddenly at two of the gates. It happened by advantage of situation by the enemy's want of skill, and their fatigue, by the bravery of our soldiers, and their experience in former battles, that they could not bear so much as the shock of our men, and that instantly they turned their backs, whom in this imbarassed condition our men in full vigour pursued, and slaughtered vast numbers of them; the horse pursued the rest, lest few of those who had escaped by flight. The same time, Sabinus was informed of the engagement at sea, and Cæsar of the victory of Sabinus: and all the states immediately surrendered themselves to Titurius. for as the temper of the Gauls is brisk and forward to engage in wars, so their spirit is soft and not at all restless in bearing misfortunes.

XX. Much about the same time, P. Crassus, having arrived in Aquitania, which quarter

ft, et regionum latitudi-
e, et multitudine homi-
um, ex tertia parte Gal-
æ eft æftimanda, quum
intellegeret, in his locis
ibi bellum gerendum, u-
paucis ante annis L.
Valerius Præconinus lega-
as, exercitu pulfo, inter-
ctus effet, atque unde
Manilius Procos, in-
edimentis amiffis, pro-
giffet, non mediocrem
ibi diligentiam adhiben-
am intellegebat. Ita-
ue, re frumentaria pro-
ifa, auxiliis, equitatuque
omparato, multis præ-
erea viris fortibus Tolo-
a, Carcafone, et Narbo-
e, quæ funt civitates
Galliæ provinciæ finiti-
næ, ex his regionibus
nominatim evocatis, in
ociatum fines exercitum
ntroduxit. Cujus ad-
ventu cognito Sotiates,
magnis copiis coactis, c-
uitatuque, quo pluri-

ter, as was before faid, both for
extent of country, and number of
people, is to be reckoned as a
third part of Gaul, and finding
he had a war to manage in the
place, where a few years be-
fore the lieutenant L. Valerius
Præconinus, upon his army be-
ing routed, had been flain, and
out of which the Proconful L.
Manilius had fled, with the lofs
of his baggage, thought it be-
hoved him to take more than or-
dinary care. Wherefore, ha-
ving provided corn, procured au-
xiliaries, and cavalry, besides
many gentlemen of valour from
Tolofa, Carcofa, and Narbo,
which are frontier cities of the
Roman province in Gaul, who
were exprefsly called up from
thele parts, he led his army into
the confines of the Sotiates. Up-
on intelligence of whofe arrival
the Sotiates having got together
a great many forces, and caval-
ry, in which they were exceed-
ing ftrong, attacking our army on
num

XX. 1. *Ex tertia parte Galliæ*] Oudendorp fufpects the text
ere to be corrupted. Some of the MSS. have *ex tertia parte
Gallia eft*, &c. which he rather approves of.

2. *Narbone, quæ funt civitates*, &c.] Clarke reads, *Narbone
(quæ funt civitates Galliæ provinciæ, finitimæ his regionibus)*, &c.

3. *Nominatim evocatis*] Old difcharged foldiers were frequently
recalled, not by force, but by honourable invitation to the fervice
of their country; and had the name of *evocati*: who, being ge-
nerally men of experience and character, were excufed from the
brudgery of ftanding on the watch, and other low offices, and
were allowed the next degree of honour to the centurions. See
Kennet, p. H. b. iv. c. 4.

munum valebant, in itinere agmen nostrum adorti, primum equestre prælium commiserunt; deinde, equitatu suo pulso, atque insequentibus nostris, subito pedestris copias, quas in convalle in insidiis conlocaverant, ostenderunt. Hi, nostros disiectos adorti, prælium renovarunt.

XXI. Pugnatum est diu, atque acriter; quum Soriates, superioribus victoriis freti, in sua virtute totius Aquitanix salutem positam putarent; nostri autem, quid sine imperatore, et sine reliquis legionibus, adolescentulo duce, efficere possent, perspicere cuperent: tamen confecti vulneribus hostes terga vertere: quorum magno numero interfecto, Crassus ex itinere oppidum Sotiatum obpugnare coepit: quibus fortiter resistentibus, vineas turesque cigit. Illi, alias eruptione tentata, alias cuniculis ad aggerrum vineasque actis,

their march, engaged first in skirmish with the horse; afterwards upon their horse being routed, and whilst ours were pursuing, all on a sudden they presented their infantry, which they had lodged in a valley way of ambuscade. These, falling upon our men disordered in the pursuit, renewed the battle.

XXI. The fight was maintained a long time, and with great fury; whilst the Sotiates, relying on their former success, imagined the preservation of Aquitania depended on their gallant behaviour; and our men were ambitious to have it appear, what they were able to do without their general, and without the other legions, with a young man for their leader: the enemy however being quite covered with wounds turned their backs: a great number of whom being cut off, Crassus in that way began to besiege the capital city of the Sotiates: when making a stout resistance, he erected vineæ and turrets. They after having one while attempted

XX. 1. Cuniculis—*ad is*] Josephus in his Jewish wars informs us, that the Jews did undermine a high mount, raised by the Romans so artfully, that, while they were digging underneath, they supported the mount with huge posts, to which they afterwards set fire, and thereupon the mount tumbled down, to the great terror and confusion of the Romans. See a further account of undermining, Cæs. vii. 22.

reus rei sunt longe periculissimi Aquitani, propterea quod multis locis apud eos ærariæ secturæ sunt; ubi diligentia nostrorum, nihil his rebus profici posse intellexerunt, legatos ad Crassum mittunt; seque in deditionem ut recipiat, petunt. Qua re penetrata, arma tradere assenti, faciunt.

XXII. Atque in ea re omnium nostrorum intentis animis, alia ex parte oppidi Adcantuannus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum de devotis, (quos illi Soldurios adpellant; quorum hæc est conditio, uti omnibus in vita comodis una cum his fruantur, quorum se amicitia dediderint: si quid iis per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant, aut sibi mortem consciscant. neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui,

ed to make a sally, and another while digged passages under ground to the mount and vineæ, in which practice the Aquitani are extremely skilled, in regard that with them there are in many places mines of brass; when they found that, by reason of the industry of our men, no advantage could be gained by these means, they sent deputies to Crassus; and begged, that he would admit them to a surrender. Upon obtaining of which request, being ordered to deliver up their arms, they complied.

XXII. And whilst the attention of all our men was fixed on this affair, Adcantuannus, who had the chief command, at another quarter of the town, with 600 sworn friends, (whom they call Soldurii; whose custom is, to enjoy all conveniencies of life in common with those, to whose friendship they have given up themselves: and if any thing disastrous befall them, either to share the same fortune with them, or kill themselves. nor as yet in the memory of man has any one been found, who refused to die, upon his being cut off, to whose

U

eo

2. *Secturæ*] In several MSS. the reading is *strictura*.

XX. *Cum de devotis*] Diodor. xi. informs us, that some such custom had obtained among the Greeks, that the soldiers used to take a solemn oath, never to abandon their generals alive or dead. And Tacit. *de mor. Germ.* 14. says, that it was reckoned infamous among the Germans to return alive from a field of battle, where their prince had fallen.

eo interfecto, cujus se amicitiae devovisset, inori recusaret) cum iis Adcantuannus eruptionem facere conatus, clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato, quum ad arma milites concurrissent, vehementerque ibi pugnatum esset, repulsus in oppidum, tamen uti eadem deditionis conditione uteretur, ab Crasso intravit.

XXIII. Armis, obsidibusque acceptis, Crassus in fines Vocatium et Tarusatum profectus est. Tum vero barbari commoti, quod oppidum et natura loci, et manu munitum, paucis diebus, quibus eo ventum erat, expugnatum cognoverant, legatos quoquoersus dimittere, conjurare, obsides inter se dare, copias parare coeperunt. Mittuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati, quæ sunt citioris Hispaniæ, finitimæ Aquitaniæ: inde auxilia ducesque arcessuntur. quorum adventu magna cum auctoritate, et magna cum hominum multitudine bellum gerere conantur. Duces vero ii deliguntur, qui una

friendship he had devoted himself) with these, I say, Adcantuannus attempted to make an eruption, but a shout being set up at that part of the work upon the soldiers running to arms and after a smart skirmish on the spot, he was drove back and gain into the town, but obtained however from Crassus, to be allowed the same terms of rendition.

XXIII. Crassus, having received their arms, and hostage, marched away to the confines of the Vocates and Tarusates. But then the barbarians being much enraged, upon finding that a city fortified both by the nature of its situation, and by art, was taken within a few days after the arrival of the Romans, began to dispatch ambassadors into all quarters, to enter into a confederacy, to give mutual hostages, and levy forces. Deputies are also sent to those states, which belong to hither Spain, and border on Aquitania: auxiliaries and officers are prayed from thence. on whose arrival they endeavour to carry on the war with mighty ostentation, and with a vast number of forces. And those are chosen commanders, who had been along with Quintus Sertorius during all the years of

um Q. Sertorio omnis annos fuerant, summamque scientiam rei militaris habere existimabantur. Hi consuetudine populi Romani loca capere, castra munire, commeatibus nostros intercludere constituunt. Quod ubi Crassus animadvertit, suis copias propter exiguitatem non facile deduci, hostem et vagari, et vias obsidere, et castris satis praesidii relinquere; ob eam causam minus commode frumentum, commeatumque sibi subportari; in dies hostium numerum augeri, non cunctandum existimavit, quin pugna decertaret. Hac re ad consilium delata, ubi omnes idem sentire intellexit, posterum diem pugnae constituit.

his wars in Spain, and were reputed to have the greatest knowledge in military affairs. These, after the manner of the Roman people, began to seize on places of advantage, to fortify their camp, and cut off our men from provisions. Which when Crassus perceived, and considered, that his forces could not safely be divided on account of the smallness of their number, and that the enemy might scout abroad, and beset the passes, and yet leave a sufficient garrison in their camp; that corn and provisions on that account could less conveniently be brought in to him; and that the number of the enemy was daily increasing; he thought it proper not to dally, but have the matter brought to a decisive battle. And having proposed the affair to a council of war, when he found they were all of the same opinion, he appointed the day following for the battle.

U 2 XXIV.

XXIII. 1. *Cum Q. Sertorio*] Sertorius in the civil wars had sided with Marius and Cinna; and, upon their being defeated by Sylla, to avoid the proscription he fled into Spain, where he made a brave stand for eight years together, both against Metellus and Pompey; but at last was treacherously murdered by Perpenna. He was a consummate general, and under him were trained up the officers here mentioned. See Eutrop. vi. 1.

2. *Quod ubi Crassus animadvertit*] This clause both refers to the former sentence, and may again be supplied to what follows, thus: *Quod ubi Crassus animadvertit, et ubi animadvertit, suas copias, &c.*

3. *Non facile deduci*] Facile hic tuto est, recte Græcus ἀσφαλῶς. Vossius.

XXIV. Prima luce productis omnibus copiis, duplici acie instituta, auxiliis in mediam aciem coniectis; quid hostes consilii caperent, expectabat. Illi, etsi propter multitudinem, et veterem belli gloriam, paucitatemque nostrorum, se tuto dimicatuuros existimabant, tamen tutius esse arbitrabantur, obsessis visis, commeatu intercluso, sine ullo vulnere victoria potiri: et, si propter inopiam rei frumentariæ Romani sese recipere cœpissent, impeditos in agmine, et sub sarcinis inferiores animo adoriri cogitabant. Hoc consilio probato ab ducibus, productis Romanorum copiis, sese castris tenebant. Hac re perspecta, Crassus, quum sua cunctatione, atque opinione, timidiore hos-tes nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effecissent, atque omnium voces audirentur, expectari diutius non oportere, quin ad castra i-

XXIV. Wherefore, drawing out all his forces by dawn day, after having ranged them in a double line, and disposed the auxiliaries in the midst; waited to see, what resolution the enemy would take. But tho' they fancied that on account of their numbers, and their ancient reputation in war, and on paucity, they might engage with safety, yet thought it safer, blocking up the passes, and intercepting convoys, to obtain victory without any wound at all: and if the Romans for want of provisions should begin to make a retreat, they resolved to attack them during the incumbances of the march, and when dispirited under their carriage. This resolution being approved by the officers, though the Roman army was drawn out, they kept themselves within their camp. Crassus, after perceiving the design, and whilst the enemy's being intimidated with the shifting conduct of their leaders, and the suspicion thence conceived, had rendered our men more eager for engaging, and exclamations among all were heard, that they must not be any longer wait-

retur.

XXIV. 1. *Inferiores animo*] Some of the MSS. have *inferiore animo* others *infirmioreque animo*.

2. *Quum sua cunctatione, &c.*] Clarke reads, *Quum sua cunctatio atque opinio timidiore hos-tes, nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effecisset*. N. B. Oudendorp makes *timidiore hos-tes* the nominative to *effecisset*.

etur; cohortatus suos, omnibus cupientibus ad hostium castra contendit.

XXV. Ibi, quum 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 præberent; quam tem ab hostibus constanter, ac non timide, pugnaretur, telaque, ex loco superiore missa, non frustra acciderent; equites, circumitis hostium castris, Crasso renunciaverunt, non eadem esse diligentia ab Decumana porta castra munita, facilenique aditum habere.

XXVI. Crassus, equitum præfectos cohortatus, ut magnis præmiis pollicitationibusque suos excitarent, quid fieri velit, ostendit. Illi, ut erat imperatum, eductis quatuor cohortibus, quæ, præsidio castris relictæ,

ed for, but that they would go to the camp; Crassus, I say, having encouraged his men, marched away to the gratification of all their wishes, to the enemy's camp.

XXV. There, whilst some were filling up the ditch; and others, by throwing a multitude of darts, forcing the defenders from the rampart and the works, and the auxiliaries, whom Crassus as to the matter of fighting did not much trust, by carrying stones and darts to the soldiers, and bringing turf to the mount, made the appearance and shew of men engaged, and whilst the enemy were fighting with constancy and intrepidity, and their darts, thrown from the higher ground, were coming down not without doing execution; the horse having taken a turn round the enemy's camp, brought word to Crassus, that the camp was not fortified with the same care on the side of the Decuman port, and would afford an easy entrance.

XXVI. Crassus, beseeching the horse-officers to animate their men with considerable rewards and promises, informs them, what he thought fit to have done. They, as had been ordered, leading out four cohorts, that, having been left by way of garrison in the camp, were quite free

intireæ

intritæ ab labore erant, et longiore itinere circumductis, ne ex hostium castris conspici possent, omnium oculis mentibusque ad pugnam intentis, celeriter ad eas, quas diximus, munitiones pervernerunt, atque, his prorutis, prius in hostium castris constiterunt, quam plane ab iis videri, aut, quid rei gereretur, cognosci posset. Tum vero, clamore ab ea parte audito, nostri, redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriæ accidere consuevit, acrius impugnare cœperunt. Hostes undique circumventi, desperatis omnibus rebus, se per munitiones dejicere, et fuga salutem petere intenderunt. Quos equitatus apertissimis campis confectatus, ex milium numero, quæ ex Aquitania Cantabrisque convenisse constabat, vix quarta parte relicta, multa nocte se in castra recepit.

XXVII. Hac audita pugna, maxima pars Aquitaniæ sese Crasso de-

from fatigue, and bringing them about by a longer way, that they might not be observed from enemy's camp, and whilst eyes and minds of all were fixed on the engagement, quickly arrived at that part of the rampart which we mentioned, and, having demolished it, took their station within the enemy's camp before it could with certainty be perceived by them, or what was a-doing be discovered. And then a shout being heard from that quarter, our men, with renewed vigour, as generally uses to happen upon the hopes of victory, began to charge with greater fury. The enemy being every where surrounded, and their affairs in a desperate condition, made strong efforts to jump over the rampart, and save themselves by flight. Whom the cavalry having pursued in a wide extended plain, and out of the number of 50,000, which number it is certain had flocked together from Aquitania and from among the Cantabrians, scarce having left a fourth part, returned late at night to the camp.

XXVII. Upon the news of this battle, the greatest part of Aquitania surrendered themselves.

XXVI. 1. *Intrita ab labore*] Clarke reads *integre ab labore*.

2. *His prorutis*] In a good many MSS. and in Clarke too, the reading is, *his pruruptis*.

3. *Multa nocte*] *Multa nocte*, sciz. *præterita*.

dit, obsidesque ultro
 misit: quo in numero
 erunt Tarbelli, Biger-
 ones, Preciani, Vocates,
 Tarusates, Elusates, Ga-
 es, Aufci, Garumni,
 Sibusates, Cocofates.
 Iuxta ultimæ nationes,
 in tempore confisæ,
 quod hiems suberat, hoc
 neglexerunt.

XXVIII. Eodem fere
 tempore Cæsar, etsi pro-
 pe exacta jam æstas erat;
 tamen, quod omni Gal-
 lia pacata, Morini, Me-
 tapiique supererant, qui
 armis essent, neque ad
 eum umquam legatos de-
 misisse milissent; arbitra-
 tus, id bellum celcritus
 confici posse, eo exerci-
 tum adduxit: qui longe
 alia ratione, ac reliqui
 Galli, bellum agere in-
 tituerunt. Nam, quod
 intellegebant, maximas
 nationes, quæ prælio
 contendissent, pulsas, su-
 peratasque esse; conti-
 nentesque silvas ac palu-
 des habebant; eo se,
 namque omnia contule-

*selves to Crassus, and volunta-
 rily sent him hostages: among
 which number were the Tar-
 belli, the Bigerriones, Preciani,
 Vocates, Tarusates, Elusates,
 Garites, Aufci, Garumni, Si-
 busates, and Cocofates. A few
 of the most distant provinces neg-
 lected to do this, trusting to the
 season of the year, because win-
 ter was at hand.*

XXVIII. Much about the
 same time Cæsar, tho' the sum-
 mer was now almost spent; yet,
 because the Morini and Mena-
 pii, who were in arms, remain-
 ed untouched, after all Gaul
 was subdued, and had never
 sent deputies to him, to treat a-
 bout a peace: and thinking this
 war might soon be dispatched,
 conducted his army thither: but
 they had resolved to manage the
 war in quite another manner,
 than the rest of the Gauls had
 done. For, in regard they knew,
 the most potent states in Gaul,
 that had engaged in battle with
 the Romans, had been routed
 and vanquished, and as they
 had in their country continued
 woods and fens; thither they
 conveyed themselves, and all their
 ruin.

XXVII. *Ultimæ nationes*] As the battle here mentioned was
 fought in the country of the Tarusates or Vocates, our author by
ultimæ nationes probably means the districts or provinces belonging
 to Aquitania, that lay towards the Pyrenean mountains

XXVIII. *Bellum agere*] Thus, Pompon. Mela, i. 16. *Ut aliena
 iam bella mercede agerent.* But *bellum gerere* is much more usual.

runt. Ad quarum initium silvarum quum Cæsar pervenisset, castraque munire instituisse; neque hostis interim visus esset; dispersis in opere nostris, subito ex omnibus partibus silvæ evolverunt; et in nostros impetum fecerunt. Nostri celeriter arma ceperunt, eosque in silvas repulerunt; et, compluribus interfectis, longius inpeditionibus locis secuti, paucos ex suis deperdiderunt.

XXIX. Reliquis deinceps diebus Cæsar silvas cædere instituit; et, ne quis inerinibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam, quæ erat cæsa, conversam ad hostem conlocabat, et pro vallo ad utrumque latus exstruebat. Incredibili celeritate magno spatio, paucis diebus, confecto, quum jam pecus atque extrema impedimenta ab nostris tenerentur, ipsi dentiores silvas peterent; ejusmodi sunt tempestates consecutæ, uti opus necessario intermitteretur, et continuatione imbrium diutius

effects. At the entrance to woods when Cæsar arrived and had begun to fortify camp; and no enemy in mean time appeared; all a sudden, whilst our men were scattered up and down on their respective services, they sallied out from all parts of the woods and made a violent assault upon our men. But our men quickly took to arms, and drove them back into the woods; and, after having killed a great many of them, by pursuing too far among the thickets, lost a few of their men.

XXIX. During the few days of summer that remained, Cæsar resolves to cut down the woods, and, that no assault might be made upon the soldiers in the flank while unarmed and not aware of the danger, all the timber, that was cut down, applied and disposed by way of fence against the enemy, and piled it up on both flanks instead of a rampart. But after a great deal of ground was cleared with incredible dispatch in a few days, and when now the enemy's cattle and the baggage of their rear were seized by our men, and they themselves had retired to the thicker parts of the woods, such storms came on, that the undertaking was of necessity laid aside, and the soldiers by rea-

sub pellibus milites con-
neri non possent. Ita-
que, vastatis omnibus co-
m agris, vicis ædificiis-
que incensis, Cæsar exer-
tum reduxit, et in Au-
ercis, Lexoviisque, re-
quis item civitatibus, quæ
proxime bellum fecerant,
hibernis conlocavit.

of the continued rains were no
longer able to lie in tents cover-
ed with skins. Wherefore, ha-
ving laid all their country waste,
and burnt their villages and hou-
ses, Cæsar led back his army, and
settled his men in winter-quar-
ters among the Aulerci, and the Le-
xovii, and the other states, that
had made the last insurrection.

XXIX. 1. *Sub pellibus*] An ancient military phrase, importing,
tents made up of, or covered with skins or hides. B. Afr. 47.
auri sub pellibus acquiescebant. Tacit. Ann. xiii. 35. *Retentusque*
his exercitus sub pellibus quamvis hieme sæva. Flor. 1. 22. *Tunc*
primum hiematum sub pellibus.

2. *Quæ proximè*] Several of the MSS. have *quæ maxime*.

LIBER IV.

The ARGUMENT.

The Usipetes and Tenctheri, being harassed by the Suevi,
came over from Germany to Gaul; IV. and force the Me-
napii from their possessions. VI. They make incursions in-
to the country of the Eburones and Condrusi; XII. attack
and defeat the Roman cavalry upon their march. XV.
But Cæsar next day forces their camp, and puts most of
them to the sword. A few escape, who cross the Rhine,
and take shelter among the Sigambri. XVII. Cæsar
lays a bridge over the Rhine; XVIII. transports his army
into Germany, takes revenge on the Sigambri; XIX. de-
livers the Ubii from the Suevi, and returns to Gaul.
XXI. He marches to the country of the Morini, and from
thence passes over to Britain: XXIV. where with great
difficulty he lands his army. XXVII. The natives sue
for, and obtain a peace. XXX. But, a storm having
forced back the Roman cavalry to the coast of Gaul, and
the fleet being much shattered, they rebel; XXXV. and

are again subdued. XXXVI. Cæsar demands hostage and returns to Gaul.

I. **E**A, quæ secuta est, hieme, qui fuit annus Cn. Pompeio, M. Crasso cons. Usipetes Germani, et item Tenchtheri, magna cum multitudine hominum, flumen Rhenum transierunt, non longe a mari, quo Rhenus insluit. Causa transfundi fuit; quod ab Suevis complures annos exagitati, bello premebantur, et agricultura prohibebantur. Suevorum gens est longe maxima, et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium. Hi centum pagos habere dicuntur: ex quibus quotannis singula milia armatorum, bellandi causa, ex finibus educunt. reliqui, qui domi manserint, se atque illos alunt. Hi rursus in vicem anno post in armis sunt: illi domi remanent. Sic neque agricultura, nec ratio, atque usus belli intermittitur: sed privati, ac separati agri apud eos nihil est: neque longius anno remanere uno in loco, incolendi causa, licet: neque multum frumento, sed maxi-

I. **D**uring the winter the followed, which was the year in which Cn. Pompey and M. Crassus were consuls, the Germans called Usipetes, and also the Tenchtheri, with a vast number of people, crossed the river Rhine, not far from the place into which the Rhine flows. The reason of their crossing the Rhine was; because having been harassed for several years by the Suevi, they were oppressed with war, and hindered from following husbandry. The nation the Suevi is by far the greatest and the most warlike of all the Germans. They are said to have an hundred cantons: out of which, for the purpose of war, they send yearly from their country a thousand soldiers for each canton. the rest, who stay at home, maintain both themselves and them. These again the year after in their turn are in arms and those stay at home. Thus neither husbandry, nor the art and practice of war are neglected: but with them there is no private and separate property of ground: nor is any one allowed to continue longer than a year in one place, by way of residence: nor do they live much

ma

[I. i. *Se atque illos alunt*] Clarke and Scaliger read *pro se atque illis colunt*.

mam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque sunt in venationibus: quæ res et cibi genere, et quotidiana exercitatione, et libertate vitæ (quod a pueris nullo officio aut disciplina adfecti nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciant) et vires alit, et inmani corporum magnitudine homines efficit. Atque in eam se consuetudinem adduxerunt, ut locis frigidissimis neque vestitus, præter pellis, habeant quidquam, quarum propter exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta, et laventur in fluminibus.

II. Mercatoribus est ad eos aditus magis eo, ut quæ bello ceperint, quibus vendant, habeant; quam quo ullam rem ad se inportari desiderent. Quin etiam jumentis, quibus maxime Gallia delectatur, quæque in-

corn, but for most part on milk and flesh, and are much employed in hunting: which way of doing, both by the nature of their food, and their daily exercise, and free manner of life (for having been accustomed from their infancy to no employment or discipline, they do nothing at all contrary to inclination) both improves their strength, and makes them men of a huge stature of body. And to such a custom have they brought themselves, that in the very coldest places they have no cloaths except skins, by reason of the smallness whereof a great part of their body is bare, and they bathe in rivers.

II. Merchants are admitted among them to the end rather, that they may have chapmen to whom they may sell what they take in war; than that they want any thing to be imported to them. Nay even the working cattle, in which the Gauls
X 2 penso

2. Maximam partem lacte—vivunt] i. e. maxima ex parte, a Græcism; understand quod ad, or secundum.

3. Corporis pars aperta] See a further account of the dress used by the Germans vi. 21.

4. Et laventur] The connection is, ut habeant, et ut laventur. But many of the MSS have lavantur.

II. 1. Quibus Gallia delectatur, quæque parant] i. e. quæque Galli parant. Thus, Sall. Jug. 89. Id ibique et in omni Africa, qui procul a mari agebant. c. 114. Quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique sic habuere. Clarke however reads, Galli delectantur.

penso parant pretio, Germani inportatis his non utuntur; sed, quæ sunt apud eos nata prava atque deformia, hæc quotidiana exercitatione, summi ut sint laboris, efficiunt. Equestribus præliis sæpe ex equis desiliunt, ac pedibus præliantur; equosque eodem remanere vestigio adsu faciunt; ad quos se celeriter, quum usus est, recipiunt. neque eorum moribus turpius quidquam, aut inertius habetur, quam ephippiis uti. Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum, quamvis pauci, adire audent. Vinum ad se omnino inportari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines, atque effeminari arbitrantur.

III. Publice maximam putant esse laudem, quam latissime a suis finibus vacare agros: hac re significari, magnum numerum civitatum suam vim sus-

take the greatest pleasure, which they purchase at a price, these the Germans do import nor use; but the shaped and ugly creatures, are bred up among themselves; these by daily exercise they bring to endure the hardest labour. an engagement of cavalry to frequently jump off their horses and fight on foot; and accustom their horses to stay still in the same spot, to which, when there is occasion, they return with great nimbleness. nor according to their fashions is a thing esteemed more shameful, silly, than to use saddles. accordingly they have the courage, though they be but few, to march head against any number of saddled horses. They do not suffer wine to be imported to them any rate, because by it they imagine men are rendered soft and effeminate for enduring hardships.

III. They reckon it the highest honour to their nation, that the countries on their border waste for a great way round for by this is shown, that a va
tiner

2. *Importatis his*] Oudendorp conjectures these two words to be a corrupt reading, instead of the single word *importatitiis*. B. At
20. *Frumento in Africa, nisi importatitio, uti non possit.*

3. *Nata prava*] Many of the MSS. have *parva*.

III. 1. *Civitatum*] *Civitatum* is more usual; but the form however frequently occurs. v. 22. *Permotus defectione civitatum* vii. 36. *Separatim singularum civitatum copias conlocaverat.* viii. 2. *Concurrunt reliquarum civitatum legati.*

nere non posse. itaque
na ex parte a Suevis cir-
ter milia passuum de-
gri vacare dicuntur. Ad
alteram partem succedunt
Ubii, quorum fuit civitas
mpla atque florens, ut
st captus Germanorum,
et paullo, quam sunt e-
iusdem generis, et ceteris
humaniore; propterea
quod Rhenum adtingunt,
multumque ad eos mer-
catores ventitant, et ipsi
propter propinquitatem
Gallicis sunt moribus ad-
fecti. Hos quum Sue-
vi, multis sæpe bellis ex-
erti, propter amplitudi-
em gravitatemque ci-
tatis, finibus expellere
non potuissent, tamen ve-
tigales sibi fecerunt, ac
multo humiliores infirmi-
resque redegerunt.

IV. In eadem caus-
a fuerunt Usipetes, et
Tenchtheri, quos supra
diximus, qui complures
annos Suevorum vim sus-
tulerunt: ad extremum

*number of nations are not able to
withstand their valour. accor-
dingly the country on one side of
the Suevi is said to be desolate
for about 600 miles. On their o-
ther side are the Ubii, whose
country, considering the condition
of the Germans, was large and
flourishing, and who are some-
what more polite than those of the
same descent, and the rest of the
Germans; and that because they
lie on the Rhine, and merchants
come frequently among them, and
that they are accustomed by rea-
son of their neighbouring situation
to the manners of the Gauls.
These the Suevi often tried in
many wars, and tho', by reason
of the largeness and potency of
their state, they could not expel
them the country, yet they made
them their tributaries, and redu-
ced them to a much lower and
weaker condition.*

IV. In the same case were
the Usipetes, and Tenchtheri,
whom we mentioned above, who
for a good many years made a
stand against the oppression of the
Suevi: at last however being
tamen

2. *Milia passuum DC*] Several MSS. have *milia passuum c*; which Vossius approves, as thinking the other number, in the present case, enormous and incredible.

3. *Et paullo, quam sunt, &c.*] Oudendorp resolves the sentence thus: *Et paullo humaniores, quam sunt homines ejusdem generis, et humaniores ceteris, nempe Germanis.* But commentators are far from being agreed about the reading. Clarke has, *Et qui paullo sunt ejusdem generis etiam ceteris humaniores.*

tamen agris expulsi, et multis Germaniæ locis tricunium vagati, ad Rhenum pervenerunt: quas regiones Menapii incolebant, et ad utramque ripam fluminis agros, ædificia, vicosque habebant. sed tantæ multitudinis aditu perterriti, ex his ædificiis, quæ trans flumen habuerant, demigraverunt; et cis Rhenum dispositis præfidiis Germanos transire prohibeant. Illi, omnia experti, quum 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 obpresserunt, qui de Germanorum discessu per exploratores certiores facti sine metu trans Rhenum

forced from their country, having wandered through many places of Germany for many years together, they came to the Rhine: in which quarter dwelt the Menapii, and had large houses, and villages on the banks of the river. but being frightened at the arrival of a number of foreigners, they withdrew from the dwellings which they had on the other side of the river; and planted guards on this side the Rhine, deavoured to hinder the Germans from crossing. And they, trying all methods, as they could, neither dispute their passage by force, for want of shipping, nor get over clandestinely, for the guards of the Menapii, seized a retreat into their own habitations and country: and, after having proceeded three days march, returned back again, and their cavalry dispatched this whole journey in one night, they cut off the Menapii who were unapprised and not aware of the danger, who having been informed by their scouts of the retreat of the Germans had gone

IV. 1. *Aditu perterriti*] Some of the MSS. have *auditu*; but this would import, that the Menapii had, in a cowardly manner, deserted these possessions, while danger was yet at a great distance.

2. *Rursus reverterunt*] A pleonasm; but frequent in good authors. vii. 9. *Rursus exercitum reducit*. Curt. iii. 11. *Rursus in patriam redeunt*. Petron. sat. 10. *Rursus in memoriam revocatus*.

suos vicos remigraverant. His interfectis; nabusque eorum occupatis, priusquam ea pars Menapiorum, quæ citra Rhenum quæta in suis sedibus erat, certior fieret, flumen transierunt; quæque omnibus eorum ædificiis occupatis, reliquam partem hiemis se eorum copiis aluerunt.

V. His de rebus Cæsar certior factus, et infirmitatem Gallorum veritus, quod sunt in consiliis cædendis mobiles, et novis rerumque rebus student, nihil his committendum existimavit. Est autem hoc Gallicæ consuetudinis; uti et viatores etiam pavidos consistere cogant; et quod quisque eorum de quaque re audierit, ut cognoverit, quærant; et mercatores in oppidis solus circumstet, quibusque ex regionibus veniant, quasque ibi res cognoverint, pronunciare cogant. His rumoribus atque auditionibus pernoti de summis sæpe rebus consilia ineunt; quorum eos e vestigio poenitere necesse est; quum

back without any apprehension to their villages beyond the Rhine. Having put these to the sword, and seized their vessels, they crossed the river, before the rest of the Menapii, who were quiet in their habitations on this side the Rhine, had notice of the matter; and taking possession of all their houses, fed themselves the remaining part of the winter with their provisions.

V. Cæsar having intelligence of these proceedings, and being jealous of the giddy humour of the Gauls, because they are easily moved to take up resolutions and generally fond of novelty, thought nothing was to be intrusted to them. For it is the manner of the Gauls, to force travellers to stop even against their will; and inquire what each of them has heard or learned of any affair; and in towns the mob flock round merchants, and oblige them to declare from what countries they have come, and what news they know of there. And impressed with these rumours and reports they often enter into measures with respect to affairs of the highest importance: of which they must needs quickly repent; since they are led by uncertain reports; and most people tell

incertis

V. 1. *E vestigio*] This phrase properly relates to place, and signifies close, or hard on one's heels; but is also metaphorically applied to time, and imports speedily, quickly, or in an instant. Thus viii. 21.

incertis rumoribus servant; et plerique ad voluntatem eorum ficta respondent.

VI. Qua consuetudine cognita, Cæsar ne graviori bello occurreret, maturius, quam consuevit, ad exercitum proficiscitur. Eo quum venisset, ea, quæ fore suspicatus erat, facta cognovit; missas legationes ab nonnullis civitatibus ad Germanos; invitosque eos, uti ab Rheno discederent; omniaque, quæ postulassent, ab se fore parata. Qua spe adducti Germani latius jam vagabantur, et in finis Eburonum, et Condrusorum, qui sunt Trevirorum clientes, pervenerant. Principibus Galliæ evocatis, Cæsar ea, quæ cognoverat, dissimulanda sibi existimavit; eorumque animis permulsis et confirmatis, equitatuque imperato,

them stories contrived to gratify their humour.

VI. Cæsar, knowing the manner, that he might not be exposed to too heavy a war, set out for the army earlier than he had been in use to do. Upon his arrival, he found the thing he had imagined would come to pass; the embassies had been dispatched to some of the states of Gaul to the Germans; and that they had been invited to come off from the Rhine; and assured, that everything that they desired should be provided for by them. The Germans buoyed up with these hopes were now strolling abroad more at large, and were arrived at the confines of the Eburones, and Condrusi, who are under homage to the Treviri. Cæsar, after summoning the princes of Gaul, thought proper to take no notice of the things of which he had been informed; and therefore having soothed and confirmed their minds.

bellum

E vestigio mittunt legatos. B. Civ. ii. 12. Nullum exoriri moram posse quo minus ad nutum e vestigio diriperentur. c. 25. Qui non ex vestigio ad castra vela direxisset. c. 26. E vestigio temporis primum agmen erat in conspectu. Cic. in Pison. Eodem et loci vestigio et temporis.

2. Rumoribus servant] The same phrase occurs in Plaut. Trin. iii. 2. 14. Nec tuis depellor distis, quin rumori serviam. And properly imports to be a slave to fame, i. e. to be credulous, and easily impressed with stories told. Horat. sat. l. vi. 16. Populo, quæpe famæ servit ineptus.

VI. Qua spe adducti] Some of the MSS. have abducti.

ellum cum Germanis
erere constituit.

VII. Re frumentaria
omparata, equitibusque
electis, iter in ea loca fa-
re coepit, quibus in lo-
s esse Germanos audie-
at; a quibus quum pau-
rum dierum iter abes-
t, legati ab his vene-
nt. quorum hæc fuit
ratio. Germanos neque
iores populo Romano
ellum inferre; neque
men recusare, si laces-
ntur, quin armis con-
ndant: quod Germa-
orum consuetudo hæc
a majoribus tradita,
nicumque bellum infe-
nt, resistere, neque de-
recari: hæc tamen di-
ere, venisse. invitos, e-
ctos domo. Si suam
ratiam Romani velint,
osse eis utiles esse ami-
os: vel sibi agros ad-
ibuant, vel patiantur
os tenere, quos armis
ossederint: sese unis Sue-
s concedere; quibus ne
i quidem immortales
ares esse possint; reli-
um quidem in terris

in their allegiance, and ordered
them to furnish some horse, he
resolved to carry on a war with
the Germans.

VII. After providing corn,
and a select body of horse, he be-
gan to direct his march toward
the place in which he heard the
Germans were; from whom
when he was distant but a few
days march, deputies arrive from
them. whose speech was as fol-
lows. That the Germans were
not for making war upon the
Roman people first; nor would
they avoid however to dispute
with them by arms if provoked:
because it was a custom of the
Germans handed down from their
ancestors, whoever made war,
to oppose them, not to use intrea-
ties: this however they would
acknowledge, that they had come
hither against their inclination,
having been expelled their own
country. If the Romans would
accept of their friendship, they
might be useful allies to them:
and let them either assign them
lands, or suffer them to keep what
they had taken possession of by
force of arms: that to the Suevi
only they would submit; to
whom even the immortal gods
could not be a match: that there
Y esse

VII. Quibus ne dii, &c.] The like vainglorious boast is ascribed
to Cæsar by the writer of *B. Hisp.* 42. *An, me deleto, non animad-
vertebatis decem habere legiones populum Romanum, quæ non solum vo-
s obsistere, sed etiam cælum diruere possent?*

esse neminem, quem non superare possint.

VIII. Ad hæc Cæsar, quæ visum est, respondit. sed exitus fuit orationis: sibi nullam cum his amicitiam esse posse, si in Gallia remanerent. neque verum esse, qui suos, fines tueri non potuerint, alienos occupare: neque ullos in Gallia vacare agros, qui dari tantæ præsertim multitudini sine injuria possint: sed licere, si velint, in Ubiorum finibus consistere; quorum sint legati apud se, et de Suevorum injuriis querantur, et a se auxilium petant. Hoc se Ubiis imperaturum.

IX. Legati hæc se ad suos relatueros dixerunt: et, re deliberata, post diem tertium ad Cæsarem reversuros: interea, ne propius se castra move-

were none else upon earth, who they were not able to conquer.

VIII. To this Cæsar replied what he thought proper. the conclusion of his speech was that he could have no alliance with them, if they continued in Gaul. and that it was not reasonable, that they who had been able to defend their country, should seize upon the others: that there were no lands lying waste in Gaul, that could be given away, especially to a number of people, without wronging the inhabitants: that they might, if they pleased, sit in the country of the Ubii: whose ambassadors, he thought were present with him, were complaining of the oppression of the Suevi, and intruding assistance from him. that he would give orders to Ubii on this head.

IX. The deputies said they would report this to their countrymen: and, having advised the matter, would return the third day after to Cæsar:

VIII. 1. *Neque verum esse*] *Verum* here signifies proper, decent, right, reasonable. Thus, Horat. sat. II. iii. 311. *An quodcumque Mæcenâs, te quoque verum est?* And epist. I. vii. 98. *Metiri se quæ suo modulo ac pede verum est.* xii. 43. *Nil Græphus nisi verorabit et æquum.* In like manner, sat. I. vi. 8. *Persuades hoc tibi.*

2. *Hoc se Ubiis imperaturum*] Scaliger and Clarke read, *Hoc ab Ubiis impetraturum.*

IX. *Ne propius se*] i. e. *Ne propius ad se*; for *prope*, *prope*, and *proxime*, do not govern the accusative of themselves, but cause of the proposition *ad* understood.

et, petierunt : Ne id qui-
em Cæsar ab se inpetra-
re posse dixit : cognove-
at enim magnam par-
tem equitatus ab iis ali-
quot diebus ante, præ-
candi, frumentandique
caussa ad Ambivaritos
trans Mosam missam.
Ilos expectari equites,
etque ejus rei causa mo-
ram interponi, arbitra-
batur.

X. Mosa profluit ex
monte Vosgo, qui est in
finibus Lingonum, et par-
te quadam ex Rheno re-
cepta, quæ adpellatur Va-
hals, insulamque efficit
Batavorum, in Oceanum
influit ; neque longius
ab Oceano milibus pas-
sum LXXX in Rhenum
transit. Rhenus autem
oritur ex Lepontiis, qui
Alpes incolunt, et longo
spatio per fines Nantua-
rum, Helvetiorum, Se-
quanorum, Mediomat-
ricorum, Tribucorum,
Trevirorum citatus fer-
tur : et, ubi Oceano ad-

*in the meantime, begged he would
not approach nearer them with
his army : Cæsar replied, that
even this could not be granted :
for he had got notice, that a con-
siderable party of horse had been
sent by them some days before this
over the Maese toward the Am-
bivariti, with a design to plun-
der and forage. And he ima-
gined these horse were expected
back, and that the delay was
proposed on that account.*

X. The Maese rises from
mount Vosagus, which is in the
territories of the Lingones, and
having received from the Rhine
the branch that is called Vaha-
lis, it forms the isle of the Ba-
tavi, and runs into the ocean ;
and not above eighty miles from
the ocean, it falls into the Rhine.
But the Rhine has its rise a-
mong the Lepontii, who dwell
on the Alps, and flows with a
rapid current for a long way
through the territories of the
Nantuates, Helvetii, Sequani,
Mediomatrici, Tribuci, and Tre-
viri : and, upon its approach to
the sea, divides into several
Y 2 propinquat,

X. 1. *Insulamque efficit—in Rhenum transit*] The text here is e-
vidently corrupted. The reading is different in different MSS. and
editions ; and none of them consistent with good sense, or ancient
geography. The dissertations and essays of commentators on the
place would fill a volume. But, after all their learned endea-
vours to force a plausible meaning from the words as they have
come down to us, or to rectify the text, they have left the mat-
ter involved in the same obscurity in which they found it.

propinquat, in plures diffluit 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.

XI. Cæsar quum ab hoste non amplius passuum XII milibus abesset, ut erat constitutum, ad eum legati revertuntur: qui in itinere congressi, magnopere, ne longius progrediretur, orabant. Quum id non inpetrassent, petebant, uti ad eos equites, qui agmen antecessissent, præmitteret, eosque pugna prohiberet: sibi que uti potestatem faceret in Ubios legatos mittendi: quorum si principes ac senatus sibi iurejurando fidem fecissent, ea conditione, quæ a Cæsare ferretur, se usuros ostendebant; ad has res conficiendas sibi tridui spatium daret. Hæc omnia Cæsar eodem illo pertinere arbitrabatur, ut, tridui mora interposita, equites eorum, qui abes-

branches, and having formed many large islands, a great part whereof are inhabited by savage and barbarous people (among whom are those, who are supposed to live on fish, and the eggs of wild fowl) it flows by several mouths into the ocean.

XI. When Cæsar was not above twelve miles from the enemy, the deputies, as had been agreed, returned to him: who meeting him upon his march earnestly intreated him, not to proceed any further. When they could not obtain this, they begged him to dispatch a messenger to the cavalry, that had marched away before the army, and keep them from fighting; and allow them time to send deputies to the Ubii: and declared, if the princes and senate would give them security of a peaceable possession by oath, they would accept the offer that was made by Cæsar: and desired he would grant them the space of three days to negotiate this affair. Cæsar imagined all this was designed to serve the same purpose, that, during the interval of three days, their horse, that were absent, might return; and

sent

2. *Multisque capitibus*] Vossius observes, that Cæsar is the only author he knows that uses *caput* to express the mouth of a river.

ent, reverterentur; tamen sese non longius milibus passuum IV aquationis causa processurum eo die dixit: huc postero die quam frequentissimi convenirent, ut de eorum postulatis cognosceret. Interim ad præfectos, qui cum omni equitatu antecesserant, mittit, qui nunciarent, ne hostes prælio lacefferent: et, si ipsi lacefferentur, sustinerent, quoad ipse cum exercitu propius accessisset.

XII. At hostes, ubi primum nostros equites conspexerunt, quorum erat V milium numerus, quum ipsi non amplius DCCC equites haberent, quod II, qui frumentandi causa ierant trans Mosam, nondum redierant; nihil timentibus nostris, quod legati eorum paulo ante a Cæsare discesserant, atque is dies induciis erat ab eis petitus, impetu facto, celcritur nostros perturbaverunt; rur-

told them however that he would not proceed further than four miles that day, and that on the account of water: and ordered a considerable number of them to wait on him next day, that he might examine into their demands. In the mean time he dispatches a messenger to the officers, that had marched away before with all the cavalry, to injoin them not to provoke the enemy to fight: and, if they were attacked, to maintain their ground, till he came up with the army.

XII. But the enemy, as soon as they saw our cavalry, of which there was the number of 5000, though they had not above 800 horse; in regard those, that had gone a-foraging over the Maese, were not yet returned; and whilst our men were under no fears, because their deputies a little before had gone away from Cæsar, and this day had been demanded by them for a day of truce, making a furious onset, quickly disordered our troops: and again upon our men
sus

XI. *Sustinerent*] The construction is, *ne lacefferent: et ut sustinerent.*

XII. *Non amplius DCCC*] It might surprise the reader, that such a small number of Germans should have adventured to attack so many Roman cavalry, had not Cæsar himself assigned the reason. c. 2. *Neque eorum moribus turpius quidquam, aut inertius habetur, quam ephippiis uti. Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum, quamvis pauci, adire audcant.*

fus resistentibus nostris,
 consuetudine sua, ad pe-
 des desiluerunt; subfos-
 sisque equis, compluri-
 busque nostris dejectis,
 reliquos in fugam conje-
 cerunt; atque ita perter-
 ritos egerunt, ut non pri-
 us fuga desisterent, quam
 in conspectum agminis
 nostri venissent. In eo
 prælio ex equitibus no-
 stris interficiuntur IV et
 LXX. In his vir fortis-
 simus Piso Aquitanus,
 amplissimo genere natus,
 cujus avus in civitate sua
 regnum obtinuerat, ami-
 cus ab senatu nostro ad-
 pellatus. Hic quum fra-
 tri intercluso ab hostibus
 auxilium ferret, illum ex
 periculo eripuit; ipse
 equo vulnerato dejectus,
 quoad potuit, fortissime
 restitit. Quum circum-
 ventus, multis vulneri-
 bus acceptis, cecidisset;
 atque id frater, qui jam
 prælio excesserat, procul
 animum advertisset, inci-
 tato equo, se hostibus ob-
 tulit, atque interfectus est.

XIII. Hoc facto præ-
 lio, Cæsar neque jam sibi
 legatos audiendos, neque
 conditiones accipiendas
 arbitrabatur ab his, qui,

*rallying, they jumped, accord-
 ing to their usual way, from
 their horses to their feet; and
 stabbing our horses in the bell-
 and throwing down a great ma-
 ny of our riders, they put the re-
 to flight; and so plied them un-
 der their panic, that they did
 not stop in their flight, till they
 were come within sight of our
 army. In this skirmish 74
 of our cavalry was slain. Among
 these was Piso of Aquitania,
 a man of great courage, and de-
 scended of a very noble family,
 whose grandfather had former-
 ly been possessed of the sovereign
 power in his own country, and
 had been honoured with the title
 of ally by our senate. When
 he was endeavouring to relieve
 his brother that was inclosed by
 the enemy, and had rescued him
 from danger; upon his horse be-
 ing wounded, he was thrown
 down, and made a brave resist-
 ance as long as he could. Being
 being surrounded on all sides, af-
 ter receiving many wounds, he
 fell; and his brother, who had
 now got out of the field, observing
 this at a distance, putting spur
 to his horse, rode in among the
 enemy, and was killed.*

XIII. This skirmish bein-
 ended, Cæsar now judged it pro-
 per neither to give audience
 deputies, nor admit of offers from
 a people, who after suing for

per dolum atque insidias, petita pace, ultro bellum intulissent. Exspectare vero, dum hostium copiae augerentur; equitatusque reverteretur, summæ dementiæ esse judicabat: et cognita Gallorum infirmitate, quantum jam apud eos hostes uno prælib auctoritatis essent consecuti, sentiebat: quibus ad consilia capienda nihil spatii dandum existimabat. His constitutis rebus, et consilio cum legatis et quæstore communicato, ne quem diem pugnæ prætermitteret; obportunissima 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; simul, ut dicebatur, sui pugnandi causa, quod contra, atque esset dictum, et ipsi petissent, prælium pridie commississent; simul, ut, si quid possent, de induciis fal-

peace, in the way of trick and artifice, had made war without provocation. And to wait till the enemy's army should be reinforced, and their cavalry return, he deemed to be the height of madness: and as he knew the fickle temper of the Gauls, he could guess, what a mighty reputation the enemy already by this one skirmish would have acquired among them: to whom he was of opinion no time ought to be allowed for concerting measures. After having come to a resolution as to these points, and having entered into a concert with his lieutenants and quæstor, not to let slip any opportunity of battle; a very lucky accident fell out, for next day in the morning a considerable body of the Germans, consisting of all their grandes and elderly men, pursuing the same methods of treachery and dissimulation, came to the camp to Cæsar; at once, as was pretended, to excuse themselves for having engaged the day before in a skirmish, contrary to what had been agreed, and they themselves had requested; and withal to obtain a truce by fraudulent con-
lendo

XIII. 1. *Prætermitteret*] Clarke reads *intermitteret*.

2. *Eadem et perfidia*] *Desidero hic bonam fidem in Casare: nam Dio, xxxix. disertim ait, Equitatum Romanorum a Germanorum junioribus in fugam conjectum: non probantibus id senioribus, quos, invitis junioribus, maleficiæ excusandi causa, ad Cæsarem profectos dicit. Vossius.*

lendo inpetrarent. Quos sibi Cæsar oblatos gavi-
sus, illos retineri jussit :
ipse omnes copias castris
eduxit ; equitatumque,
quod recenti prælio per-
territum esse existimabat,
agmen subsequi jussit.

XIV. Acie triplici in-
stituta, et celeriter iix
miliuum itinere confecto,
prius ad hostium castra
pervenit, quam, quid a-
geretur, Germani sentire
possent. qui, omnibus re-
bus subito perterriti, et
celeritate adventus nostri,
et discessu suorum, neque
consilii habendi, neque
arma capiendi spatio da-
to, perturbantur, copias-
que adversus hostem edu-
cere, an castra defendere,
an fuga salutem petere,
præstaret. Quorum ti-
mor quum fremitu et
concurſu significaretur,
milites nostri, pristini diei
perfidia incitati, in castra
inruperunt. quorum qui
celeriter arma capere po-

duct, if they could. Cæsar be-
ing much pleased that they were
fallen into his hands, ordered
them to be detained : after this
he drew all his forces out of the
camp ; and enjoined the cavalry
because he imagined they were
daunted with the late skirmish
to follow the army.

XIV. Drawing up his army
in three lines, and quickly dis-
patching a march of eight miles
he arrived at the enemy's camp
before the Germans could per-
ceive what was a-doing. when
being unexpectedly alarmed with
every circumstance, both with
the quickness of our approach
and the absence of their own
grandees, and their having time
neither to concert measures, nor
repair to arms, were confound-
ed, not knowing whether
would be better to lead out the
forces against the enemy, or at-
tend their camp, or endeavour
save their lives by flight. When
consternation being discovered
their noise and hurry, our men
instigated by the remembrance
of their treachery the day before
tuerunt

XIV. 1. *Perturbantur*] To this word is subjoined in some editions, *ut scirent* ; but without authority from the MSS. and contrary to the Latin idiom. The import of these words is sufficiently implied in the verb *perturbantur*.

2. *Pristini diei*] These words denote here the day immediately preceding. Thus, Curt. viii. 4. *Primus dies quietum iter præbuit, præliminus ei, nondum quidem procellosus et tristis, obscurior tamen pristinus* Suet. Aug. 94. *Somnium pristinae noctis familiaribus forte narrabat*

3. *Quorum qui*] i. e. *quorum castrorum milites qui, &c.*

tuerunt, paullisper nostris restiterunt, atque inter carros impedimenta que prælium commiserunt. at reliqua multitudo puerorum, mulierumque (nam cum omnibus suis domo excesserant, Rhenumque transierant) passim fugere cœpit. ad quos confectandos Cæsar equitatum misit.

XV. Germani, post tergum clamore audito, quum suos interfici viderent, armis abjectis, signisque militaribus relictis, se ex castris eiecerunt; et quum ad confluentem Mosæ et Rheni pervenissent, reliqua fuga desperata, magno numero interfecto, reliqui se in flumen precipita-

rushed into the camp. those of them that could readily get hold of their arms, made a stand against our men for a little, and joined battle among their carrs and carriages. but the remaining multitude of boys and women (for with all that were theirs had they quit their home, and crossed the Rhine) every where began to fly, in pursuit of whom Cæsar dispatched the cavalry.

XV. *The Germans, upon hearing a noise behind them, and seeing their relations put to the sword, throwing away their arms, and abandoning the military standards, flung themselves out of the camp; and when they were come to the concourse of the Maese and Rhine, despairing of any further escape, after a great number were cut off, the rest*

Z verunt;

XV. *Magnn numero interfecto, &c.] An attentive reader cannot but with abhorrence observe, from the history of this war, even as here given, that the butchering of so many people proceeded more from ambitious views, and want of humanity in Cæsar, than any provocation given by the enemy. Davisius says, Nemo tam rusticus, aut imperitus rerum, qui fraudem Cæsaris ex ipsiusmet verbis non facile colligat, qui Germanos trium dierum induciis confisos, itaque jam nimis stiosos, et tale nihil metuentes, interea, dum cum legatis et principibus agere crederetur, ex improvise oppressit. Ut jure merito, eum ejus victoriae causa supplicatio a senatu Romæ deereta esset, Cato sententiam tulit dedendum esse barbaris Cæsarem, expiandamque, urbis nomine, violationem fœderum, vertendasque in fontis caput execrationes. And to this purpose, Suet. Jul. 24. Nec deinde Cæsar ulla belli occasione, ne injusti quidem ac periculosi, abstinuit, tam fœderatis quam injustis ac feris gentibus ultro laceffit: adeo ut senatus quondam legatos ad explorandum statum Galliarum mittendos decreverit, ac nonnulli dedendum eum hostibus censuerint.*

verunt; atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis obpressi, perierunt. Nostri ad unum omnes incolumes, perpauca vulneratis, ex tanti belli timore, quum hostium numerus capitum CDXXX milium fuisset, se in castra receperunt. Cæsar his, quos in castris retinuerat, discedendi potestatem fecit. Illi supplicia, cruciatusque Gallorum veriti, quorum agros vexaverant, remanere se apud eum velle, dixerunt. His Cæsar libertatem concessit.

XVI. Germanico bello confecto, multis de causis, Cæsar statuit, sibi Rhenum esse transeundum; quarum illa fuit iustissima, quod, quum videret, Germanos tam facile impelli, ut in Galliam venirent, suis quoque rebus eos timere, voluit; quum intellegèrent, et posse, et audere populi Romani exercitum Rhenum transire. Accessit etiam, quod illa pars equitatus Usipetum, et Tenchtherorum, quam supra commemoravi, prædandi frumentandique causa Motam transiit, neque præ-

threw themselves into the river and there perished, being borne down with fear, weariness, and the force of the stream. Our soldiers were all safe to a man and very few wounded, when after the terror of such a war was thus removed, the number of the enemy being 430,000, he turned to the camp. Cæsar granted those, whom he had detained in his camp, leave to depart. But they being afraid of hard treatment and torture from the Gauls, whose country they had harassed, replied, that they inclined to continue with him. And Cæsar gave them leave to do so.

XVI. The war with Germans being ended, Cæsar for several reasons resolved to cross the Rhine; of which the most sufficient was, that, when he observed the Germans were so easily induced to come over to Gaul, he had a mind that they likewise should be brought under fears for their own concerns at home; upon their finding, that the army of the Roman people both were able, and had the courage to cross the Rhine. To this was added, that the army of horse belonging to the Usipetes, and Tenchtheri, who, as said above had crossed the Rhine in order to plunder and forage, and were not present at the

lio interfuisse, post fugam suorum se trans Rhenum in fines Sigambrorum receperat, seque cum iis conjunxerat. Ad quos quum Cæsar nuncios misisset, qui postularent, eos, qui sibi, Galliæque bellum intulissent, sibi dederent; responderunt: Populi Romani imperium Rhenum finire: si, se invito, Germanos in Galliam transire, non æquum existimaret; cur sui quidquam esse imperii aut potestatis trans Rhenum postularet? Ubii autem, qui uni ex Transrhœnanis ad Cæsarem legatos miserant, amicitiam fecerant, obsides dederant, magnopere orabant, ut sibi auxilium ferret, quod graviter ab Suevis premerentur; vel, si id facere occupationibus rei publicæ prohiberetur, exercitum modo Rhenum transportaret: id sibi ad auxilium, spemque reliqui temporis satis futurum. tantum esse nomen atque opinionem ejus exercitus, Ariovisto pulso, et hoc novissimo prælio facto, etiam ad ultimas Germanorum nationes,

tle, had retired after the defeat of their countrymen into the confines of the Sigambri beyond the Rhine, and had united themselves with them. To whom when Cæsar sent messengers, to require them to deliver up to him the men, that had raised a war against him and Gaul; they made answer: That the Rhine bounded the empire of the Roman people: if he did not think it just for the Germans to pass into Gaul, without his consent; why did he challenge authority or power in any thing beyond the Rhine? And the Ubii, who alone of all the people beyond the Rhine had sent deputies to Cæsar, entered into an alliance, and delivered hostages, earnestly requested him to come to their assistance, because they were grievously oppressed by the Suevi; or, if he was hindered from doing this by affairs of state, that at least he would transport his army over the Rhine: that this would be sufficient for their assistance at present, and ground of hope for the time to come. that such was the character and reputation of his army, even among the remotest nations of the Germans, acquired by their defeating Ariovistus, and by the battle lately fought, that they might be secu-

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ui

uti opinione, et amicitia populi Romani tuti esse possint. Navium magnam copiam ad transportandum exercitum pollicebantur.

XVII. Cæsar his de causis, quas commemoravi, Rhenum transire decreverat: sed navibus transire neque fatis tutum esse arbitrabatur, neque suæ, neque populi Romani dignitatis esse statuebat. Itaque etsi summa difficultas faciendi pontis proponebatur, propter latitudinem, rapiditatem, altitudinemque fluminis; tamen id tibi contendendum, aut aliter non transducendum exercitum existimabat. Rationem pontis hanc instituit. Tigna bina sesquipedalia, paullum ab imo præacuta, dimensâ ad altitudinem fluminis, intervallo pedum duorum inter se jungebat. Hæc quum machinationibus inmissa in flumen defixerat, fistucisque adegerat, non sublicæ modo detecta ad perpendiculum,

red against ill usage from their neighbours, by the same and friendship of the Roman people. And they engaged to furnish a great number of vessels for transporting the army.

XVII. Cæsar for the reasons, which I have mentioned, resolved to cross the Rhine: but neither thought it safe enough, nor deemed it for his own reputation, or that of the people of Rome, to pass it by shipping. Wherefore, tho' the difficulty of making a bridge appeared to be exceeding great, on account of the breadth, the rapidity, and depth of the river; he was of opinion however this ought to be attempted, or otherwise the army not to be transported. The form of the bridge he contrived as follows. He joined a pair of timber posts of a foot and half square, made somewhat sharp toward the lower end, and of a length proportioned to the depth of the river, with braces that kept them at the distance of two feet from each other. Having let down the posts into the river with engines, fixed them in the bottom, and drove them down with wooden mallets, not quite perpendicular.

XVII. 1. *Sesquipedalia*] sciz. *crassitudine*: A foot and a half thickness, or, as we express it, a foot and a half square, i. e. each of the four sides was a foot and a half broad.

2. *Inmissa*] Scaliger and Clarke have *demissa*.

sed prona, ac fastigata, ut secundum naturam fluminis procumberent; iis item contraria II ad eundem modum juncta, intervallo pedum quadragenum ab inferiore parte contra vim atque impetum fluminis conversa statuebant: hæc utraque insuper bipedalibus trabibus inmissis, quantum eorum tignorum junctura distabat, binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte distinebantur: quibus discussis, atque in contrariam partem revinctis, tanta erat operis firmitudo, atque ea rerum natura, ut, quo major vis aquæ se incitavisset, hoc artius inligata tenerentur. Hæc directæ materie injecta contexebantur, et longuriis, cratibusque consternebantur: ac nihilo fecius sublicæ, et ad inferiorem partem fluminis

ly after the fashion of a stake, but in a declining and sloping manner, so as to lean down the stream; and opposite to these he set up another pair of posts joined after the same manner, at the distance of forty feet right down the water, reclining back against the stream and current of the river: and both these double posts were kept to this position by cross beams two feet thick, the space betwixt the united posts, having their ends laid in betwixt a couple of braces on either post: one of which braces being above and the other under the beam, and made fast to opposite sides of the posts, such was the firmness of the work, and such the structure of the parts, that the more impetuous the stream, the closer were the joints knit together. And after proceeding thus from bank to bank, these beams were joined together by straight planks laid over them, and these again were oblique

3. *Fastigata*] This word seems to import, that the sides or legs of the double posts were somewhat wider below than above; which would contribute greatly to their firmness.

4. *Contraria II*] To be read *contraria bina*, sciz. *tigna*, and not duo, as some editions have it.

5. *Ab inferiore parte*] sciz. *fluminis*, i. e. further down the river. Phæd. l. i 3. *Superior stabat lupus, longeque inferior agnus.* Lipsius mistakes, in thinking these words import, that the double posts were forty feet distant at their lower end, or bottom of the river. It is more natural to suppose, that Cæsar takes notice of their distance at the top, or on the flooring, as being the breadth of the bridge.

6. *Et ad inferiorem partem fluminis*] As these words seem to stand opposed

oblique agebantur, quæ, pro pariete subjectæ, et cum omni opere conjunctæ vim fluminis exciperent: et aliæ item supra pontem mediocri spatio: ut, si arborum trunci, si ve naves, dejiciendi operis, essent a barbaris missæ, his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur, neu ponti nocerent.

XVIII. Diebus x, quibus materia coepta erat comportari, omni opere effecto, exercitus transducitur. Cæsar, ad utramque partem pontis firmo præsidio relicto, in finis Sigamborum contendit. Interim a compluribus civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, quibus, pacem atque amicitiam

covered with lath and hurdles: and besides all this there were stakes driven into the water obliquely below the bridge, which being placed by way of buttresses and connected with all the parts of the work, sustained the force of the current: and there were also others placed at a proper distance above the bridge: that in case trunks of trees or vessels were sent down the river by the barbarians, to destroy the work the force of such things might be lessened by these fenders, that they might not hurt the bridge.

XVIII. Within ten days after the timber began to be carried down from the woods, the army was transported, the whole work having been finished within that time. Cæsar, leaving a strong guard at each end of the bridge, marched away into the country of the Sigambri. In the mean time ambassadors came up to him from several nations

opposed to the following words *supra pontem*, Vossius and others take them to signify below the bridge, that is, somewhat further down the water than the bridge. But all this part of the description, from the words *nihilò secius* to *vim fluminis exciperent*, is obscure and indistinct; as appears from the different senses put upon the several clauses by interpreters, and none of these clear or unexceptionable. Nor is the reading exactly the same in all the MSS. A great many omit *et* after *sublicæ*; and, instead of *pro pariete*, some have *pro ariete*.

7. *Dejiciendi operis*] *Causa* or *gratia* is sometimes suppressed v. 8. *Quas sui quisque commodi fecerat*. Ter. *Adelph.* ii. 4. 6. *Ne id assentandi magis, quam quod habeam gratum, facere existime* Virg. *Æneid.* xi. 126. *Justitiæne prius mirer, belline laborum?*

tiam petentibus, liberaliter respondit, obsidique ad se adduci jubet. At Sigambri ex eo tempore, quo pons institui coeptus est, fuga comparata, hortantibus iis, quos ex Tenchtheris atque Usipetibus apud se habebant, finibus suis excefferant, suaque omnia exportaverant, seque in solitudinem ac silvas abdiderant.

XIX. Cæsar, paucos dies in eorum finibus moratus, omnibus vicis ædificiisque incensis, frumentisque succisis, se in fines Ubiorum recepit, atque iis auxilium suum pollicitus, si ab Suevis premerentur, hæc ab iis cognovit: Suevos, posteaquam per exploratores pontem fieri comperissent, more suo, concilio habito, nuncios in omnes partes dimississe, uti de oppidis dimigrarent, liberos, uxores, suaque omnia in silvas deponerent; atque omnes, qui arma ferre possent, unum in locum convenirent: hunc esse delectum me-

to whom, upon their suing for peace and friendship, he returned a gracious answer, and ordered hostages to be brought him. But the Sigambri, the moment the bridge began to be built, having taken flight by the advice of that party of the Tenchtheri and Usipetes, which they had sheltered among them, had quit their country, and carried off all their effects, and hid themselves in deserts and woods.

XIX. Cæsar having staid a few days in their country, and having burnt their towns and buildings, and cut down their corn, retired into the territories of the Ubii, and having promised them his assistance in case they were harassed by the Suevi, he was informed by them as follows: That the Suevi, after they found by their scouts, that the bridge was a-building, having called a council, according to custom, had dispatched messengers to all parts of their nation, requiring the inhabitants to remove from the towns, convey their children, wives, and all their effects into the woods: and all that were able to bear arms, to meet together in one place: That this was
dium

XVIII. *At Sigambri]* At is here inserted by Oudendorp, upon the authority of some of the oldest MSS.

XIX. *In silvas deponerent]* Clarke reads, in silvis; but in silvas is the same as intra silvas.

dium fere regionum earum, quas Sævi obtinebant: hic Romanorum adventum expectare, atque ibi decertare constituisse. Quod ubi Cæsar comperit, omnibus his rebus confectis, quarum rerum causa transducere exercitum constituerat, ut Germanis metum injiceret, ut Sigambros ulcisceretur, ut Ubios obsidione liberaret, diebus omnino x et iix trans Rhenum consumtis; satis et ad laudem et ad utilitatem profectum arbitratus, se in Galliam recepit, pontemque resecidit.

XX. Exigua parte æstatis reliqua, Cæsar, etsi in his locis, quod omnis Gallia ad Septentriones vergit, maturæ sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod, omnibus fere Gallicis bellis, hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intellegebat: et, si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret; tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo in-

chosen near about the middle of the provinces, which the Sævi possessed; and that here they had resolved to wait the arrival of the Romans, and give them battle. Which when Cæsar understood, as he had accomplished all the purposes for which he had taken up the resolution to transport his army, namely, to strike a terror into the Germans, to be revenged upon the Sigambri, and to deliver the Ubi from the invasion of the Sævi, having spent just eighteen days beyond the Rhine; and thinking he had gained sufficiently, both as to honour and interest, he returned into Gaul, and cut down the bridge.

XX. Cæsar, during the small part of summer that remained notwithstanding the winters in those parts are early, in regard all Gaul lies toward the North, yet resolved upon an expedition into Britain, because, almost in all the wars of Gaul he found assistance had been furnished our enemies from thence: and tho' the time of the year should not serve for carrying on a war, yet he thought it would be of great advantage to him, if he could

XX. 1. *Subministrata auxilia*] Cæsar here pretends to give a reason for his invading Britain; but we find one of a very different nature assigned by Suet. *Jul. 47. Britanniam petisse spe margaritarum, &c*

fulam adisset, genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset : quæ omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. neque enim temere præter mercatores illo adit quisquam : neque iis ipsis quidquam, præter oram maritimam, atque eas regiones, quæ sunt contra Gallias, notum est. Itaque, evocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, neque, quanta esset insulæ magnitudo ; neque quæ, aut quantæ nationes incoerent, neque quem usum belli haberent, aut quibus institutis uterentur ; neque qui essent ad majorum navium multitudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat.

XXI. Ad hæc cognoscenda, prius quam periculum faceret, idoneum esse arbitratus, C. Volusenum, cum navi longa præmittit. Huic mandat, uti, exploratis omni-

could but visit the island, learn the nature of the people, and get acquainted with their situation, ports, and landing-places : all which were in a great measure unknown to the Gauls. for rarely does any body except merchants go over there : nor even to them was any thing known, except the sea-coast, and the parts that are over-against Gaul. Wherefore, after having called up the merchants to him from all parts, he could neither learn how large the extent of the island was ; nor who, or of what power the nations were that inhabited it, nor what experience they had in war, or what sort of government they used ; nor what were the proper harbours for a number of large ships.

XXI. Wherefore to make a discovery of these things, he dispatches C. Volusenus, with a galley, thinking this was proper to be done, before he made an attempt to transport the army.

A a bus

2. *Contra Gallias*] Both Gallia and Hispania are frequently used in the plural number, and that on account of the several different nations which each of these countries comprehended.

XXI. 1. *Cum navi longa*] *Naves longæ*, commonly rendered galleys, were the Roman ships of war ; so called from the oblong form in which they were built, for quickness of motion, and nimble sailing or rowing. In the following chapter they are opposed to *naves onerariæ* ; which were built more round and hollow, for the better towing of goods, or accommodation of passengers, being used either in the merchant-service, or by way of transports.

bus rebus, ad se quam primum revertatur. Ipse, cum omnibus copiis, in Morinos proficiscitur; quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam transiectus. huc naues undique ex finitimis regionibus, et, quam superiore æstate ad Veneticum bellum fecerat, classem jubet convenire. Interim, consilio ejus cognito, et per mercatores perlato ad Britannos, a compluribus ejus insulæ civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, qui polliceantur, obsides dare, atque imperio populi Romani obtemperare. Quibus auditis, liberaliter pollicitus, hortatusque, ut in ea sententia permanerent, eos domum remittit, et cum his una Commium, quem ipse, Atrebatibus superatis, regem ibi constituerat, cujus et virtutem, et consilium probabat, et quem sibi fidelem arbitrabatur, cujusque auctoritas in iis regionibus magni habebatur, mittit. Huic imperat, quas possit, adeat

Him he orders, after having narrowly viewed every thing to return as soon as possible. himself marches away with whole army to the confines the Morini; because from thence was the shortest passage over Britain. hither he orders ships to come up from all parts of the neighbouring provinces, and fleet which he had built the former summer for the war with the Veneti. In the mean time his design having been discovered, and told to the people of Britain by merchants, deputies came over to him from several provinces of the island, who promised to deliver hostages, and submit to the government of the people of Rome. Cæsar, having allowed them an audience, and promising kindly, and encouraging them to continue in that resolution, sends them away home, and along with them he sends one Commius, whom he made king of the Atrebaters, after they were conquered, being a man whose courage and conduct he was pleased with, whom he took to be faithful to himself, and whose interest he reckoned considerable in that part of the world. Him he orders

civitates;

2. *Obsides dare, &c.*] i. e. daturus atque obtemperaturos. See note l. ii. c. 32. and to the examples there adduced add, *Phorm.* iii. 2. 46. *Cras mane argentum mihi miles dare se dixit.* vid. *Metam.* vii. 739. *Census dare me promitto.*

3. *Atrebatibus superatis*] See l. ii. c. 23.

civitates ; horteturque, ut populi Romani fidem sequantur ; seque celeriter eo venturum nunciet. Volusenus, perspectis regionibus, quantum ei facultatis dari potuit, qui navi egredi, ac se barbaris committere non auderet, v die ad Cæsarem revertitur ; quæque ibi perspexisset, renunciat.

XXII. Dum in his locis Cæsar navium parandarum causa moratur, ex magna parte Morinorum ad eum legati venerunt ; qui se de superioris temporis consilio excusarent, quod homines barbari, et nostræ consuetudinis inperiti, bellum populo Romano fecissent, seque ea, quæ imperasset, facturos pollicerentur. Hoc sibi satis obportune Cæsar accidisse arbitratus, quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat ; neque belli gerendi, propter anni tempus, facultatem habebat ; neque has tantularum rerum occupationes sibi Britanniae anteponendas judicabat, magnum is obsidum numerum imperat. Quibus adductis, eos in fidem recepit. Na-

visit as many provinces as he could ; and encourage them to come under allegiance to the people of Rome ; and acquaint them that he would speedily arrive among them. Volusenus, having viewed the country as far as was in the power of one who durst not go ashore, and trust himself to barbarians, returns the fifth day to Cæsar ; and tells him, what he had discovered there.

XXII. *Whilst Cæsar stays in these parts in order to equip a fleet, deputies came to him from a great many cantons of the Morini ; to apologize for their conduct in time past, who confessed with regret, that being a barbarous set of mortals, and not acquainted with our way of doing, they had made war upon the Roman people, and promised to comply with orders. Cæsar thinking this had fallen out very luckily for him, because he did not incline to leave an enemy behind his back ; and had not leisure to prosecute a war, on account of the advanced season of the year ; and did not think the being employed in such trifling affairs was to be preferred to his design on Britain, orders them to deliver a large number of hostages. Which being brought, he received them into his protection. Having provided and got*

vibus circiter LXXX onerariis coactis, contractisque, quot satis esse ad duas transportandas legiones existimabat: quidquid præterea navium longarum habebat, quæstori, legatis, præfectisque distribuit. Huc accedebant XIIII onerariæ naves, quæ ex eo loco ab milibus passuum VIII vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum pervenire possent. Has equitibus distribuit, reliquum exercitum Q. Titurio Sabino, et L. Aurunculeio Cottæ, legatis, in Menapios, atque in eos pagos Morinorum, ab quibus ad eum legari non venerant, deducendum dedit. P. Sulpicium Rufum legatum cum eo præsidio, quod satis esse arbitrabatur, portum tenere iussit.

XXIII. His constitutis rebus, nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem, tertia fere vigilia solvit, equitesque in ulte-

together about eighty ships of burden, which he thought would be sufficient for transporting two legions: all the galleys he had besides, he distributed to the quaestors, lieutenants, and other officers. To these were added eighteen ships of burden that were wind-bound eight miles from the place, so that they could not go into the same port with the rest. These he assigned to the cavalry, and the rest of the army committed to the care of his lieutenants Q. Titurius Sabine and L. Aurunculeius Cotta, he led into the country of the Menapii, and into those cantons the Morini, from which departies had not come up to him. He ordered his lieutenant P. Sulpicius Rufus to keep possession of the port with such a garrison as he thought was sufficient for that purpose.

XXIII. These matters being settled, and finding the weather favourable for sailing, he made sail about the third watch, and ordered the cavalry to march
riore

XXII. *Ex eo loco ab milibus*] *Ab* here seems to have no word understood after it; and therefore Vossius, Clarke, Scaliger, and others, throw it out as superfluous; and Oudendorp, without pretending to show its use, retains it purely because found in many of the ancient MSS.

XXIII. 1. *Tertia fere vigilia*] i. e. about midnight. See l. i. c. n. r.

riorem portum progredi, et naves conscendere, et se sequi, jussit : a quibus quum id paullo tardius esset administratum, ipse hora diei circiter iv cum primis navibus Britanniam adigit ; atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas hostium copias armatas conspexit. Cujus loci hæc erat natura : adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adjici posset. Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum arbitratus locum, dum reliquæ naves eo convenirent, ad horam ix in anchoris expectavit. Interim legatis, tribunisque milium convocatis, et quæ ex Voluseno cognosset ; et quæ fieri vellet, ostendit : monuitque, (ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut maritimæ res postularent, ut quæ celerem, atque instabilem motum haberent) ad nutum et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur. His dimissis, et ventum, et æstum uno tempore nactus

the more distant port, and there embark, and follow him : by whom as this order was executed somewhat slowly, he arrived by himself on the coast of Britain with the first squadron about the fourth hour of the day ; and there observed the enemy's forces in arms displayed to view on all the hills. The situation of which place was this : the sea was so hemmed in by steep rocks, that a dart could have easily been thrown from the higher ground to the shore. Wherefore thinking this by no means a proper place for landing, he waited at anchor, for the rest of the fleet's coming up, till the ninth hour. In the mean time having called together the lieutenants and military tribunes, he both told them what intelligence he had got from Volusenus ; and what he would have them do ; and put them in mind (that the nature of military business, and especially sea-affairs, as being subject to quick and wavering motions, required) that every thing should be executed by them at a nod, and in an instant. After they were dismissed, finding both wind and tide favourable at the same time, and having

secundum,

2. *Ulteriorem portum*] The port eight miles from this, where the eighteen transports lay wind-bound.

3. *Hora diei circiter iv*] About ten of the clock forenoon. See l. i. c. 26. n. 2.

secundum, dato signo, et sublati anchoris, circiter milia passuum VII ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano litore naves constituit.

XXIV. At barbari, consilio Romanorum cognito, præmissis equitatu, et effedariis, quo plerumque genere in præliis uti consueverunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti, nostros navibus egredi prohibebant. Erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves, propter magnitudinem, nisi in alto, constitui non poterant. militibus autem, ignotis locis, inpeditis manibus, magno et gravi armorum onere oppressus, simul et de navibus desiliendum, et in fluctibus consistendum, et cum hostibus erat pugnandum; quum illi aut ex arido, aut paullulum in aquam progressi, omnibus membris expediti, notissimis locis, audacter tela corjicerent, et equos insinectos incitarent. Quibus rebus nostri perterriti, atque hujus omnino generis pugnae inperi-

ving given a signal, and weighed anchor, he sailed forward about seven miles from this place and stationed the fleet upon an open and level shore.

XXIV. But the barbarians upon perceiving the design of the Romans, sending forward their cavalry, and chariots, which they had been accustomed to use for most part in fighting, and following after with the rest of their army, endeavoured to hinder our landing. And indeed there was great difficulty in the case, on the following accounts. viz. because our ships by reason of their large size, could not be stationed, but in deep water and our soldiers, in places they were strangers to, and whilst they could not have the free use of their hands, and were born down with a bulky and heavy load of armour, had at the same instant to jump out of the ships stand among the billows, and engage with the enemy; whereas as they either on dry land, or wading but a very little into the water, having the free use of all their limbs, and on ground they were well acquainted with could boldly cast their darts, and spur up their horses that were

XXIV. Et effedariis, quo plerumque genere] i.e. quo plerumque genere copiarum in præliis uti consueverunt: And charioteers, which sort of forces, &c.

ti, non omnes eadem a-
lacritate, ac studio, quo
in pedestribus uti præliis
conlueverant, utebantur.

XXV. Quod ubi Cæ-
sar animum advertit, na-
ves longas, quarum et
species erat barbaris inu-
sitatio, et motus ad u-
sum expeditior, paulum
removeri ab onerariis
navibus, et remis incita-
ri, et ad latus apertum
hostium consilui, atque
inde fundis, sagittis, tor-
mentis, hostes propelli, ac
submoveri jussit: quæ res
magno usui nostris fuit.
nam et navium figura,
et remorum motu, et inu-
sitato genere tormento-
rum permoti barbari, con-
sisterunt; ac paulum
modo pedem retulerunt.
Atque nostris militibus
cunctantibus, maxime
propter altitudinem ma-
ris; qui x legionis aquilam ferebat, contestatus

inured to such ways of doing. By which difficulties our men were dismay'd, and being entire-ly strangers to this way of fighting, they did not all show the same briskness, and eagerness, that they had been wont to show in conflicts on dry land.

XXV. Which when Cæsar perceived, he ordered the galleys, the form whereof was somewhat strange to the barbarians, and which upon service were pretty nimble in their motions, to be removed a little from the transport-vessels, and rowed away with oars, and stationed toward the open flank of the enemy, and the enemy from thence to be beat off, and forced away from the shore, by slings, arrows, and engines: which contrivance was of mighty service to our men. for the barbarians being much surpris'd, both at the make of our galleys, and the motion of our oars, and our strange kind of engines, made a pause; and presently after retreated a little. And whilst our men demurred about venturing ashore, chiefly on account of the deepness of the sea: the standard-bearer of the tenth
dcos,

XXV. 1. *Aquilam ferebat*] The common ensign, or standard of every Roman legion, was an eagle of gold or silver, fixed on the top of a spear, holding a thunderbolt in his talons. The soldiers had a sort of religious veneration for their ensign, and would have run any hazard to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy; for to lose it in such a manner was reckon'd a great disgrace.

deos, ut ea res legioni feliciter eveniret: Desilite, inquit, commilitones, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere. ego certe meum reipub. atque imperatori officium præstitero. Hoc quum magna voce dixisset, ex navi se projecit, atque in hostes aquilam ferre cœpit. Tum nostri cohortati inter se, ne tantum dedecus admitteretur, universi ex navi desiluerunt: hos item ex proximis primis navibus quum conspexissent, subsecuti, hostibus adpropinquarunt.

XXVI. Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter. Nostri tamen, quod neque ordines servare, neque firmiter insistere, neque signa subsequi poterant, atque alius alia ex navi, quibuscunque signis occurrerat, se adgregabat, magno opere perturbabatur. Hostes vero, notis omnibus vadis, ubi ex litore aliquos singulares,

legion, imploring the gods, that the thing might turn out luckily for the legion: Fellow-soldiers, quoth he, jump out, unless you have a mind to give up your eagle to the enemy. I at least shall perform my duty to the commonwealth and my general. Having said this with a loud voice, he leaped overboard, and began to advance the eagle toward the enemy. Upon this our men animating one another, to prevent such a signal disgrace, jumped every one out of the ship, and those of the neighbouring ships in the first line observing them, followed their example, and marched up against the enemy.

XXVI. The conflict was maintained on both sides with great vigour. Our men however, as they could neither keep rank, nor get firm footing, nor follow their standards, and as some from one ship, some from another, joined any ensign that came in their way, were put in great disorder. But the enemy being well acquainted with all the shallows, when from the

2. *Ex proximis primis navibus*] The text seems here to be corrupted. Oudendorp, would the MSS allow, is for reading, *hostes item ex proximis navibus primi qui conspexissent*.

XXVI. 1. *Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter*] On this occasion M. Scævay, of whom such honourable mention is made *B. Civ. iii. 53.* distinguished himself by his gallant behaviour, and on that account was made a centurion by Cæsar; as we learn from *Val. Max. iii. 2.*

ex navi egredientes, conspexerant, incitatis equis, impeditos adoriebantur: plures paucos circumfitebant; alii ab latere aperto in universos tela conjiciebant. Quod quum animum advertisset Cæsar, scaphas longarum navium, item speculatoria navigia militibus compleri jussit: et, quos laborantes conspexerat, iis subsidia submittebat. Nostri, simul in arido constiterunt, suis omnibus consecutis, in hostes inpetum fecerunt, atque eos in fugam dederunt; neque longius prosequi potuerunt, quod equites cursum tenere, atque insulam capere non poterant. Hoc unum ad pristinam fortunam Cæsari defuit.

XXVII. Hostes prælio superati, simul atque se ex fuga receperunt, statim ad Cæsarem legatos de pace miserunt: obsides daturus, quæque imperasset, sese facturos,

shore they observed any single persons coming out of a ship, putting spurs to their horses, they would set upon them while incumbered in the water: a great number would surround a few; and others at an open flank would shower in darts upon multitudes. Which when Cæsar observed, he ordered the galleys longboats, and the spy-sloops to be manned: and sent them to the relief of those, whom he saw in distress. Our men, as soon as they got footing on dry ground, and their fellows were all come up, made a brisk charge upon the enemy, and put them to flight; but could not pursue them far, because our cavalry had not been able by reason of a storm to make good their course, and reach the island. This alone was wanting to complete Cæsar's wonted success.

XXVII. *The enemy being vanquished in battle, so soon as they recovered themselves after their flight, sent instantly deputies to Cæsar to treat about a peace: and promised to give*
B b polliciti

2. *In universos*] Clarke reads *in aversos*; but Oudendorp thinks this would import, that the Romans had turned their backs in order to fly.

3. *Simul in arido*] Most of the modern editions have *simul atque*. But *atque* is often suppressed. B. Civ. i. 30. *Qui simul ad se Valerium mitti audierunt*. B. Afr. 35. *Qui simul ad eum sunt deducti*. B. Hisp. 37. *Ad quem simul nuncius addatus est*.

4. *Equites cursum tenere*] See the history in c. 28.

polliciti sunt. Una cum his legatis Commius Atrebas venit, quem supra demonstraveram a Cæsare in Britanniam præmissum. Hunc illi e navi egressum, quum ad eos Imperatoris mandata perferret, comprehenderrant, atque in vincula conjecerant. tum, prælio factò, remiserunt; et in petenda pace ejus rei culpam in multitudinem contulerunt, et, propter imprudentiam, ut ignosceretur, petiverunt. Cæsar questus, quod, quum ultro in continentem legatis missis pacem ab se petissent, bellum sine causa intulissent, ignoscere imprudentiæ dixit, obidesque imperavit: quorum illi partem statim dederunt, partem ex longinquioribus locis arcessiram paucis diebus sese datuos, dixerunt. Interea suos remigrare in agros jusserunt; principesque undique convenere, et se, civitatesque suas Cæsari commendare cœperunt.

XXVIII. His rebus pace confirmata, post di-

XXVII. 1. *Imperatoris mandata*] The reading in most of the old MSS. and editions is, *oratoris modo Cæsaris mandata perferret*, which Guterus and Oudendorp seem much to approve.

2. *Commendare cœperunt*] Clarke throws out *cœperunt*, and reads *com mendarunt*.

hostages, and submit to orders. Along with these deputies came Commius the Atrebatian, who I said above was sent over by Cæsar into Britain. Him they had seized at his landing, though he was carrying his general's message to them, and clapt him in chains. but now, after the battle was fought, they set him at liberty; and in their suing for peace laid the blame of that outrage upon the mob, and begged it might be forgiven, on account of their ignorance. Cæsar complained, that, after suing for peace from him of their own accord, by sending deputies into the continent of Gaul, they had made war without any reason; but said he pardoned their ignorance, and ordered them to give hostages: part whereof they delivered instantly, and part that was sent for from places at a distance they said they would deliver within a few days. In the mean time they ordered the people to return to their farms; and their grandees came up from all parts, and began to put themselves and their country under Cæsar's protection.

XXVIII. A peace by these

em IV, quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves XVIII, de quibus supra demonstratum est, quæ equites sustulerant, ex superiore portu leni vento solverunt: quæ quum adpropinquarunt Britanniae, et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coorta est, ut nulla earum cursum tenere posset: sed aliæ eodem, unde erant profectæ, referrentur, aliæ ad inferiorem partem insulæ, quæ est proprius Solis occasum, magno sui cum periculo dejicerentur: quæ tamen, anchoris jactis, quum fluctibus complerentur, necessario, adversa nocte in altum profectæ, continentem petierunt.

XXIX. Eadem nocte accidit, ut esset Luna plena: qui dies maritimos

means being concluded, the fourth day after the arrival of the Romans in Britain, the eighteen ships, of which mention was made above, that had taken the cavalry on board, made loose from the upper port with a gentle breeze: but when they had well nigh reached Britain, and were seen from the camp, such a storm arose all on a sudden, that none of them were able to keep to their course: but some of them were carried back to the same place from whence they came, and others were driven with great danger to the lower end of the island, that lies nigher the setting of the sun: which yet, after casting anchor, as they were like to be filled with water, were obliged again to put out to sea in a stormy night, and stood away for the continent of Gaul.

XXIX. The same night it happened to be full moon: which

B b 2

æltus

XXVIII. 1. *Ex superiore portu*] This is called *ulterior portus*, c. 23.

2. *Ad inferiorem partem insulæ*] He must mean the southern parts of the island; since the storm blew from the north, or north-west; as appears from its forcing back the ships to the coast of Gaul.

XXIX. 1. *Luna plena*] At new and full moon the attractive forces of sun and moon being united, conspire to raise the water high in the open ocean; and hence the *spring-tides*: but at quarter moon these forces being disjoined, serve to lessen one another; and hence the *neap-tides*. But in a sea confined within land, such as the Baltic or Mediterranean, these effects cannot be sensible; and accordingly we find the Romans here entire strangers to the matter.

æstus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit; nostrisque id erat incognitum. Ita uno tempore et longas naves, quibus Cæsar exercitum transportandum curaverat, quasque in aridum subduxerat, æstus complebat: et onerarias, quæ ad anchoras crant deligatæ, tempestas afflictabat. neque ulla nostris facultas aut administrandi, aut auxiliandi dabatur. Compluribus navibus fractis, reliquæ quum essent, funibus, anchoris, reliquisque armentis amissis, ad navigandum inutiles, magna, id quod necesse erat accidere, totius exercitus perturbatio facta est: neque enim naves erant aliæ, quibus reportari possent: et omnia deerant, quæ ad reficiendas eas usui sunt, et, quod omnibus constabat hiemare in Gallia oportere, frumentum his in locis in hiemem provisum non erat.

usually occasions very high tides in the Ocean; and this our mariners were strangers to. Accordingly at the same time the tide filled the galleys, which Cæsar had employed in transporting the army, and which he had hauled up to dry ground: and the storm was like to dash in pieces the vessels of burden, that were riding at anchor. nor was it at all in our power either to manage them, or to do any service. Thus, several ships being stove to pieces, and the rest rendered useless for sailing, by having lost their cables, anchors, and other tackle, a mighty confusion throughout the wholly army ensued, a thing that must needs happen: for there were no other vessels to carry them back again; and all materials, that are necessary for repairing ships, were wanting, and, as every one knew we behoved to winter in Gaul, corn in this country against winter had not been provided.

XXX.

2. *Maritimos æstus*] *Æstus*, being a very general word of itself, is limited to a particular signification by adjectives or other words joined with it. Thus *æstus sidereus*, the heat of the sun; *æstus mustulentus*, the fermentation or working of wine; *æstus ulceris*, the smarting pain of a boil.

3. *Hiemare*] Oudendorp suspects it should be *hiemari*: which is the more probable, as *oportere* is joined with it. Thus, c. 31. we see *navigari* joined with *posset*: which are to be understood as infinitives of the impersonals *hiematur*, and *navigatur*.

XXX. Quibus rebus cognitis, principes Britanniae, qui post praelium factum ad ea, quae jusserrat, Caesar facienda convenerant, inter se conlocuti, quum equites, et naves, et frumentum Romanis deesse intellegeret, et paucitatem militum ex castrorum exiguitate cognoscerent; quae hoc erant etiam angustiora, quod sine impedimentis Caesar legiones transportaverat; optimum factum esse duxerunt, rebellionem facta, frumenta, commeatque nostros prohibere, et rem in hiemem producere; quod, iis 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.

XXXI. At Caesar, etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat, tamen et ex eventu navium suarum, et ex eo, quod obfides dare intermiserant,

XXX. Upon notice whereof, the grandees of Britain, who had come up after the battle was fought, to submit to Caesar's commands, entered into a concert among themselves, and as they knew that cavalry, and ships, and corn were wanting to the Romans, and could guess at the paucity of their soldiers by the smallness of the camp; which too was narrower than usual, because Caesar had transported the legions without any baggage; they thought the thing best to be done was, to make a rebellion, and cut off our men from corn and provisions, and protract the affair till winter; because they were persuaded that upon their being vanquished, or precluded from returning, none afterward would come over into Britain with a design to make war. Wherefore, having again entered into a conspiracy, they began by degrees to withdraw from the camp, and privately call up the inhabitants from their farms.

XXXI. But Caesar, tho' he had not as yet got notice of their design, suspected however, both from the fate of his fleet, and from their having delayed to de-
fore

XXX. *Principes Britanniae*] viz. those mentioned c. 27. who were still in Caesar's camp; as appears by what is said toward the end of this chapter.

fore id, quod accidit, suspicabatur. Itaque ad omnes casus subsidia comparabat, nam et frumentum ex agris quotidie in castra conferebat; et, quæ gravissime adficiæ erant naves, earum materia atque ære ad reliquas reficiendas utebatur; et, quæ ad eas res erant usui, ex continenti comportari jubebat. Itaque, quum id summo studio a militibus administraretur, XII navibus amissis, reliquis ut navigari cominode posset, effecit.

XXXII. Dum ea geruntur, legione, ex consuetudine, una frumentatum missa, quæ adpellabatur VII, neque ulla ad id tempus belli suspicione interposita, quum pars hominum in agris remaneret, pars etiam in castra venturi, ii, qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant, Cæsari renunciaverunt, pulverem majorem, quam consuetudo ferret, in ea parte videri, quam in partem

liver the hostages, that the thing would come to pass, which happened. Wherefore he made provision against all events, for he was daily carrying corn from the fields into the camp; and made use of the timber and brass of the vessels that were most shattered for repairing the rest; and what else was necessary for this purpose, he ordered to be brought from the continent of Gaul. Wherefore, as the matter was managed with the utmost care by the soldiers, twelve ships only were lost, the rest he made fit for sailing.

XXXII. Whilst these things are doing, one legion, according to custom, that was named the seventh, being sent out to forage, and there being till this time no suspicion of a rebellion, since part of the natives continued at their farms, and part were coming and going to and from our camp, those who were on guard before the gates of the camp, acquainted Cæsar, that a greater dust than usual appeared in that quarter, toward which the legion went. Cæsar suspecting, legio

XXXI. Navigari—posset] See c. 29. n. 3.

XXXII. 1. Quæ adpellabatur VII] The Roman legions were denominated first, second, third, &c. according to their seniority, or the order of time in which they were raised or levied.

2. Quam pars hominum] Non Romanos intelligit, sed Britannos. Davilius.

legio iter fecisset. Cæsar, id quod erat, suspicatus, aliquid novi a barbaris initum, consilii, cohortes, quæ in stationibus erant, secum in eam partem proficisci, duas ex reliquis in stationem succedere, reliquas armari, et confestim sese subsequi iussit. Quum paulo longius a castris processisset; suos ab hostibus premi, atque ægre sustinere, et conferta legione ex omnibus partibus tela conjici, animum advertit. nam quod omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento, pars una erat reliqua; suspicati hostes, huc nostros esse venturos, noctu in silvis delinuerant. tum dispersos, depositis armis, in metendo occupatos subito adorti, paucis interfectis, reliquos incertis ordinibus perturbaverant: simul equitatu, atque effedis circumdederant.

XXXIII. Genus hoc est ex effedis pugnae: primo per omnes partes perequitant, et tela conjiciunt, atque ipso terrore

what was really the case, that some new plot was hatched by the barbarians, ordered the cohorts, that were on guard, to march along with him to the place, two others to mount guard in their stead, the rest to take arms, and follow him in all haste. Having marched a little way from the camp; he observed his foragers overcharged by the enemy, and scarce able to stand their ground, and the legion being crowded close together, darts were poured in upon them from all sides. for as there was but one field left, all the corn of the other fields being cut down; the enemy guessing our foragers would come hither, had sculked during the night in the woods. and then set upon them when scattered, and when they had laid aside their arms, and were busy in reaping, and having killed a few, the rest not being regularly disposed in ranks, they put in great disorder: and at the same time surrounded them with their horse, and chariots.

XXXIII. *Their manner of fighting from the chariots is this: in the first place they drive round to all quarters, and cast darts, and with the very terror caused*
equorum,

3. *Duas ex reliquis*] Scaliger and Clarke have thrown out *ex reliquis*, though found in all the MSS. and agreeable enough to Cæsar's copious manner.

equorum, et strepitu' rotarum, ordines plerumque perturbant : et quum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverint, ex essedis defiliunt, et pedibus præliantur. Aurigæ interim paullatim ex prælio excedunt, atque ita curru se conlocant, ut, si illi a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in præliis præstant ; ac tantum usu quotidiano, et exercitatione efficiunt, uti in declivi, ac precipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere, ac brevi moderari, ac flectere, et per temonem percurrere, et in iugo insistere, et inde se in carris citissime recipere consuerint.

XXXIV. Quibus rebus, perturbatis nostris novitate pugnae, tempore obportunissimo, Cæsar auxilium tulit : namque ejus adventu hostes constiterunt, nostri se ex timore receperunt. Quo

by their horses, and the rumbling noise of their wheels, they generally disorder the ranks : and having wrought themselves in betwixt the troops of the cavalry, they jump out of the chariots, and fight on foot. Their drivers in the mean time retire a little from the action, and so station themselves with the chariot, that, in case they be overpowered by the enemy's numbers, they may have a free retreat to their friends. Thus in battles they act with the swiftness of cavalry, and the firmness of infantry ; and by daily experience and practice become so expert that they use on declining and sloping ground to check their horses at full gallop, and quickly manage, and turn them, and run along the pole, and rest on the harness, and from thence with great nimbleness leap back into the chariot.

XXXIV. In which case, as our men were put in great confusion by this new way of fighting, Cæsar in good time brought assistance : for upon his approach the enemy made a pause, and our men recovered from their fright. After which, thinking it a

facto

XXXIII. *Ita curru se conlocant*] A great many of the MSS. have *Ita currus conlocant*, and a few *Ita se conlocant* : whence Oudendo concludes, that the true reading probably is, *Ita curru se conlocan*

facto, ad laceffendum et ad committendum prælium, alienum esse tempus arbitratus, suo se loco continuit; et, brevi tempore intermiſſo, in castra legiones reduxit. Dum hæc geruntur, nostris omnibus occupatis, qui crant in agris, reliqui disceſſerunt. Secutæ sunt continuos complures dies tempeſtates, quæ et nostros in castris continerent, et hostem a pugna prohiberent. Interim barbari nuncios in omnes partes dimiſerunt; paucitatemque nostrorum militum ſuis prædicaverunt; ei, quanta prædæ faciendæ, atque in perpetuum ſui liberandi facultas daretur, ſi Romanos caſtris expuliſſent, demonſtraverunt. His rebus celeritèr magna multitudo peditatus equitatusque coacta, ad castra venerunt.

XXXV. Cæſar, etſi idem, quod ſuperioribus diebus acciderat, fore videbat, ut, ſi eſſent hoſtes pulſi, celeritate pericu-

improper time to act offeſſively, and engage in battle, he kept his ground; and, having made a ſhort ſtay, carried back the legions to the camp. Whilſt theſe things are doing, and whilſt our men were all employed, the enemy who were left in the fields, went off. A ſtorm for ſeveral days together enſued, which both confined us to the camp, and reſtrained the enemy from hoſtilities. In the mean time the barbarians diſpatched couriers to all quarters; and informed the people how ſmall a number of men we had; and told them, what a fine opportunity offered for getting booty, and making themſelves free for ever, if they could force the Roman camp. By this means having quickly raiſed a vaſt number of foot and horſe, they came up to our camp.

XXXV. Cæſar, though he foreſaw the ſame thing would fall out, that had happened on former occaſions, that the enemy

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XXXIV. *Ad laceſſendum et ad, &c.*] Scaliger and Clarke, contrary to the MSS. read, *ad laceſſendum hoſtem, &c.* But *laceſſere prælium* aut *pugnam* is claſſical and elegant Latin. Lucan. iv. 720. *Mittitur, qui prælia prima laceſſat.* Virg. *Æneid.* v. 429. *Pugnamque laceſſunt.* xi. 253. *Suadetque ignota laceſſere bella.* Liv. xxxiii. 7. *A paucis laceſſita pugna eſt.*

lum effugerent ; tamen nactus equites circiter xxx, quos Commius Atrebas, de quo ante dictum est, secum transporterat, legiones in acie pro castris constituit. Commisso prælio, diutius nostrorum militum inpetum hostes ferre non poterunt, ac terga vterunt : quos tanto spatio secui, quantum cursu et viribus efficere potuerunt, complures ex iis occiderunt ; deinde omnibus longe lateque afflictis, incensisque, se in castra receperunt.

XXXVI. Eodem die legati ab hostibus missi ad Cæsarem de pace venerunt. His Cæsar numerum obsidum, quem antea imperaverat, duplicavit ; eosque in continentem adduci iussit ; quod propinqua die æquinoctii, infirmis navibus hiemi navigationem subjiciendam non existimabat. Ipse idoneam tempestatem nactus, paulo post mediam noctem naves solvit : quæ omnes incolumes ad continen-

in case they were routed, would escape danger by nimbleness of heels ; yet having got about thirty horse, which Commius the Atrebatian, of whom mention was made before, had carried along with him, he drew up the legions in order of battle before the camp. Battle being joined, the enemy were not able long to sustain the fury of our soldiers, and accordingly turned their backs : whom our men pursued as far as legs and strength would allow, and slaughtered a great many of them : and then, having demolished and burnt everything a great way round, they returned to the camp.

XXXVI. The same day a party sent up by the enemy came to Cæsar to treat about a peace. Cæsar doubled upon them the number of hostages, that he had formerly required ; and ordered them to be brought over to the continent of Gaul ; because, at the time of the equinox being at hand, and his vessels crazy, he did not think it proper, by waiting for hostages, to have his voyage put off till winter. Wherefore, finding the weather favourable, he made loose his ships a little after midnight.

XXXV. *Lateque afflictis* &c.] Clarke, without authority from the MSS. reads, *lateque adificiis afflictis*, &c. which restrains the sense, and makes it less extensive.

XXXVI. *Die æquinoctii*] The 12th of September, when the day and nights are equal.

tem pervenerunt ; sed ex his onerariæ II eisdem, quos reliquæ portus capere non potuerunt, et paullo infra delatæ sunt.

XXXVII. Quibus ex navibus, quum essent expositi milites circiter CCC, atque in castra contenderent ; Morini, quos Cæsar, in Britanniam proficiscens, pacatos reliquerat, spe prædæ adducti, primo non ita magno suorum numero circumsteterunt ; ac, si sese interfici nollent, arma ponere iusserunt. Quum illi, orbe facto, sese defenderent, celeriter ad clamorem hominum circiter milia VI conveniunt. Qua re nunciata, Cæsar omnem ex castris equitatum suis auxilio misit. Interim nostri milites inpetum hostium sustinuerunt ; atque amplius horis IV fortissime pugnaverunt ; et, paucis vulneribus acceptis, complures ex iis occiderunt. Postea vero quam equitatus noster in conspectum venit ; hostes, abjectis armis, terga verterunt ;

which got all safe to the continent ; but two of the transports not being able to make the same port that the rest did, landed somewhat lower on the coast.

XXXVII. Out of which two vessels, as the soldiers, being about 300, came ashore, and were going to march for the camp ; the Morini, whom Cæsar upon his going over to Britain, had left in a peaceable disposition, spurred on by the hopes of booty, surrounded them in a hostile manner, but with no great numbers at first, and ordered them, if they had not a mind to be cut to pieces, to lay down their arms. But when they, forming themselves into a round body, stood to their defence, immediately upon the noise came flocking up about 6000 people. Upon intelligence whereof, Cæsar dispatched all the cavalry from the camp to the relief of his men. In the mean while our soldiers sustained the enemy's charge ; and fought with the utmost bravery upwards of four hours ; and, having received only a few wounds, slaughtered a great many of them. But after our cavalry appeared in view ; the enemy, throwing away their arms, turned their

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XXXVII. *Spe prædæ adducti*] The Morini imagined the Romans would return laden with rich spoils from Britain, and they inclined to have a share.

magnasque eorum numeros est occisus.

XXXVIII. Cæsar postero die T. Labienum legatum cum iis legionibus, quas ex Britannia reduxerat, in Morinos, qui rebellionem fecerant, misit. qui quam propter siccitates paludum, quo se reciperent, non haberent, (quo perfugio superiore anno fuerant usi) omnes fere in potestatem Labieni venerunt. At Q. Titurius et L. Cotta, legati, qui in Menapiorum fines legiones duxerant, omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, ædificiis incensis; quod Menapii se omnes in densissimas silvas abdiderant, se ad Cæsarem receperunt. Cæsar in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit. Eo duæ omnino civitates ex Britannia obsides miserunt: reliquæ neglexerunt. His rebus gestis ex litteris Cæsaris dierum xx subplicatio a senatu decreta est.

backs; and a great number of them were slain.

XXXVIII. Cæsar the day following sent his lieutenant T. Labienus with the legions, which he had brought back from Britain, against the Morini, that had made the revolt. who having no place to retreat to, in regard the fens were dried up, (which they had used by way of shelter the year before) fell almost all into Labienus's hands. But the lieutenants Q. Titurius and L. Cotta, who had conducted the legions into the country of the Menapii, after laying waste all their fields, cutting down their corn, and burning their houses, returned to Cæsar: for the Menapii had all hid themselves in the thickest parts of the woods. Cæsar appointed winter quarters for all the legions among the Belgæ. Thither only two provinces sent hostages from Britain: the rest neglected. For these achievements, upon Cæsar's letter, a public thanksgiving for twenty days was voted by the senate.

XXXVIII. *Dierum xx subplicatio*] This was a solemn procession to the temple, to return thanks to the gods for any remarkable victory or success. On which occasion the senators and people, clothed in white, and crowned with garlands, attended at the sacrifices.

sacrifices. Such a procession was a great honour done the general, and was granted by the senate at his request made to them in a letter containing an account of his achievements and success. A letter of this kind was called *litera laureata*, as being wreathed about with laurel, the badge of victory. The duration of the ceremony in the infancy of the commonwealth was usually confined to a day, but came afterwards to be gradually enlarged. Camillus, upon his conquering the Veii, was honoured with a *subplicatio* of five days. Pompey, upon concluding the Mithridatic war, was allowed one of ten days. Cæsar, on finishing the wars in l. ii. had one of fifteen days; which was more than ever any had obtained before him; and now of twenty days. And Octavius, Hirtius, and Panfa, upon their raising the siege of Mutina, were dignified with one of fifty.

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