

C. IULI CAESARIS
DE BELLO GALLICO
COMMENTARIUS TERTIUS

EDITED BY

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hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in opere nostris subito ex omnibus partibus silvae evolaverunt et in 4 nostros impetum fecerunt. Nostri celeriter arma ceperunt eosque in silvas repulerunt et compluribus interfectis longius impeditioribus locis secuti paucos 5 ex suis deperdiderunt.

- 29 Reliquis deinceps diebus Caesar silvas caedere instituit, et ne quis inermibus imprudentibusque militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam quae erat caesa conversam ad hostem con- 10 locabat et pro vallo ad utrumque latus exstruebat.
- 2 Incredibili celeritate magno spatio paucis diebus confecto, cum iam pecus atque extrema impedimenta a nostris tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent, eius modi sunt tempestates consecutae uti opus necessario 15 intermitteretur et continuatione imbrium diutius sub
- 3 pellibus milites contineri non possent. Itaque vastatis omnibus eorum agris, vicis aedificiisque incensis, Caesar exercitum reduxit et in Aulercis Lexoviisque, reliquis item civitatibus quae proxime bellum fecerant, 20 in hibernis conlocavit.

but is forced by stress of weather to abandon the campaign.

NOTES

1, § 1. *Cum . . . proficisceretur*. As Mr. W. E. P. Pantin explains in his lucid chapter on 'The Conjunction *Cum*' (*Macmillan's Latin Course: Third Part*, p. 60), '*Cum* with a subjunctive puts before us the *circumstances* in which the action represented by the principal verb takes place', whereas *cum* with the indicative tells us 'only how one action is related to another with regard to the *time* of its occurrence'. Caesar used to go to Italy for the winter, partly in order to act as a judge and to transact other civil business in Cisalpine Gaul, partly to keep in touch with Italian politics and to look after his own interests.

equitatus. In the Gallic war Caesar's cavalry consisted entirely of foreigners,—Gauls, Spaniards, and in the last two campaigns (52 and 51 B. C.) if not before, Germans. They were often commanded by their national chiefs (viii, 12, § 4). See *C. G.*, pp. 579–81.

§ 2. *iter per Alpes*,—evidently the route over the Great St. Bernard.

§ 4. *legatis*. The reader will notice in the course of the narrative that Caesar uses the word *legatus* in two senses, which can always be easily distinguished. Sometimes, as in 11, § 1, the word denotes one of the generals who served under him; sometimes, as in this passage, it means an envoy or ambassador.

cohortes. See p. lii.

§ 6. *fumine*. The Dranse then flowed in a different channel, through the centre of the valley: it is now close to the western hills.

alteram . . . attribuit. Galba certainly encamped on the left or western bank of the river, while the Gauls occupied the right; for if he had allowed them to hold the left bank, they would have cut his communications with the two cohorts which he had left among the Nantuates (*C. G.*, pp. 677–8).

2, § 1. *exploratores*. The English equivalent is not 'scouts', but 'patrols'. Scouts, properly so called, were known as *speculatores* (ii, 11, § 2).

concesserat. As it is impossible in translating to separate *quam . . . concesserat* from *ex . . . vici* (we should say 'he was informed that during the night the Gauls had all quitted the part of the village which he had allotted to them'), it may seem at first sight surprising to a beginner that Caesar did not write *concessisset*; but he used the indicative because the patrols had simply said that the Gauls had quitted their part of the village: he independently reminded the reader that he had allotted it.

§ 2. *Id . . . caperent*. *Id* refers to § 1; and *ut . . . caperent* is

added in order to make it quite clear what is meant by *Id.* In English one would say 'Various reasons had led the Gauls to form the sudden resolution of renewing hostilities', &c.

§ 4. Notice that *decurrerent* does not mean 'were charging down' but 'would charge down': the charge had not yet begun. See the note on *adflictarentur* in 12, § 1.

§ 5. *provinciae*. See p. xxviii.

§ 1. *opus hibernorum munitionesque*. *Opus* or its plural is often used as an equivalent of *munitiones*, and therefore at first sight *munitionesque* may appear superfluous. But *opus* may also mean the work of constructing *munitiones* (cf. ii, 20, § 1), and *munitionesque* is added here to complete and define *opus hibernorum*. Similarly in i, 8, § 4 Caesar speaks of *operis munitione* even though *operis* plainly means 'entrenchment' and *opere* might have been used alone in the sense of *munitione*. The entrenchment was an entrenchment even before the palisade and *castella* which completed it were made.

§ 2. *omnia fere . . . conspicerentur*. Probably the natives were posted on both the parallel ranges of mountains which dominate Martigny, in order to cut off the Romans from all possibility of escape (*C. G.*, pp. 677-8).

4, § 1. Notice the emphatic position of *viz.*

constituissent. Meusel, who explains the subjunctive as due to the attraction of *daretur* (*L. C.*, iii, 1506), remarks (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 379) that Caesar habitually uses that mood in relative clauses which are inserted, as this is, in a subjunctive clause, even when one would have expected to find the indicative. Exceptions, however, occur; for instance, in v, 10, § 1,—*ut eos qui fugerant persequerentur*.

conlocandis. If the MS. reading is right, the meaning of *iis rebus . . . conlocandis* is 'for making the dispositions which had been resolved upon'. W. Nitsche suggests that Caesar wrote *comparandis*.

§ 2. *quaecumque . . . videbatur*. The explanation is suggested by 2, § 3.

§ 4. *non modo . . . excedendi*. The reader has doubtless noticed that *non* is omitted before *excedendi*, though in a similar clause (ii, 17, § 4) it is expressed. Caesar began the sentence as if he had intended to write *sed etiam saucio . . . facultas non dabatur*. The omission of *non* in such sentences is frequent.

sui recipiendi does not mean 'of retreating', which would be tautological, but 'of recovering himself'.

5, § 1. *pugnaretur*. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1894, pp. 389-90) remarks that *non* is omitted in this kind (v, 35, § 5; vii, 80, § 6) Caesar generally uses the imperfect where one would have expected the pluperfect. I do not think that I would have expected it: the imperfect pictures the long-drawn-out battle more vividly. When Caesar does use the pluperfect, as in i, 26, § 4, he wishes to show that the fighting was over.

§ 2. *primi pili centurio*,—the first centurion of the 1st cohort and therefore the chief centurion of the legion.

tribunus militum. See p. lii. Although Caesar, in order to oblige politicians who might be useful to him, occasionally granted sinecure tribuneships to men who had no experience of war (Cicero, *Fam.*, vii, 8, § 1), numerous passages in the *Gallic War* (ii, 26, § 1; iii, 14, §§ 3-4; iv, 23, § 5; v, 52, § 4; vi, 39, § 2; vii, 47, § 2; 62, § 6) prove that the duties of tribunes in general were most important (*C. G.*, pp. 565-7).

extremum auxilium may be translated by 'a forlorn hope'.

experientur. Careful readers will have noticed that *docent* is followed not by *experientur*, but by *experientur*. The reason is that *docent* is an historic present, and is therefore equivalent to *docuerunt*. Even in English some writers, notably Carlyle, in telling a story, use the present tense instead of the past when they feel that it is more vivid.

§ 3. *certiores facit* is followed by a subjunctive (without *ut*) because it implies a command, the meaning being 'he informed them (that his decision was) that they should', &c. My translation is, 'Galba . . . quickly made the men understand that they were to leave off fighting', &c.—After the historic present of verbs of asking, commanding, and the like, Caesar almost invariably uses the present subjunctive: here, as Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 355), the imperfect, *intermitterent*, is justified by the immediately preceding imperfect, *experientur*.

6, § 1. *portis*. See the note on 19, § 2 (*duabus portis*).

sui colligendi means 'of closing their ranks'. Notice that, although *sui* is plural, the gerundive is singular, because the genitive plural of *se* is identical in form with the genitive singular (*L. C.*, iii, 1968-9). No Italian would have written *sui colligendorum*. Madvig, however (*Lat. Gr.*, §§ 297 b, 417), who denies (§ 85) that the reflexive pronoun has a genitive, takes *sui* as the neuter singular of the possessive (*suius*).

§ 2. *milibus amplius XXX* is certainly a gross exaggeration. In 1861 the entire population of the country occupied by the Nantuates, Veragri, Seduni, and Viberi was only 81,559; and it is therefore unlikely that the Seduni and Veragri (2, § 1) could muster more than 10,000 fighting men. Galba, says Ernest Desjardins, must have misled Caesar. I should say that he was also misled himself (see the note on 26, § 6 and *C. G.*, p. 678). Caesar invariably omits *quam* with *amplius*.

barbarorum should not be translated by 'barbarians'. The word 'natives', which, as used by Englishmen in speaking, say, of natives of India, often implies some contempt, will do better.

§ 3. *armis* does not agree with *exutis*. Cf. v, 51, § 5.

§ 4. *atque alio . . . videbat* is easy enough to construe, but extraordinarily hard to translate. The best rendering that I can give is this:—'he reflected that the circumstances with which he had to contend were at variance with the purpose for which

he had taken up his quarters'. Do not be satisfied with this unless you feel sure that it brings out the meaning of every word in the Latin.

7, § 1. *superatis . . . Sedunis*. These words are suspicious. Perhaps Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, pp. 35–6) lays too much stress on the facts that the events are mentioned in a wrong order and that the Helvetian campaign is ignored; but why should Caesar have named the Seduni rather than the Veragri, in whose country Galba's operations had taken place? In regard to the Belgae, who dwelt north and north-east of the Seine and the Marne, see pp. xxix, xxxiv–xxxv. They were the latest Celtic invaders of Gaul. *Expulsis Germanis* refers to Caesar's campaign in 58 B. C. against Ariovistus.

Illyricum. See p. xxxvi.

§ 2. *adulescens* is generally understood in the sense of 'the younger'; and if this is the meaning, the word was intended to distinguish P. Crassus from his father, who, with Caesar and Pompey, formed the first triumvirate, and from his elder brother, who was one of Caesar's quaestors in 54 B. C. But would not Caesar's contemporary readers have already been aware of the distinction? M. Jullian remarks that Caesar does not apply the word to certain other [well-known] officers whose fathers were still living; and accordingly he argues that Crassus was called *adulescens* because he had not attained the age of 30,—the lowest at which a man was eligible for the post of quaestor. M. Jullian may be right: but *adulescens* was a word of elastic meaning; and Cicero (*Phil.*, ii, 46, § 118) spoke of himself as having been an *adulescens* when he was 43. Cicero generally expresses 'the younger' by *minor*; but in *Att.*, ii, 18, § 1 *adulescens Curio* probably means 'the younger Curio'.

§ 3. *praefectos*,—not cavalry officers, who were called *praefecti equitum*, but auxiliary officers, that is to say, officers of the archers and slingers (see p. lii) who are mentioned in ii, 7, § 1 and 10, § 1.

8, § 1. *auctoritas . . . maritimae*. The meaning is clear enough; but if one analyses the sentence, one sees that it is elliptical,—a concise way of expressing *auctoritas auctoritatum omnium orae maritimae civitatum*. Of course no educated Roman would have written anything so clumsy as this.

in magno . . . aperto. The preposition is conditional; and the words, which are thus equivalent to *cum magnus* (or *tantus*) *impetus maris esset*, &c., may be translated by 'the sea being very stormy and open'. But if the text is right, the expression, though it is vivid, is somewhat poetical, for *aperto* would normally belong not to *impetu*, but to *maris*; and I am therefore tempted to adopt the emendation of A. Zucker,—*in magno impetu maris vasti atque aperti*.

paucis portibus . . . vectigales. The natural conclusion to be drawn from these words is that the Veneti possessed, or were

able, owing to their naval strength, to blockade, harbours in territory which was not theirs; for there would have been no point in saying that they were masters of the harbours in their own country.

§ 2. *Ab his . . . Velanii*. Schneider remarks that Caesar, studying brevity as usual, omitted the word *legatorum*, which belonged to all the officers who were detained; and that the sentence means 'They [the Veneti] were the first who detained [envoys,—namely] Silius and Velanius'. I am inclined, however, to prefer the explanation of Herzog,—'The Veneti made a beginning by detaining Silius,' &c. *Retinendi* would then be a genitive of definition, as in 10, § 2 (*iniuria retentorum equitum*). I would suggest the following translation,—'They took the initiative by detaining Silius and Velanius.' Long objects that this would mean that 'the seizure of these men was the first of their hostile acts'. But so it was.

Besides their natural impatience of Roman rule, the Veneti had a business-like motive for resistance. According to Strabo (iv, 4, § 1), they had heard that Caesar was contemplating an invasion of Britain; and they naturally determined to prevent him from interfering with their trade. See p. xxxvii, and *C. G.*, p. 87.

§ 3. *principes* here seems to mean simply 'leaders'; it does not, as for instance in vii, 65, § 2 and 88, § 4, denote magistrates. Some of the *principes*, whom Caesar frequently mentions, were certainly magistrates, and perhaps these were; but the word, as such, rarely bears that meaning.

§ 4. *quam . . . acceperint* means 'which (as the Veneti reminded them) they had received', &c.; and accordingly the verb is subjunctive. If it were indicative, the words would have been a remark made by Caesar himself: they would not have expressed an argument used by the Veneti to induce the other tribes to join them.

9, § 1. *naves longas*. 'Long ships', or galleys—to be distinguished from *naves onerariae*, 'merchant ships'—were of various kinds: everybody is familiar with the terms 'bireme', 'trireme', &c. What class these particular *naves longae* belonged to we are not told. *Naves longae* were not always even decked (*B. C.*, i, 56, § 1; iii, 7, § 2).

gubernatores. Nowadays seamen take turns in steering a ship on a prescribed course; but when there were no compasses steering was necessarily entrusted, as this passage shows, to specialists. The *gubernator*, who might be loosely compared to the master in a ship of Nelson's time, had to observe sun, moon, and stars in order to know where he was, fixed the course of the ship, steered her or directed the steersman, and also performed on occasion the duties of a pilot.

§ 2. *cum primum . . . potuit*,—that is, as soon as forage began to be plentiful (cf. ii, 2, § 2) and the roads were in a fit state

for the movement of troops accompanied by a baggage-train (cf. vii, 10, § 1).

Before Caesar started for Gaul he held the famous conference at Luca, the southernmost town of Cisalpine Gaul, where he arranged with his fellow triumvirs, Pompey and M. Licinius Crassus, that his term of office, which would normally expire on March 1, 54 B. C., should be prolonged for five years.

§ 3. *adventu* here, as often, means not 'arrival' but 'approach'. *legatos . . . coniectos*. Meusel (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 36, with which cf. *ib.*, 1911, p. 109) gives various reasons for bracketing these words, of which one seems to me weighty: Caesar would not have written *fuisset*, but *fuit*.

§ 5. *diutius*. We should say simply 'long', but there is a reason for the comparative. It implies that the Veneti were confident that the Romans would not be able to remain in their country longer than the time for which their supplies would last. So in English one sometimes says 'at all long'.

§ 6. *iam ut*. Any one can see that *ut* is concessive and means 'supposing that'; but *iam*, which marks a transition in thought, is not superfluous. *Ac iam ut* may be translated by 'and even supposing that'.

§ 7. *concluso mari*—'a land-locked sea'—of course refers to the Mediterranean.

§ 8. *frumenta*. The plural always denotes standing corn.

§ 10. *quae . . . posita est*. Caesar appears to have shared the misconception of his contemporaries and of some later geographers, who thought that the coast of Gaul, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, was roughly parallel with Southern Britain. The famous explorer, Pytheas of Massilia (Marseilles), who was contemporary with Alexander the Great, knew better (*A. B.*, pp. 217-21, 352; *C. G.*, p. 446, n. 3). That the Veneti succeeded in securing the alliance of the Morini and Menapii shows the alarm which Caesar's designs had aroused. These Belgic tribes were 400 miles from the Veneti; but they commanded the coast from which Caesar would have to embark for Britain.

10, § 2. *equitum Romanorum*,—not 'cavalry', but 'knights', that is to say, members of the equestrian order. In Caesar's time the Roman *equites* were the class engaged in business—banking, money-lending, &c.—which senators were forbidden to take part in (though they found ways of evading the law), and comprising all whose property exceeded in value 400,000 sesterces (about £3,333); but originally the *equites* were the cavalry, who were selected from the wealthiest citizens. Military tribunes, as such, had equestrian rank.

rebellio does not here mean 'rebellion'. Think of the derivation.

§ 3. *conspirarent*. Why is the verb subjunctive?

11, § 1. *T. Labienum legatum*. Labienus was the ablest of Caesar's generals, and also the highest in rank. As *legatus*

pro praetore (i, 21, § 2), he was Acting Governor of Gaul and Commander-in-Chief in the winter, when Caesar was generally in North Italy. Caesar used to go to Italy for the winter, partly in order to act as a judge and to transact other civil business in Cisalpine Gaul, partly to keep in touch with Italian politics and to look after his own interests.

Legati, in the sense in which the word is used here, were generally, if not always, senators, and were as a rule appointed by the senate (Cicero, *Fam.*, i, 7, § 10); but Caesar, perhaps without consulting that assembly, could appoint *legati* himself (Cicero, *Att.*, ii, 18, § 3; *Q. fr.*, ii, 10 [12], §§ 4-5). *Legati* were expected to perform any duty with which their chief might entrust them. On Monday a *legatus* might be placed in command of a legion and lead it in battle (*B. G.*, i, 51, § 1; ii, 20, § 3); on Tuesday he might be sent to raise a fresh levy of troops (vi, 1, § 1). Several passages (i, 52, § 1; ii, 26, § 1; v, 1, § 1; 25, § 5; vii, 45, § 7) prove that in Caesar's time any *legatus* who commanded a legion in Gaul was specially appointed to his command by Caesar and held it only so long as Caesar pleased. The office of *legatus* was passing through a transitional stage and gradually tending to crystallize into the form which it assumed under the empire when the *legatus* became a *legatus legionis* (*C. G.*, pp. 563-4).

§ 3. *ne ex his . . . coniungantur*. Mommsen remarks (*H. R.*, v, 1895, p. 500, note) that Caesar's attempt to justify the invasion of Aquitania 'as a defensive measure which the state of things had rendered inevitable' breaks down. It is generally assumed that the danger which Caesar professed to fear did not exist, because the Aquitani had apparently no political connexion with the Celtae and the Belgae, and were in race distinct from both: but vii, 31, § 5, where we learn that Vercingetorix was reinforced by Aquitanian cavalry, shows that the danger was real; and is it quite certain that it was not lessened by the defeats which Crassus inflicted upon the Aquitani? And if the danger was insignificant, is it certain that Caesar knew it to be so? If Mommsen is right, why did Caesar make no excuse for having sent Crassus to reduce the maritime tribes, who had offered him no provocation, to submission? Surely because it never occurred to him that his conduct required an apology.

§ 5. *D. Brutum adulescentem*. See the note on 7, § 2.

M. Jullian thinks that the ships which Caesar borrowed from the Pictones and Santoni were used for transport [of grain?]; but is it not possible that he may have thought it advisable to include in his fleet some ships of native build?

reliquisque pacatis regionibus. What 'the other settled districts' were I cannot conjecture.

12, § 1. *lingulis promunturisque*. Here again, as in 3, § 1, Caesar defines the sense in which he uses one word by adding

another. By adding *promunturiisque* he showed what the relation of the 'spits' (*lingulae*) was to the mainland; and if he had written *promunturiis* alone, his meaning would not have been completely expressed, for a headland may be of any shape. 'Spits, or headlands' would, I think, be an adequate translation.

cum . . . incitavisset. When Caesar uses *cum* in describing repeated action, he generally couples it with the indicative, as in 15, § 1 (*circumsteterant*). The subjunctive, as Meusel remarks (*J. B.*, 1894, p. 371), may be explained here and in 13, § 9 by what is called Attraction of Mood; for the *cum*-clause is dependent upon an *ut*-clause.

Caesar mentioned the tides because in the Mediterranean they are hardly perceptible.

As any one will see who reads the sentence attentively, *adfictarentur* does not mean 'were injured', but 'would be injured': *quod . . . adfictarentur* is equivalent to *quod timendum erat ne . . . naves in vadis adfictarentur*.

§ 3. *aggere ac molibus.* It seems to me that *aggere* denotes the material of the structure, which in this case must have been principally stone, and *molibus* the structure itself. In *B. C.*, i, 25, § 5 Caesar calls the mole which he constructed in the harbour of Brundisium in order to bar the exit of Pompey's ships, *moles atque aggerem*: in a letter to Cicero (*Att.*, ix, 14, § 1) he calls it *moles* only.

his . . . adaequatis. Schneider takes *his* as an instrumental ablative and *adaequatis* as agreeing with *moenibus*; but Meusel (*L. C.*, ii, 630) makes *adaequatis* agree with *his*, and takes *moenibus* as dative. Of course the question of fact remains unaffected.

§ 5. *vasto . . . portibus.* All these ablatives are evidently absolute.

13, § 4. *transtra . . . confixa.* The *transtra* were the cross-timbers, which supported the deck.

§§ 7-9. These sentences have been condemned as an interpolation. The strongest reasons are that the passage contains statements which have been already made in the same chapter and others which are repeated in the next; that § 9 is obscure and illogical, for the words *et in vadis consisterent tutius et ab aestu relictae nihil saxa et cotes timerent* have no real connexion with the preceding words, *cum saevire ventus coepisset et se vento dedissent*, which describe what took place in the open sea; and finally that, as commonly happens in interpolated passages, the readings of α and β differ widely. The three sentences are at least suspicious.

§ 7. *pulsu remorum.* The ships of the Veneti had no oars, except perhaps 'sweeps', which may have been used occasionally to help them in tacking (*C. Q.*, 1909, p. 37).

§ 8. *copulis*,—grappling-irons. Cf. *B. C.*, i, 57, § 2, where two kinds of grappling-irons—*manus ferreae* and *harpagones*—are mentioned. *Copulis* is a general term.

§ 9. *cum . . . dedissent.* See the second note on 12, § 1.

14, § 4. *Rostro . . . cognoverant.* They had ascertained this by inquiry or by inspecting Gallic ships in the estuary of the Loire; for, as we may infer from 11, § 5, 12, § 5, and 14, § 1, they had not before encountered the enemy (*C. G.*, pp. 686-7).

turribus should here be translated by 'turrets', not 'towers'. These turrets protected artillerymen (cf. iv, 25, § 1), who discharged bolts from small catapults (vii, 25, §§ 2-3). They could be elevated or lowered at short notice, and were evidently taken to pieces after a battle.

ex barbaris navibus. Meusel (*L. C.*, i, 1193) regards *ex* as partitive: Kraner denies that *puppium* is to be taken with *ex barbaris navibus*, which he translates by 'on the side of the native ships'.

§ 5. *muralium falcium.* These implements were used for loosening and dragging down the stones and timbers in the walls of a besieged town (vii, 22, § 2), and were worked by men who were safe inside a sappers' hut. Vegetius (*De re mil.*, iv, 14) describes the *falx* as a wooden beam with a piece of iron at the end, wrought into the shape of a hook. A specimen was discovered about fifty years ago in the Gallic wall of Vesontio (Besançon). See *C. G.*, p. 611.

§ 6. *funes . . . destinabant* should be translated by 'the hal-yards', which, as J. A. Froude, a practical yachtsman, pointed out (*Caesar*, ed. 1886, p. 290), were doubtless 'made fast, not to the mast, but to the gunwale' (*C. G.*, p. 237). They were probably rove through a block at the mast-head.

comprehensi . . . erant. In regard to the mood here and in 15, § 1 (*circumsteterant*) see the second note on 12, § 1.

§ 7. *velis armamentisque.* Kraner, referring to iv, 29, § 3, remarks that the sails were part of the *armamenta*, which included anchors, &c.; and if so, Caesar mentions the sails specifically as the most important part of the *armamenta*. But the only *armamenta* which mattered here were the sails and rigging; and I believe that Caesar used *armamentis* in the limited sense of 'rigging'. 'Rigging' means the tackle of a ship in general and also in particular the ropes by which the sails are manipulated.

§ 9. *omnes enim colles . . . tenebantur.* The theatre of the war with the Veneti was certainly between the river Vilaine and the Pointe du Raz (see the article Veneti on p. 39). It is now generally agreed that the strongholds which Caesar attacked (12, §§ 2-5) were on the gulf of the Morbihan; but there is a difference of opinion about the naval battle. Napoleon III believed that the Venetian fleet sailed out of the river Auray; that the battle took place in Quiberon Bay off Point St. Jacques; and that the *colles* from which the Roman army watched it were the heights of St. Gildas. M. Jullian, on the other hand, who maintains that Caesar penetrated into

Venetia not from the south but from the north of the gulf of the Morbihan, thinks that he watched the battle from the peninsula of Locmariaquer; and he suggests that the Venetian fleet may have put out to sea from Port Navalo.—a roadstead off the peninsula of Sarzeau and between St. Gildas and Locmariaquer. It will be seen that M. Jullian's view differs from Napoleon's only in details. No certain decision, as he acknowledges, is attainable; but what leads me to adhere to the common opinion is the belief that Caesar must have wished to keep in touch with Brutus and the fleet, and therefore would not have cut himself off from them by marching far away from the Loire in order to enter Venetia from the north.

Some writers have argued that in Caesar's time the gulf of the Morbihan did not exist, and therefore that the theatre of the war must have been somewhere else. The evidence which they offer is that flint knives have been found in a part of the bed of the gulf which is never exposed even at the lowest tide. Now it is quite true that this coast has undergone subsidence. Any tourist can verify the fact for himself. There are two stone circles on the islet of Er-Lamic, one of which is only visible when the tide is exceptionally low. But this does not prove that the gulf did not exist in 56 B. C. The flint knives and the stone circles were probably 2,000 years old or more, even in Caesar's time. Obviously the facts are consistent with the supposition that some of the islands which now stud the surface of the gulf were then headlands, insulated at high tide. The promontories which Caesar described (12, § 1) have mostly disappeared, partly from subsidence, partly from erosion (*C. G.*, pp. 679-85).

15, § 3. *ferebat* is here used absolutely. Consult the dictionary. *malacia ac tranquillitas*. Schneider remarks that Caesar explains the unfamiliar Greek word by *tranquillitas*. But why did he not write *tranquillitas* alone? Perhaps, as Long says, because *malacia* seemed to him more expressive. One might, I think, translate *malacia ac tranquillitas* by 'a dead calm'.

§ 4. *ad negotium conficiendum*. Do not rest satisfied with the hideous translation, 'for finishing the business'; never be satisfied with any translation until you are sure that you cannot produce something better, and probably you will be dissatisfied even then. The best translation that I can offer of *Quae . . . oportunitati* is 'This was just what was wanted to make the victory complete'.

§ 5. *hora fere IIII*. The Romans divided the period between sunrise and sunset into 12 hours, which of course were only equal to our hours at the equinox.

16, § 4. *ius legatorum*. It has been said repeatedly that the officers whom Caesar had sent to arrange for a supply of corn (7, § 3; 8, §§ 2-3) were not ambassadors, and therefore that

Caesar used the word *legatorum* loosely in order to aggravate the offence of the Gauls. If so, his readers could detect his misrepresentation: but the Gauls had submitted before they seized the officers; and therefore they were obviously guilty of an offence against international law.

sub corona vendidit,—'sold into slavery'. Prisoners taken by the Romans in war were decked with wreaths when they were exposed for sale. The practice was connected with religion.

17, § 2. *magnasque copias* is almost certainly an interpolation (*J. B.*, 1910, p. 49). If the words were genuine, the 'large forces' would evidently have included the *magna multitudo* of § 4, whereas the latter is expressly said to have formed an addition. J. Lange, however (*N. J.*, cxlvii, 1893, p. 359), remarking that Caesar nowhere else uses the expression *exercitum cogere*, conjectures that he wrote *equitatum magnasque copias*.

§ 3. *auctores*. Remember that *auctor* does not always mean 'author' or 'originator', but is sometimes equivalent to *qui probat aliquid*.

§ 5. *Sabinus . . . tenebat*. It is impossible to fix the site of this camp; for Caesar tells us nothing about it, except that it was in the country of the Venelli (see p. 39), and on high ground which sloped gently down for the distance of about one Roman mile to the plain. M. Jullian may, however, be right in selecting Vire, a place where several roads meet, about 33 miles east of Granville (*C. G.*, p. 688).

§ 7. *teneret*. The subjunctive is used because the sentence is virtually in Oratio Obliqua. Supposing that Sabinus explained his reasons for not fighting, he may have said, *Eo absente qui summam imperii tenet . . . non dimicandum est*.

18, § 1. *auxilii causa*. As the man whom Sabinus selected was a Gaul, the auxiliary corps to which he belonged was presumably the cavalry; for the archers were Numidians and Cretans, and the slingers were Balearic islanders (ii, 7, § 1). It is true that Crassus raised auxiliary infantry before he invaded Aquitania (20, § 2); but that is the only passage in which Gallic auxiliary infantry are mentioned by Caesar.

§ 7. Why did Caesar write *sit* (concessum)?

§ 8. *Romanorum* is superfluous, and *fossae* is nowhere else used in connexion with a genitive.

19, § 2. *duabus portis*. Roman camps were square, or as nearly square as the lie of the ground allowed, and had four gates, or rather openings, one on each side. It seems fair to assume that *duabus portis* means the right and the left gate, as the Romans would thus have fallen upon the flanks of the panting multitude. See Long's *Caesar*, p. 176.

§ 6. *Nam ut . . . mens eorum est*. If the reader will think, he will discern the difference between *animus* and *mens*, as they are used here. Schneider observes that in 22, § 1 Caesar uses *animis* in much the same sense as that in which he uses *mentibus*

in 26, § 2, and that while he speaks here of the *mens mollis* of the Gauls, in vii, 20, § 5 he makes Vercingetorix speak of their *animi mollities* with the same meaning.

20, § 1. L. Valerius Praeconinus and L. Manlius were defeated in 78 B. C. in the war with Sertorius, a famous Roman general, belonging to the party of Marius, who, supported by native allies, held his ground for many years in Spain against Metellus and Pompey. But the reader must not be satisfied with this note, which is only a kind of sign-post. If he wants to make the acquaintance of Sertorius, who is worth knowing, he must read Roman history.

§ 2. *auxiliis . . . comparato*. These troops were, I believe, raised in the country of the Nitiobroges, immediately north of Aquitania, who were very strong in cavalry, and were then ruled either by Ollovido, a king who was on friendly terms with the Roman Senate, or by his son and successor, Teutomatus (vii, 31, § 5).

multis . . . evocatis. Meusel and other editors, who take *Tolosa . . . Narbone* as depending upon *evocatis*, delete *ex*, and accordingly place the comma not after *fnitima*, but after *regionibus*. It is, however, quite possible that *viris fortibus* should be taken closely with *Tolosa . . . Narbone*, the meaning being 'excellent soldiers from (or belonging to) Tolosa', &c. Caesar uses similar expressions in the *Civil War*; for instance, *Cn. Magius Cremona* (B. C., i, 24, § 4), where *Cremona* is equivalent to *Cremonensis*.

nominatim shows that the names of the *virii fortes* were entered on muster-rolls. They were Roman citizens, who had settled in the Province.

21, § 2. *ex itinere*. These words show that the siege began immediately after the march ended.

oppidum Sotiatium. See the article on Sotiates (p. 38).

vineas . . . egit. *Vineae* were sheds used to protect soldiers who were engaged in constructing earthworks, &c. The *vineae*, as described by Vegetius (*De re mil.*, iv, 15), was a movable hut, 16 feet long, 8 feet high, and 7 feet wide, the sides of which were defended by wickerwork, while the roof was protected against fire by raw hides; but of course the dimensions and the strength of the materials would vary according to circumstances. *Vineae* were placed end to end; therefore, in order to enable men to move from one to another, they must have been open at the ends (*C. G.*, p. 608).

§ 3. *cuniculis . . . actis*,—evidently with the object of dragging away the material of the embankment, and so causing it to collapse, or of setting the woodwork on fire. Cf. vii, 22, §§ 2, 4; 24, § 2.

aggerem. The word *agger* is here used in the sense of an oblong mound or terrace, such as was commonly constructed by Greeks, Romans, and Asiatics in besieging fortified towns. We shall see presently what purpose it was intended to serve. Before

the construction of such a mound could be begun, the ground upon which it was to be erected had generally to be levelled, or, if it was too steep or broken to be reduced to one plane surface, it was perhaps levelled in step-like sections; and this was done by men working under the cover of a sappers' hut (B. C., ii, 2, § 4). The *agger* was made largely, if not mainly, of wood,—the lightest suitable material; while earth and rubble were used to fill up interstices and to make the structure compact. The woodwork consisted of logs piled in layers, the logs in each layer being laid at right angles with those in the layer below.

In vii, 22, § 5 Caesar says that during the siege of Avaricum the Gauls endeavoured to prevent the Romans from bringing their *cuniculi* up to the walls (*apertos cuniculos . . . morabantur moenibusque adpropinquare prohibebant*); and accordingly some writers believe that there were galleries in the *agger*. But *cuniculos* can only mean subterranean galleries, or mines. The *agger* was certainly solid; for there is direct evidence that some *aggeres* were (Thucydides, ii, 75, § 2; Lucan, iii, 394–8); the only use of making galleries would have been to save material; and the gain would have been more than counterbalanced by the enormous increase of labour that would have been entailed by making such an *agger* strong enough to carry the host of soldiers, the sappers' huts, and the huge towers that stood upon it. Indeed without bricks it could not have been built.

Aggeres were always in danger of being set on fire by the enemy (vii, 22, § 4; 24, § 2); but the great difficulty began when they were getting quite close to the enemy's wall. It could hardly have been possible then to continue rearing a compact and uniform structure, for the enemy could pitch down heavy stones and other missiles, although the artillerymen in the towers doubtless did their best to keep them at a distance. Sappers' huts of extraordinary strength, the sloping roofs of which were protected against fire by bricks, clay, and raw hides soaked in water, would therefore be placed on the *agger*, near its edge; and, screened by them, the men could shoot earth, timber, and fascines into the vacant space until the mass reached the necessary height.

The width of an *agger* must have depended upon its object. At Avaricum the object was to take the town by escalade (vii, 27), and therefore the *agger* was necessarily very broad (24, § 1); but when, as in the siege of the stronghold of the Atuatuci (ii, 32, § 1), the object was simply to breach the wall, a vast embankment would have been superfluous.

How the *vineae* were used in constructing an *agger* is a difficult question. The men who brought up the material for the original *aggeres* at Massilia passed it, like bricklayers, from hand to hand under the protection of *vineae* (B. C., ii, 2, § 3); but whether *vineae* were used by the men who actually reared the

fabric we are not told. As they were still nearer to the enemy, they must have been protected somehow; but inside *vineae* they could not have worked. We must suppose that they were screened by the defences, called *plutei*, which Vegetius (*De re mil.*, iv, 15) describes, —high convex wooden shields running on rollers (*C. G.*, pp. 599–607).

aerariae secturaeque. With *aerariae*, which is really an adjective, is understood *foedinae*, just as we say 'an express' when we mean 'an express train'. Schneider remarks that *secturae* was added in order to explain *aerariae* to readers who were ignorant of mining. I doubt whether, if they did not understand *aerariae*, they would have understood *secturae*; and I believe that Caesar added the word because there is a tendency in the human mind to use two kindred words sometimes when one would be enough. We all do it.

22, § 1. *soldurii* is probably an Aquitanian word; its etymology is unknown. The *soldurii* apparently stood in much the same relation to their lords as the Celtic *clientes*, of whom Caesar says (vii, 40, § 7) that 'Gallic custom brands it as shameful for retainers to desert their lords even when all is lost'.

§ 2–3. *dediderint . . . devovisset*. See the second note on 4, § 1.

23, § 3. *citerioris Hispaniae*. The Roman province of 'Hither Spain' lay between the Ebro and the Pyrenees.

§ 4. J. Lange (*N. J.*, cxlvii, 1893, p. 361), who observes that there is no other passage in Caesar in which *auctoritas* means 'prestige', may be right in conjecturing that he wrote (*magna cum*) *alacritate*.

§ 7. *Quod* is explained by *suas copias . . . diduci*; and the meaning is 'When Crassus saw *this*, namely, that his own force', &c. In English the significance of *quod* can only be suggested. We should say 'Crassus, reflecting that his own force', &c. What justifies the use of *quod* is that Crassus's reflection was prompted by the facts related in the preceding sentences. It has been suggested as an alternative explanation that *Quod* is merely a connecting particle like *Quod si* (i, 14, § 3); but if so, the English translation would remain the same.

24, § 1. *duplici acie*. The normal formation was in three lines (i, 24, § 2; 49, § 1; 51, § 1; iv, 14, § 1). Crassus formed his army in two lines because it was comparatively small.

auxiliis . . . coniectis. Caesar would not have mentioned this if the auxiliaries had generally been placed in the centre. Evidently Crassus placed them there because he thought that they would fight better if they were supported and encouraged by being near the legionaries. It has been said that the usual position of the auxiliaries was on the wings (see the note on i, 51, § 1); but we do not know what it was in Caesar's time. He used them in various minor operations (i, 24, § 2; 49, § 5; 51, § 1; ii, 7, § 1; 10, § 1; 19, § 4; iv, 25, § 1; vii, 81, § 2); but

there is no record of his having done so in a pitched battle. In the battle of Pharsalia Pompey stationed his slingers and archers on the left wing (*B. C.*, iii, 88, § 5).

§ 5. *opinione timidores*, following *atque*, yields no sense. The words were probably written in the margin of an early manuscript by some one who meant that in the opinion of the Romans the Aquitanians were afraid to fight; and when they were copied into the text of another manuscript, it became necessary to insert *atque*.

25, § 1. *vallo munitionibusque*. See the note on 3, § 1. Schneider remarks that *munitionibusque* does not necessarily imply that the camp had any other fortifications [for example, a palisade] except the rampart and ditch. He says that if Caesar had written *vallo* only, his readers might have inferred that the fortification was a mere makeshift; and that if he had written *munitionibus* only, they would not have known whether the camp was fortified in the Roman fashion or in some outlandish way. That this thought was in Caesar's mind I take leave to doubt. (See the note on *aerariae secturaeque* [21, § 3].)

aggerem does not mean 'an agger', as in 21, § 3, but a kind of bank, formed by filling up the trench, and intended to enable the troops to mount the rampart. Cf. ii, 12, § 5 and v, 9, § 7.

I translate *speciem . . . praeberent* by 'made a decent show of fighting'.

ac non is used correctly instead of *neque* (which would here be weak), because *non timide*, being equivalent to *fortiter*, is substantially one word.

26, § 2. *Illi . . . pervenerunt*. Meusel supposes that between *imperatum* and *eductis* some words have been lost; for it seems to him incredible that cavalry officers commanded infantry. But is not Schneider's explanation satisfactory? Crassus, he says, requested his cavalry officers to select the troopers who knew the ground best, and to employ them as guides for the cohorts (*C. G.*, pp. 688–9).

§ 3. *posset*. Caesar sometimes uses *prius . . . quam* with the subjunctive even when it is impossible to detect the idea of a purpose; but here he may have meant to suggest what the cavalry officers intended.

§ 4. If *impugnare* is right, the object, *castra*, must be supplied from the context. Meusel adopts an emendation, *pugnare*.

§ 6. *milium L*. Very likely this number (for which, remember, not Caesar, but Crassus was responsible) is exaggerated. It is often impossible to get accurate estimates of an enemy's force. Colonel G. F. R. Henderson (*Stonewall Jackson*, i, 1898, p. 158) says that in the American Civil War 'Patterson reported to his Government that he had been opposed by 3,500 men, exactly ten times Jackson's actual number' (*C. G.*, p. 242).

28, § 1. *essent*. If Caesar had written *erant*, he would have meant simply to state the fact that the Morini and Menapii

remained in arms; whereas *qui in armis essent* is equivalent to *qui eo animo erant ut in armis essent*. In English the force of the subjunctive can only be suggested.

eo properly means in *Morinos Menapiosque*. Close study of chapters 28-9 will, however, show that Caesar actually invaded the territory of the Morini only.

§ 4. *longius*,—'too far'. See the note on 9, § 5.

29, § 2. *diutius . . . possent*. We might infer that the troops lived in huts in the winter, even if the fact were not expressly stated in v, 43, § 1.

et . . . non. See the note on 25, § 1 (*ac non*). Doubtless Caesar wrote *et . . . non* instead of *neque* in order to emphasize the negation.

§ 3. *aedificiisque*. *Aedificia* in Caesar generally means 'homesteads'.

reliquis . . . civitatibus. If this were to be understood literally, it would mean that divisions of the army were quartered not only in the territories of the Veneti and all the tribes of Brittany and Normandy who had helped them against Caesar, but also in Aquitania. But this, as we may infer from iv, 6, § 1, was not the case. R. Menge is perhaps right in conjecturing that Caesar wrote not *Lexoviisque, reliquis*, but *Lexoviis reliquisque*.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

THE *Itinerary of Antonine* and the *Table of Peutinger* are referred to in this Index. They were road-books, compiled under the Roman Empire, which stated the distances, reckoned in Gallic leagues, each of which was equivalent to one Roman mile and a half, from town to town. The edition of the *Itinerary* from which I shall quote is that of Wesseling; of the *Table* that of Desjardins. I shall also refer occasionally to O. Seeck's edition of the *Notitia provinciarum*.

It must be remembered that the Roman mile was shorter than the English mile. Its length, neglecting a small fraction, was 1,617 yards, so that 13 Roman miles were nearly equal to 12 English ones (*C. G.*, p. 350).

At the time when the *Itinerary of Antonine* was compiled most of the chief Gallic towns had two names,—the old Gallic name and the name of the tribe in whose territory the town was situated. In the *Itinerary* the old names were used; but it was from the others that the modern names were derived (*C. G.*, p. 407, n. 3). Thus *Paris*, the old Gallic name of which was *Lutecia*, is derived from the tribal name, *Parisii*; *Bourges* is derived from *Bituriges*, but its old name was *Avaricum*; *Amiens*, the old name of which was *Samarobriva*, is derived from *Ambiani*. The great Gallic towns having been thus identified, it becomes easy to identify many of the lesser towns mentioned in the itineraries. For instance, a town called Brivodurum is mentioned in the *Itinerary of Antonine* (p. 367), and its distance from Cenabum was 38 Gallic leagues. Cenabum, otherwise called Aureliani, is known to have been Orléans; and the distance identifies Brivodurum with Briare.

When the reader looks at the map he will see that the boundaries of most of the tribes are traced; and if, as I hope, he is determined to test, as far as he can, the truth of what I say, he will ask himself, How does Holmes know what the boundaries were? Well, I frankly admit that, except in a very few cases, where there is direct evidence, I do not know,—precisely: but I can give satisfactory reasons for believing that the frontiers which I have traced are approximately correct; and I thought that this amount of information would be better than none. When the provinces of Gaul were organized by Augustus, sixty tribal cantons, or *civitates*, were recognized; and, generally speaking, the boundaries of these *civitates* were the same as they had been in the time of Caesar. At a later time, when Christianity was adopted as the religion of the Gauls, the boundaries of the *civitates* generally became the boundaries of the