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CAESAR

SEVENTH CAMPAIGN IN GAUL

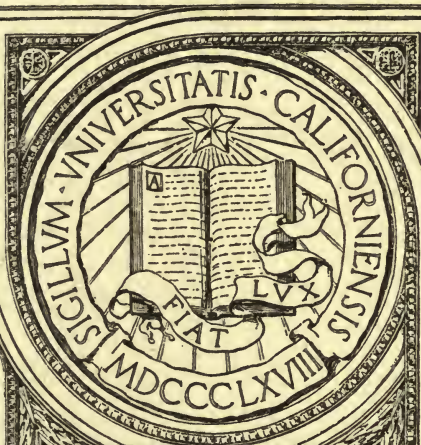
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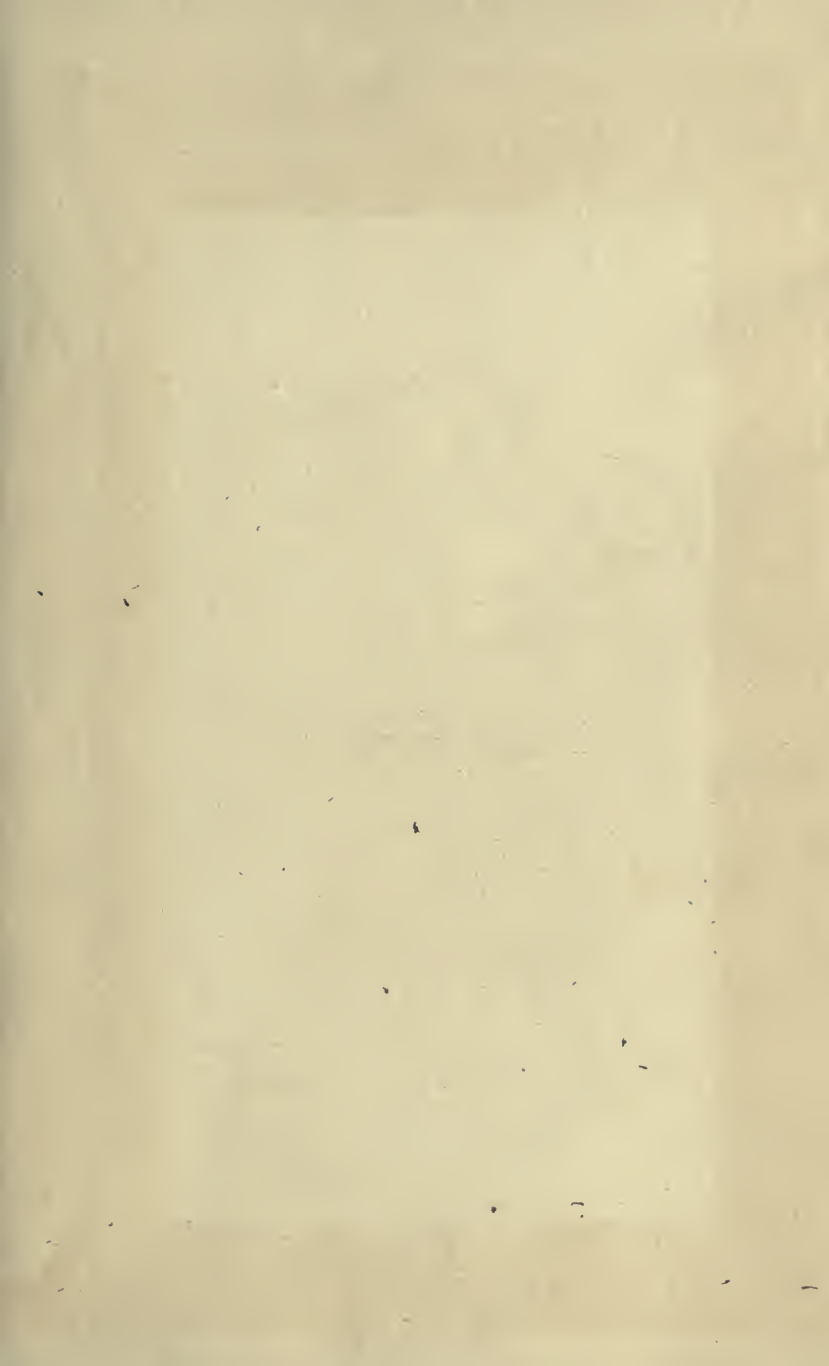
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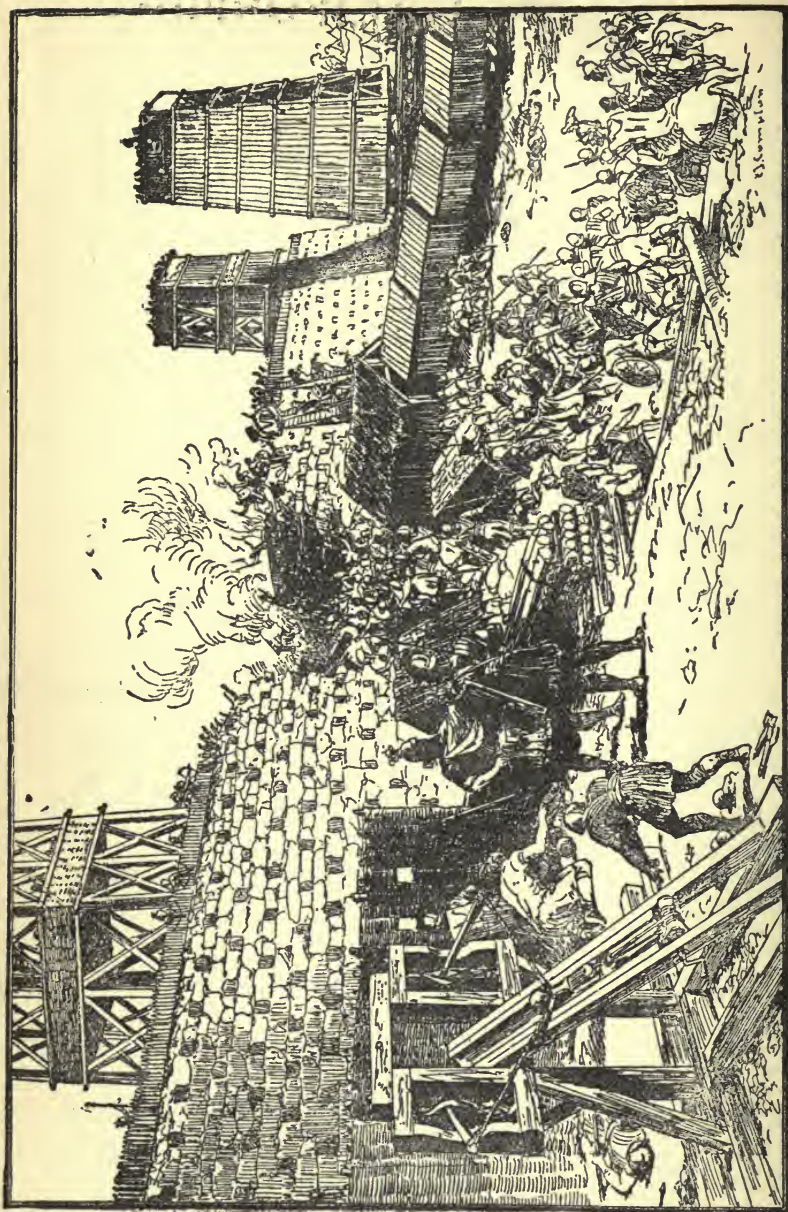
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REPRESENTATION OF A SIEGE.

Pluteus Ballista Agger Murus Gallicus Testudines Musculus Vincee Turres

CAESAR'S SEVENTH CAMPAIGN IN GAUL.

B. C. 52.

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EDITED, WITH NOTES, EXCURSUS, AND TABLES OF IDIOMS,

BY

W. COOKWORTHY COMPTON, M.A.,

HEAD MASTER OF DOVER COLLEGE; FORMERLY SCHOLAR

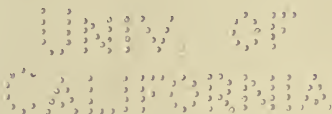
OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; UNIVERSITY

MEMBERS' (LATIN) PRIZEMAN.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM SKETCHES

BY E. T. COMPTON

AND MAPS.



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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

GO again, little book, and relieve, if you may, somewhat of the drudgery of the Latin lesson, by showing those who use you that their book is not really uninteresting. Tell them how the kind indulgence of your critics (and especially of your friends at Harrow) has shown you how to mend some of your faults. Tell them, too, that you now have a key to explain your pictures, which before may have failed too often to "point the moral," however much they may have "adorned the tale."

Uppingham,
January, 1892.

PREFACE.

(ADDRESSED TO TEACHERS.)

THE present edition is an attempt to introduce into a school-book an element of pictorial interest, whereby the mind of the schoolboy may be led to find the subject of his author attractive in itself, and may thus cease to regard his book as a mere peg upon which to hang a certain wearisome drilling in elementary grammar—a process which has often caused the noblest specimens of ancient literature to “stink in the nostrils” of boys.

The principal means whereby this end has been sought is the introduction of a series of illustrations taken from sketches made on the spots represented; to which are added drawings illustrative of the fortifications, engines of war, and weapons used by the Romans and Gauls. These latter are taken from the admirable collection in the Museum of Romano-Gallic antiquities at St. Germain-en-Laye, to which the student is referred for further study.

With the same object in view the notes are especially addressed to the elucidation of the story; and without overlooking difficulties of grammar or verbal criticism, the chief consideration has been to omit nothing that might add to a picturesque realization of the narrative.

In the hope that these objects, and the steps taken towards their attainment, may commend themselves to a wider circle of

students than those who usually read Caesar, the writer wishes to put forward a plea that his author deserves a better fate than to be discarded as soon as the first difficulties of grammar have been overcome.

The military student need only be reminded of the importance attached to Caesar's Commentaries by the greatest generals of modern times, and how it is said of Wellington that he always had a copy of Caesar with him during his campaign in India. For historical interest, for concise description of events in which he was a principal actor, and for purity of style, Caesar stands alone amongst Latin writers; and it is contended that no scholar will attain to excellence of Latinity who is not familiar with Caesar, and that this familiarity cannot be acquired by those who only study Caesar in the Third or Fourth Form.

As a contribution towards familiarity with Caesar's style, a collection has been made, as they occur, of such Latin expressions as should be rendered by some corresponding idiom in English, when a literal translation of the *words* can only produce a jargon that may pass for English in the mind of a schoolboy, but would be unintelligible to any reader not habituated to a mixture of Latin phraseology with English vocabulary. Who, for instance, would understand such expressions as "favourable battles," "the corn affair," "to confirm their minds" and the like? And yet every teacher knows that a large proportion of a beginner's difficulties consists in learning to render such expressions. It is therefore suggested that these idioms may with advantage be committed to memory, as a means of acquiring a correct vocabulary in both languages, and of accustoming the learner to look for the real English equivalent for the author's *thought* rather than a mere construe of his words.

These Idioms, which occupy the place of the vocabularies

appended to many elementary editions, are not given as a "construe", though in many instances they may suggest one. Experience in teaching leads an editor to avoid, as far as possible, furnishing in explanatory notes what an idle boy will grasp at as a "construe", when he has no idea what are the several meanings of the author's words. For this reason, in the present edition, translations are not given in the notes, and the primary object of the Idioms is to suggest a Latin vocabulary as an aid to writing Latin prose,—for which reason the English idiom is given first, and translated into Latin from Caesar—whilst, as a secondary matter, some hints may be furnished where there is a difficulty as regards expression of the author's meaning in English.

Some explanation may be needed of the selection of the Seventh Book of the Gallic war as a subject for an attempt to embody the above objects. The work of some years in dealing with the difficulties of a Fourth Form in reading this book led the editor to make a tour through the principal places connected with the campaign of B.C. 52, and to repeat it after an interval of three years, in company with the artist, to whose pencil will be mainly due any success this effort may meet with. But it has also been remarked by no less an authority than the late Emperor of the French, that "the campaign of 702 (A. U. C.) is without dispute the most interesting in the double point of view—political and military. To the historian, it presents the affecting scene of tribes, hitherto divided, uniting in one national thought, and arming for the purpose of reconquering their independence. To the philosopher it presents, as a result consoling for the progress of humanity, the triumph of civilisation against the best combined and most heroic efforts of barbarism. Lastly, in the eyes of the soldier, it is a magnificent example of what may be done by energy and experience in war by a small

number contending against masses who are wanting in organisation and discipline." (History of Julius Caesar, English Translation, p. 552).

Thus it is claimed that, whilst for excellence of Latinity the Seventh Book stands second to none of the Classics, in point of historical interest it comes before all other portions of the author's Commentaries; and that it is worthy of the attention of scholars more advanced than those to whom Caesar is usually allotted.

In revising Notes written several years ago whilst reading the book with a Form, the editor has availed himself of such valuable works as the above-named "History" by Napoleon, the notes in Kraner's edition, Judson's "Caesar's Army," and in a final revision advantage has been taken of a few suggestions furnished by Mr. Peskett's notes in the Cambridge University Press Series. The maps are based upon v. Kampen's excellent series.

In conclusion acknowledgment is due to Mr. T. E. Powell, a former colleague, for patient criticism of some of the notes and idioms, and to the late Edward Thring, whose name will ever be remembered amongst the pioneers of education, for much encouragement in an attempt to carry out, in a small way, a conception, the realization of which he looked forward to as the fulfilment of a dream of his life

Uppingham,
December, 1888.

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A. 'pilum' of legionary; *b.* 'eagle' (standard of legion).
c. sling; *d.* 'falx' (hook for attacking fences); *e.* 'signum'
(standard of a cohort); *f.* 'vexillum' (banner of cavalry or
auxiliaries); *g.* sword of legionary; *h.* light armed infantry;
j. legionaries, in marching order, with 'sarcina' on 'furca'
(left), and 'expeditus' (ready for action) to right; *k.* metal
part of 'stimulus' from Alesia (c. 73); *l.* embossed silver cup
(height 6 ins.) found in excavating trenches at Alesia; *m.*
ladder-hook, probably Gallic (c. 81), from Alesia; *n.*
'musculus' or 'testudo fossaria' for protection of sappers; *o.*
movable 'pluteus' or screen 112

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

CAESAR'S CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL.

B.C.

- 58 (a. u. c. 696). Caesar takes possession of his province and routs the Helvetii. On behalf of the Aedui and Sequani he makes war upon the Germans under Ariovistus, and drives them across the Rhine.
- 57 (a. u. c. 697). Campaign against the Belgae and other tribes in the north.
- 56 (a. u. c. 698). Caesar subdues the remaining tribes in the north and west of Gaul.
- 55 (a. u. c. 699). Hurried expeditions against the Germans across the Rhine and into Britain.
- 54 (a. u. c. 700). Second expedition to Britain. Caesar crosses the Thames and defeats Cassivellaunus. Q. Cicero besieged in Northern Gaul by Ambiorix.
- 53 (a. u. c. 701). General rising in Gaul. Caesar crosses the Rhine again, and on his return completes the conquest of Gaul by the defeat of Ambiorix.
- 52 (a. u. c. 702). Renewed revolt under Vercingetorix.

THE CAMPAIGN OF B. C. 52.

After the conclusion of the last campaign (B.C. 53) we find Caesar spending the winter in the administration of his civil

duties at Lucca—a position at once within his province (see Notes c. i.), and convenient for observing events at Rome: for since the death of Crassus, in the preceding year, the rivalry between the surviving Triumvirs was no longer disguised. Here it was that Caesar received intelligence of the appointment of Pompeius as sole consul with full power to quell the disturbances in which the city was embroiled upon the death of Clodius, who was at the time of his assassination a candidate for the consulship. In the expectation that these troubles would involve Caesar in civil discord, the Gauls, smarting under the blow inflicted upon them by the execution of Acco, renewed their designs for shaking off the yoke of their conqueror.

As a counterpoise to the universal conscription in Italy on the part of Pompeius, we find Caesar strengthening his position by a levy of fresh troops in his province, an act which was interpreted by the Gauls as an indication of a coming struggle for mastery in Italy, and so precipitated the rising in Gaul. The Carnutes are the first to take up arms, and are followed by the Arverni under the lead of Vercingetorix, the most prominent figure on the side of the Gauls in all Caesar's wars, and indeed the greatest champion of barbarian liberty before the days of Arminius. The first act of open hostility was the descent of the Carnutes upon the Roman colony at Cenabum on the Loire. Caesar hastened across the Cevennes, which formed the frontier of the Province, separating it from the Arverni, and having startled the Gauls by his sudden presence among them, marched no less rapidly back to the Province, thence to open the campaign of the year.

This campaign consists of four distinct parts into which the text of the narrative has been subdivided in the following pages.

1. *The Campaign against the Bituriges.*

Anxious to defend his own special protégés, the Boii, whom he had planted on the south side of the Loire, Caesar first hastened from Vienna on the Rhone to the relief of Gorgobina already besieged by Vercingetorix. At Agedincum he left his stores and two legions, making it his base of operations, and rapidly recovered Vellaunodunum, Cenabum, and Noviodunum. Here he was assisted by his German cavalry, a force destined to turn the fortunes of the day in his favour on more than one critical occasion. The capture of Noviodunum led to a council of war on the part of the Gauls, at which Vercingetorix, anticipating the strategic stroke whereby Napoleon was driven back from Moscow, recommended the destruction of the towns and stores in all directions as a means of driving the Romans out of the district; an exception being made in favour of Avaricum, as the most beautiful town in Gaul, though against the judgment of Vercingetorix.

The siege of Avaricum is the first of the three great sieges of the year. The city stands upon a slight elevation, in the form of a peninsula, encircled by marshes, and only connected with the surrounding country by a narrow neck of raised ground. Upon this neck Caesar pitched his camp in front of the main gate of the town. Traces of the camp may still be seen in a new road recently cut through the ground on which it stood, and revealing on each side the V shaped foss, which protected the camp probably on the outer side against any invading force, which might surprise it whilst the Romans were all at work on the opposite (N. W.) side, before the walls of the town (see Notes c. xvii., and Illustrations, pp. 14, 79).

The attack was made by assault on the south-east side of the town, as the marsh prevented an investment. After

various vicissitudes, recalling the siege of Plataea, during which Caesar gives the Gauls credit for both ingenuity and valour, the Romans surprised them during a heavy rain, and massacred almost the entire population, as Caesar himself confesses.

The popularity of Vercingetorix appears to have gained rather than lost by the loss of Avaricum, as the event showed his wisdom in disapproving, at the first, of its preservation.

2. *The Campaign against the Arverni.*

At the end of the winter, when about to open the campaign in earnest against Vercingetorix and his followers, Caesar was summoned to quell a civil disturbance among the Aedui, whom he summoned to meet him at Decetia (Décize), and after settling the dispute, sent Labienus with four legions against the Senones, and himself set out with the remaining six against the Arverni, whose stronghold was Gergovia, an almost impregnable position on a hill, some 1300 feet high, a few miles south of Clermont-Ferrand. Crossing the Elaver (Allier) by a stratagem, he reached the foot of the hill on which Gergovia stood, and commenced operations for a siege, from which he was hastily called off by news of the defection of a contingent of the Aedui under Litavicus, destined to join him. By a rapid march he disarmed the rebels, but found on his return that the camp before Gergovia had been in extreme peril. Meantime the defection of Litavicus became the occasion of a renewed rising among the Aedui, checked however by the news of the failure of Litavicus, yet sufficient to supply Caesar with at least a pretext for giving up the attempt upon Gergovia, in which he had sustained heavy loss. For as he availed himself of what he believed to be an opportunity for the capture of the town by a coup-de-main, when the garrison were occupied in strengthening

the approach on the easiest (west) side, the alarm was raised by the inhabitants, and the Romans were driven down the hill, with what even Caesar acknowledges to have been heavy loss, including forty-six centurions ; and though he fixes the blame on the too great zeal of his men, he evidently was glad of an excuse for abandoning the siege. Litavicus again stirred up the Aedui, and Eporedorix and Viridomarus, whom Caesar sent to announce his speedy arrival, themselves joined in the revolt, seizing Noviodunum (Nevers). Leaving Gergovia Caesar found a ford across the Loire, and hastened to his head-quarters at Agedincum, near which he was to meet Labienus on his return from

3. *The Campaign against the Parisii.*

While Caesar was in the south, Labienus, marching down the Seine, met the Gauls under Camulogenus, a veteran chieftain, on a position near the Seine well defended by a morass. Failing to effect a crossing, Labienus retired, and, surprising Metiosedum (Melun), crossed to the right bank of the Seine, and encamped opposite Lutetia (Paris). Here news reached him of Caesar's retreat from Gergovia and of the rising among the Aedui. Accordingly he made plans for retiring from his isolated position, and, crossing the river, engaged with Camulogenus below Lutetia. The Gauls, after a gallant struggle, were defeated, and Camulogenus slain. This success enabled Labienus to retreat unmolested upon Agedincum, near which he rejoined Caesar.

4. *The Siege of Alesia and Conclusion of the War.*

By a plebiscite of all the tribes Vercingetorix was now made commander-in-chief. The revolt being stirred up on the borders

of the Province, Caesar, in hastening to its relief, encountered the Gallic host under Vercingetorix on the banks of the Vingeanne. A cavalry battle ensued resulting in the defeat of the Gauls, who fled to Alesia, the nearest fortress. Postponing the relief of the Province, Caesar proceeded to undertake the siege of Alesia, which he determined, mindful probably of his failure at Gergovia, to invest with a complete line of circumvallation. After a cavalry skirmish, in which the Gauls suffered some loss, Vercingetorix dismissed all his horse to raise an army for the relief of the fortress. Meanwhile Caesar completed his lines, and fortified them also on the outside against the relieving army. As a result of the great distress which followed the consumption of all the stores, the non-combatant inhabitants were driven out of the town.

At last a huge army, raised from all Gaul, arrived to the relief of the besieged. Several battles resulted, in which the Gauls, on both sides of the lines, were repulsed, but not until they had rendered the position of the Romans extremely precarious. Seeing the final defeat and flight of their allies, the besieged garrison capitulated, and Caesar was able to dictate his terms to the Gallic tribes.

SUMMARY.

PART I. cc. 1—8.

Introductory.

- 1—3. Rising of the Gauls during Cæsar's absence in Italy—begun by the Carnutes—taken up by the Arverni under Vercingetorix.
- 6—8. Cæsar's march across the Cevennes—surprise of the Arverni.

PART II. cc. 9—33.

The Campaign against the Bituriges. Caesar successful.

- 9—13. Caesar hastens northwards—recovers Vellaunodunum, Cenabum, Noviodunum, and marches upon Avaricum.
- 14—16. The Bituriges burn their towns, sparing Avaricum.
- 18—21. Vercingetorix, accused by the Gauls of treason, is acquitted. Caesar attempts an attack upon the Gallic camp—retires to Avaricum.
- 22—23. The Gallic defences at Avaricum.
- 24—25. Caesar's siege-works attacked by night—the agger on fire—repulse of the Gauls.
- 26. The Gauls meditating flight, are deterred by the women.
- 27—28. Avaricum stormed during heavy rain—massacre of the defenders.
- 29—31. Vercingetorix reassures the Gauls—his reputation increased—other tribes roused to join in the revolt.
- 32—33. Caesar settles a dispute amongst the Aedui by appointing Con-
victolitavis chief magistrate.

PART III. cc. 34—56.

The Campaign against the Arverni. Caesar fails.

- 34—35. Caesar sets out with six legions for Gergovia, leaving four with Labienus—outwits Vercingetorix and crosses the Elaver.

36. Caesar before Gergovia—the Gallic position—the Romans capture a strong position.
- 37—38. Treason of Convictolitavis and Litavicus—the latter deserts with a contingent intended for Caesar.
- 39—40. Caesar, warned by Eporedorix, advances from Gergovia to meet Litavicus, and disarms the force, Litavicus escaping to Gergovia.
41. The Roman camp before Gergovia attacked in Caesar's absence. Caesar hastens back.
- 42—43. General revolt of the Aedui. Caesar proposes to abandon the siege of Gergovia.
- 44—51. He attempts to take it by a surprise—is repulsed with heavy loss.
- 52—53. Caesar breaks up his camp and returns to the Aedui.
- 54—56. Eporedorix and Viridomarus, sent by Caesar to quiet the Aedui, join the revolt—Noviodunum burnt.

PART IV. cc. 57—62.

The Campaign against the Parisii. Labienus achieves no result.

- 57—58. Meanwhile Labienus starts from Agedincum for Lutetia—checked on the left bank, he crosses the Seine at Metiosedum. The Gauls under Camulogenus encamp on the left bank opposite Lutetia.
- 59—62. Surrounded by insurgent tribes Labienus crosses the Seine by stratagem, defeats the Gauls, and returns to Agedincum, meeting Caesar on his return from Gergovia.

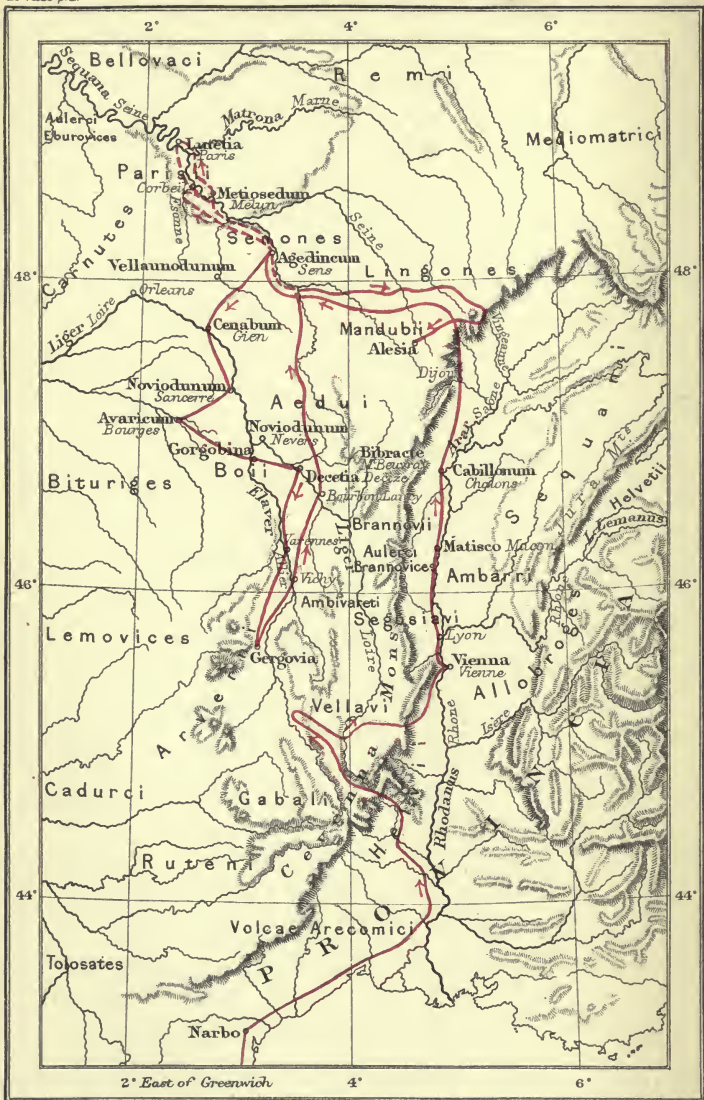
PART V. cc. 63—90.

The Campaign against the united Gallic forces at Alesia. Caesar finally successful.

- 63—65. Vercingetorix made Imperator by a plebiscite of all the Gallic tribes—Caesar sends for German cavalry.
- 66—67. A cavalry battle decided in Caesar's favour by the Germans.
- 68—69. Vercingetorix falls back upon Alesia—its position.
- 70—71. The German cavalry again decide a battle in Caesar's favour—Vercingetorix disperses his cavalry to collect a relieving force, and prepares for a blockade.
- 72—74. Caesar's lines of circumvallation and countervallation.
- 75—76. The relief force raised in Gaul 240,000 strong.

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- 77—78. Distress of the besieged—a proposal to eat those who are unfit for fighting results in the expulsion of the latter from the town.
79. The arrival of the relieving army—joy of the besieged.
- 80—82. The Gauls twice repulsed from the Roman lines.
- 83—88. Final effort and defeat of the Gauls.
- 89—90. Capitulation of Alesia—surrender of Vercingetorix—conclusion.

CAMPAIGN OF B.C. 52.



Stanford's Geograph. Estab.

CAESAR ———
LABIENUS - - - - -

C. IULII CAESARIS
DE BELLO GALLICO
COMMENTARIUS SEPTIMUS.

PART I. CC. 1—8.

INTRODUCTORY.

c. i.

Caesar at Lucca in Italy holding the winter assizes (B.C. 53-52)—Death of Clodius—Schemes of revolt in Gaul.

QUIETA Gallia Caesar, ut constituerat, in Italiam ad conventus agendos proficiscitur. ibi cognoscit de Clodii caede senatusque consulto certior factus, ut omnes iuniores Italiae coniuerent, delectum tota provincia habere instituit. eae res in Galliam Transalpinam celeriter perferuntur. addunt ipsi et affingunt rumoribus Galli, quod res poscere videbatur, retineri urbano motu Caesarem neque in tantis dissensionibus ad exercitum venire posse. hac impulsu occasione, qui iam ante se populi Romani imperio subiectos dolerent, liberius atque audacius de bello consilia inire incipiunt. indictis inter se principes Galliae conciliis silvestribus ac remotis locis queruntur de Acconis morte; posse hunc casum ad ipsos recidere demonstrant; miserantur communem Galliae fortunam; omnibus pollicitationibus ac praemiis deposcunt, qui belli initium faciant et sui capitis periculo Galliam in libertatem vindicent. imprimis rationem

esse habendam dicunt, priusquam eorum clandestina consilia efferantur, ut Caesar ab exercitu intercludatur. id esse facile, 7 quod neque legiones audeant absente imperatore ex hibernis egredi, neque imperator sine praesidio ad legiones pervenire possit; postremo in acie praestare interfici, quam non veterem 8 belli gloriam libertatemque, quam a maioribus acceperint recuperare.

c. ii.

The Carnutes undertake to head the revolt.

His rebus agitatis profitentur Carnutes se nullum periculum 1 communis salutis causa recusare principesque ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicentur et, quoniam in praesentia obsidibus 2 cavere inter se non possint, ne res efferatur, ut iureiurando ac fide sanciat, petunt, collatis militaribus signis, quo more eorum gravissima caerimonia continetur, ne facto initio belli ab reliquis deserantur. tum collaudatis Carnutibus dato iurei- 3 rando ab omnibus, qui aderant, tempore eius rei constituto ab concilio disceditur.

c. iii.

They surprise Cenabum (Gien), and massacre the Roman settlers—News of the insurrection spreads.

Ubi ea dies venit, Carnutes Gutruato et Conconnetodumno 1 ducibus, desperatis hominibus, Cenabum signo dato concurrunt civesque Romanos, qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant, in his Gaium Fufium Citam, honestum equitem Romanum, qui rei frumentariae iussu Caesaris praeerat, interficiunt bonaque eorum diripiunt. celeriter ad omnes Galliae civitates fama perfertur. 2 nam ubicumque maior atque illustrior incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significant; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt, ut tum accidit. nam quae Cenabi oriente so.e gesta essent, ante primam confectam vigiliam in finibus Arvernorum audita sunt, quod spatium est milium circiter CLX.

c. iv.

Vercingetorix stirs up the revolt amongst the Arverni (Auvergne)—Meets with opposition, is banished, returns, is hailed king, proceeds to organize his forces.

Simili ratione ibi Vercingetorix, Celtilli filius, Arvernus, 1
summae potentiae adulescens, cuius pater principatum Galliae
totius obtinuerat et ob eam causam, quod regnum appetebat,
ab civitate erat interfectus, convocatis suis clientibus facile in-
cendit. cognito eius consilio ad arma concurritur. prohibetur 2
ab Gobannitione, patruo suo, reliquisque principibus, qui hanc
temptandam fortunam non existimabant, expellitur ex oppido
Gergovia; non destitit tamen atque in agris habet delectum 3
egentium ac perditorum. hac coacta manu, quoscumque adit
ex civitate, ad suam sententiam perducit; hortatur, ut com- 4
munis libertatis causa arma capiant, magnisque coactis copiis
adversarios suos, a quibus paulo ante erat eiectus, expellit ex
civitate. rex ab suis appellatur. dimittit quoqueversus lega- 5
tiones; obtestatur, ut in fide maneant. celeriter sibi Senones, 6
Parisios, Pictones, Cadurcos, Turonos, Aulercos, Lemovices,
Andos reliquosque omnes, qui Oceanum attingunt, adiungit;
omnium consensu ad eum defertur imperium. qua oblata 7
potestate omnibus his civitatibus obsides imperat, certum
numerus militum ad se celeriter adduci iubet, armorum quan- 8
tum quaeque civitas domi quodque ante tempus efficiat, con-
stituit: in primis equitatu studet. summae diligentiae sum- 9
mam imperii severitatem addit: magnitudine supplicii dubi-
tantes cogit. nam maiore commisso delicto igni atque omni- 10
bus tormentis necat, levio de causa auribus desectis aut sin-
gulis effossis oculis domum remittit, ut sint reliquis documento
et magnitudine poenae perterreant alios.

c. v.

Vercingetorix marches upon the Bituriges (Bourges), who send across the Loire to the Aedui for aid—These despatch troops who return without crossing the Loire, professing to have suspected treachery—The Bituriges join Vercingetorix.

His suppliciis celeriter coacto exercitu Lucterium Cadurcum, summae hominem audaciae, cum parte copiarum in Rutenos mittit ; ipse in Bituriges proficiscitur. eius adventu Bituriges ad 2 Aeduos, quorum erant in fide, legatos mittunt subsidium rogatum, quo facilius hostium copias sustinere possint. Aedui de 3 consilio legatorum, quos Caesar ad exercitum reliquerat, copias equitatus peditatusque subsidio Biturigibus mittunt. qui cum 4 ad flumen Ligerim venissent, quod Bituriges ab Aeduis dividit, paucos dies ibi morati neque flumen transire ausi domum revertuntur legatisque nostris renuntiant se Biturigum perfidiam 5 veritos revertisse, quibus id consilii fuisse cognoverint, ut, si flumen transissent, una ex parte ipsi, altera Arverni se circum- sisterent. id eane de causa, quam legatis pronuntiarunt, an 6 perfidia adducti fecerint, quod nihil nobis constat, non videtur pro certo esse ponendum. Bituriges eorum discessu statim 7 cum Arvernīs iunguntur.

c. vi.

Caesar leaves Lucca for Gaul—A dilemma.

His rebus in Italiam Caesari nuntiatis, cum iam ille urbanas 1 res virtute Cn. Pompei commodiorem in statum pervenisse intellexeret, in Transalpinam Galliam profectus est. eo cum 2 venisset, magna difficultate afficiebatur, qua ratione ad exercitum pervenire posset. nam si legiones in provinciam arces- 3 seret, se absente in itinere proelio dimicaturas intellegebat ; si 4 ipse ad exercitum contenderet, ne iis quidem eo tempore, qui quieti viderentur, suam salutem recte committi videbat.

c. vii.

Lucterius gains allies in the south for the insurrection—Caesar concentrates the forces and garrisons in the Province.

Interim Lucterius Cadurcus in Rutenos missus eam civitatem 1
Arvernīs conciliat. progressus in Nitiobroges et Gabalos ab 2
utrisque obsides accipit et magna coacta manu in provinciam
Narbonem versus eruptionem facere contendit. qua re nun- 3
tiata Caesar omnibus consiliis anteverendum existimavit, ut
Narbonem proficisceretur. eo cum venisset, timentes con- 4
firmat, praesidia in Rutenis provincialibus, Volcis Arecomicis,
Tolosatibus circumque Narbonem, quae loca hostibus erant
finitima, constituit, partem copiarum ex provincia supple- 5
mentumque, quod ex Italia adduxerat, in Helvios, qui fines
Arvernorum contingunt, convenire iubet.

c. viii.

Caesar crosses the Cevennes—Vercingetorix, yielding to the alarm of the Arverni, comes to their support.

His rebus comparatis, represso iam Lucterio et remoto, quod 1
intrare intra praesidia periculosum putabat, in Helvios proficis-
citur. etsi mons Cevenna, qui Arvernos ab Helviis discludit, 2
durissimo tempore anni altissima nive iter impediēbat, tamen
discussa nive sex in altitudinem pedum atque ita viis patefactis
summo militum sudore ad fines Arvernorum pervenit. quibus 3
oppressis inopinantibus, quod se Cevenna ut muro munitos ex-
istimabant, ac ne singulari quidem umquam homini eo tempore
anni semitae patuerant, equitibus imperat, ut quam latissime
possint vagentur et quam maximum hostibus terrorem inferant.
celeriter haec fama ac nuntiis ad Vercingetorigem perferuntur ; 4
quem perterriti omnes Arverni circumsistunt atque obsecrant,

ut suis fortunis consulat, neve ab hostibus diripiantur, praesertim cum videat omne ad se bellum translatum. quorum ille 5
precibus permotus castra ex Biturigibus movet in Arvernos
versus.

PART II. CC. 9—33.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BITURIGES.

c. ix.

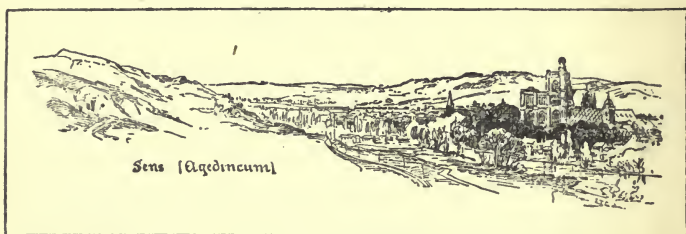
Caesar leaves D. Brutus north of the Cevennes, and hastening to Vienna (Vienne), rejoins two legions wintering among the Lingones (Langres)—Vercingetorix returns to besiege Gorgobina.

AT Cæsar biduum in his locis moratus, quod haec de Ver- 1
cingetorige usu ventura opinione praeceperat, per causam
supplementi equitatusque cogendi ab exercitu discedit, Brutum
adulescentem his copiis praeficit; hunc monet, ut in omnis 2
partes equites quam latissime pervagentur: daturum se operam,
ne longius triduo ab castris absit. his constitutis rebus suis 3
inopinantibus quam maximis potest itineribus Viennam per-
venit. ibi nactus recentem equitatum, quem multis ante 4
diebus eo praemiserat, neque diurno neque nocturno itinere
intermisso per fines Aeduorum in Lingones contendit, ubi
duae legiones hiemabant, ut, si quid etiam de sua salute ab
Aeduis iniretur consilii, celeritate praecurreret. eo cum per- 5
venisset, ad reliquas legiones mittit priusque omnes in unum
locum cogit, quam de eius adventu Arvernīs nuntiari posset.
hac re cognita Vercingetorix rursus in Bituriges exercitum 6
reducit atque inde profectus Gorgobinam, Boiorum oppidum,
quos ibi Helvetico proelio victos Caesar collocaverat Aeduis-
que attribuerat, oppugnare instituit.

C. X.

Caesar again in a dilemma—He resolves to go to the assistance of his allies, the Boii, without waiting for the season.

Magnam haec res Caesari difficultatem ad consilium capiendum afferebat, si reliquam partem hiemis uno loco legiones contineret, ne stipendiariis Aeduorum expugnatis cuncta Gallia deficeret, quod nullum amicis in eo praesidium videret positum esse; sin maturius ex hibernis educeret, ne ab re frumentaria



duris subvectionibus laboraret. praestare visum est tamen omnes difficultates perpeti, quam tanta contumelia accepta omnium suorum voluntates alienare. itaque cohortatus Aeduos de supportando commeatu praemittit ad Boios, qui de suo adventu doceant hortenturque, ut in fide maneant atque hostium impetum magno animo sustineant. duabus Agedinci legionibus atque impedimentis totius exercitus relictis ad Boios profiscitur.

c. xi.

Capture of Vellaunodunum (Triguères) and Cenabum (Gien).

Altero die cum ad oppidum Senonum Vellaunodunum venisset, ne quem post se hostem relinqueret, quo expeditiore re frumentaria uteretur, oppugnare instituit idque biduo circumvallavit; tertio die missis ex oppido legatis de deditioe arma conferri, iumenta produci, sexcentos obsides dari iubet. ea qui

conficeret, Gaium Trebonium legatum relinquit. ipse, ut quam
primum iter faceret, Cenabum Carnutum proficiscitur; qui tum 4
primum allato nuntio de oppugnatione Vellaunoduni, cum
longius eam rem ductum iri existimarent, praesidium Cenabi
tuendi causa, quod eo mitterent, comparabant. huc biduo 5



pervenit. castris ante oppidum positis diei tempore exclusus
in posterum oppugnationem differt quaeque ad eam rem usui
sint militibus imperat et, quod oppidum Cenabum pons flumi- 6
nis Ligeris contingebat, veritus, ne noctu ex oppido profugerent,
duas legiones in armis excubare iubet. Cenabenses paulo ante 7



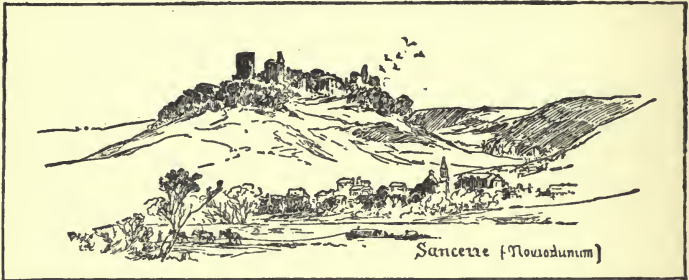
mediam noctem silentio ex oppido egressi flumen transire
coeperunt. qua re per exploratores nuntiata Caesar legiones, 8
quas expeditas esse iusserat, portis incensis intromittit atque
oppido potitur perpaucis ex hostium numero desideratis, quin
cuncti vivi caperentur, quod pontis atque itinerum angustiae

multitudinis fugam intercluserant. oppidum diripit atque 9
incendit, praedam militibus donat, exercitum Ligerem traducit
atque in Biturigum fines pervenit.

c. xii.

Vercingetorix advances to meet Caesar—Caesar lays siege to Noviodunum (Sancerre)—Surrender of the town interrupted by arrival of Vercingetorix.

Vercingetorix, ubi de Caesaris adventu cognovit, oppugna- 1
tione destitit atque obviam Caesari proficiscitur. ille oppidum 2

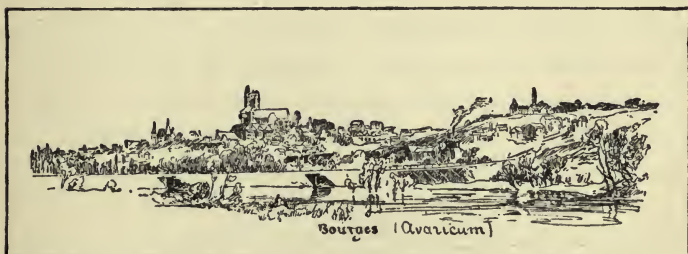


Biturigum, positum in via, Noviodunum oppugnare instituerat. quo ex oppido cum legati ad eum venissent oratum, ut sibi 3
ignosceret suaeque vitae consuleret, ut celeritate reliquas res conficeret, qua pleraque erat consecutus, arma conferri, equos produci, obsides dari iubet. parte iam obsidum tradita, cum 4
reliqua administrarentur, centurionibus et paucis militibus intromissis, qui arma iumentaue conquirerent, equitatus hostium procul visus est, qui agmen Vercingetorigis antecesserat. quem 5
simulatque oppidani conspexerunt atque in spem auxilii venerunt, clamore sublato arma capere, portas claudere, murum complere coeperunt. centuriones in oppido, cum ex signifi- 6
catione Gallorum novi aliquid ab iis iniri consilii intellexissent, gladiis dstrictis portas occupaverunt suosque omnes incolumes receperunt.

c. xiii.

Defeat of Vercingetorix before Noviodunum—Surrender of the town—
Caesar marches upon Avaricum (Bourges).

Caesar ex castris equitatum educi iubet proeliumque equestre 1
committit: laborantibus iam suis Germanos equites circiter
CCCC submittit, quos ab initio secum habere instituerat.
eorum impetum Galli sustinere non potuerunt atque in fugam 2
coniecti multis amissis se ad agmen receperunt. quibus profligatis
rursus oppidani perterriti comprehensos eos, quorum



opera plebem concitatam existimabant, ad Caesarem perduxerunt
sesequae ei dediderunt. quibus rebus confectis Caesar ad 3
oppidum Avaricum, quod erat maximum munitissimumque in
finibus Biturigum atque agri fertilissima regione, profectus est,
quod eo oppido recepto civitatem Biturigum se in potestatem
redacturum confidebat.

c. xiv.

Vercingetorix advises the destruction of towns and stores in order to drive
Caesar out of the country for want of supplies.

Vercingetorix tot continuis incommodis Vellaunoduni, Cenabi, 1
Novioduni acceptis suos ad concilium convocat. docet longe 2
alia ratione esse bellum gerendum, atque antea gestum sit.

omnibus modis huic rei studendum, ut pabulatione et commeatu
 Romani prohibeantur. id esse facile, quod equitatu ipsi abun- 3
 dent et quod anni tempore sublevantur. pabulum secari non 4
 posse; necessario dispersos hostes ex aedificiis petere: hos
 omnes cotidie ab equitibus deleri posse. praeterea salutis causa 5
 rei familiaris commoda neglegenda: vicos atque aedificia in-
 cendi oportere hoc spatio [a Boia] quoqueversus, quo pabu-
 landi causa adire posse videantur. harum ipsis rerum copiam 6
 suppetere, quod, quorum in finibus bellum geratur, eorum
 opibus sublevantur: Romanos aut inopiam non laturos aut 7
 magno cum periculo longius ab castris processuros; neque 8
 interesse, ipsosne interficiant, impedimentisne exuant, quibus
 amissis bellum geri non possit. praeterea oppida incendi opor- 9
 tere, quae non munitione et loci natura ab omni sint periculo
 tuta, neu suis sint ad detractandam militiam receptacula neu
 Romanis proposita ad copiam commeatus praedamque tollen-
 dam. haec si gravia aut acerba videantur, multo illa gravius 10
 aestimare, liberos, coniuges in servitutem abstrahi, ipsos interfici,
 quae sit necesse accidere victis.

C. xv.

The towns are burnt with the exception of Avaricum.

Omnium consensu hac sententia probata uno die amplius 1
 XX urbes Biturigum incenduntur. hoc idem fit in reliquis civi- 2
 tatibus. in omnibus partibus incendia conspiciuntur; quae
 etsi magno cum dolore omnes ferebant, tamen hoc sibi solatii
 proponebant, quod se prope explorata victoria celeriter amissa
 recuperaturos confidebant. deliberatur de Avarico in communi 3
 concilio, incendi placeret, an defendi. procumbunt omnibus 4
 Gallis ad pedes Bituriges, ne pulcherrimam prope totius Galliae
 urbem, quae et praesidio et ornamento sit civitati, suis manibus

succendere cogrentur ; facile se loci natura defensuros dicunt, 5
quod prope ex omnibus partibus flumine et palude circum-
data unum habeat et perangustum aditum. datur petentibus 6
venia, dissuadente primo Vercingetorige, post concedente et
precibus ipsorum et misericordia volgi. defensores oppido
idonei deliguntur.

c. xvi.

Vercingetorix pitches his camp 16 miles from Avaricum—thence directs
the defence and harasses Caesar's foraging parties.

Vercingetorix minoribus Caesarem itineribus subsequitur et 1
locum castris deligit paludibus silvisque munitum, ab Avarico
longe milia passuum XVI. ibi per certos exploratores in singula 2
diei tempora, quae ad Avaricum agerentur, cognoscebat et,
quid fieri vellet, imperabat. omnis nostras pabulationes 3
frumentationesque observat, dispersosque, cum longius neces-
sario procederent, adoriebatur magnoque incommodo afficiebat,
etsi, quantum ratione provideri poterat, ab nostris occurrebatur
ut incertis temporibus diversisque itineribus iretur.

c. xvii.

Caesar pitches his camp on the only accessible side of the town—suffers
from want of supplies—Courage and determination of his men.

Castris ad eam partem oppidi positis Caesar, quae intermissa 1
a flumine et a palude aditum, ut supra diximus, angustum
habebat, aggerem apparare, vineas agere, turres duas consti-
tuere coepit : nam circumvallare loci natura prohibebat. de 2
re frumentaria Boios atque Aeduos adhortari non destitit ;
quorum alteri, quod nullo studio agebant, non multum
adiuvabant, alteri non magnis facultatibus, quod civitas erat
exigua et infirma, celeriter, quod habuerunt, consumpserunt.

summa difficultate rei frumentariae affecto exercitu tenuitate 3
Boiorum, indiligentia Aeduorum, incendiis aedificiorum,
usque eo ut complures dies milites frumento caruerint et
pecore e longinquiorebus vicis adacto extremam famem
sustentarent, nulla tamen vox est ab iis audita populi Romani



maiestate et superiori-
bus victoriis indigna.
quin etiam Caesar cum 4
in opere singulas legiones
appellaret et, si acerbius
inopiam ferrent, se di-
missurum oppugnatio-
nem diceret, universi ab
eo, ne id faceret, pete-
bant: sic se complures 5
annos illo imperante me-
ruisse, ut nullam igno-
miniam acciperent, nus-
quam infecta re discede-
rent: hoc se ignominiae 6
laturos loco, si inceptam
oppugnationem reliquis-
sent: praestare omnes 7

perferre acerbitates, quam non civibus Romanis, qui Cenabi
perfidia Gallorum interissent, parentarent. haec eadem cen- 8
turionibus tribunisque militum mandabant, ut per eos ad Cae-
sarem deferrentur,

c. xviii.

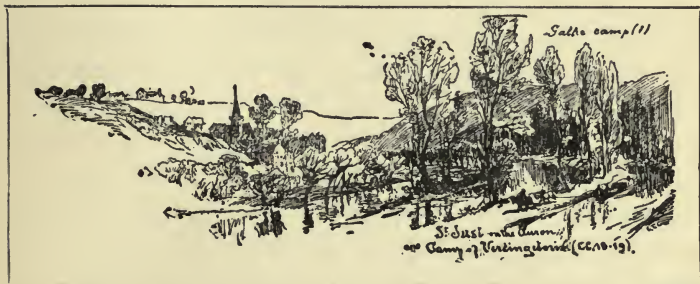
Vercingetorix moves his camp nearer to the town, and sets out to lay an ambushade by night—Caesar marches to attack the camp in his absence.

Cum iam muro turres appropinquassent, ex captivis Caesar ¹ cognovit, Vercingetorigem consumpto pabulo castra movisse propius Avaricum atque ipsum cum equitatu expeditisque, qui inter equites proeliari consuessent, insidiarum causa eo profectum, quo nostros postero die pabulatum venturos arbitraretur. quibus rebus cognitis media nocte silentio profectus ad hostium ² castra mane pervenit. illi celeriter per exploratores adventu ³ Caesaris cognito carros impedimenta⁴que sua in artiores silvas abdiderunt, copias omnis in loco edito atque aperto instruxerunt. qua re nuntiata Caesar celeriter sarcinas conferri, arma expediri ⁴ iussit.

c. xix.

Description of the Gallic position—Caesar declines to attack.

Collis erat leniter ab infimo acclivis. hunc ex omnibus fere ¹ partibus palus difficilis atque impedita cingebat non latior



pedibus quinquaginta. hoc se colle interruptis pontibus Galli ² fiducia loci continebant generatimque distributi in civitatés

omnia vada ac saltus [eius paludis] obtinebant sic animo parati, ut, si eam paludem Romani perrumpere conarentur, haesitantes premerent ex loco superiore, ut, qui propinquitatem loci videret, 3 paratos prope aequo Marte ad dimicandum existimaret, qui iniquitatem condicionis perspiceret, inani simulatione sese ostentare cognosceret. indignantes milites Caesar, quod 4 conspectum suum hostes ferre possent tantulo spatio interiecto, et signum proelii exposcentes edocet, quanto detrimento et quot virorum fortium morte necesse sit constare victoriam; quos cum sic animo paratos videat, ut nullum pro sua laude 5 periculum recusent, summae se iniquitatis condemnari debere, nisi eorum vitam sua salute habeat cariorem. sic milites 6 consolatus eodem die reducit in castra reliquaque, quae ad oppugnationem pertinebant oppidi, administrare instituit.

C. XX.

Vercingetorix defends himself against a charge of treason.

Vercingetorix, cum ad suos redisset, proditiōis insimulatus, 1 quod castra propius Romanos movisset, quod cum omni equitatu discessisset, quod sine imperio tantas copias reliquisset, quod eius discessu Romani tanta opportunitate et celeritate venissent: non haec omnia fortuito aut sine consilio accidere 2 potuisse; regnum illum Galliae malle Caesaris concessu quam ipsorum habere beneficio: tali modo accusatus ad haec respondit: quod castra movisset, factum inopia pabuli etiam 3 ipsis hortantibus; quod propius Romanos accessisset, persuasum loci opportunitate, qui se ipse sine munitione defenderet: equitum vero operam neque in loco palustri desiderari debuisse 4 et illic fuisse utilem, quo sint profecti: summam imperii se 5 consulto nulli discedentem tradidisse, ne is multitudinis studio ad dimicandum impelleretur; cui rei propter animi mollitiem

studere omnes videret, quod diutius laborem ferre non possent. Romani si casu intervenerint, fortunae, si alicuius indicio vocati, 6 huic habendam gratiam, quod et paucitatem eorum ex loco superiore cognoscere, et virtutem despicere potuerint, qui dimicare non ausi turpiter se in castra receperint. imperium 7 se ab Caesare per prodicionem nullum desiderare, quod habere victoria posset, quae iam esset sibi atque omnibus Gallis explorata: quin etiam ipsis remittere, si sibi magis honorem tribuere, quam ab se salutem accipere videantur. ‘haec ut 8 intellegatis,’ inquit, ‘a me sincere pronuntiari, audite Romanos milites.’ producit servos, quos in pabulatione paucis ante 9 diebus exceperat et fame vinculisque excruciaverat. hi iam 10 ante edocti, quae interrogati pronuntiarent, milites se esse legionarios dicunt; fame et inopia adductos clam ex castris exisse, si quid frumenti aut pecoris in agris reperire possent: simili omnem exercitum inopia premi, nec iam vires sufficere 11 cuiusquam nec ferre operis laborem posse: itaque statuisset imperatorem, si nihil in oppugnatione oppidi profecissent, triduo exercitum deducere. ‘haec,’ inquit, ‘a me,’ Vercinge- 12 torix, ‘beneficia habetis, quem prodicionis insimulatis, cuius opera sine vestro sanguine tantum exercitum victorem fame consumptum videtis; quem turpiter se ex fuga recipientem ne qua civitas suis finibus recipiat, a me provisum est.’

c. xxi.

He is acquitted—The Garrison at Avaricum strengthened.

Conclamat omnis multitudo et suo more armis concrepat, 1 quod facere in eo consuerunt, cuius orationem approbant: summum esse Vercingetorigem ducem, nec de eius fide dubitandum, nec maiore ratione bellum administrari posse. statuunt, ut decem milia hominum delecta ex omnibus copiis 2

in oppidum mittantur, nec solis Biturigibus communem 3 salutem committendam censent, quod paene in eo, si id oppidum retinuissent, summam victoriae constare intellegebant.

c. xxii.

The Gauls display great ingenuity in undermining the Roman mound, and harassing the Romans in other ways.

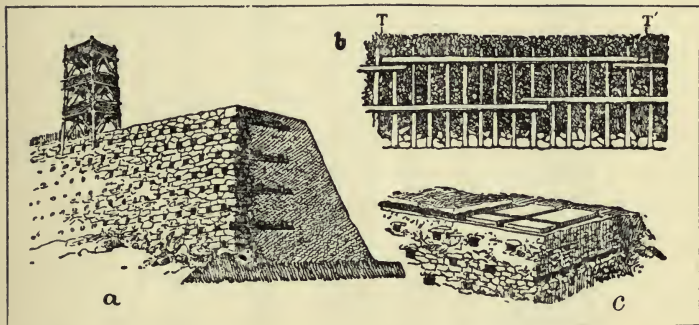
Singulari militum nostrorum virtuti consilia cuiusquemodi 1 Gallorum occurrebant, ut est summae genus solertiae atque ad omnia imitanda et efficienda, quae ab quoque traduntur, aptissimum. nam et laqueis falces avertebant, quas cum 2 destinaverant, tormentis introrsus reducebant, et aggerem cuniculis subtrahebant, eo scientius, quod apud eos magnae sunt ferrariae atque omne genus cuniculorum notum atque usitatum est. totum autem murum ex omni parte turribus 3 contabulaverant atque has coriis intexerant. tum crebris diurnis 4 nocturnisque eruptionibus aut aggeri ignem inferebant aut milites occupatos in opere adoriebantur et nostrarum turrium altitudinem, quantum has cotidianus agger expresserat, com- 5 missis suarum turrium malis adaequabant, et apertos cuniculos praeusta et praeacuta materia et pice fervefacta et maximi ponderis saxis morabantur moenibusque appropinquare prohibebant.

c. xxiii.

Description of a Gallic wall.

Muri autem omnes Gallici hac fere forma sunt. trabes 1 directae perpetuae in longitudinem paribus intervallis, distantes inter se binos pedes, in solo collocantur. hae revinciuntur 2 introrsus et multo aggere vestiuntur : ea autem, quae diximus, intervalla grandibus in fronte saxis effarciuntur. his collocatis 3 et coagmentatis alius insuper ordo additur, ut idem illud inter-

vallum servetur, neque inter se contingant trabes, sed paribus intermissae spatiis singulae singulis saxis interiectis arte continentur. sic deinceps omne opus contextitur, dum iusta muri altitudo expleatur. hoc cum in speciem varietatemque opus deforme non est, alternis trabibus ac saxis, quae rectis lineis suos



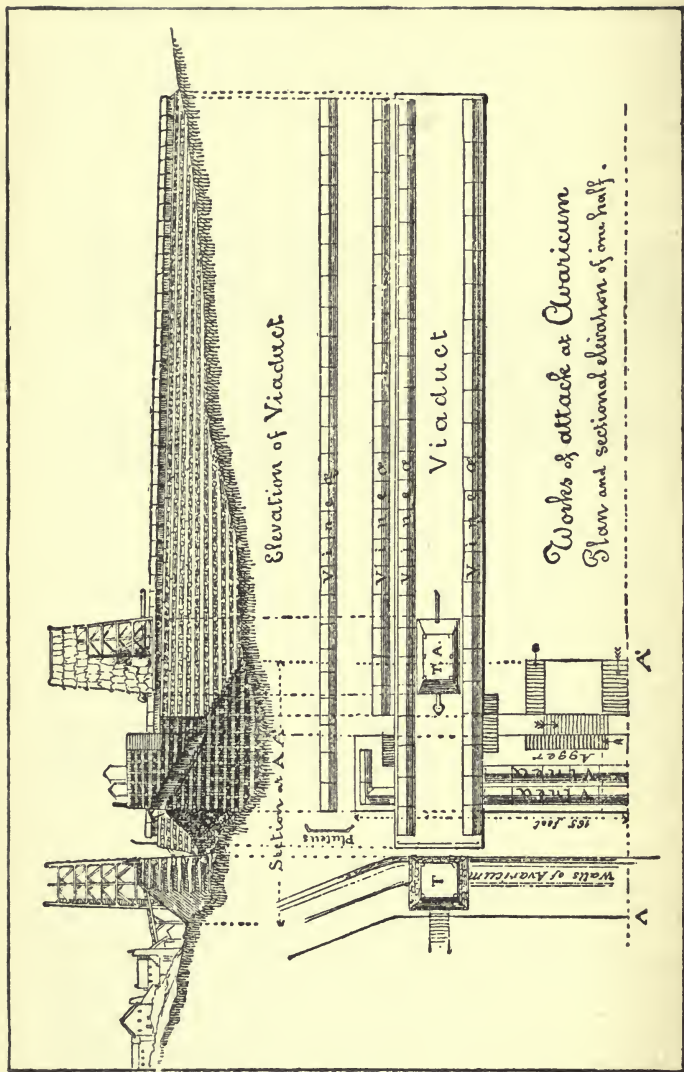
a. Gallic wall, showing outside and perpendicular section.
 b. Bird's-eye view of a single layer of wall. T—T' Trabes pedes xl.
 c. Model of remains of Gallic wall found at Murseins (Lot).

ordines servant, tum ad utilitatem et defensionem urbium summam habet opportunitatem, quod et ab incendio lapis et ab ariete materia defendit, quae perpetuis trabibus pedes quadragenos plerumque introrsus revincta neque perrumpi neque distrahi potest.

c. xxiv.

The Roman siege-works completed, and set on fire by the besieged in the night.

His tot rebus impedita oppugnatione milites, cum toto tempore frigore et assiduis imbribus tardarentur, tamen continenti labore omnia haec superaverunt et diebus XXV aggerem latum pedes CCCXXX, altum pedes LXXX exstruxerunt. cum is murum hostium paene contingeret, et Caesar ad opus



The above elevation shows the viaduct of the *agger*, on which the *turris ambulatoria* (T. A.) runs up to the wall of the town, and a section (A—A') of that part of the *agger* which lies between the two *turres*.

consuetudine excubaret militesque hortaretur, ne quod omnino tempus ab opere intermitteretur, paulo ante tertiam vigiliam est animadversum fumare aggerem, quem cuniculo hostes succenderant, eodemque tempore toto muro clamore sublato 3 duabus portis ab utroque latere turrium eruptio fiebat: alii 4 faces atque aridam materiem de muro in aggerem eminus iaciebant, picem reliquasque res, quibus ignis excitari potest, fundebant, ut, quo primum occurreretur aut cui rei ferretur auxilium, vix ratio iniri posset. tamen, quod instituto Caesaris 5 semper duae legiones pro castris excubabant pluresque partitis temporibus erant in opere, celeriter factum est, ut alii eruptionibus resisterent, alii turres reducerent aggeremque interscinderent, omnis vero ex castris multitudo ad restinguendum concurreret.

C. XXV.

The fight continues all night—Remarkable courage of the Gauls—Final success of the Romans.

Cum in omnibus locis consumpta iam reliqua parte noctis 1 pugnaretur, semperque hostibus spes victoriae redintegraretur, eo magis, quod deustos pluteos turrium videbant nec facile adire apertos ad auxiliandum animadvertabant, semperque ipsi recentes defessis succederent omnemque Galliae salutem in illo vestigio temporis positam arbitrarentur, accidit inspec- tantibus nobis, quod dignum memoria visum praetereundum non existimavimus. quidam ante portam oppidi Gallus, qui 2 per manus sevi ac picis traditas glebas in ignem e regione turris proiciebat, scorpione ab latere dextro traiectus exanimatusque concidit. hunc ex proximis unus iacentem 3 transgressus eodem illo munere fungebatur; eadem ratione ictu scorpionis exanimato alteri successit tertius et tertio 4 quartus, nec prius ille est a propugnatoribus vacuus relictus 4

locus, quam restincto aggere atque omni ex parte summotis hostibus finis est pugnandi factus.

c. xxvi.

The Gauls, meditating flight from the town by night, are deterred by the women.

Omnia experti Galli, quod res nulla successerat, postero die ¹ consilium ceperunt ex oppido profugere hortante et iubente Vercingetorige. id silentio noctis conati non magna iactura ² suorum sese effecturos sperabant, propterea quod neque longe ab oppido castra Vercingetorigis aberant, et palus, quae perpetua intercedebat, Romanos ad insequendum tardabat. iam ³ que hoc facere noctu apparabant, cum matresfamiliae repente in publicum procurrerunt flentesque proiectae ad pedes suorum omnibus precibus petierunt, ne se et communes liberos hostibus ad supplicium dederent, quos ad capiendam fugam naturae et virium infirmitas impediret. ubi eos in sententia perstare ⁴ viderunt, quod plerumque in summo periculo timor misericordiam non recipit, conclamare et significare de fuga Romanis coeperunt. quo timore perterriti Galli, ne ab equitatu Roma- ⁵ norum viae praeoccuparentur, consilio destiterunt.

c. xxvii.

Under cover of heavy rain the Romans scale the walls of the town.

Postero die Caesar promota turri directisque operibus, quae ¹ facere instituerat, magno coorto imbore non inutilem hanc ad capiendum consilium tempestatem arbitratus est, quod paulo incautius custodias in muro dispositas videbat, suosque languidius in opere versari iussit et, quid fieri vellet, ostendit. legionibusque intra vineas in occulto expeditis cohortatus, ut ² aliquando pro tantis laboribus fructum victoriae perciperent, iis,

qui primi murum ascendissent, praemia proposuit militibusque signum dedit. illi subito ex omnibus partibus evolaverunt 3 murumque celeriter compleverunt.

c. xxviii.

The besieged, thus surprised and surrounded, make for the opposite gate— Wholesale massacre—Of 40,000 only 800 reach the camp, where they are skilfully quartered by Vercingetorix.

Hostes re nova perterriti muro turribusque deiecti in foro ac 1 locis patentioribus cuneatim constiterunt, hoc animo, ut, si qua ex parte obviam contra veniretur, acie instructa depugnarent. ubi neminem in aequum locum sese demittere, sed toto 2 undique muro circumfundi viderunt, veriti, ne omnino spes fugae tolleretur, abiectis armis ultimas oppidi partes continenti impetu petiverunt, parsque ibi, cum angusto exitu portarum se 3 ipsi premerent, a militibus, pars iam egressa portis ab equitibus est interfecta. nec fuit quisquam, qui praedae studeret. sic 4 et Cenabi caede et labore operis incitati non aetate confectis, non mulieribus, non infantibus pepercerunt. denique omni 5 ex numero, qui fuit circiter milium XL, vix DCCC, qui primo clamore audito se ex oppido eiecerunt, incolumes ad Vercingetorigem pervenerunt. quos ille multa iam nocte silentio ex 6 fuga excepit (veritus, ne qua in castris ex eorum concursu et misericordia volgi seditio oreretur), ut procul in via dispositis familiaribus suis principibusque civitatum disparandos deducendosque ad suos curaret, quae cuique civitati pars castrorum ab initio obvenerat.

c. xxix.

Vercingetorix consoles his troops, and promises success.

Postero die concilio convocato consolatus cohortatusque 1 est, ne se admodum animo demitterent, ne perturbarentur

incommodo. non virtute neque in acie vicisse Romanos, sed 2
artificio quodam et scientia oppugnationis, cuius rei fuerint ipsi
imperiti. errare, si qui in bello omnis secundos rerum 3
proventus exspectent: sibi numquam placuisse, Avaricum 4
defendi, cuius rei testes ipsos haberet; sed factum imprudentia
Biturigum et nimia obsequentia reliquorum, uti hoc incom-
modum acciperetur. id tamen se celeriter maioribus commodis 5
sanaturum. nam quae ab reliquis Gallis civitates dissentirent, 6
has sua diligentia adiuncturum atque unum consilium totius
Galliae effecturum, cuius consensui ne orbis quidem terrarum
possit obsistere; idque se prope iam effectum habere. interea 7
aequum esse, ab iis communis salutis causa impetrari, ut castra
munire instituerent, quo facilius repentinos hostium impetus
sustinerent.

C. XXX.

His policy is approved and his popularity increased.

Fuit haec oratio non ingrata Gallis, et maxime, quod ipse 1
animo non defecerat tanto accepto incommodo, neque se in
occultum abdiderat et conspectum multitudinis fugerāt; plusque 2
animo providere et praesentire existimabatur, quod re integra
primo incendendum Avaricum, post deserendum censuerat.
itaque ut reliquorum imperatorum res adversae auctoritatem 3
minuunt, sic huius ex contrario dignitas incommodo accepto
in dies augebatur. simul in spem veniebant eius affirmatione 4
de reliquis adiungendis civitatibus; primumque eo tempore
Galli castra munire instituerunt et sic sunt animo confirmati,
homines insueti laboris, ut omnia, quae imperarentur, sibi
patienda et perferenda existimarent.

c. xxxi.

By energetic measures Vercingetorix redeems his pledges and strengthens his force.

Nec minus, quam est pollicitus, Vercingetorix animo laborabat, 1
ut reliquas civitates adiungeret, atque eas donis pollicitationi-
busque alliciebat. huic rei idoneos homines deligebat, quorum 2
quisque aut oratione subdola aut amicitia facillime capere
posset. qui Avarico expugnato refugerant, armandos vestien- 3
dosque curat; simul ut diminutae copiae redintegrarentur, 4
imperat certum numerum militum civitatibus, quem et quam
ante diem in castra adduci velit, sagittariosque omnes, quorum
erat permagnus numerus in Gallia, conquiri et ad se mitti
iubet. his rebus celeriter id, quod Avarici deperierat, expletur.
interim Teutomatus, Olloviconis filius, rex Nitiobrogum, cuius 5
pater ab senatu nostro amicus erat appellatus, cum magno
equitum suorum numero et quos ex Aquitania conduxerat ad
eum pervenit.

c. xxxii.

Caesar is called off from pursuit of Vercingetorix by a summons to arbitrate between two rival claimants for the chieftainship of the Aedui.

Cæsar Avarici complures dies ^{turno} commemoratus summamque ibi 1
copiam frumenti et reliqui ^{per vias, no} commeatus nanctus exercitum ex
labore atque ^{per vias, no} inopia refecit. iam prope ^{venit} hieme confecta cum 2
ipso anni tempore ad gerendum bellum vocaretur et ad hostem
proficisci constituisset, sive eum ex paludibus silvisque elicere
sive obsidione premere posset, legati ad eum principes
Aeduorum veniunt oratum, ut maxime necessario tempore
civitati subveniat: summo esse in periculo rem, quod, cum 3
singuli magistratus antiquitus creari atque regiam potestatem
annum obtinere consuessent, duo magistratum gerant et se

uterque eorum legibus creatum esse dicat. horum esse alterum 4
 Convictolitavem, florentem et illustrem adulescentem, alterum
 Cotum, antiquissima familia natum atque ipsum hominem
 summae potentiae et magnae cognationis, cuius frater Valetiacus
 proximo anno eundem magistratum gesserit. civitatem omnem 5
 esse in armis; divisum senatum, divisum populum, suas
 cuiusque eorum clientelas. quod si diutius alatur controversia,
 fore, uti pars cum parte civitatis confligat. id ne accadat,
 positum in eius diligentia atque auctoritate.

c. xxxiii.

Caesar meets the disputants and senators at Decetia (Décize) and decides
 in favour of Convictolitavis.

Caesar, etsi a bello atque hoste discedere detrimentosum 1
 esse existimabat, tamen non ignorans, quanta ex dissensionibus
 incommoda oriri consuessent, ne tanta et tam coniuncta populo
 Romano civitas, quam ipse semper aluisset omnibusque rebus
 ornasset, ad vim atque ad arma descenderet, atque ea pars,
 quae minus sibi confideret, auxilia a Vercingetorige arcesseret,
 huic rei praevertendum existimavit et, quod legibus Aeduorum 2
 iis, qui summum magistratum obtinerent, excedere ex finibus
 non liceret, ne quid de iure aut de legibus eorum deminuisse
 videretur, ipse in Aeduos proficisci statuit senatumque omnem
 et quos inter controversia esset ad se Decetiam evocavit. cum 3
 prope omnis civitas eo convenisset, docereturque, paucis clam
 convocatis alio loco, alio tempore, atque oportuerit, fratrem a
 fratre renuntiatum, cum leges duo ex una familia vivo utroque
 non solum magistratus creari vetarent, sed etiam in senatu
 esse prohiberent, Cotum imperium deponere coëgit, Convic- 4
 tolitavem, qui per sacerdotes more civitatis intermissis magis-
 tratibus esset creatus, potestatem obtinere iussit.

PART III. CC. 34—56.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE ARVERNI.

C. XXXIV.

Caesar leaves Labienus with four legions to make an expedition northwards (c. 57) and starts with the remaining six for Gergovia.

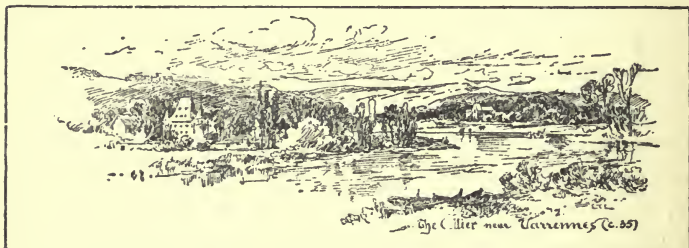
HOC decreto interposito cohortatus Aeduos, ut contro-
versiarum ac dissensionum obliviscerentur atque omni-
bus omissis rebus huic bello servirent eaque, quae meruissent,
praemia ab se, devicta Gallia, expectarent, equitatumque
omnem et peditum milia decem sibi celeriter mitterent, quae
in praesidiis rei frumentariae causa disponderet, exercitum in
duas partes divisit: quattuor legiones in Senones Parisiosque
Labieno ducendas dedit; sex ipse in Arvernos ad oppidum
Gergoviam secundum flumen Elaver duxit; equitatus partem
illi attribuit, partem sibi reliquit. qua re cognita Vercingetorix
omnibus interruptis eius fluminis pontibus ab altera fluminis
parte iter facere coepit.

C. XXXV.

Caesar and Vercingetorix march up the Elaver (Allier) on opposite sides, in full view of one another—By a stratagem Caesar gets his army across to the left bank, whereupon Vercingetorix hastens forward to Gergovia.

Cum uterque utrique esset exercitus in conspectu fereque
e regione castris castra poneret, dispositis exploratoribus,
necubi effecto ponte Romani copias traducerent, erat in

magnis Caesari difficultatibus res, ne maiorem aestatis partem flumine impediretur, quod non fere ante autumnum Elaver vado transiri solet. itaque, ne id accideret, silvestri loco castris ² positis e regione unius eorum pontium, quos Vercingetorix rescindendos curaverat, postero die cum duabus legionibus in occulto restitit; reliquas copias cum omnibus impedimentis, ³ ut consueverat, misit, carptis quibusdam cohortibus, uti numerus legionum constare videretur. his quam longissime ⁴ possent progredi iussis, cum iam ex diei tempore coniecturam caperet in castra perventum, isdem sublicis, quarum pars inferior integra remanebat, pontem reficere coepit. celeriter ⁵



effecto opere legionibusque traductis et loco castris idoneo delecto reliquas copias revocavit. Vercingetorix re cognita, ⁶ ne contra suam voluntatem dimicare cogeretur, magnis itineribus antecessit

C. XXXVI.

Caesar reaches Gergovia—Description of the site—Caesar surprises and captures a strong position (la Roche blanche).

Caesar ex eo loco quintis castris Gergoviam pervenit eques- ¹ trique proelio eo die levi facto, perspecto urbis situ, quae posita in altissimo monte omnis aditus difficiles habebat, de expugnatione desperavit, de obsessione non prius agendum constituit, quam rem frumentariam expedisset. at Vercinge- ²

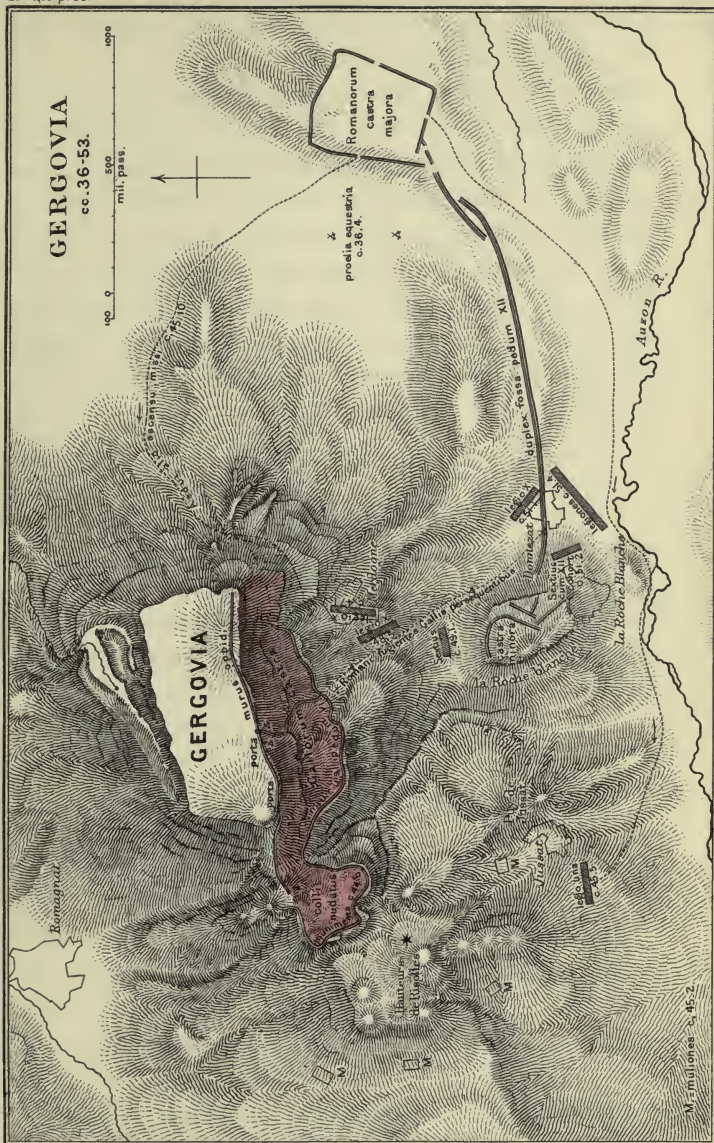


torix castris prope oppidum [in monte] positis mediocribus circum se intervallis separatim singularum civitatum copias collocaverat, atque omnibus eius iugi collibus occupatis, qua despici poterat, horribilem speciem praebebat principesque 3 earum civitatum, quos sibi ad consilium capiendum delegerat, prima luce cotidie ad se convenire iubebat, seu quid communicandum, seu quid administrandum videretur, neque ullum fere 4 diem intermittebat, quin equestri proelio interiectis sagittariis, quid in quoque esset animi ac virtutis suorum, periclitaretur. erat e regione oppidi collis sub ipsis radicibus montis, egregie 5 munitus atque ex omni parte circumciscus; quem si tenerent 6 nostri, et aquae magna parte et pabulatione libera prohibitori hostes videbantur. sed is locus praesidio ab his non nimis firmo tenebatur. tamen silentio noctis Caesar ex castris 7 egressus, priusquam subsidio ex oppido veniri posset, deiecto praesidio potitus loco duas ibi legiones collocavit fossamque duplicem duodenum pedum a maioribus castris ad minora perduxit, ut tuto ab repentino hostium incursu etiam singuli commeare possent.

c. xxxvii.

A conspiracy amongst the Aedui headed by Convictolitavis—Litavicus instructed to desert with a contingent intended for Caesar.

Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Convictolitavis Aeduus, 1 cui magistratum adiudicatum a Caesare demonstravimus, sollicitatus ab Arvernīs pecunia cum quibusdam adolescentibus colloquitur; quorum erat princeps Litavicus atque eius fratres, amplissima familia nati adolescentes. cum his praemium 2 communicat hortaturque, ut se liberos et imperio natos meminerint. unam esse Aeduum civitatem, quae certis- 3 simam Galliae victoriam detineat; eius auctoritate reliquas contineri; qua traducta locum consistendi Romanis in Gallia



non fore. esse nonnullo se Caesaris beneficio affectum, sic 4
tamen, ut iustissimam apud eum causam obtinuerit; sed plus
communi libertati tribuere. cur enim potius Aedui de suo 5
iure et de legibus ad Caesarem disceptatorem, quam Romani
ad Aeduos veniant? celeriter adulescentibus et oratione 6
magistratus et praemio deductis, cum se vel principes eius
consilii fore profiterentur, ratio perficiendi quaerebatur, quod
civitatem temere ad suscipiendum bellum adduci posse non
confidebant. placuit, ut Litavicus decem illis milibus, quae 7
Caesari ad bellum mitterentur, praeficeretur atque ea ducenda
curaret, fratresque eius ad Caesarem praecurrerent. reliqua
qua ratione agi placeat, constituunt.

c. xxxviii.

Litavicus prevails upon his force to desert, and puts to death the Romans
under his escort.

Litavicus accepto exercitu, cum milia passuum circiter XXX 1
ab Gergovia abesset, convocatis subito militibus lacrimans,
'quo proficiscimur,' inquit, 'milites? omnis noster equitatus, 2
omnis nobilitas interiit; principes civitatis, Eporedorix et
Viridomarus, insimulati prodicionis ab Romanis indicta causa
interfecti sunt. haec ab ipsis cognoscite, qui ex ipsa caede 3
fugerunt: nam ego fratribus atque omnibus meis propinquis
interfectis dolore prohibeor, quae gesta sunt, pronuntiare.'
producuntur hi, quos ille edocuerat, quae dici vellet, atque 4
eadem, quae Litavicus pronuntiaverat, multitudini exponunt:
equites Aeduorum interfectos, quod collocuti cum Arvernibus 5
dicerentur; ipsos se inter multitudinem militum occultasse
atque ex media caede profugisse. conclamant Aedui et 6
Litavicum obsecrant, ut sibi consulat. 'quasi vero,' inquit 7
ille, 'consilii sit res, ac non necesse sit nobis Gergoviam con-
tendere et cum Arvernibus nosmet coniungere. an dubitamus, 8

quin nefario facinore admisso Romani iam ad nos interficiendos concurrant? proinde, si quid in nobis animi est, persequamur eorum mortem, qui indignissime interierunt atque hos latrones interficiamus.' ostendit cives Romanos, qui eius 9 praesidii fiducia una erant: magnum numerum frumenti com meatusque diripit, ipsos crudeliter excruciatos interficit. nuntios tota civitate Aeduorum dimittit, eodem mendacio de 10 caede equitum et principum permovet; hortatur, ut simili ratione, atque ipse fecerit, suas iniurias persequantur.

c. xxxix.

Eporedorix and Viridomarus, nobles of the Aedui, in favour with Caesar—
The former announces to Caesar the treasonable designs of Litavicus.

Eporedorix Aeduus, summo loco natus adolescens et 1 summae domi potentiae, et una Viridomarus, pari aetate et gratia, sed genere dispari, quem Caesar ab Divitiaco sibi traditum ex humili loco ad summam dignitatem perduxerat, in equitum numero convenerant nominatim ab eo evocati. his 2 erat inter se de principatu contentio, et in illa magistratuum controversia alter pro Convictolitavi, alter pro Coto summis opibus pugnaverant. ex his Eporedorix cognito Litavici 3 consilio media fere nocte rem ad Caesarem defert; orat, ne patiatur civitatem pravis adolescentium consiliis ab amicitia populi Romani deficere; quod futurum provideat, si se tot hominum milia cum hostibus coniunxerint, quorum salutem neque propinqui neglegere, neque civitas levi momento aesti mare posset.

c. xl.

Caesar advances to meet Litavicus—The troops surrender to him—
Litavicus escapes to Gergovia.

Magna affectus sollicitudine hoc nuntio Caesar, quod semper 1 Aeduorum civitati praecipue indulserat, nulla interposita 2

dubitatione legiones expeditas quattuor equitatumque omnem
ex castris educit, nec fuit spatium tali tempore ad contrahenda
castra, quod res posita in celeritate videbatur; Gaium Fabium 3
legatum cum legionibus duabus castris praesidio relinquit.
fratres Litavici cum comprehendi iussisset, paulo ante reperit
ad hostes fugisse. adhortatus milites, ne necessario tempore 4
itineris labore permoveantur, cupidissimis omnibus progressus
milia passuum XXV, agmen Aeduorum conspicatus immisso
equitatu iter eorum moratur atque impedit interdicique omni-
bus, ne quemquam interficiant. Eporedorigem et Viridomarum, 5
quos illi interfectos existimabant, inter equites versari suosque
appellare iubet. his cognitis et Litavici fraude perspecta 6
Aedui manus tendere, deditionem significare et proiectis
armis mortem deprecari incipiunt. Litavicus cum suis clienti- 7
bus, quibus more Gallorum nefas est etiam in extrema fortuna
deserere patronos, Gergoviam profugit.

c. xli.

Returning to Gergovia Caesar receives a report of the danger to which his
camp has been exposed by his absence.

Caesar nuntiis ad civitatem Aeduorum missis, qui suo 1
beneficio conservatos docerent, quos iure belli interficere
potuisset, tribusque horis [noctis] exercitui ad quietem datis
castra ad Gergoviam movit. medio fere itinere equites ab 2
Fabio missi, quanto res in periculo fuerit, exponunt. summis
copiis castra oppugnata demonstrant, cum crebro integri
defessis succederent nostrosque assiduo labore defatigarent,
quibus propter magnitudinem castrorum perpetuo esset iisdem
in vallo permanendum. multitudo sagittarum atque omni 3
genere telorum multos vulneratos; ad haec sustinenda magno
usui fuisse tormenta. Fabium discessu eorum duabus relictis 4

portis obstruere ceteras pluteosque vallo addere et se in posterum diem similemque casum apparare. his rebus cognitis 5 Caesar summo studio militum ante ortum solis in castra pervenit.

c. xlii.

The revolt spreads amongst the Aedui—Violence towards a Roman officer and others.

Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Aedui primis nuntiis 1 ab Litavico acceptis nullum sibi ad cognoscendum spatium relinquunt. impellit alios avaritia, alios iracundia et temeritas, 2 quae maxime illi hominum generi est innata, ut levem auditionem habeant pro re comperta. bona civium Romanorum 3 diripiunt, caedes faciunt, in servitutem abstrahunt. adiuvat 4 rem proclinatam Convictolitavis plebemque ad furorem impellit, ut facinore admissio ad sanitatem reverti pudeat. Mar- 5 cum Aristium, tribunum militum, iter ad legionem facientem fide data ex oppido Cabillono educunt: idem facere cogunt eos, qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant. hos continuo in 6 itinere adorti omnibus impedimentis exuunt; repugnantes diem noctemque obsident; multis utrimque interfectis maiorem multitudinem armatorum concitant.

c. xliii.

Vacillation of the Aedui—Caesar meditates a retreat from Gergovia.

Interim nuntio allato, omnes eorum milites in potestate 1 Caesaris teneri, concurrunt ad Aristium, nihil publico factum consilio demonstrant; quaestionem de bonis direptis decer- 2 nunt, Litavici fratrumque bona publicant, legatos ad Caesarem sui purgandi gratia mittunt. haec faciunt recuperandorum 3 suorum causa: sed contaminati facinore et capti compendio ex direptis bonis, quod ea res ad multos pertinebat, et timore

poenae exterriti, consilia clam de bello inire incipiunt civitatesque reliquas legationibus sollicitant. quae tametsi Caesar intellegebatur, tamen quam mitissime potest legatos appellat: nihil se propter inscientiam levitatemque volgi gravius de civitate iudicare neque de sua in Aeduos benevolentia deminuere. ipse, maiorem Galliae motum exspectans, ne ab omnibus civitatibus circumstingeretur, consilia inibat, quemadmodum ab Gergovia discederet ac rursus omnem exercitum contraheret, ne profectio nata ab timore defectionis similis fugae videretur.

c. xlv.

Caesar discovers the enemy engaged in fortifying the saddle connecting Gergovia with the neighbouring heights (Risolles).

Haec cogitanti accidere visa est facultas bene gerendae rei. nam cum in minora castra operis perspiciendi causa venisset, animadvertit collem, qui ab hostibus tenebatur, nudatum hominibus, qui superioribus diebus vix prae multitudine cerni poterat. admiratus quaerit ex perfugis causam, quorum magnus ad eum cotidie numerus confluebat. constabat inter omnes, quod iam ipse Caesar per exploratores cognoverat, dorsum esse eius iugi prope aequum, sed hinc silvestre et angustum, quae esset aditus ad alteram partem oppidi: vehementer huic loco illos timere nec iam aliter sentire uno colle ab Romanis occupato, si alterum amisissent, quin paene circumvallati atque omni exitu et pabulatione interclusi viderentur: ad hunc mu- niendum omnes a Vercingetorige evocatos.

c. xlv.

Caesar plans a feint upon these new defences to disguise a genuine attack on Gergovia itself (hoping to capture the town by a coup-de-main).

Hac re cognita Caesar mittit complures equitum turmas eo de media nocte; iis imperat, ut paulo tumultuosius omnibus

in locis vagarentur. prima luce magnum numerum impedi- 2
 mentorum ex castris mulorumque produci deque his stramenta
 detrahi mulionesque cum cassidibus equitum specie ac simula-
 tione collibus circumvehi iubet. his paucos addit equites, qui 3
 latius ostentationis causa vagarentur. longo circuitu easdem
 omnes iubet petere regiones. haec procul ex oppido videban- 4
 tur, ut erat a Gergovia despectus in castra, neque tanto spatio,
 certi quid esset, explorari poterat. legionem unam eodem iugo 5
 mittit et paulum progressam inferiore constituit loco silvisque
 occultat. augetur Gallis suspicio atque omnes illo munitio- 6
 num copiae traducuntur. vacua castra hostium Caesar conspi- 7
 catus tectis insignibus suorum occultatisque signis militaribus
 raros milites, ne ex oppido animadverterentur, ex maioribus
 castris in minora traducit legatisque, quos singulis legionibus
 praefecerat, quid fieri vellet, ostendit: imprimis monet, ut con- 8
 tineant milites, ne studio pugnandi aut spe praedae longius
 progrediantur; quid iniquitas loci habeat incommodi, pro- 9
 ponit: hoc una celeritate posse vitari: occasionis esse rem,
 non proelii. his rebus expositis, signum dat et ab dextra parte 10
 alio ascensu eodem tempore Aeduos mittit.

c. xlv.

Description of the Gallic camp—The Romans storming it, find it
 almost empty.

Oppidi murus ab planicie atque initio ascensus recta regione. 1
 si nullus amfractus intercederet, MCC passus aberat: quidquid 2
 huc circuitus ad molliendum clivum accesserat, id spatium
 itineris augebat. a medio fere colle in longitudinem, ut natura 3
 montis ferebat, ex grandibus saxis sex pedum murum, qui nos-
 trorum impetum tardaret, praeduxerant Galli atque inferiore
 omni spatio vacuo relicto superiorem partem collis usque ad

murum oppidi densissimis castris compleverant. milites dato 4 signo celeriter ad munitionem perveniunt eamque transgressi trinis castris potiuntur; ac tanta fuit in castris capiendis cele- 5 ritas, ut Teutomatus, rex Nitiobrogum, subito in tabernaculo oppressus, ut meridie conquieverat, superiore corporis parte nudata vulnerato equo vix se ex manibus praedantium militum eriperet.

c. xlvii.

Caesar sounds the retreat, but the soldiery, elated at their success, push on right up to the walls of the town.

Consecutus id, quod animo proposuerat, Caesar receptui cani 1 iussit legionisque decimae, quacum erat, contionatus signa constituit; at reliquarum milites legionum non exaudito tubae 2 sono, quod satis magna valles intercedebat, tamen ab tribunis militum legatisque, ut erat a Caesare praeceptum, retinebantur. sed elati spe celeris victoriae et hostium fuga superiorumque 3 temporum secundis proeliis nihil adeo arduum sibi existimabant, quod non virtute consequi possent, neque finem prius sequendi fecerunt, quam muro oppidi portisque appropinquarunt. tum vero ex omnibus urbis partibus orto clamore qui 4 longius aberant repentino tumultu perterriti, cum hostem intra portas esse existimarent, sese ex oppido eiecerunt. matres- 5 familiae de muro vestem argentumque iactabant et pectore nudo prominentes passis manibus obtestabantur Romanos, ut sibi parcerent, neu, sicut Avarici fecissent, ne mulieribus quidem atque infantibus abstinerent: nonnullae de muris per 6 manus demissae sese militibus tradebant. Lucius Fabius, centurio legionis VIII, quem inter suos eo die dixisse constabat excitari se Avaricensibus praemiis neque commissurum, ut prius quisquam murum ascenderet, tres suos nactus manipu-

lares atque ab iis sublevatus murum ascendit : hos ipse rursus singulos exceptans in murum extulit.

c. xlviii.

Cries of alarm reach the Gauls at the fortifications (c. 44), who rush to the rescue of the town—The Romans find themselves over-matched.

Interim ii, qui ad alteram partem oppidi, ut supra demon-
stravimus, munitionis causa convenerant, primo exaudito cla-
more, inde etiam crebris nuntiis incitati, oppidum ab Romanis
teneri, praemissis equitibus magno concursu eo contenderunt.
eorum ut quisque primus venerat, sub muro consistebat suo-
rumque pugnantium numerum augebat. quorum cum magna
multitudo convenisset, matresfamiliae, quae paulo ante Roma-
nis de muro manus tendebant, suos obtestari et more Gallico
passum capillum ostentare liberosque in conspectum proferre
coeperunt. erat Romanis nec loco nec numero aequa con-
tentio: simul et cursu et spatio pugnae defatigati non facile
recentes atque integros sustinebant.

c. xlix.

Caesar shifts his own position and sends to Sextius to cover the retreat.

Caesar, cum iniquo loco pugnari hostiumque augeri copias
videret, praemetuens suis ad Titum Sextium legatum, quem
minoribus castris praesidio reliquerat, misit, ut cohortes ex
castris celeriter educeret et sub infimo colle ab dextro latere
hostium constitueret, ut, si nostros loco depulsos vidisset, quo
minus libere hostes insequerentur, terreret. ipse paulum ex eo
loco cum legione progressus, ubi constiterat, eventum pugnae
exspectabat.

c. l.

The Aedui come in sight and cause a panic among the Romans—Fabius is killed on the wall—Gallant conduct of Petronius.

Cum acerrime comminus pugnaretur, hostes loco et numero, 1
 nostri virtute confiderent, subito sunt Aedui visi ab latere
 nostris aperto, quos Caesar ab dextra parte alio ascensu manus
 destinendae causa miserat. hi similitudine armorum vehemen- 2
 ter nostros perterruerunt, ac tametsi dextris humeris exsertis
 animadvertabantur, quod insigne pacatum esse consuerat,
 tamen id ipsum sui fallendi causa milites ab hostibus factum
 existimabant. eodem tempore Lucius Fabius centurio quique 3
 una murum ascenderant circumventi atque interfecti muro
 praecipitantur. Marcus Petronius, eiusdem legionis centurio, 4
 cum portas excidere conatus esset, a multitudine oppressus ac
 sibi desperans multis iam vulneribus acceptis, manipularibus
 suis, qui illum secuti erant, 'quoniam,' inquit, 'me una vobis-
 cum servare non possum, vestrae quidem certe vitae prospici-
 am, quos cupiditate gloriae adductus in periculum deduxi.
 vos data facultate vobis consulite.' simul in medios hostis 5
 irrupit duobusque interfectis reliquos a porta paulum summo-
 vit. conantibus auxiliari suis, 'frustra,' inquit, 'meae vitae sub- 6
 venire conamini, quem iam sanguis viresque deficiunt: proinde
 abite, dum est facultas, vosque ad legionem recipite.' ita pug-
 nans post paulum concidit ac suis saluti fuit.

c. li.

Complete rout of the Romans with loss of 700 men.

Nostri, cum undique premerentur, XLVI centurionibus 1
 amissis deiecti sunt loco. sed intolerantius Gallos insequentes
 legio X tardavit, quae pro subsidio paulo aequiore loco con-

stiterat. hanc rursus XIII legionis cohortes exceperunt, quae 2
ex castris minoribus eductae cum Tito Sextio legato locum
ceperant superiorem. legiones, ubi primum planiciem attige- 3
runt, infestis contra hostes signis constiterunt. Vercingetorix 4
ab radicibus collis suos intra munitiones reduxit. eo die
milites sunt paulo minus septingenti desiderati.

c. lii.

Caesar reproves his troops for disregarding the signal for retreat.

Postero die Caesar contione advocata temeritatem cupidita- 1
temque militum reprehendit, quod sibi ipsi iudicavissent, quo
procedendum aut quid agendum videretur, neque signo reci-
piendi dato constitissent neque ab tribunis militum legatisque re-
tineri potuissent. exposuit, quid iniquitas loci posset, quid ipse 2
ad Avaricum sensisset, cum sine duce et sine equitatu deprehen-
sis hostibus exploratam victoriam dimisisset, ne parvum modo
detrimentum in contentione propter iniquitatem loci accideret.
quanto opere eorum animi magnitudinem admiraretur, quos 3
non castrorum munitiones, non altitudo montis, non murus
oppidi tardare potuisset, tanto opere licentiam arrogantiamque
reprehendere, quod plus se quam imperatorem de victoria
atque exitu rerum sentire existimarent; nec minus se in milite 4
modestiam et continentiam quam virtutem atque animi magni-
tudinem desiderare.

c. liii.

Caesar challenges Vercingetorix to fight on the plain—after two skirmishes
he breaks up his camp, and marches back to the Aedui.

Hac habita contione et ad extremam orationem confirmatis 1
militibus, ne ob hanc causam animo permoverentur neu, quod
iniquitas loci attulisset, id virtuti hostium tribuerent, eadem de
profectione cogitans, quae ante senserat, legiones ex castris

eduxit aciemque idoneo loco constituit. cum Vercingetorix 2
nihil magis in aequum locum descenderet, levi facto equestri
proelio atque eo secundo in castra exercitum reduxit. cum 3
hoc idem postero die fecisset, satis ad Gallicam ostentationem
minuendam militumque animos confirmandos factum existi-
mans in Aeduos movit castra. ne tum quidem insecutis 4
hostibus tertio die ad flumen Elaver pontem reficit atque exer-
citus traducit.

c. liv.

Viridomarus and Eporedorix, though suspected of treachery, bear
conciliatory messages from Caesar to the Aedui.

Ibi a Viridomaro atque Eporedorige Aeduis appellatus dis- 1
cit cum omni equitatu Litavicum ad sollicitandos Aeduos
profectum: opus esse ipsos antecedere ad confirmandam civi-
tatem. etsi multis iam rebus perfidiam Aeduorum perspectam 2
habebat atque horum discessu admaturari defectionem civitatis
existimabat, tamen eos retinendos non constituit, ne aut inferre
iniuriam videretur aut dare timoris aliquam suspicionem. dis- 3
cedentibus his breviter sua in Aeduos merita exponit: quos 4
et quam humiles accepisset, compulsos in oppida, multatos agris
omnibus ereptis copiis, imposito stipendio, obsidibus summa
cum contumelia extortis, et quam in fortunam quamque in
amplitudinem deduxisset, ut non solum in pristinum statum
redissent, sed omnium temporum dignitatem et gratiam ante-
cessisse viderentur. his datis mandatis, eos ab se dimisit.

c. lv.

Caesar's store-depôt at Noviodunum (Nevers) destroyed.

Noviodunum erat oppidum Aeduorum ad ripas Ligeris,
opportuno loco positum. huc Caesar omnes obsides Galliae, 2
frumentum, pecuniam publicam, suorum atque exercitus im-

pedimentorum magnam partem contulerat; huc magnum 3
 numerum equorum huius belli causa in Italia atque Hispania
 coëmptum miserat. eo cum Eporedorix Viridomarusque venis- 4
 sent et de statu civitatis cognovissent, Litavicum Bibracte ab
 Aeduis receptum, quod est oppidum apud eos maximae
 auctoritatis, Convictolitavim magistratum magnamque partem
 senatus ad eum convenisse, legatos ad Vercingetorigem de pace
 et amicitia concilianda publice missos, non praetermittendum
 tantum commodum existimaverunt. itaque interfectis Novio- 5
 duni custodibus quique eo negotiandi causa convenerant,



pecuniam atque equos inter se partiti sunt; obsides civitatum 6
 Bibracte ad magistratum deducendos curaverunt; oppidum, 7
 quod a se teneri non posse iudicabant, ne cui esset usui Roma-
 nis, incenderunt; frumenti quod subito potuerunt navibus 8
 avexerunt, reliquum flumine atque incendio corruperunt; ipsi 9
 ex finitimis regionibus copias cogere, praesidia custodiasque ad
 ripas Ligeris disponere equitatumque omnibus locis iniciendi
 timoris causa ostentare coeperunt, si ab re frumentaria Roma-
 nos excludere [aut adductos inopia in provinciam expellere]
 possent. quam ad spem multum eos adiuvabat, quod Liger ex 10
 nivibus creverat, ut omnino vado non posse transiri videretur.

c. lvi.

By a rapid march Caesar reaches the Loire, fords it, and proceeds to rejoin Labienus.

Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar maturandum sibi censuit, si¹ esset in perficiendis pontibus periclitandum, ut prius, quam essent maiores eo coactae copiae, dimicaret. nam ne commu-² tato consilio iter in provinciam converteret, ut nemo non tum quidem necessario faciendum existimabat, cum infamia atque indignitas rei et oppositus mons Cevenna viarumque difficultas impediēbat, tum maxime, quod abiuncto Labieno atque iis³ legionibus, quas una miserat, vehementer timebat. itaque⁴ admodum magnis diurnis nocturnisque itineribus confectis contra omnium opinionem ad Ligerim venit, vadoque per equites⁵ invento pro rei necessitate opportuno, ut brachia modo atque humeri ad sustinenda arma liberi ab aqua esse possent, disposito equitatu, qui vim fluminis refringeret, atque hostibus⁶ primo aspectu perturbatis incolumem exercitum traduxit frumentumque in agris et pecoris copiam nanctus, repleto his rebus exercitu iter in Senones facere instituit.

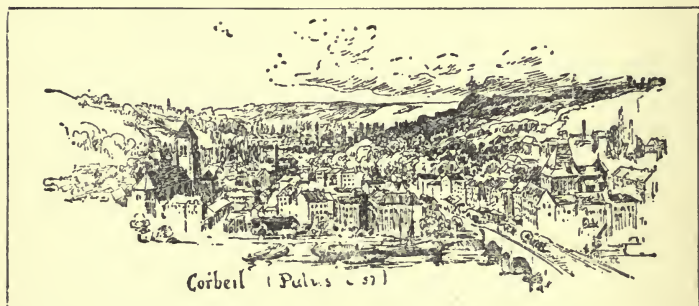
PART IV. CC. 57—62.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE PARISII.

c. lvii.

On Caesar's departure for Gergovia (c. 34), Labienus sets out for the Parisii—is opposed by the Gauls under the veteran leader Camulogenus.

DUM haec apud Caesarem geruntur, Labienus eo supplemento, quod nuper ex Italia venerat, relicto Agedinci, ut esset impedimentis praesidio, cum quattuor legionibus Lutetiam proficiscitur. id est oppidum Parisiorum, quod positum



est in insula fluminis Sequanae. cuius adventu ab hostibus ²
cognito magnae ex finitimis civitatibus copiae convenerunt.
summa imperii traditur Camulogeno Aulero, qui prope con- ³
fectus aetate tamen propter singularem scientiam rei militaris
ad eum est honorem evocatus. is cum animadvertisset perpe- ⁴
tuam esse paludem, quae influeret in Sequanam atque illum

omnem locum magnopere impediret, hic consedit nostrosque transitu prohibere instituit.

c. lviii.

Labienus tries in vain to cross a marsh—returns to Metiosedum (Melun)—captures the town and marches down the right bank of the Seine upon Lutetia (Paris), which the Gauls burn.

Labienus primo vineas agere, cratibus atque aggere paludem ¹ explere atque iter munire conabatur. postquam id difficilius ² confieri animadvertit, silentio e castris tertia vigilia egressus eodem, quo venerat, itinere Metiosedum pervenit. id est ³



oppidum Senonum in insula Sequanae positum, ut paulo ante de Lutetia diximus. deprehensis navibus circiter quinquaginta celeriterque coniunctis atque eo militibus iniectis et rei novitate perterritis oppidanis, quorum magna pars erat ad bellum evocata, sine contentione oppido potitur. refecto ⁵ ponte, quem superioribus diebus hostes resciderant, exercitum traducit et secundo flumine ad Lutetiam iter facere coepit. hostes re cognita ab iis, qui a Metiosedo fugerant, Lutetiam ⁶ incendi pontesque eius oppidi rescindi iubent; ipsi profecti a palude ad ripas Sequanae e regione Lutetiae contra Labieni castra considunt.

c. lix.

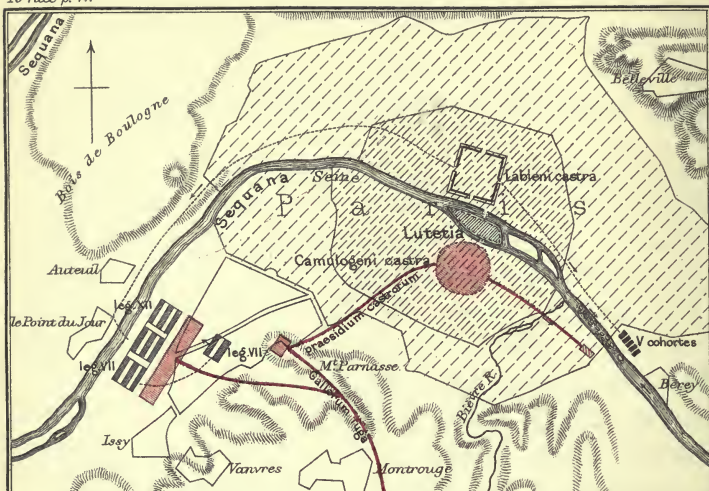
On receipt of unfavourable rumours Labienus considers how he may fall back upon Agedincum.

Iam Caesar a Gergovia discessisse audiebatur, iam de Aeduum defectione et secundo Galliae motu rumores afferebantur, Gallique in colloquiis interclusum itinere et Ligere Caesarem inopia frumenti coactum in provinciam contendisse confirmabant. Bellovacii autem defectione Aeduum cognita, qui ante erant per se infideles, manus cogere atque aperte bellum parare coeperunt. tum Labienus tanta rerum commutatione longe aliud sibi capiendum consilium, atque antea senserat, intellegebat, neque iam, ut aliquid acquireret proelioque hostes lacesseret, sed ut incolumem exercitum Agedincum reduceret, cogitabat. namque altera ex parte Bellovacii, quae civitas in Gallia maximam habet opinionem virtutis, instabant, alteram Camulogenus parato atque instructo exercitu tenebat; tum legiones a praesidio atque impedimentis interclusas maximum flumen distinebat. tantis subito difficultatibus obiectis ab animi virtute auxilium petendum videbat.

c. lx.

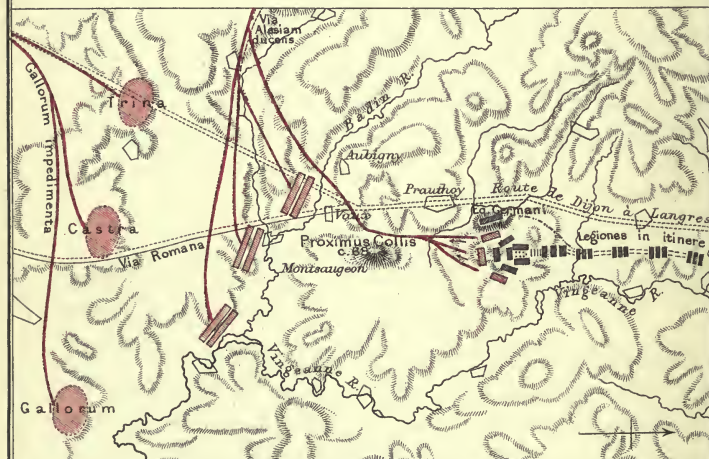
He sends the boats taken at Metiosedum down stream—leaves half a legion to guard the camp—sends the other half up stream as a ruse—takes his three other legions to the boats below.

Itaque sub vesperum consilio convocato cohortatus, ut ea, quae imperasset, diligenter industrieque administrarent, naves, quas Metiosedo deduxerat, singulas equitibus Romanis attribuit et prima confecta vigilia quattuor milia passuum secundo flumine silentio progredi ibique se exspectari iubet. quinque cohortes, quas minime firmas ad dimicandum esse existimabat,



PUGNA AD LUTETIAM CC. 60-62.

0 1 2 3 4
mil. pass



GALLORUM CLADES CC. 66-68.

0 1 2 3
mil. pass

castris praesidio relinquit; quinque eiusdem legionis reliquas 3
de media nocte cum omnibus impedimentis adverso flumine
magno tumultu proficisci imperat. conquirat etiam lintres: 4
has, magno sonitu remorum incitatas in eandem partem mittit.
ipse post paulo silentio egressus cum tribus legionibus eum
locum petit, quo naves appelli iusserat.

c. lxi.

The three legions cross before daybreak—The enemy discovering
the stratagem prepare to oppose the Romans at all points.

Eo cum esset ventum, exploratores hostium, ut omni flumi- 1
nis parte erant dispositi, inopinantes, quod magna subito erat
coorta tempestas, ab nostris opprimuntur: exercitus equitatus- 2
que equitibus Romanis administrantibus, quos ei negotio prae-
fecerat, celeriter transmittitur. uno fere tempore sub lucem 3
hostibus nuntiatur in castris Romanorum praeter consuetudi-
nem tumultuari, et magnum ire agmen adverso flumine, soni-
tumque remorum in eadem parte exaudiri, et paulo infra milites
navibus transportari. quibus rebus auditis, quod existimabant 4
tribus locis transire legiones atque omnes perturbatos defectione
Aeduorum fugam parare, suas quoque copias in tres partes
distribuerunt. nam praesidio e regione castrorum relicto et 5
parva manu Metiosedum versus missa, quae tantum progredia-
tur, quantum naves processissent, reliquas copias contra La-
bienum duxerunt.

c. lxii.

Labienus engages the enemy—After a brave resistance the Gauls are
slain to a man—Labienus thus makes good his retreat upon Agedincum,
whence he rejoins Caesar further south.

Prima luce et nostri omnes erant transportati, et hostium 1
acies cernebatur. Labienus milites cohortatus, ut suae pris- 2

tinae virtutis et tot secundissimorum proeliorum retinerent
memoriam atque ipsum Caesarem, cuius ductu saepenumero
hostes superassent, praesentem adesse existimarent, dat signum
proelii. primo concursu ab dextro cornu, ubi septima legio 3
constiterat, hostes pelluntur atque in fugam coniciuntur; ab 4
sinistro, quem locum duodecima legio tenebat, cum primi
ordines hostium transfixi pilis concidissent, tamen acerrime
reliqui resistebant, nec dabat suspicionem fugae quisquam.
ipse dux hostium Camulogenus suis aderat atque eos cohorta- 5
batur. incerto etiam nunc exitu victoriae, cum septimae 6
legionis tribunis esset nuntiatum, quae in sinistro cornu gere-
rentur, post tergum hostium legionem ostenderunt signaque
intulerunt. ne eo quidem tempore quisquam loco cessit, sed 7
circumventi omnes interfectique sunt. eandem fortunam tulit
Camulogenus. at ii, qui praesidio contra castra Labieni erant 8
relicti, cum proelium commissum audissent, subsidio suis
ierunt collemque ceperunt neque nostrorum militum victorum
impetum sustinere potuerunt. sic cum suis fugientibus per- 9
mixti, quos non silvae montesque texerunt, ab equitatu sunt
interfecti. hoc negotio confecto Labienus revertitur Agedin- 10
cum, ubi impedimenta totius exercitus relictæ erant : inde cum
omnibus copiis ad Caesarem pervenit.

PART V. CC. 63—90.

CAPTURE OF ALESIA AND CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

c. lxiii.

The rising of the Gauls becomes more general—The Aedui wish to be recognized as leaders—The command of Vercingetorix confirmed—The Aedui are disaffected.

DEFECTIONE Aeduorum cognita bellum augetur. 1
legationes in omnes partes circummittuntur: quantum 2
gratia, auctoritate, pecunia valent, ad sollicitandas civitates
nituntur; nanci obsides, quos Caesar apud eos deposuerat, 3
horum supplicio dubitantes territant. petunt a Vercingetorige 4
Aedui, ut ad se veniat rationesque belli gerendi communicet.
re impetrata contendunt, ut ipsis summa imperii tradatur, et re 5
in controversiam deducta totius Galliae concilium Bibracte
indicitur. eodem conveniunt undique frequentes. multi- 6
tudinis suffragiis res permittitur: ad unum omnes Vercinge-
torigem probant imperatorem. ab hoc concilio Remi, Lin- 7
gones, Treveri afuerunt: illi, quod amicitiam Romanorum
sequebantur; Treveri, quod aberant longius et ab Germanis
premebantur: quae fuit causa, quare toto abessent bello et
neutris auxilia mitterent. magno dolore Aedui ferunt se 8
deiectos principatu, queruntur fortunae commutationem et
Caesaris in se indulgentiam requirunt; neque tamen suscepto
bello suum consilium ab reliquis separare audent. inviti 9
summae spei adulescentes Eporedorix et Viridomarus Ver-
cingetorigi parent.

c. lxiv.

Vercingetorix explains his plans, to avoid an encounter, but to cut off the Roman supplies—He stirs up the tribes about the Province to revolt.

Ipse imperat reliquis civitatibus obsides diemque huic rei¹ constituit. omnes equites, XV milia numero, celeriter convenire iubet: peditatu, quem ante habuerat, se fore contentum dicit, neque fortunam temptaturum aut in acie dimicaturum; sed, quoniam abundet equitatu, perfacile esse factu frumentationibus pabulationibusque Romanos prohibere; aequo² modo animo sua ipsi frumenta corrumpant aedificiaque incendant, qua rei familiaris iactura perpetuum imperium libertatemque se consequi videant. his constitutis rebus Aeduis³ Segusiavisque, qui sunt finitimi provinciae, decem milia peditum imperat: huc addit equites DCCC. his praeficit fratrem⁴ Eporedorigis bellumque inferre Allobrogibus iubet. altera ex⁵ parte Gabalos proximosque pagos Arvernorum in Helvios, item Rutenos Cadurcosque ad fines Volcarum Arecomicorum depopulandos mittit. nihilo minus clandestinis nuntiis legationibusque Allobrogas sollicitat, quorum mentes nondum ab superiore bello resedissee sperabat. horum principibus⁶ pecunias, civitati autem imperium totius provinciae pollicetur.⁸

c. lxv.

The Helvii and Allobroges resist the Gauls—Caesar sends to Germany for auxiliary cavalry.

Ad hos omnes casus provisa erant praesidia cohortium duarum¹ et viginti, quae ex ipsa coacta provincia ab Lucio Caesare legato ad omnes partes opponebantur. Helvii sua sponte cum² finitimis proelio congressi pelluntur et Gaio Valerio Donno-tauro, Caburi filio, principe civitatis, compluribusque aliis

interfectis intra oppida murosque compelluntur. Allobroges 3
crebris ad Rhodanum dispositis praesidiis magna cum cura et
diligentia suos tuentur. Caesar, quod hostes equitatu superio- 4
res esse intellegebat et interclusis omnibus itineribus, nulla re
ex provincia atque Italia sublevari poterat, trans Rhenum in
Germaniam mittit ad eas civitates, quas superioribus annis
pacaverat, equitesque ab his arcessit et levis armaturae pedites,
qui inter eos proeliari consuerant. eorum adventu, quod 5
minus idoneis equis utebantur, a tribunis militum reliquisque
equitibus Romanis atque evocatis equos sumit Germanisque
distribuit.

c. lxvi.

The Gauls muster—Caesar marches eastward to the succour of the Province and meets the army of Vercingetorix, who exhorts his troops to attack the retreating Romans and secure their freedom.

Interea, dum haec geruntur, hostium copiae ex Arvernīs 1
equitesque, qui toti Galliae erant imperati, conveniunt. magno 2
horum coacto numero, cum Caesar in Sequanos per extremos
Lingonum fines iter faceret, quo facilius subsidium provinciae
ferri posset, circiter milia passuum decem ab Romanis trinis 3
castris Vercingetorix consedit convocatisque ad concilium
praefectis equitum, venisse tempus victoriae demonstrat.
fugere in provinciam Romanos Galliaque excedere. id sibi ad 4
praesentem obtinendam libertatem satis esse; ad reliqui tem-
poris pacem atque otium parum profici: maioribus enim
coactis copiis reversuros neque finem bellandi facturos. pro-
inde agmine impeditos adorirentur. si pedites suis auxilium 5
ferant atque in eo morentur, iter facere non posse; si, id quod
magis futurum confidat, relictis impedimentis suae saluti con-
sulant, et usu rerum necessariarum et dignitate spoliatum iri-
nam de equitibus hostium, quin nemo eorum progredi modo 6

extra agmen audeat, et ipsos quidem non debere dubitare. id quo maiore faciant animo, copias se omnes pro castris habiturum et terrori hostibus futurum. conclamant equites, sanctissimo iureiurando confirmari oportere, ne tecto recipiatur, ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ne ad uxorem aditum habeat, qui non bis per agmen hostium perequitasset.

c. lxvii.

The Gallic cavalry attack the Romans in front and on both flanks—Caesar meets them with his own cavalry supported by the infantry column—The Germans outflank the Gauls on the Roman right—The Gauls are put to flight.

Probata re atque omnibus iureiurando adactis postero die in tres partes distributo equitatu duae se acies ab duobus lateribus ostendunt, una a primo agmine iter impedire coepit. qua re nuntiata Caesar suum quoque equitatum tripertito divisum contra hostem ire iubet. pugnatur una omnibus in partibus. consistit agmen; impedimenta intra legiones recipiuntur. si qua in parte nostri laborare aut gravius premi videbantur, eo signa inferri Caesar aciemque converti iubebat; quae res et hostes ad insequendum tardabat et nostros spe auxilii confirmabat. tandem Germani ab dextro latere summum iugum nanci hostes loco depellunt; fugientes usque ad flumen, ubi Vercingetorix cum pedestribus copiis consederat, persequuntur compluresque interficiunt. qua re animadversa reliqui, ne circumvenirentur, veriti se fugae mandant. omnibus locis fit caedes. tres nobilissimi Aedui capti ad Caesarem perducuntur: Cotus, praefectus equitum, qui controversiam cum Convictolitavi proximis comitiis habuerat, et Cavarillus, qui post defectionem Litavici pedestribus copiis praefuerat, et Eporedorix, quo duce ante adventum Caesaris Aedui cum Sequanis bello contenderant.



c. lxviii.

Vercingetorix withdraws to Alesia, pursued by Caesar, who sets about blockading the town.

Fugato omni equitatu Vercingetorix copias suas, ut pro¹ castris collocaverat, reduxit protinusque Alesiam, quod est oppidum Mandubiorum, iter facere coepit celeriterque impedi-² menta ex castris educi et se subsequi iussit. Caesar impedi-² mentis in proximum collem deductis duabus legionibus prae-² sidio relictis secutus, quantum diei tempus est passum, circiter tribus milibus hostium ex novissimo agmine interfectis altero die ad Alesiam castra fecit. perspecto urbis situ perterritisque³ hostibus, quod equitatu, qua maxime parte exercitus confide-³ bant, erant pulsi, adhortatus ad laborem milites Alesiam circumvallare instituit.

c. lxix.

Description of the site of Alesia and position of the Gauls—
Caesar's forts and lines.

Ipsum erat oppidum in colle summo admodum edito loco,¹ ut nisi obsidione expugnari non posse videretur; cuius collis² radices duo duabus ex partibus flumina subleebant. ante id³ oppidum planicies circiter milia passuum tria in longitudinem patebat: reliquis ex omnibus partibus colles mediocri inter-⁴ iecto spatio pari altitudinis fastigio oppidum cingebant. sub⁵ muro, quae pars collis ad orientem solem spectabat, hunc omnem locum copiae Gallorum compleverant fossamque et maceriam sex in altitudinem pedum praeduxerant. eius muni-⁶ tionis, quae ab Romanis instituebatur, circuitus XI milia passuum tenebat. castra opportunis locis erant posita ibique⁷ castella XXIII facta; quibus in castellis interdiu stationes ponebantur, ne qua subito eruptio fieret: haec eadem noctu excubitoribus ac firmis praesidiis tenebantur.

c. lxx.

A cavalry battle again decided by the Germans results in the pursuit of the Gauls to their lines.

Opere instituto fit equestre proelium in ea planicie, quam 1
intermissam collibus tria milia passuum in longitudinem patere
supra demonstravimus. summa vi ab utrisque contenditur. 2
laborantibus nostris Caesar Germanos summittit legionesque
pro castris constituit, ne qua subito irruptio ab hostium pedi-
tatu fiat. praesidio legionum addito nostris animus augetur : 3
hostes in fugam coniecti se ipsi multitudine impediunt atque
angustioribus portis relictis coacervantur. Germani acius 4
usque ad munitiones sequuntur. fit magna caedes : nonnulli 5
relictis equis fossam transire et maceriam transcendere co-
nantur. paulum legiones Caesar, quas pro vallo constituerat,
promoveri iubet. non minus, qui intra munitiones erant, 6
perturbantur Galli : veniri ad se confestim existimantes ad
arma conclamant ; nonnulli perterriti in oppidum irrumpunt.
Vercingetorix iubet portas claudi, ne castra nudentur. multis 7
interfectis, compluribus equis captis Germani sese recipiunt.

c. lxxi.

Vercingetorix despatches his horsemen to raise a relieving army, admonishing them of the importance of the crisis—He divides the supplies, and withdraws into the town.

Vercingetorix, priusquam munitiones ab Romanis perfi- 1
ciantur, consilium capit, omnem ab se equitatum noctu dimit-
tere. discedentibus mandat, ut suam quisque eorum civitatem 2
adeat omnesque, qui per aetatem arma ferre possint, ad bellum
cogant ; sua in illos merita proponit obtestaturque, ut suae 3
salutis rationem habeant neu se de communi libertate optime
meritum hostibus in cruciatum dedant. quod si indiligentiores

fuerint, milia hominum delecta LXXX una secum interitura demonstrat. ratione inita se exigue dierum XXX habere 4 frumentum, sed paulo etiam longius tolerari posse parcendo. his datis mandatis, qua opus erat intermissum, secunda vigilia 5 silentio equitatum mittit. frumentum omne ad se referri 6 iubet; capitis poenam iis, qui non paruerint, constituit: pecus, cuius magna erat copia ab Mandubiis compulsa, viritim 7 distribuit; frumentum parce et paulatim metiri instituit; co- 8 pias omnes, quas pro oppido collocaverat, in oppidum recipit. his rationibus auxilia Galliae expectare et bellum parat 9 administrare.

c. lxxii.

Caesar's lines of circumvallation—trenches—ramparts—battlements.

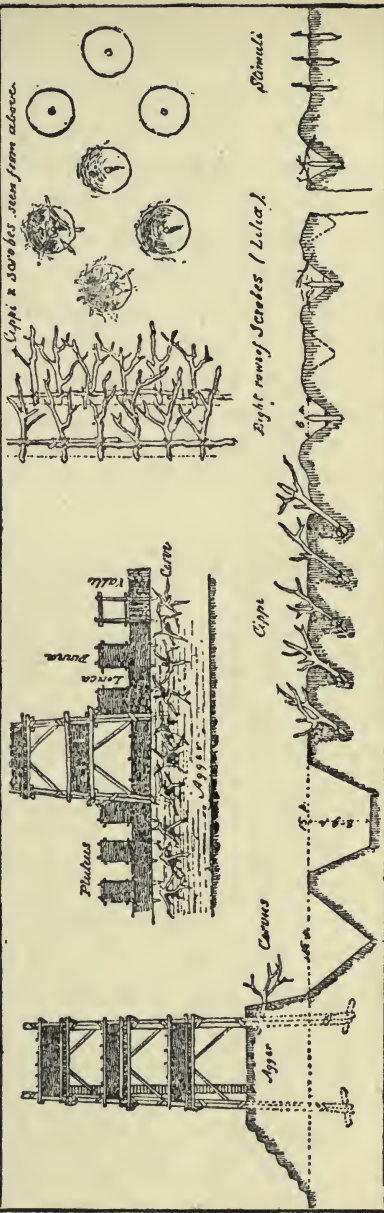
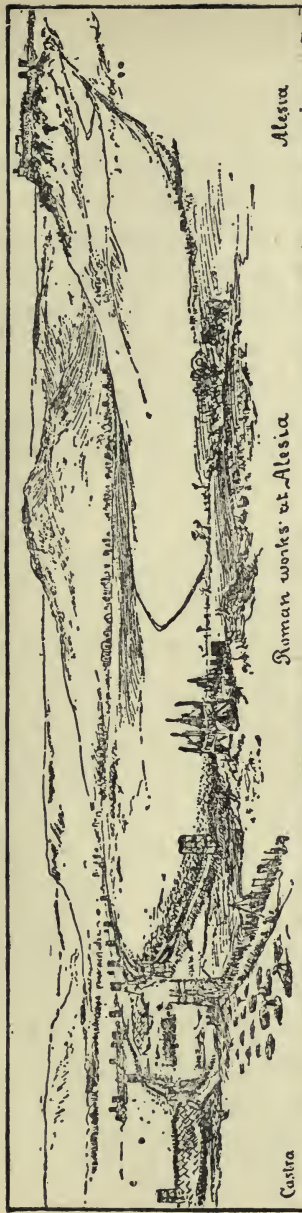
Quibus rebus cognitis ex perfugis et captivis Caesar haec 1 genera munitionis instituit. fossam pedum XX directis lateribus duxit, ut eius fossae solum tantundem pateret, quantum summa labra distarent; reliquas omnes munitiones ab ea fossa 2 pedes CCCC reduxit, id hoc consilio, quoniam tantum esset necessario spatium complexus, nec facile totum corpus corona militum cingeretur, ne de improvviso aut noctu ad munitiones hostium multitudo advolaret, aut interdiu tela in nostros operi 3 destinatos conicere possent. hoc intermisso spatio duas fossas XV pedes latas eadem altitudine perduxit: quarum interiorem, campestribus ac demissis locis, aqua ex flumine derivata com- 4 plevit. post eas aggerem ac vallum XII pedum extruxit; huic lorica pinnaeque adiecit grandibus cervis eminentibus ad commissuras pluteorum atque aggeris, qui ascensum hostium tardarent, et turres toto opere circumdedit, quae pedes LXXX inter se distarent.

c. lxxiii.

To free himself from being harassed by the Gauls, Caesar devises further pitfalls to be added to his entrenchments—cippi—lilia—stimuli.

Erat eodem tempore et materiari et frumentari et tantas¹ munitiones fieri necesse deminutis nostris copiis, quae longius ab castris progrediebantur; ac nonnumquam opera nostra Galli tentare atque eruptionem ex oppido pluribus portis summa vi facere conabantur. quare ad haec rursus opera² addendum Caesar putavit, quo minore numero militum munitiones defendi possent. itaque truncis arborum aut admodum firmis ramis abscisis atque horum delibratis ac praeacutis cacuminibus perpetuae fossae quinos pedes altae ducebantur. huc illi stipites demissi et ab infimo revincti, ne revelli possent,³ ab ramis eminebant. quini erant ordines, coniuncti inter se⁴ atque implicati; quo qui intraverant, se ipsi acutissimis vallis induebant. hos cippos appellabant. ante quos obliquis⁵ ordinibus in quincuncem dispositis scrobes trium in altitudinem pedum fodiebantur paulatim angustiore ad infimum fastigio. huc teretes stipites feminis crassitudine ab summo praeacuti et⁶ praeusti demittebantur, ita ut non amplius digitis quattuor ex terra eminerent; simul confirmandi et stabiliendi causa singuli⁷ ab infimo solo pedes terra exculcabantur, reliqua pars scrobis ad occultandas insidias viminibus ac virgultis integebatur. huius generis octoni ordines ducti ternos inter se pedes dista-⁸ bant. id ex similitudine floris lilium appellabant. ante haec⁹ taleae pedem longae ferreis hamis infixis totae in terram infodiebantur mediocribusque intermissis spatiis omnibus locis disserebantur: quos stimulos nominabant.

View of the plain of Laumes looking towards Mont Réa from the site occupied by Caesar, c. 85 (Plan *), with a restoration of the Roman lines and the walls of Alesia.



Section of the Roman 'munitiones' before Alesia.

Elevation of rampart.

Bird's-eye view of 'cippi' and catrops.

c. lxxiv.

Caesar constructs similar works on the outer side of his lines, as a defence against a relieving army.

His rebus perfectis regiones secutus quam potuit aequissimas ¹ pro loci natura quattuordecim milia passuum complexus pares eiusdem generis munitiones, diversas ab his, contra exteriorem hostem perfecit, ut ne magna quidem multitudine, si ita accadat, [eius discessu] munitionum praesidia circumfundi possent, ac ne cum periculo ex castris egredi cogantur, dierum ² XXX pabulum frumentumque habere omnes convectum iubet.

c. lxxv.

In answer to the appeal of Vercingetorix, the Gauls raise an army, amounting (on paper) to 281,000.

Dum haec ad Alesiam geruntur, Galli concilio principum ¹ indicto non omnes eos, qui arma ferre possent, ut censuit Vercingetorix, convocandos statuunt, sed certum numerum cuique ex civitate imperandum; ne tanta multitudine confusa nec moderari nec discernere suos nec frumentandi rationem habere possent. imperant Aeduis atque eorum clientibus, ² Segusiavis, Ambivaretis, Aulercis Brannovicibus, Brannoviis, milia XXXV; parem numerum Arvernīs, adiunctis Eleutetis, Cadurcis, Gabalis, Vellavis, qui sub imperio Arvernorum esse consuerunt; Sequanis, Senonibus, Biturigibus, Santonis, ³ Rutenis, Carnutibus duodena milia; Bellovacis X; totidem Lemovicibus; octona Pictonibus et Turonis et Parisiis et Helvetiis; [Suessionibus], Ambianis, Mediomatricis, Petrocoriis, Nervii, Morinis, Nitiobrogibus quina milia; Aulercis Cenomanis totidem; Atrebatibus IIII; Vellocassis, Lexoviis et Aulercis Eburonicibus terna; Rauracis et Boiis bina; XXX ⁴

universis civitatibus, quae Oceanum attingunt, quaeque eorum consuetudine Aremoricae appellantur, quo sunt in numero Curiosolites, Redones, Ambibarii, Caletes, Osismi, [Veneti,] Venelli. ex his Bellovaci suum numerum non compleverunt, 5 quod se suo nomine atque arbitrio cum Romanis bellum gesturos dicerent, neque cuiusquam imperio obtemperaturos: rogati tamen ab Commio pro eius hospitio duo milia una miserunt.

c. lxxvi.

Caesar's vassal, Commius, joins the rest of the Gauls in their supreme effort for liberty—The army raised amounts to 248,000—The command is shared between Commius, Viridomarus, Eporedorix and Vercassivellaunus—Full of confidence they march to the relief of Alesia.

Huius opera Commii, ita ut antea demonstravimus, fidei 1 atque utili superioribus annis erat usus in Britannia Caesar; quibus ille pro meritis civitatem eius immunem esse iusserat, iura legesque reddiderat atque ipsi Morinos attribuerat. tamen 2 tanta universae Galliae consensio fuit libertatis vindicandae et pristinae belli laudis recuperandae, ut neque beneficiis neque amicitiae memoria moverentur, omnesque et animo et opibus in id bellum incumberent. coactis equitum VIII milibus et 3 peditum circiter CCXL, haec in Aeduorum finibus recensebantur, numerusque inibatur, praefecti constituebantur: Commio Atrebat, Viridomaro et Eporedorigi Aeduis, Vercassivellauno Arverno, consobrino Vercingetorigis, summa imperii traditur. his delecti ex civitatibus attribuuntur, quorum con- 4 silio bellum administraretur. omnes alacres et fiduciae pleni 5 ad Alesiam proficiscuntur, neque erat omnium quisquam, qui 6 aspectum modo tantae multitudinis sustineri posse arbitraretur, praesertim ancipiti proelio, cum ex oppido eruptione pugnaretur, foris tantae copiae equitatus peditatusque cernerentur.

c. lxxvii.

Amongst the besieged distress leads to various counsels—Critognatus proposes holding out to the last, even supporting the able-bodied upon the flesh of such as are unfit for service.

At ii, qui Alesiae obsidebantur, praeterita die, qua auxilia¹ suorum expectaverant, consumpto omni frumento inscii, quid in Aeduis gereretur, concilio coacto de exitu fortunarum suarum consultabant. ac variis dictis sententiis, quarum pars² deditionem, pars, dum vires suppeterent, eruptionem censebat, non praetereunda oratio Critognati videtur propter eius singularem ac nefariam crudelitatem. hic summo in Arvernibus ortus³ loco et magnae habitus auctoritatis, 'nihil,' inquit, 'de eorum sententia dicturus sum, qui turpissimam servitutem deditionis nomine appellant, neque hos habendos civium loco neque ad consilium adhibendos censeo. cum his mihi res sit, qui⁴ eruptionem probant: quorum in consilio omnium vestrum consensu pristinae residere virtutis memoria videtur. animi⁵ est ista mollitia, non virtus, inopiam paulisper ferre non posse. qui se ultro morti offerant, facilius reperiuntur, quam qui dolorem patienter ferant. atque ego hanc sententiam probarem (tantum apud me dignitas potest), si nullam praeterquam vitae nostrae iacturam fieri viderem; sed in consilio⁷ capiendo omnem Galliam respiciamus, quam ad nostrum auxilium concitavimus. quid hominum milibus LXXX uno⁸ loco interfectis, propinquis consanguineisque nostris animi fore existimatis, si paene in ipsis cadaveribus proelio decertare cogentur? nolite hos vestro auxilio exspoliare, qui vestrae⁹ salutis causa suum periculum neglexerunt, nec stultitia ac temeritate vestra aut animi imbecillitate omnem Galliam prosternere et perpetuae servituti subicere. an, quod ad diem¹⁰ non venerunt, de eorum fide constantiaque dubitatis? quid

ergo? Romanos in illis ulterioribus munitionibus animine causa cotidie exerceri putatis? si illorum nuntiis confirmari 11 non potestis omni aditu praesepto, his utimini testibus appropinquare eorum adventum; cuius rei timore exterriti diem noctemque in opere versantur. quid ergo mei consilii est? 12 facere, quod nostri maiores nequaquam pari bello Cimbrorum Teutonumque fecerunt; qui in oppida compulsi ac simili inopia subacti eorum corporibus, qui aetate inutiles ad bellum videbantur, vitam toleraverunt neque se hostibus tradiderunt. cuius rei si exemplum non haberemus, tamen libertatis causa 13 institui et posteris prodi pulcherrimum iudicarem. nam quid 14 illi simile bello fuit? depopulata Gallia Cimbri magnaue illata calamitate finibus quidem nostris aliquando excesserunt atque alias terras petierunt; iura, leges, agros, libertatem nobis reliquerunt. Romani vero quid petunt aliud, aut quid 15 volunt, nisi invidia adducti, quos fama nobiles potentesque bello cognoverunt, horum in agris civitatibusque considerare atque his aeternam iniungere servitutem? neque enim umquam alia condicione bella gesserunt. quod si ea, quae in longinquis 16 nationibus geruntur, ignoratis, respicite finitimam Galliam, quae in provinciam redacta, iure et legibus commutatis, securibus subiecta perpetua premitur servitute.'

c. lxxviii.

The inhabitants and all who are unfit for service are driven from the town, but refused permission to pass the Roman lines.

Sententiis dictis constituunt, ut ii, qui valetudine aut aetate 1 inutiles sunt bello, oppido excedant, atque omnia prius experiantur, quam ad Critognati sententiam descendant: illo 2 tamen potius utendum consilio, si res cogat atque auxilia morentur, quam aut deditionis aut pacis subeundam condi-

cionem. Mandubii, qui eos oppido receperant, cum liberis 3
atque uxoribus exire coguntur. hi, cum ad munitiones 4
Romanorum accessissent, flentes omnibus precibus orabant,
ut se in servitutem receptos cibo iuarent. at Caesar dispositis 5
in vallo custodiis recipi prohibebat.

c. lxxix.

The relieving army occupies the hill west of Alesia, a mile from the Roman lines—The besieged, overjoyed at the sight of relief, display their ranks in front of the walls and prepare to assault the lines.

Interea Commius et reliqui duces, quibus summa imperii 1
permissa erat, cum omnibus copiis ad Alesiam perveniunt et
colle exteriore occupato non longius mille passibus ab nostris
munitionibus considunt. postero die equitatu ex castris educto 2
omnem eam planiciem, quam in longitudinem tria milia
passuum patere demonstravimus, complent pedestresque copias
paulum ab eo loco abditas in locis superioribus constituunt.
erat ex oppido Alesia despectus in campum. concurrunt his 3
auxiliis visis; fit gratulatio inter eos atque omnium animi ad
laetitiam excitantur. itaque productis copiis ante oppidum 4
considunt et proximam fossam cratibus integunt atque aggere
explent seque ad eruptionem atque omnes casus comparant.

c. lxxx.

In a battle with the relieving army the Germans again decide the issue in Caesar's favour.

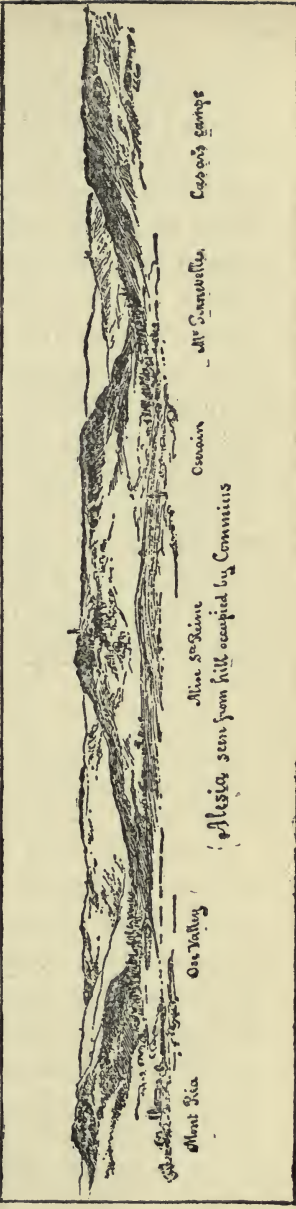
Caesar omni exercitu ad utramque partem munitionum 1
disposito, ut, si usus veniat, suum quisque locum teneat et
noverit, equitatum ex castris educi et proelium committi iubet.
erat ex omnibus castris, quae summum undique iugum tene- 2
bant, despectus, atque omnes milites intenti pugnae proventum
expectabant. Galli inter equites raros sagittarios expeditosque 3

View of the plain of Laumes looking towards the hill occupied by Commius—in the foreground the scene of the final repulse of the Gauls (c. 88).



Mont Roca

The Plain of Laumes
from the Northern slope of the Ore valley
Mont Roca



Mont Roca

Ore Valley

Alisia seen from hill occupied by Commius

Alisia

Mont Roca

Ore Valley

Alisia

Mont Roca

Ore Valley

Alisia

levis armaturae interiecerant, qui suis cedentibus auxilio succurrerent et nostrorum equitum impetus sustinerent. ab his 4 complures de improvise vulnerati proelio excedebant. cum suos pugna superiores esse Galli confiderent et nostros multitudine premi viderent, ex omnibus partibus et ii, qui munitionibus continebantur, et hi, qui ad auxilium convenerant, clamore et ululatu suorum animos confirmabant. quod in 5 conspectu omnium res gerebatur neque recte ac turpiter factum celari poterat, utrosque et laudis cupiditas et timor ignominiae ad virtutem excitabat. cum a meridie prope ad solis occasum 6 dubia victoria pugnaretur, Germani una in parte confertis turmis in hostes impetum fecerunt eosque propulerunt, quibus 7 in fugam coniectis sagittarii circumventi interfectique sunt. item ex reliquis partibus nostri cedentes usque ad castra 8 insecuti sui colligendi facultatem non dederunt. at ii, qui ab 9 Alesia processerant, maesti prope victoria desperata se in oppidum receperunt.

c. lxxxi.

The Gauls make another attempt by night, supported by a simultaneous attack on the part of the besieged—The Romans take up the defensive and are relieved from forts further off.

Uno die intermisso Galli atque hoc spatio magno cratium, 1 scalarum, harpagonum numero effecto, media nocte silentio ex castris egressi ad campestris munitiones accedunt. subito 2 clamore sublato, qua significatione qui in oppido obsidebantur de suo adventu cognoscere possent, crates proicere, fundis, sagittis, lapidibus nostros de vallo proturbare reliquaque, quae ad oppugnationem pertinent, parant administrare. eodem 3 tempore clamore exaudito dat tuba signum suis Vercingetorix atque ex oppido educit. nostri ut superioribus diebus, ut 4 cuique locus erat attributus, ad munitiones accedunt; fundis

librilibus sudibusque, quas in opere disposuerant, ac glandibus Gallos proterrent. prospectu tenebris adempto multa utrimque 5 vulnera accipiuntur; complura tormentis tela coniciuntur. at 6 Marcus Antonius et Gaius Trebonius legati, quibus eae partes ad defendendum obvenerant, qua ex parte nostros premi intellexerant, his auxilio ex ulterioribus castellis deductos submittebant.

c. lxxxii.

Failure and withdrawal of both Gallic armies.

Dum longius ab munitione aberant Galli, plus multitudine 1 telorum proficiebant; posteaquam propius successerunt, aut se stimulis inopinantes induebant aut in scrobes delati transfodiebantur aut ex vallo ac turribus traieci pilis muralibus interibant. multis undique vulneribus acceptis nulla munitione 2 perrupta, cum lux appeteret, veriti, ne ab latere aperto ex superioribus castris eruptione circumvenirentur, se ad suos receperunt. at interiores, dum ea, quae a Vercingetorige ad 3 eruptionem praeparata erant, proferunt, priores fossas explent, diutius in his rebus administrandis morati prius suos discessisse 4 cognoverunt, quam munitionibus appropinquarent. ita re infecta in oppidum reverterunt.

c. lxxxiii.

The Gauls attempt a relief by a circuitous movement to the north under Vercassivellaunus—A simultaneous attack is made from all sides.

Bis magno cum detrimento repulsi Galli, quid agant, consulant; locorum peritos adhibent: ex his superiorum castrorum situs munitionesque cognoscunt. erat a septentrionibus collis, 2 quem propter magnitudinem circuitus opere circumplecti non potuerant nostri: necessario paene iniquo loco et leniter declivi castra fecerunt. haec Gaius Antistius Reginus et Gaius Cani- 3

nus Rebilus legati cum duabus legionibus obtinebant. cog-
 nitis per exploratores regionibus duces hostium LX milia ex
 omni numero deligunt earum civitatum, quae maximam virtutis
 opinionem habebant; quid quoque pacto agi placeat, occulte
 inter se constituunt; adeundi tempus definiunt, cum meridies
 esse videatur. his copiis Vercassivellaunum Arvernum, unum
 ex quattuor ducibus, propinquum Vercingetorigis, praeferunt.
 ille ex castris prima vigilia egressus prope confecto sub lucem
 itinere, post montem se occultavit militesque ex nocturno labore
 sese reficere iussit. cum iam meridies appropinquare vide-
 retur, ad ea castra, quae supra demonstravimus, contendit; eo-
 demque tempore equitatus ad campestris munitiones accedere
 et reliquae copiae pro castris sese ostendere coeperunt.

c. lxxxiv.

Vercingetorix supports the attack by a sortie—Alarm of the Romans.

Vercingetorix ex arce Alesiae suos conspicatus ex oppido
 egreditur; cratis, longurios, musculos, falces reliquaque, quae
 eruptionis causa paraverat, profert. pugnatur uno tempore
 omnibus locis acriter atque omnia temptantur: quae minime
 visa pars firma est, huc concurritur. Romanorum manus tan-
 tis munitionibus distinctetur nec facile pluribus locis occurrit.
 multum ad terrendos nostros valuit clamor, qui post tergum
 pugnantibus exstitit, quod suum periculum in aliena vident
 virtute constare: omnia enim plerumque, quae absunt, vehe-
 mentius hominum mentes perturbant.

c. lxxxv.

A supreme effort is made on both sides—The Romans waver under the
 attack of Vercassivellaunus (on Mt. Réa).

Caesar idoneum locum nactus, quid quaque in parte gera-
 tur, cognoscit, laborantibus summittit. utrisque ad animum

occurrit, unum illud esse tempus, quo maxime contendere con-
 veniat: Galli, nisi perfregerint munitiones, de omni salute des- 3
 perant; Romani, si rem obtinuerint, finem laborum omnium
 expectant. maxime ad superiores munitiones laboratur, quo 4
 Vercassivellaunum missum demonstravimus. iniquum loci ad
 declivitatem fastigium magnum habet momentum. alii tela 5
 coniciunt, alii testudine facta subeunt; defatigatis in vicem
 integri succedunt. agger ab universis in munitionem con- 6
 iectus et ascensum dat Gallis, et ea, quae in terra occultave-
 rant Romani, contegit; nec iam arma nostris, nec vires suppe-
 tunt.

c. lxxxvi.

Caesar sends Labienus to charge the enemy by a sortie from the lines in
 case of necessity—Gallant attack by the besieged.

His rebus cognitis Caesar Labienum cum cohortibus sex 1
 subsidio laborantibus mittit: imperat, si sustinere non posset, 2
 deductis cohortibus eruptione pugnaret; id nisi necessario ne
 faciat. ipse adit reliquos, cohortatur, ne labori succumbant; 3
 omnium superiorum dimicationum fructum in eo die atque
 hora docet consistere. interiores desperatis campestribus locis 4
 propter magnitudinem munitionum loca praerupta ex ascensu
 temptant: huc ea, quae paraverant, conferunt: multitudine 5
 telorum ex turribus propugnantes deturbant, aggere et cratibus
 fossas explent, falcibus vallum ac loricam rescindunt.

c. lxxxvii.

Caesar sends all his available forces to the point assailed by the besieged
 and repairs thither himself—Having repulsed the sortie from the town, he
 joins Labienus, with further reinforcements, on Mt. Réa.

Mittit primo Brutum adolescentem cum cohortibus Caesar, 1
 post cum aliis Gaium Fabium legatum; postremo ipse, cum 2

vehementius pugnarent, integros subsidio adducit. restituto 3
proelio ac repulsis hostibus eo, quo Labienum miserat, con-
tendit; cohortes quattuor ex proximo castello deducit, equi- 4
tum partem se sequi, partem circumire exteriores munitiones
et ab tergo hostes adoriri iubet. Labienus, postquam neque 5
aggeres neque fossae vim hostium sustinere poterant, coactis
una [XL] cohortibus, quas ex proximis praesidiis deductas fors
obtulit, Caesarem per nuntios facit certiolem, quid faciendum
existimet. accelerat Caesar, ut proelio intersit.

c. lxxxviii.

Caesar's arrival encourages his troops—The appearance of cavalry in their
rear puts the Gauls to flight—Despair of the besieged.

Eius adventu ex colore vestitus cognito, quo insigni in 1
proeliis uti consueverat, turmisque equitum et cohortibus
visis, quas se sequi iusserat, ut de locis superioribus haec
declivia et devexa cernebantur, nostri proelium committunt.
utrimque clamore sublato excipit rursus ex vallo atque 2
omnibus munitionibus clamor. nostri emissis pilis gladiis 3
rem gerunt. repente post tergum equitatus cernitur; co-
hortes aliae appropinquant. hostes terga vertunt; fugien-
tibus equites occurrunt: fit magna caedes. Sedulius, dux 4
et princeps Lemovicum, occiditur; Vercassivellaunus Arver-
nus vivus in fuga comprehenditur; signa militaria LXXIII
ad Caesarem referuntur: pauci ex tanto numero se incolumes
in castra recipiunt. conspicati ex oppido caedem et fugam 5
suorum desperata salute copias a munitionibus reducant. fit
protinus hac re audita ex castris Gallorum fuga. quod nisi 6
crebris subsidiis ac totius diei labore milites essent defessi,
omnes hostium copiae deleri potuissent. de media nocte 7
missus equitatus novissimum agmen consequitur: magnus

numerus capitur atque interficitur, reliqui ex fuga in civitates discedunt.

c. lxxxix.

Vercingetorix summons a council and places his life in their hands—Ambassadors are sent to Caesar, who dictates his terms—Vercingetorix is surrendered and the city capitulates.

Postero die Vercingetorix concilio convocato id se bellum 1 suscepisse non suarum necessitatum, sed communis libertatis causa demonstrat, et quoniam sit fortunae cedendum, ad 2 utramque rem se illis offerre, seu morte sua Romanis satisfacere seu vivum tradere velint. mittuntur de his rebus ad Caesarem 3 legati. iubet arma tradi, principes produci. ipse in munitione 4 pro castris consedit: eo duces producuntur. Vercingetorix deditur, arma prociuntur. reservatis Aeduis atque Arvernīs, 5 si per eos civitates recuperare posset, ex reliquis captivis toto exercitui capita singula praedae nomine distribuit.

c. xc.

Gaul regarrisoned.

His rebus confectis in Aeduos proficiscitur; civitatem 1 recipit. eo legati ab Arvernīs missi, quae imperaret se facturos 2 pollicentur. imperat magnum numerum obsidum. legiones in 3 hiberna mittit. captivorum circiter viginti milia Aeduis Arvernisque reddit. Titum Labienum duabus cum legionibus et 4 equitatu in Sequanos proficisci iubet: huic Marcum Semproum Rutilum attribuit: Gaium Fabium et Lucium Minucium 5 Basilum cum duabus legionibus in Remis collocat, ne quam ab finitimis Bellovacis calamitatem accipiant. Gaium Antistium 6 Reginum in Ambivaretos, Titum Sextium in Bituriges, Gaium Caninium Rebilum in Rutenos cum singulis legionibus mittit.

Quintum Tullium Ciceronem et Publium Sulpicium Cabilloni 7
et Matiscone in Aeduis ad Ararim rei frumentariae causa col-
locat. ipse Bibracte hiemare constituit. his litteris cognitis 8
Romae dierum viginti supplicatio redditur.

NOTES.

I.

1. Quieta Gallia: the tribes, which at the close of almost every campaign appeared 'pacati,' had to be annually reconquered. The execution of Acco (VI. c. 44) had aroused the spirit of all the Keltic nobility; and whilst Caesar was in Italy, far away from his legions, there seemed to be a good opportunity for throwing off the Roman yoke.

in Italiam: Italy here in its wider sense, *i.e.*, including Gallia Cisalpina, which formed part of Caesar's proconsular province. Lucca would be his residence, not being included in Etruria till the days of Augustus.

ad conventus agendos: as Proconsul Caesar had to administer justice to his province. This he did during the winter months, going through the districts as a judge 'on circuit.'

de Clodii caede: cf. Index.

Senatusque consulto: we learn from Cicero's speech on behalf of Milo, that by a decree of the Senate Pompeius had been invested with the power (though not the title) of Dictator and ordered to make a conscription throughout Italy. *Consulto*, ? for *de consulto*, to avoid repeating *de*.

iuniores: those from the age of seventeen to forty-six constituted the 'iuventus,' and were liable to be called out.

coniurarent: in case of a general conscription, the oath of allegiance (*sacramentum*) was administered wholesale (*coniurare*), the general taking two standards (*vexilla*) in the hand and calling upon all who wished well to the State to follow him. Otherwise one man out of each legion repeated the form of oath, and the rest, each in turn, stepped out and took the oath in the words 'idem in me.'

2. res: beginners should observe the numerous senses in which this word is used. The English equivalent must be determined by the context; *vide* some two dozen instances given in the "Idioms," pp. 119-132.

celeriter: for the manner in which news was spread cf. c. 3, 2.

quod = id quod, *id* being in apposition to the clause following in the Acc. and Inf.

urbano motu : cf. Historical Sketch, p. xii.

3. *qui dolerent* : *qui* with Subjunctive here indicates a reason, "seeing that they."

4. *de Acconis morte* : cf. VI. c. 44, where Acco is executed as a ringleader in the last revolt.

5. *qui faciant* : the Subjunctive indicates the *intention*, the Present follows the Historic Present *deposcunt*.

6. *eorum* : irreg. for *sua*, Caesar being the main subject of thought.

7. *legiones* : two were near the Treveri, two among the Lingones, six at Agedincum (VI. c. 44).

II.

1. *nullum periculum* : referring to the challenge in I, 5, 'sui capitis periculo.'

2. *collatis—signis* : the Gauls, like the Germans in Tacitus (Germania, c. II), attended their assemblies in arms, and to bind themselves solemnly together their custom was to make a sheaf of their standards and swear by this emblem of unity.

quo : agreeing with *more*, or, as some take it, substantival (= 'whereby').

3. *tum, &c.* : sentences thus formed of a string of clauses (Abl. Abs. and other Participials, as well as subordinate clauses introduced by Relatives) are best split up into short sentences in English, *e.g.*, a vote of thanks is given, the oath is taken, a date fixed and the assembly breaks up.

III.

1. *ea dies* : *dies* = 'a day' is always masc. in Prose, hence in plural it is never found in the feminine. In the singular it is often feminine in the sense of a *fixed date*, and always so when used for a *period of time* (poetically). Here 'ea dies' refers to the above 'tempore constituto' and = "the appointed time," cf. I. c. 6 "Diem dicunt, *qua die* ad ripam convenient. *Is dies* erat a. d. v. Kal. Apr. = They fix a *date* for a general meeting on the banks of the Rhone. The *day* fixed was the 28th of March."

negotiandi : 'negotiatores,' men, commonly of equestrian rank, settled in the provinces as corn-factors and agents to 'mercatores' at Rome, combining with this occupation banking and money-lending. "Nemo Gallorum sine cive Romano quicquam negotii gerit : nummus in Gallia nullus sine civium Romanorum tabulis commovetur."—Cic. pro Font. v. II.

2. *maior atque illustrior* : *i.e.*, 'than usual ;' a common use of the Comparative.

3. *quae gesta essent* : the Subjunctive must not be taken as that of a dependent question, as though it read 'audiverunt quae, &c.' The mood

rather indicates "things which had happened even at Cenabum, 150 miles off," as distinguished from "*the* things which, &c." (Lat. *quae gesta erant*); cf. "*culpam vertit in collegas qui certe nihil deliquissent*" = he threw the blame on his colleagues, *men who* had certainly done no wrong."

vigiliam : as the day was divided into twelve hours, from sunrise to sunset, whatever the time of year, so the night, sunset to sunrise, was divided into four watches, cf. Excursus, § 9.

IV.

1. *ibi* : *i.e.*, amongst the Arverni just named.

principatum . . . obtinuerat : as the Arverni enjoyed a hegemony in Gaul, their chief might be said to hold the 'principatus totius Galliae.' Beware of rendering *obtinere* "to obtain."

appetebat : the Indicative implies that Caesar states it as a fact ; if he mentioned it merely as a charge, he would use the Subjunctive, cf. c. 30, 1 'quod defecerat.'

convocatis . . . incendit : the object of *incendit* is supplied from *clientibus*, and the usual construction would be 'convocatos suos clientes . . . incendit,' as in c. 13, 2 *comprehensos . . . perduxerunt* ; but Caesar frequently uses the Abl. Abs. thus, *e.g.*, c. 29, 1 *concilio convocato consolatus est*. 'Clientes' are compared to the 'thralls' of Norman days.

2. *ex oppido* : an 'oppidum' in Gaul signifies a place of refuge and defence, whither a whole tribe might betake itself when attacked.

7. *civitatibus obsides imperat* : when *imperare* takes an Acc. of the thing ordered, that may become the subject of the Verb in the Passive, *e.g.*, 'obsides civitatibus imperantur.'

8. *armorum quantum, &c.* : take *quantum* with *armorum*, *quod* with *tempus*, = 'et ante quod tempus.'

V.

1. *in Rutenos . . . in Bituriges* : *in* must be rendered, 'to, for, against,' according to the context, from which must be gathered whether the journey is undertaken in a friendly, neutral or hostile sense.

2, 3, *legatos . . . legatorum* : *legatus* is strictly a deputy, hence lieutenant. But as a deputy may be employed (1) to perform a diplomatic function on behalf of his chief, or (2) to command in the absence of his superior, the context must always decide whether to render 'ambassador' or 'lieutenant.'

transissent. Observe the accuracy of the Latin Tenses, here so well illustrated that the passage will repay a careful examination. The Tense of a Subordinate Verb is regulated by the Tense of the Verb on which it im-

mediately depends. If that is Primary (Pres. or Perf.), the Subordinate Verb will be Primary (Pres. or Perf.); if Historic (Impf. Aor. or Plupf.) the Subordinate Verb will be Historic (Impf. or Plupf.—or Aor. as explained in note to c. 17, 3). Again, the Subordinate Verb will denote action completed or not completed, according as its action is prior or not prior to the action of the Verb on which it depends. Hence the two Primary and two Historic Tenses in the Subjunctive, the Pres. and Impf. denoting incomplete, and the Perf. and Plupf. completed action. The same principles govern the Tense of the Verb on which any Subordinate Verb depends, if it, in turn, is dependent on some other Verb. Here the Tenses will be best understood by tracing the growth of the sentence from its simplest form; thus, the *thought* of the Aedui was: 'Biturigibus id consilii *fuit*, ut, si *transissemus*, *circumsisterent*.' Here *fuit* is Historic, and governs the Tense of *circumsisterent*, which is Historic because it depends upon *fuit*, and is Impf. because its action is not prior (but future) to that of *fuit*; whilst *transissemus* is Historic because it depends immediately upon *circumsisterent*, and is Plupf. and not Impf. because its action is regarded as prior to that of *circumsisterent*. The next stage of the sentence represents the *words* of the Aedui to the legati: '*Revertimus* Biturigum perfidiam veriti, quibus id consilii *fuisse cognovimus*, ut, si *transissemus*, *circumsisterent*.' Finally Caesar describes the statement ('renuntiant'), with the effect of turning *revertimus* into *se revertisse*, and *cognovimus* into *cognoverint*. Examined in this way all cases will be accounted for in which a Plupf. is used for an apparently future action, e.g. 'reliquissent,' c. 17, 6, 'ascendissent,' c. 27, 2.

ipsi: i.e., the Bituriges. The conduct of the Aedui is one of many instances of their vacillating character.

VI.

1. *in Italiam*: it would be wrong to say 'Caesari in Italia,' for the English 'to Caesar in Italy.'

iam . . . profectus est: Pompeius entered upon his sole consulship on February 25 (Old Style). Caesar must have left Italy for Gaul by about the middle of January, according to the revised Kalendar: for owing to the error in the Kalendar the 1st of January fell on what ought to have been the 23rd of November.

virtute Gn. Pompei: the 'vigorous action' referred to consisted in his suppression of the disturbances following upon the murder of Clodius, cf. Historical Sketch, p. xii. The friendly allusion to his great rival is taken

as an indication that the book was written before the breach took place in 49 B.C.

3. *arcesseret*: not 'arcessisset' (cf. note on 'transissent,' c. 5, 5), because the summons to the legions implies also their march south, *during which* (Imperfect) the supposed battle would be taking place.

VII.

1. *in Rutenos missus*: cf. c. 5, 1.

2. *eruptionem*: an *eruptio* from the point of view of the invader, becomes an *irruptio* when regarded from that of the invaded; cf. c. 70, 2. In a siege *eruptio* = sortie, sally, cf. c. 86, 2.

3. *consiliis*: Dative after *antevertere*.

4. *Rutenis provincialibus*: *vide* Index.

VIII.

1. *His rebus . . . remoto*: the former Abl. Abs. is subordinate to the latter, as in II. c. 11, 'exaudito clamore perturbatis ordinibus.'

praesidia: i.e., the belt of garrisons protecting the frontier of the Province. [*Lucretius* is subject to *putabat*.]

2. *mons Cevenna*: Caesar crossed the range probably by the pass now followed by the railway from Nîmes to Clermont, reaching an elevation of 4,000 ft.

4. *haec fama ac nuntiis*: the MSS. have *nuntii*; but the text removes a very awkward construction, leaving *haec* as subject to *perferuntur*.

suis fortunis: the use of the Reflexive in Orat. Obliqua is so elastic, that the context alone can decide whether it refers to the subject of the Main or to that of the Subordinate Verb, cf. I, c. 36, in which four different Subjects are referred to by the Reflexive. *Suis* here refers to *Arverni*.

IX.

1. *At Caesar*: observe how *at* almost invariably indicates a change of scene, as we say 'Meanwhile,' cf. cc. 36, 62, 77, 78, 80, 82.

de: 'as regards,' 'as to.' *Brutum*: *vide* Index.

2. *longius triduo*: *longe* rarely of time; but cf. cc. 11, 4; 71, 4. Caesar makes a promise to return quickly, in order to relieve the young man's anxiety; but we hear no more of the force left with Brutus.

4. *recentem equitatum*: does this mean 'newly raised,' or 'recruited by a rest,' or 'but lately arrived'? The first of these is taken by Napoleon, but wants force. The second has a parallel in c. 48, 4 'recentes atque in

tegros,' and may have reference to their readiness for the forced march in store for them. The last meaning has been suggested as emphasizing the rapidity of Caesar's march to Vienna, by contrast with *multis ante diebus*.

de sua salute: i.e., some design on the part of the Aedui too (*etiam*: as well as the Bituriges) to shift for themselves, as Caesar's support was not now to be looked for, cf. c. 10, 1.

6. *Helvetico proelio*: i.e., the battle with the Helvetii, I. cc. 24-26.

attribuerat: the Boii would enjoy the protection of their powerful neighbours, and pay a tribute in recognition of this.

X.

1. *difficultatem*: the dilemma is expressed in the two parallel conditionals (1) *si . . . contineret, ne . . . deficeret*, (2) *si . . . educeret, ne . . . laboraret*.

stipendiariis: i.e., the Boii. If even these especial protégés were not safe, the rest of Gaul might well revolt.

expugnatis: i.e., by the capture of Gorgobina. This is a solitary instance in Caesar of *expugnare* with a *person* for its object.

in eo: i.e., Caesar—*se* might appear ambiguous.

ab re frumentaria: *ab* = 'on the side of,' 'on the score of,' literally 'looked at *from* the point of view of—'

duris subvectionibus: *sub* = 'up to the front,' *duris* because of the severity of the weather. The Abl. expresses the *cause*—'in consequence of.'

2. *tamen*: more emphatic in its position here than if second word in the sentence.

XI.

1. *Altero die*: not the same as 'postero die,' but 'the next day but one.'

Vellaunodunum: the Illustration shows a view of Triguères, which is distant about twenty-six miles from Sens. L. Napoleon's arguments in favour of this as the site of Vellaunodunum are very convincing, and the time taken, though apparently long, tallies with the five days taken on the march to Gergovia, c. 36.

2. *iumenta*: mules or horses for use as pack-animals

iter: i.e., ad Boios, for the relief of Gorgobina.

4. *longius*: cf. note on c. 9, 2. *eam rem* = the siege.

5. *biduo*: the distance from Triguères to Gien is the same as from the former to Sens. The Illustration shows the site of an old Gallic town above Gien, cf. Index '*Cenabum*.'

diei tempore: the days were short (February).

quae . . . usui sint: the Relative clause as a whole stands as Object to *imperat*, hence the Subjunctive. In '*ea quae usui sunt*' *ea* would be the Object, and the clause would be explanatory.

8. *expeditas*: cf. Excursus, § 4, and note on c. 18, 1. Beware of translating *expeditus* 'light-armed,' cf. Idioms, cc. 18, 65.

XII.

2. *Noviodunum*: the Illustration gives a view of Sancerre from across the Loire. The old town may be seen on the hill: but the site is disputed. In any case this must be distinguished from the Noviodunum of c. 55. *Ille* is of course Caesar, 'the other.'

3. *celeritate*: understand *ea*, as antecedent to *qua*.

6. *centuriones in oppido*: Caesar occasionally writes thus for what should be '*qui in oppido erant*,' e.g., VI. c. 37 '*Cohors in statione*'; but to avoid the danger of imitating such a construction, translate "In the town, the centurions, &c.," taking *in oppido* with the Predicate.

XIII.

1. *Germanos*: the first mention in the book of a force destined on several critical occasions to turn the tide of success in Caesar's favour, cf. cc. 67, 70, 80.

secum: their position is almost equivalent to that of a 'body-guard.'

3. *agri*: i.e., Biturigum. Some take '*regio agri*' in a general sense, as 'a tract of country.'

XIV.

2. *alia . . . atque*: *atque* is used as a Conjunction of Comparison with Adjs. or Advs. denoting similarity or the opposite; e.g., '*alius*,' '*aequus*,' '*pariter*,' &c. The tactics recommended by Vercingetorix are the same as those pursued with success by the Russians when they burnt Moscow before Napoleon.

3. *anni tempore*: because it was still winter, when nothing could be got off the land.

4. *aedificiis*: here and below *aedificia* must be store-houses or barns scattered over the country for storage of crops, as in mountain countries at the present day.

5. *hoc spatio*: a loose use of the Ablative denoting an extended position, cf. *tota civitate*, c. 38, 10.

a Boia: the MSS. reading. Madvig suggests 'ab via,' which seems open to as much objection as the text. *A Boia quoque versus* will be taken as an explanatory parenthesis, and *quo* with *hoc spatio*.

8. *ipsosne . . . impedimentisne*: the only instance in Caesar of a double *-ne* for 'utrum . . . an . . .' The double *neu* (below) is also unusual for 'ne . . . neu.'

10. *aestimare*: the omission of a subject ('se') seems awkward.

XV.

1. *amplius xx urbes*: the case of *urbes* is not affected by *amplius*, which is inserted as it were parenthetically.

2. *magno cum dolore*: *cum* is not generally expressed with an Abl. of Manner combined with an epithet: 'cum dolore' or 'magno dolore.'

4. *sit . . . cogerentur*: the change of Tenses appears to resemble the variation in Greek of a 'vivid' Subjunctive with an Optative, where the latter expresses an idea less present to the mind, e.g., Thuc. vii. 17. ναῦς ἐπλήρουν, ὅπως ναυμαχίας τε ἀποπειράσωσι, καὶ ἦσσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κωλύοιεν ἀπαίρειν.

6. *misericordia volgi*: the multitude at the assembly felt compassion for the people of Avaricum. "Subjective Genitive," because the action implied has *volgus* for its Subject, not its Object.

oppido: a "Dativus Commodi" with *deliguntur*, cf. c. 16, 1 *locum castris deligit*.

XVI.

1. *locum castris deligit*: the position of this camp is a matter of some difficulty. It may probably be found near Dun-le-roi on the left bank of the Auron. In the face of the distance given in the text, it is strange how Editors have gone on reproducing a map showing two sites (for the camps here and in c. 18) to the west of Avaricum, neither of which can be more than some six miles from the town, whilst each is about three miles in width.

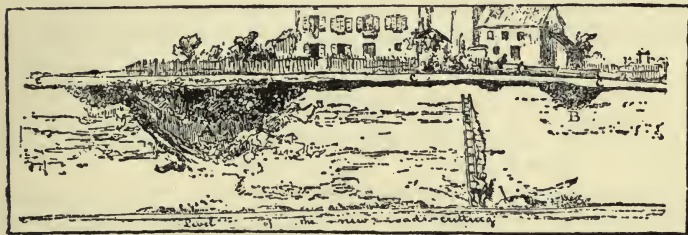
2. *certos exploratores*: being at so great a distance from the town, whose defence he was directing, Vercingetorix organized a systematic service of scouts.

3. *necessario*: not to be taken with *longius*.

ut . . . iretur: to be taken as a Consecutive clause explanatory of *occurrebatur*, i.e., the Romans met the enemy's tactics by choosing uncertain times and varying directions for their expeditions.

XVII.

1. *Castris . . . positis*: the site of Caesar's camp, on the ridge lying between (*intermissa*) the river Auron and the still watery ground to the east on the course of the Yevre, is easily identified. Having surveyed the whole ground from the tower of the Cathedral (at Bourges), the Editor observed a road newly cut through the site of the camp, and, on visiting the spot, discovered, as was to be expected, unmistakable trenches cut through the chalky soil exposed to view by the new cutting, and filled up with the red earth of the upper layer. The measurements correspond exactly with those of the trenches (*fossae fastigatae*) usually made round a camp, viz., about 15 ft. wide by 9 ft. deep. *Vide Illustration.*



A. Trench, 15 feet wide, outside rampart of camp.

B. Small trench behind rampart.

c. c. c. Level of old road.

It may here be remarked that the Romans used three forms of trench : (1) *fossa fastigata*, in which both sides (scarp and counterscarp) are sloping ; (2) *fossa punica*, with sloping scarp and vertical counterscarp ; (3) *fossa directis lateribus*, with both sides vertical, i.e., the same width at the bottom as at the top, as Caesar carefully explains, c. 72, 1.

Caesar : observe the position of the Subject here and below (4), and c. 19, 4.

vineas . . . turres: vide Frontispiece and Excursus, § II.

circumvallare . . . prohibebat: Caesar always uses the Infin. with *prohibere*, never 'quominus.'

2. *alteri . . . alteri*: 'the latter (Aedui) . . . the former (Boii),' cf. below 'tenuitate Boiorum, indiligentia Aeduorum.'

3. *caruerint . . . sustentarent*: the Perfect Subjunctive—the Subjunctive equivalent for both uses of the Perfect Indicative—is used in Oratio

Obligua and in Consecutive clauses (after *ut*), where a Perfect Indic. (Aorist) would stand in a Simple Sentence, *i.e.*, to denote a single action or fact, whilst the Imperfect expresses a continuous action or permanent condition. *Caruerint* is therefore 'Historic,' not 'Primary.'

ab iis : not the agent of *audita*, but the source of *vox*.

5. *meruisse* : understand 'stipendia;' to earn the soldier's pay = 'to serve.'

acciperent . . . discederent : the Imperf. denotes action contemporaneous with that of the Verb on which it depends (*meruisse*).

6. *reliquissent* : cf. note on c. 5, 5. The soldiers picture to themselves the shame that would be theirs *after* having abandoned the siege. No good scholar would here use the Imperfect.

7. *parentarent* : the Infin. would be more natural as a parallel to *perferre*, but numerous examples may be found of a Subjunctive after 'potius quam.' *Parentare* originally means 'to offer sacrifice in honour of deceased parents,' and here refers to a slaughter to avenge the murdered Romans.

XVIII.

1. *turres appropinquassent* : the *turres* are 'ambulatoriae,' *i.e.*, on wheels, cf. Illustration, p. 20.

propius Avaricum : *i.e.*, to the 'collis' described in the next chapter. This is supposed to be a hill opposite St. Just, some ten miles up the Auron, cf. Map and Illustration, which show a position corresponding with the description in c. 19.

inter equites : for this Gallic and German custom, cf. I. c. 48. Every horseman had for his support a man on foot, trained to keep apace with the other, on an emergency helping himself by holding on to the horse's mane. These were a source of great mischief to the enemy, whom they would assail with unlooked-for showers of arrows or javelin-thrusts ; cf. also below cc. 36, 65, 80.

3. *in loco edito* : vide Illustration, on the right.

4. *sarcinas conferri* : cf. Excursus, § 3.

XIX.

2. *generatim* : *i.e.*, as a stimulus to bravery and patriotism, cf. c. 36, 2 'separatim singularum civitatum copias collocaverať' (at Gergovia).

vada ac saltus : "fords and passages" L. Napoleon. The word *saltus* is puzzling. If we read *eius paludis*, it must be taken as referring to the overgrown parts where willows, &c., might facilitate a crossing. Kraner

would omit the words in brackets, and take '*saltus*' as referring to the wooded approaches to the hill.

hæsitantes: i.e., in the morass.

3. *propinquitatem*: the two armies are only separated by the morass, so that to a casual observer ('*qui videret*') the Gauls appeared prepared to fight a battle on equal terms; but on a more careful inspection ('*qui perspiceret*') the disadvantage the attacking party would be under (through having to plunge into the swamp) became apparent.

qui . . . qui: observe the absence of a Conjunction in Latin where we insert 'whilst.'

inani simulatione: the charge of a sham display of valour is at least ungenerous on Caesar's part. In c. 25 he testifies that there was no lack of courage amongst the Gauls. He probably wishes to discredit the speech of Vercingetorix in the next chapter, and to show that there was no possibility of attacking the position taken by the Gauls, thus justifying his withdrawal in the face of the enemy, by representing their eagerness for battle as a sham, when they knew he could not reach them.

5. *pro sua laude*: i.e., Caesaris; referring to the subject of *videat*, not of *recusent*; cf. c. 8, 4, note.

XX.

1. *redisset*: i.e., from the ambushade for which he had quitted the camp, c. 18, 1 '*insidiarum causa profectum*.'

movisset: the Subjunctive in this and the following Verbs is in the semi-oblique construction used when the speaker quotes the allegations of others not stating them as facts; cf. '*Socrates accusatus est quod iuventutem corrumpere*' = because, as they said, —, and cf. note on *appetebat*, c. 4, 1.

discessisset: i.e., *insidiarum causa*, c. 18, 1.

reliquisset: i.e., in the camp which had been threatened in his absence, c. 19.

tanta opportunitate: i.e., at daybreak on the very day he was away.

3. *quod . . . quod*: *quod* takes up the wording of the several charges given above.

factum . . . persuasum: the neuter is in each case in agreement with the clause preceding.

ipse sine: the MSS. have '*ipsum munitione*;' the text is after a conjecture of Bentley, which certainly improves the sense, and is a not improbable emendation.

4. *neque . . . et*: observe the use in Latin of these apparently incongruous conjunctions (Gk. *οὐτε . . . τε*), which must generally be rendered in English by 'not . . . but.'

6. *intervenerint*: the transition from Historic to Primary tenses in a reported speech is not uncommon, as the writer gets the language of the speaker more vividly before him; so, in concluding, the *Oratio Recta* with *inquit* is adopted.

fortunae . . . huic: in antithesis, the latter referring to *alicuius*, the author of the information.

7. *remittere*: *i.e.*, 'se imperium remittere.' He artfully offers to resign the command into the hands of those who had bestowed it upon him, if they fancied his rank more profitable to himself than to them.

10. *si quid . . . possent*: as we say 'if perchance' meaning 'to see if'—, cf. c. 32, 2. 'proficisci . . . sive . . . sive . . . posset.'

12. *ex fuga*: 'after a rout' as in cc. 28, 88. Elsewhere 'ex fuga se recipere' = 'to recover from a rout,' II. c. 12; IV. c. 27.

XXI.

1. *armis concrepat*: so too the Germans in Tacitus: 'si placuit sententia, frameas concutiant.'

in eo: 'in the case of him.'

maiore ratione: not 'on a larger scale,' but 'on better principles,' or 'with better generalship.'

3. *paene in eo, si*: the Demonstrative points to the following clause. Some read 'penes eos,' *i.e.*, the Bituriges; the sense then being that the Gauls declined to leave all the glory of successful resistance in the hands of the Bituriges.

XXII.

2. *falces*: these would appear to be the 'falces murales' of which a representation is given by Judson from an old engraving, showing a machine similar to a battering-ram, but having a double hook in the place of the ram's head, and intended to drag down wooden palings and battlements (Illustration, p. 56), or to enlarge openings made by the ram in a wall: "Trabes adunco praefigitur ferro, et falx vocatur ab eo quod incurva est, ut de muro extrahat lapides." Vegetius. A smaller implement is shown in the Illustration, p. 112, taken from specimens in the Museum at Alise St. Reine. These 'harpagones' would be such as the Gauls carried down to the attack on the Roman lines at Alesia, c. 81. The falces here used by the Romans would be hardly portable for such an occasion as the latter.

cum destinaverant . . . reducebant: so we read in Vitruvius' account of the siege of Massilia, how the besieged let down a cord from the wall, furnished with a slip-knot in which they caught the ram and raised its head by means of a wheel so high as to prevent it from striking the wall.

cuniculis: so the Plataeans did, Thuc. ii. 76. Stories are told of mines and counter-mines, in which subterranean battles were fought, smoke and even swarms of wasps and bees being used to drive out the enemy from their mine (Rheinhard).

3 *contabulaverant*: i.e., *contabulatis turribus instruxerant*, cf. Illustration, p. 20. By these turrets the Gauls had practically raised the height of the wall, with the advantage that every story or platform carried a force of fighting men with 'scorpiones,' &c.

4. *quotidianus agger*: the mound, chiefly built of logs (cf. on c. 24, 2), was raised day by day in stories, each story having a gallery ('*apertus cuniculus*' below) running along it, through which the men could approach the wall, wheeling up material for filling the space in front. The '*turres ambulatoriae*' are run up the terrace from the rear, and as the terrace increases in height, so the turrets daily threaten the city wall from a greater elevation. This advantage the besieged meet by joining cross-beams to the projecting upright poles ('*malis*') of their turrets, and so constructing more '*contabulationes*.'

5. *apertos cuniculos . . . morabantur*: these galleries (see above) had their ends facing the town wall open, so that the besieged could throw into the openings the obstacles referred to, to block them up and render them useless.

XXIII.

1. *trabes directae*: the following description will be best understood by a careful comparison with the Illustration. *directae* = at right angles to the length of the wall.

perpetuae: i.e., all the way round the town following the length of the wall, not end to end along the wall, but parallel to one another. These '*trabes*' are distinct from the '*perpetuis trabibus*' below, cf. note on 5 '*pedes quadragenos*.'

2. *introrsus*: i.e., in the interior (thickness) of the wall. The parallel beams are locked together by a double row of beams each 40 ft. long, and '*perpetuae*' (see below) in the sense of 'end to end continuously.'

multo aggere: the interior of the wall is filled up with rubble and soil, kept in place by the facing of large stones, which would be locked with the beams, if the latter are placed with their thicker ends outwards and the stones with their larger side inwards.

3. *arte*: = *arcte*.

singulae singulis: in the case of a Gallic wall discovered in the district occupied by the Cadurci, the spaces between the beams are in every instance filled by three stones, and three layers of stones intervene between the

layers containing beams. In the course of ages the timber has entirely decayed, leaving holes through which a child can crawl, whilst the masonry is intact up to a certain height, cf. Illustration, c.

4. *iusta . . . altitudo*: as we learn from the next chapter that the 'agger' was 80 ft. in height, it is probable that, allowing for the fact that the agger stood upon a depression, the wall would be 30 to 40 ft. high.

5. *materia*: i.e., the whole framework of timber, which would hold the wall together even if isolated stones were forced out.

pedes quadragenos: this refers to the length of the cross-beams within the interior of the wall (see above), the advantage of the length being that so many more of the parallel beams would be fastened into one framework. [Owing to the use of 'trabes perpetuae,' referring (1) to the parallel beams, and (2) to the cross-beams, some have understood 'pedes quadragenos' to refer to the former, thereby creating the unnecessary difficulty of making the wall more than 40 ft. thick.]

perrumpi . . . distrahi: by the ram and 'falx' respectively.

XXIV.

1. *latum*: does Caesar mean 'width' from front to back, or from side to side along the front? If the former, the measurement must be taken from the beginning of the viaduct for the 'turre ambulatoriae,' which would be longer than usual, owing to the depression in front of the wall, which had to be bridged over. L. Napoleon takes the other view, and offers an elaborate plan from which the ground plan in the Illustration is chiefly taken (showing the eastern half of the whole agger): but it must be confessed that in the absence of any accurate information in the text, the elaboration of the plan is not very satisfactory. In favour of the former view it has been suggested (Judson, p. 90) that the distance from the wall at which the construction of the agger could be begun, would depend upon the power of the enemy's missiles, and could hardly have been less than 400 to 500 ft. The building would thence progress forwards under cover of *vineae* and *testudines*, towards the wall to be assaulted, the men in the front being protected from missiles by *plutei*, cf. Illustrations, pp. 20, 112, and Frontispiece.

altum: the unusual height is accounted for by the depression to be filled up, see above, on c. 23, 4.

2. *paene contingeret*: for the gradual approach of the agger to the wall see note above.

succenderant: the fact that an agger was frequently set on fire is an evidence, among others, that it was chiefly constructed of wood, the galleries and spaces between the logs giving access for a draught.

3. *turrium*: whether the Roman turrets on the agger are intended, or the two particular turrets on the wall which faced them, can hardly signify. Though we are told in c. 22, 3 'totum murum ex omni parte turribus contabulaverant,' yet Caesar would have in his mind as *the* 'turres,' those which directly opposed his own. If he refers to his own, it is odd that he does not say 'nostrarum,' or 'ab utroque latere aggeris,' but perhaps his own would be *the* turrets to him.

interscinderent: i.e., at the point, no doubt, where the agger was intersected by the 'cuniculi' (see above), where it would be easy to cut through the floorings of the several passages, and so check the progress of the flames to the other half of the agger.

XXV.

1. *pluteos turrium*: these are different from the movable *plutei* shown in the Illustration, p. 112, and belong to the turrets (probably fixtures), as a front defence for the archers, &c., for whom they would be loopholed. They are made of wicker-work covered with fresh skins, as a protection against fire. The destruction of these left the men on the turrets exposed (*apertos*), if they dared to appear, to the missiles of the Gauls.

scorpione: cf. Excursus, § 5. The 'scorpio' is sometimes the arrow itself, as defined by Isidorus, 'scorpio est sagitta venenata quae, dum ad hominem venerit, virus infundit, unde et nomen accepit.' Here it may be either the arrow or the machine.

XXVI.

2. *palus*: this is taken by some to be the watery valley of the Yèvre on the east side of Avaricum, and Vercingetorix's camp is sought for accordingly along the same river. Taking the site shown in the Illustration (and map after v. Kampen), p. 14, it will follow that the *perpetua palus* is the no less watery valley of the Auron, in favour of which much may be urged.

3. *matres familiae*: we find this combination and 'matres familiarum,' but not 'familias.'

5. *quo timore* = 'cuius rei timore,' cf. 'qua spe' (IV. c. 6), 'hoc metu' (V. c. 19).

XXVII.

1. *directis* = restored to their proper positions after the damage done by the fire had been repaired.

2. *intra vineas*: The Text is hardly satisfactory. It has been proposed to read *inter castra vineasque*.

ascendissent: cf. note on 'transissent,' c. 5, 5. The action upon which

ascendissent is dependent and to which it is prior, is implied in *praemia*, *i.e.*, the giving the prizes. His words would be: "iis, qui ascenderint (Fut. Pf.), praemia propono." cf. 'paruerint' c. 71, 6.

XXVIII.

1. *cuneatim*: the *cuneus* was a recognized form of *acies*, the narrow end of the wedge being in front. Here it seems probable that several *cunei* reversed form a circle ('orbis'), like the spaces between the spokes of a wheel, cf. *Excursus*, § 8.

2. *in aequum locum*: *i.e.*, by coming down from the wall.

3. *quisquam*: *i.e.*, Romanorum.

4. *Cenabi caede*: *i.e.*, the massacre by the Gauls, c. 3.

6. *misericordia volgi*: as in c. 15, 6.

ut . . . curaret: Consecutive as in c. 16, 3; cf. note.

disparandos: he had them sorted and claimed by their fellow-tribesmen (they were picked men out of all the tribes, c. 21), before they reached the camp, so that they might be conducted in an orderly manner to their several cantonments in the camp.

quae . . . pars: = ad eam partem . . . quae.

XXIX.

1. *concilio . . . consolatus*: cf. note on c. 4, 1 'convocatis.'

4. *nunquam placuisse*: cf. 'dissuadente Vercingetorige,' c. 15, 6.

7. *castra munire*: this was a novelty in Gallic warfare learnt from the Romans, who never bivouacked even for a night without entrenching their camp. The Gauls had hitherto only used a 'laager' of waggons, cf. I. c. 26.

XXX.

1. *quod . . . defecerat*: cf. notes on 'appetebat,' c. 4, 'movisset,' c. 20.

2. *re integra*: *i.e.*, before the Romans had laid siege to Avaricum, when it was still in their power either to destroy or to evacuate it.

4. *confirmati*: the MSS. have 'consternati,' the sense of which would be: so terrified were they by the fate of the defenders of Avaricum, that they were willing to submit to any measures their commander thought fit to prescribe, lest a like fate should befall them also. This is quite intelligible, but hardly in harmony with the hopeful tone indicated in the preceding sentence. *Confirmati* would mean that though unaccustomed to the labours of fortification, such was their confidence in the foresight and

generalship of Vercingetorix, that they cheerfully undertook whatever he enjoined upon them. But cf. Liv. xxi. 24, 'metu ad arma consternati.'

XXXI.

2. *quem et quam ante diem*: Indirect Interrogatives, the former of which (*quem numerum*) is a somewhat awkward repetition of *certum numerum* already given as an Object to *imperat*. On *quam diem*, cf. note on c. 3, 1.

5. *amicus*: the title was given by the Senate to barbarian chieftains as a reward for services, or a bribe to secure their allegiance (cf. I. cc. 3, 43), just as we bestow a K.C.M.G. or a K.G.C.S.I. on a Mudir of Dongola or an Ameer of Afghanistan.

ex Aquitania: i.e., from across the Garonne.

XXXII.

2. *prope hieme confecta*. the siege of Avaricum took place in the month of March, and the town may have fallen early in April, before which the season was unfit for campaigning.

sive . . . sive: cf. on c. 20, 7. *Si quid . . . possent*.

3. *magistratus*: i.e., Vergobrets (= Judges), cf. I. c. 16 'quem (magistratum) Vergobretum appellant Aedui, qui creatur annuus.'

4. *Convictolitavem*: this man, though preferred by Caesar to his rival, was destined soon after to throw himself heartily into the revolt (cc. 37, 42). Such were the Aedui.

gesserit: (like *acceperint*, c. 1, 8) requires a Pluperfect as an English equivalent.

5. *suas cuiusque*: the Reflexive refers not to the Grammatical but to the Logical Subject contained in *cuiusque*, which implies 'quisque suas clientelas habebat.'

XXXIII.

2. *legibus Aeduorum*: from this passage we learn the following particulars with regard to the constitution of one of the most influential of the Gallic States: (1) their Vergobret held office for one year only, was consecrated by the priests, might not during his year of office quit the territory; (2) no two men of the same family might hold office, or even sit in the Senate so long as both were alive.

in Aeduos: his route would probably lie through Gorgobina, whereby he would leave to Vercingetorix all the country west of the Allier (Elaver).

ad se Decetiam: cf. c. 6, 1. 'Caesari in Italiam.'

3. *oportuerit*: Aorist, cf. note on 'caruerint,' c. 17, 3. It would appear

that Cotus' claim to office was based upon an unconstitutional election at a 'packed meeting,' at which all the legal formalities were dispensed with.

fratrem a fratre renuntiatum: *i.e.*, Cotus had been declared Vergobret by his brother Valetiacus. *Renuntiare* is the technical term for the election of a magistrate by the double proclamation by the 'praeco' and presiding officer (Praetor).

4. *intermissis magistratibus*: opposed to '*alio tempore*;' *i.e.*, when the magistracy had become vacant: the plural being used in reference to the annual recurrence of the vacancy.

XXXIV.

1. *meruissent*: not what they had already earned at the time of speaking, but such as they should have earned at the time spoken of, *i.e.*, the complete conquest of Gaul ('devicta Gallia'), cf. note on '*ascendissent*,' c. 27, 2.

2. *Labieno*: the campaign conducted with great skill by this officer is related in cc. 57-62.

sex ipse: the ten legions here mentioned were (taken in the order in which they were enlisted in Caesar's service) x, xi, xii, vii, viii, ix, xiii, xiv, i, iii. The 10th he found quartered in Gaul in 58 B.C., the 11th and 12th were enrolled the same year, and the 7th, 8th, and 9th summoned from Gallia Cisalpina. These six formed the army of 58 B.C., which conquered the Helvetii. In the next three campaigns he added the 13th and 14th. In B.C. 54, he enlisted the 15th, which was entirely destroyed with Titurius Sabinus. In 53 B.C. Caesar received the 1st and 3rd as a loan from Pompeius. How the ten were divided between Caesar and Labienus we have no means of knowing, except that the 8th, 10th, and 13th were with Caesar (cc. 47-51), the 7th and 12th with Labienus (c. 62).

secundum flumen Elaver: to follow the right bank of the Allier he must have crossed the Loire on leaving Decetia. The modern name gives the quantity, *Eläver*.

3. *interruptis . . . pontibus*: being (as we saw, c. 33) left in possession of the left bank of the river.

XXXV.

1. *e regione castris*: *e regione* is usually followed by a Genitive (cf. c. 36, 5). Here the Dative *castris castra* follows the construction *uterque utrique*; but the text is much disputed.

necubi: = *ne-cubi* (not *nec-ubi*): *ubi* = *quobi*, cf. '*alicubi*.'

ante autumnum: in the earlier part of the summer the snows of the Cevennes and Puy de Dôme would melt and swell the river; only after their disappearance would the water sink so far as to allow of a ford; and Caesar must needs cross the Allier in order to reach Gergovia.

2. *silvestri loco*: probably near Varennes—the portion of the river shown in the Illustration.

3. *carptis quibusdam cohortibus*: the MSS. have 'captis,' which Kraner retains with the confession that it makes no sense. v. Göler has proposed *carptis*, after Livy, xxvi, 38 'in multas parvasque partes *carpere* exercitum.' He kept back two legions; the remaining four (forty cohorts) he split up, so as to deceive Vercingetorix by giving the appearance of sixty cohorts, when really there were only forty. Caesar's successes were as often gained by outwitting his enemy as by superiority in the field.

4. *quam longissime*: i.e., so as to draw Vercingetorix (whose object was to watch the army and prevent it from crossing) as far as possible from the bridge now under repair.

pars inferior: if, as is not unlikely, the bridge was burnt, obviously that part only would be destroyed which was above the level of the water.

5. *copias revocavit*: i.e., by messengers on horseback; for the four legions had completed a full day's march ('*quam longissime*'), which they now had to retrace by night.

6. *antecessit*: i.e., to Gergovia, where we next find him encamped before the walls, c. 36.

XXXVI.

1. *quintis castris*: Gergovia stands about fifty miles south of Varennes; hence it would be an easy five days' march. But the distance covered bears upon the question of some disputed sites, cf. on c. II, 1.

in altissimo monte: to understand the following chapters in which Caesar describes (however he may attempt to disguise it) the only decisive repulse he met with in the campaign, careful attention should be paid to the topography. A visit to the spot brings the whole series of events before the eye. The summit of the hill forms a rectangular plateau nearly a mile in length, and some 1,300 ft. above the plain through which the Allier flows, and is the most easterly spur of the volcanic range of the Puy de Dôme. The northern, western, and eastern slopes are extremely abrupt, so that an attempt to scale them would be out of the question. From the south-west angle the plateau is connected by a narrow saddle ('*dorsum eius iugi*,' c. 44), with a slightly lower group of hills, called Risolles, whilst the southern face alone presents a gradual though fairly steep slope towards the valley of the Auzon, descending in broad slanting terraces. Thus the only possible points of attack were by the saddle, or by the southern slope. The former of these—connected with an intermediate group of knolls—was held in strong force by Vercingetorix (*omnibus eius iugi collibus occupatis*), whilst upon the latter the camps of the confederate Gauls had been pitched (*castris*

pro oppido positus), and defended by a 6 ft. wall (c. 46). A comparison with the Illustrations and Plan will throw light on the above description.

2. *at*: cf. on c. 9, I.

4. *despici poterat*: N.B.—‘*posse*’ is never impersonal except with a Verb used impersonally.

interiectis sagittariis: cf. on c. 18, I ‘*inter equites*.’

5. *e regione oppidi collis*: *i.e.*, the hill called La Roche Blanche, a spur of the hill of Gergovia, which owes its name to a white escarpment on the west and south sides (from Caesar’s description it was probably more escarped on all sides than now). By gaining possession of this point Caesar commanded the only approach to the valley for water and forage. The hill itself is basaltic and contains no considerable spring, and the streams on the north side would be of little value. It was, no doubt, because the Gauls felt themselves now almost invested (‘*paene circumvallati*,’ c. 44), that they were so anxious to secure the saddle, which formed the only remaining point of egress (c. 44) by the gate still distinctly traceable at the south-west corner of the town.

7. *fossam duplicem*: the whole length of this ditch was opened by L. Napoleon’s excavations. The mound thrown up from the ditches would form a screen covering the view from Gergovia, cf. c. 45, 7. *Castra minora* = the Roche Blanche.

XXXVII.

1. *ad Gergoviam*: not the same as Gergoviae (Locative); *ad* with names of places = ‘before,’ *i.e.*, in the immediate vicinity, but not *in* the town itself, cf. ‘*ad Alesiam castra fecit*,’ c. 68, 2.

Convictolitavis: cf. c. 33.

4. *ut iustissimam . . . causam obtinuerit*: the ‘*causa*’ was his claim to the magistracy, the confirmation of which was a mere act of justice on Caesar’s part, and therefore no special favour towards Convictolitavis. The clause does not express the *consequence* of the action denoted by the main verb, as the construction would lead us to expect, but seems to serve as a limitation: ‘yet only so far as his cause was, &c.’ (cf. ‘yet so as by fire,’ I. Cor. 3, 15), *obtinuerit* being an instance of what is called the ‘*limiting*’ use of the Subjunctive.

7. *decem illis millibus*: cf. c. 34, I. Caesar had ordered that number to be sent by the Aedui.

reliqua: subject to *agi*, the whole clause being the Object to *constituunt*.

XXXVIII.

3. *fratibus*: they had been sent ahead to join Caesar, c. 37, 7.

7. *consilii*: he takes up the words of his followers 'ut sibi *consulat*.' This is no time for *talk*, he says, we must be *doing* (*contendere*).

9. *cives Romanos*: *i.e.*, traders travelling under the escort of the Aedui with supplies (*magnum numerum frumenti*) destined for Caesar.

10. *tota civitate*: an Ablative expressing extended position—'over,' cf. 'hoc spatium,' c. 14, 5. The result of this mission is given in c. 42.

XXXIX.

1. *in equitum numero*: *i.e.*, those summoned to join Caesar, c. 34, 1. After the dispute between the rival chiefs, in which these two had taken part, Caesar probably considered it safer to have near him men who among their own people were likely to head any fresh disturbance. He therefore places them specially among the *evocati*, cf. on c. 65, 5.

3. *propinqui*: the kinsmen of the 10,000 under Litavicus would find it hard to remain true to Caesar to the injury of their friends in revolt, and the fidelity of the State could not be expected to be unshaken under such circumstances.

XL.

2. *ad contrahenda castra*: the occasion appeared too urgent to allow of his delaying even to reduce the size of his camp, constructed for six legions and cavalry, to such proportions as the two legions left behind could properly defend. This omission led to the difficulties described in the next chapter.

4. *milia . . . xxv*: thus whilst Litavicus had only advanced five miles (c. 38, 1), Caesar had received the news of his defection, started, and marched twenty-five miles.

5. *versari*: so to display themselves as to prove the hollowness of Litavicus' story.

7. *cum suis clientibus*: the ties which bound retainers to suffer with their patrons, even in cases of accident, are enlarged upon in III. c. 22.

XLI.

1. [*noctis*]: is hardly admissible, cf. note below on 'ante ortum solis.' *ad Gergoviam*: as in c. 37, but here contrasted with 'Gergoviam' instead of 'Gergoviae.'

2. *perpetuo . . . iisdem*: two legions having to do the duty of six, the men could not have the usual relief; *vide* Excursus, § 9.

3. *t tormenta*: a comprehensive term, including the various kinds of artillery; *vide* Excursus, § 5.

4. *discessu eorum*: it is suggested by Kraner that *eorum* does not refer to the speakers (instead of *suo*, which might = *Fabii*), but to the Gauls, in evidence of which he adduces the tense of *fuert*, as showing that the attack was over for the day, *i.e.*, 'cum hostes discessissent.' It appears however much more probable that the messengers sent by Fabius would be sent whilst the attack was going on (not *after* 'hostium discessus'), and that they would report what they had seen up to the moment of *their* departure, when they left Fabius engaged upon blocking the gateways ('obstruere')—if *eorum* can bear this sense.

5. *ante ortum solis*: thus Caesar completed a march of fifty miles in some twenty-six hours. Receiving the news at midnight (c. 39), he started probably by 2 a.m., met Litavicus about noon, rested his men, after the surrender of the Aedui, three hours (2 to 5), and reached Gergovia between 4 and 5 a.m.

XLII.

1. *primis nuntiis*: cf. c. 38, 10.

2. *iracundia*: the quick temper and excitable character still seen in the descendants of the Gauls.

4. *pudeat*: Convictolitavis had already so far compromised himself by acts of treason, that he now wished to induce the populace to commit themselves irrevocably to the revolt, by staining their hands with crime.

idem facere: *i.e.*, 'ex oppido exire' understood from *ex oppido educunt*.

diem noctemque: the stubborn resistance offered by these Roman merchants is evidence of the numbers who must have settled at Châlons.

XLIII.

1. *omnes eorum milites*: *i.e.*, the contingent sent out under Litavicus (cc. 38, 40).

2. *sui purgandi*: cf. 'sui fallendi' (c. 50, 2); *sui*, because of its form, is treated as a Singular (instead of *sui purgandorum*).

3. *suorum*: masc. referring to the 'milites' above.

ea res: *i.e.*, the outrage in which large numbers were implicated (c. 42, 4).

5. *ab Gergovia*: the Preposition for the same reason as in 'ad Gergoviam' (c. 37, 1). It is impossible to take seriously Caesar's explanation of his failure before Gergovia. There can be little doubt, even on his own showing, that his attempt to take the town by a *coup-de-main* was an error of generalship, and he certainly sustained a severe repulse. But to make his failure appear part of a preconcerted plan he draws a fine distinction between 'profectio' and 'fuga,' which is worthy to be compared with the

celebrated assertion when General Gordon had been cut off from all relief for several months, that he was not 'surrounded,' but only 'hemmed in.'

XLIV.

1. *bene gerendae rei*: a purposely vague expression, used in order to disguise the disastrous failure of his real object, which was the capture of the town by surprise.

collem: this can only have been that shown in the Plan and Illustrations. A careful survey from every point of view will establish this. It is both visible from the Roche Blanche, and within easy reach of the town (but not the spot marked in v. Kampen's plan, which has been followed in most respects). It appears unlikely that Vercingetorix would have *massed* his troops ('*vix cerni poterat*' and '*horribilem speciem praebebat*,' c. 36), on heights so far from the town as Risolles, besides which the Puy de Jussat partially obscures the view of Risolles from the Roche Blanche.

3. *per exploratores*: because from his position at the foot of the hill he could only see the southern slopes.

dorsum . . . eius iugi: *i.e.*, the saddle connecting Risolles with Gergovia, upon which traces of fortifications are still to be seen (cf. Illustration, p. 29, taken from the point * in the Plan), just where the conformation of the ground is best suited for defence.

hinc silvestre: the MSS. have '*hunc silvestrem*,' which is open to two serious objections, (1) '*dorsus*' never occurs after Plautus, though the oblique forms found in later authors do not furnish *positive* proof that the word was never masculine; (2) '*hunc*' would seem to imply a contrast with the last-named, which is unintelligible, unless the '*dorsum eius iugi*' (above) be taken as Risolles (which neither answers to the description of a '*dorsum*,' nor is it particularly level—'*prope aequum*'), and the word '*hunc*' be taken as a different '*dorsus*,' viz., the ridge or saddle. The most satisfactory reading therefore appears to be that given in the text (after Madvig, and Prof. Rheinhard's excellent edition), the sense of which is: the ridge is fairly level, but at the point nearest to the town narrow and wooded; a description which entirely corresponds with the topography, the northern slope of the saddle being still woody.

ad alteram partem: either Caesar did not understand the site well enough to know that no gate would be possible on the west or north side, or he speaks of the farther end from the point of view of his greater camp, *i.e.*, the south-west corner.

4. *huic loco timere*: cf. note on c. 36, 5.

uno colle . . . occubato: *i.e.*, the Roche Blanche, which, like the '*collis*

nudatus' of the Plan, and no other, appears distinctly to form a knoll of the hill itself.

amisissent: like 'ascendissent,' c. 27, 2, note.

5. *omnes*: Kraner substitutes '*homines*' for the MSS. reading, comparing c. 45, 6 '*omnes illo munitionum copiae traducuntur*,' as evidence that 'all' were not as yet brought to the spot. But is it not more probable that Caesar is guilty of a slight inaccuracy? Certainly the proposed use of '*homines*' is awkward and unusual for '*copias*' or '*partem copiarum*.'

XLV.

1. *eo de media nocte*: the MSS. vary; the text appears preferable to Kraner's '*eis de media nocte imperat, &c.*' *eo* will refer to the point last mentioned.

2. *impedimentorum*: *impedimenta* used for '*iumenta*.'

stramenta: pack-saddles such as are still used where mules are employed instead of carts in the absence of roads.

collibus: i.e., round the heights of Risolles (*vide* Plan). His object is to feign an attack on the west side where the Gauls were fortifying, so as to draw them in full force away from the town which he was about to attack in reality at the south gate.

3. *easdem . . . regiones*: the fortifications were to be the goal for all who were engaged in this feint.

4. *tanto spatio*: the distance, as the crow flies, from the walls of Gergovia to the bottom of the valley where these manœuvres were taking place is over a mile (c. 46). Thus it would not be easy in the early morning to distinguish between sham and genuine troops.

5. *legionem unam*: to give the appearance of covering the attack, just as the real assault was covered by the 10th and 13th (c. 51).

7. *raros milites . . . traducit*: the '*fossa duplex*' (c. 36, 7) was not sufficient protection to conceal them entirely; they would creep along, a few at a time, with insignia and standards drooped in the hollow of the ditch.

8. *ut contineant*: it is not easy to believe that this caution was ever given. Caesar gave no such injunction to his men when he availed himself of a rainy day to storm Avaricum, and he exposes himself to some suspicion of manufacturing after the event a command to the disobedience of which he assigns the disaster which followed, cf. on c. 52, 1.

9. *occasionis esse rem*: it was a case of seizing an opportunity, viz., of snatching a victory by a '*coup-de-main*.' What can he have intended other than the capture of the town? And yet he affects to have gained his

object when he had captured a few empty encampments, cf. note on c. 47, 1.

10. *aliò ascensu*: the Plan shows a slightly different route from that given by L. Napoleon and others. A second survey of the ground, after some years' interval, has only sufficed to confirm the impression that the point at which the Aedui are seen (c. 50) is to be found on the *upper* shoulder, the lower position being out of sight from the ravine under the south gate, where the fight took place (c. 48). But in order to reach the upper shoulder a troop of armed men would be obliged to make a longer circuit to the north, the south-east corner of the hill being practically inaccessible.

XLVI.

2. *huc . . . accesserat*: i.e., to the 1,200 paces.

3. *a medio fere colle*: i.e., half way between the top and the bottom: the site of the wall is along one of the terraces nearer the top than the bottom (see Plan).

densissimis castris: hardly tallies with '*mediocribus intervallis*' of c. 36, 2; but if the Gallic force resembled that at Alesia (80,000), the encampments of the various tribes may well have been fairly close together.

4. *trinis castris*: beginners will observe that nouns only used in the plural are multiplied by *distributive* numerals, e.g., '*bina castra*' (not *duo*). Each '*castra*' here denotes the encampment of one tribe.

XLVII.

1. *quod animo proposuerat*: it cannot be seriously believed that Caesar never intended to do more than capture three empty encampments, and frighten away one of the Gallic chieftains, cf. on c. 45, 9.

receptui cani: is it to be credited that the retreat was sounded before Caesar saw the hopelessness of his undertaking? If the signal was really given at this juncture, it must have been because he already knew that the alarm would be given and his attempt frustrated.

legionis decimae: his oldest and favourite legion, cf. note on c. 34, 2.

2. *va les intercedebat*: the '*valley*' is the hollow which runs down from the south gate, past the village of Merdogne, towards the Roche Blanche. This is hardly 100 yards wide, and if the advanced part of the army failed to hear the trumpet-call from so short a distance, they must have been out of sight in the hollow, not beyond it. Either '*intercedebat*' is not accurate, or the signal was not actually sounded as stated.

retinebantur: the Imperfect denotes an action attempted but not completed.

4. *qui longius aberant*: i.e., in the further parts of the town.

7. *Avaricensibus praemiis*: cf. c. 27, 2 'iis qui primi murum ascendaissent praemia proposuit.' For the fate of Fabius, cf. c. 50, 3.

manipulares: the privates or legionaries, as distinguished from officers—*suos* = of his own maniple and century.

XLVIII.

1. *supra*: cf. c. 44, 5.

eo contenderunt: a level way leads from the saddle under the gate in the south-west corner to the south gate.

4. *nec loco . . . aequa contentio*: the Gauls had the advantage of the wall at their back and the Romans below them.

XLIX.

1. *sub infimo colle*: *collis* here seems to refer to Gergovia itself; but it might mean the Roche Blanche, for Sextius' position is undoubtedly in the hollow between the two.

ab dextro latere: the enemy came up from the west, and would have Sextius on their right, if they pursued the Romans down the hollow.

3. *progressus*: i.e., to a position nearer the hollow (see Plan), so as to cover the left flank of the Gauls [unless we read 'regressus,' making his 'progress' a 'strategic movement to the rear' = down hill.

L.

1. *ab latere . . . aperto*: as a soldier carries his shield on the left arm, leaving the sword hand free, this (right) side is called *latus apertum*. The Aedui—probably the very men who had been under Litavicus—coming over the shoulder to the east would appear on the Romans' right as they faced north. As their appearance was unexpected, they must have been intended only to create a diversion (*manus destinendae causa*) by a threatened attack on the north side, or at least at the eastern end of the town. Finding the height quite inaccessible in either of those directions, they kept along under the final escarpment, until they now came in sight, giving the Romans the impression that they were Gauls come out of the eastern end of the town.

2. *dextris . . . exsertis*: i.e., loosed from the 'sagum,' or military cloak. A coin found on the hill of Gergovia represents on one side a chief of the Arverni, and on the obverse a soldier with head and shoulder bared.

4. *sui fallendi*: i.e., as a ruse to deceive the Romans. For the construction, cf. on c. 43, 2.

eiusdem legionis: we gather, from the special mention of these two officers, that the 8th legion was in the fore-front of the battle.

sibi desperans: Caesar only uses a Dative with *desperare* here and in III. c. 12, 'suis fortunis desperare.'

LI.

1. *xlvi centurionibus*: the three legions principally engaged (the 10th and 13th were covering the retreat, and one was supporting the feint on Risolles, c. 45) would number 180 centurions; if forty-six of these fell, the number of officers killed (one out of every four) would be quite out of proportion to the whole loss given below at 700. A story is told that in this fight Caesar himself lost his sword (which he afterwards was shown in a temple of the Arverni): if this is true it would show that at least the 10th, and therefore probably also the 13th, took part in the fight as the other legions were driven down the hill. The positions finally occupied seem to show that all five legions shared in the flight.

paulo aequiore loco: it is difficult to fix the positions taken by the 10th and 13th legions. The 10th probably fell back to the level ground above the village of Donnezat, and the 13th was stationed on the eastern slope of the Roche Blanche ('ceperant locum superiorem').

3. *planiciem attigerunt*: an admission that the flight of the Romans was a rush pell-mell down to the very bottom of the hill.

infestis . . . signis: for the uses of 'signa,' cf. Idioms, c. 47. *infestus* is an old participle of *infero* = I point towards, whence its meaning 'hostile.'

4. *paulo minus septingenti*: for the case unaffected by the comparison, cf. 'amplius viginti urbes' (c. 15, 1).

LII.

1. *sibi ipsi iudicavissent*: cf. on c. 45, 8. He had told them that an opportunity was to be seized ('occasionis esse rem'), but had not, on his own showing, explained that they were to be satisfied with the capture of a few empty encampments, cf. on c. 47, 1.

2. *ad Avaricum*: not 'at Avaricum' (cf. on c. 37, 1), but before the camp of Vercingetorix (St. Just), cc. 18, 19.

LIII.

1. *quae ante senserat*: i.e., when he decided (c. 43) that his presence was required among the Aedui.

2. *nihilo magis*: the MSS. have *minus*, which may be correct.

in aequum locum: i.e., in front of the greater camp (see Plan). His

repulse would intensify the impression that his retreat was flight (cf. c. 42, 5), so he offers battle where he can rely on his superior tactics to gain either a victory or the moral advantage of having his challenge declined.

4. *pontem reficit*: not the same bridge as that by which he had crossed before, but another (higher up, near Vichy) of those destroyed by Vercingetorix (c. 34, 3). Kraner objects to the use of *ad*, and inserts 'pervenit;' before 'pontem,' but there is no MSS. authority for doing so.

LIV.

1. *ipsos antecedere*: whether they here acted in good faith or not we have no means of judging. They are men of the class pithily described by a modern statesman as 'political rodents,' and their defection in the next chapter may have been only due to their finding the state so far committed to revolt that it would be hopeless for them to try to stem the tide.

4. *quos*: = *quales*, i.e., what they were when he had taken them up (*vide* I. cc. 11, 20, 31).

LV.

1. *Noviodunum*: the modern Nevers, standing on a hill by the Loire some twenty miles above Noviodunum of the Bituriges (Sancerre).

4. *publice*: i.e., with the stamp of state authority, not as before by private individuals.

8. *avexerunt*: no doubt up the river, towards Decetia.

9. *ad ripas Ligeris*: i.e., to prevent Caesar from crossing to the north where he could reach his base (Agedincum) and rejoin Labienus (c. 56, 2).

10. *ex nivibus*: it was still spring, and snow abounds till late in May in the Cevennes and Mountains of Auvergne, where the Loire and its tributaries rise.

LVI.

nam ne, &c.: in the face of the difficulties which surrounded him, every one (*nemo non*) supposed Caesar must needs retreat to the Province, but against such a course there were the following objections: (1) loss of prestige, (2) the difficulty of crossing the Cevennes, (3) his anxiety on behalf of Labienus and the four legions with him in the north.

4. *vado . . . invento*: that which has always existed near Bourbon-Lancy, about forty miles above Nevers.

disposito equitatu: Vegetius describes the custom as follows: if the current was strong, two divisions of cavalry, mounted on the strongest horses, were stationed above and below the ford, the one body to break the

force of the current (as here), the other to pick up any of the infantry who might be carried away.

5. *in Senones* : *i.e.*, to his base at Agedincum.

LVII.

1. *apud Caesarem* : *i.e.*, during the Gergovia campaign, which has occupied the last twenty-three chapters.

ex Italia : cf. c. 7, 5.

Lutetiam : in accordance with Caesar's parting directions (c. 34, 2).

4. *paludem* : the Illustration of the valley of the Esonne, taken from Corbeil, where it empties itself into the Seine, indicates the locality, though the precise point at which Labienus attempted to cross the marsh may have been a little higher up than is shown in the sketch.

LVIII.

4. *navibus* : boats used for ferrying across to the island on which Metiosedum (Melun) stands, as we read of no bridge on the south side. By fastening these together a kind of raft or floating bridge would be formed.

eo = in eas.

5. *ad Lutetiam* : cf. 'ad Gergoviam,' c. 37, 1. The point made for is not the town itself, but that part of the right bank of the Seine which is opposite the island, viz., near where now stands the Tour St. Jacques.

6. *pontes* : here (unlike Metiosedum) the island is connected by bridges with *both* sides of the river.

e regione Lutetiæ : *i.e.*, facing the Cité, about the site of the Hotel Cluny.

LIX.

1. *a Gergovia* : as in 43, 5.

audiebatur . . . afferebantur : Imperfects implying the reiteration of the report.

secundo . . . motu : as in 53, 2. The rising had become successful since the Aedui had taken it up as a state.

in colloquiis : *i.e.*, with Labienus.

itinere et Ligere : *i.e.*, from Agedincum, the destination of his intended march, which involved the passage of the Loire.

5. *altera ex parte* : = 'ab altera ripa Sequanae.'

maximum flumen : probably the Seine is intended, which he had only crossed at Melun, and which lay between him and his base at Sens on the Yonne. Rheinhard, however, takes it as the Marne.

LX.

1. *quattuor milia*: see Plan. Operations at the point indicated would be well out of sight or hearing of an army encamped south of the Cité. In following v. Kampen's plan, a slight modification seemed necessary to suit the distance given.

3. *magno tumultu*: the half legion sent up the river towards its junction with the Marne was to divert the enemy's attention from the real crossing below.

4. *lintres*: smaller boats than the 'naves,' but equally useful for the ruse.

LXI.

1. *ut . . . erant dispositi*: cf. c. 46, 5 'ut conquieverat,' and II. c. 19 'ut intra silvas aciem constituerant.' *Ut* is here equivalent to 'ubi,' just as = just where. Something similar is the use of 'ut' in c. 68, 1.

quod magna, &c.: explains why they were *inopinantes*.

4. *tribus locis*: if Labienus's ruse did not entirely divert the attention of the Gauls from the main division of the army sent down stream, at least it was so far successful that the Gallic forces were divided as though to oppose a crossing at three different points.

LXII.

1. *nostri omnes*: i.e., the three legions and the cavalry. The crossing of the other two divisions is not described, but after the collapse of the Gauls there would be no difficulty in their way.

cernebatur: the Imperfect seems to express the gradually increasing daylight, enabling the Romans, who were now on the left bank, more and more clearly to see the enemy drawn up to oppose them.

6. *post tergum*: the 7th had pursued the left wing of the Gauls, until they had outflanked the rest, and were in a position to close in upon the rear of the Gallic right (see Plan).

8. *at ii*: cf. on c. 9, 1.

collem: probably that known as Mont Parnasse, where the western railway terminus stands. L. Napoleon gives Vaugirard, which is much the same thing.

10. *ad Caesarem pervenit*: L. Napoleon makes Joigny the meeting place. Caesar had crossed the Loire by Bourbon-Lancy (c. 56), and made for Sens, following the valley of the Yonne. Labienus meets him on the third

day after leaving Agedincum, and as Joigny is only just twenty miles from Sens, it seems probable the meeting-place would be higher up, *i.e.*, at the confluence of the Yonne and Armançon (La Roche).

LXIII.

7. *illi*: cf. V. c. 54 'Remos . . . pro vetere ac perpetua erga populum Romanum fide.'

toto . . . bello: Abl. of time (extended), unless Dative as in c. 89, 5. With the Abl. after *abesse* Caesar always uses *ab*.

8. *requirunt*: not = ask for his pardon, but 'miss' the wonted favour.

LXIV.

1. *reliquis civitatibus*: *i.e.*, those which had only now joined the revolt (c. 4, 7).

2. *quem antea habuerat*: the Indic. marks an explanatory parenthesis by the writer; had the words been put into the mouth of Vercingetorix 'habuerit' would have been used.

3. *frumenta corrumpant*: cf. c. 55, 8 'reliquum (frumentum) flumine atque incendio corruperunt.'

7. *Allobrogas*: Caesar indiscriminately uses a Greek or Latin form of the Accusative to several Gallic tribe-names, *e.g.*, c. 9, 4 'in Lingones,' and I., c. 26 'ad Lingonas.'

ab superiore bello: *i.e.*, 60 B.C., when they were reduced (I. c. 6 'nuper pacati'), by the Praetor C. Pomptinus, but 'nondum bono animo in populum Romanum' (*ibid.*).

8. *imperium*: *i.e.*, a hegemony in the Province when severed from Rome.

LXV.

2. *cum finitimis*: *i.e.*, the Gabali.

4. *in Germaniam*: cf. on c. 13, 1.

ad eas civitates: *i.e.*, the Ubii, who occupied Nassau.

inter eos proeliari: cf. on c. 18, 1 'inter equites.'

5. *reliquisque equitibus*: because the *tribuni* were of equestrian rank, cf. Excursus, § 1.

evocatis: reserves called out in time of war, and enjoying immunity from the more menial duties of common soldiers. They ranked as under-officers, and were used as drill-serjeants for recruits, over whom they, as veterans devoted to their commander, would exercise a wholesome influence. In

the field they served on horseback, each providing his own horse. There were two classes of *evocati*: *beneficiarii*—who were *required* to serve when called out, having received at the time of their discharge prizes for services rendered, in the shape of conquered land; and *voluntarii*—who only served again if they chose to do so.

LXVI.

2. *per extremos Lingonum fines*: *i.e.*, the southern border of the Lingones; he takes a circuitous route to cross the Arar (Saône), because of the hostility of the Aedui, whose territory he thus avoids.

3. *trinis castris*: cf. on c. 46, 4. For the site of the camp, see Plan. In the sketch, taken from the point occupied during the battle by the Roman hollow square, the position of Vercingetorix's more westerly camps is seen on the hills in the distance (left). This offer of battle was in direct conflict with the plan of campaign expounded in c. 64, and the results both on this occasion and on others, when Vercingetorix allowed his judgment to be overruled—*e.g.* at Avaricum and at Alesia—only go to prove his superior generalship; and in the position he occupied as generalissimo of so many independent tribes, we must not too hastily condemn the weakness he showed in yielding his own opinion to that of his colleagues. He paid for this weakness with his life.

4. *adorirentur*: the regular equivalent in Orat. Obliqua (after a Historic Tense) for an Imperative, or Present Subjunctive used as Imperative. The cavalry officers are directed to attack the column, whilst the infantry are drawn up in front of their camps to give the appearance of support.

6. *de equitibus*: Vercingetorix seems to have overlooked the Germans with Caesar, cf. next chapter.

id: *i.e.*, the attack proposed.

LXVII.

1. *Probata re, &c.*: cf. on c. 2, 3.

iureiurando: *i.e.*, the oath proposed by the equites.

3. *intra legiones*: a hollow-square is formed, see Plan, p. 47.

4. *aciem converti*: Kraner reads 'constitui,' but as there is MS. authority for *converti*, it has been thought preferable, meaning that the battle-front of the legions was turned in the direction from which the cavalry seemed most pressed, cf. our "change fronts."

5. *Germani*: the second occasion on which the Germans decide the day in Caesar's favour, cf. cc. 13, 70, 80.

summum iugum: taking it as sufficiently established by Napoleon's investigations that the battle-field lay by the river Vingeanne, and its

tributary the Badin, in the bed of which quantities of horses' shoes were found, with the nails still in them—showing that the shoes were left attached to the hoofs of dead horses—tumuli also in the neighbourhood were found to contain bones of men and horses, with ornaments and weapons—one point remains to be disputed, viz., Napoleon's identification of *summum iugum* with Montsaugéon. The Illustration shows that hill to be unsuited for cavalry manœuvring. The eastern slope of it, down which the Germans are supposed to have charged, is so steep, that a charge by cavalry could only end in disaster to the force that could attempt it. Another site has therefore been sought for that from which the Germans turned the flank of the Gallic left wing. Nearly a mile northward from Montsaugéon the road to Langres runs along a ridge (shown in the foreground to the right in the Illustration), just such as would be described as a *iugum* (which Montsaugéon certainly is not), and quite sufficiently raised above the level of the plain, to give a force which occupied it a decided advantage over an enemy below. It is therefore proposed that this ridge is the 'summum iugum,' whilst Montsaugéon is emphatically 'proximus collis,' to which the baggage of the Romans is taken for safety (c. 68, 2) after the battle, while the troops engage in pursuit of the Gauls towards Alesia. This position is marked on Napoleon's map, on the hill to the east of the railway station of Vaux-sous-Aubigny. It is however difficult for any one standing on the battle-field to see how that position could be described as 'proximus collis,' forming, as it does, part of a long line of hills stretching along the west side of the road from Dijon to Langres.

7. *Eporedorix, quo duce, &c.*: distinguished by the Relative Clause from the Eporedorix associated so often with Viridomarus, cf. Index.

Road to Langres

Praithoy

Aubigny

Badin R.



LXVIII.

1. *ut . . . collocaverat* : cf. on c. 61, 1. They marched straight off, just as they stood, without returning to the camps on the hills behind them.

se subsequi : the baggage must have taken a different route from that pursued by the flying army, or it would inevitably have fallen into the hands of the Romans. This is all the more certain as there is an old Roman road leading through Thil-Châtel to Alesia, to the rear of the Gallic camps.

2. *altero die* : L. Napoleon brings evidence to show that Caesar means the *second day after starting*, cf. c. 11, 1.

ad Alesiam : like 'ad Gergoviam,' c. 37, 1. Alesia (*vide* Illustrations), whose name is still preserved in connection with that of a medieval saint tortured to death by a Roman governor, covered the whole plateau of Mont Auxois, about one and a-half miles in length, and half-a-mile broad. The excavations conducted from 1862-1865 produced a rich harvest of antiquities, and conclusively established the site of one of the most memorable sieges in history. A statue was then erected on the summit of the hill, in honour of the heroic Gaul, who after fighting so nobly for the freedom of his country perished miserably in a Roman dungeon five years later, when he had graced the triumph of his conqueror.

LXIX.

1. *nisi obsidione* : though not nearly so strong a position as Gergovia (about half the height from the plain), Caesar had cause for declining to risk another repulse. The following topographical details may easily be understood by comparison with the Map and Illustrations, pp. 56, 63.

5. *maceriam* : a wall of loose stones neither laid in order nor cemented.

6. *eius munitionis* : *i.e.*, the inner lines described in c. 72.

LXX.

2. *Germanos* : again the Germans turn the tide, cf. on c. 67, 5.

irruptio : cf. on c. 7, 2 ; but the genuineness of the clause is suspected.

3. *portis relictis* : the gateways in the 'maceria,' only the narrower of which were left open. *Portas* (below) refers to the gates of the town above.

6. *qui intra munitiones erant* : *i.e.*, the infantry.

LXXI.

3. *milia lxxx* : this is regarded as one of Caesar's bombastic exaggerations.

tions, designed to cover the victor of so many thousands with greater glory.

4. *longius*: of time, as in cc. 9, 2. II, 4.

6. *paruerint*: cf. c. 27, 2 'iis, qui . . . ascendissent, praemia proposuit,' and note on c. 5, 5.

LXXII.

1. *haec genera*: the following two chapters describe the special defences of the lines across the plain.

directis lateribus: for the forms used for trenches, cf. note on c. 17, 1. This ditch is made wider than usual (15 ft.).

2. *pedes cccc*: editors have thought it necessary to read 'passus' for 'pedes,' on topographical grounds: but at either end the 20 ft. ditch is no more than 400 feet in front of the other fortifications (see Plan).

3. *eadem altitudine*: not to be taken in reference to 'xv pedes.' The usual depth of a ditch was about 9 ft., and, besides the immense labour, there could be no advantage in a ditch 15 ft. deep over one of 9 ft. But the excavations have set at rest any possible doubt: the two ditches are of equal depth.

interiorem: not 'inferiorem;' for the inner of the two ditches, i.e., that nearer the town, was found to be flat-bottomed, and filled with water from the Oserain, gravel from which had been carried with the water halfway along the ditch; the lower ditch was 'fastigata,' and therefore less adapted for being filled with water. Both are cut across the plain ('campestribus ac demissis locis').

4. *vallum*: a palisade fixed in the agger, cf. Illustration, p. 56.

loricam pinnasque: to the palisade is attached a wattled parapet, with battlements ('pinnae'), cf. Illustration, p. 56.

cervis: boughs with forked branches fixed horizontally on the ground, just where the parapet joined the earthwork ('ad commissuras').

pluteorum: the whole fence, consisting of *vallum*, *lorica*, and *pinna*, constitutes in this case the *pluteus*.

LXXIII.

2. *aut admodum firmis ramis*: if the boughs were thick they would do instead of the stems. Kraner omits 'aut,' and takes *admodum f. ramis*, as an Abl. of quality = 'truncis, qui firmos ramos habebant.'

abscisis: to be taken with *truncis* and *ramis*.

perpetuae fossae: in contrast with the 'scrobes' below.

stipites: = 'trunci' or 'rami,' whichever it were. The use of this word, instead of 'trunci,' is evidence in favour of reading 'aut' above.

ab ramis : i.e., from the point at which the branches parted they projected above ground, the stem being buried, cf. Illustration, p. 56.

4. *quini* . . . *ordines* : there were everywhere five (*quini*) ditches for these stakes, running side by side, but so close that the projecting boughs of one interlaced with those of the next. Kraner thinks there were five rows of 'cippi' in each ditch.

cippos : if the reading be correct ('cirros' has been suggested), we must understand the *cippus*, which ordinarily means a post of wood or stone used as a mark (landmark or tombstone), to be applied to each 'vallus'; but it does not seem particularly appropriate.

6. *praeusti* : the familiar mode of hardening wood.

digitis quattuor : the *digitus* = a finger's-breadth.

7. *singuli* . . . *pedes* : at the bottom of each pit soil was thrown in and trampled down to the depth of one foot to make the post stand firm.

8. *lilium* : the idea of a lily is seen in the form of the pit widening towards its mouth, and with the post to resemble the stamen. Traces of several of these are still to be seen at the camps on the hills, but the results of most of the excavations have been obliterated by agriculture.

taleae : for these 'caltrops' and all the above devices, see the Illustration, p. 56.

LXXIV.

1. *diversas ab his* : not different in form (cf. *pares*), but on the opposite side of his lines, away from the town. Modern military phraseology styles these the lines of 'circumvallation,' and those described above 'counter-vallation.' The outer lines included all his camps, many of which (those of the infantry) were on the heights round Alesia, and consequently embraced a wider circuit (fourteen miles).

eius discessu : could only refer to Caesar's absence from any particular part of the lines. 'Equitatus discessu' has been suggested : the reference to the despatch of the Gallic cavalry (c. 71) makes very good sense.

LXXV.

5. *pro eius hospitio* : *hospitium*, like ξενία, has no English equivalent : 'relations of friendship,' 'terms of mutual hospitality,' are expressions representing the meaning.

LXXVI.

1. *in Britannia* : cf. IV. cc. 21, 27.

Morinos attribuerat : not only were the Atrebatas, as a reward for Commius's services, free from all taxation, and allowed to enjoy their own laws, but the Morini were obliged to pay a tribute to them.

3. *recensebantur*: at a review a muster-roll was taken, and the numbers correspond with those given in c. 75, allowing a deduction of 8,000 Bellovaci.

5. *ad Alesiam*: as in c. 41, 1.

6. *incipiti proelio*: not in its usual sense of 'indecisive,' but with an enemy on both sides, behind and before, *i.e.*, with the besieged garrison and the relieving army.

LXXVII.

1. *At*: cf. on c. 9, 1.

praeterita die: cf. on c. 3, 1.

3. *ad consilium*: the ordinary reading is 'concilium': though not to be confused, either makes sense.

6. *dignitas*: *i.e.*, of those who have expressed this opinion.

9. *hos . . . qui . . . neglexerunt*: *i.e.*, the other Gauls who had taken up arms for the relief of the besieged.

10. *animi causa*: cf. V. c. 12 'animi voluptatisque causa.'

11. *illorum nuntiis*: *i.e.*, if no messengers from their friends could run the blockade, they might at least read in the activity of the Romans on their outer lines ('circumvallation') proof of the speedy arrival of relief.

12. *mei consilii*: cf. c. 5, 5 'quibus *id consilii* fuisse cognoverint.'

14. *simile*: understand 'huic bello:' *illi bello* is not to be taken with *simile*, but with *fuit* (= in illo bello).

16. *securibus subiecta*: the Province, being already under the sway of the Roman proconsul, was, as it were, under the lictor's 'fasces' and 'securus.'

LXXVIII.

5. *recipi prohibebat*: Caesar draws a veil over the fate of the unfortunate Mandubii. It is stated by Dio Cassius that, neither side receiving them, they perished miserably between the city walls and the Roman lines.

LXXIX.

1. *ad Alesiam*: cf. c. 76, 5.

colle exterior: *i.e.*, that on the west side of the plain. The view of the whole position from this hill is very commanding (*vide* Illustration, p. 63). There is some difference of opinion what site on the hill was occupied by the Gauls: v. Kampen covers the whole plateau with them; but it appears more probable that they occupied the slopes facing Alesia, because (1) the view towards the besieged town is no more comprehensive from the top of the hill than from the side; (2) a hill, so high and so far removed from the

scene of action, would be quite unsuitable for military purposes, especially for cavalry; (3) Caesar expressly gives a mile (*non longius mille passibus*) from the Roman lines as the distance at which the Gauls encamped, and the foot of the hill at the nearest point is about a mile from the Roman works; (4) the area enclosed by a line of earthworks in v. Kampen's map appears out of proportion to the needs even of so large a force as that of the text; (5) the Roman cavalry pursue the Gauls 'usque ad castra,' which would be practically impossible if the camp were on the top of so steep a hill, *vide* Plan.

2. *demonstravimus*: c. 69, 3.

4. *proximam fossam*: i.e., the first trench of 20 ft. wide (c. 72, 1).

LXXX.

1. *ad utramque partem*: i.e., to guard the lines against an attack from either the besieged or the relieving force.

3. *expeditos levis armaturae*: cf. on c. 18, 1; 65, 4.

4. *complures*: i.e., Romans.

5. *recte ac turpiter factum*: each man, by the publicity of the engagement, was stimulated to gain distinction and avoid disgrace.

6. *Germani*: for the fourth time in this campaign the Germans decide the day for the Romans, cf. cc. 13, 67, 70.

7. *sagittarii*: i.e., the skirmishers fighting among the cavalry, above (3).

8. *sui colligendi*: cf. on c. 43, 2.

LXXXI.

1. *Galli*: the army of relief are called 'Galli,' the besieged 'interiores,' 'qui in oppido obsidebantur' (cc. 77, 81, 82, 86).

cratium, scalarum, harpagonum: cf. Excursus, § 11, and c. 22, 2, note.

campestres munitiones: i.e., the lines across the plain, in front of which the battle of two days before had been fought.

4. *ut superioribus diebus*: we are only informed through the mouth of Critognatus (c. 77, 10), of the daily drill of the Romans in anticipation of this attack.

fundis librilibus: slings for hurling large stones (1 lb.). A large number of such stone balls of several pounds weight found in the excavations may be seen in the little museum at Alise. These may have been used chiefly for the *ballistae*.

sudibus: a general term for the various stakes described in c. 73.

glandibus: acorn-shaped balls of lead, or earthenware, which could be heated white-hot, and used to set fire to the enemy's camp, &c., V. c. 43.

6. *ex ulterioribus castellis*: i.e., those in the valleys of the Ose and Oserain.

LXXXII.

1. *pilis muralibus*: these are thought to be a heavier kind of *pilum* only used on fortifications, as a weapon of defence.

2. *ab latere aperto*: cf. on c. 50, 1. The camps on the hill of Flavigny, south of Alesia (*superiora castra*), would overlook the right of the Gauls as they attacked the 'campestres munitiones.'

4. *priores fossas*: he can only mean the first trench 20 ft. wide, which must have taken them all their time to cross. The line of 'cippi,' &c., lay between this and the double ditch in front of the 'vallum,' and he says nothing of their difficulties amongst these, though he mentions them in connection with the attack from outside ('sudibus,' c. 81, 4).

LXXXIII.

1. *locorum peritos*: i.e., from among the natives.

2. *collis*: the hill of which Mont Réa is a spur.

iniquo loco: this point is of all the ridges round Mont Auxois that which least lends itself to an encampment and fortification, see Illustration, p. 63. The lines were carried up to Mont Réa, but could not include the higher hill behind, vide Plan.

5. *adeundi tempus*: i.e., for a simultaneous attack by Vercassivellaunus from the north, and the other Gauls from the west.

6. *ex quattuor ducibus*: cf. c. 76, 3.

7. *confecto sub lucem itinere*: starting about 8 p.m. and marching behind the hill to the north of the camp (see Plan), Vercassivellaunus would make a circuit of several miles down the valley of the Brenne, so as to turn the northern side of the hill, and reach, before daybreak, a halting-place behind Mont Réa.

8. *ad ea castra . . . contendit*: he descends upon the camp of Rebilus and Reginus by the hollow indicated in the Plan and Illustration, p. 63 (more to the east than shown in v. Kampen's map).

LXXXIV.

1. *suos*: i.e., the allies come to his relief, amongst whom were his own cavalry dismissed (c. 71) to raise the relieving army, and now engaged in an attack upon the 'campestres munitiones;' in the same sense 'suorum,' c. 88, 5.

musculos, &c.: vide Excursus, § 11.

2. *omnibus locis*: this can only be applied to the whole length of the lines from Mont Réa to the hill of Flavigny across the plain. There is no reason to suppose any attack was made by the relieving force or the besieged on any other part of the Roman lines than these on the west side.

4. *in aliena virtute*: the danger of either line of Romans (who fought back to back), depended upon the valour of the other, inasmuch as the defeat of the others would expose the rear of the one. Some read *salute*.

5. *omnia enim*: cf. the well-known saying of Tacitus, 'omne ignotum pro magnifico habere.'

LXXXV.

1. *idoneum locum*: probably on the north-west slope of the hill of Flavigny. The Illustration showing the battle is taken from that point, commanding a view of the whole length of the lines exposed to the attack (*vide* Plan *).

4. *iniquum loci*, &c.: cf. c. 83, 2. Beginners always find this sentence puzzling, but most editors ignore it. The meaning is: from the Roman point of view the unfavourable (uneven) nature of the ground, sloping, as it does, down to the bottom of the hill, gives a great strategic advantage to the force on the higher ground. Hence the discomfiture of the Romans. *Momentum* = 'the inclination of the scale.' For 'fastigium,' cf. c. 73, 5 'angustiore ad infimum fastigio,' similarly 'declivis locus tenui fastigio' (Caes. B.C. I. 45).

6. *ascensum dat Gallis*: here, as before (c. 81, 1), 'Gallis' refers to the army of relief, *i.e.*, the force under Vercassivellaunus. Though they are on the higher ground, still the Roman *munitio* has to be surmounted. For this purpose the Gauls put their shoulders together to make a bank that will cover the pitfalls and furnish an approach to the rampart. The 'testudo' the Gauls had learnt from the Romans, cf. Excursus, § 11.

LXXXVI.

2. *eruptione pugnet*: Labienus is directed only as a 'dernier resort,' to take his six cohorts, and, quitting the lines, make a sortie into the ranks of the enemy.

3. *reliquos*: those at the fortifications on the plain, attacked by the Gauls not with Vercassivellaunus.

4. *desperatis campestribus locis*: after their unsuccessful attempt (c. 82, 4), when they spent all night in crossing one trench, the besieged gave up all hope of making an attack on the lines to the west; where the ground gave the Romans a position of greater advantage, not much had been done by way of defence beyond the single ditch.

loca praerupta: the part of the hills surrounding the town to, which this description applies, is the hill of Flavigny, whose northern edge is escarped with a line of cliffs running almost the whole length of the hill. These cliffs would be enclosed between the Roman inner and outer lines, the former being at the foot of the hill, where it is not very steep; yet the besieged might be said 'temptare' these heights, if they assailed the lines, the crossing of which would lead to them. It is also to be inferred that the final sortie of the besieged was on the south side, because Caesar sends Labienus to the north (c. 86, 1), then goes himself (c. 87, 2) to repel the sortie from the town, and finally hastens to join Labienus (c. 87, 3).

LXXXVII.

4. *ex proximo castello*: to guard against all emergencies there must have been a garrison left in each of the redoubts, which could be withdrawn now all the forces of the Gauls were evidently concentrated on one or two points. The redoubt referred to would be one of those near the foot of Mont Réa.

equitum . . . partem circumire: this body of cavalry must have come from the northern camp (Grésigny), and skirting the hill, where a road now runs, descended upon the rear of Vercassivellaunus (see Plan).

5. [*xl*] *cohortibus*: it is difficult to believe in the 'chance' arrival of four legions—more than one-third of the whole army occupying the fourteen miles of circumvallation. Can the correct reading be *xi* instead of *xl*?

LXXXVIII.

1. *haec declivia*: Caesar comes up from the lines on the plain, and is therefore easily seen in his crimson cloak by the Gauls on Mont Réa.

3. *equitatus cernitur*: i.e., that mentioned in c. 87, 4.

LXXXIX.

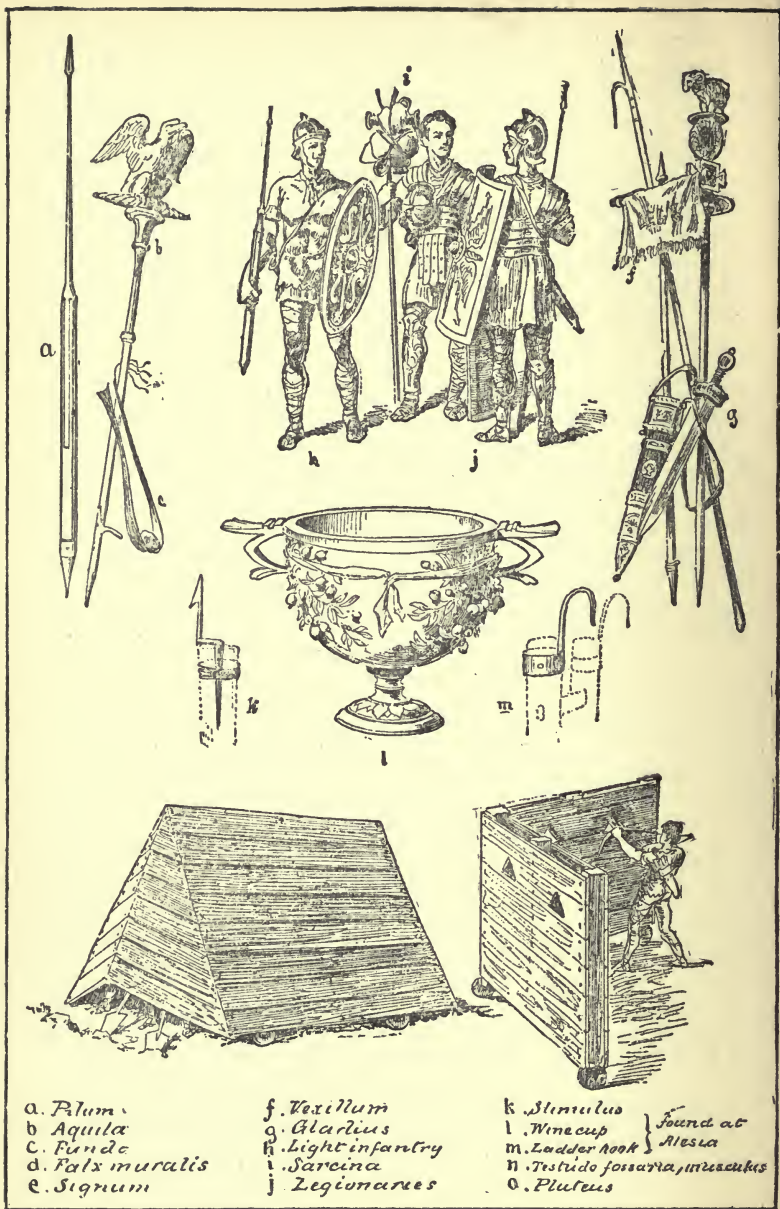
4. *ipse . . . consedit*: later historians describe how the Gallic hero nobly rode in full armour up to Caesar's tribunal on the ramparts, dismounted, and gave up his horse and sword, and knelt at the steps of the conqueror's chair (cf. on c. 68, 2).

5. *toto*: this form of the Dative occurs in VIII. c. 34; and perhaps above, c. 63, 7, '*toto bello*' is Dative with '*abesse*.'

capita singula: prisoners were usually distributed among the soldiers, who made what they could by selling them as slaves.

XC.

8. *supplicatio*: a thanksgiving festival of fifteen days was without precedent before Caesar's second campaign in Gaul (II. c. 35).



EXCURSUS ON THE ROMAN ARMY.

1. The unit of the Roman army was the Legion. Each legion was subdivided into ten Cohorts, each cohort into three Maniples, each manipule into two Centuries. Theoretically the strength of a legion would thus be 6,000; but the full complement usually amounted only to 4,200, and there is reason for believing the effective strength of Caesar's legions to have been about 3,500.

The officer in command of each century was a Centurion, who served on foot. The Senior Centurion (*pilus prior*) commanded the manipule, and the Senior Centurion of the first manipule of the first cohort (*primipilus*) was the first officer of the legion. Originally the legion was commanded by six Tribunes (*tribuni militum*), who alternated the command, so that each was in sole command every other day for two months. These officers were usually of equestrian rank and often selected for political or private considerations, which obviously did not add to their efficiency as commanders. Accordingly, Caesar practically superseded this arrangement by placing a Legatus over each legion, retaining the Tribunes as staff-officers, together with the Legates, Quaestors (quartermasters and adjutants), and others selected by the general.

2. For a Standard each legion had an Eagle (*aquila*, see Illustration, p. 112), under the charge of the *primipilus*. Each cohort also had its own Signum, usually representing some animal mounted on a pole. The cavalry and auxiliaries also carried a Vexillum or banner. This was distinct from the general's *vexillum*, which bore his name, and was used as a signal for marching, halting, opening battle, &c. For these purposes there were also three kinds of musical instruments: (1) the bugle (*buccina*), which sounded the times of day, *e.g.*, the reveille; (2) the horn (*cornu*), which expressed the command of the general, and was taken up by (3) the brazen trumpet (*tuba* or *lituus*), whose sound would reach farther than that of the horn.

3. The Baggage of an army consisted of two parts: (1) the heavy

baggage (*impedimenta*), including tents, tools, &c., carried by pack-animals (*iumenta*), of which there were about 600 to each legion; (2) the equipment of each soldier (*sarcinae*), including his rations of grain, implements and spare clothing. A legionary was at times required to carry as much as 40 lbs. This burden was fastened to a pole (*furca* or *mulus marianus*), and had to be laid aside before the soldier became ready for action (*expeditus*), cf. c. 18, 4; c. 27, 2.

4. The legionary was clothed in a sleeveless woollen shirt (*tunica*), next to which came the leathern coat strengthened by bands of metal (*lorica*). Over these was thrown in bad weather a military cloak (*sagum*), a sort of blanket. *Braccae* (breeches) were not worn till the days of the empire. Shoes or sandals (*calcei*) protected the feet. For defensive armour the legionary wore a helmet (*cassis* or *galea*)—officers being distinguished by a plume (*crista*),—greaves of bronze (*ocreae*), and a shield (*scutum*) of wood covered with leather or plates of metal. For weapons of offence the infantry soldier carried a sword (*gladius*) and a spear (*pilum*), whose shaft was wooden, with a long point of iron terminating in the spear-head and so constructed that, when hurled, the point would bend on coming into contact with an enemy's armour or shield (cf. B. G. I. 25), and so be useless as a weapon in his hand. After a battle the *pila* could be collected and easily repaired by the engineers (*fabri*). The bottom of the spear was also provided with a point, so that it might more easily be stuck into the ground. [A heavier kind of *pilum* is mentioned (c. 82 *pila muralia*) in the defence of fortifications.] In the Illustration (p. 112), of the two legionary soldiers (*j*), one is in marching order, the other *expeditus*.

5. For Artillery, the Romans used various engines denoted by the general term *tormenta*. Of these, one kind (*catapultae* or *scorpiones*) was used for large arrows, another (*ballistae*) for heavy stones or bolts (*glandes*). These two kinds of artillery would serve the purposes of Gatling guns and field ordnance respectively. Both were constructed on the same principle, and consisted of a frame-work, a track for the missile, and a spring formed of strands of hair, the action resembling that of a cross-bow, but requiring powerful leverage, cf. Frontispiece. It has been estimated that a missile could be projected by the *ballista* to a distance of 400 yards, whilst the *scorpio* could carry as many feet.

6. In Caesar's army the Cavalry consisted of auxiliaries, chiefly Germans, who rendered, on many occasions, distinguished service. The cavalry were divided into *alae*, and these again into *turmae* and *decuriae*, and commanded by a *praefectus equitum*. Auxiliaries, consisting of light-armed skirmishers (*levis armaturae milites*), slingers (*funditores*), archers (*sagittarii*), were drawn from the allies.

7. In Battle the usual arrangement of the legion was the *triplex acies*, whereby the ten cohorts were drawn up four in the front row, three in the next, and three in the last, in a chessboard pattern (*quincunx*). This order was frequently varied.

8. On the March, the usual order was a single column (*agmen*), each legion being followed by its own baggage, the cavalry keeping at the side or in the rear, according as might seem best for the protection of the column. A hollow square (*orbis*), or even the *acies triplex*, was sometimes resorted to in the presence of a threatened attack.

The army was accompanied by a multitude of Camp-followers (*calones, muliones, lixae*), to attend to the baggage and furnish provisions. These, in the case of forming a hollow square, would be placed within the square.

9. The Camp was usually square, with a gateway in each side, surrounded with a ditch and rampart, and divided in the interior by two broad passages running parallel to the front. In the centre was the *Praetorium*, or general's tent, facing the front gate. Each cohort and century had its allotted place, eight tents being allowed to each century. The camp was guarded by outposts (*procubitores, excubiae*) or pickets (*stationes*), and at night by sentinels also in four watches (*vigiliae*), averaging three hours each. The term *vigiliae*, as used for the sentries, is applied to small bodies on guard, *stationes* to whole divisions keeping watch; *custodes* or *custodiae* are special guards set over a particular object, e.g., *portarum*.

10. In conducting the Siege of a town, three methods might be pursued :—

(1) a 'coup-de-main,' or sudden assault (*oppugnatio repentina*), which would only be possible in the case of places weakly protected. Caesar attempted this method at Gergovia.

(2) Formal siege (*oppugnatio*), in the case of strongly fortified, but not impregnable positions. In this manner Avaricum was taken.

(3) Blockade (*obsidio, obsessio, circumvallatio*), in cases which did not admit of either of the former methods. This was adopted in the case of Alesia after Caesar's experience at Gergovia.

11. The Apparatus used in these operations consisted of the scaling-ladder (*scala*, c. 81), of which the metal portions were found at Alesia (Illustration, p. 112, *m*), hurdles (*crates*), for crossing ditches, and hooked pikes like boat-hooks (*falces* or *harpagones*, cf. Illustration, p. 112 *d*), for tearing down fences; these would be followed by battering-rams (*arietes*) protected by pent-houses (*musculi*), and sheds (*vineae*) leading up to them, under which the men could safely approach the enemy's wall, either to batter or undermine it. For a hasty attack, a *testudo* would be formed by the soldiers' shields placed together so as to resemble a tortoise-shell (cf.

Frontispiece). On an *agger*, additional protection would be found in the use of movable screens (*plutei*), covered usually with skins, whilst turrets on wheels (*turres ambulatoriae*) were used as a means of clearing the wall of its defenders. The sieges of Avaricum and Alesia furnish full descriptions of the latter two methods of siege, details of which are noticed in the notes.

For a fuller account of the organization and operations of the army, the student is referred to the introduction to Kraner's edition, and to Judson's "Caesar's Army," from which the materials for the above Excursus have been mainly derived.

IDIOMS:

A LIST OF CORRESPONDING PHRASES AND EXPRESSIONS IN
ENGLISH AND LATIN ARRANGED UNDER THE HEADS OF
THE CHAPTERS FROM WHICH THEY ARE ADAPTED.

c. i.

To enlist	<i>coniurare.</i>
To levy troops	<i>delectum habere.</i>
To chafe at one's subjection	<i>se subiectum dolere.</i>
To entertain designs	<i>consilia inire.</i>
To inaugurate a "spirited foreign policy"	<i>liberius atque audacius de bello consilia inire incipere.</i>
To convene an assembly	<i>concilium indicere.</i>
At the risk of one's life	<i>capitis periculo.</i>
To assert one's liberty	<i>sese in libertatem vindicare (cf. libertatem vindicare, c. 76).</i>
To form a plan.	<i>rationem habere.</i>
To divulge a scheme	<i>consilium efferre.</i>
Prestige	<i>vetus belli gloria (cf. 62, 76).</i>

c. ii.

To discuss a subject	<i>rem agitare.</i>
To take security by interchange of hostages	<i>obsidibus inter se cavere.</i>
To imply the greatest solemnity	<i>gravissimam caerimoniam continere.</i>
To return a vote of thanks to —	<i>collaudare —.</i>
The assembly breaks up	<i>ab concilio disceditur.</i>

c. iii.

To settle for trading purposes	<i>negotiandi causa consistere.</i>
To be in charge of the commissariat	<i>rei frumentariae praeesse (cf. rei f. praeficere aliquem).</i>

- c. iv.
- To aspire to the crown *regnum appetere.*
 To gain over *ad suam sententiam perducere* (cf. *conciliare*, c. 7).
 To remain faithful *in fide manere.*
 To invest with supreme power *deferre imperium ad* (cf. *permittere summam imperii*, c. 79).
 To be a warning to the rest *esse reliquis documento.*
 The most rigorous discipline— } *summa imperii severitas.*
 “coercion ” }
- c. v.
- To be in alliance with some one *alicuius esse in fide.*
 To despatch a contingent to some one's aid *copias subsidio alicui mittere.*
 My plan is to — *id mihi consilii est ut* — (cf. *quid mei consilii est?* c. 77).
- c. vi.
- To be greatly embarrassed } *magna difficultate affici* (cf. *res mihi*
 To be placed in a dilemma } *est in magnis difficultatibus*,
 c. 35).
 To fight a pitched battle *proelio dimicare.*
- c. vii.
- It is of paramount importance to — *omnibus consiliis anteverendum est ut* —.
 To be some one's neighbours *fines alicuius contingere.*
- c. viii.
- To take by surprise *inopinantes opprimere.*
 To take measures for the protection of some one's property *fortunis alicuius consulere.*
 To make a move in the direction of some one *castra movere in aliquem versus.*
- c. ix.
- To happen *usu venire.*
 To forecast, anticipate *opinionem praecipere.*
 To scour the country in all directions *in omnes partes pervagari.*

To endeavour, take care
I arrive by forced marches

dare operam.
quam maximis possum itineribus
pervenio.

C. X.

To cause great perplexity
To suffer from the difficulty of get-
ting supplies to the front
To endure any hardship
To submit to an indignity
To alienate some one

magnam difficultatem afferre.
duris subvectionibus laborare.
omnes difficultates perpeti.
contumeliam accipere.
voluntates alicuius alienare.

C. XI.

To command a more ready supply
of provisions
To invest a town (blockade)
To besiege
To assault
To storm
Things useful for the purpose
Outposts
cf. Pickets
Sentinels
Scouts
Night-watches
Almost the entire number are cap-
tured

expeditiore re frumentaria uti.
circumvallare oppidum.
obsidere
oppugnare.
expugnare.
quae ad rem usui sint.
excubiae.
stationes.
custodiae, custodes.
exploratores.
vigiliae, vigiles.
perpauci desiderantur quin cuncti
capiantur.

C. XII.

To conceive hope of relief
To entertain some new design
To man the wall
To draw the sword

in spem auxilii venire.
novi aliquid inire consilii.
murum complere.
gladium destringere.

C. XIII.

With heavy loss
To fall back upon the main column
To reduce to subjection

multis amissis.
se ad agmen recipere.
in potestatem redigere.

C. XIV.

To meet with repeated checks
Private interests

continua incommoda accipere.
rei familiaris commoda.

A town by its artificial defences and its natural position impregnable	<i>oppidum munitione et loci natura ab omni periculo tutum.</i>
A hiding-place for shirking military service	<i>ad detrectandam militiam receptaculum.</i>

C. xv.

With victory almost in one's grasp	<i>prope explorata victoria (cf. exploratam victoriam dimittere, c. 52).</i>
To repair one's losses	<i>amissa recuperare.</i>
To beseech some one on one's knees to —	<i>procumbere alicui ad pedes, ut (or ne) —.</i>
To grant a petition	<i>dare petenti veniam.</i>

C. xvi.

From hour to hour	<i>in singula diei tempora.</i>
To inflict heavy loss upon	<i>magno incommodo afficere.</i>
To provide by a scheme	<i>ratione providere.</i>

C. xvii.

To relieve the extreme pangs of hunger	<i>extremam famem sustentare.</i>
To retire without achieving one's object	<i>infecta re discedere.</i>
To regard as a stain upon one's reputation	<i>ignominiae ferre loco.</i>

C. xviii.

To exhaust one's supply of forage	<i>consumere pabulum.</i>
To get ready for action	<i>arma expedire.</i>

C. xix.

An almost impassable swamp	<i>palus difficilis atque impedita.</i>
To fight a battle on equal terms	<i>aequo Marte dimicare.</i>
How many brave lives victory costs !	<i>quot virorum fortium morte constat victoria.</i>
To be so firmly resolved as to refuse	<i>sic animo paratus esse ut recuset.</i>

C. xx.

To accuse of treason	<i>proditionis insimulare.</i>
So critical a moment	<i>tanta opportunitas.</i>
Effeminacy	<i>animi mollities, mollitia (c. 77).</i>
Without shedding a drop of blood	<i>sine sanguine.</i>

c. xxi.

Victory is assured, if —

summa victoriae in eo constat, si —.

c. xxii.

Valour is met by ingenuity

virtuti consilia occurrunt.

To be busy at the works

in opere occupari, versari (c. 27).

c. xxiii.

To lie in juxtaposition

inter se contingere.

At equal distances apart

paribus intermissis spatiis.

A structure not unpleasing in its
variegated appearance

*opus in speciem varietatemque non
deforme.*

To be most convenient

summam habere opportunitatem.

c. xxiv.

To prosecute works without inter-
mission

nullum tempus ab opere intermittere.

To determine

rationem inire (cf. c. 71).

To work in relays

partitis temporibus esse in opere.

c. xxv.

A battle rages on all sides

in omnibus locis pugnatur.

I renew my hopes

spes mihi redintegratur.

Fresh relays relieve them as they
become exhausted

*recentes defessis succedunt (cf. in-
tegrī defessis succedunt, c. 41).*

To depend upon a critical moment

in vestigio temporis poni.

Worthy of record

memoria dignus.

c. xxvi.

No expedient is of any avail

res nulla succedit.

Physical weakness

naturae et virium infirmitas.

To remain steadfast in one's deter-
mination

in sententia perstare.

Panic leaves no room for pity

timor misericordiam non recipit.

c. xxvii.

To reap in victory the fruits of toil

*pro laboribus fructum victoriae per-
cipere.*

c. xxviii.

An unexpected occurrence	<i>res nova.</i>
To throng along the whole length of the wall	<i>toto undique muro circumfundi.</i>
Pell-mell, helter-skelter	<i>continenti impetu.</i>
Bowed down with years	<i>aetate confectus.</i>
At a late hour of the night	<i>multa iam nocte.</i>
To have people sorted and conducted to their friends	<i>disparandos deducendosque ad suos curare.</i>

c. xxix.

To lose heart	<i>se animo demittere.</i>
To gain a victory in the open field	<i>in acie vincere.</i>
To repair a loss by more substantial gains	<i>incommodum maioribus commodis sanare.</i>
To stand aloof from the rest	<i>ab reliquis dissentire.</i>

c. xxx.

To lose one's presence of mind	<i>animo deficere, permoveri (c. 53).</i>
To seek concealment	<i>se in occultum abdere.</i>
To avoid observation	<i>conspectum multitudinis fugere.</i>
To be possessed of foresight and sagacity	<i>animo providere et praesentire.</i>
With fortunes still unimpaired	<i>re integra.</i>
Not inured to toil	<i>insuetus laboris.</i>

c. xxxi.

I apply myself to the task of uniting	<i>animo laboro ut adiungam.</i>
To win by artful words or friendly deeds	<i>oratione subdola aut amicitia capere.</i>
To provide arms and clothing for some one	<i>armandum vestiendumque aliquem curare.</i>
To make good the losses of the field	<i>deminutas copias redintegrare.</i>
His mercenaries	<i>quos conduxit.</i>

c. xxxii.

To recruit after toil and deprivation	<i>ex labore atque inopia reficere.</i>
A most urgent crisis	<i>maxime necessarium tempus.</i>
The position is most critical	<i>summo est in periculo res.</i>

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| To hold office | <i>magistratum gerere.</i> |
| A promising and distinguished youth | <i>florens et illustris adolescens.</i> |
| To keep up a quarrel | <i>alere controversiam.</i> |
| c. xxxiii. | |
| To decorate with all kinds of distinctions | <i>omnibus rebus ornare.</i> |
| To have recourse to force of arms | <i>ad vim atque arma descendere.</i> |
| To give one's first attention to a matter | <i>rei praevertere</i> (cf. c. 79). |
| To infringe some one's rights | <i>deminuere aliquid de iure alicuius.</i> |
| c. xxxiv. | |
| To break down a bridge | <i>pontem interrumpere, rescindere</i> (c. 35). |
| To repair a bridge | <i>pontem reficere</i> (c. 58). |
| c. xxxv. | |
| To throw out vedettes | <i>disponere exploratores, custodias</i> (c. 55). |
| To ford a river | <i>vado transire flumen.</i> |
| To form a guess | <i>coniecturam capere.</i> |
| c. xxxvi. | |
| To arrive after five days' march | <i>quintis castris pervenire.</i> |
| To reconnoitre a position | <i>situm perspicere.</i> |
| To be difficult of access on all sides | <i>omnes aditus difficiles habere.</i> |
| To get the commissariat in order | <i>rem frumentariam expedire.</i> |
| A general's staff | <i>quos sibi (dux) ad consilium capiendum delegit</i> (cf. c. 76). |
| To let no day pass without testing | <i>nullum diem intermittere quin perspiciat.</i> |
| Opposite a town | <i>e regione oppidi.</i> |
| Reinforcements arrive | <i>subsidio venit.</i> |
| c. xxxvii. | |
| To bribe | <i>pecunia sollicitare, cf. praemio deducere.</i> |
| To put under an obligation | <i>beneficio afficere.</i> |
| c. xxxviii. | |
| To put to death unheard | <i>indicta causa interficere.</i> |

- Of high rank *summo loco natus.*
 Of humble origin *humili loco natus.*
 To take no account of *levi momento aestimare.*
- c. xxxix.
- Without a moment's hesitation *nulla interposita dubitatione.*
 Success depends upon rapidity *res in celeritate posita est.*
 To make overtures for surrender *deditionem significare.*
 To cry quarter *mortem deprecari.*
- c. xl.
- The situation is critical *res est in periculo.*
 To prepare for a repetition of the
 occurrence on the following day *se in posterum diem similemque
casum apparare.*
- c. xli.
- To allow oneself time for inquiry *spatium sibi ad cognoscendum relin-
quere.*
 To treat a casual rumour (mere
 hearsay) as an established fact *levem auditionem pro re comperta
habere.*
 To add fuel to the fire *rem proclinatam adiuvere.*
 To entice out under promise of safe
 conduct *data fide educere.*
- c. xlii.
- To fascinate with the profits realized
 from the spoil *capere compendio ex direptis bonis.*
- c. xliii.
- An opportunity for achieving one's
 object *facultas bene rei gerendae.*
- c. xliv.
- A display of sham cavalry *equitum species ac simulatio.*
- c. xlv.
- In a straight line *recta regione.*
 As the crow flies *si nullus anfractus intercedit.*
 To make the ascent more gentle *mollire clivum.*
 As the nature of the ground allows *ut natura loci fert.*
 To take a siesta *meridie conquiescere.*
- c. xlvi.

c. xlvii.

To set oneself a task	<i>animo aliquid proponere.</i>
To halt (of an army)	<i>signa constituere.</i>
To give the signal for a charge	<i>signa inferre</i> (c. 62) (cf. <i>infesta signa</i> , c. 51).
To sound a retreat	<i>signa referre, receptui canere.</i>
To wheel round, change fronts	<i>signa convertere.</i>
To advance	<i>signa promovere.</i>
To engage	<i>signa conferre.</i>
Former successes	<i>superiorum temporum secunda proelia.</i>

c. xlviii.

As fast as they come up	<i>ut quisque primus venit.</i>
To display	<i>in conspectum proferre.</i>
Fresh reinforcements	<i>recentes atque integri.</i>

c. xlix.

To dislodge	<i>loco depellere.</i>
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c. l.

A fierce hand-to-hand struggle takes place	<i>acerrime comminus pugnatur.</i>
To be outnumbered	<i>a multitudine opprimi</i> (cf. <i>multitudine premere</i> , c. 80).
Whilst there is a chance	<i>data facultate.</i>

c. li.

To rally	<i>infestis contra hostes signis consistere.</i>
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c. lii.

To reprove insubordination and presumption	<i>licentiam arrogantiamque reprehendere.</i>
To look for discipline and self-restraint	<i>modestiam et continentiam desiderare.</i>

c. liii.

To humble some one	<i>ostentationem alicuius minuere.</i>
To reassure	<i>animos confirmare.</i>

c. liv.

To raise to a condition of prosperity and affluence	<i>in fortunam et amplitudinem deducere.</i>
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- State funds c. lv.
pecunia publica.
- A godsend under embarrassing circumstances c. lvi.
quod pro rei necessitate opportunum est.
- To provision an army *frumento explere exercitum.*
- The supreme command c. lvii.
summa imperii.
- Unequalled military knowledge *singularis scientia rei militaris.*
- To summon to a post (of honour) *ad honorem evocare.*
- To make a district impassable *locum impedire.*
- To make a road c. lviii.
iter munire.
- To call out (reserves) *ad bellum evocare.*
- To capture a town without striking a blow *sine contentione oppido potiri.*
- Change of circumstances c. lix.
rerum commutatio.
- To aim at territorial aggrandisement *cogitare ut aliquid acquirat.*
- To assume the offensive *hostes proelio lacessere.*
- To rely upon presence of mind *ab animi virtute auxilium petere.*
- Towards nightfall c. lx.
sub vesperum.
- Down stream *secundo flumine.*
- Up stream *adverso flumine.*
- At full speed *incitatus.*
- cf. at full gallop *incitatis equis.*
- To put in (of ships) *appelli.*
- To entrust with an undertaking c. lxi.
negotio praeficere.
- There is an unusual commotion *praeter consuetudinem tumultuatur.*
- To bear in mind one's former prestige c. lxii.
pristinæ virtutis retinere memoriam
(cf. *pristinam belli laudem recuperare*, c. 76).

Brilliant successes in the field
To be present in person
The issue of the battle

secundissima proelia.
praesens adesse.
exitus victoriae.

c. lxiii.

Plans for a campaign
To refer a question to a plebiscite

All to a man
Youths of great promise

rationes belli gerendi.
multitudinis suffragiis rem per
mittere.
ad unum omnes.
summae spei adolescentes.

c. lxiv.

A very easy matter
Sacrifice of private interest

perfacile factu.
rei familiaris iactura.

c. lxv.

By no possibility
Skirmishers

nulla re.
levis armaturae pedites (cf. *leves*
armaturae, leves armis, levibus
armis pedites, &c.).

c. lxvi.

Lasting peace and freedom from
molestation
A result which I confidently antici-
pate
To take to one's heels
To deprive of the necessities of life

reliqui temporis pax atque otium.
id quod futurum confido.
suae saluti consulere.
usu rerum necessariarum spoliare.

c. lxvii.

To administer an oath to some one

iureiurando aliquem adigere.

c. lxviii.

As long as daylight permits

quantum diei tempus patitur.

c. lxix.

To be impregnable
To face the east

To station pickets

nisi obsidione expugnari non posse.
ad orientem solem spectare (cf. *ver-*
gere, I. c. I).
stationes disponere.

A plain lying between hills
Both sides do their utmost

c. lxx.

*planities intermissa collibus.
summa vi ab utrisque contenditur.*

To be of an age for military service
To do yeoman's service for the
commonwealth

c. lxxi.

*per aetatem arma ferre posse (cf.
aetate ad bellum inutiles, c. 77).
optime de communi libertate mereri.*

To take stock
To deal out scanty rations of corn

*rationem inire.
frumentum parce et paulatim metiri.*

In order to guard against a surprise
Men told off to the works
Low-lying meadow-land

c. lxxii.

*ne de improvviso hostium multitudo
advolet.
homines operi destinati.
campestria ac demissa loca*

To arrange in a chess-board pattern
Gradually narrowing to the bottom

c. lxxiii.

*in quincuncem disponere.
paulatim angustiore ad infimum
fastigio.*

I keep on the level as far as
possible

c. lxxiv.

*regiones sequor quam possum aequi-
simas.*

To maintain discipline
To play second fiddle to no one

c. lxxv.

*moderari.
non cuiusquam imperio obtemperare.*

To regain a lost prestige

c. lxxvi.

*pristinam belli laudem recuperare
(cf. c. 62).*

To have a regard for past obligations
To devote oneself heart and soul to
a cause

*beneficiis moveri.
animo et opibus in aliquid incumbere.*

A general's staff

*delecti (duci) attributi, quorum con-
silio bellum administretur (cf. c.
36).*

	c. lxxvii.
I have to do with these	<i>cum his mihi res est.</i>
Such is the weight I attach to authority	<i>tantum apud me dignitas potest.</i>
To risk one's life	<i>periculum suum negligere.</i>
For a mere whim	<i>animi causa.</i>
Past military service	<i>aetate ad bellum inutilis.</i>
A land permanently subjected to a military despotism	<i>terra quae securibus subiecta perpetua premitur servitute.</i>

	c. lxxviii.
To have recourse to a proposed expedient	<i>ad sententiam descendere, consilio uti.</i>

	c. lxxix.
To be overjoyed	<i>animos ad laetitiam excitari.</i>
To provide against every emergency	<i>ad omnes casus se comparare (cf. c. 33).</i>

	c. lxxx.
To fight with doubtful issue	<i>dubia victoria pugnare.</i>
An opportunity for rallying	<i>sui colligendi facultas.</i>
To lose all hope of victory	<i>victoriam desperare.</i>

	c. lxxxxi.
On the next day but one	<i>uno die intermisso</i>
Darkness hiding the view	<i>prospectu tenebris adempto.</i>

	c. lxxxii.
Day breaks	<i>lux appetit.</i>

	c. lxxxiii.
To repulse with heavy loss	<i>magno cum detrimento repellere.</i>
Men who know the ground	<i>locorum periti.</i>
An unfavourable position	<i>iniquus locus.</i>

	c. lxxxv.
The supreme crisis of the struggle has come	<i>unum est tempus quo maxime contendendi convenit.</i>
To hold one's own—one's ground	<i>rem obtinere.</i>

c. lxxxvi.

The issue of one's labours hangs *fructus laborum in eo die atque hora*
upon that day and hour *consistit.*

c. lxxxvii.

To restore the fortunes of the day *restituere proelium.*
To take part in a battle *proelio interesse.*

c. lxxxviii.

To take up a shout *excipere clamorem.*
Worn out by constantly returning *crebris subsidiis defessus.*
to the fray

c. lxxxix.

For either alternative *ad utramque rem.*

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

Acco: a chief of the Senones, executed as a ringleader in the rising of 53 B.C. (c. I, VI. c. 44).

Aedui: a Keltic race occupying the district between the Loire and Saône, and holding a position of importance amongst the Gallic tribes, at times amounting almost to a hegemony, but before Caesar's proconsulate in alliance with Rome. They were of a vacillating character, and joined the general revolt while Caesar was before Gergovia, but were treated by him with special indulgence (c. 89).

Agedincum: chief town of the Senones (Sens), situated on a height on the left bank of the Icauna (Yonne), a tributary of the Seine. During the campaign of B.C. 52 Caesar made it his head-quarters, being conveniently situated by a wide valley offering facilities for the transport and provisioning of an army, cf. Illustration (p. 8).

Alesia: (Alise S^{te} Reine) chief town of the Mandubii—covering the summit of Mont Auxois, a plateau rising between the Ose and Oserain, tributaries of the Seine, passed on the line between Paris and Dijon. A full description of the site is given in the text, cf. Illustrations (p. 63).

Allobroges: a powerful tribe of Keltic origin between the Rhone and the Alps—chief town, Vienna on the Rhone—reduced to subjection by Pomptinus B.C. 60.

Ambiāni: (Amiens) a maritime tribe in the north of Gaul (c. 75).

Ambibarii: (Ambières) one of the tribes of Aremorica (c. 75).

Ambivarēti: a tribe of central Gaul, adherents of the Aedui (cc. 75, 90).

Andi: (Anjou) a Keltic tribe on the lower Loire (c. 4).

Antonius: the Mark Antony of Shakspeare, a kinsman of Caesar, and one of his *legati* in Gaul; afterwards his Master of the Horse. At Pharsalia he commanded one wing of Caesar's army, and on the death of the latter, formed the Triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus (c. 81).

Aquitania: the portion of Gaul lying south and west of the Garonne (Aquitaine).

- Arar* : the Saône (Sauconna being a later name), tributary of the Rhone.
- Aremorica* : a Keltic name signifying maritime (cf. Lat. *ad mare*)—the district known as Brittany and Normandy.
- Aristius* : a military tribune quartered at Cabillonum, an object of treacherous dealings at the hands of the Aedui (cc. 42, 43).
- Arverni* : (Auvergne) a tribe south of the Loire, occupying the volcanic ranges whose craters have been extinct from prehistoric times, and enjoying under the leadership of Vercingetorix the hegemony of Gaul—chief town Gergovia.
- Atrebates* : (Artois) a Belgic tribe in the north of Gaul—produced Commius, once a trusty ally of Caesar, now (c. 76) in command of the Gallic army raised to relieve Alesia.
- Aulerci* : a tribe of which we find several branches : (1) *Brannovices* (Briennois), adherents of the Aedui, (2) *Cenomani*, (3) *Eburovices* (Evreux), between the Seine and Loire (c. 75).
- Avaricum* : (Bourges) chief town of the Bituriges, on the Avara (Yèvre), cf. Illustration (p. 11).
- Basilus* : a cavalry officer, distinguished in the campaign of B.C. 53, and associated with Fabius in command of troops stationed amongst the Remi at the close of the campaign of 52 (c. 90).
- Belovaci* : (Beauvais) a Belgic tribe north of the Seine, distinguished for their valour (c. 59), and hence unwilling to take a subordinate position (c. 75).
- Bibracte* : (Beuvray) chief town of the Aedui. The hill has been excavated with interesting results. Not to be confused with Bibrax, a town of the Remi.
- Bituriges* : (Berry, Bourges) a Keltic tribe occupying a district south of the Loire, rich in mines. By the advice of Vercingetorix they burnt all their cities, sparing Avaricum, the pride of the state (c. 15).
- Boii* : a feeble branch of a Keltic tribe which had migrated from southern Germany, and had been planted by Caesar (c. 9) at the junction of the Loire and Allier (Elaver), cf. I. c. 28.
- Brannovii* : (Blanot) a Keltic tribe mentioned (c. 75) as adherents of the Aedui—position uncertain.
- Brutus* : (Decimus, not Marcus), a young officer left by Caesar amongst the Arverni at the beginning of 52 B.C., and again with him before Alesia. He was the recipient of several marks of Caesar's favour in later wars, but joined the conspirators in his murder (cc. 9, 87).
- Cabillonum* : (Châlon-sur-Saône) a town of the Aedui, in which we find Roman traders settled (c. 42).

- Caburus*: a chief of the Helvii (c. 65), made a Roman citizen by Valerius Flaccus, whose name Valerius he adopted (I. c. 47).
- Cadurci*: (Quercy, Cahors) a tribe near the Garonne—produced Lucterius, who assisted Vercingetorix in kindling revolt (c. 5).
- Caesar, Lucius*: a relative of Julius Caesar, and one of his *legati*, in command of troops garrisoning the frontier of the Province; he had been consul in 64 B.C. (c. 65).
- Caletes*: (Caux) a tribe dwelling at the mouth of the Seine (c. 75).
- Camulogenus*: the veteran chief of the Auleri, who commanded the Gauls against Labienus, and fell in the battle before Lutetia (cc. 57-62).
- Carnūtes*: (Chartres) a tribe north of the Loire chief town Cenabum.
- Cavarillus*: a chief of the Aedui, captured in the battle by the Vingeanne (c. 67).
- Celtillus*: the father of Vercingetorix, and chief of the Arverni, publicly put to death on a charge of aiming at kingly power (c. 4).
- Cenābum*: found in the Greek form *Κήναβον*, therefore not *Genabum*. The position is a matter of dispute, some placing it at Orléans, others at Gien, a little higher up the Loire. The Illustration (p. 9) shows a view of Gien, in favour of which it may be urged that it stands on a hill, as did nearly all the Gallic towns, whereas Orléans lies on a flat, or very nearly so, and would lie very far off the direct road from Agedincum to Gorgobina (cc. 3, 11).
- Cevenna*: (Cevennes) a chain of hills running north-east and south-west on the west side of the Rhone. The passes are snowed up in winter (c. 8).
- Cicero*: Quintus, the brother of the orator, one of Caesar's *legati*, distinguished in the campaign of B.C. 54 (V. cc. 39-48), left with forces amongst the Aedui at the end of 52 (c. 90).
- Cita*: a Roman knight in charge of stores at Cenabum (c. 3).
- Clodius*: a profligate Roman noble who was killed in an affray with Milo, outside Rome, in the winter of 52-51 B.C. (c. 1).
- Commius*: a chief of the Atrebatas, whom Caesar made king (IV. c. 21), and sent into Britain to establish the Roman sway there. He afterwards joined the Gauls in insurrection, and commanded the forces raised to relieve Alesia (cc. 75-79).
- Conconnetodunnus*: a leader of the Carnutes, who headed with Gutruatus the attack upon Cenabum (c. 3).
- Convictolitavis*: a chief of the Aedui, established in the office of Vergobret by Caesar's arbitration; he afterwards instigated his tribe to join in the general revolt (cc. 32, 33, 55).
- Cotus*: the opponent of Convictolitavis in the contest for the chief magis-

tracy of the Aedui. He was one of the nobles captured at the battle by the Vingeanne (c. 67).

Critognatus: a leader of the Gauls besieged at Alesia. He proposed that the garrison should be fed upon the flesh of those who were unfit for fighting, rather than surrender to the Romans (c. 77).

Curiosolites: (Corseult) a tribe of Aremorica (c. 75).

Decetia: (Décize) a town of the Aedui on the Loire (c. 33).

Divitiacus: a Druid chief of the Aedui who espoused and clung to Caesar's friendship. He it was who brought Viridomarus before Caesar's notice (c. 39).

Donnotaurus: a chief of the Helvii, named Valerius, after C. Valerius Flaccus, who had presented his father, Caburus, with Roman citizenship (c. 65).

Eläver: (Allier) a tributary of the Loire, rising in the Cevennes, and draining Auvergne (cf. p. 28).

Eleuteti: a neighbour tribe to the Arverni. (some read Eleutheri Cadurci) (c. 75).

Eporedorix: (1) a young noble of the Aedui, whose name is always coupled with that of Viridomarus. They first appear among Caesar's 'evocati,' as specially favoured allies, but having the fickle character of the Aedui they readily join in the revolt when it appears to be gaining ground, and are finally found with Commius and Vercassivellaunus in command of the army raised to relieve Alesia (cc. 38, 39, 54, 55, 63, 76).

(2) another leader of the Aedui, distinguished from the above (1) as he under whose leadership the tribe had fought with the Sequani before Caesar came into Gaul. He is one of the nobles captured in the battle by the Vingeanne (c. 67).

Fabius, Gaius: a *legatus* of Caesar, who defended his camp before Gergovia (cc. 40, 41), took part in the siege of Alesia (c. 87), and after the campaign was left with Basilus among the Remi.

Fabius, Lucius: a centurion of the eighth legion, who lost his life in the attempt to capture Gergovia (cc. 47, 50).

Cabali: (Gévaudan) a tribe south of the Arverni.

Gergovia: the chief town of the Arverni, standing on a mountain plateau 1,300 ft. above the valley of the Elaver, a few miles south of Clermont-Ferrand, and still known by its Roman name. The site is fully described in the text (cc. 36, &c.), cf. also Illustrations (p. 29) and Plan.

Gobannitio : the uncle of Vercingetorix, who tried to suppress his nephew's movement for the liberation of Gaul (c. 4).

Gorgobina : chief town of the Boii. Its site is disputed.

Gutruatus : (or Cotuatus), associated with Conconnetodumnus in the attack upon the Roman colony at Cenabum (c. 3).

Helvetii : a warlike Keltic tribe occupying the country east of the Jura, conquered in the first campaign, I. cc. 24-26.

Helvii : a Keltic tribe, dwelling on the slopes of the Cevennes within the Province.

Labienus : a *legatus* of Caesar who took a prominent part in the Gallic war, but joined Pompeius against his old chief in the Civil war (cc. 57-62, 86).

Lemovices : (Limousin, Limoges) a Keltic tribe south of the Loire (c. 75).

Lexovii : (Lisieux) a tribe of Aremorica, at the mouth of the Seine.

Liger : (Loire) the river which drains central Gaul, separating the Aedui and Bituriges (c. 5).

Lingones : (Langres) a Keltic tribe north of the Aedui (c. 66).

Litavicus : a noble of the Aedui sent in command of troops to join Caesar before Gergovia ; he induced his men to mutiny on the march, but, when confronted by Caesar, fled to Gergovia, and thence proceeded to Bibracte to stir up revolt amongst his tribe (cc. 37-40, 55).

Lucterius : a chief of the Cadurci employed by Vercingetorix to gain the alliance of the Ruteni (cc. 5, 7).

Lutetia : the capital of the Parisii (Paris), situated on the island in the Seine, now called la Cité (c. 57).

Mandubii : a Keltic tribe west of the Lingones, whose chief town was Alesia (c. 68). The fate of the tribe during the blockade of their capital is only darkly hinted at (c. 78).

Matisco : (Mâcon) a town of the Aedui, on the Saône.

Mediomatrici : (Metz) a tribe dwelling on the Moselle.

Metiosedum : probably the correct reading for Melodunum (Melun) which appears in some MSS., and has been substituted owing to the influence of the modern name originally applied to a later settlement on the right bank of the Seine, and afterwards effacing the name of the older town on an island in the river, cf. Illustration (c. 58).

Morini : a Belgic tribe on the straits of Dover (c. 75).

Narbo : (Narbonne), an important emporium of the Volcae Arecomici, on the Gulf of Lions, made a Roman colony by Crassus (118 B.C.), and

capital of the Province, which thence took the name of Gallia Narbonensis.

Nervii : a Belgic tribe west of the Meuse (c. 75).

Nitiobroges : a tribe dwelling on the Garonne. Their king Teutomatus joined Vercingetorix (c. 31), and had a narrow escape at Gergovia (c. 46).

Noviodūnum (1) : a town of the Bituriges, between Cenabum and Avaricum (c. 12). Its site is disputed : Napoleon III. decides for Sancerre, of which an Illustration is given (p. 10).

Noviodunum (2) : (Nevers) a town on the Aedui, on the Loire, close to its junction with the Allier (c. 55).

Ollovico : father of Teutomatus, king of the Nitiobroges, and honoured by the Roman Senate with the title of 'Amicus' (c. 31).

Osismi : the most westerly of the tribes of Aremorica (c. 75).

Parisii : (Paris) a tribe on the Seine, whose chief town was Lutetia, invaded by Labienus (cc. 57-62).

Petrocorii : (Périgord) a Keltic tribe on the Garonne (c. 75).

Petronius : a centurion of the eighth legion, who displayed conspicuous bravery in the disastrous attack upon Gergovia (c. 50).

Pictōnes : (Poitou) a maritime race south of the Loire (c. 75).

Pompeius : Caesar's great rival and opponent in the Civil war : sole consul for the year 52 B.C. (c. 6).

Provincia : (Provence) the south-eastern portion of Gaul, also called Gallia Narbonensis, which before Caesar's proconsulate had been made a Roman province.

Raurāci : a tribe occupying the southern part of Alsace (c. 75).

Rebilus : one of Caesar's *legati*, who with Reginus commanded the camp at the foot of Mont Réa in the siege of Alesia. At the close of the campaign he was sent to the Ruteni (cc. 83, 90). He captured Thapsus in the African war, and was consul for a few hours at the end of the following year (B.C. 45) giving occasion for Cicero's jest : *nihil eo consule mali factum est : fuit enim mirifica vigilantia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit*.

Redōnes : (Rennes) one of the tribes of Aremorica (c. 75).

Reginus : see Rebilus. He was sent to winter among the Ambivareti (cc. 83, 90).

Remi : (Rheims) a Belgic tribe who submitted at once to Caesar and remained faithful to him (c. 63) when the other tribes generally revolted.

- Rhenus*: (Rhine) the river which in Caesar's time formed a boundary between Gauls and Germans. The latter have been obliged in recent times to seek a more "scientific frontier" as a protection from aggression.
- Rhodanus*: (Rhone) rising in the Alps forms the northern boundary of the Province, then joins the Arar (Saône) and flows south into the G. of Lions.
- Rutēni*: (Rhodez) a border tribe, part of which was within (Provinciales), part north of the Province (cc. 71, 75).
- Rutilus*: a *legatus* of Caesar attached at the close of the campaign to the forces sent under Labienus to the Sequani.
- Santōni*: (Saintonge) a maritime tribe north of the Garonne (c. 75).
- Sedulius*: the chief of the Lemovices slain before Alesia (c. 88).
- Segusiāvi*: a tribe between the Rhone and Auvergne, bordering on the Province (c. 64).
- Senōnes*: (Sens) an influential tribe of the upper Seine and Yonne, whose capital Agedincum was used by Caesar as head-quarters. They were descended from the Senones of north-eastern Italy, who destroyed Rome B.C. 390.
- Sequāna*: (Seine) divides the Galli from the Belgae.
- Sequāni*: a powerful Keltic tribe east of the Saône.
- Sextius*: one of Caesar's *legati*, in command of the lesser camp before Gergovia. At the close of the campaign he was sent to command a legion among the Bituriges, and later became governor of Numidia (cc. 49, 51, 90).
- Suessiones*: (Soissons) a Belgic tribe north of the Seine, allied with the Romans.
- Sulpicius*: (Rufus) a *legatus* of Caesar associated with Q. Cicero in charge of the commissariat amongst the Aedui after the campaign of B.C. 52. He was afterwards engaged in the Civil war in Spain and obtained the governorship of Illyria.
- Teutomatus*: the king of the Nitiobroges who brought a considerable contingent to the aid of Vercingetorix after the fall of Avaricum. He narrowly escaped capture at the hands of the Romans before Gergovia (cc. 31, 46).
- Tolosātes*: (Toulouse) that part of the Volcae which inhabited Tolosa (c. 7).
- Trebonius*: one of Caesar's *legati* commissioned to superintend the surrender of Vellaunodunum (c. 11), and associated with M. Antonius in command of the lines on the plain before Alesia (c. 81). He served in Spain in the Civil war, commanded at the siege of Massilia and was

raised to the consulship by Caesar the year before the assassination of the latter, in which Trebonius took part. As governor of Asia in the following year he was assassinated by Dolabella at Smyrna.

Trevēri: (Trèves) a Keltic tribe dwelling on the Moselle, in frequent conflict with their German neighbours (c. 63).

Turōni: (Touraine) a Keltic tribe on the lower Loire (cc. 4, 75).

Valetiacus: a Vergobret of the Aedui who unconstitutionally nominated his brother Cotus as his successor, and so caused the dispute with Condictolitanus (c. 32).

Veliocassi: (Vexin) a tribe of Aremorica on the north of the Seine (c. 75).

Vellavi: (Velay) a tribe north of the Cevennes, adherents of the Arverni (c. 75).

Vellaunodūnum: a town of the Senones between Agedincum and Cenabum (c. 11). Its site is disputed: Napoleon III. decides for Triguères, which is represented in the Illustration (p. 9).

Venelli: one of the tribes of Aremorica (c. 75).

Vercassivellaunus: a cousin of Vercingetorix, and one of the four generals in command of the army raised for the relief of Alesia. He was entrusted with the final attempt to break through the lines on the slopes of Mont Réa, but fell into the hands of the conquerors (cc. 76, 83, 85, 88).

Vercingetorix: the heroic king of the Arverni, whose gallant struggle for the liberty of Gaul forms the subject of the seventh book of Caesar's Commentaries. After his surrender at Alesia, he was taken to Rome, and graced Caesar's triumph five years later. His fate was no exception to the usual lot of captives in war, for he was mercilessly put to death in the Tullianum after the triumph.

Vienna: (Vienne) chief town of the Allobroges, on the Rhone (c. 9).

Viridomarus: an Aeduan of humble origin introduced to Caesar by Divitiacus, and thenceforward associated in all the acts of his companion Eporedorix (cc. 38, 39, 54, 55, 63, 76).

Volcae Arecomici: that portion of the tribe of the Volcae which dwelt nearer the Rhone and sea-coast, c. 64. [The other part were called V. Tectosages.] The Volcae occupied that part of the Province which lay west of the Rhone, and resisted Hannibal's passage of that river.

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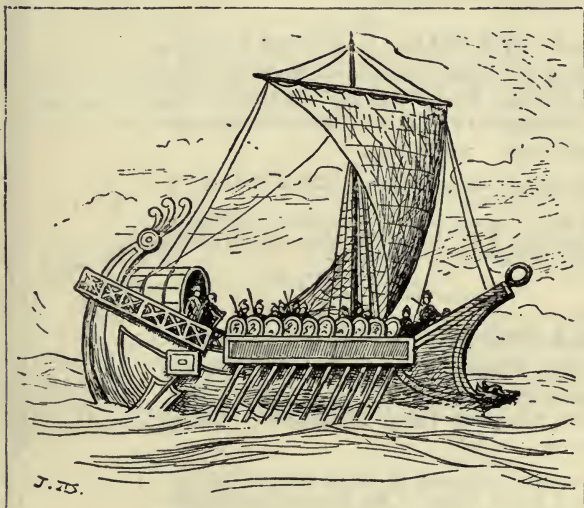
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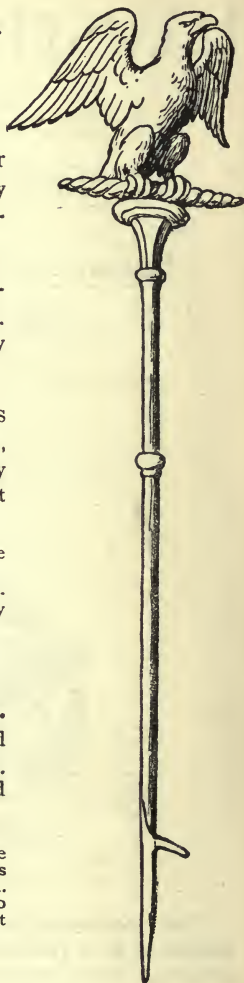
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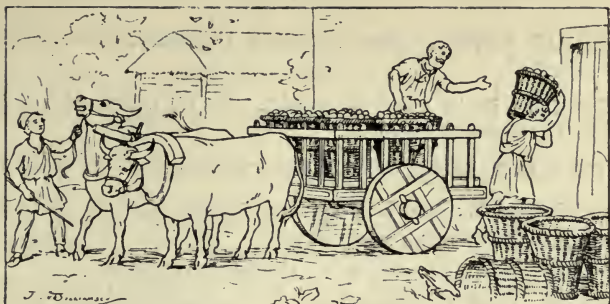
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