

# CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

ON

## THE GALLIC WAR.

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### BOOK II.

1. WHILE Cæsar was in hither Gaul, in winter quarters, as we have stated above, frequent reports were brought to him, and he was informed also by a letter from Labienus, that all the Belgæ, which we have said was the third part of Gaul, were confederating against the Roman people, and were giving hostages among themselves; that the reasons for combining were the following (*has*): in the first place, because they feared, lest <sup>1</sup>when all Gaul was reduced to quiet, our army should be brought against them; in the next place, because they were being solicited by certain Gauls, partly by those, who as (*on the one hand*) they did not wish, that Germans should any longer continue in Gaul, so (*on the other hand*), bore it impatiently, that the army of the Roman people, should winter and become habituated in Gaul; partly by those, who, from instability and fickleness of disposition, were desirous of a <sup>2</sup>change in government: by some also, because in Gaul, governments were, as a general occurrence (*vulgo*), usurped by the more powerful, and by those, who possessed the means for hiring troops; who, <sup>3</sup>while we held the chief power, could less easily accomplish that end (*eam rem*).

2. Aroused by these reports and this letter, Cæsar enrolled two new legions in hither Gaul, and in the beginning of summer

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<sup>1</sup> *Omni pacata*, &c. lit. "all Gaul having been," &c. "abl. abs."

<sup>2</sup> *Novis imperiis*, lit. "new governments."

<sup>3</sup> *Nostro in imperio*, trans. as in the text, or, "in a country governed by us," lit. "in, or, during our government."

sent his lieutenant, Quintus Pedius, to <sup>1</sup>conduct them into inner Gaul. He himself, as soon as there began to be an abundant supply of fodder, comes to the army: he gives commission to the Senones, and the other Gauls, who were next neighbours to the Belgæ, that they should inform themselves (*cognoscant*), of whatever things were being agitated among them, and make him acquainted with these matters. All these uniformly reported, that bodies of troops were being assembled, that an army was being <sup>2</sup>brought together into one place. Then indeed he was of opinion, that there <sup>3</sup>should be no hesitation, to his marching out against them. A supply of corn having having been provided, he strikes his camp, and in about fifteen days, arrives at the confines of the Belgæ.

3. When he had come there unexpectedly, and more quickly than the anticipation of all, the Remi, who are the nearest of the Belgæ to Gaul, sent as ambassadors to him Iccius and Antebrogius, men of the highest rank, in the state, to say (*qui dicerent*) that they yielded themselves, and all their possessions (*omnia sua*), to the protection and power of the Roman people; that they had neither agreed, with the rest of the Belgæ, nor had combined at all, against the Roman People, and that they were prepared, as well (*et*) to give hostages, as also (*et*) to execute, the commands imposed on them (*imperata*), and to admit him into their towns, and to assist him, with corn and other supplies (*rebus*). That all the other Belgæ were in arms, and that the Germans, who dwell at this side the Rhine, had joined themselves with these; and that so great was their infatuation, that they could not deter, even the Suessiones, brethren and kinsmen of their own, who possessed the same civil rights (*jura*) and the same laws, and had the same government, and the same magistracy as themselves (*cum ipsis*), from confederating with them (more lit. "so as that they should not confederate with them").

4. When he enquired from these, what and how powerful were the states, that were in arms, and what they could accomplish in war, he discovered as follows (*sic*): that most of

<sup>1</sup> *Qui deduceret.* Note.—"The relative with the subj. in such a construction, is always to be translated by the English infin."

<sup>2</sup> *Conduci, &c.* or, "hired into one place."

<sup>3</sup> *Non dubitandum, &c.* lit. "that it was not to be delayed, so as that he should not march," &c. *Quin* equal *quî*, old. abl. and, *non*.

the Belgæ were sprung from the Germans, and that having been brought across the Rhine, in ancient times, they had there effected a settlement, on account of the fertility of the soil, and had driven out the Gauls, who were dwelling in those localities; and that they were the only people, who within the recollection of our fathers, when all Gaul was ravaged (abl. abs. "all Gaul having been," &c.), had prevented the Teutoni and Cimbri from entering within their own territories. From which event it came to pass, that from the memory of these achievements (*rerum*), they assumed to themselves, great authority and great arrogance, in the business of war. With respect to their number, the Remi said, they had all things accurately examined into; because, being united by neighbourhood and intermarriages, they had discovered, what (number of men) each had promised, in the general council of the Belgæ, for that war. That the Bellovaci were the <sup>1</sup>most eminent among them, both for valour and authority, and number of men; that they could make up a hundred thousand armed men; that out of that number they had promised sixty thousand picked men, and claimed for themselves the command of the entire war. That the Suessiones were their nearest neighbours; that they possessed the most extensive and most fruitful lands; that even within our recollection Divitiacus was king amongst them, the most powerful man of all Gaul, who had gained the sovereignty as well of a great part of these districts, as also of Britain. That Galba was their king at present; that to him, on account of his justice and foresight, by consent of all, the chief direction of the whole war was committed. That they had towns, twelve in number; that they promised fifty thousand armed men; the Nervii as many, who are considered the fiercest among them, and are very far distant; that the Atrebates (*had promised*) fifteen thousand, the Ambiani ten thousand, the Morini twenty-five thousand, the Menappi nine thousand, the Celeti ten thousand, the Velocusses and Veromandui as many, the Aduatuci twenty-nine thousand, and that they thought that the Condrusi, the Eburones, the Cæراس and the Pæmani, who under one name are styled Germans,<sup>2</sup> up to forty thousand.

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<sup>1</sup> *Plurimum valere*, &c. lit. "prevailed the most;" *i. e.* were the most powerful.

<sup>2</sup> Supply, "had promised."

5. Cæsar having encouraged the Remi, and having addressed them kindly in a speech, ordered the whole Senate to come together to him, and the children of their chief men to be brought to him as hostages. All which things were punctually performed by them at the day appointed. Having very earnestly exhorted Divitiacus the Æduan, he informs him, how greatly (*quanto operere*) it was for the interest of the republic and the general safety, that the forces of the enemy should be kept asunder, in order that they might not have to engage with so vast a body at one time. That this might be accomplished, if the Ædui would lead their forces, into the territories of the Bellovaci, and begin to ravage their lands. With these instructions he dismisses him. After he perceived that all the forces of the Belgæ, assembled into one place, were advancing up to him, and he had learned from the scouts, whom he had sent out, and from the Remi, that they were not now far distant, he hastened to lead his army across the river Axona, which is in the remotest confines of the Remi, and there he pitched his camp. Which act (*res*) both (*et*) protected one side of his camp by the banks of the river, and also (*et*) rendered whatever might be (*quæ essent*) behind him, secure from the enemy, and effected, that provisions could without danger be brought to him, by the Remi and the other states. There was a bridge on that river. He there places a guard, and at another part of the river, he left Quintus Titurius Sabinus his lieutenant, with six cohorts: he orders them to fortify the camp, with a rampart to the height of twelve feet, and with a trench of eighteen feet (*in breadth*).

6. There was a town of the Remi, by name Bebrax, distant from this camp, about eight thousand paces. This, while on their march (*ex itinere*), the Belgæ commenced to assault with great impetuosity. The attack was with difficulty sustained during that day. The mode of assault on the part of the Gauls and Belgæ is the same, as follows (*eadem hæc*): When, a multitude of men having been thrown round the entire walls, stones have begun to be cast against the wall, and the wall has been laid bare of defenders, a *testudo* having been formed, they advance up to the gates, and begin undermining the wall (*mark, pres. tense*). Which at that time was easily effected, for while so great a multitude were casting stones and darts,

<sup>1</sup>no one was able to remain standing on the wall. When night had put an end to the assault (lit. "made an end of assaulting"), Iccius, a Roman, a man of the highest rank and influence among his own countrymen (*suos*)—who at that time was governor of the town—one of those who had come as ambassadors to Cæsar concerning peace, sends messengers to him *to say* "that unless assistance were secretly sent to him, he could not hold out any longer."

7. Accordingly (*eo*) soon after midnight Cæsar, having employed the same persons as guides, who had come as messengers from Iccius, sends Numidian and Cretan archers, and Balearic slingers to the <sup>2</sup>relief of the townsmen, by the arrival of whom, courage <sup>3</sup>to fight before their walls, together with the hope of a successful defence (*defensionis*), was added to the Remi; and, from the same cause, the expectation of making themselves masters of the town departed from the enemy. Accordingly, having delayed for a short time at the town, and having laid waste the lands of the Remi, all the villages and houses which they could reach having been set fire to, they directed their course to the camp of Cæsar, with all their forces, and pitched their camp at less than two thousand paces distant; which camp, as it became evident from the smoke and fires, extended more than eight thousand paces in breadth.

8. Cæsar at first, as well (*et*) on account of the number of the enemy, as also (*et*) on account of their distinguished reputation for valour, resolved to hold aloof (*supersedere*) from a general engagement (*prælio*); nevertheless he made frequent trial (*periclitabatur*) by means of slight skirmishes (*solicitationibus*) in cavalry encounters daily, as to what the enemy could do by their valour, and what our men would dare. When he perceived that our men were not inferior, the ground in front of the camp being by nature suitable and fit for drawing out an army, (because the hill where the camp was pitched, slightly elevated from the plain, extended in breadth, towards the enemy, (*adversus*), so far as (*tantum loci quantum*), an army drawn up in order of battle, could occupy,

<sup>1</sup> *In muro consistendi*, &c. lit. "the power of remaining standing on the wall was to no one."

<sup>2</sup> *Subsidio*, &c. lit. "for a relief to the townsmen."

<sup>3</sup> *Propugnandi*, &c. lit. a desire of fighting "before," or "in defence of" their walls.

and had a steep descent on both sides, and in front gently sloping, sank gradually towards the plain,) he drew a trench across, from both sides of that hill for about four hundred paces, and at the extremities of the trenches, he placed forts, and there he stationed engines, lest when he would have drawn out his line of battle, the enemy, because they were so powerful in numbers, might be able to surround from the flanks his own men when engaged in battle. This having been done, the two legions which he had last levied, having been left in the camp, in order if there should be need in any quarter, they could be led forward as a relief, he stationed the remaining six legions, in order of battle in front of the camp. In like manner, the enemy led forth their forces from their camp, and drew them up in battle array (lit. <sup>1</sup>drew up in battle array, their forces led forth, &c.).

9. There was a marsh of no great size, between our army and that of the enemy. The enemy waited to see (*expectabant*), if our men would cross this; but our men were ready under arms, in order, that (*ut*) if the first attempt at crossing (*initium transeundi*), should be made by them, they might attack them when in disorder, (*impeditos*, lit. encumbered). <sup>2</sup>In the meantime, a cavalry engagement was being fought in the space between (*inter*) the two armies. When neither make the first attempt at crossing, the engagement of the cavalry being more favourable to our men, Cæsar led back his own troops to the camp. The enemy immediately after (*protinus*, *i.e.* *porro-tenus*); directed their course from that place, to the river Axona, which was shown to be behind our camp. Then, fords having been discovered, they essayed to pass over a part of their forces, with this design, that if they could, they might storm a fortress, of which Quintus Titurius, the lieutenant, had charge, and burn down the bridge. In case they could not (*minus*) effect this, that they might lay waste the lands of the Remi, who were of great assistance to us in prosecuting the war, and cut off our men from a supply of provisions (*commeatu*).

10. Cæsar, having been informed by Titurius, leads across the bridge all the cavalry and the light-armed Numidians,

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, book i. ch. v., and book ii. ch. x, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Interim*, &c. lit. "meantime it was being fought in a cavalry engagement," &c.

slingers, and archers, and advances towards them (*scil.* "the enemy"), the battle was fiercely fought in that place. Our men, having attacked the enemy embarrassed in the river, slew a great number of them; the rest, attempting in the most daring manner to cross over on their bodies, they repulsed, by the number of their darts. The first who crossed over <sup>1</sup>they surrounded with the cavalry and slew, (lit. slew, surrounded by the, &c.). The enemy, when they perceived that the hope both of storming the town, and also of crossing the river had failed them, and that our men would not advance into more favourable ground for the sake of fighting, and when a supply of corn began to run short, a council having been summoned, resolved, that it was best to return, each man to his home, on the condition that (*ut*) into whosoever territories the Romans should first lead an army, they should assemble from every quarter to defend them, and fight rather in their own, than in foreign territories, and make use of their home supplies of corn. To this determination, the following reason also, together with other causes, led them—that they had learned that Divitiacus, and the Ædui were approaching the territories of the Bellovici, it was not possible for these to be prevailed on to delay longer, nor to carry assistance to their own (lit. "it was not possible for it to be persuaded to those;" *his*, is dative on persuaderi).

11. This course having been resolved on, at the second watch, having marched out of the camp, with great uproar and confusion, with no fixed order nor command, since each strove to obtain (*peteret*) the foremost place in the route, and was hastening to reach home, they caused their departure to appear very like a flight (lit. "that their departure should appear," &c.). This having been immediately learned through his scouts, Cæsar fearing an ambuscade, because he had not as yet discovered, for what reason they were departing, kept his army and cavalry within the camp. With the dawn of day, the account having been confirmed by his scouts, he sent forward all the cavalry, to keep the rearmost body in check. He placed in command of them, the lieutenants Quintus Pedius and Lucius Arunculeius Cotta. He ordered Titus

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<sup>1</sup> *Circumventos interfecerunt, &c.* Observe, a participle and verb, in such constructions, are to be translated as two verbs with the connective conjunction. See Book I. chap. 5, at the end.

Labienuſ, his lieutenant, to follow cloſe with three legions. Theſe having attacked the rearmoſt, and having purſued them many thouſand paces, ſlew a great number of them as they fled (lit. “of them flying”); while thoſe forming the laſt diviſion (*ab extremo agmine*) with whom they (*i. e.* our men) came up, made a ſtand, and bravely ſuſtained the attack of our ſoldiers, thoſe more in front (*prioraque, que*, is expletive), (becauſe they ſeemed to be diſtant from the danger, and were not reſtrained, by any neceſſity or command), their ranks having been thrown into confuſion, on hearing the ſhoutiſg, placed, all of them, their ſafety in flight. Thus without any danger, our men ſlew as great a number as the length of the day allowed (lit. as there was length of day). About the ſetting of the ſun they ceaſed, and betook themſelves to their camp, as had been ordered.

12. On the day after that day, Cæſar, before the enemy could recover themſelves from the panic and flight, led his army into the territories of the Suèſſiones, who were the neareſt to the Remi; and, a long march having been accompliſhed, he proceeded to the town Noveodunum. Having attempted while on his march to capture it, becauſe he heard it was unprovided with defenders, he was not able to ſtorm it on account of the breadth of the trench and the height of the wall, <sup>1</sup>though but few defended it. The camp having been fortified, he began to advance the vineæ, and provide whatever things were requiſite for laying ſiege to it. In the mean time, the whole crowd of the Suèſſiones, flockeſd on the next night, into the town in their flight (*ex fuga*; compare above; “*ex itinere*”). The vineæ having been ſpeedily advanced againſt the town, and a mound having been thrown up, and towers conſtructed, the Gauls alarmed by the magnitude of the works, which they had neither ſeen before, nor heard of, and by the rapidity of the Romans, ſend ambaffadors to Cæſar, reſpectiſg a ſurrender. On the ſolicitation of the Remi that they would be ſpared, they obtain their requèſt.

13. Cæſar, the leading men of the ſtate, and the two ſons of king Galba himſelf, having been received as hoſtages, and all the arms having been delivered up, from the town, admitted the Suèſſiones to ſurrender, and led his army againſt the Bellovaci. Who, when they had conveyed themſelves, and all

<sup>1</sup> *Paucis defendentibus, &c.* lit. “few defending it.”



their effects, into the town Bratispantium, and when Cæsar with his army, was distant from the town, about five thousand paces, all the men advanced in age, having proceeded from the town, began to stretch out their hands to Cæsar, and signify by their exclamations (lit. "by their voice") that they would come under his protection and power, and that they would not contend in arms, against the Roman people. In like manner, when he had drawn near to the town, and was pitching his camp there, the boys and women from the wall, with outstretched hands, after their fashion, begged peace from the Romans.

14. On behalf of these, Divitiacus (for after the departure of the Belgæ, the forces of the Ædui having been dismissed, he had come back to him, *i. e.* to Cæsar), makes a speech "that the Bellovaci had on every occasion, continued in good faith and friendship, with the Æduan state; that they had both revolted from the Ædui, and had made war on the Roman people, being urged thereto, by their own chiefs, who were constantly saying (*dicerent*), that the Ædui, after being reduced to slavery by Cæsar, were enduring all manner of indignities, and insults. That those, who had been the prime movers of that design, had made their escape into Britain, because they perceived, how great a calamity they had brought upon their country. That not alone the Bellovaci petitioned, but also the Ædui, in their behalf, that he would exercise, his clemency and compassion, upon them; which, if he should do, that he would increase, the influence of the Ædui, among all the Belgæ, by whose aid and resources, they were accustomed to sustain, whatever wars happened to occur.

15. Cæsar said, on account of the respect due to Divitiacus, and the Ædui, he would receive them into his protection (*fidem*), and that he would spare them; but because the state was of great influence, among the Belgæ, and excelled in the number of its population, he demanded six hundred hostages. These having been delivered, and all the arms having been collected from the town, (*setting out*) from that place, he arrived at the confines of the Ambiani, who without delay surrendered themselves and all their effects. The Nervii touched on their boundaries; concerning whose disposition and usages when Cæsar made enquiry, he discovered as follows (*sic.*) That no access to them was allowed to traders, that they suffered no wine and other things tending to luxury

to be introduced, because they considered that by these things minds became enervated, and valour relaxed; that the men were firm, and of great bravery; that they inveighed against and blamed the Belgæ, who surrendered themselves to the Roman people, and had cast away their hereditary valour; that they resolutely declared (*confirmare*) that they would neither send ambassadors, nor accept any proposal of peace.

16. When he had made a three days march through their territories, he discovered from prisoners that the river Sabis was distant not more than ten thousand paces from his camp; that all the Nervii had taken up a position (*consedissee*) beyond that river, and that there they were awaiting the arrival of the Romans, together with the Atrebates and Veromundui, their neighbours: (for they had prevailed upon both these to try the same fortune of war.) Moreover, that forces of the Aduatuci were expected by them, and were on their march; that they had thrown the women, and those who in consequence of their age appeared useless for war, into that place, whither, on account of the marshes, there was no means of access for an army.

17. These things having become known, he sends forward scouts and centurions to select a suitable place for a camp. And inasmuch as (*cumque*) several from among the Belgæ who had surrendered and the other Gauls, having followed Cæsar, were marching along with him; some of these, as was afterwards learned from prisoners, the usual mode of marching by our army during these days having been carefully watched, came by night to the Nervii, and explained to them that between each legion, there intervened a great number of baggage trains, (*impedimentorum*) and that there was no difficulty when the first legion would have come to the place of encampment, and the other legions were a great way distant, in attacking it while under its baggage: which being routed, and the camp-baggage plundered, that it would come to pass, that the others would not dare to keep ground against them. It added weight also to the advice of those who brought the intelligence, that the Nervii from early times, as they could accomplish nothing with cavalry, for neither to the present day do they pay attention to this, (*rei*) but whatever they are able to do, they effect by means of their foot soldiers, in order that they might the more easily repel cavalry of neighbouring states, if they should come to them for the sake of pillaging, tender trees

having been cut into, and bent, and numerous branches, brambles, and thorns having been interlaced crosswise, had effected, that these hedges should present defences like a wall, through which, not only could there be no passage made, but not even a view through be obtained. Whilst the march of our army would be impeded by these obstacles, the Nervii thought that the advice was not to be neglected by them.

18. The nature of the ground which our men selected for a camp was as follows (*hæc* let "this"): A hill of a regular descent from the summit, sloped towards the river Sabis, which we have named above. From this river another hill of like ascent arose, over against this and opposite, open for about two hundred paces at the lowest part, (but) on its higher part so <sup>1</sup>covered with wood, that it could not easily be looked through inwards. Among these woods the enemy kept themselves in concealment. In the open ground along the river a few picquets of cavalry were seen. The depth of the river was about three feet.

19. Cæsar, the cavalry having been sent before, followed close with all his forces: but the mode and order of the march was different from what the Belgæ had reported to the Nervii. For inasmuch as he was drawing near the enemy, Cæsar, according to his custom, led six legions free of baggage. In the rear of these he had placed together the baggage trains of the entire army, after them the two legions which were last levied closed the entire line of march, and were a guard to the baggage. Our cavalry, having crossed the river with the slingers and archers, joined battle with the cavalry of the enemy. During which time (*cum*) they, from time to time, withdrew themselves to the woods, and again issuing from the wood, (*ex silva*) used to make an attack on our men, nor would our men dare to pursue them when retiring, farther than<sup>2</sup> the level and open ground extended. Meantime, the six legions which had come up first, the work having been measured out, began to fortify the camp. When the leading baggage trains of our army were seen by those who lurked concealed in the woods, (which had been agreed upon between them as the time for joining battle), they on a sudden started

<sup>1</sup> *Silvestris*, "so woody," supply *ita*.

<sup>2</sup> *Longius quam, quem ad finem*; lit. *longius quam*, "farther than," supply *ad finem* "to the point," *ad quem finem* "to which point," &c.

forth with all their forces, in the order that (*ita ut*) they had posted their line of battle and ranks within the woods, and as they themselves encouraged themselves to do, and made an attack on our cavalry. These having been easily beaten and repulsed, ran with incredible swiftness down to the river, and almost at one and the same time the enemy seemed to be at the woods, and in the river, and close at hand among us, (*in manibus nostris*) and (*autem*) with the same speed they advanced up the hill to our camp, and to those who were engaged on the work.

20. All things were to be done by Cæsar at the same time: the standard was to be displayed, which was the sign when it would become necessary to run to arms; the signal of battle was to be given with the trumpet; the soldiers were to be recalled from their work; those who had advanced a little too far, in order to seek materials for the mound, were to be sent for; the line of battle was to be drawn out; the soldiers to be exhorted, the signal to be given; a great part of which duties the briefness of the time, and close advance, and onset of the enemies impeded. Two things proved a relief to those difficulties—the skill and experience of the soldiers, because having been practised in former battles, they were able to direct themselves, no less judiciously, as to what was necessary to be done, than be instructed by others; and because Cæsar had forbidden the several lieutenants to withdraw from the work and their respective legions, unless after the camp was fortified. These, in consequence of the near approach and rapidity of the enemy, no longer waited for any command from Cæsar, but of themselves directed what seemed requisite.

21. Cæsar, the necessary orders having been issued, ran in different directions to exhort the soldiers in whatever quarter chance presented them, and came upon the tenth legion. Having exhorted the soldiers in a speech of no greater length than that they should retain the recollection of their pristine valour, nor be disturbed in mind, and that they should bravely sustain the attack of the enemy; he gave the signal for joining battle, because the enemy were no further distant, than where a dart could be made to reach. And having, in like manner, proceeded to another quarter for the purpose of exhorting, he comes upon them while fighting. Such was the shortness of time, and so prepared for fighting was the spirit

of the enemy, that time was wanting not only for fitting the insignia, (i. e. to the helmets) but even for putting on the helmets, and drawing the covers from the shields. On whatever point (*quam in partem*) each, in coming from the work, lighted by chance, and whatever standards he first gained a sight of, by these he took his station, that he might not (*ne lit. lest*) in seeking out his own comrades, (*suos*) throw away the time of fighting.

22. The army having been drawn out, rather as the nature of the ground, and the slope of the hill, and the urgency of the occasion, than as the method and system of military science required, whilst the legions, in isolated<sup>1</sup> positions, some in one place and others in another, were resisting the enemy, and the view in front was obstructed by hedges of the densest kind intervening, as we have explained above, <sup>2</sup>reserves could neither be stationed with certainty, nor <sup>3</sup>provision be made for what was necessary in each quarter, nor all orders be issued by one person. Accordingly, in so <sup>4</sup>adverse a position of affairs, various events of fortune also ensued.

23. The soldiers of the ninth and tenth legion, when they had taken their stations on the left part of the line, (*acie* old gen. for *aciei*) their javelins having been discharged, quickly drove into the river from the higher ground, the Atrebatæ, breathless from running and fatigue, and exhausted from wounds, (for that part of the enemy had fallen to their lot), and having overtaken them with their swords while attempting to cross, they slew a great number of them while impeded. They themselves did not hesitate to cross the river; and having advanced to uneven ground, they again, the battle having been renewed, put to flight the enemy who had turned back and were making head (*resistentes*). In like manner, in a different quarter, two <sup>5</sup>other legions, the eleventh and eighth, the Veromandui, with whom they had engaged, having been

<sup>1</sup> *Diversis locis*, &c., a better reading is *diversis legionibus*, i. e. the legions being separated—*diversis locis*; translate "in positions apart from each other."

<sup>2</sup> *Certa subsidia*, i. e., "reserves that would be likely to maintain their ground."

<sup>3</sup> *Provideri*, i. e., *neque quod opus esset provideri, poterat provideri*.

<sup>4</sup> *Tanta inequitate*; lit. "Such great adversity of affairs."

<sup>5</sup> *Diversæ legiones*, or, "separated legions."

routed, continued fighting from the higher ground, on the very banks of the river. <sup>1</sup>At this time however, almost the entire camp in front, and on the left side having been left exposed, whilst the twelfth legion had taken up its position on the right wing, and the seventh at no great distance from it, all the Nervii in the densest array, with Boduognatus, who held the chief command, at their head, advanced to that quarter: of whom some began to surround the legions on their exposed flank, some to make for the <sup>2</sup>summit on which stood the camp.

24. At the same time our cavalry, and the <sup>3</sup>light armed infantry, which had been (supply, "posted") along with those, whom I described as having been broken by the enemy's first attack, as they were betaking themselves to the camp, met the enemy face to face, and a second time took to flight in another direction; the camp followers also, who from the Decuman gate, and the summit of the hill, had seen our men cross the river with <sup>4</sup>victory on their side, having gone out for the sake of plundering, when they looked back, and saw the enemy moving about in our camp, consigned themselves headlong to flight. At the same time, there arose the shouting and uproar of those who were coming up with the baggage-trains, and they becoming panic stricken (*perterriti*) were borne off, one in one direction, and another in another. Alarmed by all which events, the Treveri cavalry, of whose valour there was a singularly high opinion among the Gauls (*and*) who had come to Cæsar, having been sent as auxiliaries by their state, when they beheld our camp filled with great numbers of the enemy, that the legions were hard pressed, and <sup>6</sup>almost surrounded, that the camp followers, the cavalry, slingers, Numidians, <sup>7</sup>dispersed and scattered, were flying on

<sup>1</sup> *At tum*, &c., *i. e.*, at this stage of the fight.

<sup>2</sup> *Summum*, &c. lit. "the summit, *to wit*, the position of the camp; *locum* is in apposition with *summum*."

<sup>3</sup> *Levis armaturæ*, lit. "infantry of light armour."

<sup>4</sup> *Victores*, lit. "as conquerors."

<sup>5</sup> *Auxilii causa*, lit. "for the sake of assistance."

<sup>6</sup> *Pæne circumventas*, &c., lit. "held, almost surrounded."

<sup>7</sup> *Diversos*, &c., or translate, "each in a different quarter, and scattered here and there, were flying, &c." Another punctuation is, *diversos dissipatosque in omnes fugere partes*, &c., *i. e.* *fugere diversos*, were flying in different directions; *dissipatosque in omnes partes*, and were scattered on all sides.

all sides, our affairs having been looked upon as lost, directed their course home. They reported to their state that the Romans were broken and conquered, and that the enemy had made themselves masters of their camp and baggage.

25. Cæsar, after encouraging the tenth legion (lit. "from his encouragement of," &c.) having proceeded to the right wing, when he saw (*vidit*, 12 lines below) his own men hard pressed, and that, their standards having been brought together into one place, the soldiers of the twelfth legion crowded together, were themselves a hindrance to themselves in fighting (lit. "for the fight"), all the centurions of the fourth cohort having been slain, the standard bearer killed, and the standard lost, almost all the centurions of the remaining cohorts having been either wounded or slain, among these the primopilus, Publius Sextus Baculus, a man of the greatest bravery, worn out with many and severe wounds, so that he could not any longer support himself; that the rest were becoming (*esse*) less active, and that some in the rear being abandoned, (supply, *by their leaders*) were getting away from the battle, and shunning the darts; that the enemy were neither intermitting in their advance up in front from the lower ground, and that they were pressing on on both flanks; and that affairs were desperate (lit. "that the affair was in a desperate state," (supply *loco*); and that (*neque*, equal, *et non*) there was no succour that could be sent: a shield having been snatched by him from a certain soldier in the rear, because he himself had come without a shield, <sup>1</sup>advanced to the front line, and the centurions having been addressed by name, after having encouraged the other soldiers, he gave orders to advance the standards, and widen their maniples, in order that they might be able to use their swords more easily. By whose coming up hope having been infused into the soldiers, and their courage having revived (lit. "having been renewed") since they were desirous each to the best of his ability (*pro se*) to put forth their best efforts (*navare operam*) in sight of their general, and now in the last extremity of their affairs, the attack of the enemy was in a slight measure repressed.

26. Cæsar, when he saw that the seventh legion, which had taken up its position close at hand, was in like manner pressed

<sup>1</sup> *Processit*. This is the apodosis to all the previous part, its nominative case being Cæsar, first word of the chapter.

hard by the enemy, gave instructions to the tribunes of the soldiers, that the legions should gradually unite themselves and advance their standards with a <sup>1</sup>double front against the enemy. Which having been done, inasmuch as they were assisting (lit. <sup>2</sup>“bearing assistance to”) each the other, nor feared lest with the rear towards the enemy, they should be surrounded, they began to resist more boldly, and to fight more bravely. Meantime, the soldiers of the two legions which had been stationed (*fuerant*) in the rear (*novissimo agmine*) as a guard to the baggage, upon <sup>3</sup>news of the battle, advancing at full speed, were discerned by the enemy on the top of the hill. Titus Labienus also, having gained possession of the camp of the enemy, and having obtained a view from the higher ground, of what was being done in our camp, dispatched the tenth legion with assistance to our men; who when they discovered, from the flight of the cavalry, and the camp followers, in what posture the affair was, and in what great danger both the camp, and the legions, and the general were, <sup>4</sup>left nothing undone to ensure speed.

27. Upon the arrival of these, so great a change was produced, that our men, even those who had lain prostrate, exhausted by wounds, renewed the battle leaning on their shields; the camp followers also, having observed the enemy terrified, even though unarmed, encountered them armed; but the cavalry, that they might wipe out by valour the ignominy of their flight, put themselves forward for the fight in every quarter before the legionary soldiers. But the enemy, even in the last hope of safety, displayed such great courage, that when the foremost of them had fallen, the next stood upon them as they lay, and fought from their bodies; these having been overthrown, and the dead bodies having been piled in heaps on one another, those who survived flung their weapons against our troops as it were from an eminence, and cast back our <sup>5</sup>intercepted javelins. So that it ought to be concluded,

<sup>1</sup> *Conversa signa*. Consult Anthon's note.

<sup>2</sup> *Aversi ab hoste*, lit. “being turned away from the enemy,” i. e., “with the enemy on their rear.”

<sup>3</sup> *Nunciato prælio*, &c., lit. “their pace or speed being quickened, the battle having been announced.”

<sup>4</sup> *Nihil ad celeritatem*, &c., lit. “caused nothing to be left undone as respected speed.”

<sup>5</sup> *Intercepta pila*, &c. More correctly “intercepted and cast back.” See note 2, book i. ch. 5, at the end.



that men of such great valour had not without reason (*nequidquam*) dared to cross one of the broadest rivers, to ascend banks of the greatest height, and enter on a most disadvantageous position; which things, from being most difficult, the gallantry of their spirit rendered easy.

28. This battle having been fought, and the nation and name of the Nervii having been almost exterminated (lit. "reduced to extermination") the old men, whom together with the boys and women we have stated to have been collected together in the low grounds and fences, on the news of this battle, since they thought that nothing was a hindrance to the conquerors, nothing safe to the conquered, by the consent of all who survived, sent ambassadors to Cæsar, and surrendered themselves to him; and in relating the evil fortune of their state, they declared, that they were reduced from six hundred (*viz.*, senators) to three senators, from sixty thousand men to scarcely five hundred who could bear arms. Whom Cæsar, that he might seem to extend compassion to the wretched and suppliant, most carefully preserved, and ordered them to occupy their own territories and towns, and commanded the neighbouring states to keep themselves (lit. "that they should restrain") and their own people (*suis*) from injury and outrage.

29. The Aduatuci, of whom we have written above, while they were coming with all their forces to <sup>1</sup>assist the Nervii, on the news of this battle (lit. "this battle having been reported") returned home without halting (lit. "from off their march"); all their towns and fortifications having been abandoned, they conveyed all their effects into one town, singularly defended by nature. For while it (*quod cum*, lit. "which while it") had on every side round about rocks of the greatest height, and <sup>2</sup>views of the country below, at one point there was left a gently sloping approach of not more than two hundred feet in breadth; which place they had defended by a double wall of extreme height; besides they had placed on the wall stones of great weight and pointed stakes. They themselves were sprung from the Cimbri and Teutoni; who whilst they were marching into our Province and into Italy, those bag-

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<sup>1</sup> *Auzilio Nervii*; *Nervii* is the dative on *auxilio*, on the principle that its verb *auxiliari* governs the dative.

<sup>2</sup> *Dispectus*, lit. "lookings down."

gage waggons which they could not drive and transport with them, having been set down at this side of the river Rhine, left behind six thousand men of their forces to be a guard and protection to them. These, after the destruction of their<sup>1</sup> countrymen, having been for many years harassed by their neighbours, while at one time they made war, at another time warded it off when made on themselves, peace having been made by the consent of all of these, chose out this place as a dwelling for themselves.

30. And on the first arrival of our army, they began making (*faciebant*, imp.) frequent sallies from the town, and engaged in slight skirmishes with our troops; afterwards being enclosed about by a rampart of twelve feet (in height), of fifteen thousand in circuit, and by numerous towers, they confined themselves within the town. When the vineæ having been urged forward, and the mound thrown up, they saw that a tower was being constructed at a distance, at first they began to mock from the wall, and to<sup>2</sup> taunt (saying) "For what purpose could so vast a structure be raised at so great a distance; with what hands or with what strength could men, especially of so diminutive a stature, expect to station near the walls a tower of such great weight, (for generally our low height contrasted with (*præ*) the large size of their own bodies, is a subject of contempt to the Gallic people.)

31. But when they saw it put in motion and approaching the walls, alarmed by the strange and unusual appearance, they sent ambassadors to Cæsar concerning peace, who spoke after this manner: "That they believed that the Romans carried on war not without divine aid, since they were able with so much dispatch to move forward engines of such great height, and to fight from a near position; they said that they committed themselves and all their effects to his power. That one thing they begged and earnestly entreated: if haply in accordance with his clemency and compassion, he had determined that the Aduatuci were to be spared, that he would not deprive them of their arms, that almost all the neighbouring states were their enemies, and were jealous of their valour, from whom they would not be able to defend them-

<sup>1</sup> *Eorum*, lit. "of these, viz., their countrymen."

<sup>2</sup> *Increpitare vocibus*, lit. "taunt with their voices."

selves, if their arms were given up (lit. "having been given up.") That it was better for them, if they should be reduced to that unhappy condition, to endure any lot whatever from the Roman people, rather than to be put to death by torture by those among whom they had been accustomed to exercise dominion.

32. To this Cæsar answered: "That he, more from his own custom than from any merit on their part, would spare the state, if they would have surrendered themselves before the ram touched the wall; but that no proposal of surrender was possible (*esse*) unless the arms were <sup>1</sup>delivered up; that he would do what he had done in the case of the Nervii, and command the neighbouring states <sup>2</sup>not to inflict any injury on the subjects of the Roman people. The matter having been reported to their countrymen, they declared that they would do <sup>3</sup>what would be ordered. A great quantity of arms having been flung into the ditch which was before the town, so that the heaps of arms came almost on <sup>4</sup>a level with the top of the wall, and the height of the mound; about a third part notwithstanding, as was afterwards discovered, having been concealed and kept back in the town; the gates having been thrown open, they enjoyed peace for that day.

33. Towards evening, Cæsar ordered the gates to be shut and the soldiers to depart from the town, lest during the night the townsmen might receive any injury from the soldiers. They, a plot, as was discovered, having previously been set on foot, because they believed, that, a surrender having been made, our men would draw off the guards, or at all events (*denique*) keep watch less strictly, partly with those arms which they had kept back and concealed, partly with shields formed of bark or interlaced with vine twigs, which they had in haste (*subito*) covered with skins, as the shortness of the time required, at the third watch, where the ascent to our defences seemed least steep, with all their forces suddenly <sup>5</sup>made a sortie from the town. A signal having been quickly made by fires, as Cæsar had commanded before hand, a rush was made to this point from the nearest

<sup>1</sup> *Nisi traditis armis*, lit. "unless on the arms having been delivered up."

<sup>2</sup> *Ne inferunt*. "That they should not inflict."

<sup>3</sup> *Quæ, i. e., ea quæ*.

<sup>4</sup> *Adæquarent*, lit. "equalled."

<sup>5</sup> *Fecerunt*, the nom. is *illi*, at the beginning of the sentence.

towers, and <sup>1</sup>the fight was maintained by the enemy as fiercely as it ought to have been, by brave men in the last hope of safety, in disadvantageous ground, against those who were flinging their weapons from rampart and towers, whilst all their hope of safety lay in their valour alone. About four thousand men having been slain, the rest were driven back into the town. On the day after that day the gates having been broken in, while no one any longer defended them, and our soldiers having been sent in, Cæsar sold the entire spoil of that town. <sup>2</sup>The return that was made to him, by those who had purchased, was fifty-three thousand souls.

34. At the same time he was informed by Publius Crassus, whom he had sent with one legion, against the Veneti, the Unelli, the Osismii, the Curiosolitæ, the Sesarii, the Aulerci, and the Rhedones, which are maritime states and border on the ocean, that all these states were brought under the sway and power of the Roman people.

35. These things having been achieved, all Gaul having been reduced to peace, so great an opinion of this war was spread (lit. "carried to") among the barbarians, that ambassadors were sent to Cæsar by those nations who were dwelling beyond the Rhine, to promise that they would give hostages and execute things commanded; which embassies Cæsar, because he was hastening into Italy and Illyricum, ordered to return to him in the commencement of the next summer. He himself, the legions having been led into winter quarters among the Carnutes, the Andes, and Turones, which states were near those places where he had carried on war, set out for Italy. And for those achievements, upon Cæsar's letter, a public thanksgiving for fifteen days was voted by the senate, an honor which before this time had happened to no one.

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<sup>1</sup> *Pugnatum, &c.* lit. "and it was fought as fiercely as it ought to be fought."

<sup>2</sup> *Ab his qui, &c.*, lit. "there was returned to him, by those who had purchased, the number of fifty-three thousand heads."