

# CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

ON

## THE GALLIC WAR.

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### BOOK III.

1. When Cæsar was setting out for Italy, he despatched Sergius Galba with the twelfth legion, and a detachment of cavalry <sup>1</sup> against the Nantuates, the Veragri, and the Seduni, who extend from the boundaries of the Allobroges, and Lake Lemman, and the river Rhone, to the summit of the Alps. The reason of sending him was, that he wished the road through the Alps, by which traders were accustomed to pass with great danger and under heavy imposts, to be cleared of obstruction. He gave permission to him, <sup>2</sup> to station the legion in those districts for the purpose of wintering, if he should consider it necessary. Galba, several successful battles having been fought, and several fortresses having been stormed, ambassadors having been sent to him from every quarter, and hostages having been given, and peace made, determined to station two cohorts among the Nantuates, and he himself with the remaining cohorts of that legion, to winter in a village of the Veragri, which is called Octodurus. Which village, situated in a valley, there being a plain of inconsiderable extent adjoining, is enclosed on all sides by the loftiest mountains. As this was divided into two parts by a river, he yielded one part of the village to the Gauls, the second left unoccupied by them, he assigned to the cohorts to winter in. This (*latter*) place he fortified by a rampart and ditch.

2. When several days of "*their being in*" winter quarters had passed by, and he had ordered corn to be brought hither,

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<sup>1</sup> *In Nantuates, &c.* or, "into," i. e. "into the country of."

<sup>2</sup> *Uti collocaret, &c.* lit. "that he should station."

he was suddenly informed by his scouts, that every one (*omnes*) had departed by night from that part of the village which he had given up to the Gauls, and that the mountains which overhung it (i. e. *vico*) were occupied by a vast body of Seduni and Veragri. That had occurred from several causes, *viz.*, that the Gauls had suddenly formed the design of renewing the war, and crushing the legion, in the first place because they felt contempt for a legion, on account of the paucity of its numbers, and it not (*nec*, equal, *et-non*) completely full, two cohorts having been detached, and very many men, who had been sent out for the purpose of seeking provisions, being individually absent; moreover too, because they thought, that it (i. e. *legionem*) would not be able to withstand even their first attack, on account of the disadvantage of its position, inasmuch as (*cum*) they themselves would charge down from the mountains into the valley, and hurl their weapons from them (i. e. "from the mountains"). To this was added, that they felt aggrieved that their children were taken from them under the name of hostages; and they had persuaded themselves that the Romans were endeavouring to occupy the heights of the Alps, and unite these places to the neighbouring Province, not merely for the sake of the passes but also for the purpose (supply, "causa") of a permanent possession.

3. These reports having been received, Galba, as neither the labour of constructing winter quarters,<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> nor the fortifications were fully completed, <sup>3</sup>nor sufficient provision been made with respect to grain and other supplies, because a surrender having been made, and hostages having been received, he had thought, that nothing was to be feared respecting war, a council having been quickly summoned, commenced to ask their opinions. In which council, as so much sudden danger had arisen contrary to expectation, and as (supply *cum*) by this time (*jam*) almost all the upper grounds were seen filled with a host (*multitudine*) of armed men, and as (supply, *cum*) <sup>4</sup>neither could assistance come to them, nor provisions be brought up, the ways having been blocked up, hope of safety

<sup>1</sup> *Opus*, &c. lit. "the work of winter quarters."

<sup>2</sup> *Munitionesque que* is here to be translated "nor."

<sup>3</sup> *Neque de frumento*, &c. lit. "nor had it been sufficiently provided for respecting corn and other supplies."

<sup>4</sup> *Neque subsidio*, &c., supply "*posset*" after *veniri*, literally: nor "posset" could it, be come for assistance, nor "posset" could provisions, &c.

being now almost despaired of, some opinions were expressed of the following kind (*hujusmodi*): that "the baggage having been abandoned, and a sortie having been made, they should hasten to a place of safety, by the same roads by which they had come hither." <sup>1</sup> To the majority however it seemed fitting, this plan having been reserved for the last, to try in the meantime the issue of the affair, and to defend the camp.

4. A brief space having intervened (lit. "having been cast between"), so that scarcely time was afforded for arranging (lit. "putting together") and executing those things which they had determined on, the enemy, a signal having been given, rushed down from all quarters, and flung stones and javelins against the rampart. At first our men, while their strength was fresh, (lit. "their strength being fresh") bravely resisted, nor did they from their more elevated position (*scil.* "from the rampart") fling a single weapon without effect; (*frustra*); as each part of the camp unprotected by defenders (lit. "bared of defenders") appeared to be pressed hard, (or, "seemed on the point of being overpowered") hither they ran, and carried assistance, but in this they were overmatched, that the enemy when wearied by the long continuance of the fight, used to retire from the action, (mark, the force of the imper.) while others with fresh strength came up in their place; none of which things could be done by our men, on account of the smallness of their number; and not only to the weary was the opportunity not afforded (supply, *non*, before *debatatur*, *non modo*, being put for *non modo non*) of retiring from the battle, but not even to the wounded men were the means presented (repeat, *facultas dabatur*) of leaving that place where he had taken his stand, and of betaking himself to a place of safety.

5. When the conflict had now been maintained for more than six hours unceasingly (lit. when it was being fought) and not only strength, but even weapons, were failing our men, and the enemy were pressing on more fiercely, our men growing more and more exhausted, they (*scil. hostes*) had begun to hew down the rampart, and fill the trenches, and when (supply, *cum*) the affair had now been brought to the last extremity. <sup>2</sup>Publius Sex Baculus, the chief centurion of

<sup>1</sup> *Majori*, &c. lit. "to the greater part, however, it was pleasing."

<sup>2</sup> *Publius Sex Baculus*; the apodosis to the sentence begins here.

the legion, whom we have stated to have been disabled by wounds in battle against the Nervii, (lit. "the Nervic battle,") and also Caius Volusenus, a tribune of the soldiers, a man of great presence of mind, and bravery, run up to Galba, and tell him that the <sup>1</sup> only hope of safety was, if they should try the last resource by making a sally (lit. a sally having been made). Accordingly the centurions having been called together, he quickly intimates to the soldiers, that they should discontinue the battle for a short time, and merely take up the weapons cast at them, and refresh themselves from their fatigue, afterwards that, a signal having been given, they should burst forth from the camp, and place all hope of safety in their valour.

6. What they were ordered, they do; and a sortie having been suddenly made from all the gates, they leave the enemy, neither the means of ascertaining what was being done, nor of rallying (lit. "of collecting themselves together"). Thus fortune having been changed, <sup>2</sup> they surround on every side and slay, those who had entertained the hope (lit. "came into the hope") of making themselves masters of the camp, and out of more than thirty thousand men, which number of barbarians it was evident had come to the camp, more than a third part having been slain, they drive the rest terror-struck, to flight, and do not suffer them to stop, not even on the higher grounds. Thus all the forces of the enemy having been routed, and stripped of their arms, they betake themselves into their camp and their fortifications. Which battle having been fought, because Galba was unwilling to tempt fortune too often, and recollected that he had come into winter quarters with one view, and saw that he had encountered things different from this, being influenced principally by a want of corn and provisions, on the following day all the houses in that village having been set on fire, he <sup>3</sup> hastens to return to the Province, and no enemy hindering him, or interrupting his march, he led the legion safe <sup>4</sup> into the Nantuates, from thence into the Allobroges, and wintered there.

7. These things having been accomplished, when from all

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<sup>1</sup> *Unam esse spem, &c., i. e.*, that the only hope of safety was, to try the last resource by making a sortie.

<sup>2</sup> *Circumventos interficiunt*; see note 2, book i. ch. v, at the end.

<sup>3</sup> *Contendit reverti*; he prepares to return.

<sup>4</sup> *In Nantuates*, "into the country of."

reasons Cæsar imagined that Gaul was reduced to peace, the Belgæ having been conquered, the Germans driven out, the Seduni vanquished among the Alps, and accordingly (when, "supply," *cum*) in the beginning of winter he had set out for Illyricum, because he was anxious to visit these nations also, and become acquainted with their (respective) countries, a sudden war arose in Gaul. The cause of this war was as follows: (*hæc*) Publius Crassus, a youth, had taken up his winter quarters with the seventh legion among the Andes next the ocean. He, because there was a scarcity of corn in these places, despatched among the neighbouring states the prefects and tribunes of the soldiers, for the purpose of seeking corn and provisions: in which number was Titus Terrasidius, sent among the Unelli, Marcus Trebius Gallus among the Curiosolitæ, Quintus Velanius with Titus Silius among the Veneti.

8. The influence of this state is by far the most extensive of those countries on the whole sea coast; both because the Veneti possess an immense number of vessels, with which they are accustomed to make voyages to Britain, and also (*et*) excel the others in knowledge and experience of nautical affairs, and besides (*et*) amid the great and unsheltered violence of the sea, but few harbours intervening, which they hold possession of (*habent*) themselves, they have as their tributaries, almost all those who were accustomed to navigate (*uti*, lit. "*usi*") that sea. By these a commencement was made, by detaining Silius and Velanius, because they imagined that by means of them, they would recover their own hostages which they had given to Crassus. Led by the influence of these, the neighbouring states since (*ut*) the resolutions of the Gauls are hasty and sudden, detain from the same motive (*eâdem de causâ*), Trebius and Terrasidius; and ambassadors having been speedily despatched, they enter into a confederacy among each other by their chiefs, "that they would do nothing except by common concert, and that all would encounter (lit. "bear") the same issue of fortune;" and they importune the other states "that they should prefer to abide in that liberty, which they had received from their ancestors, rather than endure the slavery imposed by the Romans." The whole sea coast having been quickly drawn into their design, they send a common embassy to Publius Crassus to say, if he should wish to get back his countrymen, he must restore the hostages to themselves.

9. Of which proceedings Cæsar having been informed (lit. "made certain") by Crassus, as he himself was at too great a distance (lit. "too far away"), he gives orders in the meantime that vessels of war should be built on the river Leger, which flows into the ocean (viz., Atlantic), that rowers should be raised from the Province, that sailors and pilots should be provided. These orders having been promptly executed (lit. "these things having been speedily performed"), as soon as ever he could through the season of the year (*i. e.*, as soon as ever the season of the year permitted), he sets out for the army. The Veneti, and in like manner the other states, the arrival of Cæsar having been ascertained, besides that (lit. "at the same time because") they were fully aware how great a crime they had committed to their own detriment (*in se*) viz., (that ambassadors, a title which among all nations had ever been sacred and inviolable, had been detained by them and thrown into chains), set about making preparations for war, in proportion to the greatness of the danger, and providing those things especially, which belong to the management of vessels, with hope the greater on this account that they trusted much to the nature of their situation. They knew that approaches by land were cut off by arms of the sea, that access by sea (*navigacionem*) was difficult through our ignorance of localities, and the fewness of the harbours; and they trusted that our armies could not (*neque*, equal, "*et, non*") remain over long (*diutius*) among them, from want of corn, and besides (*ac, jam*) even though all things should turn out contrary to their expectations, still that they were most powerful by sea (lit. in vessels). That the Romans had neither a naval force (lit. "any force of vessels"), nor were acquainted with the shallows, harbours, and islands of those places, where they were about to carry on the war; and they knew well that navigation was far different in a confined sea from what it was in a boundless and most exposed ocean. These plans having been entered into, they fortify their towns, they convey the corn from the fields into the towns, they bring together as many vessels as they possibly can to Venetia, where it was apparent that Cæsar would first carry on the war. They engage as allies to themselves for this war the Osismii, the Lexovii, the Nannetes, the Ambiliati, the Mornii, the Diablintes, and the Menapii; they invite auxiliaries from Britain which is situated opposite these countries.

10. The difficulties of carrying on the war were such as we have described above; still, however, many things urged Cæsar to that war; the wrong done in detaining Roman Knights; a renewal of hostilities undertaken after a surrender; a revolt, hostages having been given; a confederacy of so many states; above all, lest, this movement (lit. *part*) having been overlooked, other nations might consider that the same thing was allowable to them. Accordingly as he knew well that almost all the Gauls were fond of change (lit. "new things"), and that they were easily and speedily excited to war, moreover (*autem*), that all men are naturally desirous of liberty, and hate a state of slavery, before any more states could confederate, he deemed it fit that his army should be divided by him and more widely distributed.

11. Accordingly he despatches Titus Labienus his lieutenant, with the cavalry into the Treveri, who are nearest the river Rhine. To him he gives instruction to visit the Remi and the other Belgians, and to keep them in obedience; and prevent the Germans who were said to have been invited as auxiliaries (lit. "for aid") by the Belgæ, in case (&c.) they should attempt to cross the river by force in boats. He orders Publius Crassus with twelve legionary cohorts, and a numerous body of cavalry, to set out for Aquitania, lest assistance should be sent into Gaul from these nations, and nations so powerful combine together. He sends Quintus Titurius Sabinus, his lieutenant, with three legions against the Unelli, the Curiosoletæ, and the Lexovii, to take care, that, that body be kept <sup>1</sup>separated. The youth Decimus Brutus he sets over the fleet and the Gallic vessels, which he had ordered to assemble from the Pictones and Santoni and the other peaceable countries, and orders him to march against the Veneti as soon as ever he could. He himself proceeds hither with the foot forces.

12. The situations of their towns were generally of such a character (*ejusmodi*), that being built on the extremities of tongues of land, and promontaries, they neither admitted approach on foot, when the tide had rolled in from the deep, which always happens twice in the space of twenty-four hours, nor by vessels, because, again on the tide ebbing, the vessels might be dashed to pieces on the shallows. Accordingly by

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<sup>1</sup> *Distinendam, &c., i. e.,* "be prevented from effecting a junction."

either circumstance the assault of the towns was impeded; and if haply at any time overpowered by the vastness of our work, the sea having been forced out by a mound and dams, and these having been brought almost on a level with the walls of the town, they had begun to despair of their fortunes, a great number of vessels having been brought up, of which force (*cujus rei*) they possessed a vast supply, they used to carry away all their effects, and used to betake themselves to the nearest towns. There again they used to defend themselves by the same advantages of situation. These things they used to do during a great part of the summer the more easily on this account, that our vessels used to be detained by storms; and the difficulty of navigation was extreme in a vast and exposed sea, where the tides were high, and where there were few and almost no harbours (lit. "the tides being high, and few and almost no harbours").

13. For their ships were built and equipped in the following manner (*ad hunc modum*): The bottoms were considerably flatter than those of our vessels, in order that they might be able more easily to withstand (lit. *meet*) the shallows and the ebbing of the tide: their prows were very much elevated, and in like manner the poops, fitted to encounter (*accommodatæ*) the greatness of the waves and of the storms: the vessels were built wholly of oak, for the purpose of enduring any violence and shock: the cross benches were of beams a foot in breadth fastened by iron spikes, of the thickness of the thumb finger: the anchors were secured to iron chains, instead of to ropes: raw hides and thinly dressed skins were used (supply, "were used") for sails, either on account of their want of canvass, and ignorance of its use, or for this reason, which is more like the truth, that they considered that such violent tempests of the ocean and such violent storms of wind could not be resisted, <sup>1</sup>and such heavy vessels could not be conveniently enough managed by sails. The attack of our fleet (lit. "for our fleet") with these vessels, was of such a kind that it had the advantage in swiftness only, and in the power of oars, all other things, considering (*pro*) the situation of the place, taking into account (*pro*) the fury of the storms, were more advantageous and more favourable for them: for neither could

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<sup>1</sup> *Tanta onera navium*, lit. "such great weights of vessels;" i. e., vessels of such great weight.



our ships injure them by their beak; so great was their firmness: nor was a dart easily made to reach them (*adjiciebatur*) in consequence of their height; and for the same reason they were less advantageously held by the grappling irons. To this was added, that when the wind began to become violent, and they had yielded themselves to the gale (*i. e.*, "drove before the gale"), they could both more easily bear the storm and also (mark, *et. et*) be more safely among the shallows, and when left by the tide need in no respect fear (*nihil timerent*) rocks and reefs; the dangers (*casus*) from all which things were greatly to be dreaded by our vessels.

14. A great many towns having been taken, Cæsar, when he perceived so much labour to have been undertaken in vain, and that the escape of the enemy after the towns were captured (lit. "the towns having been captured"), was neither prevented, nor could injury be done to them, determined to await the arrival of the fleet. But when it had come together, and as soon as it was seen by the enemy, about two hundred and twenty of their vessels, in the best order, and best provided with every species of equipment, having gone out from the harbour, took up their station opposite to ours; nor was it sufficiently clear to Brutus, who was in command of the fleet, or to the tribunes of the soldiers and centurions to whom the several ships were assigned, what they ought to do, or what mode of fighting they ought to adopt. For they were well aware that it was not possible that injury could be done to them by the beak, while if towers were raised (lit. "towers having been raised") the height of the poops of the barbarian vessels overtopped these, so that from our lower position, darts could neither be thrown so as to reach (*possent adjici*) with sufficient effect, and those discharged from the Gallic vessels would fall with greater force. There was one thing provided by our men of great service, namely, hooks sharpened near the point (*præacutæ*) inserted in and attached to poles, of a shape not unlike that of mural hooks. With these, when the ropes which held the yard-arms to the masts were seized and dragged towards us (*adducti*) on the vessel having been put in rapid motion (*incitato*) by the oars, they were broken through. Which having been rent asunder, the yards necessarily fell, so that as all hope for the Gallic vessels depended on their sails and rigging, these having been torn away, the entire management of their vessels at the same time

would be destroyed. The rest of the contest depended on valour (lit. "was placed in valour"), in which our soldiers had easily the advantage, and the more for this reason, as the action was carried on in sight of Cæsar and the entire army, so that no deed a little braver than ordinary could escape observation, for all the hills and higher grounds, from whence there was a near prospect down on the sea, were occupied by our army.

15. The sail yards, as we have said, having been thrown down, our soldiers endeavoured with the utmost fury to cross over into (*i. e.* "to board") the vessels of the enemy, when two or three ships at the time had surrounded one (*i. e.* of their's). Which when the barbarians perceived to be the case (lit. "to be done"), a great many vessels having been captured, when no relief could be discovered for that disaster (*rei*), they endeavoured to seek safety in flight; and, the vessels having now been turned in that direction, whither the wind bore them, suddenly so great a calm and stillness ensued, that they could not move from the place. Which occurrence, in truth, was especially favourable towards terminating the affair; for our men having closely pursued (*consecuti*), captured them one by one (*singulas*), so that very few out of all that number, on the arrival of night reached the land, after the engagement had continued (*pugnaretur*, lit. "after it had been fought") almost from the fourth hour to the setting of the sun.

16. By which battle, the war of the Veneti and of the whole sea coast was terminated. For as all the youth and also all of maturer age, in whom there was aught of wisdom and respectability, had assembled hither; and had, moreover, assembled into one place whatever shipping they had anywhere possessed (lit. "what of vessels had been everywhere"); the rest, on the loss of which (lit. "which having been lost"), knew not (lit. "had not") whither to betake themselves, nor in what manner they should defend their towns. Accordingly they surrendered themselves and all their effects to Cæsar, on whom Cæsar determined that punishment should be inflicted the more severely on this account, that for the future the privilege of ambassadors might be observed with greater care by the barbarians. Wherefore all the Senate having been put to death, he sold the rest as <sup>1</sup>slaves.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sub corona*, viz. the garland worn by those who were offered for sale, as slaves; other explanations are given, but this seems to be the correct one.

17. Whilst these things are being done among the Veneti, Quintus Titurius Sabinus came with those forces which he had received from Cæsar into the territories of the Unelli. Viridovix ruled over these, and held the chief authority of all those states which had revolted, from which he had assembled an army and numerous forces. And within these few days (*i. e.* "a few days before") the Auleri Eburovices and the Lexovii, their senate having been murdered because they refused to be the sanctioners of the war, closed their gates and joined themselves to Viridovix; moreover, a great number of men of desperate fortunes, and of robbers, came together from every quarter of Gaul (*lit.* "from every quarter from Gaul,") whom the hope of pillaging, and a fondness for fighting, called off from agriculture and daily labour. Sabinus, in a position convenient for all things, kept himself in his camp. Whilst Viridovix encamped opposite to him at a distance of two miles, and his forces having been daily drawn out, offered him an opportunity of battle; so that Sabinus had now come into contempt not only with the enemy but also was in some degree carped at by the observations of our men, and he produced such a belief of his cowardice, that the enemy now dared to come up to the rampart of the camp. He acted thus for this reason, that he did not consider it proper for a lieutenant to come to an engagement with so great a number of enemies, except on favourable ground, or some advantage afforded, particularly in the absence of him who held the chief command.

18. This belief of his cowardice having been established, he selected a certain individual, suited to his purpose and subtle, a Gaul, one of those, whom he had with him, for the sake of aid. Him he persuades by great bribes and promises to go over to the enemy (*lit.* "that he should go over"), and he fully teaches him (*edocet*) what he wishes to be done. Who, when he comes to these as a deserter, he sets before them the alarm of the Romans, he informs them "with what difficulties Cæsar himself was pressed by the Veneti, <sup>1</sup>and that at no more distant time than the next night Sabinus would lead forth his army secretly from the camp, and set out for the purpose of carrying assistance to Cæsar. When which was

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<sup>1</sup> *Neque longius abesse, &c.*, *lit.* and that it was not farther off, but that on the next night, &c.

heard, all shout together, that the opportunity of successfully conducting the affair was not to be lost, and that they must needs march to the camp (lit. "it was necessary that it be marched"), many circumstances encouraged the Gauls to this design; the hesitation of Sabinus during the past days, the confident assertion of the deserter, want of supplies of food (*cibariorum*) for which provision had been made by them with but little care (lit. "for which thing it had been provided by them insufficiently carefully"), the hope of the Venetic war, and because men generally believe readily that which they desire. Led on by these circumstances they do not allow Viridovix and the other leaders to depart from the council before it was conceded to them, that they might take up arms and march to the camp, which, (lit. "which thing") having been granted, they proceed exulting to the camp, as if victory were already gained (lit. "victory, having been as it were, gained"), facines and faggots having been collected, with which they might fill up the trenches of the Romans.

19. The situation of the camp was elevated, and gradually ascending from the bottom (*i. e.*, the level ground) for about 1000 paces. Hither they proceeded at great speed, in order that the least possible time might be afforded the Romans for collecting themselves together and arming themselves, and they reached it breathless. Sabinus having exhorted his men gives the signal to them anxiously desiring it. The enemy having been impeded on account of those burdens which they were carrying, he orders a sortie to be suddenly made from the two gates. It resulted from the advantage of the ground, the ignorance, and fatigue of the enemy, the valour of our soldiers, and their experience of former battles, that they could not withstand even one assault of our troops, and immediately turned their backs. Whom impeded, our soldiers having overtaken with their strength still fresh, slew a great number of them, the cavalry having closely followed the rest, left a few who escaped from the rout. Thus, at the same time, Sabinus was informed of the engagement by sea, and Cæsar of the victory of Sabinus; and all the states immediately surrendered themselves to Titurius. For as the temper of the Gauls is ardent and prompt to undertake wars, so is their spirit soft, and in the least degree firm, in enduring misfortunes.

20. Almost at the same time Publius Crassus when he had

come into Aquitania, which quarter, as has before been stated, is to be reckoned from the extent of the country and from the number of its inhabitants, as the third division of Gaul, when he learned that war was to be waged by himself in those places, where a few years before Lucius Valerius Præconius the lieutenant had been slain, his army having been routed, and from whence Lucius Manilius the proconsul had fled, his baggage having been lost, he perceived, that no moderate diligence was to be exerted by him. Accordingly, corn having been provided, auxiliaries and cavalry having been procured, moreover, many brave men having been summoned by name from Tolosa [Carcaso] and Narbo, which are states of the Province of Gaul, bordering on these countries, he led his army into the territories of the Sotiates. Whose arrival having been ascertained, the Sotiates, numerous forces having been assembled, and cavalry in which they were extremely strong, having attacked our army on their march, first engaged in a battle with the horse; afterwards, the cavalry having been routed, and our men following in pursuit, they suddenly showed their infantry, which they had posted in an ambuscade in a valley. These, having attacked our men when dispersed, renewed the battle.

21. The battle was long and fiercely disputed, since the Sotiates, confident from their former victories, believed that the safety of all Aquitania was depending on (lit. "placed in") their valour; and on the other hand (*autem*) our men were anxious that it should be seen what they could accomplish, without the commander-in-chief, and without the other legions, under a youth as their leader. At length exhausted with wounds, the enemy turned their backs. A great number of whom having been slain, Crassus, on his march (*ex itinere*) began to besiege the city of the Sotiates. And these offering a brave resistance (lit. "who bravely resisting") he advanced vineæ and towers. They having at one time attempted a sally (lit. "a sally having been attempted") at another time, mines having been worked up to our mound and vineæ (in which practice the Aquitani are by far the most expert, because that among them, in many places, there are mines of copper) when they discovered that nothing was gained by these means, through (or, in consequence of) the watchfulness of our men, they send ambassadors to Cæsar, and solicit that he would admit them to a surrender. Which

request having been obtained, having been commanded to deliver up their arms, they do so.

22. And, while the minds of all our men were engaged in this matter (lit. "the minds of all our men being engaged, &c.) from another quarter of the town, Adcantuannus, who held the chief command, with six hundred devoted followers, whom they call *soldurii* (the condition of whose service is this, that during life (*in vita*) they should enjoy all advantages in common with those to whose friendship they may have dedicated themselves; if anything should befall them through violence, that they should either bear the same misfortune with them or inflict death upon themselves; nor hitherto within the memory of man has any individual been found to shrink from death, he having been slain to whose friendship he might have devoted himself.) Attended by these (*cum iis*) Adcantuannus, having attempted to make a sally, a shout having been raised from that part of the fortification when the soldiers had rushed together to arms, and (after) the fight was furiously contested there, being beaten back into the town, <sup>1</sup>obtained notwithstanding, permission from Crassus that he might avail himself of the same terms of surrender (*with the rest*).

23. Arms and hostages having been received, Crassus set out for the territories of the Vocates and Tarusates. Then, truly, the barbarians being alarmed upon finding (lit. "in that they found") that a town, defended both by the nature of its situation and by art, had been stormed within a few days, after they (*i. e.*, the Romans) had come there (lit. "after it had been come there") began to dispatch ambassadors in different directions, to form confederacies, to give hostages among themselves, to provide forces. Ambassadors are also dispatched to those states which belong to (lit. are of) hither Spain, bordering on Aquitania; from thence auxiliaries and leaders are invited to come (*arcessuntur*.) At whose arrival they essay to carry on the war with great confidence, and a great host of men. And (*vero*, here inchoative) those are chosen as leaders, who had been with Quintus Sertorius during all the years, *of his wars*, and were considered to possess the greatest knowledge of the art of war.) These, according to the custom of the Roman people, commence to occupy positions, to fortify a camp, and to cut off our men from provisions, which, when Crassus perceived, that his own forces, on account of

<sup>1</sup> *Impetravit*: mark, the apodosis begins here.

their fewness of numbers, could not be divided with safety; that the enemy had both spread themselves over the country (*vagari*), and beset the passes, and left a sufficient guard in the camp; that for this cause, corn and provision were brought in to him less conveniently; that the number of the enemy was increasing day by day: he concluded that no delay was to be incurred, to his engaging in a pitched battle. This matter having been laid before a council of war, when he ascertained that all were of the same opinion, he fixed the following day for the battle.

24. With the first light, all the forces having been drawn out, a double line having been formed, the auxiliaries having been thrown into the centre of the line of battle, he waited to see what plan the enemy would adopt. They, although they thought that on account of their numbers, and their ancient renown in war, and the paucity of our men, they would engage with safety, nevertheless considered that it would be safer to secure the victory without any wound, by <sup>1</sup>blocking up the passes and intercepting provisions; and if the Romans, on account of a want of corn should begin to retreat, they meditated attacking them, while impeded on the line of march and under their baggage (and whilst) depressed in spirit. This plan having been approved of by their leaders, the forces of the Romans having been drawn out, they kept themselves within their camp. This design having been seen through, when by their hesitation, and the belief of their cowardice, the enemy had made our men more eager for battle, and exclamations from all were being heard, <sup>2</sup>that there ought not to be any longer delay to their marching to the camp, Crassus, having encouraged his men, all being eager, marched to the camp of the enemy.

25. Then while some were filling up the trenches, others, <sup>3</sup>by hurling many darts, were driving the defenders from the rampart and fortifications, and the auxiliaries, in whom as regards the battle (*ad pugnam*) Crassus had not much confidence in, by supplying stones and weapons, and by carrying turfsods to the mound, were giving rise to the appearance and belief of their being combatants; while, in like manner, the

<sup>1</sup> *Obsessis viis*, &c. lit. "the ways having been blocked up," &c., abl., abs.

<sup>2</sup> *Expectari diutius*, &c. lit. "that it ought not be delayed any longer, so as that it should not be gone by them to the camp."

<sup>3</sup> *Multis telis*, &c. lit. abl., abs.

<sup>1</sup> battle was being disputed by the enemy steadily and boldly, and while weapons, discharged from the higher position, were falling not without effect; the cavalry, <sup>2</sup> having made a circuit of the camp of the enemy, brought back word to Crassus that the camp on the side of the Decuman gate was not defended with the same care, and that it presented an easy approach.

26. Crassus having exhorted the præfects of the cavalry that they should animate their men by great rewards and promises, shows them what he would wish to be done. They, four cohorts, as was commanded, having been led out, which having been left as a guard to the camp, were not wearied by labour, and these having been conducted round by a longer way, lest they might be seen from the camp of the enemy, the eyes and minds of all being intent on the battle, quickly came to those parts of the fortifications (*eas munitiones*) which we have mentioned. And these being pulled down, they stood in the camp of the enemy, before it could be plainly seen or known by those, what was being done. And then (*tum vero*) a shout having been heard from that quarter, our men, their strength having been renewed, a thing which (*quod*) generally is wont (*mark the aoristic force of the Latin perfect*) to happen in hope of victory, began to attack more vigorously. The enemy, surrounded on every side, all their affairs being in a hopeless condition, strove to cast themselves down over the ramparts and seek safety in flight. Whom the cavalry having come up with in the pursuit (*consectatus*) in plains the most extended and open, scarcely a fourth part having been left from a number of fifty thousand, which it was certain had assembled from Aquitania and the Cantabrians, betook themselves late at night into the camp.

27. Upon the news of this battle, a great part of Aquitania surrendered itself to Crassus, and voluntarily sent him hostages, in which number were the Tarbelli, the Bigerriones, the Preciani, the Vocates, the Tarusates, the Elusates, the Garites, the Ausci, the Garumni, the Sibuzates, the Cocosates. A few most remote states, trusting to the season of the year, because the winter was setting in, neglected to do this.

28. Almost at the same time, Cæsar, although the sum-

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<sup>1</sup> *Pugnaretur*, lit. "it was being fought."

<sup>2</sup> *Circumitis*, &c. lit. "the camp of the enemy having been gone round."



mer was now nearly past, nevertheless, because all Gaul having been reduced to peace, the Morini and Menapii alone remained, who continued in arms, nor at any time had sent ambassadors to him concerning peace, thinking that that war could speedily be terminated, led an army thither; who resolved to carry on the war in a very different manner from the other Gauls. For inasmuch as (*nam quod*) they knew that the greatest nations which had engaged in battle were routed and beaten, and (supply, inasmuch as, *nam quod*, being continued) they possessed extensive forests and marshes, they betook themselves hither, and all their effects. At the entrance of which woods when Cæsar arrived, and had commenced to fortify his camp, and an enemy had not in the meantime been seen, they, while our men were scattered in different directions at work (lit. "our men having been dispersed engaged on work") suddenly sallied forth from all parts of the wood, and made an attack on our troops, our men quickly took up arms, and drove them back into the woods; and very many having been slain, having pursued them too far amid the more intricate parts, they lost a few of their men.

29. During the few succeeding days, Cæsar commenced to fell the woods, and lest any attack might be made upon the soldiers on their flank, whilst unarmed and off their guard, he collected together all that timber which was cut down directly facing the enemy, and piled it up on each flank to serve as a rampart. A large space having been cleared with incredible dispatch within a few days, when now the cattle and the rear of the baggage had been seized by our men, and they themselves were seeking the thicker parts of the woods, storms of such a kind came on, that the work was of necessity intermitted; and from the continuance of the rain, the soldiers could not be any longer kept under tents. Accordingly, all their lands having been laid waste, and their villages and buildings having set on fire, Cæsar led back his army, and stationed it in winter quarters among the Aulerci and Lexovii. And in like manner among the other states which had made war on him last.