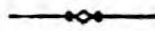


CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

ON

THE GALLIC WAR.



BOOK IV.

1. DURING the winter that followed, which was the year of the consulship of Cneius Pompey and Marcus Crassus, the Usipetes, Germans, and in like manner the Tenchteri, with a vast multitude of people, passed across the river Rhine, not far from the sea, where the Rhine flows into it. The cause of their crossing was, that, having been for very many years harassed by the Suevi, they were pressed sorely by war, and prevented from agriculture. The nation of the Suevi is by far the most powerful and most warlike of all the Germans. These are said to have a hundred cantons, from which they lead forth from their territories, each a thousand armed men yearly, for the purpose of prosecuting war. The rest who remain at home, support themselves and them. These again in turn, the year after, are in arms; those remain at home. Thus neither is agriculture, nor the system and practice of war intermitted. But among them there is no private and separate land. Nor is it allowable, for the purpose of dwelling there, to remain in one place longer than a year. Nor do they live much on corn, but for the most part on milk and flesh of cattle, and are much addicted to hunting; which, both from the nature of their food, and daily exercise, and the freedom of their manner of life (because having been habituated from boys to no regulated duty or restraint, they do nothing whatever contrary to their inclination) as well nourishes their strength, and makes them men of vast stature

of body. And they have brought themselves to such a habit, that in the coldest places they have no covering, except skins, on account of the scantiness of which, a great part of their body is left exposed, and they bathe in rivers.

2. Admittance to traders is allowed (*est*) to them. More for this reason (*magis, eo*) that they may have those to whom they may sell what (*quæ*, lit. "the things which") they may have taken in war, than that (*quam quo*) they desire that anything be imported to them; moreover, the Germans do not use imported horses, in which Gaul takes the greatest delight, and which they (supply, *Galli*, taken out of Gallia, as the nom. to parant) purchase at an extravagant price; but the small and ill-shaped cattle (supply *jumenta*) which are bred among them, they, by daily exercise, render capable of (*enduring*) the greatest fatigue. In cavalry engagements they often leap down from their horses and fight on foot; and they accustom the horses to remain quiet in the same spot (lit. "on the same foot print"); to which they betake themselves when there is occasion; nor according to their usages is anything held more disgraceful or more slothful than to use horse trappings. Accordingly they have the courage, however few they may be, to advance against any number of caparisoned cavalry. Wine they do not on any account (*omnino*) permit to be imported to them, because by it they believe that men become enervated to endure labour, and are made effeminate.

3. They consider it to be their highest glory as a nation (*publice*), that the lands on their borders lie waste to the widest extent; that by this (*hæc re*) it is shown that a great number of states are not able to withstand their power. Accordingly in one direction on the side of the Suevi (*a Suevis*), about six hundred thousand paces of country are said to be desolate. On the other side the Ubii approach near them (whose state was extensive and flourishing, considering the condition of the Germans (lit. "as the ordinary condition of the Germans is")), and they are a little more refined than are others of the same race; because they are contiguous to the Rhine, and traders come much and frequently (*multum ventitant*, mark the force of the frequentitive verb, *ventito*); and they themselves on account of their proximity, have been habituated to Gallic usages. After the Suevi having essayed it frequently in many wars, were unable, in consequence of the extent and power of their state, to expel these from their

territories, still they made them tributaries to themselves, and reduced them to a much lower and weaker condition (lit. "brought them down *so as to be* lower and weaker").

4. In the same condition (*causá*) were the Usipetes and Tinchteri, of whom we have spoken above (*quos*, the accusative *de quibus*) who had for many years withstood the power of the Suevi. At last, however, having been driven out from their country, and having wandered about in many parts of Germany for a space of three years, they came to the Rhine; which districts, the Menapii were then inhabiting (*incolebant*, mark the imper.) and were occupying on either bank of the river, lands, houses, and villages; but terrified at the approach of so vast a multitude, they removed from those dwellings, which they had beyond the river, and, garrisons having been stationed at different points at this side the Rhine, they endeavoured to prevent (*prohibebant*) the Germans from crossing. They having tried every thing (*i. e.*, all methods) when they could neither make the attempt by open force (*vi*) from want of vessels, nor on account of the guards of the Menapii, cross over secretly, pretended that they were going back to their own settlements and countries; and having proceeded a three-days' march, they turned back; and all this journey having been accomplished in one night by the cavalry, they surprised (*oppresserunt*) the Menapii, unapprised and not expecting them, who having been informed by their scouts of the departure of the Germans, had removed back without fear into their villages beyond the Rhine. These having been slain, and their vessels having been seized, before that portion of the Menapii which was at rest in their dwellings at this side the Rhine, could be made acquainted with the fact (*certior fieret*), they had crossed the river, and, all their houses having been seized, they maintained themselves for the remaining part of the winter on their provisions.

5. Cæsar having been informed of these events (*rebus*) and fearing the fickleness of the Gauls, because they are changeable in adopting resolutions, and are generally fond of novelty, (lit. "new things") thought that nothing should be entrusted to them. For this is Gallic custom (lit. "this is of" or "belongs to" Gallic usage) both to force (lit. "that they should force") travellers to stop even against their will, and enquire what each of them may have heard or known concerning each affair; and in towns the mob stands around

traders, and compels them to declare from what countries they may have come, and what news, (lit. "what things") they may have learned there. Influenced by these rumours and hearsays, they frequently enter on measures concerning affairs of the highest importance, of which they must instantly (*e vestigio*) repent, inasmuch as they are slaves to uncertain rumours, and most people give them false answers adapted to their wishes (lit. "answer things feigned according to their wish").

6. Which custom being well known, Cæsar, that he might not have to encounter a more formidable war, sets out for the army earlier than he had been accustomed to do. When he arrived there, he found that those things, had taken place, which he suspected would occur; that embassies had been dispatched by several states to the Germans, that they were invited to come away from the Rhine (lit. "that they should come off from"), and that every thing they required would be provided by themselves. Led on by which hope, the Germans were now roaming abroad more widely, and had come to the boundaries of the Eburones and the Condrusi, who are dependents of the Treviri. The chief men of Gaul having been summoned, Cæsar considered that those things which he had learned should be concealed by him, and their minds having been soothed and encouraged, and cavalry having been ordered, he determined to carry on war with the Germans.

7. Corn having been provided and cavalry selected, he began to direct his march to those places in which he heard that the Germans were. From which, when he was distant a journey of a few days, ambassadors arrived from them, whose speech was as follows (*hæc*, lit. "this"): "That neither did the Germans make war on the Roman people first, nor still did they shrink from contending in arms if they were assailed; that the custom of the Germans, transmitted to them from their ancestors, was this, to resist those, whoever might make war upon them, and not to employ entreaties; that, notwithstanding they said this (lit. "these things"), that they had come against their will, having been driven out from their native country (*domo*). Notwithstanding, if the Romans wished for their friendship, that they could be useful friends to them; let them either assign them lands, or permit them to hold those, which they may have obtained possession of by arms. That they yielded to the Suevi alone, to whom not

even the immortal gods could be equal; that assuredly (*quidem*) there was no one else in the world whom they could not conquer.

8. To these things, Cæsar answered what seemed fit. However, the conclusion of his speech was: "That there could be no friendship between him and them, if they remained in Gaul; and that it was not reasonable (*neque*, equal, *et non*) that they who could not defend their own territories, should seize on those of others; nor that there were any lands unoccupied in Gaul, which could be given, especially to so great a multitude, without injustice. But that they might (lit. "that it was allowable for them") if they wished, settle in the territories of the Ubii, ambassadors from whom were with him, and were complaining of injuries done by the Suevi, and were seeking aid from himself; that he would obtain this request from them.

9. The ambassadors said that they would report these things to their countrymen, and that the matter having been deliberated on, they would return the third day after; meantime they begged that he would not move his camp nearer to them. Cæsar said that not even that request could be obtained from him; for he had learned that a large body of horse had been sent by them some days before, across the Mosa, to the Ambivariti, for the purpose of plundering and obtaining forage. He was of opinion that this cavalry was waited for, and that a delay was being interposed on that account (lit. "on account of that thing").

10. The Mosa issues (lit. "flows forth from") from Mount Vosegus, which is in the territories of the Lingones, and a certain branch which is called Vahales having been received from the Rhine, it forms the island of the Batavi, and not farther than eight thousand paces from it, passes by it (*viz.*, the Mosa) into the ocean. The Rhine, on the other hand, (*autem*) takes its rise from among the Lipontii, who dwell on the Alps, and is borne with a rapid current (*citatus*) for a long distance through the territories of the Nantuates, the Helvetii, the Sequani, the Medromatrici, the Tribuci, the Treviri; and where it approaches the ocean, it divides into many branches, and many and extensive islands having been formed, a great number of which are inhabited by savage and barbarous nations, of whom (lit. "from among whom") there are some

who are thought to live on fishes and eggs of birds, it flows by many mouths into the ocean.

11. When Cæsar was distant from the enemy not more than twelve thousand paces, the ambassadors return to him as had been appointed; who, having met him on his march, earnestly besought him not to advance farther (lit. "that he should not advance"). When they could not obtain that request, they begged that he would send on to that cavalry which had preceded his main body (*agmen*), and prevent them from fighting (lit. "from the fight"), and that he would allow themselves the opportunity of sending ambassadors to the Ubii; could whose chiefs, that is (*ac*, which is here exegetical) their senate give them security by an oath, they assured him that they would avail themselves of whatever proposition might be offered by Cæsar (lit. "of that condition which might be proposed"); that he would grant them a space of three days for completing these affairs (*i. e.*, negotiations). All these things Cæsar was of opinion tended to the self-same end, viz., that a delay of three days having been interposed, their cavalry which were absent might return; nevertheless he said that on that day he would not advance farther than eight thousand paces, for the sake of procuring water; that they should assemble hither on the following day in as great numbers as possible, in order that he might inform himself concerning their demands. Meantime he sends to the præfects, who had gone forward with all the cavalry, messengers to announce to them not to provoke the enemy to battle (or, not to attack the enemy in battle); and if they themselves should be attacked, to bear with it until he should have approached nearer with his army.

12. But the enemy, as soon as they beheld our cavalry, of which there was a number of five thousand, while they themselves had not more than eight hundred horse, because those who had gone across the Mosa for the purpose of getting corn, had not as yet returned, our men feeling no apprehension because their ambassadors (*i. e.* the ambassadors of the Germans) had a short time before taken their departure from Cæsar, and this day had been petitioned for by them, for truce, an assault having been made, quickly threw our men into confusion. Our men rallying in turn (*rursus*) they, according to their custom, leaped to their feet, and the horses having been stabbed beneath, and very many of our men

having been thrown from their horses, they drove the rest to flight (lit. "cast the rest into flight") and pursued them in such dismay (lit. "terrified to such a degree") that they did not cease from flight before they came within view of our main army (*agminis*). In that battle there are slain of our cavalry seventy-four, among these a man of the greatest bravery, Piso, an Aquitanian, born of a most noble family, whose grandfather had reached (or, held) the sovereign authority in his native state, and had been styled friend by our Senate. He, when he bore assistance to his brother, who was intercepted by the enemy, rescued him from danger; whilst he himself thrown from his wounded horse resisted with the greatest bravery as long as he could. When being surrounded, he had fallen, after receiving many wounds (lit. "many wounds having been received") and (supply, *cum*) when his brother, who had now got away from the battle, perceived it from a distance (*animum advertisset, animadvertisset*) his horse having been urged to full speed he opposed himself to the enemy, and was slain.

13. This battle having been fought, Cæsar was of opinion that neither were their deputies to be any more listened to by him, nor proposals received from those who by deceit and treachery had made war upon him without provocation (*ultro*), peace having been previously sued for; but to wait until the forces of the enemy should be increased, and until the cavalry should return, he considered to be an act of extreme madness. And knowing well the fickleness of the Gauls (lit. "and the fickleness of the Gauls being well known") he was sensible how much reputation the enemy had already gained among them by a single battle, to whom he thought no time was to be allowed for adopting measures. These things having been determined on, and the design having been communicated to his lieutenant and quæstor, not to allow (lit. "that he should not allow a single day fit for battle, (*diem pugnæ*, to pass by.") A most opportune circumstance occurred, in that (*quod*) on the day following (lit. "on the day following after that day") in the morning the Germans, practising (lit. "having put in practise") both the same treachery and pretence, came to him to the camp in great numbers (*frequentes*), all their leading men and elders having been brought along with them at the same time, as was said for the sake of clearing themselves,

because contrary to what had been said by them, and what they themselves had requested, they had joined battle on the day before; at the same time, in order that if they could at all accomplish it (lit. "if in any way they could," *quid, i.e., secundum quid*) they might obtain their request concerning a truce by misleading him. Whom so offered to him, Cæsar feeling delight, ordered instantly (lit. "on the spot," *illico, i.e., in-loco*) to be detained; he himself led forth all his forces from the camp, and the cavalry, because he thought it was terrified by its late engagement, he ordered to follow close after the main body.

14. A triple line of battle having been drawn up, and a march of eight miles having been accomplished, he reached the camp of the enemy, before the Germans could discover, what was being done. Who, having been suddenly terrified by every circumstance, both by the rapidity of our approach, and by the absence of their countrymen, time having been given neither for adopting any fixed plan nor for taking up arms, are utterly confounded (supply, doubtful) whether it would be better to lead forth their forces against the enemy, or to defend the camp, or seek safety in flight. Whose consternation, whilst it was being evidenced by shouting and a rushing together, our men, stimulated by their treachery of the day before, burst into their camp. Of whom such as were able to get possession of their arms, made a stand for a short time against our men, and joined battle among their waggons and baggage cars (*impedimenta*); but the remaining multitude of boys and women (for they had departed from their home and had crossed the Rhine, accompanied by all their people, (*cum omnibus, &c.*), in every direction took to flight, to pursue whom Cæsar despatched the cavalry.

15. The Germans, shouting having been heard in their rear, when they saw that their countrymen were slain, their arms having been cast away, and their military standards having been abandoned, flung themselves forth from the camp; and when they came to the confluence of the Mosa and the Rhine, further flight having been abandoned as hopeless (*desperata*), a great number having been slain, the rest flung themselves headlong into the river; and these having been overpowered by fear, exhaustion, and the force of the river, they perished. Our troops, all safe to a man, a very few having been wounded, after the fear of so great a war, since

the number of the enemy had been 430,000, returned to the camp. Cæsar gave to those whom he had detained in the camp permission to depart. They, fearing punishments and torturings on the part of the Gauls, whose lands they had wasted, said that they preferred to remain with him. To these Cæsar gave permission.

16. The German war having been terminated, Cæsar determined for many reasons that the Rhine should be crossed by him; of which the best grounded one was this, that since he saw that the Germans were so easily induced to come into Gaul (lit., so as that they should come), he wished them to be alarmed for their own affairs also, when they would learn that the army of the Roman people both could and dared cross the Rhine. It was added also, that that part of the cavalry of the Usipetes and Tenchteri, which I have stated above to have crossed the Mosa for the purpose of plundering and foraging, and had not (*neque*, equal, *et*, *non*) been engaged in the battle, after the rout of their countrymen had betaken themselves across the Rhine into the territories of the Sigambri, and had joined themselves with them. To whom, when Cæsar had sent ambassadors to demand them to deliver up to him those who had waged war against himself and Gaul, they replied, "that the Rhine bounded the empire of the Roman people, if he considered it not just that the Germans should cross into Gaul without his consent, why should he demand as belonging to him any power or authority beyond the Rhine. The Ubii, moreover (*autem*), who alone of the dwellers beyond the Rhine, had sent ambassadors to Cæsar, had formed alliance, (*and*) given hostages, with great earnestness entreated him, "that he would bring assistance to them, because that they were grievously oppressed by the Suevi; or if he should be prevented from doing that by his occupations in public affairs, that he would merely transport an army across the Rhine, that that would be sufficient for assistance to them, and grounds of hope for the future, that so high (*tantum*) was the name and reputation of his army, in consequence of the defeat of Ariovistus, and this last battle that was fought (lit., abl. abs.), that they could be safe by the reputation and friendship of the Roman people. They promised a great number of vessels to transport the army across.

17. Cæsar, for those reasons which I have stated, resolved to cross the Rhine; but to cross over in boats he concluded

neither to be sufficiently safe nor consistent with his own dignity nor with that of the Roman people. Accordingly, although the extreme difficulty of constructing a bridge was placed before his view, on account of the breadth, rapidity, and depth of the river, nevertheless he considered that the effort to effect this must be made by him, or that otherwise the army was not to be transported across. He determined on the following plan of a bridge. At the distance of two feet from one another he joined together in pairs, piles, each a foot and a half in thickness, sharpened a little at the bottom, and proportioned in their length (*dimensa*) to the depth of the river. When he had sunk these in the river, and had secured them there by engines, and had driven them home by rammers, not upright to the perpendicular after the manner of a stake, but leaning forward and sloping, so as that they should incline, according to the direction of the stream. In like manner, opposite to these, at the distance of forty feet, at a point lower down (*ab inferiore parte*) he placed other pairs, joined in the same manner, and slanted against the force and current of the river; these moreover (i. e. pairs of piles) were kept asunder, by beams let in between them two feet thick—the space from one pile to another—(*fastened*) at both sides, at either extremity, by two braces. Which (i. e. the pairs of piles) being kept apart, and firmly clasped in the opposite direction, such was the strength of the structure, and such the nature of the materials, that the more powerfully the force of the current drove itself against it, the more closely on this account were they kept bound together (*illigata tenerentur*). These (i. e. the cross beams) were connected together by material cast on the length of the bridge (*directa materie injecta*), and were overlaid with poles and hurdles; and no less carefully (*ac nihilo secius*) piles were also driven in obliquely, at the lower part of the stream, which being placed by way of a buttress, and connected with every part of the structure, might sustain the force of the river, there were others also at a moderate distance above the bridge,—that if trunks of trees or boats were sent down by the barbarians, for the purpose of demolishing the work, the force of these things might be lessened, that they might not injure the bridge.

18. In ten days after (lit., during which) the wood began to be brought together, the entire work having been com-

pleted, the army is passed across. Cæsar, a strong guard having been left at either end of the bridge, advanced towards the territories of the Sigambri. In the mean time ambassadors come to him from very many states, to whom, on their soliciting peace and friendship, he gives a gracious answer, and orders hostages to be brought to him. But the Sigambri from the time that the bridge began to be erected, preparation for flight having been made, at the advice of those whom they had amongst them from the Tenchteri and Usipetes, departed from their territories, and carried away all their effects and betook themselves for concealment into ¹desert places and forests.

19. Cæsar having delayed a few days in their territories, all their villages and buildings having been burnt, and the corn cut down, betook himself into the territories of the Ubii; and having promised his assistance to them, in case (*si*) they should be harassed by the Suevi, he learned from them as follows:—"That the Suevi, after that they had discovered through their scouts, that the bridge was being built, a council having been called according to their custom, had despatched ambassadors to all quarters, that they should remove from the towns and carry into the woods and deposit there (*deponerent in silvas*) their children, their wives, and all their effects, and that all who could bear arms should assemble into one place, that this was selected as being nearly the centre of those regions which the Suevi possessed; that there they awaited the arrival of the Romans, and that there they determined to give them battle. Which when Cæsar discovered, all those things having been accomplished for the sake of which he had determined to pass his army across,—viz. to strike terror into the Germans, to take vengeance on the Sigambri, to free the Ubii from attack, eighteen days in all having been spent beyond the Rhine, having considered that he had gone far enough both as to honour and utility, he betook himself into Gaul and cut down the bridge.

20. During the brief period of the summer that remained, Cæsar, although in these parts the summers are early, because all Gaul stretches towards the north, determines nevertheless to set out for Britain, because in almost all the Gallic wars he was aware that assistance was supplied our enemies from thence; and though the season of the year was late

¹ *Solitudinem*, &c. lit., "loneliness."

(deficeret) for carrying on a war, nevertheless he thought that it would be of great use to him if he should merely visit the island, examine the kind of the people (there were there), and become acquainted with the situations, harbours, and approaches, almost all which were unknown to the Gauls. For neither does anyone, except merchants on a slight occasion, go over to that country, nor to those same persons was anything known except the sea coast and those parts opposite the two Gauls. Accordingly the traders having been summoned to him from every quarter, he could neither learn how great was the extent of the island, nor what nor how powerful were the nations that inhabited it, nor what experience they had of war, nor what institutions they possessed, nor what were the suitable harbours for a number of ships of the larger size.

21. In order thoroughly to learn these things before he should make trial, he sends forward Caius Volusenus with a vessel of war, having considered him to be a suitable person. To him he gives instructions, that all things having been thoroughly examined into, he should return to him as quickly as possible. He himself sets out with all his forces for the Morini, because from them there was the shortest passage across into Britain. He gives orders that vessels from all directions, from the neighbouring regions, and the fleet which he had constructed during the past summer for the Venetic war, should assemble hither. Meantime his design having been made known, and news of it having been brought (*perlato*) by traders to the Britons, ambassadors come to him from very many states of that island, to promise that they would give hostages and obey the command of the Roman people. Who having been heard, having promised them liberally, and having exhorted them that they should continue in the same determination, he sends them back home; and together with them he sends Commius, whom he himself, the Atrebates having been conquered, had appointed king there, whose valour and prudence he had proved, and whom he considered faithful to himself, and whose influence was highly estimated in those regions. To him he gives orders, to visit what states he could and exhort them to embrace the alliance of the Roman people, and to announce that he would speedily come there. Volusenus, the regions having been examined, as far as an opportunity could be afforded him, inasmuch as he dared not (*qui non*

auderet) go out of the ship, and entrust himself to barbarians, on the fifth day returns to Cæsar, and reports what he had seen there.

22. Whilst Cæsar delays in those places for the sake of procuring vessels, ambassadors came to him from a great part of the Morini, to excuse themselves for their past conduct (lit., concerning their conduct in the time past), because barbarous people and unacquainted with our usage had made war on the Roman people, and to promise that they would do what he would command. Cæsar considering that this had happened very opportunely for him, because he neither wished to leave an enemy behind his back, nor had he the means of carrying on war on account of the season of the year, nor thought ¹that occupation in such trifling affairs ought to be preferred by him to Britain, commands them (*to give*) a great number of hostages. Which having been brought, he takes them into his protection. About eighty vessels of burden having been brought together and collected, as many as he deemed to be sufficient for transporting two legions, whatever vessels of war he had besides, he distributed to his quæstor, his lieutenants, and præfects. To these were added eighteen vessels of burden, which were detained by the wind eight thousand paces from that place, so that they could not come into the same harbour. These he distributed amongst the cavalry. The rest of the army he gave to Quintus Titurius Sabinus and Lucius Arunculeius Cotta his lieutenants, to be led against the Menapii and those nations of the Morini from which ambassadors had not come to him. He ordered Publius Sulpitius Rufus, his lieutenant, to hold possession of the harbour with such a garrison as he considered to be sufficient.

23. These things having been settled, having obtained a favourable opportunity for sailing, nearly about the third watch he unmoored his vessels (*solvit*) and ordered the cavalry to advance into the farther harbour, and to embark and follow him; by whom when this was executed too slowly, he himself about the fourth hour of the day reached Britain with the foremost vessels, and there beheld the forces of the enemy displayed in arms on all the hills. The nature of which place was as follows:—The sea was confined by mountains so close to it that a weapon could be flung to the shore from the

¹ *Has tantularum, &c.*, lit., that these occupations of such trifling affairs.

higher grounds. Having deemed this place by no means suitable for disembarking until the remaining vessels should assemble there, he waited at anchor until the ninth hour. Meantime the lieutenants and soldiers having been called together, he shows both what he had learned from Volusenus and what he wished to be done, and cautioned them that all things should be done at a sign, and in a moment, as the principles of military discipline, and especially as naval operations required, since these demand (lit., "have") a rapid and ever-varying movement. These having been dismissed, and having got a favourable wind and tide at the same moment, the signal having been given and the anchors weighed, having advanced about seven thousand paces from that place, he moored his vessels on an open and level strand.

24. But the barbarians, the design of the Romans having been discovered, the cavalry having been sent forward, and the *essedarii*, which species of force (*quo genere*) they were accustomed to employ in battle, having followed close with the rest of their forces, endeavoured to prevent our men from disembarking. There was extreme difficulty for the following causes (*has causas*), that the vessels, on account of their size, could not be moored except in deep water, (*in alto*) the soldiers besides, in places unknown to them, with their hands engaged, weighed down with the great and heavy weight of arms, had at the same time both to leap from the vessels and take a firm stand in the waves, and fight with the enemy. Whilst they, either from the dry ground, or having advanced a little way into the water, with all their limbs unencumbered, in places perfectly well known to them, flung their weapons boldly and spurred on their horses accustomed to (*such exercise.*) By which proceedings (*rebus*) our men being terrified, and unaccustomed altogether to this kind of fighting, did not display the same alacrity and zeal which they were accustomed to show in engagements on foot.

25. Which when Cæsar perceived, he commanded the vessels of war, both whose figure was more novel to the barbarians, and whose movements were quicker for use, to be withdrawn a short distance from the vessels of burden, and to be urged forward rapidly with oars, and moored at the exposed side of the enemy, and the enemy to be assailed and driven off, by slings from them, arrows, and engines. Which order was of great service to our men. For alarmed both by

the shape of the vessels, and the motion of the oars, and the unusual kind of engines, the barbarians halted, and retreated a short distance. And our soldiers hesitating, particularly on account of the depth of the sea, he who bore the eagle of the tenth legion, having adjured the gods that this thing might end auspiciously for the legions, exclaimed, "leap forth fellow soldiers, unless ye mean to betray the eagle to the enemy; I at least will perform my duty to the state and to the general." When he had said this in a loud voice he flung himself forth from the ship, and began to carry the eagle against the enemy. Then our men having mutually encouraged each other, that so great a disgrace might not be incurred, leaped forth in a body (*universi*) from the vessel; others in like manner, when from the nearest ships they had seen these, having followed close, approached near to the enemy.

26. The battle was disputed vigorously on both sides (lit., "it was fought vigorously by both parties"); our men however, because they could neither keep their ranks, nor get a firm footing, nor follow their standards, and kept joining, one from one vessel and another from another vessel, whatever standards each had fallen in with, were thrown into great confusion (*magno opere perturbabantur*). But the enemy, all the shallows being known, when from the shore they beheld some coming forth individually (*singulares egredientes*) from a vessel, their horses having been put to full speed, used to attack them whilst embarrassed; many used to surround a few; others used to fling their weapons against the whole crew (*universos*) on their exposed flank. Which when Cæsar perceived, he ordered the boats of the vessels of war—in like manner the light vessels of observation to be filled with soldiers—and sent assistance to those whom he saw in distress. Our men, as soon as they got firm footing (*consisterunt*) on dry ground, all their own men having followed, made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight. Nor could they pursue them farther (or, "to any great distance," *longius*) because the cavalry could not hold on their course and reach the island. This one thing was wanting to the customary (*ad pristinam*) good fortune of Cæsar.

27. The enemy having been conquered in battle, as soon as they recovered themselves from the flight, immediately sent ambassadors to Cæsar concerning peace. They promised that they would give hostages and that they would do what

he would command. Together with the ambassadors Commius Atrebas came, who we have shewn above had been sent by Cæsar before him into Britain. Him, after he had disembarked (lit., "him having come forth from the vessel"), while in the character of an ambassador stating the instructions of the general, they had seized and cast into chains; then the battle having been fought, they sent him back, and in sueing for peace they cast the blame of that act on the multitude, and besought that it might be pardoned on account of their want of discretion (*imperitiam*). Cæsar having complained, that although they had sought peace from him, ambassadors having been sent to the continent of their own accord, they had without cause waged war upon him, said that he would pardon their imprudence, and ordered hostages; of which they gave some immediately, some, sent for from more distant places, they said that they would give in a few days. Meantime they ordered their own people to return to their lands, and the chiefs began to assemble from all quarters and to surrender themselves and their estates to Cæsar.

28. Peace having been established on these conditions, on the fourth day after they came into Britain (lit. "after it was come") eighteen vessels, of which an account has been given above, which carried the cavalry, loosed from the upper harbour with a light wind. When which were drawing nigh to Britain, and were seen from the camp, so violent a tempest suddenly arose that none of them could hold their course, but some were carried back to the same place from which they had set out, others, with great danger to themselves, were dispersed at the lower part of the island which is nearer the setting of the sun; which however, anchors having been cast when they were being filled by the waves, being necessarily forced to sea in a tempestuous night, made for (*petierunt*) the continent.

29. On the same night it happened that there was full moon, which time is wont to make the shore-tides (*maritimos æstus*) highest in the ocean; and that was unknown to our men. Thus at the same time the tide filled both (*et*) the vessels of war, by which Cæsar had provided for the transporting of his army, and which he had drawn up on dry ground; and also (*et*) the tempest dashed together the vessels of burden which were fastened to the anchors. Nor was any possibility afforded our men either of managing them or of

bringing assistance. Very many vessels having been wrecked, when the rest, their ropes, anchors, and other gear having been lost, were unfit for sailing, a great panic of the whole army took place, a thing which was sure to occur, for there were neither other vessels by which they could be carried back, and all things were wanting which are of use in refitting them; and because it was agreed upon by all that it was necessary to winter in Gaul, corn had not been provided against the winter in those places.

30. Which things having been known, the chieftains of Britain, who after the battle (*post praelium factum*) had assembled for the purpose of performing those things, which Cæsar had commanded, having spoken together among themselves, when they learned that both vessels and corn were wanting to the Romans, and discovered the fewness of number of the soldiers, from the small size of the camp, which was narrower than usual (*angustiora*) for this reason also, that Cæsar had transported the legions without baggage, considered it the thing best to be done, to cut off our men from corn and provisions, a renewal of hostilities having been undertaken (*rebellione facta*), and to prolong the affair till winter, because they trusted, that these having been conquered or cut off from a return, no one afterwards would cross over into Britain for the purpose of waging war upon them. Accordingly, a confederacy having been again formed, they began gradually to depart from the camp, and secretly to draw off their countrymen from the fields.

31. But Cæsar, although he had not as yet learned their designs, nevertheless, both from the mishap to his vessels, and from the fact that they had intermitted giving (lit., "to give") hostages, suspected that that would come to pass, which happened. Accordingly he provides resources against every emergency, for he both daily brought corn from the fields into the camp, and he employed the material and copper of those vessels which had been most seriously injured for refitting the others, and also (*et*) gave orders that those things which were of use for these purposes should be brought from the continent. Accordingly when that was accomplished with the greatest zeal by the soldiers, twelve ships having been lost, he effected¹ that he could safely put to sea with the rest.

¹ *Reliquis*, lit., "that it could be safely navigated."

32. Whilst these things are being done, one legion which was called the seventh, having according to custom been sent to procure corn, and no suspicion of war at that time existing (lit., "being interposed") inasmuch as (*cum*) some of the people (i. e. Britons) remained in the fields, and some also were coming constantly into the camp, those who were on guard in front of the camp brought word to Cæsar, that a greater quantity of dust than custom would account for, (lit., "than custom used to bring"), was seen in that direction, in which the legion had marched. Cæsar suspecting the fact to be as it was, (lit. "that that was, *id esse* 'which was,' *quod erat*") that some new plan had been entered into by the barbarians, ordered the cohorts which were on guard, to set out with himself in that direction, two of the others to take their place on guard, the rest to arm themselves and instantly follow him close. When he had advanced some little distance (*paulo longius*, lit., "a little farther from the camp"), he perceived his own men to be hard pressed, and sustaining the attack with difficulty, and that, the legion being crowded together, weapons were flung against it from all quarters. For inasmuch as all the corn having been cut down from the other places, one place remained, the enemy having suspected that our men would come there, lurked during the night in the woods; these suddenly having attacked our men dispersed, their arms having been laid aside, and employed in reaping, a few having been slain, they threw the rest into confusion; their ranks being broken at the same time, they surrounded them with cavalry and chariots.

33. Their manner of fighting from chariots was as follows: At first they ride round in all directions and hurl darts, and by the very terror of the horses and the noise of the wheels, they frequently throw the ranks into confusion, and when they have made their way into the ranks, they leap down from the chariots and fight on foot. Meantime the charioteers gradually retire from the battle, and station themselves with the chariot in such a manner that if they should be pressed hard by the multitude of the enemy they might have a ready retreat to their friends. Thus they exhibit in battle the agility of cavalry, the steadiness of foot, and from daily use and practice they become so expert (*tantum efficiunt*, lit., "they effect so much that," &c.) that they are accustomed, on shelving and precipitous ground, to rein in their horses at full

speed, and in an instant to check and wheel them, and to run along the pole, to stand upon the yoke, and from thence, with the greatest rapidity, to betake themselves into the chariots.

34. In which state of affairs, our men having been thrown into confusion by this novel mode of fighting (*novitate pugnae*), Cæsar carried assistance to them at a most favourable moment; for at his arrival the enemy stood motionless and our men recovered themselves from their fear. Which having happened, having considered it to be an unfavourable time for provoking and hazarding a battle, he kept himself in his own position, and a short time having intervened, he led back the legions into the camp. Whilst these things are being done, all our men being employed, the rest of those who remained in the fields departed. Tempests for several successive days followed, which confined our men to camp and kept the enemy from battle. Meantime the barbarians despatched messages into every quarter, and both published to their countrymen the fewness of our soldiers, and proved to them how great an opportunity was offered for gaining spoil and of freeing themselves in case they should drive out the Romans.

35. Cæsar although he saw that the same thing would happen which had occurred on the former days, viz., that if the enemy should be routed, they would escape danger by their speed; nevertheless, having got about thirty horse, which Comius Atrebas, of whom mention has been made before, had brought across with him, he posted the legions in order of battle in front of the camp. The battle having been commenced, the enemy were not able to withstand the assault of our soldiers for any length of time (*diutius*) and turned their backs. ¹Whom (*our men*) having pursued as far as their strength and speed enabled them, slew very many of them;—afterwards all places having been far and wide laid waste and set on fire, they betook themselves into the camp.

36. On the same day ambassadors arrived, having been sent by the enemy to Cæsar concerning peace. To these Cæsar doubled the number of the hostages which he had previously commanded, and ordered that they should be brought to the continent, because the day of the equinox

¹ *Quos tanto spatio*, lit., “whom having followed for as great a space as they were able to accomplish by running and by their strength, &c.”

being near, and the vessels being weak, he did not think it right that his voyage should be exposed to a storm. He himself having got favourable weather, a little after midnight unmoored his vessels, all which arrived safe at the continent; but of these two transports were not able to reach the same harbours as the others, and were drifted a little farther down.

37. From which ships, when about three hundred soldiers had been set ashore, and were proceeding to the camp, the Morini whom Cæsar, when setting out for Britain had left at peace, induced by the hope of plunder, surrounded them, at first with no very great number of their own, and ordered them to lay down their arms if they did not wish to be put to death. When these, a circle having been formed, were defending themselves, about six thousand men quickly assembled at the shouting; which affair having been reported, Cæsar sent all the cavalry from the camp to assist his own men. Meantime our soldiers withstood the attack of the enemy, and fought most valiantly for more than four hours, and a few wounds having been received, they slew very many of them. But after that our cavalry came in sight, the enemy, their arms having been cast away, turned their backs, and a great number of them were slain.

38. Cæsar on the following day sent Titus Labienus, his lieutenant, with those legions which he had brought back from Britain, against the Morini who had begun a renewal of hostilities. Who, since they had no place to which they could betake themselves on account of the dryness of the marshes (of which place of refuge they had availed themselves the year before), came, almost all, into the power of Labienus. But Quintus Titurius and Lucius Cotta, the lieutenants, who had led the legions into the territories of the Menapii, all their lands having been laid waste, their crops cut down, their buildings set fire to, because all the Menapii had hid themselves in the forests, betook themselves to Cæsar. Cæsar fixed the winter quarters of all the legions among the Belgæ. Hither two states in all from Britain sent hostages; the rest neglected it. These things having been achieved, in consequence of a letter from Cæsar, a supplicatio of twenty days was decreed by the senate. **15 JU 58**