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we should say "ways of approach" instead of "approaches and ways"; such a combination of two words connected by "and" to make a compound phrase is called "hendiadys" ("one through two"); an example in English is "nice and warm", which means "nicely warm"; see also 16, 2 (note). The prepositional phrase in *Suebos* depends on two nouns instead of on a verb, as in §2 (note).

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1. **paucis post diebus**: in this phrase, "a few days later", the adverb is always placed between the adjective and the noun. **fit certior**: "he was informed". **omnes** probably agrees with *copias*, not with *Suebos*. **quae sint**: subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* because it is part of what Caesar was told. **auxilia pediatatus equitatusque**: "auxiliary forces consisting of infantry . . .", as in 7, 1.

2. **sua omnia**: "all their property". **inopia . . . deduci**: "being driven on by shortage of food, could be induced to fight on unequal terms", *lit.* "could be led on to an unequal condition of fighting"; since there is no future infinitive of *possum*, the present infinitive *posse* is regularly used, as in English.

3. **quaeque** = *et quae*, "and to find out what was going on (*gerantur*) amongst them".

4. **referunt**: "brought back the news (that) . . .", which is followed by the indirect statement from *Suebos* to the end of the chapter. **certiores nuntii**: "more certain news". Notice the change of sequence from *venerint* to *coegissent*, which both depend on the historic present *referunt*; possibly *venerint* represents the *venerunt* of *oratio recta* after *postea quam*, which takes a perfect indicative (though we translate it as a pluperfect), and *coegissent* represents the *coegerant* of *oratio recta*. For *suis sociorumque* both depending on *copiis*, see the note on *suas exercitusque fortunas* in 7, 6. **penitus ad extremos fines**: "right into the furthest parts of their country".

5. **infinita magnitudine**: ablative of description, "a forest of enormous size". **quae appellatur**: this seems to be part of what the Ubian scouts told Caesar and would normally be in the subjunctive, but a short explanatory relative clause like this sometimes remains in the indicative in *oratio obliqua*; another explanation is that this is a note added by Caesar as historian for the benefit of the reader. *Bacenis* was perhaps the Forest of Thuringia in central Germany. **pro . . . obiectam**: "placed between them like a natural boundary". **Cheruscos . . . prohibere**: "protected

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(*lit.* "prevented") the Cherusci from (suffering) injuries and raids at the hands of the Suebi and the Suebi at the hands of the Cherusci". **ad initium**: "at the (western) edge", *lit.* "at the beginning".

11

1. **ad hunc locum perventum est**: "we have reached this point", impersonal passive, *lit.* "it has been arrived at this place". Caesar interrupts his narrative from 11-28 to insert an account of the civilisation of Gaul and Germany, possibly to divert the attention of his readers from the comparative failure of this second expedition across the Rhine. **non alienum esse videtur**: "it seems to be not inappropriate to . . .", or "it seems a convenient time to . . ."; this is an example of "litotes" or "meiosis", emphasis by understatement or by the use of a negative, as when St Paul called himself "a citizen of no mean city" (Acts XXI, 39). **quo . . . inter se**: "in what (way) these peoples differ from one another".

2. A *civitas* was a state or tribe consisting of several *pagi*, communities or cantons; *partibus* are "districts", and *domibus* "households".

3. **principes . . . existimantur**: "the leaders are those (*ei* understood) who are considered in the opinion of the people (*eorum iudicio*) . . .". The antecedent of *quorum* is again *ei* understood, "men to whose decision . . . the final issue (*summa*, a noun) of all affairs and counsels can be referred"; notice that *existimantur* is indicative but *redeat* is subjunctive in a consecutive or "generic" relative clause, *lit.* "men of such sort that the final issue . . . can return to their decision . . .".

4. **eius rei causa**: "with the following object in view", *lit.* "for the sake of that thing", referring to the clause *ne . . . egeret institutum (esse) . . . potentioorem*: "the practice seems to have been established that no one of the common people should . . . against a more powerful (neighbour)", the imperfect subjunctive *egeret* takes its sequence from *institutum (esse)*, not from *videtur*; **suos . . . non patitur**: "each (leader of a party, *factio*) refuses to allow his (followers) to be . . .". **neque . . . si faciat . . . habet**: this is a "generalising" condition, rarely found in Caesar, with the *si*-clause verb subjunctive and the main verb indicative; "and if he should act otherwise (*i.e.* not defend a follower when in trouble), he has no . . .".

5. **totius Galliae** depends on *ratio*: "this same principle, in

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general (*in summa*), exists in the whole of Gaul". *in partes . . . duas*: "are divided into two parties".

12

1. *cum venit*: indicative because *cum* = *quo tempore*, "at the time when Caesar came", in 58. *alterius . . . alterius*: "of one . . . of the other"; in I, 31, 3 Caesar quotes Diviciacus the Aeduan Druid as using almost the same words as these except that the Aedui and Arverni were the leading states instead of the Aedui and Sequani; the Sequani must have taken the leadership from the Arverni soon after those two tribes invited German mercenaries to cross the Rhine and help them against the Aedui (70-65); for the Aedui, see the note on 4, 2.

2. *hi*: the Sequani. *cum*: "since". *per se minus valerent*: "were less powerful by themselves". *erat in Aeduis*: "rested with the Aedui". *magnae . . . clientelae*: "their dependent states were extensive". *sibi . . . perduxerant*: "had attached . . . to their side and had won them over by (making) great sacrifices (of territory) . . .".

3. *proeliis . . . secundis*: "after several successful battles had been fought", by the Germans against the Aedui, as we see from I, 31, 6, where Diviciacus told Caesar that "all the nobility of the Aedui had been killed", an obvious exaggeration.

4. The subject of *antecesserant* is the Sequani; "they had so greatly surpassed them (the Aedui) in power". *obsides . . . filios*: "the sons . . . as hostages". *ab his* refers to the Aedui, who are also the object of *cogerent*. *publice*: "in the name of the state". *nihil consili*: partitive genitive, equivalent to *nullum consilium*; "that they would form no (hostile) plans against the Sequani". *possiderent . . . obtinerent* are still in the result clause introduced by *ut*. *occupatam possiderent*: "they seized . . . and were now in possession of . . .". *totius Galliae*: objective genitive: "they held (not 'obtained') supremacy over the whole of Gaul".

5. *qua necessitudine adductus*: "compelled by the need to prevent this", *lit.* "by which necessity". *auxili petendi causa*: "to ask for help". *Romam ad senatum*: we say "to the Senate at Rome". *imperfecta re*: ablative absolute without a verb, "without achieving his object", *lit.* "the matter (being) unfinished"; Diviciacus went to Rome in 61 to try to get help against Ariovistus; he made the acquaintance of Caesar and stayed at the house of Cicero (Cic. *de Div.*, I, 41, 90).

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6. *adventu Caesaris*: ablative of time and cause, "on the arrival of Caesar", who came to Gaul in 58 and defeated Ariovistus and the Germans in a great battle in the Vosges during the late summer of that year: the Germans were driven back across the Rhine and the Aedui recovered their old supremacy in Gaul, subject of course to Roman rule. *commutatione rerum*: "a change in the situation". *Aeduis*: dative of the remoter object after *obsidibus redditis*. *novis (clientelis) . . . comparatis*: "when new (dependencies) had been obtained (for the Aedui) with Caesar's help"; Caesar does not mention anywhere else his support of the Aedui in their return to power. *ei qui*: "those peoples who . . .", but *eorum* refers to the Aedui. *se uti videant*: "realised that they were enjoying . . . a juster form of government (*imperio*)". *reliquis . . . amplificata*: "(and) because in all other respects their (*i.e.* the Aeduans') influence and honour was increased".

7. *in eorum locum*: "to the position formerly held by the Sequani", as one of the two leading Gallic tribes. *quos . . . intellegebatur*: "because it was realised that they (*quos, i.e.* the Remi) were equal (to the Aedui) in influence with Caesar". *se Remis . . . dicabant*: "began to offer themselves to the Remi as dependents", *lit.* "into dependencies"; distinguish *dicare* from *dicere* (see also 13, 2). For the Remi, see the note on 4, 5.

8. *hos* are the new dependents, *illi* the Remi. *et novam . . . auctoritatem*: "their authority which was both new and suddenly acquired".

9. *eo tum . . . Aedui*: "matters were at that time in such a condition that the Aedui were considered to be by far the leading state"; by *tum* Caesar probably means the time of which he is now writing, 53; we have already mentioned that the Remi alone of the Gauls outside the Province remained loyal to Caesar all through the Gallic wars and that the Aedui did the same until the last campaign in 52, when they were eventually induced to join in the general Gallic rising. *secundum . . . obtinerent*: "held second place in importance".

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1. *eorum* can be omitted in translation; "there are two classes of men who are of any importance (*numero*) and honour", ablative of description. *paene . . . loco*: "are treated almost as slaves", *lit.* "are held (to be) almost in the position of slaves". *quae nihil . . . consilio*: "for it (*lit.* 'which') ventures on nothing by

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itself and is not summoned to any council"; *nullo* is dative, another form of *nulli*.

2. **cum . . . premuntur**: "being overwhelmed (*lit.* 'when they are oppressed') by debt . . . or by wrongs done by the more powerful folk", subjective genitive. **sese . . . nobilibus**: "offer themselves (see the note on 12, 7) in slavery to the nobles". **quibus** and **dominis** are dative of the possessor with *sunt*, "who have all the same rights over them (*in hos*) as masters (have) over their slaves", *lit.* "to whom there are . . .".

3. **de**: "of". **alterum . . . equitum**: "one consists of Druids, the other of knights", the Gallic aristocracy who fought on horseback (like medieval knights), of whom the *nobiles* (§2) were the most distinguished.

4. **illi**: "the former", *i.e.* the Druids; when two classes are mentioned *illi* is usually "the former", as here, and *hi* "the latter", but *ad hos* and the other cases of *hi* in this chapter (except in §7) all refer to the Druids, and the *equites* are not described until 15. **rebus divinis**: "divine worship", or "religious services". **religiones interpretantur**: "they explain questions of ritual", such as atonement for crimes, the explanation of omens, and religious matters generally. **disciplinae causa concurrunt**: "assembles for the sake of instruction". **magno . . . honore**: "the Druids (*hi*) are (held) in great honour by them", *i.e.* by the Gauls in general, not only by their pupils.

5. **ferre . . . constituunt**: "they make decisions about almost all . . .". **si quod . . . facinus**: "if any crime has been committed"; *quod* is the adjectival form of the indefinite pronoun *quis*, which is used after *si*, *nisi*, *ne*, and *num*. With *facta*, supply *est*. **finibus** means "boundaries of property". **idem**: masculine nominative plural, "they also decide it", *lit.* "the same men decide (it)".

6. **si qui . . . interdicunt**: "if any individual or community does not abide (*lit.* 'has not stood') by their decision, they exclude them (*eis* understood) from sacrifices".

7. The antecedent of *quibus* is *hi*: "those who are thus excluded (impersonal passive) are reckoned as impious criminals", *lit.* "are held (to be) in the position of . . .", as in §1. **his omnes decedunt**: "everyone gives way to them", or "keeps out of their way", with *de via* understood. **aditum . . . defugiunt**: "they avoid their approach and conversation", or "avoid approaching and talking to them". **ne quid . . . incommodi**: partitive genitive "that they may receive no harm", *lit.* "lest they should receive

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. . . anything of harm". **neque . . . redditur**: "and no justice is granted to them when they claim it"; *reddere* often means "to give what is due to someone". **honos** is "distinction", or "position of honour", rather than just "honour".

9. **hoc mortuo**: ablative absolute, "on his death". **aut si . . . succedit**: "either anyone from among the rest who is pre-eminent in honour succeeds", *lit.* "either if anyone is pre-eminent . . . he succeeds"; *qui* (adjective) is here used for *quis* (substantive). **plures pares**: "several of equal standing". **suffragio . . . contendunt**: this is a condensed expression which must be expanded in English, for though it is correct to say that the candidates "competed for the supremacy with arms" it is strange to say that they "competed by the vote of the Druids"; we must insert another verb and say "they are elected by the vote of the Druids (or) sometimes even compete for the supremacy with arms"; this kind of expression, in which a verb is taken with two nouns when it refers literally to only one of them, is called "zeugma", *e.g.* Shakespeare's "Kill the boys and the baggage", which means "Kill the boys and destroy the baggage" (see also the note on 1, 3). **non numquam** is often printed as one word, *nonnumquam*, and means "sometimes".

10. **hi**: all the Druids. **quae regio** = *regioe quae*, *regioe* being in apposition to *finibus Carnutum*, "in the land of the Carnutus, a district which is thought to be the centre (*lit.* 'central part') of the whole of Gaul"; the "consecrated spot" was possibly near Dreux. **considunt**: "they sit in council". **eorum**: *i.e.* of the Druids.

11. **in Britannia . . . existimatur**: "is thought to have been discovered (*i.e.* found existing) in Britain and transferred from there . . ."; Caesar got his information from Diviciacus, himself a Druid, and it may well be true; for a discussion of this point, and for the Druids generally, see pages 8-9. This is the only mention by Caesar of Druidism in Britain, for he evidently did not come in contact with it during his invasions of 55 and 54. Tacitus in about A.D. 98 wrote a biography of his father-in-law Agricola, who had two periods of service in Britain before becoming Governor in 77 or 78, but he makes no mention of Druids, though in his *Annals* (XIV, 30) he says that they roused the British to resist Suetonius Paulinus during his attack on Anglesey in 61. **qui** = *ei qui*, and *eam rem* is "that subject", *i.e.* Druidism. **illo**: an adverb, meaning "to Britain". **discendi causa**: "to study it".

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1. **consuerunt** = *consueverunt*, from *consuesco*, with a present sense, "they are accustomed". **a bello abesse**: "to take no part in war". **una**: an adverb, to be taken with *cum*, "together with . . .". **omnium rerum immunitatem**: "exemption from all public duties", objective genitive.

2. **et . . . et** "both . . . and". **in disciplinam conveniunt**: "assemble to (be given) this training".

3. **ibi**: in the schools of the Druids. **versuum**: "lines of poetry", composed in metre to make it easier for the students to learn them by heart. **non nulli**: often one word, *nonnulli*. **annos xx**: accusative of duration of time. **neque fas . . . existimant**: "and they do not consider it right (or 'permitted by their religion') to commit those doctrines (*i.e.* those expressed in the *versus*) to writing". **cum** is "although", and *fere* "nearly all". **rationibus**: "records", with "such as" or "and" inserted before *publicis* . . . *rationibus*. **Graecis litteris**: "Greek characters", but not the Greek language; Gallic inscriptions written in Greek and Latin characters have been found, but there was no separate Gallic alphabet and nothing is known about the Celtic language. Some knowledge of Greek would have come from the Greek settlement of Massilia (Marseilles), colonised in the sixth century B.C., and Latin began to be known by the Gauls in the first century B.C. In I, 29, 1 we read that the Helvetii kept an account of the numbers who took part in their migration in 58 written in Greek characters, but this knowledge was not widespread, for in V, 48, 4 Caesar sent a message to the beleaguered Cicero written in the Latin language but in Greek characters so that the Gauls should not be able to read it if they intercepted it. But even Diviciacus, a Druid who had visited Rome, spoke to Caesar through an interpreter in I, 19, 3.

4. **mihi**: Caesar refers to himself as general in the third person singular and as historian in the first person plural (see the note on 2, 1); it is unusual for him to use the first person singular, as here and in 24, 2: "it seems to me that they have adopted that practice for two reasons". **quod velint** is subjunctive because it is in a causal clause in *oratio obliqua*, depending on *id* . . . *videntur*, but we should expect *qui discunt* to be subjunctive for the same reason, though a short relative clause like this sometimes remains in the indicative. **in vulgum efferri**: "to be spread commonly about", *lit.* "to the common people"; *vulgus* is here masculine instead of the more common neuter. **eos**: the object of *velint*,

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"nor do they want those who learn (the system) to rely (*lit.* 'having relied') on writing and pay too little attention to (cultivating) their memory". **quod . . . accidit ut**: "for it generally happens to most people that . . .". **praesidio litterarum**: "by (trusting to) the assistance of writing". **diligentiam . . . remittunt**: "they relax their diligence in . . . and the (use of) memory".

5. **in primis**: "in particular". **hoc persuadere**: "to teach this (doctrine)", *lit.* "to persuade this (to their pupils)", followed by the indirect statement *non interire* . . . *ad alios*, "that souls do not die but . . . pass from one person to another", *lit.* "from others to others". This is the doctrine of "metempsychosis" or re-incarnation, also called the transmigration of souls, which was taught by the ancient Egyptians and the Greek philosophers Pythagoras (c. 530) and Plato (died 347). **hoc** is ablative, and *homines* must be supplied as the subject of *excitari*, "that men are urged on . . . by this (doctrine) most of all". The ablative absolute *metu* . . . *neglecto* gives the reason, "because they have put aside the fear . . .".

6. **terrarum** = *orbis terrarum*, "the world", whereas *mundi* is "the universe". **de rerum natura**: "the course of nature", or even "the mysteries of nature"; the philosophic poet Lucretius wrote a poem called *De Rerum Natura* which was published while Caesar was a young man. **multa disputant . . . tradunt**: "they have many discussions about . . . and pass on (their knowledge) to the young men".

15

1. **alterum . . . equitum**: "the second class consists of the knights", *lit.* "is (the class) of the knights"; the two classes were named in 13, 3. The Gallic aristocratic knights must be distinguished from the middle-class Roman *equites*; see note on 40, 4. **cum est usus**: "whenever need arises". **aliquod bellum incidit**: "a (*lit.* 'some') war has broken out". **quod** is "a thing which", referring to an outbreak of war, and *quot annis* is often printed *quotannis*. **uti** = *ut*, which here introduces either a purpose or a result clause, "in order that they should either inflict damage themselves (on others) or repel it when inflicted (on them)", or "so that they inflicted . . .".

2. **ut . . . ita . . . habet**: "according as each of them is most distinguished in birth and riches, so he has most . . .". **ambactos** is apparently a Gallic word for "vassals", whose service (like that of the *soldurii* mentioned in III, 22, 1-2) was more devoted, especially in war, than that of ordinary retainers. Gallic nobles

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could acquire enormous power by demanding such feudal service; in 1, 4, 2 Orgetorix the Helvetian is said to have had 10,000 retainers, besides other *clientes*. **hanc . . . noverunt**: the order of words is emphatic; "this is the only kind of influence and power that they know"; *novi* (from *nosco*) is perfect in form but present in meaning.

16

1. **omnium Gallorum**: "of the Gauls as a whole". **est**: with *dedita*, "is greatly devoted to religious observances".

2. The antecedent of *qui* is *ei* understood; "those who are afflicted . . ."; so too *quique* = *et ei qui*. **proeliis periculisque**: perhaps "the dangers of battle", by the figure of speech called "hendiadys" (see the note on 9, 8), or "battles and (other) dangers". **aut . . . aut**: "either . . . or". **pro victimis**: "as victims". **homines** are "human beings", of either sex. **administris . . . utuntur**: "employ the Druids as ministers for . . .".

3. **quod**: "because". **reddatur** is subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* depending on *arbitrantur*, "unless the life . . . is given . . .". **publice . . . sacrificia**: "they have sacrifices of the same kind established publicly"; *habere* with a past participle passive is stronger than a perfect indicative (*instituerunt*); see also 20, 1.

4. **immani magnitudine**: "of enormous size", ablative of description. **quorum** depends on *membra*, "whose limbs, woven out of twigs, they fill with . . ."; these wicker-work cages were made roughly in the shape of human figures. The antecedent of *quibus* is *simulacra*; "when these figures have been set on fire". **homines**: "the human victims".

5. **sint comprehensi**: subjunctive for the same reason as *reddatur* in §3; it could also be a "generic" result clause, "such people as . . .". **aliqua noxia**: "some (other) crime". **dis** = *deis*. **eius generis copia**: "the supply of that kind of person", i.e. criminals. **descendunt**: "they resort to", with *ad*.

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1. **deum** = *deorum*. When Caesar mentions the names of Roman gods in this context, he is only identifying the Gallic gods with their nearest Roman counterparts, according to the information given him by Diviciacus and perhaps other Gauls. Mercury corresponds to the Gallic god Teutates, Apollo to Belen, Mars to Esus, and Jupiter to Taranis (the Thunderer). **simulacra**: no pre-Roman Celtic statues of gods have in fact been found. **hunc**

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. . . **ferunt**: "they say that he is . . .", with *esse* understood; **esse ferunt** must be supplied with *hunc . . . ducem* also. The difference between *viarum* and *itinerum* here is that this god was thought to point out roads (*viarum*) and accompany travellers on their journeys (*itinerum*). **hunc . . . maximam**: "that he has the greatest influence for (ad) money-making (*lit.* 'the gaining of money') . . .".

2. Supply *colunt* to govern *Apollinem . . . Minervam*. **eandem . . . opinionem**: "almost the same beliefs as all other (*lit.* 'the other') nations (have)", which is followed by the indirect statement "that Apollo drives away diseases . . .". **operum . . . tradere**: "imparts the principles of handiwork and arts". **imperium caelestium**: "supreme power over the gods", objective genitive. **regere** is "controls".

3. **cum . . . constituerunt**: "whenever they have decided to fight a pitched battle", *lit.* "to fight it out in battle". **ea quae . . . devovent**: "they generally dedicate to him what (ever spoils) they take in war"; *ceperint* is probably perfect subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* depending on the verb of promising implied in *devovent*, their own words being "we promise to give to him the spoils that we shall have taken in war", and the perfect subjunctive takes the place of the future perfect of direct speech. **quae superaverint . . . immolant**: "they capture and sacrifice the living creatures that have survived (a battle)"; **superaverint** is perfect subjunctive in a "generic" result clause, "such as have survived"; the reference is presumably to horses and beasts of burden.

4. **harum . . . tumulos**: "heaps of these objects piled up in . . .", i.e. the *reliquas res* mentioned in §3. **locis consecratis**: local ablative without *in* (see the last note on 8, 1). **conspicari licet**: "one may see", or "it is possible to see".

5. **neque saepe accidit**: "and it has seldom happened . . .", the true perfect (primary) followed by the imperfect subjunctive (historic) *auderet*, for which we should say "that anyone has dared". **neglecta religione**: "defying religious scruples". **aut . . . tollere**: "either to conceal such plunder (*lit.* 'the captured things') in his own house or to remove what has been set down (for the god)". **ei rei**: "for that crime".

18

1. **ab Dite patre**: "from Dis, the father (of all men)"; to the Romans Dis (whose place was by Caesar's time being taken by

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his Greek equivalent, Pluto) was the god of the underworld, not the father of all men, which was the title of Jupiter. Supply *esse* with *prognatos* and with *proditum*; "they say that that (belief) has been handed down . . .".

2. *ob eam causam*: because Dis, from whom the Gauls claimed descent, was the god of the dark underworld, the region of night. *spatia omnis temporis*: we should say "all periods of time"; Tacitus, writing 150 years later, says (*Germania* 11) that the Germans also reckoned (or "determined", *finiunt*) time by nights instead of by days, and even now we follow our Anglo-Saxon ancestors when speaking of a fortnight (fourteen nights) and Twelfth Night. *sic . . . ut . . . subsequatur*: "by saying that day follows night", *lit.* "in such a way that"; the Gauls therefore spoke of a person's birthnight instead of birthday and the first night of the month or year, partly perhaps because it was easier for primitive peoples to reckon time by the changes of the moon than by the course of the sun.

3. *institutis* is here a noun, "customs". *hoc . . . quod*: "they generally differ from the other (nations) in this point (*hoc*) that (*quod*) . . .". *nisi . . . possint*: supply *ita* before *adoleverunt*, "except when they have grown up enough (*ita*) to be able to bear . . .". *filium puerili aetate*: "a son still in his boyhood", *lit.* "with boyish age", ablative of description. *turpe (esse) ducunt*: "they think that it is disgraceful for a son . . . to show himself . . ."; the clause *filium . . . adistere* is really the subject of *esse* understood, but in English we usually invert the order and use an impersonal phrase, "that it is . . .". It was of course only when a father appeared in public as a warrior that his son was not allowed to approach him, perhaps as the result of some ancient taboo.

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1. *virī . . . communicant*: "the husbands after making a reckoning put aside (*lit.* 'share') with the dowry the same amount of property from their own possessions as they have received . . . by way of (*lit.* 'in the name of') dowry", *lit.* "as much property as"; *pecunias* may mean "money" (in the plural usually "sums of money"), or "goods and chattels" generally; the word is derived from *pecus*, "a cow", because in the early times of Rome wealth was reckoned in cattle, and it is possible that the same custom prevailed in Gaul at this time, though the Gauls did have coined money, imitated from Greek and Roman coins, of their own. *fructus*: "the profit", whether in cash, as the interest on

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money lent out, or in kind, from the increase of herds and agriculture.

2. *superarit* = *superaverit*, future perfect; "whichever (*uter*) of them is the survivor (*lit.* 'shall have survived in life'), to that one comes the share of both of them, together with the profits of previous years"; the two shares had previously been kept separate.

3. *in uxores*: "over their wives"; Roman law too gave husbands (*virī*) power of life and death over their wives and families (at least in theory). *cum . . . decessit*: "whenever the head of a family of higher rank dies", *lit.* "born from a more distinguished place (ablative of origin) has died"; the Romans were more precise than we are in the tenses of verbs used with "whenever". *si res . . . venit*: "if any suspicion . . . has arisen", *lit.* "if the thing has come into suspicion about his death". *de uxoribus* may be a plural used generally for a singular, or it may mean that the Gauls practised polygamy, which is not mentioned elsewhere by Caesar, though he tells us that Ariovistus the German had two wives (I, 53, 4) and that the Britons had wives who were common to groups of ten or twelve husbands (V, 14, 4); there is no other authority for this last statement, which may not be true. *in servilem . . . habent*: "they hold an enquiry (by torture) as in the case of slaves", *lit.* "into the slavish fashion"; Roman law allowed the inquisition of slaves under torture when their master had died in suspicious circumstances, and in Greece and Rome the evidence of slaves was always taken under torture. *si compertum est*: impersonal, "if it is discovered (that murder has been committed)". *excruciatas interficiunt* = *eas excruciant et interficiunt*, or in one phrase (by "hendiadys"; see the note on 9, 8) "torture them to death". *igni* is ablative.

4. *pro cultu Gallorum*: "considering the civilisation . . .", *i.e.* the funerals were more sumptuous than the general standard of life of the Gauls would warrant, though they were in fact quite highly civilised in many ways and by no means "barbarians", a word which to the Romans meant merely non-Roman. *omnia . . . arbitrantur*: "everything that they think was dear to them when alive"; *cordi* is probably locative, *lit.* "near their heart", *i.e.*, "dear to them". *animalia*: such as favourite dogs and horses.

5. *paulo super hanc memoriam*: "a little before this time", *lit.* "above this memory", *i.e.* just outside living memory. *quos . . . constabat*: "who it was known were beloved by them". *iustis funeribus*: "the regular funeral ceremonies". *una*: an

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adverb, "with them"; by the former Indian practice of "suttee" widows were burnt alive on their husbands' funeral pyres.

20

1. **quae civitates** = *quae civitates quae*; the antecedent is often thus placed inside the relative clause. **commodius . . . administrare**: "to regulate their affairs (or 'government') more efficiently". **habent legibus sanctum**: "have it prescribed by law that (*uti*) . . ."; for this use of *habere* with a past participle, to make the phrase a little stronger than *sanxerunt*, see the note on *habent instituta* in 16, 3: The object of *habent sanctum* is the clause *uti* (= *ut*) . . . *communicet*: "that if anyone has heard anything . . . he should bring the information . . . and not inform anyone else", *lit.*, "share it with . . ."; *quis*, "anyone", is here used three times, twice after *si* and once after *neve* (= *et ne*). **acceperit** is subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* depending on the indirect command *habent sanctum*, and representing the perfect or the future perfect indicative of direct speech, "if anyone has heard (or 'shall have heard') . . . he must report it".

2. **quod . . . cognitum est**: "because it is realised that . . .". **facinus** may mean "crime" but is probably "action", implying some action not sanctioned by the government, like an attack on a neighbouring state, as is suggested by *de summis rebus consilium capere*, "to make a decision about matters of the highest importance". The headstrong and fickle character of the Gauls is often mentioned by Caesar.

3. **quae visa sunt**: "what they think it best to conceal", *lit.*, "what has seemed (best)". **quaeque** = *ea quae*: "and they make known (only) what they have decided is in the interests (*ex usu*) of the people (to know)". **de re publica**: "on matters of state". **nisi per concilium**: "except in (*lit.* 'through') an assembly". The subject of *conceditur* is really *loqui*, but we make the verb impersonal and say "it is not permitted (for anyone) to speak".

21

Caesar gives an account of the customs of the Suebi, a powerful German tribe, in IV, 1-3, which is shorter than the description given in these chapters but quite similar to this more general sketch, except that in IV he does not deal with the religion of the Suebi.

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1. **multum**: an adverb, "greatly": to say that "the Germans differ from this way of life" is an example of "brachylogy" (short comparison; see also 22, 4) for "the way of life of the Germans differs from this way of life". **qui . . . praesint**: "to preside over their religious observances", a purpose clause, or perhaps a "generic" result clause, with practically the same meaning.

2. **deorum numero . . . iuvantur**: "they include among (*lit.* 'in the number of') the gods only those . . . by whose aid they are obviously benefited". **Vulcanum**: because he was the god of fire. **reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt**: "they have not heard of the others even by report", from other nations; it is possible, though perhaps unlikely, that this statement is true, for Tacitus (c. A.D. 100) in his *Germania* (9, 1-2) mentions several other gods, Mercury, Mars, Hercules, and Isis, who may have been worshipped by the Germans in Caesar's time and before; he also says that they had priests and priestesses, though they were not Druids and had much less power and influence than the Gallic Druid priests.

3. **omnis . . . consistit**: "is entirely taken up with . . . and the pursuits of war". **ab parvulis**: "from childhood", *lit.*, "from (being) very small".

4. **qui = ei qui. impuberes permanserunt**: "maintain their chastity". **inter suos ferunt**: "win . . . amongst their contemporaries". **hoc**: ablative, "by this", *i.e.* by remaining chaste. **intra . . . rebus**: "they consider it to be a most disgraceful thing (*lit.* 'among the most disgraceful things') to have had intercourse with a woman under the age of twenty". **cuius rei**: "in this matter", *i.e.* in matters of sex. For *promiscue* we could say "both sexes together". **magna . . . nuda**: ablative absolute, "leaving a large part . . . bare", *lit.*, "a large part being bare".

22

1. **agri culturae non student**: "they pay no attention to agriculture", which a yearly tenancy of land would hardly make possible, but they presumably used the land mainly for grazing cattle. **victus**: genitive, "of their food".

2. **neque quisquam**: "and nobody". **certum modum**: "a fixed amount". **in singulos annos**: "every year". **gentibus . . . attribuunt**: "assign to the (various) tribes . . . who have come together as much land (partitive genitive) and in such a place as seems best", *lit.*, "has seemed (best)". For the local ablative *quo loco*, without *in*, *lit.*, "in which place", see the last note on 8, 1.

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(The O.C.T. has *†cum†* before *una*.) **post** and **alio** are both adverbs, "to move (*transire*) elsewhere a year later".

3. eius rei: "for (doing) that", *i.e.* for moving every year; the reasons are given in the *ne*- and *ut*-clauses that follow. **ne . . . commutent:** "that they should not be attracted by continual residence in one place (*lit.* 'by continual habit') and give up their love of war in exchange for agriculture"; *agri cultura* is ablative, used with *commutent* for the thing taken in exchange. **par-are studeant:** "be eager to obtain". **potentiores** is nominative, "the more powerful", who must not be allowed to "drive out the weaker folk from their holdings" of land. **ad . . . vitandos:** "to avoid the (extremes of) cold and heat". **ne qua . . . cupiditas:** "that no desire for money . . .". **qua ex re:** we merely say "from which".

4. ut . . . contineant: "that they should keep the common people in a contented spirit", *lit.* "by contentment of mind", ablative of means. **cum . . . videat:** "since each man would see that his own wealth was equal to that of the most powerful", *lit.* "made equal with the most powerful", the shortened form of comparison called "brachylogy" (see also 21, 1).

23

1. civitatibus maxima laus est: "the greatest glory for the (various) states (or 'tribes') is to . . .". **quam latissime:** "over as wide an area as possible". Caesar says the same thing about the Suebi in IV, 3, 1, though he also says of them (IV, 1, 5-7) that half the tribe goes out to war and the other half stays at home to produce food for them all; they too have to leave their lands every year and move elsewhere.

2. hoc . . . existimant: "they consider that is a special (proof) of valour", followed by an indirect statement that explains *hoc*, "that their neighbours should withdraw, driven out . . ., and that none should dare to settle near (them)".

3. hoc: ablative of cause, "because of this", which is further explained by the ablative absolute *timore sublato*, "when the fear . . . has been removed".

4. bellum . . . infert: "either defends itself against a war that has been made against it or itself makes war". **qui . . . praesint:** a purpose clause, "to take command of . . ."; we should insert "and" before the next purpose clause, *ut . . . potestatem*, or just say "with power of life and death".

5. communis: "with full power" over the whole state; or,

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taking *magistratus* as an abstract noun, we might say "no central magistracy". A *pagus*, "canton", was a smaller unit than a *regio*, "district"; the Suebi (IV, 1, 4) had a hundred *pagi*, the Helvetii (I, 12, 4) only four, but they were obviously much larger divisions. **ius dicunt:** "administer justice".

6. The plural latrocinia means "acts of brigandage". **habent:** "involve". The antecedent of *quae* is of course *latrocinia*, "which take place (*fiunt*) . . .". **ea . . . praedicant:** "they declare that such acts (*ea*) are performed to train the young men . . .", *lit.* "for the sake of training . . .".

7. atque ubi quis: "and indeed whenever anyone". **ducem:** "leader (in a raid)". Insert "and" before (*ei*) *qui*; "and that those who wish to follow him should declare it"; *profiteantur* is a command in indirect statement (jussive subjunctive without *ut*), and *velint* is subjunctive both because it is in a relative clause in *oratio obliqua* and because it is in a "generic" result clause, "such as wished". By "the cause" (*causam*) Caesar means the object of the expedition.

8. qui ex his = ei ex his qui. Notice the emphatic position of *non*, "have failed (or 'fail') to follow", after volunteering to do so. **in desertorum . . . ducuntur:** "are reckoned as (*lit.* 'in the number of') deserters . . .". **omnium . . . derogatur:** "they are afterwards mistrusted in everything", *lit.* "confidence of all things is withdrawn from them"; *his* is dative of disadvantage after a verb of taking away.

9. fas (esse) non putant: "they regard it as impious to injure a guest"; *hospitem violare* is really the subject of *esse*, but we make the sentence impersonal. The antecedent of *qui* is *eos* understood, which is the object of *prohibent* and *habent*: "they protect from injury those who have come to them for any (*lit.* 'each') reason (and) regard them as sacred"; the conduct of Ariovistus, who arrested an official guest-friend (*hospes*) when he came as an envoy to the German camp (I, 47, 6), was particularly disgraceful. *domus* is nominative plural, and *victus* is a noun, "food". For the conjunctions, see the note on 24, 1.

24

1. ac . . . tempus: "indeed there was a time in the past". Notice the absence of conjunctions to connect *superarent*, *inferrent*, and *mitterent*; this is called "asyndeton". There are usually conjunctions between each of such a set of words or clauses, or no conjunction at all, as here; but in 23, 9 we have a mixture of the

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two, which is rare. **colonias**: "settlements"; Livy (V, 34, 1-4) mentions a Gallic expedition sent eastwards across the Rhine by Ambigatus, king of the Bituriges, which settled in the Hercynian Forest.

2. **ea**: the object of *occupaverunt*, with *loca* taken from inside the relative clause for it to agree with. The Hercynian forest is a general name for the hills and mountains of southern Germany. The Volcae Tectosages were a large Gallic tribe living in the Roman Province of Gallia Narbonensis just north of the Pyrenees, part of which had migrated and settled in the Hercynian forest. **video** means that Caesar had read about this, whereas *audio* would mean that he had got his information by word of mouth: "which I see was known by report to Eratosthenes"; this man lived from about 276-194 B.C., a Greek from Cyrene in north Africa and librarian of the great library at Alexandria; he wrote on astronomy, mathematics, history, grammar, philosophy, and especially geography, but only fragments of his work have survived; we do not know whom Caesar means when he mentions "certain (other) Greeks". For Caesar's use here of the first person singular *video*, instead of *videmus*, see the first note on 14, 4.

3. **ad hoc . . . continet**: "continues to live in these settlements (see the note on *finibus suis* in 6, 3) up to the present time"; nothing more is known about the branch of the Volcae Tectosages that settled in Germany. **summam . . . opinionem**: "the highest reputation for . . .".

4. **quod . . . permanent**: "because they go on living in the same . . . as the Germans (do)". **cultu corporis**: "bodily training".

5. **Gallis** means the Gauls generally, not the Volcae Tectosages of § 2-4. **provinciarum**: "the Roman provinces", of Narbonese Gaul in south-east France, known simply as "The Province", and Cisalpine Gaul, north Italy south of the Alps. **transmarinarum rerum notitia**: "acquaintance with articles imported from overseas", especially from Italy and Greece. **multa . . . largitur**: "provide many objects for luxury and the (ordinary) needs of life".

6. **assuefacti superari**: "being accustomed to being defeated". **ne se . . . comparant**: "the Gauls (*ipsi*) do not even compare themselves with the Germans (*illis*) in . . .". Caesar's defeat of Ariovistus in 58 (I, 31-54, where there is an account of the German invasions and settlements in Gaul) and his massacre of the Usipetes and Tencteri in 55 (IV, 4-15) put an end to all German encroachments west of the Rhine (except the raid of the Sugambri

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later in this book, 35-41); the Germans provided excellent auxiliary cavalry for Caesar in his later Gallic campaigns.

25

1. **supra**: in 24, 2. By *latitudo*, "breath", Caesar means the extent of the forest from north to south, because he says in § 4 that nobody knew how far it stretched westwards into Germany. **novem . . . patet**: "extends as far as a nine days' journey for an unencumbered traveller", which might mean about 180 miles in all, *iter* being accusative of extent. As a military term *expeditus* means a legionary in light marching order, with pack and heavy equipment laid aside, ready for action, while *impeditus* means in full marching order; but the reference here is to a civilian traveller and is only a rough estimate of distance. **finiri potest**: "can it (*i.e.* the distance) be reckoned", *lit.* "finished". The subject of *novenerunt* (from *nosco*, but with present meaning, "know") is *Germani*, who did not understand measurement by *milia passuum* but only by days' journeys.

2. **oritur**: "the forest starts". This geographical account is a little confusing, because Caesar gives the names of the three states at the western limit of the forest in the wrong order from north to south; it should be the Nemetes in the north, then the Raurici, and the Helvetii in the south. **recta . . . regione**: "running parallel with the river", *lit.* "in the straight line of the river". The Daci and Anartes (too far east to be marked on the map on page 17) lived between the Danube and the Carpathians.

3. **sinistrorsum**: "to the left (of the Danube)", *i.e.* north-east towards the Carpathians. **diversis . . . regionibus**: "in districts away from the river".

4. **neque . . . Germaniae**: "and there is no one in this (part of) Germany", *i.e.* the western part. **initium**: Caesar says "the beginning" where we should say "the end", meaning the eastern extremity of the forest. **dicat . . . acceperit**: "generic" subjunctives of result, *lit.* "of such a kind that he says", but we say "who can say . . . or has heard". **se** must be taken after, not before, *aut.* **cum . . . processerit**: "although he has travelled . . .". **quo ex loco oritur**: instead of saying "from where it begins" we should say "where it ends", for Caesar is again regarding the eastern edge of the forest as its "beginning" (*initium*) though in § 2 he uses *oritur* for the western extremity too. The report given to Caesar was greatly exaggerated, for a 60 days' journey (which was not intended to suggest a non-stop march but

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was only a rough method of indicating distances) might mean as much as 1,200 miles, about the distance from the Rhine to the Crimea, whereas the extent of the Hercynian forest from west to east was only about 600 miles.

5. **multa . . . constat**: "it is well known that many kinds . . . live (*lit.* 'are born') in it". **quae . . . sint**: subjunctive because it is a relative clause depending on *constat*, though it could also be a "generic" clause of result, *lit.* "such as are not seen", but we should say "which are not seen in any other place", *lit.* "have not been seen in the other places". **ex quibus . . . haec sunt**: "of these animals the following (*haec*) are (those) which differ most . . . and seem worth describing", *lit.* "seem fit to be handed down"; *differant* and *videantur* are again "generic" clauses of result, *lit.* "such as differ . . .".

26

1. **est . . . figura**: "there is an ox with the shape of a stag", ablative of description; this was probably the reindeer, which at one period used to live further south than it does now; the Romans called any large animal a *bos*, even the elephant, which when first used in war against them by Pyrrhus of Epirus in 280 they called *Luca bos*, "Lucanian cow". **cuius a media fronte**: "from the middle of whose forehead". **magis . . . cornibus**: "straighter than the horns that are known to us"; *cornibus* is ablative of comparison, and must be taken before the relative clause; *eis* can be omitted in English. Perhaps Caesar saw a drawing of a reindeer in profile, in which the two horns would appear as one, or his informant may have seen one which had had one horn broken off. **ab eius . . . diffunduntur**: "at the top of it other horns spread out like open hands or branches (of a tree)" *lit.* "from the top of it as it were palms and branches are spread out"; these are the tines of a reindeer's antlers, which spread out from the main antler like the open fingers of a man's hand.

2. **natura**: "the appearance"; *maris* is from *mas*. The horns of the female are similar in shape to those of the male, but smaller and less powerful.

27

1. **sunt . . . alces**: "there are also (certain animals) that are called elks"; the difference between *sunt qui* with the indicative and the more common *sunt qui* with the subjunctive (in a "generic"

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result clause) is that the former refers to a special class and the latter to a general class. **consimilis capreis**: "like that of goats", though Caesar uses the shortened form of comparison called "brachylogy" (see the note on 21, 1 and 22, 4) and says "like goats". **varietas pellium**: "dappled skin". **paulo**: really ablative of measure of difference, "by a little", with *magnitudine* ablative of respect, "they are a little larger" than goats, *lit.* "surpass them a little in size". **mutilae sunt cornibus**: "have stunted horns", *lit.* "are stunted in their horns", compared with goats. **sine nodis articulisque**: the idea that elks have no joints or knuckles in their legs may have arisen from their ungainly gait, but someone must have invented the story about their leaning against trees to sleep, perhaps as a "traveller's tale" to impress his hearers; it is strange that Caesar accepted it without further enquiry.

2. **quietis causa**: "to sleep", *lit.* "for the sake of rest". **si quo . . . conciderunt**: "if they have been knocked over by some accident and have fallen down".

3. **his . . . pro cubilibus**: "trees serve them as resting-places". **paulum modo reclinatae**, "leaning only a little".

4. **quorum . . . consuerint**: "when hunters have noticed from their hoofprints to what place (*lit.* 'whither') they are accustomed (*consuerint* = *consueverint*, from *consuesco*) to make their way". **omnes** agrees with *arbores* in the accusative case, and *eo loco* is local ablative without *in*. **ab radicibus**: "at the roots"; *ab* and *ex* often have this meaning, as in *a fronte*, "in front", *ex parte*, "in part" (34, 3). The *i* of *accidunt* is long, "they cut down". **tantum ut . . . relinquatur**: "so far that the general (*summa*) appearance of them is left (as though they were) standing", but that a slight pressure will make them fall down.

5. **huc cum . . . reclinaverunt**: "when (or 'whenever') they lean against these trees in their usual custom", *lit.* "when they have leaned themselves hither". **infirmas**: "weakened". **una** is an adverb, "together with the trees".

28

1. **eorum qui**: "of animals which . . .". **paulo infra**: "a little smaller than . . .". **tauri** can be either nominative plural, "bulls in appearance . . .", or genitive singular, "with the appearance . . . of a bull", though we should expect the genitive plural, not singular. The wild ox, or aurochs, lived in Britain down to the Bronze Age, and several skeletons have been found.

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3. **captos interficiunt** = *capiunt et interficiunt*; the subject is *Germani*. The antecedent of *qui* is *ei* understood. **in publicum**: "to a public place". **quae sint testimonio**: "to be a proof (of their success)"; a purpose clause and a predicative dative, *lit.* "which should be for a proof". **ferunt**: "they win".

4. **ne . . . excepti**: "not even when caught very young"; the subject changes back to the *uri*. **homines**: "human beings".

5. **multum differt**: "differs much", an adverb. **a . . . cornibus**: "from (that of) the horns", another instance of the shortened form of comparison called "brachylogy" (see 21, 1). By *nostrorum* Caesar means Italian.

6. **haec . . . circumcludunt**: "the Germans eagerly collect (*conquisita*) these horns and cover them with silver at the rims", i.e. at the open ends, so that they can use them as (*pro*) drinking-cups. For *a labris*, see the note on *ab radicibus* in 27, 4. The Germans drank beer (Tacitus, *Germania*, 23, 1), and the Suebi forbade the import of wine (IV, 2 6).

29

The narrative now returns to the point where it was broken off at the end of 10.

1. In English we put *Caesar* inside the *postquam*-clause. *Ubios* is probably a noun with *exploratores* in apposition, like *Germani equites* in 37, 1, but we translate both names as adjectives. **veritus**: "fearing", rather than "having feared", like *arbitratus* in 3, 4. **ut supra demonstravimus**: "as I have mentioned above", in 22. **minime**: with *student*, not with *omnes*: "care nothing (*lit.* 'least') for agriculture". **longius**: "any further".

2. **barbaris**: "from the natives", dative of disadvantage after a verb of taking away. **auxilia**: the auxiliary troops which the Ubii had told Caesar the Suebi were demanding from their subject tribes (10, 1). **in longitudinem**: "to a length of . . .".

3. **in extremo ponte**: "at the end of the bridge", where it was broken off 200 feet from the German side of the river; for the position of this bridge, the building of which is mentioned in 9, 3, see the note on that passage. Both this bridge and its predecessor of 55, described in detail in IV, 17, were built on a series of "trestles" supported on piles driven into the river-bed; the trestles were placed parallel with the banks, and planks were then laid across them upon which a causeway was constructed. **tabulatorum quattuor**: genitive of description, "a tower four storeys high"; the upper storeys of such a wooden tower were for

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archers and slingers to take their stand in (see page 39). **pontis tuendi causa**: "to defend the bridge"; only the tower was on the bridge itself; the rest of the defences were on the western bank. The twelve cohorts (equivalent to more than a whole legion) were probably drawn from all of Caesar's ten legions, one or in some cases two being taken from each; they most likely re-joined their units at the end of this summer, though Caesar does not mention them again.

4. **adulescentem**: the word is sometimes used by Caesar to distinguish a son from his father of the same name (the elder Tullus was consul thirteen years before); elsewhere, and probably here ("young Tullus"), it merely indicates that the person was under thirty (the minimum age for the quaestorship), or sometimes even older than that. **frumenta**: plural, meaning corn growing in the fields; the singular is used of cut corn; the time of year was now about the beginning of August. **ad bellum Ambiorigis**: "for the war with Ambiorix"; for this man, see the note on 2, 2. **totius Galliae**: "in the whole of Gaul". **milibus (passuum) . . . longitudinem**: "more than 500 miles in length", ablative of comparison after *amplius*; other ways of expressing this are by using the accusative of extent, *amplius quam milia quingenta*, or *amplius milia quingenta*, without *quam*, for *amplius*, *plus* and *minus* are often used as adverbs without affecting the case of the following numeral. The length of the Ardennes forest is greatly exaggerated, even for that time, when it was larger than it now is. L. Minucius Basilus was an officer who served Caesar well in the Gallic and Civil Wars, but like many others he joined the conspiracy against his old commander. **si quid . . . posset**: "to see if he could gain any advantage by . . . and by a chance of (using) the (right) time"; *si* is sometimes thus used with the subjunctive to mean "to see if" or "in the hope that" (see also 37, 4).

5. **monet**: supply *eum* as the object. **fieri**: "from being lighted". **ne qua . . . fiat**: "that no indication of his approach should be made . . ."; *eius* refers to Basilus. The use of *subsequi* instead of the future infinitive seems to emphasise the speed of Caesar's intended departure, like the English "I'm following immediately".

30

1. **ut imperatum est**: "as was commanded"; we might say "as he was ordered", but in Latin this would require the dative *ei* with the impersonal passive. **contra . . . opinionem**: "contrary to the expectation of everybody". **eorum**