A V A R I C V M

A Latin Text of Caesar’s *Gallie War* VII 1–28
with Running Vocabulary and Commentary

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AVARICVM: A Latin Text of Caesar’s *Gallic War VII* 1–28

with Running Vocabulary and Commentary

First Edition

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Maps and cover design by John Lanier.  *Front:* Obverse of a silver denarius of 48 BCE depicting a Gallic shield and a bearded Gaul, probably Vercingetorix; American Numismatic Society, ref. RRC 448/2a, identifier 1937.158.248  *Back:* an anthropomorphic Celtic sword type ca. 60 BCE in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number 1999.94a–d
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This book is the culmination of student work in the advanced Latin course at Stanford Online High School in the academic year 2022-2023. It is the first of three planned books covering Caesar’s *dē bellō Gallicō VII*. The content of Pixelia volumes is generated primarily by the students and is meant to aid intermediate Latin learners in reading texts without the need to constantly consult separate dictionaries and commentaries. John Lanier taught the course and devised the division of Book VII into three parts, such that each part was of the appropriate length for the students to complete in one academic year and roughly equivalent in content. **AVARICVM** includes chapters 1–28, roughly 3,700 words, covering the events of Book VII up to the fall of Avaricum. The second volume (**GERGOVIA**; chapters 29–62, ca. 4,400 words) and third volume (**ALESIA**: chapters 63–90, ca. 3,600 words) will follow in subsequent years.

The student editors of AVARICVM were Elizabeth Cross, Katherine Cross, Lian E, Zachary Shepherd Haarz, Fiona Lee, Peter Olmeda, Clara Grey Peters, and Marilia Chiu Serôdio. We subdivided the text of Chapters 1–28 such that each student was the editor of their own section of ca. 400 words. As a first task, the students developed working translations of their sections in order to get a sense of the Latin and the basic narrative; they next developed the on-page vocabulary glosses; they then added and revised macrons\(^1\) for all Latin text and vocabulary; and, finally, each student wrote explanatory commentary. The students

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\(^1\) The macrons were added through a web app (alatius.com/macronizer), which is highly accurate but does require occasional corrections.
were peer reviewers for each other at each step of the process, with Lanier as supervisor, final revisor, cartographer, and Introduction author.

Caesar has been a staple of Latin classrooms for centuries. His language is relatively straight-forward for beginners, and even in his own day it was a model for good Latin style (see, e.g., Cicero Brutus 262). Yet we should not take canonical status for granted, and in Caesar’s case re-examination is particularly warranted. The Gallic War, for all its good style, was written as a justification for imperialism; or at least, the book was written about an imperial conquest, by the general carrying out that conquest, who presumably wrote it in a way that he thought would resonate with his audience back home. As for the book’s traditional place in Latin classrooms over the last few centuries: it might well have had a certain appeal in early modern nations, like Britain and France, which had their own ambitions of imperial expansion. These same reasons might make Caesar less appealing today. And yet, Gallic War is an interesting and important text for students not despite this history but because of it.

Gallic War is a valuable witness to imperial expansion and its justification. In the space of a few hundred years, Rome grew from a village in central Italy to an empire encompassing nearly the whole Mediterranean world. What did Romans think of this expansion? How did Roman leaders justify it? Caesar’s Gallic War provides a glimpse. Interestingly, it is not a text that downplays the violence of empire, nor does it show conquest to be an unalloyed good. It is Caesar himself who writes that at the sack of Avaricum, his troops massacred 40,000 inhabitants, sparing “not the elderly, nor women, nor children” (7.28.4). Though Caesar’s commentaries are sometimes dismissed as self-aggrandizing propaganda, he often presents a Gallic perspective which is sympathetic and complex:
Book VII is filled with Caesar’s observations about his opponents’ motivations, and he frequently presents Gallic speech, or at least what he supposes Gallic speeches to contain: the Gauls are cunning, creative, brave, tenacious, patriotic, but also self-serving, greedy, fractious, and impetuous—in other words, very much like Caesar’s peers back in Rome.

This complexity is particularly evident in Book VII, which narrates the final attempt of the Gauls to fight for their freedom under the leadership of the Gallic chieftain Vercingetorix. He is, for Caesar, the Gallic Hannibal or Mithridates, a brilliant and charismatic leader who is able, for perhaps the first time, to fully marshal the latent strength of a united Gaul and oppose Caesar on something like equal footing. He rallies the Gauls with impassioned calls for libertas, a value which Romans held dearly (7.4.4). Gallic War Book VII is an ideal text for students because it allows them to experience, in Latin, a pivotal moment in history from the complex perspective of one of its chief actors.

The current book was born out of Lanier’s wish to read Caesar’s Gallic War VII selections with students in the advanced Latin course several years ago. At that time, options for a modern edition of BG VII with running commentary (in English) were quite limited, the most notable being Whiteley’s “blue” Bristol edition. This book is sometimes difficult to acquire new, and the price of secondary copies is often prohibitive. In addition, Lanier felt the commentary to be somewhat sparse for Latin readers at the advanced high school level and wanted same-page vocabulary and commentary (on the model of Pharr’s Aeneid or Geoffrey Steadman’s excellent Greek and Latin editions, to which paradigm previous Pixelia editions have also adhered). Steadman has put out an edition of BG I and an edition of selections of Caesar in his College Caesar (though the latter does not draw from BG VII). It is our hope that this
book, along with the two subsequent volumes, will serve as an accessible and useful guide in reading the lengthy and often difficult seventh book of Caesar’s *Gallia War*.

Because Pixelia volumes are student-focused and truly collaborative, we have always felt that a shared byline of authors was most appropriate (even if unwieldy), and we continue that practice here. All the work in this volume was collaborative, with a special nod to Zachary Shepherd Haarz for penning Appendix C: the Roman Sacking of Cities. We give special thanks to Tom Hendrickson for developing the idea of Pixelia, designing the class, and supervising Pixelia’s first two Latin volumes (*The Passion of Perpetua* and *Isotta Nogarola’s Defense of Eve*). We are indebted to OHS students Lorelei Wright for managing the book’s art and design choices, and to Suran Gao for the illustrations, with an additional half-page illustration by Evan Kim (p.37). OHS instructors Tom Hendrickson, Caedmon Haas, Ben Wiebracht, and Anna Pisarello provided valuable grammatical insight and editorial advice. We would also like to thank Tomohiro Hoshi (Head of School, Stanford Online High School), Josh Carlson (Director of Business Operations), and Christine Van Winkle (Associate Director of Business Operations) for their continued support of the Pixelia project. Prof. Randy Souza provided valuable advice in the selection of the perfect coin for the front cover.

The Latin text in this volume comes from the Loeb edition of 1919, in consultation with the Oxford Classical Text and its *apparatus criticus*. We have made no substantial changes to the text and encountered no major textual difficulties in these first 28 chapters of *BG VII*. 
INTRODUCTION

BG VII in context

In the winter of 53 BCE, Caesar crossed the Alps back into northern Italy with a sense that Gaul was finally *quiēta*, if not *pācāta*. He had been waging war there for over five years already. The conflict had begun as a swift preventative action against the Helvetii as they attempted to move their entire tribe through the territory of the Roman province of *Gallia Trānsalpīna*. Caesar’s defensive action, at the very beginning of his tenure in *Gallia Trānsalpīna*, steadily transformed into a campaign of conquest and subjugation which stretched far beyond the boundaries of his province. During those five years his force had grown to ten legions, some 50,000 soldiers all told. They had battled across Gaul numerous times on land and sea, ventured to Britain, bridged the Rhine twice, and withstood several serious challenges to the incremental establishment of Roman domination.

A year earlier, in 54 BCE, the most recent of these “rebellions,” a surprise attack by the Gallic champion Ambiorix, had killed thousands of Roman soldiers and two of Caesar’s most trusted lieutenants. He responded swiftly and severely with the widespread devastation of the lands of those he held responsible, as well as the summary execution of the Gallic leader Acco (*BG* 6.44; 7.1). He hoped that these harsh measures would finally end Gallic resistance to what must have seemed to him to be inevitable: the organization of the vast Gallic territory he had seized into Roman provincial possessions. As he returned to northern Italy to attend to his gubernatorial tasks at the end of 53, his attention was surely already turning to the details of this process, and also to the simmering political
turmoil back in Rome, about which he makes brief mention in the opening chapter of Book VII. He had no way of knowing, as the new year began and as the miles grew between himself and his legions back in winter camps in central Gaul, that the Gallic tribes were not *quiētī* by any means and would soon explode with their final and most desperate bid for *libertās*.

Book VII of *Gallic War* chronicles this final struggle of the Gauls against Roman domination. It begins, as was typical for these Gallic uprisings, with the leaders of the tribes holding a secret meeting. In past years, many had instigated uprisings and had been cast down by Caesar’s reprisal: the Belgae in 57, the Veneti in 56, the Morini in 55, Ambiorix and his Eburones and then Indutiomarus and his Treveri in 54, Acco and the Senones in 53. This time, the instigator is the Carnutes tribe, and the epicenter is their chief town, Cenabum, where they slaughter a number of unsuspecting Roman businessmen. These *negōtiātōrēs* had no doubt been busy with the various tasks of converting Gaul into a productive Roman possession: organizing slave routes, assessing mining potential, surveying arable land. Now their slaughtering became Caesar’s justification for the wrathful campaign which follows. Cenabum’s inhabitants will experience Roman retribution (see Appendix C), but not before the uprising begun by the Carnutes had spread to a powerful coalition of tribes led by the Arverni and their electric and effective new leader, Vercingetorix, who promises *libertās commūnis* from Roman *servitūs* for all the Gauls (7.4.4).
For a detailed introduction to Gaul, Caesar, and *Gallic War*, consult the excellent open-access Web Essays\(^2\) provided as part of the *Landmark Julius Caesar*, edited and translated by Kurt A. Raaflaub (New York: Pantheon Books, 2017). In particular, students new to *Gallic War* will find useful: *Gaul in Caesar's Time* by O. Büchsenschütz; *Oppida: Towns in Caesar's World* by I. Ralston; *Late Republican Provincial Administration* by N. Rosenstein; *The Roman Army Camp* by D.B. Campbell; *Military Engineering and Sieges* by D.B. Campbell; *Military Logistics* by N. Rosenstein; *Caesar the General and Leader* by L. De Blois; and *The Roman Commentarius and Caesar's Commentaries* by K.A. Raaflaub.

**Timeline of events for *Gallic War I-VI* (all dates are BCE)**

**BOOK I**

1.1–5 (61–Spring 58): The Helvetii are persuaded by Orgetorix, an ambitious Helvetian leader, to migrate from their country. They burn their homes and prepare for a long journey.

1.6–9 (Mar–April 58): The Helvetii try to pass through the Roman Province on their migration, but Caesar prevents them. They instead pass through the territory of the Sequani.

1.10–15 (April–June 58): Caesar grows concerned about the Helvetian migration and decides to intervene, pursuing the Helvetii on their march. The Helvetii harass the Romans.

1.16–20 (June 58): Caesar learns from Liscus, the chief official of the Aedui, that Dumnorix has been building an opposing faction within the Aedui to undermine Roman influence. Caesar places him under guard.

\(^2\) Visit thelandmarkcaesar.com
1.21–29 (June–July 58): Caesar launches an attack against the Helvetii. After a difficult battle, the Helvetii surrender, and Caesar pursues and captures a group of Helvetian runaways.

1.30–36 (July–Aug 58): Gallic emissaries come to thank Caesar and hold a Gallic council, led by the druid Diviciacus. He informs Caesar that the German king, Ariovistus, has settled in Sequani territory, and the Gauls need Roman assistance. Caesar promises his help and exchanges messages with the hostile Ariovistus, who does not respond to his warnings.

1.37–45 (Aug–Sep 58): The Romans advance towards Ariovistus. Caesar and Ariovistus meet, each with a group of cavalry; Caesar reiterates his demands, which Ariovistus again refuses.

1.46–50 (Sep 58): After the German horsemen attack Caesar during the parley, hostilities ensue. Caesar leaves his forces in battle formation, but Ariovistus declines to fight a decisive battle.

1.51–54 (Sep–Oct 58): Caesar forces the Germans to react by closely approaching their camp. The two armies clash, and the Germans flee to the Rhine; Ariovistus escapes. Caesar leads his army to winter quarters among the Sequani.

BOOK II

2.1–4 (Winter 58–July 57): Caesar learns that the Belgae are plotting against the Romans and joins his army at Vesontio, an oppidum of the Sequani. The Remi, one of the Belgae tribes, surrender to Caesar.

2.5–11 (July–Aug 57): Caesar saves the Remi oppidum of Bibrax from an attack by the Belgae and they make a camp nearby. The Romans and Belgae do battle, and after suffering heavy losses, the Belgae decide to return home; the Romans pursue and slaughter them.
2.12-14 (Aug 57): Caesar leads his army to Noviodunum, the capital of the Suessiones. The Suessiones surrender, followed by the Bellovaci and the Ambiani.

2.15-18 (Aug 57): The Nervii, neighbors of the Ambiani, resent the other Belgae for surrendering, and lie in wait for the Romans across the Sabis River.

2.19-28 (Aug-Sep 57): Caesar leads a difficult battle against the courageous Nervii. Following a decisive Roman victory, the Nervii women and elders surrender, and Caesar treats them with mercy.

2.29-33 (Sep-Oct 57): The Atuatuci, who were on their way to assist the Nervii, move everything to a single fortified town, where they are besieged by the Romans. Caesar agrees to spare them if they give up their weapons; they agree, but only give up two-thirds of their weapons. After a failed sortie, they are defeated and sold into slavery.

2.34-35 (Oct-Nov 57): Caesar learns that the maritime Gauls have surrendered to his legate, Crassus. He declares that all of Gaul has been pacified and sends his legions to winter quarters; the Roman Senate decrees a fifteen-day public thanksgiving.

BOOK III

3.1-6 (Sep-Nov 57): After the legate Galba opens a safe route through the Alps, the Gauls attack at Octodorus. The Romans kill a third of the 30,000 Gauls with a final charge.

3.7-16 (Dec 57-Sep 56): The maritime Veneti tribe takes Roman officials hostage; other tribes follow suit. After a meeting with the other triumvirs Pompey and Crassus in northern Italy, Caesar hurries to the western
Gallic coast. He orders a fleet to be built and sends legates with forces to stop the troubles from spreading. He then defeats the Veneti on the sea and punishes them.

3.17–19 (July–Sep 56 BC): Caesar sends the legate Sabinus against the Venelli. He defeats them after baiting them to attack by feigning cowardice. The entire region surrenders.

3.20–22 (Aug–Sep 56 BC): The Sotiates attack the legate Crassus, but quickly surrender. The enemy commander Adiatunnus attacks separately but he soon surrenders as well.

3.23–27 (Sep 56 BC): Crassus then sets out against the Vocates and Tarusates, and after storming their camp kills many. Most of Aquitania surrenders to Crassus.

3.28–29 (Oct–Nov 56 BC): Caesar is unsuccessful in catching the last remaining tribes, the Morini and Menapii. He burns their crops and buildings before sending the legions to their winter camps.

**BOOK IV**

4.1–11 (Dec–Jun 55 BC): Caesar responds to German incursions into Gaul; he attempts negotiations.


4.16–19 (Jun–Jul 55 BC): Caesar builds a bridge across the Rhine, then crosses into Germania to destroy Sugambri territory and help the Ubii. After eighteen days he returns and dismantles the bridge.

4.20–27 (Jul–Sep 55 BC): Caesar decides to cross to Britain and gives his reasons. He assembles two legions and cavalry, but the cavalry get separated and do not arrive in Britain. The Romans force a landing against the resistance of the Britons on a beach overlooked by cliffs;
though they struggle in the deep water at first, the legions quickly defeat the Britons once they are able to assemble on the beach.

4.28–36 (Sep–Oct 55 BC): The Roman ships are destroyed in a storm. Seeing this, the Britons violate their surrender terms and launch a surprise attack. Caesar is prepared and defeats them again. His soldiers manage to salvage some of the wrecked ships and the Romans limp back to Gaul.

4.37–38 (Oct 55 BC): Roman cavalry saves some errant legionnaires from the Morini, then the legate Labienus defeats the Morini and ravages their territory. The legions go into winter camps and the Roman Senate decrees a twenty-day thanksgiving for the exploits of the year.

BOOK V

5.1–7 (Jan–July 54): Caesar resolves to return to Britain in force. He deals with Gallic factional strife while his legions build ships at his instruction. The fleet's departure from Portus Itius is delayed by bad weather; meanwhile he orders many of the Gallic principēs to accompany him to Britain. Dumnorix the Aeduan refuses, flees, and is killed.

5.8–11 (July–Aug 54): The fleet lands in Britain and again a storm wrecks the ships. They are rebuilt and the Romans fortify a camp.

5.12–14 (July–Aug 54): Caesar provides a brief ethnography of the Britons.

5.15–22 (Aug–Sep 54): Caesar leads the Romans across the Thames into the territories of the British king Cassivellaunus, who launches sporadic attacks against the incoming armies. Caesar locates and seizes the stronghold of Cassivellaunus, who then fails to storm the Roman camp; he surrenders.
5.23–25 (Sep–Oct 54): The Romans return to Gaul. Caesar explains that due to a poor harvest the previous year, he is required to divide up his legions into more scattered winter camps than usual.

5.26–31 (Nov 54): The legates Sabinus and Cotta command a winter camp of fifteen cohorts among the Eburones. Ambiorix, their king, gives them warning of a coming pan-Gallic attack. In a debate, Sabinus suggests they evacuate the camp before the attack arrives, while Cotta advises that they remain and wait for Caesar's commands. Sabinus prevails, and the army leaves the camp at dawn.

5.32–39 (Nov 54): The departing Romans are ambushed by Ambiorix and are destroyed, despite their pleas for mercy. Emboldened by this success, the Nervii join the Eburones and they attack the legate Q. Cicero's camp of one legion in their territory.

5.40–48 (Nov 54): Q. Cicero rejects the Gauls' invitations to negotiate; in response, they surround the Roman camp and set it on fire. Refusing to submit, the Romans' numbers dwindle until word of the attack finally reaches Caesar, who quickly sends reinforcements.

5.49–53 (Dec 54): The Gauls move to face the approaching reinforcements. The Romans pretend to be afraid and unprepared; the Gauls fall for the trap and are chased away. Caesar joins Cicero and offers praise for his level-headed conduct. Word of this victory spreads, delighting the Romans and discouraging the Gauls.

5.54–58 (Winter 54–53): Hearing word of rebellions, Caesar subdues the Gauls with threats and entreaties. Indutiomarus of the Treveri gathers troops and attacks the legate Labienus, who feigns fear until his cavalry is dispatched. Indutiomarus is killed and peace returns to Gaul.
BOOK VI

6.1–8 (Mar–June 53): Continued signs of trouble in Gaul and from beyond the Rhine compel Caesar to launch a campaign early in the year. He begins with the Nervii, quickly subdues them, and calls all the leaders of Gaul to him. Those that do not show up are assumed to be hostile. The Gallic chief Acco begins an uprising among the Senones. Caesar plans to isolate Ambiorix by denying him support from other Gallic tribes, and defeats the Senones, Carnutes, and Menapii in swift succession. The Romans ravage the territory of the Menapii. The Treveri are then subdued.

6.9–10 (July–Aug 53): Caesar bridges the Rhine for a second time and discovers that the Suebi have mobilized, but will not face the Romans in battle.

6.11–28 (Summer 53): Caesar provides a lengthy ethnographic description of the Galls and Germans.

6.30–34 (Sep 53): Caesar returns to Gaul, destroys the bridge, and attempts to apprehend Ambiorix in the Ardennes with cavalry. Ambiorix eludes capture and instructs the Eburones to scatter and hide. Caesar splits the legions into three forces and leaves their baggage train with the legate Q. Cicero at Atuatuca, an oppidum of the Eburones. The legions devastate the lands of the absent Eburones and invite the neighboring Gallic tribes to do likewise.

6.35–42 (Sep–Oct 53): The Germanic Sugambri cross the Rhine to join in the plunder, but are enticed by the prospect of looting the Roman baggage stored at Q. Cicero’s camp. Unaware, Cicero sends out foraging parties which are ambushed, resulting in many casualties. Despite this, the camp manages to fend off the attack and the Sugambri return to Germania empty-handed. Caesar returns to the camp and criticizes Q. Cicero for not following his instructions.
6.43–44 (Oct–Dec 53): Frustrated by his inability to apprehend Ambiorix, Caesar orders the legions to continue their campaign of scorched earth. At the close of the year he returns to Durocortum, an oppidum of the Remi, and orders Acco to be executed. He then sends the legions into their winter camps and returns to Cisalpine Gaul.

The major tribes and towns of Gaul in the mid-1st century BCE
ABBREVIATIONS

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
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<td>abl</td>
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<td>abs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BG: dē bellō Gallicō</td>
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<td>BC: bellum cīvile</td>
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<td>Veringetorix</td>
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A VARICVM

de bellō Gallicō VII 1-28

with Running Vocabulary and Commentary
[1] *The Gauls plan a new uprising*

1 Quiētā Galliā Caesar, ut cōnstituerat, in Ītaliam ad conventūs agendōs proficīscitur. Ibi cognōscit dē Clōdiī caede senātūsque cōnsultō certior factus, ut omnēs iūniōrēs Ītaliaeconiūrārent, dēlēctum tōtā prōvinciā habēre īnstituit.

2 Eae rēs in Galliam Trānsalpīnam celeriter perferuntur. Addunt ipsī et adfingunt rūmōribus Gallī, quod rēs poscere vidēbātur,

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**addō, -ere, -idī, -itus:** add, insert, attach to, say in addition; increase

**adēngō, -ere, -inxī, -ictus:** embellish; add to, attach; aggravate

**caedis, -is f.:** murder, assassination

**cōnsultum, -ī n.:** decision, resolution, plan; decree

**conventus, -ūs m.:** meeting, congregation, judicial assembly

**dēlēctus, -ūs m.:** levy, draft, conscription

**īnstituō, -ere, -ī, -ūtus:** establish; begin; determine, decide, resolve

**poscō, -ere, poposcī, —:** ask, demand

**quiētus, a, um:** inactive, calm

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**Galliā:** for a brief introduction of the situation, see Introduction; for “Gauls” and other proper names in the text, see Appendix B

**ut cōnstituerat:** as he had decided, determined

**in Ītaliam ad conventūs:** Cisalpine Gaul. Roman provincial governors held judicial assemblies in their territories

**senātūsque cōnsultō...coniūrārent:** and became better informed about the Senate’s decree that all the young men of military age in Italy take the oath for military service; this was a cautionary move by the Senate, and Caesar obeys the directive in the Italian (Cisalpine) portion of his province

**quod rēs poscere vidēbātur:** which the situation seemed to demand/make inevitable
retineō rumānō mōtū Caesarem neque in tantīs
dissēnsiōnibus ad exercitum venīre posse. 3 Hāc impulsī
occāsiōne, quī iam ante sē populī Rōmānī imperiō subiectōs
dolērent liberius atque audācius dē bellō cōnsilia inīre
incipiunt. 4 Indictīs inter sē principēs Galliae conciliīs
silvestribus ac remōtīs locīs queruntur dē Accōnis morte;

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**audācter**: boldly, audaciously, confidently, fearlessly; impudently
**concilium, -ī n.**: public gathering, meeting; popular assembly, council
**dissēnsiō, -ōnis f.**: disagreement, quarrel; dissension, conflict
**impellō, -ere, impulī, impulsus**: drive, impel; urge on, incite
**indicō (1)**: declare publicly; proclaim, announce; appoint
**inēo, inīre, inīī, initus**: enter; enter into; begin
**liber, libera, liberum**: free, unrestricted
**mors, mortis f.**: death
**occāsiō, -ōnis f.**: opportunity; chance; pretext, occasion
**queror, querī, questus**: complain; protest, grumble, gripe
**remōtus, -a, -um**: remote; distant, far off; removed, withdrawn
**retineō, -ēre, -uī, retentus**: hold back, restrain; uphold; delay
**silvestris, -e**: wooded
**subiciō, -ere, subjīcī, subjectus**: throw under, place under; subdue; subject, submit

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retineōrumānōmōtū Caesarem neque in tantīs
dissēnsiōnibus ad exercitum venīre posse. 3 Hāc impulsī
occāsiōne, quī iam ante sē populī Rōmānī imperiō subiectōs
dolērent liberius atque audācius dē bellō cōnsilia inīre
incipiunt. 4 Indictīs inter sē principēs Galliae conciliīs
silvestribus ac remōtīs locīs queruntur dē Accōnis morte;

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**retineō, posse**: infinitive main verbs in ind. statement with subject Caesarem
**urbānō mōtū**: by the urban commotion; i.e. the unrest in the Roman capital
**impulsī**: having been impelled; PPP modifying quī
**subiectōs**: sc. esse; main verb of indirect statement introduced by dolerent
dē Accōnis morte: Acco had instigated a rebellion against Caesar among the
Senones (BG 6.4.1), and was later harshly punished by Caesar: he was stripped,
flogged to death, and then the corpse’s head was removed (BG 6.44.2)
5 posse hunc cāsum ad ipsōs recidere dēmōnstrant; miserantur commūnem Galliae fortūnam; omnibus pollicitātiōnibus ac praemiīs dēposcunt quī bellī initium faciant et suī capitis perīculō Galliam in libertātem vindicent.

6 In prīmīs ratiōnem esse habendam dīcunt, priusquam eōrum clandēstīna cōnsilia efferantur, ut Caesar ab exercitū interclūdātur.

cāsus, -ūs m.: incident; misfortune, calamity, plight
clandēstīnus, -a, -um: secret, hidden, concealed, clandestine
commūnis, -e: common, joint, public; general, universal
dēposcō, -scere, -poscī, —: demand; ask for earnestly; require
effērō, efferre, extulī, ēlātus: carry out; bring out; carry out for burial
interclūdō, -ere, -ūsī, -ūsus: cut off; blockade; hinder, block up
miseror, -ārī, -ātus: pity, feel sorry for; lament, bemoan
pollicitātiō, -ōnīs f.: promise
prīusquam: before; until; sooner than
recidō, -ere, -ī, recāsus: fall back, relapse, revert; fall upon, happen to

qui: relative clause of characteristic; they seek a tribe who have the right mindset to instigate the rebellion

in libertātem vindicent: set free (idiom)
capitis perīculō: from danger to their lives (idiom)
in prīmīs ratiōnem…dīcunt: they say that first of all, [the following] plan…; the ratiō is specified by the upcoming ut clause
Id esse facile, 7 quod neque legiōnēs audeant absente imperātōre ex hībernīs ēgredī, neque imperātor sine praesidiō ad legiōnēs pervenīre possit. 8 Postrēmō in aciē praestāre interficī quam nōn veterem bellī glōriam libertātemque quam ā maiōribus accēperint recuperāre.

audeō, -ēre, ausī, ausus: dare, act boldly, venture, risk
hiba, -ōrum n.pl.: winter camp, winter quarters
interficīō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectus: kill; destroy
maiōrēs, -um m. pl.: ancestors

postrēmō: at last, finally
praestō (1): excel, surpass, be preferable to
recuperō (1): regain, restore, restore to health; refresh, recuperate

Id esse facile: infin. in indirect statement continuing from the previous sentence
audeant...possit: will not dare...will not be able; verbs in subordinate clauses within indirect statement are typically subjunctive
praestāre, interficī, recuperāre: [they say that] it is preferable; praestāre continues the ind. statement; interficī and recuperāre are compl. infinitives with praestare
libertātem: The Gaurs in BG consistently invoke the concept, both from the domination of each other (BG 1.17.3–4) and in the face of servitude to the Romans (in eā libertāte quam ā maiōribus accēperint permanēre quam Rōmānōrum servitūtem perferre mālint, BG 3.8.4). Caesar suggests that all Gaurs yean for freedom inherently and are therefore easily incited to rebellion (BG 3.10.3). He further sees libertās as the absence of officium and disciplīna (BG 4.1.9, in ref. to the Germans). Here, Verc. reiterates that libertās is an ancient privilege common to all Gaurs (cf. BG 5.27.6; 7.4.4 below; 7.37.2–4; 7.64.3; 7.71.3) and a prime motivator in their past and present uprisings (BG 7.76.2; 7.89.1–2; cf. 7.77.9–16). See Robin Seager in Caesar against Liberty?, ed. Cairns and Fantham (2003), 22–26
quam: rather than, with the implicit comparison of praestāre; the second quam is relative pronoun
[2] The Carnutes offer to begin the war, and ask for pledges

1 Hīs rēbus agitātīs profitentur Carnūtēs sē nūllum perīculum commūnis salūtis causā recūsāre principēsque ex omnibus bellum factūrōs pollicentur et, 2 quoniam in praesentiā obsidibus cavēre inter sē nōn possint nē rēs efferātur, ut iūreiūrandō ac fidē sanciātur petunt, collātīs militāribus signīs (quō mōre eōrum gravissima caerimōnia continētur), nē factō initiō bellī ab reliquis dēserantur.

agītō (1): drive; set in motion
caerimōnia, –ae f.: sacred rite
caveō, -ēre, -ī, cautus: avoid; take precautions
contineō, -ēre, -uī, -entus: hold together; secure
dēserō, -ere, -ui, -tus: desert
fidēs, -eī f.: faith
gravis, -e: heavy; serious; severe
iūsiūrandum, -ī n.: oath
militāris, -e: of the military
mōs, mōris m.: habit, custom
polliceor, -ērī, -itus: promise
praesentia, -ae f.: present (time)
profiteor, -ērī, -fessus: declare
recūsō (1): refuse, reject
sanciō, -ire, sānxī, -ctus: make sacred; confirm

1-2: see Appendix A for a basic diagram of this sentence
causā: for the sake of
factūrōs: sc. esse
obsidibus: ablative of means
ut…sanciātur: that it be solemnly assured by oath-swearing and trust; this ut, with the subjunctive verb sanciātur, introduces an indirect command that functions as the object of main verb petunt
petunt: main verb introducing indirect command; subject is the Carnutes
nē…dēserantur: this noun clause serves as the subject of passive verb sanciātur, and explains the contents of the Gauls’ oath
3 Tum, collaudātīs Carnūtibus, datō iūreiūrandō ab omnibus quī aderant, tempore eius reī cōnstitūtō ab conciliō discēditur.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{adsum, -esse, adfuī, -futūrus: } & \text{be in attendance} \\
cōnstituō, -ere, -uī, -ūtus: & \text{set, station; draw up; halt; decide} \\
collaudō (1): & \text{commend} \\
concilium, -ī n.: & \text{council} \\
iūsiūrandum, -ī n.: & \text{oath}
\end{align*}
\]

**tempore eius reī cōnstitūtō:** *with the time of their deed being arranged*; abl. abs. 

**cōnstitūtō:** the basic meaning of this verb is to place or establish, to halt, or to build something; in Caesar, it very often means to decide or resolve, except in the context of armies, when it usually means “draw up, muster, put in place”

**ab conciliō:** In addition to the fact that the Carnutes were the instigators of this most recent initiative, the territory of the Carnutes was a natural place for meetings between the various Gallic tribes, given the central location (see Introduction map). Caesar says that all the druids of Gaul assemble at a sacred place in the territory of the Carnutes (*in locō cōnsecrātō, BG 6.13.10*). Though he does not mention druids here, or in fact anywhere in *BG VII*, we can probably assume that these enigmatic priest-politicians were present at these important discussions. The Gauls in general seemed to have met *in conciliō* frequently, regardless of the tribes’ varying political arrangements. For instance, in 58 BCE the assembled *principēs* of the Gauls had shown deference to Caesar (after the recent victory over the Helvetii) by asking his permission to have their council (*BG 1.30–31*). For war councils similar to the one here, see e.g. *BG 2.10.4 and 3.18.3–6*

**discēditur:** *they depart;* lit. “it is departed” (impers. pass.)
The Carnutes kill the Roman traders at Cenabum

1 Ubi ea diēs vēnit, Carnūtēs Cotuātō et Conconnetodumnō ducibus, dēspērātīs hominibus, Cenabum signō datō concurrunt cīvēsque Rōmānōs, quī negōtiandī causā ibi cōnstiterant, in hīs Gāium Fūfium Citam, honestum equitem Rōmānum, quī reī frūmentāriae iussū Caesaris praerat, interficiunt bona eōrum dīripiunt.

concurrō, -ere, -ī, -sus: assemble
negōtior, -ārī, -ātus: engage in business
consequsto, -ere, -sitī, -stitus: stop; settle
praesum, -esse, -fuī, -futūrus: be in charge (of)
dīripio, -ere, -uī, direptus: plunder

Cenabum: a town (oppidum) of the Carnutes, modern Orléans; it was a prosperous grain emporium controlling a key bridge over the Loire river
Cotuātō et Conconnetodumnō ducibus, dēspērātīs hominibus: with nothing to lose, without hope, or perhaps reckless; Caesar lists these two leaders the same way Romans would list the consuls of a given year. This same Cotuātus is mentioned again in BG book VIII under the alternate spelling “Gutuater”
reī frūmentāriae: the grain supply; dative indirect object of praerat
bona...dīripiunt: plundered their (the Romans’) possessions; the subject is the Carnutes
2 Celeriter ad omnēs Galliae cīvitātēs fāma perfertur. Nam ubicumque maior atque illūstrior incidit rēs, clāmōre per agrōs regiōnesque significant; hunc alī deinceps excipiunt et proximīs trādunt, ut tum accidit. 3 Nam quae Cenabī oriente sōle gesta essent, ante prīmam cōnfectam vigiliam in fīnibus Arvernōrum audīta sunt, quod spatium est mīlium passuum circiter centum LX.

accidō, -ere, -ē: occur; be heard
clāmor, -is m.: shout
cōnficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fēctus: make; prepare; complete
deinceps: in order; successively
excipiō, -ere, -cēpī, -ceptus: take up, receive; exempt; succeed
illūstris, -tre: noteworthy; clear, prominent; famous; bright
incidō, -ere, -ē, —: happen, visit

perferō, -ferre, -tuli, -lātus: carry through; announce
proximus, -a, -um.: nearest; adjoining
significō (1): show, indicate
sōl, sōlis m.: the sun
ubicumque: wherever, in whatever place; in any place
vigilia, -ae f.: one shift of guard duty in the Roman system; there were four vigiliae per night

significant: the subject is the Gauls
ut tum accidit: as happened at this time
quae...gesta essent: for although the deeds had been done at Cenabum at dawn; indirect question – the quae here is equivalent to the adversative phrase cum ea, and has thus adopted an adversative force
oriente sōle: ablative of time when, with pres. part. from orior
mīlium passuum circiter centum LX: about one hundred and sixty miles; literally “a hundred and sixty thousands of paces,” a Roman mile being (roughly) one thousand soldier’s paces (including a step with left and right foot) or about 1480m
The entrance of Vercingetorix

1 Similī ratiōne ibi Vercingetorīx, Celtillī filius, Arvernus, summae potentiae adulēscēns, cuius pater principātum Galliae tōtīus obtinuerat et ob eam causam, quod rēgnum appetēbat, ab cīvitāte erat interfectus, convocātīs suīs clientibus facile incendit.

adulēscēns, -centis m./f.: a youth
appetō, -ere, -īvī, -ītus: seek, desire; long for
cōnvocō (1): assemble, summon
incendō, -ere, -di, -census: set fire to, inflame; rouse, incite
obtineō, -ēre, -uī, -tentus: get hold of; maintain; obtain

potentia, -ae f.: power; ability; virtue
principātus, -ūs m.: rule, dominion
rēgnum, -ī n.: kingship, rule; domain, a kingdom

similī ratiōne: in like manner; that is, Verc. attempts a similar agitation of the Arverni as had occurred among the Carnutes

summae potentiae: genitive of description; potentia can mean physical might, ability, or even virtue

clientibus: in Roman terms, clientēs were those in a position of obligation to a more powerful patrōnus; here and elsewhere Caesar employs the Roman concept to describe similar relationships among the Gauls. The Gallic clientēs, as labeled by Caesar, were of lower status than other dependent members of Gallic society like ambactī (see BG 6.15.2) or soldūriī (BG 3.2.12)

incendit: Caesar’s word choice here is noteworthy, as incendit translates literally as “set on fire,” showing Verc.’s extraordinary ability to excite the crowds
2 Cōgnitō eius cōnsiliō ad arma concurritur. Prohibētur ab Gobannitīōne, patruō suō, reliquīsque principibus, quī hanc temptandam fortūnam nōn exīstimābant; expellitur ex oppidō Gergoviā; 3 nōn dēstitit tamen atque in agrīs habet dīlēctum egentium ac perditōrum. Hāc coāctā manū, quōscumque adīt ex cīvitāte ad suam sententiam perdūcit;

concurrō, -ere, -ī, -sus: assemble together; make haste; engage
dēsistō, -ere, -stīrī, -stītus: stop, cease, desist, leave off
dīlēctus, -ūs m.: draft, conscription, recruitment
egēns, egentis: poor, destitute
perditus, -a, -um: lost, desperate; corrupt, incorrigible
perdūcō, -ere, -ūxī, -uctus: lead, guide; prolong; induce, conduct
quī-, quae-, quodcumque: whoever, whatever
temptō (1): test, try

Gobannitīōne, patruō suō: Verc.’s uncle
principibus: the most important individuals of the tribe or town
hanc temptandam fortūnam: that this outcome must be attempted
nōn dēstitit tamen: nevertheless, he did not desist; tamen is post-positive
in agrīs habet dīlēctum egentium ac perditōrum: Verc. is rejected by the elites in the urban areas, but finds support among the peasants in rural areas and those who are presumably fed up with the leadership
Hāc coāctā manū: once he had gathered this band; in military contexts, manus often translates as “[armed] group” or “band”
hortātur ut commūnis lībertātis causā arma capiant, magnīisque coāctīs cōpiīs adversāriōs suōs, ā quibus paulō ante erat ēiectus, expellit ex cīvitāte. Rēx ab suīs appellantūr. Dīmittit quōque versus lēgātiōnēs; obtestātur ut in fide maneant.

appello (1): label as, apply to; call upon; address
communis, -e: common, joint, public; general, universal
dīmittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missus: send forth, distribute; scatter
capīō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectus: cast out, expel, discharge, exile
expellō, -ere, -pulī, -pulsus: drive out, expel, banish
obtestor, -āri, -ātus: call as witness, swear; entreat, implore
quis-, quae-, quodque: each versus: toward, in the direction of

ā quibus paulō ante: by whom, a little while before
Rēx ab suīs appellantūr: Verc. has essentially engineered a rural popular uprising against the status quo leadership of the Arverni, promising “freedom for all Gauls.” Such intra-tribal factional maneuvering is not uncommon (cf. BG 1.3-4, e.g.). The title of rēx is significant, as Verc.’s father had been executed by the Arverni for seeking that distinction (7.4.1). The Arverni were a powerful force in Gallic politics and enjoyed a long history of dominating other tribes (see Appendix B). In the coming conflict there will be a certain tension among the Gauls between suspicion of the hegemony of one tribe or leader and pursuit of freedom from Roman domination (see note on libertās 7.1.8 above)

quōque versus: towards each direction, i.e. “in every direction;” versus is an adverb which tends to follow the word it modifies, and quōque here is not the adverb, but from quisque “each” (quōque [locō])
6 Celeriter sibi Sēnōnēs, Parīsiōs, Pictonēs, Cadurcōs, Turonōs, Aulercōs, Lemovīcēs, Andōs reliquōsque omnēs quī Ōceanum attingunt adiungit: omnium cōnsēnsū ad eum dēfertur imperium. 7 Quā oblātā potestāte omnibus hīs cīvitātibus obsidēs imperāt, certum numerum mīlitum ad sē celeriter addūcī iubet; 8 armōrum quantum quaeque cīvitās domī quoque ante tempus efficiat cōnstituit; in prīmīs equitātuī studet.

adiungō, -ere, -xī, -ctus: add, attach, support; apply to; harness
dēferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātus: grant, confer; carry off, convey
attingō, -ere, -ī, attāctus: touch, touch/border on; reach, arrive at
offerō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātus: show, present; cause; confer; inflict
cōnsēnsus, -ūs m.: agreement, concord; plot, conspiracy
studeō, -ēre, -uī, —: (+ dat) be eager for, apply effort to

reliquōsque omnēs: there is an implied “tribes” here
Quā oblātā potestāte omnibus: ablative absolute
quoque ante tempus: and before what time
Sēnōnēs…Andōs: all of these peoples were north and west of the Arverni except the Cardurcī, who were to the south and west. Except for the Senones (see Appendix B), these were all relatively small tribes. See Introduction map
obsidēs: a common method for ensuring compliance in agreements was the exchange of hostages, among both Gauls and Romans; Caesar had also taken hostages numerous times while fighting in Gaul and Britain; see Mosovich, “Obsidibus Traditis: Hostages in Caesar’s De Bello Gallico,” Classical Journal 75.2 (1979): 122-28
in prīmīs equitātuī studet: in particular he is interested in cavalry. Verc.’s strategy will focus on his forces being more mobile than Roman legions
9 Summae diligentiae summan imperī sevēritātem addit; magnitūdine supplicī dubitāntēs cōgit. 10 Nam maiōre commissō dēlīctō igne atque omnibus tormentīs necat, leviōre dē causā auribus dēsectīs aut singulīs effossīs oculīs domum remittit, ut sint reliquīs documentō et magnitūdine poene perterreant aliōs.

addō, -ere, -didī, -itus: place upon; attach; increase, join
dēlīctum, -ī n.: fault, offense
dēsecō, -āre, -cuī, -ctus: sever; cut off (as a limb)
documentum, -ī n.: lesson, warning, example
dubitō (1): hesitate, waver; delay
effodiō, -ere, -ī, -fossus: dig out, excavate; gouge out
auris, -is f.: ear
levis, -e: light, slight; trivial, petty
magnitūdō, -inis f.: size; extent
necō, -āre, -uī, -ctus: kill, murder
oculus, -ī m.: eye
poena, -ae f.: punishment
supplicium, -ī n.: punishment, suffering; torture

**diligentiae…severitātem**: Verc. exhibits two of the virtues typical of a Roman aristocrat; others included honestās, gravitās, dignitās, auctōritās, pietās, and vēritās

**igne atque omnibus tormentīs necat**: he killed with fire and all kinds of tortures

**auribus dēsectīs aut singulīs effossīs oculīs**: abl. abs.; we cannot know the truth of Caesar’s claims here, but it is certainly the case that Verc. was able to compel the Gauls more effectively than anyone else in the previous seven years of war

**ut sint reliquīs documentō**: that they might be a warning for the others; a double dative construction
The Bituriges and the Aedui consider their options

1 His suppliciis celeriter coāctō exercitū Luctērium Cadurcum, summae hominem audāciae, cum parte cōpiārum in Rutēnōs mittit; ipse in Biturigēs proficīscitur. Eius adventū Biturigēs ad Aeduōs, 2 quōrum erant in fide, lēgātōs mittunt subsidium rogātum, quō facilius hostium cōpiās sustinēre possint.

coāctō exercitū: with the army having been collected; ablative absolute; suppliciis is abl. of means
Luctērium: a leader among the Cadurcī and a lieutenant of Verc.; his role in Caesar's account here is minimal, but he would play a major role in the fighting of the following year, as described in BG VIII
summae hominem audāciae: person of greatest boldness; the hyperbaton of hominem here emphasizes this quality of Lucterius
ipse: Vercingetorix
Aeduōs: for the Aedui, see Appendix B
rogātum: to ask for, to seek; a supine
quō...possint: by which (subsidium) they might be able to endure/hold back the forces of the enemy more easily; a rel. clause of purpose

audācia, -ae f.: boldness, courage, confidence; recklessness, audacity
fidēs, -eī f.: trust, faith, confidence
proficīscor, -ficiscī, -fectus:
depart, set out; proceed
rogō (1): ask, invite; introduce
subsidium, -iī n.: help, relief; reinforcement

supplicium, -iī n.: punishment; petition
sustineō, -ēre, -uī, -entus:
(here) bear; endure; hold back
(elsewhere) support; nourish
Aeduī dē cōnsiliō lēgātōrum, quōs Caesar ad exercitum reliquerat, cōpiās equitātūs peditātūsque subsidiō Biturigibus mittunt. Quī cum ad flūmen Ligerim vēnissent quod Biturigēs ab Aeduīs dīvidit, paucōs diēs ibi morātī neque flūmen trānsīre ausī domum revertuntur lēgātīisque nostrīs renūntiant sē Biturigum perfidiam veritōs revertisse,
quibus id consilī fuisse cognōverint ut, sī flūmen trānsīssent, unā ex parte ipsī, alterā Arvernī sē circumsisterent. 6 Id eāne dē causā quam lēgātīs prōnūntiārunt, an perfidiā adductī fécerint, quod nihil nōbīs cōnstat, nōn vidētur prō certō esse prōpōnendum. 7 Biturigēs eōrum discēsū statim cum Arvernīs iunguntur.

_circumsistō, -ere, -tetī, —_: stand, gather, crowd; surround, _cōnstō, -āre, -itī, —_: is certain, fixed, agreed upon _iungō, -ere, -ūnxī, -ūncus_: join, unite; bring together, harness _nihil_: (as noun) nothing; (as adverb) not at all, in no way _perfidia, -ae f._: treachery _prōnūntiō (1)_: announce; proclaim; relate _prōpōnō, -ere, -suī, -situs_: display; proclaim; propose; relate

quibus id consilī fuisse cognōverint: for whom they had ascertained there to be the following plan
trānsīssent: the Aedui forces, that is, and ipsī being the Bituriges
Id eāne dē causā…an: whether…or; the –ne indicates a double question, and the second question is introduced by _an_
quod…prōpōnendum: because it is in no way certain to me, it does not seem proper that [this opinion] be put forth as a certainty; nihil is adverbial, and vidētur is used not only in its passive mode as “it seems,” but also the more rare “it seems proper” or “is seemly.” See Appendix A for a basic diagram. Caes. does not trust the Aedui’s account of these events, and what he writes here is nearly a praeteritiō. He will continue in this mistrust as he attempts to rejoin his legions via Aedui territory. The Aedui had been loyal “friends and allies” of the Romans in Gaul for years, but Caesar’s doubt of them here will prove to be warranted in the coming weeks (see _BG_ VII 32-43)
Caesar ponders how to reach his forces

1 Hīs rēbus in Ītaliam Caesarī nūntiātīs, cum iam ille urbānās rēs virtūte Cn. Pompēī commodiōrem in statum pervēnisse intellegēre, in Trānsalpīnam Galliam profectus est. 2 Eō cum vēnisset, magnā difficūltāte adficiēbātur quā ratiōne ad exercitum pervenire posset. 3 Nam sī legiōnēs in prōvinciam arcesseret, sē absente in itinere proeliō dīmicātūrās intellegēbat; 4 sī ipse ad exercitum contendēret, nē eīs quidem eō tempore quī quiētī vidērentur suam salūtem rēctē committī vidēbat.

adficiō, -ere, adfēcī, adfectus: affect; move, influence; afflict
dīmicō (1): struggle, be in peril
eō: to/toward that place
quiēscō, -ere, -ēvī, -ētus: rest, be at peace, be still/inactive
rēctē: rightly, correctly, properly
status, -ūs m.: position, situation, condition; rank; standing

arcessō, -ere, -īvi, -ītus: send for, summon, invite; fetch
commodus, -a, -um: suitable, convenient, obliging; favorable
contendō, -ere, -dī, -tus: strain; hurry

urbānās rēs: i.e., the tumultuous events of the recent past back in Rome
quā ratiōne...posset: as to the means by which he might be able to reach his army; indirect question; the legions were scattered around Gaul in their winter camps
sē absente: ablative absolute; sē is ablative singular referring to Caesar
dīmicātūrās: [the legions] would be in peril; future infinitive; Caesar had regularly trusted his lēgātī to lead the legions independently in the past, but now inexplicably considers the soldiers helpless without him. It would seem more prudent to call them south rather than travel alone in secret to join them
nē eīs quidem...quī: not even to those [Gauls] who

18
[7] Caesar organizes a defense of the province

1 Interim Luctērius Cadurcus in Rutēnōs missus eam cīvitātem Arvernīs conciliat. 2 Prōgressus in Nitiobrīgēs et Gabalōs ab utrīsque obsidēs accipit et magnā coāctā manū in prōvinciam Narbōnem versus ēruptiōnem facere contendit.

**conciliō** (1): win over, procure; reconcile; commend
**contendō**, -ere, -dī, -tus: strain; hurry
**ēruptiō**, -iōnis f.: sudden rush of troops from a position; a sortie
**manus**, -ūs m.: hand; (here) band, group

**prōgresdior, -ī, -gressus**: go/march forward, march forward
**uter-**, **utra-**, **utrumque**: each (of two)
**versus**: toward, in the direction of

**Rutēnōs**: a small tribe directly south of the Arverni and traditionally subject to them. Their oppidum was Segodunum, modern Rodez. The southern part of their territory had been seized by the Romans after the defeat of the Arverni coalition in 121 BCE; Caesar calls the tribesmen of this southern portion Rutēnī prōvinciālēs (see 7.7.4 below)

**missus**: having been dispatched; perfect passive participle

**Arvernīs**: dative with conciliat “win over to/for, acquire for”

**Nitiobrīgēs et Gabalōs**: two small tribes on the southwestern and southern borders of the Arverni, respectively

**magnā coāctū manū**: with a large band having been collected; in military contexts, *manus* often translates as “[armed] group” or “band”

**Narbōnem**: modern Narbonne, a major Roman port city in Transalpine Gaul (“the Province”) situated on the Via Domitia and Via Aquitania between Spain and Italy
Quā rē nūntiātā Caesar omnibus cōnsiliīs antevertendum existimāvit ut Narbōnem proficīscerētur. 4 Eō cum vēnisset, timēntēs cōnfirmat, praesidia in Rutēnīs prōvinciālibus, Volcīs Arecomīcīs, Tolōsātibus circumque Narbōnem, quae loca hostibus erant fīnitima, cōnstituit; 5 partem cōpiārum ex prōvinciā supplēmentumque, quod ex Ītaliā addūxerat, in Helviōs, quī fīnēs Arvernōrum contingunt, convenīre iubet.

antevertō, -ere, -ī, —: prefer, place before; precede; anticipate (+ dat)
cōnfirmō (1): secure; reassure fīnitimus, -a, -um: neighboring, bordering, adjoining

locō (1): place, station; arrange; contract (for)
prōvinciālis, -ē: pertaining to a province (here, to Trānsalpīna)
supplēmentum, -ī n.: supplies, reinforcements

antevertendum: sc. esse; passive periphrastic infinitive of an indirect statement introduced by existimāvit
ut Narbōnem proficīscerētur: substantive noun clause acting as the accusative singular subject of antevertendum
eō: to that place
Volcīs Arecomīcīs, Tolōsātibus: two small Gallic tribes living in the Roman province near Narbo; here, Caes. intends to protect Narbo and places garrisons in four strategic places
in: among, within the borders of; common shorthand in Caes.
Helviōs: see Appendix B
[8] Caesar suddenly attacks the Arverni

Hīs rēbus comparātīs, repressō iam Luctēriō et remotō, quod intrāre intrā praesidia perīculōsum putābat, in Helviōs proficīscitur. Etsī mōns Cevenna, quī Arvernōs ab Helviīs disclūdit, dūrissimō tempore annī altissimā nive iter impediēbat, tamen discussā nive sex in altitūdinem pedum

altus, -a, -um: high; deep
comparō (1): prepare; provide
disclūdō, -ere, -lūsī, -lūsus: divide, separate, keep apart
discutiō, -ere, -cussī, -cussus: shatter; dissipate, remove
dūrus, -a, -um: harsh, severe
impediō, -īre, -īvī, -ītus: hinder, hamper, obstruct
intrō (1): enter; go into, penetrate; reach
mōns, montis m.: mountain
nix, nivis f.: snow
removeō, -ēre, -ē, -tus: withdraw, move back, take away, set aside
reprimō, -ere, -pressī, -pressus: press back; check, prevent, restrain
comparātīs; repressō; remotō: all three are abl. abs.
intrāre . . . perīculōsum: sc. esse; the infinitive is the subject of the indirect statement after putābat; note that Lucterius is the subject of putābat, not Caesar, though an understood Caesar is the subject of proficīscitur
mōns Cevenna: now called the Cevennes mountains, in southwestern France
discussā nīve: abl. abs.; Roman soldiers carried shovels as part of their kit, but presumably not snow shovels
sex in altitūdinem pedum: to a depth of six feet; sex modifies pedum, translate in as “to”
atque ita viīs patefactīs summō mīlitum südōre ad ūnēs Arvernōrum pervēnit. 3 Quibus oppressīs inopīnantibus, quod sē Cevennā ut mūrō mūnītōs existimābant, ac nē singulārī quidem umquam hominī eō tempore annī sēmitae patuerant, equitibus imperat ut quam lātissimē possint vagentur et quam maximum hostibus terrōrem ĵnferant.

īnferō, -īre, -ītū, -ītus: bring in, import; inflict; obtain

inopīnāns, -antis: unaware, off guard; unexpected

lātūs, -a, -um: wide; extensive

mūnītūs, -a, -um: defended, fortified; protected, secured, safe

opprimō, -ēre, -ēssī, -ēssus: press down; suppress; overthrow

pateficio, -ere, -fēcī, -factus: open up; reveal, disclose, expose

patēo, -ēre, -uī, —: stand open, be open; extend

sēmita, -ae f.: path

sūdor, -is m.: sweat; hard labor

umquam: ever, at any time

vagor, -ārī, -ātus: wander, roam

Quibus oppressīs inopīnantibus: abl. abs; the Arverni are caught off-guard sē Cevennā...mūnītōs existimābant: they were thinking that they were protected by [Mount] Cevenna; mūnītōs with an implied esse in ind. statement

ut murō: as if by a wall; not used here to introduce a result or purpose clause

nē singulārī quidem...hominī: not even for lone individual [travelers]

quam lātissimē possint: as widely as possible; lit. “as widely as they could”

quam maximum...terrōrem: as much terror as possible; superlative
4 Celeriter haec fāmā ac nūntīs ad Vercingetorīgem perferuntur; quem perterritī omnēs Arvernī circumsistunt atque obsecrant ut suīs fortūnīs cōnsulat, nēve ab hostibus dīripiantur, praesertim cum videat omne ad sē bellum trānslātum. 5 Quōrum ille precibus permōtus castra ex Biturigibus movet in Arvernōs versus.

ad: about (with numerals) obscrō (1): entreat, beseech, implore, pray perferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātus: carry through; announce permoveō, -ēre, -ī, -tus: move deeply; influence praesertim: especially; particularly prex, precis f.: prayer, request

circumsistō, -ere, -steti, -: stand, gather, crowd; surround, beset cōnsulō, -ere, -uī, -tus: (+ acc): consult; (+ dat): consider, have a care for dīripiō, -ere, -uī, -reptus: tear apart; lay waste, plunder, pillage nūntius, -iī m.: messenger; report

quam: refers to Vercingetorix perterritī: having been thoroughly terrified; PPP modifying omnēs Arvernī ut suīs fortūnīs cōnsulat: indirect command ad sē: to their lands, onto their heads trānslatūm: sc. esse; from trānsferre Quōrum...precibus permōtus: deeply moved by their prayers
Caesar goes to Vienna, then gathers his legions

At Caesar bīduum in hīs locīs morātus, quod haec dē Vercingetorige ūsū ventūra opīniōne praecēperat, per causam supplēmentī equītātūsque cōgendī ab exercitū discēdit; Brūtum adulēscendentem hīs cōpiīs praeficit; hunc monet ut in omnēs partēs equītēs quam lātissimē pervagentur; datūrum sē operam nē longius trīduō ab castrīs absit.

bīduum, bīduī n.: two days
lātē: broadly, widely, extensively
moror, -āri, -ātus: delay; remain
pervagor, -vagāri, -vagātus: wander, range about; spread out
praecipiō, -cipere, -cepi, -ceptus: take in advance, anticipate
praeficiō, -ficere, -fēcī, -fectus: place in command (+ acc & dat)
trīduum, trīduī n.: three days

quod haec...praecēperat: a difficult section; because he [Caes.] had anticipated by conjecture that these things would in fact come about regarding Verc. (that is, that Verc. would move towards him); ūsū venīre is an idiom for “occur, actually happen, befall”

per causam: on the pretext of; this phrase is rare in Caes., appearing only here in BG. It appears in Caes. BC three times, e.g. at 3.24.1, when M. Antonius sends two ships out into the Brundisium harbor on the pretext of rowing practice (per causam exercendōrum rēmīgum) in order to lure in Libo’s blockading ships. Livy also uses per causam with this meaning, e.g. 2.32.1

cōgendī: of gathering; gerundive with the genitive nouns

Brutum: Decimus Iunius Brutus Albinus, not to be confused with Marcus Iunius, though Decimus would also be one of Caesar’s assassins in 44. As Caesar’s lēgātus he had defeated the Veneti in a sea battle in 56 and would again command a fleet in the siege of Massalia in 49 BCE during the Civil War
datūrum sē operam: [Caes. tells Brutus that] he will make an effort that
3 Hīs cōnstitūtīs rēbus, suīs inopīnantibus quam māximīs potest itineribus Viennam pervēnit. 4 Ibi nactus recentem equitātum, quem multīs ante diēbus eō praemīserat, neque diurnō neque nocturnō itinere intermissō per Ŧīnēs Aeduōrum in Lingonēs contendit, ubi duae legiōnēs hiemābant, ut, sī quid etiam dē suā salūte ab Aeduīs inīrētur cōnsilī, celeritāte praecurreret.

**contendō, -ere, -dī, -tus:** strain;  
**intermittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missus:** leave off, omit; interrupt; let pass  
**diurnus, -a, -um:** daytime  
**iter, itineris n.:** route, journey  
**fīnis, -is f.:** boundary; (pl.) territory  
**nancīscor, -cīscī, nactus:** obtain  
**hiemō (1):** pass the winter  
**nocturnus, -a, -um:** nighttime  
**praecurrō, -ere, -cucurrī, —:** run before; precede; anticipate  
**inopīnāns, inopīnantis:** unaware; unexpected  
**recēns, -entis:** (here) fresh

**suīs inopīnantibus:** *his own [soldiers] being unaware*; abl. abs.; Caes. moved so quickly that not even his own forces realized what was happening  
**quam māximīs potest itineribus:** *with greatest possible marches*; Caes. was known for rapid marches, but these efforts were apparently extraordinary even for him  
**Viennam:** not the Austrian city, but an oppidum of the Allobroges 35km south of Lyon, at the confluence of the Gère and the Rhône. Under Augustus it would become *Colonia Julia Augusta Florentia Vienensium*, and today is known for its well-preserved Roman ruins  
**hiemābant:** the legions spent the winter in fortified *castra* throughout Gaul  
**si quid…inīrētur cōnsilī:** *if any plan was being devised*; the Aedui had been solid allies of the Romans for years, but here Caes. reminds us just how powerful, and therefore dangerous, they could be. For their role in the present crisis, see *BG* 7.32–43
Eō cum pervēnisset, ad reliquās legiōnēs mittit priusque omnēs in ūnum locum cōgit quam dē eius adventū Arvernīs nūntiārī posset. Hāc rē cognitā Vercingetorīx rūrsus in Biturigēs exercitum redūcit atque inde profectus Gorgobinam, Boiōrum oppidum, quōs ibi Helvēticō proelīō vīctōs Caesar collocāverat Aeduīisque attribuerat, oppūgnāre īnstituit.

attribuō, -ere, -buī, -būtus: assign, allot to; put under jurisdiction of (+ dat)
collocō (1): place, arrange; station
inde: from there; thereafter

īnstituō, -ere, -uī, -tūtus: prepare; draw up; build, construct
rūrsus: backward; on the contrary, in return; in turn, again

Eō: to that place, i.e. the castra among the Lingones
mittit: sends word to
reliquās legiōnēs: In the previous book (6.44.3), Caes. describes the distribution of his winter camps: six legions at Agendincum among the Senones, two legions to the east among the Lingones, and two legions to the north on the borders of the Treveri
prius...quam...posset: earlier than it might be possible to be reported to the Arverni about his arrival
Hāc rē cognitā: abl. abs.
Gorgobinam: the oppidum of a Boii enclave in the territory of the Aedui and subject to them. As he explains here, Caes. had “permitted” the Aedui to give the town to Boii refugees after the defeat of the Helvetii coalition in 58 (BG 1.28.5)
[10] Caesar decides to help the Boii, despite supply problems

Magnam haec rēs Caesarī difficultātem ad cōnsilium capiendum adferēbat: sī reliquam partem hiemis ūnō locō legiōnēs continēret, nē stīpendiāriēs Aeduōrum expugnātīs cūncta Gallia dēficeret, quod nūllum amīcīs in eō praesidium vidērētur positum esse; sī mātūrius ex hībernīs ēdūceret, nē ab rē frūmentāriā dūrīs subvectiōnibus labōrāret.

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adferō, -ferre, -tuli, -lātus:
convey; allege, announce; cause

contineō, -ēre, -uī, -tentus:
secure, maintain, sustain

deficiō, -ere, -feci, -fectus: (here)
move away, withdraw, revolt

dūrus, -a, -um: harsh, severe

ēdūcō, -ere, -ūxī, -uctus: lead out; draw up; bring up

hiberna, -ōrum n.pl.: winter camp, winter quarters

hiems, -is f.: winter

mātūrus, -a, -um: early, speedy

stīpendiārius, -a, -um: tributary, liable to another; mercenary

subvectiō, -iōnis f.: transporting (of supplies) to a center

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ad cōnsilium capiendum: as far as making a plan; this ad + gerundive does not have the typical translation “for the purpose of”

nē…nē: these both introduce fear clauses, introduced and implied by Caesar’s magna difficultās in the first sentence; see Appendix A

stīpendiāriēs Aeduōrum expugnātīs: with the tribes subordinate to the Aedui having been overcome; abl. abs.

quod…vidērētur: because it would appear that + ind. statement

nūllum amīcīs in eō praesidium: no protection for friends by him (Caes.)

ab rē frūmentāriā: in regards to the supply of provisions; this usage of ab is common with laborāre, dolēre, and valēre

dūrīs subvectiōnibus: ablative of cause, also frequent with labōrāre
Praestāre vīsum est tamen omnēs difficultātēs perpetī quam tantā contumēliā acceptā omnium suōrum voluntātēs aliēnāre. Itaque cohortātus Aeduōs dē supportandō commeātū praemittit ad Boiōs quī dē suō adventū doceant hortenturque ut in fīdē maneant atque hostium impetum magnō animō sustineant. Duābus Agedincī legiōnibus atque impedīmentīs tōtīus exercitūs relīctīs ad Boiōs proficīscitur.

**Aliēnō (1):** alienate, give up, lose possession, estrange

**Commeātus, -ūs m.:** supplies, food

**Contumēlia, -ae f.:** indignity, affront, insult; assault, violence

**Perpetior, -petī, -pessus:** endure to the full

**Praemittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missus:** send ahead or forward

**Praestō (1):** excel, surpass, be superior (to)

**Supportō (1):** carry up, transport

**Sustineō, -ēre, -uī, -entus:** support; check; put off

**Voluntās, -ātis f.:** will, desire; purpose; good will

**Praestāre vīsum est tamen:** it seemed nevertheless better

**Quam:** rather than; with praestāre

**Praemittit...quī...doceant hortenturque:** rel. clause of purpose after a verb of sending; there is an understood “messengers” with praemittit which is the antecedent of the quī

**Ut in fīdē maneant:** (urge) that they remain in good faith; ind. command

**Agedincī:** the chief oppidum of the Senones, in the vicinity of modern Sens on the river Yonne. It was a convenient Roman base of operations because it was fortified, centrally located, and in the territory of a recently subdued tribe.

Leaving two legions and the impedimenta here, Caes. will employ the remaining eight legions for the subsequent events of this volume, 40,000+ men.

1 Alterō diē cum ad oppidum Sēnōnum Vellaunodūnum vēnisset, nē quem post sē hostem relinqueret, quō expeditiōre rē frūmentāriā ūterētur, oppugnāre ēnstituit idque bīduō circumvāllāvit; 2 tertīō diē missīs ex oppidō lēgātīs dē dēditio̊ne arma cōnferrī, iūmenta prōdūcī, sēscentōs obsidēs darī iubet. 3 Ea quī cōnficeret Gāium Trebōnium lēgātum relinquit.

bīduum, -uī n.: two-day period  
circumvāllō (1): surround with siegeworks; blockade  
cōnferō, -erre, -tulī, -lātus: bring together; gather; unite  
cōnficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectus: make; prepare; complete  
dēditō, -is f.: surrender  
expeditus, -a, -um: free, unencumbered; convenient  
iūmentum, -ī n.: mule, horse, or other beast of burden  
lēgātus, -ī m.: (in sentence 2) ambassador; (in sentence 3) lieutenant, legate  
prōducō, -ere, -dūxī, -ductus: lead forward, bring out, reveal  
sēscentī, -ae, -a: 600  
ūtor, ūti, ūsus: use, employ; enjoy (+ abl)

Vellaunodūnum: a smaller oppidum of the Senones, otherwise unknown  
quem: aliquem becomes quem after nē  
quō: so that; the abl. quō (= ut eō) is freq. the subordinating conjunction in final purpose clauses containing a comp. adj.; see A&G §531a  
bīduō: abl. of time within which  
ea quī cōnficeret: so that he might complete these arrangements; rel. cl. of purpose after relinquit  
Trebōnium: see Appendix B
Ipse, ut quam primum iter faceret, Cenabum Carnūtum proficīscitur; quī tum primum allātō nūntiō dē oppugnātiōne Vellaunodūnī, cum longius eam rem ductum īrī exīstimārent, praesidium Cenābī tuendī causā quod eō mitterent comparābant. Hūc bīduō pervēnit.

afferō, -fere, attulī, allātus: report, allege, announce
comparō (1): prepare; provide
hūc: to this place
nūntius, -īi m.: missive, messenger
tueor, tuērī, tūtus: to defend, guard
ūsus, -ūs m.: use, practice, exercise

ut...iter faceret: in order that he make the journey; purpose clause
quam primum: as soon as possible; quam + superlative
quī: he means the Carnutes
tum primum: then for the first time; at that very moment
cum: because; causal cum clause
ductum īrī: would be drawn out; a rare fut. pass. infin. in ind. statement
praesidium...quod eō mitterent: a troop of reinforcements which they might send there
tuendī causā: for the sake of defending; gerundive
Ipse...pervēnit: in this section Caes. is keen to emphasize the rapidity and decisiveness of his assault on Cenabum, where the killing of the Roman negotiātōrēs had taken place back in 3.1. Note his use of temporal expressions here (quam primum; tum primum; longius; bīduō). The Carnutes suddenly found themselves under attack at two of their major oppida in succession; Vellaunodūnum capitulates so rapidly that word has barely reached the tribe’s leaders elsewhere before the legions have arrived at Cenabum. The praesidium the Carnutes are attempting to prepare and dispatch will not be fast enough
5 Castrīs ante oppidum positīs diēī tempore exclūsus in posterum oppugnātiōnem differt quaeque ad eam rem ūsuī sint militibus imperat 6 et, quod oppidum Cenabum pōns flūminis Ligeris contingēbat, veritus nē noctū ex oppidō profugerent, duās legiōnēs in armīs excubāre iubet.

differō, -ferre, distulī, dīlātus: postpone; disturb; vary
exclūdō, -ere, -ūsī, -ūsus: shut out, shut off; exclude
excubō (1): be watchful, keep vigil
Liger, Ligeris m.: the Loire

Castrīs: The construction of a castra every time the legions stopped was standard practice. With eight legions and an unknown number of cavalry and auxiliaries, Caesar’s castra in this campaign were nearly as large as the oppida against which they were constructed. Even if very cramped, a castra for eight legions would have been hundreds of meters on a side.

diēī tempore exclūsus: Caesar deemed it too late in the day to begin an assault; he postpones it in posterum [diem]

quaeque ad eam rem ūsuī sint militibus imperat: and he orders [to be prepared] the sorts of things which might be of use for the soldiers for this undertaking; a double dative construction within a rel. clause of characteristic

vertitus nē: [Caes.] having feared that; nē introduces fear clause, with the inhabitants of the town as the implied subject

excubāre: The soldiers of the two chosen legions are ordered to remain fully armed and keep ready through the night as a rapid response force; the other legions can then take their rest in relative comfort. At 7.24.5 below, Caesar specifies that duae legiōnēs prō castrīs excubābant, clearly outside the walls of the castra, but in that instance the two legions are protecting ongoing work on the siege mound at the enemy’s wall.
7 Cenabensēs paulō ante medium noctem silentiō ex oppidō ēgressi flūmen trānsire coepērunt. Quā rē per explōrātorēs nūntiātā Caesar legiōnēs 8 quās expeditās esse iusserat portīs incēnsīs intrōmittit atque oppidō potūtur, perpaucīs ex hostium numerō dēsiderātīs quīn cūntī caperentur, quod pontis atque itinerum angustiae multitūdinis fugam interclūserant. 9 Oppidum dīripit atque incendit, praedam mīlitibus dōnat, exercitum Ligerem trādūcit atque in Biturigum fīnēs pervēnit.

angustiae, -ārum f.pl.: narrowness

Cenabensēs: the Cenabians; -ensis, -ense is a typical Latin adjectival suffix

perpaucīs...dēsiderātīs quīn cūntī caperentur: in other words, with only a few stragglers getting away, the rest being captured alive (or killed); lit. “with only a few from the number of the enemy lacking from [a result that] every one of them be captured alive;” quīn can be used after verbs of lacking, resisting, refusing, delaying, and doubting, with a sense of “a result that”

praedam, -ae f.: loot, plunder

34
Caesar and Vercingetorix approach near Noviodunum

1 Vercingetorix, ubi dē Caesaris adventū cognōvit, oppugnātiōne dēstitit atque obviam Caesarī proficīscitur.
2 Ille Noviodūnum oppugnāre īnstituerat. 3 Quō ex oppidō cum lēgātī ad eum vēnissent ērantum ut sibi ignōsceret suaeque vītae cōnsuleret, ut celeritāte reliquās rēs cōnficeret quā plēraque erat cōnsecūtus, arma cōnferrī, equōs prōdūcī, obsidēs darī iubet.

Ille: Caesar
Noviodūnum: Celtic “new fort” and the name of several oppida; this one was of the Bituriges, at modern Neung-sur-Beuvron
sibi: dative plur. masc. reflexive pronoun, the townsfolk
ōrātum: to plead; supine expressing purpose
ut celeritāte reliquās rēs cōnficeret, quā plēraque erat cōnsecūtus: so that he might complete the remaining things with (the) speed with which he had pursued the majority [of his affairs]; by heeding their pleas, Caesar could pursue his next goal with his characteristic celeritās

celeritās, -tātīs f.: speed, quickness
cōnsequor, -quī, -cūtus: follow, go/come after; attend on; pursue
cōnfixō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectus: make; prepare; complete
cōnsulō, -ere, -uī, -tus: (+ dat) consider, take care; ask advice
dēsistō, -ere, destitū, destitus: cease, desist (from) (+ abl); give up
ignōscō, -ere, ignōvī, ignōtus: pardon, forgive (+ dat)
lēgātus, -ī m.: (here) envoy, rep.
obviam: against; towards
plērus, -a, -um: (strengthened w/ -que) the majority, very many
prōdūcō, -ere, -duxī, -ductus: lead forward, bring out; reveal
Parte iam obsidum trāditā, cum reliqua administrārentur, centuriōnibus et paucīs mīlitibus intrōmissīs quī arma iūmentaque conquīrērent, equitātus hostium procul vīsus est quī agmen Vercingetorīgis antecesserat. Quem simul atque oppidānī cōnspexērunt atque in spem auxilī vēnērunt, clāmōre sublātō arma capere, portās claudere, mūrum complēre coeptērunt.

administrō (1); manage, handle, see to; assist, conduct
agmen, -minis n.: (in Caes.) marching army, column, battle line; (elsewhere) herd, flock, crowd
claudō, -ere, clausī, clausus: close, shut, block up; conclude; blockade
compleō, -ēre, -ēvī, -ētus: fill (up); occupy, crowd

conquiōrō, -ere, -quīsīvī, -quīsītus: seek out; investigate
intrōmittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missus: send in; admit
iūmentum, -ī n.: beast of burden
oppidānus, -ī m.: town inhabitant
procul: at distance, far off
spēs, -eī, f.: hope
tollō, tollere, sustulī, sublātus: lift, raise; destroy; remove, steal

centuriōnibus ... intrōmissīs quī ... conquīrērent: abl. absolute followed by relative clause of purpose
simul atque: as soon as; when simul precedes coordinate terms connected by et, ac, atque, or et ... et, the sense is that the terms occur simultaneously
in spem auxilī vēnērunt: entered into hope of aid; render as “became hopeful for,” a figurative use of veniō + in for metaphorical (emotional) movement
Centuriones in oppido, cum ex significatione Gallorum novi aliquid ab eis inirii consilii intellexissent, gladiis destictis portas occupaverunt suosque omnes incolumes reciperunt.

dēstringō, -ere, -inxī, -ictus: unsheathe, draw; strip off

gladius, -iī m.: sword

incolumis, -e: unharmed, uninjured; alive, safe; unimpaired

novus, -a, -um: new, strange

porta, -ae f.: gate

significatio, -iōnis f.: signal, outward sign; indication, meaning

novi aliquid ab eis inirii consilii: (that) something of a new plan was being undertaken by them; ind. statement after intellexissent
Caesar skirmishes with Vercingetorix and takes the town

1 Caesar ex castrīs equitātum ēdūcī iubet, proelium equestre committit; labōrantibus iam suīs Germānōs equitēs circiter CCCC summittit quōs ab initiō habēre sēcum īnstituerat.

2 Eōrum impetum Gallī sustinēre nōtum potuērunt atque in fugam coniectī multīs āmissīs sē ad agmen recēpērunt.

āmittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missus: lose; lose by death; send away, dismiss

equester, -tris, -tre: of cavalry

labōrō (I): labor, strive; struggle

summittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missus

(= submittō): (here) send in support

coniciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectus: cast, drive; throw together; conclude

sustineō, -ēre, -uī, -entus: endure, tolerate; support

ēdūcō, -ere, -dūxī, -ductus: lead out; draw up; bring up

labōrantibus iam suīs: his men now struggling; the iam indicates that time has moved forward from when the battle began, the narrative is now at his next action

Germanōs: By the middle of the 1st century BCE, Roman armies deployed very few Roman cavalry units, but instead relied on non-Roman auxiliary squadrons; during his military career Caesar regularly employed Gallic or Spanish cavalry supplied by Roman allies, or, as here, Germanic mercenaries, whose prowess on horseback was legendary. He had retained these 400 as a reserve and personal guard

summittit: send up, send in; sub- often connotes support or aid, e.g. subsidium (aid, reinforcement) or the sup- in Engl. “support” itself; c.f BG 4.26.4 (quōs labōrantēs cōnspēxerat his subsidia submittēbat) and BG 5.58.5 (summittit cohortēs equitibus subsidīō)

in fugam coniectī multīs āmissīs: having been driven to flight with many lost
Quibus prōflīgātīs rūrsus oppidānī perterritī comprehensōs eōs, quōrum operā plēbem concitātam exīstimābant, ad Caesarem perdūxērunt sēsēque eī dēdidērunt. 3 Quibus rēbus cōnfecūs, Caesar ad oppidum Avaricum quod erat maximum mūnītissimumque in finibus Biturigum atque agrī fertilissimā regiōne profectus est, quod eō oppidō receptō cīvitātem Biturigum sē in potestātem redāctūrum cōnfidēbat.

**comprehendō, -ere, -ī, -hensus:** arrest, catch, seize, grasp firmly
**concitō (1):** rouse, incite, stir
**cōnficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectus:** make; prepare; complete
**dēdō, -ere, -idī, -itus:** give up, surrender; abandon (to); yield
**mūnītus, -a, -um:** defended, fortified; protected, secured, safe
**oppidānus, -ī m.:** townsperson
**perdūcō, -ere, -ūxī, -uctus:** lead, guide; prolong; induce, conduct

**plēbs, plēbis, f.:** the common folk, multitude, populace
**potestās, -ātis f.:** control, power, rule; strength, ability; chance

**prōflīgō (1):** overthrow, rout
**redigō, -ere, redēgī, redāctus:** reduce; render; lead back, bring

**rūrsus:** again; turned back; on the contrary, in return, in turn

**quōrum operā:** by whose work; with an implied esse connecting it to plēbem concitātam

**perdūxērunt sēsēque eī dēdidērunt:** the two verbs are parallel; the former controls the rest of the sentence. See Appendix A for a diagram of this passage

**ad oppidum Avaricum…profectus est:** Caesar plans the next phase of war: by capturing Avaricum, he thinks the Bituriges sē in potestātem redāctūr[ōs]

**agrī:** of [their] country/land
[14] Vercingetorix calls a council of the Gauls

1 Vercingetorix tot continuīs incommodīs Vellaunodūnī, Cenabī, Noviodūnī acceptīs suōs ad concilium convocat.

2 Docet longē aliā ratiōne esse bellum gerendum atque anteā gestum sit. Omnibus modīs huic reī studendum ut pābulātiōne et commeātū Rōmānī prohibeantur. 3 Id esse facile quod equitātū ipsī abundant et quod annī tempore subleventur.

abundō (1): abound (in), have in large measure; overflow with 
commeātus, -ūs m.: supplies
continuus, -a, -um: incessant, continuous, recurring; successive
incommodum, -ī n.: setback, detriment; defeat, disaster
pābulātiō, -iōnis f.: foraging
studeō, -ēre, -uí, —: (+ dat) be eager for, apply effort to
sublevō (1): lift up; support; assist
tot: so many
Vellaunodūnī, Cenabī, Noviodūnī: locatives
esse...gerendum: must be waged; passive periphrastic infinitive; begins an extended indirect statement, used throughout [14]
longē: very much, entirely
atque...gestum sit: than [the war which] was waged in the past; a rare use of atque (or its equivalent ac, et, or even more rarely nisi or quam) following alius in formal prose; in colloquial prose or in poetry, it is typically followed by an ablative of comparison instead. See A&G §407d
studendum: [he says that] there must be a striving for the following circumstance (huic res) by all means available; impersonal passive periphrastic infinitive; the following ut explains the circumstance
4 Pābulum secārī nōn posse; necessāriō dispersōs hostēs ex aedificiīs petere; hōs omnēs cotīdiē ab equitibus dēligī posse.
5 Praetereā salūtis causā reī familiāris commodā negotlegenda: vīcōs atque aedificia incendī oportēre hoc spatiō ab viā quōque versus quō pābulandī causā adire posse videantur.

aedificium, -ī n.: a building
commodum, -ī n.: interest, profits; convenience, advantage, benefit
cotīdiē: daily, every day
dēligō, -ere, -lēgī, -lēctus: single out; separate, remove
dispensō, -ere, -ī, -sus: scatter, disperse
incendō, -ere, -ī, -sus: burn
necessāriō: inevitably, unavoidably

opertet, -ēre, -uit: (impersonal) require (to be done); ought
pābulum, -ī n.: fodder, food
praetereā: in addition, further
salūs, -ūtis f.: health; prosperity
fōrārī, -ī, -ātus: forage, gather
secō, -āre, -uī, sectus: cut off
versus: toward, in the direction of
vīcus, -ī m.: village, hamlet

pābulum...petēre: given the time of year, the Romans will need to seek fodder from structures (barns, villages, etc.) scattered throughout the countryside
commoda: the interests of private property; neut. pl. nominative subject of negotlegenda
neglegenda: with implied esse; passive periphrastic
opertēre: ought to, it is fitting to; infin. as part of the extended indirect statement
hōc...quō: a correlative construction; Verc. is saying that the buildings and farms in range of Roman foraging parties must be burned
quōque versus: see note at 7.4.5
Hārum ipsīs rērum cōpiam supplēre, 6 quod quōrum in finibus bellum gerātur eōrum opibus subleventur. 7 Rōmānōs aut inopiam nōn lātūrōs aut māgnō perīculō longius ab castrīs prōcessūrōs, 8 neque interesse ipsōsne interficiant impedīmentīsne exuant, quibus āmissīs bellum gerī nōn possit.

āmittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missus: lose; lose by death; send away, dismiss
exuō, -ere, -ī, -tus: strip, deprive
impedīmentum, -ī n.: supplies
intersum, -esse, -fuī: make a difference; be of interest to
ops, -is f.: resources, aid
prōcēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessus: go forward; advance, progress
sublevō (1): lift up; support; assist
suppetō, -ere, -īvī, -ītus: be at hand; be sufficient for
Hārum ipsīs rērum cōpiam: an abundance of such resources for [the Gauls]
eōrum opibus: by the resources of whom
lātūrōs, prōcessūrōs: sc. esse; future active infinitives continuing the extended ind. statement; lātūrus is fut. act. partic. from ferre, “will not endure”
magnō perīculō: with great danger / very perilously; abl. of manner
neque interesse: nor does it make a difference [to the Gauls] whether…or; a double question presented with the rare double enclitic -ne…-ne; more common is utrum…an or -ne…an; see A&G §334-35
ipsōs: the Romans, direct object of interficiant / exuant
quibus āmissīs: with which (supplies) having been lost; abl. abs.
Praetereā oppida incendiō oportēre quae nōn mūnītiōne et locī nātūrā ab omnī sint perīculō tūta, neu suīs sint ad dētractandam mīlitiam receptācula neu Rōmānīs prōposita ad cōpiam commeātūs praedamque tollendam.

**Oppida:** Caes. has used several words to refer to the structures of the Gauls which must be burned, from the aedificia and vīcī of 7.14.5 to the oppida here—any place which might contain supplies or harbor Gauls dodging conscription, from the humble farms and small hamlets to the largest towns.

**Neu...neu:** so that...not...nor; an apocope of nēve (the elision of a word-final vowel); each neu clause lists a purpose for burning the oppida quae nōn sint tūta receptācula sint...Rōmānīs prōposita [sint]: that [the oppida] not become refuges...and not be offered up to the Romans.

**Suīs:** for our men, i.e. Gauls attempting to avoid Verc.’s conscription efforts.

**Ad dētractandam, ad tollendam:** for the purpose of; gerundives.
Haec sī gravia aut acerba videantur, multō illa gravius aestimāre: līberōs coniugēs in servitūtem abstrahī, ipsōs interficī, quae sit necesse accidere victīs.

abstrahō, -ere, -āxī, -actus: drag away, remove forcibly
acerbus, -a, -um: harsh; grievous
aestimō (1): value, assess; reckon
coniūnx, -iugis m./f.: spouse

haec: these; these following things; accusative plural neuter
illa: these; these following things; accusative plural neuter
aestimāre: apodosis, translated as a present subjunctive; still an infinitive because of the extended indirect statement
līberōs coniugēs: subjects of abstrahī in the ind. statement with asyndeton; in the ancient world, slavery was a common fate for defeated peoples, especially in the Roman era. Though he seldom mentions it, Caesar’s campaigns in Gaul resulted in the taking of tens of thousands of Gallic slaves, and there must have been robust logistics networks in place to transport them back to Italy and beyond.

quae sit necesse accidere victīs: which things [just listed] it is necessary to befall the defeated

1 Omnium cōnsēnsū hāc sententiā probātā ūnō diē amplius XX urbēs Biturigum incenduntur. 2 Hoc idem fit in reliquīs cīvitātibus; in omnibus partibus incendia cōnspiciuntur, quae etsī magnō cum dolōre omnēs ferēbant, tamen hoc sibi sōlācī prōpōnēbant, quod sē prope explōrātā victōriā celeriter āmissa recipērātūrōs cōnfidēbant.

āmittō, -ere, -īsī, -issus: lose; lose by death
probō (1): to approve, commend prope: nearly, almost
confidō, -ere, -īsus: be assured, believe; rely on, trust (to)
prōpōnō, -ere, -posuī, -positus: display, propose; declare, relate
conficiō, -ere, -ēxī, -ectus: observe; notice; watch recipērō (1): restore, recover
sōlācium, -iī n.: comfort, solace
dolor, -ōris m.: pain, grief
explōrō (1): bring forth, search out; investigate; prove, test

Cōnsēnsū...sententiā probāt...diē: three different ablative uses in succession—means, abl. absolute, and abl. of time within which
amplius XX urbēs: more than 20 cities; the use of urbs to refer to Gallic towns is unusual; this is the first occurrence in the BG. There will be a few more uses to come in BG VII
quae etsī...ferēbant: which [burnings], although all were enduring [them]
tamen hoc sibi sōlācī prōpōnēbant: nevertheless they were relating to themselves this comfort; sōlācī is a partitive gen., literally “this of a comfort”
prope explōrātā victōriā: with victory nearly searched out; abl. abs.
recipērātūrōs: that they would restore; fut. act. infinitive with implied esse
3 Deliberatur de Avāricō in commune conciliō, incendi placēret an defendī. 4 Prōcumbunt omnibus Gallīs ad pedēs Biturīgēs nē pulcherrimam prope totīus Galliae urbem, quae præsidiō et ōrnamentō sit civitāti, suīs manibus succendere cōgerentur; 5 facile sē locī nātūrā défensūrōs dīcunt quod prope ex omnibus partibus flūmine et palūde circumdatā ūnum habeat et perangustum aditum.

**Aditus, -ūs, m.:** approach, entrance  
**Circumdō, -are, -dēdī, -datus:** surround; envelop, enclose  
**Commūnis, -e:** public  
**Concilium, -ī, n.:** council, meeting  
**Deliberō (1):** consider, ponder  
**Palūs, -ūdis f.:** swamp, marsh  
**Perangustus, -a, -um:** very narrow  
**Placeō, -ère, -uī, -itus:** please, satisfy, give pleasure to (with dat)  
**Prōcumbō, -ere, -cubuí, -cubitūs:** fall prostrate; sink, lie down  
**Succendō, -ere, -ī, -cēnsum:** set on fire, burn to the ground

**Deliberātur:** they ponder; impersonal passive, lit. “there is a pondering”  
**Incendi placēret an defendī:** whether it would be pleasing that [Avaricum] be burned or defended; the an presents a double question  
**Omnibus Gallīs ad pedēs:** at the feet of all the Gauls; Latin shows possession with the dative here whereas English prefers the genitive  
**Nē...cōgerentur:** begging that...; the clause has the force of an indirect command after the implied pleading of the previous phrase; see Appendix A  
**Quae præsidiō et ōrnamentō sit civitāti:** which was both a guard and an ornament for the tribe; double dative construction; verbs in subordinate clauses frequently (but not always) become subjunctive within extended indirect statements
6 Datur petentibus venia dissuādente prīmō Vercingetorīge, post concēdente et precibus ipsōrum et misericordiā vulgī. Dēfēnsōrēs oppidō idōneī dēliguntur.

dēfēnsor, -ōris m.: defender
dissuādeō, -ēre, -suāsī, -suāsus: dissuade, advise against
idōneus, -a, -um: suitable, fit
misericordia, -ae f.: pity, sympathy; compassion, mercy
prex, precis f.: prayer, request
venia, -ae f.: permission; favor, kindness; pardon
vulgus, -ī m.: the people, masses

petentibus: present act. participle, dative indirect object with datur
dissuādente prīmō…post concēdente: a double abl. abs. with Vercingetorīge as subject of both; note the contrasting prīmō and post to establish the sequence
precibus: abl. of cause

Galli facile sē locī nātūrā dēfēnsūrōs dicunt quod prope ex omnibus partibus flūmine et palūde circumdatā ūnum habeat et perangustum aditum (7.15.5)
[16] Vercingetorix interferes with Roman foraging

Vercingetorix minōribus Caesarem itineribus subsequitur et locum castrīs dēligit palūdibus silvīisque mūnītum ab Avāricō longē mīlia passuum XVI. 2 Ibi per certōs explōrātōrēs in singula diēī tempora quae ad Avāricum agerentur cognōscēbat et quid fierī vellet imperābat.

certus, -a, -um: certain, reliable
dēligō, -ere, -lēgī, -lēctus: pick;
choose, select, enroll
explōrātor, -ōris m.: scout
mūniō, -īre, -īvī, -ītus: fortify

prīmō: at first; in the first place
post: afterwards
silva, -ae f.: forest
subsequor, -ī, -secūtus: follow
close after; pursue; support

in singula diēī tempora: every hour of the day
quid fierī vellet: what he wished to be done; ind. question introduced by imperābat
3 Omnēs nostrās pābulātiōnēs frūmentātiōnēsque observābat dispersōsque, cum longius necessāriō prōcēderent, adoriēbātur magnōque incommodō adficiēbat, etsī quantum ratione prōvidērī poterat, ab nostrīs occurrēbātur, ut incertīs temporibus diversīisque itineribus īrētur.

adficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectus: affect, impair; influence; handle
adorior, -īri, -ītus: assault, attack
dispersō, -ere, -sī, -sus: scatter
dīversus, -a, -um: different, unlike
frūmentātiō, -iōnis f.: foraging
incertus, -a, -um: uncertain; inconstant; variable
incommodum, -ī n.: harm, defeat; inconvenience; detriment
necessāriō: necessarily, inevitably
observō (1): watch, observe; heed
occurrō, -ere, -ī, -cursus: oppose, resist; come to mind
pābulātiō, -iōnis f.: fodder
prōcēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessus: go forward; advance, progress
prōvideō, -ēre, -vīdī, -vīsus: foresee; provide for, make provision

pābulātiōnēs frūmentātiōnēsque: foraging efforts [for fodder and for grain]; men, horses, and draft animals all required a constant supply of food on the march
dispersōsque: sc. nostrōs; sc. nostri for the following prōcēderent
cum: causal; Caes. is explaining why the Roman soldiers are dispersōs
etsī...īrētur: although [this adversity] was being resisted by our men, as far as it was possible to be provided for by [the following] plan: that there was a departing at irregular times and by different routes
The Romans build a camp, but struggle with lack of supplies

1 Castrīs ad eam partem oppidī positīs Caesar quae intermissa ā flūmine et ā palūdibus aditum, ut suprā dīximus, angustum habēbat, aggerem apparāre, vīneās agere, turrēs duās cōnstituere coepit: nam circumvālāre locī nātūra prohibēbat.

2 Dē rē frūmentāriā Boiōs atque Aeduōs adhortārī nōn dēstitit; quōrum alterī, quod nūllō studīō agēbant, nōn multum adiuvābant,

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aditus, -ūs m.: approach, entrance  
adīuvō (1): help, be of use  
angustum, -ī n.: narrow place; passage, channel  
apparō (1): prepare, make, equip  
circumvāllō (1): blockade, invest  
intermittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missus:  
neglect, leave off, leave  
unoccupied  
studium, -īī n.: zeal, exertion  
vīnea, -ae f.: covering, shelter, makeshift roof

intermissa: loosely, having been left untouched by; nom. sing. fem. modifying quae; Caes. explains that he put his castra at the spot which was not occluded by the river or by marshes

ut suprā dīximus: as we mentioned above; Caesar refers to himself in the 1st person here, a rarity. He described the physical setting of Avaricum back at 15.5

aggerem, vīneās, turrēs: typical structures created by a Roman army in a siege. The agger is a large ramp of dirt piled up adjacent to the defensive wall to lessen its height. The vīnea are temporary structures which protect the soldiers from projectiles while they work. The turrēs are tall movable wooden scaffolding towers on wheels, rollers, or sleds; when positioned next to a defensive wall, they permit soldiers to ascend and pass over the top. See also BG 3.21 for these methods

alterī...alterī: the Aedui and the Boii; see Appendix A
alterī nōn magnīs facultātibus, quod cīvitās erat exigua et īnfirma, celeriter quod habuērunt cōnsūmpṣērunt. 3 Summā difficultātē reī frumentāriae adfectō exercitū tenuitāte Boiōrum, indīligentīa Aeduōrum, incendīīs aedificiōrum, ūsque eō ut complūrēs diēs frūmentō mīlitēs caruerint et pecore ex longinquōriōribus vīcīs adāctō extrēmam famem sustentārent, nūlla tamen vōx est ab eīs audīta populī Rōmānī maiestāte et superiōriōribus victōriīs indigna.

adfectō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectus: affect, impair; influence; handle
adigō, -ere, -ēgī, -actus: drive, urge, force, compel; thrust
careō, -ēre, -ūrī, -ūtus: lack, be without (+ abl of separation)
(com)plūs, -plūris: very many
exiguus, -a, -um: small, paltry
facultās, -tātis f.: means; ability
famēs, -is f.: hunger

indoignus, -a, -um: unworthy
indiligentia, -ae f.: negligence
īnfirmus, -a, -um: weak, fickle
longinquus, -a, -um: distant
maiestās, -tātis f.: dignity
pecus, pecoris n.: cattle, flock
sustineō, -ēre, -ūrī, -tēntus: bear, withstand; keep back; uphold
tenuitās, -tātis f.: poverty, thinness
vīcus, vīci m.: village, quarter

adfectō exercitū: see Appendix A; the abl. abs. has adversative force (“although”) answered eventually by tamen
ūsque eō ut: [affected by difficulty] to such an extent that, followed by result clause
complūrēs diēs: for many days; accus. of duration of time
pecore...adāctō: with cattle having been driven in; abl. abs.
populī Rōmānī maiestāte et superiōriōribus victōriīs: abl. of respect
Quīn etiam Caesar cum in opere singulās legionēs appellāret et, sī acerbius inopiam ferrent, sē dimissūrum oppugnātiōnem dīceret, ūniversī ab eō nē id faceret petēbant: sīc sē complūrēs annōs īllō imperante meruisse ut nūllam ignōminiam acciperent, nusquam ūnfectā rē discēderent;

**acērbus, -a, -um:** harsh, grievous  
**appellō (1):** call upon; address  
**dīmittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missus:** dismiss, end; send away  
**ignōminia, -ae f.:** dishonor  

**īnfectus, -a, -um:** unfinished  
**mereō, -ēre, -uī, -itus:** serve as soldier, render service; merit; incur  
**nusquam:** (here) on no occasion  
**ūniversus, -a, -um:** all together  

Quīn etiam: indeed; but…even  
acerbius: too grievously; comp. adverb  
sē dimissūrum…dīceret: he kept saying that he would end the siege; sc. esse  
nē id faceret: ind. command introduced by petēbant  
sē…meruisse: an ind. statement explaining the contents of their plea  
illō imperante: with him [Caes.] commanding, i.e. under his command  
sīc…ut: in such a manner…that; introducing a result clause
6 hoc sē ignōminiae lātūrōs locō sī inceptam oppugnātiōnem reliquissent; 7 praestāre omnēs perferre acerbitātēs quam nōn cīvibus Rōmānīs quī Cenabī perfidiā Gallōrum interīssent parentārent. 8 Haec eadem centuriōnibus tribūnīisque mīlitum mandābant ut per eōs ad Caesarem dēferrentur.

acerbitās, -tātis f.: harshness, severity; bitterness; hardship

parentō (1): propitiate (+ dat)
perferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātus: suffer, endure to the end

īdem, eadem, idem: the same

perfidia, -ae f.: treachery

incipiō, -ere, -cēpī, -ceptus: begin, take in hand

praestō, -āre, -stītī, -stītus: it is preferable, is better; stand out, be superior; show, manifest
die; cease

interēō, -īre, -īī, itus: die; cease

parentārent: this word appears only here in Caesar. It is related to the Parentalia festival, when Romans made offerings to their ancestors. Caes.’s soldiers here wish to propitiate or honor the Roman citizens slain at Cenabum (BG 7.3.1) by not giving in; it can also mean “avenge the death of a parent”

Ce nabī: at Cenabum (locative); see BG 7.3.1

haec eadem: these same words

centiuriōnibus…dēferrentur: The normal line of communication was regular soldier to centurion/tribune to commander. Caesar is emphasizing here that he, like Alexander or Hannibal, is not above mingling with the rank and file and hearing their opinions. Thus he hears the same sentiment directly from the soldiers that he hears from the centurions and tribunes
Cum iam múrō turēs approquinquāssent, ex captīvīs Caesar cognōvit Vercingetorīgem cōnsūmpō pābulō castra mōvīsse propius Avāricum atque ipsum cum equitātū expeditīsque, quī inter equitēs proeliārī cōnsuēssent, īnsidiārum causā eō profectum quō nostrōs posterō diē pābulātum ventūrōs arbitrārētur.

apprōinquō (1): approach (+ dat)  
cōnsuēscō, -ere, -suēvī, -suētus:  
be accustomed to, do by habit  
expeditus, expeditī m.: scout,  
lightly-armed soldier  
īnsidiae, -ārum f.: plot, ambush  
pābulor, -ārī, -ātus: forage for  
food or fodder  
pābulum, -ī n.: food, fodder  
posterus, -a, -um: next, following  
proelior, -ārī, ātus: fight, battle  

1: for a basic diagram of this sentence, see Appendix A  
apprōinquāssent: -quavissent, syncopation  
cōnsūmpō pābulō: abl. abs.; Verc. has destroyed all the foragable material in keeping with his plan to deny it to Roman forces  
ipsum...prōfectum [esse]: that he (Verc.) had departed, continuing the ind. statement after cognōvit  
profectum: had set out; sc. esse  
causā: for the purpose of, for the sake of; usually with a gen. gerund(ive), but frequently only implied, as here  
eō...quō: to that place...where  
cōnsuēssent: -suēvissent, syncopation  
ventūrōs: sc. esse  
pābulātum: to forage for food; supine expressing purpose
2 Quibus rēbus cognitīs mediā nocte silentiō profectus ad hostium castra māne pervēnit. 3 Illī celeriter per explōrātōrēs adventū Caesāris cognitō carrōs impedīmentaque sua in artīrēs silvās abdidērunt, cōpiās omnēs in locō ēditō atque apertō īnstrūxērunt. 4 Quā rē nūntiātā Caesār celeriter sarcinās cōnferrī, arma expedīrī iussit.

abdō, -ere, -didī, -ditus: conceal; remove; go away
explōrātor, -ōris m.: scout, spy
apertus, -a, -um: open, uncovered
impedimentum, -ī n.: baggage
artus, -a, -um: dense, narrow
īnstruō, -ere, -strūxī, -strūctus: draw up; construct; prepare; fit out
māne: early in the morning
 cărrus, -ī m.: wagon
sarcina, -ae f.: soldier’s kit; baggage, belongings
ēditus, -a, -um: high, rising
silva, -ae f.: forest
expediō, -īre, -īvī, -ītus: procure, make ready; loosen; disengage
profectus: the subject is Caesar
silentiō: in silence; with adverbial force
illī: the Gauls
celeriter per explōrātōrēs adventū Caesāris cognitō: abl. abs.
carrōs impedīmentaque: both the Romans and the Gauls marched with supply trains that needed to be protected from opportunistic attack
sar cinās: Roman soldiers carried a huge variety of non-fighting items, including shovels, picks, axes, saws, stakes, tents, rope, chains, sacks, buckets, cooking pots, grinding mills, and food. These were in addition to fighting implements: gladius (sword), pūgiō (dagger), scūtum (shield), pīla (javelins), galea (helmet), lorica (armor), etc. In addition all these items were all the personal belongings and plunder (sar cinae/impedimenta), which might be left in a safe place if a more rapid marching pace was required
Caesar decides not to engage and explains why

1 Collis erat lēniter ab īnīmō accliūvis. Hunc ex omnibus ferē partibus palūs difficilis atque impedīta cingēbat nōn lātior pedibus quīnquāgintā. 2 Hōc sē colle, interruptūs pontibus, Gallī fīdūciā locī continēbant, generātimque distribūtī in cīvitātēs, omnia vada ac saltūs eius palūdis obtinēbant, 3 sīc animō parātī, ut, sī eam palūdem Rōmānī perrumpere cōnārentur, haesitantēs premerent ex locō superiōre,

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lēniter ab īnīmō accliūvis: i.e., with a gentle rise, not steep; īnīmō is a substantive adjective for “the bottom”

2-3: for a basic diagram of this complicated sentence, see Appendix A

haesitantēs: [the Romans] constantly getting stuck; haesitāre is an iterative verb construction of haerēre “cling, adhere, hold fast; be fixed, firm; be at a loss;” the subject of premerent is the Gauls
ut quī propinquitātem locī vidēret parātōs prope aequō Mārte ad dīmicandum exīstimāret, quī inīquitātem condiciōnis perspiceret inānī simulātiōne sēsē ostentāre cognōsceret.

4 Indignantēs militēs Caesar, quod cōnspectum suum hostēs perferre possent tantulō spatiō interiectō, et signum proelī exposcentēs ēdocet,

**aequus, -a, -um:** even, equal  
**condiciō, -iōnis f.:** situation; manner; stipulation  
**cōnspectus, -ūs m.:** view, sight  
**dīmicō (1):** struggle, be in peril  
**ēdoceō, -ēre, -cuī, -tus:** inform (thoroughly), apprise, prove  
**exposcō, -ere, -poposcī:** request; demand  
**inānis, -e:** empty, hollow  
**intericiō,-ere, -iēcī, -iectus:** set between; intersperse  
**Mārs, Mārtis m.:** Mars (Roman god of war); fighting, battle  
**propinquitās, -tātis f.:** nearness  
**simulātiō, -iōnis f.:** imitation, pretense, deceit; assumption  
**tantulus, -a, -um:** so small

ut quī…quī: *with the result that anyone who…[but] anyone who…*

parātōs prope aequō Mārte ad dīmicandum: *prepared for fighting in almost equal battle; Mārte here is metonymy for the general act of fighting*

exīstimāret: *the object is the Gauls and the Romans*

inānī simulātiōne sēsē ostentāre: *that they were displaying an empty imitation;*

Caesar means that an observer would think that the Gauls are positioned such that any battles will occur on equal terms (even though close observation will reveal the Gauls’ upper hand). From the perspective of the Roman soldier, this situation seems acceptable, but Caesar here indicates his superior evaluative skills

exposcentēs: *parallel with indignantēs, both modifying militēs [Rōmānōs]*

4–5: see Appendix A for a basic diagram of this sentence
quantō dētrīmentō et quot virōrum fortium morte necesse sit cōnstāre victōriam; quōs cum sīc animō parātōs videat s ut nūllum prō suā laude perīculum recūsent, summae sē inīquitātis condemnārī débēre nisi eōrum vītam suā salūte habeat cāriōrem. 6 Sīc mīlitēs cōnsōlātus eōdem diē redūcit in castra reliquaque quae ad oppugnātiōnem pertinēbant oppidī administrāre īnstituit.

condemnō (1): find guilty
conāsōlor, -āri, -ātus: encourage, comfort; alleviate, soothe
condō, -āre, -ātus: cost
(+ abl); be certain; be determined; be extant, consist of
inīquitās, -tātis f.: unfairness
mors, mortis f.: death
pertineō, -ēre, -uī: reach; relate/pertain to
recūsō (1): decline, reject, refuse

quantō dētrīmentō…quot morte…necesse sit cōnstāre victōriam: how much damage…the death of how many…it would be necessary that victory cost
quōs cum: introduces a circumstantial clause; the antecedent of quos is the Roman soldiers
sē…dēbēre: sc. ēdocet from above
nisi eōrum vītam suā salūte habeat cāriōrem: if he did not consider their life more precious than his own safety; the verbs habēre and ducere can often have this meaning “consider” with a predicate
[20] **Vercingetorix replies to his detractors**

1 Vercingetorīx, cum ad suōs redīset, prōditiōnis īnsimulātus, quod castra propius Rōmānōs mōvisset, quod cum omnī equitātū discussisset, quod sine imperiō tantās cōpiās reliquisset, quod eius discussū Rōmānī tantā opportūnitāte et celeritāte vēnissent; 2 nōn haec omnia fortuitō aut sine cōnsiliō accidere potuisse; rēgnum illum Galliae mālle Caesaris concessū quam ipsōrum habēre beneficiō.

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**beneficium, -ī n.**: favor; honor, distinction

**concessus, -ūs m.**: permission

**fortuitō**: accidentally, by chance

**īnsimulō (1)**: accuse, charge; allege

**mālō, mālle, māluī**: prefer

**opportūnitās, -tātis f.**: convenience, advantage

**prōditiō, -ōnis f.**: treason, betrayal

**prope**: near, nearly; close by; almost

**rēgnum, -ī n.**: kingship, rule; domain, a kingdom

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**īnsimulātus**: sc. est to form a perfect passive indicative; see Appendix A

**quod**: [due to] the fact that; this is a difficult passage: the subjunctives are of “alleged reason” and convey the stated grounds for an assertion (“on the grounds that he had…”); the actuality of the actions (moving the camp, departing with the cavalry, etc) are not in question

**sine imperiō**: without a leader; it seems that Verc. failed to delegate authority

**discessū**: due to his [Verc.’s] departure, or perhaps during his departure

**opportūnitāte…fortuitō**: the Gauls allege that Verc.’s departure was a little too conveniently timed with the Roman attack on their camp

**potuisse, mālle**: infinitives in an implied indirect statement; sc. “the accusing Gauls say that;” for mālle, sc. Vercingetorigem as subject

**concessū**: through the permission of
dē bellō Gallicō VII 20.3-5

3 Tālī modō accusātus ad haec respondit: quod castra mōvisset, factum inopiā pābulī etiam ipsīs hortantibus; quod propius Rōmānōs accessisset, persuāsum locī opportunitāte, quī sē ipsum mūnītiōne défenderet; 4 equitum vērō operam neque in locō palūstrī désiderārī débuisse et illīc fuisse útilem quō sint profectī; 5 summam imperīī sē cōnsultō nūlli discēdentem trādidisse nē is multitudinis studiō ad dīmicandum impellerētur, cui reī propter animī mollitiem studēre omnēs vidēret, quod diūtius labōrem ferre nōn possent;

cōnsultō: deliberately, intentionally

dēsīderō (1): want, wish for, require; (in pass.) miss, lack
dīmicō (1): struggle, be in peril
diūtius: longer, for a longer time
illic: in that place, yonder
impellō, -ere, -pulī, -pulsus:
drive, push on; urge on; induce
inopia, -ae f.: lack, need, dearth
mollitiēs, -iei f.: softness, weakness
mūnītiō, -iōnis f.: fortification

opportunītās, -tātis f.:
convenience, advantage
pābulum, -ī n.: food; fodder
palūster, -stris, -stre: swampy
persuadeō, -ere, -suāsī, -suāsus:
(here) induce, prompt
quō: (to) where
studium, -iī n.: zeal, exertion
tālis, -e: such, of such a sort
ūtilis, -e: useful

quod...factum: with regard to the fact that...[he says that] it was done

factum, persuāsum: sc. esse in extended ind. statement

etiam ipsīs hortantibus: the Gauls themselves had even urged this move

5: see Appendix A for a short diagram of this section

summam imperīī: that is, the command of the Gauls in his absence

is: that is, the person to whom he might have delegated command

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6 Rōmānī sī cāsū intervēnerint, fortūnae, sī alicuius indiciō vocātī, huic habendam grātiam, quod et paucitātem eōrum ex locō superiōre cognōscere et virtūtem dēspicere potuerint quī dīmicāre nōn ausī turpiter sē in castra recēperint.

7 Imperium sē ab Caesare prōditiōnem nūllum dēsīderāre, quod habēre victōriā posset quae iam esset sibi atque omnibus Gallīs explōrāta: quīn etiam ipsīs remittere, sī sī magis honōrem tribuere quam ab sē salūtem accipere videantur.

**Indicium, -ī n.:** information, disclosure; evidence, proof
**Interveniō, -īre, -vēnī, -ventus:** come between; occur, pop up
**Paucitās, -tātis f.:** scarcity, fewness
**Prōditiō, -ōnis f.:** betrayal, treason
**Tribuō, -ere, -uī, -ūtus:** grant, allot
**Turpiter:** repulsively, disgracefully, shamelessly

**Audeō, -ēre, ausus:** dare
**Casus, casūs m.:** chance; accident; calamity, fall
**Dēspiciō, -ere, -spēxī, -spectus:** look down on; disdain, despise
**Dēsiderō (1):** want, wish for, require; (in pass.) miss, lack
**Explōrō (1):** bring/search out; investigate, test
**Grātia, -ae f.:** gratitude; favor

*sī…sī…habendam grātiam:* see Appendix A for a diagram of this tricky passage. Instead of being a problem, the arrival of the Romans in his absence is fortuitous, which is then explained further (*quod*).

**Alicuius indiciō:** by the disclosure of some [spy/traitor].

**Turpiter:** Caesar’s characterization of his actions, here in Verc.’s words, contrasts with his own analysis of the event in the previous chapter.

**Quīn…videantur:** [he says that] in fact he would even hand back [his leadership], if [the Gauls] seemed to bestow honor on him rather than take safety from him.
8 “Haec ut intellegātis” inquit “ā mē sincērē prōnūntiārī, audītē Rōmānōs militēs.” 9 Prōdūcit servōs quōs in pābulātiōne paucīs ante diēbus excēperat et fame vinculīsque excruciāverat. Hī iam ante ēdoctī quae interrogātī prōnūntiārent, 10 mīlitēs sē esse legiōnāriōs dicunt; fame et inopiā adductōs clam ex castrīs exīsse sī quid frūmentī aut pecoris in agrīs reperīre possent;

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clam: secretly; covertly
ēdoceō, -ēre, -uī, -tus: instruct
excruciō (1): torture; torment
famēs, -is f.: hunger, want
pābulātiō, -iōnis f.: foraging
pecus, pecoris n.: herd; flock
prōdūcō, -ere, -dūxī, -ductus: lead forward, bring out, reveal
reperiō, -īre, -ī, -pertus: discover, obtain; learn
salūs, salūtis f.: health; prosperity
sincērē: candidly; honestly
vinculum, -ī n.: chain, prison

servōs: Caesar clearly terms them slaves, suggesting they were not in fact soldiers. These slaves would have accompanied the Roman soldiers in their foraging. Caesar might also be deliberately downplaying the status of these captives if they were in fact legionnaires.
iam ante ēdoctī: having been instructed before now; Verc. has carefully coached these “witnesses” to ensure they say what he wishes.
sī quid...possent: [to determine] if they might be able to discover anything.

īnsimulō (1): accuse, charge; allege
nihil: nothing; in no way; not at all
prōditiō, -ōnis f.: betrayal, treason
prōficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectus: make progress, advance; have success
prōvideō, -ēre, -vīdī, -vīsus: discern; foresee; see to; avert
quisquam, quidquam: anyone

statuō, -ere, -uī, -tūtus: set up, establish, set; decide, think
sufficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectus: be sufficient, adequate
trīduum, trīduī n.: three days
turpiter: disgracefully, shamelessly
vīs, vīs f.: violence, potency;
(in pl.) physical strength

statuisset imperātōrem: [they say that] their commander [Caes.] had decided that
inquit: orātiō rēcta is relatively rare in the commentāriī, but most prevalent in book VII; for speeches in Caes., see Grillo’s discussion in The Cambridge Companion to the Writings of Julius Caesar (2017)

quem…cuius…quem: the first two pronouns refer to himself (Verc.), while the final quem has exercitum as its antecedent
cuius operā: because of the work/efforts of whom
ā mē prōvīsum est: it has been seen to/arranged by me [that]
nē quā…recipiat: that no [Gallic] tribe receive which [army] within its borders
[21] The Gauls approve of Vercingetorix and send support

1 Conclāmat omnis multītudō et suō mōre armīs concrepat, quod facere in eō cōnsuērunt cuius ōrātiōnem approbant. Summum esse Vercingetorīgem ducem, nec dē eius fide dubitandum, nec maiōre ratioōne bellum administrārī posse.

2 Statuunt ut X mīlia hominum dēlēcta ex omnibus cópiīs in oppidum mittantur, nec sōlis Biturigibus commūnem salūtem committendam cēnsent, quod paene in eō, sī id oppidum retinuissent, summam victōriae cōnstāre intellegēbant.

approbō (1): approve, favor

conclāmō (1): shout together

concrepō, -āre, -uī, -itus: clash, creak, rattle, make noise

cēnseō, -ēre, -uī, -sus: judge, determine, be of the opinion

committō, -ere, -mīsi, -missus: entrust to; enter on, engage in

cōnstō, -āre, -iī, -ātus: (here) consist of, rest/stand on

cōnsuēsco, -ere, -suēvī, -suētus: be accustomed to, have habit of
dēligō, -ere, -ēgī, -lēctus: select

mōs, mōris m.: habit, custom

retineō, -ēre, -uī, -tentus: hold fast, preserve; restrain

sōlus, -a, -um: only, alone

statuō, -ere, -uī, -ūtus: decide, determine; erect; support

nec dē eius fide dubitandum: nor must there be doubt of his honor

in eō: in the following; that is, that they keep possession of the town

summam victoriae: in the past, this section has been interpreted to mean that the Gauls did not wish the Bit. alone to receive all the glory of the defense. It seems more accurate, however, to read it as the Gauls’ unwillingness to rely on the Bit. alone for the defense, since it was such a key element in their strategy
Caesar describes Gallic battlefield technology

Singulārī mīlitum nostrōrum virtūtī cōnsilia cuiusque modī Gallōrum occurrēbant, ut est summae genus sollertiae atque ad omnia imitanda et efficienda quae ab quōque trāduntur aptissimum.

aptus, -a, -um: suitable; adapted; comfortable
efficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectus: cause, bring about; accomplish
genus, generis n.: type, kind, race
imitor, -ārī, -ātus: copy, mimic

occurrō, -ere, -ī, -rsus: (+ dat) meet, oppose, resist; clash with
quisque, quidque: each, every
singulāris, -e: unique; remarkable
sollertia, -ae f.: skill, cleverness; resourcefulness

singulārī...occurrēbant: the subject cōnsilia is delayed, and the verb takes a dative object; Caes. contrasts the virtūs of the Romans with the technological response of the Gaul, a reversal of the typical attributes of the two sides in BG
cuiusque modī: of every kind
genus...aptissimum: a type (of society) very suited to/for or very comfortable with (+ad and gerundive); Caesar typically uses the term genus to denote broad category types. At BG 4.20.1 he seeks to know what genus of men dwell in Britain; at BG 6.28 he uses the word to indicate socio-economic types among Gauls; elsewhere he uses it for types of fighting (employed by Germans, BG 1.48.5; of Britons fighting from chariots, BG 4.33.1; of types of cunīculī, BG 7.22.2 below)
ab quōque: by anyone
Nam et laqueīs falcēs āvertēbant quās cum dēstināverant tormentīs intrōrsus redūcēbant, et aggerem cunīculīs subtrahēbant, eō scientius quod apud eōs magnae sunt ferrāriae atque omne genus cunīculōrum nōtum atque ūsitātum est.

cunīculus, -ī m.: hole, mineshaft  
destīnō (1): fasten down; mark out;  
fix in mind; aim  
subiō, -e, -ērī, -ēritus: remove from below, carry off; take away; undermine  
ūsitātus, -a, -um: familiar,  
everyday; customary, usual

laqueīs falcēs āvertēbant: they turn away the hooks with snares; the laqueus is simply a loop on a rope, and a falx is a hook on a long pole used by Roman soldiers to pull away parts of a wall or the men stationed upon it; see BG 3.14.5; Tacitus Hist. 3.27

quās…tormentīs intrōrsus redūcēbant: which…they were bringing back within the walls by machines; the term tormentum is applied in Latin to a variety of torsion-based devices, including projectile-hurlers (typical in Roman armies), torture racks, and even clothes-presses. Here Caes. seems to mean that the Gauls have devised a winch of some sort to lasso and then pull away the falcēs

cunīculīs: a cūniculus is a rabbit, from the Greek κύνικος, but by extension means, as result of their burrowing, “underground passage, hole, cavity.” Here they are the tunnels created by soldiers digging under fortifications in an attempt to compromise them; see BG 3.21.2-3 and 7.24.2 below, and Livy 5.19.10; 31.17.2; 38.7.6

aggerem: a siege mound; see the note at BG 7.17.1 above

eō scientius quod: the more skillfully [they employ the tunnels] because; ablative of degree of difference with comparative adverb
3 Tōtum autem mūrum ex omnī parte turribus
contabulāverant atque hās coriīs interēxerant. 4 Tum crēbris
diurnīs nocturnīisque ēruptiōnibus aut aggerī ignem
īnferēbant aut mīlitēs occupātōs in opere adoriēbantur, et
nostrārum turrium altitūdinem, quantum hās cotīdiānus
agger expresserat,

adorīor, -īrī, -ītus: assault, attack
contabulō (1): build in tiers/stories
corium, coriī n.: skin, hide
cotīdiānus, -a, -um: daily
crēber, -bra, -brum: thick, pressed
together; frequent; abundant
diurnus, -a, -um: by day
ēruptiō, -iōnis f.: sudden rush of
troops from a position; a sally

exprīmō, -ere, -pressī, -pressus:
squeeze/press/thrust out
īnferō, -ferre, -tulī, -lātus: (w/
fire) throw upon, set
integō, -ere, -tēxī, -tēctus: cover
nocturnus, -a, -um: at night
turris, -is f.: tower, turret, siege
machine

murum…turribus contabulāverant: the verb contabulāre has multiple meanings,
but here seems to mean that the Gauls had created tiers or stories on the
defensive walls of the town by means of elevated turrets; elsewhere the verb
means to furnish or cover with boards (BG 5.40; Livy 24.37.7; cf. Suet. Calig. 19)
coriīs interēxerant: the coria were hide coverings for the turrēs which helped
protect them from flaming projectiles, and were generally used both on walls
and on siege machinery
mīlitēs occupātōs: [Rōmānōs]
quadrum hās cotīdiānus agger expresserat: as much as the ramp/mound had daily
thrust out (perhaps inched forward) these (siege towers); the primary purpose of the
ramp was to provide a method to raise the siege towers to the height of the wall
5 commissīs suārum turrium mālīs adaequābant, et apertōs cunīculōs praeustā et praeacūtā māteriā et pice fervefactā et maximī ponderis saxīs morābantur moenibusque appropinquāre prohibēbant.

**adaequō (1):** make equal in height, come up to level; compare (to)

**apertus, -a, -um:** open; uncovered, exposed; manifest

**appropinquō (1):** (+ dat) approach, come near to; draw nigh

**cunīculus, -ī m.:** hole, mineshaft

**fervefactus, -a, -um:** hot; melted

**mālus, -ī m.:** beam; tall pole

**māteria, -ae f.:** wood, timber

**moenia, -ium n.:** town walls

**moror, -ārī, ātus:** delay; stay

**pix, picis f.:** pitch, tar

**pondus, -eris n.:** weight, mass

**praecūtus, -a, -um:** sharpened

**praeustus, -a, -um:** burnt at the end; hardened by burning

**commissīs suārum turrium mālīs:** wooden beams having been joined to their own towers; the Gauls continually increase the height of their own turrēs in response

**apertōs cunīculōs:** it is not known what Caes. means here. These could be Roman tunnels very similar to those attempted by the Gauls, in which case *apertōs* would be the perfect passive participle of *aperīre* “laid bare, rendered accessible, discovered,” presumably by their own counter-tunneling efforts and then assailed with *māteriā et saxīs*; or these *cunīculī* could be open trenches (adj. *apertī,* favored here), involved in some way with the construction of the *agger,* or perhaps less literal “passageways” atop the *agger* which were covered by *vineae.* In either case, it is not clear what use the *māteriae* would be—the burning pitch and stones are more obvious in their usage and effectiveness

**fervefactā:** a relatively rare term in Latin, found only twice in *BG,* once each in culinary contexts in Columella and Apicus, but frequently in Pliny *NH*

**morābantur, prohibēbant:** conative imperfects: were attempting to delay, prevent
Caesar describes the method of Gallic wall construction

1. Mūrī autem omnēs Gallicī hāc fērē fōrmā sunt. Trabēs dērēctae perpetuae in longitūdinem paribus intervāllīs, distantēs inter sē bīnōs pedēs, in solō collocantur. 2 Hae revinciuntur intrōrsus et multō aggere vestiuntur;

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agger, aggeris m.: (here) dirt
bīnī, -ae, -a: two by two; two to each; two at a time
collocō (1): arrange, place together, set up, erect
derēctus, -a, -um: straight
dīstāns, -ntis: distant; separate
intervāllum, -ī n.: an intermediate space; (of time) an interval

intrōrsus: (to) within, inwards
longitūdō, -dinis f.: length
mūrus, -ī m.: wall
par, paris: equal
perpetuus, -a, -um: continuous
solum, solī n.: bottom, ground
revinciō, -īre, -īvi, -ītus: fasten
trabs, trabis f.: beam, timber; log
vestiō, -īre, -īvī, -ītus: cover

hāc fērē formā: This chapter is highly technical Latin and, like Caesar’s attempt to describe his bridge across the Rhine (BG 4.17.3–9), sometimes difficult to follow

mūrus: Caes. uses mūrus and moenia interchangeably; moenia, almost always plural, might be translated as “fortifications; ramparts,” while the mūrus is the wall itself

in longitūdinem: lengthwise / end-to-end
ea autem, quae dīximus, inter vālla grandibus in fronte saxīs effarciuntur. 3 Hīs collocātīs et coagmentātīs alius īnsuper ōrdō additur, ut idem illud intervāllum servētur neque inter sē contingant trabēs, sed paribus intermissae spatiīs singulīs saxīs interiectīs arte contineantur.

addō, -ere, -didī, -ditus: add, place in addition, attach to
ars, artis f.: skill
cogmentō (1): join, connect
effarciō, -ire, -fertus: fill out; cram
frōns, -ontis f.: front, façade; exterior; (elsewhere) brow, face
grandis, -e: large, great, grand

īnsuper: above, on top; in addition
intericiō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectus:
intersperse, insert; throw between
intermittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missus:
leave off, omit, interrupt; let pass
ōrdō, -inis m.: line, row, series
vāllum, -ī n.: rampart; entrenchment

alia īnsuper ōrdō: another row [of trabēs] above
paribus...spatiīs: from the outside and the inside, the facing of the wall would show the regularly-spaced ends of the beams, placed perpendicular to the course of the wall and seeming to float in regular intervals among a smooth facing of stones (see illustration on p.75 below). Between the two wall facings, the unseen interior structure of these perpendicular beams is reinforced by long beams placed at right angles (parallel with the course of the wall), attached to the perpendicular beams by morticed joints, and the whole interior is filled with soil and/or rubble. This type of construction is termed murus Gallicus and is typical of Iron Age oppida in western Europe during the La Tène period. Several examples of the technique have been excavated, mostly in France, and some site curators have created partial constructions (as at Bibracte, oppidum of the Aedui, near modern Autun)
4 Sic deinceps omne opus contextur dum iūsta mūrī altitūdō expleātur. 5 Hoc cum in speciem varietātemque opus dēformē nōn est alternīs trabibus ac saxīs, quae rēctīs līneīs suōs ōrdinēs servant, tum ad ūtilitātem et dēfēnsiōnem urbium summam habet opportūnitātem, quod et ab incendiō lapis et ab ariete māteria dēfendit, quae perpetuīs trabibus pedēs quadrāgēnōs plērumque intrōrsus revincta neque perrumpī neque distrahī potest.

**ariēs, -etis m.:** (here) battering ram
**contexō, -ere, -uī, -tus:** join, bind, weave; construct, put together
**dēfōrmis, -e:** ugly, deformed
**deinceps:** in order, successively
**distrαhō, -ere, -trāxī, -tractus:** draw apart, rend, separate
**expleō, -ēre, -plēvī, -plētus:** fill out; complete, finish
**incendium, -iī n.:** fire
**intrōrsus:** (to) within, inwards
**lapis, lapidis m.:** stone
**līnea, -ae f.:** line, mark; string

**māteria, -ae f.:** wood, timber
**ōrdō, -inis m.:** line, row, series
**perrumpō, -ere, -rūpī, -ruptus:** break through
**quadrāgēnus, -a, -um:** forty each
**rēctus, -a, -um:** straight
**revinciō, -īre, -xī, -ctus:** fasten
**speciēs, -iēī f.:** sight, appearance
**trabs, trabis f.:** beam, timber; log
**ũtilitās, -tātis f.:** usefulness
**varietās, -tātis f.:** difference; varied appearance

**omne opus:** the whole work, the whole wall
**dum iūsta mūrī altitūdō expleātur:** until the proper height of the wall be finished
**cum...tum:** not only...but also

**revincta:** as described in the note of the previous section, the trabēs are reinforced on the interior of the wall with further beams set at right angles, which joins the whole length together
1 Hīs tot ērebus ēmpedītā oppūgnātiōne mīlitēs, cum tōtō tempore frīgore et assiduīs īmbris tardārentur, tamen continentī labōre omnia haec superāvērunt et diēbus XXV aggerem lātum pedēs CCCXXX, altum pedēs LXXX exstrūxērunt.

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assiduus, -a, -um: constant
continēns, -entis: continual, uninterrupted; limiting
exstruō, -ere, -ūxī, -ctus: build up, raise, build, construct

frīgus, -oris n.: cold; winter
imber, īmbris m.: rain
impediō, -īre, -īvī, -ītus: hinder, impede, obstruct, prevent from
tardō (1): slow, delay, impede

tōtō tempore: the entire time; abl. of duration of time, instead of the accusative; cf. BC 1.46: hōc cum esset modō pugnātum continenter horīs quinque

aggerem lātum pedēs CCCXXX, altum pedēs LXXX: they built the ramp to be 330 feet wide, 80 feet tall. The great width was perhaps due to the necessity to support two massive siege towers (turrēs) next to each other, though some doubt these numbers. Such a height would be necessary if the walls of the town were fronted by a deep moat. Caes. utilized an agger a total of five times in the Gallic Wars: the first at Noviodunum, oppidum of the Suessiones (BG 2.12.1-5) and second against the Atuatuci (BG 2.30-33), both in 57 BCE; the third, via his legate P. Crassus, against the stronghold of the Sotiates in 56 (BG 3.21-22); the fourth here at Avaricum in 52; and the fifth at Uxellodunum, which has the most detailed description (BG 8.41-44). There are surviving Roman examples of aggerēs at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates and at Masada in the Judaean Desert. See S. Krausz, “Julius Caesar’s assault ramp at the Oppidum of Avaricum in 52 BC” in Enclosing Space, Opening New Ground - Iron Age Studies from Scotland to Mainland Europe, ed. Romankiewicz, Fernández-Götz, Lock, and Buchenschütz (Oxbow 2019), 23-31
2 Cum is mūrum hostium paene contigeret et Caesar ad opus cōnsuētūdine excubāret mīlitēsque hortārētur nē quod omnīnō tempus ab opere intermitterētur, paulō ante tertiam vigiliam est animadversum fūmāre aggerem quem cunīculō hostēs succenderant. 3 Eōdemque tempore tōtō mūrō clāmōre sublātō duābus portīs ab utrōque latere turrium ēruptiō fiebat.

cōnsuētūdō, -dīnis f.: habit, custom; tradition, precedent
cunīculus, -ī m.: hole, mineshaft
ēruptiō, -iōnis f.: sudden rush of troops from a position; a sally
excubō (1): keep watch, be vigilant; camp out
fumō (1): smoke

intermittō, -ere, -mīsī, -missus: leave off, omit, interrupt; let pass
latus, lateris n.: side, flank
omnīnō: at all
paene: nearly, almost
succendō, -ere, -ī, -cēnsus: set on fire from below
uter-, utra-, utrumque: each (of two)

ad opus cōnsuētūdine excubāret: was watching over the work as usual
nē quod...tempus: that not any time; indirect command after hortārētur;
remember: “after si, nisi, num or nē, all the ali- drop away”
paulō ante tertiam vigiliam: a little while before the third watch; the third watch was from midnight to 3 AM, so this incident took place a little before midnight
cunīculō: ablative of means; see the note at 22.2
ēruptiō fiebat: a sally happened/arose; a sally is a sudden attack from within the defenses of a besieged place
Aliī facēs atque āridam māteriem dē mūrō in aggerem ēminus iaciēbant, picem reliquāsque rēs quibus ignis excitārī potest fundēbant ut quō prīmum currerētur aut cui reī ferrētur auxilium vix ratiō inīrī posset.

āridus, -a, -um: dry, parched
ēminus: from a distance
excitō (1): (here) kindle, light
fax, facis f.: torch, firebrand
fundō, -ere, fūdī, fūsus: pour
iaciō, -ere, iēcī, iactus: throw
ignis, -is m.: fire

ineō, inīre: (here) begin, undertake
māteriēs, -ieī f.: = māteria, -ae, material; wood
pix, picis f.: pitch, tar
quō: (to) where
vix: hardly, scarcely, barely

Aliī…iaciēbant…[aliī] fundēbant: some men were throwing…some men were pouring; typically a second aliī would be expected here, as in the next sentence
ut…vix ratiō inīrī posset: with the result that a plan/method (ratiō) was hardly able to be undertaken (inīrī)
quō…currerētur aut cui…ferrētur: as to where one might run first or to what situation help might be brought; indirect questions with ratiō inīrī
Tamen, quod īnstitūtō Caesaris semper duae legiōnēs prō castrīs excubābant plūrēsque partītīs temporibus erant in opere, celeriter factum est ut aliī ēruptiōnibus resisterent, aliī turres redūcerent aggeremque interscinderent, omnis vērō ex castrīs multitūdō ad restinguendum concurreret.

ēruptiō, -iōnis f.: sudden rush of troops from a position; a sally
excubō (1): keep watch
īnstitūtum, īnstitūtī n.: design, plan, order; intention
interscindō, -ere, -ē, scissus: tear asunder, split
partī, -īre, -īvī, -ītus: distribute
plūrēs, plūria: many
redūcō, -ere: (here) move back
resistō, -ere, -restītī: oppose, withstand (+ dat)
restinguō, -ere, -stinxī, -stinctus: extinguish, mitigate; exterminate
vērō: in fact; even; but indeed

5: see Appendix A for a basic diagram of this sentence; Caesar lists three outcomes, singling out two distinct groups and their tasks (aliī…aliī) and then the gaggle of soldiers in general (omnis multitūdō)

plūrēsque partītīs temporibus erant in opere: two legions kept watch at the ready (excubāre) while many others were busy with the construction

factum est ut: it was quickly accomplished that; it was quickly seen to that; impers.

turrēs redūcerent aggeremque interscinderent: some of the Roman soldiers are pulling back the siege towers to get them away from the hurled firebrands and the Gallic cuniculi, and are also digging in the agger to locate or destroy the cuniculi. interscinderent is a bit troublesome here: it would make no sense for the Romans to “tear asunder” their agger at this point. Caes. uses interscindere only one other time, of Gauls attempting to tear up a bridge (BG 2.9)

ad restinguendum: gerund construction expressing purpose
[25] *The Gauls continue to attack Roman constructions*

1 Cum in omnibus locīs cōnsūmptā iam reliquā parte noctis pugnārētur semperque hostibus spēs victōriae redintegrārētur, eō magis quod deustōs pluteōs turrium vidēbant nec facile adīre apertōs ad auxiliandum animadvertēbant, semperque ipsī recentēs dēfessīs succēderent omnemque Galliae salūtem in illō vestīgiō temporis positam arbitrārentur,

aperiō, -īre, -uī, -pertus: uncover, expose; explain, recount; reveal
arbitror, -ārī, -ātus: observe, consider; decide, judge
auxilior, -ārī, -ātus: aid, assist
dēfessus, -a, -um: exhausted, tired
dēurō, -ere, -ussī, -ustus: burn down, consume
pluteus, -ēī m.: covering, shed
recēns, -tis: recent, fresh, young
redintegrō (1): renew; revive
salūs, -tis f.: health; prosperity
spēs, -ēī f.: hope
succēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessus: follow, take the place of (+ dat)
vestigium, -ī n.: (of time) point, moment, instant; (elsewhere) a footprint, trace

**Cum:** an extended circumstantial clause which will not end until *arbitrārentur*; see Appendix A for a diagram of this sentence

**eō magis quod:** the more so because

**nec facile adīre apertōs:** and that [our men], exposed, could not easily approach

**ipsī:** the Gauls

**in illō vestīgiō temporis positam:** rested on this very moment in time
accidit ḵinspectantibus nōbīs quod, dignum memoriā vīsum, praetereundum nōn exīstimāvimus. 2 Quīdam ante portam oppidī Gallus per manūs sēbī ac picis trāditās glaebās in ignem ē regiōne turris prōiciēbat; scorpiōne ab latere dextrō trāiectus examinātusque concidit.

accidō, -ere, -ēri, -ērum: fall, die
praetereō, -īre, -īvī, -ītus: pass by, disregard, omit, miss
dexter, -tra, -trum: right-hand; skillful; favorable, fortunate
prōiciō, -ere, -iēcī, -iectus: hurl, throw forth
exanimō (1): kill; scare; exhaust
quer-, quae-, quoddam: a certain, a certain one
glaeba, -ae f.: lump, clod, glob
sēbum, -ī n.: grease, tallow
latus, lateris n.: side, flank
trāiciō, -ere, -ēcī, -ectus: pierce, pierce; transport; break through
pix, picis f.: pitch, tar

co ncidō, -ere, -dī, -ere: fall, die
praetereō, -īre, -īvī, -ītus: pass by, disregard, omit, miss
quī-, quae-, quoddam: a certain, a certain one
sēbum, -ī n.: grease, tallow
trāiciō, -ere, -ēcī, -ectus: pierce, pierce; transport; break through

accidit...quod: there happened... [something] which
dignum memoriā vīsum: having seemed [to Caes.] worthy of memory
praetereundum nōn: sc. esse for the passive periphrastic infin. in ind. statement
per manūs...trāditās: passed [to him] by hand
scorpiōne: The scorpiō was a large torsion–powered projectile weapon which fired a bolt at extreme velocity. It was very accurate, could pierce armor and shields, and inflicted terrible carnage. Caesar sometimes refers to these weapons as tormenta (cf. BG 2.8.4; 4.25.1–2), which is a more general term for any device which is powered by twisting (torquendō) fibers, used also of cranes (7.22.2 above) and torture racks (BG 6.19.3). Though Caesar mentions the legionnaires’ use of pīla (javelins) regularly, he rarely mentions other types of missile weapons in the legions, even though they must have been present; cf. BG 4.25.1, when he orders the Britons to be driven back by slings, arrows, and artillery: fundīs, sagittīs, tormentīs hostēs propellī ac submovēri iussit
3 Hunc ex proximīs ūnus iacentem trānsgressus eōdem illō mūnere fungēbātur; 4 eādem ratiōne ictū scorpiōnis exanimātō alterī successit tertius, et tertīō quārtus, nec prius ille est ā prōpugnātōribus vacuus relictus locus quam restinctō aggere atque omnī ex parte summōtīs hostibus ēnis est pugnandī factus.

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**finis**, –is m. end, conclusion; boundary, territory
fungor, –ī, fūnctus: engage in, discharge, perform (+ abl)
iaceō, –ēre, –uī, –: lie, lie dead
ictus, –ūs m.: blow, stroke, wound
mūnus, –eris n.: duty, service; gift
prōpugnātor, –ōris m.: defender
restinguō, –ere, –stīnxī, –stinctus: extinguish; destroy; mitigate

succēdō, –ere, –cessī, –cessus: follow, take the place of (+ dat)
summoveō, –ēre, –mōvī, –mōtus: remove; drive off, dislodge; expel
trānsgrederī, –ī, –gressus: cross, climb over, step over; desert
vacuus, –a, –um: empty, unoccupied, unmanned

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**ex proximīs ūnus**: one from the nearby [Gauls]
mūnere: duty; abl. singular object of fungēbātur
exanimātō alterī: dative with successit
īctū: ablative of means
ille…locus: this position
prius…quam: earlier…than, until
finis est pugnandī factus: an end was made of the fighting; gerund
[26] **Women of the town take matters into their own hands**

1 Omnia expertī Gallī, quod rēs nūlla successerat, posterō diē cōnsilium cēpērunt ex oppidō profugere hortante et iubente Vercingetorīge. 2 Id silentiō noctis cōnātī nōn magnā iactūrā suōrum sēsē effectūrōs spērābant, propterēā quod nēque longē ab oppidō castra Vercingetorīgis aberant, et palūs quae perpetua intercēdēbat Rōmānōs ad īnsequendum tardābat.

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**absum, -esse**: be away/far from  
**cōnor, -ārī, -ātus**: attempt, make an effort; exert oneself  
**efficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectus**: cause, bring about; accomplish  
**experior, -īrī, -pertus**: test, attempt; try  
**īnsequor, -ī, -cūtus**: follow; attack  
**intercēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessus**: lie between; intervene  
**iactūra, -ae f.**: loss, cost, damage  
**perpetuus, -a, -um**: continuous  
**posterus, a, um**: next, following  
**profūgiō, -ere, -gī, -gītus**: escape, escape from; run away from  
**propterēā**: (with *quod*) because, with the view that  
**spērō (1)**: hope for; look forward to  
**succēdō, -ere, -cessī, -cessus**: (here) turn out, succeed  
**tardō (1)**: check; hinder, slow

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**quod rēs nūlla successerat**: because no attempt [of theirs] had succeeded  
**cōnsilium cēpērunt**: made a plan  
**hortante et iubente Vercingetorīge**: abl. abs.; the order perhaps suggests that Verc. at first suggested, and then ultimately ordered them to withdraw  
**cōnātī**: having attempted
Iamque hoc facere noctū apparābant cum mātrēs familiae repente in pūblicum prōcurrērunt flentēsque prōiectae ad pedēs suōrum omnibus precibus petiērunt nē sē et commūnēs līberōs hostibus ad supplicium dēderent quōs ad capiendam fugam nātūrae et vīrium īnfirmitās impedīret.

**apparō** (1): prepare, equip, provide; attempt; organize
**commūnis**, -e: in common, shared
**dēdō**, -ere, -didī, -ditus: give up, surrender; abandon; hand over
**fleō**, -ērē, -ēvī, -ētus: cry, weep
**īnfirmītās**, -tātis f.: weakness
**līberī**, -ōrum m.: children

**prex**, **precis** f.: prayer, request
**prōcurrō**, -ere, -currī, -cursus: run out, rush forward, charge
**prōiciō**, -ere, -iēcī, -iectus: hurl, throw forth; cast out; abandon
**repente**: suddenly; unexpectedly
**supplicium**, -iī n.: punishment

**hoc facere**: *to do this* (depart from the town)

**mātrēs familiae**: Caesar infrequently mentions women in *Gallic Wars* and even more infrequently do they have any agency; he will again note the actions of women during a siege at *BG* 7.47.4–6. Typically the terms Caesar uses are *mulierēs*, *uxōrēs*, or *mātrēs familiae*, as here. For women in the *Gallic Wars* see Jane Bellemore, “Caesar’s Gallic Women under Siege,” *Latomus* 2016: 888–902

**ad supplicium dēderent**: abandon to punishment/torture/suffering

**quōs...īnfirmītās impēdīret**: whom weakness was hindering from (+ ad)

**vīrium**: gen. pl. of irregular noun *vis*, in the plural meaning “physical strength”
4 Ubi eōs in sententiā perstāre vīdērunt, quod plērumque in summō perīculō timor misericordiam nōn recipit, conclāmare et significāre dē fugā Rōmānīs coepērunt.
5 Quō timōre perterritī Gallī, nē ab equitātū Rōmānōrum viae praecoccupārentur, cōnsiliō dēstītērunt.

coclāmō (1): cry, shout aloud; signal
dēsistō, -ere, -stitī, -stitus: cease, leave off, give over
misericordia, -ae f.: pity, mercy
perstō, -āre, -stitī, -stitus: persist, stand firmly, remain unmoved
plērumque: mostly, generally
praecoccupō (1): seize; anticipate
sententia, -ae, f.: way of thinking, judgment, opinion; decision, intent
significō (1): indicate, show
eōs in sententiā perstāre: that [the men] stood firmly in their opinion
nē…viae…praecoccupārentur: [fearing] that the routes be seized
[27] Caesar’s forces take the wall

1 Posterō diē Caesar prōmōtā turrī perfectīisque operibus quae facere īnstituerat, magnō coortō imbre nōn inūtilem hanc ad capiendum cōnsilium tempestātem arbitrātus est, quod paulō incautius cūstōdiās in mūrō dispositās vidēbat, suōsque languidius in opere versārī iussit et quid fierī vellet ostendit.

coorior, -īrī, -ortus: appear, originate; arise, break out; be born
cūstōdīa, -ae f.: guard; protection
dispōnō, -ere, -posuī, -positus: place, distribute; arrange, lay out
imber, imbris m.: rain, storm
incautus, -a, -um: careless
inūtilis, -e: useless, unprofitable, inexpedient, disadvantageous
languidē: lazily, slowly; listlessly

perficiō, -ere, -fēcī, -fectus: finish, accomplish
posterus, a, um: next, following
prōmoveō, -ère, -mōvī, -mōtus: move forward, advance; increase
tempestās, -tātis f.: weather, storm, season, time
versō (1): (in pass.) be occupied with, situated in; remain in; (in act.) turn, upturn, revolve

1: see Appendix A for a diagram of this sentence
turrī: abl. sing. fem. (i-stem) with prōmōtā in abl. abs.
operibus perfectīs: abl. abs.; operibus is antecedent of the following relative clause
inutilem: sc. esse; pred. adj. after arbitrātus est
ad capiendum cōnsilium: for the execution of a plan; gerundive
suōsque: the -que connects the two main clauses arbitrātus est and iussit et...ostendit;
quid fierī vellet: what he wished to be done
2 Legiōnibusque intrā vīneās in occultō expeditīs, cohortātus ut aliquandō prō tantīs labōribus frūctum victōriae perciperent; eīs quī prīmī mūrum ascendissent praemia prōposuit militibusque signum dedit. 3 Illī subitō ex omnibus partibus ēvolāvērunt mūrumque celeriter complēvērunt.

**aliquandō**: for once, now; at last
**ascendō**, -ere, -ī, -cēnus: climb; mount, scale
**compleō**, -ère, -ēvī, -ētus: fill up; occupy, crowd
**ēvolō** (1): rush out, forth; fly
**expediō**, -īre, -īvī, -ītus: settle, arrange; let loose; bring forward
**frūctus**, -ūs m.: produce, fruit
**occultus**, -a, -um: hidden, secret

**percipiō**, -ere, -cēpī, -ceptus: seize wholly, take; harvest
**praemium**, -ii n.: reward
**prīmus**, -a, -um: first, early
**prōpōnō**, -ere, -posuī, -positus: lay out; declare; offer
**subitō**: suddenly, unexpectedly
**vīnea**, -ae f.: covering, shelter, makeshift roof

**intrā vīneās**: the text here is disputed, with some manuscripts showing extrā vīneās or even extrā castra intrā vīneās; the sense seems clear: that the legionnaires are somehow using the Roman siege “sheds” to move forward in sufficient numbers to make a difference, and without the Gauls noticing in the rainy weather

**ut aliquandō…frūctum**: Here Caesar indulges in a rare moment of literary playfulness by making a pun on the *vīnea* as protective structures (see 7.17.1) and the more common meaning of humble grape trellises, for which the defensive contraptions were no doubt named. He thus asks the soldiers to pluck the *frūctum victōriae* owed to them prō tantīs labōribus. *aliquandō* is also colloquial, perhaps a joke on their lack of success in this siege until this point

**quī prīmī…ascendissent**: who will have been first to climb; in ind. st., the fut. pf. indic. becomes plupf. subj. after a a past main verb (*Bradley's Arnold* §524 n.2)
The Roman soldiers massacre the inhabitants of Avaricum

1 Hostēs ré novā perterritī mūrō turribusque dēiectī in forō ac locīs patentiōribus cuneātim cōnstitērunt, hoc animō ut sī quà ex parte contra venīrētur aciē īnstrūctā dépugnārent.

aciēs, -eī, f.: battle line, formation
cōnstō (1): stand together; stand firm; agree, fit; be based upon; exist
cuneātim: in a closely packed wedge; wedge-shaped
dēiciō, -ere, -iecti, -iectus: throw, toss down from; cause to fall
dēpugnō (1): fight hard, do battle
īnstruō, -ere, -strūxi, -strūctus: draw up; construct; prepare; fit out
novus, -a, um: new; strange
patēns, -entis: open, accessible

ré novā perterritī mūrō turribusque dēiectī: having been terrified by this new circumstance and having been thrown from the wall and towers; the Gauls flee the walls at the sight of the siege towers, uncharacteristically timid behavior perhaps justified by the storm or the feats of Roman engineering; cf. 2.12, 2.30, 3.21
cuneātim: the adverb appears only here and once in Apuleius Met. (8.15.35); the root "cunea-" pertains to a wedge shape, with an adjective (cuneatus “pointed like a wedge”), a verb (cuneāre “secure with wedges”) and a noun (cuneus “wedge shape”)
hóc animō ut: with the following intention, that…
venīrētur: if [an attack] were to come, lit. “if there were an arrival”
aciē īnstrūctā: rather than panicking, the Gauls have chosen a relatively open area within the walls to make a desperate last stand in an ordered defensive formation
2 Ubi nēminem in aequum locum sēsē dēmittere, sed tōtō undique mūrō circumfundī vīdērunt, veritī nē omnīnō spēs fugae tollērētur, abiectīs armīs ultimās oppidī partēs continentī impetū petīvērunt, 3 parsque ibi cum angustō exitū portārum sē ipsī premerent ā mīlitibus, pars iam ēgressa portīs ab equitibus est interfecta; 4 nec fuit quisquam quī praedae studēret.

2-4: see Appendix A for a diagram of this sentence
nēminem: anticipates a corresponding [omnēs] as subject of circumfundī
in aequum locum sēsē dēmittere: the Romans have poured onto the top of the wall from their turrēs, and now the Gauls expect them to descend the inner side into the inner area (aequum locum) of the town
veritī nē...tollerētur: fear clause
quisquam: sc. Rōmānus; the perspective shifts from Gauls to Romans here
studēret: was focusing attention to; + dat; the Roman soldiers are in no mood to be distracted by plundering or taking slaves, but instead are focused on killing. See Appendix C for a brief discussion of Roman sacking of cities
Sīc et Cenabī caede et labōre operis incitātī nōn aetāte cōnfectīs, nōn mulieribus, nōn ḫīnantibus pepercērunt. 5 Dēnique ex omnī numerō quī fuit circiter mīlium XL, vix DCCC, quī prīmō clāmōre audītō sē ex oppidō ēiēcērunt, incolumēs ad Veringetorīgem pervēnērunt, quōs ille multā iam nocte silentiō ex fugā excēpit.

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**Cenabī**: of/at Cenabum, the place where Roman merchants had been massacred early in the crisis (see BG 7.3.1)

**aetāte cōnfectīs**: (those) having been impaired by age; the PPP of the verb cōnficere, which can sometimes mean “weaken, reduce, destroy”

**ad Veringetorīgem**: to his castra and/or forces

**multā iam nocte**: late at night; idiomatic, abl. of time when

**silentiō ex fugā excēpit**: removed from their flight in silence; the subject is Verc.
6 Veritus nē qua in castrīs ex eōrum concursū et misericordiā vulgī sēditiō orerētur, ut procul in viā dispositīs familiāribus suīs principibusque cīvitātum disparandōs dēducendōsque ad suōs cūrāret quae cuique cīvitātī pars castrōrum ab initiō obvēnerat.

**concursus, -ūs m.**: tumult, confusion; collision; crowd  
**dēducō, -ere, -dūxi, -ductus**: lead away, divert; conduct; withdraw  
**disparō** (1): separate, divide  
**dispōnō, -ere, -posuī, -positus**: dispose, distribute; manage; appoint, post, station  
**familiāris, -e**: familiar, intimate, friendly  
**misericordia, -ae f.**: pity, sympathy; compassion, mercy  
**obveniō, -iēre, -ī, -itus**: be allotted; meet, come before, come against  
**orior, -īri/-ī, -itus**: rise; emerge  
**procul**: at a distance  
**sēditiō, -iōnis f.**: discord, strife  
**vercor, -ēri, -itus**: fear; respect  
**vulgus, -ī m.**: the people, masses

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**Veritus**: s.c est; the subject is Vercingetorix; introduces a fear clause. See Appendix A for a diagram of this complicated final sentence  
**qua...concursū et misericordiā...sēditiō**: some strife...from the tumult and the sympathy...; the two causes of potential sēditiō, arranged in hendiadys  
**procul**: specifically, far away in advance of the camp  
**dispositīs**: having been placed (stationed by Vercingetorix); abl. absolute  
**disparandōs dēducendōsque**: (he made sure) that (those [refugees]) must be separated and led away; passive periphrastic infinitives in ind. st. after cūrāret  
**quae cuique cīvitātī pars**: rewrite the sentence as if: [eōs] disparandōs...in eam partem castrōrum quae obvēnerat cuique cīvitātī ab initiō; i.e., “[the refugees] must be diverted into that part of the camp which had been allotted to each faction/tribe from the outset”
APPENDIX A
Supplemental Sentence Diagrams

7.2.1-2

Hīs rēbus agitātīs profītentur Carnūtēs sē nūlīm perīculum commūnis salūtīs causā recūsāre prīncipēsque ex omnibus bellum factūrōs pollicentur et, quoniam in præsentīā obsidibus cavēre inter sē nōn possint nē rēs efferātur, ut iūreiūrandō ac fidē sanciātur petunt, collātīs militāribus signīs (quō móre eōrum gravissima caerimōnia continētur), nē factō initiō bellī ab reliquis déserantur.

Carnūtēs

proītentur (that) sē nūlīm perīculum recūsāre
pollicentur (that) [sē prīncipēs] bellum factūrōs [esse]
petunt ut iūreiūrandō ac fidē sanciātur
nē ab reliquis déserantur
quoniam nōn possint cavēre obsidibus inter sē
nē rēs efferātur

7.5.6

Id eāne dē causā quam lēgātīs prōnūntiārunt, an perfidiā adductī fēcerint, quod nihil nōbīs cōnstat, nōn vidētur prō certō esse prōpōnendum.

nōn vidētur (that) [my judgment] prō certō esse prōpōnendum
quod nihil nōbis cōnstat

(whether): [fēcerint] id dē causā (quam lēgātīs prōnūntiā[vē]runt)
(or): fēcerint adductī perfidiā
7.10.1

...sī reliquam partem hiemis ūnō locō legiōnēs continēret, nē stipendiāriīs Aeduōrum expugnātīs cūncta Gallia dēficeret, quod nūllum amīcīs in eō praesidium vidērētur posītum esse; sī mātūrius ex hībernīs ēdūceret, nē ab ē frūmentāriā dūris subvectionibus labōrāret.

sī [Caesar] continēret legiōnēs ūnō locō

[there was a fear] nē cūncta Gallia dēficeret (stīpendiāriīs expugnātīs)
quod vidērētur (that) nūllum praesidium posītum esse
sī ēdūceret [legiōnēs] ex hībernīs mātūrius
[there was a fear] nē labōrāret (dūris subvectionibus)

7.13.2

Eōrum impetum Gallī sustinēre nōn potuērunt atque in fugam coniectī multīs āmissīs sē ad agmen recēpērunt. Quibus prōfligātīs rūrsus oppidānī perterritī comprehensōs eōs, quōrum operā plēbem concitātam exīstimābant, ad Caesarem perdūxērunt sēsēque eī dēdīdērunt.

Gallī nōn potuērunt sustinēre impetum

atque [Gallī] recēpērunt sē ad agmen.
coniectī in fugam (multīs āmissīs)

Oppidānī perterritī

perdūxērunt eōs comprehensōs ad Caesarem

quōrum operā exīstimābant (that) plēbem concitātam [esse]
(and) dēdīdērunt sēsē (to Caesar)
7.15.4-5

Prōcumbunt omnibus Gallīs ad pedēs Biturīgēs nē pulcherrimam prope tōtīus Galliae urbem, quae praesidiō et ōrnāmentō sit cīvitātī, suīs manibus succendere cōgerentur; facile sē locī nātūrā dēfēnsūrōs dīcunt quod prope ex omnibus partibus flūmine et palūde circumdatā ūnum habeat et perangustum aditum.

Biturīgēs (1) prōcumbunt

[begging] nē urbem suīs manibus succendere cōgerentur
quae sit praesidiō et ōrnāmentō (for) cīvitātī;

(2) dīcunt (that) sē facile dēfēnsūrōs [esse] [urbem]
quad [urbs] habeat ūnum et perangustum aditum
( flūmine et palūde circumdatā)

7.17.2

Dē rē frūmentāriā Boiōs atque Aeduōs adhortārī nōn dēstitit; quōrum alterī, quod nūllō studiō agēbant, nōn multum adiuvābant, alterī nōn magnīs facultātibus, quod cīvitās erat exigua et īnfirma, celeriter quod habuērunt cōnsūmpsērunt.

nōn dēstitit adhortārī Boiōs atque Aeduōs dē rē frūmentāriā;
alterī quōrum (the Aeduī) nōn multum adiuvābant
quod nūllō studiō agēbant
alterī [quōrum](the Boii) celeriter [the food] cōnsūmpsērunt
quod habuērunt
quod cīvitās erat exigua et īnfirma
(nōn magnīs facultātibus)
7.17.3

Summā difficultāte reī frumentāriae affectō exercitū tenuitāte Boiōrum, indīlentīā Aeduōrum, incendiīs aedificiōrum, usque eō ut complūrēs diēs frūmentō mīlitēs caruerint et pecore ex longinquioribus vīcīs adāctō extrēmam famem sustentārent, nūlla tamen vōx est ab eis audīta populī Rōmānī maiestāte et superiōribus victōriīs indigna.

(although) exercitū affectō (by the) summā difficultāte

(due to) (a) tenuitāte Boiōrum

(b) indīlentīā Aeduōrum

(c) incendiīs aedificiōrum

usque eō ut mīlitēs

caruerint frūmento

sustentārent extrēmam famem (pecore adāctō)

tamen nūlla vox audīta [est] ab eis [mīlitibus]

[quae sit] indigna maiestāte et victōriīs
7.18.1

Cum iam mūrō turrēs appropinquāssent, ex captīvīs Caesar cognōvit Vercingetorīgem cōnsūmptō pābulō castra mōvisse propius Avāricum atque ipsum cum equitātū expeditīisque, quī inter equitēs proeliārī cōnsuēssent, īnsidiārum causā eō prōfectum quō nostrōs posterō diē pābulātum ventūrors arbitrārētur.

Caesar cognōvit (that) (cōnsūmptō pābulō)

   cum iam mūrō turrēs appropinquā[vi]ssent

(a) Vercingetorīgem mōvisse castra

(b) (Verc.) ipsum prōfectum [esse]

   cum equitātū expeditīisque

   quī cōnsuē[vi]ssent proeliārī

   eō → quō arbitrārētur (that) nostrōs ventūrors [esse]
7.19.2-3

Hōc sē colle, interruptīs pontibus, Gallī fidūciā locī continēbant, generātimque distribūtī in cīvitātēs, omnia vada ac saltūs eius palūdis obtinēbant, sīc animō parātī, ut, sī eam palūdem Rōmānī perrumpere cōnārentur, haesitantēs premerent ex locō superiōre, ut quī propinquitātem locī vidēret parātōs prope aequō Mārtē ad dīmicandum exīstimāret, quī inīquitātem condiciōnis perspiceret inānī simulātiōne sēsē ostentāre cognōsceret.

(interruptīs pontibus)

Gallī (a) continēbant sē [in] hōc colle fidūciā locī
   (b) obtinēbant omnia vada ac saltūs eius palūdis

distribūtī generātim in cīvitātēs

parātī sīc animō

   ut¹ (sī Rōmānī perrumpere cōnārentur), premerent [eōs] haesitantēs
   ut² [a person] existimāret (quī vidēret propinquitātem locī)

   (that) [eōs] parātōs [esse] ad dīmicandum
   [a person] cognōsceret (quī perspiceret inīquitātem condiciōnis)
   (that) sēsē ostentāre inānī simulātiōne

¹ “so prepared in their hearts that…” (result)
² “with the general result that” (result)
Indignantēs mīlitēs Caesar, quod cōnspectum suum hostēs perferre possent tantulō spatiō interiectō, et signum proelī exposcentēs ēdocet, quantō dētrīmentō et quot virōrum fortium morte necesse sit cōnstāre victōriam; quōs cum sīc animō parātōs videat ut nūllum prō suā laude perīculum recūsent, summae sē inīquitātis condemnārī dēbēre nisi eōrum vītam suā salūte habeat cāriōrem.

Caesar ēdocet mīlites

indignantēs (quod hostēs possent perferre cōnspectum suum) exposcentēs signum proelī

(that) necesse sit (that) victoriam cōnstāre

(a) quantō dētrīmentō
(b) quot virōrum fortium morte;

(and that) sē dēbēre condemnārī summae inīquitātis

cum videat (that) quōs sīc parātos [esse] ut recūsent nūllum perīculum nisi habeat vītam eōrum [esse] cāriōrem suā salūte
7.20.1-2

Vercingetorīx, cum ad suōs redīsset, prōditioōnis īnsimulātus, quod castra propius Rōmānōs mōvisset, quod cum omnī equitātū discessisset, quod sine imperiō tantās cōpiās relīquisset, quod eius discessū Rōmānī tantā opportūnitāte et celeritāte vēnissent; nōn haec omnia fortuitō aut sine cōnsiliō accidere potuisse; rēgnūm illum Galliae mālle Caesāris concessū quam ipsōrum habēre beneficiō.

Verc. īnsimulātus [est] prōditiōnis (cum ad suōs redisset)

(a) quod mōvisset castra propius Rōmānōs
(b) quod discessisset cum omnī equitātū
(c) quod relīquisset tantās cōpiās sine imperiō
(d) quod (by means of his) discessū Rōmānī vēnissent

[the Gauls further add that]

(a) haec omnia nōn potuisse accidere fortuitō aut sine cōnsiliō
(b) illum (Verc.) mālle habēre rēgnūm Galliae concessū Caesāris

quam (rather than) beneficiō [Gallōrum] ipsōrum

7.20.5

summam imperīī sē cōnsultō nūllī discēdentem trādidisse nē is multitūdinis studiō ad dīmicandum impellerētur, cui reī propter animī mollītiem studēre omnēs vidēret, quod diūtius labōrem ferre nōn possent[.]

[Verc.] respondit (that) sē cōnsultō trādidisse summam imperīī nūllī

nē is impellerētur ad dīmicandum studiō multitūdinis

cui reī3 [Verc.] vidēret (that) omnēs studēre

(quod [mīlitēs Gallīcī] nōn possent ferre labōrem diūtius)

3 to which end (i.e., the studium of the Gauls ad dīmicandum)
7.20.6

Rōmānī sī cāsū intervēnerint, fortūnae, sī alicuius indiciō vocātī, huic habendam grātiam, quod et paucitātem eōrum ex locō superiōre cognōscere et virtūtem dēspicere potuerint quī dīmicāre nōn ausī turpiter sē in castra recēperint.

[Verc. says that] grātiam fortūnae habendam [esse]

sī Rōmānī cāsū intervēnerint
[gratiam] huic [habendam esse]
[sī [Rōmānī] indiciō alicuius vocātī sint
quod [Gallī] potuerint
et cognōscere paucitātem eōrum
et dēspicere virtūtem [eōrum]

quī sē in castra recēperint
nōn ausī dīmicāre turpiter

7.24.5

Tamen, quod īnstitūtō Caesaris semper duae legiōnēs prō castrīs excubābant plūrēsque partītūs temporibus erant in opere, celeriter factum est ut aliī ēruptiōnibus resisterent, aliī turrēs reducērent aggeremque interscinderent, omnis vērō ex castrīs multitūdō ad restinguendum concurreret.

Tamen, quod semper (īnstitūtō Caesaris) (a) duae legiōnēs excubābant

(b) plūrēs erant in opere

CELERITER FACTUM EST UT:

(a) aliī ēruptiōnibus resisterent
(b) aliī reducērent turrēs [et] aggerem interscinderent
(c) omnis multitūdō concurreret ad restinguendum
7.25.1

Cum in omnibus locīs cōnsūmpṭā iam reliquā parte noctis pugnārētur semperque hostibus spēs victōriae redintegrārētur, eō magis quod deustōs pluteōs turrium vidēbant nec facile adīre apertōs ad auxiliandum animadvertēbant, semperque ipsī recentēs dēfessīs succēderent omnemque Galliae salūtem in illō vestigio temporis positam arbitrārentur, accidit īnspectantibus nōbīs quod, dignum memoriā vīsum, praetereundum nōn exīstimāvimus.

Cum (iam reliquā parte noctis cōnsūmpṭā)
(a) pugnārētur in omnibus locīs
(b) spēs victōriae semper redintegrārētur hostibus
   eō magis quod
      (a) vidēbant (that) pluteōs turrium deustōs [esse]
      (b) animadvertēbant (that) nec facile [nostrōs] adīre
      (c) semperque ipsī [Gallī] succēderent recentēs dēfessīs
      (d) arbitrārentur (that) salutem Galliae positam [esse]
accidit īnspectantibus nōbīs [an event] dignum memoriā vīsum
   quod praetereundum [esse] nōn exīstimāvimus
7.27.1

Posterō diē Caesar prōmōtā turrī perfectīisque operibus quae facere īnstituerat, magnō coortō īmbre nōn inūtilem hanc ad capiendum cōnsilium tempestātem arbitrātus est, quod paulō incautius cūstōdiās in mūrō dispositās vidēbat, suōque languidius in opere versārī iussit et quid fierī vellet ostendit.

(posterō diē)(turrī prōmōta)(operibus perfectīs)

quae facere īnstituerat

(magnō īmbre coortō)

Caesar (a) arbitrātus est (that) hanc tempestātem [esse] nōn inūtilem

quod vidēbat (that) cūstōdiās dispositās [esse] paulō incautius

(b) iussit suōs [mīlitēs] versārī in opere languidius

(c) ostendit quid vellet fierī

7.28.2–4

Ubi nēminem in aequum locum sēsē dēmittere, sed tōtō undique mūrō circumfundī vidērunt, verītī nē omnīnō spēs fugae tollerētur, abiectīs armīs ultimās oppidī partēs continentī impetū petīvērunt, parsque ibi cum angustō exitū portārum sē ipsī premerent ā mīlitibus, pars iam ēgressa portīs ab equitibus est interfecta;

Ubi [hostēs] vidērunt (that) nēminem [Rōmānōrum] dēmittere sēsē

sed (that) [omnēs Rōmānōs] circumfundī mūrō tōtō

[hostēs] (armīs abiectīs) petīvērunt partēs ultimās oppidī

parsque interfecta [est] ā mīlitibus

cum ipsī premerent sē angustō exitū portārum

[et] pars [interfecta est] ab equitibus

ēgressa iam portīs
Veritus nē qua in castrīs ex eōrum concursū et misericordiā vulgī sēditiō orerētur, ut procul in viā dispositīs familiāribus suīs prīncipibusque cīvitātum disparandōs dēdūcendōsque ad suōs cūrāret, quae cuīque cīvitātī pars castrōrum ab initiō obvēnerat.

[Verc.] veritus [est]

nē qua sēditiō orerētur ex eōrum concursū et misericordiā vulgī ut [Verc.] cūrāret (that) [eōs (fugientēs)]

disparandōs dēdūcendōsque [esse]

[in] par[tem castrōrum]

quae obvēnerat cuīque cīvitātī
APPENDIX B
Proper Nouns in the Text

Aedui (5, 9, 10, 17) (also Haedui): A powerful tribe situated in modern Burgundy, between the Saône and Loire rivers. They were reluctant allies of the Romans throughout the first six years of the war. Caesar sometimes used their chief oppidum (Bibracte, at Mont Beuvray) as a central depot and fortress.

Arverni (4, 5, 7, 8): A powerful tribe situated in the modern Auvergne region. In the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE they had enjoyed a general hegemony over Gaul from the Atlantic to the Rhine, but were defeated by the Romans in 121 BCE, after which their influence was reduced. By the time of the events of Gallic War, there were two main factiōnes in Gaul: the Aedui were the unofficial leaders of one, and the Arverni the other (BG 1.31). Their chief oppidum was Gergovia, near modern Clermont-Ferrand.

Avaricum (12, 15, 16): The chief oppidum of the Bituriges, near Bourges.

Boii (9, 10, 17): The tribe mentioned by Caesar here in Book VII are a mere fraction of a much larger group of Gauls under the name, first seen in history in 390 BCE when they took part in the Gallic invasion of Italy. Caesar had defeated the sub-group mentioned here along with the Helveti back in 58, and had installed the survivors as dependents of the Aedui at the oppidum Gergobinna (location unknown).

Bituriges (5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 21): A tribe of central Gaul. Their chief oppidum was Avaricum.
Carnutes (2, 11): A tribe which inhabited a large territory between the Seine and the Loire. Their chief oppida were at Cenabum (Orléans) and Autricum (Chartres).

Cenabum (3, 4, 11, 14, 17, 28): The chief oppidum of the Carnutes, modern Orléans.

Gauls: A group of Celtic-speaking peoples of western and central Europe. The Gauls of Caesar’s time were in their La Tène cultural epoch, which began about 450 BCE and stretched over what is now France, Belgium, and Switzerland. The boundaries of the territory were approximately defined by the Roman province of Gallia Trānsalpīna in the south (modern Provence) and the Rhine river in the northeast. The La Tène Gallic tribes were increasingly urbanized by the middle of the 1st century BCE, and many had established one or more oppida within their territories. The Gauls had a long history of contact with the Romans. In the 4th century BCE Gallic tribes crossed the Alps and settled the rich farmlands of the Po river in northern Italy, and in 390 BCE they famously sacked Rome (see Senones). Gallic forces fought with the Carthaginians against Rome in the Punic Wars, most notably with Hannibal’s army at Cannae. Roman intervention in Gallic territory intensified in the mid to late 2nd century BCE, resulting in the successive defeats of the Arverni and the Allobroges and the creation of the Roman province stretching from the maritime Alps to the Pyrenees via the city of Narbo. Caesar’s arrival in 58 and the events of his subsequent campaigns led to the ultimate incorporation of Gaul as a Roman province.

Gergovia (4): The chief oppidum of the Arverni, near modern Clermont-Ferrand.
Helvii (7, 8): A smaller tribe dwelling around the source of the Loire river, to the west of the Rhône. Their territory had been reduced by Pompey due to their support of Sertorius, but by the time of the Gallic War they were friendly to the Romans and, though outside the boundaries of Roman Gallia Transalpīna, were under Roman protection.

Lemovices (4): A smaller tribe dwelling around the modern district of Limousin. Their territory was rich in iron, tin, and gold. Their chief oppidum in Caesar’s time was Durotincum (probably modern Villejoubert), but after their incorporation into Roman Aquitania the major town became Augustoritum (Limoges).

Liger (5, 11): The modern Loire river, originating in the mountains of the Massif Central in the territory of the Helvii. It flows north into Central Gaul between the lands of the Arverni and Aedui, then turns west through the territory of the Carnutes and Andes, reaching the Atlantic at Condevincum (modern Nantes), an oppidum of the Namnetes.

Luceterius (5, 7, 8): a leader of the Cadurci, a tribe of southwestern Gaul. He was a lieutenant of Vercingetorix and would continue to resist the Romans after Alesia. He was eventually captured by the Romans (BG 8.44).

Senones (4, 11): A tribe of central Gaul. A group bearing the same name, probably related, had led the invasion of Italy and defeated the Romans at the battle of the Allia in 390 BCE, after which they sacked Rome. They then settled in northern Italy and remained there until ousted by the Romans in 283. It is not known what became of them in the centuries after this. By the time of Caesar’s Gallic War, the tribe he calls the Senones are dwelling in the Seine basin south and east of modern Paris.
These Senones had a long history of resistance to Caesar, and had most recently incurred his wrath back in the spring of 53. After defeating them Caesar stationed six legions in their winter camps within Senones territory (see 7.10). Their chief oppida were Agedincum (modern Sens) and Vellaunodunum (location unknown).

Trebonius, Gaius (11): quaestor in 60, tribune of the plebs in 55, by which time he was a supporter of the triumvirs. His lex Trebonia of that year secured five-year commands for Pompey in the two Spain and Crassus in Syria. As reward, Caesar took him as legate to Gaul. He led three legions in the second invasion of Britain in 54, and while wintering with one legion among the Belgae, he joined Caesar in aiding the besieged Q. Cicero. He besieged Massilia for Caesar during the Civil War, but would be a participant in his assassination in 44.

Vellaunodunum (11, 14): One of the oppida of the Senones. Its modern location is unknown.

Volcae Arecomici (7): A Gallic tribe which, by the time of Gallic War, was dwelling within the confines of the Roman province Gallia Trānsalpīna. Their chief oppidum was a very ancient site atop which the Romans would later found the veteran colony Nemausus (Nîmes).
APPENDIX C

The Roman Sacking of Cities

The standard verb used to refer to the Roman destruction of a city by the Augustan era was *diripere*, “lay waste, plunder, pillage; snatch away,” an event common enough that authors such as Livy felt little need to elaborate beyond providing that one word. Caesar’s description of the sack of Avaricum is quite unusual in that regard, as he not only dedicates roughly half a chapter to its minutiae, but chooses not once to describe it as a *dīreptiō*, or indeed any related term. This would seem to be a conscious choice. But if not a *dīreptiō*, then how, exactly, does Caesar wish us to interpret his narrative of events at Avaricum, where Roman soldiers purportedly massacred some 40,000 Gallic men, women, and children?¹

The archetypical Roman plundering described by Roman historians such as Livy or Tacitus² was predicated on a Roman commander turning their soldiers loose, giving the town’s inhabitants and treasures to them, or in some other way refusing to assert form and authority over their army. Setting aside the much earlier, and less corroborated, “Polybian” model investigated by Ziolkowski,³ the sacking of a town by Romans involved the army dissolving into individual soldiers and the city

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² See, e.g., Tacitus *Histories* 3.33.1–3
dissolving into countless individual objects of plunder. The first major break with this model made by Caesar’s account of Avaricum, then, is “parsque ibi cum angustō exitū portārum sē ipsī premerent ā militibus, pars iam ēgressa portīs ab equītibus est interfecta” (“some [of the Gauls], when they were pressing themselves there in the narrow opening of the gates, were killed by the [Roman] soldiers; others, now having emerged from the gates, were killed by the cavalry” 7.28.3). The use of synchysis⁴ serves to reinforce the order with which the massacre was carried out by the coordinated maneuvers of infantry and cavalry: the massacre does not seem to be the work of a mob of uncontrolled marauders, but instead a precise military deployment designed to ensure the death of as many Gallic citizens as possible. Caesar seems to report this fact with pride as its orchestrator: he maintained control over his army in a situation where many other generals had not, and channeled them into as efficient an instrument of revenge as possible. Caesar describes a similarly vengeful act at BG 1.12.3–7, when his legions fall upon a group of Helvetii who, he explains, had humiliated a Roman army decades earlier.

The theme of systematic, focused destruction is reiterated in the other key difference between the sack of Avaricum and the typical Roman pillaging which Ziołkowski highlights in contemporary sources. The key phrase is “nec fuit quisquam quī praedaē studēret.” (“nor was there any [Roman soldier] who focused their attention on looting” 7.28.4), with the hyperbole of quisquam and the relative clause of characteristic reiterating Caesar’s pride in the accomplishment. The verb studēret carries weight, because here Caesar’s forces are attentive in their violence. Soldiers who leave a city direpta metaphorically snatch it away, removing its valuables and inhabitants. By contrast, Caesar’s soldiers neither took Avaricum with them nor left any of it behind. By implication, the fervor of vengeance for Cenabum seems to be so intense that plundering the city is

⁴ a pattern of interlocking or deliberately confused word order
considered too kind a fate, because the goods and people associated with it would survive and so the legacy of the city would remain. Avaricum should not be considered unusual for its savagery or destruction, but for the focus and control which Caesar claims he and the army exercised over the carnage. The soldiers of his legions, he seems to suggest, possess exemplary *studium*.

Avaricum is elsewhere described as the jewel of the Bituriges (7.15.3–5), a strategic stronghold in central Gaul but not directly connected to the slaying of Romans by the Carnutes at Cenabum. Thus it is curious that Caesar describes the destruction of Avaricum as such a symbolically loaded act. Avaricum is the fourth town Caesar attacks in the nascent campaign against the coalition of Vercingetorix, following the very rapid capture of Vellaunodunum (7.11.1–2), Cenabum itself (7.11.7–9), and Noviodunum (7.13.2). Vellaunodunum fell in just three days and suffered very little except the confiscation of *matériel* and hostages. Caesar admits (7.11.3) he is in a rush to move on to Cenabum, where the killing of Romans had begun the recent trouble. And yet, having captured the *oppidum* with little trouble, Caesar rushes through the aftermath and says nothing about taking revenge. The violence, as often in Caesar, is markedly succinct: *Oppidum diripit atque incendit, praedam miliitus dōnat*” (“he sacks and burns the town, gifts the plunder to the soldiers” 7.11.9). An overt reference to revenge for the slain Romans at Cenabum, who were themselves the victims of a sort of Gallic *direptiō*, is wholly absent. Instead, that lust for vengeance is carried forward, beyond the troublesome but rapid conquest of Noviodunum (7.13.2) and onto the set-piece siege of Avaricum.

The critical phrase in Caesar’s account which reveals the cause behind this seemingly misplaced violence is “*et Cenābi caede et labōre operis*”
incitātī” ([the soldiers] spurred on due to the slaughter at Cenabum and the suffering of the siege work” 7.28.4). The murders at Cenabum could not be the sole justification for the massacre at Avaricum because Cenabum itself was subjected to a much more common, and much less organized, destruction. Rather, at Avaricum the fervor for vengeance mixes with Roman labor operis, the fever pitch brought on by the burden of their suffering. At this point in the campaign, the scorched-earth tactics of Vercingetorix have crippled Roman foraging, their allies have struggled to provide supplies, and the legions are starving. The siege of Avaricum has dragged on far longer than the quick capturing of Vellaunodunum, Cenabum, and Noviodunum: the war at Avaricum has literally bogged down, and it seems plausible that Caesar’s response was overwhelming brutality. Violent and wrathful responses to a long or difficult siege are found elsewhere in Roman history: the wholesale slaughter at Masada during the Judaean revolt, for example. Caesar utilizes the lengthy and elaborate struggle at Avaricum to exemplify the singular focus and endurance of his soldiers, his own mastery over violence in the face of adversity or the enticements of direptiō, and the Roman guarantee of ultimate (if misplaced) revenge.

5 Josephus, War of the Jews 7.8–9
GLOSSARY

This list contains: (1) the 250 most commonly occurring words in Latin, drawn from the Dickinson College Commentaries Latin Core Vocabulary, which also appear in the text of this book; (2) other words which appear frequently in the text

ab/ā: away from; by (prep. + abl)
absum, abesse, āfuī, āfutūrus: be away, be absent
ac: and, and also, and besides
accidō, accidere, accidī: happen, occur, take place (frequently impersonal)
accipiō, accipere, accēpī, acceptus: receive, get; take
addūcō, addūcere, addūxī, adductus: bring/lead to; prompt, induce, persuade, incite
adeō, adīre, adī, aditus: go to, approach
adventus, adventūs m.: arrival, approach
ager, agrī m.: farm; field; land
agger, aggeris m.: siege ramp, siege mound
agō, agere, ēgī, āctus: drive, lead; do; act
aliquis, aliquid: someone, something
alius, alia, aliud: some, other; another
alter, altera, alterum: the other (of two)
altus, -a, -um: high; deep
amīcus, amīcī m.: friend
animadvertō, -vertere, -vertī, -versus: notice, observe; discern
animus, animī m.: soul, spirit, mind; (in pl.) high spirits, courage
annus, annī m.: year
anteā: before, earlier, formerly
antecēdō, -cēdere, antecessī: go before, precede; excel, surpass
apud (prep. + acc): among, in the presence of
arma, armōrum n.: weapons, military equipment
artus, arta, artum: narrow
at: but; but indeed
audiō, audīre, audīvī, audītus: hear, listen to
aut: or; either...or
autem: however; moreover; also
beneficium, beneficii n.: kindness, favor, benefit, service
cadō, cadere, cecidi, cāsūrus: fall; die
capiō, capere, cēpī, captus: take, capture, seize, get
caput, capit, capitis n.: head; leader; life
cæstra, castrōrum n.: soldiers’ camp; fort
cæsa, causae f.: cause, reason; case, situation; (+ gen) on account of, for the sake of
cēdo, cēdere, cessī, cessus: go, move (typically with a prefix in Caes.)
celeriter: swiftly, rapidly
centuriō, centuriōnis m.: a commander of a centuria, about 80 men in the time of Gallic War
certus, certa, certum: definite, sure, reliable
civitās, civitātis f.: (in Caes.) a tribe, community; (elsewhere) state, citizenship
clāmor, clāmōris m.: loud shout; noise, uproar
cœpī, cœpisce, cœptus (only perf.): began, undertook
cognōscō, cognōscere, cognōvī, cognitus: learn, recognize; (in perf.) know
cōgo, cōgere, coēgī, coāctus: drive together, bring together; force, compel
comittō, comittere, -mīsī, -missus: bring together, join; engage; entrust
commūnis, commūne: common, general, of/for the community
concēdō, concēdere, concessī, concessus: yield, grant
concilium, conciliī n.: council, discussion
cōnferō, cōnferre, cōntulī, cōllātus: bring together, compare; bestow;
(with sē) take oneself to, go
cōnsilium, cōnsiliī n.: counsel, advice, judgment; plan, purpose
cōnstituō, -ere, cōnstituērī, cōnstitūtus: place, station; arrange; decide; halt
cōnsūmō, -sūme rē, -sūmpsī, -sūmptus: use up, spend; destroy
contineō, continère, continuī, contentus: hold together, bound, restrain
contingō, contingere, contigī, contāctus: touch, adjoin, border on
cōpia, cōpiae f.: ample supply, plenty; (in pl.) troops, forces
cunīculus, cunīculī m.: tunnel, hole, mineshaft
dēbeō, dēbere, dēbuī, dēbitus: ought, must, should
dēdūco, dēdūcere, dēdūxī, dēductus: lead down/away; win over; withdraw
dēfendō, dēfendere, dēfendi, dēfensus: guard, protect, cover; support
dēsistō, dēsistere, dēstitī, dēstitus: leave off, cease, desist from
dīcō, dīcere, dīxi, dictus: say, name, designate
diēs, diēī m./f.: day
difficultās, difficultātis f.: difficulty, trouble, distress
discēdō, -cēdere, -cessī, -cessus: depart, withdraw; scatter; abandon
dō, dare, dēdī, datus: give
domus, domūs f.: home
doceō, docēre, docuī, doctus: make aware, teach, inform
dūcō, dūcere, dūxī, dūctus: lead, command; consider
dum: while, as long as, until; provided that
duo, duae, duo: two
eūcō, ἔducere, ἔduxī, ἔductus: lead out; draw up
eō: to there, to that place
eō, ēre, ēī / ēvī, ēitus: go
eques, equitis, m.: horseman, cavalryman, rider
equitātus, equitātūs m.: calvary
equus, equī m.: horse
et: and
ex/ē: out of (prep. + abl)
exercitus, exercitūs m.: army
exīstimō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus: think, consider; judge
facilis, facile: easy, simple
faciō, facere, fēcī, factus: do, make
fāma, fāmae: report, rumor; public opinion; reputation, fame
ferē: nearly, almost
ferō, ferre, tulī, lātus: carry, bear; endure; report
fidēs, fideī f.: faith, loyalty; pledged word; protection
finis, finis m./f.: boundary, end, limit, goal; (pl.) country, territory
fiō, fierī, factus: occur, happen; become, be made, be done
flūmen, flūminis n.: river
fortūna, fortūnae f.: chance, fate; prosperity; condition, wealth
frūmentārius, -a, -um: relating to provisions or supplies, esp. grain
frūmentum, frūmentī n.: grain; crop
fuga, fugae f.: flight, escape
gerō, gerere, gessī, gestus: carry; manage, conduct, perform; wage
genus, generis n.: type; kind
habeō, habēre, habuī, habitus: have, hold; consider
hic, haec, hoc: this; these
homō, hominis m.: man, human being, person
hortor, hortāri, hortātus: urge, incite, cheer, exhort
hostis, hostis m.: enemy
iam: now, already, soon
ibi: there; in that place or time
īdem, eadem, idem: the same
ignis, ignis m.: fire
ille, illa, illud: that; those
imperium, imperī n.: command; authority
imperō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus: give a command, order; rule, control
incendō, -ere, -ī, -sus: set on fire, burn; incite
initium, initiī n.: beginning
inopia, -ae f.: lack, need; poverty
īnstituō, -ere, -ī, -tus: begin; arrange, set up, prepare; decide, determine
intellegō, -ere, intelligēxi, intelligēctus: know, discern; understand
inter (prep. + acc): between, among
interficiō, interficere, interfēcī, interfectus: kill, destroy
interim: meanwhile, in the meantime; however, nevertheless
ipse, ipsa, ipsum: himself/herself/itself (intensive pronoun)
ita: thus, so; therefore
itaque: and so, therefore
iter, itineris n.: journey; road; passage, path
iubeō, iubēre, iussī, iussus: order, command
labor, labōris m.: effort, exertion, work; suffering, distress, hardship
labōrō (1): labor; suffer
lēgātus, lēgātī m.: (of Romans) lieutenant, legate; commander;
(of others) ambassador, messenger, representative
legio, legiones f.: legion, army
levi, leve: light, thin, trivial, trifling, slight; gentle; fickle, capricious
libertas, libertatis f.: freedom
locus, loci m.: place, location (plural is neuter)
magis: more, to a greater extent; rather
magnus, -a, -um: large, great
malus, -a, -um: bad
manus, manus f.: hand; team, gang, band of soldiers
medius, media, medium: middle, middle of
miles, milites m.: soldier
mille, milia m.: thousand
mittō, mittere, missī, missus: send
moveō, movēre, movī, motus: move, stir, set in motion; disturb
multitūdō, multitūdinis f.: crowd, mob; large amount
multus, -a, -um: much, many
mūrus, mūri m.: wall
nam (conj.): for
nātūra, nātūrae f.: nature, the natural word; quality, property
neglegō, neglegere, neglēxī, neglēctus: disregard, neglect; despise
nec (conj.): nor; and not
neque: nor; and not; neither…nor
nisi: if not; except, unless
noster, nostra, nostrum: our; (in pl.) our men, i.e. Roman soldiers
nox, noctis f.: night
nullus, nulla, nullum (gen nullius): no, none, not any
nūntiō, -āre, -āvi, -ātus: announce, report
obses, obsidis m./f.: hostage
omnis, omne: every, all
opera, operae f.: work, effort; trouble (cf. opus)
oppidum, oppidi n.: town; stronghold, fortified place
oppugnātiō, oppugnātiōnis f.: attack, assault; siege
opus, operis n.: work, task; construction, defense (cf. opera)
palūs, paludis f.: swamp, marsh
parō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus: prepare; furnish, supply
pars, partis f.: a part, share, portion
pater, patris m.: father
paulō: a small amount, a little; somewhat
per (prep. + acc): through; during; by means of; on the pretext of
perīculum, perīculī n.: danger
perterreō, -ēre, —, -ītus: terrify thoroughly
perveniō, -īre, -vēnī, perventus: come to, arrive at, reach; approach
pēs, pedis m.: foot
petō, petere, petīvī, petītus: seek; ask for, beg for; attack
pōnō, pōne rē, pōsuī, positus: put, place, set; station
porta, portae f.: gate (of a town)
possum, posse, potuī: be able
post (prep + acc): behind; after
post: afterwards, after
praesidium, praesidīi n.: protection; help; guard
premō, premere, pressī, pressus: press, press hard; pursue; overwhelm
prīmus, prīma, prīnum: first, chief, best; nearest/next
princeps, principis: foremost, leading; (as subst.) influential individual
prō (prep. + abl): in front of, before; on behalf of; in return for; instead of
prope (prep. + acc): near
prōdūcō, -e rē, -dūxī, -ductus: lead forward, bring out, reveal
proelium, proeliī n.: battle
profectus: see proficiscor
proficīscor, proficīscī, profectus: set out, depart, commence, march
prohībeō, -ēre, -uī, -itus: hinder, restrain; forbid, prevent
prōvincia, prōvinciae f.: a territory outside of Italy, governed by a Roman
official; in Gallīc War it typically refers to Gallia Trānsalpīna, later called Gallia
Narbōnensis, the narrow coastal strip of southern Gaul which connected Italy to
the Spains (see Introduction map)
putō, -āre, -āvī, -ātus: think, suppose; reckon
quidem: indeed (postpositive), certainly, even, at least; (ne...quidem) not...even
quisque quaeque, quidque: each
quō: (to) where

ratiō, ratiōnis f.: account, report, statement; matter
recipīō, recipere, recēpī, receptus: take back, regain; receive, admit
redūcō, redūcere, redūxī, reductus: lead back; withdraw; restore
relinquō, relinquire, reliquī, relictus: leave behind, abandon
reliquus, reliqua, relinquum: remaining, left over
rēs, reī f.: thing; event, business, affair
saxum, saxī n.: a stone

sed: but

semper: always

sic: thus, so

signum, signī n.: signal, sign; military standard, banner

silentium, silentīi n.: silence

sine (prep. + abl): without

singulī, singulae, singula: single, separate, one at a time, individual

soleō, solēre, solitus: be in the habit of; be accustomed to

spatium, spatii n.: space, distance; extent

stō, stāre, stetī, status: stand, stand firm

sum, esse, fuī, futūrus: be, exist

summus, summa, summum: uppermost, highest, topmost; (partitive) top of

tamen: yet, nevertheless, still

tantus, tanta, tantum: such, of such size; so great

tempus, temporis n.: time

tertius, tertia, tertium: the third

timēns, timentis: fearful, afraid

tōtus, tōta, tōtum: the whole, entire, total

trādō, trāde re, trādidī, trāditus: hand over, deliver; surrender; betray

trānseō, trānsīre, trānsīi, trānitus: go across; pass by, pass through

turnus, turni f.: tower; a moveable siege machine

ubī: when; where

ūnus, ūna, ūnum: one
urbs, urbis f.: city
veniō, veîre, vēnī, ventus: come
versus: turned in the direction of, towards, facing
via, viae f.: road, path, route
victōria, victōriae f.: victory
videō, vidēre, vīdī, vīsus: see, look at; (in pass.) seem, appear; seem good
vincō, vincere, vīcī, victus: conquer, defeat
vir, virī m.: man
virtūs, virtūtis f.: strength, vigor, bravery, courage, excellence
vīta, vītae f.: life
volō, velle, voluī: wish, want
vōx, vōcis f.: voice; utterance