**Introduction**

The Celts were a collection of peoples living in Europe who shared a common culture, religion, and language. They were made up of tribes governed by warrior and religious classes. Some had kings and others moved to elected tribal governments. Since they did not believe in writing down their religious practices in text, we do not have the same records of their culture that we have for the Greeks and Romans. We know about their culture mainly from archaeological evidence, and the few descriptions that have come down to us in the texts of the Romans and Greeks. Poseidonius, a Greek scholar and ambassador to Rome around the time of Marius and Sulla, is probably the best ancient source for Celtic culture. He travelled around the Mediterranean and lived among the Celts. His description of Celtic culture is lost, but was the source book for most of the cultural information documented by Caesar in *De Bello Gallico*.

Some basic cultural and biographical information that we have about the Celts from Roman and Greek sources, mainly Diodorus Siculus and Strabo, includes the following:

* they are tall and muscular, with long, blonde hair
* they wear pants and gold torcs (necklaces) and sometimes fight in the nude
* they eat lots of meat, and drink milk and unwatered wine (considered barbaric by the Romans and Greeks)
* they were bombastic

Our patchy knowledge of the histories and interrelations of various Celtic tribes presents an interesting problem as we attempt to read Caesar's account of the Gallic wars. Who were these people? How do we better understand the role they played in the Gallic War? Some tribes seem to be friends and honored by the Roman people. Some seem to be rebellious and aggressive towards the Romans. What is the difference between them? Were they freedom fighters, protecting their lands and people from an unprovoked and aggressive imperial expansion by the Romans? Were they a dangerous collection of war bands, who were only kept from the peaceful fields of Italy by the barrier of the Alps?

By looking at Roman accounts of the interactions of various Gallic tribes with the Roman people prior to the Gallic wars, we can get a slightly fuller picture of who some of these tribes were, and can then bring this knowledge to our reading of the Gallic wars. In this way we can perhaps approach a deeper reading of the war narrative that Caesar gives us, with a consideration to the Gallic peoples that gives a richer picture of both sides of the conflict beyond a list of tribes that Caesar conquered.



gold torc, British Museum

**A Brief Summary of Romano-Celtic relations before 58 BCE**

Around 400 BCE, according to Livy, a great Gallic king enjoyed such prosperity and plenty during his reign that their population increased well beyond the lands they controlled. He had two sons, who consulted the gods. One was to turn north, to the Hercynian forest, and the other was given the command to go south. This son gathered a coalition of tribes, including the Arverni and the Aedui, and they headed over the Alps. Various tribes settled in Northern Italy and remained there. The area was called *Gallia Togata,* or "toga-wearing Gaul". One tribe, the Senones, went as far south as Rome, and sacked the city in 390 BCE. The Romans paid the Senones gold to leave the city, who were possibly defeated later by Camillus. The sack of Rome by the Senones left a scar on the Roman psyche for many generations after the Gallic threat to the city of Rome had passed.

The Celts continued to live freely in Northern Italy, but often sided against the Romans in the following centuries until the *ager Gallicus*, or lands controlled by the Gallic peoples in Northern Italy, was brought under Roman control. They fought against the Romans in the Third Samnite War in the 290s BCE, and the Boii and Senones were crushed by the Romans in the 280s. Gallic tribes sided with the Carthaginians in the Second Punic War. The last free Gauls, the Boii and Insubres, were conquered by the Romans at the Battle of Telamon in 225 BCE. By 192 BCE the Romans controlled the Italian peninsula. Polybius' description of part of the battle gives an interesting look at the way the Gauls, even those who had lived in Italy and traded with Romans for centuries, differed from the Romans:

"The Romans, however, were on the one hand encouraged by having caught the enemy between their two armies, but on the other they were terrified by the fine order of the Celtic host and the dreadful din, for there were innumerable horn-blowers and trumpeters, and, as the whole army were shouting their war-cries at the same time, there was such a tumult of sound that it seemed that not only the trumpets and the soldiers but all the country round had got a voice and caught up the cry. Very terrifying too were the appearance and the gestures of the naked warriors in front, all in the prime of life, and finely built men, and all in the leading companies richly adorned with gold torques and armlets. The sight of them indeed dismayed the Romans, but at the same time the prospect of winning such spoils made them twice as keen for the fight." Polybius, *Histories*, II.29

The next chapter in Romano-Celtic relations involves Gaul itself. Rome's interest in Gaul began with a desire to build a road between Italy and Spain, which became interesting to Rome as Carthage's influence in Spain increased after the First Punic War. Rome allied with Massilia, a city founded in southern Gaul by Greeks around 600 BCE. The Greeks of Massilia had a complex relationship with the Gauls surrounding them. They grew rich from trade with the Gauls, sometimes allied with the Gauls, at times against them. In the attack on Rome of the 390s, Massilia helped the Gauls to cross the Alps. However, in the mid-100s BCE, Rome and Massilia had become trading partners as well. Massilia allowed the Romans to gain a foothold in Southern France, and the Romans built the town of Narbo, and the via Domitia, connecting Italy to Spain through France.

The Gauls, of course, did not appreciate the Romans suddenly annexing their lands, and resisted. The Arverni and the Allobroges were defeated by Quintus Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus in 121 BCE. The territory of Southern France, the strip of land touching the Mediterranean sea between Italy and Spain, then came to be known as *Gallia Narbonensis,* or sometimes just *provincia nostra*, "our province".

**The 60s BCE**

Many things happened in the North and Northeast of Rome from the 80s BCE to 58 BCE that set the stage for the migration of the Helvetian people and Rome's entry into the Gallic wars:

1: The Migration of the Boii:

The Boii, driven from Northeastern Italy in the late third century, had inhabited lands closer to their original territory in modern Hungary. In the 60s BCE a powerful people known as the Dacians, from the Transylvanian mountains, led by king Burebista, moved against the Boii and drove them into the kingdom of Noricum.

The Boii then beseiged Noricum, a Celtic kingdom just to the Northeast of Italy, in the area of modern-day Austria, in their flight westward away from the Dacians. The Noricans repelled the Boii, who then moved further west to the territory of the Helvetii, with whom they joined forces. To strengthen the Norican position against the new Boian-Helvetian alliance, the king of Noricum married his sister to Ariovistus, the king of the Suebi, a German tribe who had been heavily involved in Gallic politics during this decade. Ariovistus at this time was considered "king and friend" of the Roman people.

2: The Battle of Magetobriga:

A great conflict had also taken place among the Gauls who lived in the heart of France, far to the west in 63 BCE. The Sequani and the Arverni came into conflict with the Aedui over trade rights on the Arar river. The Sequani and the Arverni united against the Aedui and invited the Suebian king Ariovistus to bring troops to their aid as well. The Aedui were decimated at the battle of Magetobriga. The Suebi then decided to stay in the lands of the Sequani, causing unrest among many tribes.

3: The Catilinarian Conspiracy:

The 60s BCE were tumultuous years for the Romans as well. In 63 BCE Lucius Sergius Catilina, the troublesome descendant of an ancient and respected family, failed to be elected to the consulate. He attempted to put together a conspiracy of disaffected nobles to overthrow the Roman government. His plot was exposed to Cicero by the Allobroges, who had been elected consul that year, and Catiline led an army against Rome. He died in battle.

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**I: Romano-Gallic Relations**

**the Aedui**

**The Aedui, "Our Brothers"**

The druid Diviciacus or Divitiacus had come to Rome after his people were slaughtered by the Sequani at the battle of Magetobriga to plead with the senate for aid. Diviciacus stayed with Cicero as his guest, during which time they discussed the beliefs of the druids, as Cicero also mentions in *De Divinatione*. This text was written around 45-43 BCE, after the Gallic Wars had concluded and around the time when Caesar was assasinated.

Eaque divinationum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est, siquidem et in Gallia Druidae sunt, e quibus ipse Divitiacum Haeduum hospitem tuum1 laudatoremque cognovi, qui et naturae rationem, quam fisiologi/an Graeci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur, et partim auguriis, partim coniecturā, quae essent futura2 dicebat,

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *ratio* method, reckoning  *siquidem* if indeed  *profiteor, eri* declare, profess | *partim* partly  *coniectura* interpretation, prophecy |

1. *tuum* – the person “speaking” in this dialogue is Cicero’s brother Quintus. When he says “your guest” he means that the Druid Diviciacus stayed with Cicero.

2. *essent futura* – “what would be” an active periphrastic in an indirect question

3. The Quintus Cicero who is imagined by Cicero as giving this part of the discussion would late be one of the *legati* of Caesar during the Gallic Wars.

discussion:

1) Note the word choice “hospitem tuum laudatoremque.” What type of relationship between Cicero and Diviciacus does this indicate?

2) What attitude does Cicero take here towards the Druidic religion?

Cicero, Letters to Atticus I.19

Dated 15 March, 60 BCE. Cicero writes in his letter to Atticus about the state of affairs in Gaul. This takes place just two years before Caesar enters Gaul. Cicero describes the situation in Gaul after the battle of Magetobriga in 63 BCE.

Atque in re publica nunc quidem maxime Gallici belli versatur metus. Nam Haedui fratres nostri pugnam nuper malam pugnarunt1, et Helvetii sine dubio sunt in armis excursionesque in provinciam faciunt. Senatus decrevit2, ut consules duas Gallias3 sortirentur, delectus haberetur, vacationes ne valerent, legati cum auctoritate mitterentur, qui adirent Galliae civitates darentque operam, ne eae4 se cum Helvetiis coniungerent.

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| --- | --- |
| *verso, -are* turn, stir up  *decerno, -ere* decree  *sortior, -iri* choose by lot  *delectus, -i, m.* advistory staff | *valeo, -ere* prevail  *operam dare* - give care, to see to  *coniungo, -ere* to join with |

1. *pugnarunt* – syncopated *pugnaverunt;* Cicero is probably referring to the battle of Magetobriga in 63 BCE in which the Aedui were badly beaten by a coalition of the Sequani, Arverni, and Ariovistus with the Germanic Suebi.

2. *decrevit ut* - substantive clause of purpose

3. *duas Gallias* - the two Gauls, Gallia Narbonensis, the province, and Gallia Comata, "long-haired Gaul"

4. *eae* - the other Gallic peoples or *civitates*



Wight, C. “Diviciacus, a King of Gaul and Britain.” Image of an Item from the British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, The British Library, 25 Aug. 2005, [www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=23181](http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=23181).

The next two selections come from Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*: I.43 and I.44. Ariovistus, once "king and friend" of the Roman senate, has come into conflict with the Roman army, having settled in Gaul after assisting the Sequani and Arverni to destroy the Aedui at Magetobriga. In this selection, Ariovistus and Caesar meet on a hill with their cavalries to discuss terms. In the first passage, Caesar describes the relationships between Ariovistus and Rome, and the Aedui and Rome. In the second passage, Caesar describes Ariovistus' response to him.

*De Bello Gallico* I.43, Caesar's words to Ariovistus:

Ubi eo ventum est1, Caesar initio orationis sua senatusque in eum2 beneficia commemoravit, quod rex appellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissime missa; quam rem et paucis contigisse et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui docebat; illum3, cum neque aditum neque causam postulandi iustam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua ac senatus4 ea praemia consecutum. Docebat etiam quam veteres quamque iustae causae necessitudinis ipsis5 cum Haeduis intercederent, quae senatus consulta6 quotiens quamque honorifica in eos facta essent, ut omni tempore totius Galliae principatum Haedui tenuissent, prius etiam quam nostram amicitiam adpetissent.

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| *munus, -eris n.* gift  *contingo, -ere* happen  *tribuo, -ere* grant  *aditus, -us, m.* opportunity | *consequor, -qui* obtain  *necessitudo,- inis, f.*bond, connection  *adpeto, -ere* seek after eagerly |

1. eo, dative of direction; ventum est - impersonal "they came"

2. *eum* - Ariovistus

3. *illum* - again, Ariovistus

4. *suā ac senatūs* - by his own (Caesar's) generosity, and that of the senate

5. *ipsis* - referring to the Romans

6. *senatūs consulta*- decrees of the senate, subject of *facta essent*



“Gaul, the Aedui.” Wildwinds, www.wildwinds.com/coins/celtic/gaul/aedui/DLT\_8178.jpg.

*De Bello Gallico* I.44, Ariovistus' reply to Caesar:

Numquam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romani Galliae provinciae finibus egressum1. Quid sibi vellet2? Cur in suas possessiones veniret? Provinciam suam hanc3 esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi4 concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos, quod in suo iure5 se interpellaremus. Quod fratres a senatu Haeduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum ut non sciret neque bello Allobrogum6 proximo Haeduos Romanis auxilium tulisse neque ipsos in iis contentionibus quas Haedui secum et cum Sequanis7 habuissent auxilio populi Romani usos esse. Debere se suspicari simulata Caesarem amicitia, quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui opprimendi causa habere.

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| *possessio, onis, f.* property  *item* likewise, similarly  *interpello, -are* break in on  *concedo, -ere:* grant | *obsides*, -idis, m.: hostage  *stipendium, -i, n.* tribute  *consueo, -ere*: be accustomed |

1. This whole selection is within a giant indirect statement made by Ariovistus to Caesar. Thus all the "main verbs" are infinitives in an indirect statement, and the subordinate clauses are subjunctive.

2. The "he" subject of *vellet and veniret* refer to Caesar.

3. The *hanc* refers to *Gallia Comata*, where the *illam* refers to *Gallia Narbonensis*

4. *Ipsi*, referring to Ariovistus, in the hypothetical scenario in which he attacked Roman territory

5. *iure* what is right, or reasonable for him to be able to do

6. G. Pomptinus, praetor of 63 BCE, was in charge of *Gallia Narbonensis* in 62 and 61. The Allobroges revolted under their chief Catugnatus and Pomptinus defeated them.

7. battle of Magetobriga 63 BCE in which the Arverni and Allobroges were aided by the Sequani in defeating the Aedui. The senate did not send the requested aid to the Aedui at that time.

Questions for discussion:

1. Caesar initially describes the conflict between the Romans’ relationship with Ariovistus and the ties to the Aedui. What is the conflict and what does Caesar want to do about it?

2. The Aedui are called "brothers" by the senate, but Ariovistus calls Caesar's motivations for friendship into question. Whom are you more inclined to believe?

3. Considering the fact that both of these speeches are reported by Caesar, who won the subsequent battle with Ariovistus, whose argument seems more compelling overall?

**II: Romano-Gallic Relations**

**the Allobroges**

**The Allobroges**

The relationship between the Romans and the Allobroges was more troubled than that of the Romans and the Aedui. The Allobroges were conquered by the Romans and became part of the province *Gallia Narbonensis* around the end of the 120s BCE. In 69 BCE Cicero defended the Roman governor of *Gallia Narbonensis*, a man named Fonteius. The Allobroges brought charges of exploitation of his position against Fonteius.

pro Fonteio 31 and 33

postremo his quicquam sanctum ac religiosum videri1 potest qui, etiam si quando aliquo metu adducti deos placandos esse arbitrantur, humanis hostiis eorum aras ac templa funestant, ut ne religionem quidem colere possint, nisi eam ipsam2 prius scelere violarint? quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolandorum? quam ob rem quali fide, quali pietate existimatis esse eos qui etiam deos immortalis arbitrentur hominum scelere et sanguine facillime posse placari? Cum his vos testibus vestram religionem coniungetis, ab his quicquam sancte aut moderate dictum putabitis3?

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| *funesto, -are* defile by murder  *hostia, -ae, f.* sacrifice  *colo, -ere* honor, cherish | *usque­* - up until  *consuetudo, -inis, f. ­*- custom  *immolo, -are* sacrifice by burning |

1. *videri* – “to seem” the passive voice of video is translated as “seem”

2. *eam ipsam* – “it itself” i.e., religion

3. Here is the crux of Cicero's *ad hominem* attack against the testimony of the Allobroges

Question for discussion: Compare this (earlier) depiction of Gallic religion against Cicero's later description of Diviciacus' druidic beliefs in *de divinatione* above

an vero dubitatis, iudices, quin insitas inimicitias istae gentes omnes et habeant et gerant cum populi Romani nomine? sic existimatis eos hic sagatos bracatosque versari, animo demisso atque humili, ut solent ei qui adfecti iniuriis ad opem iudicum supplices inferioresque confugiunt? nihil vero minus. hi contra vagantur laeti atque erecti passim toto foro cum quibusdam minis et barbaro atque immani terrore verborum; quod ego profecto non crederem, nisi aliquotiens ex ipsis accusatoribus vobiscum simul, iudices, audissem, cum praeciperent ut caveretis ne hoc absoluto novum aliquod bellum Gallicum concitaretur.

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| *Insitus* innate, “sown in”  *hostia, -ae, f.* sacrifice  *sagatus*- cloak-wearing  *bracatus*- pants-wearing  *versor, -ari* - move about | *ops, opis f.* - power, influence  *erectus* - confident, bold  *passim* - everywhere  *minae* - threats  *profecto* - certainly  *praecipio, -ere*- warn, instruct |
|  |  |

1. It is interesting to wonder what the "old Gallic war" might be to which Cicero is alluding here as he says that the Allobroges threaten "some new Gallic war."

Questions for discussion:

1) In what ways, if this depiction of Gallic behavior is actually true, is the behavior of the Gauls in the forum understandable in the circumstances, and in what ways are they acting foolishly?

2) What Gallic stereotypes handed down through Poseidonius and other authors does this speech reinforce?

In 63 BCE, six years after Cicero defended Fonteius, the governor of *Gallia Narbonensis*, the Allobroges were back in the *forum Romanum* with more complaints about corrupt governors. This time, however, they were approached by members of the Catilinarian conspiracy, who sought their help in creating a diversion to attract the senate's attention away from suspicion of the conspirators. Sallust in his *Bellum Catilinum* describes the embassy of the Allobroges and the Catilinarians' abortive attempt to bring them on board with the conspiracy.

Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirat eosque, si possit, inpellat ad societatem belli, existumans publice privatimque aere alieno1 oppressos, praeterea quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat. Itaque sine mora, ubi primum legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus pauca de statu civitatis et quasi dolens eius casum requirere coepit, quem exitum tantis malis sperarent2.

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| *requiro, -ere* - seek, ask for  *societas,-tatis, f.* alliance  *existumo, -are* - suppose | *negotior, -ari* - do business  *percontor, -ari* - inquire  *exitum, i, n.* - solution |

1. *aere alieno* - debt

2.indirect question from *requirere*

Questions for discussion: compare this depiction of the Allobroges with that which Cicero gives of the Allobroges in the forum in *pro Fonteio*.

Postquam illos videt1 queri2 de avaritia magistratuum, accusare senatum, quod in eo auxili nihil esset3, miseriis suis remedium4 mortem exspectare: "At ego", inquit, "vobis, si modo viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis." Haec ubi dixit, Allobroges in maximam spem adducti Umbrenum orare, ut sui misereretur5: nihil tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non cupidissime facturi essent6, dum ea res civitatem aere alieno liberaret7.

|  |  |
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| *queror, eri* - complain  *misereor, -eri* feel pity | *asper* - rough |

1. Umbrenus is the understood subject of *videt*

2. *queri* - deponent infinitive in indirect statement off of *videt*

3. *esset* subjunctive in a subordinate clause within indirect discourse; perhaps this clause is referring to the situation of *pro Fonteio* and all the subsequent complaints that the Allobroges have been making

4. *miseriis suis remedium* an appositive describing *mortem*; best to translate with "as"

5. subjunctive in indirect command

6. *facturi essent* - active periphrastic "would not do." Again, subjunctive because it is in a subordinate clause inside indirect discourse.

7. *liberaret* - clause of proviso "as long as"

Quesitons for discussion:

1. What about the Gauls in general and the Allobroges in particular made them good possible allies for the conspirators? What evidence do you see in the text above?

2. What motives would the Gauls have had for joining and what motives would they have had for refusing the conspirators?

Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere1, quidnam consili caperent2. In altera parte erat aes alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriae, at in altera maiores opes3, tuta consilia, pro incerta spe certa praemia. Haec illis volventibus tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. 4 Itaque Q. Fabio Sangae4, cuius patrocinio5 civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero per Sangam consilio cognito legatis praecipit, ut studium coniurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur dentque operam, uti eos quam maxime manifestos habeant6.

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| *quidnam*- what, pray?  *merces, is, f.* profit  *patrocinium*, *i, n.* patronage | *praecipio, -ere* instruct  *opera, ae, f.* aid, service  *manifestus -* clear |

1. *in incerto habuere* - "they were in doubt"

2. subjunctive in indirect question

3. meaning the greater resources of the legitimate Roman government

4. Quintus Fabius Sanga was the son of Q. Fabius Allobrogicus who had subdued the Allobroges in 121 and so Sanga, his son, was their patron.

5. ablative as object of the verb *utebatur*

6. All subjunctives from an indirect command or substantive clause of purpose

Questions for discussion:

1. What exactly does Sallust mean by the phrase *fortuna rei publicae*if that is what tipped the scales against the conspirators?

2. Consider the fact that Fabius Sanga is the patron of the Allobroges, because his father had conquered them 60 years earlier. Is it strange to a modern mind to apply to the descendant of the general who conquered your people for aid?

*Johnson, Allan C. Ancient Roman statutes: a transl. Omnia-Mikrofilm-Technik, 1982.*

In Caesar's *De Bello Civili,* an account of the wars of the first triumvirate between Pompey and him, Caesar mentions the story of two Allobrogian brothers who fought among his forces. This story in book III, 59 and 60, is a side narrative in Caesar's otherwise very terse and swift narrative about the Civil War, and it is interesting that he takes time to devote two chapters to it.

Erant apud Caesarem in equitum numero Allobroges duo fratres, Raucillus et Egus, Adbucilli filii, qui principatum in civitate multis annis obtinuerat, singulari virtute homines, quorum opera Caesar omnibus Gallicis bellis optima fortissimaque erat usus. His domi1 ob has causas amplissimos magistratus mandaverat atque eos extra ordinem2 in senatum legendos curaverat agrosque in Gallia ex hostibus captos praemiaque rei pecuniariae magna tribuerat locupletesque ex egentibus fecerat. Hi propter virtutem non solum apud Caesarem in honore erant, sed etiam apud exercitum cari habebantur;

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| *mando, -are* entrust  *tribuo, -ere* grant, allot  *pecuniariae* - of money | *locuples* - wealthy  *egens* - needy, poor |

1. *domi* - literally "at home" locative, meaning in Gaul

2. *extra ordinem* - lit. "outside the usual order" i.e., before the usual age; root of "extraordinary"

sed freti amicitia Caesaris et stulta ac barbara arrogantia elati despiciebant suos1 stipendiumque equitum fraudabant et praedam omnem domum2 avertebant. Quibus illi rebus permoti universi Caesarem adierunt palamque de eorum iniuriis sunt questi et ad cetera3 addiderunt falsum ab his equitum numerum deferri4, quorum stipendium averterent.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *fretus* relying on (+abl)  *stipendium* military pay  *universi* everyone in mass | *palam* openly  *egens* - needy, poor |

1. *suos* - their own people

2. *domum* - they diverted the resources to their own interests

3. *cetera ­*- the rest of the accusations

4. *deferii* - they had falsely reported the number of cavalry

1. Why have Raucillus and Egus degenerated from *homines singulari virtute*, according to Caesar? In what way does this rely on Gallic stereotypes?

Caesar neque tempus illud animadversionis esse existimans et multa virtuti1 eorum concedens rem totam distulit; illos secreto castigavit, quod quaestui equites haberent, monuitque, ut ex sua amicitia omnia exspectarent et ex praeteritis suis officiis reliqua2 sperarent. Magnam tamen haec res3 illis offensionem et contemptionem ad omnes4 attulit, idque ita esse cum ex aliorum obiectationibus tum etiam ex domestico iudicio5 atque animi conscientia intellegebant. Quo pudore adducti et fortasse non se liberari6, sed in aliud tempus reservari arbitrati discedere a nobis et novam temptare fortunam novasque amicitias experiri constituerunt.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *animadversio*, *-onis, f*. punishment  *concedo, -ere* pardon  *disfero, ferre* put off  *quaestus, us, m.* profit | *praeteritus* past  *pudor* shame  *experior, iri* find out |

1. *virtuti* - because of their virtue

2. *reliqua* - things yet to be owed, i.e. what Caesar would do for them in the future

3. *haec res* - this situation, whether that be their embezzlement of the money, or Caesar's lack of punishment

4. *ad omnes* - in everyone's minds

5. *domestico iudicio* - the judgement of their own people

6. *liberari* - freed from punishment for their actions

1. In what places in this passage does Caesar take the blame for their actions off of Gallic stereoptyes and place it on Raucillus and Egus themselves?

Et cum paucis collocuti clientibus suis, quibus tantum facinus committere audebant, primum conati sunt praefectum equitum C. Volusenum interficere, ut postea bello confecto cognitum est, ut cum munere aliquo1 perfugisse ad Pompeium viderentur; postquam id difficilius visum est neque facultas perficiendi dabatur, quam maximas potuerunt pecunias mutuati, proinde ac si2 suis satisfacere et fraudata restituere vellent, multis coemptis equis ad Pompeium transierunt cum eis, quos sui consilii participes habebant.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *commito, -ere* entrust  *mutuor, ari* to borrow | *proinde* so then  *fraudo, -are* cheat, defraud |

1. *cum munere aliquo* - so they would come to Pompey with some gift, that being the assassination of the cavalry commander

2. *proinde ac si* - so then as if

Petrie, Alexander. *An introduction to Roman history, literature, and antiquities*. Oxford University Press, 1963.

1. How does the theme of Gallic unrest over money run through the passages dealing with the Allobroges, from *pro Fonteio* through *De Bello Civili*?

2. To what extent are the Gauls excessively greedy, and to what extent are they justified in seeking financial redress from the Romans who conquered their homeland?

**III. General Gallic Culture**

Lucan, in his *Pharsalia*, wrote an account of the civil wars between Caesar and Pompey and Caesar's subsequent military conquests. The passage below is a description of Lucan's imagined reaction of the Gallic people as Caesar packs up his legions and leaves Gaul to head towards Rome and civil war. *Pharsalia* I.426-460

Arvernique ausi Latios1 se fingere fratres,

sanguine ab Iliaco populi; nimiumque rebellis

Nervius, et caesi pollutus sanguine Cottae;

et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata2, braccis,

Vangiones: Batavique truces, quos aere recurvo

stridentes acuere tubae: qua Cinga3 pererrat

gurgite: qua Rhodanus4 raptum velocibus undis

in mare fert Ararim: qua montibus ardua summis

gens habitat cana pendentes rupe Gebennas5:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *audeo, -ere, ausus sum* - dare  *rebellis, e* - rebellious, insurgent  *bracca, ae, f.* pants  *trux* wild | *acuo, ere* sharpen, provoke  *gurges, itis, m* whirlpool, stream  *canus* white, snow-capped |
|  |  |

1. *Latios* - Latin, Roman. Here Lucan is possibly confused with the Aeduan claim to be "brothers" of the Roman people as seen in the Cicero and Caesar passages. It is thought that when Diviciacus visited Rome, he became familiar with Caesar's claim of descent from the Trojans through Iulus, son of Aeneas, and made a similar claim about the origins of the Aedui in order to strengthen the alliance between them.

2. *Sarmata*, the Sarmatian people, who lived north of the Black Sea

3. *Cinga*, a river in Hispania Tarraconensis

4. *Rhodanus*, Ararim - The Rhodanus and Arar rivers ran through the territories of the Aedui, the Sequani, and the Allobroges

5. *Gebennas* - Cevennes, mountains in France

In this selection, Lucan touches on both cultural norms of appearance and some religious matters.

tu quoque laetatus converti proelia, Trevir:

et nunc tonse Ligur, quondam per colla decors

crinibus effusis toti praelate Comatae1:

et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro

Tentates2, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus3,

et Taranis4 Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.

vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremtas

laudibus in longum vates dimittitis aevum,

plurima securi fudistis carmina, Bardi.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *laetor, ari* - rejoice, be glad  *converto, ere* to turn aside  *tondeo, ere* shorn, hair cut  *collum, i, n.* neck  *crinis, is, m.* hair | *praelatus*  preferred, excelling  *mitior* milder  *peremtas* purchased  *vates* priest, poet  *Bardi* Bards |
| 1. Gallia *Comata* - "long-haired" Gaul |  |

2. *Tentates* - **Teutates**, Celtic god and possibly equivalent to the Roman God Mars. His name relates to *teuta*, the Celtic word for "tribe". He was a tribal deity who protected them in times of war. Victims sacrificed to Teutates were drowned, according to the commentaries on Lucan.

3. *Hesus ­*- **Esus**, from a Celtic word meaning "good" meaning capable of all things, thus equivalent to Mercury, *inventor of all the arts*, as Caesar says in DBG 6.18. The victims of Esus were hanged.

4. *Taranis* - **Taranis**, Celtic equivalent of Jupiter. His name derives from the Celtic word *taran,* meaning "thunder". Taranis' victims were burned, as in the wickerman of DBG 6.15.



*the god Taranis with his sky*

*wheel from the Gundestrup*

*Cauldron, British Museum*

et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum

sacrorum, Druidae, positis1 repetistis ab armis.

solis nosse deos et coeli numina vobis,

aut solis nescire datum2. Nemora alta remotis

incolitis lucis. Vobis auctoribus, umbrae

non tacitas Erebi sedes Ditisque3 profundi

pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus

orbe alio: longae (canitis si cognita) vitae

mors media est. Certe populi, quos despcit Arctos4,

felices errore suo, quos ille timorum

maximus haud urget, leti metus. Inde ruendi

in ferrum mens prona viris, animaeque capaces

mortis: et ignavum, rediturae5 parcere vitae.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *ritus, us m.*rite, ceremony  *incolo, -ere* dwell  *artus, us m.* limb  *haud* not | *letum, i n.*death  *prona* leaning forward, prone  *capax* capable |

1. *positis* - from their arms put aside, as in at peace

2. *datum* - datum est - it has been granted

3. *Dis* - another name for Pluto

4. *Arctos* - North lands, North star

5. *rediturae* - since they believe in reincarnation, their spirits will always return again

Question for discussion - in what way does Lucan seem accepting of Druidic beliefs, dismissive, or even envious?

Davis, Joseph Barnard., and John Thurnam. Crania Britannica: delineations and descriptions of the skulls of the aboriginal and early inhabitants of the British islands: with notices of their other remains. Taylor and Francis (Printer), 1867, p. 143.

Pillans, James. Outlines of geography, principally ancient: with introductory observations on the system of the world, and on the best manner of teaching geography. Adam and Charles Black, 184

In this selection of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, III.399-450, Lucan describes Caesar's intrusion into a grove sacred to the Druids as he searches for wood to aid in his military operations.

lucus erat longo numquam violatus ab evo,

obscurum cingens connexis aera ramis,

et gelidas alte submotis solibus umbras.

hunc non ruricolae Panes, nemorumque potentes

silvani Nymphaeque tenent, sed barbara ritu

sacra deum, structae diris altaribus arae;

omnisque humanis lustrata cruoribus arbos.

si qua fidem meruit superos mirata vetustas,

illis et volucres metuunt insistere ramis,

et lustris recubare ferae: nec ventus in illas

incubuit silvas, excussaque nubibus atris

fulgura: non ullis frondem praebentibus auris

arboribus suus horror inest. Tum plurima nigris

fontibus unda cadit, simulacraque moesta deorum

arte carent, caesisque extant informia truncis.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *lucus, i m.* grove  *evum, i n. aevum* - age, time  *sol, is, m* sunlight  *ruricola*country-dweller  *silvanus* gods in the forest | *altar, ris, n* burnt offerings  *lustro, are* cleansed by sacrifice  *vetustas, atis, f* antiquity  *volucer, cris, m.* bird |

ipse situs putrique facit iam robore pallor

attonitos: non vulgatis sacrata figuris

numina sic metuunt: tantum terroribus addit,

quos timeant non nosse deos. Iam fama ferebat1

saepe cavas motu terrae mugire cavernas,

et procumbentes iterum consurgere taxos,

et non ardentis fulgere incendia silvae,

roboraque amplexos circumfluxisse dracones.

non illum cultu populi propiore frequentant,

sed cessere deis. Medio cum Phoebus in axe est,

aut coelum nox atra tenet, pavet ipse sacerdos

acessus, dominumque timet deprendere luci.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *robur, oris, n* oak tree  *putris* rot, decay  *vulgatus* well known  *mugio, ire* bellow, resound  *taxus, i, f.* yew tree | *propior* more recent  *axis, is, m.* sky  *paveo, -ere* be frightened  *deprendo, -ere* intercept |

1. *ferebat* - here telling instead of bringing

Question for discussion:

Considering Roman religious superstition, in what ways might this grove be considered extremely *nefas*as a place for harvesting military supplies?

hanc iubet1 immisso silvam procumbere ferro2:

nam vicina3 operi belloque intacta priore

inter nudatos stabat densissima montes.

sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verenda4

maiestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent,

in sua credebant redituras membra secures.

implicitas magno Caesar torpore cohortes

ut vidit, primus raptam librare bipennem

ausus, et aeriam ferro proscindere quercum,

effatur, merso violata in robora ferro:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *vereor, eri* to fear or dread  *ferio, -ire* to strike  *securis*, is, f. axe  *implicitus* entangled, confused  *torpor,* *ris, m*. paralysis | *libro, are* balance, swing  *bipennis, is, f.* 2-blade axe  *aerius* towering  *quercus, us, m.* oak  *violo, are* violate, dishonor |

1. *iubet* - the subject is Caesar

2. *ferro* - iron, as in with axes

3. *vicina* - modifies the understood *silva*

4. *verenda* - future passive participle "to be dreaded"

Questions for discussion: Does Caesar's violation of the Druidic sacred grove validate or undermine his position as a military and religious leader and a Roman?

"iam ne quis vestrum dubitet subvertere silvam,

credite me fecisse nefas." Tunc paruit omnis

imperiis non sublato secura pavore

turba, sed expensa superorum et Caesaris ira.

procumbunt orni, nodosa impellitur ilex,

silvaque Dodones, et fluctibus aptior alnus,

et non plebeios luctus testata cupressus,

tum primum posuere comas1, et fronde carentes

admisere diem: propulsaque robore denso

sustinuit se silva cadens. Gemuere videntes

Gallorum populi: muris sed clausa iuventus

exsultat. Quis enim laesos impune putaret

esse deos? Servat multos fortuna nocentes:

et tantum miseris irasci numina possunt.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *subverto, -ere* destroy  *sublatus (tollo)* remove  *exspensus* weigh, judge  *ornus, i, f.* ash tree  *ilex, ilicis f.* holm oak | *alnus, i f.* alder tree  *testor, ari* bear witness  *luctus, us m* grief  *quercus, us, m.* oak  *irascor, ari* be angry (+dat) |

1. *comas*- instead of hair, leaves

Questions for discussion:

1) Consider and discuss the various reactions of the Gallic people to the destruction of their sacred grove.

2) Caesar himself calls his action *nefas*. Considering Lucan's statement at the end *servat.... possunt*, how should Caesar's actions be weighed?