

The Contribution of Julius Caesar
to the Vocabulary of Ethnography



Julius Caesar enlivened and varied the narrative of his *Commentarii* with information and comment about the enemies he was facing — the Gauls, Germans and Britons. This material is contained both in formal ethnographic excursuses (1), and in incidental remarks in the course of the narrative. The digression on Britain and parts of the formal account of Germany were long considered later interpolations, but are now generally accepted as authentic, and are here taken to be so.

The value of this material is usually assessed in terms of Caesar's attitude to the peoples he describes, and the nature, originality and accuracy of his information (2). Little attention has been paid to the language he uses in describing foreign institutions. It is the purpose of this paper to examine some terms used by Caesar when referring to the political, social and military institutions of foreigners, and to assess his contribution to the vocabulary of ethnography.

As an ethnographer, Caesar had the advantage of personal contact with the peoples he was describing, and the opportunity to observe their institutions at first hand. He also encountered the Gallic language, and had a unique opportunity to learn Celtic, or at least Celtic terms, had he wished to do so. Theoretically, Caesar had the potential to broaden the Latin literary vocabulary by introducing new foreign words. Let us begin by assessing his influence in this area.

Whatever he knew of Celtic himself (3), Caesar did not see fit to

(1) *BG* IV, 1-3 on the Suebi; V, 12-14 on the Britons; VI, 11-28 on the Gauls and Germans.

(2) See e.g. K. E. MÜLLER, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie und ethnologischen Theoriebildung. Von den Anfängen bis auf die byzantinischen Historiographen*, II, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 68 ff.; E. RAWSON, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*, London, 1985, p. 259-263.

(3) Caesar does not appear to have availed himself of his linguistic opportunities. Though he had contact with Gallic leaders and traders, he communicated by means

pepper his text with newly-acquired foreign words. Only four (4) Celtic technical terms occur in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*: *soldurii* (BG III, 22, 2), *ambacti* (BG VI, 15, 2), *druides* (6 times) (5) and *uergobretus* (BG I, 16, 5). A fifth word, of Celtic origin (6), *essedum*, also deserves consideration. Of these, only two (*uergobretus* and *essedum*) reflect Caesar's first hand contact with the language.

Soldurii — the name for the loyal retainers who swore to share the fate of their leaders even to death — probably derives from an ethnographic source rather than personal acquaintance with Gauls. Caesar had certainly encountered such vassals himself (cf. BG VII, 40, 7), and his description of them (BG III, 22, 2f.) is informed by his own observation. But the loyalty of such retainers was an ethnographical *topos*, and Caesar's language is strikingly similar to that of Athenaeus, quoting Nicholas of Damascus (ex Posidonius?): *cum DC deuotis quos illi soldurios appellant* (BG III, 22, 2) cf. Ath. VI, 249b (FGH fr. 80): ἐξακοσίους ἔχειν λογάδας περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν τῇ πατρίῳ γλώττῃ σιλοδούρους; τὸυτο δ' ἔστιν Ἑλληνιστὶ εὐχλωμῆσι. The term may well stem from a Greek literary source. When these vassals reappear later in the narrative, Caesar (with no ethnographical source before him?) is less concerned with anthropological curiosities. The term *soldurii* does not recur. Instead, we have a brief description, couched in terms of Roman *clientes* and *patroni* (BG VII, 40, 7: *cum suis clientibus, quibus more Gallorum nefas est etiam in extrema fortuna deserere patronos*).

Caesar also uses the Gallic word for "slaves" (7), *ambacti* (BG VI, 15, 2). But this term must have been familiar to Romans from an

of Romanized local interpreters. He had a whole staff of *cotidiani interpretes*, and even when conversing with Diviciacus on an intimate basis, he kept by him the trusted Gaius Valerius Proculus, a Romanized native (BG I, 19, 3).

(4) *Gutruatus* (HIRT., BG VIII, 38, 3, 5) should be left out of account. There are textual difficulties, and if it is a corruption of a Celtic word for a priest, we do not know who misunderstood it and turned it into a proper name (which it may well have been, in any case).

(5) BG VI, 13, 3, 8, 9; 14, 1; 18, 1; 21, 1.

(6) See A. HOLDER, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, I, Leipzig, 1896, p. 1470-1473.

(7) Some scholars equate *soldurii* and *ambacti* (C. JULLIAN, *Histoire de la Gaule*, II, Paris, 1904, p. 77; A. BAYET, *Histoire de la morale en France. I La morale des Gaulois*, Paris, 1930, p. 188; P.-M. DUVAL, *La vie quotidienne en Gaule*, Paris, 1952, p. 31). A Roman, however, is more likely to have understood the word to mean «slave» (cf. Festus 4L: *ambactus apud Ennium Gallica lingua seruus appellatur*; CGL V, 47, 439, 616; VI s.v. *ambacti*).

early date (8): it is used by Ennius (*Ann.* 610 with Skutsch's note). And Caesar treats it as if it were a term known to his readers. He does not explain its meaning, or couch it in an *ut Galli appellant*-type formula — the standard literary method of introducing an unfamiliar foreign term (9). It seems likely that, in this instance, Caesar is using a word of known Gallic origin, already accepted in the Latin literary tradition through the *auctoritas* of Ennius, to add colour and authenticity to his ethnographical excursus on Gauls.

Caesar probably cannot claim credit for the introduction of *druides* either. While it is true that *druides*, or its manuscript variants *druidae* or *dryadae*, does not appear in extant Latin literature before Caesar, he uses it as a regular Latin word familiar to his readers. It occurs six times, never with any explanation or distancing *ut Galli dicunt* formula (BG VI, 13, 3, 8, 9; 14, 1; 18, 1; 21, 1). Druids, in fact, were synonymous with Celtic religion, and were an ethnographical commonplace (10). Caesar was treating a familiar topic in familiar language. Indeed *druides* in Caesar may well derive from Posidonius since the word appears only in the ethnographical excursus. On the single occasion in the narrative where druids are probably meant (BG VII, 33, 3), the general term *sacerdotes* is used (11).

Caesar's use of *druides*, however, must have leant the word literary respectability. Later Roman writers appear at home with the term. Though the Elder Pliny couches it in an *appellant* formula the first time he uses it (*Nat.* XVI, 249: *Druidae — ita suos magos appellant*), in subsequent books it occurs without comment (*Nat.* XXIV, 103; XXIX, 52, 54; XXX, 13). Mela apparently feels the need to explain the word (III, 2, 18: *magistros sapientiae druidas*). φιλόσοφος, however,

(8) J. WHAITEMOUGH, *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, II, London, 1933, p. 181, following A. HOLDER, *op. cit.* [n. 6], p. 114, suggests that it came in from Cisalpine Gaul not later than the end of the second century B.C.

(9) On this convention see B. BELL, *Roman Literary Attitudes to Foreign Terms and the Carthaginian sufetes* in *A Class* 32, 1989, p. 30-31.

(10) D.S. V, 31, 2 = POS., FGH 87 fr. 116; STR. IV, 4, 4 (197), 5 (198).

(11) N. CHADWICK, *The Druids*, Cardiff, 1966, p. 2 states that «...the term *sacerdos* does not seem to have been used of the druids by any ancient writer». As she holds that druids were not essentially priests she cannot equate *sacerdos* and *druida*. However, CAES., BG VI, 21, 1 (of Germans): *nam neque druides habent qui rebus diuinis praesint, neque sacrificiis student* indicates that druids did perform priestly functions. For a refutation of Chadwick's view see S. PIGGOTT, *The Druids*, London, 1968, p. 108.

is regularly used by Greek ethnographers as a gloss for *Δροΐδα* (12), and Mela was probably echoing a Greek source rather than showing concern for the comprehension of his readers. Elsewhere *druidae* and *dryadae* appear in a range of authors without qualification, to denote Celts presiding over prophecy or savage ritual (13).

Unlike the previous examples, there is reason to think that Caesar learnt at first hand *uergobretus*, the title of the chief magistrate of the Aedui (BG I, 16, 5). Strabo gives details of the office which are very similar to Caesar's (Str. IV, 4, 3 (197) (*ex Posidonius* ?) cf. Caes., BG I, 16, 5), but there is no evidence for the term in any Greek source. The name of the magistracy held by Diviciacus is certainly the kind of word Caesar might acquire. In his aside explaining that *uergobretus* was the technical name used by the Aedui themselves (*magistratui quem uergobretum appellant Aeduū*), he may well be showing off his local knowledge and self-consciously making an addition to the ethnographic vocabulary. He is certainly not concerned with accuracy of terminology. Elsewhere he contents himself with general terms like *magistratus* (BG I, 19, 1; VII, 32, 3, 4; 33, 2, 3; 37, 1, 6; 39, 2; 55, 4, 6), and *principatus* (BG I, 3, 5) when referring to the Aeduan chief magistracy.

Vergobretus can hardly be regarded as a major contribution to the ethnographic vocabulary. Its occurrence at BG I, 16, 5 remains a *hapax legomenon* in extant Latin literature (14).

Essedum enjoyed rather greater success. At BG IV, 33 Caesar gives a vivid description of the British tactics of chariotfighting. It was a description which must have fired Roman imagination. Thereafter poets regularly associate the barbarian Britons with chariots (e.g. Prop. IV, 3, 9; Sil. XVII, 416ff.). Juvenal has one Arviragus falling from the chariot pole upon which, according to Caesar, Britons used to run out in battle (4, 126f. cf. BG IV, 33, 3). Verbal echoes of Caesar even

(12) D.S. V, 31, 2: φιλόσοφοι τε τινές εἰσι καὶ θεολόγοι περιτώς τιμώμενοι οὐκ Δροΐδας ὀνομάζουσι, 31, 4: ἔθος δ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μηδένα θυσίαν ποιεῖν ἀνευ φιλοσόφου (cf. Str. IV, 4, 5 (198): ἀνευ δροΐδων). Cf. Schol. at Luc. I, 451: *sunt autem Driadae philosophi Gallorum dicti*.

(13) *dryada*: Cic., Div. I, 90; Luc. I, 451; Suet., Cl. 25, 4. *druida*: Tac., Hist. IV, 54; Ann. XIV, 30, 1 (of British Druids). Female *dryadae*, no more than fortune-tellers, re-emerge in the *Historia Augusta* (Alex. Sev. 60, 6; Num. 14, 2f.; Aur. 44, 4). On these see N. Chadwick, *op. cit.* [n. 11], p. 80-82; A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization*, Cambridge, 1975, p. 72f.

(14) The term does reappear in inscriptions at the beginning of the empire among the Santones, and among the Lexovii. See C. Jullian, *op. cit.* [n. 7], p. 42 n. 2.

colour Livy's description of chariotfighting Gauls who had earlier used similar chariots (Liv. X, 28, 8-9 cf. Caes., BG IV, 33, 1) (15).

The type of chariot employed in Britain and described by Caesar, carried two men, a warrior and a driver who had a special seat in front (16). Caesar calls it *essedum* (6 times) (17). To denote the warrior who fought from the chariot he forms a derivative *essedarius* (BG IV, 21, 1; V, 15, 1; 19, 1, 2). *Essedum* was a word of Celtic origin. Whatmough (18) suggests that the word was unknown to the Romans before Caesar, and not borrowed from Cisalpine Gaul. Certainly Cicero's facetious use of the term in his letter to Trebatius in Britain suggests that *essedum* was regarded as new-fangled and outrageous, and perhaps even particularly British (*Fam.* VII, 7, 1: *In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est essedum aliquid capias suades et ad nos, quam primum recurras*).

In the Augustan period *essedum* still appears as a war-chariot (19), but already in Cicero there are indications that *essedum* was being used in Rome as a luxurious conveyance for men-about-town (20). From the Augustan period on, Caesar's word was so assimilated into Latin that it was widely used as a general term for a travelling vehicle (21).

Caesar's derivative *essedarius* enjoyed equal success. Like *essedum*, Cicero uses this word facetiously in his letters to Trebatius in Britain (*Fam.* VII, 6, 2; 10, 2), to denote a new-fangled British chariot-fighter, but by the time of Seneca *essedarius* was well-entrenched in a Roman

(15) Cf. Porph. at Hor., Ep. II, 1, 192: *essedae Gallorum uehicula*. Chariots were no longer in use by the time Caesar encountered the Gauls.

(16) Some authors represent them as having scythed wheels (Mela III, 6, 52; Luc. I, 426; Sil. XVII, 417; Fron., Str. II, 3, 18, and cf. the statue at Westminster Bridge of Boudicca standing in a scythed chariot). This is questionable. For the view that they were not scythed see R. G. Collingwood and J. N. Myers, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, Oxford, 1936, p. 41; R. Tull, *Britannische Streitwagen* in *Klio* 36, 1944, p. 244, 246-250; Heubner at Tac., Ag. 35, 3; R. M. Ogilvie at Tac., Ag. 12, 1.

(17) BG IV, 32, 5; 33, 1; V, 9, 3; 16, 2; 17, 4; 19, 1.

(18) *op. cit.* [n. 8], II, p. 196.

(19) Mostly in association with Gauls (e.g. Liv. X, 28, 9; Verg., G. III, 204).

(20) Cic., Phil. II, 58: *uehebatur in essedo tribunus plebis* (Antonius); Att. VI, 1, 25: *Vedius uenit mihi obuam cum duobus essedis et raeda equis iuncta* (where *essedum* is linked with *raeda*, another Celtic equipage).

(21) Hor., Ep. II, 1, 192; Ov., Am. II, 16, 49; Pont. II, 10, 33f.; Prop. II, 1, 76; 32, 5; Pers. 6, 47; Sen., Ep. 56, 4; Mart. IV, 64, 19; X, 104, 4-7; XII, 24, 2; 57, 23; Sil. III, 337; Suet., Aug. 76, 1; Cal. 19, 2; 26, 2; 51, 2; Cl. 16, 4; 33, 2; Gal. 6, 3; 18, 1. See L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, London, 1974, p. 179.

setting. It is used of gladiators fighting from chariots, both in literature, and frequently in inscriptions commemorating the victories or manumission of successful gladiators⁽²²⁾. Petronius even has a female *essedariam* as the *pièce de résistance* in a show in the arena (45, 7).

With *essedum* and *essedarius* Caesar was not merely influencing the language of ethnography, he was making a contribution to everyday Latin vocabulary. This must be regarded as his main achievement in the area of foreign verbal introductions.

However, on the whole, Caesar's readers would not have been interested in the technical terminology of foreign peoples. Roman interest in foreigners was essentially self-centred. Foreign history and habits had no intrinsic appeal except in so far as they related to Rome's own. A few native words, sparingly employed, might lend a little foreign colour and authenticity to Caesar's text. But he would be more likely to arouse interest if he couched his descriptions in familiar Roman terms. Accordingly, we find him employing what has been called *comparatio*⁽²³⁾ — the use of a specifically Roman term when some correspondence is seen to exist between a Roman and a foreign institution.

Caesar's *comparatio* equations include *senatus* for a tribal council of elders⁽²⁴⁾ and *senatores* of its members (BG II, 28, 2). The people of Gallic and German tribes are *plebs*⁽²⁵⁾ who meet in a *concilium* to hear news and deliberate⁽²⁶⁾, and under arms in times of war⁽²⁷⁾. Caesar calls the Gallic aristocratic class *equites* (BG VI, 13, 3; 15, 1)⁽²⁸⁾, doubtless remembering that in early Rome the cavalry was aristocratic.

(22) SEN., *Ep.* 29, 6; PETR., 36, 7; SUET., *Cal.* 35, 3. *CIL* IV, 2508²⁶; 4280, 4295, 4333, 4386; VI, 6318, 33952; IX, 466²¹; XII, 3323, 3324; XIII, 1977.

(23) D. MAGIE, *De Romanorum Iuris Publici Sacrique Vocabulis Sollemnibus in Graecum Sermonem Conversis*, diss., Leipzig, 1905, p. 2.

(24) BG I, 31, 6; II, 5, 1; 28, 2; III, 16, 4; 17, 3; V, 54, 3; VII, 32, 5; 33, 2, 3; 55, 4; HIRT., BG VIII, 21, 4; 22, 2 (Gauls); BG IV, 11, 3 (Germans).

(25) BG I, 3, 5; 17, 1; 18, 3; V, 3, 6; VI, 13, 1; VII, 13, 2; 42, 4; HIRT., BG VIII, 7, 7; 21, 4; 22, 2. In some cases *plebs* is used *per comparationem* of Gallic lower classes, as distinct from the upper ruling classes (BG V, 3, 6 cf. *nobilitas*; HIRT., BG VIII, 7, 7 cf. *principes*; 21, 4 cf. *senatus*; 22, 2 cf. *principes, senatus, boni*). Elsewhere it is a general, colourless term denoting "people" or "common people".

(26) BG V, 6, 2; VI, 20, 3; VII, 77, 1.

(27) BG V, 56, 1 f. (*armatum concilium*), 3, 4; 57, 2; VI, 23, 7; VII, 14, 1; perhaps 89, 1 where there is MSS discrepancy between *concilium* and *consilium*. German tribes met under arms even in times of peace (TAC., *G.* 11, 4; 13, 1).

(28) On these *equites* see T. RICE HOLMES, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, Oxford, 1931², p. 512 f.

Powerful and influential aristocrats are termed *nobiles*⁽²⁹⁾, while *principes* denotes tribal leading men, both elected officials and other chief citizens⁽³⁰⁾. Both terms had socio-political overtones in Caesar's Rome⁽³¹⁾.

Such men in Gaul had numbers of serfs (*serui* (BG VI, 19, 4)/ *familiares* (BG VI, 30, 3)⁽³²⁾) and dependants (*clientes*⁽³³⁾). The abstract *clientela* also occurs⁽³⁴⁾. As a variant of *clientes*, *comites* is sometimes used of dependants (e.g. BG VI, 30, 3), perhaps putting a Roman reader in mind of the *comites* attendant upon distinguished Romans of the Republic⁽³⁵⁾.

(29) *nobilis/nobilitas*: BG I, 2, 1; 7, 3; 18, 6; 31, 6, 7, 12; II, 6, 4; V, 3, 6; 6, 5; VI, 12, 3; 13, 2; HIRT., BG VIII, 45, 2 (Gaul); BG V, 22, 2 (Britain).

(30) *princeps/principatus* = chief magistrate/magistracy: Gaul: BG I, 3, 5 (= *uerogobretus of the Aedui*); V, 3, 2; VI, 8, 9; VII, 65, 2 (*princeps ciuitatis*); 88, 4; HIRT., BG VIII, 12, 4 (*princeps ciuitatis*), 7. Germany: BG VI, 22, 2 (*magistratus ac principes*, where some, e.g. A. KLOTZ, *Zu Caesars Bellum Gallicum* in *RhM* 66, 1911, p. 631 n. 1 believe that *ac principes* was added to explain *magistratus*; 23, 5 (leaders of independent *pagi*). *principes* = leading men, who may, or may not, include magistrates: BG I, 16, 5; III, 8, 3; IV, 6, 5; V, 3, 5; 4, 3; 5, 3; 6, 4; 41, 1; 54, 1; VI, 12, 4; VII, 1, 4; 4, 2; 28, 6; 31, 2; 32, 2; 36, 3; 38, 2, 10; 64, 8; 75, 1; 89, 4; HIRT., BG VIII, 7, 6; 22, 2; 45, 2; 49, 3 (Gaul); BG IV, 27, 7 which may denote British chief magistrates or military leaders; 30, 1 (Britain); IV, 11, 3; 13, 4; VI, 23, 7 (Germany).

(31) Gelzer held that in late Republican Rome *nobilitas* was an elitist term, denoting the prestige conferred by the holding of political office, or the group of individuals who possessed such prestige (M. GELZER, *The Roman Nobility*, Oxford, 1969, cf. J. HELLEGOUARCH, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la République*, Paris, 1963, p. 430-439 on *nobilitas* as a political party. On the basic meaning of *princeps/principes* (*ciuitatis*) and *principatus* in a Roman context see M. GELZER, *op. cit.*, p. 46 ff.; J. HELLEGOUARCH, *op. cit.*, p. 327-337; J. BÉRANGER, *Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du principat*, Basel, 1953, p. 41-43. In some instances in Caesar these terms do seem to denote an elitist group of aristocrats, as at Rome (*nobilis/nobilitas*: BG I, 31, 6; VII, 38, 2; perhaps V, 3, 6; 6, 5; VI, 12, 3. *principes*: HIRT., BG VIII, 7, 7; 22, 2). Elsewhere *nobilitas* seems no more than a general term for "aristocratic class" or "noble birth", and *nobilis* a general term for "aristocrat" or "one of noble birth". *Principes* frequently denotes no more than "leading men".

(32) A. DAUBIGNEY, *Reconnaissance des formes de la dépendance gauloise* in *DIA* 5, 1979, p. 145-189 suggests that these terms denote *ambacti*, serfs, in a position of total dependence. (Compare the expressions *ambactos clientesque* (BG VI, 15, 2) with *serui et clientes* (BG VI, 19, 5), *comites familiaresque* (BG VI, 30, 3) and Polybius τὸς θεραπέδοντας καὶ συμπεριφερομένους (II, 17, 12)).

(33) BG I, 4, 2; VI, 15, 2; 19, 5; VII, 4, 1; 32, 5 (*clientela*); 40, 7 (of *soldarii*).

(34) BG VI, 4, 5; 12, 2, 6, 7; VII, 32, 5. Hirtius in his continuation of the *Commentarii* has a Gallic patron who, on the analogy of Roman practice, counted a whole town among his *clientela* (BG VIII, 32, 2).

(35) On Republican *comites* see J. HELLEGOUARCH, *op. cit.* [n. 31], p. 59 f.

In the military sphere, Vercingetorix as *imperator* (commander-in-chief) of the combined Gallic forces (*BG* VII, 63, 6), and other tribal chieftains (*duces* ⁽³⁶⁾) have *imperium* ⁽³⁷⁾. Gauls drew up their infantry in wedge-like formations (*cuneatim* ⁽³⁸⁾), to which Caesar applies the term *testudo*, familiar in Roman military parlance (*BG* II, 6, 2; VII, 85, 5).

With most of these equations it is difficult to assess Caesar's contribution. Much earlier writing mentioning Gauls (e.g. the *Annales* of Q. Claudius Quadrigarius and perhaps the *De Bello Sequanico* of the poet Varro of Atax) has perished, and Caesar's contemporaries also use Roman terms in foreign contexts. Sallust in the *Jugurtha*, for instance, has the *principes* of Vaga, members of the *nobilitas* and the fickle *plebs* rising in support of Jugurtha ⁽³⁹⁾. Nepos and the orator Calpidius refer to the Carthaginian *senatus* (Nep., *Han.* 7, 6; Calpidius, *ORF*² 140 fr. 5). Carthaginian *imperatores* are attested as early as Cato, and recur in Nepos and Cicero ⁽⁴⁰⁾.

Nor is this surprising. Though Roman terminology might conceivably appear incongruous in a foreign setting, these were in fact the obvious Latin words to convey an essential idea. What was one to call a military power but *imperium*? An administrative council would obviously be a *senatus* and its members *senatores*. Caesar can hardly claim credit for the random appearance of the more obvious equations in later authors, even if applied (as they are) to Celtic or German institutions. However, there are grounds for thinking that Caesar did contribute to the language of ethnography in the area of *comparatio*.

One of his most influential equations was the application of *pagus* to Gallic and German tribal subdivisions ⁽⁴¹⁾. This was an appropriate

(36) *BG* II, 23, 4; V, 22, 2 (British); 34, 1; 41, 1; VII, 3, 1; 21, 1; 88, 4; *HIRT.*, *BG* VIII, 6, 2; 14, 1; 17, 1; 26, 2; 36, 1; 48, 5.

(37) *BG* II, 23, 4; III, 17, 2; V, 11, 8 (*summa imperi bellique administrandi* granted to the Briton, Cassivellaunus), 9; VI, 8, 9.

(38) *BG* VII, 28, 1. *Cuneus* was a Roman technical term which Vegetius defines as follows: *Cuneus dicitur multitudo peditum quae iuncta cum acie primo angustior deinde latior procedit et aduersariorum ordines rumpit quia a pluribus in unum locum tela mittuntur* (III, 19, 6).

(39) *Jug.* 66, 22-24. Numidian *nobiles* also appear at 70, 2 and 77, 1 (of Leptis).

(40) CATO, *Orig.* 79, 82, 83; NEP., *Han.* 2, 3; 3, 1; *Han.* 2, 3; 3, 2 (cf. 3, 1 where Hannibal receives *summam imperi*); CIC., *Off.* III, 99.

(41) Gaul: *BG* I, 12, 4, 5; 13, 5; IV, 22, 5; VI, 11, 2; VII, 64, 6. On Gallic tribes and *pagi* see C. JULIAN, *op. cit.* [n. 7], p. 14 ff.; N. CHADWICK, *The Celts*, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 57. Germany: *BG* I, 37, 3; IV, 1, 4 (cf. *OROS.*, *Hist.* VI, 9, 1); VI, 23, 5.

comparison. Like early Italian *pagi*, these divisions enjoyed a large measure of independence within the tribe and were held together by clan ties. It is also probable that at some early date Italian *pagi* had had a role in the collection of taxes and conscription of troops as the German tribal divisions did ⁽⁴²⁾. *Pagus* in an Italian context in time became a purely territorial term denoting the land with fixed boundaries surrounding a town, comprising pasture, arable land and the dwellings on it ⁽⁴³⁾, and was often used in a nontechnical sense to mean no more than "country district". But the earlier character of the Italian *pagus* was remembered, making *pagus* appropriate *comparatio* for socio-political tribal units of the Gauls and Germans.

Caesar was the first extant Latin author to extend *pagus* to non-Italians, and thereafter it became the standard term for Gallic and German tribal subdivisions, whether the territorial regions or the inhabitants of them.

Referring to pre-Roman Gaul it appears in Livy (V, 34, 9; *Per.* 65). After the conquest of Gaul, the Romans retained the existing tribal boundaries as far as possible and continued to term the subdivisions *pagi*, both in literature and official parlance ⁽⁴⁴⁾.

The parallels between archaic Roman and German *pagi* which struck Caesar are still strongly felt by Tacitus in the *Germania*, where the term reappears in passages with a strong Roman casting ⁽⁴⁵⁾. The term became entrenched in the historical tradition also. German *pagi* appear in Tacitus and in Ammianus ⁽⁴⁶⁾.

Pagus also came to be used in a non-technical sense, as it was in Italy, to mean "country district" or "village" (e.g. Plin., *Nat.* III, 124; Auson., *Mos.* 478). In short, following its initial use by Caesar, *pagus* became almost as familiar in a Gallic or German context as an Italian one.

(42) D.H. IV, 15, 3. They certainly had financial responsibilities from Augustus on. See M. W. FREDERIKSEN, *Changes in the Patterns of Settlement in Hellenism in Mittelitalien*, ed. P. ZANKER, Göttingen, 1976, p. 345 f., 349-354.

(43) See M. W. FREDERIKSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 343 f.

(44) TAC., *Ann.* III, 45, 1; *Hist.* II, 61; *CIL* XIII, 412, 3450, 4679-4680. On the later *pagi* of the Treveri see E. M. WIGHTMAN, *Roman Trier and the Treveri*, London, 1970, p. 124 ff.

(45) G. 6, 5; 12, 3; 39, 4. On the Roman casting of these passages see R. E. A. PALMER, *The Archaic Community of the Romans*, Cambridge, 1970, p. 57-59.

(46) TAC., *Ann.* I, 56, 5 (cf. G. 12, 3); *Hist.* IV, 15; AMM. XVIII, 2, 1; XXIX, 4, 7; XXX, 3, 1; 5, 13.

The success of Caesar's use of *concilium* in a foreign setting is indicated by a subsection under *concilium* in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (p. 47 lines 53-60) headed *concilium de coetibus barbarorum ad res militares, ciuiles, sacras agundas conuocatis* (47). Caesar is the earliest author cited under this heading, and it is clear that under his influence *concilium* continued to be used of Gallic tribal meetings in general (e.g. Liv. III, 2, 3 (*Aeduī*); XXI, 2, 1, 7), and for the ritual assembly of Gauls and Germans under arms (Liv. V, 36, 1 (*Gallorum*); XXI, 20, 1: *armati — ita mos gentis erat — in concilium uenerunt*, 7 cf. Caes., *BG* V, 56, 2: *Hoc more Gallorum est initium belli, quo lege communi omnes puberes armati conuenire consuerunt*; Tac., *G.* 6, 6; 12, 1, 3; 13, 1). In spite of the differences between a Roman and a Gallic or German *concilium* (brought out by Caesar, *BG* VI, 13, 1 (48) and Tac., *G.* 11), like the Gauls in Caesar, German *plebs* in Tacitus' *Germania* continue to meet in *concilio*.

Caesar was also the first extant Latin author to apply the term *cliens* to dependants in a non-Roman context (49). He also extends *cliens* and *clientela* to tribes which stood in dependent relation to more powerful tribes (*BG* I, 31, 6; IV, 6, 4; V, 39, 3; VI, 4, 5; 12, 2, 3, 6, 7; VII, 75, 2). In this no subsequent writer saw fit to follow him, but after Caesar foreign notables of varied nationalities, like Roman patrons, are attended by *clientes* (50).

Caesar's terminology for Gallic vassals and retainers recurs in Tacitus particularly. He too uses *clientes* in a Gallic context (*Ann.* III, 42, 2), and extends the term to Britons (*Ag.* 12, 1), Germans (*Ann.* I, 57, 4; II, 45, 2; XII, 30, 3) and Parthians (*Ann.* XII, 14, 3; XIII, 37, 1). He even coins a diminutive, *clientulus*, applied to the retainers of the Briton, Caratacus in Claudius' triumphal procession (*Ann.* XII, 36, 5), perhaps to diminish their status in the eyes of his readers. Interestingly, in the *Germania*, Tacitus favours Caesar's variant term for Gallic

(47) Besides a selection of the references given above in footnotes 26 and 27, referring to tribal *concilia*, *TLL* also cites examples of Caesar's use of *concilium* to denote combined meetings of Gauls e.g. *BG* I, 19, 4: *in concilio Gallorum*; 30, 4: *concilium totius Galliae*; II, 4, 4; III, 18, 7; VII, 15, 3). It also includes examples where the OCT reads *consilium* rather than *concilium* (*BG* III, 3, 2; V, 53, 5; VI, 7, 6).

(48) The people of Gallic tribes meeting in a *concilium* had no legal political power, according to Caesar. Cf. C. JULLIAN, *op. cit.* [n. 7], p. 50-53; T. RICE HOLMES, *op. cit.* [n. 28], p. 529-541.

(49) For references see note 33 above.

(50) For instances after Caesar see *TLL* s.v. *cliens*, p. 1346 lines 34-48.

retainers, *comites*, and the collective *comitatus* (51) — perhaps because, being concerned with ethnography, he was conscious of the differences between Roman and German systems of social dependence. There was nothing in the Roman system of *clientela*, for instance, to correspond to the formal enrolment of youths into the retinue of a German chief, and the strict ties of loyalty and service which bound them.

Caesar's equation of *clientes* and Gallic *soldurii* may also have prompted Livy's use of *clientes* when referring to Spanish retainers, who, in similar fashion, pledged to share the fate of their leaders even to death (Liv. XXVI, 50, 14 cf. Caes., *BG* VII, 40, 7) (52). The practice of swearing allegiance to an overlord was obviously not analogous to Roman *deuotio*, where a general pledged his life, or that of a substitute, to the gods of the underworld in return for victory. (See Liv. VIII, 9, 4 ff.). Nonetheless subsequent writers clearly felt that Caesar's verb *deuoueo* (used of Gauls at *BG* III, 22, 2) conveyed the essential notion of Spanish vassals "swearing allegiance unto death". It is used by Sallust, Livy and Valerius Maximus in this sense (53).

Caesar's military descriptions were much admired in antiquity, so one might expect distinctive military vocabulary to reappear in later authors. As we have seen, this was the case with *essedum*, which is testimony to the impact of Caesar's description of British chariot-fighting. In the area of *comparatio*, Caesarian influence is more difficult to trace. Possible influence can only be suggested in the case of Celtic and German battle formations.

The term Caesar most commonly employs for these battle lines is *phalanx* (*BG* I, 24, 5; 25, 2 (Gauls); I, 54, 4 f.: *At Germani celeriter ex consuetudine sua phalange facta*). In this no extant author saw fit

(51) *comites*: *G.* 13, 2, 3; 14, 1. *comitatus*: *G.* 13, 3, 4; 14, 1, 2. Also *Ann.* II, 63, 7.

(52) The Celts probably brought this practice with them into Spain. On Spanish *soldurii* see J. M. BLAZQUEZ, F. J. LOMAS, J. F. NIETO and F. PRESEDO, *Historia de España antigua*, I. *Protohistoria*, Madrid, 1980, p. 199 f.

(53) SALL., *Hist.* 1, 125 (Maurenbrecher): *traxit autem hoc de Celtiberorum more, qui, ut in Sallustio legimus, se regibus uouent et post eum uitam refutant*; V. MAX. II, 6, 11: *Celtiberi etiam nefas esse ducebant proelio superesse cum is occidisset pro cuius salute spiritum deuouerant*. The same idea seems to be contained in Mardonius' pledge to the Romans (Liv. XXVIII, 34, 5: *...si ita uideatur, reddant spiritum P. Scipioni ab eodem illo acceptum aut seruati bis uni debitam uitam pro eo in perpetuum deuouent*). Greek authors, by contrast, are not consistent: cf. ATH. VI, 249b = *FGII* fr. 80: *εὐχολιμαῖοι* (of Gauls); *κατασπένδω*: PLUT., *Sert.* 14; STR. III, 4, 18 (165) (of Celtiberians).

to follow him, perhaps because, for most, *phalanx* was inextricably associated with Greeks and Macedonians. Certainly other Latin prose writers confine *phalanx* to Greek and Macedonian contexts⁽⁵⁴⁾.

It is the language which Caesar used as variants for *phalanx* which recurs in Gallic and German military contexts. At *BG* VII, 28, 1 the Gauls drawn up ready for battle *cuneatim constiterunt*. On two other occasions Gauls attacking walls or ramparts in formation make a *testudo* (*BG* II, 6, 2; VII, 85, 5). The Roman *testudo* was a formation in which those in front held their shields before their bodies, while those behind held theirs over their heads to form a shell like a tortoise's. Clearly, if Caesar meant *testudo* as an equivalent for *phalanx* (as seems likely) the equation was inexact⁽⁵⁵⁾. Descriptive phrases also occur. Gauls in formation formed a tightly-packed, impenetrable mass which Caesar describes as *confertissimus* (*BG* I, 24, 5: *confertissima acie*; II, 23, 4: *confertissimo agmine*). He was the first extant author to use *confertus* in a military context, or to employ the superlative⁽⁵⁶⁾.

Livy X, 29 best exemplifies the influence of Caesar's terminology on subsequent descriptions of Gauls fighting in formation. (This chapter follows hard upon his Caesar-inspired description of Gallic chariot fighting (X, 28)). In 297 B.C., reports Livy, when the Gauls were drawn up for battle (*cum Galli structis ante se scutis conferti starent*, cf. X, 28, 17: *confertissimam aciem*), the Romans picked up weapons lying on the ground and hurled them *in testudinem hostium*. This proved

(54) *Phalanx* may denote, properly, combined battalions of heavy infantry (NEP., *Eum.* 8, 2; Liv. XXXI, 39, 10; XXXIII, 4, 1, 3; 8, 7, 13; 9, 3, 5, 10; XLII, 59, 7; 61, 10; 66, 3, 6; XLIV, 37, 11; 41, 6; 42, 4; Curt. III, 9, 2, 7; 11, 1; IV, 13, 27; 15, 14; V, 6, 2; 13, 10; VI, 4, 3, 15; VII, 5, 32; 8, 6; VIII, 2, 33; 14, 18, 25; X, 7, 14; 9, 12; FRON., *Str.* II, 3, 17, 20; SHA, *Alex. Sev.* 50, 5). Occasionally it may be used of infantry in general (e.g. Curt. IV, 9, 12; 12, 23). Greek, Macedonian and Antigonid battle lines are also termed *phalanx* (NEP., *Cha.* 1, 2; *Pel.* 4, 2; Liv. IX, 19, 8; XXXII, 17, 11; XXXIII, 18, 17; XLIV, 41, 9; Curt. III, 2, 13; 9, 2; FRON., *Str.* II, 3, 20), as are single battalions of heavy infantry (NEP., *Eum.* 7, 1; Liv. VIII, 8, 3; XLIV, 41, 1, 2; Curt. VII, 9, 22; VIII, 10, 4; X, 8, 23; Suet., *Nero* 19, 2). The poets considered *phalanx* dignified enough for epic, where it denotes not only an army host (VERG., *A.* II, 254; VI, 489; XII, 544, 551, 662; V. FL. VI, 750), but any band of armed men (VERG., *A.* XI, 92; XII, 277; V. FL. VII, 613; STAT., *Theb.* II, 471). Juvenal extends its use even further for humorous effect (2, 46 to denote the male sex as a group).

(55) T. RICE HOLMES at CAES., *BG* I, 24, 5 equates *testudo* and *phalanx*. WEISSEN-BORN-MÜLLER at Liv. X, 29, 12 draws attention to the inexactness of *testudo* in a Gallic context.

(56) See *TLL* s.v. *confercio*: p. 171 line 73; p. 172 lines 28-35.

an effective tactic, for *sternitur cuneus* (6 and 7). Though their Samnite allies were put to flight in the ensuing *melée*, the Gauls reformed and stood their ground (*Galli testudine facta conferti stabant* (12) (cf. Caes., *BG* I, 24, 5; 25, 2; VII, 85, 5).

On the strength of Caesar's *cuneatim*, *cuneus* becomes a standard technical term for Gallic battle formations. It appears in Hirtius, Livy and Trogus/Justin⁽⁵⁷⁾. Caesar only employs *cuneatim* once, of Gauls, but given the similarity of Gallic, Spanish and German formations, *cuneatim* may also have prompted the use of *cuneus* for Celtiberian battle lines in Livy, and German infantry formations in Tacitus and Ammianus⁽⁵⁸⁾. It even came to be used in Latin inscriptions referring to German auxiliaries who maintained their native formations in the Roman army⁽⁵⁹⁾. The supremacy of *cuneus* over Caesar's preferred *phalanx* for German formations is hardly surprising. It was, after all, a Roman technical term (see n. 38), with no Greek overtones, and the two formations were clearly analogous.

Caesar's influence, however, does not end there. In descriptions of Macedonian or Antigonid battles involving orthodox *phalangites*, Caesar's variants and descriptive phrases reappear. At Liv. XXXII, 17 the Romans endeavour to break by force *cuneum Macedonum — phalangem ipsi uocant* (11). The enemy, *conferti* (8, 13), throw their huge spears, and the Romans achieve nothing *velut in constructam densitate clipeorum testudinem*⁽⁶⁰⁾ (13). In Curtius, Darius, speaking of the Macedonian infantry, says: *Sed Macedonum acies, torua sane et inculta, clipeis hastisque immobiles cuneos et conferta robora uirorum tegit. Ipsi phalangem uocant, peditum stabile agmen* (III, 2, 13). *Conferti* appears more than once when *phalangites* are engaged in battle (Curt. III, 11, 4; VII, 9, 7).

(57) HIRT., *BG* VIII, 14, 5; Liv. X, 29, 7; XXII, 47, 5, 8 (Gauls and Spaniards combined); JUST. XXIV, 8, 9: *confertissimi cunei*.

(58) Celtiberians: Liv. XXV, 34, 11; XXXIX, 31, 3, 6; XL, 40, 3, 5, 8; Germans: Tac., *G.* 6, 6; 7, 3; *Hist.* IV, 16 (*Bataui* and *Frisii*), 20 (*Bataui*); V, 16, 18; Amm. XVII, 12, 1; XXVII, 2, 4. Cf. also GREG. TUR., *Franc.* IV, 2: *Saxones fecerunt ex se duos, ut aiunt, cuneos*.

(59) ILS 2635, 4761. On the German *cuneus* see H. DELBRÜCK, *Kriegskunst, Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte*, Berlin, 1909, II, p. 33 ff.

(60) Curtius' Macedonians also make a *testudo* (V, 3, 9, 21; VII, 9, 3) but it is clear that a Roman-type formation is meant (cf. V, 3, 23). The term is not used, as in Caesar, to denote *phalanx*.

Looking back over the instances of Caesarian vocabulary discussed, Caesar's terms recur most frequently in Livy and Tacitus.

It is unfortunate that so much of Livy's history is lost. In Book CIII Livy followed his version of the conquest of the Helvetii with a description of Gaul. The first part of Book CIV contained a description of Germany and the habits of its people, which served as an introduction to his account of Caesar's campaign against Ariovistus. Ethnographic material prefaced his account of Caesar's invasions of Britain in Book CV. It is most probable that Livy used Caesar as one of his sources for these descriptions. Given the incidence of Caesar's ethnographic terminology in Livy's extant narrative, it is likely that his lost ethnographic excursuses showed similar influence, and helped to entrench Caesarian vocabulary in the ethnographic tradition.

It is probable that Livy's *Histories*, rather than Caesar's *Commentarii* themselves were responsible for the subsequent dissemination of Caesar's terms. Certainly *cuneus* referring to Gallic battle lines in Trogus/Justin, and to the Macedonian *phalanx* in Curtius should be traced back to Livy rather than to Caesar's isolated use of *cuneatim* at *BG*, VII, 28, 1.

When we come to Tacitus' *Germania* we find German tribal society discussed in terms familiar from Caesar's Gaul. German tribes are divided into *pagi* (see notes 45 and 46). *Reges* (61) and *principes* (62) wield power in the tribe, raising issues already dear to the hearts of commentators on the *Gallic Wars* — Does the term *principes* denote elected magistrates or merely "leading men" (63)? Did kings supersede *principes*, or *vice versa* (64)? In the *Germania*, as in Caesar, *principes*

(61) TAC., *G.* 1, 1; 7, 1; 12, 2; 42, 2; 43, 6; *Ann.* II, 63, 7; XI, 16, 1; XII, 29, 2; *Hist.* III, 5. Cf. (of Gaul) CAES., *BG* II, 4, 7; 13, 1; VI, 31, 5; VII, 31, 5; 46, 5; *Liv.* V, 34, 1, 2; *Just.* XLIII, 3, 8, 9; 4, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11.

(62) TAC., *G.* 5, 4; 10, 4; 11, 1, 5; 12, 3; 13, 1, 2, 3; 14, 1, 3; 15, 2; 22, 3; 38, 4; *Ann.* I, 55, 3; II, 7, 2; 88, 1; XI, 16, 2. Cf. n. 30 above. It is also used of Germans by Livy (XL, 58, 5) and Florus (II, 30 (IV, 12) 33).

(63) See A. KLOTZ, *loc. cit.*; J. G. C. ANDERSON's commentary on the *Germania*, p. liii-lvii; K. MÜLLENHOFF, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1900, IV, p. 187; A. DOPSCH, *The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization*, London, 1937, p. 173 ff. TAC., *G.* 12, 3 and 22, 3 seem to be clear cases where *principes* denotes magistrates.

(64) E. A. THOMPSON, *The Early Germans*, London, 1965, p. 33 believes that monarchy was a later development. J. G. C. ANDERSON, p. lii maintains that it was the oldest form of government, and was superseded by *principes* in some states, as he believes was the pattern in Gaul and Britain.

administer justice (Compare Caes. *BG* VI, 23, 5: *principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt controuersias minuunt* and Tac., *G.* 12, 3: *principes qui iura per pagos uicosque reddunt*). The *plebs* gather under arms *in concilio*. German *nobiles* (65) have numbers of serfs (*serui*) (66) and dependants (*comites/clientes*). German troops fight in wedges (*cunei*). There is little in the ethnographic vocabulary of Tacitus which would have startled Caesar, and much he would have recognized as his own.

Tacitus had clearly read Caesar (67). He quotes him in the *Germania* as being the highest authority (*summus auctorum* (*G.* 28, 1), presumably in respect of his knowledge of Gaul. Tacitus may well have absorbed some terms directly. But Caesar is unlikely to have been the only source for Tacitus' account of Germany (68). Tacitus is far more detailed, and where the two authors deal with the same subject (e.g. German gods) their accounts differ. Livy's *Histories*, however, a classic in Tacitus' day, may well have been a major source, bringing with them Caesar's vocabulary.

In short, after the publication of the *Commentarii*, later writers drew upon Caesar's vocabulary, whether directly or indirectly, when describing the institutions of Celts and Germans. Such terms might seem the obvious ones to choose, but Caesar chose them first, and the *auctoritas* of this acknowledged expert on Gaul lent weight, not only to the information he provided, but to his ethnographic vocabulary also.

University of Durban-Westville,
Durban, South-Africa.

Brenda M. BELL.

(65) TAC., *G.* 25, 3 (cf. *G.* 7, 1: *nobilitas*); *Ann.* II, 11, 4; XI, 16, 1. Cf. note 29 above.

(66) Again a familiar question arises: does *serui* at TAC., *G.* 25, 1, 2, 3 denote half-free German serfs called by the German name *laeti*, whom Roman emperors from the time of Marcus Aurelius settled within the empire? (AMM. XVI, 11, 4 (with DE JONGE's note); XX, 8, 13; XXI, 13, 16). Cf. the question of whether *serui* denotes *ambacti* (serfs in a position of total dependence in Gaul) (see above n. 32).

(67) For evidence of Tacitus' attentive reading of Caesar see O. DEVILLERS, *L'utilisation des sources comme technique de déformation: le cas de la Germanie* in *Latomus* 48, 1989, p. 847-848.

(68) For other possible sources see O. DEVILLERS, *op. cit.*, p. 846 n. 7.



ILL record updated to IN PROCESS
 record 25 of 31

ILL pe Record 25 of 31

:CAN YOU SUPPLY ? YES NO COND FUTUREDATE
 :ILL: 6357899 :Borrower: VZS :RegDate: 20020410 :NeedBefore: 20020510
 :Status: IN PROCESS 20020410 :RecDate: :RenewalReq:
 :OCLC: 1755564 :Source: OCLCILL :DueDate: :NewDueDate:
 :Lender: *ZWU,ZWU,VVP,VXW,VYF
 :CALLNO:
 :TITLE: Latomus.
 :IMPRINT: Bruxelles : Editions Latomus,
 :ARTICLE: Bell, Brenda, M; The contribution of Julius Caesar...
 :VOL: 54.4 :NO: :DATE: 1995 :PAGES: 753-67
 :VERIFIED: OCLC ISSN: 0023-8856
 :PATRON: Curley, Dan DEPT: clas STATUS:fac

:SHIP TO: ILL
 Skidmore College Library
 815 No.Broadway
 Saratoga Springs
 NY
 12866

:BILL TO: Same :MAXCOST: \$0 IFM :COPYRT COMPLIANCE: CCL
 :SHIP VIA: Fastest at no chg. :E-MAIL: ILLDESK@skidmore.edu
 :FAX: (518)580-5540 *** ARIEL ADDRESS 141.222.44.128
 :BORROWING NOTES: SUNY/OCLC Deposit Account# w/ UMI:D#800108 Oberlin Grp.
 :AM/CANNOT PAY INVOICE WITHOUT COPY OF REQUEST We do not charge for ILL ,
 :rvices. Please reciprocate.
 :AFFILIATION: SUNY/OCLC, Oberlin Grp., LVIS :SHIPPED: :SHIP INSURANCE:
 :LENDING CHARGES:
 :LENDING RESTRICTIONS:
 :LENDING NOTES:
 :RETURN TO:
 :RETURN VIA:

base