

Archæologia Cantiana.

THE LANDING-PLACE OF JULIUS CÆSAR IN BRITAIN.

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THE landing-place of Julius Cæsar on the coast of Britain has lately become a subject of considerable interest, owing to some nautical observations recently made on the currents of the British Channel. From these observations it appears to follow, that Cæsar, when he quitted his anchorage off Dover, and sailed with the wind and tide in his favour, was not carried up the Channel, as hitherto has been the faith of archæologists, but westward, toward the coast of Sussex. An honour which had previously been given unanimously to the coast at Deal, has thus become without an owner, and has been thrown among the southern Cinque-ports as an object for their competition. The Astronomer Royal pleads for Pevensey, Mr. Hussey speaks on behalf of the neighbourhood of Rye, Mr. Lewin is in favour of Romney Marsh, and the archæological societies of Kent and Sussex may naturally desire to secure the important fact for their respective territories. It is like the excitement created when the 'Great Eastern' quitted her moorings in the Thames, and the southern harbours were contending for the reception of the interesting and profitable stranger.

Cæsar's two expeditions to Britain are recorded in the narrative of Dio, and are noticed by Strabo, Plutarch, and other writers with different degrees of authority attaching to them. But the Commentaries of Cæsar himself furnish us with the best information on the subject. Authentic, exact, minute, they are a portraiture of his own character; and though they do not in all cases satisfy the wants of archæologists, still, whenever they speak, they exclude all other evidence. It is only when Cæsar is silent that Dio can be heard, and even then he must be received as a witness, not of what occurred in Cæsar's time, but of the facts and the opinions of his own day.

In the early autumn of the year 55 B.C., when Pompey and Crassus were consuls, Cæsar returned from Germany into Gaul, and removed the bridge which he had constructed over the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Coblenz. He then determined to visit Britain, not with the view of subduing the Britons at that advanced period of the year, but in order to obtain an accurate account of the number and habits of the people, and of the best means of access to the island. Doubtless he had a view to future conquests; but he was also desirous of collecting all sorts of information to gratify the philosophers and general society at Rome. Britain and its unexplored peculiarities were at this time much discussed among the Romans. They had heard of the perils of the Ocean, of the pearls obtained upon its coasts, of the long-continued nights of winter; and even Cicero, in a letter written to his brother Quintus in the following year, speaks of the delight which had been given to him by communications from Britain (Epist. ii. 16).

Cæsar in the first instance had recourse to the traders, the only persons who had any intercourse with the islanders, and they were totally unable to answer the many questions which he put to them, or to inform him of

any harbour fit for the reception of a Roman fleet. That they were altogether wanting in matters of ethnology and statistics, on which Cæsar appears to have closely questioned them, is not surprising; and that they told him of no capacious harbours was owing to the fact that no such places were to be found within the limits of their experience. But they told him, we may be assured, of the long, bold barrier of cliffs extending from the South Foreland to near Dungeness, of the low open shore at Deal, the haven at Dover, and possibly of one or two declivities in the line of cliff where an invader might effect a landing.

Not satisfied with this information, and probably anxious as to the nature and extent of this formidable barrier, Cæsar despatched Volusenus in a war-vessel, an officer of great discernment as well as gallantry, to reconnoitre as far as he was able, and to return to him without loss of time.

Meanwhile Cæsar marched into the country of the Morini, the country extending from the river Somme eastward to the borders of Belgium. He marched into this country "*quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus*" (Bell. Gall. iv. 21), and made therefore for that part of the coast, which offered him the shortest passage. His guides had probably described to him, and he himself saw on his arrival, a curved line of shore extended for about six miles between two headlands, and presenting probably a somewhat deeper bay and more prominent extremities than we find at present. It is the line of shore stretching from Cape Grisnez on the west to Cape Blancnez on the east, which may be seen distinctly on any clear day from the high ground near Folkestone, and is the only part of the French coast parallel to the coast of Britain.

We know from Cæsar himself that he sailed from the "*Portus Itius*" (Bell. Gall. v. 2); we also know from

other, although later, authority, that the western headland bore the same name of Itius. We may therefore assume that the fleet was then assembling on the neighbouring shore; and a place now called Wissant, to the east of Cape Grisnez, appears to be the most suitable place for the purpose.

Volusenus had returned from his mission, and as he had not been able to land, the information that he brought was confined to what he had learned, and confirmed by his own observation, of the nature of the cliffs and the reefs and soundings in front of them. On these points his information would be both ample and exact, including probably an outline of the whole barrier for a space of nearly twenty miles, from the open shore of Deal at the one extremity to the marshes near Romney at the other. And this information was so important that Cæsar kept the knowledge of it to himself until he was lying at anchor off the island, and his generals and other officers were waiting for their final instructions. Those instructions were founded on the report of Volusenus.

Imagine then the future Emperor standing on the western headland, with Volusenus at his side, and scanning, as the sun descended on the western downs of Britain, the impregnable ramparts which Nature had placed before him. From the haven at Dover, and the two cliffs beside it, one of which now bears the name of Shakespeare and was then glittering in the evening sunshine, his eye travelled over a bright wall of perpendicular rock apparently without an aperture, till it came near the ravine where now stands the town of Folkestone, and the cliffs, though still trending onwards to the west, became less distinctly visible, owing to the difference in their structure.

Having conferred with the chiefs of the Morini, and obtained hostages as a security against any attack upon

his camp during his absence, Cæsar made arrangements for his voyage. Besides his war-vessels, he had collected eighty transports to convey the two legions, consisting probably of about eight thousand men, whom he appointed to accompany him. Eighteen other transports were detained at a haven eight miles further north ("portus ulterior, superior," Bell. Gall. iv. 23 and 28), being prevented by contrary winds from joining him. So that the wind was blowing steadily and strongly from the south-west, and the eighteen transports were detained on the coast near Calais. These vessels did not leave the harbour till the fourth day after Cæsar's arrival in Britain; and we may thence infer (and this is a point of importance) that the wind continued blowing from the same quarter. That they were detained by some such difficulty is evident from the fact that Cæsar had ordered all his cavalry, consisting probably of about eight hundred men, to go thither and to put to sea as soon as possible.

About midnight, then, between the 26th and 27th of August, in the year 55 B.C., Cæsar put off from the coast of France. The moon was then high, and cast its pale light upon a band of intrepid warriors starting with great disadvantage upon a perilous and unwonted enterprise. Cæsar had sufficient reason for fixing upon that time for his departure. He had a passage of twenty miles before him, an adverse current to contend with, was committed to a service strange and untrusted by him, but he knew that he should sight the British coast at sunrise, and he wished to have the whole day at his disposal in order to effect his landing.

Cæsar reached the opposite coast at ten in the morning. How could he have been so long a time on so short a passage? Doubtless when he put off from France he remained some time in the offing, until his transports were afloat and the whole squadron was in motion.

Doubtless he checked the ardour of his own rowers that the heavy luggers which followed him might not be left in the distance. And yet observe the slowness of their movements; for the transports had not all reached the ground where Cæsar anchored until five hours after his arrival.

Cæsar probably did not expect to see what he actually found. "*Ibi in omnibus collibus expositas hostium copias armatas conspexit. Cujus loci hæc erat natura, atque ita montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in littus telum adigi posset*" (Bell. Gall. iv. 23). From the report of Volusenus, and from his own observation, he well knew the nature of the ground, but he does not appear to have expected the opposition that he met with.

Here then were a haven and lofty hills on either side of it, and cliffs overhanging the whole of the shore in such a manner, that were the troops to land, they would be exposed to the missiles of the enemy, and the enemy would be out of reach. The part of the coast which appears to correspond most accurately with this description is the immediate neighbourhood of Dover.

This was no place for landing, and Cæsar called his officers together and communicated to them for the first time the information he had received from Volusenus. It was now three o'clock. He wished to establish himself on shore before nightfall. His words are, "*Ventum et æstum uno tempore nactus secundum, dato signo et sublatis anchoris circiter millia passuum VII ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano littore naves constituit*" (Bell. Gall. iv. 23). The wind and tide had at that time taken the same direction. The wind, as has been already intimated, was still blowing up the Channel. Can we ascertain with equal precision in what direction the tide was running? This question requires some short explanation as to the nature of tides.

The place being the same, it is always high-water at the same time of day at new moon and at full moon. If you have looked at the tidal tables for any month at Folkestone, you will have observed that the times of departure complete two cycles in every month, or speaking more correctly, in every lunation. And the same law which exists at present existed at all periods of past history. If you know what was the time of high-water at Folkestone at any full moon during the present year, you know the time of high-water at the same place whenever the moon was full a hundred or a thousand years ago.

It is also a fact that each successive tide is later by twenty-five minutes than the one which had preceded it. We can easily determine the time of high-water at Folkestone at any full moon in the year 55 B.C., but it is also easy to determine the time of high-water on any given day before or after the same full moon by making the allowance of twenty-five minutes for each of the tides which had intervened. If, for instance, it is high water at Folkestone at 10.30 a.m. on the day of full moon, it is high-water at the same place fifty minutes earlier on the preceding day, the difference of two tides being deducted.

Cæsar says, "Post diem quartum quam est in Britanniam ventum . . . eadem nocte accidit ut esset luna plena" (Bell. Gall. iv. 28 and 29). Knowing then from calculation that that full moon occurred in the night between the 30th and 31st of August, and from Cæsar's words that he came to the coast of Britain three and a half days or seven tides previously, we have the means of ascertaining what was the state of the tide at three o'clock p.m. on the 27th of August, when he left his anchorage off Dover.

Dr. Halley says, "On that day it was high-water about eight in the morning, and consequently low water about two. Therefore by three the tide of flood was well made

up, and it is plain that Cæsar went with it; and the flood setting in to the northward shows that the open plain shore where he landed was to the northward of the cliffs" (Phil. Trans. vol. iii. p. 440). In opposition to this statement it is alleged that this is the normal condition of tides, and that no allowance is made for the peculiar circumstances of the Channel; that great pains have been taken by authority to ascertain the actual turning of the tide in these parts; and that the instruction from the Admiralty is that the stream off Dover sets westward at four hours after high-water and runs westward for the next seven hours, and then turns eastward, and runs so for the next four hours. Taking this as a basis for his calculations, the Astronomer Royal sent a paper to the Society of Antiquaries in the year 1852, in which he overruled the opinion of Dr. Halley, and showed that, according to the official tide-tables, Cæsar must have been carried westward towards the coast of Sussex. Finding, however, much difficulty in the supposition that Cæsar took the shortest passage, he makes him sail from the mouth of the Somme and land on the shore at Pevensey. In so doing, he is frequently compelled to explain, instead of interpreting, the narrative of Cæsar, and appears to me to deviate so far from that primary authority, that notwithstanding the great weight attaching to his name, I will examine in preference the solution of Mr. Lewin.

Proceeding on the same basis, and convinced that Cæsar was carried westward, Mr. Lewin makes him sail from Boulogne and land a little to the west of Hythe, in Romney Marsh. His dissertation recently published is very ably argued, and shows much of the skill and pertinacity of a consummate advocate.

His statement is as follows: "To ascertain the current or direction of the tide at Dover, we find first the time of high-water there, and four hours after that the stream

begins to run west and will so continue for seven hours, when it will again turn east and run so for the next five hours. We have now to apply this principle to the year 55 B.C. The full moon was on the 31st of August, at three a.m. I turn to the tide-tables published by authority for the month of August of the present year (1859), and I find that the moon will be at the full on the 13th of August. As regards the moon, therefore, the 31st of August, 55 B.C., and 13th of August, 1859, are corresponding days. To find then the time of high water at Dover on the 27th of August, 55 B.C., when Cæsar arrived (being the fourth day before the 31st of August, when was the full), we have only to look for the time of high-water at Dover on the 9th of August, 1859, being the fourth day before the 13th, when will be the full. High-water at Dover on the 9th of August, 1859, will according to the tables be at 7.31 a.m. It was therefore high-water at 7.31 a.m., at Dover, on the 27th of August, 55 B.C. But at four hours after high-water the tide runs west, and so continues for seven hours: therefore at 11.31 a.m. on the 27th of August, 55 B.C., the stream began to run west, and held on in the same direction until 6.31 p.m. At three o'clock, therefore, on that day, the current was flowing westward at its maximum velocity, and, consequently, as Cæsar sailed at three o'clock on the 27th of August, 55 B.C., in the same direction as the tide, he must have steered westward towards Romney Marsh, and could not possibly have made for Deal" (p. 37).

This is Mr. Lewin's argument; and it must be acknowledged that if the basis on which he proceeds must necessarily be adopted, that is to say, if the stream off Dover sets westward at four hours after high-water and runs westward for the next seven hours, there is no alternative, we must go westward also, and look for some landing-place on the southern shore of Kent or Sussex

which may correspond with the other conditions of Cæsar's narrative.

A basis resting on such authority as the directions issued from the Admiralty is *primâ facie* beyond the reach of cavil or objection; it is only when the problem is worked out and found to terminate in incongruities and contradictions, that the inquirer feels his confidence shaken and considers himself at liberty to examine for himself.

We will pursue this method in the present instance, and as Mr. Lewin's solution is the best explanation hitherto given on the basis adopted by him, we will consider whether the supposition that Cæsar went westward from his anchorage off Dover, and landed at last in Romney Marsh, is consistent with the other conditions of his narrative. Whilst this part of the argument is in progress we assume of course that the direction of the tide is a point in abeyance.

First, then, I have already stated that the wind during the whole of the 27th of August was probably blowing up the Channel. That it was so for some time previously is evident from the fact that the eighteen transports were detained by the wind in a harbour eight miles further north than Cæsar's starting-place, and the only words connected with this matter on the day of departure are, "nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem," which merely say that the wind had moderated. It is true that three days afterwards the wind blew furiously from the north-east, and drove the eighteen transports, when they were on the point of joining Cæsar, to a considerable distance down the Channel: but there is no evidence of any change during the interval, and the expression, "ventum et æstum uno tempore nactus secundum," which, according to Mr. Lewin, implies, by the meaning of the word "nactus," that the *wind* had undergone a change when Cæsar left his anchorage, may, for

anything that we know at present, denote a change in the tide and not in the wind. In another part of his argument (p. 58) Mr. Lewin says, "The day after the transport of the infantry the wind had shifted from the south-west to the north-east;" and if he means that the shifting took place on the 28th of August, although I see no intimation of it, I am not required to gainsay it, being only concerned with the direction of the wind on the afternoon of the 27th. If then the wind was still blowing up the Channel when Cæsar quitted his anchorage off Dover, we have already an incongruity in the supposition that he was carried westward by tide and wind together.

Secondly, proceeding then on the supposition that he went westward, how soon did he find a landing-place? Let me quote the eloquent description of another conqueror conducting his fleet along the coast of Britain, and looking for a haven where he might land his warriors. "His fleet spread to within a league of Dover on the north and Calais on the south. The troops appeared under arms on the decks. The flourish of trumpets, the clash of cymbals, and the rolling of drums were distinctly heard at once on the English and French shores. An innumerable company of gazers blackened the white beach of Kent. Another mighty multitude covered the coast of Picardy. A French writer who accompanied the Prince to England, described the spectacle many years later, as the most magnificent and affecting that was ever seen by human eyes. At sunset the armament was off Beachy Head."

These are the words in which Macaulay describes the expedition of the Prince of Orange. Very different in some of its outward manifestations, but equally important in its consequences, and equally exciting to the fierce multitudes which gazed upon it from their precipices, was the expedition of Cæsar.

Cæsar landed, as he says, at the distance of seven miles from the place where he lay at anchor. At that distance going westward you stand beneath the church at Folkestone; and neither there nor as you pass onward to Sandgate, with reefs on the one side and a lofty ridge of rock and clay on the other, do you see any ground more favourable for a landing than the shore beneath the cliffs at Dover. In short, the nearest point at which Mr. Lewin is contented to place the landing is in Romney Marsh, at the distance, not of seven, but of nearly fourteen Roman miles from the place of anchorage.

Thirdly, Cæsar drew to land, "aperto ac plano litore" (iv. 23), or, as elsewhere described, "in litore molli atque aperto" (v. 9), that is, on a gently sloping coast, free from rocks and overhanging hills. The shore of the present Romney Marsh, and a considerable part of the Marsh itself, are evidently of recent formation. The deposits from the river by land, and shingle from the sea, appear to have employed themselves in past ages in converting a shallow bay into what is now a drained and cultivated level, but was in mediæval times a trackless swamp. Beyond Hythe the low ground together with the promontory beyond it is still advancing into the sea, and the line of shore turns towards the south, leaving the ridge of hill, which accompanied us from Folkestone, to continue in its westward direction and to run inland. Here, doubtless, in the days of the Romans, was a considerable creek, the northern shore of which was bounded and overlooked by the same ridge of which we have been speaking, and the other sides would probably be swamp. That the ridge was the boundary on the north may be inferred from the fact that on this same ridge, at the distance of about three miles from the present shore, stands the village of Lympne, the ancient *portus Lemanis*, one of the three principal harbours on this coast resorted to by the Romans in later times, and recorded in the

Itineraries of Antoninus. Would such a creek, either on its northern rocky margin or elsewhere, afford such a landing-place as Cæsar describes in the words, "aperto ac plano littore"? Mr. Hussey says of it, "At Hythe, or rather at Lympne, a reasonably good harbour probably existed; but the ground abutting upon it does not in any degree possess, or appear to have possessed, the requisite peculiarities; and a movement from hence would have brought the Roman fleet to the shore of Romney Marsh, where it is impossible to suppose that Cæsar would have disembarked. Neither is it credible that he could in the first instance have steered to Romney or any other spot within the limits of the Marsh." (Archæol. Cant. vol. i. p. 101.) I assent to these observations of Mr. Hussey.

Fourthly, in his second expedition Cæsar departed from the same harbour, and landed on the same shore, as in the former instance. He put off at sunset, "*leni Africo provectus*" (v. 8), and if he sailed in the direction of the wind, he went up the Channel. He was carried onward by the wind until midnight, when, the wind dropping, he allowed himself to float with the tide. The tide carried him so far out of his course, that at daylight he found himself leaving England in the distance on his left hand. Is this consistent with the intention of sailing from France to Romney Marsh, a place nearly due west, and for which he must make across the stream instead of floating along with it?

Proceeding then on the basis of the tide-tables, and endeavouring to solve the problem in accordance with it, we have encountered four contrarieties arising out of the cardinal conditions of Cæsar's narrative, which compel us to retrace our steps and consider whether the basis itself can possibly be erroneous. But can we for a moment suppose that the result of an official investigation, ascertained with so much exactness, and put forth

with so much authority, can be otherwise than authentic fact, known universally in the neighbourhood, and experienced every day by sea-going men?

I am well acquainted with Folkestone and its harbour; and there are there shrewd and sensible men whose business lies upon the water, and is constantly impeded or promoted by its currents. To men of this description I put several questions, and received from them deliberate answers. I give the two following, merely observing that the questions were given and the answers returned in writing:—

How soon after high-water does the stream begin to run down Channel? Answer: In two hours.

How long afterwards does it continue to run down Channel? Answer: Five hours.

This information differs materially from the notices of the tide-tables. It gives two hours less for the turning of the stream after high-water, and again two hours less for the continuance of the stream down Channel afterwards.

We will take as our basis for the moment the information obtained from Folkestone, and see what effect it would have upon the solution of the problem. There can be no difference of opinion as to the time of high-water. On the 27th of August, 55 B.C., it was 7.31 a.m. In two hours, that is at 9.31, the stream began to run down Channel. It continued so to run for five hours longer, that is, until 2.31 p.m. It was then slack-water for about a quarter of an hour, and at 3 o'clock p.m. the stream had turned, and was running up the Channel.

But in the course of the inquiries made at Folkestone, I met with certain distinctions which appeared to be of great importance in the determination of this question. I found that there was a difference, and in some cases a great difference, between the times of the stream in-shore and in mid-channel. I had reason to believe that

though the tide in mid-channel turned four hours after the Folkestone high-water, the tide in-shore turned two hours and a half after that time. Is it not possible that the basis obtained from the tide-tables expresses the rule which prevails in the open Channel, and that Cæsar having anchored off Dover, and probably within a short distance from the land, was governed by the exceptional tide which prevailed in-shore?

It is evident that the rule which holds generally in the Channel is the one which it was the express business of the tide-tables to record. But it is indispensable for the purposes of an inquiry connected with Cæsar's departure from his anchorage, that the circumstances of the in-shore tides should be known and taken into account. Captain Beechey, who made the survey of the Channel, under the direction of the Admiralty, was applied to on this point by the Astronomer Royal, and gave him the following answer:—"At full and change of the moon the stream makes to the westward, off Dover, at the distance of a mile and a half from the shore, about three hours ten minutes; and there does not appear to be much difference in this part of the Channel, between the turn of the stream in-shore, and in the centre" (Archæol. vol. xxxiv. p. 239). In this answer the latter portion, which bears upon our present point, cannot, I think, be considered as conclusive, although the Astronomer Royal was induced by it to disregard the amount of the in-shore difference. The language employed by Captain Beechey appears to state that he was not aware of any note-worthy difference, rather than that he had ascertained that no such difference existed. Knowing then that an important difference of the kind was acknowledged to exist at Folkestone, I could not accept Captain Beechey's evidence as conclusive against the existence of a corresponding difference at Dover.

How then was this problem to be solved? There is

one person above all others at Dover, on whose judgment reliance would be placed in a disputed question of this nature. Accustomed to cross the Channel in command of an important service, he has a personal knowledge of its currents, and much responsibility attaching to that knowledge; connected by long experience with the harbour and the offing at Dover, he is locally acquainted with the times and directions of the stream in-shore. His authority is more valuable than that of the tide-tables, because it embraces the exception as well as the rule, and can be brought to bear upon the question not merely as a general principle, but as a direct answer to an individual case.

I have had the good fortune to obtain the information I desired from this authority. I learn that the tides at Dover are very complicated; that the stream begins to run down Channel at half-ebb, that is, about three hours after high-water, and that it continues to run down Channel until half-flood; that the stream begins in-shore about an hour sooner than in mid-channel, with spring-tides, and with neap-tides is often two hours earlier in changing. From this statement it follows that from the nine hours intervening between the time of high-water and the return of the flood up the Channel we must deduct, under common circumstances, one hour and a half to satisfy the in-shore difference. The interval remaining is seven hours and a half, the exact interval which passed between high-water and the three o'clock when Cæsar started. May not the state of the tide have been one of the reasons which made him remain so long and no longer at his anchorage?

But the matter was brought to a crisis by the following question:—

“Many years ago some transports lay off Dover, say, half a mile from the shore; on that day it was high-water at 7.31 a.m., the transports lay off till three o'clock

p.m., and then sailed with the tide; which way would they go, up the Channel, or down the Channel?

The answer was as follows:—

“On the day in question the transports, if started with the tide in their favour at 3 p.m., with a 7.31 a.m. tide, must have gone up Channel on the first of the flood, and proceeded to the eastward.”

Confining myself then to the narrative of Cæsar, the best possible testimony, and the only valuable testimony that we have, and assuming what few persons are disposed to deny, that the place of anchorage was off Dover, I am justified in maintaining that the law of the mid-channel, as expressed in the tide-tables, is not applicable to the case, and that the evidence preponderates in favour of the coast of Deal as the landing-place of Julius Cæsar.

The following passages from Cæsar's *Com. de Bello Gallico*, together with the passages quoted in the text, are the authority for the preceding narrative. (Book iv. c. 20.)—

“*Exigua parte ætatis reliqua, Cæsar, etsi in his locis, quod omnis Gallia ad septentriones vergit, maturæ sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat; et si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset, et genus hominum perspexisset, loca portus aditus cognovisset; quæ omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. . . . Itaque vocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, neque quanta esset insulæ magnitudo neque quæ aut quantæ nationes incolerent, neque quem usum belli haberent, aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad majorum navium multitudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat. Ad hæc cognoscenda, priusquam periculum faceret, idoneum esse arbitratus, C. Volusenum cum navi longa præmittit. Huic mandat*

uti, exploratis omnibus rebus, ad se quam primum revertatur. Ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus. Huc naves undique . . . jubet convenire. . . . Volusenus perspectis regionibus quantum ei facultas dari potuit, qui navi egredi ac se barbaris committere non auderet, quinto die ad Cæsarem revertitur, quæque ibi perspexisset, renunciat."