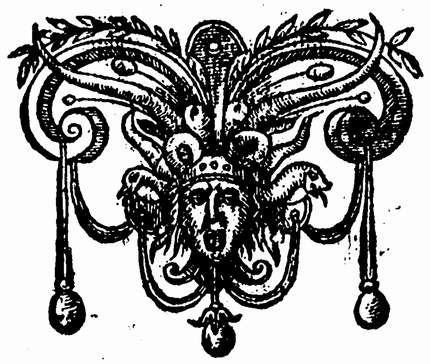
THE
Eight Bookes of
Caius Iulius Cæſar conteyning his martiall exployts in the Realme of Gallia and the *Countries bordering vpon the ſame.*

Tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh by Arthur Golding G.



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To the right Honorable Syr William Cecill knight, principall Secretary to the Queenes Maiestie, and maister of her highnesse Courtes of Wards and Liueries.

Arthur Golding wisheth health and encrease of Honor.

ALbeit (Right Honorable) that the difficultnesse of this present work, considering mine owne want of experience not onely in matters of warre, but also in diuers other things wherof this History entreateth, dyd dissuade and in maner discourage me from enterprising the translation thereof: yet notwithstanding forasmuch as I perceiued it to be a work, for ỳ pleasure and profitablenesse thereof much desired of many, and that such of my simple trauells, as I haue heretofore bestowed in like matters, haue bene well accepted at your hand, as well boldened by your fauorable encouragement: as also remembring that earnest endeuor ouercometh all things: I went in hand therewith. Not entring at the first beginning of the History, but about the middes of the fifth booke where master Brend (whose copie from your honour came to my handes) preuented by death dyd leaue. The which latter part at such time as I had finished, and was come to perusing it ouer and correcting it with my friends, there were of them that counselled me to begin the worke new againe from the first beginning, and to put it out wholy in myne owne name. Wherevnto although I could not willingly be persuaded at the first: yet afterward, when I had somewhat more deepely weyed the reasons that they alledged: considering with my selfe how I had sufficient leysure, and that I had ouercome a peece of no lesse difficultie alreadie, than the former part was: least I might haue seemed to seeke excuse of slouthfulnesse, or to refuse paynes of wilfulnesse, rather than to defende my selfe by vnablenesse: I agreed to their aduice, And therevppon

laying aside maister Brendes copie, to vse it rather as a counseller whan the thing was done, than as a præsident in doing, I haue begonne the whole worke new againe, and according to the first authors meaning (as neare as I could) translated it throughout. Wherin how my doings may be liked of others I know not. This I most humbly desier your honor, that you will take my paines & trauell in that behalfe in good worth. For I haue not done it, because I thought my selfe of more skill and experience than maister Brend (which I confesse my yeeres giue me not) neither because I would in defacing his glory, (which were a point of lewdnesse) goe about (as the Latin prouerb saith) to pricke out the Crowes eyes. But I haue done it, partly moued by the persuasions aforesayd, and partly because I was desirous to haue the body of the whole story compacted vnyforme and of one stile throughout. For so I thought it should be both more alowable among such as are of knowledge, and also more acceptable to the Reader, when neither part of the work might be an eye sore to the other. Furthermore forasmuch as it is knowne vnto many, that the sayd Copie was committed vnto mee, I haue forborne to build vpon that foundation, least I might haue ministred occasion to such as loue cauelling, to say I had eyther hatched other byrds Egges, or else presumed to finish the picture of Venus that Appelles left vnperfect. The which my doeings I submit vnder your fauorable protection: not doubting but that your Honour of your accustomed goodnesse and gentelnesse towards mee, will paciently beare with myne errours where any happen, and so regard my paynefull trauell, as that my boldnesse may no whit offend you.

At Powles Belchamp the xij of October. Anno. 1565.

Your Honours alwaies most humbly
to commaund Arthur Golding.

TO THE READER.

Whereas Ceasar in his descryption of Gallia made in the beginning of this worke, may seeme disagreable with other Authors, I thought it expedient for the better vnderstanding of this History, as well to set out a more ample description of Gallia, as also to declare what sundry Nations haue since Ceasars time possessed the same. Neuertheleſſe gentell reader, thou shalt not looke for a perticuler declaration of the shifting remouing and expulsing of euery seuerall kinde of people, nor of the alteration of the state of euery seuerall countrie in that Region: for that would ryse to an infinite volume, more tedious than profitable, and it is more than I were able to performe. But I purpose to set before thine eyes (as briefly and plainely as my slender knowledge will giue me leaue) the bounder of that noble country, with thalteration of such states as haue borne chiefe prehemineuce and souereinty in the same. First and formest therefore it is to be considered, that in the 693. yeere after the building of Rome (as affirmeth Eutropius) which was the. 3905. yeere since the creation of the world, and the eyght and fifteth yeere before the birth of our sauiour Christ, Julius Ceasar the author of this worke, (who afterward brought the state of Rome to a Monarchie) being created Consull, was sent by the Senate as Lieuetenant Generall with an army against the Gallies inhabiting on the hither side of the Alpes: whome within ten yeeres space he vtterly subdued and brought in peaceable subiection to the Romane empire, the whole processe whereof, he setteth forth so plainely, sincerely, and purely in these Commentaries, without either affectation of vaine glory to himselfe, or suppressing the deserued commendation of others: that it is to be doubted whether he atcheued his affayres with more felicitie and valiantnesse, or reported, them with more indifferency and faithfulnesse. And forasmuch as his entent in this worke, was onely to entreate of the matters of that country which he had in commission to conquer, he suppressetb in his discription of Gallia, not onely that part which the Romanes call Cisalpina because it lyeth on the same side of the Alpes that Italy and Rome doth, but also the Prouince of Narbon, as countries which by comming in subiection to the Romane empire, wer now rather to be counted part of Italy than of Gallia. For the auncient Gallia contayned not onely whatsoeuer is included within the mountains Pirenes, the Ocean, the Rhine & the Alpes: but also extended ouer the Alpes to the riuer Rubicon. And therefore by a generall diuision it was went to be deuided into Gallia Cisalpina and Gallia Transalpina. Cisalpina was also called Togata because thinhabiters thereof after the maner of the Romanes went in gownes. It is now called Lombardy of the Lombardes a people of Germany dwelling sometime about the middes of the riuer Albis on the west side thereof, whereas be now the territories of the Bishoprickes of Magdeburg & Halberstade, who in the time of the Emperor Justine the second, in the yeere of our Lorde 569. being called into Italy by Narses themperors Lieuetenant there, tooke possessions of that country & reigned therin by the space of two hundred and foure yeeres vnto the yeere of our Lorde 773. at which time Charles king of Fraunce surnamed the great, tooke Desiderius last king of Lumberdes prisoner and annexed his seniory to the dominion of Fraunce. Gallia Transalpina whereof this History entreateth, hath (according to Ptolomies descripti-

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on) on the west the Mountaines Pirenes now called Rouncevall which deuided it from Spaine, & the west Ocean. On the East it hath partly the Alpes which deuide it from Italy, and the riuer Rhine which parteth it from Germany. On the North it hath the British Ocean and on the South it hath a part of the midland Sea called Ligusticum. This is now called Fraunce, and it is deuided into foure partes, Prouince, Aquitaine, Celticke, and Belgycke. All that lyeth from the riuer Rhone and the mountaines Cemenii (now called the mountaines of Auuerne) vnto the midland Sea betweene the Riuer Varus which runneth out of the Alpes by the citie Nicea, and the riuer Illyberis in the mountaines Pirenes, beareth the name of the Romane Prouince, & was also called Braccata of a kinde of short cote which the people of that countrie did cõmonly go in. It conteyneth Sauoy, Delphinoys, Languedocke, & Prouince. Aquitaine lyeth betweene the Mountaines Pirenes & the Riuer Loyre, which rising out of the mountaines of Auuerne falleth into the west Ocean: & is bounded on thoneside with the saide Mountaines of Auuerne, which deuide it from the Prouince, and on thotherside with the west Ocean. It conteineth Poyters, Xanton, Lymosin, Berrey, Auuerne, and Angolesme, with the duchies of Guien and Gascon somtime the inheritance of the kings of England. Celtick, (which was also called Lugdunensis of Lugdunum the chicke Citie of that countrie now called Lyons standing vppon Soan not farre from the place wher it falleth into Rhone,) runneth through the mids of Fraunce from the west Ocean and the Britysh Sea, vnto the vpper part of the Rhine: and is bounded on thoneside with the riuer of Loyre, the mountain of Auuerne & the riuer Rhone which separate it from Aquitaine and Prouince, and on thotherside with the Riuers of Sene and Marne which growing into one channell a little aboue Paris doe fall into the Britysh Ocean and deuide it from Belgicke. It conteyneth little Brytaine, Normandy, Burgundy, Swicerland with others. Belgicke hath on the South the foresaid riuers of Sene and Marne, on the East the neither part of the Rhyne, and on the west and north sides the Brytish or English Ocean. It conteineth Picardy, Arthoys, Flaunders, Braband, Holland, Gelderland, Lorreine &c. with al the low country bordering vpon the Rhine, and also the Ile of Fraunce whose head citie of Paris standeth vppon the riuer Sene, whereof all the whole country of Gallia toke the name. This country hath alwaies beene renowmed, not onely for the fertility of the soile, the temperatnesse of the aire, and the abundance of all thinges for mens necessities and pleasure: but also (and that chiefly) for the valiantnesse in armes and practise in Cheualry of thinhabiters, wherby they both enlarged the boundes of their territory, and also darkened the glorie and drowned the name of other Realmes that were neybours vnto them: Insomuch that the Grekes the chicke Registerers of worthy actes, called all thinhabiters from the riuer of Danow northward by the name of Celtes or Galles. Of this country wer those Galles that vnder the first Brenne (who is reported to haue beene a Briton) burned Rome the 365. yeere after the building thereof in the time of the elder Dennis king of Sicill. Of this country were those Galles that vnder the second Brenne a hundred and nyne yeeres after the foresaide burning of Rome slew Ptolomie king of Macedonie, and in thassault of Delphos were oppressed with thunder lightning and tempests. Out of this country issued those Galles which being called to the aide of the king of Bithinia as Trogus reporteth after they had vanquished his enemies, parted his kingdome

Of some called the Leuant sea

dome with him calling the countrie Gallogrece or Galatia, & themselues Gallogrekes or Galatians. Of whome the prowesse was so redowted, that the kinges of the East made not any warres wherein they hyred not the Galles to seruie them: and if they were put from their kingdomes, they resorted not to any other than the Galles for succor. And as that marciall offspring held the Kinges of Asia occupied there: so their mother countrie in Europe not onely troubled their neighbours, but also vexed and disquietted euen the victorious Romanes, vntill such time as Iulius Ceasar through his great prowesse and good fortune, brought them in subiection to the Romane Empyer. From the which time it receiued both the lawes and language of the Romanes and bare their yoke obediently, vntill the viii. yeere of themperor Honorius which was the 406. yere after thincarnation of christ, at the which time the frenchmen whoas then dwelt vppon the Rhine on the further side, beeing sent for against one Lucius, a Romane president for rauishing a Senators wife in the citie of Triers, toke the citie, and within a while after subdued all Belgicke vnder them. This was the beginning of the French dominion in Gallia, which as it afterward by little and little came in subiection to them toke the name of Fraunce of them. For although that mention be made of them in the liues of diuers emperors before, and that from the reigne of Galien, themperours from time to time had much a doe with them: yet notwithstanding they aspyred not to anie souereinty before the saide reigne of Honorius. Of the Originall of them are diuers opinions. Some thinke they inhabited the country by the riuer Sala towards the riuers Mene and Rhine, and that in hope of conquest and desire of spoile, at suth time as thempire began to decline and waxe weake, they ioyned vnto them the Almanes and troubled Themperours of the west, by whom they were alwaies repressed, to their great slaughter and domage. Strabo placeth their countrie betweene the Norikes and Vindelicians. Other some affirme them to haue beene a multitude of all sortes of people of Germany vnited in leage togither, defending their libertie against the Empier, whereof they toke their name, as francke and free people that would not bee bond or subiect to any man. But whatsoeuer they were, or wheresoeuer their dwelling was before they came ouer the Rhine, sure it is that since they passed into Gallia, they haue with great good fortune encreased, and politiquelie maintained their state vnto this day. For after they had laide the foundation of their kingdome at Triers vnder Pharamund, first ouermatching the Almanes their late fellowes and confederates, and anon after subduing the Burgonians who somewhat before them entring into Gallia had seised into their possession the countries of the Heduanes and Sequanes with a part of the auncient Romane Prouince, which keepeth their name and progenie vnto this day, they made themselues Lords of all Gallia. In processe of time also their kinges became Lordes of all Germany and Pannonie, and were inuested with the sword of the Empier, which they held certaine discents from Charles the great, who receued the title and diademe imperiall at Rome vppon Christmas day in the yeere of our Lord God 800. But worldly thinges neuer continue at one stay. Partly by ciuill dissention, and partly by outward warre, & partly by composition & gift of kings, not onely the name & title of thempier, but also all ye Prouinces beyond ye Rhine, yea & many on this side ye Rhine to, were sequestred frõ the crowne of France. For in ye time of Charles ye simple about ye yere of our L. 886. the Normanes (who are supposed to haue beene people of Denmarke or

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of Norway) inuading Fraunce vnder their Duke Rollo, (who afterward being christened was named Robert,) partly by force & partly by composition seised into their possession that part of the Realme which vnto this day beareth of them the name of Normandy: In the which country the posteritie of the saide Rollo reigned as Dukes a long discent, vntill Duke William surnamed the Bastard conquering this Realme in the yeere of Christes incarnation. 1067. brought his right with him into England, with the Princes whereof it continued vntill such time as the Frenchmen recouered it againe, in the reigne of King Henry the sixth. The Vandales also inuaded a part of Belgicke, to the which at their departing thence into Spaine they left the name of Flaunders. Many other Nations likewise haue settled themselues in Fraunce, who being ouermatched by the Frenchmen are growen into the same name with them. But no one Nation since their first comming thyther, hath so often and so sore afflicted them as our English Nation hath done: whose kinges diuers times before, but specially from the time of king Edward the third, haue contended with them, not so much for any one part or Prouince of the countrie, as for the substance of the Crowne and possession of the whole Realme, descended to our Kinges by right of inheritance. And they haue both gained and hild it many yeeres, vntil fortune changing her copie, hath transferred the possession again to the Frenchmen, the right remayning still to the Crowne of England. In these our daies we see how not only Flaunders which hath of longe time continued so, but also all the countryes bordering vppon the Rhine and many cities neere vnto the Alpes are alienated from the Crowne of Fraunce. Whereof some are vnder the iurisdiction of the Spanish king, some are imperiall, and other some are free. Thus as fortune of war disposeth, the bounds of this kingedome haue sometime beene enlarged and sometime streightned: the which who so desireth to know more particulerly, I remit him to the reading of such Chronicles and Antiquities as entreat thereof. I trust this shall suffice for an introduction to this historyemy paynes in translating whereof, I desire thee to accepte in good part, and to vse them to thy behoofe. And as for the olde names of the Cities, Townes Countries, Hylles and Ryuers, how they be called at this daye, together with a discription of certaine Romane Engynes hereafter mencioned in this booke, I refer thee partly to he Notes in the Margent, & partly to the table in the end of this worke, where thou shalt finde them or at the least the most of them in order of the Alphabete.

Farewell.

¶ The first booke of Caius Iulius Cæsars Commentaries of the warres in Gallia.

ALL * Gallia is deuided into three parts: Of the which, one is inhabited by the Belgies, an other by the Aquitanes, and the third, by them who in their tonng are called Celtes, and in ours Gallies. All these differ each from other in language, customes, and lawes. The riuer of Geronde, deuideth the Celtes from the Aquitanes: and the riuers of Seane and Marne, doe deuide them from the Belgies. Of all these, the Belgies be most puissant, as they which are furthest distant from the delicatenesse and ciuilitie of the Prouince, & vnto whom is little or no resort of marchants, to bring in things that mygt effeminate their mindes. Besides that, they border vpon ẏ Germanes, inhabiting beyond the riuer of Rhyne, with whom they be at continuall war. The same thing also is a cause why the * Heluetians hauing dayly conflict with the Germans either in their owne defece, or by the way of inuasion, doe in prowesse excell the rest of the Galles. That part which is said to be possessed of ẏ [a] Celtes, taketh his beginning at the riuer of Rhone, & is enclosed with ẏ water of Gerownd, with ẏ Ocean Sea, and with the bowndes of the Belgies: bordering also vpon the Rhyne, in the countries of the Sequanes and Heluetians, and it bendeth towards the North. The [b] Belgies begin at the vttermost bownds of Gallya, and extend to the neathermost part of the Rhyne, and they lye North and East. Aquitane stretcheth from the riuer Gerownde to the mountaines Pyrenes and the Spanish sea, betwéene the North & the West. There was among the Heluetians one Orgetorix, a man of ẏ greatest nobilitie and wealth in all the countrie. He in the time that [c] Marcus Messala and Marcus Piso were Consulls of Rome, blynded with desire of soueraintie, conspired with the Nobilitie, and perswaded the Citie whereof he was, to remouc

The whole country of Fraunce.

* Now called Swifzers.

[a] Celtes, a countrie of Fraunce, lying betwen Gascognie & the countries of Germany.

[b] Belgia the low coũtrys of Germany, frõ Treuorse & Mens to Flaũders & those parts.

Aquitane ẏ coũtries of Gascognie and Guien.

[c] Two chief honors of ẏ state yerely changed.

mouе out of their countrie with all the power they couldе make: Alledging ý it was an easie matter for thē to cōquere all Gallia, in asmuch as they excelled all ý rest in prowesse. It was the easier for him to bring them hereunto, because the *Heluetians dwelt in such a countrie as on all sides is by nature fortified. For on the one side they are enclosed with the riuer of the Rhyne a verie broad and deepe water, which deuideth them from the Germaines: on an other side with the high mountaine *Jura, which is betweene them and *Sequanes, & on the other side with the Lake Leman & the Ryuer Rhone, which deuideth them from our prouynce. By meanes hereof it came to passe, ý they could not raūge verie farre abroad, nor with their ease make rodes against their neighbours: which was a great griefe vnto them, being a people desirous of warre. For in respect of their multitude, & of the renowne of their puissance & force in armes, they thought them selues enclosed in a straight, as whose Countrie passed not CCxl. miles in length, and an hundred and foure score miles in bredth. Perswaded with these reasones, and moued with the Authoritie of Orgetorix, they determined to make prouision of all things meete for their voyage: As namelie in bying of all the cartes and cariage beastes they could come by, in employing all their grounds to tyllage, to the intent to furnish them selues abundantlie with corne in their iourney: and in confirming peace and aliaunce with the cities adioyning. For the performance of these things they thought two yeeres to be sufficient: decreeing by law to set forwarde the third yeere. To bring these matters to effect was Orgitorix chosen: And he toke vppon him to goe in ambassade to the Cities. He in that iourney perswaded Casticus a *Sequene, ý sonne of Catamantalis, (whose father had reigned many yeeres among the Sequanes, and was accounted a friend to the Senate and people of Rome) to take vppon him the soueraintie in his owne countrie, the which his father had held before him. Also he perswaded Dumnorix the Heduan, the brother of Diuitia-

*Switzers.

*Mount saint Claude or Mount Iou *Burgonions.

*A Bourgonion.

Diuitiacus (who at that time bare chiefe authoritie in his countrie, and was in greatest fauour with the communaltie,) to attempt the like, and thereupon gaue him his daughter in marriage. He proued ý it was an easie matter for them to bring their enterprises to passe, for as much as he should obtaine the gouernement of his owne Citie, and it was not to be doubted but that the Switzers were able to doe more then all Fraunce besides, wherfore he should be able with his power and with his armie to warrant them kyngdomes. Perswaded with this Oration, they gaue their faith one to an other, and confirmed it with an othe: Hopying assuredlie that seeing three of the strongest and puissantest nations of all Fraunce had bent their force together, it could none otherwise come to passe, but that they must needes be Lordes of all the whole countrie. When this matter was bewrayed to the rest of the Heluetians, according to their custome they committed Orgetorix to prison to aunswere to his complaynt. If he were cast, the lawe condemned him to be burned with fier. At the day appointed for the pleading of his case, Orgetorix called to the sessions all his kindred and aliance, to the number of ten thousand men, together with all his retainours and dettours, of whom he had a great companie. By them he so wrought, that he came not to aunswere his enditement. When the Citie being stirred herewithall, sought to mayntaine the execution of their lawes by the sworde, and that the magistrates were raysing a power of men out of the countrie for the same purpose, Orgetorix dyed: not without suspition (as the Heluetians thinke) of killing him selfe. After his death, the Heluetians neuertheleſſe proceeded with their fore-determined purpose of departing out their countrie. And when they thought themselues in a sufficient readines for the matter, they set on fire all their Cities, to the number of twelue, and all their villages, which were about iiii. hundred, together with the rest of their priuate buyldinges. Likewise they burned all their corne, sauing that

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which they ment to cary with thē, to thintent that all hope of returning home being taken away, they should more willingly aduenture them selues to abide all perills. Commaūdement was giuen that euery man should cary with him so much Meale as would serue him for thrée monthes. Moreouer they perswaded the [a] Rawracians, [b] Tulingians, and [c] Latobrigians their next neighbours, to folow the same trade in burning their townes and villages, and to accompany them in this their voiage, receiuing also into league & cōfederacie the [d] Boyans, who not long ago had inhabited on the further side of the Rhyne, and were now lately come ouer into the coast of Noricum, and had there beseeged the Citie [e] Noreia. There were but onely two wayes for them to passe at out of their countrie, the one by the [f] Sequanes, narrow and vneasie betwéene the mountaine Iura and the riuer of Rhone, scarce so broad as that a cart might well be driuen through it, so ouerhanged with the high mountaine, that a very few had bene able to stop them of their passage: Thother through our prouince, far more easie and readier, because that the riuer of Rhone which runneth betweene ý borders of ý Heluetians & ý * Allobrogians, (who were lately come vnder ý Romaine Empire) hath diuerse fordes & shalow places to passe at. The vttermost town of the Allobrogians and next to the borders of Heluetia is Geneua, out of the which towne is a bridge into Swiszerland. They thought verely they should either entreate the Allobrogians, because they seemed not as yet to loue ý people of Rome frō the hart, or else they would compell them by force to giue them passage through their countrie. When all things were in a ful readinesse for their iourney, they appointed a daye when their whole number should méete all together at the riuer of Rhone, the which day was about the xxviii. of March, Lucius Piso, and Aulus Gabinius, being then Consuls of Rome: When tidings hereof was brought vnto Cæsar, that they were about to passe through our Prouince, he made hast to depart from the Citie, and with all spéde possible went into the * further Gallia to

[a] People about Basill.
[b] People of Toule in Loraine.
[c] People of Lorranne.
[d] People of Burbone, Bauier or Boeme in Almaine.
[e] Norinberg
[f] Burgoniōs

Now ý people of Sauoy & Delphinoyes.

The coūtry

to Geneua, where he gaue order for the mustering and leuying of as many souldiers as could be made through all the Prouince, (for ther was but one legion at ý time in further Gallia) and commaunded the bridge at Geneua to be hewen downe. Assone as the Heluetians were aduertised of his comming, they sent of their greatest princes of their countrie in ambassade to him, among whom the chiefe were Numeius and Veredoctius, who had in commission to say vnto him that the Heluetians were minded to passe through the prouince without any harme doing, bicause they had none other way to goe: desiring him to giue them leaue to passe with his fauour. Cæsar remembering how Lucius Cassius the Consull had heretofore by the Heluetians bene slaine, and his armie vanquished and compelled dishonorably to créepe vnder a yoke, thought it not conuenient to graūt their request. For it could not sinke in his head that men bearing a rooted enmitie in their harts against the people of Rome, would after libertie ones giuen them to passe through the prouince, abstaine from iniurie and euill doing: Notwithstanding to thintent to haue respite to assemble his souldiers that he had appointed to be leuied, he aunswered the Ambassadours that he would take a further time to breth vpon the matter: and if they were minded to commune any further with him, they should returne againe to him at the vi. day of Aprill next following. In the meane while, with that legion that he had about him & with such souldiers as were assembled out of Prouince, he drew a dich and made a wall of xvi. foote hie, ninetéene miles long from the lake Leman, which falleth into ý riuer of Rhone, vnto the moūtaine Iura, which deuideth the borders of ý Borgonions from the Swiszers. Assone as this worke was fully finished, he raised towres vpon the wall & put men of warre in them, to ý intent the better to resist the Heluetians, if they attempted to passe against his will. When the day appointed to the Ambassadours was come, & thambassadours returned. He made thē aunswere ý without breaking the custome & craumple of

of Fraunce at the foote of the Alps.
A legion.

the

the people of Rome, he coulde not giue any man leaue to passe through the Prouince: which thing if they attempted by force, he told them he would withstand them. The Heluetians disappointed of this their hope, assaied to get ouer the Ryuer, some in barges ioyned together, and some in boats, whereof they had made great store before hand, & othersome at the fordes where the water was shallowest: and this did they often times by day, but oftener by night. Howbeit being repulsed by the strength of our fortification, & the continuall resort of our souldiers which held them euer at the swordes point, they left of their enterprise. There was yet one waie left by the *Sequanes, the which neuertheless they could not passe against the Sequanes wills by reason of the streights. Whom when they could not of thē selues entreat, they sent messengers to Dumnorix the * Heduane ý by his intercession they might preuaile in their suite, Dumnorix was verie well beloued, & for his liberalitie was able to do much with the Sequanes, & he bare good will to the Heluetians, because he had marled the daughter of Orgetorix out of that countrie. Moreouer being led with desire of soueraintу, he sought innouation of thinges, endeuoring by his benefits to make many Cities beholden vnto him. And therefore hee toke the matter vpon him, & obtained leaue of the Sequanes for the Heluetians to passe through their countrie, causing hostages to be giuen on both sides, the Sequanes that they should not trouble the Heluetians in their passage, & the Heluetians that they should goe quietly without offring iniury or euill doing. Anon word was brought vnto Cæsar that the Heluetians were minded to passe through the countries of the * Sequanes and * Heduans into the borders of Santow which is not farre from Tholouse a Citie in Prouince. If that were suffered, he knew well it would be greatly to the noyaunce of ý Prouince, to haue such warrelike people auncient enemies of ý Romaines, so néere neyghbours vnto it in Champion & corne countries. For these considerations, he left his lieuetenaunt Titus Labienus behind him to the defence

*Bourgonions.

*Hedui, people of Burgundie about Autun

*They are now both named Burgonions.

fence of the fortification alreadie made, and he himselfe with all spéede returned into Italy, where he leuied two Legions anew, & drew out of ý garrisons about Aquileia, three other that wintered ther, & with those flue legiōs toke his néerest way ouer the Alpes toward the further Gallia. There the *Centrones, the *Caroceles, & the *Caturiges hauing taken the higher places before, went about to stop him frō passing with his armie. But in many of these battells they went by the worst, & so Cæsar in seuen daies marched from Ocelum, which is the furthest towne of the hithermost prouince, vnto the borders of the *Vocontians, which are in ý further Prouince. From thence he conducted his army among the *Allobrogians, and from the Allobrogians to the Secusianes, which are the first people out of Prouince beyond ý riuer Rhone. By that time had the Heluetians with all their host passed the streights & the countrie of the *Sequanes, and being entred the borders of the *Heduanes, wasted their fields. The Heduanes feeling them selues to weake to make defence against them, sent messengers to Cæsar, to desire succour: alledging that their deserts towards the people of Rome had alwaies bene such, that it stode not with their honor to suffer their lands to be destroyed, their children led into captiuitie, & their townes to be sacked, in maner within the sight of their armie. The same time that the Heduanes made this complaint, the *Ambarries being néere friends & alies of the Heduanes, aduertised Cæsar that their fields were alreadie wasted, & that they had much a doe to keepe their enemies out of their walled townes. Furthermore, the Allobrogians which had lands & possessions on thother side of Rhone, came flying vnto Cæsar & told him that nothing was left thē saue the bare groūd. Cæsar moued with these matters, thought it not good to forslow ý time vntil ý Heluetians hauing spoiled his friends, were come among the Sātones. There is a riuer now called Saone, which through ý hoūds of ý Heduanes and Sequanes entreth into Rhone, so mildely & gently, ý it is not possible to be discerned by sight which way ý streme rūneth.

*People of Tarantaise in Sauoie.

*A people bordering vpon Tarātaise, Delphine and Sauoye.

*People of Sauoy and Daulphine.

*Bourgonions.

*People about Neuers.

*People of Sauoy and Dausphine.

*People of Gascognie & nere Tolouse.

The Heluetians with boates & shallopes ioyned together had passed the same, whereof when Cæsar was aduertised by his espialles, at such time as thrée parts of their armie were alrédie ferried ouer the Riuer, and the fourth part was yet behynde, About the third watch of the night, he set out of his campe with thrée Legions, & came vpon that part that had not yet passed the Riuer: and setting vppon them vnwars and out of order, slew a great number of them, the rest toke them to flyght & hid themselues in ý next woods. The Canton where this was done was called *Tigurine. For all the whole countrie of Heluetia is deuided into iiii. Cantons or shyres. This same one Canton remouing out of their country in the time of our fathers, slew Lucius Cassius ý Consul, sent his armie vnder a yoke. So, whether it were by chance or by ý prouidẽce of ý gods immortal, the selfe same part of Heluetia which had brought so dishonorable a reproche vppon the Romaines, was the first that suffered punishment for it. Wherein Cæsar reuenged not onelie the displeasure done to the whole state of his Countrie, but also the displeasure done to him selfe in priuate, for as much as the Tigurines in the same battaile that Cassius was slaine, slewe also his Lieuetenaunt Lucius Piso, the graund father of Lucius Piso, Cæsars father in law. After this discomfiture, to thintent he might ouertake the rest of the Heluetian host, he caused a bridge to be made vppon Arar, and so passed ouer his armye. The Heluetians abashed at his sodeyne approch, when they perceiued he had done as much in one day as they wer scarce able to doe in twenty, that is to say, passed the ryuer, sent ambassadoures vnto him, whereof the chiefe was Diuico, who in the battell against Cassius was captayne of the Heluetians. The effect of his treatie was, ý if the people of Rome would be contented to make peace with the Heluetians, they would depart into what quarter so euer Cæsar would appoint thẽ, and there remaine at his pleasure. But if he were purposed to pursewe them with battell, they willed him to call to remẽbrance as well the domage ý the Romaines

Now called Zurich.

maines, had receiued by their nation in time past, as also the auncient prowesse of the Heluetians. And where as he had assailed one Canton vnbewares at such time as the rest being passed the Riuer coulde not reskewe their fellowes, it was no matter why he should greatly glorie in his owne prowesse, or despise the Heluetians, who had ben in such sorte trained vp by their fathers and auncestours before time, as to contend rather by manhood than by deceite, or to couet conquest by subtelltie. Wherefore it was good for him to bee well aduised that through his oversight the place of their present being toke not his name and were made famous by the destruction of the people of Rome and the vtter slaughter of his armie. To these things Cæsar made aunswere in this wise. That he had so much the lesse néede to doubt what he should dowe, in that hee perfectly remembred the thinges which the Heluetian Ambassadours had made mention off: the which grèeued him so much the more, as the people of Rome had lesse deserued them. For if their conscience had accused them of any wrong done, it had bèene no hard matter to haue shunned thinconuenience. But herein they were deceiued, that neither they knew them selues to haue committed any thing why they shoulde be afraide, nor thought it méete to be afraide without cause. But admit he coulde be contented to forget the former reproch done vnto the Romaines, was it reason he should also winke at their wrongfull dealing agayne of newe, in attempting to make them selues passage through the prouince by the sworde whether he would or nor in that they had molested the Heduanes, the Ambarrians, and the Allobrogians? their glorying so presumptuously in their former victorie, and their vaunting of escaping so long vnpunished for their wrongfull dealinges, had brought them to the point they were at. For the gods immortal are wont sometime to graunt greater prosperity & longer respite from punishmẽt vnto such as they are minded to chastice for their offences, to thintent that when the chaunge came, the griefe thereof might touch them more

uearer the hart. Now albeit things were as they were, yet notwithstanding if they would geue him pledges, ý he might perceiue they were willing to performe the thingꝭ they promised, and moreouer make satisfaction al wel of the iniuries and displeasures done to the Heduanes and their adherents, as also to the Allobrogians, he was cõtented to make peace with them. Diuico replying saide, that the Heluetians had bene taught of their auncestors to take & not to giue pledges: wherof the people of Rome could beare witnesse themselues. When he had giuen this aunswere, he departed. The next days they remoued their Campe from the place where they were, and so dyd Cæsar likewise, who sent out all his horsemen to the nũber of iiii. thousand (which he had assembled out of all the Prouince and among the Heduanes and their adherẽts) to discouer towards what part his enemies were drawen. They pursuing ouer grẽdely the rereward of their enemies, encountred with the Heluetian horsemen in a place of disaduantage, and lost certaine of their company. The Heluetians being puffed vp with ý successe of this skirmish, because that with fiue hundred horsemen they had geuen repulse to so many of our horsemen, began to stay more boldly then they were wont, and sundry times out of their rereward, to prouoke our men to the encounter. Howbeit Cæsar restrained his Souldiers, & thought it inough at that present to prohibit his enemies from wasting and spoyling of the Countrie. So they continued on their iourney by the space of xv. dayes together, in such sort that there was not past a fiue or sixe miles distance betweene the reward of our enemies, & our foreward. In the meane while Cæsar called dayly vpon the Heduans, for the grain that they had promised him by their common consent. For by reason of the cold (for asmuch as Gallia, as is sayd before, is situate vnder the North clime) not onely the corne was not rype in the fields, but also there was not sufficient forrage to be gotten. As for that corne which he had brought with him by the Riuer Arar, could not handsomely serue his turne, because the Heluetians

uetians had withdrawen thẽselues another way, frõ whom he was not minded to depart. The Heduans made delayes frõ day to day, saying it was a gathering, it was a bringing, it would be there out of hand. When Cæsar perceiued himselfe to be dalied withal to long, & that ý day was at hand ý it should be measured & deuided vnto his souldiours, calling vnto him their chiefe noblemen & Princes, of whom he had a great company in his Campe, & amongs other, Diuitiacus & Liscus, who at that time held ý principal office, which they call Vergobret, which is an office ý lasteth but frõ yere to yere, & for ý time hath absolute power of lyfe & death, he sharply blamed them that whereas ther was not any corne to be bought, nor to be gotten in the fields, in such a time of necessitie, his enimies being so nere at hand, he was not succored nor relieued by them, specially considering that for the most part at their entretãce he had taken this war in hand. Wherfore so much ý iuster cause he had to complaine, in ý he was disappointed by them. Then at ý length Liscus prouoked thereto by Cæsars words, disclosed that which hetherto he had concealed: How ther were certain persons of great authoritie among the common people, that could doe more than the magistrates. Who with their lewd & sedicious talk dyd put the people in such feare, that they deliuered not the corne, as they ought to haue done by promis. Alledging ý if they could not now attaine ý souereintie of Gallia thẽselues, it were more reason to prefer thervnto ý Galles rather thẽ the Romaines. For out of all doubt, might ý Romaines once get ý mastrie of ý Heluetians, they would bring ý Heduanes vnder coram as wel as all ý rest of the Galles. By these persons our counsells & all ý was done in our Campe were bewrayed to ý enemie. Whose doings it lay not in their hand to bridel: for albeit ý vtter necessitie compelled him to declar thus much vnto Cæsar, yet was he not ignorãt what peril he procured himselfe in doing thereof, which was ý onely cause why he had cõceled ý matter as lõg as he could. Cæsar perceued by these words of Liscus, ý Dũnorix brother to Diuitiac⁹, was noted. But

But because he would not haue those matters debated in the presence of many, he sone dismissed the counsell, keping Liscus still with him. When he had him alone, he required those things of him that he had touched in the counsell: and he vttered them more at large & more boldly. Cæsar made priuie enquirie for the same things at other mens handes, & found them to be true in deede: as that Dumnorix himselfe was a man of singuler audacitie, and in great fauour with the commonaltie for his liberalitie, desirous of alteration, and that he had taken to ferme for many yeares to come at a small prycce, as well the customes for all things that were conueied in and out of the Realme, as all other tayes and impositions of the Heduanes, because that when he had ones beaten the pryce, no man durst sette in his fote against him. By meanes whereof he had not onely his owne priuate substance, but also gotten abundantly wherewith to shew him selfe liberall abrode, in so much that he found a great number of horsemen alwaies at his owne charges, & kept them about him, and that he was able to deale liberally, not onely with his owne countrie, but also among the Cities that were his neighbours. By meanes of which authoritie he had bestowed his mother in mariage to a man of the greatest linage and power in all Berrey, taken a wife from among the Heluetians, & had maried his sister by the mother syde, and diuerse other of his kinswomen into other Cities, the which affinitie was an occasion that he fauoured and wished well to the Heluetians, and bare ill will to the Romaines, whome naturally he hated in his hart, because that by their comming his power was abated, & his brother Diuitiacus restored to as much fauour and estimation as euer he had before. For might the Romains haue ill successe, he was in good hope through helpe of the Heluetians to be made king: where as if the Romaines obteined the superioritie, he was out of all hope, not onely of being king, but also of that estimation that he then had.

Moreouer Cæsar learned by inquiry, ý in ý battel of horsmẽ which

which he lost a few dayes before, Dumnorix and his Horsemen began first to flye: (for he was Captaine of the men of Armes that the Heduans had sent to thayde of Cæsar) and that by their running away the rest of the men of Armes were discomfited. The which things being knowne, when as beside these suspicions, he had other matters of certaintie to charge him withall, as ý he had led the Heluetians through the countrie of Burgundie, that he had caused hostages to be giuen betwéene them, & that he had done all the said things not onely without commaundement of him and of the Citie, but also without their knowledge, for as much as he was accused to him by the chiefe magistrate of the Heduanes, he thought it sufficient cause either to punish him himself, or to commaund the Citie to sée him punished. But there was one thing that withstode all these matters: namely that Cæsar knew his brother Diuitiacus to beare earnest good wil to the people of Rome, and that he hartely loued him, and that he was a man of singular faithfulnesse, iustice, and modestie. Wherefore he was very loth to offend his minde with the punishment of his brother. And therefore he called Diuitiacus vnto him, & remouing his accustomed interpreters, commoned with him by Caius Valerius Troacillus, chiefe gouernour of the Romane Prouince in Gallia, his familiar friend whom he chiefly trusted vnto in all things. First he put him in remembrãce what had bene spoken before his face in the counsel of the Galles concerning his brother Dumnorix, and shewed him what euery man seuerally had reported of him, to him in secret. Desiring & perswading him, that without his displeasure, he might vpon sufficient trial of the matter, either procede against him himselfe, or else cause his Citie to procéede against him according to his deserts. Diuitiacus embracing Cæsar with many teares, began to intreat him that he would not deale ouer straightly with his brother. He sayd he knew those things to be true, and no man was more sorie for it than he, because that where as he was of great estimation himselfe both in his owne countrie and in all

all Gallia beside, and his brother could doe little or nothing by reason of his youth, his brother had bene aduaunced by his meanes onelie: the which his welth and authoritie although he had abused, not onelie to the decay of his estimation, but also well nere to his owne destruction, yet notwithstanding he was sore troubled inwardlie, both for the loue he bare to his brother, and for thopinion of the common people. For if Cesar should chaunce to deale anie thing roughlie with him, (hee standing so highlie in his fauour as he did,) euerie man would thinke it were done by his consent and procurement, whereby it would come to passe that he should lose the hartes of all the Galles. As he was making this request vnto Cesar with many wordes weeping. Cesar toke him by the right hand, and comforting him desired him to make no more intreatance, assuring him that he set so much by him, that at his request he was content to pardone both the iniurie done to the common weale, and also his owne griefe, to order all as he thought good. Hereupon he called Dumnorix aside: and taking his brother to him, declared what matters he had to charge him with, laying before him what informations were put vp against him, and what complaint the Citie had made of him: hee warned him to auoid all causes of suspition hereafter, vpon trust whereof he tolde him he would (for his brother Diuitiacus sake) remit all that was past. This done he set good watch about Dumnorix, to thintent to know what he did, and with whom he had any conference. The same day being certified by his scoutes that his enemies were encamped vnder the side of a hill about viii. myles from his campe, he sent to view ÿ nature of the hill, & what cõming ther was to it on euerie side round about. Word was brought him againe ÿ it was very easie. About the ende of the third watch he commaunded Titus Labienus his liuetenant to take the same men for his guides that had viewed the ground before and knew the waie, and with two Legions in all hast possible to take the toppe of the hill, declaring vnto him what his

his purpose was to do. In the ende of the fourth watch, hee himselfe the same waie that his enimies had gone, went toward them, and sent all his men of armes before him. Publius Considius who was counted most expert in feates of chiualrie (as he that had serued first in the armie of Lucius Sylla and afterward vnder Marcus Crassus) was sent before with the scowtes. At the dawning of the day, when M. Labienus had gotten the toppe of the hill, and that hee was not past a myle and a halfe from the campe of his enemies, who (as he learned afterward by his prisoners) knew neither of his comming, nor of Labienus being there, Considius came running to him vpon the spurre, and made report vnto him, that the hill which he would that Labienus should haue taken, was possessed by his enimies: the which he perceiued by the armes and ansesignes of the Galles. Hereuppon Cesar withdrue his armie into the next hill, & set his men in order of battell. Labienus (for as much as Cesar had expressely commaunded him that he should not ioyne battell with his enimies before such time as he saw his armie nere vnto their Campe, to thintent that assault might haue ben made vpon them on all sides at ones,) when he had taken the hill, stode still waiting for vs, and abstained from fighting. At length when the day was well forth, Cesar vnderstood by his espialls, that they were his owne men that had taken the mountain, and that the Heluetians had dislodged from thens, and that Considius of a childish fear had reported for a certaintie the thing he had not seene. All that day he followed with like distaunce as he had done before, and encamped within three miles of their Camp. The next day because that within two daies after it behoued him to distribute corne to his souldiours, and forasmuch as hee was not aboue eighteene miles from Beawvray which is the greatest and welthiest Citie in all the country of the Heduanes, he thought good to make prouisiõ for corne, and thereupon turning from the Switzers, he toke his waie toward Beawvray. This his doing was by certaine fugitiues

fugitiues of the band of Lucius Aemilius Captayn of a troope of Gallian horsemen, bewrayed to the enemie. The Switzers,(whether it were that they thought the Romaines departed from thē for feare of them,) which seemed to them so much the more lykely to be true, because the daye before hauing taken the higher grounds, they had not giuen them battell,(or that they were in hope to cut them of from their prouision of corne,) altered their purpose,and turning back again,began to pursue vs and to assaile our reregard,when Cæsar perceiued that, he withdrew his hoast into the next hill,and sent out his men of armes to withstand the brunt of his enemies. In the meane while he ordered his men vpon the ends of the hill in three battells of foure legions of olde expert souldiers: so that aboue him on the top of the hill he placed the two legions,which he had lately leuied in ȳ higher Gallia,together with all the strāgers that were come to his aide,& furnished all the hill with men of war. In this time also he caused all the baggage to be brought together into one place, and the same to be fortified by them that stode in the higher battell. The Heluetians folowing after with all their chariots,conueyed all their stuffe into one place,& they themselues on a thick throng, hauing put our horsemen aside,cast themselues in a square battell, & preased vnder our vauntgard. Cæsar sending first his owne,and then all other mens horses out of sight,(to thentent that putting them all in like perill, he might cut of all hope of flight) encouraged his men,and ioyned battell. His souldiors by throwing darts from the higher ground,dyd easily breake the battell of their enemies. The which being once disordered,they charged vpon them with their naked swords. It was a great trouble to the Galles when they should fight,that many of their targets wer striken through with one blow of a Dart,and fastened together in such sort that after the yron was bowed, they could neither pull the Dart out,nor yet hādsomly fight by reason their left hands were troubled. So that in conclusion many hauing a long time wearied their armes, chose rather

rather to cast their targets out of their hands, and to fight wī their bodies naked. At length waxing faint with woūds, they began to lose ground, & because there was a hill nēre at hand about a myle of from the place,they began to draw themselues thether. When they had gotten this hill, & that our men pursued still after them, the Boyans & Tulingians (to the number of a fiftene thousād men) who closed vp the battell of our enemies, & were a rescew to their reregard, assailing vs on the open side as we passed by them, enclosed vs about. That seeing the Heluetians which had recouered the hill,preased forward againe,& began the battel a fresh. The Romaines turning their Standards,were faine to encounter them both waies at once. The foreward and middel ward to resist them that euen now were as good as vanquished and put to flight,& the rereward to withstand them that came new vpon them. So the battell was sore fought a long while ere fortune inclined to either partie. At ȳ last, not able to withstād our force any longer,thone part of thē retired to the Mountaine as they had begon,& thother part drew them selues to their Chariots & their stuffe. For during all the time of this battell,which was fought from seuen of the clock in the morning vntill the euening, ther was not any of vs could say he saw his enemie turne his face frō him. Yea,and about their stuffe the battell was prolonged, vntil it was farre on the night,because they had set against vs their Chariots in maner of a Rampire, & threw dartes from aloft at vs as we came toward them. And many of them from vnder the Chariots and from among the wheles, did thrust at our men with Pikes and Iauelins & wounded them. After long fight,we wan their cariages & their tents also,in the which the daughter of Orgetorix and one of his sonnes were taken prisoners. From this battell escaped about an hundred and thirtie thousand men: which iourneying all that night long continually without ceasing, came the fourth day after into the borders of the *Lingones Our men being faine to rest them selues there three dayes for

*Now called Langres.

 dressing

dressing of their woundes, and burying of such as were slain, were not in case to pursue thē. Howbeit Cæsar sent letters & messengers to the Lingones, that they should not succour them with victuals or any other thing: if they dyd, he sent them word he would repute them for his enemies no lesse than the Heluetians. After three dayes, himselfe followed thē with all his power. The Heluetians constrained with penury of all things, sent Ambassadours vnto him to offer submission. Who meeting him by the way, when they had cast themselues at his feete, and with humble words and sorowfull teares, besought him of peace, and that he had commaūded them to abide his comming in ỳ same place where they then were, they obeyed. As sone as Cæsar was come thether, he demaunded hostages, their armour, and the slaues that had fled vnto them. While these things were a serching out and bringing together, (for doing whereof, they had one nights respit,) about six thousād men of that Canton which is called *Verbigenus, (whether it were for feare least after surrendring of their armour they should be punished, or that they were induced with hope of escaping scotfree, because they supposed that in so great a number as were ther to be yelded, their flight would either be hidden or not perceiued at all) stale out of the Heluetian Camp the same first night, and toke their way toward the Rhyne, and the borders of Germanie. Which thing when Cæsar had knowledge of, he commaunded them by whose country they had passed, that if they would he should hold them excused, they should seeke them out and bring them backe againe. When they were brought backe againe, he toke them for his enemies, and as for all the rest, when they had deliuered hostages, armor, and runnagates, he toke them to mercie. He commaūded the Heluetians, Tulingians, and Latobrigians to returne into their owne countrie from whence they came. And for asmuch as hauing wasted all their Corne & fruits, at home in their countrie was nothing remaining wherewith to sustaine hunger, he gaue in commaundement to the Allobrogians

Strawsbrough.

gians to furnish them with corne, and willed thether to repaire their Cities & townes ỳ they had burned. This thing he dyd chiefely for this intent, because he would not haue ỳ place from whence the Heluetians came, to lie vninhabited, least the Germanes that dwell beyond the Rhine, should for the goodnesse of the soyle, remoue out of their owne country into Switzerland, and plant themselues by the Prouince & the Allobrogians. At the request of the Heduanes, he graunted that ỳ Boyans (because they were knowen to be men of singular prowesse) should be placed in their country, & the Heduanes not onely gaue them ground to occupy, but also afterward admitted thē into like estate of freedome & libertie as they thēselues had. In the camp of the Heluetians were found tables written with Greke letters, & brought vnto Cæsar, wherein was expressly conteined a register of all the names & what was ỳ nūber of all those ỳ came out of their country, of such as were able to beare armor by themselues, of ỳ children by thē selues, of ỳ old men & women seuerally by themselues.

Of all the which the grosse sum was, of Heluetians reckned by the poll ii. hundred iii. score & iii. thousand: of ỳ Tulingians fire & thirtie thousād: of the Latobrigians xiiii. thousand: of the Rauracians xxiii. thousād: of Boyans xxxii. thousād. Among these there were about iiii. score & xii. thousand that were able to beare armour. The whole sum of them all one with another, was three hundred three score & eight thousād, or thereabouts. The number of them that retourned home againe (vpon musker taken as Cæsar cōmaundeū) was found to be an hundred and ten thousand.

When the warre of the Heluetians was brought to an ende, the Princes almost of all the Cities of Gallia came Ambassadors vnto Cæsar, to reioyce with him in his good fortune. Declaring ỳ albeit ỳ people of Rome had for wrongs done vnto thē of olde time by ỳ Heluetians, iustly now punished thē by battel, yet the thing had falne out no lesse to the behofe of ỳ realme of Gallia, than of the Romaines, inasmuch

as the Heluetians being in the feare of their prosperitie, had abandoned their native countrie, of purpose to make warre in all Gallia, to thintent that hauing gotten the soueretie, they might take their choise of all ỳ whole country, to plant and set themselues in that place that should seme most fruitfull and commodious for them to dwell in, and to make all the rest of the Cities tributary vnto them. They made request that it might be lawfull for them to sommon a Parlament of Gallia, at a certaine daye, and that it would please Cæsar to ratifie it with his consent: for they said they had certaine matters, which they would sue vnto him for, by a common assent. When their request was graũted, they appointed a daye for their meeting, and bound them selues with an othe, that they should not any of them disclose the matter, sauing vnto such as ought to be sommoned thereunto. After ỳ this counsell was broken vp, the same Princes of the Cities ỳ had bene with him before, returned vnto Cæsar, & desired they might haue leaue to cõmon with him priuely and in secret, of matters concerning the welfare & well doing both of him & of them all. Hauing obteined their peticion, they cast themselues at Cæsars feet, & weeping told him that they sought and indeuored no lesse to haue ỳ things kept secret which they should speake, then to obteine the thinges they sued for, because that if it should happen to be disclosed, they saw they should run in daunger of their lives for it. Diuitiacus the Heduan, was speaker for them. He declared how all Gallia was deuided into two factions, of one of the which, the chiefe ringleaders were the Heduanes, and the men of Auuern of thother: Who had contended many yeres with toth and nayle for the souereintie, and that at length the men of Auuerne and ỳ Sequanes had waged the Germaines on their side, of whome at ỳ first there came but xv.M. ouer the Rhyne. But afterward when those sauage & barbarous people had found a sauor in ỳ fertile soyle, good, faire, & plentiful wealth of ỳ Galles, they had tolled ouer mo of their coũtrymen, in so much as at ỳ time, ther wer of thẽ to

to the number of an hundred & twenty thousand: To whom the Heduanes, & their confederates had diuerse times giuen battell: wherein going by the wors, they had receiued great domage, for they had lost all their nobilitie, all their counsel, and all their men of armes. Through the calamities of which ouerthrowes, they which heretofore both by their owne prowesse, & by their aliance and frendshyp with the people of Rome, had bene able to do most in all Gallia, were now brought to such an after deele, that they were constrained to giue ỳ noblest men of their country in hostage to ỳ Sequanes and to bind their Citie by othe, that they should neither require their hostages againe, nor desire ayde of the Romains, nor yet refuse to be their subiects & vassells for euer. He him selfe onely of all the citie of the Heduanes, was ỳ man that could not by any meanes be brought, either to be sworne, or to giue his children for pledges. And therfore he had bene faine to fly his Countrie, and to resort to Rome to desire helpe of the Senate, bicause he onely was not restrained either by othe, or giuing of hostages. Howbeit the Sequanes that were cõquerours, were in worse case thẽ the Heduanes that were ouercome, in that Arioustus king of ỳ Germanes had settled himselfe in their countrie, and had seized to his owne behoofe the third part of the lands of Sequanie (which is the best of all Gallia) and had now latelie commaunded them to surrender one other third part, to thintent to prouide a place of habitation and continuance for the *Harudes, of whom foure & twentie thousand men were come to him a few moneths before. And within few yeres it would come to passe, that all the Galles should be dispossest of their country, & all the Germanes come ouer the Rhyne. For as the soyle of Gallia was not to be cõpared with ỳ soyle of Germanie, so the vsuall fare of Germanie was not to be compared with the fare of Gallia. Now Arioustus as sone as he had vanquished the power of the Galles, (which was done at the battell of Amagetobria,) began to shew himselfe a proud and cruell Conquerour.

*the people of Cõstãce.

For he demaúded al noble mens sonnes for hostages against whom he extended to monstrouus villany and cruelltie, if euerie thing were not done at his beck and pleasure. He was a man altogether barbarous, wrathfull, & hardhaimed, so that it was not possible to endure or suffer his gouernement any longer. Onlesse there were any helpe in Cæsar & the people of Rome, all the Galles should be driuen to do as the Heluetians had done, that is to say, fleete out of their owne countrie to seeke some other dwelling place and some other habitation further of from the Germanes, & to take in good worth what fortune so euer should betide them. If this geere should come to Ariouistus hearing, he was well assured he would take most grieuous punishment of all the hostages that were in his handes. Thonely hope that remained, was that Cæsar might either by his owne authoritie & thauthoritie of his armie, or by the fame of his late victory, or by the name of the people of Rome, set a stay that no mo of the Germanes should be brought ouer the Rhyne, and defend all Gallia from thoppression and tirany of Ariouistus. After that Diuiciacus had made this oration, all that were present began with abundance of teares to desire succor of Cæsar. Cæsar marked that of all other, onely the Sequanes did none of those things that the residue did: but loked sadly vpon the ground with their heads hanging downe. Wondering what should be the cause thereof, he demaunded it of them. The Sequanes gaue him not a word to answere, but continued still in ý same sadnesse holding downe their heads. When he had oftentimes enquired of them and could by no meanes cause thē to speake, the foresaid Diuiciacus the Heduan answered, that so much the more miserable and grieuous was the state of the Sequanes than of all the rest, in that they alonly durst not euen in secret complaine of their misfortune, nor seeke for succour, but trembled at the cruelltie of Ariouistus being absent, asmuch as if he were ther present: bicause (& if ý worst should happen) yet might all others saue thē selues by flyght, but the Sequanes who had receiued

Ariouistus

Ariouistus into their countrey, & put all their walled townes in his hand, must abide all the iniurie & vexation to thuttermost. When Cæsar vnderstode this, he comforted the hearts of the Galles with faire words, promising thenuy he would see a redresse in ý matter. And he was in good hope, ý (what by his benefites & what by his authoritie) he should bring Ariouistus to make an ende of his vexacion. This oration ended he dismissed the counsell. Besides the premisses, many other thynges persuaded him to thinke vpon the matter, & to take vpon him to redresse it. First & foremost because he saw the Heduanes (whom the Senate of Rome had often times called their brothers & kinsfolks,) to be held in subiection & bondage of the Germanes, & vnderstood that their hostages were with Ariouistus among the Sequanes: ý which thing (considering how greatly the Romaine Empyre was the aduanced) he thought would redound to the great dishonor of him selfe & of the whole state. Moreouer he saw ý if the Germanes should take it vp of custome to passe the Rhyne, & to come in great numbers into Gallia, it would turne to the preiudice of the people of Rome: for he thought ý such sauage & barbarous men as they were, would not so bridle themselues, but that when they had subdued all Gallia, they would after ý exemple of the Cimberians & Duchmen, passe into the Prouince, & so take their waie into Italy: specially seeing ther was nothing betwene the Secusianes & our prouince, but the riuer of Rhone. The which things he thought meete to be preuented with all speede. Now was Ariouistus growne to such a hautines and such a pryd, that he seemed intollerable. Wherefore he deemed it best to send Ambassadors vnto him, to demaunde of him that he should chose some place midwaie betwixt them where they might meete to haue communication. For he sent him word that he had to talke with him concerning the common weith, and other weightie matters touching them both. Ariouistus answered to this Ambassade, that if he himselfe had had any thing to do with Cæsar, he would haue come vnto him:

and

and that if Cæsar had any thing to doe with him, he should come vnto him. Besides ý, neither durst he come into those parts of Gallia that Cæsar did possesse, without an armie, neither could he assemble an armie into one place without great prouision & charges. Moreouer he marueyled what either Cæsar or ý people of Rome had to do to meddel in his part of Gallia which he had cõquered by ý sword. Vpon the report of this ans were vnto Cæsar, he sent ambassadors to him againe with these instructions. For asmuch as being benefitted so greatly by him and the people of Rome, as that in the time of his Consulship the senate had proclamed him King and their friend, he requited him & the people of Rome with this gentilnes, ý being requested he disdained to come to cõmunication, presuming ý it was not for him to talke or be made priuie to matters of the common weale: these were the things that he demaunded of him. First that he should not conuey any number of men hereafter ouer the Rhine into Gallia, secondly that he should render such hostages as he had of the Heduanes: & that he should permit the Sequanes to render such as they had, with his fauor. And thirdly that he should not offer any wrong to the Heduanes, nor make any war against them or their adherentes. If he sõ did, both he & the people of Rome would continue his friends & welwillers for euer. Otherwise, (for asmuch as ý Senate in the time that Marcus Messala and Marcus Piso were consuls, had decreed that whosoeuer had Gallia cõmitted to him for his charge, should defend the Heduanes and other friends of the people of Rome, so far forth as he might do it to ý furtherance of the common weale,) he would not wink at the iniuries of the Heduanes.

Ariouistus replied hereunto, that it was the law of armes, that such as were Conquerours should in such sort as they thought good reigne ouer them that were subdued, which might be perceiued by the people of Rome them selues, who were accustomed to reigne ouer such as they had conquered, not at thappointmẽt of others, but as they listed thẽselues.

Now

Now like as he toke not vpon him to prescribe vnto ý Romanes how they should demeane them selues in their right, euen so no more ought ý people of Rome to trouble him in his right. The Heduães forasmuch as they had tried ý fortune of battel, and were ouercome by him in a pitched field, were become tributaries vnto him. Therfore he thought ý Cæsar did him great wrong, to diminish his reuenewes by his comming. As for ý Hostages of the Heduanes, he said plainelie he would not deliuer them: Neither would he on thother side make any war vpon them or their complices to do them harme, so they kept touch with him in those things that they had couenaunted, & paid their tribute from yere to yere. If they did otherwise, the Romaines (their brothers as they termed them) should be to farre of to rescew them. And whereas Cæsar sent him word he would not winke at the iniuries of the Heduanes, he said againe that neuer man yet encountred with him but to his owne vndoing, & therefore come when he would he should be welcome. He would make him vnderstand what force and puissance was in the victorious Germanes, men altogether nouzeled in feates of armes, who in. xiiii. yeares together had neuer put their heades vnder house roofe.

The same time that this countermessage was brought vnto Cæsar, came also ambassadors to him from the Heduanes and Treuires; The Heduanes complayning that the Harudes which were latelie brought ouer into Gallia, did forray their countrie, & that they coulde not purchase peace at Ariouistus hand, no not vppon sufficient pledges: The Treuires with an hundred towne ships of the Sweuians were come to the further side of the Rhyne, & went about to passe the Riuer, of whom the Captaines were Nasua & Cimberius, brothers. With ý which newes Cæsar being sore moued, thought it stode him in hand to spede his matters betimes, least if the new power of Sweuians should ioyne with the host that Ariouistus had before, he should haue more a do to resist thẽ. And therfore furnishing himself of victel with as much haste

as he could, he made toward Ariouistus by long iourneies. When he was thrée daies iourney onward of his waie, word was brought him that Ariouistus with all the power he could make was going to take Besancon, which is the greatest towne belonging to ỳ Sequanes, & that he was now marched thrée daies iourney from his owne borders. Cæsar thought it stod him vppon to beware, that that happened not. For of all things mete for war, there was in that towne great scarcitie, & the situacion therof was so strong, ỳ whosoeuer had it, might prolong the war at his pleasure, by reason ỳ the riuer Alduasdubis enuironed in manner ỳ whole town like a paire of cõpasses. That routine ỳ ỳ riuer enclosed not which was ỳ space of not about six hundred foote) was fortified with a hil of a great height, so ỳ the foote of it on both sides touched ỳ very brym of ỳ riuer. This hil was cõpassed to a wall in maner of a towre, & ioyned to the Towne. Ytther taine Cæsar forneying night & day with as much speede as might be, & taking the towne placed a garrison in it.

While he rested a few daies at Besancon to furnish him selfe of graine & victual, through the enquirie of our men, & the talke of the Galles & of the Merchantmen which reported the Germanes to be men of huge stature & vigilant, of incredible force & courage, & of great practise and experience in feates of armes, whereof they had oftentimes had tryall by encountering with them, & that they were not able to abide the grimnesse of their countenaunces and the fiercenesse of their looses: sodeinly there came such a feare ouer all the armie, that it wonderfully troubled the minds and appalled the courages of al men. This feare began first among the Tribunes, & chiefe officers of the Campe, & such other as had accompanied Cæsar in this voyage for frendships sake, and had small skill or none in matters of war: who feyning, some one excuse and some another, of verie earnest busines that they had to do, desired leaue for to depart with his fauour. Othersome for shame least they should be thought to haue gone awaie for feare tarried still.

Howbeit these could neither set a good countenaunce on the matter, nor somtime kepe themselues from weeping: but hiding themselues in their tents, either they bewailed their destiny secretly to them selues, or else with their acquaintaũce lamẽted the daunger, that they were all like to fall into. And cõmonly through the whole camp was nothing but making & signing of testaments. Through the talke & fearfulnesse of these men, by littell & littell euen they that were of great skill and experience in the camp, namelie the olde beaten soldiors, & the peticapteines, and those that had the charge of the men of armes, were sore troubled. Such of thẽ as would seeme to be lesse fearefull, sayd they feared not the enemie, but the narrownesse of the waies, & the greatnes of the woods that laie betweene them & Ariouistus: or else they cast doubts how their graine should be commodiously conueied after them. Many also tolde Cæsar plainly, that whensoeuer he should giue commaundement to dislodge ỳ Camp or to auaunce the Standards, the Souldiors would not be obedient to his word, nor display their banners for feare. When Cæsar vnderstode these things, he called a counsell, and assembling thither the Captaines of all the bandes, rebuked them verie sharply. First in that they toke vpon thẽ to be inquisitiue or carefull, whether or for what purpose they should be led. As for Ariouistus, he had (in the time that he was Consul) sued most earnestlie for ỳ friendship of the people of Rome: and why than should any man misdeeme, that he would so rashly go backe from his duty? He beleued verilie, ỳ if he once knew his demaunds, & vnderstode perfectly how reasonable offers he would make him, hee would not reiect, either his good will or ỳ good will of the people of Rome. But if he would be so mad and so far ouerseene, as to make war, why should they be afraied of him: or why should they dispaire either of their owne prowesse or of his circumspectnes? The enemie that they had to doe with, was no such, but that they had tried what he was able to doe twise before: First in our fathers daies, whẽ the Cimbrians

and Dutchmen were vanquished by Marius in such sort that the whole armie deserued no lesse praise then the Graundcaptaine himselfe: And now of laite againe in Italy at the hurliburlie of the bondmen, who were not a little furthered through the practise and discipline which they had receiued at our hands. Whereby it might be iudged, how good a thing it is to be constant: in asmuch as whom for a time being naked they feared without cause, euen the same afterward being both armed and victours, they nobly ouercame. And to be short these were none other Germanes thã those, whõ the Heluetians had vanquished in diuers conflictes, not only wher ẏ Heluetians dwelt thẽselues, but also oftẽtimes euen at home at their owne doores, & yet ẏ same Heluetians were not able to make their part good against our armie. But if the late discomfiture and flight of the Galles were the matter that troubled any mans conscience, if they loked well vpon the matter, they should finde that Ariouistus after he had many monethes kept him selfe within his Camp, and in marisgrounds, and neuer come abroad into the field to offer battell, when the Galles were now weerie with long protracting of the war, & thought of nothing lesse then that they should haue had battel, set sodeinly vppon them being disordered, and ouercame them more by cautell and pollicie than by force. The which pollicie, though it had taken place against sauage and vnskilfull people, yet was not Ariouistus so foolish to loke that it should preuaile against our armie too. As for those that laid ẏ cause of their feare to the hard conueying of their victuals and the narownes of the waies, they toke more vppon them then became them, that they durst presume to teach their graundcapteine what he had to do, as if he had not knowen what pertained to his duty. And therefore he bad them cast the care thereof on him. The Sequanes, Lewks, & *Lingones should serue their turne of graine, and besides that corne was now ripe in the fields. Concerning their iournie, they themselues should in short time be able to iudge. Whereas it was reported to him that they

People about Langers.

they would not be obedient to his commaundement, nor auaunce their Standards, he saide he passed not of that matter. For he was well assured that if any army refused to be obedient to their Capteine, it was either because of his ill successe and mis fortune, or else because that by some manifest and notorious deede he was conuicted of auarice. That he had cleere hands, his whole lyfe, and that he had good successe, the war against the Heluetians dyd declare. And therfore that which he was mynded to haue driuen of a longer time, he would now put in execution out of hande. For the next night folowing, at the fourth watch he would dislodge from thence, to thintẽt that without further delay he might vnderstand whether shame and dutie wer able to doe more with them, or feare. And though he wist ẏ no man else would folow him, yet notwithstanding he would goe with ẏ tenth Legion alone, of which he doubted not, and would accept it for his chiefe band to gard his person. This Legion had Cæsar shewed speciall fauour vnto, and for the valiantnesse of it he trusted most vnto it. Upon the making of this Oration, the mindes of them all were wonderfully changed, and there grew in them a great cheerefulnesse and desire to fight. First of all, the tenth Legion by their Trybunes gaue him thankes for the good opinion he had of them, affirming that they were most readie to set forward to the warre. Then the rest of the Legions by their Tribunes & the Capteines of their chiefe bands, entreated that they might make their purgation vnto Cæsar: saying they neuer doubted, nor feared, no nor thought ẏ it perteined vnto them to determine of the ordering of the warre, but that it belonged altogether to their graund Capteine. Cæsar accepting their purgation, and hauing learned the way perfectly by Diuitiacus (because that of all ẏ Galles he trusted him best) to thintent he might leade his army more thẽ fiftie miles compasse in open feelds, set forward immediatly after the iiii. wath as he had sayde he would doe. The vii. daye, as he continued on his iourney still, his espialls brought him word, that we were within foure

foure & twenty miles of Ariouistus hoste. When Ariouistus knew that Cæsar was comming towards him, he sent Ambassadors to him, declaring that whereas heretofore he had demaunded to come to communication, he was contented so to doe seeing he was come somewhat neerer, & that he trusted he might now doe it without danger. Cæsar refused not the profer. For thinking he would now come to amendmẽt, considering he offered of his owne voluntary will, ỳ thing he had before demed when it was requested, he was in great hope that for the great benefits which he and the people of Rome had bestowed vpon him, he would vpon knowledge of his demandes desist from his stoubernnes. And therefore the fift day after was appointed for cõmunication. In ỳ meane while as Ambassadours were sent to & fro betweene them, Ariouistus demaunded that Cæsar should bring no footeman with him to communication, for he said he was afraid to be surprised of him by treason: wherefore both parties to come with their horsemen, otherwise he would not come there. Cæsar because he neither was willing that the communication should be broken for any by matter, nor yet durst put the French horsemen in truste with his lyfe, thought it most for his behofe to take all the Frenchmens horses from them, and to set vpon them the Legionarie souldiers of the tenth Legion which he trusted most vnto, that if he stode at any neede, he might haue a faithful band of his friends about him to gard him. The which thing when he had done, one of the souldiors of the tenth Legion being somewhat merely disposed said, that Cæsar did more thã he had promised, for whereas he had promised but to accept the tenth Legion in place of the pretorian Cohort, he had promoted them to be men of armes. There was a great plaine, & in the same a banke of earth of a good pretie bignesse. This place was almost midway betwene both the campes, & thether they came to communication as is aforesayd. The Legion that Cæsar hadde brought thether on horseback, he placed about a two hũdred paces from ỳ said banke. And likewise ỳ horsemen of Ariouistus

uistus stode a lyke distance of. Ariouistus requested that they might commune on horsebacke, and bring eche of them ten persons with them to the parly. At such time as they were come thether, Cæsar in the beginning of his Oration, rehersed the good turnes that Ariouistus had receiued by him and by the people of Rome: as that the Senate had vouchsaued to giue him the name and title of king, and to accompt him as their friend, & also had sent most honorable and rich presents vnto him, the which things he told him had happened vnto few others, and were not wont to be bestowed vpon any, but such as ỳ Romanes thought had highly deserued thẽ for some great good turne that they had done. But he, when as he had neither accesse vnto them, nor any iust cause why he should desire any such thing at their handes, had atteined these reiwards onely of the mere curtesie and liberalitie of him & the Senate. Moreouer he did him to vnderstand how auncient and how iust cause of aliance and friendship there were betweene them & the Heduanes: what decrees had bene made for them by the Senate, how oftentimes and how honorable: How the Heduanes had euer held the Souereinnetie of all Gallia, euen before such tyme as they desired our friendship: It was the custome of the people of Rome, that their friendes and alyes, should not onely lose any thing of their owne by them, but also be encreased in fauor, dignitie, & honor. Now to haue that thing wrong from thẽ by force which they had brought with them, whẽ they first entred in friendship with ỳ Romanes, who could suffer it? Afterward he made ỳ lyke demand as he had done by his Ambassadors: that he should not make war against the Heduanes or theyr Alyes, that he should surrender their hostages, ỳ if he could not send home againe any part of ỳ Germanes, at leastwise yet he should suffer no mo to passe the Rhyne.

Ariouistus aunswered little to the demaundes of Cæsar: but vaunted much of his owne prowesse. He saide he hadde passed the Rhyne, not of his owne head, but at the request and intreataunce of the Galles them selues:

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at whose pleasure he had left his owne coũtrie & kinred, not without great hope & pronise of reward for his labor: And now he had setled himselfe in Gallia, by their consent: they had giuen him hostages of their owne free will, and he toke such tribute of them as conquerors are wont to sesse their Subiects at by the law of Armes. He had not made war against ỳ Frenchmen, but the Frenchmen against him. For all the Cities of Gallia, were assembled to besege him, & had encamped themselues against him: all the which power he had in one battell ouerthrowne & vanquished. If they would trye the matter by the sword againe, he was readie to cope with thẽ. But if they had rather haue peace, they did wrong to withhold their tribute which they had paied vnto ỳ time with their good wills. As for the friendship of the people of Rome, he thought it ought to be an ornament and stay vnto him, and not an hinderance, and that he had requested it in hope to haue found it so. But if the people of Rome should seeke to release his tribute, & to pull away his vassalls that had submitted themselues to him, he was euen as willing to forsake their friendship as euer he was to request it. Wherras he brought ouer great nũbers of Germaines into France, he did it for to strengthen himselfe & not to anoy the countrie. Whereof there needeth none other witnesse than this, that he came not but at their owne request, and that he had made no warre vpon other but onely defended himselfe. He was come into Fraunce before the people of Rome, who vntill that time neuer led their host out of the borders of their owne Prouince. And what should they meane to come with in his iurisdiction? For as well was this part of Fraunce his prouince, as the other part was ours. And therefore as he were not to be borne withall if he should haue inuaded our marches, so did we him wrong to intermedle within his iurisdiction. And whereas Cæsar had saide that the Heduanes were proclaymed friends by the Senate, he made him answere he was not so barbarous, nor so vnskilful of things, but he knew well inough, that neither the Heduanes aided

the

the Romanes in their late war against the people of Sauoy & Daulphine, nor the Romanes them in their quarells ỳ they had with him and the Sequanes. Wherfore he had good cause to mistrust that Cæsar vnder ỳ couloar of feined friendship, kept ỳ army which he had in Fraunce for none other purpose, but to oppresse him. But if he gate him not away, and withdrew his power out of those countries, he would take him no lenger for his friend but for his enemie. And if he could kill him, he was sure he should doe a great pleasure to many of the noble men & Princes of Rome. The which thing he had perfect knowledge of by their messẽgers, of all whom he could purchase the good will and friendship by his death. But if he would depart, & leaue vnto him the free possession of France, he would reward him highly for his labour, and loke what warres soeuer he would haue made, he would dispach them without putting him to any trauel & daunger.

Cæsar replied many things to this purpose, why he might not desist from his enterprise: alledging ỳ it stode not with his custome nor with the custome of the people of Rome, to abandon their Alies that had wel deserued of them. Neither could he see, why Ariouistus should haue more right to challenge France than ỳ Romanes. For Q. Fabius Maximus had heretofore vanquished the men of Auuerne & the *Rutenes, and yet the people of Rome pitying them did neither make their country a prouince, nor put them to any tribute. But if so be that respect ought to be had to time of most antiquitie, thẽ had ỳ Romanes most iust cause to reigne ouer France. Or if the iudgement of the Senate ought to be obserued, then ought France to be free, for as much as it was decreed that being conquered by battell, it should still enioy their owne lawes and customes. While these things were a debating in the treatie, it was told Cæsar that Ariouistus horsemen were cõming toward the banke, and ỳ riding against our horsemen, they began to throw darts & stones at them. Wherepon Cæsar made an ende of his talking, and withdrew himselfe to his men: commanding them ỳ they should

* People about Rhode.

not

not cast any thing at all again at their enemies. For albeit that without any perill of his chosen Legion, he sawe he might haue encountred with the horsemen of his enemies: yet notwithstanding he would not geue occasion by putting his enemies to flight, to haue it saide that breaking promis with them he had entrapped them vnder pretence of communication. When it was reported to the common souldiers, how arrogantly Ariouistus had behaued himself in the treatie, forbidding the Romanes all Fraunce, & that his men of armes had made assault vpon ours, insomuch ý by meanes thereof the communication was broken of, our army began to be far more cheerefull and farre more desirous to fight. Two daies after, Ariouistus sent Ambassadours to Cæsar, certifying him that he was desirous to entreate with him concerning those things that had bene begon to be talked of & not brought to conclusion. Wherefore he would he should either appoint a day to confer again: or if he would not so doe, that he should send some men of his with commission to commune with him. Cæsar thought it not good to commune personally with him any more, the rather because the Germanes the day before had no stay of themselues, but that they threw darts at our men. Again he thought that whomsoeuer of his men he sent commissioner vnto him, should go in great daunger, and should be cast into the hands of most sauage persons. It seemed most expedient to send vnto him M. Valerius Procillus, (ý sonne of C. Valerius Caburus, a yong gentilman of singular vertue and humanitie, whose father had bene made free of the Citie by C. Valerius Flaccus) both because he was trusty, & could speake the French tongue perfectly (the which Ariouistus vsed much, by reason of long cõuersatiõ among the Frenchmen,) and also because ther was no cause why the Germanes should worke any euill against him. And with him he sent also M. Titius who vsed to resort as a guest to Ariouistus. To these men he gaue in charge ý they should diligẽtly mark and iustly report vnto him what Ariouistus said. Assone as Ariouistus saw them in his camp, he

he cryed out to them in ý presence of his army, asking them what they had to doe there, & whether they came as spies. When they wẽt about to make their answer, he would not suffer them, but by and by committed them to ward. The same day he remoued & encamped vnder a hills side about a six miles from Cæsars camp. The next day after, he marched with all his power euen in ý face of Cæsars camp, & pitched his tents a two myles beyond him, of purpose to cut of his graine & victuals ý was to be brought to him out of Burgundy. From that day forward by the space of v. daies together, Cæsar brought out his men before his camp & had thẽ in order of battel, to thintent ý if Ariouistus listed to giue battel he might haue libertie whẽ he wold. But Ariouistus all this while kept his footmen within ý camp, & sent out his horsemen dayly to skirmish. This was ý kinde of fight wherin ý Germanes were wel practised. They were of thẽ vi. M. men of armes, & as many footmen very swift of foot and strong, whom ý horsemen had chosen out of all ý whole host, euery man one for his safegard. These they had alwaies at hand with thẽ in battel, & vnto these they resorted for succour. If ý horsemen wer any thing ouercharged, these stept euer in. If any of thẽ were sore wounded or vnhorsed, these garded him about. If ý matter required either to aduenture far forwarde, or to retire quickly backe, their swiftnes was such through cõtinual exercise, ý hanging vpon ý horse manes by thone hand, they would run as fast as ý horses. Whẽ Cæsar perceiued that Ariouistus kept him selfe within his camp, to thintent he would not any lengar be stopped from his victualls, beyond ý same place where the Germanes abode, about six hundred paces from their Camp, he chose a ground meete to encamp in, & came thether in three battells. Two of these battells he caused to stand still redy in aray, and the third he willed to fortifie the camp.

This place was (as I sayde before) six hundren paces from ý enemie. Thether sent Ariouistus about sixtene thousand footemen light harnessed, with all his horsemen, to put

 our

our men in feare, and to prohibit them from fortifyng their Campe. Neuertheleſſe, Cæſar (as he had before determined) commaunded two battells to withſtand the enemie, and the third to goe through with the worke. When he had fortified the campe, he left two Legions there, and part of his hired ſouldiors that were ther for his aide: and led his other foure legions back again into his greater campe. The next day Cæſar (as he had purpoſed before) brought his whole power out of both his Camps, and marching ſomewhat from his greater camp, ſet his men in order and profered to geue his enemies battell if they would. When he perceiued that they would not then come forth neither, about noone he cõueied his army into their camps againe. Then at the length Ariouiſtus ſent part of his power to aſſault ý leſſer camp. The encounter cõtinued very ſharp on both ſides vntill the euentyde. At the Sunne ſetting, after many wounds geuen and taken, Ariouiſtus conueyed his armie again into his camp. As Cæſar made enquirie of his priſoners what ſhould be ý cauſe ý Ariouiſtus would not encounter with him in a pitched field, he found that the occaſion therof was this: becauſe it was a cuſtome among the Germanes, that their auncient women ſhould by caſting of lots and ſoothſaying declare whether it were for their behoſe to fight or no: and ý they ſayd, the Germanes might not by any meanes poſſible get ý victory, if they fought before ý new Moone. The next day Cæſar left a ſufficient power in eche of his camps to defend thẽ, and ſet all his light armed ſouldiors in the face of his enemies before his leſſer camp, becauſe he had a ſmal number of Legionary ſouldiors in reſpect of the multitude of his enemies, to thintent to vſe ý light armed ſouldiers for a ſhow. He himſelfe with his men ordred in three battells marched to the camp of his enemies. Then were the Germanes conſtreined of neceſſitie to bring their power out of their camp. And ſo they ſet ſeuerally with lyke diſtance betweene them, the *Harudes, the *Marcomannes, the Triboks, the *Vangions the *Nemets, the Seduſianes, and the *Sweuians, euery one by them

The people of Cõſtãce.
*People about

them ſelues: and becauſe there ſhould be no hope left in rũning away, they enuironed all their whole battel with their carts and chariots. In them they placed their women, and they at ſuch time as the ſouldiers ſhould go forth to battel, holding vp their hands and weeping beſought thẽ that they would not yeld them in bondage to the Romanes. Cæſar aſſigned to euery Legion ſeuerally a Lieuetenant & a Threaſoror, to thentent they ſhould be as witneſſes of euery mans valiãt behauior. And he himſelfe gaue charge vpon his enemies out of ý right wing, becauſe he perceiued his enemies to be weakeſt on that ſide. So aſſone as ſigne of battel was geuen, our men ſet couragiouſly vpon their enemies. And on thother ſide our enemies on the ſodeine came forth againſt vs with ſuch celeritie, that we had no leiſure to diſcharge our darts at them: In ſo much that caſting aſide darts the matter came to hand ſtrokes with naked ſwords. But the Germanes quickly knitting themſelues cloſe together, brake the force of our ſwords. Neuertheleſſe there were very many of our men to be found, that flew ſtoutlie vpon them, and pulling their tergats out of their hands woũded them aloft. Now while the battel of our enemies was on the left wing driuen back and put to flight, in their right wing by reaſon of their multitude they did ſore ouercharge vs. Which thing when P. Craſſus a noble yong gentilman Lieuetenant of the men of armes perceiued, (becauſe he was ſomewhat more at libertie than they that were in the battell,) he ſent the rereward to the reſcue of our men that were in perill. By meanes whereof the fight was renewed, & all our enemies toke them to flight. And they neuer ceaſed flying, before they came to ý Rhine which was about flue miles frõ the place wher ý field was fought. There alſo few of them either truſting to their ſtrength aſſaied to ſwim ouer, or elſe finding Botes ſaued thẽſelues by rowing: among ý which number Ariouiſtus was one, who finding a Lighter tyed to ý banke, fled away in it. Our horſemen ouertoke all the reſt & ſlew thẽ downe right. Ariouiſtus had two wiues, thone a Sweuian

bout Strauſ brough.
*People about worms
* People about Spire.
*People about Sion in Valoys.

borne

borne whom he had brought from home with him, thother of Norimberge the sister of king Voccio, whom he had maried in Fraunce, sent thether by her brother: both the which perished in that chase. The two daughters of them also was one of them slaine, and thother taken prisoner. Marcus Valerius Procillus as he was led away by his kepers boūd with thrée cheines, chaunsed to light into Cæsars hand as he pursued the horsemen of his enemies. The which thing was no lesse ioy to Cæsar than the victory it selfe: that one of the honorablest menne of all the Prouince of Gallia his familiar friend, in whose house he had soiourned, was deliuered out of his enemies hands and recouered againe by him, and ý misfortune had not layd any such calamitie vpon him as might haue abridged any part of Cæsars great gladnesse & reioycement. He told Cæsar that thrée times lottes were cast vpon him before his eyes, whether he shold be burned out of hānd, or reserued vntill an other time: and that it was his good luck to be saued by lotte.

Marcus Titius also was found and brought vnto him againe. When ý brute of this discomfiture was blowen ouer the Rhine, the Sweuians that were come to the Riuer side began to returne home againe: whome amazed for feare, the Vbians which are inhabiters on the Rhyne pursuing slew a great number of them. Cæsar hauing in one Sommer dispatched two great warres, conueyed his army into garrisons among the Sequanes somewhat sooner than the tyme of the yeere required, and leauing Labienus for generall in his absence, he himselfe went into Lumbardy to holde a parlament there.

FINIS.

THE

DVring the time ý Cæsar wintred in Lumbardie as we haue shewed before, it was oftentimes reported to him by heare say, and he was also certified by letters from Labienus, that all the Belgies (which we haue declared to be the third part of Gallia) dyd confederate themselues against the people of Rome, & giue hostages among themselues. The causes of their confederacie were these. First, they feared least after that all the rest of Gallia were subdued, our army should come against them. Secondly, because they were moued therevnto by diuers of the Galles, who partly like as they were loth that the Germanes should haue taried any lenger in their coūtry, so likewise it greeued them that the Romane army should winter & continue in Fraunce: and partly were such as through vnconstācie and lightnesse of minde, desired thalteration of the state: Of diuers also, who (whereas now it was a common trade through all Fraunce, that whosoeuer was of most power & most abilitie to hire men, made himself a king) thought they should not so easly come by their purpose if we gate ý souereinty. Cæsar being moued with these tidings & letters, leuied two new Legiōs in Lūbardy, & in ý beginning of sommer sent his lieuetenāt Q. Pedius with thē to cōduct thē into France. And assone as there began to be any store of forrage in ý fields, he himself came vnto his armie. He gaue in charge to the Seuones & the rest of ý Galles ý were borderers vpon ý Belgies, to learne what was done amongst thē, & to certify him therof. They al agréed in one report, ý ther was nothing but muttering of souldiors & assēbling of their powers into one place. Thē thought he verily it was not for him to make any more staying in ý matter but euen to march against thē. So whē he had made prouisiō of corn, he dislodged his camp, & within xv. daies or therabouts, came into ý borders of ý Belgies.