he had sent for, layd so narrow watch for ý keeping of al his men within ý Camp, ý the matter could not by any means be borne a brode or be bewrayed to ý Treuires. In ý meane seaso Induciomarus according to his dayly custome, resorted to ý camp, & ther spent a great part of ý day. His horsemen threw their darts, & with most spightfull words prouoked our men to come forth to fight with them. When they saw that our men gaue thē none aunswer, at their pleasure about ý euening, they brake their aray, & departed without order. Thē Labienus sending out sodenly all his horsemen at two gates, gaue them cōmaundement & expressely charged them, ý when their enemies were discomfited & put to flight, (the which he foresaw would come to passe as it did in deed) they should all set vpon Induciomarus, & that they should not hurt any other man, before they sawe him deade, because he would not ý he should haue leysure to escape while they wer occupyed about thothers. He promised great rewards to thē that slew him, & he sent his footemen after, to ý ayd & succor of his horsemen. Fortune fauored ý deuise of the man. For in as much as all made assault vpon him alone, Induciomarus was taken tardie euen in ý forde of the riuer, & their slaine, & his head caried into our camp. The horsemen in their retire, slew as many as they could come by. When this thing was once knowen, all ý hoastes of the Eburones & Neruians that were assembled together, departed, & so by this meanes for a while after, Cæsar had all Gallia in better quietnesse.

¶ THE SYXTH BOOKE
of C. Iulius Cæsars Commentaries of his warres in Gallia.

CEASER for many consideratiōs lookeing for a great broile in Gallia, determined to make musters by his Lieuetenants M. Sillanus C. Antistius of Rhegium, and T. Cestius.

T. Sestius. Moreouer he requested of Cn. Pompius the Proconsull, ý for asmuch as he abode with authoritie about the Citie for defence of the common weale, he should commaūd to repaire to the standerdes, & to come vnto him, all such as being bound by othe to ý Consul, he had leuied in Gallia Cisalpina. For he though it should be greatly auaileable hereafter to make all Gallia stand in awe, if it might appeare to them ý Italy was of such power & ability, as ý it could not onely repaire & amend in short space any losse receiued by ý warres, but also make it selfe stronger than it was before. The which thing when Pompye both for ý common weales sake, & for friendships sake, had graunted vnto, hauing speedely made muster by his Capteines, & not onely raised but also conueyed thether as he was, three Legions before winter was done, & also hauing doubled the number of those Cohortes ý he had lost with Q. Titurius, through his celerity & power, he gaue to vnderstād what the discipline & riches of the Romanes were able to do.

After that Induciomarus was slaine (as I tould you before,) the Treuires committed the souereinty to his next kinsmen, who ceased not to sollicit their neighbors the Germanes, and to promise them money. When they could not obtaine their purpose of their neighbours, they sought to them that were further of. At ý last hauing found some Cities plyable to their desire, they bound them one to another by othe, and wrought sure with hostages & mony. They entred society & aliance with Ambiorix. The which things when Cæsar understode, & sawe moreouer that on all sides warre was rered against him: that the Neruians, Aduaticks & Menapians, with thassistance of all the Germanes on this side ý Rhine were in armes: that the Senones came not at his commaundement, but toke counsell with the Caruntes and other borderers against him: and that the Treuires with often Ambassades went about to rayse the Garmaines: hee thought it stood him in hand to laye for the warres betimes. And therfore ere winter was fully spēt, he brought together 4

Legions that were nearest to him, and sodeinly inuaded the borders of the Neruians, & there before they could either assemble to resist him, or fly to saue themselus, hauing taken a great boty of men & cattell, the which he gaue to his souldyers for a pray, & wasted their fields, he compelled them to submit themselues to him, & to giue him hostages. Hauing quickly thus dispatched this busines, he conueyed his Legiõs againe into their wintering places. In the beginning of the spring sommoning a counsel of all Gallia, whẽ as all thother came, sauing the Senones, Caruntes, & Treuires: coniecturing this to be a beginning of war and rebellion, to thintent he might sæme to set all other things a part, he adiourned the parliamẽt to Lutetia of ỳ Parisiãs: They wer nert neighbors to the Senones. & had priuileged ech other in their cities within mans remembrance: but it was thought they were no partakers of this counsell. This matter being openly pronounced from the bench, he went ỳ same day with his Legions against the Senones, & by great iorneys came thether. Acco Prince of the cõtrary faction hauing knowledge of his comming, commaunded the common people to get them into the Townes. As they were about to doe so, before they could dispatch, tidings came that the Romanes wer at hand, by meanes whereof constrained of necessity to cease from their enterprise, they sent messengers to Cæsar to entreat with him. They made their accesse vnto him by ỳ Heduães, whose countrie had continued faithfull from of olde time, Cæsar at the suit of the Heduanes was ỳ willinger to beare with thẽ, & accepted their excuse, for as much as he thought that the sommer time was rather to be employed about ỳ war that was at hand, thẽ about examination of matters. And so he commaunded thẽ to giue him an hundred hostages, the which he deliuered to the Heduanes to be kept.

Thether also the Caruntes sent Ambassadors and hostages, vsing for their intercessors the men of Rhemes, vnto whome they were as it were reteyners, and they receiued like aunt were. Cæsar holdeth out his parlament stil, and

and commaundeth the cities to finde him horsemen. Hauing thus pacified this part of Gallia, he applyed himselfe wholy with thought and minde to the warres of the Treuires and of Ambiorix. He commaunded Cauarine to accompany him with the horsemen of the Senones, least there should ryse any vprore in ỳ country, either through his vrefulnesse, or for malice that they bare against him. When he had set these matters at a stay, forasmuch as he knew certainly that Ambiorix would not encounter with him in battell, he forecast in his minde how he might come to the knowledge of all his other deuises. There were the Menapians bordering vpon the Eburones seated in with continuall fennes and woods round about them, who onely of all ỳ people of Gallia, had neuer sent ambassadors to Cæsar to entreat for peace, & he was sure that Ambiorix soiorned amongst thẽ. Also he had vnderstanding, that by meanes of the Treuires, he had entred in league with the Germanes. He thought it meete to disappoint him of these helpes, ere he assauled him by battell: least either being brought to vtter dispayre, hee might hide himselfe among the Menapians, or otherwise hee himselfe be compelled to fight with thinhabiters on ỳ further side of the Rhine. When he had determined vpon this deuise, he sent all the baggage of his armie to Labienus among the Treuires, and bade two Legions goe thether to him. Himselfe with fiue Legions hauing nothing to comber them, let forward against the Menapians. They hauing not raised any power because they trusted in the strenght of the place, they fled into the woods and Marysses, & conueyed all their goods thether. Cæsar deuiding his army with C. Fabius his Lieuetenaunt, & Ma. Crassus his Threasorer, and quickly making bridges, assayled them on thræ parts at once, and setting their houses and villages a fire, gate a great boty of men & cattell. By meanes whereof the Menapians were enforced to send Ambassadors vnto him to entreat for peace. Receiuing their hostages, he threatned to take them for his enemies, if they receiued either Ambiorix, or his Ambassadors

sadors within their borders. When he had set these things at a stay, he left Cotta of Arras with a troope of horsemen, as a Warden among the Menapians, and himselfe went against the Treuires. While Cæsar was doing these things, the Treuires hauing assembled a great host of horsemen and footemen, were about to set vpon Labienus who with one Legion had wintred in their borders. And now they were not past a two daies iorney from him, when they vnderstood that two Legions nio sent thether by Cæsar, were come vnto him. Wherefore encamping themselues about xv. miles of, they determined to tary for the ayd of the Germanes. Labienus hauing knowledge what his enemies purposed to dore, & hoping that through their rashnesse some occasiõ of battell would be giuen, left fiue Cohorts to defend the stuffe, and setting forth toward his enemie with xxv. Cohorts and a great power of horsemen, encamped himselfe within a mile of him. There was betweene Labienus and his enemies a riuer with steepe banckes, hard to be passed. This riuer he neither purposed to passe himselfe, neither thought he that his enemies would passe it. Euery day they were in greater hope than other of ayde. Labienus said in an open assembly, that forasmuch as it was reported that the Germanes wer neere at hand, he would not put both his owne goods and the goods of his army in hazard, and therefore would ý next morning by breake of ý day dislodge his camp. These things were sone reported to the enemie, as it is commonly seene that among so many Gallian horsemen as he had, nature compelleth some of them to beare fauor to their country affaires. Labienus in the nigh time calling to him the Tribunes & chiefe officers of his camp, declared vnto them what he minded to doe. And to thintent the easier to bleare his enemies eyes with suspicion of fearefulnesse, he bad that they should remoue with more noise & hurlyburly, than the custome of the Romanes was to doe. By this meanes, he made his remouing seeme like a running away. These things also as it happeneth where two armies encamp sone euen together

ther) were by spies before daylight caried to the enemy. The rereward was scars out of the camp, but that the Galles encouraged one another, not to let their hoped pray slyp out of their hands: In almuch as it would be to long to waite, lingaring for ý ayd of the Germanes sith the Romanes wer in such a feare, & it stood not with their honor to be so cowardly, that with so great a power as they had, they should be afrayed to assayle so smal a handfull, specially being troubled & flying away: boldly passed ouer the riuer, & in a place of disaduantage gaue vs battell. Labienus mistrusting as much before, to thentent to toll them all ouer the riuer, kept on his way softly with like pretence of feare as he had vsed before. At length sending the stuffe & cariages somewhat before, & setting them vpon a litteli hill, ye haue (quod he) my souldiers, the occasion ý ye wished for. Ye hold your enemy in a place vnhandsome & of disaduantage. Now let vs peticapteines see like valiantnes in you, as you haue oftentimes shewed before your Graundcapteine: thinke ý he were now here, and presently beheld your doings with his eyes. With these wordes he commaunded the standerd to be turned towarde the enemy, & the battels to be aduanced. And sending a few horsemen away for the defence of the Cariages, he placed the rest on his sides of the battels. Our men raising a great shout, quicklie discharged their darts at their enemies. When contrary to their expectacion, our enemies saw vs whom they beleeued to haue beene fled, returne vpon thẽ with force of armes, they were not able to abide so much as the onset, but at the first meeting taking themselues to their heeles, fled to the next woodes: whome Labienus pursewing with his horsemen, slew of them a great number, and toke many mo, and within few days after resouered the Citie. For the Germanes that were comming to their ayde, heeryng of ý discomfiture of the Treuires, retired home againe. The kinsfolke also of Induciomarus who were thauthors of this rebellion, departed out of the Citie, & accompanied the Germanes. And so the soueraintу and rule of the countrie,

was betaken to Cingetorix, who (as we haue declared) continued alwaies faithfull from the beginning. After that Cæsar was come from the Menapians among the Treuires, he determined for two causes to passe the Rhine: of the which one was because they had sent ayd to ỳ Treuires against him: thother was to thentent that Ambiorix should not haue any recourse vnto thẽ. These matters being determined vpon, he purposed to make a bridge a littell aboue the same place, where he had passed his army before. Whẽ the manner how he would haue it done was once knowen and the thing set in hand with, his souldiers plied the worke so earnestly, ỳ it was finished within few days after. Thẽ leaving a strong garrison among the Treuires for the defence of the bridge, least they should make any assault vpon the sodeine, he passed ouer the rest of his army both horsemen & footemẽ. The Vbians who before had giuen him hostages, & submitted thẽselues vnto him, sent Ambassadors vnto him to make their purgacion, declaryng that they had neither sent any ayd out of their Citie to the Treuires, nor broken their allegeance in any point: requesting and beseching him to spare them, and that for the hatred of the Germanes in generall he would not punish them being innocents, as if they had bẽne offenders. If it were his pleasure to demaund any mo hostages, they were ready to deliuer them. When Cæsar had examined the matter, he found that the ayde was sent by ỳ Sweuians. Whereupon when he had receiued their satisfaction, he enquired of the passages and waies into Sweuia. In the meane time within few days after, the Vbians aduertised him that all the Sweuians had assembled their power together into one place, and that they had sent commaundement to all nations that were vnder their dominion, to send them ayde of horsemen and footemen. When he knew this, he prouided for graine, and chose a place mẽte to encamp in. He commaunded the Vbians to withdrawe their cattel out of the fieldes, & to conuey all that they had into the townes, hpoing that those barbarous & vnskilfull people, constrayned

ned for want of victualls might be brought to fight to their owne hindraunce and vndoing. Moreouer he willed them to send often spyes into Sweuia, and to learne what was done there among them. They fulfilled his commaundement, and within a fewe dayes after, brought him worde that all the Sweuians, after the time they had certaine vnderstanding of the approch of the Romaine army, had withdrawen thẽselues with all the power which they had leuyed among their confederates, to the furthest part of all their country: In the which place was a wood of exceeding greatnesse called * Bacenis, the which ran a great way inward, and beeing cast of nature as a wall betweene them, kept ỳ Cherusciens from doing wrong or inuading the Sweuians, and likewise the Sweuians from doing wrong or inuading ỳ Cherusciens: at the entrance of the which wood, the Sweuians determined to abyde the comming of the Romanes. Now forasmuch as I am come to this place, I think it not amisse to entreat of the facions of Gallia & Germany, & to shew how those Nations differ one from another. In Gallia, not onely in all Cities, & in all villages, & all quarters, but also almost in euerie house are factions. And the heades of these factions are they, whome they estẽme worthyest to haue it: at whose arbitrement and determination, their matters of greatest weight & importaunce, as well in counsel as otherwise, are disposed. And this matter seemeth to be so ordeined of olde time for this consideration, that none of the communaltie should want helpe against his superiour. For no man will suffer that such as perteine to him, shold be oppressed or deluded by falsehod, if he should otherwise do, he were like to beare no sway among them. To be short this is the maner of all Gallia. For all the cities are deuided into two parts. When Cæsar came first into Gallia, the Heduanes were the ringleaders of thone faction, & the Sequanes of thother. The Sequanes being but weake of thẽselues, because that of olde time the chief authority belonged to the Heduanes, & many reteiners hung vpon their sleeue, alied vnto thẽ Ariouistus

* Now called Swartswald.

and the Germanes, whome to their great losse, with large promises they allured vnto them. Now when they had fought many battells luckely, and slaine all the Nobilitie of the Heduanes, they surmounted so much in power, that they withdrew to thē many that were alyed to the Heduanes, & toke their Noble mens sonnes in hostage, & compelled them to sweare openly that they should take no counsell against the Sequanes, & held in possession part of the marches which they had taken wrongfully, and finally obtayned the souerenty of all Gallia. Through which necessity Diuiciacus being driuen to sēke pelpe, and comming to Rome to ý Senate for the same intent, returned home without spēding of his purpose. But at the comming of Cæsar when thinges were altered, the Heduanes had their hostages redeliuered, their olde alies and confederates restored, new brought in by Cæsar, (because that they which had enclined to their friendship saw themselues to bē in better case, & more vprightly dealt withall,) & their estate enlarged in all other things w̄ fauor and dignity, so that the Sequanes were faine to disburden themselues altogether of the Souereintie. In their place succeded the men of Rhems: whom forasmuch as it was perceiued to be as farre in fauor with Cæsar as any other; they which by reason of olde grudge, could by no meanes agre with the Heduanes, yēlded themselues into the tuicion of the men of Rhemes, and they very earnestly defended them, thereby establishing their new and sodenly gotten souereintie. The case stood so at that time, that the Heduanes helde the chiefe place, & the Rhemeans held the next place of dignity vnto them. In all Gallia there be two sortes of men, that are made any accompt of or had in any estimation. For the comunalty is kept vnder in maner like slaues, and of themselues they dare doe nothing, neither are they taken to counsell in any matter. Many of them when they be either oppressed with debt, or with the vnreasonablenesse of taxes and tallages, or with wrongs done by those that are mightier than they, doe yēlde themselues in bondage to the Noblemen.

blemen. And they may lawfully deale with thē in all points, as with their slaues. But of the foresayd two sorts, thone are Druides, & thother are Knights. The Druides are occupyed about holy things: they haue the doing of publicke and priuate sacrafices, and do interprete & discusse matters of Religion. Vnto them do resort great numbers of young men to learne at their hands, and they be had in great reuerence. For they determine almost of all controuersies and matters in variance, as well publyque as pryuate. And if there happen any thing to be done amysse, if there be any murder committed, if there ryse any controuersie concerning inheritaunce or boundes of landes, they take the matter vnto their hands, & awarde either recompence or penalties in the case. And if there be any be he priuate person or be it corporation, that will not stand to their iudgemēt, they interdite him, which punishment among them is counted most grieuous. They ý are so interdited, are accompted in the number of wicked and vngratious folke: All men shonne them, all men eschew their company and communication: least by communicating with them, they should defyle themselues & receiue any harme by thē: if they demaund law, they may not haue it: neither may they enioy any honor. Ouer all these Druides there is one Primate, which hath chiefe authoryte ouer thē. When he is dead, if ther be any of the rest that excelleth in worthinesse, he succēdeth. Or if there be many equall, he is chosen by voyces of the rest of ý Druides. And diuers times they striue for the souereinty by force of armes. These men at a certeine time of the yēre, in the borders of the Carnutes (whose coūtry is coūted the middel of all Gallia,) do sit together in a place hallowed, wher vnto resort frō all places, al such as haue any cōtrouersies: & loke what is decrēd & iudged by thē, ý they stand to. This order of discipline is thought to haue had beginning in Britain, & frō thēce to haue ben brought into Gallia. And at this day, they ý are desirous to know the thing more exactly, do cōmonly repaire thether to learne it. The Druides customably are exempted from the warres. Dreuds.

Neither

Neither do they pay tares & tallages with other folke: for they are priuileged from the wars, & are free from all other burthens. Allured with so great rewards, many euen of their owne accord do regester themselues in the order, and diuers are sent thether by their parentes and kinsfolke. Ther they are reported to learne a great number of Verses by hart. Wherefore it commeth to passe, that diuers contynew .xx. yeares in learning. Neither do they thinke it lawfull to put them in writing, whereas in all other thinges, for their accompts, as well publique as priuate, they vse the Greeke letters. This order they seeme (in mine opinion) to haue takē for two considerations. Partly because they will not have their discipline published among the cōmon people, & partly because they will not ỳ they which shall learne, trusting to much to their bookes, should haue the lesse regard of remembrance: for as much as it happeneth welneere to most men, that vpon trust of the helpe of their booke, they are slacker in learning things by hart, and lesse paine to beare them in minde. This is one of ỳ chiefest things that they labor most to beate into mens heads, ỳ the soules die not, but do after death passe from one to another: & here by they thinke men should be most stirred vnto vertue, when the feare of death is not accompted vpon. Also they dispute many other things: as of ỳ starres & of their moving: of the bignes of the world & the earth: of ỳ nature of thinges: of the strength & power of the Goddes immortall: & do teach them to powghty.

The other sort is of knighthod. These when neede is, and when any warre chaunceth, (which beefore the comming of Cæsar chaunced almost euery yeere, eyther vppon occasion of wrong done by them vnto other, or to withstand other that would doe them wrong) they giue themselues all to feates of armes, and among them as any man is of greatest birth and abilitie, so hath he about him most seruaunts & reteyners. And this is the onely grace & power that they know. All the whole Nation of the Galles is very fore addicted to Religion: and therefore they that are diseased with greeuous maladies, and they that are in perill or in battell, doe either offer or vowe to offer men in sacrifice, and do vse the Druides as ministers in such kinde of sacryfices: because they think that onelesse one mans life be payde for the life of an other, ỳ wrath of ỳ Gods immortal cannot be appeased. And of these kinds of sacryfices, they haue certaine solemne rites to be vsed openly. Other some make vnmeasurable huge images: whose bodies being hollow and made of wicker, they stuffe with quicke men, & setting the images on fier, doe smoder the men within them with the flame which enuironeth them on all sides. They thinke that ỳ punishmēt of such as are takē in stealing or robbing, or in any other fault, is more acceptable to the Goddes immortal, how be it when store of such kind of people fayleth, they fall to the punishment of such as are giltles. Of all Gods they worship chiefly Mercury: and of him there be many images. They report him to be ỳ finder out of all artes: they report him to be ỳ guide of wayfairing mē: him they beleue to haue most power to the gayning of mony & in merchandise. Next him they honor Apollo, and Mars, & Iupiter, and Minerua. Of these they haue in maner the same opinion, that other Nations haue: that is to say: That Apollo driueth away diseases: that Minerua traineth folke in the principles of workes and handicrafts: that Iubiter holdeth ỳ souereinty of heauē: that Mars hath the charge of wars. Vnto Mars, at such time as they are toward fighting a fielde, for the most part they vow such things as they shall take in ỳ battell: those things that they take aliue, they offer in sacryfice: all the rest of their things they bryng together into one place. In many Cities are to be seene great stackes of such things pyled vp in hallowed places: and it seldome or neuer chaunceth, that any man is so irreligious ỳ he dareth eyther hid any thing that is so taken, or pilfer any thing away that is so pyled: and a most greeuous punishment with extreme torments is appointed for the offence. The Galles report them selues to be all issued from Dis the father of hell, and they saye that

that the Druides do so tell them. And for that cause they determine the space of all times, not by the number of dayes but of nights: & they obserue their birth days & the beginnings of monethes & yeares in such wise, ý the day euer followeth after the night. In their other trades of liuing, they differ from others in this point, that they suffer not their sons to come in their presence openly, vntil such time as being men growen, they be able to supply the roumes of souldiers: & they count it a shame, that the son as long as he is a boy, should be séene abrode in his fathers company. Loke how much mony ý mẽ do receiue w̃ their wiues in name of their dowry, they make an estimate of their owne goods and lay so much vn valew therevnto: all the which is occupyed together in one stocke, and thencrese thereof is reserued, and which of them soeuer ouerliueth other, the stock with thencrease of the former yeares, falleth to the Suruiuor. The men haue ouer their wiues like as ouer their children, authority of life and death. And when a householder of any noble linage deceaseth, his kinsemen come together, & as touching his death (if there be any suspicion of the matter) haue his wiues in examination as if they wer slaues. And if they finde them culpable, they put them to death with fire, and al kinde of torments that can be deuised. Their burying after the maner of the Galles is honorable and sumptuous. All things that they thinke the party delighted in when he was aliue, they throw into the fier with him, euen liuing things and all. And a littell before the time of our remembrance, it was the custome that when the funerals were fully accõplished, the slaues and reteyners whome they set most by, were also burned with them. Such Cities as are estéemed to gouerne their common weales best, haue enacted by law, that if any man vnderstand ought by the borderers concerning the common weale by fame or vncertaine report, he shall declare it to the Magistrate, & in any wise not make any other body priuy vnto it: because it is wel knowẽ, ý rasly felowes and such as haue no skill, are made afrayd with false

false rumors, & stirred to mischiefe, & take vpon them to cõsult of the matters of greatest weight. The Magistrates kæpe secret such things as they thinke good, & shew vnto the people such thinges as they déeme mæte for them to know. It is not lawfull to talke of the common weale, but in the way of counsel. The Germanes doe much dyffer from this custome. For they neither haue Druides to beare authority in diuine matters, nor yet passe vpon sacryficing. They accompt them for gods, whom they behold, & by whose meanes they are manyfestly helped, that is to wæte, the Sunne, the fire & the Mone: as for the rest, they neuer somuch as once heard of them. All their whole life consisteth in hunting, and in the practise of feates of armes. From their childhod they giue themselues to labor & hardnesse. Those that continue longest without company of women, receiue greatest commendatiõ among them. For hereby they thinke that the stature & power is nourished, & the sinewes strengthned. They count it one of the greatest shames that may be, to haue to do with a woman before the age of xx. yéares. The which cã by no meanes be hidden, because they both wash themselues indifferẽtly men & women together in the running waters, & also do weare hides or littel short garments scars able to couer any part of their bodies. They giue not themselus to tillage: but the chiefest part of their diet, consisteth in white meate & flesh. There is not any man that hath any certain quantity of ground, or any boundes of his owne. But the Magistrates & Princes from yære to yære, assigne to companies and kinredes of folke which haue kæpt together, so much land as they shall thinke sufficient, in what place it pleaseth them, and compel them the net yére after, to remoue some other where, and they alledge many reasons for their so doing. First, least allured with cõtinuall custome of tarying in one place, they should withdrawe their minds from war & set them vpon husbandry. Secondly, least they shold couet to get much land into their hands, & the welthyer sort driue the poorer out of their possessions.

Thirdly

Thirdly, that they should not be ouer curious in their buildings, for thauoidance of cold & heat. Fourthly, that there should not grow any couetousnes of money, frõ whence are wont to spring partakings & debates. And finally, to thintẽt to kẽpe the common people from grudge & hartburning, when euerie man seeth that he may be as rich as the richest. It is the greatest praise to a Citie, to haue their borders a great way of wasted, in such sort that it may seeme like a wildernesse. This they thinke a point of prowesse, to compell their neighbors perforce to forsake their grounds, in such wise that no man dare inhabit nẽere them. Besides that they deeme themselues to be the more in saufty, all feare of sodein inuasion being taken away. When a Citie either defendeth or inuadeth, there be officers chosen for the warre, who haue authority of life and death. In the time of peace there is no common Maiestrate: but the Lordes of euerie shire and towne, do minister law among their tenantes, & determine controuersies. It is counted no shame to rob, so it be without the bounds of euerie Citie, for they hold opinion it is a good exercise, to kẽpe their youth from slouthfulnesse. And at such time as any nobleman in open counsell profering himselfe to be a captein, willeth them to shew thẽselues that are willing to follow him, by and by rise vp such as like the man and the quarell, & promise him their helpe: and they are much commended of the people for their labour. If any of them be not as good as their word, they are esteemed euer after for cowardes and traitors, and they are discredited in all respectes as long as they liue. They think it not lawfull to hurt a straunger. Who so resorteth vnto them, for what occasion so euer it be, they defend them from wrong, & esteme thẽ as holy. For euery mans house is open to them, and they may take meate and drinke at their pleasure. It was so in time past, ý the Galles surmounted the Germanes in prowes, & made warre vpon thẽ at their pleasure: & for thabundaunce of their people, for whom ther was not land inough to maintaine thẽ at home, sent inhabiters on

on the further side of the Rhine: Insomuch that the most pientifull places of all Germany about the wood* Hercinia, (the which I see was knowen by fame to Eratosthenes and certaine Greekes, who call it Orcinia) the* Volces Tectosages, toke, and there planted themselues. The which Nacion at this present holdeth still the same habitation, and is greatly renowmed for iustice & chiualry: & euen now they continue in the selfe same pouertie, scarcety, & patience that the Germanes doe, and vse the like fare and apparell that they do. The nerenesse of our Prouince, and the experience of trauiling in straunge countries beyond the sea, hath helped the Galles with many things to their enriching & cõmodity. By littel and littell being enured to yelde, and being vanquished in many battels, they themselues will not make cõparison with them in prowesse. This forest of Hercinia before mentioned, is as much in bredth as a lightfoteman is able to iorney in nyne daies: for otherwise it cannot be bounded, because they know not how to measure iorneyes. It beginneth at the borders of the Heluetians, Nemets, and Rauraces, and so right by the coast of the riuer Danow, stretcheth to the border of the Daces and Auertians. From thence it bendeth on the left hand quight another way from the riuer, and by reason of his greatnesse toucheth the borders of many Nations. Neither is ther any man of this hither part of Germany, which is able to say, that he hath either seene or heard, where the ende of this forest is: and yet there is that hath gone lx. days iorney out right, and could neuer learne out of what place it should rise. It is certaine ý there brede in it many kindes of wild beastes, which are not seene else where. Of the which these are they ý most differ from the rest, & seeme most worthie to be put in wryting. There is a kinde of Or in shape like a Stag, in ý middes of whose forehead betweene his eares is one horn, much higher & streighter then any of the hornes that are knowen to vs: at ý top wherof do spread out tines & braunches a great way of. The nature of ý male & female is all one, the shape of ý body is all one,

Hartswald

People of Languedock.

one, and the greatnesse of their hornes is all one. There be also beast that are called Alces. The shape of them & the diuersitie of the colours of their coates, is like vnto Goates, but they be somewhat bigger, & are without hornes, & they haue legs without knots or joyntes, & therefore they lye not downe to rest them: and if they happen by any chaunce to fall downe, or to be ouerthrowen, they cannot raise nor help themselues vp againe. The trees are to thē in stead of Couches: to them the leane themselues, & so bowing a very littell, doe take their rest. By whose fotting when the Hunters perceiue where their haunt is, they do either vnderminde, or else cutte within the ground, all the trees thereawayes, in such sort that by thupper part they may seeme to stand fast still: so that when they leane against thē as they wer wont to do, they ouerlade ỳ weake trees with the weight of their bodies, & fall to the ground with them. The third kind is of them that are named Vres. These are of bignes somewhat lesse than Elephantes, in kinde and colour and shape like a Bull. They are of great strength and swiftnesse. They spare neither man nor beast that commeth in their sight. The Germanes are very painfull in making pittes to take them, and so kill them. Their young men doe harden themselues with this trauell, and exercise themselues with this kinde of hunting. And they that kill most of them, bringing forth the hornes for a witnes, doe receiue great praise. But as for to acquaint them with men, and to make them tame it is not possible, though they take them neuer so young. The largenesse of their hornes, & the shape and facion of them, doth much differ from the hornes of our Oxen. These they gather most diligently, & binding them about the brimmes with siluer, do vse them at their greatest feasts for cuppes. Cæsar when he vnderstood by the Vbian spyes, that the Sweuians had withdrawen them into the woodes, fearing scarcetie of graine, (because) as I saide before (the Germanes passe little or nothing vpon tillage,) determined to procéede no further. Neuertheless to thentent he would not put the barbarous people

people altogether out of feare of his returne, & also stay thē from ayding the Galles, when he had repassed his army, hée cut of the bridge the length of CC. foote toward that side of the riuer that was next the Vbians, and at the hither end of the bridge, builded a towre of fastories, wherin he left a garryson of xii. Cohorts to defend the bridge, and strengthned the place with great fortificatiōs. Of this place & of the garrison there, he made capteine a young Gentelman called C. Volcatius Tullus: And he himselfe as sone as corne began to war ripe, setting forward to make warre against Ambiorix, sent before him L. Minutius Basilius with all his horsemen, through the forest of Ardeine (which is the greatest of all Gallia, & from ỳ bankes of the Rhine & the borders of the Treuires extendeth to the Neruians, & is more than fiue hundred miles in length: (to try if he could get any aduauntage, by hasting his journey, & by thoppertuntie of ỳ time. He gaue him warning that he should not suffer any fiers to be made in his camp, least his comming should be perceiued a farre of, saying that he would follow immediatly after him himselfe. Basilius did as he was commaunded; & accomplishing his iorney with more spéede than all men thought it had bēene possible for him to do, toke many tardy in the fields, by whose information he went streight toward Ambiorix in a place wher he was said to soiorne w̄ a few horsmē: fortune beareth a great stroke in all thinges but specially in war matters. For as it was a great chaunce ỳ he should fall vpon him vnwares & vnprouided, & that they should see him present with their eyes, before they heard any inking at all of his cōming: so was it a great chaunce likewise that hée should lose all the furniture for the warres that he had about him, & his horses and wagons be taken, and yet himselfe escape the death. But this came to passe, because the house being enuironed with wood, (as the houses of ỳ Galles for ỳ most part be, who to eschewe the heate of the weather, commonly doe build néere the woodes & riuers) his friendes & houshold seruants in that narrow roume endured for a while the brunt

 of

of our horsemen, during the which time, one of his friendes set him on horsebacke, and the woodes hid him that he could not be perceiued as he fled. Thus both in falling into daunger and in auoyding the same, fortune greatly auayled. It is to be doubted whether Ambiorix of set purpose had not assembled his power about him, because he loked not for any encounter, or whether the time disapointed him, & the sodeine approch of our horsemen letted him, because he feared least ý rest of our army had followed immediatly after thē. But surely he sent messengers abrode into the countrie, to bid euery man shift for himselfe: of whom some fled into the forest of Ardeine, & some into the marisses nere hand. Such as were next the Ocean, hid thēselues in the Ilands which the tide was wont to make: Many forsaking their own coūtry, committed themselues & all that they had to straungers, whom they neuer saw nor heard of before, Cativulcus king of thone halfe of the Eburones, who had associated himselfe with Ambiorix, being now worne with yeres, and not able for age to endure the trauell either of warefare or of flight, cursing & banning Ambiorix the author of that enterprise, poysoned himselfe with Iuce of yewgh, whereof there is abundance in Gallia & in Germany. The Segnies & Condruses of the Nation & number of Germanes, which are betweene the Eburones and Treuires, sent Ambassadors to Cæsar, beseching him not to take them as his enemies, nor to esteeme all the Germanes that wer on this side the Rhine, to be as in one case. For they thought of nothing lesse than of warre, neither had they sent any succor to Ambiorix. Cæsar hauing tryed the matter by examination of the prisoners, commaūded that if any of the Eburones were fled vnto them, they should bring them backe againe vnto him. In so doing, hee saide he would worke no displeasure to their country. Then deuiding his army into three partes, he bestowed ý stuffe of all his Legions at Varuta. It is the name of a castell almost in the middes of the country of the Eburones, whereas Titurius and Aurunculeius had wintered before.

Cæsar

Cæsar liking well this place for other considerations, and also in that the fortifications made there ý yeere before, remained yet whole & vndefaced, to thentent to ease his souldiers of their toyle, left here all their stuffe, & appointed for defence thereof, the xiiii. Legion, which was one of the three that he had lastly leuied and brought with him out of Italy. Euer this legion & camp he made Capteine Quintus Tullius Cicero, & assigned vnto him CC. horsemen. Hauing thus parted his army, he commaunded T. Labienus to set forth with three Legions toward the Ocean, into those coasts that border vpon the Menapians. He sent C. Trebonius with like number of Legions to wast the countrie, that lyeth vpon ý Aduatucks. And he himself with thother three, determined to go to the Riuer * Sabis which runneth into Maze, & to the further partes of the forest of Ardeine, whyther he heard that Ambiorix was fled with a few horsemen. At his departure he promised to returne againe within seuen dayes after, at the which time he knew that corne was to be delivered to the legion that was left in garrison. He requested Labienus and Trebonius that (if they might do it to the behoke of the common weale) they should also returne at the same day, to thentent that laying their heades againe together, vpon search made what their enemies went about, they might take some other counsel how to procede in the wars. Where was not (as we shewed before) any hoast of men, nor any garrison, nor any towne that was able to defend it self by battell: But the common people being dispersed, wheresoeuer was any blinde valley, or any wilde wood, or any vnhandsome marysh where they hoped to find any defence or safegard, conueyed themselues thether. These places were knowen to the borderers, & the matter required great circumspectnesse, not so much for the sauing of the whole army, (for their could not happen any perill to ý whole power together by men amazed & dispersed) as for preseruatiō of euery souldier seuerallie. And yet this thing also in part made to the safegard of our army. For as ý desire of spoile egged

Sambre.

 forth

forth many a great way from the camp, so the woods with their blind and vncertaine pathes was a let that they could not come at them in any great companies. If they were desirous to haue the matter dispatched out of hand, & to haue the stocke of such wicked people vtterly rooted vp, it behoued them to send forth many armies, & to let the souldiers deuide thēselues into many companies. Againe if (according to the ordinances & custome of the Romaine army, (ý bands were to be kept to their standerds: the place it selfe was a defence to the barbarous people, who wanted no boldnesse at all to lay ambushes priuily, & to entrap them being dispersed. Wherefore in such distresses, as much as mans policy was able to reach, was foresene, that (albeit their harts burned within them to bée reuenged) yet somewhat should rather be omitted in doing displeasure to the enemies, than so to displease thē as should redound to the hurt of our souldiers. Cæsar sent messengers to all ý cities néere abouts, to allure them forth to the spoile of the Eburones; premising them that all ý they could get should be their owne: to thentent that in the forests he might rather put the Galles themselues, than his owne souldiers in hazard of their liues: & also to thentent that beeing enuironed wō a great number for thaccomplishing of such an act, ý offspring & name of ý country might vtterly be destroyed. Hereupon a great number assembled quickly from all coastes. These things were doing in all quarters of the Eburones, & now approched the vii. day, at the which day Cæsar had promised to returne to his cariages, & the Legion that he left with them. Here it may be perceiued, how great a stroke fortune may beare in the warres, & how great casualties shee may moue. Our enemies (as I haue shewed) wer scattered & auoided in such wise that there was not any host of men, to put vs in any feare at all. The report was spred ouer the Rhine among the Germanes that the Eburones were put to hauocke, & that euery man was called to the spoyle come who would. Hereupon the Sicambres which dwell vpon the Rhine, (whom we haue declared

red before to haue receiued the Tenchthers and Vsipites after their discomfiture) raised two thousand horsemen and passed the Rhine in Craers and Barges, a thirtie miles beneath the place where the vnfinished Bridge was, at ý which Cæsar had left his garrison. They inuaded the vttermost boundes of the Eburones, where they recountred many as they fled scattered heere & ther, & gat a great bootie of cattel, whereof the barbarous people are most greedy: wherwithall being more allured, they proceeded further. Neither maris grond nor forest was able to stay these fellowes, which wer treyned vp from their birth in war & robbing. They enquired of their prisoners in what place Cæsar was: by whome they vnderstood that he was gone far of & that all the army was departed. And one of ý prisoners said: what meane you to hunt after this miserable and slender bootie: which now if ye list may be most fortunate. In three hours ye may come to Varuca, where the Romaine army hath bestowed all their goodes. The garrison is so thinne, ý they be not able to single man the walls; neither dare any man put his head out of the trenth. Upon the hope of this offer, the Germanes leaving the pray ý they had gotten in a secret place, made toward Varuca, vsing him for their guide, by whose declaration they wer informed of the matter. Cicero who all thother daies before, had according to the commaundement of Cæsar, with great aduisednesse kept his souldiers within his Camp; and had not suffered so much as a Marlet or a Page to passe out of the fortification, the vii. day distrusting that Cæsar would kéepe promise with him, because he heard that he was gone further of, and no tidinges came to him of his returne, and moreouer moued with the wordes of such as termed his pacience in maner a siege, if they might not haue libery to passe out of their Camp, looking for no such aduenture after the disparsing and almost vtter destroying of his enemies, against whom were gone forth nine Legions, as to finde any thing within three miles space that might anoy him, sent out fiue Cohortes into the next cornefieldes to fetch in

graine, betweene the which & his camp there was no more but one littell hill onely. There were in the camp many that had beene left behind out of other Legions, because they wer hurt & diseased. Of the which sort, such as within these fewe days were recouered, being to the number of a CCC. were sent forth vnder the banner with the rest. Moreour a great multitude of Marlettes & a great sort of beasts for burthen which had abiden in the camp followed after. The very same time by chaunce, came the Germane horsemen betweene thē and home, & without tariaunce with like pace as they had ridden all ý way, endeuored to breake into the camp at the chiefe gate: & they were not espied by reason of the woodes that were on that side which letted the view, before they were so nere our camp, that the Marchantmen which lay in hales vnder the Rampyre side, had no leysure to recouer themselues within safegard. Our men being taken vnprouided vppon the sodein, were so troubled ý the Cohorte was scars able to withstand the first brunt. Our enemies spred themselues on all sides about, to see if they could finde anie entring place, in so much that our men had much a do to defend the gates: for the place was otherwise so strong of it selfe & so well fortified, that it need no defence. All the whole Camp was in a feare, & euery one demaunded of another ý cause of the tumult, in so much that they wist not which way either to aduance their banners, or whether they shold assemble themselues. One reportes for a certeinty that the Camp was alredy taken: another holdes opinion that the Graundcapteine and his army being vtterly destroyed, the barbarous were come thether as conquerours: many deuised new superstictions to themselues by reason of the place, setting before their eyes, the mischaunces of Cotta & Titurius, who were slaine in the same Castell. Through this feare wherewith all our men were stricken, the rude Germanes were confirmed in their opinion which they had conceiued vpon the report of a prysoner, ý ther was no strength within. Wherevppon endeuoring to breake in perforce, they encouraged

couraged one another, not to let so good fortune scape out of their handes. There was left behinde in the garrison sicke, one P. Sestius Baculus (who had had the leading of one of the chiefe bandes vnder Cæsar, of whome we haue made mention in ý former battels) & he had fasted now fiue dayes. He being in despaire both of his owne life, & of the liues of all his company, came out of his tent vnarmed, & perceiuing his enemies to preace fore vpon them, & that ý matter stood in vtter perill, toke weapon from such as stood nert him, and set himsefe in the gate. After him followed the Centurions of that Cohort which warded in the Camp, and for a while endured the conflict with him. But at ý length Sestius was so fore wounded ý his courage fayled him, & he sanke downe, that much a doe there was to draw him out of the preace & to saue his life. Duryng the time of this leysure, the rest toke heart to them: in so much that they durst set thēselues vppon the Rampiers, and make a showe of defence. In the meane while, our souldiers that went out for forrage, hauing dispathed that they went for, in their returne heard ý noise, wherevpon the horsemen came a false gallop before, & perceiued in how great daunger ý matter stode. But now was there not any place of defence, wherevnto they might recouer themselus in this their feare. Such as were but newly reteyned, and therfore were not skilfull in matters of war, retired backe to the Tribunes & Centurions, looking to receiue commaundement at their handes what they shold doe. There was not any of them so stout of stomacke, that was not amased at the sodeinesse of the matter. The barbarous people perceiuing the banners a farre of, ceased from thassault. At the first they beleued that our Legions had ben returned, which they had learned by their prisoners to haue beene gone a great way further of. Afterward disdeining ý smal number of them, they set vpon them on all sides. The varlets ran vp to the next hill, frō whence being easly driuen downe, they thrust thēselues among ý souldiers ý were vnder their standerds, & thereby put thē in greater feare then they

they were before. Some thought it best to cast themselues in a wedge & to breake through their enemies quickly: affirming that forasmuch as their camp was so neere at hande, although some of them were cut of by the way & slaine, yet the rest should saue themselues. Other some thought it best to get them to the top of the hill, & there to take whatsoeuer should betide them all together. This deuise liked not ỳ old souldiers that went out vnder the standerd with them, as we tolde you before. Wherevpon encouraging themselues, and following Capteine C. Trebonius a Knight of Rome who had the charge of them, they brake through the middest of their enemies, and came all safe into ỳ camp, without the losse of any one man. The Marlets & horsemen following after them with like force, where by the valiantnesse of the souldiers likewise preserued. But they which had gotten themselues to the top of the hill, hauing no vnderstanding at all how to demeane themselues, had neither the wit to perseuer in the deuice which they first allowed in standing still to their defence vpon the higher ground, nor yet to vse the like force and celeritie which they saw do good to their fellowes: but for desire to recouer to their camp, they cast themselues into a place of disaduantage. The Centurions (of whome many for their prowesse & manhod, had from lower roumes of the other Legions, bene promoted to the higher roumes of this Legion,) least they should for-go the honor in armes which they had gotten before, fighting most valiantly spent their liues together. The enemies being by their force driuē alive, it came to passe that some contrary to all hope & expectation, came safe into the Camp, & some enuironed by the Germanes, wer vtterly destroyed. The Germanes being now past hope of winning our camp by assault, forasmuch as they saw our men placed vppon the Rampyres, with that pray which they had bestowed in the woodes, gat themselues ouer the Rhine againe. Howbeit when our enemies were quight gone, there remained such a feare among our men, that the same night when C. Volusenus sent thether with ỳ horsemē, came

came to the camp: he could not make them beleue that Cæsar was at hand with the arme in safegard. So sore were all their mindes rauished with feare, that in maner halfe beside themselues, they said plainly, all the army was put to the sword, & that the horsemen had saued themselues by flight: for it was not like that while tharmy was in good case, the Germanes durst aduenture to assault our Camp. This feare the comming of Cæsar tooke away. Vppon his returne, beeing not ignorant how the world went, he found fault at the sending out of the Cohorts out of their fort & garrison: affirming that there ought no gap (though neuer so small) to bee opened vnto fortune: forasmuch as fortune by the sodeine approche of the enemie, had bene able to haue done much: yea and much the more, in that they had repulsed the barbarous people welnere from the very Rampier & from the gates of the camp. Of all the which things this was most to be wondred at, that the Germanes which had passed the Rhine of none other purpose but to wast the country of Ambiorix, bending themselues against the Romane camp, preferred thereby vnto Ambiorix the greatest good turne that could haue bene wished him. Cæsar making another voyage to disquiet his enemies, assembled a great power out of ỳ Cities neere at hand, & sent them abrode into all quarters. All ỳ townes and all the buildings that came in any mans sight, were set on fier: boties were driuen out of all places: corne was not onely by such a multitude of men and cattel consumed, but also was through thunseasonable time of ỳ yeere, & through continuall raine beaten out, or rotten vppon ỳ ground. Insomuch that if any had hyd themselues out of ỳ way for the time, yet were they like afterward (when tharmy was departed) to perish for want of foode. And oftentimes it was come to the point, (by reason of so great a number of horsemen sent abrode into all quarters) ỳ the prysoners saide expressely, not onely that none of them saw Ambiorix dye away, but also constantly affirmed ỳ he was not gone out of sight. Insomuch that vppon hope of ouertaking him, such as thought

thought to haue purchased greatest fauour at Cæsars hand, endured infinite labour, yea more than nature could well haue done, but for their earnest desire which surmounted all thinges, beleuing alwaies that they wer at ỳ very point to haue obteined the happynesse that they sought for. And yet he wound himselfe from them continually into wodes or forests, & hiding himselfe in the night time, withdrawe him out of one coast into another, garded with no mo than foure horsemen, whome onely of all men he durst put in trust with his life. When Cæsar had in this sort wasted the countries, with the losse of two Cohorts he reduced the rest to *Durocort among the men of Rhemes: & sommoning thether a parlament of all Gallia, he determined to make straight examinatiõ concerning ỳ conspiracy of the Senones & Caruntes, & there giuing sharpe iudgement vpon Acco chiefe Kingleader of that enterprise, he punished him according to the auncient custome of the country. Many fearing to stand to the triall of ỳ matter in iudgement, fled away, whome when hee had proclaimed traitors, he placed two legions in ỳ borders of the Treuires, two among ỳ Lingones, & the other six in the borders of the Senones at Agendicum to winter there: and hauing made prouision of graine for his army, he went into Italy to holde a Parlament, as he was determined before.

Rhemes in Champanie

FINIS.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE of C. Iulius Cæsars Commentaries of his warres in Gallia.

AFter that Gallia was thus quieted, Cæsar (as he was determined before) went into Italy to hold a Parlament. There he heard newes of the murther of Clodius: and vppon Certificate from the Senate how all the

the youth of Italie did conspyre together, he purposed to take musters of all the whole Prouince. These things wer quickly reported into Gallia beyond the Alpes. Moreouer (as the matter seemed to require) the Galles forged besides these rumors, that Cæsar was detayned by meanes of the Mutinies in the Citie, & that the dissentions were so great as that he could not come to his army. Taking occasion hereupon, such as before found themselues grieued to be in subiection to the Romane Empire, began more freely and boldly to consult of warre. The Princes of Gallia calling secret counsells in forests and places far from resort, found fault with the death of Acco: alledging that the like mischaunce might also light in their neckes. They bewailed ỳ miserable state of all Gallia, promysing and profering any reward that could be deuised, to them that would aduenture to begin the warre, and with the hazard of their liues would assay to set Gallia againe in liberty. And this matter (they said) ought to be put in practise, before their secrete deuises wer disclosed: to thentent ỳ Cæsar might be excluded from his army. The which thing was easie to bring to passe, in that neither the Legions durst in the absence of their Graundcaptein stirre out of their wintring places, neither could the Graundcaptein without safeconduct come vnto his army. In conclusion they saide it was better to be slaine in the field, than not to recouer their auncient renowme of cheualry, and the liberty which they had receiued from their auncestors. When these matters had beene sufficiently debated. The Caruntes profered to refuse no perill for the common wealthes sake, promising to become ỳ chiefe Kingleaders in this war. And forasmuch as the matter could not as than be assured by hostages, least it should be published, they demaunded assurance by ohte & fidelitie: which was by laying their Antesignes & banners together, (for that is the solemnest ceremony that they vse in such cases) least when they should haue begon the war, ỳ rest should forsake them. Than giuing great praises to the Caruntes, and taking an othe of as many as were present