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C. J. CÆSAR'S  
COMMENTARY

OF HIS  
WAR IN GAUL.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

Cæsar builds a considerable navy; he goes to Illycum; his second Expedition into England; the Gauls revolt; Sabinus and Cotta defeated; Cicero besieged, but relieved.

CHAP. I.

**D**URING the consulate of L. Domitius and Ap. Claudius, Cæsar leaving his winter-quarters to go into Italy, according to his usual custom, gave orders to his lieutenants, to whom he had committed the charge of his legions, that they should build as many ships against his return as they could, and refit the old vessels; commanding them to make the decks somewhat lower than usual in the Mediterranean, that the soldiers might embark or get on shore with greater ease; because he knew the ebbing of the tide in the British seas sometimes left but a very inconsiderable depth of water near the land. That there might be convenience for his horses, he ordered they should build them broader than ordinary, and contrive them all for oars, to which the lowness of the decks contributed. He sent for such materials as were necessary to equip them, from Spain; and having held the diet of Lombardy, went immediately

WAR IN  
GAUL.  
Cæsar gives  
orders for  
building a  
navy.

WAR IN diately to Illyricum, because he had intelligence that the  
GAUL. Pirustæ had made several inroads into the frontiers. So soon  
as he arrived there, he began to levy an army, and ap-  
pointed the soldiers a general rendezvous; which the Piru-  
stæ being informed of, immediately sent embassadors to as-  
sure him, what had been done was contrary to the publick  
consent, and that they were ready to make such satisfaction  
for the injuries they had committed, as he should require.  
Cæsar having given them audience, demanded hostages to  
be delivered by a certain day, or war and ruin should en-  
sue: they obeyed his commands; whereupon he appointed  
arbitrators to estimate the damages the towns had received,  
and determine what compensation should be made for them.

He goes to  
Illyricum;  
the Pirustæ  
submit.

2. This affair being dispatched, and treaties signed, he  
returned again to Lombardy, and from thence to his army:  
he made a review of all their quarters, and, notwithstanding  
the scarcity of materials, found the industry of his sol-  
diers had already built about six hundred such ships as he  
had given commission for, and twenty-eight gallies, which  
were ready to launch within a few days. Having applaud-  
ed the application of his soldiers and their supervisors, he  
gave them such orders as he thought convenient, and com-  
manded they should all meet him at (a) Boloign; from  
whence, he thought, lay the shortest cut to England, it  
being but about thirty miles there from land to land.

(a) Portus Itius, according to H. Llwyd and Ortelius, is Calais; but Scalliger and Sanson prove it to be Boloign, with whom agree Cluver, Buno, Semner, Baxter, &c.

## C H A P. II.

Cæsar  
marches in-  
to the coun-  
try of  
Treves, to  
prevent a re-  
bellion.

HE left as many soldiers as he thought necessary for this  
purpose; then took his march with four legions and 800  
horse into the country of Treves, because they had nei-  
ther appeared at the general convocation of the states, nor  
submitted to the common-wealth, and were reported to  
solicit assistance from the Germans beyond the Rhine.

Cingetorix  
and Indutio-  
morus.

3. This country is not very powerful in infantry; but the  
best stored with cavalry of any in Gaul; and, as we  
have already shewn, joins to the river Rhine. It hap-  
pened that Indutiomarus and Cingetorix were disputing  
about this time for the superiority; the latter being in-  
formed of Cæsar's approach, came over to him, promis-  
ing, that neither he nor any of his party would be defi-  
cient

cient in the performance of their duty or alliance with the people of Rome ; and laid before him the present proceedings of his countrymen.

WAR IN  
GAUL.

Indutiomarus, on the other hand, began to levy what numbers of horse and foot he could ; and having secured such persons, whose age made them incapable of bearing arms, in the large forest of Arden (which, beginning at the river Rhine, extends through the midst of the country of Treves, as far as the borders of Rheims) resolved to engage in a war : but finding himself deserted by several of the nobility, who of affection to Cingetorix, or fear of our approaching army, had come over to Cæsar (each to solicit his own pardon, since they were not able to do it for their country) apprehending he should shortly be forsaken by all, sent an embassy to Cæsar, to acquaint him, “ That he had been one of the foremost to pay his submission, but that he thought himself obliged to stay at home, lest the giddy mob, in the absence of the nobility, should have revolted from their duty ; but the whole country now was at his command ; and, if Cæsar pleased, he would wait upon him at his camp, to lay his own and his country’s fortune at his feet.”

Indutiomarus’s political embassy.

4. Though Cæsar knew the occasion of this speech, and what reasons had induced him to change his former resolution ; yet, that he might not be obliged to spend the whole summer in Treves, after he had prepared all things for his English expedition, he commanded Indutiomarus to bring 200 hostages along with him ; which he performed, bringing his own son and nearest relations, who had been demanded, amongst the number : whereupon Cæsar encouraged him to continue firm in his duty to the Romans ; not forgetting to send for all the noblemen of Treves, and reconcile them one after another to Cingetorix ; which he did as well on the account of his deserts, as for his own sake, because he knew the man, who had given such signal proofs of his affection, would employ his interest at home to Cæsar’s advantage. Indutiomarus was not a little disturbed to find his authority thus diminished among his countrymen, and if he was our enemy before, this occasion increased his ancient malice.

Cæsar marches to Boloign, where he had ordered all the princes of Gaul to meet him.

5. Having settled his affairs in Treves, he marched his legions to Boloign, where he was informed, that the forty ships which had been built amongst the Meldæ, were driven back again by a storm to the port from whence they set out ;

WAR IN GAUL. out; but all the rest he found ready for sailing, well rigged and fitted out. Thither likewise came all the cavalry of Gaul to meet him, about 4000; with the noblemen of every province; of these he designed to leave but few behind him; whose fidelity he could depend upon; and take the rest as hostages along with him to England, apprehending some commotions in Gaul during his absence.

6. Amongst these was Dumnorix of Autun, of whom we have formerly spoken; him of all mankind he resolved to carry, because he knew his fickle, proud, and aspiring temper, which joined with the authority he had amongst his countrymen, might have proved of fatal consequence; besides, Dumnorix had openly declared in a publick council, that Cæsar had conferred upon him the government of Autun, which tho' the Autunois ill brooked, yet they neither durst remonstrate against, nor by an embassy to Cæsar deprecate. He was the first that desired leave to stay at home, pretending that not being used to sailing, he was afraid of the sea, and that he had a religious vow to perform, which would detain him: but when he found his request absolutely denied, having no hopes of obtaining his demands, he began to persuade each nobleman of Gaul apart, not to leave the continent; instilling jealousies into them, by insinuating, that Cæsar, no doubt, had some deep design in carrying all the nobility of Gaul beyond sea with him: that because he durst not put them to death in the view of their countrymen, he would do it when he had transported them to England. So far did his artifice prevail, that he persuaded them to enter into a mutual alliance, and obliged them by oath to consult and act by the general consent, in all things which concerned the general good of their country.

Dumnorix persuades the noblemen of Gaul not to go with Cæsar into Britain.

Dumnorix deserts.

7. Cæsar was informed of this conspiracy from several hands, yet having a particular respect for the country of Autun, he resolved to try all methods to restrain and frighten Dumnorix from proceeding in his designs; but finding his madness continued, he thought it high time to provide for the safety of his own person, and the republick; wherefore having staid about five and twenty days in the same place, for so long did the north-west wind put a stop to his voyage, the wind coming fair about, he commanded his horse and foot to embark: but whilst all people were busy in performing these orders, Dumnorix, without Cæsar's knowledge or consent, left the camp with the Autun cavalry, and took his march home-ward;

ward ; which Cæsar being informed of, immediately put <sup>WAR IN</sup> a stop to his voyage : laying aside all other affairs, he de- <sup>GAUL.</sup> tached a strong party of horse to pursue and bring him back again, with orders to kill Dumnorix, if he offered to make the least opposition to his commands ; for he had reason to think the man who durst disobey his orders when present, would not be very loyal in his absence. The horse having overtaken him, commanded him to return, which he refused, endeavouring to defend himself by force of arms ; and often implored the assistance of his country-men, crying out that he was a free-man, born in a free <sup>Dumnorix's</sup> country ; but the Romans performed their orders, sur- <sup>obstinacy ;</sup> rounded and put him to the sword, where upon all his ca- <sup>he is kill'd.</sup> valry returned to Cæsar.

## C H A P. III.

8. THIS affair determined, leaving Labienus in <sup>Cæsar sets</sup> Gaul with three legions and 2000 horse, to secure the <sup>sail for Eng-</sup> port, to provide corn, and send him intelligence from time <sup>land.</sup> to time how affairs went in the continent, that he might know how to accommodate his counsels to the particular time and circumstance ; with five legions, and the same number of horse he had left with Labienus, about sunset Cæsar hoisted sail for England, with a gentle south-wind. About mid-night he was becalmed, and being driven by the tide 'till morning, found the island on his left ; then following the return of the tide, he row'd 'till he came to the landing-place, which he found so convenient the year before ; and upon this occasion the soldiers deserved applause, who labouring without intermission at the oar, made their heavy transports and tenders keep pace with the gallies. About noon we arrived with our whole fleet on the coasts, where no enemy was to be seen, though, as Cæsar afterwards understood from the prisoners, the islanders had been there in great multitudes : but being frightened to behold so numerous a navy (which, together with the ships of that year's building, and private vessels which several persons had provided for their own use, amounted to above 800) they had left the shore, and hid themselves in the mountains.

9. Cæsar, having landed his army, and chosen a convenient place to encamp in, enquired of some whom he had <sup>The Romans</sup> taken prisoners, where the enemy was lodged. And be- <sup>land.</sup> tween three and four in the morning, having left ten co-  
G
horts

WAR IN GAUL. horse, under the command of Q. Atrius, to secure the navy, he marched towards the English; being the less uneasy for his fleet, as he had left them at anchor on a smooth and open shore. He had not marched twelve miles, before he saw the enemy, who having posted their horse and chariots upon an advantageous eminence by the banks of the river, gave us battle, and endeavoured to oppose our passage, but were repulsed by our cavalry, and obliged to retire to the woods; where they were possessed of a post extremely well fortified both by art and nature, which had been built in all probability during the times of their civil wars; all the passages to it being blocked up by heaps of trees, cut down for that purpose. They never ventured out of this place but in small parties, and always hindered the Romans from entering it: but the soldiers of the seventh legion having cast themselves into a Testudo, and thrown up a mount against their works, took the place, and drove them from the woods, without receiving many wounds: Cæsar however withheld them from the pursuit, as he was unacquainted with the country, and, the day being far spent, he thought it adviseable to bestow the rest of it in fortifying his camp.

They retreat  
the English.

#### CHAP. IV.

10. THE next morning early, Cæsar, having divided his army into three battalions, sent, both his horse and foot to pursue the enemy: they had not travelled far before they came within sight of the English rear; at which instant a party of horse arrived from Quintus Atrius, to acquaint Cæsar, that the night before there had been a dreadful storm, which shattered almost all the navy, and drove the ships on shore, having lost their anchors and cables; nor was it in the power of the mariners and pilots to prevent their running foul of one another.

A storm  
which shat-  
ters the Ro-  
man fleet.

11. Upon this intelligence, Cæsar recalling his legions and cavalry from their intended journey, returned to his fleet, where he was an eye-witness of the misfortune the couriers and packets had brought him an account of; for forty ships were entirely lost, and he saw the rest could not be refitted without infinite trouble: wherefore having chosen some carpenters from amongst the legions, and writ for others to Gaul, he sent Labienus orders to build as many ships as he could with those legions he had there. And though he found it would be a very trouble-

Cæsar refits  
his navy, and  
causes it to  
be haul'd up  
to dry land.

some business, yet he thought it most convenient to have the fleet haul'd up to land, and inclosed within the fortifications of his camp, For this purpose, the soldiers laboured ten days and nights without intermission. At length having effected it, the shipping drawn to shore, and the camp very strongly fortify'd, leaving the same guard as formerly, he returned to the place where he had desisted from pursuing the enemy.

C H A P. V.

H E R E he found far greater numbers of the English assembled, than he left when he went to visit the fleet. By general consent the whole management of this war was committed to the care of Cassivelaunus, whose territories were divided by the river Thames from the sea-coasts, and extended fourscore miles into the island: for though he had formerly made war on the rest of his country-men, yet upon our arrival they all united, and pitched upon him as the fittest person to direct them at so important a conjuncture.

Cassivellanus: made generalissimo the English.

12. " The inland part of England are inhabited by those that call themselves natives of the country; but the sea-coasts by the Belgic Gauls, who, coming over either for plunder or settlements, when they had ended their wars, cultivated the earth they were possessed of, and for the generality retained the names of the cities from whence they came. The country is well peopled, and has plenty of buildings, much after the fashion of those in Gaul. They have infinite store of cattle, and for money they use brass and iron rings, which they barter with by weight. The midland countries produce some tin; and those nearer the sea, iron, though not much of the latter; but their brass is imported. They have all kinds of wood to be met with in Gaul, except the fig and beach-tree: they are not allowed to eat either hare, hen, or goose; yet they breed all these for their fancy and diversion. The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, and the frosts less violent.

Description of England and the customs of the English.

13. The island is triangular, one side situate over-against Gaul, at the east corner of which, where the county of Kent lies, is the usual landing-place from Gaul; the other side looks towards the south; and from one end to the other reaches about 500 miles; the west angle lies towards Spain and Ireland, an island generally esteemed to be half as large as the other, and about the same distance from England as

WAR IN England is from Gaul ; in the middle between these two GAUL. lies the Isle of man, besides several other smaller islands scattered up and down, of which some affirm, that for thirty days successively in winter they are deprived of light : but we received no such information during our stay, only observed from our way of measuring time by the running of water in our hour-pots, that the nights were shorter than in Gaul : The length of this side, according to their computation, is about 700 miles. The third side lies northward, and fronts the open sea, except in one angle, which points towards Germany ; and the extent of this is generally computed to be 800 miles ; so that the circumference of the whole island is 2000 miles.

14. The most civiliz'd people among them are the Kentish men, whose country lies altogether upon the sea-coasts ; and whose customs are much the same with those of the Gauls. The inland people seldom trouble themselves with agriculture, living on milk and flesh-meat, and are clad with skins ; but all of them paint themselves blue with woad, that they may look the more dreadful to their enemies in battle. The hair of their heads they wear very long, but shave all the rest of their bodies, except the upper lip. Ten or a dozen have one wife in common amongst them, especially if they are brothers, and the parents often lie with their own issue ; but he who first married the woman, whilst she was a maid, fathers all the children."

## C H A P. VI.

The English attack the Romans whilst on their march, but are repulsed. They return again.

15. THE enemy's horse and chariots had a sharp skirmish with our men during their march ; but the Romans repulsing them from all sides, drove them into the woods, and having slain a great many, pursued the rest so far, that they lost some of their own party. Not long after, the English returning, whilst the Romans, who little expected them, were fortifying their camp, made a sudden sally out of the woods, and fell upon our advanced guard ; whereupon Cæsar detached two cohorts, the first of two legions, to their assistance. These cohorts, were drawn up very near each other ; but the enemy, whilst our men were surprized with their new way of fighting, boldly broke through the midst of them, and returned again without receiving any loss ; in which action Q Labienus Durus was killed ; but at last some fresh cohorts coming up to our relief, the English were repulsed.

and are again repulsed.

16. " This



16. “ This engagement happening in the view of the WAR IN whole army, every one perceived that the legionary soldiers GAUL. were not a fit match for such an enemy, because the weight of their armour would not permit them to pursue, nor durst they go too far from their colours; neither could the cavalry encounter them, because the English often pretended a retreat, and having drawn them from the legions, would forsake their chariots, and fight on foot, at a great advantage : and when they were mounted, they were equally fatal to our horse, whether we pursued or fled. Another disadvantage was, that the enemy never fought in close battalions, but in small parties, at a great distance from one another, each of them having their particular post allotted, from whence they received supplies, and the weary were relieved by the fresh.”

The advantages the English had over the Romans in their way of fighting.

## C H A P. VII.

17. THE day after the enemy lodg'd themselves in the hills, at a considerable distance from our camp, but seldom appear'd, not being so eager at skirmishing with our cavalry as before; but about noon, when Cæsar had detach'd three legions and all the cavalry under the command of C. Trebonius to forage, on a sudden they assaulted our foragers from all sides, and even came up with the legions and their standards; but the Romans returning their charge very briskly, beat them back again, nor did our cavalry desist from the pursuit 'till they had entirely routed them, depending on the legions, who followed close after, to sustain them in case of necessity. They put a great many of the enemy to the sword, and pursued the rest so close, that they neither allowed them time to rally, to make a stand, or forsake their chariots. Upon this rout the auxiliary troops that had come from all parts, deserted them, nor were they ever able after this to make any considerable head against us.

The English attack the Roman foragers.

but are routed with considerable loss.

18. Cæsar, being apprized of their intention, march'd his army into the confines of Cassivellaunus, towards the Thames, which river is only fordable in one place, and that with great difficulty. So soon as he came thither, he saw the enemy's forces drawn up in a considerable body on the opposite bank, which was fortified with sharp stakes; and they had driven likewise many piles of the same kind into the bottom of the river, whose tops were covered by the water. Cæsar, having intelligence of

Cæsar ford's the Thames.

WAR IN  
GAUL.

And puts  
Cassivelaunus  
again to  
flight;

this from the prisoners and deserters, sent his cavalry before, commanding the legions to follow close after them; and with such expedition did they perform his orders, though the water took them up to the neck, that the enemy, not being able to sustain their assault, forsook the banks and fled.

## CHAPTER VIII.

who disbands  
part of his  
army, and  
retires to the  
woods.

19. THUS Cassivelaunus, having lost all hopes of success by a battle, disbanded the greatest part of his forces, and retaining only about 4000 chariots, observed our motions from time to time, keeping himself at some distance in the woods, or such places where the Romans could have no access: from those countries to which he knew we were to march he carried off the cattle and natives beforehand; and whenever our cavalry ventured a little too far to lay the fields waste, being well acquainted with all the roads and by-ways, he would detach a party of his chariots out of the woods to attack us; nor could our horse engage them without great danger, which prevented our making such excursions as we would have done otherwise, and obliged Cæsar not to permit his horse to go further to burn and destroy, than the legions were able to attend them.

The people  
of Essex and  
Middlesex.

20. In the mean time the Trinobantes, who possess one of the most considerable provinces in the island, sent ambassadors to Cæsar, promising that they would submit to him, and accept his commands, desiring that he would be pleased to defend Mandubratius from the oppression of Cassivellaunus, and send him to them for their king and governor: this Mandubratius was the son of Imanuentius, who formerly possessed that kingdom, was slain by Cassivellaunus; and to avoid his father's fate, had fled to Cæsar, in Gaul for protection. Cæsar restored Mandubratius to them, but demanded of them forty hostages, and corn for his army; which conditions they readily performed.

21. The Trinobantes thus protected from their enemies, and secured by his orders from being plundered by his soldiers, the (*b*) Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci,

(*b*) Camden says the Cenimagni were the same with the Iceni, whose province contained Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire. Segontiaci, he thinks, were originally the Belgæ, and places them in the hundred of Hothor in Hampshire; the Bibroci he calls those that inhabit the hundred of Bray in Berkshire; the Ancalites that of Henley in Oxfordshire; and the Cassi, the people of Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hertfordshire, where this name is still preserved in the hundred of Callow.

and

WAR IN  
GAUL.



and Cassi, submitted themselves likewise by their embassadors to Cæsar. From these he had intelligence that Cassivellaunus's town, which was fortified with woods and marshes, and stored with plenty of men and cattle, was but a small distance from his camp; for the English call a thick wood, surrounded with a ditch, and fortified with a rampier, a town, which they retire to, when they are apprehensive of incursions from their neighbours. Thither he marched with his legions, and found the place well secured both by art and nature; however he endeavoured to storm it in two several places, and the enemy being no longer able to sustain the fury of the assault, fled out at another part of the wood. Here we found vast quantities of cattle, and many of the English, who endeavoured to make their escape, being overtaken, lost their lives.

What the English called a town.

The English fortification taken.

22. Cassivellaunus in the mean time sent embassadors to Kent, which, as we have already taken notice, lies toward the sea-coast, and was governed by four kings, Cingetorix, Carnillius, Taximagulus, and Segonax; whom he commanded to attack our camp, where the navy was laid up, with all the forces they could raise: but so soon as they arrived there, our men made a sally, killed several of them, took Lugotorix, one of their chief commanders, prisoner, and returned safe again into their trenches. Cassivellaunus, upon the news of this defeat, reflecting on the many losses he had received, that his country was laid waste, but, above all, that several provinces had already forsaken the general alliance, sent embassadors to treat of a surrender, who were introduced by Comius of Arras. Cæsar designing to quarter that winter in Gaul, that he might prevent sudden insurrections there, and because the summer was already far spent, and the remainder of it might easily be spun out with delays, demanded hostages, and appointed a yearly tribute which the English should pay to the people of Rome; not forgetting strictly to prohibit Cassivellaunus from injuring Mandubratius, or the Trinobantes.

The four kings of Kent attack the Roman camp, but

are repulsed with loss. Cassivellaunus surrenders, and Cæsar imposes a yearly tribute on the English.

23. Having received the hostages, he marched his army back again to the sea-shore, where he found his fleet refitted, and caused it to be launched; but considering the number of the captives was so great, and that some of our ships had perished in the storm, he resolved to transport his army at two voyages; whereby it so fell out, that not one vessel was lost which carried over the soldiers,

WAR IN soldiers, either this, or the foregoing year, tho' the ships GAUL. were so numerous, and the voyages so frequent.

But very few of those which were sent back again from Gaul, after they had landed the soldiers that were first carried over, nor of the sixty ships which Labienus had taken care to build, arrived safe in England; the rest being driven back again by contrary winds: wherefore Cæsar, having long expected them in vain, lest the winter should prevent his voyage, the equinox being near at hand, disposed his soldiers closer than he designed, and taking the opportunity of an extraordinary calm, set sail about ten o'clock at night, and arrived safe with his whole fleet at the continent by break of day.

Cæsar arrives  
late with the  
rest of his ar-  
my in Gaul,

### C H A P. IX.

24. HAVING laid up his fleet in the docks, and held an assembly of the Gauls at (c) Amiens, because the summer's drought had made a scarcity of corn that year, he was obliged to quarter his legions otherwise than he had done in former winters, and to distribute them into several countries; one legion, under the command of lieutenant C. Fabius; he sent to Terouëne; another under Q. Cicero to Hainault a third under L. Roscius to (d) Seez; a fourth under Titus Labienus, who had orders to quarter in Rheims on the borders of Treves; three others he quartered in Belgium, under the command of M. Crassus the questor, Lu. Manutius Plancus, and Caius Trebonius the lieutenants; the legion which he had last raised beyond the Po, with five cohorts, he sent into the country of Treves, which is governed by Ambiorix and Cativulcus, the greatest part of whose territories lie between the Mosè and the Rhine; these he committed to the charge of the lieutenants Q. Titurius Sabienus and L. Arunculeius Cotta. By this distribution of his legions, Cæsar thought he might easily redress the want of provisions; yet all the legions lay within the compass of one hundred miles, except those whom he had sent under the command of L. Roscius, into a most quiet and

(c) Samarobrina, Scaliger calls Amiens, others Cambray, or St. Quentin; but Sanson says positively 'tis the town of Amiens, and that it should be read Samarobrina, for Briva or Briga is an old Celtick word for a bridge; so Samarobrina is a bridge over the Samara or Soam, where Amiens now stands.

(d) Essui, says Baudrand, are inhabitants of Normandy, and their capital the town now called Seez; but Vossius think this a corruption of the text, and that it should have been Ædui, the people of Autun. Sanson thinks Essui and Sessui or Sessuvii the same people.

peaceable country; and he resolved to stay himself in Gaul, 'till the whole army had possessed themselves of, and fortified their winter-quarters.

WAR IN  
GAUL.

Tasgetius  
murdered by  
his subjects  
of Chartres.

25. In the country of Chartres lived Tasgetius, a man of the best family there, whose ancestors had formerly been kings of the place; and Cæsar, to reward that constant virtue and affection which he had given proofs of in all the wars, had restored him to the dignity of his forefathers: but in the third year of his reign, his enemies, by the assistance of several of his subjects, who were in the conspiracy, publickly murdered him. Cæsar had intelligence of this, and being apprehensive that since so many were concerned in the treason, the country might revolt, he commanded L. Plancus to march immediately with his legion out of Belgium into Chartres, to apprehend all such as had been concerned in the murder of Tasgetius, and send them prisoners to him: in the mean time he had advice from all the questors and lieutenants, to whose charge he had committed the legions, that they had fortified their winter-quarters.

#### C H A P. X.

26. OUR legions had not been settled above fifteen days before Ambiorix and Cativulcus, at the instigation of Indutiomarus of Treves, made a sudden insurrection, stirring up the people to rebel, after they had carried Sabinus and Cotta corn into their quarters, which were in their confines. Having surprized the soldiers who were gone to fetch in wood, they came in a strong body to storm our camp; but the Romans immediately repaired to their arms, and ascended the rampart, whilst the Spanish cavalry issuing out from one side, got the better of their horse; whereupon, despairing of success, the enemy retreated; and, according to their custom, demanded a conference, pretending they had something to say which imported the publick good, and might conduce towards making a peace.

The people  
of Liege re-  
bel, and at-  
tack the Ro-  
man camp &

but are re-  
pulsed; de-  
sire a treaty.

27. Whereupon C. Arpinus, a Roman knight, one of Titurius's particular friends, and Q. Junius a Spaniard, who had frequently been sent before by Cæsar to Ambiorix, were deputed to treat with them: to whom Ambiorix spoke to this effect; "That he thought himself infinitely indebted to Cæsar for the many benefits he had formerly received from him; for having freed  
him

Ambiorix's  
speech to the  
Roman de-  
puties,

WAR IN him from that tribute which he used to pay his  
 GAUL. neighbours of Namur, and for setting his son and nephew  
 at liberty, who had been detained amongst the other ho-  
 stages sent to that country: wherefore he had not assault-  
 ed the Roman camp out of inclination, but necessity; for  
 such was the constitution of his government, that the  
 people had no less power over him, than he over them:  
 that his country had undertaken this war in compliance  
 with the sudden and general insurrection of all the pro-  
 vinces of Gaul: that he was not so vain and unexperien-  
 ced, to imagine it possible for him with so insignificant a  
 force to overcome the Romans; but, by general consent,  
 the natives had pitched on that day for attacking the Ro-  
 mans in their several winter quarters, to prevent one le-  
 gion from coming to the assistance of another; nor was  
 it possible for the people of Liege to deny their country-  
 men any thing, especially where the recovery of their  
 public liberty was concerned: but having now discharg-  
 ed the duty owing to his country, gratitude obliged him  
 to admonish Cæsar, and friendship to intreat Titurius, to  
 consult the preservation of themselves and soldiers; for  
 a great number of German troops, whom the Gauls  
 had hired, had passed the Rhine two days before; there-  
 fore they might consider whether it were not better for  
 them to leave their quarters, and march to Cicero, or  
 Labienus, the first not being above fifty miles distant from  
 them, and the other but a little further: for his part, he  
 promised and obliged himself by oath, to grant them a safe  
 passage through his country, by which means he should at  
 the same instant oblige his countrymen, by freeing them  
 from the burthen of winter-quarters, and make a grateful  
 return for the favours he had received from Cæsar." Thus  
 ending his speech he departed.

## C H A P. XI.

28. C. Arpinus and Junius made their report to the  
 lieutenant generals, of what they had heard, who being  
 much surprized, thought the advice not to be neglected,  
 though it came from an enemy; and that which weighed  
 most with them was, they could not believe so mean and  
 obscure a people as those of Liege, would, of their own  
 accord, presume to make war on the Romans: wherefore,  
 having summoned a council of war, long debates ensued.  
 Lucius Arunculeius Cotta, and several of the tribunes and  
 first

first centurions were of opinion, “ They ought to do no-  
 thing rashly, and that it was not proper to quit their quar-  
 ters before they received commands from Cæsar to that pur-  
 pose, because they were so well fortified, that they were able  
 to defend themselves against any number of Germans  
 whatever; witness the brave repulse and many wounds the  
 enemy had received at the first attack; nor did they want  
 provisions to subsist on, till they could receive relief from  
 Cæsar and the neighbouring garrisons; and, in fine, that  
 nothing could be a greater argument of levity or cowardice,  
 than to follow an enemy’s advice in affairs of the greatest  
 importance.”

WAR IN  
 GAUL.

Cotta’s opi-  
 nion.

29. But on the other hand, Sabinus exclaimed, “ They had but a very short time to consult in, for it  
 would be too late to do any thing, when the enemy was  
 grown more powerful by conjunction with the Germans,  
 or when the neighbouring garrisons should be distressed:  
 That he believed Cæsar was already gone into Italy; for  
 the people of Chartres would not have presumed to murder  
 Talgetius, nor those of Liege so impudently have at-  
 tempted to force our camp, if he had not been absent:  
 That an enemy’s advice weighed not with him, but matter  
 of fact did; for the Rhine was not far off, the Germans  
 were much afflicted for the loss of Ariovistus, and dis-  
 turbed at the memory of our late victories; the Gauls  
 no less enraged, to reflect on the loss of their former milita-  
 ry glory, and the many injuries they had received since  
 they were reduced to the obedience of Rome: And lastly,  
 who could believe that Ambiorix would have engaged in  
 such a design without certain grounds? That his opinion  
 was safe on all sides; for, if the Gauls had no further  
 design, they might without danger march to the next le-  
 gion; but, if the whole country had been combined with  
 the Germans, the only means of safety consisted in dispatch:  
 whereas no other event could be expected from the advice  
 or Cotta, and those of the contrary opinion, except  
 starving by a long siege if they should avoid immediate  
 danger.”

Sabinus’  
 opinion.

30. The dispute was warmly maintained on both sides,  
 and Sabinus’s opinion strongly opposed by Cotta and the  
 chief officers of the legion; whereupon Sabinus, that  
 the greatest part of the soldiers might hear him, cried out  
 aloud, “ Do as you please, I am not more afraid to meet  
 death than any of you; but let these take notice, that  
 whatever misfortunes befall them, you are the person they  
 must

Sabinus’  
 reply.

WAR IN must thank for them; for, did not you prevent it,  
 GAUL. they might in three days time arrive at the next garrison,  
 share the same fate with their fellow-soldiers, and not per-  
 ish by sword or famine, like an abject and abandoned  
 people.”

The council  
 set out to  
 break up;  
 the officers  
 desire an  
 union.

Cotta sub-  
 mits.  
 Sabinus and

31. Upon this they were going to break up the coun-  
 cil; when the rest of the officers embracing them both,  
 intreated they would not by their obstinacy plunge their  
 affairs into so desperate a condition: that, provided they  
 were but of one opinion, there could be no difficulty either  
 in staying or going; but their dissention was the ready  
 way to ruin. The dispute continued 'till midnight; at  
 length Cotta submitted to Sabinus's opinion, and or-  
 ders were delivered out for marching by break of day.  
 The rest of the night was consumed in watching, each  
 soldier being employed in considering what he could carry,  
 and what part of the necessaries provided against  
 winter, he must be obliged to leave behind him; all things  
 were contrived to convince the soldiers there was no stay-  
 ing without danger, and to encrease it by their watching  
 and faintness.

## C H A P. XII.

Cotta begin  
 their march

EARLY in the morning they began their march,  
 in long narrow files encumbered with much baggage, as  
 those who had received advice from Ambiorix their  
 particular friend, not a treacherous enemy.

Are attack-  
 ed by an am-  
 bulcade.

32. But the Gauls perceiving, by our tumultuous watch-  
 ing, and the noise we made all night, that we designed to  
 decamp next morning, possessed themselves of two con-  
 venient and private places in the woods, about two miles  
 distant from our camp, where they waited for us in ambus-  
 cade; and when the greatest part of our army had entered  
 the valley, the enemy appearing on the rising ground on  
 both sides, at the same instant attacked our rear, and op-  
 posed the ascent of our van-guard, engaging us in a place  
 of very great advantage.

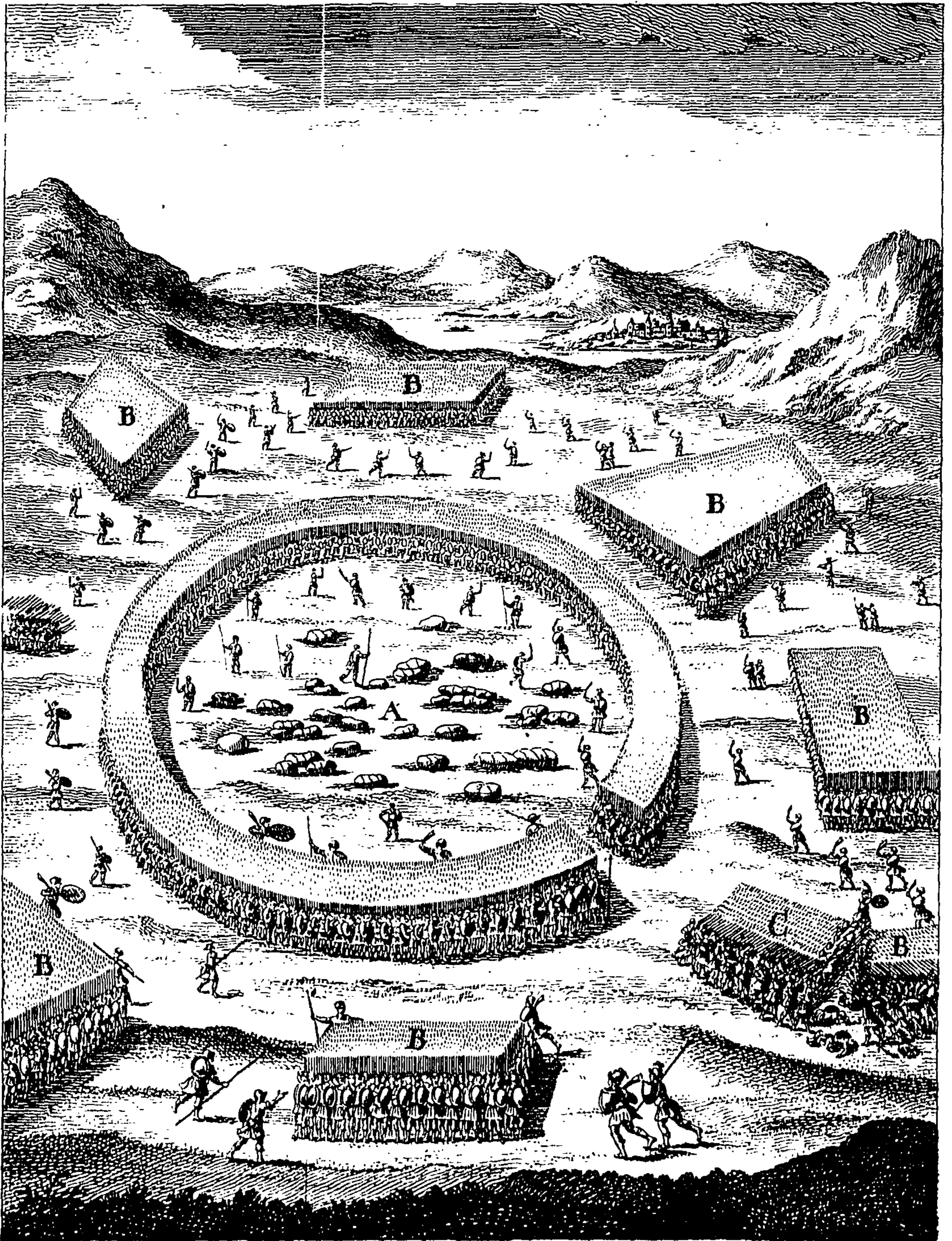
Sabinus's  
 cowardice.

33. Then was the time Titurius perceived his error;  
 unprepared for such an event, he ran up and down trem-  
 bling, drew up his cohorts, but after so awkward a manner,  
 that he seemed to despair of every thing, as it generally hap-  
 pens to those who are consulting when they should execute.





whenever a cohort left the orb to attack them, they fled away; in the mean time, the place from whence we sallied  
was



A. Sabinus & Cotta's Forces in an Orb      B. The Gauls Surrounding them      C. A Cohort Sallying out of the Orb. J. Jure. Sculp.

## C H A P. XIII.

BUT Cotta, who foresaw this might possibly be the consequence of their march, and therefore had opposed it, neglected nothing which might be of advantage to the public safety, for he performed the part of an able general in drawing up, and encouraging his men, and that of a soldier in fighting. And because the length of the army rendered it difficult for the lieutenants to visit all parts, and give the necessary orders for relief, they commanded the soldiers to quit their baggage, and cast themselves into an orb; which though proper at such a conjuncture, yet at this time the success did not answer the design, for it daunted our soldiers, and encouraged the enemy, who looked upon this expedient as the effect of despair; besides, as it always happens in such circumstances, the soldiers forsaking their ensigns, ran to the carriages, to rescue from thence what they set the greatest value on, and the whole army was filled with clamour and weeping.

WAR IN  
GAUL.

The Ro-  
mans cast  
themselves  
int. an orb;  
their consti-  
tion.

34. But the Gauls understood their business better; their officers gave orders that not a man of them should leave his ranks; that the baggage was theirs, and whatever the Romans had taken such care to lay up, would certainly fall into their hands, since all depended on the victory.

The Romans were equal to the Gauls both in courage and number; and though they were deserted by fortune and their general, still they placed their hopes of safety in their valour; and whenever a cohort of the enemy's fal-  
lied out, they made a considerable slaughter among them.

## C H A P. XIV.

WHICH Ambiorix observing, gave orders they should cast their darts at a distance, and not approach too near the Romans; that they should give way wherever we made a sally, and pursue us when we returned again to the army; for by the lightness of their arms, and daily exercise they were so nimble, that they might easily avoid the fury of our assault.

Ambiorix's  
manage-  
ment.

35. These directions they observed so diligently, that whenever a cohort left the orb to attack them, they fled away; in the mean time, the place from whence we sallied

was

WAR IN GAUL. was left exposed to the enemy's darts, and when we endeavoured to retreat again to our post, we were surrounded by those we had put to flight, and the parties that stood next them; wherefore, to pretend to maintain our ground had been in vain, for we could neither have an opportunity of shewing our courage, nor was it possible for us, though we stood ever so close together, to avoid the darts of so numerous an enemy. But notwithstanding we had so many inconveniencies to encounter, and the Romans had received so many wounds, having fought from break of day 'till two o'clock in the afternoon, during all that time they committed nothing unworthy their pristine courage: the brave Titus Balventius, who the year before was principle of a legion, a man of great authority, had both his thighs struck through with a javelin; Q. Lucanius, an officer of the same rank, fighting courageously to relieve his son, who was hemmed in by the enemy, lost his life; and lieutenant-general L. Cotta, whilst he was encouraging the soldiers, received a wound in his mouth from a sling.

## C H A P. XV.

26. Q. Titurius, being distressed at this ill success, as he saw Ambiorix encouraging his men at a distance, sent his interpreter C. Pompeius, to demand quarter for him and his soldiers; to which Ambiorix made answer, "That he was ready to give him a conference if he desired it, and hoped he should be able to prevail with his countrymen to grant the Romans quarter; but as for Titurius, he would give him his oath, no hurt should befall him." Having received this answer, he asked Cotta (who before had been wounded) whether he would leave the battle, and go along with him to confer with Ambiorix; Cotta told him he thought it not proper to consult with an armed enemy, and therefore resolved not to go.

37. Whereupon Sabinus commanded the tribunes, and first centurions, that were present to follow him; being come near Ambiorix, he was ordered to lay down his arms, which he did, bidding those who were with him to follow his example: but whilst they were treating about the conditions, Ambiorix began to make a long speech, during which time the Romans by degrees were surrounded and put to the sword. Whereupon the enemy, according to their custom cried out victory, making a dreadful noise, and charging our army with great fury, broke our ranks;

at

at which time, L. Cotta fighting bravely, lost his life, with the greatest part of the army; the rest retreated to the camp they had left in the morning, amongst which number L. Petrosidius, the eagle-bearer, finding himself oppressed by the enemy, cast the standard within the rampart, and manfully sustained their fury before the camp, 'till he expired; the rest were just able to maintain their ground 'till night, at which time every man of them, despairing of preservation, fell upon his own sword: some few who had escaped out of the battle, travelled through by-ways in the woods to Labienus, and gave him an account of the action.

WAR IN GAUL.  
Cotta killed, and the whole army entirely defeated. The Romans that retreated to their camp, kill themselves.

## C H A P. XVI.

38. AMBIORIX was so puffed up with this success, that he immediately went with his cavalry to Namur, the province which lay next to his country, travelling day and night without intermission, having left orders for the infantry to follow him. He gave the people an account of what he had done, and having stirred them up to rebellion, arrived the day after in the confines of the Hainaultois, whom he persuaded not to omit so glorious an opportunity of freeing themselves for ever, and revenging the injuries they had received from the Romans: He acquainted them that he had already slain two of their lieutenant-generals, and put a considerable part of their army to the sword; that it would be no difficult matter for them suddenly to attack, and cut off the legion in winter quarters under the command of Cicero; and that he was ready to assist them in the enterprize. The Hainaultois were easily gained over by these arguments.

Ambiorix goes to Namur and Hainault, moves the natives to rebel,

39. Whereupon immediately dispatching embassadors to the (e) Centrones, Grudii, Levaci, Pleumosii, and Gorduni, who are all their tributaries; and having raised what forces they could, they marched with great expedition to Cicero's quarters, and arrived there before he had heard the news of Titurius's death.

(e) Scaliger and Ortelius say the Centrones were the people of Tricastelle in Savoy; but Cæsar mentions two countries of the same name, and these we are now speaking of, lived amongst the Belgæ: some critics suspect this to be a corruption of the text, but Saxon takes them for those that now live about Ghent; the Grudii he places at Bruges, the Levaci in the county of Waes in Flanders, the Pleumosii in the diocess of Tournay, and the Gorduni in the bailiwick of Courtray; probable conjectures taken from the situation of the places, and Saxton's etymologies.

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Cotta refuses to go to the conference.

Sabinus goes with his party. They are commanded to lay down their arms,

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## C H A P X V I I .

WAR IN  
GAUL.



The enemy  
endeavour to  
storm the  
Roman camp  
under Cice-  
ro's com-  
mand; but  
are repulsed.

The Gauls  
attempt a se-  
cond storm;  
but are again  
repulsed.

Cicero's  
diligence.

HERE likewise it fell out (as of necessity it must) that the enemy's horse surpris'd some of the Romans, who were gone to fetch in timber to strengthen their fortresses: these being thus secured, the people of Chartrain, Namur, and Hainault, with all their confederates and tributaries, amounting to a great number, began to storm the Roman camp: whereupon our men immediately repaired to their arms, ascended the rampier, and with great difficulty, sustained the enemy's charge, for the Gauls had placed all their hopes in dispatch, and promised themselves perpetual success, if they could but obtain the victory that day.

40. In the mean time Cicero sent away couriers with all expedition to Cæsar, promising them considerable rewards, in case they had the fortune to arrive safe with his packets; but the ways round about were so blocked up, that they were all intercepted: however, in one night with incredible celerity, he built to the number of 120 towers (of the wood which the soldiers brought into the camp for the fortifications) to compleat his works where they seem'd imperfect. The next day the enemy, with a much greater force than before, storm'd our camp a second time, filled the ditch, but were again repulsed; and the same thing they attempted several days together, with the like success. The Romans in the mean while laboured incessantly at their works in the night, nor were either the sick or wounded permitted to rest; whatever was necessary to defeat the next day's assault was provided in the night, several stakes were harden'd in the fire, plenty of piles driven into the ground; the towers were boarded, the battlements and parapets fortified with breast-works of hurdles: and even Cicero, though of a weakly constitution, did not allow himself time to rest in the night, 'till the soldiers un-animously desired him to consult his health.

## C H A P X V I I I .

The Hainaultois use the same stratagem with Cicero, as Ambiorix had with Sabinus and Cotta.

41. THE Hainaultois finding themselves thus disappointed, their noblemen, who had formerly any acquaintance or friendship with Cicero, desir'd a conference; which being ranted, they used the same artifice as Ambiorix had formerly done with Sabinus: "They told him all the kingdoms of Gaul were in arms; that the Germans had



had passed the Rhine; that Cæsar's, and the rest of the winter-quarters were besieged; that Sabinus was killed, and as a proof of it, produced Ambiorix to their view; wherefore Cicero would be much in the wrong, to flatter himself with hopes of relief from those that were not able to maintain their own ground: yet such was their esteem for him and the people of Rome, that they would deny them nothing except their taking up winter quarters in their country, which they would by no means permit to grow customary; but if they had a mind to quit their garrison, the Gauls would allow them safe passage through their territories, to such place as they designed to march to."

WAR IN  
GAUL.

To this Cicero only answered, "That it was not usual with the Romans to accept conditions from an armed enemy; but if they would lay down their arms, and make use of his intercession, they might send ambassadors to Cæsar, from whose clemency he believed they would obtain such redress as they desired."

Cicero's  
answer.

## C H A P. XIX.

42. THIS stratagem failing, the Hainaultois surrounded our camp with a rampier eleven foot high, and a ditch fifteen foot deep. This piece of fortification they had learned some years before, partly from the Romans, and partly from the prisoners they had taken; but wanting instruments proper for the occasion, they were forced to cut up turf with their swords, to dig mould with their hands, and carry it in their cloaks; from whence we may form a judgment how numerous they were; for in less than the space of three hours they had compleated a circumvallation (a) fifteen miles in length: the following days they raised turrets in proportion to the height of the rampier, and prepared scythes and penthouses according to the instruction of the captives.

The Hainaultois surrounded the Roman camp with a ditch and a rampier.

43. The seventh day of the siege, the wind being high, they began to sling burning bullets made of clay, and red hot iron upon the Roman barracks, which after the manner of the Gauls being thatched with straw, immediately took fire, and the sparks were in an instant distributed by the wind all over the camp; whereupon the enemy, as if already secure of victory, with great clamour approached our rampier with their turrets, mounts, pent-

The Gauls' first effort to storm Cicero's camp.

(a) But the Roman miles only consisted of 1000 paces, which is 56 paces less than ours, and their feet were about half an inch shorter than ours. Upon the whole, their mile was near a tenth less than ours, 21 English making 23 Roman miles.

WAR IN houses, and endeavoured to scale it; but so great was the  
 GAUL. soldiers courage and presence of mind, that though they  
 were surrounded by the flames, and overwhelmed with an  
 infinite number of darts; though they saw their effects  
 burning before their face, yet not a man forsook the  
 rampier, or cast an eye upon his departing baggage, each  
 bravely maintaining his ground against the attempt of the  
 enemy. This was the bloodiest day our men endured  
 since the beginning of the siege; but they had the good for-  
 tune to kill and wound considerable numbers of the Gauls,  
 who crowded so close to the rampier, that the hindmost  
 prevented the front from retiring: By that time the fire was  
 a little abated, the enemy had joined one of their tur-  
 rets to our rampier; whereupon the centurions of the  
 third cohort retired from their post, and, drawing off their  
 men, beckoned to the Gauls, and desired them to enter  
 if they pleased; but not a man of them had the courage to  
 move. Then our soldiers assaulting them from all sides  
 with stones, set their turret on fire.

## C H A P. XX.

Pulvio and  
 Varenus,  
 their gene-  
 rous emula-  
 tion.

44. THERE were in this legion two centurions, both  
 men of extraordinary courage, that stood fair for prefer-  
 ment, T. Pulvio, and L. Varenus. These two were  
 continually disputing for the preference, each striving  
 to be advanced above the other at every year's promo-  
 tion: Pulvio in the heat of the attack, cried out, "Va-  
 renus! what now detains you? what more glorious op-  
 portunity would you desire to signalize yourself? this day  
 shall decide the dispute between us, and put an end to  
 our emulation." Then leaving the camp, he threw him-  
 self in amongst the thickest of the Gauls, and was soon  
 followed, at some distance, by his rival, whom honour  
 would not permit to stay behind. Pulvio cast his pile  
 at the enemy, and gave one of them, who was hasten-  
 ing to engage him, such a wound, that he immediately  
 dropped; but they soon covered him with their shields, and  
 all discharged their darts at Pulvio, without giving him  
 leisure to retire; one of which piercing his shield, stuck  
 fast in his belt, and turning aside his scabbard, hindered  
 his right hand from drawing his sword before he was sur-  
 rounded. At this instant Varenus came to his assist-  
 ance, and the enemy left Pulvio, fancying the dart  
 had already done his business, to attack Varenus;  
 who having drawn his sword, killed the first that came  
 near

near him, and obliged the rest in some measure to retreat; WAR IN GAUL. but being too eager in pressing forwards upon a descent, he fell down: Pulvio having in the mean time recovered himself, now in his turn saved Varenus, and both together, after they had slain several of the Gauls, and acquired infinite applause, returned safe to their trenches: So far did Fortune interest herself in this glorious contest, that she gave each an opportunity of rescuing his rival; but left it dubious which of the two merited the greater honour.

## C H A P. XXI.

45. GREAT part of our soldiers being wounded, we had very few left that were fit for service: wherefore, the hotter the siege grew, the more couriers did Cicero dispatch to Cæsar, though several of them were taken, and racked to death within view of our soldiers. But Cicero sends there happened to be one Vertico, a gentleman of Hainault, in our camp, who came over to the Romans at the beginning of the siege, and had given sufficient proofs of his fidelity: this gentleman, with promises of liberty and considerable rewards, persuaded one of his slaves to carry a packet to Cæsar, which he tied to his javelin: being a native of the country, he passed without the least suspicion through the Hainaultois, and arrived safe at Cæsar's quarters, who was informed by this means of the danger Cicero and his legion were in. Cæsar word of his being besieged, by the assistance of Vertico.

46. Immediately on receipt of this packet, about five o'clock in the afternoon, he sent orders to M. Crassus, pay-master of the army, whose quarters were in Beauvois, about twenty-five miles off, that he should draw out his legion at midnight, and march with all the expedition he could to join him. Cæsar receives the letters, and immediately prepares to relieve him. Crassus immediately set out with the courier: Another was dispatched to lieutenant C. Fabius whom he commanded to meet him on the borders of Arras, through which he designed to march: he writ likewise to Labienus to meet him on the confines of Hainault, if he could do it with safety. He thought it not adviseable to wait for the rest of his army, which lay at a greater distance; only sent for about 400 horse from the nearest garrisons.

47. At nine in the morning he had notice from his scouts of Crassus's approach, and having marched that day about twenty miles, he made him governor of Amiens, and left him with a legion to take care of the baggage of the army,

WAR IN army, the hostages, publick papers, and all the provisions  
 GAUL. which had been laid up there for the winter. Fabius,  
 according to his orders, met Cæsar at the time and place  
 appointed; but Labienus having notice of Sabinus's  
 death, the loss of his cohorts, and understanding that all  
 the forces of Treves were marching towards him, was ap-  
 prehensive, in case he should quit his quarters, the enemy  
 might misconstrue it for a flight; and that it would be im-  
 possible for him to sustain their assault, who were flush'd  
 with the success of their late victory; wherefore he sent  
 Cæsar word of what dangerous consequence it might be  
 to leave his garrison, after what had happened in Liege,  
 especially since all the horse and foot of the people of  
 Treves lay not above three miles distant from his camp.

Cæsar ar-  
 rives on the  
 confines of  
 Hainault,

sends Cicero  
 word of his  
 march to his  
 relief.

Cicero finds  
 Cæsar's let-  
 ter.

The Gauls  
 quit the  
 siege, Cicero  
 sends Cæsar  
 word of it.

48. Cæsar approved of his reasons, and though the  
 expectation of his three legions was now reduced only to  
 two, yet, placing all his hopes of the publick safety in dis-  
 patch, he arrived by long marches on the confines of Hai-  
 nault, where he was informed from some prisoners, of  
 Cicero's condition, and what danger he was in: then  
 persuading a trooper of Gaul by considerable rewards to  
 carry a letter to Cicero, he writ it in Greek characters,  
 that, if it happened to fall into the enemy's hands, they  
 might not be able to understand it; and if the messenger  
 had not an opportunity of getting into the camp, he had  
 instructions to fasten the packet by a string to his javelin,  
 and cast it within the trenches. In this letter Cæsar sent  
 Cicero word, that he would very shortly come with his  
 legions to his assistance, and therefore encouraged him to  
 persevere in his wonted constancy. The Gaul being ap-  
 prehensive of danger, according to orders cast his javelin  
 within the fortifications, which by accident lighted upon a  
 tower, where it stuck two days before it was observed by  
 the Romans; but the third day one of our soldiers found  
 the letter, and brought it to Cicero, who read it pub-  
 lickly to the besieged, which gave them no small satisfac-  
 tion; and not long after, by the smoke of the fires at some  
 distance, they were thoroughly convinced of Cæsar's ap-  
 proach.

49. The Gauls having notice of this by their scouts,  
 immediately quitted the siege, and marched with all their  
 forces toward Cæsar, which amounted to 60000 men.  
 Cicero being now at liberty, took care to find out Ver-  
 tico's slave, the Gaul before-mentioned, and giving him  
 directions to travel with all the caution and diligence pos-  
 sible,

sible, sent him with a packet to Cæsar, informing him, that the enemy, having broken up the siege, were marching with all their forces against him.

WAR IN  
GAUL.



Cæsar received this packet about mid-night; whereupon he communicated the contents of it to his army, and encouraged them to fight. The next day early he encamp'd and having marched about four miles, cross a spacious vale, through which there ran a river, he descry'd the enemy; but thinking it dangerous to engage so numerous an army in a place of disadvantage, and considering that since he had already raised the siege, there was no necessity for such violent expedition, he chose as advantageous a place as he could to encamp in, which he fortified; and tho' he had hardly (b) 7000 men in his army, who having no baggage, could not require much ground to lodge themselves in; yet, to increase the pride of the enemy, he contracted the spaces between the tents more than usual, and in the mean time dispatched his scouts to discover which was the most convenient way to cross the valley.

Cæsar en-  
camps.

50. There happened the same day several skirmishes between the enemy's cavalry and ours on the banks of the river; but both armies kept within their camp; the Gauls, because they expected the arrival of fresh recruits; and Cæsar, because he endeavoured by a counterfeit fear to draw the enemy out of the valley, that he might have the opportunity of engaging them before his camp; or at least, if he could not effect that design, that having discovered the safest ways, he might cross the river, and pass the valley with less danger. The next morning by break of day, the enemy's cavalry marching up to our camp, engaged our horse, who, by Cæsar's command, gave ground, and retreated into the camp; he likewise caused the rampier on all sides to be built higher, the gates to be stopp'd up and that the soldiers, in the execution of their orders, should give all the demonstrations of fear and confusion imaginable.

The Gauls  
attack Cæ-  
sar's camp.

Cæsar's stra-  
tagem.

51. The enemy, enticed by these artifices, cross'd the river with all their forces, and drew up their army in a very disadvantageous place; our men having retired from the rampier, they approached our camp, cast their darts within the trenches from all sides, and sent heralds round about to proclaim, that if any Gaul or Roman would come over to them before nine of the clock, they would grant him quarter; but, that time once expired, it would too late to expect it: nay, so contemptible were we in

(b) Then we must suppose his legions were not compleat.

WAR IN their opinion, that, because they fancied they could not en-  
 GAUL. ter the ports of our camp, which he had stopp'd up with  
 a single row of turfs, to make a seeming opposition, some  
 endeavour'd to scramble up the rampier without ladders,  
 whilst others began to fill the ditch : whereupon Cæsar,  
 causing his horse to fall out from all the ports at the same  
 instant, put the enemy immediately to flight, not a man  
 of them daring to make the least opposition ; several of  
 them he put to the sword, and others were glad to surren-  
 der their arms.

Cæsar routs  
 the Hainaul-  
 tois.

Marches to  
 Cicero.

52. Cæsar thought it not convenient to pursue, be-  
 cause of the intervening woods and marshes ; wherefore be-  
 ing satisfied with the execution he had already done upon  
 the enemy in that place, he arrived safe the same day with  
 all his forces at Cicero's camp, where he was amazed to  
 behold the turrets, penthouses, and fortifications of the  
 Gauls. Having drawn out the legion, he perceived not a  
 tenth man had escaped without wounds, from whence he  
 computed with how much valour and danger they had de-  
 fended their camp ; wherefore applauding Cicero and  
 the legion for their courage, he spoke to every centurion  
 and tribune by name, who, as Cicero informed him,  
 had signalized himself in the siege. Having a particular  
 account by the captives of the fate of Sabinus and Cotta,  
 the next day, in a publick oration, he comforted the  
 soldiers upon so melancholy a circumstance, telling them,  
 " They should be the less disturbed at the loss occasioned by  
 the rashness of a lieutenant, since, by the favour of the  
 immortal Gods, their virtue had expiated that shame, in  
 allowing the enemy but a short time to glory in their suc-  
 cess, or themselves to deplore their misfortune."

Cæsar's  
 speech on  
 Sabinus's  
 defeat.

## C H A P. XXII.

Labiens  
 hears of Cæ-  
 sar's success.

Whereupon  
 Indutioma-  
 rus returns  
 home.

53. THE fame of Cæsar's victory was carried with  
 incredible speed through the country of Rheims to Labie-  
 nus ; for though his quarters lay fifty miles distant from the  
 place of action, which was not ended before three o'clock  
 in the afternoon, yet before midnight at the ports of his  
 camp were heard the acclamations of the people of Rheims,  
 congratulating Labienus on Cæsar's success. Upon  
 this news, Indutiomarus with his countrymen, who  
 designed to have attacked Labienus's quarters the next  
 day, decamped in the night, and returned to Treves.  
 Cæsar sent Fabius back again, with the legion under  
 his command, to his winter-quarters, designing to stay  
 himself

himself with three other legions, to be lodged in several places about Amiens; and since Gaul was so full of commotions, he resolved to stay there the rest of the winter; for such was the effect of Sabinus's death, that every province of Gaul sent mutual embassies to inform each other of their designs, and where they would begin the war; so great was their diligence, they met in private places in the night, to consult of their affairs; and scarce a day passed all that winter, but what gave Cæsar some solicitude from the intelligence he had of new resolves or insurrections in the country. Amongst the rest, he was informed by L. Roscius, to whom he had given the command of the thirteenth legion, that a considerable number of Gauls from Normandy and Britain had marched within eight miles of his quarters, designing to besiege him, but having intelligence of Cæsar's victory, returned with as much precipitation to their own country, as if they had been put to flight.

54. Whereupon Cæsar summoned the chief noblemen of every state, and by intimidating some, in telling them he was acquainted with their designs, and encouraging others to continue loyal, he preserved great part of the country in obedience. But the people of Sens, the most puissant and considerable province in Gaul, by general consent endeavoured to murder Cavarinus, whom Cæsar had constituted their king, whose brother Moritasgus was possessed of the throne at Cæsar's arrival in Gaul, and whose ancestors had been sovereigns there long before. The poor prince having notice of their design, prepared for his safety by flight, but they pursued him to the confines of their country, and deprived him as well of his private patrimony, as his kingdom. Having sent ambassadors to Cæsar, to clear themselves, he commanded the whole senate to appear before him: which they refused to comply with. So far did this example prevail amongst the Barbarians, that some were so hardy as to declare open war; and so wonderful an alteration did it work through the whole country, that there was not a province which was not suspected, (except Autun and Rheims, two countries always esteemed by Cæsar, the first for its ancient and constant fidelity to the people of Rome, the other for the late services it had done in the Gallic wars.) Which may be accounted for from several reasons, but especially from that uneasiness they felt in seeing themselves, who formerly excelled all other nations in war, so much fallen

WAR IN  
GAUL.

Armoricæ  
Civitates, or  
the people  
of Normandy  
and Brittain  
design to besiege  
Roscius; but on the  
news of  
Cæsar's  
victory re-  
turn.

The people  
of Sens con-  
spire against  
Cavarinus  
excel him  
the king-  
dom.

WAR IN from their antient glory as to become vassals to the people  
GAUL. of Rome.

Indutioma-  
rus sends to  
Germany for  
assistance,  
but is refu-  
sed.

55. But Indutiomarus and his countrymen of Treves were very busy all the winter, in sending embassadors cross the Rhine, to solicit the Germans by promises of money to their assistance, assuring them for their encouragement, that the greatest part of the Roman army was already cut off. But not one province of Germany could they bring over to their party, for they all sent them word, they had twice experienced the courage of the Romans to their sorrow, in the defeat of Ariovistus, and the people of Hesse and Zutphen; nor would they venture to try their fortunes again. Indutiomarus, being disappointed of this expectation, was nevertheless diligent in raising forces at home and in the neighbouring provinces, in providing horses, and encouraging out-laws to repair to his standard by considerable rewards: so great was the credit and authority he acquired by this means throughout the whole continent, that there came embassadors to him from every part of Gaul, as well in publick as privately, to solicit his alliance.

However he  
raises an ar-  
my at home

Indutioma-  
rus call a  
council of  
war.  
The custom  
of the Gauls  
before they  
declare war.


He pro-  
claims Cin-  
getorix a re-  
bel.

Labienus be-  
sieged.

56. Understanding that the people of Sens and Chartre of one side, push'd on by the remembrance of their late revolt, were marching to join him; that those of Hainault and Namur, on the other side, were preparing to make war against the Romans; and that he should not want volunteers, whenever he marched out of his country, he called a council of war. The custom of the Gauls, before they proclaim war is this; "They summon all the youth of the country, that are able to bear arms, to a general place of rendezvous, and he that has the misfortune to come last, in the presence of the rest is put to death with the cruellest torments they can inflict upon him." At this council Indutiomarus took care that his son-in-law Cingetorix, head of the opposite faction, who, as we have already taken notice, behaved himself faithfully to Cæsar, should be proclaimed a rebel, and his goods confiscated: then he acquainted his countrymen, that he was called upon for his assistance by the people of Sens, Chartres, and several other provinces of Gaul; wherefore he designed to march through the confines of Rheims, and lay their country waste; but first he would besiege Labienus, and accordingly dispatch'd such orders as he thought most convenient.

57. Labienus's quarters being equally fortified both by art and nature, he was not in the least uneasy for him-  
self



self or his legion; but thinking it convenient to lay hold WAR IN  
of every advantageous opportunity, upon the intelligence GAUL.  
he received of Indutiomarus's designs, from Cingetorix   
and some of his relations, who were present at the coun-  
cil, he sent commissaries to bring him cavalry from all the  
countries round about, to whom he appointed a certain  
day of rendezvous. In the mean while, Indutiomarus  
with all his horse rode about the Roman camp, sometimes  
to discover our situation, and sometimes to confer with, and  
threaten us, each of them casting his dart within our ram-  
pier; but Labienus suffered not his men to move out of  
their trenches, and contrived all the means he could to con-  
vince the enemy of his fear.

58. Indutiomarus visited our trenches each day with  
more contempt than before, till Labienus had, by the fa-  
vour of the night, received the cavalry from the neighbour-  
ing countries which he had sent for; upon whose arrival  
he kept so strict a guard in his camp, that it was impossible  
for the enemy to get intelligence of this reinforcement.  
In the mean time Indutiomarus, according to custom,  
came the next morning to our camp, where he lost great  
part of the day, whilst his cavalry cast their darts, and en-  
deavoured by opprobrious language to provoke our men to  
an engagement: but the Romans made no return 'till the  
evening, when Labienus seeing the enemy return dispersed  
to their camp, caused his cavalry to make an unexpected  
sally upon them from two several ports, having first given  
particular orders, that when they should have routed them,  
which happened according to his expectation, they should  
all aim at Indutiomarus, and not wound any man what-  
ever, before they had killed him, that no delay might give Labienus de-  
him an opportunity of escaping; he promised likewise con- feats Indu-  
siderable rewards to the man by whose hand he died; and tiomarus,  
sent the cohorts after the horse to sustain them, if there  
should be occasion. Fortune seconded his purpose, for all  
the Roman cavalry aiming only at Indutiomarus, he was whose head  
overtaken and slain while he was fording the river; they is cut off,  
brought his head to the camp, and then returning, pursued and brought  
and slew as many of the enemy as they could. Upon the to the Ro-  
news of this defeat, the forces of Leige and Hainault re- man camp.  
turned again to their country, and Cæsar enjoy'd more  
peace in Gaul than before.