

---

---

---

C. J. CÆSAR'S  
COMMENTARY  
OF HIS  
WAR IN GAUL.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

Cæsar having reduced the Hainaultois, and received submission of those of Sens and Chartres, defeats the people of Gueldres. Labienus has the like success in Treves. Cæsar makes a second expedition into Germany. The Sicambri attack his camp; which he defends with some loss; and having laid waste the country of Liege, turns to Italy.

CHAP. I.

WAR IN GAUL. **C**ÆSAR having many reasons to expect farther commotions in Gaul, commanded his lieutenants, M. Silanus, C. Antistius Rheginus, and T. Sextius, to raise recruits; and writ to Cn. Pompey, then proconsul, desiring him, since the affairs at Rome were such as necessarily detained him there, that he would list again the disbanded legions, which he levied in Lombardy when consul, and send them to him: for he thought it of great importance to his future affairs, that the Gauls should perceive Italy was so powerful, that she was not only able immediately to repair any damage she received, but even to send more recruits than she

Cæsar levies new forces, sends to Pompey for more.

she lost. Pompey moved by the public advantage, and the friendship he bore Cæsar, readily complied with his demands, and before the winter expired, sent him three legions. Thus having doubled the number of the cohorts which were lost with Q Titurius, he shewed the Gauls by his forces and dispatch, what might be expected from the riches and discipline of the Roman people.

WAR IN  
GAUL.

## C H A P. V.

2. A F T E R the death of Indutiomarus, the people of Treves conferred the kingdom on his next relations, who lost no time in persuading the neighbouring Germans, by promises of money, to undertake their assistance; but finding their endeavours vain, they made their application to those that lived farther from them. At length they gained over some provinces to make a league with them, upon delivery of hostages, as a security of the pay they were to receive for their services; and the next Step they took was to enter into an alliance with Ambiorix. Cæsar being informed of these proceedings, and perceiving what preparations were carrying on for war on all sides; that the people of Hainault, Namur, Gueldres, and Germans cross the Rhine were already up in arms; that the natives of Sens, instead of appearing according to his orders, were in consultation with those of Chartres; and that the Germans were solicited by daily embassies from the people of Treves to come into Gaul; he thought it necessary to prepare for war earlier than usual.

The people  
of Treves  
send to Ger-  
many again  
for assistance  
and obtain  
it.

3. Wherefore before the winter was over, having drawn out the four legions which lay next his quarters, he made so sudden and unexpected a march into Hainault, that before the natives could either rally their forces to oppose him, or save themselves by flight, he had taken great numbers of cattle and prisoners; the plunder he gave to his soldiers, and having laid the country waste, obliged the people to submit, and deliver hostages for their future fidelity. This affair being thus expeditiously terminated, he sent his legions back into their winter-quarters.

Cæsar marches  
into  
Hainault;

which sub-  
mits.

## C H A P. III.

WAR IN GAUL. 3. HE had before appointed the states of Gaul to assemble at the beginning of the spring; but the people of Sens, Chartres, and Treves did not make their appearance there; which Cæsar esteeming as a revolt, and declaration of war, for the quicker dispatch adjourned the diet to Paris, which borders on the country of Sens, and was within the memory of man united with it, yet not suspected to be concerned in the rebellion; wherefore having from his tribunal pronounced the translation of the diet to that place, he began his journey the same day towards Sens, and arrived there in a short time by long marches.

Cæsar translates the diet to Paris.

Marches to Sens:

They submit, and are pardoned at the intercession of the Autunois.

Those of Chartres do the like, and the people of Rheims procure their pardon.

4. Acco, the chief author of that rebellion, having notice of Cæsar's approach, commanded the people to retire into their towns; but the execution of his orders was prevented by Cæsar's dispatch. Wherefore finding it in vain to resist, they sent ambassadors to beg pardon for what they had done, and prevailed with the faithful Autunois to intercede for them: Cæsar, at such a mediation, accepted of their excuse, knowing well, that when summer was approaching, it was a season for action, not of examining delinquents: wherefore having demanded an hundred hostages, he committed them to the custody of the Autunois. Those of Chartres did the like, and by the intercession of the people of Rheims, whose tributaries they were, on delivery of hostages obtained the same favour. After this he returned to the diet, and commanded each province to furnish him with their usual quota of cavalry.

## C H A P. IV.

5. HAVING quieted this part of Gaul, Cæsar employed all his thoughts upon the war with Treves and Ambiorix; wherefore to prevent any new commotions in Sens, which might arise either from Cavarinus's desire of revenge, or the people's ancient malice, he commanded him to go along with him, at the head of his country's cavalry.

And having thus settled these affairs, because they was assured Ambiorix would not give him battle, he began to provide against all his designs. Gueldres joins to the confines of Liege, is fortified with plenty of woods and marshes

on



on every side, and this was the only province of Gaul that WAR IN had not sent embassadors to Cæsar, to desire a peace; GAUL. he was likewise informed that they entertained Ambiorix, and by the instigation of the people of Treves had entered into an alliance with the Germans: but thinking it the wisest way, first to deprive Ambiorix of these assistances, before he attacked him, that he might not have an opportunity of retiring to Guelders, or joining the Germans cross the Rhine; he sent the baggage of his whole army before, under convoy of two legions, to Labienus, who was then in the confines of Treves, himself march- Cæsar marches with five legion into Guelders. ing in the mean time with the other five against the people of Guelders; who, relying on the natural fortifications of their country, had raised no forces, but upon his arrival conveyed themselves and their effects into the woods and marshes.

6. Wherefore Cæsar, dividing all his forces in three battalions, committed one to the care of lieutenant C. Fabius, another to M. Crassus the pay-master, and having with great expedition finished his bridges, attacked them in three places at once, and set fire to their towns and buildings; he obtained a considerable booty of cattle and prisoners, which obliged the rebels to send embassadors to sue for peace: Cæsar, on delivery of hostages, accepted their submission, telling them he should esteem them his enemies, if they received Ambiorix into their country, or any deputies from him. This affair dispatched, he left Comius of Arras there, with a party of horse, to keep the country in obedience, and marched himself towards Treves. That province submits.

C H A P. V.

7. WHILST Cæsar was thus employed, the people The people of Treves of Treves, having levied a considerable number of horse and foot, were marching to besiege Labienus with his march to besiege Labienus. single legion, which was quartered in their confines, and were already arrived within two days march of his camp, when they had intelligence that he had received two legions from Cæsar: wherefore they encamped themselves about fifteen miles distant from the Romans, designing to expect the arrival of their German auxiliaries. Labienus, understanding their resolution, left only five cohorts to secure the baggage, marching towards the enemy with the other twenty-five, and a considerable number

WAR IN  
GAUL.

ber of horse; for he hoped their rashness might afford him an opportunity to engage them; and therefore encamped within a mile of the place where the Gauls were lodged. Between Labienus and the Gauls ran a river, which was difficult to ford, because the banks were very rough and steep; wherefore he believed the enemy no more designed to pass it than himself. The Gauls were daily in expectation of fresh supplies, for which reason he declared in open council, "Since the Germans were so near, he would neither venture the loss of his person nor army, but decamp the next morning early." 'Twas not very long e'er the enemy had notice of what passed in council; for having so many Gauls in our army, it was natural for them to favour their countrymen: but Labienus at midnight called a council of the tribunes, and first centurions, whom he acquainted with his design; and that the enemy might be more strongly confirmed in their opinion of the fear the Romans were in, he commanded the soldiers to remove with more noise and confusion than usual, as if they were flying rather than decamping; which the enemy, not lying far off, were informed of by their scouts before break of day.

8. Our rear had hardly left their trenches, before the Gauls began to encourage each other to the pursuit; saying, "So happy an opportunity was not to be omitted; that the Romans being in so great confusion, it were folly to stay in expectation of the Germans; nor was it suitable to the honour of their country, to permit so small a party, already put to flight, and encumbered by their baggage, to escape without daring to attack them." Wherefore they resolved to pass the river, and engage the Romans, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground. Labienus imagining this would be the effect of his retreat, to carry on the artifice, marched slowly on till he had enticed them all cross the river; his baggage, which he had sent away before, he ordered to be placed upon a little hill; then turning to his soldiers, he said, "Fortune has blessed you with the opportunity you have so long desired; you have now drawn the enemy into a disadvantageous place; let me therefore desire you to behave yourselves with the same courage under command, as you have done formerly when led by your general; believe him to be present, that he beholds, and will reward your virtue." Then commanding them to face about, he drew up the legions in order of battle, and having detached a  
small



small party of horse for a guard to his carriages, disposed the rest in the two wings of his army. Our men, setting up a shout, immediately cast their piles at the enemy, who were so surprized to see the Romans, who they fancied but the moment before had fled, now come with their eagles advanced to attack them, that they had not the courage to sustain the first onset, but fled for safety to the neighbouring woods. Labienus pursued with his cavalry, slew great numbers of them, took as many prisoners, and in a few days after subdued the whole country; for the Germans, who were marching to their assistance, having notice of this defeat, returned home again, taking Indutiomarus's kinsmen along with them, who having been the occasion of this revolt, were forced to fly their country; and Cingetorix, who had always given proofs of his fidelity to the Romans, was constituted king of Treves.

*WAR IN GAUL.*  
He engages,

and defeats the people of Treves.

Whereupon the Germans, who were marching to their assistance, return.

C H A P. VI.

9. CÆSAR, having left Guelders, was now arrived in Treves, where he resolved to pass the Rhine, to chastise the Germans for having sent supplies to the people of that country, and prevent Ambiorix's being protected amongst them: for these reasons he began to build a bridge a little above the place where he had crossed the river before, which was contrived after the same manner as the former, and compleated in a few days by the constant industry of the soldiers. Having left a strong garrison on the other side the bridge, to suppress all insurrections in Treves, he crossed the river with the rest of his army: so soon as he arrived in Germany, the Ubii, who had formerly delivered hostages, and were received into the protection of the Romans, sent ambassadors to inform him, that they had given no assistance to Treves, nor done any thing to forfeit their fidelity: but if he required it, they were ready to send more hostages; wherefore they humbly besought him, that he would distinguish them from the rest of the Germans, and not punish the innocent with the guilty: Cæsar, upon further examination, found the Ubii were not concerned in the revolt, and that the supplies were sent by the Suabians; wherefore he enquired which were the readiest accessles to their country.

Cæsar resolves to go into Germany.

Casts a bridge cross the Rhine, and marches over it.

The Ubii send ambassadors to him.

10. Some few days after he was informed by the Ubii, that the Suabians had drawn up all their forces in one place,

He marches ag. inst the Suabians.

WAR IN place, from whence they sent orders to their tributaries, GAUL. to furnish them with supplies of horse and foot; where-  
 upon having chose a convenient situation to encamp in, he ordered the Ubii to drive all their cattle out of the fields into their towns; hoping, that so barbarous and unexperienced an enemy, being strengthened for want of provisions, might easily be drawn to engage in a place of disadvantage; commanding them, in the mean while, to send frequent scouts into Suabia, to discover the enemy's motions: They obeyed his orders, and soon informed him, that the Suabians, upon notice of his arrival, had retired to a prodigious forest, called Bacenis, at the extremity of their confines, which served for a mutual frontier between them and the Cherusci, where they designed to attend the Roman army.

## C H A P. VII.

11. AS we are come to this place, it may not be impertinent to give an account of the customs of Gaul and Germany, and the different factions that reign amongst them: The Gauls are so addicted to faction, that they have not only divisions among their several provinces, cantons, and districts, but even in every family; the heads of these parties are persons of greatest interest among them, to whose judgment and command they submit the direction of all their affairs. This custom seems to have been instituted by antiquity, to the intent that the most obscure person in the commonwealth might be able to contend with his richer adversary; for each of these heads is obliged to protect his party, otherwise he would soon be stripped of his authority. The same custom is observed throughout the whole continent of Gaul, which is divided into two factions.

12. On Cæsar's first arrival in the country, those of Autun were the chief of one, the Franche-comtois of the other party; but finding themselves no equal match for the Autunois (who from all antiquity bore the greatest sway in Gaul, and had many tributary states dependent on them) pray'd assistance of Ariovistus and the Germans; whom by considerable presents, and great promises, they drew cross the Rhine to their aid. After the arrival of their new allies, having fought many successful battles, the scales were so turned, that those of Franche-comte made themselves masters of several siefs belonging

The custom  
of the Gauls.

What posture the affairs of Gaul were in on Cæsar's arrival.



to the Autunois, obliged them to send the sons of their nobility for hostages, to take an oath of allegiance to them; GAUL. usurped part of their territories, and soon obtained the sovereignty of the whole continent. Whereupon Divitiacus took a journey to Rome, to implore assistance from the senate, which he could not obtain: but on Cæsar's arrival the posture of affairs was changed again; for the Autunois recovered their hostages, their fiefs, and, by Cæsar's favour, acquired more tributaries than they had before; for such as put themselves under their protection were better used, and met with more justice, than when they were dependants on the Franche-comtois; whereby their power and reputation were soon so much increased, that their rivals were stripped of their sovereignty. Those of Franche-comte being thus depressed, the people of Rheims, who were favoured likewise by Cæsar, succeeded to their authority; for they, whose ancient enmity would not permit them to be vassals to the Autunois, became clients to those of Rheims, who carefully protected them; by which means they immediately grew a potent people. By this turn of affairs, the Autunois once more became head of one of the most powerful parties in Gaul, and the people of Rheims of the other.

## C H A P. VIII.

13. There are only two degrees of men in Gaul who have the administration of public affairs, the druids or clergy, and the \* nobility; for the commons are esteemed no better than servants, who have no manner of interest, and are never admitted to their councils; but being oppressed either by their own debts, the imposition of tributes, or the tyranny of the powerful, are obliged to become vassals to the nobility; who have the same power over them that lords usually exercise on their villains. To the druids belongs the care of divine things, of private and public sacrifices, with the interpretation of their religion; great numbers of youth come to be instructed by them, and they are held in wonderful veneration amongst their countrymen, who submit all differences to their arbitration: let the offence be of what nature soever, if any person be killed, if the controversy relate to titles of land, or the extent of confines, these are the judges, whose sentence must decide, who pronounce rewards and punishments; and whoever refuses to abide by their decree, either

The govern-  
ment of  
Gaul.

\* Equites.

The druids  
office.

They are su-  
preme judges  
of all contra-  
versies.



WAR IN decree, either lord or vassal, is excommunicated, which GAUL. is the greatest penalty that can be inflicted amongst them: (a) for they who lie under the condemnation of this sentence are reckoned in the number of the wicked; all people shun them, and avoid their company as contagious; they are not permitted to sue for justice, or to discharge any office in the commonwealth. The druids have a superintendent, to whom they are all subject, upon whose decease the most worthy succeeds; but if there happened to be several candidates, the election is decided by majority of votes, and sometimes by the sword. Once a year they have a general rendezvous at a consecrated place set apart for that purpose, in the confines of Chartres, which lies in the midst of Gaul; hither all repair who have any controversies to decide, which are submitted to their decrees. 'Tis thought this discipline was first instituted in England, and from thence transferred to Gaul; for even at this day, those who desire to be perfectly skilled in that science, take a voyage thither to learn it.

The privileges and immunities they enjoy.

14. The druids seldom attend the army, being exempt from that duty, and from taxes, and enjoying all manner of immunities. Excited by these encouragements, many make a voluntary choice of that profession, and others are brought up in it by their parents. Their business is, according to report, to learn a great number of verses by rote, which some have spent twenty years about, none of them being ever committed to writing; not that they are ignorant of letters, for on all other occasions they make use of Greek characters; but, I suppose, they observe this custom, to lock up their learning from the vulgar, and exercise the memory of their scholars. Their chief principle is, that the soul never dies, but transmigrates, after the decease of one body, to another; which doctrine is of great use to inspire them with courage and a contempt of death; but they have many other traditions in which their youth are instructed, concerning the stars and their motion, the extent of the world, the nature of things, and the power of the immortal gods.

Their doctrines.

(a) From this custom no doubt we derive our out-lawries; for by the ancient laws of England before men were out-law'd for debt, he who lay under that sentence was reckoned a more hideous monster than an excommunicate in a Roman catholic country; *caput gerebat lupinum*, and it was lawful for any man to kill him, if he refused to surrender himself. Bracton, l. iii. tract. 2. c. 11.

C H A P. IX.

15. NEXT in degré to these are the nobility, who when any war breaks out; as there did almost every year before Cæsar's arrival, either offensive or defensive, have the direction of all affairs; each being attended by a number of vassals in proportion to his estate and quality, the only mark of grandeur amongst them.

WAR IN GAUL.  
The office of the nobility.

16. The whole country of Gaul is much addicted to superstition: for which reason those who are in imminent danger, either from sickness or battle, make an oblation of some human sacrifice, or even of themselves: because they think the gods can never be appeased, but by the death of one man for another: the public offerings of this kind are committed to the care of the druids, who have large hollow images; bound about with officers, into which they put men alive, and, setting fire to the case, suffocate them. They believe thieves, highwaymen, and other offenders, to be the most grateful offerings to the gods; but for want of such, the innocent are forced to supply their places.

Their human sacrifices.

17. Mercury is their tutelary god, to whose honour they have many images erected; whom they esteem as the inventor of arts, their guide and protector in voyages and journeys, and believe him to have a particular influence over merchandize, and all manner of gain. Next in esteem to Mercury is Apollo, then Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, of whom they have the same notions with other countries, that Apollo can cure their diseases, that Minerva first taught mankind arts and manufactures, that Jupiter is the supreme deity, and that Mars presides in battle: wherefore before they commence a war, they devote great part of the spoils they shall obtain to this deity; and, when they obtain the victory, offer up all the cattle they have taken, on his altars. The rest of the prey they dispose into a place set apart for that purpose; and in several countries may be seen monuments compiled of offerings of this nature: and it seldom happens, that any neglect the performance of their vows, by concealing any part of their plunder, or presuming to carry it away; for the penalties inflicted for crimes of this nature are the most cruel than can be devised.

Their gods, Mercury their tutelary god.

Apollo.  
Mars.  
Jupiter.  
Minerva.

18. The Gauls believe themselves to be descended from Pluto, their druids having so informed them; for which reason

Their descent from Dis or Pluto.



WAR IN GAUL. reason they do not count time as other nations do, by days, but nights; and in the annual remembrance of their births, the beginning of their months and years, they always mention the night before the day. Another custom they have, which seems very particular; they never permit their children to appear in public before them, till they are of sufficient age to bear arms; for, the contrary they esteem dishonourable.

They count the time by nights, as we our seven-night, fortnight, &c.

The disposal of the wife's fortune.

The men have power of life and death over their wives and children.

Their funerals.

19. Whatever fortune the wife brings, the husband is obliged to equal it, and both the sums together, with their annual product, are laid up for the benefit of the survivor. The men have power of life and death over their wives and children: and when any man of quality dies, his next relations assemble to enquire into the occasion of his death; upon the least suspicion they have power to put his widow to the question, with as little ceremony as if she had been one of his servants; and if they find her guilty, to burn her alive. Their funerals are very sumptuous and magnificent, in proportion to their quality; every thing the deceased party set the greatest value on, is cast into the pile, even animals; and formerly, those vassals and clients whom they held the dearest, were obliged to attend them to the other world.

20. Those provinces amongst them, which are most esteemed for prudent administration, have a law, that he who receives news from the neighbouring states, of importance to the common-wealth, shall immediately impart it to the magistrate, without divulging it to any other person; having often experienced the nature of their subjects to be such, that, frightened by false reports, they are apt to raise commotions, and put the state in disorder by their rash resolves. The magistrates therefore trust them only with such informations as they think convenient, suppressing the rest; nor do they permit any one to discourse concerning state affairs but in the council.

C H A P. X.

The customs of the Germans.

Their gods. Sol, \* Vulcanus, Luna.

21. From these customs of the Gauls the Germans differ greatly; having neither druids to preside in sacred rites, nor troubling themselves with sacrifices: they acknowledge no gods but those they behold, and whose influence they are apparently obliged to, as the sun, \* fire, and moon, and have not so much as heard of any other: they are perpetual huntsmen and warriors; inure themselves to labour and



and hardship from their childhood ; and esteem those men the most, who have longest preserved their virginity, which they believe contributes to their growth, vigour, and strength of their nerves ; but nothing is esteemed so ignominious amongst them, as to know a woman before they have passed the twentieth year of age ; in which act they do not consult privacy, for they wash promiscuously in rivers, and only make use of skins and small mantles of fur instead of cloaths, leaving the greatest part of their bodies naked.

WAR IN GAUL.

Their chastity.

Cloathing,

22. They mind not agriculture, the greatest part of them living upon milk, cheese, and flesh-meat ; nor has any man fields of his own, distinguished from the common by boundaries ; for the magistrates and princes yearly distribute to every canton such a portion of land as they think sufficient in some part of the country ; whither they send them to continue only for one year, and remove them to some other quarter the next : which custom they observe on several accounts, lest from being attached to a place they should change their inclination for war to tillage, and think of extending their confines, to the oppression of the weak by the powerful ; lest they should learn to build more elegantly than is necessary against the summer's heat and winter's cold ; but chiefly to prevent covetousness, the root of all factions and discord, and preserve that equality of riches in the common-wealth, which produces peace and content.

Their diet.

Way of living.

23. Every country thinks it honourable to have their confines round about lie waste ; for they esteem it an argument of their courage, to have expelled their neighbours, and struck so great a terror into them, that they dare not venture to approach their territories ; besides, they think this the way to secure them from the danger of sudden incursions. Whenever a state wages war, either offensive or defensive, they make choice of an officer for that occasion, whom they invest with power of life and death ; but have no such magistrate in time of peace, for the chief of every canton distributes justice, and decides all controversies amongst his own people. They esteem it not infamous to steal beyond their own confines, but rather a laudable exercise which preserves their youth from idleness ; and when any nobleman declares in a general assembly that he designs to make an expedition, they who approve the leader and the cause, rise up to profer their service ; for which they are applauded by their countrymen ; but they who stay behind,

Their confines lie waste for a great way round.

Robbing out of their confines no disgrace.

WAR IN  
GAUL.



hind, after they have once offered to go, are looked upon as traitors or deserters, and never trusted after: they are strict observers of hospitality, and all their doors are open to such as fly to them for refuge on any occasion; whom they carefully protect.

24. There was once a time when the Gauls were superior in arms to the Germans, and made war upon them; scarcity of land, and multiplicity of men, obliging them to send colonies cross the Rhine: wherefore the most fertile parts of Germany about the Hercynian forest, which, I find, Eratosthenes and some other Grecians have mentioned by the name of Orcinia, were taken possession of by the natives of Upper Languedoc, who continue there to this day, much esteemed for their courage and justice, patient of hardships and want, like the Germans, and conforming to their way of living, as well in diet as cloathing; but the neighbourhood and commerce which the Gauls have since held with the Roman province, has taught them to live more luxuriously; by which means growing insensibly weaker, they have been overcome in several battles, and reduced to such a degree, that they no longer pretend to compare themselves with the Germans.

25. The Hercynian forest is nine days journey over in breadth, for I cannot compute it any other way, because the Germans are ignorant of the use of measure: it commences in the confines of Switzerland, Basil, and Spire, and extends along the river Danube as far as Transilvania: then turning from the river to the left, it runs through an infinite number of countries; nor has there any one of this part of Germany travelled through it or found its utmost extent, though several have gone fifty days journey in it.

Strange  
beasts in the  
Hercynian  
forest.

In this wood are several kinds of wild beasts, which are not to be met with elsewhere; of which the most remarkable are these:

Bull with  
one horn.

26. A bull, whose shape resembles that of a stag, with one horn only, planted directly in the midst of his forehead, much longer and straiter than those of our cattle; this horn is divided at the top into several branches; the males and females are both shaped alike, and their horns of the same size.

27. They have likewise another kind of animals called Alces (*a*), which much resemble the (*b*) roe-buck in shape,

(*a*) Vossius fancies the singular termination of this word should be Alx, from the German Elck; monsieur D'Ablancourt translates it wild asses.

(*b*) The original is not capreis, but capris, though in Salmasius's opinion it ought to be so, with whom Vossius likewise agrees.



and the various colours of their skins, but are something of a larger size; they have no horns, nor joints in their legs and never lie down to sleep, and if they chance to fall, are not able to get up again; wherefore, when they are weary, they lean against the next tree, which serves them for a resting-place: for this reason, when the huntsmen have found out their haunts, they either loosen the roots of all the trees thereabout, or saw them almost quite off, to deceive the animal, who coming to the usual leaning-place, the prop fails, and both fall down together.

WAR IN  
GAUL.

28. The third species are those creatures they call Uri, very little less than elephants; in colour, shape and kind, resembling much our bulls: they are prodigious strong, wonderfully nimble, and spare neither man nor beast that has the misfortune to come in their way; wherefore the natives are very industrious in digging pits to catch them. The youth inure themselves to this exercise, and particular kind of hunting; for he who was killed the greatest number of them, brings the horns to witness for his courage, and is highly applauded by his countrymen. So savage is the nature of these beasts, though taken never so young, that they cannot be tamed: the largeness, shape, and species of their horns differ much from those of our bulls, and are in great request; the edges of which being tip'd with silver, they use them for cups at their most sumptuous feasts.

Uri or Bufalos.

C H A P. XI.

29. CÆSAR had notice from his Ubian scouts, that the Suabians were retired into their woods; wherefore apprehending want of provisions (because, as we have already taken notice, the Germans are but little addicted to agriculture) he resolved to march no further; but that the enemy might not be entirely delivered from their fears by his retreat, and that he might prevent their sending assistance to the Gauls, having repassed the Rhine, he only broke up about two hundred foot of his bridge, on that side next Germany, leaving the rest standing; and at the foot built a wooden tower four stories high, with other fortifications, where he left a garrison of twelve cohorts, under the command of young C. Volcatus Tullius, to defend it. When harvest approached, he detached L. Minutius Basilius, with all his cavalry, against Ambiorix; whom he ordered to march through the forest of Arden, which is the largest in Gaul,

Cæsar re-  
passes the  
Rhine.  
breaks down  
half his  
bridge, and  
leaves a gar-  
rison there.

He detaches  
Basilius a-  
gainst Am-  
biorix;



**WAR IN GAUL.** extending above five hundred miles in length, from the banks of the Rhine and the confines of Treves and Hainault. He commanded him to keep no fires in his camp, that the enemy might not have notice of his approach, hoping that secrecy and dispatch might give him an opportunity of doing some considerable exploit; and he himself designed to follow immediately after.

30. Basilus performed his orders beyond expectation, for he arrived so quickly upon the enemy's territories, that he surprised great numbers of them in the field; and by their instruction marched directly to Ambiorix, who had only a slender guard of cavalry about him: but as fortune has an influence over all affairs, so she assumes a peculiar power in those of war; for as it was a most extraordinary chance, that Basilus should fall upon the quarters of Ambiorix, before he was prepared to receive him, and be seen, e'er his arrival was heard of; so must it be acknowledged as strange, that Ambiorix, after the loss of his arms, horses, and chariots, should make his escape. But this was owing to the situation of his house, which was surrounded by a wood, as the Gauls generally build near a wood and a river, for coolness; for his men, possessing themselves of a narrow passage, sustained the attack of our cavalry till their master mounting a horse which was brought him, secured himself in the thickets. Thus fortune had equally a hand in bringing him into danger, and in delivering him out of it.

whonarrow-  
ly escapes  
being taken.

## C H A P. XII.

31. AMBIORIX, having secured his person, did not endeavour to assemble any forces, but sent messengers privately throughout the country, to command every man to provide for his own safety; thinking it either dangerous to venture an engagement, or wanting time, by the sudden arrival of the Roman cavalry, to put his designs in execution: wherefore one part of them fled for shelter to the forest of Arden, whilst the rest endeavoured to secure themselves among the wide extended marshes. Whereupon Cativulcus, who shared one half of the kingdom of Liege with Ambiorix, and was now grown too old to endure the fatigues of war or flight, having bestowed many imprecations on his partner, for being the cause of that unhappy revolt, sought refuge for his cares from a poisonous draught, extracted from the yew-tree (whereof

Cativulcus  
poisons him-  
self.

they have plenty in Gaul and Germany) and so ex- WAR IN  
pired. GAUL.

32. In the mean while the people of (b) *Cologne and Zulpich*, two German colonies that lie between *Liege* and *Treyes*, sent ambassadors to *Cæsar*, to desire he would not count them amongst the number of his enemies, or believe that all the Germans on their side the Rhine were joined in one common cause; for, they assured him, they never designed to make war upon the Romans, or sent *Ambiorix* any supplies; which *Cæsar* being satisfied of from examining the captives by torture, promised them, on condition they sent to him all the people of *Liege*, who should fly for shelter to their country, he would not commit any acts of hostility on their confines; then having divided his army into three parts, he sent all the baggage of his legions to *Tongre*, which is the name of a castle almost in the midst of *Liege*, where *Titurius* and *Arunculeius* had formerly their winter quarters. The last year's fortifications were yet entire; wherefore *Cæsar*, designing to save his soldiers as much labour as he could, made choice of this place, where he left the fourteenth legion, which was one of the three he had lately received from Italy, and two hundred horse, under the command of *Q. Tullius Cicero*, for a guard.

Condruſi and Segni ſend ambassadors to Cæſar to declare their innocence.

Cæſar leaves his baggage at Tongre, Atuatica. Divides his army into three parts.

33. *Titus Labienus* he detached with three legions towards the sea-coasts, and the borders of *Guelders*; *C. Trebonius*, with the like number, he sent to lay the country waste on that side next *Namur*; resolving to march himself, with the remainder of the army, towards the river *Scheld*, which flows into the *Mose*, and to the forest of *Arden*, whither, he was informed, *Ambiorix* was gone with a small party of horse. When he first began his march, he designed to return again in seven days, for he had left the legion in garrison provisions for no longer time; and ordered *Labienus* and *Trebonius*, if they could conveniently, to return within the same time, that upon further consultation they might know what new methods were properest to be taken for defeating the enemy's designs.

Detaches Labienus towards Guelders, Trebonius towards Namur, and marches himself towards the forest of Arden.

(b) But *Ortelius* thinks the *Condruſi* are those of *Condrotz*,



## C H A P. XIII.

WAR IN GAUL. 34. THE rebels, as we have already taken notice, had no army, town, or garrison for us to attack, but were all dispersed amongst the vallies, woods, marshes, and such

The rebels  
hide them-  
selves in the  
woods and  
marshes.

Cæsar pro-  
claims it  
lawful for all  
the countries  
round to  
harrass  
Liege.

other places of shelter; which were well known to them from being in their neighbourhood: a circumstance that occasioned no small care in Cæsar, not for the safety of the main body of his army (which was in no danger from a frightened and dispersed multitude) but for what concerned the welfare of it, the preservation of individuals, who were tempted from a desire of plunder to ramble through those unknown and private ways, where the thickness of the woods would not permit them to march in bodies. Wherefore, to compleat the business, and extirpate the race of so wicked a people, he found it necessary to send an infinite number of small parties against them; for so long as he obliged the soldiers to maintain their ranks, according to the Roman discipline, the very situation of the place served the rebels for a fortress, who had courage enough to lay ambuscades, and attack us on advantage when dispersed. In the midst of these difficulties Cæsar took all the care imaginable, and though the soldiers were inflamed with revenge, yet he rather chose to omit an opportunity of injuring the enemy, than do it to the detriment of his army. Wherefore he invited the countries round about, who being attracted by the hopes of plunder, soon flocked from all sides to destroy the people of Liege; by these means he only hazarded the Gauls in the woods, preserved his own legions safe, and got the rebels surrounded, whose race and memory he resolved to extinguish, that he might revenge the crimes they had been guilty of.

## C H A P. XIV.

35. THUS their destruction went forward in all places till the seventh day was arrived, the time appointed for Cæsar's return to Tongre; but hence may be learned what influence chance has over the affairs of war: the rebels, as we have already remarked, being frightened and dispersed, had not any body of forces to give us the least apprehensions; whereupon the Germans cross the Rhine, having notice that the people of Liege were destined to destruction,



destruction, and that all mankind were welcome to partake of the plunder; the Sicambri that lie next the river, who formerly entertained the people of Hesse and Zutphen, when they fled from Cæsar, levied two thousand horse, and crossing the river about thirty miles below the broken bridge, where Cæsar had left a garrison, arrived on the borders of Liege, where they took several of the natives prisoners, and obtained a considerable number of cattle, a booty the barbarians are the most desirous of; neither marsh nor wood put a stop to their career, so long as plunder called them forward, for from their cradles they are inured to war and theft: being inquisitive to know where Cæsar lay, they were informed, that he and his army had left the country: in the midst of their progress, at length a captive asked them, Why they would trouble themselves to pursue so trifling and worthless a booty, when they might make their fortunes at a single stroke? for they might arrive in three hours march at Tongre, where the Romans had reposed all their baggage, under the guard of so small a garrison, as was not sufficient to man the ramparts, so that not one of them durst venture out of their trenches. Big with expectation, they hid the booty they had already got, and marched directly to Tongre, whither they were conducted by the captive who gave them this information.

WAR IN GAUL.

The Sicambri cross the Rhine, and come into Liege,

where they get a considerable booty;

but on the advice of a captive, desist from pursuing those of Liege,

and march directly to Cicero's quarters.

C H A P. XV.

36. CICERO had so strictly observed Cæsar's orders hitherto, that he had not permitted so much as a boy to stir out of the garrison; but the seventh day he began to despair of the performance of Cæsar's promise, because he was informed he had marched farther up into the country, and could hear no news of his return: wherefore being moved by the complaint of his soldiers, who began to murmur at his patience, and esteem their present confinement as bad as a siege, not suspecting any accident could befall him within so short a space as that of three miles, whilst an army of nine complete legions with a considerable number of horse was abroad, which had already defeated and dispersed the enemy, he detached five cohorts to forage in the nearest corn-fields, which were divided from his camp only by a little hill. Most of the sick and wounded of the army being left in the garrison with him, they who were a little recovered, to the number of three hundred, were sent out on this occasion under one ensign, and were followed by a great number of beasts of burthen, and servants of the camp.

Cicero detaches five cohorts to forage.

37. The

WAR IN  
GAUL,

The Ger-  
mans arrive  
at Tongre,  
and endea-  
vour to force  
the Decu-  
man port.

The Ro-  
mans con-  
fusion.

Baculus,  
tho' wound-  
ed, leaves  
his tent, and  
places him-  
self in the  
gate till the  
rest of the  
soldier ral-  
ly.

37. The very moment the foragers were gone out, arrived the German cavalry, who endeavoured to force their passage through the Decuman port with the same fury they had galloped thither; the woods prevented our having notice of their approach, which was so unexpected, that the sutlers, who had sheds in the counterscarp, had not leisure to save themselves by retiring within the works. Our men were extremely surprised at so sudden an attack, and the cohort that was placed for an out-guard could hardly sustain their first onset. In the mean time, the enemy rode around the trenches, to discover some more convenient place to enter at: Our soldiers with difficulty maintained the gates; the other parts were so well fortified they needed no defence. In fine, the whole camp was frightened, every man enquired of the next he met the occasion of the tumult, and no body knew which way to advance the standards, or where to post himself; some reported the camp was already taken, others, that the Germans had defeated Cæsar and his army, and in the plenitude of victory were falling upon them: whilst the rest, remembering that Titurius and Cotta had lost their lives when posted within those trenches, became superstitious, and presaged the like fate to themselves. This confusion confirmed the enemy in the belief of what the prisoner had reported, that we had no garrison within; wherefore encouraging each other not to let so rich a booty slip out of their hands, they began to storm our rampier.

38. P. Sextius Baculus, who had been primiple under Cæsar, whose name has been mentioned in former actions: was left behind in the camp, and was so dangerously ill, that he had eaten nothing for five days before; despairing of safety either for himself or his soldiers, he stepped from his tent unarmed, when perceiving things reduced to the last extremity (for the enemy had almost forced their passage) he snatched some arms from the next soldier, and placed himself before the gate: the centurions of the out-guard followed him, and all together for a while sustained the Germans charge, till Sextius, after he had received many dangerous wounds, beginning to faint, was with difficulty carried off by the soldiers; in the mean time the rest had so far recovered themselves, as to ascend the rampier, and make a shew of defence.



## C H A P. XVI.

39. IN the mean while our foragers were returning home again, and hearing a noise, sent the cavalry before to discover the occasion, who brought them word how dangerous a posture affairs were in: they were all strangely surprized at the news, and lamented the want of a fortification to shelter them from the enemy; but especially the new levies, who having no experience in war, impatiently waited for the tribunes and centurions orders, to know which way they must dispose themselves. The Germans, at first when they beheld our ensigns, left off the storm, fancying the legions, which the prisoners had informed them were marched further into the country, were now returned; but finding their error, and contemning the smallness of our number, they surrounded our foragers on all sides.

WAR IN  
GAUL.

The foragers  
returning,  
fall in with  
the Ger-  
mans.

40. The soldiers servants fled for shelter to the next rising ground, whence they were immediately driven, and cast themselves for safety among the ranks of the maniples, which put them into more confusion than they were in before: some were of opinion 'twould be the safest method to draw themselves into a triangle, and so force their way through the enemy; because the camp was so near, that if some should fall in the attempt, the rest might secure themselves; but others thought it best to possess the hill, and all expect the same fate. The veteran soldiers, who, as we observed, went out under one ensign, could by no means approve of this advice: wherefore encouraging each other, under the conduct of C. Trebonius, a Roman knight, their commanding officer, they broke through the midst of the enemy, and arrived every man of them safe in the camp; they were followed with the same impetuosity by the servants and cavalry, who thus procured their safety by the soldiers courage: but they who had possessed themselves of the hill, for want of discipline, could neither persist in their own scheme of maintaining their ground, nor by one brisk effort imitate their fellow-soldiers example; but in endeavouring to obtain the camp, quitted their post of advantage; the centurions, who for their courage had been promoted from the lower order in other legions to the upper in these new troops, fought bravely to maintain the glory they had formerly acquired, and died with honour; their courage, beyond expectation, gave some of the soldiers

The veteran  
soldiers,  
drawn up  
into a trian-  
gle, force  
their way  
through the  
Germans,  
and arrive  
safe in the  
camp: The  
new levies  
not taking  
the same  
way, are  
most of them  
cut off.

means



WAR IN GAUL. means to escape, but the rest were surrounded, and cut to pieces by the enemy.

## CHAPTER XVII.

The Romans fear after the Germans retreat.

41. THE Germans now despairing of success, since they saw our soldiers ready to defend the works, returned cross the Rhine with the booty they had hidden in the woods; but so great was the fear which possessed our men, even after their retreat, that when C. Volusenus arrived from Cæsar that night with the cavalry, they could not be persuaded that Cæsar and his army were safe, and following him to the camp: in fine, they were so bewitched with fear that they would not believe but Cæsar was routed, and none but the horse had escaped: for they could not conceive how the Germans durst attempt to force their trenches if he were safe; but his arrival convinced them of their error.

Cæsar returns to the camp, blames Cicero for letting his cohorts forage contrary to orders.

42. When Cæsar came back, he was informed of the late action, in which he found nothing to complain of, but the cohorts foraging contrary to his orders; for the enemy's sudden attack proved how dangerous it was to trust Fortune with the most minute opportunity: he wondered extremely the Germans had so narrowly escaped him, but infinitely more, that they who crossed the Rhine on purpose to lay waste the country of Ambiorix, should do him the greatest service imaginable, by endeavouring to take the Roman camp.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Cæsar returns to harass Liege.

The cavalry divided into small parties Ambiorix, trusting his person only to a guard of four horse, often narrowly escapes.

43. CÆSAR returning again to harass the country of Liege, levied great numbers of forces in the neighbouring provinces, and sent them into all parts; not a house nor a village that came in their way escaped burning; they plundered on every side: and the continual rains, as well as the number of soldiers and cattle, so effectually destroyed the corn, that they who escaped the sword, were likely to die with famine. The cavalry were divided into so many parties, that they often came to the very places where the captives informed them they had seen Ambiorix, and that he was but just out of sight; and so desirous were some of the soldiers to recommend themselves to their general by apprehending him, that they performed wonders in their unwearied pursuit; each moment flattered them the next would compleat their happiness: but Ambiorix, riding

ding from one thicket to another, and removing his quarters in the night, escaped their most diligent search ; being attended only by four horse, all the friends he durst confide in.

WAR IN  
GAUL.

44. Thus Cæsar having laid the country waste, only with the loss of two cohorts, marched his army to the capital of Rheims, where he summoned the diet of Gaul : When the states were assembled, he commanded them to examine into the rebellion of Sens and Chartres ; and Acco being found the principal cause of this revolt, had the severe sentence passed upon him, according to ancient custom, To be stripped naked, and with his neck fixed between the granes of a fork, to be whipped to death, and afterwards beheaded ; some, who fled, not daring to stand the rigour of a trial, were \* banished. Thus sending two legions to take up their winter-quarters in Treves, two more to Langre, the other six to the capital of Sens ; having provided his army with corn, he returned, according to his custom, to hold the diet of Lombardy.

Cæsar re-  
turns to  
Rheims,  
holds a diet.

Acco sen-  
tenced *more*  
*majorum.*

\* Aqua &  
igne inter-  
dicti.