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

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

A general revolt of the Gauls, who choose Vercingetorix for their leader. Cæsar takes several places. The siege of Bourges. Divisions in Autun. The siege of Clerimont, where the Romans are repulsed with loss. Labienus's success at Paris. Preparations of Vercingetorix; and the siege of Alexia.

CHAP. I.

WAR IN
GAUL. } CÆSAR having quieted the commotions in Gaul, went, as he designed, in Lombardy, to preside at the convention of the states; where being informed of the death of Publius Clodius, and the senate's decree for assembling all the youth of Italy; he resolved to raise new levies throughout his whole province. This news was soon carried into Gaul, where the natives added what they thought convenient to it; reporting that Cæsar was detained by the troubles at Rome, and that it was impossible for him to come to his army, whilst the factions there were so hot. Encouraged by this opportunity, they who had long bemoaned their subjection to the Roman yoke, now began to consult more openly of war; and the princes
of

of Gaul, having appointed private meeting-places in the woods, there communicated their mutual regret for the death of Acco, in whose punishment they thought themselves all concerned; they lamented the fate of their country, and promised great rewards to them that would first begin the war, and venture their lives to restore their liberty. The first step to be made, in so important an attempt, was to block up Cæsar's passage to his army, before he could receive intelligence of their design; which they imagined feasible, because the legions without their general's orders durst not leave their quarters, nor could Cæsar come to them without a guard: in fine, they resolved to die, rather than not recover that glory and liberty which they had received from their ancestors.

WAR I^N
GAUL.

The Gauls taking advantage of Cæsar's absence and the factions at Rome, consult about a general revolt.

C H A P. II.

2. WHEREUPON the people of Chartres declared no danger should deter them from undertaking any enterprize that might be of service to the public, and promised to begin the war themselves; but, to avoid delay, since they had no time mutually to deliver hostages, they desired the rest would swear upon their standards (the most solemn obligation amongst the Gauls) not to desert them after they had declared war against the Romans. The satisfaction they desired was readily complied with, they were highly applauded for their piety to their country, and so the council for that time was dissolved.

Those of Chartres first declare war.

3. At the day appointed, the people of Chartres, led on by Cotuatus and Conetodunus, men of desperate resolution, on a sign given, marched directly to Orleans, where they massacred all the Roman citizens, who came thither to traffick, and seized their effects; amongst the rest, C. Fulsius Cotta, a worthy Roman knight, whom Cæsar had made commissary general of the stores. This action was quickly known all over Gaul: for when any important accident happens among them, the news is soon circulated through the country, by a shout communicated from town to town, till it is carried through the continent. So that, what was done at Orleans at sun-rise, was heard of at Auvergne, about 160 miles distant, before nine o'clock the same evening.

Cotuatus and Conetodunus massacre Fulsius Cotta and all the Roman merchants at Orleans or Genabum.

C H A P. III.

WAR IN 4. **INSPIRED** by this example, Vercingetorix, GAUL. the son of Celtillus of Auvergne, a youth of the greatest authority there (whose father had formerly obtained the command of Gaul, but was slain by his own countrymen for aiming at the sovereignty) called his clients together, and easily persuaded them to rebel; but his design being discovered, the whole country repaired to their arms, and he was expelled the city of Cleremont by his uncle Gobanitio, and those other noblemen who were not for embarking in so dangerous an attempt. However, not discouraged by this misfortune, he began to list all the vagabonds and out-laws he could meet with, and having levied a considerable number of those, he easily persuaded such of his countrymen as came near him, to follow his standard, encouraging them to take arms for the common liberty of Gaul: and having now a powerful army under his command, being superior to his enemies, he drove them out of the country, who not long before had expelled him; whereupon he was complimented with the title of king. He immediately dispatched embassadors to all the countries round, to advise them to persevere in their noble resolutions; and entered into a league with the people of Sens, Paris, Poictou, Quercy, Tours, Limosin, Eureux, Anjou, and those other countries which lay towards the sea; who by unanimous consent chose him their general. Being invested with this authority, he demanded hostages from every one of those states, appointed what quota of men they should immediately furnish him with, and what quantity of arms each should provide, by a certain day prefixed, and was particularly careful to get a number of horse. Besides diligence he made use of severity, and by pains and penalties obliged those that stood neuter, to declare themselves; such as were guilty of notorious crimes he punished with fire, and all manner of torments; and they who committed smaller faults having their ears cut off, or eyes put out, were sent back into their own countries, for an example to the rest, and to deter others, by the greatness of their punishment, from being guilty of the like offences.

5. Thus having quickly levied a considerable army, he detached one party, under the command of Lucærius of Quercy, a man of spirit and enterprize, to Roverge, marching himself with the rest against Berry: upon his arrival,

Vercingetorix takes arms, is expelled his country.

But listing an army, he returns and drives out his enemies.

Is proclaimed king.

Enters into league, with the neighbouring states, who choose him their general.

His severe discipline.

He sends Lucærius against Roverge. Marches himself to Berry.

rival,

rival, the people of Berry, being dependants on those of Autun, sent thither for assistance, to protect them from the enemy's invasion; the Autunois, by the advice of the lieutenants whom Cæsar had quartered among them, complied with their demands, and sent them a party of horse and foot; who arriving at the Loire, which divides the confines of Berry from Autun, staid there a few days, without daring to pass the river, then returned home again, and informed our lieutenants, they were jealous of treachery from those of Berry; for they were credibly informed, in case they passed the Loire, they should be attacked on one side by the people they went to assist, and on the other by those of Auvergne. For my part, I cannot certainly affirm whether there was truth in their excuse, or they betray'd their trust; but immediately on their departure Berry joined with the rebels of Auvergne.

WAR IN
GAUL.

Ligeris
The cowardice of the party the Autunois sent to assist Berry.

6. Cæsar having notice of these transactions, so soon as he was informed that Cn. Pompey's prudence had composed the disorders at Rome, repassed the Alps: here he was greatly disturbed to contrive which way he should join his army, for he considered, in case he should send for any of his legions out of their quarters, they would be obliged, during his absence, to give the enemy battle in their march: nor did he think it convenient to trust his person, even amongst those states which had not yet rebelled.

C H A P. IV.

7. IN the mean while Lucretius of Quercy, who was sent to Roverge, had obliged that country likewise to join with the faction of Auvergne; then marching against the Agenois and Gevaudan, he received hostages from each of those states; and having raised a considerable army, endeavoured to make an eruption into the Roman province on the side next Narbonne. Upon notice of this expedition, Cæsar thought it highly imported him to go immediately to Narbonne: on his arrival he encouraged such as were wavering, to continue firm in their allegiance, and placed garrisons in Roverge situated in the Province, and in the lower Languedoc, Tholouse, and the other towns which were nearest the enemy; commanding part of the Provincial forces, together with the new levies he had brought from Italy, to render themselves at Vivaris, which joins to the confines of Auvergne.

Roverge submits to Lucretius; so do the Agenois and Gevaudan.

He marched to enter the Roman province.

WAR IN
GAUL.

Cæsar goes to Vivaris, whither he had sent the new levies. Crosses the mountains of Cevennes in the midst of winter, and arrives at Auvergne, which submits.

Vercingetorix leaves Berry, and marches to Auvergne.

Cæsar leaves his camp; arrives by post at Vienna or Vienne in Dauphine, and from thence to Langre.

Vercingetorix leaves Berry, and marches to Auvergne.

8. Cæsar having thus dispatched the necessary orders, and disappointed Lucetius, who, not thinking it safe to venture among the garrisons, was withdrawing, went to meet the forces which he had sent before to Vivaris. 'Twas now the depth of winter, and though the mountains of the Cevennes, which divide Auvergne from Vivaris, were covered with snow six foot deep, which stopped all the passages; yet by the wondrous application of the soldiers the ways were opened, and he arrived in the territories of the Auvergnois, who were soon suppressed, while they scarce dreamt of his approach, thinking themselves as well secured on that side by the mountains as by a wall, since never any single man had been known to travel the same way before at that unseasonable time of the year; he then sent his cavalry out in several parties about the country, to strike as great a terror as possible into the enemy. News of this was soon brought to Vercingetorix, whose countrymen, full of consternation, fled to him, desiring he would consult the good of Auvergne, and not suffer them to be destroyed by the Romans, especially since the whole stress of the war depended on them: moved by their intreaties he decamped from Berry, and marched towards Auvergne.

9. But Cæsar foreseeing what steps Vercingetorix would take, stay'd two days only in the country, and under pretence of raising new levies, and drawing the cavalry together, left his army to the command of young Brutus, whom he ordered to disperse the horse as wide as he could, that they might harass the country; promising, if possible, to return again to the camp within three days: then, without acquainting any one with his design, he took post for Vienna, where he had laid fresh horses some time before, and from thence, travelling day and night without intermission, rid through the confines of Autun to Langre (where two legions were quarter'd) that he might disappoint any attempts of the Autunois against his person by dispatch.

C H A P. V.

BEING thus arrived at Langre, he sent to the rest of his legions, and drew them all together, before the people of Auvergne knew of his journey; but so soon as Vercingetorix was informed of our motions, he return'd again to Berry, and from thence marched to invest Gergovia, a town

a town of the (a) Boii, built by Cæsar after the victory he obtained over the Swiss, and by him made tributary to the Autunois.

WAR IN GAUL.

10. This affair gave Cæsar no small occasion to consult what methods were properest to be taken; for he was apprehensive, in case he should not draw his legions out of their quarters to assist the tributaries of Autun, the whole country of Gaul would revolt, finding it in vain to expect protection from the Romans; on the other hand, if he took the field too early, he had reason to fear want of provisions: however, he resolved to undergo any difficulty, rather than suffer so ignominious and fatal a blow to the Roman interest. Wherefore having ordered the Autunois to furnish him from time to time with provisions, he dispatched a courier to inform the Boii he would quickly come to their relief, to encourage them to continue firm in their allegiance, and vigorously sustain the assault of the enemy: according to his promise, having left the baggage of his army under a guard of two legions at (b) Sens, he marched towards Bourbonne.

Cæsar having drawn his army out of their winter-quarters, marches to the assistance of the Bourbonnois.

11. The next day arriving at (c) Chasteau-Landon, a town in the country of Sens, he resolved to take it in, that he might leave no enemy behind to intercept his convoys: in two days he compleated his circumvallation, and the third the besieged sent deputies to treat of a surrender, whom he commanded to deliver up their arms, horses, and 600 hostages. The execution of this treaty he left to the care of C. Trebonius, intending to march with what expedition he could to Orleans, a city belonging to those of Chartres; who having notice that Chasteau-Landon was taken, and concluding Cæsar would not rest there, resolved to provide a strong garrison to defend the town. Here Cæsar

He arrives at Orleans, which he takes and sacks.

(a) The Boii, Sanson says, are the present inhabitants of Bourbonne, yet will have this Gergovia to be the same with that in Auvergne, which he calls Cleremont, though, he confesses, others affirm this to be Moulins: Scaliger, in his Notitia Galliæ, mentions not Gergovia, believing, as I suppose, with Ortelius, that it was foisted into the text. Vossius is of a different opinion, but says the text is corrupted, because the Greek has it Γεργοβίον; but which of these learned gentlemen is in the right, I leave to the determination of those criticks who have more curiosity than myself: I shall only take notice, that though Monsieur Sanson calls Gergovia in Auvergne, Cleremont, whose interpretation I have followed in the name; yet Scaliger, Ortelius, and Cluver place Gergovia about a league's distance from Cleremont.

(b) The capital of Sens, Agendicum.

(c) Veslaunodunum, by some thought to be Villeneuve in Lorrain, by others Auxerre; but Sanson, who agrees with Cellarius, says it is Chasteau-Landon, which Cæsar besieges and takes.

WAR IN arrived after two days march; but being benighted, was
 GAUL. obliged to defer his assault till the next morning; however
 he dispatched the necessary orders, and apprehending the
 besieged might steal out of the town by night, because Or-
 leans joins to the bridge cross the Loire, he commanded
 two legions to lie all night upon their arms. Accordingly
 the citizens, a little after midnight, began to pass the river
 without any noise; which Cæsar having notice of from
 his scouts, set the gates on fire, then ordered the legions pre-
 pared for that purpose, to enter the town; which they made
 themselves masters of, and took most of the enemy pri-
 soners: for the narrowness of the bridge and passages had
 given but few an opportunity to escape. Having sack'd
 the town, he gave the plunder to the soldiers; then passing
 the Loire, arrived on the confines of Berry.

Then
 marches to-
 wards Berry.

CHAP. VI.

12. **VERCINGETORIX** having notice of his ap-
 proach, broke up the siege, and marched directly to meet
 him. Cæsar was resolved to take in (*d*) Neuvye, a town
 belonging to the country of Berry, which lay in his road;
 but the people sent embassadors to desire he would be pleased
 to pardon them, and preserve their lives. That he might
 use the same dispatch, in this as he did in all his other trans-
 actions, he granted their address, on condition they should
 deliver up their horses, arms, and send him hostages. Part
 of the hostages were already delivered, the rest were prepar-
 ing, and some centurions with a small party were admitted
 to search the city for arms and horses; when the besieged
 descrying the cavalry of Vercingetorix at some distance,
 which marched before the rest of the army, and hoping
 they came to their assistance, immediately set up a shout,
 repaired to their arms, shut the gates, and ascended the
 walls: but the centurions that were in the town, perceiv-
 ing by the noise, that the Gauls had some new design, drew
 their swords, and having possessed the gates, retreated with
 all their men in safety to the camp.

(*d*) Noviodunum. Cæsar mentions four several towns of the same name; one in Soisson, which most people take for Noïon, but Monsieur Sanson calls it Soisson: Scaliger cannot believe that any body ever found the true name for it yet. Another town of this name in Autun, upon the river Loire, all people expound Nevers; this we are now talking of, Sanson calls Neuve; and the fourth, Noviodunum Diablintum, he applies to Nogent le Rotrou, the chief village of Perch, on the river Huysse.

13. Cæsar immediately drew out the cavalry to engage the enemy's horse, and finding his men began to give ground, detached about 400 German horse to assist them: the Gauls not able to sustain the assault; lost many of their party, and being routed, fled for safety to their army. Upon this defeat, the besieged again despairing, seized all those persons who had been instrumental in raising the mob on the late occasion, sent them prisoners to Cæsar, and delivered themselves up to his mercy. This affair dispatched, Cæsar marched towards Bourges, the capital town of Berry, situate in a plentiful soil; not doubting but he should quickly reduce the whole country, when he had made himself master of the strongest town in that state.

WAR IN
GAUL.

Cæsar takes
Neuvye, and
marches
from thence
to Bourges.

C H A P. VII.

14. VERCINGETORIX having received so many losses successively, as those of Sens, Orleans, and Neuvye, summoned a council; where he told his countrymen, "They must now think of making war after a quite different manner than formerly; that they must do their utmost to intercept the Roman convoys and foragers; that the season of the year would be assistant to them in this enterprize, for it being too early to cut corn in the fields, the enemy would be forced, in dispersed bodies, to seek for provisions in the villages, where they might easily defeat them with the cavalry. That they must not set a greater value on their goods than their lives, for it was absolutely necessary all the houses and villages round should be burnt, to prevent the enemy's foraging; and as for themselves, it was but reasonable they should be supply'd by the countries they defended: this council once put in practice, the Romans must either be obliged to starve, or forage at a great distance from their camp with infinite danger. That it would be the same thing in effect, whether they defeated them, or intercepted their convoys, for being deprived of those, they could not long subsist. And further he declared, all those towns should be reduced to ashes, whose artificial or natural fortifications could not preserve them from falling into the enemy's hands, lest they should be a refuge to those who were afraid of the perils of war, or the Romans should furnish themselves from thence with forage and plunder. For though this might appear a harsh resolution, yet they ought to consider how much better it was

Vercingetorix summons
a council.

His speech.

WAR IN GAUL. co comply with his advice, than to suffer themselves to be put to the sword, and their wives and children to be made slaves, the unavoidable fate of the conquer'd."

Upon his advice 20 cities in Berry burnt: several more in other places.

Debate whether Bourges should be burnt or no: carried in the negative.

15. His opinion was approved of, and in one day above twenty cities of Berry were burnt; the like was done in other countries; in fine, nothing but conflagration was to be seen on all sides; which though the natives beheld with some regret, yet they flattered themselves with hopes, that they should soon obtain the victory, and recover all they had lost. The fate of Bourges was solemnly debated in council, whether it should be burnt, or defended; the people of Berry most humbly petitioned that they might not be obliged to put fire with their own hands to one of the most beautiful cities of Gaul, which served as well for a defence, as an ornament to their country; especially since it might be so easily maintained, for nature had fortified the place on all sides, with a river and a marsh, except at one narrow passage. Vercingetorix at first opposed them, but at length being moved by their prayers, and the generous compassion of the army, complied with their desires, and sent a garrison to defend the town.

C H A P. VIII.

Vercingetorix marches towards Bourges; encamps within fifteen miles of it.

16. THIS affair determined, he followed Cæsar by small marches, till he arrived within fifteen miles of Bourges, where he chose a place fortified with woods and marshes to encamp in; he had hourly intelligence by his scouts of the condition of Bourges, and dispatched such orders thither as he thought convenient. He kept a constant watch upon the convoys of our provisions, which he frequently cut off, when necessity obliged us to seek for them at too great a distance from the camp, and though we took all the care imaginable to prevent his designs, by varying continually our seasons and places of foraging.

Cæsar sets down before Bourges.

17. Cæsar having encamped on that side where the marsh and river had left a narrow access to the town, began to raise a mount, to prepare his penthouses, and erect two turrets, for the nature of the place prevented any circumvallation. He gave continual orders to those of Autun and Bourbonne to supply him with provisions; but the first of these were so negligent, they did him no great service, and the other, having but a small and poor country, quickly consumed all the corn in their province. Thus the Autunois taking no care to perform his orders, the Bourbonnois

The Romans want provisions.

Cæsar offers to quit the siege.

The soldiers answer.

bonnois being poor, and the country round about laid waste by the enemy, the army was so streighten'd for want of corn several days together, that they were obliged to subsist only upon the cattle, which the foragers had brought in from the villages a great distance from the camp: yet not a man was heard to utter any complaint unworthy the dignity of the Roman empire, or the glory they had obtained in their former victories; nay, though Cæsar himself visited all the legions in the works, and proffer'd to break up the siege, if they found the fatigue too great to be endured; "yet they all desired, he would not entertain any thoughts of that nature; for as they had hitherto behaved themselves so well under his command, as to meet with no disgrace, but to effect every thing they attempted, so now they would not make an ignominious retreat, and quit the siege; for they were resolved to endure any hardships, rather than not revenge the massacre of the Roman citizens at Orleans." The same thing they said to the tribunes and centurions, begging them to assure the general of their resolutions.

C H A P. IX.

18. WHEN our turrets approached the walls, Cæsar had notice that Vercingetorix, having consumed all the forage round about his camp, had removed nearer Bourges, and was gone out with a party of cavalry and such light infantry as used to fight amongst the horse, to lie in ambuscade for our foragers; whereupon Cæsar marched privately about mid-night towards the enemy's camp, where he arrived the next morning early. The Gauls were soon informed by their scouts of Cæsar's approach; wherefore having hid their baggage and carriages in the thickest part of the wood, they drew themselves up on an open hill; which Cæsar perceiving, commanded his soldiers to dispose of their baggage, and stand to their arms.

Vercingetorix decamps, removes nearer Bourges; marches with his cavalry to attack the Roman foragers; whereupon Cæsar marches directly to his camp.

19. The post which the enemy had possess'd was a gentle rising ground, surrounded almost on all sides by a dangerous morass, about fifty foot over. Having lodged themselves on this hill, and broke down all the bridges, they confided in the situation of the place, disposed themselves according to their several countries, and sent small parties to guard all the fords and avenues; resolving, if the Romans should attempt to force their way, to pour down upon

The enemy draw themselves up on a hill, surrounded by a morass.

WAR IN GAUL. upon them from the higher ground, and attack them whilst they were labouring through the mud. Any one that saw the small distance between the two armies, would think the enemy offered battle on equal terms; but when he considered the disadvantage of the place, he would see these seeming advances were nothing else but art and ostentation. However, the Romans were so enraged to see the enemy durst confront them at so small a distance, that they impatiently desired the sign of battle: "But Cæsar informed them how many brave lives that victory would cost him; and since they were so ready to undertake any danger for his glory, he should think himself the most ungrateful man in the world, if he did not set a greater value on their safety than his own." Thus having moderated their desire, he returned to the camp, and gave such further orders as were necessary for carrying on the siege.

The Romans are impatient of the battle. Cæsar's speech to them.

C H A P. X.

20. VERCINGETORIX, on his return, was accused of treason, for having moved his camp nearer than he ought to the Romans, for marching away with all the cavalry, leaving the army without a commander, and giving Cæsar so favourable an opportunity to attack them: that this was done from a premeditated design, and with a view to receive the kingdom of Gaul rather from his hands than from their election. To which articles of impeachment he answered, "That he decamped at their desire, for want of forage: that he had lodged himself nearer the Romans, being induced by the place, the natural fortifications of which were sufficient to defend it: that there was no occasion for cavalry in a morass, but they might have been useful in the place he carried them to: that he had left no officer to command them, lest the soldiers should have forced him to engage the enemy, which he knew they were all inclined to, the effeminacy of their minds making them impatient of further labour: that if the Romans had happened to come during his absence, he supposed they were obliged to Fortune for directing them; but if any person had invited them thither, they ought to return him thanks, for giving them an opportunity of beholding the smallness of the enemy's number from the rising ground, and from thence learning to despise their efforts; who, for fear of engaging the Gauls, had made an ignominious retreat. That he scorned to accept a kingdom from Cæsar's gift, which he could obtain by

Vercingetorix impeached of treason,

His answer.

by victory, as he and all the Gauls were now sufficiently convinced : however, he was willing to surrender the command they had invested him with, if they did not think the advantages they received from his conduct sufficiently repaid the honours he received : and, says he, that you may be persuaded of my sincerity, hear the Roman soldiers themselves." Then producing some servants, who had been taken, not many days before, while they attended our foragers, and had since been kept fasting in irons, and instructed what answers they should make to the questions ask'd them ; they declared, " They were legionary soldiers : that being driven by hunger, they privately stole out of the camp, to try if they could get any corn or cattle in the fields : that the whole army suffered under the same want : that every man was grown feeble, and unable to endure fatigue : wherefore Cæsar had resolved, if he could not make himself master of the town within three days, to quit the siege.

WAR IN
GAUL.

His strata-
gem.

These, said Vercingetorix, are the advantages you receive from the man you have accused of treason, by whose management, without the loss of your blood, you behold so powerful and victorious an army almost consumed by famine ; who has likewise provided, that no country shall receive them, when they shall basely endeavour to save themselves by flight."

21. At this the whole army gave a shout, and, after the fashion of their country, clashed their arms, as they always do when they approve the harangue ; proclaiming Vercingetorix for a great and faithful commander, whose conduct could not be excelled. 'Twas resolved that 10,000 chosen men, pick'd out of the army, should throw themselves into Bourges ; for since they believed the whole success of the war depended on the preservation of that town, they would not rely intirely upon the people of Berry for the publick safety.

He is acquitted, and commended by the whole army.

C H A P. XI.

22. THE wonderful application of our soldiers defeated all the endeavours of the Gauls, tho' they are a very industrious and ingenious people at imitating any machine they have seen. They hindered our hooks from doing executions on the walls, by catching hold of them with ropes, and pulling them with their engines into the town ; our mount they undermined with the greater dexterity, as their

The industry of the besieged.

WAR IN their iron works had made them excellent in that art. GAUL. They erected towers on every part of their walls, which they covered with hides; and made frequent sallies day and night, either to set fire to our mount, or disturb our works; they daily increased their towers to an equal height with ours; and cast such plenty of sharp stakes hardened in the fire, with scalding pitch, and stones of a prodigious weight into our trenches, that they prevented us from approaching their walls.

How the Gauls build the walls of their cities.

23. Most of the cities in Gaul build their walls after the same manner. They lay along on the ground two strait beams, at two feet distance, parallel to each other, which they bind together on the inside, and cover the outside with earth. The interstices between the beams they fill with large stones, cemented with mortar; over which another row is carried on in like manner, that when the next superior beams are laid on them, they may not touch the inferior, but an uniform distance be preserved by an equal and artificial layer of wood and stones, continuing the same method till they have raised the wall to such a height as they think convenient. This way of building is as useful as beautiful; for as the variety and equal intermixture of the materials is pleasing to the eye, so the stone is proof against fire, and the beams against the battering ram; for being fastened within the town by continual planks of forty feet long, they can neither be broke through, nor disjointed.

C H A P. XII.

The industry of the Roman soldiers.

The besieged set the mount on fire, and make a vigorous sally.

24. THOUGH the soldiers met with so many difficulties in the siege, though they were incommoded with the dirt, cold and perpetual rains; yet by incessant labour they surmounted all these inconveniencies; and in twenty-five days compleated a mount 330 feet broad, and eighty feet high. When it almost touched the walls, Cæsar, according to his custom, attending the works, and encouraging the soldiers to lose no time, about three in the morning perceived the mount began to smok; for the enemy having undermined and put fire to it, setting up a shout on all parts of the wall, made a vigorous sally from two several ports; some cast fire-brands and combustible matter upon the mount, some pitch, and such other materials as might serve to encrease the flame; so that we hardly knew whether to send assistance first; but Cæsar had taken care to

to have a constant out-guard of two legions, who relieved those that wrought in the trenches by turns ; so some immediately confronted those that sallied out of the town, and others were employed in drawing off the towers, and cutting the mount, whilst the whole army endeavoured to extinguish the fire. WAR IN GAUL.

23. The dispute continued very warm all the rest of the night, and the enemy were still in hopes of victory, because the sheds of the turrets were burnt, nor could our soldiers manage them whilst they were exposed to the enemy's shot : wherefore they sent fresh supplies continually to relieve the weary, thinking the fate of Gaul depended on that critical minute. During this conflict there happened a memorable action, which I must not omit : One of the besieged, having planted himself before the gate, cast balls of pitch and tallow with his hands to increase the fire of the turrets, till being wounded on his right side, with an arrow shot from a scorpion, he expired in the place : the man that stood next supply'd his post, till he met with the same fate ; then succeeded a third, and after him a fourth : nor was the place left vacant, till the fire of the mount was extinguished, the enemy on all sides repulsed, and the fight at an end. Four Gauls successively maintain the same post till they are all killed, and others do the like till they are beaten back into the town.

C H A P. XIII.

26. THE Gauls having essay'd all methods in vain, the next day, in obedience to Vercingetorix's commands, began to consult about leaving the town ; which they hoped they might do without much damage, by the favour of the night, because they had no great journey to their camp, and the morass which lay between would prevent the Romans pursuit. Night came, and the besieged were preparing for their intended march, when the women, running out into the streets, flung themselves weeping at their husbands feet, and besought them that they would not abandon their wives and children, whom nature had form'd incapable of enduring the fatigues of flight, as a prey to the enemy : but when they found them inflexible (for self-preservation and fear seldom admit of pity) they began to encrease their cries, and acquaint the Romans with their husbands design ; whereupon apprehending the passages might be possessed by our cavalry, they altered their resolution. The besieg'd design to quit the town, but are prevented by their wives

27. The next day Cæsar having advanced the towers, and given the necessary orders for carrying on the siege, there

WAR IN GAUL. there fell an extraordinary rain, which he thought a convenient time for effecting his design, because he observed the watch on the walls but negligently kept; wherefore he commanded the soldiers not to labour too hard at the works: the legions being covered by the vines, he encouraged them to reap the fruit of their labours, and having promised a reward to the first that scaled the walls, they flew like lightning from all parts, and soon possessed themselves of the town.

The Romans
scale the
walls.

28. The enemy were extremely surprized, and being forced from their turrets and battlements, drew themselves up in a triangle in the market-place, and such other streets as were broad enough for that purpose; that if the Romans should come to attack them, they might better maintain their ground, when drawn up in order of battle; but perceiving no body came near them, and that the walls were possessed by the Romans, they began to apprehend their flight might be prevented. Upon which they flung down their arms, and ran to the farthest part of the town, where pressing forward to make their escape through a narrow gate, they retarded each other, and were killed by the soldiers, as those who got out were by the cavalry; for no body minded the plunder, but enraged by the massacre at Orleans, and the fatigue they had endured in the siege, put all to the sword, without respect to age or difference of sex. So that out of 40000 scarce 800 escaped to Vercingetorix, who upon the first alarm fled out of the town. These he privately received in the dead of night, sending out his servants, and the chief noblemen of each province, to meet and conduct them to those parts of the camp, where their several countrymen were quartered, to prevent any mutiny that might arise from the disgust of the army upon their return.

Storm the
town, and
put the be-
sieged to the
sword. Out
of 40000 on-
ly 800 escape
to Vercinge-
torix: his po-
licy in recei-
ving them.

C H A P. XIV.

His speech
upon the loss
of the town.

29. THE next day, Vercingetorix, calling a council of war, comforted the Gauls, telling them, "They had no reason to be discouraged at their late loss, since the Romans had not succeeded by their valour, but skill in besieging of towns, which they had no experience in: that constant success was not to be expected in war; and for his part, they all could bear him witness, it was contrary to his opinion that Bourges should be defended: wherefore this loss was to be imputed to the folly of the people of Berry, and the too great indulgence of the army;
how-

however he would take care to repair the damage, by a far greater advantage; for he would undertake, the other countries of Gaul, which had hitherto stood neuter, should enter into the grand alliance: that the kingdom of Gaul should join in the same design, whose force united, the whole world would not be able to withstand: that he had almost brought this affair to a happy conclusion; but in the mean time he thought it convenient for the publick safety, they should fortify their camp, to defeat any sudden excursions of the enemy."

30. This harangue was not ungrateful to the Gauls, especially since they saw their general was neither dejected after so great a loss, nor endeavoured to abscond from public view; nor did it a little add to the reputation of his conduct, that as it was his opinion Bourges should be burnt, so he was the first that had advised them to desert the place: wherefore as ill success generally eclipses the credit of other commanders, so his, on the contrary, daily increased with his losses: they flattered themselves on his affirmation that the other states of Gaul would join with them, and began to fortify their camp, which had never before been practised by the Gauls: being reduced to so humble a condition, that tho' they were not inured to labour, yet they patiently suffered whatever tasks were imposed upon them.

Vercingetorix's credit increased by the loss of Bourges,

On his advice the Gauls fortify their camp; the first time they ever did it.

C H A P. XV.

31. VERCINGETORIX did not design to be worse than his promise, he took abundance of pains to draw the other countries of Gaul into the same alliance, endeavouring to gain the noblemen of each state, by presents and promises; for this purpose he made choice of the best negotiators, whose craft or interest might effect his designs: for those who had escaped from Bourges, he provided arms and cloathing; and to repair the loss he received there, gave orders that each of the revolted provinces should furnish him with a certain number of recruits, to be sent to his camp by a day prefixed; and he commanded them to levy all the archers in their country, whereof they have plenty in Gaul, for his service; by which means he soon recovered what he lost at Bourges. In the mean time Theutomatus, son of Ollovico king of Agen, whose father had formerly been stiled friend by the senate of Rome, came over to him with a considerable number of horse, which he brought from Gascoigne.

He endeavours to persuade all the other countries of Gaul to revolt.

Arms and clothes the besieged that escaped from Bourges.

Raises new levies.

Theutomatus, king of the Nitiobriges or Agen, comes over to him.

CHAPTER XVI.

WAR IN GAUL. 32. CÆSAR stay'd several days at Bourges, to refresh his army after their late labour, and want of provisions; for he found plenty of corn in the town: the winter was now almost spent, and the season invited him to take the field; wherefore he resolv'd to follow the enemy, to try whether he could draw them out of the woods and marches, or have an opportunity of besieging them; when the principal noblemen of Autun came to beseech him that he would assist their country, which was in a dangerous condition at that juncture; for as formerly by the custom of Autun they were always governed by a single annual magistrate, whose election invested him with regal power; now two pretended a title to the same office, both affirming, they were lawfully created: one of these pretenders was Convictolitanis, an illustrious youth of great interest; Cotus the other, of an antient family, great authority, and powerful in relations, whose brother Vedeliacus had discharged the same office but the year before: that the whole country was up in arms, the senate and people divided, and, should the dispute continue, it was much to be feared a civil war would ensue: to prevent which fatal consequences, they relied entirely on his care and authority.

Cæsar is informed of the disputes in Autun about the supreme magistracy.

33. Though Cæsar thought it inconvenient to leave the war, and the enemy behind him; yet considering what effects might arise from such divisions, lest so powerful and firm allies to the people of Rome, whom he had always favoured and enriched, should fall out amongst themselves, and that party which depended less on him, pray assistance from Vercingetorix, he thought it necessary to put a stop to the progress, of these disorders; and because the chief magistrates of Autun are prohibited going out of the country, lest they should detract from the honour of their office, he resolv'd to go himself in person thither; and summoned both the senate and candidates to attend him at Decise: almost the whole country came thither, and being satisfied that Cotus had been clandestinely chosen, by a few electors, at an improper time and place, and declared magistrate by his own brother, contrary to the law (which does not only prohibit two persons of the same family from executing the supreme office of magistracy, whilst he who first obtained it is alive, but even from sitting in the

Wherefore Cæsar goes to Autun.

Summons the candidates to attend him at Decetia or Decise.

the senate at a time) he obliged him to quit his pretensions, and gave sentence in favour of Convictolitanis, who had been created by the priests, according to the custom of the country, when the place was vacant.

WAR IN
GAUL.

where he decrees in favour of Convictolitanis, against Coctus's pretensions. Then orders the Autunois to furnish him with 10000 foot, and all their cavalry. He sends Labienus to Paris, marches himself to Cleremont.

34. Having accommodated this affair, he desired the Autunois to lay aside all thoughts of faction, and give him what assistance they could towards carrying on the present war; that, Gaul being subdued, they might receive those rewards their loyalty deserved: he desired them immediately to furnish him with all their cavalry, and 10000 foot, that he might dispose them into garrisons to levy contributions: he divided his army into two parts; four legions, with half of the cavalry, under the command of Labienus, he detached to Sens and Paris; and with the other four marched himself to Cleremont, on the river Allier, in the country of Auvergné; which Vercingetorix having notice of, broke down all the bridges of the river, and marched upon the banks on the other side.

C H A P. XVII.

35. B O T H armies continually in view, encamped almost over-against each other; and the enemy's scouts were so dispersed, that it was impossible for the Romans to throw a bridge over the river: Cæsar was very uneasy, lest he should lose the greatest part of the summer for want of an opportunity to pass the Allier, which is never fordable till towards autumn; to prevent which inconvenience, he removed his camp into a woody place, over-against one of those bridges which the enemy had cut down: the day following, concealing himself with two legions, he sent away the rest of his army, with all their baggage, as usual; having made a draught of four cohorts out of each of his legions, that the number of them might still appear complete: he commanded the army to march as far as they could, and when he computed, by the time of the day, they might be encamping, he began to rebuild a bridge upon the same piles, the lower part of which the enemy had left standing; and having soon completed his work, and marched his legions over, chose a convenient place to encamp in, and recalled the rest of his army: whereupon Vercingetorix, that he might not be obliged to fight against his will, went a great way forward by long marches.

Cæsar's stratagem to pass the Allier.

It takes effect.

WAR IN
GAUL.

Cæsar arrives
at Clere-
mont.

Vercingeto-
rix encamps
close under
the walls.

Cæsar gains
a hill of ad-
vantage.

Convictoli-
tanis per-
suades Lita-
vicus and his
brothers to
rebel.

36. From thence in five days march Cæsar arrived at Cleremont, where, after a small skirmish with the enemy's cavalry, upon taking a view of the town, he despaired of reducing it by storm, nor did he think it convenient to make any steps towards investing the place, before he had furnished himself with such provisions as he had occasion for. But Vercingetorix having encamped on the hill close by the town, disposed all his army according to their several districts, at a small distance from each other, and having possessed all the hills round about, made a formidable appearance: he obliged the chief noblemen of every state, whom he made his council, to attend his levee every morning early, either to consult or receive such orders as he thought necessary; never omitting a day without sending his horse, intermixed with archers, to skirmish with our cavalry, that he might be acquainted with each man's particular merit. There was a rising ground that joined to the foot of the mountain the town was built on, excellently well fortified by nature, and difficult of access on all sides; which if our men could gain, they were in hopes to cut off the water, and prevent the enemy from foraging so freely as before. Upon this place the Gauls had only posted a slender guard; wherefore Cæsar, leaving his camp about midnight, defeated the party that was lodged there, before they could be reinforced from the town, possessed himself of the hill, and having left two legions in the place, drew a line of communication, by a double trench twelve foot broad, from the lesser to the larger camp, that the soldiers might pass safely from one to the other, without any annoyance from the enemy.

C H A P. XVIII.

37. WHILST affairs were in this posture at Cleremont, Convictolitanis of Autun, to whom Cæsar had lately decreed the magistracy, being corrupted by the people of Auvergne, endeavoured to draw in some of the young nobility; the chief of these were Litavicus and his brothers, gentlemen of the greatest family in the country, with whom he divided his bribes: "He put them in mind they were born free, and destined by nature for empire: that Autun alone held the balance of victory, for all the other provinces were restrained by her example; but should she once declare, the Romans would have no footing left in

in

in the country: for his own part, he must confess he had lately received a favour from Cæsar, but such an one as the merits of his cause might challenge; yet he did not think himself obliged to shew his gratitude at the expence of his country's liberty; nor give any reason, why the Autunois should submit their laws and customs to the arbitration of Cæsar, any more than the Romans theirs to the Autunois." His authority, and the rewards he proposed, soon prevailed; Litavicus with his brothers agreed to undertake the business; but first it was thought proper to consult about the means for accomplishing their designs; for they were satisfied the country would not easily be induced to declare war against the Romans: wherefore it was resolved that Litavicus's brothers should be sent before to Cæsar, that himself should have the command of the 10,000 foot, which the Autunois were to furnish; and the rest of the affair should be managed as occasion offered.

WAR IN GAUL.

Litavicus made General of the 10000 foot; his brothers sent before to Cæsar.

38. Accordingly having received the command of the army, and marched within thirty miles of Cleremont, Litavicus on a sudden called the soldiers together, and with tears in his eyes spoke to this effect: "Gentlemen, whither are we going? all our horse, all our nobility are already slain; Eporedorix and Virдумarus, men of the best quality in our country, are accused of treason by the Romans, and put to death unheard: but I refer you to those who have escaped the slaughter, for further information, since grief for my departed brothers and kinsmen stops my utterance." At that, some instruments, who had been before instructed what to say, were produced; who joined in the same story with Litavicus, and informed the army of the particulars; that the Autunois horse had been put to the sword, for holding correspondence with those of Auvergne, as the Romans pretended; that they had hid themselves in the croud, and were saved by flight from the slaughter. Upon this advice the whole army were not a little disturbed, and intreated Litavicus that he would contrive some means for their safety: he told them, "The present affair did not admit of any debate; that there was no other way left but to march directly to Cleremont, and join the Auvergnois; for, added he, it is not to be doubted but the Romans, having already committed so barbarous an action, will make what haste they can to put us likewise to the sword; but if we have any courage left, let us revenge the death of our injured countrymen

Litavicus's treason and dissimulation.

Litavicus persuades the forces under his command to rebel.

WAR IN upon these villains:" Whereupon producing the Roman
GAUL. citizens who had taken the opportunity of their convoy,
they robbed them of a considerable quantity of corn, and
put them to a barbarous death; then immediately dispatched
couriers to all parts of Autun, to divulge the same story,
about the death of the noblemen and cavalry, and to ad-
vise them to vindicate their wrongs, as they had done.

C H A P. XIX.

39. E P O R E D O R I X and Virдумarus of Autun, one of an illustrious house and considerable interest in his country; the other of equal age and authority, though not so well descended, whom Cæsar, on the recommendation of Divitiacus, had raised to the highest dignities, being particularly summoned, came alone with the horse. These two always rivalled each other for the precedence; in the late dispute about the magistracy, one espoused the cause of Convictolitanis, the other that of Cotus. The former having notice of Litavicus's design, came to Cæsar about midnight, and discovered the plot, intreating him not to suffer the minds of a people who were his ancient friends, to be alienated by the treasonable practices of some young noblemen; for, he foresaw, that if Litavicus went over to the enemy, with so considerable an army, their several relations would think themselves obliged to join their defence, and consequently the affair must have a powerful influence over the whole country.

Eporodrix
acquaints
Cæsar with
Litavicus's
design.

Whereupon
Cæsar mar-
ches to inter-
cept the Au-
tunois, be-
fore they
reach Cler-
mont.

He meets
the Autu-
nois; they
submit when
they find
their error.

40. Cæsar was greatly surprized to hear that his favourite Autunois should think of a revolt: therefore he immediately drew out four light-armed legions, with all the cavalry; and not having time to contract his camp into a narrower space (because the whole success of his design depended on dispatch) left in garrison lieutenant C. Fabius with two legions. He gave orders before he set out for apprehending Litavicus's brothers, but found they had not long before gone over to the enemy. Having encouraged his soldiers cheartully to endure the fatigue of so necessary a march, they pursued their journey with great eagerness for xxv miles, till they arrived within sight of the Autunois; then he detached the horse before, to retard their march, commanding them not to put any man to the sword:

sword: and ordered Eporedorix with Virдумarus, whom they believed to be killed, to go along with the cavalry, and shew themselves to their countrymen the Autunois; who finding their mistake, discovering Litavicus's deceit, held out their hands to signify their desire to surrender, and having laid down their arms, began to beg their lives: Litavicus in the mean time, with all his dependants, who are not permitted by the custom of Gaul to desert their patron in the greatest dangers, escaped to Cleremont.

WAR IN GAUL.

Litavicus escapes to Cleremont.

41. Cæsar immediately sent embassadors to Autun, to acquaint the people how merciful he had been to their countrymen, whom by martial law he might have put to the sword; then having allowed his army three hours time to rest, he marched towards Cleremont, and had almost passed one half of the journey, when a party of horse from C. Fabius came to give him notice how much danger the camp was in, being assaulted by the enemy on all sides, who when their forces fainted, still supplied their places with fresh men; whilst the Romans with a large camp, and but few soldiers to defend it, were obliged, though never so weary, to maintain their ground: that they had already received many wounds from the enemy's darts and arrows, though their engines had done them good service: that Fabius, at their departure, had shut up two gates of the camp, encreased the height of the rampier, and prepared for the next day's assault: whereupon Cæsar made what haste he could to his relief, and arrived at the camp before sun-rise.

Cæsar has notice that the Gauls attack his camp.

He makes haste to its relief.

C H A P. XX.

42. IN the mean while the Autunois, receiving Litavicus's news, staid not for farther confirmation; but some prompted by avarice, others by revenge and rashness, to which they are so much addicted, that they take every thing for certain which they hear by report, plundered the Roman citizens, killed some, and sold others for slaves: nor did Conuictolitanis a little foment their fury, that by plunging them into some desperate action, shame might continue what madness began. They enticed Caius Aristius, the tribune, who was marching to his legion, and several Roman merchants, to quit Chalons, giving them

The Autunois on Litavicus's message take arms, plunder the Roman citizens,

besiege Aristius.

WAR IN GAUL. them their parole that they would not disturb them in their passage; but they set upon them on the road, robbed them of their baggage, besieged those night and day who made opposition, and many being killed on both sides, they excited still greater numbers to take arms.

But finding their soldiers were in Cæsar's power, they send ambassadors to him to clear themselves.

43. But being informed that all their soldiers were in Cæsar's power, they ran to Aristius, assured him nothing had been done by publick authority, called those to account who had seized the effects of the Romans, sequestered the estates of Litavicus and his brethren, and sent ambassadors to Cæsar, to clear themselves from the imputation of these tumults. All this they did to get their soldiers released; but being tainted with treason, loth to make restitution of those goods which had been divided amongst so many, and apprehensive of the punishment they deserved, they privately consulted about carrying on the war, and sent ambassadors to the states round about, to desire their assistance.

Cæsar gives them a favourable audience.

Though Cæsar was not ignorant of their practices, yet sending for their deputies, in an affable manner he assured them, that he should not entertain an ill opinion of their country for the disorders the mob had been guilty of, or bear the less affection to the Autunois.

C H A P. XXI.

Cæsar designs to quit the siege of Cleremont.

BEING apprehensive of fresh commotions in Gaul, that he might not be surrounded on all sides in an enemy's country, he consulted which way he might quit the siege of Cleremont, and join the rest of his army, without giving the enemy occasion to believe that he fled to avoid them.

44. Whilst he was meditating on this affair, there fell out an accident which seemed to favour his design; for going into the lesser camp to view the works, he observed a hill left naked, which but a few days before had been covered all over with the enemy's forces; he wondered what was the reason of their quitting it, and enquiring the cause of the deserters, who daily flocked in great numbers to our camp, they all agreed with our scouts, that the back of the hill, from whence lay a passage to another part of the town, was an even ground, but woody and narrow: that the enemy were much afraid of losing this post, for the
Romans

Romans having already made themselves masters of one hill, should they obtain this likewise, the Gauls would be almost surrounded, and cut off from foraging; for which reason Vercingetorix had drawn out all his forces to fortify the passage.

45. Cæsar upon this intelligence detached several squadrons of horse thither at midnight, commanding them to ride up and down the place with as much noise as possible: by break of day he caused a great number of mules and beasts of burden to be led out of the camp, and the baggage to be taken from them; then furnishing the grooms with helmets, that they might resemble troopers, he caused them to ride about the hill: with these, for the greater shew, he mixed a few cavalry, commanding them to make a large tour about the place. The party was soon descry'd by the besieged, for the town commanded a view of the camp, though they could not perfectly at that distance discover what was done: after these he likewise detached one legion to the same place, whom he ordered to hide themselves in the woods and lower grounds: this increased the jealousy of the Gauls to such a degree, that they immediately drew out all their forces to maintain the post. Cæsar, perceiving the camp was deserted, caused his soldiers to march in small parties from the larger to the lesser camp, with their helmets and colours concealed, that the town might take no notice of them; then calling his lieutenants together, to whom he had committed the charge of each particular legion, he gave them such directions as he thought convenient: In the first place he ordered them to restrain their soldiers from being carried too far by the desire of fight or plunder; he acquainted them with the disadvantage of the place, which nothing but dispatch could overcome; that the present was an affair which depended more upon opportunity than virtue; and giving them the sign to advance, sent the Autunois to meet them by another ascent on the right.

But first resolves upon an exploit.

C H A P. XXII.

46. THE wall of the town lay 1200 paces distant from the plain below, without computing the uneven ground between, and the circuit which was necessary to be taken for moderating the steepness of the ascent, which still increased our journey. The Gauls about the middle of the

WAR IN GAUL. hill, so far as the nature of the place would admit, had raised a wall six foot high for a fortification; from the foot of the hill to this outward wall there was nothing to obstruct our passage, but from thence to the town the upper part of the hill was covered all over with little camps (*a*). So soon as the sign was given, our men were so alert in executing their orders, that they quickly passed this fortification, and made themselves masters of three several camps; which they did with so much dispatch, that Theutomatus, king of Agen, was surpris'd in his tent, as he was reposing himself about noon, and narrowly escaped being taken; for his horse was wounded under him, and he fled away half naked, not having time to dress himself.

The Romans take the first wall on the hill.

Theutomatus narrowly escapes being taken prisoner.

Cæsar sounds a retreat; the tenth legion halts, but the rest pursue their success.

The confusion of the besieged on the Romans approach.

Lucius Fabius's avarice, which costs him dear.

He scales the walls.

Vercingetorix's party return to their assistance.

47. Cæsar, having now accomplished all he desired, commanded a retreat to be sounded; whereupon the soldiers of the tenth legion, who then attended on him †, made a halt, and the other legions, though the intervening valley prevented their hearing the summons, yet were commanded by the tribunes and lieutenants, according to Cæsar's instructions, likewise to halt; but prompted with the hopes of a speedy victory, encouraged by the flight of the enemy, and flushed with the remembrance of their former successes, they thought nothing too difficult for their courage to accomplish, nor did they desist from the pursuit before they came to the very gates and walls of the town: which occasioned so great a clamour and confusion from all parts, that they who were furthest from the place assaulted, believing we had already forced our entrance, left the town; the matrons cast their cloaths and money o'er the wall, with naked breasts and extended hands beseeching the Romans to have mercy on them, and not put women and children to the sword, as they had done at Bourges; and some of them being let down by their hands, delivered themselves up to our soldiers. L. Fabius, a centurion of the eighth legion, was so encouraged by the plunder he got at Bourges, that he was heard to say, no man should get into Cleremont before him; wherefore by the assistance of three soldiers of his maniple he mounted the walls, then assisted them one after another to do the like.

48. In the mean time, they who were gone to defend the passage on the other side of the town, hearing a noise,

(*a*) Because Cæsar said before they were divided into several parties, each country being placed by themselves.

† *quæ tum erat comitatus.* Cod. Carr. & Lipsius.

and being informed by several messengers that the Romans had taken possession of Clermont, sending their horse before, followed after with all expedition ; each man as soon as he arrived there, placed himself under the wall, to join with such as had already made head against the enemy ; and they soon grew so numerous, that whereas the matrons, but the moment before, besought the Romans to be merciful to them, now they began to encourage their own party to make a vigorous defence, by producing their children, and shewing themselves with dishevelled hair, according to the custom of the Gauls.

They assume
fresh cou-
rage.

C H A P. XXIII.

T H U S the dispute became unequal to the Romans as well in respect to the disparity of number, as the disadvantage of the place ; nor was it to be expected, that they who had already endured such a fatigue, should be able to withstand those who came fresh to the combat.

49. Cæsar perceiving that the number of the enemy continually encreased, and being concerned for the danger his soldiers were in, sent orders to lieutenant T. Sextius, whom he had left to guard the lesser camp, immediately to draw out his cohorts, and post them at the foot of the hill, over-against the enemy's right wing ; that in case our men should be routed, he might put a stop to the enemy's pursuit : and he himself marching with one legion, possess'd a place not far from Sextius, where he expected the event of the battle.

50. The conflict was sharply maintained on both sides, the enemy confiding in their post and numbers, ours in their courage ; when on a sudden the Autunois, whom Cæsar had before ordered to ascend by another way on the right, to give the enemy a diversion, were discover'd on the flank of our soldiers, and the resemblance of their arms to those of the Gauls, did not a little surprize the Romans ; for though their right shoulders were uncovered, the usual sign of peace, yet our men were apprehensive it was now no more than a decoy. At the same time L. Fabius the centurion, and those who had got into the town with him, being surrounded and killed, were thrown over the wall ; and M. Petreius, another centurion of the same legion, endeavouring to force the gates, was oppressed by the enemy's numbers ; wherefore despair-

L. Fabius
kill'd and
thrown over
the wall.

WAR IN GAUL. ing of safety for himself and his company, who had followed him, he told them, "That since he could not save himself, he would at least take care of them, whom his thirst for glory had brought into that danger, and advised them to make use of the opportunity he would procure them;" then rushing into the midst of the enemy, having kill'd two, he drove the rest a little from the gate, and perceiving his men strove to assist him, "In vain, said he, do you endeavour to save the man whom his blood and strength have already forsaken; be gone therefore, whilst you may, and retire to your legion:" then fighting on, he expired soon after, but purchased safety for his followers at the expence of his life.

Marcus Petrus dies bravely.

The Romans, after the loss of 46 centurions, and near 700 men, are obliged to retreat.

51. Our men being attacked on all sides, after the loss of forty-six centurions, were obliged to quit the place; but the tenth legion, which had been posted nearer the bottom of the hill, to cover their retreat, stopped the enemy's career, being sustained by the cohorts, of the thirteenth legion, which were drawn out of the lesser camp, and had possessed the higher ground. So soon as our army recovered the plain, they made a stand, and faced about to the enemy; upon which Vercingetorix drew off his forces from the foot of the hill into their camps: this day we lost almost 700 men.

C H A P. XXIV.

Cæsar calls a council, and reprimands the soldiers for their orders.

52. CÆSAR, the day after, having summoned the soldiers to attend him, made a speech, wherein he condemned their eager pursuit, and reprimanded them for presuming to judge how far they were to go after a retreat was sounded, and their officers had commanded them to halt: he laid before them the dangers they were liable to from the disadvantage of the place, which he was so sensible of at Bourges, that though he surpris'd the enemy there without either cavalry or a general, yet he thought proper to forego a certain victory, rather than purchase it even at that small expence which the difficulty of the passage would have cost him. He highly applauded their courage, whom neither the fortifications of the enemy's camp, the height of the mountain, nor the walls of the town could stop; but as much condemned their pride and arrogance, who fancied themselves better judges of the probability of victory, and

and the event of affairs, than their general ; for he rather desired to have his soldiers modest and obedient, than courageous and daring.

WAR IN
GAUL.

53. In the conclusion of his speech, he comforted the soldiers for the loss they had received ; telling them, they should not be dejected at their late misfortune, which was to be attributed to the disadvantage of the place, not to their want of courage. Then designing, as formerly, to quit the siege, he drew his army up in order of battle ; but finding Vercingetorix was not disposed to fight him, after a small and successful skirmish between the cavalry, he withdrew into the camp again : the like he did the day following : then thinking he had done enough to encourage his own soldiers, and abate the pride of the Gauls, he decamped, and marched to Autun : the enemy did not think fit to follow us ; wherefore having in three days rebuilt the bridge cross the Allier, he passed the river with all his forces.

After a successful skirmish with the enemy's horse, Cæsar decamps, passes the Allier ; is informed by Virдумarus and Eporedorix of Litavicus's soliciting the Autunois to a revolt.

54. He was informed by Virдумarus and Eporedorix that Litavicus was gone with all the cavalry to solicit those of Autun to join the revolted Gauls ; that therefore it would be absolutely necessary for them to go before, that they might prevent such attempts, and confirm the country in their loyalty. Though Cæsar was already convinced of the infidelity of the Autunois, and plainly foresaw that Virдумarus and Eporedorix on their arrival would but hasten the revolt, yet he thought not proper to detain them, that he might not do any thing that might reflect on their character, or give them reason to believe he suspected them. At their departure he briefly enumerated the services he had done their country ; in how mean a condition he found them, shut up within their walls, robbed of their fields, deprived of their forces, made tributaries, and obliged to deliver hostages for their fidelity ; whereas he had raised them to so high a pitch of grandeur, that they were not only restored to their former state, but to a greater height of glory than they ever knew : Then taking his leave, he dismissed them.

C H A P. XXV.

55. NEVERS is a town of Autun, conveniently seated on the river Loire : here Cæsar had lodged all the hostages of Gaul, the corn, the publick treasure, his own,

Virдумarus and Eporedorix seize Nevers, put the partition to the sword.

WAR IN and the greatest part of the army's baggage, and hither he GAUL. had sent a great number of horses, which he had bought up in Spain and Italy for the service. When Eporedorix and Virдумarus arrived at this place, being informed how kindly Litavicus had been received at Bibracte, the capital of Autun, that Convictolitanis, the chief magistrate, with the greatest part of the senate, were come over to him, and had sent publick embassadors to Vercingetorix to treat of an alliance, they thought proper to lay hold of so advantageous an opportunity; wherefore, having put the garrison of Nevers and the Roman merchants who resided there to the sword, they divided the money and horses between them, took care to send the hostages to the magistrate at Autun, and because the town was not tenable, lest it should be of any use to the Romans, set it on fire. What corn they had carriage for, they immediately sent away by water, and flung the rest into the river, or burnt it; then began to raise forces in the neighbouring countries, disposed parties for a guard on the banks of the Loire, and dispersed their cavalry the country over, to strike a terror into the Romans, endeavouring to cut off their convoys, and reduce them to a necessity of leaving their province: they promised themselves success in this affair, because the late snow had so swell'd the Loire, that it was not fordable.

Divide the plunder, and burn the town.

Raise forces, and place guards on the banks of the Loire.

Cæsar arrives at the Loire;

crosses the river; the enemy fly, and he marches on towards Sens.

56. On advice of these motions, Cæsar thought it high time to make haste, and if he must be at the trouble of building a bridge, resolved to do it so quickly, that he might engage the enemy before they grew stronger: for he held it by no means convenient to return to the Roman province, whilst honour, the mountains of the Cavernes, and the difficulty of the way opposed his passage; besides, he had a great desire to join the rest of his army under the command of Labienus. Wherefore, beyond all mens expectation, marching both day and night, he arrived by long journays at the Loire; where the cavalry having found out as convenient a ford as could be expected for the season, he disposed them so as to break the force of the stream, whilst the foot passed over the river, which took them up to the shoulders, leaving them only the liberty to hold their arms above the water. At the first view of the Romans, the enemy betook themselves to flight. Thus having safely passed the Loire, obtained a considerable booty

of corn and cattle in the fields, and refreshed his army, he resolved to march into the country of Sens.

WAR IN
GAUL.

C H A P. XXVI.

57. WHILST Cæsar was thus employed, Labienus having left those supplies, which lately came from Italy, for a guard to his baggage at Sens, marched with four legions to Paris, which is situated in an island of the Seine. Upon notice of his arrival, the enemy drew a considerable number of forces from the neighbouring countries, which they committed to the charge of Camulogenus of Eureux; upon whom they conferred that honour for his singular skill in military affairs, though his age seemed to have rendered him unfit for the command: He, observing there was a large morass which joined to the Seine, and obstructed all the passages round about, lodged his army there, designing to prevent the Romans crossing the river.

Labienus
marches to
Paris.

58. Labienus was no sooner arrived there, but he began to make his approaches, under the shelter of his vines, to fill up the morass with mould and hurdles, to render the passage firm; but finding the work very troublesome, leaving his camp without noise about midnight, he marched the same way that he came, till he arrived at Melun, which is another town of the country of Sens, situated likewise in an island of the Seine, as well as Paris. Here he surprised about fifty ships, which he immediately mann'd with his soldiers; whereupon the few inhabitants that remained in the town (for the greatest part was gone out to the war) were so frightened, they immediately surrendered. After this success he repaired the bridge, which the enemy had cut down not long before, crossed the river with his army, and marched along the banks with the stream to Paris: the enemy, having notice of his motions, by some that made their escape from Melun, immediately set fire to Paris, caused the bridges to be cut down, and securing themselves in the morass, on the banks of the Seine, directly over-against Paris, placed themselves opposite to Labienus's camp.

Labienus
surprises Me-
lun, Metio-
sedum: for
this is the
same place
with Melio-
duum.
Vide the pre-
face.

59. By this time Cæsar's quitting the siege of Clermont, the revolt of the Autunois, and the second rebellion of the Gauls, was known all the country over; to this news the natives added some of their own, reporting that

Cæsar's

WAR IN GAUL. Cæsar's journey was stopped by the Loire, and that for want of provisions he was obliged to return to the Roman province. Whereupon the people of Beauvois, having notice of the defection in Autun, being naturally inclined to change, began to raise forces, and make public preparations for war. Labienus perceiving the face of affairs so wonderfully changed, was obliged to lay a quite different scheme than what he had first designed; for now they did not think of making acquisitions and conquests, but of securing his retreat to Sens; because one side of the country was possessed by those of Beauvois, reputed a warlike people; and the others by Camulogenus, who had already a powerful army in the field; to add to these difficulties, his legions were divided from their garrison and baggage by a broad river; wherefore he found nothing could free him from these inconveniencies but his wonted presence of mind.

The people of Beauvois prepare for war.

C H A P. XXVII.

60. IN the evening he summoned a council of war; and having encouraged the officers diligently to observe his orders, divided the ships which he brought from Melun among the Roman knights, commanding them to fall down the river at nine o'clock without any noise, and expect him about four miles off; five cohorts, whom he thought least capable of service, he left for a guard to his camp; and the other five cohorts of the same legion, with all the baggage, had directions to march up the river, with as much noise and confusion as possible; he likewise got a number of cock-boats, which he sent the same way, commanding them to make as great bustle as they could with their oars; and he himself not long after, marched silently out of his camp with three legions, to the place where he had appointed the ships to meet him.

Labienus prepares for a retreat to Sens. Divides his army into three parties.

61. Here he surprized the enemy's scouts, who were placed in all parts of the river, but were prevented from making their escape by a sudden tempest; and our foot and cavalry, by the care of the Roman knights, to whom Labienus had committed the charge of that affair, were soon carried over the river. It happened that the enemy, before break of day, almost at the same instant, had notice that there was a greater noise than usual in the Roman camp; that a considerable party were marched up the river; that beating of oars was heard the same way; and that a little lower another party had been transported cross

the river: whereupon believing the Romans designed to cross the Seine in three several places at once, and retreat as fast as they could, because the people of Autun had revolted, Camulogenus likewise divided his army into three bodies, one he left for a guard directly over-against our camp, and detaching a small party towards Meudon, (*b*) with orders to go as far as the boats were gone before, marched with the rest of his forces against Labienus.

WAR IN
GAUL.

The Gauls
on notice of
it do the like.

62. By break of day we had transported all our forces cross the river, where we found the enemy ready to receive us. Labienus encouraging his men to remember their pristine virtue, the many battles they had formerly won, and to believe that Cæsar himself was present, under whose conduct they had so often met with success, gave them the sign of battle. At the very first onset the left wing of the enemy was forced, and routed by the seventh legion; but their right, with whom the twelfth legion engaged, though the first ranks were swept off by the Roman piles, vigorously maintained their ground, without the least suspicion of flight, Camulogenus being present to encourage them. Here the dispute was dubious; when the tribunes of the seventh legion, understanding how our right wing was pressed, faced about, and attacked the enemy in the rear, who even then did not attempt to fly, but being surrounded on all sides, were cut to pieces with their general. The party which had been left behind, to guard the passage over-against our camp, hearing the two armies were engaged, advanced to assist their countrymen, and posted themselves on a hill; but not being able to sustain the assault of our victorious soldiers, joined the rest that fled; and those who found no shelter from the woods and mountains, were killed by our cavalry. After this success Labienus returned to Sens, where he had left the baggage of his legions, and from thence, with all his forces, marched to Cæsar.

Labienus
with three
legions crosses
the Seine,
engages and
defeats one
third of the
enemy.

Another
party come
to their as-
sistance, and
meet with
the same
fate.

(*b*) *Meiosedum*, which is not to be confounded with *Melodunum*, or *Melun*, as some authors have done. At § 58. the better Copies read *Melodunum*, and throughout distinguish it from *Meiosedum*.

WAR IN
GAUL.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The revolted
states endeavour
to draw
others in.

The Autu-
nois contend
with Vercin-
getorix about
the supreme
management
of affairs,
and are over-
ruled by ma-
jority of
votes, which
again chuse
him Gene-
ralissimo.

63. THE rebels, encouraged by the revolt of the Autunois, sent ambassadors to solicit all the states round about to revolt; they made use of their interest, money, and authority to effect this design, threatening those who stood neuter, that their hostages, whom Cæsar had left at Nevers, should suffer for their obstinacy. The Autunois sent deputies to Vercingetorix, desiring he would come to them, that they might consult together concerning the most proper methods for carrying on the war; but the chief business, when he came thither, was to desire he would resign his command to them. The dispute was submitted to the decision of a general council of all the revolted states, to be held at Autun; great numbers flocked thither by the day appointed, the question was put to the vote, and Vercingetorix, by public consent, was again chosen general. The states of Rheims, Langre, and Treves were not present at this council, the first remaining faithful to the people of Rome, and those of Treves, whose country lay at too great a distance, were employed at home by the Germans. The Autunois were not a little disturbed to find themselves thus stripped of their sovereignty; they lamented the mighty change of their fortune, and began to regret the loss of Cæsar's favour: but having embarked in the enterprize, there was no room for a retreat; wherefore Eporedorix and Virdumarus, two hopeful young gentlemen, were obliged, much against their wills, to receive orders from Vercingetorix.

Vercingeto-
rix raises
15000 horse.

64. Invested with this office, Vercingetorix commanded the confederates to send him hostages; and appointed a day for a general rendezvous, at which time they were to furnish him with 15000 horse; for he was contented with the foot he had already, because he did not design to try his fortune in an engagement; but hoped to intercept the Roman convoys, and cut off their foragers, when he should be so well furnished with cavalry; provided they would contentedly submit to lay their own country waste, and set fire to their buildings; which damage would soon be recompensed by perpetual liberty and enjoyment of empire. Having dispatched these orders, he commanded the Autunois and those of Lyons*, which lay nearest the

* Sequani, whose territories likewise contained all the country of Fo-
Roman

Roman province, to levy 10000 foot: these, with 800 cavalry, he committed to the charge of Eporedorix's brother, whom he ordered to make war on (a) Dauphine and Savoy, commanding likewise the people of Gevaudan, and the neighbouring parts of Auvergne, to harrass Vivarais; as he did those of Roverge and Quercy, to make inroads into Languedoc (b): not omitting, at the same time, underhand to solicit the people of Dauphine and Savoy (who, he hoped, were not well satisfied with their subjection to the Romans) by sending their noblemen bribes, and promising the natives the sovereignty of the entire Roman province.

WAR IN GAUL.

Sends several parties against the Roman province, and Languedoc.

65. To oppose this powerful confederacy, Cæsar had only provided twenty-two cohorts, which he caused lieutenant Lucius Cæsar to levy in the province. The people of Vivarais, who made themselves the aggressors, by attacking their neighbours first, after the loss of several men, with C. Valerius Donaturus, son of Cabarus, the principal man in their country, were obliged to quit the field, and retire within their walls. But the Dauphinois and Savoyards, having disposed several watches along the river Rhosne, preserved themselves by their extraordinary care and diligence. Cæsar understanding that the enemy were so much superior to him in horse, and had blocked up all the passages, to prevent his receiving supplies from Italy, or the Roman province; sent to those states of Germany cross the Rhine, which he had formerly quieted, for cavalry, and such light-arm'd foot as used to fight intermixt amongst them: upon their arrival, perceiving they were but ill mounted (c) he took the horses from the tribunes of the soldiers, the Roman knights, and volunteers, to furnish them with.

Cæsar levies twenty-two cohorts.

The people of Vivarais routed by the rebels.

Cæsar sends for cavalry to Germany.

C H A P. XXIX.

66. IN the mean time the enemy's forces from Auvergne, and the cavalry, which all the confederates were to furnish, met at the general rendezvous; and Cæsar was marching towards Franche-compte, through the extreme confines of Langre, when Veicingetorix, having notice of

Cæsar designs to march towards Franche-compte.

rest. Ortelius has mistaken this place, and condemned Ptolemy without any reason.

(a) That is, the Allobroges on both sides the river Rhosne.

(b) Read Volcarum Aremoricum, not Volcarum ac Rhemorum, as some Editions. The people of Rheims are not at a great distance from the places here mentioned.

(c) See before, iv. c. 2.

WAR IN his design, endeavoured to interrupt his journey; and being
 GAUL arrived, after three days march, within ten miles of the
 Romans, he sent for the horse-officers to council; “And
 assured them the time for victory was now come, for Cæsar
 had left Gaul, and was flying to his province; which
 would certainly give them present liberty, but not secure
 them peace and quiet for the future; since the Romans did
 not design to quit Gaul, but return with more forces to
 carry on the war: wherefore that was the only time to at-
 tack them, whilst they were upon their march; for should
 their foot attempt to assist the horse, it would of necessity
 put a stop to their journey: but if every man should en-
 deavour to shift for himself, which he thought more
 likely, they would lose both their baggage and honour to-
 gether. For as for the cavalry, they might be assured not a
 man of them durst venture out of the body of the army: and
 to strike the greater terror into the enemy, he would draw
 all his forces out before the camp.” The officers unani-
 mously desired, that each man should bind himself to per-
 form his duty by a solemn imprecation, “Wishing that he
 might never return again to his own house, that he should
 be disowned by his children, wife, and relations, if he did
 not twice force his way through the Roman army.”

Vercingeto-
 rix designing
 to stop his
 march, calls
 a council of
 war.

The Gauls
 swear to ride
 twice thro'
 the Roman
 army.

Vercingeto-
 rix sends all
 his horse to
 engage the
 Romans.

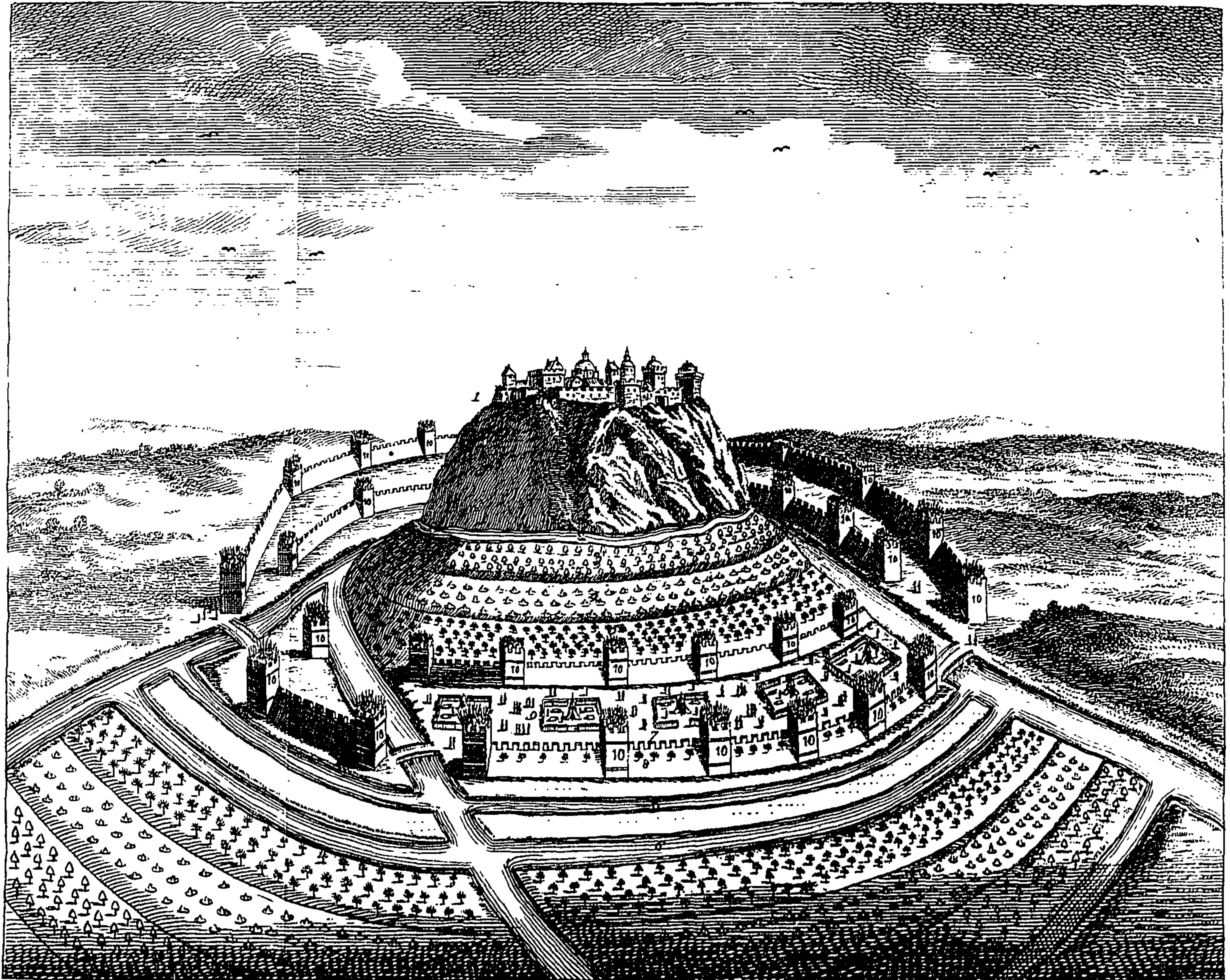
The fight
 begins.

The German
 horse break
 the Gauls
 left wing,
 and rout
 them.

All the rest
 are put to
 flight.

67. Their request being granted, every man took the
 oath; and Vercingetorix dividing his cavalry the next
 day into three parties, ordered one to attack our van, the
 other two were to follow at a small distance on either side.
 On notice of their design, Cæsar likewise divided his
 horse into three parties, and commanded them to meet
 the enemy. Both sides being closely engaged, Cæsar or-
 dered the main body of the army to halt, the baggage to
 be received in among the legions, and where he per-
 ceived his men to be overcharged, he immediately detached
 others to their assistance; which prevented the enemy's
 gaining ground, and encouraged our soldiers, who found
 themselves so carefully relieved: but at last the Germans
 having gained a rising ground, pour'd down with such fury
 upon the enemy that they routed, and pursued their left
 wing as far the river, where Vercingetorix had posted
 himself with the infantry; which the rest of the Gauls
 perceiving, to prevent being surrounded, fled as their
 countrymen had done before them. There was a dreadful
 slaughter in all places; three of the chief noblemen of
 Autun were taken, and brought to Cæsar; Cotus, gene-
 ral

ALISE.



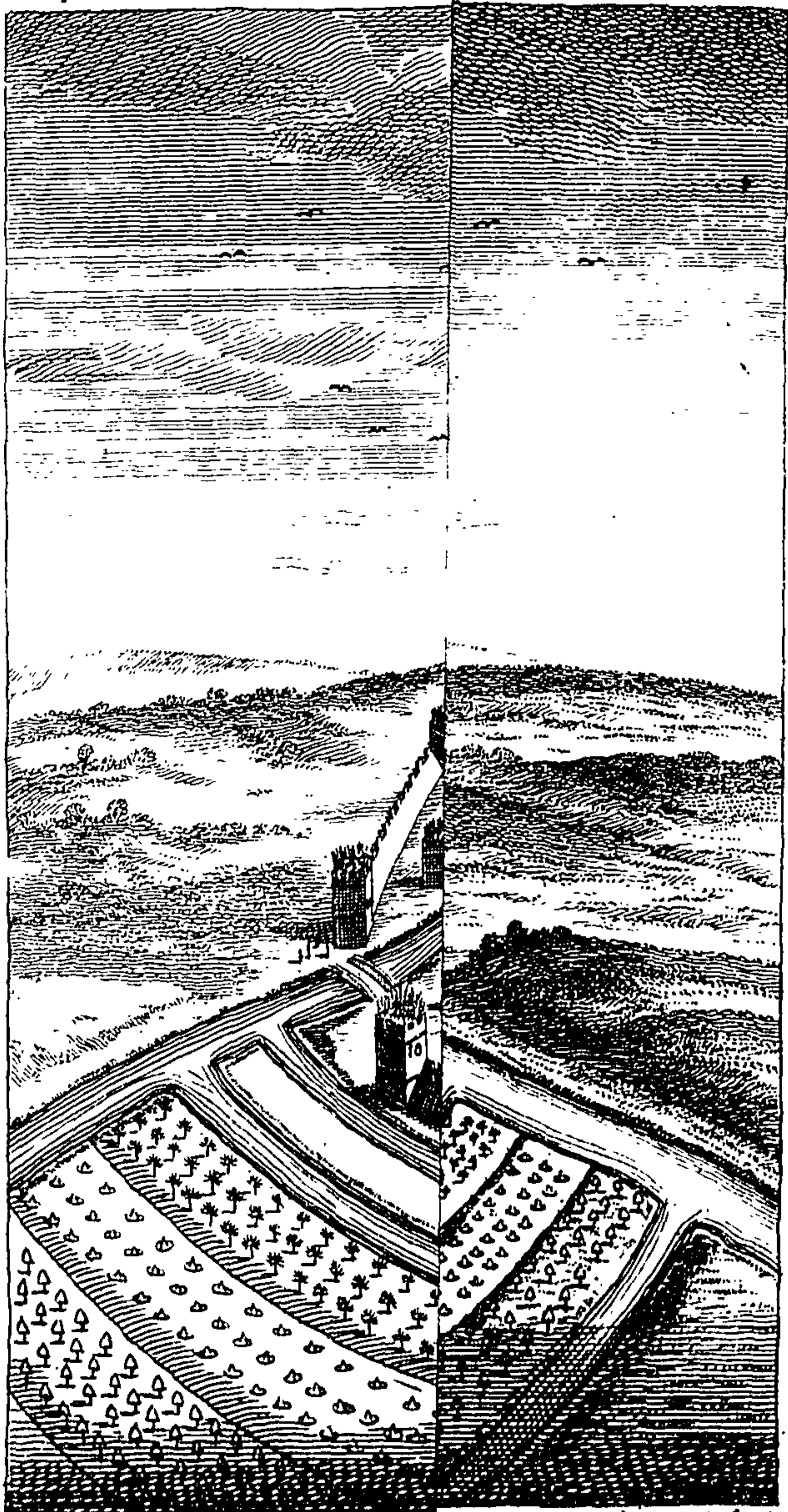
1 The Town of ALISE
 2 The Ditch twenty
 foot Broad

3 The STIMULE
 4 The Lilect
 5 The Cippi

6 The DITCHES near the RAMPERS
 7 The Rampier
 8 The Cervior sharp Bows

9 The Camp
 in The Wooden Towers
 about the Rampiers

J. Sime. Sculp.



1 The Town of ALISE
2 The Ditch twenty
foot Broad.

3 Camp
4 Wooden Towers
5 the Rampiers

J. June. Sup.

ral of their horse, who had lately disputed with Convictolitanis about the magistracy; Cavarillus, who, after the revolt of Litavicus, commanded their foot; and Eporedorix, who was generalissimo for the Autunois against the Franche-comtois before Cæsar's arrival in Gaul.

WAR IN GAUL.

Cotus, Cavarillus, and Eporedorix, taken prisoners.

Vercingetorix marches to Alife. Alexia.

68. The enemy's horse being routed, Vercingetorix withdrew his forces, and immediately marched to Alife, a town of (a) Dufemois, commanding the baggage to follow him; Cæsar leaving his, under a guard of two legions, pursued him as far as the day would permit, and having killed about 3000 of the enemy's rear, arrived the next day at Alife. He took a view of the place, and having daunted the enemy by the defeat of their horse, in which they most confided, encouraged his men to draw a line of circumvallation about the town.

C H A P. XXX.

69. ALISE was not to be taken without a formal siege, because it stands on the summit of a very high hill, whose bottom, on both sides, is watered by two several rivers: before the town is a valley, which extends about three miles in length, but every part besides is surrounded by mountains of an equal height, placed at a moderate distance from each other. Under the walls, on the side of the town towards the east, lay all the enemy's forces encamped, who had fortified themselves with a ditch, and a wall of stones heaped up eight foot high: the Roman lines were eleven miles in circuit; their camp was in a convenient place, where they had built three and twenty turrets; in these centinels were placed to observe the enemy's motions by day, and in the night they were guarded by a continual watch and strong garrisons.

The situation of Alife.

The Gauls encamp close under the walls of the town.

The first line of circumvallation drawn by the Romans included eleven miles; twenty-three towers built on it.

A skirmish on the plain before the town between the cavalry: the Gauls worsted.

70. Whilst we were employed about our works, a skirmish happened on the plain (which we observed extended three miles) between ours and the enemy's horse: Cæsar perceiving his party overpowered, sent the Germans to their assistance, and drew the legions out before the camp, to be in readiness in case the enemy's foot should make a sally: our men, encouraged to see the legions ready to re-

(a) Mandubi. This country lies in the diocese of Langre, but has some dependence on that of Autun, according to Sanson. Diodorus says, Alife was built by Hercules.

WAR IN GAUL. believe them, soon routed the enemy, who crowded so close that they hinder'd each other's retreat, and stuck fast between the gates of their camp: the Germans pursued them to their fortifications, where they put great numbers of them to the sword, and some quitting their horses, endeavoured to cross the ditch, and get over the wall: whereupon Cæsar commanded the legions, which were drawn out before the camp, to advance a little further. Nor were the enemy within the walls in less confusion than those without; believing we designed to force their camp, they sounded an alarm; some fled into the town for safety, and Vercingetorix was obliged to shut the gates, lest the camp should be deserted. After a great slaughter, the Germans returned with a considerable booty of horses.

The Germans return, after having made a great slaughter, with a considerable booty.

C H A P. XXXI.

Vercingetorix sends away all his cavalry; orders them to bring along with them all that were all to bear arms.

71. BEFORE our fortifications were compleat, Vercingetorix thought fit to dismiss all his cavalry by night: he commanded them at their departure, to return to their several countries, and raise all the men that were able to bear arms: he put them in mind of the services he had done them, and conjured them not to abandon him as a sacrifice to the enemy's rage, who had so well merited of the publick liberty; adding, that by computation he found he had only corn left for thirty days, which, by good husbandry, might hold out a little longer; but if they were negligent in performing his commands, 80000 chosen men must perish with him. Having given them these orders, he sent them out privately about ten at night, by the way where our works were not compleat. So soon as they were gone, he commanded the town, upon pain of death, to bring in all their corn, which he began to measure out very sparingly; he distributed to each of his soldiers the cattle, which had been sent in great numbers from the people of Dufemois; and received all the forces which were encamped under the walls into the town, designing there to expect relief from the confederates; and thus he resolved to manage the war.

Cæsar's works at Alike.

A ditch twenty foot over with perpendicular sides.

72. Cæsar having notice of his designs from the prisoners and deserters, prepared these fortifications to disappoint him: First he cut a ditch twenty foot over with perpendicular sides, as broad at the bottom as the top; all the other fortifications were 400 foot further off the town than

than this ditch; for he thought it necessary to encompass so large a circuit of ground, that his works might not easily be surrounded on all sides, nor surpris'd in the night; as likewise that the soldiers, who were employed about them, might be beyond the reach of the enemy's darts. Observing this distance, he drew two other ditches fifteen foot broad and deep, and filled up the innermost, which lay in a marshy ground, with water from the river. Behind these he cut a trench, and cast up a rampier twelve foot high, which he surrounded with a breast-work of pales and hurdles, fixed sharp forked stakes into the bank, to prevent the enemy from approaching where the rampier and breast-work joined, and surrounded the whole with turrets at eighty foot distance from each other.

WAR IN
GAUL.

Two more
ditches fif-
teen foot
broad and
deep, the in-
nermost fill'd
with water.
A rampier
with a
breast-work.

73. But perceiving our men, who were obliged to forage, and provide materials at the same time for so great a work, were often cut off when they wander'd too far from the camp; and that the Gauls, sometimes making a vigorous sally from several parts of the town together, attempted to force his lines, Cæsar thought it necessary to make more additions to them, that they might be defended with the smaller number.

(a) Wherefore, having cut several trunks and strong arms of trees, he pointed and sharpened them at the top; then sinking several parallel ditches round the works five foot in depth, he fixed in each these trees, which he fasten'd to each other at the bottom, that they might not easily be pulled out; and left their jagged branches standing somewhat above the earth: there were five of these rows so interwoven with each other, that it was impossible for the enemy, if they came that way, not to fall on them: these the Romans called (b) Cippi.

Cippi.

(a) It appears, by what follows after, that these Cippi were placed immediately next to the innermost ditch, which Cæsar tells us had water in it, as the Lilia and Srimuli were between these and the great ditch twenty foot broad, which was the farthest towards the town.

(b) Some old editions read here Cappos, which Lipsius has converted into Scapos, and I think not without reason, though Vossius is very angry at him for it: Cippi were pillars sometimes set up in memory of the dead: but oftner for land-marks, as those between the capitol and Flaminian way, which had this inscription on it: ID. QVOD. INTRA. CIPPOS. AD CAMPVUM. VERSVS. SOLI. EST. A. CAESARE. AVGVSTO. REDEMP TVM. PRIVATO. PVBLICAVIT. You may observe in the following paragraph, Cæsar says the Lilia were so called, from the likeness their figure had to the lilly; now therefore supposing these Cippi or Scapi to have been called so upon the same account (which is but reasonable to imagine) the close branches of the trees, which were pre-

WAR IN GAUL. Before them obliquely in order of Quincunx, were pits dug tree foot deep, (a) something narrower at the bottom than the top; into which were driven stakes, about the thickness of a man's thigh, first hardened in the fire, and sharpened at the end; they were so fixt that no more than four inches stood above the outer surface of the earth; one foot was sunk within the bottom of the pits; the mouths of which were covered with small twigs and osiers to deceive the enemy; eight several rows of this work were made, at three foot distance from each other, which they called Lilia, from the likeness they bore to that flower.

Stimuli. Before these likewise were placed another kind of works, called Stimuli, which were poles with iron hooks at the end of them: and those they drove into the earth up to the heads, all over the place, at a moderate distance from one another.

The same works he made outwards. 74. These works compleated, encompassing another space of ground, as even as the nature of the place admitted, which extended fourteen miles in circuit, he made the very same fortifications outwards; that if any accident should require his absence from the camp, it might easily hold out against a considerable number of the enemy's forces: and that his soldiers might run no more hazard in foraging than was necessary, he commanded both horse and foot to be furnished with thirty days provisions.

C H A P. XXXII.

The Gauls hold a council: Give orders for each state to furnish a particular quota for the relief of Alife. 75. WHILST these affairs were in agitation at Alife, the princes of Gaul held a general council, where it was not thought proper to comply with Vercingetorix's desire, in sending all that were able to bear arms; but resolved that each state should furnish a certain quota, lest it should be impossible to get provisions for so confused a

pared for this use, will much sooner claim kindred with Scapi or Scopi, the bushy stocks on which clusters of grapes grow, than with Cippi, pillars or land marks, which were as often made of stone as wood.
(a) *Paulatim angustiore ad summum fastigio*, which monsieur D'Ablancourt translates narrower at the top, *Un peu étroites par le haut*. But then what will become of the likeness this sort of work should have to the lilly? Lipsius therefore would have this *summum* be converted into *imum*, which Vossius opposes; for there is no occasion to alter the text, since *ad summum serchis*, may as well signify to the bottom of the pit, as *altum mare* the deep sea. On this occasion Vossius has justly ridiculed Ursinus, for trifling about the various reading of this place; but, at the same instant, has thrown away above thrice the time, to confute Lipsius in a point of as little importance; whom yet he has not confuted, unless *valet Ina Summis mutare*.

number

number, whom the officers could not possibly know, or govern by military discipline: wherefore those of Autun with their vassals, the (a) Segusiani, Ambivareti, Auleri, Brannovices (or Brannovii) were ordered to furnish 35000: those of Auvergne, with the free people of Quercy, Gevaudan, and Velais, who were formerly vassals to the country of Auvergne, the like number: Sens, Franche-comte, (b) Berry, Xantonge, Roverge, and Chartres, each 12000: Beauvois and Limosin, each 10000: Poictou, Turenne, Paris, (c) Viverais, and Soisons, each 8000: Amiens, Metz, Perigort, Hainault, Terouënné, and Agen, 5000 each: Maine as many: Arras 4000: Vexen, Leifeux, Eureux, and Liege, each 3000: Basle and Bourbonne 30000: Bretagne, Normandy, and the other maritime countries, as those of Cornoualle, Auranches, Rhcnes, Caux, Landreguet, Lemovices, Vannes, and Coutance, together, 6000: but the people of Beauvois refused to furnish the quota which was assessed them, saying, They would wage an independent war themselves, for they scorned to be commanded by any one; till out of respect to Comius they complied so far as to send 2000.

76. This Comius (as we have already taken notice) had been very serviceable to Cæsar in his English expedition, who in return exempted his country from paying tribute, restored to it the use of its ancient laws and customs, and gave him the country of Terouënné for his loyalty; but so great was the universal desire of the Gauls, at this instant, to recover their pristine liberty and honour, that neither friendship nor gratitude were sufficient to dissuade any one from embarking in the publick cause, for the promotion whereof no man spared either money or labour. Having raised 8000 horse, and 240000 foot, they reviewed them in Autun, where they chose the general officers, the chief of which were Comius of Arras, Viridomarus and Eporedorix of Autun, and Vergasilaunus of Auvergne, cousin-german to Vercingetorix; to these were added other officers, who were to assist at coun-

WAR IN
GAUL.

They muster their forces, 8000 horse, and 240000 foot, in Autun: choose Comius, Viridomarus, Eporedorix, and Vergasilaunus generals.

(a) The Segusiani we have already explained to be the Lionois; Ambivareti or Ambivriti, Sanson places at Nevers; but who these Auleri were, can hardly be imagined; 'tis certain, they cannot be the Auleri mentioned before, because of the distance of place; nor could any body ever yet determine, who the Brannovices or Brannovii were.

(b) Or rather the diocese of Bourges, which contains Berry, part of Burgundy and Touraine.

(c) I have rendered this Viverais, according to Vossius's opinion, who says the text should not, be Eleutheri|Suessones, but Helvetii, Suessones, two different states; but what could make mons. D'Ablancourt mistake Suessones for the Swiss, I cannot conceive.

WAR IN GAUL. March full of hope to Alife. cils of war, chosen out of every country. Thus chearful, and big with expectation, they set forward to Alife, each man persuading himself that the Romans would not have the courage to face so great an army, especially when subject to a double attack, on one hand by frequent sallies from the town; and on the other from numbers of horse and foot without.

C H A P. XXXIII.

The besieged hold a council of war.

Crotognatus his speech.

77. IN the mean time the besieged at Alife, having consumed all their provisions, the day being passed which was appointed for the return of their friends, and being wholly ignorant of what was doing in Autun, summoned a council to determine what methods they should take in that extremity: several opinions were proposed, some were for surrendering, and others were for breaking through the enemy, whilst their strength would permit. Amongst the rest I must not omit a speech remarkable for its extraordinary and inhuman cruelty, which was made by Crotognatus, a nobleman of Auvergne, whose authority was equal to his birth. "I shall not, says he, trouble myself with their opinion, who colour ignoble servitude with the gentle name of surrender; men unworthy to be accounted citizens, much more to sit in this august assembly: rather let me join with those who talk of sallies, in whose advice, you all agree, remains of ancient Gallic virtue appear. Yet I must tell you, what you mistake for courage, is only the effect of that effeminacy, which knows not how to suffer want; for many of their own accord have welcomed death, whose patience would not have supported them under pain: however, for my part, I should readily submit to their opinion, if our lives only depended on the event of this affair: for I always had a particular regard for honour: but the whole kingdom of Gaul, which we have engaged in our quarrel, must receive its destiny from our resolves. Should fourscore thousand men be slain in this place, what courage, think you, could their friends and relations have, to engage the enemy almost upon their carcases? Far be it from us, therefore, to ruin those who have chearfully embraced all dangers for our preservation; let not our rashness or imbecility of mind undo our native country, and plunge it into perpetual bondage. Why should we despair of the faith and constancy of our allies, because they have not been punctual to their day? Surely it should not be taken for an

an argument of the Romans courage, that they daily en-
 large their outward works; if therefore they have inter-
 cepted our couriers, still let the approach of our friends be
 attested by their actions who shew their apprehensions by la-
 bouring both day and night to compleat their fortifications.
 If you would follow my advice, let us imitate the example
 of our ancestors, who in that far more dangerous war,
 with the Cimbers and Teutons, being shut up within
 their towns, and reduced to the same necessity, rather than
 surrender, sustained themselves by the bodies of those, whose
 age had made them unserviceable for war: and if anti-
 quity had not furnished us with so glorious a precedent to
 follow, we ought to have made one ourselves, for the sake
 of our publick liberty, and the instruction of posterity.
 Gaul never was engaged in a more dangerous war, never
 laboured under greater extremities, than when she was
 harrassed by these Cimbers; yet at length they quitted their
 country, and marched to another, leaving us our land, our
 customs, laws, and liberties intire. What, I would ask,
 brought the Romans hither, but the desire of subduing
 a renown'd and warlike people, of possessing their coun-
 try, and making them perpetual slaves: for they never
 yet made war upon any other account. If you are
 ignorant of their transactions in remoter countries, cast
 your eyes upon Gaul, within your own neighbourhood,
 reduced, as it is, to a province, deprived of its laws
 and customs, and receiving new ones from the rods
 and axe, those badges of eternal slavery."

WAR IN
 GAUL.

78. The matter being put to the vote, it was first
 resolved that the sick and aged should quit the town,
 and that all other methods should be tried, before those pro-
 pounded by Crotognatus; whose advice, however, they
 designed to put in practice, rather than submit to a treaty
 or surrender. Thus the natives of Dusemois, who had
 received them into Alise, were expelled their own city, to-
 gether with their wives and children, who approaching
 the Roman lines, with tears in their eyes, most humbly
 begged to be received as slaves, and saved from perishing by
 famine: but Cæsar, having disposed a guard all about the
 works, refused them entrance.

They resolve
 to expel the
 sick and aged
 out of the
 towns.

C H A P XXXIV.

79. I N the mean while Comius, and the other gene-
 ral officers, with all their forces, were arrived at Alise,
 and

The confederates ar-
 rive at Alise,

WAR IN GAUL. and had lodged themselves upon a hill, not above 500 paces from our works. The day after, drawing out all their cavalry, they filled the valley, which as we have already said, extended three miles in length; and ranged their infantry, not far from the same place, upon the rising ground. Alise commanded a view of all the country round; the besieged soon discovered their allies; they ran with joy to congratulate each other on their arrival, and drawing out all their forces before the town, began to fill up the first ditch with mould and fascines, and prepare all other materials for a vigorous sally.

The besieged perceiving they are come, prepare for a sally.

Cæsar orders the cavalry to sally out upon the enemy.

80. Cæsar having disposed his army on both sides the works, that every soldier might know, and be ready to maintain his particular post, commanded the cavalry to sally out upon the enemy. From those parts of the camp which lay upon the higher ground, might easily be seen what was done in the field: and all the infantry was wholly intent on the success of the engagement. The Gauls had intermixed small numbers of light-armed foot and archers among their horse, to assist them, and sustain the attack of our troops; who wounded several of our cavalry unawares, and obliged them to quit the battle: whereupon the Gauls, believing success inclined to their side, because our men were oppressed by their numbers, encouraged each other by a joyful shout, which was returned by the besieged: The place where the conflict was, lay open to the view of both armies; neither noble nor cowardly actions could be concealed; and the desire of applause, or fear of ignominy, spurred on each side to do their utmost. Victory had now continued dubious from noon till almost sun-set, when the Germans in close united ranks made a furious charge upon the enemy, put them to flight, surrounded their archers and cut them to pieces; our men pursued the Gauls so close, that they gave them no leisure to rally, till they were arrived at their camp; upon which those who had come out of the town, returned melancholy into it again, in despair of victory.

The Germans charge the enemy, and rout them.

The Gauls attempt to force the Roman works a second time but in vain.

81. After this disappointment the Gauls allowed themselves one day's respite, during which time they prepared great plenty of fascines, scaling-ladders, and iron hooks; then leaving their camp about midnight, with great silence, they came to our outward works. So soon as they were arrived there, setting up a shout, to give their allies in the town notice of their approach, they began to fill up the ditches with their fascines, to dislodge our men from the rampier

rampier with flings, stones, and arrows, and to apply all other things necessary for a storm: Vercingetorix, hearing their summons, sounded an alarm, and led all his forces out of the town. Our men, who had their several posts allotted them, repaired to the fortifications, and plyed the enemy close with their flings, darts, bullets, and engines: it was very dark, and many were wounded on both sides; but M. Anthony and C. Trebonius took care to draw out parties from the farther castles, to relieve the soldiers under their command, who were the most pressed by the enemy.

82. Whilst the Gauls were at the greatest distance from the works, they did more execution with their darts than when they came nearer; for then they run themselves unawares upon the Stimuli, fell into the Lilies, and were wounded with the spikes, or were killed by the piles that were cast from the rampier and turrets. Many wounds had been received on both sides, and no part of our fortifications forced, when day-light appearing, the Gauls were apprehensive they should be flanked by a sally from the higher ground, and therefore retreated, but the besieged had spent all this time in filling up the first ditch, and were informed of the retreat of their allies, before they could come near the works themselves, therefore returned again to the town without effecting any thing.

C H A P. XXXV.

83. THUS twice repulsed with loss, the Gauls began to consult what methods they should take; and having advised with those that knew the ground, from them they were informed of the nature of our works, the situation of our higher camp, and learnt that on the north side of Alise lay so large a hill, that the Romans could not encompass it within their works, but were obliged to take up their quarters there upon an uneven ground; that this place was guarded by the lieutenants C. Antistius Rheginus, and C. Caninius Rebilus, with two legions: whereupon having sent out their scouts for further knowledge of the place, their general drew out 55000 chosen men, from amongst those states that are esteemed the most warlike, and privately forming their design, appointed the time for the assault about noon. Vergasillaunus of Auvergne (Vercingetorix's relation) one of the four principal commanders, who had the charge of this party, leaving
the

The Gauls
consult about
a third at-
tack.

WAR IN the camp about nine o'clock in the evening, finished GAUL. his journey before day; and posting his troops behind a hill, - unseen by the enemy, ordered the soldiers to refresh themselves after their march. When noon approached he went to Rheginus's quarters; at the same instant the enemy's cavalry approached our works, and the rest of the army shewed themselves drawn up in order of battle before their camp.

Vergasillaunus with 55000 chosen men goes to attack Antistius's quarters.

The Gauls within and without at the same time assault the Roman works.

84. Which Vercingetorix beholding from the tower of Alife, sallied out of the town, carrying along with him a great many fascines, long poles, penthouses, hooks, and such other instruments, he had prepared for that purpose. The dispute was maintained on every side at once, for the Gauls left nothing unattempted to accomplish their desire, still flocking to those parts of the works which appeared to be weakest. The Roman forces were obliged to divide themselves into several parties, nor would the smallness of their number easily permit them to be present in all places at once: the noise raised behind them infused no small terror in them, since they saw their safety depended on the courage of others; for all people are most apprehensive of dangers which are but approaching.

Cæsar relieves his men, and encourages them to fight.

85. Cæsar having posted himself in a convenient place, from whence he might descry what was done in all parts, detached fresh supplies to sustain those that were overcharged, and encouraged the whole army, telling them, that was the only time to give proofs of their virtue, for if the Gauls were not able to force their lines, they would certainly despair of success, and the Romans might expect an end of their labours. The chief stress of the battle lay at the higher fortifications, where Vergasillaunus was engaged; which, though a very small place, was of great importance, because of its declivity. Some of the enemy's forces were employed in throwing darts, whilst others, casting themselves into a testudo, approached the works, fresh men still relieving the weary. They had soon thrown up a mount, which did not only furnish them with an ascent, but covered and entirely defeated the use of those works the Romans had made in the ground. In fine, our men had been so long employed, that they had neither strength nor weapons left.

Labienus detached to the relief of Antistius.

86. Wherefore Cæsar sent Labienus with six cohorts to their assistance, commanding him, if he found himself unable to maintain the works, to sally out upon the enemy, but not otherwise. He himself went in person to

encourage the rest of the army, assuring them, that upon that hour's success depended the reward of all their former toils. The besieged having already in vain attempted the lower fortifications, were resolved to try their fortunes in the higher and uneven ground; thither therefore they brought all the instruments they had got ready, drove our men by showers of darts from the turrets, levelled the way with fascines, raised a mount, and from thence began to break down the rampier and breast-works.

WAR IN
GAUL.

The besieged
vigorously
attempt the
higher
works.

87. So soon as Cæsar had notice of their effort, he first detached young Brutus with six cohorts to maintain the place; after him lieutenant Fabius with seven more, and at last, when the dispute grew very warm, went thither himself in person with another supply: Having renewed the fight with fresh vigour, and repulsed the enemy, he marched to the place whither he had sent Labienus with four cohorts, which he drew out of the next turrets, commanding one party of horse to follow him, and another to take a circuit round about the outward works, and attack the enemy in the rear. In the mean time Labienus, finding neither ditches nor the rampier were sufficient to defend him against the enemy's assault, had drawn out thirty-nine cohorts from the nearest quarters thereabouts and sent Cæsar word what he thought necessary to be done; upon which he made what haste he could to be present at the engagement.

Cæsar sends
Brutus and
Fabius to
maintain the
place; comes
thither him-
self.
The enemy
repulsed.

88. His arrival was soon perceived by the colour of his garments, which he used to wear in battle, and the troops of horse and cohorts which he had ordered to follow him being discovered from the higher ground, the fight began. They set up a shout on both sides, which was returned from the rampier, and all the fortifications round: the Romans having cast their piles, fell immediately upon the enemy sword in hand: the cavalry which were sent about, soon shewed themselves in the enemy's rear, more cohorts came up to our assistance, and the Gauls were routed: Our horse pursued and slew great numbers of them, amongst the rest Sedulius, prince and general of Limosin; Vergasilaunus was taken prisoner, seventy-four standards were brought to Cæsar, and very few of the 55000 escaped. The besieged, beholding with despair the rout and slaughter which was made amongst their allies, retreated from the works. On the news of this bad success, all the Gauls deserted their camp, and had not our soldiers been fatigued by perpetual labour, and relieving each other,

Cæsar
to Labienus;
Labienus sal-
lies out upon
Vergasilaun-
us's party.

Routs him.
Sedulius of
Limosin
slain.
Vergasilaun-
us taken
prisoner.
The besieg'd
on this de-
feat retire
from the
works, and
the Gauls
without de-
sert their
camp.

their

WAR IN their whole army might easily have been cut to pieces
 GAUL. however, about midnight Cæsar detached the cavalry to
 pursue them, who falling in with their rear, took many
 prisoners, and slew great numbers, but the rest escaped to
 their several countries.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Vercingetorix calls a general council.

89. THE day after, Vercingetorix having summoned a general council, reminded the besieged, "That he had not undertaken that war for his own private interest, but for the sake of the publick liberty; however, since the power of fortune was not to be resisted, he would freely submit himself to be sacrificed for an atonement to the Romans, and be given to them, as it should be thought proper, either dead or alive." Upon which they sent ambassadors to know Cæsar's pleasure, who ordered them to surrender their arms, and deliver up their noblemen. They obeyed his commands, bringing Vercingetorix amongst the rest. Cæsar, sitting in the fortifications before the camp, distributed the prisoners among his soldiers for a booty, excepting only the natives of Autun and Auvergne, hoping by their means to recover the other states.

The besieged send ambassadors to treat of a surrender. All is finished at discretion. Vercingetorix delivered up.

Cæsar marches to Autun, which submits, with Auvergne.

Cæsar returns them 20000 captives. Sends his legions into winter-quarters.

90. This affair thus ended, he marched directly to Autun: on his arrival the country submitted, and those of Auvergne did the like by their ambassadors: he demanded a considerable number of hostages from them both, and returned them about 20000 captives; then sent his legions into winter-quarters. Labienus, with two legions and the horse, he sent to Franche-comte, joining M. Sempronius Rutilius with him for an assistant: C. Fabius and L. Minutius Basilus, with two other legions, he placed at Rheims, to prevent any insurrection at Beauvois: C. Antistius Reginus he detached to the country of Nevers; T. Sextius to Berry; and C. Caninius Rebilus to Rouverge; each with a single legion; Q. Tullius Cicero and P. Sulpicius he detached to Chalon and Mascon, upon the river Soan, in the country of Autun, to take care for provisions; quartering himself at the capital of the same state. So soon as the senate was informed by advice from Cæsar of this summer's campaign, a publick thanksgiving was decreed of twenty days continuance.