

THE FIFT COMMENTARY OF  
THE WARRE, WHICH CÆSAR  
MADE IN GALLIA.

THE ARGUMENT.

**C**æsar caused a great navy to be built in Gallia: he caried 5. legions into Britany, where he made war with the Britains, on both sides the riuer Thames: at his returne into Gallia, most of the Galles reuolted; and first the Eburones, vnder the conduction of Ambiorix, set vpon the Camp of Q. Titurius the Legate, whom they circumvented by subtilty; and then besieged the Camp of Cicero: but were put by, and their Army ouerthrowen by Cæsar.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar returneth into Gallia: findeth there great store of shipping made by the souldiers, and commaundeth them to be brought to the haueu Iccius.



**U**lcus Domitius, and Appius Claudius, being Consuls; Cæsar at his going into Italy, gaue order to the Legats to builde as many ships that winter, as possibly they could; commanding them to be built of a lower pitch then those which are used in the mediterranean sea, for the speedier lading & unlading of them, and because the tides in these seas were very great: and forasmuch as he was to transport great store of horse, he commanded them to be made flatter in the bottome then such as were vsuall in other places, and all of them to be made for the vse of Oares, to which purpose their lowe building serued very conueniently. Other necessaries and furniture for rigging, he gaue order to haue it brought out of Spain. Cæsar after the assembly of the States in Lombardy, and that he set free Illiricum from the incursions of the Pirusta, he returned into Gallia; where he found 600. ships built, by the extraordinarie industry of the soldiers, notwithstanding the penurie and want of all necessary matter, with 28 Gallies ready furnished, which in a few daies might be lanched: hauing commended the soldiers and ouerseers of the work, he commanded them to be brought to the port called Iccius, from whence he knew the passage into Britany, was not above thirty mile ouer.

Cæsar.

## THE OBSERVATION.

**T**His Iccius Portus, Floide thinketh to bee Caleis; others take it to bee Saint Omer: partly in regarde of the situation of the place, which being in it selfe very lowe, hath notwithstanding very high banks, which incompassie the towne about; and in times past was a very large haven. To this may be added the distance from this towne, to the next Continent of the Iland of Britany; which Strabo maketh to containe 320. stadia, which agreeeth to the French computation of 13. leagues. Cæsar maketh it thirty mile: this is the haven, which Pliny calleth *Britannicum portum Morinorum*.

## CHAP. II.

*Cæsar saileth into Britanie: landeth his forces, and  
seeketh the Enemy.*

Cæsar.



Cæsar having prepared all things in readinesse, he left Labienus in the Continent with three legions, & 2000. horse, both to keep the haven & make provision of corne; and also to observe the motion of the Galles: and with 5. legions & the like number of horse, as he left in the Continent, about sun-setting he put out to sea, with a soft south wind, which continued untill midnight; and then ceasing he was carried with the tide untill the morning; when, he perceived that the Iland laie on his left hand: and again, as the tide changed, he laboured by rowing to reach that part of the Iland, where hee had found good landing the yeare before: wherein the soldiers deserved great commendation; for, by strength & force of Oares, they made their great ships of burthen to keepe waie with the Galleies. About high noon, they arriued in Britany, with all their ships: neither was there any Enemy scene in that place: but as afterward Cæsar understood by the Captiues, the Britains were there with a great power; but being terrified with the infinit number of shipping, which they discovered from the shore (for there were in al about 800) they forsook the shore, & hid themselves in the upland country. Cæsar having landed his men, and chosen a convenient place to incamp, as soon as he understood by the captiues where the enemy laie, in the 3. watch of the night, he marched towards them; leauing ten cohorts & 300. horse for a guarison to his shipping: which he the lesse feared, because it lay at anchour in a soft & open shore: he marched that night about 12. mile before he found the Enemy. The Britains sending out their horse, and chariots to a riuer that ran between them & the Romans, and hauing the aduantage of the upper ground; began to hinder the Romans and to giue them battell: but being beaten backe with our horsemen, they conuaid themselves into a wood. The place was strongly fortified both by Art and Nature, and made for a defence (as it seemeth) in their ciuill warres:

wars: for, all the entrances were shut up with great trees, laid oerthwart the passages. And the Britaines shewed themselues out of the wood but heere and there, not suffering the Romans to enter the fortification: but the souldiers of the 7 legion, with a Testudo which they made, and a mount which they raised, tooke the place, and draue them all out of the woods, without any losse at all; sauing some fewe wounds which they receiued. But Cæsar forbade his men to follow after them, with any long pursute, because he was both ignorant of the place, and a great part of that day being spent, he would imploy the rest thereof in the fortification of his Campe.

## OBSERVATION.



Aesar, hauing taken what assurance of peace hee could with the Gales, both by carrying the chiefest of their Princes with him, and by leauing three legions in the Continent, to keep the vulgar people in obedience; he embarked all his men at one place, that they might be all partakers of the same casualties, and take the benefit of the same adventures: which beeing neglected the yeere before, drew him into many inconueniences for want of horse, which being embarked at another Hauen, met with other chances, & saw other fortunes; & neuer came to him into Britanie. The place of landing in this second voyage, was the same where he landed the yeer before: & by the circumstances of this history, may agree with that which tradition hath deliuered of Deale in Kent, where it is said that Cæsar landed. In the first yeere we find, that he neuer remooued his Campe from the sea shore, where he first seated himselfe; although his men went out to bring in Corne, as far as they might wel returne again at night: but now he entered further into the Iland, and within twelue miles march came vnto a riuer, which must needs be that of Canterbury, which falleth into the Sea at Sandwich.

In that he saith that the guarizon of his shipping consisted of tenne cohorts, which I haue said to be a legion; we must vnderstand, that Cæsar left not an entire legion in that guarizon; but he tooke tenne cohorts out of his whole forces, peradventure two out of euery legion, and appointed them to take the charge of his shipping.

## CHAP. III.

Cæsar returneth to his Nauies, to take order for  
such losses as had happened by tempest  
the night before.



HE next day, earlie in the morning, hee deuided his forces into three companies, and sent them out to pursue the enimie: but before they had marched any farre distance, and came to haue the rereward of the Enimie in viewe; there came newes from Q. Atrius, with whom

Cæsar.

whom he left the ten cohorts, & the charge of the shipping, that the night before, there was such a tempest at sea, that the whole Nauie was either sore beaten, or cast on shore; and that neither anchor nor gable could hold them, nor yet the Sailers indure the force of the weather: and that there vvas great losse in the shipping, by running against one another, in the violence of the tempest.

Vpon these newes; Caesar caused the legions to be called backe againe, and to cease for that time, from following the enimie any further. Hee himselfe returned to the Navy, where he found forty ships lost, and the rest, not to be repaired, but with great industry and paines: first, therefore, he chose Ship-wrightes and Carpenters out of the legions, and caused others to be sent for out of Gallia, and wrote to Labienus to make ready what shipping he could. And although it seemed a matter of great difficulty & much labour, yet hee thought it best, to hale vp all the ships on shore, and to inclose them vwithin the fortification of his Campe. In this businesse he spent ten daies, without intermission either of night or day, vntill he had drawne vp the shippes, and strongly fortified the Campe; leauing the same guarrison which was there before, to defend it.

#### THE OBSERVATION.



Herein we may behold the true image of vndanted valour, and the horrible industry (as Tully tearmeth it) which hee vsed to preuent Fortune of her stroke in his busines, and comprehend casualties and future cōtingents, within the compasse of order, & the bounds of his owne power, beeing able in tenne daies space, to set almost eight hundred shippes from the hazard of wind and weather; & to make his Campe the Roade for his Nauie, that so hee might rest secure of a meanes to returne at his pleasure.

#### CHAP. IIII.

The Britaines make Cassiuellaunus Generall in this warre: the Iland, and the manners of the people described.

Caesar.



AESAR, returning to the place from whence he came, found far greater forces of the Britaines there assembled, then he left when he went to the Nauie: and that by publique consent of the Britaines, the whole gouernment of that warre vvas giuen to Cassiuellaunus, whose kingdome lay diuided from the maritime States, with the riuer Thames, beginning at the sea, & extending it selfe fourescore mile into the Iland. This Cassiuellaunus, made continuall warre vwith his neighbour States: but vpon the comming of the Romaines, they all forgot their home-bred quarrels, and cast the whole gouernment vpon his shouldes, as the fittest to direct that warre.

The

The inner part of Britaine is inhabited, by such as memorie recordeth to be borne in the Iland, and the maritime coast by such as came out of Belgia, either to make incursions or inuasions; and after the war was ended, they continued in the possessions they had gained, and were called by the name of the Citties from whence they came. The Country is very populous, and well inhabited with houses, much like unto them in Gallia. They haue great store of cattell, & vse brasse for money, or iron rings, weighed at a certaine rate. In the Mediterranean parts, there is found great quantity of Tzn, and in the maritime parts, iron: their brasse was brought in by other Nations. They haue all sorts of trees that they haue in Gallia, excepting the Fig and the Beech. Their religion will not suffer them to eate either Hare, Hen, or Goose; notwithstanding, they haue of all sorts, as well for noueltie as varietie. The Country is more temperate, and not so cold as Gallia: the Iland lieth triangle-wise, whereof one side confronteth Gallia, of which side that angle, wherein Kent is, pointeth to the East, and the other angle to the South: this side containeth about 500 mile. Another side lieth toward Spaine, and the West, that way where Ireland lieth, being an Iland halfe a big as England, and as farre distant from it as Gallia. In the midway betweene England and Ireland, lieth an Iland called Mona, besides many other smaller Ilands; of which some write, that in Winter-time, for thirtie daies together, they haue continuall night: whereof we learned nothing by inquirie; onely we found by certain measures of water, that the nights in England were shorter thē in the Continent: the length of this side, according to the opinion of the inhabitants, containeth seauen hundred mile. The third side lieth to the North & the open sea, sauing that this angle doth somewhat point towards Germanie: this side is thought to containe eight hundred miles; and so the whole Iland containeth in circuit 2000 miles. Of all the inhabitants, they of Kent are most curteous and ciuill; all their Countrey bordering vpon the sea, & little differing from the fashion of Gallia. Most of the in-land people sowe no Corne, but liue with milke and flesh, clothed with skinnes, & hauing their faces painted with a blew colour, to the end they may seeme more terrible in fight: they haue the haire of their head long, hauing all other parts of their body shauen, sauing their upper lip. Their wiues are common to tenne or twelue, especially, brethren with brethren, and parents with children; but the children that are borne, are put vnto them, vnto whom the mother was first giuen in marriage.

## OBSERVATION.

**I**N the descriptions of the ancient Britains, we may first obserue their pedegree, according to the Haraldry of that time: wherein we must vnderstand, that in those ages, the Nations of the world thought it no small honour, to deriue their descent from a certaine beginning, and to make either some of their Gods, or some man of famous memorie, the Father of that progenie, and founder of their State; that so they might promise a fortunate continuance to their government, beeing first laid and established by so powerfull a meanes. But if this failed, they then bragged of antiquitie, and cast all their glory vpon the fertility of their soile, being so strong and fruit-

full, that it yeilded of it selte such a people, as they were: and so wee read how the Athenians, forasmuch as they were ignorant frō whence they came, ware an Oaken leafe, in token that they were bred of the earth where they dwelled. And heereupon also grew the controuersie betweene the Egyptians and the Scythians, concerning antiquitie: wherein the Egyptians seemed to haue great aduantage, because of the fertilitie and heat of their country; whereas the Scythians inhabited a cold climate, vnfruitfull, and an enemy to generation. Of this sort were the Britaines, that inhabited the mediterranean part of the Iland: who, not knowing from whence they came, nor who first brought them thither, satisfied themselues with that common receiued opinion, that they were borne and bred of the earth. The sea-coast was posselt by such as came out of the Continent, and retained the names of the Citties from whence they came, as a memoriall of their progenitors.

The forme of the Iland is very well described, and measured out, according to the scale of our moderne Geographers. For, concerning the difference of longitude between the Easterne angle of Kent, & the furthest point of Cornwall, they make it eight degrees; which in a manner iumpeth with Cæsars dimensuration: the other sides are somewhat longer: and therefore Tacitus, in the life of Aricola, compareth it to a Carpenters Axe, making that side which bordereth vpon France to resemble the edge, and the other two sides to incline by little and little, one towards another; and so make the Iland narrower at the top, according to the forme of that instrument. Hee setteth downe the whole compasse of the Iland, according to the manner of the ancient Geographers; who by the quantitie of the circuit, did vsually iudge of the conten: not considering that the *Area* of euery figure dependeth as well of the quantitie of the angle, as the length of the side.

Concerning the temperature of Britanie, in regard of the cold Winters in France, we must vnderstand that Britanie hath euer been found of a more temperate constitution, in regard of sharp and cold winters, then any other countrie lying vnder the same parallell: whether the cause thereof may be imputed to the continuall motion of the sea about the Iland, which begetteth heate, as some haue imagined; or to the site therof, in regard of other Continents from whence the wind alwaies riseth, and carieth with it the nature of the Country by which it passeth: and so the Iland hauing no other Continent lying North to it, from whence the wind may rise, but all for the most part vpon the South, hath no such cold windes to distemper it, as other parts of Germanie, which are vnder the same parallell: but the Southerne wind, which is so frequent in Britanie, tempereth the ayre with a mild disposition, and so keepeth it warme; or whether it be some other vnknowne cause, our Philosophers rest vn-satisfied. But as touching Gallia, it may be said, that forasmuch as it beareth more to the South then this Iland doth, the aire thereof (by reason of the continuall heat) is of a farre purer disposition; and so pierceth more then this grosser aire of Britanie, and carieth the cold further into the pores; and so seemeth sharper, and of a farre colder disposition.

This Iland, which Cæsar nameth *Mona*, is known at this time by the name of

*Man,*

*Man*, and lieth between Cumberland and Ireland. Ptolemy calleth it *Monada*. Tacitus calleth Anglesey by the name of *Mona*, peradventure from the nomination of the Britaines, who called it *Tyr mon*, the land of Mon.

Concerning those places, where the night continueth in the midst of winter for 30 daies together, they must be sited 6. degrees beyond the circle Articke, and haue a day in summer of like continuance, according to the rules of Astronomy. In that he found the nights in Britanie shorter then in the Continent; we must vnderstand it to be onely in summer: for, the more oblique the horizon is, the more vneuen are the portions of the diurnall circles which it cutteth; and the neerer it commeth to a right horizon, the neerer it commeth to an equality of day and night: and hence it happeneth, that in summer time, the nights in France, are longer then heere in England; and in winter, shorter. The like we must vnderstand of all Southerne and Northerne Countries.

To conclude, I may not omit the ciuilitie of the Kentish men, and their courteous disposition, aboue the rest of the Britains, which must be impured to that ordinary course which brought ciuility vnto all other Nations: of whom such as were first seated in their possessions, and entertained societie, were the first that brought in ciuill conuersation, and by little and little were purified, and so attained to the perfection of ciuill gouernment. So we find, that first Assyrians and Babilonians (as neere to the Mountaines of Armenia where the Ark rested, and people first inhabited) reduced their States into Common-weales of Monarchies of exquisite gouernment, flourishing with all manner of learning and knowledge; when as yet other Countries lay either waste, or overwhelmed with Barbarisme. From thence it flowed into Egypt; out of Egypt into Greece; out of Greece into Italie; out of Italie into Gallia; and from thence into England: where our Kentishmen first entertained it, as bordering vpon Fraunce; and frequented with Marchants of those Countries.

## CHAP. V.

### Diuers skirmishes between the Romans and the Britaines.



*HE Cavalrie of the enemy and their chariots, gaue a sharpe conflict to the Romaine horsemen, in their march: but so, that the Romaines got the better euery way, driuing them with great slaughter to the woods and hills, and loosing also some of their owne men, beeing too venturous in the pursuit. The Britaines, after some intermission of time, when the Romaines little thought of them, and vvere busied in fortifying their Campe, came suddainely out of the woods, and charged vpon those that kept station before the Campe. Caesar sent out two the chiefest cohorts of two legions, to second their fellowes. These two cohorts, standing vwith a small alley betweene them, the other that vvere first charged, beeing terrified*

*Caesar.*

with that strange kind of fight, boldly brake through the thickest of the enemy, and so retired in safetie to their fellows. That day, Quintus Laberius Durus, a Tribune of the souldiers, was slaine. The Britaines were repelled with moe cohorts, which Caesar sent to second the former. And, forasmuch as the fight hapened in the view of all the Campe, it was plainly perceiued, that the legionarie souldiers, beeing neither able for the weight of their Armour, to follow the enemy as he retired, nor yet daring to goe farre from his Ensigne; was not a fitt aduersarie to contest this kind of enemy: and that the horsemen likewise fought with no lesse danger, inasmuch as the enemy would retire backe of purpose, and when they had drawne them a little from the legions, they would then light from their Chariots, and incounter them, with that aduantage which is betweene a footman and a horseman. Furthermore, they neuer fought thicke and close together, but thin, and in great distances, hauing stations of men to succour one another, to receiue the wearie, and to send out fresh supplies.

## OBSERVATION.



Pon this occasion of their heauie Armour, I will describe a legionarie souldiour in his compleat furniture, that we may better iudge of their manner of warfare, and vnderstand wherein their greatest strength consisted. And first we are to learne, that their legionarie souldiers were called *Milites grauis armatura*, souldiers wearing heavy Armour, to distinguish them from the Veities, the Archers, Slingers, and other light armed men. Their offensue Armes were a couple of Piles, or as some will, but one Pile, and a Spanish sword, short and strong, to strike rather with the point then with the edge. Their defensue Armes were, a helmet, a corslet, and boots of brasse, with a large Target; which in some sort was offensue, in regard of that *umbonem* which stuck out in the midlt thereof. The Pile is described at large in the first booke, and the Target in the second. The sword, as Polybius witnesseth, was short, two edged, very sharpe, and of a strong point: and therefore Liuie, in his 22 booke, saith, that The Galles vsed very long twords without points; but the Romaines had short swords, readier for vse: these they called Spanish swords, because they borrowed that fashion from the Spaniard. The old Romaines were so girt with their swords, as appeareth by Polybius, & their monuments in Marble, that from their left shoulder it hung vpon their right thigh, contrary to the vse of these times; which, as I haue noted before, was in regard of their target, which they caried on their left arme: this sword, was hung with a belt of leather, belted with studs, as Varro noteth, and these were their offensue weapons.

Lib. 4.

Plin. lib. 10.

Their Helmet was of brasse, adorned with three Ostrich feathers, of a cubite in length; by which, the souldiour appeared of a larger stature, and more terrible to the Enemy, as Polybius saith in his sixt booke. Their breast plate was either of Brasse or Iron, ioyned together after the manner of scales, or platted with little rings of Iron: their bootes were made of barres of brasse, from the

foote



foote vp to the knee. And thus were the legionary souldiers armed, to stand firme, rather then to vse any nimble motion, and to combine themselues into a body of that strength, which might not easily recoile, at the opposition of any confrontment: for, agilitie standeth indifferent to helpe either a retreat or a pursuit: and nimble-footed souldiers, are as ready to flie back, as to march forward; but a waightie bodie, keepeth a more regular motion, and is not hindered with a common counterbuffe: so that whensoever they came to firme buckeling, and felt the enemy stand stiffe before them, such was their practice, and exercise in continuall works, that they neuer fainted vnder any such taske, but the victorie went alwaies cleete on their side. Bur, if the enemy gaue way to their violence, and came not in but for aduantage, and then as speedily retired, before the counterbuffe were well discharged, then did their nimblenesse much help their weaknesse, and frustrate the greatest part of the Romaine discipline. This is also proued, in the ouetthrowe of Sabinus and Cotta, where Ambiorix finding the inconuenience of buckling at handy blowes, commanded his men to fight afar off; and if they were assaulted, to giue backe, and to come on againe as they saw occasion: which so wearied out the Romaines. that they all fell vnder the execution of the Galles. Let this suffice therfore to shew, how vnapt the Romaines were to flie vpon any occasion, when their Armour was such, that it kept them from all starting motions, and made them sutable to the staied and well assured rules of their discipline, which were as certaine principles in the execution of a standing battaile; and therefore, not so fit either for a pursue, or a flight.

Concerning the vnequall combat betweenea horseman and a footeman, it may be thought strange, that a footman should haue such an aduantage against a horteman, beeing ouermatched, at least with a Sextuple propoition both of strength and agilitie: but we must vnderstand, that as the horse is much swifter in a long cariere; so in speedie and nimble turning at hand, wherein the substance of the combate consisteth, the footman farre exceedeth the hortman in aduantage; hauing a larger marke to hit by the Horse, then the other hath. Besides, the horteman ingageth both his valour, & his fortune in the good speed of his horse, his wounds and his death, do consequently pull the rider after, his feare or turie maketh his maister either desperate or slowe of performance, and what defect soeuer ariseth from the horse, must be answered out of the honour of the rider. And surely, it seemeth reasonable, that what thing soeuer draweth vs into the societie of so great a hazard, should as much as is possible, be contained in the compasse of our owne power.

The sword which we manage with our owne hand, affoordeth greater assurance then the Harquebuse, wherein there are many parts belonging to the action, as the powder, the stone, the spring, and such like; whereof, if the least faile of his part, we likewise faile of our fortune: but, how probable soeuer this seemeth, this is certaine, that in the course of the Romaine warres, the horse were euer defeated by the foote, as is manifestly proued in the first of these booke.

## CHAP. VII.

Cæsar giueth the Britaines two  
seuerall ouerthrowes.

Cæsar.



HE next day, the Enemy made a stand vpon the hils afar off from the Campe, and shewed themselues not so often; neither were they so busie with our horsemen, as they were the day before: but about noone, whē Cæsar sent out three legions, and all his Cavalrie to get forrage, vnder the conduction of Caius Trebonius a Legate, they made a suddaine assault vpon the forragers, and fell in close vwith the Ensignes and the legions. The Romaines charged very fiercely vpon them, & beate them backe: neither did they make an end of following them, vntill the horsemen trusting to the succour of the legions which were behind them, put them all to flight, with the slaughter of a great number of them; neither did they giue them respite either to make head, to make a stand, or to forsake their chariots.

After this ouerthrow, all their Auxiliarie forces departed from them; neither did they afterward contend with the Romaines with any great power. Cæsar, vnderstanding their determination, caried his Armie to the riuer Thames, and so to the confines of Cassiuellaunus, which riuer was passable by foote but in one place onely, and that very hardly. At his comming, he found a great power of the Enemy to be imbattailed on the other side, and the banke fortified vwith many sharpe stakes, and many other also were planted couertly vnder the water. These things being discovered to the Romaines by the Captines and fugitiues, Cæsar, putting his horse before, caused the legions to follow suddainelie after: who notwithstanding they had but their heads cleere above the water, went with that violence, that the enemie was not able to endure the charge, but left the banke, and betooke themselues to flight.

## OBSERVATION.



His attempt of Cæsar, seemeth so strange to Brancatio, that he runneth into strange conclusions, concerning this matter: as first, that he that imitateth Cæsar, may doubt of his good fortunes: for, his proceeding in this point, was not directed by any order of war; and that a great Commaunder, hath nothing common with other Leaders: but especially, he crieth out at the baseness of the Britains, that would suffer themselues so cowardly to be beaten. But if we looke into the circumstances of the action, we shall find both Art and good direction therein: for, being assured by the fugitiues, that the riuer was passable in that place, and in that place onelie; he knew that he must either aduenture ouer there, or leaue Cassiuellaunus for another Summer, which was a very strong inducement to vrge him to  
that

that enterprife. The difficultie whereof, was much relieued by good direction, which consisted of two points: First, by sending ouer the horsemen in the front of the legions, who might better indure the charge of the enemy, then the footmen could, that were vp to the neck in water; and withall, to shelter the footmen from the furie of the Enemy.

Secondly, he sent them ouer with such speed, that they were on the other side of the water before the enemy could tell what they attempted: for, if hee had lingered in the seruice, and giuen the enemy leaue to find the aduantage which he had by experience, his men had neuer bene able to haue indured the hazard of so dangerous a seruice. It is hard to coniecture at the place where this seruice was performed; for, since the building of London bridge, manie foordes haue bene scoured with the current, and fall of the water, which before that time, caried not such a depth as now they doe.

## CHAP. VII.

The conclusion of the *Brittish* warre: Cæsar returneth into *Gallia*.

*C*assiuellaunus, hauing no courage to contend any longer, dismissed his greatest forces; and retaining onely foure thousand chariots, obserued their iourneyes, keeping the wood Countries, and driuing men and cattell out of the fields into the woods, for feare of the Romans: & as their horse straid out either for forrage or bootie, he sent his chariots out of the woods by vnkowne waies, and put their horsemen to great perill: in regard whereof, the horsemen durst neuer aduventure further then the legions, neither was there any more spoile done in the Country, then that which the legionarie souldiers did of themselues.

In the meane time, the Trinobants, being almost the greatest State of all those Countries (from whom Mandubratius had fledde to Cæsar into Gallia, for that his father Imanuentius holding the kingdome, was slaine by Cassiuellaunus) sent Embassadours to Cæsar, to offer their submission, and to intreat that Mandubratius might be defended from the oppression of Cassiuellaunus, and sent vnto them to take the kingdome. Cæsar, hauing receiued from them fortie pledges, & Corne for his Armie, sent Mandubratius vnto them. The Trinobantes, beeing thus kept from the violence of the souldiers, the Cenimagni, Seguntiaci, Anacalites, Bibrocassi, yeelded themselues to Cæsar. By these he vnderstood, that Cassiuellaunus his towne was not farre off, fortified with woods and bogs, and well stored with men and cattell. The Brittaines call a towne, a thicke wood, inclosed about with a ditch and a rampier, made for a place of retrait, when they stood in feare of incursions from the borderers. Thither marched Cæsar with his Army, and found it well fortified, both by Arte and Nature: and as hee assaulted it in

Cæsar.

two

two severall places, the enemy unable to keepe it, cast himselfe out of the towne by a backe way: and so he tooke it. Where he found great store of cattell, and slew many of the Britaines.

While these things were a-dooing, Cassiellaunus sent messengers into Kent, wherein there were foure severall Kings, Cingetorix, Caruilins, Taximagulus, & Segonax: them he commanded with all the power they could make, to sette vpon the Campe where the Nauie was kept. The Kings comming to the place, were o-uerthrowne by a sally which the Romaines made out vpon them, many of them being slaine, and Cingetorix taken prisoner. This battell concurring with the former losses, and especially moued therevnto with the reuolt of the forenamed Citties, Cassiellaunus intreated peace of Cæsar, by Comius of Arras. Cæsar, being determined to winter in the Continent, for feare of suddaine commotions in Gallia, and that the Summer was now farre spent, and might easilie bee lingered out, he commaunded pledges to be brought vnto him, and set down what yeerely tribute the Britaines should pay to the Romans. The hostages being taken, hee carried backe his Armie to the sea, imbarked his men, and arriued safe with all his shippes vpon the coast of Gallia.

## OBSERVATION.



And thus ended the warre in Britanie, which affordeth little matter of discourse, being indeed but a scambling warre, as well in regard of the Britaines themselves; who after they had felt the strength of the Romane legions, would neuer aduenture to buckle with them in any standing battell, as also in regard that there were no such townes in Britanie, as are recorded to haue beene in Gallia, which might haue giuen great honour to the war, if there had been any such to haue been besieged, and taken-in by Cæsar.

And although Tacitus saith, that Britanie was rather viewed then subdued by Cæsar, being desirous to draw that honour to his father in law Agricola; yet we find heere, that the Trinobantes, which were more then either the skirt, or the hart of Britanie (for, our Historians doe vnderstand them to haue inhabited that part, which lieth as farre as Yorkshire & Lancashire) were brought vnder the Romaine Empire by Cæsar: who was the first that euer laid tribute vpon Britanie, in the behalfe of the people of Rome; or cast vpon them the heauie name of a subdued people:



TO THE WORTHY KNIGHT  
SIR ROBERT DRVRIE.

( \* \* \* )



IR, my purpose was to haue concluded these discourses, with the end of the Brittish warre; reseruing the later part of this fist booke, for an entrance vnto such obseruations, as may be gathered from the sixt & seauenth Commentaries, which I intend to make a second part of this worke: but your desire to see the errours of Sabinus and Cotta discovered, and the famous fight of Q. Cicero in his wintering Campe, hath brought them foorth somewhat before their time, annexing that to the first part, which was meant for the later. If my labour shall be found too weake to deserue well of Militarie designs; yet I thinke it very well imploy'd, in that it pleaseth you to giue it the reading, and so rest

*Readie to doe you seruice,*

C. EDMVND.S.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar disposeth his legions into their  
wintering Campes.

Cæsar.  
\* Either Cæ-  
bray, Amiens  
or S. Quin-  
tin.



After he had put his ships in harbour, & held a Councell of the Galles at \* Samarobrina; forasmuch as that yeere, by reason of the drought, there was some scarcitie of Corne in Gallia; he was constrained to guarizon his Armie, and to disperse them into more Citties then hee had done the yeeres before. And first, he gaue one legion to Caius Fabius, to be ledde among the Morini; another to Q. Cicero, to be caried to the Neruij: another to L. Roscius, to be conducted to the Essui; a fourth he commaunded to winter amongst the men of Rheimes, in the marches of the Treuiri vnder T. Labienus; three he placed in Belgia, with whom he sent Marcus Crassus, his Questor, L. Munatius Planus, and C. Trebonius, Legates; he sent one legion, that which hee had last inrolled, beyond the riuer Po in Italie, with five cohorts, vnto the Eburones: the greatest part of whose Country, lieth between the Maze & the Rhene; with them he sent Q. Titurius Sabinus, and Lucius Arunculeius Cotta. By distributing his legions in this maner, he thought to remedie the scarcitie of corne; and yet the guarizons of all these legions, excepting that which Roscius caried into a quiet and peaceable part, were contained within the space of one hundred mile: and vntill his legions were settled, and their wintering Campes fortified, he determined to abide in Gallia.

## THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Haue heard it oftentimes contradicted by some, that vnderstand not the weight of a multitude, when it was said, that an Armie keeping head continually in one part of a kingdome, was more burthensome to the common-wealth, in regard of the expence of victuals, then when it was dispersed into particular citties and families, before the time of the muster and inolement: for (say they) in the generall account of the publique weale, it differeth nothing, whether a multitude of 30000 men be maintained with necessarie prouisions in one intire body together, or dispersed particularly throughout euery part of the Country: forasmuch as euerie man hath but a competent quantitie allotted vnto him, which he cannot want in what sort or condition of life soeuer he be ranged; neither doth the charge of a multitude grow in regard they are vnited together, but in regard they amount to such a multitude wherefoeuer. But such as looke into the difference with iudgement, shall finde a maruellous inequality, both in regard of the portion of victuals which is spent, and the meanes whereby it is prouided: for, first, we must vnderstand,

stand, that an Army lying continually in one place, falleth so heauie vpon that part, that it quickly consumeth both the fatte and the flesh (as they say) & leaueeth nothing vnspent, which that part can afford them; and without further supply of prouisions, woulde in a small time come to vtter destruction. This want then must be relieued by taking from the plentie of other bordering quarters, to furnish the wants of so great a multitude: wherein there cannot be obserued that proportion of moderate taking, to vittaille the Armie with a sufficient competencie, but the partiall respect which the purueiers, and vittailers will haue to their priuat commodity, will quickly make an inconuenience either in the country, from whence it is taken; or in the Armie, for which it is prouided; according as the error may best aduantage their particular, what discipline sooner be established in that behalfe: Whereas on the contrary part, when euery particular man of that multitude shall be billeted in a seuerall family, throughtout all parts of the kingdom, the charge will be so insensible, in regard of the expence of the said families, that the countrie will neuer feele any inconuenience. And if every houtholder that had receiued into his house one of the said Army, should giue a true account of that which riseth about his ordinary expence; by the addition of one man, it would fall far short of that treasure, which is necessarily required, to maintaine the saide number of men vnited together into one bodie.

Neither doth the difference consist in the quantity of vittailles, which euery man hath for his portion, whether they be dispersed or vnited; but in the manner of prouision, and the means which is vled to maintaine them: wherein euery matter or steward of a family, endeouureth to make his prouision at the best hand, & so to husband it, that it may serue for competencie, and not for superfluitie; and by that means the generall plenty of the countie is maintained, & the common-wealth flourisheth by well directed moderation. But in the vittualling of an Army, there is no such respect had, which may any way aduantage the publike good; for, there the gaine of the purueier riseth by expence and superfluous wasting, rather then by thrift and saving frugality: and so the common-wealth is weakened by the ill husbanding of that great portion of vittaille, which is allowed for so great a multitude. And if they should haue such varietie of viands in an Armie, as they haue when they are in seuerall families, it were vnpossible it should continue any tyme together. And therefore the Romanes, notwithstanding the exactness of their discipline, could afford their Armies no other prouision but corne, and larde, as wel in regard of the commodity which that kinde of diet afforded them in the cour'e of their warres, as also for the good of that country, wherein they were resident. And if it so fel out, that the extremity of the season, or any other cause, had brought a dearth into the land, there was no readier way to help that inconuenience, then by dispersing their Armies into diuers quarters; which Cæsar disposed with that care, that they might be as neere together as they could.

## THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

**C**oncerning the choice of their souldiers and their maner of inrollement, I had rather referre the Reader to Polybius, then enter into the particular discourse of that action; which was carried with such grauitie and religious ceremonies, as might best serue to possesse their minds of the waight and consequence of that businesse: but forasmuch as the largeness of their Empire, and the necessitie of their occasions would not admit, that the enrolement should still be made at Rome amongst the citizens, as it appeareth by this legion which was inrolled beyond the riuer Po; it consequently followeth, that such Ceremonies, which were annexed to the place, were altogether omitted: and therefore I cannot speake of that which the old Romanes did in that part of their discipline, as a thing continued vnto Cæsars time. But he that desireth to see the maner of their choise, with such complements as might adde both a reuerent respect, and a Maiestie to the work; let him read Polybius of that argument.

## CHAP. IX.

Ambiorix attempteth to surprise the Campe of Sabinus and Cotta; and failing, practiseth to take them by guile.

Caesar.

**F**ifteene daies after the legions were settled in their wintering Camps, there began a sudden tumult and rebellion by the meanes of Ambiorix, and Catiuaculus, who hauing receiued Sabinus and Cotta into their confines, & brought them in corne to the place, where they lay; at the inducemēt of Induciomarus of Triers, they stird vp their people to rebellion: & suddenly surprising those that were gon abroad to get wood, came with a great power to assault the Camp. But when our men had tooke Arms, and were got vp upon the rampier, and had ouermatched them in a skirmish of horse, which made a sally out of the Camp vpon the Galles; Ambiorix despairing of good success, withdrew his men from the assault; & then after their maner, they cried vnto vs, that some of our company should come & speak with thē: for, they had somewhat to discover touching the publike state, wherby they hoped al controuersies might be ended. Wherupon Caius Carpineius a Roman horseman, and one of Titurius his familiar friends, and one Iunius a Spaniard, who diuers



diuers times before had beene sent by Caesar to Ambiorix; were sent out to treat with them. Ambiorix first acknowledged himselfe much indebted to Caesar; for, manie curtesies, in that by his meanes he was freed from a pension which he paid to the Aduatici; and for that both his own son, and his brothers sonne, whom the Aduatici had helde in prison vnder the name of hostages, were by Caesar released and sent home againe. And touching the assault of the Camp, he had done nothing of himselfe, but by the impulsion of the State; among whom such was his condition, that the people had as great authority ouer him, as he himself had in regard of the people: who were likewise inforced to this warre, because they could not withstand the sudden insurrection of the Galles, whereof his small meanes might bee a sufficient arguement. For, his experience was not so little, to thinke himselfe able with so smal a power to ouerthrow the people of Rome; but it was a general appointment throughout al Gallia, vpon this day to assault al Casars garrisons, to the end that one legion might not giue reliefe vnto another: Galles could not easilie denie the request of Galles, especially when it concerned their publicke libertie. Now hauing satisfied that duetie which he owed to his countrey, hee had respect to Caesar and his benefites; in regard wherof, he admonished them, and praied Titurius for the hospitality that had been between them, that hee would looke to the safetie of himselfe, and his soldiers. There were a great number of Germanes that had alreadye passed the Rhene, and would be heere within 2. dayes: and therefore let them advise themselues, whether they thought it good before the next borderers perceiued it, to depart with their souldiers out of their wintering places, either to Cicero or Labienus, of whom the one was not past fifty mile off; and the other, a little further: for his owne part, he promised them this much, and confirmed it by oath, that they should haue safe passage through his territories; for, so hee should both doe a pleasure to his countrey, in disburdening it of garrisons, and shew himselfe thankfull to Caesar for his benefits. This speech being ended, Ambiorix departed, and Carpineius and Iunius made report thereof to the Legates.

## OBSERVATION.

**E**ander his counsell, to vse the foxes skinne where the Lions faileth, doth shewe, that the discourse of our reason is sooner corrupted with errour, then the powers of our bodie are ouercome with force. For, oftentimes the mind is so disquieted, with the extremitie of perturbation, that neither the apprehension can take sound instructions, nor the iudgement determine of that which is most for our good: but according as any passion shall happen to raigne in our disposition; so are wee carried headlong to the ruine of our fortune, without sense of errour, or mistrust of wel-succeeding; where as the body continueth firme in his owne strength, and is subiect onely to a greater waight of power, by which it may bee subdued and ouerthrowen. It behoueth vs therefore to take good heede, that our surest holde bee not vnfastned by the subtiltie of the Foixe, when it

hath continued firme against the force of the lion : and that the treacherie of the spirit doe not disaduantage those meanes , which either our owne power or opportunitie, hath gained in our actions. Wherein a Commander cannot haue a better rule for his direction, then to beware, that violence of passion do not hinder the course of sound deliberation : and withall , to bee ieaalous of whatsoeuer an Enemy shall , eyther by speech or action , seeme to thrust vpon him , how colourable soeuer the reasons may be , which are alleadged to induce him thereunto. For first, if the minde be not confirmed by the vertue of her better faculties , to resist the motion of fruitlesse apprehensions , it may easily be seduced (eyther by feare or vaine imagination, diffident conceptions or ouer-easie credulitie , with manie other such disturbing powers) from that waie, which a good discretion , and an vnderstanding free from passion, would haue taken.

First therefore I holde it necessarie, to haue the consistorie of our iudgement well settled, with a firme resolution, and with the presence of the mind, before we enter into deliberation of such things , as are made happy vnto vs by good direction. And then this, amongst other circumstances, will giue some help to a good conclusion ; when we consider how improbable it is, that an Enemy , whose chiefest care is to weaken his aduersarie , and bring him to ruine, should aduise him of anie thing that may concern his good ; vnlesse the profit, which he himselfe shall thereby gather, do farre exceed that which the contrarie part may expect.

I grant that in Ciuill wars , where there are many friends on either partie, & haue the aduerse cause as deare vnto them as their owne ; there are oftentimes manie aduertisements giuen, which proceed from a true and sincere affection, & may aduantage the partie whom it concerneth, as wel in preuenting any danger, as in the furtherance of their cause ; and therefore are not altogether to be neglected, but to be waighed by circumstances, & accordingly to be respected ; whereof we haue manie pregnant examples in the ciuill warres of France, and particularly in *Monsieur La Nou* his discourses : but where there are two Armies , different in nation, language and humour, contending for that which peculiarly belongeth vnto one of them ; where care to keep that which is dearest vnto them, possesseth the one, and hope of gaine stirreth vp the other ; there is commonly such an vniuersall hatred between them, that they are to looke for small aduantage by aduertisements from the Enemy: which if the Romans had well considered, this subtile Gall had not disposed them of their strength, nor brought them to ruine.

## CHAP. X.

The Romans call a councell vpon this aduertisement, and resolue to depart, and ioine themselues to some other of the Legions.



*He Romans being troubled at the sodainnesse of the matter, albeit those things were spokē by an Enemy, yet they thought the no way to be neglected; but especially it moued them for that it was incredible that the Eburones, being base and of no reputation, durst of themselues make war against the people of Rome: and therefore they propounded the matter in a councell; wherein there grew a great controuersie among them: L. Arunculeius & most of the Tribunes, and Centurions of the first orders, thought it not good to conclude of any thing rashly, nor to depart out of their wintering Camps, without expresse commandment from Caesar; forasmuch as they were able to resist neuer so great a power yea euen of the Germans, hauing their garizons wel fortified: an argument wherof was, that they had valiantly withstood the first assault of the Enemy, & giuen them many wounds. Neither wanted they any victuals; & before that provision which they had was spent, there would come succor from other guarizons & from Caesar. And to conclude, what was more dishonorable or sinoured of greater inconstancie, then to consult of their waightiest affairs, by the aduertisement of an Enemy? Titurius vrged vehemently to the contrarie, that it then would be too late for them to seeke a remedie, when a greater power of the Enemy, accompanied with the Germans, were assembled against them; or when anie blowe were giuen to any of the next wintering Campes: he took Caesar to be gone into Italy; for, otherwise the Eburones, would not haue come so proudly to the Campe. Let them not respect the authour, but the thing it selfe; the Rhene was not farre off, and hee knewe well that the ouerthrowe of Ariouistus, and their former victories, were greuous to the Germanes. The Galles were vexed with the contumelies they had receiued, being brought in subiection to the Roman Empire, and hauing lost their former reputation in deeds of Arms. And to conclude, who would imagine that Ambiorix should enterprise such a matter, without any ground, or certainty thereof? but howsoeuer things stood, his counsel was sure, and could bring no harm: for, if there were no worse thing intended, they should but goe safelie to the next guarizons; or otherwise, if the Galles conspired with the Germans, their onely safetie consisted in celeritie. As for the counsell of Cotta, and such as were of the contrary opinion, what expectation could be had thereof? wherein if there were not present danger; yet assuredly famine was to be feared by long siege. The disputation being thus continued on either part, and Cotta with the Centurions of the first orders, earnestly repugning it; Doe as please you, since you will needes haue it so, sayth Sabinus; and that he spake with a loud voice, that a great part of the souldiers might well heare him: for, I am not hee that most feareth death among you;*

Caesar.

let these be wise: and if any mischance happen vnto them, they shall aske account thereof at thy hands, inasmuch as if thou wouldest let them, they might ioine themselves within 2. dayes to the next guarizons, & with them sustaine what chance soeuer their common destinie should allot them; and not perish with famine and sword, like a people cast off and abandoned from their fellowes. After these words, they began to rise out of the Councel; but holde was laide vpon them both; entreaty was made that they would not obstinately bring all vnto a desperate hazard; the matter was all one whether they went or staid, so that they all agreed vpon one thing; whereas in disagreeing, there was no likelihood of well doing: the disputation was prolonged vntill midnight; at length Cotta yeelded, and the sentence of Sabinus tooke place. And thereupon it was proclaimed, that they should set forth by the break of day: the rest of the night was spent in watching: euery souldier sought out what he had to carry with him, and what hee should be constrained to leaue behind him of such necessaries, as he had prepared for winter: all things were disposed in such sort, to make the souldiers belieue, that they could not stay without danger.

## OBSERVATION.

**B**Y the resolution in this disputation, it appeareth how little a graue and wise deliberation auaileth, when it is impugned with the violence of passion, according to the truth of my former obseruation; for, the matter was well reasoned by Cotta, and his positions were grounded vpon things certaine, and wel known to the whole Councel: and yet the feare of Sabinus was such, that it carried the conclusion by such supposed assertions as the qualitie of his passion had ratified for true principles; being grounded altogether vpon that which the Enemy had suggested, and not vpon any certaine knowledge of the truth: neither is it often seene, when a Councell disputeth vpon matters of such consequence, that their deliberations are altogether cleere from such troublesome motions, but that it will somewhat incline to the partialitie of a strong affection; so powerfull is passion in the gouernment of the soule, and so interessed in the other faculties. And this is one cause of the vncertainty of mans iudgement, from whence all contrarie and different opinions do arise. Neither is this so strange a matter, that a councell of warre should so much varie in case of deliberation, when-as manie especiall points of militarie discipline remaine yet vndecided; hauing the authoritie of the great Commaunders of all ages, to ratifie the truth on either part; whereof I could alleage many examples. But concerning the issue and euent of our deliberations, what can be more truly said then that of the Poet?

*Et malè consultis pretium est prudentia fallax,  
Nec fortuna probat causas. sequitur que merentes;  
Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur:  
Scilicet est aliud quod nos cogat que regat que  
Maius, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.*

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as our wisdom is not so subiect to fortune, but that it may comprehend within it self, the good direction of most of the occurrences, which fall within the course of our businesse; or if we must needs miscarrie, yet it somewhat helpeth our ill fortune to thinke, that we went vpon best probabilities; it shall not be amisse to set downe som rules for the better directing of a mature consultation. Wherein we are to vnderstand, that as all our knowledge ariseth from some of our senses, and our senses comprehend only particularities, which being caried vnto the apprehension, are disposed into formes and degrees, according as they either concur or disagree in their severall properties: from whence there arise intellectuall notions, and rules of Art; wherein the science of the said particulars consisteth: so he that intendeth to debate a matter, with sound deliberation, must descend from confused conceptions & a knowledge in general, to the exact distinction of particular parts, which are the occurrences to be directed, and the materiall substance of euery action: he therefore that can giue best direction, either by experience, or iudicious discourse, concerning such particularities as are incident to the matter propounded, can best aduise which is the safest way to auoid the opposition of contradicting natures. But to make this somewhat plainer, I wil alleage 2. exampls: the one moderne in case of consultation; the other ancient, and may seeme not so pertinent to this matter, in regard it is a meere Apologie: yet forasmuch as it freely censureth the quality of particular circumstances, it may giue great light to that which we seek after.

The moderne example is taken out of Guicherdin, from the warres which Lewis the French King had with the Pope and the Venetians, concerning the State of Ferrara & the Duchie of Millan: wherein there arose a controuersie among the French Captaines, whether it were better to go directly to seeke the Enemy, who albeit were lodged in a strong & secure place, yet there was hope, that with the vertue of Armes and importunity of artillerie, they might be dislodged, and driuen to a retreat: or otherwise, to take the waie either of Modena or Bolognia, that so the Enemy for feare of losing either of those townes, might quit their holde, and by that meanes Ferrara should be freede from the warre. Monsieur Chaumont the Generall of the French, inclined to the former aduise: But Triunlce, a man of great authoritie and experience, hauing beene an executioner in 18. battailes, reasoned thus in particulars to the contrary. We debate (saith he) to go seek the Enemy to fight with him; and I haue alwaies heard great Captaines holde this as a firme principle; Not to attempt the fortune of a battell, vnlesse there be either an offer of an especiall aduantage, or otherwise, compulsion by necessitie. The rules of warre giue it to the Enemy that is the inuader, and hath vndertaken the conquest of Ferrara, To seeke to assaile and charge vs; but to vs, to whom it is sufficient to defende our selues, it cannot bee but impertinent to vndertake an action, contrary to all direction and discipline of war. I am of opinion, which is confirmed by euident reason, that there is no possibilitie to execute that deuise, but to our harmes & disaduantage: for, we cannot go to their Camp but by the side of a hil, a streight and narrow way, where all our forces cannot bee employed; and yet they with

Lib. 9.

small numbers wil make resistance, hauing the opportunitie of the place fauourable to their vertues : we must march by the rising of a hill, one horse after another; neither haue we any other way to draw our Artillery, our baggage, our carts and bridges, but by the streight of the hill : and who doubteth not but in a way so narrow and combrous, euery artillerie, euery cart, or euery wheel that shall breake, will not stay the Army a whole houre at the least ? By which impediments euery contrary accident may put vs to disorder. The Enemy is lodged in couert, prouided of victualls and forrage; and we must incampe all bare and naked, not carying with vs that which should serue for our necessarie nouriture; but expect the things to come after, which in reason ought to goe with vs. To attempt new enterprises, whereof the victory is lesse certaine then the perill, is contrary to the grauity and reputation of a Leader; and in actions of the war, those enterprises are put to aduenture, that are done by will & not by reason. Many difficulties may compell vs to make our abode there, two or three dayes; yea, the snowes & rains ioined with the extreimity of the season, may suffice to detrain vs: how shall we then do for victualls & forrages? What shal we be able to do in the wars, wanting the things that should giue vs strength & sustenance? what is he that cōsidereth not, how dangerous it is to go seek the Enemy in a strong Camp, & to be driuen at one time to fight against them & against the discommodity of the place? If we compel them not to abandon their Campe, wee cannot but be inforced to retire; a matter of great difficultie in a countrey so wholly against vs, and where euery little disfauour will turn to our great disaduantage, &c.

And thus proceeded that graue discourse, in the discouerie of the particular occurrences, incident to that enterprife; which being laied open to their confused iudgements, did manifestly point at the great disaduantages, which were to be vndergone, by that attempt.

*Annal. 6.*

The other example is of more antiquitie, taken out of Tacitus, and concerneth the arraignment of certaine Senatours, for the friendship that had past between Seianus and them. Amongst whom M. Terentius thus answered for himselfe; according as it hath of late been published by translation :

It would bee peraduenture lesse behoouefull for my estate to acknowledge, then to denie the crime I am charged with : but hap what happe may, I will confesse that I haue been Seianus friend, and that I desired so to to be, and that after I had obtained his friendship I was glad of it. I had seen him ioint officer with my father, in the government of the pretorian cohort; and not long after, in managing the Citie affaires, and matters of warre : his kinsmen and allies were aduanced to honour: as euerie man was inward with Seianus, so he was graced by Cæsar : and contrariwise, such as were not in his fauour, liued in feare, and distressed with pouertie. Neither doe I alleadge any man for an example of this; all of vs who were not priuie to his last attempts, with the danger of my only estate I will defend : nor Seianus the Vulsiniensis, but a part of the Claudian and Iulian family, which by alliance he had entred in; thy sonne in law Cæsar, thy companion in the Consulship, and him who took vpon him thy charge of administring the Common-wealth, wee did reuerence and

# SABINVS AND COTTA



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and honour. It is not our part to iudge of him, whom thou doest exalt about the rest, nor for what considerations: to thee the highest iudgement of things the gods haue giuen; and to vs the glory of obedience is left. Wee looke into those things which wee see before our eyes, whom thou doest enrich, whome thou doest aduance to honours, who haue greatest power of hurting or helping: which Seianus to haue had, no man will denie. The Princes hidden thoughts, or if he go about anie secret drift it is not lawfull to sound, and dangerous; neither shalt thou in the ende reach vnto them. Thinke not onely, Lords of the Senate, of Seianus last daie; but of sixteene yeares, in which we did likewise fawne vpon and court Satrius, and Pomponius; and to be known vnto his freed men and partners, was reckned for a high fauour. What then? shall this defence be generall, and not distinguished, but a confusion made of times past, and his later actions? No: but let it by iust boundes and terms be diuided: let the treasons against the Common-wealth, the intentions of murdering the Emperour bee punished; but as for the friendships, dueties, pleasures and good turnes, the same end shall discharge and quit thee, O Cæsar, and vs.

The constancie of this Oration preuailed so much, that his Accusers were punished with exile. And thus wee see how particularities decide the controersie, and make the waie plaine to good direction.

## CHAP. XI.

### The Romaines take their iourney towards the next legion; and are set vpon by the GALLES.



As soone as the day light appeared, they set forth of their Camp (like men perswaded that the counsell had been giuen them not by an Enemy, but by Ambiorix an especiall friend) with a long tailed march, and as much baggage as they were able to carrie. The Gallies vnderstanding of their iourney, by their noise and watching in the night; secretly in the woodes some two miles off layed an Ambuscado, in two severall places of aduantage, and there attended the comming of the Romans; and when the greatest part of the troupes were entred into a valley, sodainely they shewed themselues on both sides the vale, pressing hard vpon the rereuarde, and hindering the formost from going up the hill; and so began to charge vpon the Romans in a place of as great disaduantage for them as could bee. Then at length Titurius, as one that had provided for nothing before hand, began to tremble, ranne vp and downe, and disposed his cohorts, but so feareful-

Cæsar.

fearefully and after such a fashion, as if all things had gone against him, as it happeneth for the most part to such, as are forced to consult in the instant of execution.

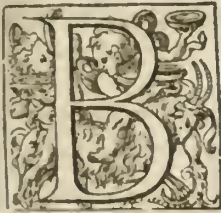
## OBSERVATION.

**N**ow plainly appeareth, by this negligent and ill ordered march, and the vnlooked for incounter which the Galles gaue them, that feare had ratified in the iudgement of Sabinus the smooth suggestiō of Ambiorix, with an approbation of a certaine truth; and layed that for a principle, which a discourse free from passion would haue discerned to be but weake, and of no probabilitie: which so much the more amazed Titurius, by how much his apprehension had erred from the truth, and betraied good counsell to a course full of danger; which as Cæsar noteth, must needs fall vpon such, as are then to seeke for direction when the businesse requireth execution. I haue handled already the inconueniences of disappointment; and therefore at this time will but bring it only into remembrance, that wee may take the greater care to prevent an accident of that nature: wherein, as the best remedie for an euill is to foresee it, according to the saying, *Prauisa pereunt mala*; so the greatest milchiefe in an euill, is when it commeth vnthought of, and besides our expectation; for, then it falleth vpon vs with a supernaturall waight, and affrighteth the mind with a superstitious astonishment, as though the diuine powers had preuented our desseinements, with an irremediable calamitie, and cut off our appointment with a contrarie decree: although peraduenture the thing it selfe carrie no such importance, but might be remedied, if we were but prepared with an opinion, that such a thing might happen.

It were no ill counsell therefore, what resolution soeuer bee taken, to make as full account of that which may fall out to crosse our intentions, as that which is likely to happen from the direction of our chiefest proiects; and so we shall be sure to haue a present minde in the midst of our occasions, and teele no further danger, then that which the nature of the thing inforceth.

C AP. XII.

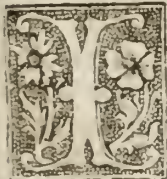
*The Romans cast themselves into an Orbe ; and are much discouraged.*



*Vt Cotta, who had before thought that these things might happen by the waie, and for that cause would not bee the author of the iourney, was not wanting in any thing that concerned their common safetie: for, both in calling upon the souldiers and incouraging them, hee executed the place of a Commaunder; and in fighting, the dutie of a soldier. And when they found, that by reason of the length of their troupe, they were not able in their owne persons to see all things done, and to giue direction in euery place; they caused it to be proclaimed, that they should all forsake their baggage, and cast themselves into an Orb: which direction, although in such a case be not to be reprobued; yet it fell out illfaouredly: for, it both abated the courage of the Romans, and gaue the Enemy greater incouragement, inasmuch as it seemed that that course was not taken, but upon a great feare and in extreamity of perill. Moreouer, it hapned, as it could not otherwise choose, that the soldiers went from their Ensignes, to take from the cariages such things as were most deare vnto them: and there was nothing heard amongst them, but clamours and weepings. But the Barbarous Galles were not to learne how to carrie themselves: for, their Commanders caused it to be proclaimed, that no man should stir out of his place; for the preie was theirs, and all that the Romans had laide aparte, was reserued for them: and therefore let them suppose that all things consisted in the victory. The Romans were equall to the Galles, both in number of men and valour; and albeit they were destitute of good Captaines, and of good fortune, yet they reposed in their manhood all the hope of their safety: and as often as any cohort issued out, they failed not to make a great slaughter of the Enemy on that part.*

*Caesar.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.



*Haue alreadie handled the nature of an Orbe, with such properties as are incident to a circle; wherein I shewed the conueniencie of this figure, in regarde of safe and strong imbattailing: I will now adde thus much concerning the vse thereof, that as it is the best manner of imbattailing for a defensue strength, and therefore neuer vsed but in extreamitie; so we must be very carefull, that the sodaine betaking of ourselues to such a refuge, do not more dismaie the souldiers, then the aduantage of that imbattailing canne benefit them;*

them. For, vnlesse a Leader be carefull to keepe his men in courage, that their hearts may bee free from despaire and amazement, what profit can there arise from any disposition or body soeuer, when the particular members shall bee senselesse of that duty, which belongeth vnto them? For, order is nothing but an assistance to courage, giuing means to manage our valour with aduantage. In the warre of Affricke wee reade, that Cæsars legions being incircled about with great multitudes of enemies, were forced to make an Orb; but he quickly turned it to a better vse, by aduancing the two Cornets two contrary waies; and so diuided the Enemy into two parts; and then beate them backe, to their great disaduantage.

*THE SECOND OBSERVATION.*

**N**eede not stand vpon this order which the Galles heere took, concerning pillage, that no souldier should forsake his station, or disfrank himself in hope of spoile; which is a thing that from the very infancie of warres hath often changed the fortune of the day, and solde the honour of a publike victory, for private lucre and petty pilsering. Amongst other examples, let that which Guichardine reporteth of the battell of Taro, suffice to warne a well directed Armie, as well by the good which Charles the eighth of that name, King of France, receiued at that time, as by the losse which the Italians felt by that disorder, not to seek after pillage vntill the victory be obtained.

*Lib. 20.*

*THE THIRD OBSERVATION.*

**T**he insufficiency of these Commanders, whereof Cæsar now complaineth as the onely want, which these Romans had to cleere themselves of this daunger; bringeth to our consideration that which former times haue made a questiõ: which is, whether it were the vertue of the Roman Leaders, or the valour of their souldiers, that enlarged their Empire to that greatnesse, and made their people and Senate, Lords of the world? Polybius waighing the causes of a victory, which the Carthagineans gained of the Romans, by the counsell and good direction of one Zantippus a Grecian, hauing before that time receiued diuers ouerthrowes, during the time of those warres in Affricke; concluded, that it was more in the worthinesse of the Commanders, then in any extraordinarie vertue of the souldiers, that the Romans atchieued so many conquests. And besides the present example of Zantippus, he confirmed his opinion with the proceedings of Hannibal; who from the beginning of the second Punicke warre, stil gained of the Roman Empire, enlarging the territories of Carthage, and streightning the iurisdiction of mightie Rome, vntill it had got a Leader matchable to that subtle Carthaginian, and found a Scipio to confront their Hannibal. To this may be added that famous

famous battell betweene the olde Romans, and the last Latines; wherein both parties were equally ballanced, both in number and qualitie of their souldiers, hauing both the same Armes, the same vse of their weapons, and the same discipline, as if it had been in a Ciuill warre. Neither could Fortune tell by the presence of their Armies, where to bestow her fauour, or where to shew her disdain; but that the worthinesse of the Roman Leaders, brought the oddes in the triall, and made Rome great with the ruine of the Latines. Whereby it appeareth, how much it importeth the whole fortune of the Armie, to haue a Leader worthy of the place which he holdeth: forasmuch as nothing doth make a greater difference of inequality betweene two equall Armies, then the wisdom and experience of a graue Commaunder, or the disability of an vnskillfull Leader; which are so powerfull in their seuerall effects, that there is greater hope of a heard of Harts ledde by a Lion, then of so many Lions conducted by a Hare.

### CHAP. XIII.

*Ambiorix directeth the Galles how they might  
best fight with aduantage, and frustrate  
the weapons of the Romaine  
souldiers.*

**H**E which thing when Ambiorix perceiued; he commanded his men to throwe their casting weapons afar off, and keepe themselues from comming neere at hand, and where the Romans charged them, to giue way: & againe, as they saw them retire to their Ensignes, then to pursue them. Which commaundement was so diligently obserued by the Galles, that as oft as any cohort sallied out of the Orbe to giue an assault, the Enemie gaue backe as fast as they could; and in the meane time there was no helpe, but that part must be left naked and open to the inconuenience of casting weapons: and againe, as they retired to their place, they were circumvented, as well by them that had giuen place vnto them, as by such as stood next about them. And if they went about to keep their ground, they could neither helpe themselues by their manhood; nor standing thicke together, auoide the darts that such a multitude ca't vpon them: and yet notwithstanding these inconueniences, besides the wounds which they had receiued, they stood still at their defence; & hauing so spent the greatest part of the day (for they had fought eight houres together) they committed nothing dishonourable, or vnwoorthie of themselues.

*Cesar.*

## THE OBSERVATION.

**H**ave spoken already of the manner of the Roman fight, consisting altogether in good disposition of imbattailing, and in firme standing, and buckling at handy-blowes: as may appeare by this circumstance, where Ambiorix forbiddeh his men to buckle with them, but to giue backe & follow on againe, as the lightnesse of their Armes gaue them opportunitie. In like manner, in the first booke of the Ciuill wars, in the battell betweene Cæsar and Afranius, it appeareth, that Cæsar his souldiers were bound to keepe their array, nor to leaue their Ensignes, nor without a waightie occasion to forsake their stations appointed them: whereas the Afranians fought thin, and scattered heere and there; and if they were hard laid vnto, they thought it no dishonour to retire and giue backe, as they had learned of the Portugals, and other Barbarous Nations.

## CHAP. XIII.

## The Romans are ouerthrowne.

Cæsar.

**T**hen T. Baluentius, who the yeere before had beene Primi-pile of that iegion, a valiant man, and of great authoritie, had both his thighes dartered through with a Iavelin; and Q. Lucanius, of the same order, valiantly fighting to succour his sonne, was slaine: and L. Cotta the Legate, as hee busily encouraged all the Cohorts & Centuries, was wounded in the mouth with a sling. Titurius mooued with these things, as he beheld Ambiorix afarre off encouraging his men, sent C. Pompeius vnto him, to intreat him that he would spare him and his souldiers. Ambiorix answered, that if he were desirous to treat, hee might: for, hee hoped to obtaine so much of the people, to saue the souldiers; but for himselfe, he should haue no harme at all: for the assurance whereof, he gaue him his faith. Titurius imparted the matter to Cotta, vwho absolutely denied to goe to an armed enemie, and continued resolute in that opinion. Titurius commanded such Tribunes & Centurions that were present, to follow him; and when hee came neere to Ambiorix, beeing commaunded to cast away his Armes, he obeyed, and willed those that were with him, to doe the same. In the meane time, while they treated of the conditions, and Ambiorix began a solemne protestation of purpose, Titurius was by little & little incompassed about and slaine. Then, according to their custome, they cried victory; and taking vp a howling, charged the Romaines with a fresh assault, and routed their troupes. There L. Cotta fighting valiantly, was slaine, with the most part of the souldiers with him. The remnant retired into their Campe, amongst whom L. Petrosidius the Eagle-bearer, when hee sawe himselfe ouercharged with enemies, threw the Eagle within the Rampier, and fighting with

With a great courage, before the Campe, was slaine. The rest, with much adoe endured the assault vntill night, and in the night, beeing in despaire of all succour, slew themselues euery man: a few, that escaped from the battell, came by vnknowne waies through the woods, to Labienus, and certified him how all things had fallen out.

OBSERVATION.



And thus haue we heard of the greatest losse, that euer fell at any one time vpon Cæsar his Armie, from the time that he was first Proconsull in Gallia, vnto the end of his Dictatorship. For in the two ouerthrowes at Dirrachium, he lost not aboute 1000 men, and in that at Gergouia, not so many: but heere, fiftene cohorts were cut in peeces, which amounted to the number of 7000 men, or thereabout. Which maketh cowardice, and ill direction the more hatefull, in regard that the great victorie, which his valour obtained in Pharsalia, cost him but the liues of two hundred men.

The resolution of such as returned to the Campe, witnesseth the exceeding valour of the Roman souldier, if a valiant Leader had had the managing thereof; or if Cotta alone had been absolute Commaunder, there had beene great hope of better fortune in the success. But heere it happened as it commonlie doth, that where there are many that are equall sharers in the chiefe authoritie; the direction, for the most part followeth him that is more violent in opinion then the rest: which beeing a propertie rather of passion then of iudicious discourse, forceth a cōsent against the temperat opposition of a true discerning vnderstanding; and so consequently it falleth out, that one coward, hauing place and authoritie in the Councell, doth either infect or annihilate the sound deliberations of the rest of the Leaders: for, his timorousnesse flieth alwaies to extremities, making him rash in consultation, peremptorie in opinion, & base in case of perill; all which are enemies to good direction, and the onely instruments of mischicuing fortune.

CHAP. XV.

*Ambiorix* hasteth to besiege *Cicero*, and stirreth vp the *Aduatici*, the *Neruij*, and so raiseth a great power.



*Ambiorix* tooke such spirits vnto him vpon this victorie, that with his horsemen he went immediatly vnto the *Aduatici*, beeing the next borderers vpon his kingdome, vvitkout intermission of night, commaunding his footmen to follow him. The *Aduatici* beeing stirred vp to Commotion, the next day after hee came to

*the Nerviū, exhorting them not to let slippe this occasion of taking to themselves perpetuall libertie, and reuenging them of the Romaines for the wrong they haue receiued. He told them that two Legates were already slaine, and a great part of the Armie ouerthrowne: it was now no great matter, suddenly to surprise the legion that wintered with Cicero; to the performance whereof, hee offered himselfe to be their assistant. These remonstrances easily perswaded the Nerviū, and therefore they dispatched speedy messengers to the Centrones, Grudij, & other people vnder their dominion, and raised very great forces; and with them they hastened to the Campe where Cicero wintered, before any inkling of the death of Titurius was brought vnto him.*

## OBSERVATION.



**T**He ambitious and working spirit of Ambiorix, that could attempt to raise the baseness of a small and ignoble State, to so high a point of resolution, that they durst aduventure vpon the Romaine legions, being settled in the strength of their Empire, by the memorie of so many victories in Gallia; wanted now no meanes to make an ouerture to a vniuersall commotiou, propounding libertie & reuenge to the Galles (two the sweetest conditions that can happen to a subdued people) if they would but stretch out their hands to take it, and follow that course which his example had proued sure and easie. Which may serue to shew, that hee that will attempt vpon doubtfull and vsafe Principles, will take great aduantage from a probable entrance, and make a small beginning a sufficient meanes for his greatest designes.

## CHAP. XVI.

Cicero defendeth his Campe from the surprise  
of the Nerviū, and preparath himselfe  
against a Siege.



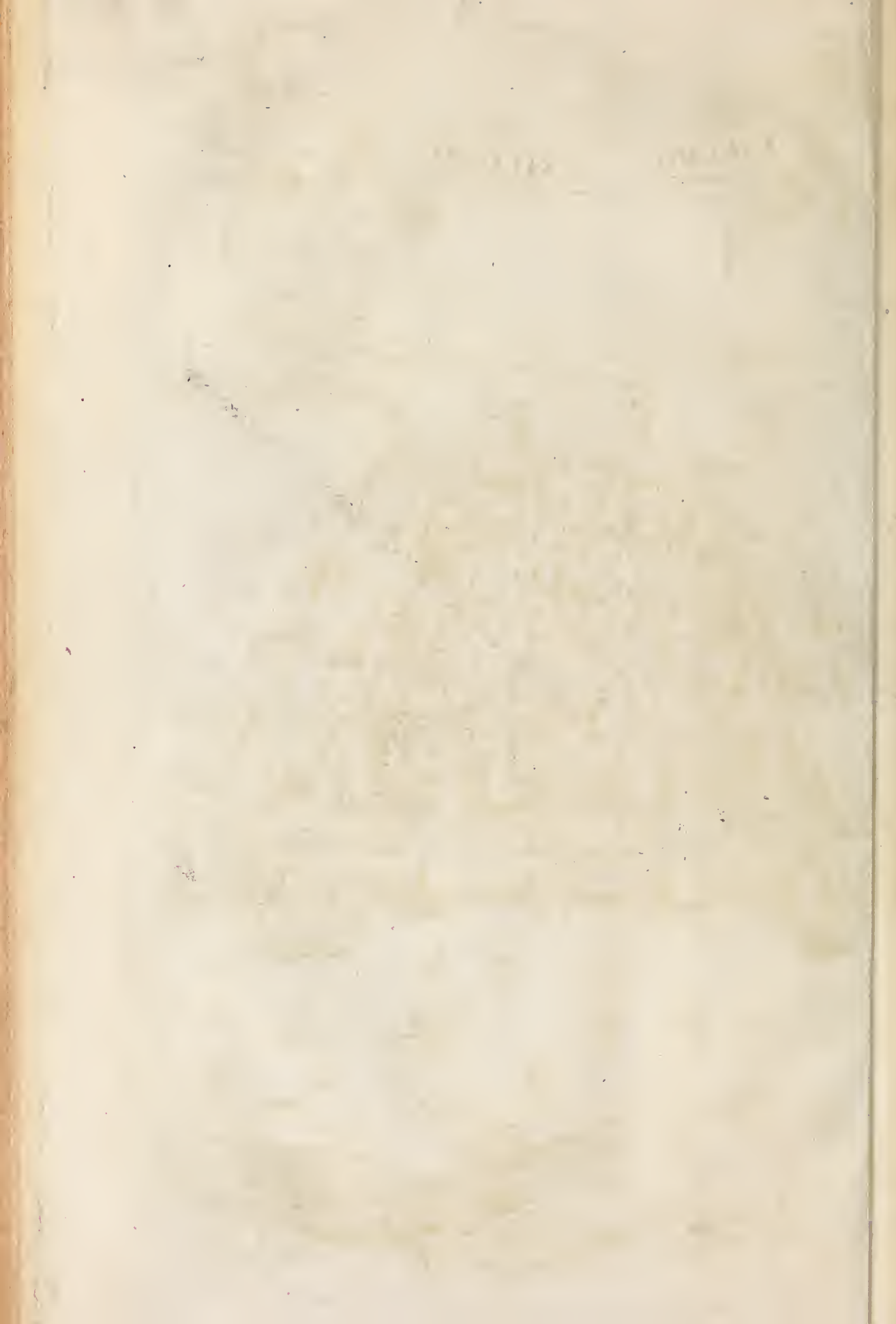
**T**happened to Cicero also (as it could not otherwise chuse) that many of the souldiers, that were gone into the woods for timber and munition, were cut off by the sudden approach of the Enemies horsemen. These being circumvented, the Eburones, Nerviū, and Aduatici, with all their confederates and clients, began to assault the Campe. The Romans betooke them speedily to their vveapons, and got vpon the rampier, with much adoe they held out that day: for, the Galles trusted much vpon celeritie; hoping if they sped well in that action, to be victors ener after.

Cicero



CICERO BESIEGED





Cicero dispatched Letters with all speede to Casar, promising great rewards to him that should carie them: but all the waies were so fore-laid, that the Messengers were taken. In one night there was built in the Campe one hundred and twenty towers, of such timber as was brought in for fortification; and what soeuer wanted of the rest of the worke, was perfected.

The enemy the next day, with a farre greater power assaulted the Campe, and filled vp the ditch: the Romans made the like defence, as they had done the day before; the like was continued diuers daies after. The Romaines made no intermission of their work at any part of the night, nor gaue any rest either to the sick or the wounded. What soeuer was needfull for the next daies assault, was provided in a readinesse the night before; a great number of stakes hardened in the fire were prepared, and many murall piles were made; the towers were floored in their stories; Pinacles and Parapets were set up of hurdles: and Cicero himselfe beeing sickly, and of a weake constitution, tooke not so much leasure as to rest himselfe in the night time: so that the souldiers of their owne accord, compelled him by intreatie, to spare himselfe.

## OBSERVATION.



His Q. Cicero, is said to be the brother of Marcus Cicero, the famous Oratour, & to him were the Letters sent which are found in his Epistles, directed *Quinto fratri*. In this action, his cariage deserued as great reputation, in the true censure of honour, as euer his brother did for his eloquence, *pro Rostris*. And if it had beene the others fortune to haue performed the like seruice, he would haue made it the greatest exploit that euer Roman had atchieued by Armes. Wherein particularlie may be commended, the diligence and indultry which was vsed, in raising so many towers in so small a time; for providing the night before, such things as were necessarie for the next daies defence; for making so many stakes hardened in the end with fire, for the defence of the rampier; and for the store of these murall piles, which resembled the forme of the ordinarie pile, but were farre greater and waightier, in regard they were to be cast from the rampier; which gaue them such aduantage, by reason of the height, that being cast by a strong and well practiced arme, they were very effectuall and of great terrour.

## CHAP. XVII.

The Neruij propound the same things to Cicero  
*which Ambiorix had done to Sabinus;*  
 but are reiected.

Caesar.



*Then the Princes and chiefe Commaunders of the Neruij, which had any entrance of speech, and cause of acquaintance with Cicero, signified their desire to speak with him: which beeing granted, they propounded the same thinges they had vsed to deceiue Sabinus; all Gallia were in Arms; the Germans were come ouer the Rhene; Caesar and the rest were besieged in their wintering Campes; Sabinus & his men were cut in peeces; notwithstanding, they carried this mind to Cicero, that they refused nothing but their wintering among them; they might depart in safetic whither they would, without disturbance or feare of danger. Cicero onely made this aunswere: that It was not the custome of the people of Rome, to take any article or condition from an armed Enemie; but, if they would lay their Armes aside, let them vse his furtherance in the matter, and send some to negotiat it with Caesar; there was great hope, in regard of his iustice and equitie, that they should not returne vnsatisfied.*

## THE OBSERVATION.



*He first attemp, which Ambiorix made vpon the Camp of Sabinus and Cora, was but short; but heere, what with the pride of the former victorie, and the great multitude of the assailants, they continued it longer, in hope to carrie it by assault: for, the first assault of a place, especially, when it commeth by way of surprize, is of greater hope to the assailant, and of greater danger to the defendant, then such as afterward are made in the sequell of the warre: for, after the first brunt, the heat of the enemy is much abated, as wel through the nature of a hot desire, which is most violent in the beginning, & afterward groweth cold & remisse, as also with the harmes and perill which they meet with in the incounter; and on the contrarie side, the defendants hauing withstood the first furie, wherein there is most terrour and distrust, grow more confident and better assured of their manhood, and in experience of their strength, stand firme against any charge whatsoever.*

CHAP.

## CHAP. XVIII.

The Neruij besiege Cicero, with a ditch and  
a rampier, and worke meanes to set fire on  
their Tents.



*He Neruij disappointed of this hope, caried a ditch & a rampier round about the Camp; the rampier was 11 foote high, and the ditch 15 foote deepe; which they had learned of the Romaines, partly by beeing conuersant among them certaine yeeres before, and partly by the prisoners and captiues which they had taken; but they had no iron tooles fit for that purpose, but were driuen to cut up turfe with their swords, and gather earth with their hands, and carie it away with their Mantles and Gaberdines. Whereby may be gathered, what a multitude of men there were at the siege; for, in lesse then three houres, they finished the fortification of fifteene miles in circuit. The daies following, the enemy built towers to the height of the rampier, prepared great hookes and strong penthouses, or safeguards of boords and timber, according as the captiues had giuen them instruction. The seauenth day of the siege, beeing a verie windie day, they cast hot bullets of clay out of slings, and burning darts vpon the cabines of the Romans, which after the manner of the Galles, vvere thatched with strawe: these cabines were quickly sette on fire, which by the violence of the wind was caried ouer all the Campe. The enemy pressing forward with a great clamour, as though the victorie were alreadie gotten, began to bring their Turrets and Testudines to the rampier, and to scale it with ladders. But such was the valour of the Roman souldiers, that albeit they were scorched on all sides with fire, and ouer-charged with multitude of weapons, and saw all their wealth burned before their face; yet no man forsooke the rampier, or scarce looked backe at that which had happened, but they all fought valiantly, and with an exceeding courage.*

*Caesar.*

## OBSERVATION.



*His one example may serue, to shew the excellencie of the Roman discipline, and the wisdom of the first founders of that Art: for, they perceiuing that the fortune of warres consisted chieflie in the mastering of particular occurrences, trained their souldiers in that forme of discipline, as might struggle with inconueniences, and strong oppositions of condradicting accidents; and so ouerwage all difficulties and hinderances, with a constant perseueration & a courage inuincible. For, the great attempting spirit of an ambitious Commander, that seeketh to ouertoppe the trophes of honor, with the memory of his exploits, will quickly perish by his own direction, if the instruments of execution be weaker, then the means which lead*

leade him to his deſſignments. For, where the waight is greater then the ſtrength, the engine will ſooner breake, then liſt it vp. Let a diſcreet Leader therefore ſo leuell his thoughts, that his reſolution may not exceed the abilitie of his particular meanes: but firſt let him be well aſſured what his ſouldiers can doe, before he reſolue what he will doe: or otherwiſe, let him ſo inable them by diſcipline and inſtructions, according to the example of the old Romans, that their worth may anſwere the height of his deſires, and follow his aſpiring mind, with a reſolution grounded vpon knowledge and valour; and ſo making their abilitie the ground of his deſſignes, he ſhall neuer faile of meanes to performe what he intendeth. The want of this conſideration, hath within theſe late yeeres, repaid our Commaunders in many parts of Chriſtendome, with loſſe and diſhonour, when as they meaſure the humour of their poore needie and vndiſciplined ſouldier, by the garbe of their ambitious thoughts, & ſo laid ſuch proiects of difficultie, as were verie vnſurable in the particularitie of occurrences, to that which their ſouldiers were fit to execute.

### CHAP. XIX.

#### The æmulation betweene two Centurions, *Pulſio* and *Varenus*, with their fortunes in the incounter.



*Caſar.*

HERE were in that legion two valiant men, *Titus Pulſio*, & *L. Varenus*, Centurions, comming on apace to the dignity of the firſt orders: theſe two were at continuall debate vvhich of them ſhould be preferred one before another, and euerie yeere contended for place of preferment, with much ſtriſe & emulation. *Pulſio*, at a time that the fortification was very ſharply aſſaulted, called to *Varenus*, and asked him why he now ſtood doubtfull? or what other place hee did looke for to make triall of his manhood? This is the day, ſaith he, that ſhall decide our controuerſies. And when hee had ſpoken theſe words, he went out of the fortification; and where he ſaw the Enemy thickeſt, he fiercely ſet vpon them: then could not *Varenus* hold himſelfe within the rampier, but followed after in a reaſonable diſtance. *Pulſio* caſt his pile at the enemy, and ſtrooke one of the multitude through, that came running out againſt him. He being ſlaine, all caſt their weapons at him, giuing no reſpite or time of reſtrait. *Pulſio* had his target ſtrooke through, and the dart ſtuck faſt in his girdle. This chance turned aſide his ſcabberd, and hindered his right hand from pulling out his ſword; in which diſaduantage the enemy preſſed hard vpon him. *Varenus* came and reſcued him: immediatly the whole multitude, thinking *Pulſio* to bee ſlaine with the dart, turned to *Varenus*, who ſpeedily betooke him to his ſword, and came to handy-ſtroakes; and hauing ſlaine one, he put the reſt ſomewhat back. But as he followed overhaſtily vpon them, hee fell downe: him did *Pulſio* reſcue, beeing

beeing circumvented and in danger; and so both of them hauing slaine manie of the enemy, retired to their Campe in safetie, to their great honour. Thus Fortune caried as well the contention, as the incounter of them both, that being Enemies, they neuertheless gaue helpe to saue each others life, in such sort, as it was not to be iudged which of them deserued greatest honour.

## OBSERVATION.



Aesar inserteth this accident of the two Centurions, as worthie to be related amongst the deeds of Armies contained in these Commentaries: wherein we are first to obserue the grounds of this quarrell, which was their cōinuall strife for place of preferment, which they sought after, by shewing their valour in time of danger, and approouing their worth by the greatnesse of their desert; a contention worthy the Roman discipline, and may serue for a patterne of true honour full of courage, accomplished with verue. For these *Simulantes*, which desire of honour had cast between them, brought forth emulation, which is the spur of vertue, far from enmitie or hatefull contention: for, the difference between these two qualities, is, that enmitie hunteth after destruction, and onely reioiceth in that which bringeth to our aduersary vtter ruine, dishonor, or ill atchieuement: but emulation contendeth only by well deseruing, to gaine the aduantage of another mans fame, that vseth the same meanes to attaine to the like end; and is alwaies mixed with loue, in regard of the affinitie of their affections, and the sympathy of their desires, not seeking the ouerthrow of their Competitor, but succouring him in time of danger, and defending him from foule and vnfortunate calamitie, that he may still continue to shew the greatnesse of his worth, by the opposition of inferior actions, which are as a lesser scantling of desert, to measure the estimation of the others honour.

A vertue rare and vnknowne in these daies, and would hardly find subiects to be resident in, if she should offer her help in the course of our affaires, or sue to be entertained by the crooked dispositions of our times: for, we can no sooner conceiue the thoughts that breed emulation, but it turneth presently to hatred, which is followed to the vttermost of our malice, & resteth better satisfied with the miserable end of our opposed partner, then with thousand of Trophes deseruedly crected to our honor. Which maketh me wonder, when I looke into the difference of these and those ages; whether it were the discipline of that time, which brought forth such honest effects of vertue, to their glory and our ignominie, hauing learned better rules then were known vnto them; or whether the world weakened with age, want strength in these times to bring-foorth her creatures in that perfection, as it did in those daies; or what other cause hath made our worst affections so violent, and our better faculties so remisse & negligent, that vertue hath no part in vs but words of praise, our whole practise beeing consecrated to actions of reproach. The iniuries, murders, scandalous cariages of one towards another, which in these daies are so readilie offered

and

and so impatiently digested, will admit no satisfaction but priuate combate; which in the first Monarchies, was granted onely against strangers, and forraine enemies, as the onely obiects of Armes and wrath, and capable of that iustice, which the priuate sword should execute: for, they well perceiued, that these single battels, were as sparkles of ciuill discord, and intestine warres; although not so apparant in the generall view of their State, yet as odious in particular, and as dishonourable to good government. And if there were a true record of such, as haue been either slaine or wounded within these fortie yeres, either in this kingdome, or in France, or in Germanie, by this licentious and brutish custome; I make no question, but they would amount to a number capable of that fearefull stile, which is attributed to Ciuill warres.

Neither is there any law, how rigorous or hard soeuer, that can giue reliefe to this disorder, but the restraint will draw on as great enormities, and as vntolerable in a good government. Rotaris, King of the Lumbards, forbade his subiects this manner of combate: but shortly after, he was constrained to recall the Edict, for the auoiding of greater euils; although he protested the thing to be both inhumane and barbarous. The like Edict was published in France, by Philip the Faire; but was within two yeeres reuoked againe, at the instant request of his subiects, in regard of the murders and assassinations committed in that kingdome.

The onely remedie that I find to take effect in this case, was that of late time, which the Prince of Melphe in Piemont, inuented to preuent this euill: for, perceiuing how ordinarie quarrels and bloodshed were in his Campe, he assigned a place betweene two bridges, for the performance of the *Duellum*, vvith this charge; that hee that had the worst, should alwaies be slaine, and cast from the bridge into the water: the danger ioyned with dishonour (which by this Decree attended such as vnderooke priuate combate) made the souldiers wiser in their cariage, and put an end to their sedition and ciuill discords. But that which is yet worst of all, is, that custome hath now made it so familiar, that euery triffe seemeth sufficient to call the matter to a priuate combate: a crosse looke calleth another mans honor in question; but the word *Lye*, is of as great consequence, as any stabbe or villanie whatsoeuer. Wherat we may wel wonder how it happeneth, that wee feele our selues so much exasperated at the reproach of that vice, which wee so ordinarilie commit: for, in the custome of these times, to cast vpon vs the lye, is the greatest iniurie that wordes can doe vnto vs; and yet there is nothing more frequent in our mouth. It may be a proprietie in our nature, to stand chiefelie in the defence of that corruption vnto which we are most subiect.

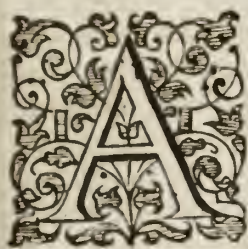
I speake not this to qualifie the foulnesse of this vice: for, I hold a Lye to be a monster in nature; one that contemneth GOD, and feareth man, as an ancient Father saith; but to shew the crookednesse of our disposition, in disdainig to acknowledge that faulte, which we so commonly commit. But I would faine learne, when honour first came to be measured with vvords: for, from the beginning it was not so. Cæsar was often called to his face theefe, and drunkard, without any further matter; and the libertie of inuectiues, which  
great



great personages vsed one against another, as it beganne, so it ended with words. And so I think our lie might too; for, I take him that returneth the lie, and so letteth it rest, vntill further prooffe, to haue as great aduantage in the reputation of honour, as the former, that first gaue the disgrace.

## CHAP. XX.

Cicero findeth meanes to aduertise Cæsar of this  
*Accident; who hasting, raiseth the siege, and  
putteth the Enemie to a great  
slaughter.*



*As the siege grew daily hotter & sharper, and specially, for that the greatest part of the souldiours were laid vp vvith wounds, and the matter brought into a few mens hands that vvere able to make any defence; so they sent out Letters and Messengers the more often to Cæsar: of vvhom, some vvere taken, and in the sight of our souldiours, tortured to death. There was one within the place besieged, of the Nation of the Neruij, called Vertico, of honest parentage; vvho in the beginning of the siege had fledde to Cicero, and caried himselfe faithfully in that seruice: this man did Cicero chuse, perswading him with hope of libertie, and other great rewards, to carie Letters to Cæsar; vvhich he tooke, & hauing tied them vp in his Dart, tranelled as a Gall amongst the Galles, without any suspicion, & so came to Cæsar: Of vvhom he understood, how dangerously Cicero and the legion vvvas beset.*

*Cæsar, hauing receiued those Letters about the eleuenth houre of the day, dispatched presently a Messenger to M. Crassus, the Treasurer, in the country of the Bellonaci, twentie fine miles off; commaunding the legion to set out at midnight, and speedily to come vnto him. Crassus set out and came along vvith the Messenger. He sent another Post to C. Fabius, the Legat, to bring that legion to the confines of the Atrebatij, through vvhich he was to passe: And writ in like manner to Labienus; that if it stood vvith the conueniencie of the State, hee should bring the legion to the territories of the Neruij: for, the rest of the Armie that vvere further off, he thought good not to expect. He drew foure hundred horse or therabouts, from the neereest vvintering Campes. And beeing aduertised about the third houre (by the fore-runners) of Crassus comming, hee marched that day twentie miles.*

*Hee made Crassus Gouvernour of Samarobrine, & gaue him one legion for the defence thereof; in regard that the baggage of the vvhole Armie, the hostages of the Prouinces, the publique transactions and Letters, together vvith all the Corne vvhich hee had got for the prouision of the Winter, was left in that place. Fabius, according to his directions, without any delay, met him vvith the legion.*

Cambray.

*Labienus, vnderstanding of the death of Fabrius, and the slaughter of the Cohorts: and knowing also that the whole forces of the Treuiri were marching towards him; he doubted, that if his setting forward out of his winter station, should seeme as a stealing away, he should not be able to vndergoe the charge of the enemy, who a late victory had made insolent: and therefore informed Caesar by his Letters, what danger it would be to draw the legion from their wintering Camp; relating what had happened amongst the Eburones, and how that all the forces of the Treuiri, both horse and foote, lay but three miles distant from his Campe.*

*Caesar, allowing of these reasons, howsoeuer his hope of three legions was fallen vnto two; yet his whole trust was in celeritie, as the onely means of all their safeties: and so by great iourneis, came into the confines of the Neruij; where he vnderstood by the Captiues, how matters passed with Cicero, and what danger he was in. At what time he perswaded a certaine horsman of the Galles, by great rewards offered vnto him, to carrie a Letter to Cicero; which hee sent writ in Greeke Characters, lest his purposes should be discouered, if the Letter had been intercepted: aduising, that if he could not come to his presence, hee should tie it to the string of a Dart, and so cast it into the fortifications. Hee aduertised them by his Letter, that he was on the way with the legions, and would be there instantly to raise the siege. The Gall, fearing some danger, followed the directions, and cast it into the workes by a Dart; which fell by chance vpon a turret, and there stuck two daies before it was perceiued: the third day, a souldiour finding it, tooke it downe, & brought it to Cicero; vwho read it publicquely in the assembly of the souldiours, and put them all into exceeding great ioy. And at the same time, the smoake of their fires began a farre off to be discouered: which put them out of all doubt of the approach of the legions.*

*The Galles, beeing aduertised thereof by their Discouersers, left the siege and made towards Caesar with all their power; which consisted of threescore thousand men or there-bouts. Cicero, finding himselfe at libertie, sought out the same Vertico before mentioned, to carry Letters to Caesar: aduising him to be vvarie and diligent in his passage; signifying by those Letters, that the Enemy had left the siege, and turned all his forces towards him. Which Letters, beeing brought vnto Caesar about midnight, he certified his Partie of the contents thereof, and prepared them by encouragement to fight. The next day, as soone as it began to be light, he remoned his Campe; and hauing marched about foure miles, he discouered the multitude of the enemy, beyond a great Valley and a Riuer. It was a matter of exceeding danger to giue battell to so great a number, in a place of disadvantage: yet forasmuch as he knew that Cicero was freed of the siege, he thought he might the better forbear to make such haste: and therevpon sate downe, and in as indifferent a place as he could chuse, fortified his Campe. Which beeing of it selfe very little, as not hauing scarce seauen thousand men, & those without any cariages: yet he lessened it as much as hee could, by narrowing the vsuall streetes thereof; to the end he might the better defend it, if happely the enemy might be drawne to ingage himselfe seriously in any attempt vpon the same. In the meane time, hauing sent out Discouersers into all parts, he informed him-  
selfe*

selfe which way he might most conueniently passe ouer the valley.

The same day, after small incounters of the Cavalrie at the water, either partie contained themselues within their fortifications: the Gallies, as expecting greater forces, which were not yet come; and Caesar, that by a counterfet feare, he might draw the Enemy to the place where he was lodged on this side the valley, and so strike the battell before his Campe; and if he could not bring it so about, then upon discovery of the waies, to passe the Valley and the Riuer with lesse danger. As it began to be day light, the Cavalrie of the enemy came neere vnto the Campe, and began to skirmish with our horsemen. Caesar, of set purpose, commanded the horsemen to fall back, and to betake themselues into the Camp: and withall, to fortifie their Camp on all sides with a higher rampier, to stoppe vp the Gates; and in doing of these things, to cary themselues tumultuously, and with a fained show of great feare. With which inducemēt, the enemy was so drawn on, that he brought ouer all his forces, and imbattailed them in an vnequall and disadvantageous place. Our men being drawne from the rampier (to make the matter more apparant) they were imboldened to come neerer, and to cast vveapons from all parts into our works: sending Herrals round about with Proclamation, That if any Gall or Roman would come ouer vnto the before the third houre, he should be taken into their safe protection; but, after that time, there vvas no hope of any such reception. And they did so contemne our party, that wher as the Ports were shut vp for a shewe, with a single rowe ofurfes, to the end they might appeare to be made vp in such manner that they could not be broken open; some of them began to breake downe the rampier with their handes, and others to fill vp the ditches.

Which Caesar perceiuing, salied out at all the Ports at once; & sending out the Cavalrie, put the enemy so suddainly to flight, that not one of them resisted by way of fighting: insomuch as he slew a great number of them, & put them all besides their Armes. But because he feared to follow them farre, in regard of the woods and bogs, that lay in their passage (beeing vnwilling to hazard himselfe vpon the least occasion of danger) he returned with all his forces in safety; and the selfe-same day came to Cicero. Where he admired the towers, the mantclets and works, which were begun and prepared by the enemy: and drawing out the legions, hee found that the tenth man had not escaped without wounds. By all which circumstances he understood, with what danger & valour the busines had been caried. He comēded Cicero & the legion, according to their merit; calleth out by name such Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiours, as by testimonie of Cicero, were found to haue deserved extraordinarily in that seruice; informed himselfe by the Captiues, of the certainty of Sabinus and Cottas misfortune. The next day, hee spake publicquely to the souldiours, opened the particulars of that matter, and then seasoned them with comfort and encouragement; shewing, that the losse which happened through the fault and temerity of a Legate, was to bee borne with better patience: and the rather, forasmuch as by the assistance of the immortal Gods, and by their owne vertue, the losse was redeemed, in such a fashion, as neither the enemy did long ioy it, nor themselues were long afflicted with griefe for the same.

## OBSERVATION.



He passages in this Chapter, are of great varietie, and do giue occasion of much discourse: but that which is most remarkable, is, that to exceed in forces and troopes of men, may be a meanes to bring a partie to an ouerthrow: for, an extraordinarie power doth alwaies beget an opinion sorting to their owne desires, and can hardly thinke of anie other end, then that which suteth with securitie and victorious successe; vvhich beeing crossed in any materiall circumstance, & put besides the course of their intendments, whereby they faile of what they expected, doth consequentlie draw all, the other way; and changeth hope into mishap: as it fared here with the Galles, vpon Cæsars suddaine salying out of his Campe.

## CHAP. XXI.

The commotions of the States of Gallia. Induciomarus, attempting great matters, was slaine, and the Countrey quieted.



*I*N the meane time, the report of Casars victory was caried to Labienus, with incredible speed, through the Countrey of those of Rheimes: insomuch, as being fifty miles distant from that place where Cicero wintered, and that the ouerthrowe vvas giuen about three of the clock in the afternoone, there was a shout at the Campe gate before midnight; wherby the men of Rheimes congratulated Labienus for that victorie. The same vvhereof beeing caried to the Treuiri; Induciomarus, that purposed the next day to besiege Labienus, fled in the night time, and caried all his forces backe to the Treuiri. Caesar remaunded Fabius, with the legion, into their vvinter stations: He himselfe, with three legions, determined to winter about Samarobrine. And forasmuch as there were such commotions throughout all Gallia, himselfe resolved to abide with the Armie all the vvinter: for, vpon the newes of the ouerthrowe of Sabinus, almost all the States of Gallia, did enter into a consultation of war; sent Messengers and Embassadours into all parts, to make ouertures for future resolutions, and to vnderstand in what place the war might best be set on foote; holding their Conuenticles by night, in secret and desert places: in such manner, as there passed not a day, during all that winter, vvhich brought not some newe care or doubt concerning Caesar, least he should be aduertised of these meetings and conspiracies, amongst these occurrences.

Britannie.

He had intelligence frō L. Roscius the Legat, that great forces of those States and Citties of the Galles, that are called *Armorica*, were assembled together, to fight against him; and were come within eight miles of his Campe: but vnderstanding of Casars victorie, they fell backe, in such a fashion, as though they meant

ment to flie away. But Caesar, hauing called vnto him the Princes and chiefe men of euery State; terriffing some, as seeming to vnderstand their complotments, and perswading others, kept a great part of Gallia in obedience. Howbeit, the Senones (a strong people, and of great authority amongst the Galles) went about by a publique Decree to kill Cauarinus, whō Caesar had set to be king ouer them (whose brother Moritasgus, at Caesars comming into Gallia, and whose ancestors formerly, were possessed of that kingdom): which he perceiuing, fledde away, and was prosecuted to the very borders, and so driuen as well out of his priuate house, as of his kingdome. And hauing sent Embassadours to Caesar, to satisfie him herein; whereas hee comāunded the whole Senate to come vnto him, they refused to obey his warrant: so much it preuailed amongst barbarous people, that there were some found that durst auouch the vndertaking of a vvarre. Which made such an alteration in the minds of all men, that besides the Hedui, and the state of Rheimes, whom Caesar had in great fauour and respect (the one for their ancient and perpetuall fidelitie to the people of Rome, and the other, for their late seruices in the war of Gallia) there was almost no State free from suspicion. Insomuch, as I knowe not well, whether it may not be wondered at or no; as well for many other reasons, as specially for that they greatly grieved, that they, who excelled all other Nations in deeds of Armes, had now lost their reputation so farre, as they were forced to beare the yoke of the people of Rome.

The Treuiri and Induciomarus, lost no time of all that Winter, but sent Commissioners beyond the Rheine, soliciting the Citties, and promising monies with confident assurance, that the greatest part of our Armie was already cut off; and that which was left, was but a small remainder of the same: and yet for all that, no people of the Germanes could be perswaded to passe the Rheine. For, hauing twice made triall to their cost, in the warre of Ariouistus, & in the passage of the \* Teuchtheri, they would tempt Fortune no further.

Induciomarus, cast downe from his hope, did notwithstanding traine and gather forces, got horses from the bordering States, and with great rewards, drew vnto him banisht and condemned men, from all parts of Gallia; and did thereby get such an opinion throughout all that Continent, that Embassadours came flocking vnto him from all quarters, and sought his fauour both in publique and priuate. When he vnderstood that men made to him of their owne accord, and that on the other side, the Senones and Carnutes were instigated with a remembrance of their offences; and on the other side, the Neruij and Aduataci, made prouision of war against the Romaines, and that hee should not want voluntarie forces, if he did but once goe out of his confines; hee gaue order to call a Councell of Armes: which, according to the manner of the Galles, was alwaies the beginning of a war; heeing such, as constrained all the men that were of yeeres, by the common law of the Land, to assemble together in Armes: and hee that came last, was in the sight of all the rest, put to death with exquisite torture. In that Councell, he took order to proclaime Cingetorix the chiefe of the other faction, and his senne in law (who, as we haue before declared, had followed Caesar, and not left him in any of those seruices) a Traytor to the State, and that his goods should be confiscated.

Franckesfort.

That beeing done, he published in the Councell, that he was sent for by the Senones and the Carnutes, and many other States of Gallia: whether he meant to go, through the territories of the inhabitants of Rhemes; & that he would harry and waste their country. But first, his purpose was to take the Camp of Labienus, and accordingly gaue order what he would haue done. Labienus, being in a Camp exceedingly fortified, as well by Nature as by Art, did not feare any danger that might happen to himselfe, or the legion; but rather studied not to let passe any occasion, to carry the matter handsomly, and to purpose. And therefore, being aduertised by Cingetorix and his allies, what speech Induciomarus had deliuered in the Councell, he sent Messengers to call the confining citties, and commaunded horsemen to be sent vnto him by a certaine day.

In the meane time, Induciomarus rid vp and downe almost euery day, with all his caualrie vnder his campe; sometimes to view the site thereof, otherwhile to parlee, or else to terrifie the souldier: & his horsemen, for the most part, would cast their weapons within the rampier. Labienus kept all his men within the fortifications, and did what he could to make the enemy belieue that hee was sore afraid. And, as Induciomarus came daily with greater contempt to the camp, one night, hauing taken in the caualry of the bordering citties, which he had formerly sent for, he kept all his party (by good guarding) within his campe, with such diligence, that their reception could not possibly be bruted abroad, or caried to the Treuiri. In the meane time, Induciomarus, according to his wonted custome, approached neere the campe, and there spent a great part of the day: the horsemen cast their weapons, and with words of high reproach, called out our men to fight; without any word giuen in answer by them. And a little before the euening, as they dispersed themselues and departed; vpon a suddaine, Labienus let out all the caualry at two Ports; commanding them, that after the Enemy was put to flight (which he saw would necessarily happen) that euery one should make after Induciomarus: and that no man should so much as wound any other Enemy, before they saw him slaine; Being very vnwilling, to giue him time to escape, while the souldiours were ingaged with the rest: and propounding great rewards to the that slew him. Fortune made good that direction: for, as all made after one; Induciomarus was surpris'd in the foord of a Riuer, & slaine; & his head vvas brought backe into the campe: the horsemen returning, slew as many of the rest as they could take. This thing beeing knowne, all the forces of the Eburones and Neruij, which were met together, departed home: and after that time, Casar had Gallia better settled in quietnesse.

Liege.

#### OBSERVATION.



S the misfortune which befell Sabinus and Cotta, put all Gallia into troubles and commotions; so the head of Induciomarus, reduced all into peace: According as it is said of the Spaniard; that In some cases, one man is worth a thousand.

And thus endeth the fift Commentarie.

FINIS.