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**CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES**

OF

**HIS WARS IN GAUL.**

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**BOOK V.**

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# CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

OF

## HIS WARS IN GAUL.

### BOOK V.

I. IN the consulship of Lucius Domitius, and Appius Claudius, Cæsar leaving his winter quarters to go into Italy, as was his yearly custom, gave orders to his lieutenants, who had the charge of the legions, to build as many ships as possible during the winter, and to repair such as were old. He prescribed the form and manner of building, ordering them to be somewhat lower than was usual in the Mediterranean, for the convenience of embarking and landing his men, which he judged the more necessary, as he had observed, that by reason of the frequent returns of the tide, there was less depth of water upon the British coast. He likewise commanded them to be built broader than ordinary, that they might receive the greater number of horses and carriages, and to be contrived for lightness and expedition, to which the lowness of their decks greatly contributed. He sent to Spain for the materials necessary in building and equipping them; and having finished the diet of Cisalpine Gaul, set out for Illyricum, upon advice, that the Pirustæ were laying waste the province by their incursions. When he arrived there, he ordered the several states to furnish their contingents, and appointed a place of general rendezvous. The report of this no sooner spread among the Pirustæ, than they sent ambassadors to inform him, that nothing had been done against the province by public authority, and that they were ready to make what satisfaction he required. Cæsar, pleased with their submission, ordered them to bring him hostages, and named the day by which they were to be delivered, threatening them

with a fierce war in case of disobedience. These being accordingly brought by the day prefixed, he appointed arbitrators between the contending states, to estimate the damages, and determine what reparation was to be made.

II. Having despatched these affairs, and held a general diet of the province, he returned again into Cisalpine Gaul, and thence went to the army. Upon his arrival, he visited all the quarters of the legions, and found, that by the singular diligence of the soldiers, notwithstanding the greatest scarcity of materials, no less than six hundred transports, such as we have described above, and twenty-eight galleys, were in such forwardness, that in a few days they would be ready to be launched. Having praised his soldiers, and those whom he had set over the works, he gave them what further instructions he thought necessary, and ordered the whole fleet to rendezvous at port Itius, whence he knew lay the most commodious passage to Britain, it being there not above thirty miles distant from the continent. Leaving what soldiers he thought necessary for this purpose, he advanced at the head of four legions, without baggage, and eight hundred horse, into the country of the Treviri, because they neither appeared at the general diets of Gaul, nor submitted to the orders of the commonwealth; and were, besides, reported to be soliciting the Germans beyond the Rhine.

III. This state is by far the most powerful of all Gaul in horse; they have likewise a very strong and numerous infantry; and as we have before observed, bordered upon the

Rhine. Two of their principal men, Indutiomarus and Cingetorix, were at this time competitors for the supreme authority. Cingetorix, as soon as he heard of the arrival of Cæsar and the legions, came to him, and assured him, that he and all his party would continue firm to their duty, and never abandon the interest of the Romans: at the same time, he informed him of all that had passed among the Treviri. But Indutiomarus drawing together great numbers of horse and foot, and securing such as were unable to bear arms, in the forest of Arden, which extends from the Rhine quite across the country of Treves, to the territories of the Rhemi, resolved to try the fortune of war. But soon after, as several of the leading men of the state, partly out of attachment to Cingetorix, partly terrified by the approach of the Roman army, came to Cæsar to solicit in their own behalf, since they found themselves incapable of effectually serving their country. Indutiomarus fearing a universal defection, sent likewise ambassadors to him to acquaint him, "That he had chosen to stay at home, and forbear coming to the Roman camp, with no other view but to keep the state in its duty, lest, in the absence of the nobility, the people might have been drawn into some rash step: that the whole country was now at his command, and he ready, with Cæsar's permission, to attend him in person, and put his own concerns, as well as those of the state, under his protection." Though Cæsar well understood the reason of his present submission, and by what considerations he had been deterred from the prosecution of his first design, yet unwilling to waste the whole summer in the country of Treves, when every thing was in readiness for his expedition into Britain, he ordered Indutiomarus to attend him with two hundred hostages. These being accordingly brought, and among them the son, and all the nearest relations of Indutiomarus, whom he had specified by name, Cæsar encouraged and exhorted him to continue firm in his duty. Nevertheless, assembling all the principal men of Treves, he reconciled them one after another to Cingetorix, as well on account of his singular merit, as because he thought it of the greatest importance to establish thoroughly the authority of a man, of whose steady and inviolable attachment he had such convincing proof. Indutiomarus highly resented this pro-

ceeding, which tended so much to the diminution of his power; and as he had all along been an enemy to the Romans, this new affront provoked him still more.

IV. These affairs being settled, Cæsar arrived with his legions at the port of Itius. There he found, that about forty of his ships, built in the country of the Belgians, having been attacked by a storm, and disabled from continuing their voyage, had been obliged to put back. The rest were all equipped and rigged, ready to obey the first signal. All the cavalry of Gaul, about four thousand in number, and the prime nobility of the several states, met him likewise, by order, at this place. His design was, to leave only a few of these nobles behind him in Gaul, on whose fidelity he could rely, and to take the rest with him to Britain as hostages, the better to prevent any commotions during his absence.

V. Dumnorix, the Æduan, of whom we have spoken above, was one of those that attended him on this occasion. Him in particular he resolved to carry along with him, as he knew him to be a lover of novelties, ambitious, enterprising, and of great interest and authority among the Gauls. Besides all this, he had publicly said in an assembly of the Æduans, that Cæsar had invested him with the sovereignty of their state; which resolution, though by no means pleasing to the Æduans, they yet durst not send ambassadors to Cæsar, either to oppose or get reversed; nor was Cæsar otherwise informed of the matter, but by those whom he had placed about Dumnorix, to have an eye over his conduct. Dumnorix, at first, earnestly petitioned to be left in Gaul, sometimes pretending he was unused to sailing, and afraid of the sea, sometimes urging religious engagements, which required him to stay at home. But finding all his endeavours to no purpose, he began to solicit the chiefs of the Gauls, discoursing them apart, and advising them not to leave the continent. The more to awaken their fears, he told them: "That Cæsar had his particular reasons for carrying with him all the nobility of Gaul; because not daring to despatch them in their own country, he was in hopes of finding a favourable opportunity to execute his cruel purpose in Britain." He therefore exhorted them to join in a mutual alliance, and oblige themselves by a solemn oath, to

pursue with common consent such measures as should appear necessary for the preservation of Gaul.

VI. Though Cæsar was fully informed of these practices, yet in consideration of his singular regard for the Æduans, he contented himself with endeavouring to check and traverse his designs, determined, notwithstanding, to continue inflexible, and at all hazards prevent any misfortune to himself and the commonwealth, from a spirit, which he found every day growing more hardy and intrepid. Being therefore detained in this place about five and twenty days, during which the north-west wind, very common on that coast, hindered him from sailing, he studied by the ways of gentleness and persuasion, to keep Dumnorix in his duty, without neglecting however to watch all his motions. At last, the wind springing up fair, he ordered the horse and foot to embark. As this universally engaged the attention of the camp, Dumnorix, unknown to Cæsar, drew off the Æduan cavalry, and began his march homeward. Cæsar being informed of it, immediately put a stop to the embarkation, and postponing every other consideration, ordered out a strong party of horse to pursue and bring him back. If he made resistance, or refused to obey, they had orders to kill him; for he judged, that a man who slighted his personal authority, would not pay any great regard to his commands in his absence. When they had overtaken him, he refused to return, and defending himself sword in hand, implored the assistance of his followers, often calling out, that he was free, and the subject of a free state. The Romans, according to the orders they had received, surrounded and slew him, upon which all the Æduan cavalry returned to Cæsar.

VII. This affair concluded, and Labienus being left in Gaul with three legions, and two thousand horse, to defend the port, provide corn, have an eye upon the transactions of the continent, and take measures accordingly, Cæsar weighed anchor about sun-set with five legions, and the same number of horse he had left with Labienus, and advancing with a gentle south wind, continued his course till midnight, when he found himself becalmed; but the tide still driving him on, at day-break he saw Britain on his left. When again following there turn of the tide, he rowed with all his might, to reach that

part of the island which he had marked out the summer before, as most convenient for landing; and on this occasion the diligence of the soldiers cannot be enough commended, who, labouring incessantly at the oar, urged the transports and ships of burden so swiftly, that they equalled the course of the galleys. The whole fleet reached the coast of Britain about noon; nor did any enemy appear in view. But as Cæsar afterwards understood from the prisoners, though a great army of Britons had repaired to the coast, yet terrified by the vast number of ships, which, together with those of the last year's expedition, and such as had been fitted out by particular persons for their own use, amounted to upwards of eight hundred, they retired hastily from the shore, and hid themselves behind the mountains.

VIII. Cæsar having landed his army, and chosen a proper place for his camp, as soon as he understood from the prisoners where the enemy's forces lay, leaving ten cohorts upon the coast, together with three hundred horse, to guard the fleet, he set out about midnight in quest of the enemy, being under the less concern for his ships, because he had left them at anchor upon a smooth and open shore, under the charge of Q. Atrius. After a march of twelve hours, during the night, he came within sight of the enemy, who, having posted themselves behind a river, with their cavalry and chariots, attacked us from the higher ground, in order to oppose our passage; but being repulsed by our horse, they retreated towards the woods, into a place strongly fenced both by nature and art, and which, in all probability, had been fortified before on occasion of some domestic war; for all the avenues were secured by strong barricadoes of felled trees. They never sallied out of the wood but in small parties, thinking it enough to defend the entrance against our men. But the soldiers of the seventh legion advancing under cover of their shields, and having cast up a mount, forced the intrenchments with little loss, and obliged the enemy to abandon the wood. Cæsar forbid all pursuit, both because he was unacquainted with the nature of the country, and the day being far spent, he resolved to employ the rest of it in fortifying the camp.

IX. Early the next morning he divided his troops, both horse and foot, into three bodies,

and sent them out in pursuit of the enemy. They were advanced but a little way, and just come within sight of the rear of the Britons, when a party of horse from Atrius came to Cæsar, and informed him, "That a dreadful storm arising the night before, had fallen violently upon the fleet, and driven almost all the ships ashore; that neither anchors nor cables, nor all the address of the mariners and pilots, had been able to resist the fury of the tempest, which had done unspeakable damage to the fleet, by reason of the ships running foul of one another." Cæsar, upon this intelligence, recalls his legions and cavalry, commanding them to give over their pursuit. He himself returns to his ships, and finds every thing according to the reports and letters he had received, forty of them being entirely destroyed, and the rest so damaged, that they were hardly repairable. He therefore set all the carpenters of the army to work, and wrote for others to Gaul, ordering Labienus at the same time, with the legions under his command, to build what ships he could. He thought it likewise safest, though a work of great labour and difficulty, to draw all his ships on shore, and inclose them within the fortifications of his camp. Ten days were spent in the service, during which the soldiers had no intermission of fatigue, not even in the night. The ships being in this manner secured, and the camp strongly fortified, he left the same troops to guard it as before, and returned to the place where he had quitted the pursuit of the enemy. Upon his arrival he found the forces of the Britons considerably increased. The chief command and administration of the war, was, by common consent, conferred upon Cassibelanus, whose territories were divided from the maritime states by the Thames, a river eighty miles distant from the sea. This prince had hitherto been engaged in almost continual wars with his neighbours; but the terror of our arrival making the Britons unite among themselves, they intrusted him with the whole conduct of the war.

X. The inland parts of Britain are inhabited by those, whom fame reports to be the natives of the soil. The sea coast is peopled with the Belgians, drawn thither by the love of war and plunder. These last, passing over from different parts and settling in the country, still retain the names of the several states whence they are descended. The island is

well peopled, full of houses, built after the manner of the Gauls, and abounds in cattle. They use brass money, and iron rings of a certain weight. The provinces remote from the sea produce tin, and those upon the coast iron; but the latter in no great quantity. Their brass is all imported. All kinds of wood grow here the same as in Gaul, except the fir and beech-tree. They think it unlawful to feed upon hares, pullets, or geese; yet they breed them up for their diversion and pleasure. The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, and the cold less intense. The island is triangular, one of its sides facing Gaul. The extremity towards Kent, whence is the nearest passage to Gaul, lies eastward; the other stretches south-west. This side extends about five hundred miles. Another side looks towards Spain, westward. Over against this lies Ireland, an island esteemed not above half as large as Britain, and separated from it by an interval equal to that between Britain and Gaul. In this interval lies the isle of Mona, besides several other lesser islands, of which some write, that in the time of the winter solstice, they have night for thirty days together. We could make out nothing of this upon inquiry, only discovered by means of our hour-glasses, that the nights were shorter than in Gaul. The length of this side is computed at seven hundred miles. The last side faces the north-east, and is fronted by no part of the continent, only towards one of its extremities it seems to eye chiefly the German coast. It is thought to extend in length about eight hundred miles. Thus the whole island takes in a circuit of two thousand miles. The inhabitants of Kent, which lies wholly on the sea coast, are the most civilized of all the Britons, and differ but little in their manner from the Gauls. The greater part of those within the country never sow their lands, but live on flesh and milk, and go clad in skins. All the Britons in general paint themselves with woad, which gives a bluish cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle. They are long haired: and shave all the rest of the body except the head and upper lip. Ten or twelve of them live together, having their wives in common, especially brothers, or parents and children amongst themselves; but the issue is always ascribed to him who first espoused the mother.

XI. The enemy's horse, supported by their

chariots, vigorously charged our cavalry on their march, yet we everywhere had the better, and drove them to their own woods and hills; but after making great slaughter, venturing to continue the pursuit too far, we lost some men. Some time after, sallying unexpectedly from the woods, and falling suddenly upon our men while employed in fortifying their camp, a sharp conflict ensued between them and the advanced guard. Cæsar sent two cohorts to their assistance, whom the Britons charging in separate parties, so surprised with their new manner of fighting, that they broke through, routed them, and returned without loss. Q. Laberius Durus, a military tribune, was slain on this occasion; but some fresh cohorts coming up, the Britons were at last repulsed.

XII. By this action which happened within view of the camp, and of which the whole army were spectators, it evidently appeared, that our heavy armed legions, who could neither pursue those that retired, nor durst venture to forsake their standards, were by no means a fit match for such an enemy: nor could even the cavalry engage without great danger, it being usual for the Britons to counterfeit a retreat, until they had drawn them a considerable way from the legions, when suddenly quitting their chariots, they charged them on foot, and by this unequal manner of fighting, made it alike dangerous to pursue or retire. Add to all this, that they never fought in a body, but in small parties, and with considerable intervals between. They had likewise their detachments so placed, as easily to protect their flying troops, and send fresh supplies where needful.

XIII. The next day they stationed themselves among the hills, at a distance from our camp, and appeared only in small bodies, nor seemed so forward to skirmish with our cavalry as the day before. But about noon, Cæsar ordering out three legions to forage, with all the cavalry, under the command of C. Trebonius, his lieutenant, they fell suddenly upon the foragers on all sides, and even attacked the legions and standards. Our men vigorously returning the charge, repulsed them, and the cavalry finding themselves supported by the foot, continued the pursuit till they had utterly broken them; insomuch, that great numbers being slain, they could neither find an opportunity to rally, descend from their chariots, or face about to make resistance. After this defeat the auxiliary troops, which had come in

from all parts, returned severally to their own homes; nor did the enemy, from this time, appear any more against us with their whole forces.

XIV. Cæsar perceiving their design, marched towards the Thames, to penetrate into the kingdom of Cassibelanus. This river is fordable only in one place, and that not without great difficulty. When he arrived, he saw the enemy drawn up in great numbers on the other side. They had likewise secured the banks with sharp stakes, and driven many of the same kind into the bottom of the river, yet so as to be covered by the water. Cæsar having intelligence of this, from the prisoners and deserters, sent the cavalry before, ordering the legions to follow close after, which they did with so much expedition and briskness, though nothing but their heads were above the water, that the enemy, unable to sustain their charge, quitted the banks, and betook themselves to flight.

XV. Cassibelanus, as we have before intimated, finding himself unable to keep the field, disbanded all his other forces; and retaining only four thousand chariots, watched our motions, always keeping at some distance from us, and sheltering himself in woods and inaccessible places, whither he had likewise made such of the inhabitants, with their cattle, retire, as lay upon our rout: and if at any time our cavalry ventured upon a freer excursion into the fields, to plunder and lay waste the country; as he was perfectly acquainted with all the roads and defiles, he would sally from the woods with some of the chariots, and fall upon our men, dispersed and in disorder. These frequent alarms obliged us to be much upon our guard; nor would Cæsar suffer the cavalry to remove to any distance from the legions, or to pillage and destroy the country, unless where the foot was at hand to sustain them.

XVI. Meantime the Trinobantes, one of the most powerful states in those parts, send ambassadors to Cæsar. Of this state was Mandubratius, who had fled for protection to Cæsar in Gaul, that he might avoid the fate of his father Imanuentius whom Cassibelanus had put to death. The ambassadors promised obedience and submission in the name of the province: and withal entreated him to defend Mandubratius against the violence of Cassibelanus, and restore him to the government of their state. Cæsar ordered them to deliver forty hostages, and furnish his army with corn;

sending back at the same time Mandubratius. They yielded to his demands without delay, sent the appointed number of hostages, and supplied him with corn.

XVII. The protection granted to the Trinobantes, securing them from the insults of the soldiers; the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi send ambassadors to Cæsar, and submit. From them he had intelligence, that he was not far from the capital of Cassibelanus, which was situated amidst woods and marshes, and whither great numbers of men and cattle were retired. A town among the Britons is nothing more than a thick wood, fortified with a ditch and rampart, to serve as a place of retreat against the incursions of their enemies. Thither he marched with his legions; and though the place appeared to be extremely strong, both by art and nature, he nevertheless resolved to attack it in two several quarters. The enemy, after a short stand, were obliged at last to give way, and retire by another part of the wood. Vast numbers of cattle were found in the place; and many of the Britons were either made prisoners, or lost their lives in the pursuit.

XVIII. While these things passed beyond the Thames, Cassibelanus despatched messengers to Kent, which, as we have before observed, was situated along the sea coast. This country was then under the government of four kings, Cingetorix, Carnilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, who had orders to draw all their forces together, and fall suddenly upon the naval camp of the Romans. But our men sallying upon them as they approached, made great slaughter of their troops, took Cingetorix, one of their leaders, prisoner, and returned safe to the camp. Cassibelanus, upon the news of this battle, discouraged by so many losses, the devastation of his territories, and above all, the revolt of the provinces, sent ambassadors to Cæsar to sue for peace, by the mediation of Comius of Arras.

XIX. Cæsar designing to pass the winter in Gaul, because of the frequent commotions in that country; and reflecting that but a small part of the summer remained, during which it would be easy to protract the war; demanded hostages, and appointed the yearly tribute which Britain was to pay to the Romans. At the same time he strictly charged Cassibelanus to offer no injury to Mandubratius or the Trinobantes. Having received the hostages,

he led his troops back to the sea-side, where he found his fleet repaired. Orders were immediately given to launch it; and because the number of prisoners was exceeding great, and several ships had been destroyed by the tempest, he resolved to carry over his men at two embarkations. Happily it so fell out, notwithstanding the great number of ships, and their frequent passing and repassing, that not one perished either this or the preceding year, which had any soldiers on board: whereas those sent empty to him from the continent, as well the ships concerned in the first embarkation, as others built afterwards by Labienus, to the number of sixty, were almost all driven back or lost. Cæsar having waited for them a considerable time to no purpose, and fearing to lose the proper season for sailing, as the time of the equinox drew near, chose to stow his men on board the few ships he had; and taking the opportunity of an extraordinary calm, set sail about ten at night, and by day-break brought his whole fleet safe to the continent of Gaul.

XX. Having laid up his fleet, and held a general assembly of the Gauls at Samarobriua; as the crop had been very indifferent this year, by reason of the great droughts, he was obliged to quarter his legions otherwise than in former winters, and canton them one by one in the several provinces of Gaul. One legion he quartered on the Morini, under the command of C. Fabius; another among the Nervians, under Q. Cicero; a third with the Æduans, under L. Roscius; and a fourth in the country of the Rhemi, on the borders of the Treviri, under Labienus. Three were sent into Belgium, over whom he appointed three commanders; M. Crassus, his questor, L. Munatius Plancus, and C. Trebonius. The eighth and last, which Cæsar had newly raised on the other side of the Po, was sent, together with five cohorts, among the Eburones, between the Rhine and the Meuse, where Ambiorix and Cativulcus reigned. At the head of this body were two commanders, Q. Titurius Sabinus, and L. Arunculeius Cotta. By this distribution of his legions, he thought he had found an easy remedy against the scarcity of corn; and yet they all lay within the compass of a hundred miles, except that under L. Roscius, for which he was in no pain, as being quartered in a very quiet and friendly country. He resolved however not to leave Gaul till he



had received advice from all his lieutenants, and was assured that their quarters were established, fortified, and secured.

XXI. Among the Carnutes lived Tasgetius a man of distinguished birth, and whose ancestors had been possessed of the sovereignty in that state. Cæsar had restored him to the dignity of his forefathers, in consideration of his virtue and affection to him, and the many signal services he had done him in all his wars. It was now the third year of his reign, when his enemies, many of whom were of his own state, conspiring against him, openly assassinated him. The affair was laid before Cæsar; who fearing lest the great number concerned in the plot might draw the state into a revolt, ordered L. Plancus, with a legion from Belgium, to march speedily into the country of the Carnutes, fix his winter quarters in that province, and seizing all who had been concerned in the murder of Tasgetius, send them prisoners to him. Meantime he was informed by his lieutenants and questors, to whom he had committed the care of the legions, that they were severally arrived at their appointed quarters, and had fortified themselves in them.

XXII. About fifteen days after the arrival of the legions in their winter quarters, a sudden insurrection and revolt broke out among the Eburones, by the secret practice of Ambiorix and Cativulcus. These two princes had been to meet Sabinus and Cotta on their frontiers, and in a friendly manner had supplied them with corn: but now, instigated by Indutiomarus of Treves, they excited their people to take up arms; and having surprised some soldiers that were gone to cut wood, came with a great body of troops to attack the Roman camp. Our men immediately flew to arms, ascended the ramparts, and sending out a detachment of Spanish horse, put their cavalry to rout. Upon this, despairing of success, they drew off their men from the attack; and according to their custom, demanded a conference; pretending they had something to say, which concerned the common interest, and might serve to put an end to their present differences.

XXIII. Accordingly C. Arpinus, a Roman knight, the friend of Q. Titurius, and Q. Junius of Spain, who had frequently before been sent by Cæsar to Ambiorix, were deputed to treat. Ambiorix addressed them in words to this effect: "That he had in no sort forgot

the many obligations he lay under to Cæsar, who had freed him from the tribute he had been wont to pay the Atuatici; and who had restored him his son and nephew, whom that people, after receiving them as hostages, had treated as slaves: that the hostilities he had just committed were not the effect of his own private animosity to the Romans, but in consequence of a resolution of the state; where the government was of such a nature, that the people had as much power over him, as he over the people; that even the state itself had been in a manner forced into this war, by a sudden confederacy of all Gaul: that he could appeal to his own weakness for the truth of what he said, being not so very unskilled in affairs as to imagine, that the forces of the Eburones were a match for the power of the Romans: that it was a project formed by all the states of Gaul in common, who had agreed to storm in one day, the very day on which he spoke, all the quarters of the Roman army; so that no one might be able to succour another: that it was not easy for Gauls to resist the importunity of those of their own nation, especially in a proposal to act in concert for the recovery of their liberty; but that, after having performed what the common voice of his country demanded, he thought he might now listen to that of gratitude: that he found himself compelled by his attachment to Cæsar, and by his friendship for Sabinus, to give notice of the extreme danger to which the legion was exposed: that a great body of Germans had actually passed the Rhine, and would be there in two days at furthest: that Sabinus and Cotta were to consider, whether it would not be proper to retire with their troops, before the neighbouring states could be apprized of their design; and go and join Labienus, or Cicero, who were neither of them distant much above fifty miles. That as far as regarded himself, he engaged by all that was sacred to secure their retreat through his territories; and undertook it the more readily, as he should thereby not only discharge his duty to his country, in delivering it from the inconvenience of wintering the Romans, but at the same time manifest his gratitude to Cæsar." Having made this speech, he withdrew.

XXIV. Arpinus and Junius reported what they had heard to the lieutenants; who, alarmed at the suddenness of the thing, thought the information not to be neglected, though it came

from an enemy: nor were they a little moved by this consideration, that it appeared to them altogether incredible, that the Eburones, a weak and inconsiderable state, should of their own accord presume to take up arms against the Romans. They therefore laid the matter before a council of war, where a warm debate arose. L. Arunculeius, with a great number of military tribunes, and centurions of the first rank, were against undertaking any thing hastily, or quitting their winter quarters, before they had received orders to that purpose from Cæsar. They alleged: "That having strongly fortified their camp, they were able to defend themselves, even against all the forces of the Germans: that the late attempt of the Gauls was a sufficient proof of this, whom they had not only withstood with courage, but repulsed with loss: that they had provisions in abundance, and might therefore securely wait the arrival of relief from Cæsar and the neighbouring legions: in fine, that nothing could be more dishonourable, or argued greater want of judgment, than in affairs of the highest moment, to take measures upon the information of an enemy." Titurius, on the other hand, exclaimed: "That it would be then too late to think of retiring, when the enemy, in greater numbers, and strengthened by the accession of the Germans, should come up against them; or when the quarters next them should have received some signal check: that the time for deliberation was short: that Cæsar, he made no question, was gone into Italy, it not being likely that either the Carnutes would have formed the design of assassinating Tasgetius, or the Eburones in so contemptuous a manner assaulted the Roman camp, had they not been assured of his departure: that the information of an enemy weighed not with him, but the real circumstances of things. The Rhine was not far off. The Germans were much exasperated by the death of Ariovistus, and their late frequent defeats. Gaul burned with impatience to throw off the Roman yoke, avenge the many losses they had sustained, and recover their former glory in war, of which now scarce a shadow remained. In short, who could imagine that Ambiorix, without a certainty of being supported, would have embarked in so dangerous an enterprise? That his opinion was in all respects safe; because, if no such confederacy had been formed, they had nothing to apprehend in marching to the

nearest legion; if, on the contrary, all Gaul and Germany were united, expedition alone could save them from destruction: whereas, by following the advice of Cotta and those who were against a retreat, though the danger perhaps might not prove immediate, yet were they sure in the end of perishing by famine." The dispute continued for some time; Cotta, and the principal officers, strongly opposing the march of the troops. At last Sabinus raising his voice, that he might be heard by the soldiers without: "Be it so then, (says he,) since you seem so resolved: I am not he among you who is most afraid of death. But, if any misfortune happens, those who hear me will know whom to blame. In two days, did not you oppose it, we might easily reach the quarters next us; and there, in conjunction with our fellow-soldiers, confront the common danger; whereas, by keeping the troops separate and at a distance, you reduce them to the necessity of perishing by sword or famine."

XXV. The council was then going to rise; but the officers, surrounding their generals, conjured them not to put all to hazard by their dissention and obstinacy. They told them, "That whatever resolution was taken, whether to go or stay, the danger was by no means great, provided they acted with union among themselves; but their disagreement threatened the troops with inevitable destruction." The debate continued till midnight: when at length Cotta, vanquished by importunity, yielded to the opinion of Sabinus. Orders were given for marching by break of day. The remainder of the night was none of it employed in sleep; each man being taken up in choosing what things to carry along with him, and what of his winter necessaries to leave behind. In short, they did every thing to make their stay more dangerous; and by their fatigue and want of rest, incapacitate themselves for a vigorous defence upon their march. At day-break they left their camp, not like men acting by the advice of an enemy, but as if Ambiorix had been their particular friend; marching in a very extended column, and followed by a great train of baggage.

XXVI. The enemy judging from the hurry and motion in the camp, that the Romans intended to leave it, placed themselves in ambuscade in two bodies in a wood; where, well sheltered and covered from view, they waited, at about two miles distance, their arrival and when

the greatest part of the army had entered a large valley, suddenly appearing on both sides of it, they attacked them at the same time in front and rear, and obliged them to fight in a place of great disadvantage.

XXVII. Then at length Titurius, like one who had neglected all the necessary precautions, unable to hide his concern, ran up and down among the troops, and began to dispose them in order of battle, but with an air so timid and disconcerted, that it appeared he had no hopes of success; as happens for the most part to those who leave all to the last moment of execution. But Cotta, who had foreseen that this might happen, and had therefore opposed the departure of the troops, omitted nothing in his power for the common safety; calling to and encouraging the men like an able general, and at the same time fighting with the bravery of a common soldier; and, because the great length of the column rendered it difficult for the lieutenants to remedy all disorders, and repair expeditiously enough to the places where their presence was necessary, orders were given to quit the defence of the baggage, and form into an orb. This disposition, though not improper in these circumstances, was nevertheless attended with very unhappy consequences; for being considered as the effect of terror and despair, it discouraged our men, and augmented the confidence of the enemy. Besides, as unavoidably happens on such occasions, many of the soldiers quitting their ensigns, hastened to fetch from the baggage what they had most of value, and filled all parts with uproar and lamentation.

XXVIII. The Gauls meanwhile conducted themselves with great prudence: their officers proclaimed through the ranks "That not a man should stir from his post; that the booty was theirs, and every thing belonging to the Romans must certainly fall into their hands; but that all depended upon securing the victory." Our men were not inferior to the enemy, either in valour, number, or way of fighting. Though they had neither general, nor fortune on their side, they hoped still by their bravery to surmount all difficulties; and whenever any of the cohorts sallied out, so as to join the enemy, hand to hand, a considerable slaughter of the Gauls ensued. This being perceived by Ambiorix, he ordered his men to cast their darts at a distance, to avoid a

close fight, retire before the Romans whenever they advanced, and pursue them as they returned to their standards: in which way of fighting they were become so expert, by the lightness of their arms, and daily exercise, that it was impossible to do them any hurt. These orders were exactly followed; insomuch that when any cohort left the orb, and came forward to attack the enemy, they retreated and dispersed in a moment: meanwhile it uncovered its own flanks, and exposed them to the darts on either side. The danger was still greater when they returned; for then not only the troops that stood next them, but those who had retired before them, surrounded and charged them on all hands. If, on the contrary, they chose to continue in their post, neither could their valour any thing avail them, nor was it possible for men standing so close together, to avoid the darts of so great a multitude. And yet, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, and the many wounds they had received, they still maintained their ground; and though much of the day was now spent, the fight having continued from sun-rise till two in the afternoon, they did nothing in all that time unworthy the dignity of the Roman name. At length T. Balventius, who the year before had been made first centurion of a legion, a man of distinguished courage, and great authority among the troops, had both his thighs pierced with a dart. Q. Lucanius, an officer of the same rank, endeavouring to rescue his son, whom he saw surrounded by the enemy, was killed after a brave resistance. And L. Cotta, the lieutenant, encouraging the several cohorts and companies, received a blow on the mouth from a sling.

XXIX. So many misfortunes quite dispirited Titurius; who perceiving Ambiorix at a distance animating his troops, sent Cn. Pompey, his interpreter, to beg quarters for himself and his soldiers. Ambiorix replied, "That he was ready to grant him a conference if he desired it. That he hoped to prevail with the multitude to spare the Romans; and that as to Sabinus himself, he gave his word no hurt should be done him." Sabinus communicated this answer to Cotta, proposing that they should leave the battle, and go and confer with Ambiorix, from whom he was in hopes of obtaining quarter both for themselves and their men. Cotta absolutely refused to treat with an armed enemy, and persisted in

that resolution. Sabinus ordered the military tribunes and principal centurions that were about his person to follow him, and when he drew near to Ambiorix, being commanded to lay down his arms, obeyed; charging those that were with him to do the same. Meanwhile, as they were treating about the conditions, Ambiorix spinning out the deliberations on purpose, he was by degrees surrounded and slain. Then the Gauls, according to their custom, raising a shout, and calling out victory, charged our troops with great fury, and put them into disorder. L. Cotta, fighting manfully, was slain, with the greatest part of the soldiers. The rest retreated to the camp they had quitted in the morning; of whom L. Petrosidius, the standard-bearer, finding himself sore pressed by the enemy, threw the eagle within the intrenchments, and was killed fighting bravely before the camp. Those that remained, with much ado, sustained the attack till night; but finding themselves without hope, they killed one another to the last man. A few who escaped out of the fight, got by different ways to Labienus's camp, and brought him the news of this sad event.

XXX. Ambiorix, elated with this victory, marched immediately at the head of his cavalry into the country of the Atuatici, which bordered upon his territories; and travelling day and night without intermission, left orders for the infantry to follow him. Having informed them of his success and roused them to arms, he the next day arrived among the Nervians, and urged them not to lose the favourable opportunity of freeing themselves for ever from the yoke of slavery, and avenging the injuries they had received from the Romans. He told them, "That two of their lieutenants had been slain, and a great part of their army cut to pieces: that it would be an easy matter suddenly to attack and destroy the legion quartered in their country under Cicero: and that he was himself ready to assist them in the enterprise." By this speech he easily drew in the Nervians.

XXXI. Accordingly, having forthwith despatched messengers to the Centrones, Grudii, Levaci, Pleumosians, and Gorduni, who are all subject to their state, they assembled what forces they could, and came unexpectedly upon Cicero's quarters, who as yet had heard nothing of the fate of Titurius. Here likewise it unavoidably fell out, that the soldiers

sent to cut wood for firing and the fortifications of the camp, were intercepted by the sudden arrival of their cavalry. Having put all these to the sword, the Eburones, Atuatici, and Nervians, with their allies and tributaries, amounting to a formidable army, came and attacked the camp. Our men immediately flew to arms, ascended the rampart, and with great difficulty sustained the day's assault; for the enemy placed all their hopes in despatch, and firmly believed that if they came off conquerors on this occasion, they could not fail of victory every where else.

XXXII. Cicero's first care was to write to Cæsar, promising the messengers great rewards if they carried his letters safe. But as all the ways were beset by the enemy's troops, his couriers were continually intercepted. Meanwhile of the materials brought for fortifying the camp a hundred and twenty towers were built, during the night, with incredible despatch, and the works about the rampart completed. Next day the enemy, with a much greater force than before, attacked the camp, filled the ditch, but were again repulsed by our men. This continued for several days together. The night was wholly employed in repairing the breaches made by day, insomuch that neither the sick nor wounded were permitted to rest. Whatever might be of use to resist the next day's assault, was prepared with great diligence during the night. Stakes were hardened in the fire, pallisades planted in great numbers, towers raised upon all parts of the rampart, and the whole strengthened with a parapet and battlements. Cicero himself, though much out of order, would take no rest, even during the night; so that the soldiers were obliged to force him from time to time to take some repose.

XXXIII. Meantime such of the Nervian chiefs and leaders, as had any intimacy or friendship with Cicero, desired a conference. This being agreed to, they addressed him in the same strain as Ambiorix had before used towards Sabinus: "That all Gaul was in arms: that the Germans had passed the Rhine: that Cæsar and the rest of the troops were besieged in their winter quarters." They told him likewise of the fate of Sabinus; and, to gain credit, produced Ambiorix; adding, "That it was in vain to expect relief from those who were themselves in the utmost distress: that they meant not however any injury to Cicero

and the people of Rome, but merely to prevent their wintering in the country, and establishing that practice into a custom : that he was therefore at liberty to leave his quarters without molestation and retire in safety where he pleased." To this Cicero only answered : "That it was not usual with the people of Rome to accept conditions from an armed enemy : but if they would lay down their arms, he promised to interpose his mediation, and persuade them to send ambassadors to Cæsar, from whose justice they might reasonably expect redress."

XXXIV. The Nervians, driven from this hope, surrounded the camp with a line, whose rampart was eleven feet high, and ditch fifteen feet deep. They had learned something of this in former wars with Cæsar, and the prisoners they had made gave the further instructions. But being unprovided of the tools necessary in this kind of service, they were obliged to cut the turf with their swords, dig up the earth with their hands, and carry it in their cloaks. And hence it will be easy to form some judgment of their number ; for in less than three hours they completed a line of fifteen miles in circuit. The following days were employed in raising towers, proportioned to the height of our rampart, and in preparing scythes, and wooden galleries, in which they were again assisted by the prisoners.

XXXV. On the seventh day of the attack, a very high wind arising, they began to throw red hot balls of clay, and burning javelins upon the barracks of the Romans, which, after the manner of the Gauls, were thatched with straw. These soon took fire, and the flames were in a moment spread by the wind into all parts of the camp. The enemy falling on with a mighty shout, as if already secured of victory, advanced their towers and galleries, and prepared to scale the rampart. But such was the constancy and presence of mind of the soldiers, that though the flames surrounded them on every side, and they were oppressed with the multitude of the enemy's darts ; though they saw their huts, their baggage, and their whole fortunes in a blaze ; yet not only did they continue firm in their posts, but scarce a man offered so much as to look behind him ; so intent were they on fighting and repelling the enemy. This was much the hardest day for our troops : but had nevertheless this fortunate issue, that far the greatest number of the en-

emy were on that day wounded or slain ; for as they had crowded close up to the rampart, those behind prevented the front ranks from retiring. The flames abating by degrees, and the enemy having brought forward one of their towers to the very foot of the rampart, the centurions of the third cohort drew off their men a little, beckoning to the Gauls, and challenging them to enter : but as not a man would run the hazard, they attacked them on all sides with stones, drove them from the tower, and set it on fire.

XXXVI. In this legion were two centurions of distinguished valour, T. Pulpio, and L. Varenus, who stood fair for being raised to the first rank of their order. These were perpetually disputing with one another the pre-eminence in courage, and at every year's promotion contended with great eagerness for precedence. In the heat of the attack before the rampart, Pulpio addressing Varenus, "What hinders you now (says he), or what more glorious opportunity would you desire of signaling your bravery? This, this is the day for determining the controversy between us." At these words he sallied out of the camp, and rushed amidst the thickest of the Gauls. Nor did Varenus decline the challenge ; but thinking his honour at stake, followed at some distance. Pulpio darted his javelin at the enemy, and transfixing a Gaul that was coming forward to engage him ; who falling dead of the wound, the multitude advanced to cover him with their shields, and all poured their darts upon Pulpio, giving him no time to retire. A javelin pierced his shield, and stuck fast in his belt. This accident entangling his right hand, prevented him drawing his sword, and gave the enemy time to surround him. Varenus, his rival, flew to his assistance, and endeavoured to rescue him. Immediately the multitude quitting Pulpio, as fancying the dart had despatched him, all turned upon Varenus. He met them with his sword drawn, charged them hand to hand, and having laid one dead at his feet, drove back the rest ; but, pursuing with too much eagerness, stepped into a hole, and fell down. Pulpio in his turn hastened to extricate him ; and both together, after having slain a multitude of the Gauls, and acquired infinite applause, retired unhurt within the intrenchments. Thus fortune gave such a turn to the dispute, that each owed his life to his adversary ; nor was

it possible to decide, to which of them the prize of valour was due.

XXXVII. As the defence every day became more difficult and hazardous, chiefly by the great multitude of killed and wounded, which considerably lessened the number of defendants, Cicero sent letter upon letter to inform Cæsar of his danger. Many of these couriers falling into the enemy's hands, were tortured to death within view of our soldiers. There was at that time in the Roman camp a Nervian of distinction, by name Vertico, who in the beginning of the siege had fled to Cicero, and given ample proofs of his fidelity. This man, by the hopes of liberty, and a promise of great rewards, engaged one of his slaves to carry a letter to Cæsar. Having concealed it in his javelin, and passed through the camp of the Gauls without suspicion, as being himself of that nation, he arrived safe at Cæsar's quarters, who by this means was informed of the danger of Cicero and the legion.

XXXVIII. Cæsar, receiving the letter about five in the afternoon, immediately despatched a messenger to M. Crassus, who was quartered among the Bellovaci, twenty-five miles off, ordering him to draw out his legion at midnight, and march with all the expedition he could to join him. Crassus, according to his orders, came along with the courier. He sent likewise to C. Fabius, directing him to lead his legion into the country of the Atrebatians, which lay in the way to Cicero. He wrote to Labienus, if it could be done with safety, to meet him upon the frontiers of the Nervians. He himself in the meantime assembled about four hundred horse from the nearest garrisons, resolving not to wait for the rest of the army, which lay at too great a distance.

XXXIX. At nine in the morning he had notice from his scouts of the arrival of Crassus. That day he marched twenty miles, leaving Crassus with a legion at Samarobriua, where he had deposited the baggage, hostages, public papers, and all the provisions which had been laid up for the winter. Fabius, in consequence of his instructions, having made all the haste he could, met him with his legion. Labienus, who had been informed of the death of Sabinus, and the destruction of the troops under his command, and who saw all the forces of Treves advancing against him, fearing lest, if he should quit his quarters,

the enemy might construe it as a flight, and that it would be impossible for him to sustain their attack, especially as they were flushed with their late success, wrote to Cæsar, informing him of the danger that would attend the quitting his camp, of the disaster that happened among the Eburones; and that all the forces of the Treviri, both horse and foot, were encamped within three miles of him.

XL. Cæsar approving his reasons, though he thereby found himself reduced from three to two legions, was yet sensible that all depended upon expedition. He makes forced marches; and reaching the territories of the Nervians, learned from some prisoners the state of the siege and the danger the legion was in. Immediately he engages a Gaulish horseman, by the promise of great rewards, to carry a letter to Cicero. It was wrote in Greek characters, that if it fell into the enemy's hands, it might not be intelligible to them. The messenger had orders, in case he found it impracticable to penetrate himself into the Roman camp, to tie the letter to a javelin, and throw it in. In this letter Cæsar sent Cicero word that he was already on the march to relieve him, and would be up very soon; exhorting him in the meantime, to defend himself with his wonted bravery. The Gaul, dreading a discovery, threw the letter into the camp as had been ordered; but the javelin by accident sticking in a tower, remained there two days unperceived. On the third, a soldier saw it, took it down, and brought it to Cicero, who immediately read it in full assembly, and diffused the common joy through the whole camp. On the same time they perceived the smoke of the villages fired by Cæsar in his march, which put the arrival of the succours beyond all doubt.

XLI. The Gauls having notice of it also by their scouts, thought proper to quit the siege; and go to meet Cæsar. Their army consisted of about sixty thousand men. Cicero, now at liberty, applied again to Vertico, for the slave spoken of above; and having admonished him to use the utmost diligence and circumspection, despatched him with a letter to Cæsar, informing him that the enemy had raised the siege, and were advancing against him with all their forces. Cæsar received the letter about midnight, communicated the contents to his army, and exhorted them to meet the enemy with courage. Next day he de-

camped early, and after a march of four miles, discovered the Gauls on the other side of a large valley, with a river in front. It was dangerous to engage so great a force upon unequal ground. Knowing therefore that the siege of Cicero's camp was raised, and having no longer any reason to be in a hurry, he encamped in the most convenient spot he could find, and completed his intrenchments. His army consisting of no more than seven thousand men, without baggage, required at best but a very small camp; yet he purposely contracted it as much as possible, to inspire the enemy with the greater contempt of him. Meantime, sending out scouts on all sides, he endeavoured to find where he might cross the valley with most safety.

XLII. The rest of the day passed in slight skirmishes between the cavalry near the brook; but the main body of the army on both sides kept within their lines: the Gauls, in expectation of more forces, which were not yet come up; Cæsar, that by pretending fear, he might draw the enemy on this side the valley, and engage them before his camp; or, if that could not be effected, that having discovered the passes, he might be enabled to cross the valley and rivulet with less danger. Early next morning the enemy's cavalry coming up to our camp, charged our horse; who by Cæsar's orders, purposely gave ground, and retired behind the works. At the same time he caused the ramparts to be raised higher, the gates to be barricaded, and cautioned the soldiers, in the execution of these orders, to run up and down tumultuously, and affect an air of timidity and concern. The enemy, invited by all these appearances, crossed the valley, and drew up in a very disadvantageous post. Our men meanwhile retiring from the rampart, they approached still nearer, cast their darts on all sides within the trenches, and sent heralds round the camp to proclaim, that if any of the Gauls or Romans had a mind to come over to them, they should be at liberty to do so till nine o'clock, after which no quarter would be granted. Nay, so far did they carry their contempt, that thinking they could not break in by the gates, (which to deceive them, were stopped up with single rows of turf,) some began to scale the rampart, others to fill up the ditch. But then, Cæsar, sallying by all the gates at once, and charging them briskly

with his cavalry, put them so precipitately to flight, that not a man offered to make the least resistance. Great numbers of them were slain, and the rest obliged to throw down their arms.

XLIII. Not caring to pursue them far, on account of the woods and marshes that lay in his way; and finding that considerable execution had been done upon the spot, he the same day joined Cicero with all his forces; where, beholding the towers, galleries, and other works of the Gauls, he could not help being struck with admiration. He then reviewed Cicero's legion, and found that not a tenth man had escaped without wounds, which gave him a just idea of the greatness of the danger to which they had been exposed, and of the vigorous defence they had made. He bestowed great commendations on the legion, and its commander; and addressed himself to the military tribunes by name; of whose valour Cicero made honourable mention. He learned particularly from the prisoners all the circumstances of the unhappy affair of Sabinus and Cotta: and calling the soldiers together next day, gave them an account of the whole transaction, comforted them, confirmed their courage, and told them, that a disaster occasioned by the imprudence and rashness of the lieutenant, ought to give them the less disturbance; as by the favour of the immortal gods, and their valour, vengeance had followed so suddenly, that neither had the joy of the enemy for the victory continued any time, nor their grief for the loss remained long without allay.

XLIV. Meantime the report of Cæsar's victory flew with incredible speed, through the country of the Rhemi, to Labienus. For though he lay at the distance of fifty miles from Cicero's camp, whither Cæsar did not arrive till past three in the afternoon, yet before midnight a shout was raised at the gates of his camp; by which the Rhemi signified to him Cæsar's victory, and their own congratulation on that success. The report of this being carried to the Treviri, Indutiomarus, who the next day had determined to attack Labienus's camp, made off in the night, and retired with all his forces into his own country. Cæsar sent back Fabius with his legion to his former quarters, resolving to winter himself near Samarobriua with three legions, distributed in three different cantonments; and

as all Gaul was in motion, to continue with the army in person. For the defeat and death of Sabinus spreading every where, almost all the states of Gaul were meditating a revolt; and with this view sent messengers and deputies into all parts, to concert measures, and contrive where to begin the war. Nay, they held assemblies by night in desert places; inasmuch, that during the whole winter, scarce a day passed, but Cæsar had intelligence of some new resolves or insurrections of the Gauls. Among the rest, L. Roscius, his lieutenant, who commanded the thirteenth legion, sent him word that great numbers of Gauls, from the several states of Armorica, had assembled to attack him, and advanced within eight miles of his camp; but upon hearing of Cæsar's victory, had separated so hastily, that their retreat had all the appearance of a flight.

XLV. But Cæsar summoning the principal noblemen of every state to attend him; partly by menaces, making them sensible he was no stranger to their designs; partly by exhortations, found means to keep the greatest part of Gaul in its duty. The Senones, however, a potent state, and of great authority among the Gauls, formed the design of publicly assassinating Cavarinus, whom Cæsar had given them for a king; whose brother, Moritasgus, had held the sovereignty at Cæsar's arrival in Gaul, and whose ancestors had long been in possession of the same dignity. But he having intelligence of the plot, thought proper to fly; whereupon, pursuing him to the very frontiers, they drove him from his palace and throne: and sending ambassadors to Cæsar to justify their conduct, upon his ordering their whole senate to repair to him, they refused to submit. So powerful was this example amongst the barbarians, that some at last were found of courage enough to begin the war; and so great a change did it produce in the inclinations of all, that except the Æduans and Rhemi, who had been always particularly distinguished and favoured by Cæsar; the first, on account of their ancient and inviolable fidelity to the people of Rome; the last, for their late services in the Gallic war; scarce was there a single state in all Gaul that did not incur suspicion. Nor is this, in truth, so much to be wondered at; as for many other reasons, so particularly for this: that a people famed above all nations for their military virtues,

could not with patience bear to see themselves so far stripped of their former renown, as to be forced to submit to the yoke of the Romans.

XLVI. Indutiomarus and the Treviri ceased not, during the whole winter, to send ambassadors over the Rhine; soliciting the German states; offering them money; and urging, that a great part of our army having already been cut off, much the least considerable remained. But no part of that country could be persuaded to come into their designs: because having twice before tried their fortune with the Romans, in the war with Ariovistus, and in the defeat of the Tenctheri, they were resolved, they told them, to run no more hazards. Indutiomarus, disappointed of this hope, was no less active in drawing forces together, soliciting recruits from the neighbouring states, providing horses, and encouraging even outlaws and convicts, by the promise of great rewards, to engage in his service. And so great an authority had he by this means acquired in Gaul, that ambassadors flocked from all parts, some publicly, others in a private manner, to request his protection and friendship.

XLVII. Finding himself thus voluntarily applied to; on one side, by the Senones and Carnutes, impelled by a consciousness of the guilt they had incurred; on the other, by the Nervians and Atuatici, who were preparing for a war with the Romans; and that if he once took the field, forces would not be wanting; he called an assembly of the states in arms. This, according to the custom of the Gauls, implies an actual commencement of war; and, by a standing law, obliges all their youth to appear at the diet, in arms; in which they are so extremely strict, that whosoever has the misfortune to come last, is put to death in sight of the multitude, with all manner of torments. In this assembly, Cingetorix, the head of the opposite faction, and son-in-law of Indutiomarus, who, as we have related above, had declared for Cæsar, and still continued firm to him, was proclaimed a public enemy, and his estate confiscated. After which, Indutiomarus acquainted the council, that the Senones, Carnutes, and several other states of Gaul had solicited his assistance; that he accordingly intended to join his forces with theirs, taking his route through the territories of the Rhemi, and giving up their lands to be plundered; but that before he began his march, he



was desirous of mastering the camp of Labienus. To that end he gave the necessary directions.

XLVIII. Labienus, whose camp, both by the nature of the ground, and the fortifications he had added, was extremely strong, feared nothing, either for himself or the legion; but nevertheless was intent how he might give the enemy some considerable blow. Having there been informed by Cingetorix and his adherents, of the speech made by Indutiomarus in the council of Gaul, he sent deputies to the neighbouring states, solicited cavalry from all parts, and appointed them a day of rendezvous. Meantime Indutiomarus, with all his cavalry, appeared almost every day within sight of the camp; one while to examine its situation; another, to intimidate Labienus, or invite him to a conference. On these occasions, it was usual for the enemy to cast their darts over the rampart. Labienus kept his men within the works, and used all the methods he could think of to make the Gauls believe he was afraid of them.

XLIX. Indutiomarus approaching the trenches every day with greater contempt than before, Labienus received into his camp, by night, all the cavalry he had sent for from the neighbouring states; and was so careful to restrain his men within their lines, by guards planted at all the outlets, that it was impossi-

ble for the Treviri to get intelligence of the reinforcement he had received. Meantime Indutiomarus, according to custom, came up to the camp, and continued there the greater part of the day. The cavalry discharged, their darts over the rampart, and in opprobrious language challenged our men to fight. The Romans making no answer, they retired towards night, but dispersed and without order. Then Labienus, ordering a sudden sally with all the cavalry, strictly cautioned and charged his men, that as soon as they had put the Gauls to flight, (which happened according to his expectation,) they should all single out Indutiomarus, nor offer to wound a man of the enemy, till they saw him slain: for he was unwilling that any delay, occasioned by the slaughter of the rest, should give him an opportunity to escape. He promised great rewards to the man that should kill him; and sent the cohorts after to sustain the horse. The design succeeded; for as all were intent upon Indutiomarus alone, he was overtaken and slain in passing a river, and his head brought back to the camp. Our cavalry, in their return, put all to the sword that came in their way. Upon the news of this defeat, the forces of the Eburones and Nervians returned home, and Gaul was somewhat quieter the rest of the winter.