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**CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES**

**OF**

**HIS WARS IN GAUL.**

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**BOOK VI.**

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# CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

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### BOOK VI.

I. CÆSAR, for many reasons, expecting greater commotions in Gaul, ordered his lieutenants, M. Silanus, C. Antistius Reginus, and T. Sextius, to levy troops. At the same time, he desired of Cn. Pompey, the proconsul, that since he was himself detained by public affairs at Rome, he would set on foot the legion he had enlisted in Cisalpine Gaul, during his consulship, and send it to him: for he considered it as of the utmost importance towards securing a proper respect from the Gauls for the time to come, to give them such an idea of the power of Italy, as might convince them that it was not only able speedily to repair any losses sustained, but even to bring a greater force into the field. Friendship and the good of the commonwealth equally determined Pompey to yield to this request; and the levies being completed with great diligence by the lieutenants, three new legions were formed and brought into Gaul before the end of winter. Thus having doubled the number of cohorts lost under Titurius, he soon made the enemy sensible, both by his expedition and the strength of the reinforcement, of what they had to apprehend from the power and discipline of the Romans.

II. Indutiomarus being slain, as we have related above, the Treviri conferred the command on his relations. They persisted likewise in soliciting the Germans, and making them offers of money. But not being able to prevail with those that lay nearest them, they applied to some of the more remote states; and finding them inclined to treat, entered into a solemn engagement with them, giving hostages for security of the money stipulated, and

associating Ambiorix into the confederacy. Cæsar, informed of these things, and finding that he was threatened with war on all sides: that the Nervians, Atuatici, and Menapians, with all the Germans on this side the Rhine, were actually in arms; that the Senones refused to attend him according to orders, and were tampering with the Carnutes and other neighbouring states; and that the Treviri were soliciting the Germans by frequent embassies; he judged it would be necessary to open the campaign early. Accordingly, without waiting till the winter was at an end, he drew together the four nearest legions, and fell unexpectedly into the territories of the Nervians, before they could either assemble in a body, or find means to save themselves by flight. Having carried off a great number of men and cattle, enriched his soldiers with the booty, and laid waste the country, he compelled them to submit and give hostages; and then led back his legions to their winter quarters.

III. Early in the spring, having summoned a general assembly of Gaul, pursuant to his design; as all the other states but the Senones, Carnutes, and Treviri, appeared, looking upon this as the beginning of a revolt, and willing to postpone every thing else, he adjourned the diet to Paris. This city was upon the borders of the Senones, and had been united with them about an age before; but was thought to have no share in their present revolt. Having declared the adjournment to the assembly, he the same day set out with his legions against the Senones, and by great

marches reached their territories. Acco, who was at the head of the confederacy, hearing of his approach, ordered the multitude to shelter themselves in the towns; but before that could be done, the Romans appeared. This obliged them to change their measures, and send deputies to Cæsar, to implore forgiveness. They were seconded by the Æduans, the old and faithful allies of the Romans, at whose request Cæsar readily pardoned them; and the rather, because the summer being now come, he had no mind to spend the season for action in proceeding formally against the guilty. He ordered them to send a hundred hostages, whom he committed to the custody of the Æduans. The Carnutes too, at the intercession of the Rhemi, under whose protection they were, having sent deputies and hostages, obtained the same conditions. Cæsar then went to the assembly of the states, put an end to the diet, and ordered the Gauls to provide him cavalry.

IV. Tranquillity being restored in these parts, Cæsar turned all his thoughts to the management of the war with Ambiorix and the Treviri. He ordered Cavarinus to attend him with the cavalry of the Senones, to prevent any new commotions in his absence, either in consequence of the resentment of that prince, or the hatred he had incurred of the state. And having thus settled all things to his mind, as he knew Ambiorix was determined not to hazard a battle, he set himself to watch his other designs.

V. The Menapians, whose territories border upon those of the Eburones, are secured by woods and morasses on every side; and were the only people of Gaul, who had not sent ambassadors to Cæsar to desire a peace. He knew Ambiorix was in good intelligence with them; and that, by means of the Treviri, he had also entered into an alliance with the Germans. He therefore thought it best to deprive him of these resources, before he attacked him in person; lest despairing of being able to defend himself, he should either retire among the Menapians, or throw himself into the arms of the Germans beyond the Rhine. This resolution being taken, he sent the baggage of the whole army to Labienus, in the country of the Treviri, ordered him a reinforcement of two legions, and marched himself against the Menapians with five legions, who carried nothing with them but their arms.

That nation trusting to their situation, instead of assembling forces, retreated to their woods and morasses, and carried all their effects along with them. Cæsar divided his forces with C. Fabius his lieutenant, and M. Crassus his questor, and having speedily finished his bridges, entered their country in three bodies, set all their houses and villages on fire, and carried off such numbers of men and cattle, that the Menapians were at last constrained to sue for peace. He granted it, on condition they sent him hostages, and engaged not to admit Ambiorix, or any one from him, into their territories; threatening to treat them as enemies if they did. These things settled, he left Comius of Arras there, with a body of horse, to keep them in awe, and set out himself against the Treviri.

VI. Whilst Cæsar was thus employed, the Treviri, having drawn together a great number of horse and foot, were preparing to attack the legion which had wintered in their territories, under Labienus. They were now advanced within two days' march of the lieutenant's camp, when they learned that he had received a reinforcement of two legions from Cæsar. Upon this, encamping at about fifteen miles' distance, they resolved to wait for the auxiliaries they expected from Germany. Labienus, having intelligence of their design, and hoping their rashness might furnish him with an opportunity of fighting, left the baggage under a guard of five cohorts; and with the twenty-five remaining, and all his cavalry, marched towards the enemy, and pitched his camp about a mile from them.

VII. Between Labienus and the enemy was a river, with steep banks, and difficult to pass. And indeed neither was Labienus himself minded to try the passage, nor did he expect the enemy would offer at such an attempt. The hope of being joined by the auxiliaries grew stronger in the camp of the Gauls every day. Labienus declared publicly in a council of war, "That as the Germans were said to be upon the march, he was determined not to expose himself and the army to danger, but would decamp early next morning." This was soon carried to the enemy; for as our cavalry consisted mostly of Gauls, it was natural for some of them to favour their countrymen. Labienus, assembling the military tribunes and principal centurions during the night, laid before them his real design: and the better to betray

the enemy into a suspicion of his being afraid, gave orders for decamping with more noise and tumult than was usual in a Roman army. By this means his march had all the appearance of a flight; and the enemy, whose camp was so very near, had notice of it before day-break from their spies.

VIII. Scarce had our rear got without the trenches, when the Gauls encouraging one another not to lose a fair prey, or stay in expectation of the Germans, at a time the Romans were retreating in such a panic: and considering it as an indignity, with so great a superiority of forces, to forbear attacking a handful of men already put to flight and encumbered with their baggage, resolved to pass the river, and engage the Romans, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground. Labienus, who had foreseen this, that he might draw them all over the river, continued the feint of his march, and went on quietly. Then sending the baggage a little before, and ordering it to be placed upon a rising ground:—"Behold, fellow-soldiers," says he, "the opportunity you so much desired: you have the enemy at a disadvantage, and in a place where they cannot sustain the onset: show only under my command the valour you have so often manifested to our general; think him present and that he sees and observes you." At the same time he ordered them to face about, and form in line of battle; and detaching a few troops of horse to guard the baggage, drew up the rest on the two wings. Our men gave a sudden shout, and threw their javelins. The enemy, contrary to their expectation, seeing those whom they imagined put to flight, marching against them with displayed banners, could not sustain the very first shock; but betaking themselves immediately to flight, took refuge in the nearest woods. Labienus pursuing with his cavalry, put many of the enemy to the sword, and took a great number of prisoners; insomuch that within a few days the whole state was obliged to submit: for the Germans, who were coming to their assistance, upon hearing of their defeat, returned home. The relations of Indutiomarus, who had been the authors of the revolt, chose likewise to retire with them, and abandon their country. Cingetorix, who had always continued faithful to the Romans, was thereupon invested with the supreme authority.

IX. Cæsar, after his arrival in Treves, from

among the Menapians, resolved for two reasons to pass the Rhine: one, because the Germans had assisted the Treviri against the Romans; the other, to deprive Ambiorix of a retreat into those parts. In consequence of this resolution, he set about making a bridge on the river, but somewhat higher up than before. As the form and manner was known, the soldiers, by their extraordinary diligence, finished the work in a few days. Leaving a strong guard on the side of Treves, to prevent any sudden insurrection in that country, he carried over the rest of his army. The Ubians, who had before submitted and given hostages, sent ambassadors to him to vindicate their conduct, and assure him, that they had neither sent troops to the assistance of the Treviri, nor in any instance departed from their engagements. They urged and requested that he would spare their territories, and not, out of a general hatred to the Germans, involve the innocent in the punishment of the guilty. If he desired more hostages they told him they were ready to send them. Cæsar finding, upon inquiry, that the supplies had been sent by the Suevians, accepted the submission of the Ubians: and preparing to march against the Suevians, informed himself of the ways and accesses to their country.

X. A few days after, he had intelligence from the Ubians, that the Suevians were drawing their forces to a general rendezvous, and had sent orders to all the nations under their jurisdiction, to furnish their contingents of horse and foot. Upon this, having furnished himself with provisions, and chosen a proper place for his camp, he ordered the Ubians to retire into their towns, with their cattle and effects; hoping that so unskilful and barbarous an enemy might easily be drawn, by the want of provisions, to fight in a place of disadvantage. He further enjoined the Ubians to send spies into all parts, to learn the designs and motions of the Suevians. They readily complied; and in a few days brought him back word, "That the Suevians, upon certain information of the arrival of the Roman army, had retired to the remotest part of the country, with all their own forces, and those of their allies: that there they had resolved to wait the coming up of the Romans, at the entrance of a forest of immense extent, called Bacenis, which reached a great way into the country, and served as a barrier be-

tween the Cherusci and Suevians, to prevent their mutual incursions."

XI. On this occasion it may not be improper to say somewhat of the manners of the Gauls and Germans, and the difference of customs between these two nations. A spirit of faction prevails throughout Gaul, and that not only in their several states, districts, and villages, but almost in every private family. The men of greatest esteem and consideration among them, are commonly at the head of these factions, and give what turn they think proper to all public deliberations and counsels. This custom is of long standing, and seems designed to secure those of lower rank from the oppression of the powerful: for the leaders always take care to protect those of their party, otherwise they would soon lose all their authority. This equally obtains through the whole continent of Gaul, the provinces being in general divided into two factions.

XII. When Cæsar arrived in the country, the Æduans were at the head of one faction, and the Sequani of the other. These last being the weaker, because the Æduans had long bore the greatest sway, and had a number of considerable states in their dependence, they united with Ariovistus and the Germans, whom by great presents and promises they drew over the Rhine to their assistance. This alliance made them so powerful, that having worsted their adversaries in several battles, and killed almost all their nobility, they forced the states dependent upon the Æduans to have recourse to them for protection; obliged the Æduans themselves to give the children of their principal nobility as hostages, swear publicly not to attempt any thing against the Sequani, and resign up to their possession a part of their territories; and by this means rendered themselves in a manner sovereigns of all Gaul. Divitiacus, in this necessity, applied to the senate of Rome for relief, but without effect. Cæsar's arrival soon changed the face of affairs. The Æduan hostages were sent back, their former clients restored, and new ones procured them by Cæsar's interest; it appearing, that such as were under their protection, enjoyed a more equal and milder lot: by all which, their fortune and authority being considerably enlarged, the Sequani were obliged to resign the sovereignty. The Rhemi succeeded in their place; and, as they were known to be in the same degree of favour with

Cæsar, such as could not get over their old animosity to the Æduans, put themselves under their protection. The Rhemi were extremely attentive to the interests of their clients, and thereby both preserved their old authority, and that which they had newly acquired. Such therefore was the then situation of Gaul, that the Æduans possessing indisputably the first rank, the Rhemi were next in consideration and dignity.

XIII. Over all Gaul, there are only two orders of men, in any degree of honour and esteem: for the common people are little better than slaves, attempt nothing of themselves, and have no share in the public deliberations. As they are generally oppressed with debt, heavy tributes, or the exactions of their superiors, they make themselves vassals to the great, who exercise over them the same jurisdiction as masters do over slaves. The two orders of men, with whom, as we have said, all authority and distinctions are lodged, are the Druids and nobles. The Druids preside in matters of religion, have the care of public and private sacrifices, and interpret the will of the gods. They have the direction and education of the youth, by whom they are held in great honour. In almost all controversies, whether public or private, the decision is left to them: and if any crime is committed, any murder perpetrated; if any dispute arises touching an inheritance, or the limits of adjoining estates; in all such cases, they are the supreme judges. They decree rewards and punishments; and if any one refuses to submit to their sentence, whether magistrate or private man, they interdict him the sacrifices. This is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted among the Gauls; because such as are under this prohibition, are considered as impious and wicked: all men shun them, and decline their conversation and fellowship, lest they should suffer from the contagion of their misfortunes. They can neither have recourse to the law for justice, nor are capable of any public office. The Druids are all under one chief, who possesses the supreme authority in that body. Upon his death, if any one remarkably excels the rest, he succeeds; but if there are several candidates of equal merit, the affair is determined by plurality of suffrages. Sometimes they even have recourse to arms before the election can be brought to an issue. Once a year they assemble at a consecrated place in the terri-

stories of the Carnutes, whose country is supposed to be in the middle of Gaul. Hither such as have any suits depending, flock from all parts, and submit implicitly to their decrees. Their institution is supposed to come originally from Britain, whence it passed into Gaul; and even at this day, such as are desirous of being perfect in it, travel thither for instruction. The Druids never go to war, are exempted from taxes and military service, and enjoy all manner of immunities. These mighty encouragements induce multitudes of their own accord to follow that profession; and many are sent by their parents and relations. They are taught to repeat a great number of verses by heart, and often spend twenty years upon this institution; for it is deemed unlawful to commit their statutes to writing; though in other matters, whether public or private, they make use of Greek characters. They seem to me to follow this method for two reasons: to hide their mysteries from the knowledge of the vulgar; and to exercise the memory of their scholars, which would be apt to lie neglected, had they letters to trust to, as we find is often the case. It is one of their principal maxims that the soul never dies, but after death passes from one body to another; which, they think, contributes greatly to exalt men's courage, by disarming death of its terrors. They teach likewise many things relating to the stars and their motions, the magnitude of the world and our earth, the nature of things, and the power and prerogatives of the immortal gods.

XIV. The other order of men is the nobles, whose whole study and occupation is war. Before Cæsar's arrival in Gaul, they were almost every year at war either offensive or defensive; and they judge of the power and quality of their nobles, by the vassals, and the number of men he keeps in his pay; for they are the only marks of grandeur they make any account of.

XV. The whole nation of the Gauls is extremely addicted to superstition: whence, in threatening distempers, and the imminent dangers of war, they make no scruple to sacrifice men, or engage themselves by vow to such sacrifices; in which they make use of the ministry of the Druids: for it is a prevalent opinion among them, that nothing but the life of man can atone for the life of man; insomuch that they have established even public sacrifices of this kind. Some prepare huge Co-

lossuses, of osier twigs, into which they put men alive, and setting fire to them, those within expire amidst the flames. They prefer for victims such as have been convicted of theft, robbery, or other crimes; believing them the most acceptable to the gods: but when real criminals are wanting, the innocent are often made to suffer. Mercury is the chief deity with them: of him they have many images, account him the inventor of all arts, their guide and conductor in their journeys, and the patron of merchandise and gain. Next to him are Apollo, and Mars, and Jupiter, and Minerva. Their notions in regard to him are pretty much the same with those of other nations. Apollo is their god of physic; Minerva of works and manufactures; Jove holds the empire of heaven; and Mars presides in war. To this last, when they resolve upon a battle, they commonly devote the spoil. If they prove victorious, they offer up all the cattle taken, and set apart the rest of the plunder in a place appointed for that purpose: and it is common in many provinces, to see these monuments of offerings piled up in consecrated places. Nay, it rarely happens that any one shows so great a disregard of religion, as either to conceal the plunder, or pillage the public oblations; and the severest punishments are inflicted upon such offenders.

XVI. The Gauls fancy themselves to be descended from the god Pluto; which, it seems, is an established tradition among the Druids. For this reason they compute the time by nights, not by days; and in the observance of birth days, new moons, and the beginning of the year, always commence the celebration from the preceding night. In one custom they differ from almost all other nations; that they never suffer their children to come openly into their presence, until they are of age to bear arms: for the appearance of a son in public with his father, before he has reached the age of manhood, is accounted dishonourable.

XVII. Whatever fortune the woman brings, the husband is obliged to equal it with his own estate. This whole sum, with its annual product, is left untouched, and falls always to the share of the survivor. The men have power of life and death over their wives and children; and when any father of a family of illustrious rank dies, his relations assemble, and upon the least ground of suspicion, put even his

wives to the torture like slaves. If they are found guilty, iron and fire are employed to torment and destroy them. Their funerals are magnificent and sumptuous, according to their quality. Every thing that was dear to the deceased, even animals, are thrown into the pile: and formerly, such of their slaves and clients as they loved most, sacrificed themselves at the funeral of their lord.

XVIII. In their best regulated states, they have a law, that whoever hears any thing relating to the public, whether by rumour or otherwise, shall give immediate notice to the magistrate, without imparting it to any one else; for the nature of the people is such, that rash and inexperienced men, alarmed by false reports, are often hurried to the greatest extremities, and take upon them to determine in matters of the greatest consequence. The magistrates stifle things improper to be known, and only communicate to the multitude what they think needful for the service of the commonwealth; nor do the laws permit to speak of state affairs, except in public council.

XIX. The Germans differ widely in their manners from the Gauls: for neither have they Druids to preside in religious affairs, nor do they trouble themselves about sacrifices. They acknowledge no gods but those that are objects of sight, and by whose power they are apparently benefited; the sun, the moon, fire. Of others they know nothing, not even by report. Their whole life is addicted to hunting and war; and from their infancy they are inured to fatigue and hardships. They esteem those most, who continue longest strangers to women; as imagining nothing contributes so much to stature, strength and vigour of body: but to have any commerce of this kind before the age of twenty is accounted in the highest degree ignominious. Nor is it possible to conceal an irregularity this way; because they bathe promiscuously in rivers, and are clothed in skins, or short mantles of fur, which leave the greatest part of their bodies naked.

XX. Agriculture is little regarded among them, as they live mostly on milk, cheese, and the flesh of animals. Nor has any man lands of his own, or distinguished by fixed boundaries. The magistrates, and those in authority, portion out yearly to every canton and family, such a quantity of land, and in what part of the country they think proper; and the year following remove them to some other

spot. Many reasons are assigned for this practice; lest seduced by habit and continuance, they should learn to prefer tillage to war; lest a desire of enlarging their possessions should gain ground, and prompt the stronger to expel the weaker; lest they should become curious in their buildings, in order to guard against the extremes of heat and cold; lest avarice should get footing amongst them, whence spring factions and discords: in fine, to preserve contentment and equanimity among the people, when they find their possessions nothing inferior to those of the most powerful.

XXI. It is accounted honourable for estates to have the country all around them lie waste and depopulated: for they think it an argument of valour to expel their neighbours, and suffer none to settle near them; at the same time that they are themselves all the safer, as having nothing to apprehend from sudden incursions. When a state is engaged in war, either offensive or defensive, they make choice of magistrates to preside in it, whom they arm with a power of life and death. In time of peace there are no public magistrates; but the chiefs of the several provinces and clans administer justice, and decide differences within their respective limits. Robbery has nothing infamous in it, when committed without the territories of the state to which they belong: they even pretend that it serves to exercise their youth and prevent the growth of sloth. When any of their princes in this case offers himself publicly in council as a leader, such as approve of the expedition, rise up, profess themselves ready to follow him, and are applauded by the whole multitude. They who go back from their engagement are looked upon as traitors and deserters, and lose all esteem and credit for the time to come. The laws of hospitality are held inviolable among them. All that fly to them for refuge, on whatever account, are sure of protection and defence; their houses are open to receive them, and they plentifully supply their wants.

XXII. Formerly the Gauls exceeded the Germans in bravery, often made war upon them, and as they abounded in people beyond what the country could maintain, sent several colonies over the Rhine. Accordingly the more fertile places of Germany, in the neighbourhood of the Hercynian forest, (which I find mentioned by Eratosthenes, and other Greek



writers, under the name of *Orcinia*,) fell to the share of the *Volcæ*, who settled in those parts, and have ever since kept possession. They are in the highest reputation for justice and bravery, and no less remarkable than the Germans for poverty, abstinence, and patience of fatigue, conforming exactly to their customs, both in habit and way of living. But the neighbourhood of the Roman province, and an acquaintance with traffic, has introduced luxury and abundance among the Gauls, whence becoming by little and little an unequal match for the Germans, and being worsted in many battles, they no longer pretend to compare with them in valour.

XXIII. The Hercynian forest, of which we have been just speaking, is about nine days journey in breadth; for as the Germans are ignorant of the use of measures, there is no other way of computing it. It begins from the confines of the Helvetians, Nemetes, and Rauraci; and following directly the course of the Danube, extends to the territories of the Anartes and Dacians. Thence turning from the river to the left, it runs through a multitude of different regions; and though there are many in the country, who have advanced six days' journey into this forest, yet no one pretends to have reached the extremity of it, or discovered how far it extends. Many different species of animals, unknown in other countries, harbour here; the most remarkable of which, and that best deserve to be mentioned, are these.

XXIV. There is a bull that nearly resembles a stag, with only one horn rising from the middle of his forehead, taller and straighter than those of our cattle, and which at top divides into many large branches. The males and females are shaped alike, and have horns the same in size.

XXV. Here are likewise a kind of wild asses, shaped and spotted like goats, but of a larger size; without horns, or joints in their legs, that never lie down to sleep, nor can raise themselves, if by any accident they are overthrown. They lean against trees, which serve to support them when they sleep. Hence the huntsmen, after having discovered their haunts, either loosen the roots of the trees, or saw them almost quite off; so that when the animal, according to custom, reclines against them, they immediately give way, and both fall down together.

XXVI. A third species of animals are the *uri*, nearly equalling the elephant in bulk; but in colour, shape, and kind, resembling a bull. They are of uncommon strength and swiftness, and spare neither man nor beast that comes in their way. They are taken and slain by means of pits dug on purpose. This way of hunting is frequent among the youth, and serves to inure them to fatigue. They who kill the greatest number, and produce their horns in public, as a proof, are in high reputation with their countrymen. It is found impossible to tame them, or conquer their fierceness, though taken ever so young. Their horns, both in largeness, figure, and kind, differ much from those of our bulls. The natives preserve them with great care, tip their edges with silver, and use them instead of cups on their most solemn festivals.

XXVII. Cæsar understanding from the Ubian scouts, that the Suevians were retired into their woods; and fearing the want of provisions, because, as we have already observed, the Germans are but little addicted to agriculture, resolved not to advance any further. But to keep the enemy still under some awe of his return, and prevent their sending succours to Gaul, having repassed the Rhine, he only broke down about two hundred feet of his bridge, on the German side; and to secure the rest, built at the extremity a tower of four stories, where he left a garrison of twelve cohorts, and strengthened the place with all manner of works. Young C. Volcatius Tullus had the charge of the fort and garrison. He himself, as soon as the corn began to be ripe, marched against Ambiorix; taking his way through the forest of Arden, which is much the largest in all Gaul, and reaches from the banks of the Rhine, and the confines of Treves, quite to the Nervians, through a space of more than five hundred miles. L. Minucius Basilus was sent before, with all the cavalry, in hopes that the quickness of his march, and the opportunity of some lucky conjuncture, might enable him to do something considerable. He had orders to light no fires in his camp, the better to conceal his approach from the enemy; and Cæsar assured him, he would follow with all expedition. Basilus exactly followed his instructions; and coming suddenly and unexpectedly upon the Gauls, surprised great numbers of them in the field. Being informed by them

of the place whither Ambiorix had retired, with a few cavalry, he marched directly against him.

XXVIII. But as fortune has a considerable share in all human concerns, so particularly in those of war. For as it was a very extraordinary chance, that he should thus come upon Ambiorix unprepared, and surprise him with his personal arrival, before he had the least notice of it from fame or report; so was it an equal effect of fortune, that the Gaul himself, after having lost his arms, horses, and chariots, should yet find means to escape. This was principally owing to the situation of his house, which was surrounded with a wood; it being customary among the Gauls, in order to avoid the heats, to build in the neighbourhood of woods and rivers. By this means his attendants and friends possessing themselves of a defile, sustained for a time the attack of our cavalry; during which, one of his servants having provided him with a horse, he escaped into the woods. Thus fortune remarkably played her part, both in bringing him into the danger and delivering him out of it.

XXIX. Ambiorix, after his escape, made no attempt to draw his forces together; nor is it known whether he acted in this manner out of choice, as not thinking it safe to hazard a battle; or because he thought he should not have sufficient time, being surprised by the sudden arrival of the cavalry, and believing that all the rest of the army followed. Despatching, therefore, messengers privately through the country, he counselled every one to provide for his own safety; upon which some took refuge in the forest of Arden, and some in the adjoining morasses. Those who lived upon the sea-coast, hid themselves in the islands formed by the tide at high water; and many abandoning their country altogether, trusted themselves and their all to the faith of foreigners. Cativulcus, who, jointly with Ambiorix, was king of the Eburones, and had associated with him in all his designs, being of a very advanced age, and unable to bear the fatigues of war or flight, after many imprecations against Ambiorix, who had been the prime contriver of the revolt, poisoned himself with an extract of yew, a tree very common in Gaul and Germany. The Segni and Condrusi, originally German nations, whose territories lay between those of Treves

and the Eburones, sent ambassadors to Cæsar to entreat "That he would not consider them as enemies, nor look upon all the Germans on this side the Rhine as equally obnoxious: that they had harboured no thoughts of war, nor been any ways aiding to Ambiorix." Cæsar finding it to be so by the answers of the prisoners, ordered them to deliver up such of the Eburones as had fled to them for refuge; and promised, upon that condition, not to molest their territories.

XXX. Then dividing his army into three bodies, he sent all the baggage to Atuatuca, a castle situated almost in the heart of the country of the Eburones, where Titurius and Arunculeius had been quartered during the winter. This place he chose, as for other reasons, so likewise because the fortifications, raised the year before, were still entire, which would lessen the labour of his soldiers. He left the fourteenth legion to guard the baggage, being one of the three lately levied in Italy, and brought thence into Gaul. Q. Tullius Cicero had the charge both of the legion and fort, which was further strengthened with an additional guard of two hundred horse. The army being thus divided, he sent T. Labienus, with three legions, towards the sea coast, and the provinces that border upon the Menapians; C. Trebonius, with a like number of legions, to lay waste the country adjoining to the Atuatuca; and resolved to march himself with the other three towards the Scheld, which flows into the Meuse, and to the extremities of the forest of Arden, whither he was informed Ambiorix had retired with a few horse. He promised, at his departure, to return in seven days; the legion he had left in garrison being provided with corn only for that time: and exhorted Labienus and Trebonius if they found it consistent with the public advantage, to return likewise with their legions within the same space; that joining counsel together, and taking their measures from the conduct of the enemy, they might resolve where next to carry the war.

XXXI. There was, as we have already observed, no formed body of troops, no garrison, no fortified town to defend by arms; but a multitude dispersed on all sides. Wherever a cave, or a thicket, or a morass offered them shelter, thither they retired. These places were well known to the natives; and great care and caution was required on our part,

not for the security of the whole army, (which had no danger to fear whilst in a body, from enemies dispersed and full of terror;) but for the preservation of each individual. And yet even this regarded not a little the whole army: for the desire of plunder drew many of the men to a great distance; and the woods, full of defiles and hidden ways, hindered them from keeping together in a body. If Cæsar meant to terminate the war altogether, and extirpate this race of perfidious men, the soldiers must be divided into small parties, and detached on all sides. If, on the contrary, he kept his men together, as the rules of war and the Roman discipline required, the enemy were sheltered by their situation, nor wanted boldness to form ambuscades, and cut off stragglers. Amidst these difficulties, all possible precautions were taken; and although the soldiers were eagerly bent upon revenge, yet Cæsar chose rather not to push the enemy too far, than expose his men to danger. He therefore sent messengers to the neighbouring states, inviting them all by the hopes of plunder, to join the destruction of the Eburones; choosing rather to expose the lives of the Gauls in the woods, than of the legionary soldiers; and hoping, by the multitude employed against them, totally to extirpate the name and memory of a state, whose revolt had rendered them so obnoxious. Accordingly great numbers flocked suddenly thither from all parts.

XXXII. Thus were the Eburones attacked on all sides; and the havoc continued till the seventh day, which Cæsar had appointed for returning to his camp and baggage. It then evidently appeared what influence fortune has over war, and how many accidents spring from her interposition. The enemy being dispersed and full of terror, as we have related above, there remained no body of troops in the field, to give any the least ground of fear. A report spread among the Germans beyond the Rhine, that the territories of the Eburones were given up to plunder, and all without distinction invited to share the spoil. The Sicambri, who inhabit upon the Rhine, and had afforded a retreat to the Usipetes and Tenchtheri, as mentioned above, assembled immediately a body of two thousand horse, passed the river in barks about thirty miles below Cæsar's bridge and fort, and advanced directly towards the territories of the Eburones. Many of those

that fled, and had dispersed themselves up and down the country, fell into their hands; as likewise abundance of cattle, of which the barbarians are extremely covetous. Allured by this success, they advanced farther. Neither woods nor morasses proved any obstacles to men, trained up from their infancy to wars and incursions. Inquiring of the prisoners concerning Cæsar, they understood that he was a great way off, and had left the country with his whole army. One in particular addressing them: "Why, says he, do you lose time in pursuit of so slight and trifling a booty, when fortune offers one of so much greater value. In three hours you may reach Atuatuca, where the Romans have deposited all their wealth. The garrison is hardly sufficient to line the rampart, much less to sally out of their intrenchments." Urged by this hope, they left their present booty in a place of safety, and marched directly to Atuatuca, being conducted by the captive who had given them the information.

XXIII. Cicero, who hitherto had kept his soldiers strictly within the camp, according to Cæsar's orders, nor suffered so much as a servant to straggle beyond the lines; seeing the seventh day arrive, began to despair of Cæsar's return, who, as he heard, marched farther into the country, and had sent him no notice of his route. Wherefore, tired with the continual murmurs of the soldiers, who complained of his patience, and told him they were kept like men besieged; and not suspecting that any accident could befall him, within the small extent of three miles, especially as the enemy, opposed by nine legions, and a very numerous cavalry, were in a manner totally dispersed and cut off; he sent out five cohorts to forage in an adjoining field, separated from the camp only by a single hill. A great many sick men had been left behind by Cæsar, of whom about three hundred, that were now pretty well recovered, joined the detachment. These were followed by almost all the servants of the camp, together with a vast number of carts and carriage-horses.

XXXIV. In that very instant, as fortune would have it, the German cavalry arrived; and without discontinuing their course, endeavoured to force an immediate entrance by the Decuman gate. As their march had been covered by a wood, they were not discovered

till they were just upon the camp; insomuch that the sutlers, who kept their booths under the rampart, had not time to retire within the intrenchments. Our men were so surprised at this sudden and unexpected attack, that the cohort upon guard could scarce sustain the first onset. The enemy spread themselves on all sides to find a place of entrance. The Romans with difficulty defended the gates; the rampart securing them every where else. The whole camp was in an uproar, every one inquiring of another the cause of the confusion; nor could they determine which way to advance the standards, or where to post themselves. Some reported the camp was already taken; others, that the Germans, having destroyed Cæsar and his army, were come, victorious, to storm their trenches. The greater number, full of imaginary fears, when they considered the place in which they were encamped, called to mind the fate of Cotta and Titurius, who perished in that very fort. This universal consternation being perceived by the barbarians, confirmed them in the belief of what the prisoners had told them, that there was scarce any garrison within to defend the camp. They renewed their endeavours to force the intrenchments, and mutually exhorted one another, not to let so fair a prize escape out of their hands.

XXXV. Among the sick in garrison was P. Sextius Baculus, a centurion of the first rank, of whom mention has been made in former battles, and who had not tasted food for five days. This officer, anxious for his own safety, and that of the legion, rushed unarmed out of his tent. He saw the enemy at hand, and the danger extreme. Snatching the first arms that offered, he posted himself in the gate of the camp. The centurions of the cohort upon guard followed the example, and for a while sustained the enemy's charge. Sextius expired under a number of wounds, and was with difficulty carried off by the soldiers. This short delay gave the rest time to resume their courage; so far at least, as to mount the rampart, and make a show of defending themselves.

XXXVI. Meantime our foragers returning, heard the noise at the camp. The cavalry advancing before, were soon apprized of the danger. Here was no fortification to shelter the frightened troops. The new levies, inexperienced in matters of war, fixed their eyes

upon the tribunes and centurions, waiting their orders. Not a man was found so hardy and resolute as not to be disturbed by so unexpected an accident. The Germans perceiving our ensigns at a distance, gave over the attack of the camp, imagining at first that it was Cæsar and the legions, which the prisoners had informed them were marched farther into the country. But soon observing how few they were, they surrounded and fell upon them on all sides.

XXXVII. The servants of the camp fled to the nearest rising ground; whence being immediately driven, they threw themselves amongst the ranks of the cohorts, and thereby increased their terror. Some were for drawing up in form of a wedge, and forcing their way through the enemy: for as the camp was so very near, they imagined, that if some fell, the rest at least must escape. Others were for retiring to an eminence, and all sharing there the same fate. The veteran soldiers, who had marched but with the detachment, could by no means relish this proposal: wherefore mutually encouraging one another, and being led by C. Trebonius, a Roman knight, under whose command they were, they broke through the midst of the enemy, and all to a man arrived safe in the camp. The servants and cavalry, following them, and seconding their retreat, were likewise, by their bravery, preserved. But the troops who had retired to the hill, being inexperienced in military affairs, could neither persist in the resolution they had taken of defending themselves from the higher ground, nor imitate that brisk and vigorous effort which they saw had been so serviceable to their companions: but endeavouring to gain the camp quitted the advantage of their situation. The centurions, some of whom had been selected from veteran legions, and on account of their bravery promoted to higher stations among the new levies, fought resolutely to maintain the glory they had acquired, and endeavoured to sell their lives as dear as they could. Their valour obliging the enemy to fall back a little, part of the troops, contrary to expectation, reached the camp. The rest were surrounded and cut to pieces by the barbarians.

XXXVIII. The Germans, despairing to carry the camp, as they saw our men now prepared to defend the works, repassed the Rhine with the booty they had deposited in the woods.

But so great was the terror of the Romans even after their retreat, that C. Volusenus arriving in the camp the same night with the cavalry, could not persuade them that Cæsar and the army were safe. For fear had taken so thorough a possession of their minds, that, as if bereft of understanding, they persisted in believing the infantry was wholly destroyed, and that the cavalry alone had escaped: it seeming to them altogether incredible, that the Germans would have dared to attack the camp, had no misfortune befallen the Roman army. But Cæsar's arrival soon put an end to their fears.

XXXIX. Upon his return, being informed of what had happened, he only complained of the sending out the cohorts to forage: observing, "That in war nothing ought to be left to fortune, whose power appeared evidently in the sudden arrival of the enemy, and much more in their coming up unperceived to the very gates of the camp." But nothing in this whole affair appeared to him more wonderful, than that the Germans, having crossed the Rhine with design to plunder the territories of Ambiorix, should, by falling upon the Roman camp, do him a most acceptable service.

XL. Cæsar marched a second time to harass the enemy, and having drawn a great number of troops together from the neighbouring states, sent them into all parts upon this service. All the houses and villages were set on fire: the plunder was universal; the vast number of men and horses not only destroyed great quantities of corn, but the rains

and advanced seasons made havoc of all that was left; insomuch that if any of the enemy escaped for the present, it seemed yet likely, that after the retreat of the army, they must perish by famine. As the cavalry were divided into many parties, they often came to places where the prisoners not only informed them they had seen Ambiorix flying, but that he could even yet be scarce out of view. The hope of coming up with him made them leave nothing unattempted, as imagining they would thereby gain the highest favour with Cæsar, whose good fortune wanted only this to render it complete. But all their endeavours were fruitless; for he still found means to hide himself in the woods and morasses; whence removing privately in the night, he escaped into other regions, accompanied with only four horsemen, in whom alone he durst confide.

XLI. Cæsar, having destroyed the whole country, led back his army into the territories of the Rhemi, with the loss of only two cohorts. There he summoned a general assembly of Gaul, to examine into the affair of the Senones and Carnutes: and having passed a severe sentence against Acco, the contriver of the revolt, ordered him to be executed on the spot. Some fearing a like fate, fled: whom having banished by a decree of the diet, he quartered two legions in Treves, two among the Lingones, and the remaining six at Agendicum, in the country of the Senones. And having provided the army with corn, he went, pursuant to his design, into Italy, to hold the assemblies of Cisalpine Gaul.

